

THE ROLE OF SPATIAL DESIGNER IN THE PRESTIGIOUS HOUSING  
PROJECTS: THE CASE OF ANKARA

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE ROLE OF SPATIAL DESIGNER IN THE PRESTIGIOUS HOUSING PROJECTS: THE CASE OF ANKARA**

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There are fundamental changes in the production of space within the framework of the new conditions provided by the economy, culture and technology throughout the world. Construction sector gained prominent position in Turkey since the end of the 20th century. With the increase in the number of institutions authorized to approve the planning decisions and the urban planning approach transformed, cities are not managed in line with long-term programs; but, they are started to be shaped by the speculative supply of the market and the demand-oriented urban policies for the reproduction of capital through piecemeal urban projects.

As a result of the economic and political developments, housing production, which is the most active field of the construction sector in the urban space, has not only provided a different form of housing to the people, but also revealed a new social life with all the social and economic features. Rather than satisfying a specific need, living spaces of the social structure which is in constant consumption with the search for new products or services are the outcome of the production processes in which many actors take part in sense. The thesis intends to understand, evaluate and interpret spatial design and thus the position and potential of the designer within the very dynamics of the consumer society.

For this purpose, three popular mixed-use housing projects in Ankara, developed in the recent years, have been discussed and actual housing production processes are analyzed from the initial phase of the work. In order to make sense of space production processes and to provide a critical perspective to the actual process, a series of interviews were carried out with the actors from different professions involved in the formation of space with a specific focus on the ways of manipulation of the market preferences by design and the ways of manipulating the produced space were revealed.

Keywords: consumer society, production of space, space, design processes, design actors

## ÖZ

### **PRESTİJLİ KONUT PROJELERİNDE MEKAN TASARIMCISININ ROLÜ: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ**

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Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım  
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Dünya genelinde ekonominin, kültürün ve teknolojinin sağladığı yeni koşullar çerçevesinde kentsel mekan üretim biçimlerinde köklü değişimler yaşanmaktadır. 20. Yüzyılın son dönemlerinden itibaren benimsenen serbest piyasa ekonomisine yönelik egemen siyasa perspektifi çerçevesinde Türkiye’de inşaat sektörü genişleyerek etkinlik kazanmıştır. İlgili dönemde, plan yapımı ve onama yetkisine sahip kurum sayısında meydana gelen artış ve parçacıl planlama anlayışıyla birlikte kentler uzun vadeli gelişim stratejileri ve programlar doğrultusunda değil; sermayenin yeniden üretimine yönelik arz ve talep odaklı spekülâtif kentsel politikalarla ortaya çıkan çok sayıda kentsel projeye biçimlendirilmeye başlanılmıştır.

Kentsel mekanda inşaat sektörünün en fazla faaliyet gösterdiği alan olan konut üretimi, yaşanan ekonomik ve siyasi gelişmeler sonucunda, kişilere sadece farklı bir ‘barınma’ formu sunmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda sosyal ve ekonomik yönleriyle bir bütün halinde yeni bir yaşam biçimine sahip toplum yapısını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Belirli bir ihtiyacın tatmin edilmesi amacından öte; yeni ürün veya hizmet arayışıyla sürekli bir tüketim halinde olan toplum yapısına ait yaşam alanları, mekânsal anlamda çok sayıda aktörün rol aldığı üretim süreçlerinin ürünüdür. Bu bağlamda tez çalışması, tüketim toplumu dinamikleri içerisinde mekan tasarımının ve dolayısıyla tasarımcının rolünü anlamayı, değerlendirmeyi ve yorumlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu ama dođrultusunda Ankara'da son dnemde geliřtirilmiř olan  adet karma kullanımlı konut projesi ele alınmıř olup, konut retim pratiđi edimsel arkaplanı bađlamında ozmlenmektedir. Mekan retim srelerinin anlamlandırılabilmesi ve sre ierisinden bakıř aısının sađlanabilmesi amacıyla mekansal tasarım srecine dahil olan farklı meslek alanlarından aktrler ile grřmeler gerekleřtirilmiřtir. Sz konusu grřmelerle birlikte, retilen mekana ynelik piyasa tercihlerinin mekansal tasarım marifeti ile ne ynde maniple edilebildiđine ynelik bir aıklama erevesi ortaya konulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: tkretim toplumu, mekan retimi, mekan, mekansal tasarım, tasarım aktrleri



To my beloved Mother. I know you are with me..

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Problem Definition

The type of shelter chosen by a person has a direct decisive role for the relations with the environment. The subject of sheltering, which is one of the basic needs during the history of humanity, is characterized by a lot of symbolic meaning in addition to the fundamental meaning of accommodation, especially in terms of today's architectural practice.

Neo-liberal economic transformation gained momentum after the 1980s, particularly in England and the United States, and increased its influence in Turkey, as well. With the adoption of neo-liberal policies, the construction industry has gained value as a driving force for Turkey's economy. Together with the changing urban planning concept, cities have not been regulated by long-term strategies and planned development anymore rather managed in line with the demand and needs that would appeal to different segments of society. Also cities started to be managed by demand-oriented urban policies for the reproduction of capital and large-scale urban projects, which is the result of neo-liberal economic policies.

As a result of the economic and political developments, housing production, in which construction sector operates most actively, has not only presented a different form of 'sheltering to people', but has also revealed the social structure as 'a new way of life' as a whole in terms of social and economic aspects. Beyond the purpose of satisfying a specific need, the living spaces belonging to the social structure is the outcome of the production processes in which a large number of actors play a role in a relational manner. The thesis study, therefore, seeks to understand, evaluate and interpret the position and the current role of spatial design within the very dynamics of consumer

society. However, the thesis does not attempt to place spatial design in a privileged position; it focuses solely on the design of spatial design processes in terms of housing areas, among many, in the context of the consumption society.

Today, there is an emphasis on the production of housing driven by the dynamics of the consumer society. The residential areas produced are encouraged and marketed through images rendered to promote new socio-spatial identities. Here, representation implies any kind of image production presented on media in order to commercialize the designed architectural products. The aim of architectural representation, which is the main element of residential advertisements, is to try to reveal the formal characteristics of the designed living environment. However, with the other meanings attributed to the housing, housing areas nowadays appear as the symbolized commodity on the urban scale.

This thesis focuses on the role of spatial designers in a society where consumption has reached a significant level and is constantly in search of new products or services. In a social and economic structuring based on the commodification of the products as fast as possible; it is analyzed the meaning integrity of housing areas within the norms of consumption society where consumption is shaped according to desires rather than needs. In this context, the factors of functionality and usage gets secondary position, while hedonist, symbolic and aesthetic concerns turn out to be the prominent indicators. The main problems of the housing production processes, which are reminiscent of the fordist production, where the space is commoditized, and reduced to the quantitative nature of statistics.

## **1.2. Scope of the Study**

The housing production processes, which are emphasized by the dynamics of the consumer society, are not only limited to the architectural production, but also implies the involvement of which various actors. The main backbone of the thesis study is the production and consumption processes of the modern society within its intrinsic

tendency to consumerism. Accordingly, original conceptualization, ‘production of space, H. Lefebvre (1991)’, serves the basis for the overall discussion within the thesis.

Within the scope of the question, **‘the actual role of spatial design within the production of housing sector’** is analyzed in which different professions work together in the content of the production space process. In this regard, this study aims to reveal the intrinsic role of spatial design in the promotion of consumption patterns in society, as well.

Today, spatial design is not only a discipline that is nourished by its own field, but also network relations with many disciplines and expertise involved. This situation can be explained by the fact that the consumption society has a network relation and architecture is embedded within such a structure. Therefore, the study focuses on the space production process including not only architecture, but also the different specialties such as those in finance, real estate development, marketing and advertisement. At this point, it is aimed to emphasize that architects are not only the actor producing space, but also the factors like identity, image etc. are part of the production processes. This situation will have discussed through the housing projects in which the urban life begins.

The cases addressed in the scope of thesis have been selected from Turkey, whose *“economy largely depends on the consumption activities and cities”* (Balaban, 2011, p. 21). The reason why Ankara is the study area of this research is that the dense housing production processes have been experienced in the capital during the past twenty years. Throughout the history of Turkish Republic, Ankara, which has set an example for the other Turkish cities with the mission of leading the ideal of planned urbanization, is under the pressure of capital-oriented housing production under the influence of the consumer society. According to TUIK (2018) surveys, housing production per person is 0.91 in Turkey, this ratio is 1.45 in Ankara and 1,04 in İstanbul whose population three times larger than Ankara in the years 2002-2017. Ankara, which is in the first rank in the number of houses per capita on the national

scale. This situation basically indicates the speculative nature of the housing in Turkey.

Accordingly, profit-oriented private projects are implemented through intensive housing production, which can be read through statistics and can be easily observed through the urban environment. These housing projects do not respond to actual level and need, but triggered by the “*supply-oriented urban policies for the reproduction of capital*”, “*urban projects which are the product of these policies*” (Penbecioğlu, 2011, p 62). Especially in terms of life style and spatial preferences of the upper-middle class city dwellers, privatized and controlled residential areas gained a standard character along with their practice of daily life.

In the thesis, in order to observe the consumer society dynamics, the major focus is given on the luxurious housing projects serving to the people having a certain socio-economic level. The reason for this is that such a user practice can prefer to be less affected by the economic constraints and prefer to behave more freely than low income groups, especially on a certain income level. In other words, for the upper-middle class, housing is much more a matter of life style than that of shelter. This situation provides the basis for the plain and clear observation of the norms of the consumer society.

For this purpose, the popular housing projects, which have been promoted by the mass media via advertisement campaigns. To understand the actual behind their production process, three housing projects in Ankara have been picked, and a series of interviews have been carried out with expert actors from different project management, design professions and marketing who had a role in the formation of space. By this way, an inside information on housing production would be provided to see how the roles are distributed among the main actors.

The examples of housing projects on which interviews are conducted are selected from projects financed by the private sector, with the aim to reflect the basic dynamics of

the consumption society. Three projects implemented in Ankara provides a solid perspective to house production with respect to architecture, project management, real estate development and marketing. **This would suggest an overall framework to characterize the production of private living environments.**

### **1.3. Aim of the Study and Research Question**

While the concept of consumption society is mentioned, criticism is being developed by focusing on the phenomena such as architectural space, images and identities in which the idea of consumption comes to life. In a sense, the results are emphasized by the criticisms of spaces commercialized through popular culture and mass media. However, if this situation is examined through residential areas, a very dynamic architectural practice is observed together with a complex process by combining many fields professional. In order to make sense of the processes in a better way, it is necessary to analyze the production and marketing strategies of residential areas by approaching to the question along with the intrinsic reasons behind the facts, not just the facts, but also what we “*require in getting under the surface to grasp the real relationships*” (Sarantakos, 1993, pp. 38-39).

The main purpose of the thesis study is to uncover the actual conditions under which the housing production processes, which are assumed to be shaped by consumer society. In line with this goal, the thesis aims to understand the subject not only by analyzing the results, but also by questioning the housing production processes behind the products. Within the scope of the thesis study, spatial design is not seen as a mere tool that produces space only to the consumer society; on the contrary, it is emphasized that the products, concepts and identities created over the field of architecture have been considered products of consumption.

The current capital accumulation is directed to the housing sector in Turkey. That reached a significant level of consumption through the recent years. The housing production processes are shaped by a large number of actors as including spatial

designer. From this point of view, the main focus of the thesis study is: **‘to reveal the role of spatial designer in housing production and its critical effect the prevailing culture of’**. Within consumer society, the thesis in this context, three supplementary questions contain:

- How is the consumption culture in the urban space produced and promoted?
- What is the role of the consumption society in the production and consumption of space?

In order to consume the space produced, the path that to be followed by the design and marketing profession are explained. Accordingly, the third question is as follows:

- What is the role and function of spatial design in the production of residential areas in the context of consumer society?

With the question, the effect of spatial design shaped by consumption culture on the formation of modern capitalist cities and the position of planning and design is examined. In order to be able to position spatial design, the actors involved in the design processes are analyzed.

#### **1.4. Methodology of the Research**

The thesis is in the intention of analyzing the process from a practical perspective to spatial design through identifying the nested relationships in the spatial production based on the sample housing projects. In this respect, the role of spatial design, in the light of socio-spatial perspective, on consumption culture is put forward. In modern capitalist cities, the actual position of planning and design phenomena in consumer culture is examined. Planning and design that shape urban space by determining the form and content of the ‘shelter’, which is one of the basic needs of the men, is discussed. In comparison to the international examples of residential developments throughout the world. With an ongoing cultural of housing shift of meaning, the dynamics that shape the housing market and the production mechanisms are



examined, as well. Accordingly, the emerging roles and their distribution in housing production processes is analyzed in the specified context of Turkey.

In this context, three different housing projects located on the west and south-west urban development corridor of Ankara were selected for examination. Urban development has been encouraged in the region where sample project areas are located with upper-scale plans that have a direct shaping effect on the urban form. In order to understand the historical development of this situation, the upper-scale plans were analyzed and the direction of urban development was monitored. Today, in this region where intensive construction activities can be observed, residential areas with different typologies are produced and consumed rapidly by large-scale construction companies. As this situation arises, many actors from different professional disciplines are involved in housing production processes.

In order to understand the process in question, interviews are made with the actors who are in the key positions within the development of projects that would serve as a solid basis to reveal the dynamics of practices. Interviews have been carried out in the ongoing process range from the concept and image production, to the concrete production of the design form, which has been completed and has been constructed. In line with this objective, with the project management department, which usually gives the initial decision of the project, with the capital owner. Advertising and marketing activities are coordinated with the marketing department who deliver the project to the consumer and the design department that shapes the design with the design department. In other words, a total nine face-to-face discussions are made with three different professional groups who have a say in the project. Within the scope of the thesis; the interviews have been carried out with the different specializations involved in the emergence of the project. Interviews with the mentioned professional groups are discussed through their relative positions to the others. This association was made in the light of the phenomenon of consumption at the socio-spatial level, which constitutes the theoretical framework, as well.

Evaluation of the interviews is carried out by discourse analysis method in qualitative research approach. As mentioned, the particularly from the three different professional groups involved in each project are directed to the serve set of questions. The open-ended questions are presented to each professional groups and the impact of the consumerist cultural dynamics of the production processes are discussed.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **CONSUMPTION CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN SOCIETY**

#### **2.1. Birth of the Consumer Society**

The theoretical framework to be discussed in this part of the thesis study is not only a literature analysis of the study but also the backbone of the study method. The thesis study aims to analyze the emergence processes of the architectural space from the perspective within the back of the house of the work by addressing the actors involved in the production of space. As mentioned in the previous sections, marketing oriented spatial production processes are problematized by taking part in the consumption systematics in the thesis study. In this respect, it would be appropriate to first mention the processes and conditions under which the definition of consumption society emerged in cities.

With the industrialization of the 19th century in the world, a new economic and social structure emerged. Towards the end of the 20th century, the existence of another new period, also called 'post-industrial', was observed. It can be argued that any society that demonstrates the characteristics of consumer society is experiencing industrialization, but the emergence of the concept of. Consumer society begins with industrialization and continues in post-industrial societies (Featherstone, 1991). Therefore, the phenomenon of consumption society should be examined in relation to industrialization.

##### **2.1.1. Metropolis as the Domain of Consumption**

With industrialization, a city structure that differs from traditional cities has emerged. Max Weber, in his book *The Formation of the Modern City* (1986), questions the reasons of the dense population growth in the cities and concludes that the factors of this process are the forces that are primarily important with the economic and

industrial revolution. With the industrial revolution, the population of European and North American cities between 1850 and 1900 increased rapidly as a result of the flow of the working class into cities. Weber (1986) depicts this rapid population growth in cities as a result of industrialization:

*“As the effects of the industrial revolution were felt, the growth in the dimensions of the cities in the Western World was enormous. In the 1880s, the population of Prussia, for example, increased by two million. France's population increased by a million and the cities of England and Wales showed a population increase of 750,000. And by the 1890s, London, Paris had more than doubled their population by the middle of the century, and the population of Berlin had quadrupled.” (p. 14).*

The need for restructuring of the substructures and the elimination of housing deficits has emerged in cities that have so rapidly increased. As the general methods were insufficient in order to cover this requirement efficiently, smoothly and in a short time, the production techniques and the mechanized, standardized mass production understanding in the product area played an important role in the formation of the metropolis. The metropolis, which is included in a new structuring process, has become a focal point of consumption as well as production by experiencing a period of continuous structuring. Weber (1986) emphasizes that the city has become a consumer in its own right and summarizes this situation:

*“And the city itself was being manifested as the most desirable consumer. Thanks to the credit regulations of the modern industry, it was possible for a generation to build what they would pay for later generations. The city was a monster with an endless appetite for everything the productive imagination would offer.” (p. 17).*

In order to produce together with the structuring period, the cities that are concentrated in the cities also become important consumers. The increasing population density in the metropolises adds new values to mass production: *“By selling an object valued as a penny, the seller would be millionaire by selling it into millions in a city”* (Weber, 1986, p. 17). With this transformation, many theorists have started to say that modernization steps are taken. Together with modernization, the pace of change in the

social structure has increased, the fields of change have expanded and new institutions such as mass product production, commodification of the product and labor have been formed (Giddens, 1994, pp. 11-16).

### **2.1.2. Production of Consumption**

In the early stages of industrialization, the worker is only involved in the social structure as a work force. To realize the understanding of the period better, for the capitalists, the worker is defined as *“a man of the genus no different from a burdened animal”* in the sense of Taylor (2006, p. 123). The worker, who was considered as the production power in the basic sense, was never considered as a consumer. As a result of the serialization of production with Fordist production, the number of products in the market has increased intensively. As a result of this fact, it is understood that *“the worker needs to be equipped with higher tastes, an economy based on mass production requires a capitalist production as well as the organization of consumption and leisure time”* (Lasch, 2006, p. 124). In order to market the growing products, it was revealed that the workers can not only be a manufacturer but also as a consumer, and that the controlled bodies for production can be controlled and refined for consumption (Senemoğlu, 2017). From another point of view, this has become imperative for the term conditions; the mass production of commodities in a growing abundance demands a mass market to swallow up commodities (Lasch, 2006). Along with the changing market approach, a process that has survived up to the present day, in addition to intensive production, which maintains its economic importance, service-based economy has gained weight and new concepts such as globalization and privatization have emerged (Ritzer, 2007).

The increasing speed of the change in the production area and the industrial technology became limited while the productivity increased and the jobs that were handed down from one generation to the other gradually decreased. Local production has now been replaced by transnational production and the universal circulations of this production have become important. Borders are crossed, the circulation of

finance-capital is all over. This indicates a new inter-communal or inter-communal stage in which both culture and consumption play a more important role (Castells, 1998). Individuals have inevitably become indeterminate by their work, *“the role of interconnecting personal motives, social structuring and system production, once undertaken by the work, has now been transferred to consumption activity.”* (Bauman, 1999, p. 44). Therefore, the existence of a social change from the middle of the twentieth century and the existence of individuals who consume products that are not belong to themselves and in this respect, a ‘consumer society’ phenomenon began to exist.

When talking about the phenomenon of consumer society, it should not be understood that a society structure that is occupied with consumption objects and that only consumption products are overpowered and over-consumed. Bauman (1999) describes the phenomenon of consumption society by taking deeper meaning;

*“In our minds, there are things beyond the ordinary, as all members of that society consume something; all humans, moreover, all living things consume from all eternity. This is in our minds: as the society of our ancestors were the modern society at the stage of establishment and producer people in industrial era; our society is a society of consumers in the same deep and fundamental sense.”* (p.92.)

The phenomenon of consumption, which has almost become an ideology as a result of the developments in the last century, is shaped by a planned orientation by the capitalist economy, in addition to the need-based behavioral meanings such as using and spending in a simple sense, as mentioned before (Baudrillard, 1997). One of the main characteristics of this orientation is the fact that the phenomenon of consumption has become the determinant of everyday life from the position of complementary to daily life. This change is the result of the traditional consumption concept, in which needs have turned into consumption, from the middle of the 20th century to the fact that consumption has become a need for consumption (Baudrillard, 1997). In this new understanding, the products in the market have been excluded from being an item that only satisfies the physical needs, and it has been removed from the monetary values

and started to be expressed by “*cultural values*” (Simmel, 2003, p. 12). Thus, products are not only purchased to meet the natural human needs, but also because of their “*symbolic and cultural meanings*”. (Levy, 1959, p. 118).

With the sub-meanings of the consumption mentioned, the concept of consumer society has reached a level where the characters can be analyzed with the products they possess. The time spent in the market for consumption turned out to be a time spent pursuing objects rather than routine social work. Daily speeches are made about consumption in the society structure of the mentioned species. The way in which the post-modern society shapes its members is determined by “*the need to play the role of the consumer, and the example norm that society demonstrates to its members is its ability and desire to play this role.*” (Bauman, 1999, p. 40). In other words, as Baudrillard (1997) pointed out, the distance between production and consumption has been closed.

As mentioned in the previous sections, new social and economic definitions / concepts emerged as a result of the emergence of consumer society. Before referring to the production dynamics and the production processes of the space, which constitute the backbone of the thesis and which are very complex, it would be appropriate to examine the factors that give rise to the requirements for consumption in society.

### **2.1.3. The Main Motivations of Consumption**

The phenomenon of consumer society has been studied by a large number of theorists and has been explained by bridging with multiple disciplines. Each of these statements addressed the concept of consumer society from a different perspective. To briefly mention the background of the concept of consumption society, the first important studies on consumer society were done following World War II by Max Horkheimer and other theoreticians such as Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno known as Frankfurt School. The mentioned studies have a critical attitude towards emergence of mass production and similar consumption trends of the classes. However, their determinations on the phenomenon of consumption, their questions and the definitions

they put forward, such as the ‘culture’, ‘industry’, ‘aestheticization’, ‘cultural value’ and ‘way of life’ are still valid. In the same period, sociologist Henri Lefebvre, theorist Guy Debord and the Situationist International in France, and the Independent Group in England, argued that an attitude towards the consumer culture would emerge from everyday life, mass culture and popular tastes. The same understanding is observed in the work of artists such as Robert Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol in the USA, Gerhard Richter and Sigmar Polke in Germany (Foster, 2004, pp. 103-105). Theorists such as Daniel Bell, Jean Baudrillard, Frederic Jameson and Zygmunt Bauman advocate a new perspective on the mass culture and the phenomenon of consumption.

The space production processes that the thesis study is questioning go beyond simply trying to produce a space in the physical sense, but it has become an important actor of the consumption society with identity, definition, etc. of the consumption systematic. Therefore, in this section, the concepts and products related to the production of space through three different categories in the dynamics of the consumer society in the commodity-sign<sup>1</sup> (Baudrillard, 1997) will be analyzed. With this analysis, the question of ‘How does the design language, the concept of spatial identity and its definitions become important separately from designer’s role?’ has gained importance. In the production of space processes, the design language, the concept of spatial identity, the definitions are used by many different actors, sometimes as a part of marketing strategies, to determine the consumer's tendencies. This situation, which affects the process, is becoming more and more complex with the significant impact of the actors of the space production, who take part in the process. In this part of the thesis study, different perspectives are presented in order to provide an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of consumption society in order to make sense of this

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<sup>1</sup> “Baudrillard's concept of meta-indicator emphasizes the symbolic meanings in which consumption products are loaded independently of the uses of products in the consumer societies where the requirements are tried to be eliminated through the products consumed even if they are not directly related to the use of the products. With active manipulation in marketing and advertising, meta-indicators emerge as promising lifestyle with indicators and products.” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 39).



complex process. These perspectives can be generalized as in ‘economic’, ‘sociological’ and ‘psychological’ thinking (Featherstone, 1991).

#### **2.1.3.1. Economic Dimension**

The first point of view relies on the phenomenon of consumer society as economic, as mentioned in the title of *Production of Consumption* in brief. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was argued that capitalist production created new markets with the support of scientific method and Fordism and directed producers through advertising, media to be transformed into consumers (Featherstone, 1991). As mentioned earlier, the importance of Fordism is that it promotes consumption as well as mass production. It is claimed that the instrumental approach used in the production field is also used to create new consumer areas and to create new consumer profiles. Horkheimer, Marcuse and Lefebvre emphasize that ‘consumption is produced’ especially through mass media’s and advertisements. In advertising, information is conveyed to the user about the use of consumer products. But at the same time, the second kind of cultural and social meanings such as young or old, modern or traditional meaning, symbolic meanings are gained and marketed (Berger, 1986). In other words, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that a designed product is in a multi-dimensional communication with the user. Product is not only used in accordance with the needs, with the symbolic meanings that are loaded beyond the basic needs of the individual as a means of self-expression is consumed by loading meanings.

In economic terms, ‘exchange value’ and even ‘symbolic value’ are gaining importance against the value of use (Berman, 1994). The concepts of exchange value and use value are the basic categories used by capitalist society to analyze the basic structural problems in the critique of political economy (Marx, 1867).

These concepts explain the nature of the product becoming a commodity or turning into a commodity. The exchange value causes something to be sold beyond the use of a product. The symbolic value can be explained by the fact that the above mentioned products gain sub-meaning beyond the usage values.

In the words of Baudrillard, the terms ‘abundance’ and ‘wastage’ come to the fore (1997). Beyond eliminating basic needs, a consumption concept is encouraged. The concept of usage is replaced by the consumption concept. Many products are offered for consumption by advertised as diversity or the freedom to choose in the form of competition (Munari, 2008). The consumer has the freedom to choose what to consume. It cannot be claimed that it is so free to choose not to consume. The concept of instant, short-term consumption shortens the service life of the product in terms of design. In other words, the life span of products and even spaces increase, but their consumption life decreases; durability, strength and so on decrease, too. They can be more permanent, and can be used for a long time, but they are consumed as being a salable product because they are discredited as being a favorite and fashionable place. Concepts such as durability, solidity, permanence are now used only to attribute charm to the product. At this point, one of the most important impacts is built environment. Because it is acceptable to throw up a household item before the end of its life. But it is not possible to say the same thing for the built environment. Considering urbanization, the situation is particularly critical. Urban projects, that can be related as rent-oriented also ignores the necessities of the people in urban areas, are increased. Competitiveness, attractiveness for investment, brand cities, urban marketing and gentrification<sup>2</sup> occur in space production processes (Boyer, 1994).

### **2.1.3.2. Sociological Dimension**

The second point of view for the consumer society is based on sociological reasons. It can be said that the birth of humanity started with consumption, but there is an automation between the phenomena of production and consumption in the phenomenon of consumption society. In other words, the societal relationship called the consumer society distinguishes itself from the earlier periods by mass production based on automation between technological development and production consumption

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<sup>2</sup> In terms of dictionary, it means physically obsolete and worn-out neighborhoods, where real estate prices are low, therefore, property prices rise and displace older residents with richer new residents. (Derviş, Tanju, & Tanyeli, 2009).

(Şengül, 2001). The mass production format, called Fordist, characterized by tape production, has undergone significant changes. In the new structure called flexible production model, it is observed that instead of mass production, a strategy that is sensitive to consumption, takes into account a certain customer segment and demands and produces as much demand as it is demanded (Harvey, 1989). This situation does not eliminate the mass production and has a new system of social structuring. This situation is explained by Şengül (2001) in the following sentences;

*“One of the most important objectives of the strategy is to create new forms of demand at a point where mass consumption is blocked. In this way, the main target is the middle classes in the mass consumption, in which the main target is the middle classes, which are able to distinguish themselves from the other segments, in other words, to obtain and use only the products produced for these segments.” (p. 40)*

The needs transformed into habit have been replaced by variable preferences. Therefore, it is emphasized that the positioning and identity of individuals in the society is largely related to consumption habits. The concept of identity comes to the fore; the identity of the individual is determined in accordance with the products consumed. Therefore, the individual can adopt different identities at the same time and obtain new identities in a short time (Beck-Gernsheim & Beck, 2002).

While many sociologists examine the transformation of the phenomenon of consumption, they state that the meaning and function of consumption has changed considerably. In a society where individuals are defined by what they consume, their consumption habits and forms are transformed into status indicators. One of the most important features of this transformation is that the importance of a purchased product has become a descriptive element of a lifestyle rather than a value of use. Consumption products serve as a ‘social stamp’ beyond meeting the needs. The status symbols are designed and marketed to the individual with the promise of gaining identity. Thus, not only the products used are not diversified, but also the meaning of consumption is completely redefined. Şengül (2001) exemplifies this situation with the following sentences: *“People is no longer wear jeans pants but wear Levi’s. It is not also*

*important whether or not the spectacles are functional if they are Giorgio Armani”*  
(p. 40).

In the spatial response of the phenomenon of consumption, the production stages of the space questioned by the thesis work play an important role in determining the consumption identities mentioned. The design language chosen in the production processes of the space becomes a means of explaining how high the taste of the person who built the building and the buyer and at the same time underlines the economic differences in secret. Especially the neighborhood, structure and decoration preferences experienced have turned into status indicators of individuals. It can be argued that closed sites that are frequently discussed are places to gain ‘privilege’ besides ‘security’ (Sürer & Yılmaz Sayar, 2002).

This is particularly evident in the social groups in an effort to gain status. It is mentioned that in the advertisements addressed to lower income groups, the marketed product will change the person completely; in the mid-range advertising, the general air to be created by a series of products is highlighted (Berger, 1986). However, the fact that products with a status mark are inexpensive, accessible over time, ‘turns into a social corner grab’ with relatively higher social groups trying to find new products to maintain or open the distance (Featherstone, 1991). This situation is in parallel with Simmel's (2005) views on ‘Fashion Philosophy’. The situation is the same for intellectuals. Individuals who are educated and enlightened, who can be defined as a social status do not feel the desire for any product other than the products that have received the approval of their own private worlds and which carry a label of ‘exclusivity’ or ‘intellectualism’ (Adorno, 1997).

Bourdieu (1984) considers the phenomenon of social status by consuming, especially in terms of designers. From the socio-economic point of view, designers, photographers etc. fall below a certain level of income. But their appreciation, in a sense, innovative approaches, which are constantly looking for an alternative to consumption, are constantly both economically accessible and pushing themselves to

search for alternative ways to distinguish themselves from the rest of society by identifying themselves socially (Bourdieu, 1984)<sup>3</sup>. In this way, they are both an accessible and a new role model for the rest of the society, with new and different kinds of lifestyles, by creating new and different styles, fashion and spaces. In other words, they lead the society with an alternative social life space and the understanding of space that serves this social life. This lifestyle is marketed into mass production and transformed into a new kind of living space imitated.

In this sense, loft spaces<sup>4</sup> can be a good example to understand the topic. As a result of the relocation of the ports, industrial enterprises and warehouses from inner city to the periphery, all the ports and heavy industrial structures that could be considered as a kind of industrial heritage were considered to be re-evaluated as of the last quarter of the 20th century. Free-space, high ceilings, large windows and bare-structured architectural character, and their innate industrial identities, these places for work and shelter purposes, unregistered primarily by designers, artists and homeless people have been used as a result of 'low-budget initiatives'. These examples, which are the products of a marginal residence culture and which can be called the first generation loft space, aroused interest as a kind of cultural, urban and architectural phenomenon at the end of the century (Işıkkaya, 2015). In a short period of time, lofts, which differed by their spatial character, became a symbol of a bohemian life and attracted the attention of the society in a short time. The increased interest was eventually purchased by the high-profile city nobles at extremely high prices and decorated to the old owners and used by the new owners as the second-generation loft space. As a result of these activities, the loft spaces was adopted by the society. However, new neighborhoods in the in loft concept are not designed with the availability of existing loft spaces. (Jacobs, 2004).

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<sup>3</sup> This social structure by Pierre Bourdieu is described in detail in his book named as *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* within the 'Situation' and 'Posture' definitions.

<sup>4</sup> The name given to large and often open spaces on every floor of multi-stored warehouse and industrial buildings. (Işıkkaya, 2015)

### 2.1.3.3. Psychological Dimension

The third point of view depicts the phenomenon of consumption as the source of pleasure of the individual and bases it on psychological grounds. Today, while individuals work and produce, they dream about the moment they will consume. The individual, who is surrounded by many and various products, is identified with the products he is sent to. This is not a coincidence. In 2002 BBC documentary ‘The Century of the Self’ directed by Adam Curtis, the subconscious research techniques introduced by Sigmund Freud are described in detail in how psychology is utilized in the process of designing the phenomenon of consumption society by using it to identify mass demands. The starting sentences of the documentary are as follows;

*“A hundred years ago, a new theory of human nature was proposed by Sigmund Freud. He said he had discovered that ‘primitive sexual and aggressive forces hidden in the minds of every human being’. According to Sigmund Freud, ‘Man is not rational. Therefore, it cannot make rational decisions and needs help. The human being who is a slave to his instincts needs to be controlled.”*

In the mentioned documentary, it is stated that psychoanalysis became one of the most important subjects in the world and in the early 1900’s people want to be free and ‘identity’<sup>5</sup> phenomenon is supported. (Curtis, 2002). According to this, ‘the selves’ that make up the social structure are directed from outside by a pre-designed way.

Freud's nephew, Edward Bernays, was the first to use his uncle's ideas of human psychology to manipulate the masses. Accordingly, by linking mass-producing goods to unconscious desires of people, they have shown a high number of marketing figures by showing themselves to American companies for the first time how they can convince people to want things that don't need them. Together with the desire to create a desire to be considered as the main pillar of capitalism, a new political idea has been formed about the ways to control the masses. People became happy when selfish desires were satisfied, while at the same time becoming well-behaved children. Thus,

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<sup>5</sup> In the documentary film The Century of the Self, the phenomenon of identity is described as the most important element that nourishes the concept of self.

for nearly a hundred years, a new, predictable and computable human species called 'consumer' has been designed and a human model has been formed which covers the whole world and consumes only (Curtis, 2002). Accordingly, the fact that the individual establishes a parallelism with the object he / she owns is the main feature of the consumption society. This is not only a characteristic of the consumption society, but in essence it is a very basic subconscious state.

Freud (1913) described this phenomenon in detail in his book 'Totem and Taboo'. According to him, individuals tend to identify objects with their ego. This tendency is generally observed in two basic forms. As a result of being able to access the representation of an object or the value it represents by having a part of it, individuals tend to identify themselves with objects (2012).

The human behavior pattern mentioned above is still present in relations with objects. The consumption phenomenon in consumer societies has become mass and manipulative (Baudrillard, 1997). In this new form, individuality goes into mass production and the concepts of 'desire and pleasure' come to the fore. In the documentary 'The Century of the Self', the desire and pleasure to consume is indicated by the sentence; "*Bernays understood that it was possible to direct people to behave irrationally when they made a connection between their desires and feelings and products*". As a result of the transformation of objects into pleasure objects, the state of being consumed, not the products consumed, has become a means of satisfaction in itself. Because of the dynamics of consumption, the consumer should not be connected to a single product in order to consume as much as possible. Baudrillard (2008) explains this situation with the concept of in "*indicator-object*" in his book called "*System of Objects*" (p. 48). The main reason for the continuity of consumption is the message that the person will transfer to his / her environment with the consumption activity (p. 48). At the same time, an image that can be transferred to the product is purchased and the image transfer is carried out through the product.

The activities of the consumer are carried out via an object-turn indicator and it is not in the process of destroying objects. Indeed, according to Baudrillard, the so-called consumption of pure people like a box of ‘swallowing’, ‘devastation’, is the process of resembling a certain satisfaction point that should be reached. Because if consumption had something to do with the order of requirements, it should have resulted in a taste (Baudrillard, 2008): “*The end of the consumption activity cannot be talked about, because people want to consume more and more every day.*” (p. 246). Consumption in this state will never reach satisfaction, something that will not end. Because consumption corresponds to a desire in a psychological sense rather than correspond to a need. Hence, every time consumption is realized, the feeling of satisfaction is reintroduced. Individuals only act with the pleasure of consuming, the purpose and quality of the consumed product is insignificant (Adorno, 1997). For this reason, the consumption activity itself comes to life as a catharsis<sup>6</sup>.

In addition to the pleasure of consumption, consumption is presented as being happy in the consumer society, being attractive in the eyes of others (Berger, 1986). To be attractive in the eyes of others, it is necessary to have attractive products. Very irrelevant objects appear to be quite powerful when they carry emotional symbols about how one is seen by others (Curtis, 2002).

This situation is striking in the places produced today. It is common to find promotional brochures equipped with rendered images and rendered images. Today, urban space is fetishized through images, with objects and building elements that evoke evocative connotations, completely breaking away from their context and the content of the function. Fetishism can be defined as “*interest in surface appearances that conceal underlying meanings.*” (Harvey, 1989, p. 101). Planners, spatial designers, architects, etc. add fetishist meanings to the spaces and destroy the main

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<sup>6</sup> Catharsis, which means emotional discharge, is a state of relaxation of unconscious conflicts, according to psychoanalytic theory. (Cherry, 2017).



function of it; and, they feed consumer's self-created within the consumer society formed to sell them via advertisements in mass media (Adorno, 1997).

With the emphasis on the attractiveness of the spaces, the production of space processes is among the objects serving the consumer society. For this situation, the concept of 'star-architect', which is often used recently, will be a successful example. In the introduction of projects designed by Norman Foster and Partners Architecture, which has offices in 12 countries worldwide, an additional fee is required by the architecture office in the case of the use of Norman Foster's name. As a result of this situation, it can be argued that designer identity has an important role in the marketing of the product and that it emerges as a brand identity beyond the design language and serves the phenomenon of consumer society. At this point, the size and content of the relationship between the design and the shaping of the designer identity is important (Twombly, 1996).

As it is understood from the example, if the production processes of the space are examined in line with the norms of the consumer society, the space produced today is separated from the design forms and they are transformed into status indicator styles. According to Baudrillard (2008), the notion of status in the consumption society tends to overlap with the concept of increasingly simplification and level of living as a criterion for determining "*the social position of man*" (p. 236). In other words, the status within the community is chosen by the choice of living place where the definition of life will come to life. In the book 'The Condition of Postmodernity' by D. Harvey, production and selection reasons in space production processes are explained in the following sentences:

*"Product differentiation has become much more important in urban design as the dollar is pursued for the rich. With differentiated tastes and aesthetic preferences, architects and urban designers reiterate a very effective aspect of capital accumulation: this is the production and consumption of what Bourdieu (1977; 1984) calls symbolic capital. This capital can be defined as 'a collection of luxury goods, which can be the proof of the owner's taste and the degree to which he has been distinguished in society'. " (1989, p. 101).*

All these perspectives emphasize is the recognition that consumption is not a direct result of production. In particular, mass media, advertisements play an active and even manipulative role in consumption (Baudrillard, 2002). This phenomenon is described as the transformation of images and products through print and advertising into overlapping, commodity-sign. The products are loaded with symbolic meanings as well as their basic functions; they are presented to the consumer as meta-indicators in which products. The products, concepts and identities revealed as a result of space production have become meta-indicators (Baudrillard, 1997).

## **2.2. Concluding Remarks**

In the context of consumption culture discuss above, it can be argued that the urban space is reproduced as a commodity that reflects ‘tastes’, ‘life preferences’ and ‘identities’. While producing spatial design, different actors provide guidance to encourage project consumption with their professional knowledge. With this situation, the designer who produces the spatial design and the physical space carries out a lot of dialogue in the process. Other actors who want to make sure that the space will be consumed have high expectations from the spatial designer. At this point, it will be meaningful to examine the production and consumption processes of the space in the context of modern capitalism.

## CHAPTER 3

### CAPITALIST PRODUCTION OF SPACE

#### 3.1. Space Production Processes

In this part of the thesis study, it is aimed to investigate the production processes of space in parallel with the phenomenon mentioned in the previous titles. Today's space production processes emerge as a powerful element that shapes our daily lives as an extension of the consumer society. In the light of the works of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu, space production will be elaborated within the perspective of consumption society detailed in the previous chapter. While analyzing the production processes of the space, the subject content will be elaborated under the titles of production and consumption of space.

1960-70 is a period in which paradigmatic changes are experienced intensively in the discussion of space production, as will be remembered from the previous title. The majority of the discussions in this period were theoretical views of D. Harvey, M. Castells and H. Lefebvre from the Marxist tradition. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the necessity of re-evaluating the existing relations between capitalist development and space leads to the emergence of these debates in the light of Marxism. H. Lefebvre has a number of effective studies on urban and spatial problems in the relevant period. In this part of the thesis, the production processes of space will be examined in the context of H. Lefebvre's 'Production of Space' (1991). Like the leading thinkers of the period, Lefebvre acknowledges the existence of space production shaped in line with the dynamics of consumption and questions the process of production and consumption of space, that has been turned into a commodity. It would be useful to examine the general approach of H. Lefebvre on space in order to understand this phenomenon in detail.

In defining the concept of space, the physical meaning and geographical features of the space are highlighted and the social components of the space are taken into consideration as widespread views. Lefebvre (1991) defines the place: “*(social) space is (social) product*” (p. 26). According to this, he examined the physical, geographical and social dimensions of the space in a detailed way by connecting the definition of space. He describes the space as: “*Space is neither a ‘subject’ nor an ‘object’ but rather a social reality – that is to say, a set of relations and forms.*” (p. 116). According to him, the concept of space, sociology, economics, architecture, planning, literature, painting, politics are formed by feeding a large number of works. For this reason, he accepts the space as a complex phenomenon formed by contrasts. The space corresponds to a dynamic place that reflects the social and economic irregularities of daily life and where conflicts are in constant conflict. Lefebvre (1991) describes the situation in question:

*“(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder.”* (p. 73)

According to Lefebvre (1991), the concept of space in today’s society, the forms of space production, the different disciplines that work on space and the different theories produced can only be interpreted in a holistic structure. This point of view describes the working path followed in the interviews with the actors involved in the space production processes to be discussed in the following chapters.

The space production processes are defined as the social values and the meanings mentioned by Lefebvre (1991), while at the same time the cycle of the place where the space is produced and consumed as a raw material is emphasized. The place, which is a social product, incorporates all forms of production with the social, political and economic aspects of daily life. The produced space is also the designer of the new social relations that will occur. Capitalism constructs its representation in space production through a built environment. The activities that will form the space exist

as a result of the interaction between space and social relations, which are representative of capitalism. He describes the situation in question:

*“The production of space is carried out with the state's intervention, and the state naturally acts in accordance with the aims of capital, yet this production seems to answer solely to the rational requirements of communication between the various parts of society, as to those of a growth consistent with the interests of all 'users'. What actually happens is that a vicious circle is set in train which for all its circularity is an invasive force serving dominant economic interests.”* (p. 375)

Constructing the definition of space production, the following important point is also emphasized by him: Space is a ‘place’ to be produced as a product and at the same time it is a place where all kinds of production of the society takes place. First of all, the production activity takes place in the space, and the space is constantly being organized in order to make production as efficient as possible (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, the space itself is transformed into a product as a resource that increases efficiency. He (1991) describes this situation as follows:

*“Space is marked out, explored, discovered and rediscovered on a colossal scale. Its potential for being occupied, filled, peopled and transformed from top to bottom is continually on the increase: the prospect in short, is of a space being produced whose nature is nothing more than raw materials suffering gradual destruction by the techniques of production.”* (p. 334).

At this point Lefebvre (1991) draws attention to the concept of “*abstract space*”, which is one of the key concepts. It defines abstract space as the space used by the state and investors for profit, while it refers to the space used in everyday life as “*absolute space*” (p. 10). For capitalism, the value of the concrete use of space is not important, but the value of exchange is important. The concept of abstract space sees space as a means of profit and annuity, rather than the value of use as a physical parcel. According to Lefebvre (1991), the historical production, use and social values of the space do not make any sense of their own, and the values stated are important only as long as the space serves the value of exchange in the market. The space, whose physical and social dimension is ignored, is transformed into an abstract space and is

full of errors for the user. Lefebvre (1991) describes the situation in question:

*“As the underpinning of production and reproduction, abstract space generates illusions, and hence a tendency towards false consciousness, i.e. consciousness of a space at once imaginary and real.”* (p. 411).

Therefore, it can be stated that the abstract space is the dominant force for real estate and construction sectors by taking over the geography. In this research, the commodification of the space, which is one of the basic questioning subjects, takes place via abstract space. In other words, space, which is the product of capitalist accumulation strategies, is designed and marketed by creating change value.

Lefebvre (1991) uses the concept of *“Spatial Dialectic (Trialectic)”* to explain the production of space through the concept of abstract space (p. 300). Accordingly, the space should not be seen only as a product. With the physical and social contents attributed to the space, the definition of space differs mentally. The images and representations of the space produced by the designer are quantified by abstracting the space and in a sense serve as a catalyst for the production of metallized space. The definitions of physical, mental and social space come together to form the concept of space trialectic: *“The place is first about physical; natural / cosmic, secondly mental; conceptual / formal abstractions; and thirdly, social fields.”* (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 11). According to Lefebvre (1991), the dual or even triple states of space do not coincide today, especially the mental space and the physical and social space.

Lefebvre's (1991) definition of space, as stated, is in an effort to understand the space by accepting it as multi-faceted and holistic. According to him, space consists of a large number of separations and discourses. Understanding the space requires understanding the mental space and the dialectic of the physical and social space. However, as mentioned before, Lefebvre's dialectical (or even trialectic) conception does not see dual oppositions as a polarization, but rather expresses that the dilemmas are always together and defines the relationship between them as the source of productivity: *“The structure of knowledge is multiple.”* (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 10).

The definition of the trialectic in question is a key element in modern cities and plays a critical role in the urban experience of individuals. Because with industrialization “... *the disintegration of cities and the transition to the city and urban life quickly necessitated the emergence of time and space experience.*” (Hubbord, 2006, p. 12). Following the physical, mental and social space concepts mentioned in the previous section of the thesis, trialectic relations continues with the definitions of “*perceived space*”, “*representations of space*” and “*representational space*” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38-39). Places experienced by individuals in daily life; Hubbord's (2006) term, “*space experience*” (2006), Lefebvre's “*spatial practice*”, takes place exactly under “*perceived space*” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). This relationship is described by Lefebvre (1991) in the following sentences:

*“What is spatial practice under neo-capitalism? It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality ( Daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life and leisure).”* (p. 38)

However, space is not only perceived by individuals but is also transformed: “...*scientists, planners, technocrats, social engineers and a number of artists who also have a scientific side – which we can assume is the architect-, who measures, controls, uses and exploits the space.*” (Donald, 1999, p. 13). The transformation of space is “*the transformation of individual existence, of society, of power and therefore of all life. In the same way, ‘the freedom of space’ is the freedom of all other entities to create room for itself as well as for organizing it.*” (Kurtar, 2013, p. 354). The transformation of the space and all this meaning of the space is realized through the representation of space. Lefebvre (1991) explains the situation in question:

*“Representations of space, conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocrats and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions to which I shall return, towards a system of verbal signs.”* (pp. 38-39)

Representational space is a space that includes an individual's perceived space and conceptualized space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). In other words, the concept of representational space is the kind of representation that the inhabitants or users perceive through images and symbols associated with the space in question.

*“Representational space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe.”*  
(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39)

Representational space is the space where imagination seeks to change and takes credit for. In other words, the living space has the power to change the relationship types of these two spaces including the representational space, perceived space and conceived space. As it is schematized in figure 3.1, when the space is perceived by the individual, it emerges as a whole with the representational space shaped by lived space, spatial practice shaped by perceived space and conceptualized space shaped by conceived space corresponding to Lefebvre's synthesis of the trialectic of space. More clearly, spatial practice, conceptualized space and representational space concepts are related to each other and shape the individual's perception of space.

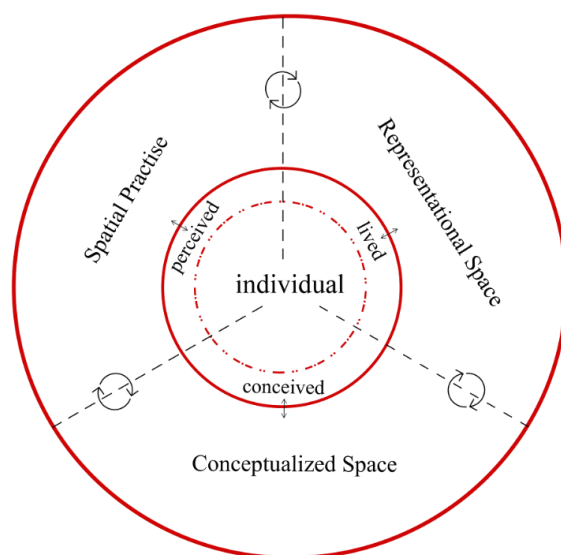


Figure 3.1. Conception of Lefebvre's Space – (Source: Ghulyan, 2017)



Lefebvre (1991) states that the modernization process has a negative impact on the formation of space by drawing attention to the concept of space and the relationship between capitalism. *“The (relative) autonomy achieved by space qua 'reality' during a long process which has occurred especially under capitalism or neo-capitalism has brought new contradictions into play.”* (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). With the affect of capitalism, representational space term is started to be defined with symbols and images. *“The representation of the lived space being discussed by Lefebvre, remained in art, literature and fantasies in capitalist societies.”* (Kitchin & Hubbard, 2004, p. 210).

In other words, the space as a physical, mental and social phenomenon has been solved (Lefebvre, 1991). With the effect of the modernization process, the definitions of mental space and physical / social space do not match. For this reason, the space separated from the social nature becomes a physical thing and begins to commodify (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). The definition of the place which started to become commodified which the thesis study is questioning is analyzed in the dynamics of post-modern consumer society by taking into consideration as a result of modernization.

### **3.2. Consumption of Space**

For a product to be commoditized, it must gain an exchange value, in other words, it can be easily bought and sold, and it must have a material return. As advocated in the thesis study, the concept of space functions as an object of consumption and it is marketed with the help of strong creative by creating a change value. The exchange value of the space is provided by concepts such as mobilization, homogenization (standardization) and decomposition.

Space mobilization can be summarized as the fact that the land has become a property that has been determined by the price per unit and can be easily bought and sold by dividing into islands and parcels (Gegeoğlu, 2014). This is due to the fact that the

space gains a change beyond the value of use<sup>7</sup>. The properties of commodities attributed to objects in the process starting from the industrial revolution are valid for the space due to the effect of modernization. However, according to Lefebvre (1991), the contradictory structure between the “*homogeneous*” and “*fractured*” character structures of the site will be observed (p. 358). According to him, the capacity of fragmentation of space is contradictory with the capacity to address the space as a result of the homogenization of the space on a global scale and the numerous ways in which they are fragmented. Lefebvre (1991) explains the contradiction in these terms:

*“Under its homogeneous aspect, space abolishes distinctions and differences, among them that between inside and outside, which tends to be reduced to the undifferentiated state of the visible-readable realm. Simultaneously, this same space is fragmented and fractured, in accordance with the demands of the division of labor and of the division of needs and functions, until a threshold of tolerability is reached or even passed in terms of exiguity of volumes, absence of links, and so on.”* (p. 355)

For this reason, it will not be correct to mention homogeneous or fragmented space definitions separately when mentioning the consumption of space. This holistic approach is emphasized in the following sentence: “*For space 'is' whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and the same time*” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356). Today, as a result of the division of the space into islands and parcels, it is not enough to disintegrate according to different usage purposes such as working and housing. Images created in the computer environment and the commodity features of the space are highlighted and marketed. The space is homogenized by dividing the space into equivalent parts, masses and volumes so that it can be easily bought and sold. For individuals, daily life begins to consist of a fractured and homogeneous space (Lefebvre, 1991). The space is also transformed by increasing the commodification

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<sup>7</sup> The concepts of ‘value of exchange’ and ‘value of use’ are fundamental concepts used by Marxism in the critique of political economy and in the analysis of the fundamental structural problems of capitalist society. These concepts explain the nature of product becoming or becoming commodity. According to Karl Marx, every product created has a use value. When the products become tradable commodities, they gain an exchange value. Exchange value causes something to be bought or sold beyond the use of a product (Berman, 1994).

value and speed with different activities it offers to differentiate from other spaces. The distance to the center, swimming pools, car parking areas, rooms overlooking the view etc. and the change value of the space is determined. The differentiation of the space by Lefebvre (1991) is indicated by the following sentences:

*“Compactness and density are a 'property' of centers; radiating out from centers, each space, each spatial interval, is a vector of constraints and a bearer of norms and 'values'.” (p. 358)*

In other words, the space is commoditized by dividing equivalent parts and attributing value to it in order to be bought and sold. The space needs to be easily dismantled and homogenized so that it can be easily bought and sold, so that the mobilization can be easily exchanged. Thus, the space, beyond the value of use is gaining change value. Space is a commodity, a product that has gained value. The images of the mass housing projects located in Ankara, which are presented in figure 3.2, illustrate this phenomenon. In the layout image of the upper image produced in the computer environment, residential areas and other social areas constitute different meta values within the project area according to their location. In the middle image, the project area was homogenized by dividing equivalent mass and volume. The spaces close to the center within the homogenizing space are marketed at higher prices as the commodity value. The public space of the project area is strengthened by being filled with leisure activities and trade uses that are presented in the lower image and which are additional to the use of housing.



Figure 3.2. Repeating mass and volumes in different positions (top) the site is replicated in the third dimension (medium) and in real life (sub) with Sinpaş Altın Oran Project Ankara – (Source: Official Web Page of the Project, 2017)

The definition of the aforementioned space has been transformed as a quality and transformed into an abstract space because it is being marketed without being produced physically. The concept of spatial practice, which is the definition of social space, has been ignored by defining the perceived space and representational space definitions highlighted by Lefebvre (1991). Separation of the space, the deletion of the differences, according to Lefebvre but can only be forced. The abstraction of space and its social provision have reductive power. *“The visual-spatial realm – which is not to be confused either with geometrical space, or with optical space, or with the space of natural immediacy – has a vast reductive power at its practical disposal.”* (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 321). Professional groups, which take an active role in the production of space, such as urbanism and architecture, are defined through the spatial designs produced by the components of the said order by aiming to establish a certain order by creating reduced abstractions. This is described by Lefebvre (1991) in the following sentences;

*“The graphics elements involved (in drawings, sections, elevations, visual tableaux with silhouettes or figures, etc.), which are familiar to architects, planners serve as reducers of the reality they claim to represent- a reality that is in any case no more than a modality of an accepted (i.e. imposed) ‘lifestyle’ in a particular type of housing (suburban villa, high-rise, etc.).” (p. 342)*

This reduction is a political situation. According to Lefebvre (1991), *“reduction in the scientific field is in the service of the political power and the state; not as ideologically, but as the areas of knowledge (savoir)”* (p. 42). For this reason, the professions and disciplines that produce the abstract space constitute the basis of the capitalist state. He (1991) emphasizes that space representations are the place of capital and expresses the space representations as follows: *“Capitalism and neo-capitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the ‘world of commodities’, its ‘logic’ and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state.”* (p. 53).

The main purpose in the content of metal stones in the previous sections is the marketing, i.e. consumption of the spaces produced. The definition of the space has gone beyond being a phenomenon where production occurs and has become the product itself. At this point, Lefebvre (1991) argues that abstract space prepares the environment for consumption and argues that spaces are separated under the headings of production and consumption. In the space concept, the most important power of capital is the space. The concept of abstract space in consumption relations explained in these terms;

*“In abstract space, it is here that desire and needs are uncoupled, then crudely cobbled back together. And this is the space where the middle classes have taken up residence and expanded – neutral, or seemingly so, on account of their social and political position midway between the bourgeoisie and the working class.”* (p. 309).

However, a search for the qualities of the space continues. Individuals, by escaping from the abstract space imposed on them; they are in the direction of ‘living space’, where they have a character with their original, local, natural and historical qualities,

and can establish a personal connection.

A new kind of space production is involved in the satisfaction of the desire to gain experience in the living space. These new types of spaces, which are attributed to simulated natural and artificial values, are far from the definition of space, and they have the distinction of being the escape places which are not interrupted for a while, rather than the places where production occurs. Individuals seek to escape from endless production processes, that is to get away from their jobs (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, leisure places are designed and supported with consumption activity.

The definition of space is distinguished in terms of production and consumption. Places such as resorts, shopping malls, amusement parks, places where non-business leisure activities take place can be listed as the main consumption places. Lefebvre (1991) explains this situation as follows: “*Tourism and leisure become major areas of investment and profitability, adding their weight to the construction sector, to property speculation, to generalized urbanization (not to mention the integration into capitalism of agriculture, production, etc.).*” (p. 356).

These ‘consumption places’ are defined as “*entertainment ghettos*” by Lefebvre (1991); artificial, synthetic and unnatural production (p. 358). Accordingly, simulations of natural life, designed historicity or cultural labels do not meet the quest for the desired quality of space. While the needs of the person can be met with objects, the desire for consumption is reinforced by means of space. Lefebvre (1991) explains this situation with the following sentences;

*“The fact is that consumption satisfies needs, and that leisure and desire, even if they are united only in a representation of space (in which everyday life is put in brackets and temporarily replaced by a different richer, simpler, and more normal life), are indeed brought into conjunction; consequently, needs and desires come into opposition with each other. Specific needs have specific objects. Desire, on the other hand, has no particular object, except for a space where it has full play: a beach, a place of festivity, the space of the dreams.”* (p. 356)

Consumption spaces remain as abstract spaces, even if they strive to satisfy the quest for quality. The spaces in question only create simulations and cannot satisfy the individual's desires to experience the space experienced (Lefebvre, 1991). As mentioned in the previous chapters of the thesis study, the tools that determine, encourage and promote the status of consumption find its place in the abstract space in question. Abstract spaces, which play a role in determining social status by dressing different activities and identities, are encouraged by consumption activity.

When the contemporary urban structure is taken into consideration, the sharp border between the description of the consumption space and the production space has been lost. Nowadays, the spaces of consumption and production are intertwined and it can easily be observed that the housing, office and entertainment venues are designed and marketed as a whole in a package. As mentioned in the previous sections, new spatial organizations are designed with the character to serve the consumer society. 'The distance between production and consumption' conceptually discussed by Baudrillard (1997) also closes in a spatial sense when modern-day cities are observed. Accordingly, individual choices are effective when choosing between the spaces created within the consumption cycle. P. Bourdieu (1984), who found the individual practices as important as social structures in the process along with the definitions of awareness and participation, emphasizes the importance of individual practices in the formation of space.

While examining individual practices within the structure of society, Bourdieu (1984) mentions three definitions; *Positions*, *Position Takings* and *Habitus* (p. 56). Accordingly, Positions refers to the level of income, professional group, age etc. of the individuals determined by social structures. Position Takings; refers to subjective preferences, tastes and tastes, which are also accepted as individual practices. Habitus, on the other hand, defines the form of an abstract living space, which varies depending on the context and the context of positions and position takings (Bourdieu, 1984). Figure 3.3 has a simplified schematic explanation of the concept of habitus belonging

to Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu (1984), the level of education is income, age, etc. objective situations such as likes, preferences, personal interests coincide and form the concept of habitus.

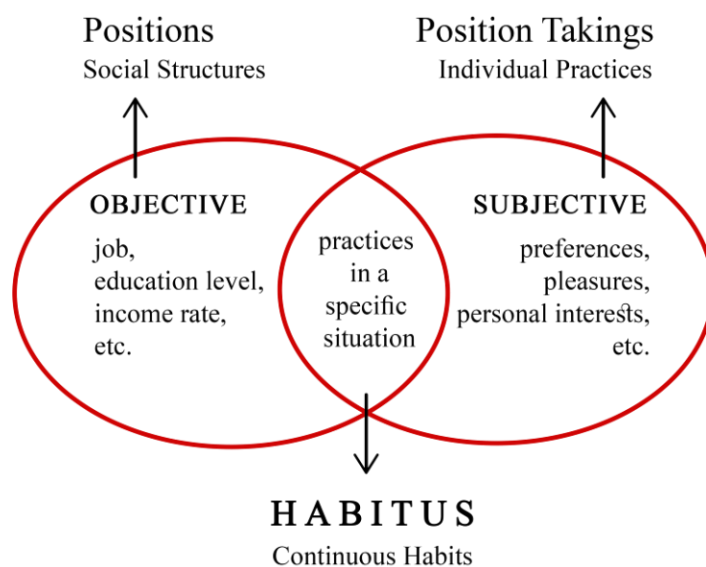


Figure 3.3. Bourdieu's (1984) Concept of 'habitus' – (After : Molloy, 2012)

In other words, the concept of habitus is like the personal maps of the individuals, depending on time and place. According to this, the overlap of the habitus of individuals is a social position determination. Figure 3.4 shows the habitus creation effect of the spatial preferences of different groups and the differentiation of these preferences in respect to each other.



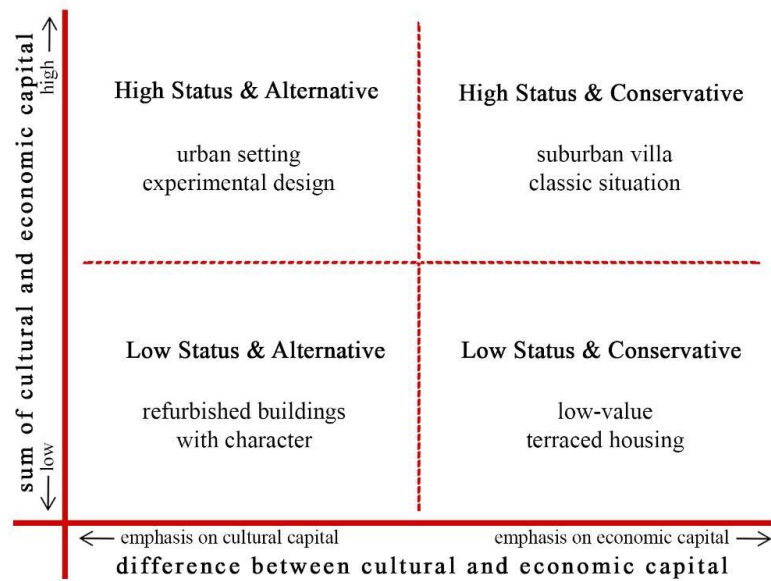


Figure 3.4. Bourdieu's Lifestyle Classification – (After: Politika, 2018)

The concept of habitus can be defined as the subjective routine life of the individual from the question of the subjective routine of life. According to this, the individual continues his / her daily practices almost unconsciously and the space within this process is the stage.

In other words, the definition of habitus refers to certain habits and indicates the position of the individual in society. Social practices, which express the social position of the person, take place in certain places; space, certain lives, experiences, in other words, social practices are both limiting and enabling (Hillier, 2005). Shopping malls, for example, are not just objects of consumption, or restaurants, entertainment venues do not simply offer their customers a good sense of entertainment. Even residential areas are now filled with much more meaning to be added to the housing need by marketing them with strong creative designed to be included in the system of consumption society. Such uses may include class, status, race, gender, etc. they are shaped by signs and symbols of social determinants (Baudrillard, 1997).

Bourdieu's (1984) approach is guiding in consumer society shaped by personal consumption preferences and tastes. Accordingly, the position of individuals in

consumption societies is determined by what they consume not by what they produce (Bauman, 1999). While defining the characteristics of the social groups that make up the society, it is the determinants of what individuals choose and consume from the pool of objects and services offered with a wide range of choices; rather than their jobs and products. Bourdieu (1990) states that, in particular, seemingly subjective consumption habits are at the core of social status, and that common subjective positions can be found in individuals who share the same objective situations. In a sense, consumption habits constitute the consumer's habitus and consumption preferences are included in the place of consumption habits.

### **3.3. Concluding Remarks**

When the previous discussions of the thesis work are interrelated, it is seen that space production and related processes cannot be dealt with separately from the consumer society dynamics. Production and consumption activities have survived to the present day from the first days of humanity. However, with the industrialization, the consumption culture, which is encouraged in order to increase the number of products circulating in the market and in order to sell the products produced, is realized through urban spaces which have been reproduced with many abstract meanings in today's conditions. It will be meaningful to maintain the discussion by examining the role of spatial design in the production of housing areas as the most commodified type of fabric space.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ROLE OF SPATIAL DESIGN IN THE CAPITALIST PRODUCTION OF SPACE: THE CASE OF HOUSING

#### 4.1. Spatial Design in Modern Capitalist City

The place, which has a direct styling effect on human life, appears to be influenced by the dominant ideologies of the period in which it was designed. With the advent of modern capitalism that emerged at the end of the 18th century and attained its current global character in the 20th century, the increasing influence of the capital class on the development of the city is observed. M. Tafuri, in his 1976 study 'Architecture and Utopia-Design and Capitalist Development', argues that modern architecture and urban space are in some form of depression for ideological reasons. The crisis in question does not originate from the "tiredness" (Tafuri, 1976, p. 41) experienced in the cities, but derives from the ideological functions in the spatial design concept. He (1976) defines this situation: "*Indeed, the crisis of modern architecture is not the result of "tiredness" or "dissipation. It is rather a crisis of the ideological function of architecture.*" (p. 181).

Spatial design processes, which have become an instrument of capitalism, are characterized by a significant dependence on the dominant ideology of the period. In the later years of industrialization, the urban structure of the working class in the urban centers was intensified and the city structure expanded. The ideological disturbances and conflicts experienced in the said period also affected the production of space in the period conditions. In order to avoid the uncertainties of the space to be produced, the aim is to develop an understanding of the urban space and architecture to be completely different from the past with the effect of modernity. Tafuri (1976) expresses his intention and wish to develop a systematic of thought towards the future

by breaking away from the time that has passed:

*“It should be stated immediately that the critical analysis of the basic principles of contemporary architectural ideology does not pretend to have any "revolutionary" aim. What is of interest here is the precise identification of those tasks which capitalist development has taken away from architecture. That is to say, what it has taken away in general from ideological prefiguration. With this, one is led almost automatically to the discovery of what may well be the "drama" of architecture today: that is, to see architecture obliged to return to pure architecture, to form without Utopia; in the best cases, to sublime uselessness.”* (p. 9)

The thought systematic of the new type can be called as ‘utopia’. The definition of utopia which is aimed at going out of the known is seen as a basic condition for the welfare of the urban society in the basic sense. In order to understand this situation, which is the main basis of modernity, CIAM<sup>8</sup> meetings held in the relevant period and ‘Towards A New Architecture’ published by famous designer Le Corbusier in 1931 will be clarified in terms of understanding relevant term.

In that period, as a result of the industrial revolution and technological standardization, modern housing projects have become more economical and have become easily accessible to everyone. As a result of modernization movements, comprehensive plan and total design approach have been developed with the idea of producing high quality living quarters by the spatial designers of the period: *“Modern life demands, and a new kind of plan, both for the house. and the city.”* (Corbusier, 1931, p. 3). Accordingly, the planning application to produce the high quality of life to be offered to the community can only be allocated in the living spaces which are isolated from industry, traffic, noise, crowds or other functions that cause chaos. Modern residences that will take place in ideal living spaces are; surrounded by clean, airy, sunny large gardens and playgrounds. On the plan, it was emphasized that the design should be

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<sup>8</sup> The Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM), or International Congresses of Modern architecture, was an organization founded in 1928 and disbanded in 1959, responsible for a series of events and congresses arranged across Europe by the most prominent architects of the time, with the objective of spreading the principles of the Modern Movement focusing in all the main domains of architecture (such as landscape, urbanism, industrial design, and many others) (Wikipedia, 2018)

designed with indented and protruding geometric forms (Corbusier, 1931). It is believed that with the modernization movement, the scale of the design outlines and the richness of the spatial design with the geometric games of the vegetation will be ensured. According to Corbusier (1931), the design exists with the returns of the function and operates as a complete and sufficient mechanism without a surplus or a machine. As a result of this situation, the realization of standard housing production should be carried out by companies with large financial resources to undertake the construction of the entire region, as is the case with a factory production, especially in the “*the city of towers*” (Corbusier, 1931, p. 54). Thanks to these companies, a large-scale, comprehensive design on a city scale can be produced by a single spatial designer. This is stated by him (1931) in these sentences:

*“Obviously we have here, as in the case of the City of Towers, a question of enterprise on a huge financial scale, capable of undertaking the construction of entire locations. A street such as this would be designed by a single architect to obtain unity, grandeur, dignity and economy.”* (p. 62)

In the relevant period, it was believed that the social and cultural structuring with spatial analysis to be developed in line with the system of thought mentioned above would have more successful results. In the mentioned period, while searching for theories in the field design and practice trials continue in one hand, the spaces continue to be produced on the other hand to respond to the dynamics of consumption. As mentioned earlier, all kinds of theoretical searches in the production of space correspond to the process of production and consumption systematics of the consumer society. Tafuri (1976) summarizes this situation especially in terms of modern architecture:

*“Being directly related to the reality of production, architecture was not only the first to accept, with complete lucidity, the consequences of its own commercialization, but was even able to put this acceptance into effect before the mechanisms and theories of political economy had furnished the instruments for such a task. Starting from its own specific problems, modern architecture as a whole had the means to create an ideological situation ready to fully*

*integrate design, at all levels, with the reorganization of production, distribution, and consumption in the new capitalist city.” (p. 48)*

The dynamism and movement arising from capitalism can be analyzed through space. As Harvey (1989) points out, the accumulation of capital on an ever-growing scale takes place in a rapidly accelerating urbanization. Depending on the increase in capital circulation; the expansion of the railway network, the opening of big boulevards to allow transportation between different regions of the city, the invention of the telephone, the industrial infrastructure developing within the city and the increasing trade volume, and the fact that the shopping centers begin to settle at the center of public life are the main factors that accelerate the capital flow. It can be stated that rapid urban expansion has been paved for the reasons given below: *“Developers could subdivide land at virtually any point, knowing that one of the new boulevards or railroad would allow the new residents to reach jobs and shopping anywhere in the city.”* (Fishman, 1946, p.16). This situation allowed to the rapid growth of urban development. The fact that urban space, which has the opportunity to spread in large areas, can be consumed and quickly transformed into capital, results in capitalism finding life through designed spaces.

In a more explicit manner, the production of space is in the pursuit of formal quests in order to transform society into the *“volunteer consumers”* of the space produced (Baudrillard, 1997, p. 61). Therefore, the designer who takes over one of the main roles in the production of space takes an important position within the modern capitalist production cycle by producing the design and producing the space for the consumer society. According to Tafuri (1976), the designer who takes the form of space into its form assumes not only a designer but also a coordinating role in the sense that first came to mind: *“If architecture is now synonymous with the organization of production, it is also true that, beyond production itself, distribution and consumption are the determining factors of the cycle. The architect is an organizer, not a designer of objects.”* (P. 125). At this point, as stated earlier, it can be said that the design phenomenon which will be created in urban space is given life

and the way of consumption and life style are shaped by designer.

In addition to the ones mentioned, the urban space, which is shaped by the concept of design, emerges as an extension of the capitalist mode of production and its socio-economic order. In other words, the search for any alternative and original designs put forward by the designer is nothing but the feeding system that operates with innovation. These alternative searches in space production processes cannot go beyond the existing political order. Within the context of the political order, the roles of space producers are defined. This is described by Tafuri (1976) in the following sentences:

*“Reflection on architecture, in as much as it is a criticism of the concrete "realized" ideology of architecture itself, cannot but go beyond this and arrive at a specifically political dimension. Only at this point—that is after having done away with any disciplinary ideology—is it permissible to take up the subject of the new roles of the technician, of the organizer of building activity, and of the planner, within the compass of the new forms of capitalist development.”*  
(p. 182)

In this case, the concept of spatial design in terms of the concept of the likes and lifestyle concepts are more clearly intertwined. Tafuri (1976) summarizes this phenomenon as *“alternative searches”, “oppositions”, even “dysfunctional and meaningless spaces”* by introducing a new use value through the developing visual communication tools, but indirectly taking place in the production-consumption cycle (p. 192). As emphasized in the previous chapters, the spaces produced today are in a state of continuous consumption, both in terms of their designs and the lifestyle they offer, just as in the concept of fashion.

The production processes of the space are shaped by the dynamics of consumption. Residential areas, which have an important place in the production of urban space, find a physical space with their planning and design decisions. According to this, analyzing residential areas production processes with the effect of capitalist transformation throughout the world will make the thesis study meaningful.

## **4.2. Planning and Design for Housing Markets: An International Perspective**

The concept of housing, which occupies an important place in the definition of urban space, is found in economics, finance, banking and advertising sectors as well as in construction and building sectors if it is examined in terms of contemporary spatial practices. The subject of sheltering, which is one of the basic vital requirements of the person, has been defined with a number of semi-meaning. The house, which has a direct effect on the individual's life, identity and sense of belonging, has now become a security value used by the capital owners for their purposes. In order to understand the meaning shift in housing areas, it is necessary to analyze the dynamics forming the housing market and the demand mechanism that enables the consumption of the produced house under two different headings.

Within the free market order, planning decisions for housing production are taken to nourish the market conditions. Depending on the dynamics of the consumer society, concepts such as cost and profitability within the free market conditions are directly determinant in the design of the space. The conditions of the period experienced by Harvey (2001) are expressed in the following sentence: *"It is one of the stamps that have been hitting our time to be commoditized and commercialized."* (p. 409). In other words, housing areas in today's world have been heavily influenced by the dynamics of the consumer society.

While the residential areas are produced throughout the world, in the direction of planning decisions, the choice of place in the city, the density of use and the spatial quality are determined. The foundation development rules and the nature of the space are laid with the strategic plans. As a result of the planning decisions, the city macro form is shaped; It provides redirects that will shape the city such as urban spines, green spaces and corridors, land use decisions, distribution and density. The upper-scale plans are prepared as long-term, for example 20 years, 25 years, and the population projection calculations for the future periods and the spatial needs of the urban population are met. Accordingly, the distribution and density of residential areas



within the city, as in other urban use decisions, are shaped by upper-scale planning decisions. In line with the planning policies, the right of use for the areas in use in the current situation can be changed to the residential area and the areas that have not been used before in the urban sense can be opened to residential use. It is aimed to open new areas to urban usage as much as possible by taking into consideration the sustainable urban development in the decisions of the upper scale planning. This situation has been the subject of debate in England for many years and is explained by Brown and Dühr (2002):

*“Concerns over housing location and quantity have been central to the debate surrounding sustainable development in Britain. Sustainability, in its simplest form, is about consuming as little as possible in the most benign locations. In housing terms, this means delivering well-designed homes at higher densities, and on brownfield land where feasible.”* (p. 29)

While the use of the area in the urban area is determined, the use of the surrounding area and the marketing conditions of the site are effective. *“Planning terms, location decisions are heavily influenced by the environmental imperative. But this has to be a very good one.”* (Carmona, Carmona, & Gallent, 2003, p. 30). As it is stated, the location chosen in the urban areas has a strategic importance for both the user and the manufacturer. Accordingly, due to high crime rates, low security, poor public transportation infrastructure, due to the proximity to industrial areas of high environmental pollution areas are not preferred in the production of sustainable housing. At this point, there is a search for planning and other space production processes in order to produce residential areas that are in a position to be desired by the urban population:

*“The phrase ‘location, location, location’ has meaning not only for estate agents and home buyers, but for anyone balancing the need to live in an attractive, safe environment, with the imperative to work, send their children to decent schools, shop and be generally mobile.”* (Carmona, Carmona, & Gallent, 2003, p. 12)

As stated, planning authorities have direct effect and shaping power on valuable land in the city. But at this point, it can be said that a balance between two opposing views

is tried to be established. As a result of the market development encouraged in line with the land use decisions determined by the planning decisions, while the land prices rise, the planning system and the distribution system of the urban development are kept under control by taking a restrictive role on the market. For an effective planning approach, there must be a balance between the planning process and the prevention of unnecessary restrictions on land use while ensuring a sufficient supply of land. This equilibrium between economic pressures and environmental and social goals is at the heart of the planning process. If the specified balance cannot be established, the urban space is oversupply or overdeveloped (Carmona, Carmona, & Gallent, 2003). As a result of the balance situation which is expected to be in the planning norms, the residential areas remain in a position between the imagined and the spatial equivalent reality: *“Housing which is produced is frequently ‘neither that which planners aim to produce nor that which a free market would prefer’.*” (Monk & Whitehead, 1999, p. 420).

However, planning with the tools does not provide a strong will to achieve these goals. As a result of planning decisions; a lot of content is shaped such as transportation, planning and investment, economic development and regeneration, land reclamation, urban management and maintenance. For this reason, planners and planning authorities are never a monopoly because of the power and resources outside their authority when making spatial decisions. (Carmona, Carmona, & Gallent, 2003). In other words, social, economic and environmental targets are tried to be realized with planning decisions in a wide angle. The most important power factor in planning is, in general terms, right to develop land. The city is structured in a spatial and social sense as a result of the planning activities of coordinating many private sector and public sector interests and activities. Along with its planning activities, the majority of public policies and private sector investment decisions are directly or indirectly involved. While public and private sector investments are organized in a spatial manner with planning decisions, wide social and environmental targets are reached by using the authority to grant and not grant construction permit. For the reasons

mentioned, planning is directly dependent on the investor actors within the free market mechanism in order to implement the plan it has set up. The situation can be explained by:

*“Local planning policy, might plan to revitalize an urban community with new housing, job opportunities and social infrastructure, but if the private sector will not invest in the area, then the plan is likely to come to nothing.”*(Carmona, Carmona, & Gallent, 2003, p. 23)

For these reasons, housing production processes started with planning are under intense pressure as a result of content such as location in the city, quality urban space production in qualitative terms and number of residential units produced in quantitative terms. According to this, the new residential areas should be designed in the right place within the city in order to attract demand within the free market mechanism, considering not only today but also future needs. In other words, as a result of sustainable and permanent design principles, it should be produced to meet the supply concerns that the market expects. The Urban Task Force, which was founded with the goal of improving urban space quality in the UK in 1999 under the leadership of the deputy prime minister, emphasized the importance of design and architecture in order to achieve the high quality spatial design in ideals: *“A commitment to quality and creativity in the way in which we design buildings, public spaces and transport networks will form the basis for the sustainable city of the future. We will need to rekindle a strong national interest in design and architecture, so that both the public and the Professional work together in the provision of a high quality urban environment.”* (p.39). Working as a guide for the planning of the UK Government, the institution in question has provided a wide range of design briefings, from sub-scale urban design decisions to urban planning plans to upper-scale strategy plans (Urban Task Force, 1999, pp. 7 - 125).

There have been changes in the typologies of the housing area in the world cities with the changing demographic structure, differentiating lifestyle choices and economic growth concerns. In addition to this, due to the reasons such as the increase in urban

population density and the decrease in the space within the city due to the location, in order to reach high quality spatial design in accordance with the planning decisions, a high density settlement concept is adopted by increasing the construction conditions in the residential areas: *“We found evidence from both local authorities and house builders that there is a market for an alternative product, built to higher density in urban areas. What is not clear is how big the market is, or whether it reflects consumer preference or consumer resources (i.e. whether the main constraint is affordability).”* (Roger Tym and Partners, 1999, p. 30)

With increasing intensity in residential areas, energy consumption, which plays an important role in the formation of sustainable urban life, decreases and the cost of providing urban services is increasing. High density, which is effective in lowering urban public transport costs, saves urban population from private vehicle dependence. Accordingly, a study in the field of environmental science in Australia emphasizes the relationship between public transportation and urban form:

*“There is a threshold density above which diverse, less automobile-based personal transport systems become viable. This threshold coincides with the density of a group of European cities such as Paris, Stockholm, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Amsterdam, all of which provide a high quality urban environment coupled with diverse and effective transport systems. These cities proved to have personal transport costs (measured in fuel consumption) that were less than one third of those in low density, North American cities.”* (Newman & Kenworthy, 1989, p. 127)

Nowadays, the demand of modern urban population in daily life is met in high density housing areas. In such areas, which provide diversity and vitality in urban spaces, more people are reached and a variety of services and services are offered. In areas where interdependent economic developments are encouraged, urban quality of life is tried to be increased through the ease of access to urban services. For this reason, the role of urban design that serves as a bridge between planning and architecture comes to the fore: *“The relationship between the house and the development layout is increasing in significance, both to improve marketing and to accommodate what is perceived to be the more detailed requirements of planning authorities.”* (Hooper &

Nicol, 1999, p. 801). The design, layout and relations of housing areas and other uses within the project area shape marketing and consumer preferences directly. Target market and profitability concept determined by housing manufacturers; just like the buyers have similar social background and appreciation, the housing areas have been standardized and it has become difficult to achieve design diversity in terms of housing areas.

However, as emphasized in the previous chapters, the planning approach, which does not take the city as a whole, is realized as a break from the holistic planning approach and has a life under the pressure of market requirements, has a decreasing effect on the quality of urban life. With the understanding of the type of planning, public benefit and urban integrity are ignored and efforts are made to produce urban rent at the maximum level possible within the boundaries of the city. It is seen that the projects, which are defined as mass housing projects with a distant understanding of the comprehensive plan and the total design approach, offer 'packed life' within its borders by establishing weak relations with the city. In a more open discourse, with the character of gated communities, the concept of holistic approach, which is one of the basic planning principles; a micro-scale urban life within its boundaries is provided. In addition to the standard housing area typology, urban design diversity is achieved in mixed-use residential area projects where the focal points of urban life and street life are imitated in order to increase the diversity of use. The residential areas, where the entrance exits are controlled, surrounded by high walls, offer a living space within the sheltered walls, which are separated from the urban scale. These indoor housing sites are trying to differentiate their inhabitants by providing detailed landscaping arrangements, technological facilities, safe environment, commercial activities and characteristic leisure activities.

The housing types of the mentioned type come up with the aim of gaining common benefits with the coming together of different sectors such as architecture, finance and construction. The gated communities, which serve a large number of sectors, began to

spread rapidly around the world towards the end of the 20th century and are presented to the consumer using various mass media. The density of residential advertisements of the mentioned type has been expressed in the following 20 years: “*Advertisements for houses and apartments in privately owned gated communities are now numerous in the property supplements of any national newspaper.*” (Blandy, Parsons, & Sheffield, 2003).

In order to be able to market the goods and commodities quickly and effectively within the market mechanisms, it is seen that they are presented with various meanings such as prestige, identity and status. According to this, the metalized residential areas are characterized by symbols designed with different contents such as life style, elitism and investment object. In a more explicit manner, the marketing of residential areas symbolized by a large number of semi-meaning within the market operation is carried out by means of selected images and meanings attributed to the house, and the perception of the product at the end user is managed.

Various visuals are prepared for the purpose of presentation of housing projects and perception management is provided for the consumers. With these visuals, the residential areas are transformed into images and become an object of desire for the urban. According to this, advertisements, which provide (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 3) both in personal and social terms, cover all places today. Via the mentioned advertisement, it provides social and psychological motives such as “*creation and reflection of self-perception*”, “*symbolizing individual power and status*”, “*social integration and individual diversity*” (Millan & Reynolds, 2014, p. 552). As a result of this control, the actors serving the construction sector are trying to construct a physical way by describing the person's lifestyle.

*“Builders and developers know the importance of a home. ‘They never build houses, they build homes’, and they align both layout and design and related communication and symbolic values with various purchasers’ income levels.”* (Rapoport, 1969, p. 132).

It can be said that in addition to the physical structure, the social structure has been constructed in a sense by the directions carried out by the actors involved in housing production. Symbols and images are designed on the residential areas in the advertisements in which the norms and preferences of the society are reflected. According to this study, it has been determined that residential advertisements can be classified as “*prestige*”, “*landscape*”, “*heritage*” themes (Maruani & Amit-Cohen, 2013). In addition to the aforementioned study, Lawson (2013) stated that the housing promotions in China differed from the promotions in Australia, Europe and North America. Consumer content is reached by using convincing communication practice together with ad content and prestige sub-texts with an emphasis on individual and social identities. The presentation of housing evolving from the traditional structure in the definition of the city in spatial, economic and political terms:

*“The issue of gated community is one of the challenging subjects in recent urban studies. Design and technological innovation make standard perceptions of gated communities which effects on increase of ‘privatism’ and eradicate the traditional form of community ties in neighborhoods, community and unity.”* (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2010, p. 47)



*Figure 4.1.* A bird's eye view of privatized residential areas, the Buenos Aires, Argentina – (Source: Caselli, 2016)

It can be said that there is a disintegration within the society with the privatism phenomenon in the residential areas. Living in residential areas, which are controlled by spatial barriers in physical context, are a new element of identity produced for a privileged audience. The space between the two sides, including the inside and outside of the wall that crosses the boundary of the residential area, arises through the urban space. Covered streets designed for urban use only in sheltered walls, privatized pedestrian roads, landscaping arrangements and the provision of a specific sector-specific service sector nurture this divergence (Millan & Reynolds, 2014). The distinction that can be easily observed in the social structure of various world countries can be summarized as follows: *“Gated residential areas can create a symbolic barrier between residents and non-residents by emphasizing social differences between the two groups. ‘The other’ – considered as the one who lives in the surrounding area – might be underestimated or thought of as potentially dangerous”* (Low, 2003, p. 62).



*Figure 4.2.* High density housing blocks with a specialized landscaped area (right) and organically developing residential areas (left) - (Source: Mail Online, 2016)

In a sense, new types of residential areas that create social-spatial polarization directly affect urban fabric and spatial relations. High-density mass housing projects, designed as a closed site with streets surrounded by walls, closed spaces, and special public spaces, affect the permeability of urban space in a negative way and serve for the



monopolization of public uses. These mass-housing sites, in a more explicit way, emerge as “*consumer goods produced by the real estate industry*” and contradict the basic values of the urban planning approach. (Le Goix, 2003, p. 2).

Today, residential areas have become urban spaces shaped by market processes as the result of the city management's failure to develop policies on social equality and social justice. The residential areas, which are managed by the market mechanisms in which a large number of actors play a role, are presented to consumers with different identities in order to differentiate from their similar ones. The scale of Turkey said the situation in the world is a very different position from the other practical. The historical development of residential areas in order to understand the situation in Turkey which claimed the scale of the task and examine the changing role of the actors in the production process will be on-site venue.

#### **4.3. Production of Housing in Turkey: Actors and Relations**

As in all over the world, housing is one of the basic rights of people in our country. The official acknowledgment of this situation took place in the mid-twentieth century, a period that can be considered a very late period. In Turkey, the state with the 1960 economic, social and cultural processes in housing production targets of the development plan prepared by the State Planning Organization is emphasized in order to determine periodically. Accordingly, in the First Five-Year Development Plan published for the first time in 1963, the following statements are used for housing production:

*“It is expected that 20.3 percent of total investments will be allocated to housing construction and a large part of this will be made by the private sector. This ratio is determined by taking into account the effect of lowering the rate of increase in total housing investments. The measures to be taken in order to ensure that these investments are directed to social housing instead of luxury housing and thus to make more housing units with the same money have taken place in the housing sector.” (p. 137)*

With the mentioned development plan, the problems identified and the results of the analysis are presented. In the title of residential areas, it was stated that the housing areas of the period did not meet the requirements in terms of quality and number, lack of review and research, lack of standards, lack of a well-thought-out land use distribution, and lack of hosting policy. It was warned that the social unbalances would occur if the investments in urban space were directed to luxury residences and there were no preventive measures. (DPT, 1963, p. 437). When the Seventh Five-Year Development Plan was published (1995), it can be observed that the mentioned problems have not been solved in spite of the 32 years that passed, but on the contrary it has been observed to increase its effect on the urban areas. According to this:

*“In the cities, the necessary importance and priority has not been given to the planning activities, as a result of which the problem of sharing urban rent in unplanned and illegal ways has increased, the infrastructure and transportation problems in the big cities have been aggravated and the slum areas have expanded.” (DPT, 1995, p. 137)*

In this part of the thesis, it has been examined that shelter problematic which has a different character each time through the history of the Turkish Republic and the relationships between the actors of housing production, methods and the effects on the urban space. For this purpose, in this section, spatial transformation and changing social perception of the house together with its side meanings will be discussed. Especially the post-1980 period's radical changes in the housing production in Turkey is aimed to be understood by analyzing cyclical transformation. The new actors involved in the housing production process, new forms of housing presentation and the role of spatial designer in the process will be discussed. The focus is on how the processes that bring about the sheltering environments used today work, who are the actors, and the relationship between the residential areas and the city. Accordingly, in order to examine the current and transformed approaches from the time period starting with the proclamation of the Republic, the periodic categories made in the planning literature are based. In this context, the periodic analysis carried out by Tekeli (1998: 1-24), Şengül (2001: 61-94) and Eraydın (2017: 1-11) reveals the basic framework in

the changing planning approaches in the context of housing.

#### **4.3.1. Early Republican Period (1923-1950)**

The time period between the foundation of Turkish Republic and the end of World War II is devoted to the period of reconstruction of the urban space worn in the War of Independence. During the period in question, the most important agenda topics are the reconstruction of war-torn cities for the state and the opportunity to provide accommodation for its citizens. Under the conditions of the period, housing production and urban space production are controlled by the state itself, which is in the position of both producer and investor. However, there are not many houses produced for high density use in the period until the 1930s; rather than new housing production, it is often aimed to reuse existing houses. Between 1925 and 1934, the houses produced by the state were mostly used by the public institutions in the new capital Ankara for the use of state employees (Tankut, 1993).

Even though the state tried to solve the planning and housing problem by various laws until the 1930s, the state did not play an active role in housing production because of lack of state organization and lack of adequate capital (Sey, 1998). The distribution of the housing practices in the city is controlled by the zoning plans and the planning practices are audited by the approval mechanism at the level of the Council of Ministers' Decision and the city councils which are responsible for carrying out the development works. Erasing traces of war and laying the foundations of the modern Turkish Republic in order to numerous cities and spatial designers have been invited to plan competitions were held. The works of famous designers such as Carl Christoph Lörcher, Hermann Jansen and Clemens Holzmeister were found in various cities of the country, mainly in the capital Ankara.

In the said period, housing practices are progressing on the basis of individual dwellings or apartments, which are generally produced for individual uses. The housing applications of the mentioned type are built by the income groups that can be

the owner of the land and the owner of the land is involved in the housing production processes as financier and implementer. In addition to residential areas with low density, garden and detached houses, the apartments are mainly built in urban centers and are built with individual production just like in private houses. The residential areas designed for the use of the landowner can also be rented by persons with regular income streams, such as civil servants. There are land owners in the housing producer and housing investor positions in the relevant period (Koca, 2015).

It can easily be said that the role of the architect is great when designing the space in the residential areas produced by the individual. The owner of the land, who wants to acquire housing for his personal use, uses the expertise of the architect to produce the structure. The building, which is designed in line with the planning decisions of the parcel where the residential area will be located, is being constructed with bilateral meetings conducted by the property owner and the architect and there is no state contribution. In other words, *“In the Republican Period, sheltering is not considered as a social problem throughout the country; individuals tried to meet their housing needs with their own efforts.”* (Çoban, 2012, p. 78). In this period, in the housing areas produced in the planned areas, all the details of the area were produced and inspected by the designer (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3. Images of residential areas built for state employees in the 1940s - (Source: Chamber of Architects, Arkitekt Database, 2014)

In the 1940s, with the development of the institutional organization of the state, efforts to acquire housing for its employees come to the forefront. The innovations such as the fact that Mortgage Bank supported the construction of housing for state employees and the Social Security Institution established in 1945 started to give housing loans with the condition of cooperating, changed the forms of housing and affected the forms of housing (Şenyapılı, 1978). The headings of urban planning and housing production through these institutions have become one of the issues of interest to the state. Co-operatives have started to be established with the help of public aid in the mix of urban demand and increase in housing demand. In the form of this housing presentation, the manufacturer and investor are not the state but the private sector, but the functioning or financing of the housing production processes are actively supported by public institutions.

In the early years of the establishment, housing cooperatives served state employees who had a regular income demanding housing, and from the mid-1940s on the creation of housing cooperatives in Anatolia for low-income people (Tekeli, 2009). The attitude of the architect in the production process of the housing cooperatives varies according to the individual housing production. If the views and discourses of the architects of the period are examined, it can be observed that the society is in the forefront of the society by keeping the public interest in the foreground. The principle of urban design on the period is *“to build a beautiful residential architecture that can solve the problems of the people by way of design”*, which protects the habits, basic culture and traditions of the individual who will use the house and also benefit from new science and techniques, (Ünsal, 1939, p. 61). The cooperative houses produced are valued on the basis of user-specific, original design nourished by the values of the environment and culture. Towards the 1950s, architects can be said to be distancing from local values by being influenced by western modernism (Sey, 1998). The establishment of a new state and the discourses of creating contemporary and modern built environments overlap with each other, so that the houses began to be read through the values of modern architecture.

#### **4.3.2. Liberal Period (1950-1980)**

The end of the World War II and Ownership Law are two major factors that play a major role in changing housing production and presentation formats in Turkey. The first of these is the depletion of agricultural production as a result of mechanization and industrialization which is effective all over the world with the end of the war period. The mechanization in agriculture left the agricultural worker living in Anatolia unemployed and caused the population to migrate to urban centers. With this situation, there was a sudden and big increase in the city center population. While the population increase in cities was 20,1% between 1940-1950, it increased by fourfold to 80,2% between 1950-1960 (Keleş, 1978).

Due to the lack of any housing production other than the houses produced for the workers and civil servants, or due to insufficient housing, there was a housing problem for the new urban residents who came to the city after the migration and had no regular income. In the face of sudden and rapid population growth, housing production and presentation forms remained inadequate and the concept of a new residential building, the shantytown concept (Şenyapılı, 1978). This new type of housing presentation, which mostly serves the lower income group, which does not have a regular income, is the shanty houses, which are financed by the user at the beginning and which have been implemented by the user. Settled illegally in the land of the city, these dwellings, which were produced for use only, rapidly multiplied and formed slums. Even though more than one law was removed by the state for the expanding shantytowns, the shanty law was introduced in 1966 and the definition of the shanty house was directly used in official records and the ones that could be used in the current situation were justified (Tekeli, 2009).

In order to reduce the implementation of the slums in the city, in 1953, the implementation of the Law on Encouraging Building Construction has increased the demand for residential buildings (Tekeli, 2009). With the law, it was proposed that the empty lands in the authority of municipalities should be given to individuals who do

not have housing. However, this law has not been able to provide any solution for the lower income group to acquire housing, instead it has paved the way for the production of apartment buildings built for migrants from the village to the city or for the middle income groups living in the city (Şenyapılı, 1978).



*Figure 4.4.* Residential Site Examples; Türksan Buildings, Etiler, Istanbul (Upper Image) and Bagkur Social Insurance Building Cooperative, Ortakoy, Istanbul (Sub Image) - (Source: Chamber of Architects, Arkitekt Database, 2014)

The second factor that plays a major role in changes of housing production and presentation formats in Turkey at 1965 was Flat Ownership Law. This law enables to right holders to have separate prior to the construction of the building. Since it is possible to sell a unit, constructors could obtain the required capital to construction. With the said law, the production of apartments by cooperatives or by private sector

entrepreneurs has started to spread (Tekeli, 2009). The land owner who cannot build an apartment on his own land with the increase in construction costs during this period, carries out a construction activity by giving a certain part of the structure to be made on the land to the investor. In this way, build-sell apartments where private sector entrepreneurs built a certain part of it belonged to the entrepreneur and the other part belonged to the land owner (Şenyapılı, 1978). With the Cooperatives Act, which entered into force in 1969, the private sector investor who buys land in the city walls in a similar manner as the building-sell method, provides housing with regular payments every month by producing houses through cooperatives, and can produce more housing units compared to the old layout apartment production (Yırtıcı, 2010). In this way, the apartment buildings, which are implemented as single blocks, have evolved into large-scale settlements where a block was formed by repeating them in the process.

During the relevant period, the relationship between the house – the spatial designer and the employer has not changed in the period until the announced Flat Ownership Law, and the housing designs with traditional approach have been replaced by the reproduction of imported styles and international style (Tekeli, 2009). The fact that housing production has shifted from the state to the private sector manufacturer and become salable in units after the Flat Ownership Law has caused the housing to be seen as an object that will bring profit. The housing presentation forms produced in the process from the declaration of the Republic until 1965, have gained meaning over the value of use of the space, after the Flat Ownership Law, the market is found in the exchange rate (Tekeli, 2009). The first period housing areas, which are available through the value of use, are structures that the facade, form designs and landscape arrangements have gained importance due to both planning the interior space and considering it as a prestige element in order to meet the needs of the owner. Due to the urgency to solve the need for housing after intensive migration from rural to urban centers and the fact that housing started to be considered as a unit after the condominium, housing areas have become the result of production processes based on



rent. In the residential areas, which have become a commodity bought and sold in the first period housing areas, the floor plans where the apartments in the building are positioned and the plans of the structure that the structure establishes with the environment have become more and more replicated each year.

With the mentioned legal arrangements, new forms of housing presentation and the introduction of new actors, the rate of urbanization has increased compared to the previous period. Unplanned and in some cases also illegal production of residential areas that live in cities has led to unplanned development of cities. In this period, it can be said that the city development which have been concentrated in urban centers, cannot be found in the city centers, where there are unpredictable shanty settlements on the one hand.

Apart from a limited number of micro-scale planning and inspections, the state has not been able to make adequate moves to meet the housing demand resulting from intense migration. Due to the limited resources of the state, the spatial projects which should be designed in such a way as to accommodate the new urban inhabitants of different income and need groups and at the same time to design the direction and form of development of the city could not be produced during this period.

#### **4.3.3. Neo-Liberal Period (1980-2000)**

In 1973, the capitalist world economies entered a deep-rooted crisis after the sudden rise of oil prices. In this situation, developing countries such as Turkey, which holds the industrialization policy has affected the dependent raw materials abroad at short notice (Turel, 1989, p. 137). The global economic crisis, as in all physical productions, has also had an impact on the production of space. In this period when national economies began to integrate with each other, the financial sector became more dominant than all forms of production, including physical production. Turkey is also experienced a similar situation in the economic and financial market conditions in order to capture developments on the approach that holds everything was exhibited

(Boratav, 1990). As a result of the liberalization policies adopted by the state administration and the laws regulated by private property in the cities, it can be said that some public rights are taken over by the private sector. The impact of the state on housing production is in line with the market mechanism, and the state supports the development of capital and market economy rather than a production in public interest, especially in housing applications.

In the period in question, local governments have developed various methods to build their own resources and to carry out capital transfers from outside. In 1985, Turkey, Reconstruction Law has entered into force, this law and other changes in the authority of local governments caused that urban planning decisions such as the planning approval and spatial formation, were transferred to the municipal authority. In addition to the changes about local governments, two Mass Housing Laws were enacted in 1981 and 1984, and the establishment of the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ), which will carry out this law, started to organize the construction of state housing projects (Türel, 1989). The central government continued to produce houses with cooperatives by working together with local administrations, and also produced mass housing for the middle-income group, where Mortgage Bank is the financier and investor (Tekeli, 2009). The gaps between the squatter areas in the periphery and the apartment areas in the city center were filled with mass housing applications. The mass housing practices have become widespread with various laws issued and the slum areas within the expanding urban centers have become the focus of urban rent.

By the 1990s, with the growth of the capital invested by the investor, multi-partner investors such as real estate investment trusts started to play an active role in housing production and changes in their housing presentation patterns compared to previous periods. Large-scale mass housing projects, which can be observed in a great number of practices during this period, were carried out by demolishing old apartments or slums in the city center, or by high densities in the area where there was no urban texture in the urban wall. In addition to individual productions such as build-sell

apartments in the city center, it is seen that large-scale public housing applications have been implemented by combining the parcels of slum or apartment buildings and changing the zoning rights by local governments.

#### **4.3.4. Post-Neo Liberal Period (2000-2019)**

In the 2000s, economic and financial fluctuations were frequently experienced in the world. These years can be defined by the discussions on the definition of changing ‘neoliberalism’ and ‘beyond neoliberalism’ as “*Post-Neoliberalism*” (Eraydın, 2017, p. 10). New institutional arrangements for adaptation to the conditions of economic crisis, increasing interest of the state for the real estate market and the intervention of the state in urban development due to the commodification of urban lands in order to finance economic growth intensified. As a result of these, neo-liberal approach has changed the development of housing in Turkey. In the previous period, large-scale, inward-looking housing projects, which shifted from the city center towards the periphery, moved back to the city center under the name of ‘urban transformation’. The concept of urban transformation directly affected housing production with different laws which added new actors to the process of urban space production. Legal regulations have been aimed at determining the powers and responsibilities among the actors who will create the spatial environment rather than regulating the public interest and sociological development (Eraydın & Altay, 2011).

In the said period, the local authorities authorized to make and change the zoning plan are trying to obtain more rent than the spatial areas in their responsibilities by trying to attract capital groups into their jurisdictions. The zoning rights of the two parcels located side by side as a result of the zoning changes on the basis of parcels made for the purpose of serving the capital groups that will generally invest in the region may be completely different. District municipalities, metropolitan municipalities and municipal affiliates are also called urban transformation in the city center (Geray, 2011); In the peripheries of the city, they establish large-scale satellite cities and

produce houses that will serve the users of various socioeconomic groups (Taşçı, 2013).

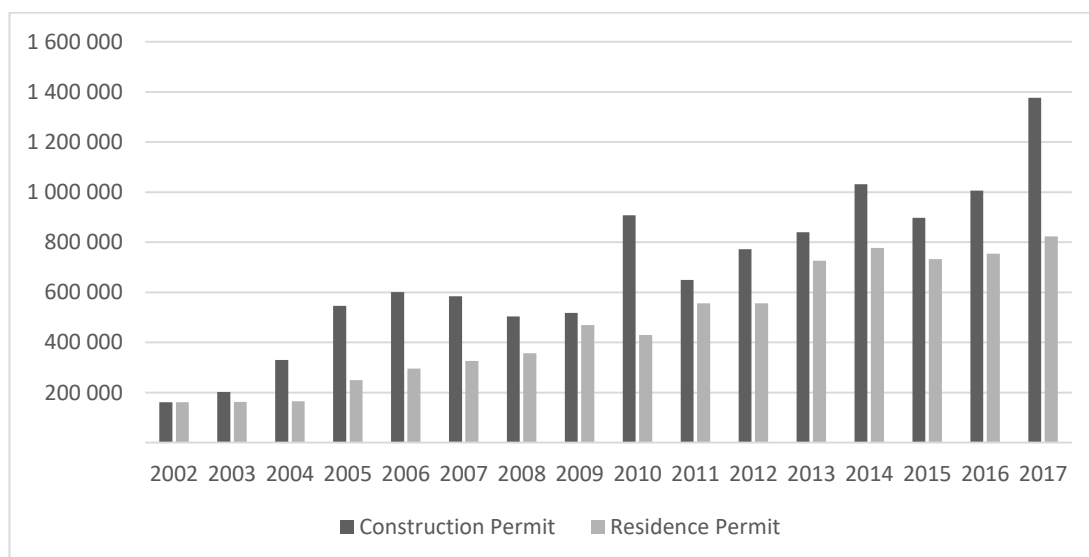
TOKİ, which was established for the purpose of controlling the mass housing production by the government, is another leading actor in the mass housing production after 2000. The institution established for the purpose of producing housing for the lower and middle-income groups and supporting the housing co-operatives (Geray, 2011, p. 132), has undergone a change in management with various laws. After 2004, TOKİ was able to make planning and urban design decisions that would directly affect the formation of space on public land allocated to the administration. TOKİ has taken part in the tasks of using all the treasury land for housing production, establishing companies related to the housing, partnering with existing companies, granting individual and mass housing loans, crediting urban transformation projects, making or making housing and social reinforcement applications. In this way, TOKİ has become a direct actor in the housing sector and has a large share of housing production. The drastic change in TOKİ and the increase in institutional power in housing production can be explained by the following sentences: “*The luxury residences produced by TOKİ are justified by earning income for the social housing to be built. However, the fact that only a quarter of the total housing produced by TOKİ is for lower income groups indicates that the housing projects realized by TOKİ on state land are for profit.*” (Cantürk, 2016, p. 47).

With the law on transformation of areas under disaster risk in 2012, TOKİ has been authorized to carry out renewal projects in the whole country by using the ‘risk’ argument. Together with TOKİ, local administrations, private sector investors through urban transformation, or partnerships with both actors have become able to produce large scale housing projects by accessing the formative power on urban space (Koca, 2015). The decisions taken by the TOKİ directly operating under the Prime Ministry between the public administrations are not inspected by any other institution. In other words, the administration in question works as a top management mechanism, which

carries out the applications to be made on public lands with nearly 500 contractors (Geray, 2011, p. 140).

As a result of the distribution of authority within the law articles and public institutions, the flow of capital within the national economy is provided through urban space. Residential area projects with increasing density every year are equipped with a large number of identities and presented to consumers. This situation can be observed with construction permit statistics based on the number of apartments over the construction and housing sector (Table 4.1). Accordingly, as of 2017, the construction permit is close to 1.4 million. After construction permit, the number of apartments in which residence permits were completed and the number of residences received is around 824,000. The fact that the construction permit is almost twice the residence permit shows that the housing stocks have increased. In 2004, it can be observed that housing stocks are continuously accumulated and transferred to the present day with the excess of construction permits which can be clearly seen.

Table 4.1. *Distribution of construction permit and residence permit by years according to number of flats - (Source: TUIK, 2018)*



As it can be seen, the high number of housing units has an important position in the national economic activities. Housing production in Turkey is quite different

typologies in the city takes place. In this context, gated housing settlements, which provide security and landscaping arrangements, mostly inward, offer urban needs in their own right and do not establish contact with the environment, are in high demand. The main purpose of the implementation of this kind of projects for the housing producers is to be able to respond to the investments quickly and to turn into capital for the new projects to be produced. With this approach, the competitiveness discussions in the private sector, which have become more and more intense in the present day, started to show itself through project-oriented initiatives (Eraydın & Altay, 2011).

Housing presentation forms can be divided into various classes within the relevant period. The first of these is the high density housing areas formed by the repetition of blocks with a single floor plan design, which is mostly away from the city center produced by TOKİ under the social housing title. For these types of housing, it is usually the public who owns the land and the manufacturer of the spatial design. While designing a space in the residential areas of this type, it is aimed to obtain the maximum number of housing units with the construction based on the high building typology allowed within the scope of planning decisions within the limited area without any specific design concerns (Figure 4.5).



*Figure 4.5. Mass Housing Samples (From left to Right) Bahçeşehir II. Stage (İstanbul) and Konutkent II. Stage (Ankara) - (Source: Chamber of Architects, Wow Turkey, 2015)*

The second residential presentation is the housing projects developed in the city center as a result of urban regeneration practices. For these types of housing, usually the owner of the land may be the public, legal person or private sector, as well as the producer of spatial design is the private sector. The example project in the figure 4.6, the land owner is public and the spatial production is produced by the private sector. Projects that consist of mixed-use settlements and multi-storey residences are the applications where housing units and services, trade and cultural functions that serve the whole city are designed together (Görgülü & Sinem, 2009). This type of settlements, which are unearthed with innovative and original design, are marketed as a capital gain tool for its investors. Considering the rent to be obtained from the next hand change, the upper income group, which considers the home as an investment tool, has been opened to consumption. Therefore, it is important that the investment has an easily convertible character.



*Figure 4.6. Next Level, Ankara - (Source: Arkiv, 2014)*

Another form of housing presentation is the multi-stored residences designed in a single-block form compared to mixed-use buildings (Yüksel & Akbulut, 2009). Structures rising in the vertical direction near the city center are designed in such a way that they are composed of many residential units by keeping small square meters due to their location in narrow areas. The area in which the residential area is located is generally placed in an incompatible manner with the surrounding urban fabric and silhouette.



*Figure 4.7. Portakal Çiçeği Residence, Ankara - (Source: Arkitera, 2015)*

The example project in the figure 4.7, spatial design produced by the private sector owning the project land also. The other example project, the figure 4.8, the land owner is the public and the spatial design is produced by the private sector.



*Figure 4.8. Kumru Ankara, Ankara - (Source: Kumru Ankara Official Web Page, 2017 )*



In the city center or in its periphery, the urban transformation area was announced and the closed housing applications realized in the urban islands formed by combining the evacuated parcels with the decision of the Council of Ministers and the metropolitan municipality; and it is another form of housing production. In this type of housing presentation, multi-stored residences, residential groups formed by repeating blocks and detached house groups are housing. The housing, service, trade and cultural functions needed by urban life find space in these residential projects, where almost a micro-scale urban life was designed. Landscaping areas, squares and walkways with street view are included in the project. Settlements developed with large financial institutions and investment partnerships find places in cities as huge residential sites where entrance exits are provided with security control and are controlled by walls, unlike other forms of housing presentation. In the figure 4.9, the land owner is the public and the spatial design is produced by the private sector.



*Figure 4.9.* Sinpaş Altınoran Residential Center (Ankara) which has the largest urban regeneration area where Ankara Municipality is a shareholder – (Source: Sinpaş Altınoran Web Page, 2018)

As a result, the fact that all these new actors started to be designed on urban parts by increasing the density of the dwellings and the country's economy almost worked on construction activities directly affected the development of the cities. The planning decisions of many different institutions with parcel planning approach, which was rooted in 1980s, undermined the development of cities as a whole in a holistic form. Planning decisions for mixed-use settlements where different trade and service units are designed together with housing units mostly lose the integrity of planning in urban scale. With this planning approach, instead of creating urban backbones, creating partnerships and integrating urban parts, a planning and design process is created, which serves to privatize and consume the public common space. While producing housing projects in the relevant period, in terms of land ownership and production of spatial design; it can be summarized under actor groups such as public-public, public-private sector, private sector and private sector. In addition to the variability for actors involved in spatial production stages, the residential areas which are constantly changing and transforming in the city where the scale of the investor and the housing presentation are increasing in scale compared to the previous periods make the city's macro form (Eraydın & Altay, 2011).

In order to increase the consumption of housing projects and to encourage consumption in cities, as mentioned in the previous sections of the thesis study, the consumer society is not present in the other residential areas, but by the characteristics of difference in which is one of the basic norms of the consumption society. In other words, the housing areas are different than the previous periods, and it has been transformed into a kind of urban investment tool that needs to be produced beyond the necessity of accommodation and rents. Housing areas are now a commodity which is intended to be consumed faster rather than a concept that is valued in the process of creation and architecture. The transformative power experienced in the housing areas and the culture of consumption have diversified the actors involved in the production of space and necessitated taking a position according to the new values in the spatial design process.

#### **4.4. Planners and Designers in the Production of Housing in Turkey: A Critical Reflection**

The urban area is the result of the planned space-planned space dialectics (Lefebvre, 1991). There is always a contrast between the other discourse, the living space and the planned space. Which elements will be preserved in this contrast relationship; the issues to be eliminated in the period of the ruling ideology prevailing in the period in question and are determined by the political preferences put forward in this direction (Keskinok, 2012).

As it is known, urban space content is determined as a result of long-term planning approaches with regional scale. Plans and spatial regulations that will determine the area of movement in spatial design are included in the process as the sub-scale implementation zoning plans which will determine the spatial construction conditions from the upper scale plans are reached. In line with the policies determined, the authorities may change in terms of legislation and regulations and the role distribution in space production is redefined.

In order to quickly solve the urbanization problem from past periods in Turkey, numerous institutions in central and local state organizations have gained the authority to approve plans in different periods. The number of institutions authorized to carry out physical plans has increased since 1980, in order to reflect the professional knowledge and experience of each institution in its own field of expertise to the place in line with its own corporate goals and strategies (Ersoy, 2011). As a result of the plans prepared for different purposes, capital flow planning decisions are directed through urban space. The country's economy has been tried to be kept alive by encouraging housing consumption through the zoned areas, which have been exaggerated especially in big cities. This situation is defined by Keskinok(2012): *"Surplus of land production, whether capital orientation or not, is the product of government ideology in the middle of the 1980s and it caused that regional urban development strategies fully made with the market power in Turkish Cities."* (p. 108)

In the production of residential areas, a process in which many actors, including planners, architects and other design groups, are involved. In our country, the location, density, land use options, square meters of construction, the height and the relation criteria to be established by the city will be determined by the plans in various scales by the planners. Planning decisions in which holistic approaches are observed at higher scales may lose the holistic approach due to changes in lower scale plans. With a clearer statement, while the totality and sharp stance can be observed in the upper scale plans in our country, urbanization is being directed by the plan modifications on the basis of parcels, even many of which are not integrated on the urban parts in the spatial development plans. This situation exposes the development of urban space, which is tried to be guided by zoning plans and changes, with intense rent expectation pressures:

*"It is seen that the applied economic policies in Turkey causes that the value provided by industrial investments falls behind the profit provided by city's structure and big capital goes towards the real estate sector." (Tekeli, 2009, p. 96)*

The production of spatial rent in question is living with property relations on the urban space (Günay, 1999). Accordingly, as a result of the planning decisions, the building islands are designed on the urban space and the parcel geometry is formed by the parceling application and the distribution of the two-dimensional property within the mentioned island. The construction area and conditions determined in line with planning decisions and the construction of the third dimension are carried out and new property textures are produced on the urban space. The material structure of the space produced by establishing interrelated relations between the planning-design-architecture trio together with the property textures in question is formed.

Today in Turkey, as a result of joint work of planning and architecture disciplines, just as in other urban spaces in residential areas are being commoditized. These two professional groups are working in harmony in order to tolerate the material value of the space by moving away from the consciousness of protecting the public right. The

flamboyant, different and powerful projects, which were designed by urban planners and projected by architects, caused the planning and architecture disciplines became the means of the process. Large-scale urban projects are implemented on the areas where ownership is monopolized by cooperation between these professional groups and the capital is flowing through urban space (Baş, 2006). By means of a more open discourse, it is attempted to differentiate within the city by using the creative and ambitious design language of architecture on the space where design power has been extended by getting rid of the restrictive effect of ownership.

In the areas where the freedom of design in question is achieved with the plan modifications carried out on the parcel scale, the projects which are developed not as compatible with the urban dwelling texture but rather from the housing and other urban tissues are the parts of the houses which are independent from the integrated urban development. Today's results indicated in the status of Turkey, rather than each building is designed as compatible with each other in the island city, which is produced in residential areas, which all in their physical and social aspects fragmented. This situation creates a professional crisis for both planners and architects. “*As fragmentation and parts grow, the autonomy of design (and therefore of architects) is expanding, architectural products come to the forefront in the social sphere, but it is even more impossible for the city to be the subject of (design) as a whole.*” (Baş, 2006, p. 12).

According to this, it can be said that planners and architects occupy a professional position. Planners make decisions under the pressure of countless actors as owners and investors. Planners who open a playground eye to architects with approved development plans endeavor to control the distribution of urban areas under heavy urban rent pressure. As already emphasized, planning decisions made by the central administration organizations or the local municipalities, which have the authority to approve the plan in our country, have been rendering service to the purpose of continuously creating new urban rent areas in the city. While pre-determined

residential areas are produced with the tendencies imposed by the market, it is aimed to produce more precious parcels through plans. In our country, there is no legal mechanism by which this situation can be evaluated and kept under control. This situation emphasized by Çalışkan (2015) for the 2023 Ankara Capital Master Plan reveals a general character of planning in our country:

*“Although the plan has a distinctive stance on the upper scale, it does not have an instrument that can lead to the construction of the lower parts of the city form. It was the most unfortunate of the plan that there was no management power with the will to control physical development by transforming upper-scale strategies into design principles at lower scale, even by using the existing zoning control tools behind the plan.” (p. 275).*

As emphasized in the thesis study, the planning of land use decisions made by the planning law such as commerce & housing area and urban service area are made by planners in the city. As a result of planning decisions, the new housing investor can be a financial institution, a construction company, an investment partnership formed by the merger of various companies or a real estate investment trust that is publicly traded. The architect who will meet the planning decisions with the space is a professional group that the institutional and organized investors apply to their professional knowledge. This is a challenging factor for the architect and designer group who design the space by establishing a dialogue with some kind of investor, not by those who will live in the housing sector. The housing structure, which should be designed by the architect, according to the needs and requirements of the user or the owner, is designed on the basis of optimum figures calculated by the investor for maximum profit today or general acceptances in the market. In other words, *“...the architect's responsibility is not to design a house in line with the wishes and needs of the user, but to design a capital acquisition for the investor.”* (Koca, 2015, p. 29). The position of the architect turned into an image consultant from a professional who designed a space and had a one-to-one relationship with his/her user. In fact, sometimes the image that is tried to be created can be created directly through the architect himself and his recognition.

Nowadays, investor firms are the strongest companies in the residential areas that are produced in large scale. In order to ensure the return of the capital in a fast and accurate manner, the investor companies possess marketing, project management, design departments in their internal order. The lifestyle and architectural values that are offered in order to differentiate from the market's peers are often emphasized through advertisements in which the city is brought innovation. In order to create the definition of innovation, creativity enters the circuit and a process organized by more marketing units is established. The designer or the architectural group is to implement the space and lifestyle where marketing is sloganized. Spatial designers are at risk of losing their leading position in the organization.



*Figure 4.10.* An image from the movie, *Le mani sulla città* (Hands on the City) - (Source: Intramovies, 1963)

As described in the film *Hands on the City* (1963) which tells the story of the actors involved in the formation of urban space through residential areas, the housing area projects, which are suppressed by the capital owners and organized by mainly urban planners and architects, have become the dominant factors that characterize today's cities.





## CHAPTER 5

### ACTUAL ROLE OF SPATIAL DESIGNERS IN HOUSING: A CRITICAL REVIEW ON ANKARA, TURKEY

#### 5.1. Housing Production in Ankara: The Current State of the Art

Today, with a population of approximately 5.5 million, Ankara is the second most populous city after Istanbul and is a metropolis where the transformation of national scale planning activities can be directly observed. In the city, which hosted the first housing structures in modern sense, public buildings such as ministries, general directorates, civil servant housing, administrative centers, factories and housing estates occupied large areas for many years. As a result of the spatial reflections of changing sovereign ideologies in the country administration, Capital City has been exposed to many planning approaches of very different qualities by taking the share of changes in national planning approach. Especially after the announcement of the decision to move public banks and financial institutions whose headquarters are located in Ankara to Istanbul within the scope of Istanbul Finance Center (IFC) Project after 2000, Ankara started to become trivial in terms of capital circulation (Zengel & Deneri, 2007). With the related period, it can be seen that many plans were amended in the capital after the 2000s and intensive housing production was realized.

The number of luxury residential areas has increased in the last 20 years with the daily consumption activity areas that will serve the dense population of civil servants and students and capital typologies that support the consumption culture. In other words, the value obtained with the increasing housing production in Ankara has doubled every year. According to TUIK data, based on completely or partially completed new buildings and additional buildings, in 2002, a registered housing area of 4.3 million m<sup>2</sup> was obtained in Ankara with a value of TL 1.06 billion; In 2018, 11.8 million m<sup>2</sup>

licensed housing was produced and 17.6 billion TL was obtained. In other words, the housing problem has evolved into a different dimension with different urbanization practices that find spaces throughout the city, and construction activity areas have been created by using planning and design tools in order to gain high rent through space.

Housing problem in Ankara urbanization has been popular since the day it was founded. In this part of the study, the typologies of housing found in today's Ankara will be analyzed in order to evaluate the housing production processes that can be observed shaped by consumption culture in the case of Ankara, in addition to the actors involved in the house production and the network of relations detailed in the previous section. In this way, the study reveals the changes in community preferences and hence the housing supply by revealing the typologies of housing in Ankara. This change process was realized with high-scale planning activities based on approximately one century of history after the proclamation of the Republic. In this context, the high-scale planning activities shaping the urban space will be analyzed within the perspective of Çalışkan's (2015, pp. 263-293) periodical analysis titled 'Ankara Housing Structure Morphology in Respect to Planning and Design Audition' and '1/25000 scaled 2023 Ankara Nazım Master Plan – Plan Explanation Report' which was prepared by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality with the decision no. 2007/2035. With the direct shaping effect of urban space, changing approaches in planning activities and thus changing housing typologies are aimed. This approach is based on seven separate master plans that shape the city in order to classify the residential areas found in the capital Ankara. The relationship between housing typology and planning activities is expressed by Çalışkan (2015) as follows: *“Each master plan basically responds to the dominant housing production types of that period. Even if it does not direct, or rather does not determine it, they have prepared the basis for the formation of the original morphologies of the period with the data it receives”* (p. 264). While planning a kind of housing formation shaped in the scope of planning activities, it is aimed to analyze the factors that shape Ankara's current housing production.

Process that began with the intention of re-edition of Ankara after Proclamation of Republic's started with the Lörcher Plan (Figure 5.1, left) which is the first planning activity of Turkish Republic. The plan in question has made the basic usage decisions regarding Kızılay and the Ulus environment, which are today's centers of the city (Cengizkan, 1998, p. 34). It has decided to develop a residential area on the axis starting from Ulus which is the old city center and extending in the direction of Kızılay-Sıhhiye as the new city center. Through the relevant plan, important decisions have been taken in terms of shaping the city macro form, and in the direction of development in the south direction of the city.

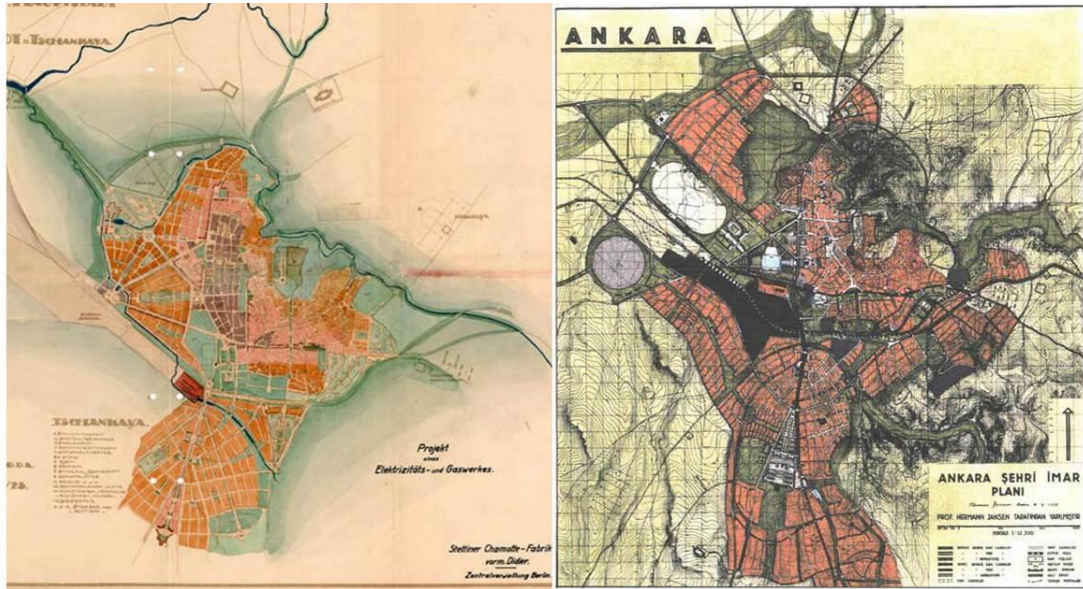


Figure 5.1. The Jansen Plan encompassing the Lörcher Plan (Left) to design radiant halls in down city centers (Right) – (Source: Goethe-Institute Ankara, 2010)

The Jansen Plan (Figure 5.1, right), which won the international planning competition for the capital city Ankara, has been added to the Lörcher Plan and was used to take planning decisions to strengthen the urban development on the north-south (Atatürk Boulevard) line by adding the city to the ends of the east-west (Talatpaşa Boulevard) section in order to continue the expanding process in south axis.. The plan, which did not intervene much in the old city center, envisaged a strong axis in the north-south direction and positioned the parliamentary and ministerial structures and designed

housing areas for civil servants in this part of the city. On the east-west axis, he designed the workers' quarters and positioned the residential areas on specific spines. In a sense, the first steps of planned housing development have been taken with the Jansen Plan, which is inclusive and inclusive of the Lörcher Plan. Under the influence of the-garden-city concept with the green area axis spreading throughout the city, a separate dormitory type was developed and with low density urban texture typology was designed. Most of these housing areas have been renovated and transformed in the process extending to the present day.

By the middle of the 20th century, as in the rest of the world, the capital Ankara was under intense pressure from the rural migrant population. In the related period, the urban space could not be controlled due to inadequate sanctions by the planning decisions and the ‘slum phenomenon’ spread rapidly on the urban wall. The capital, which was guided by planned urban development up to this period and became the “pioneer of the movement of modernity”, became a paved city with the interpretation of Tekeli (1976, p. 16). In order to regain the uncontrolled development of urban space in Ankara, Yücel-Uybadin Plan came into force in 1957.

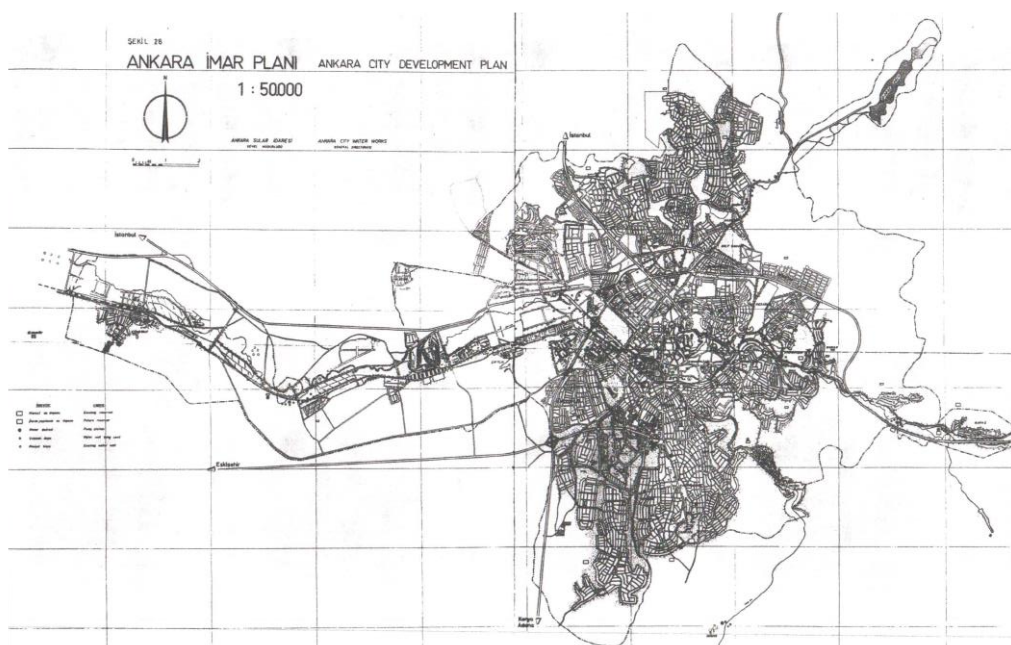


Figure 5.2. Yücel-Uybadin Plan (1957) - (Source: 2023 Master Plan of Ankara Documentation, 2007)

During the relevant period, the tendency of shanty housing in areas outside the municipal area of responsibility has encompassed the city in almost every aspect and has encircled the urban settlements in an organic way. The planned and controlled urbanization of the capital city of Ankara in this period, ‘oil stain’ began to expand with the growing city macro form. The plan aims to introduce an integrated urban macro form that integrates the existing slum areas, planned old urban settlements and newly planned urban development areas (Figure 5.2). During the planning period, due to the lack of implementation mechanisms to have a strong impact on the city, the slum areas did not regulate in structural terms. These areas, which are valued in the city with the improvement of zoning plans and urban regeneration implementations that begin in the following periods, will be the stage where the capital-oriented projects predominantly located.



*Figure 5.3. Yücel-Uybadin Plan shaped by the development of the Küçükkesat neighborhood islands (left) and the typology of the housing produced in the relevant period (right) – (Source: Bing Satellite Image, 2019; Çalışkan’s personal archive, 2004)*

In order to accommodate the sudden rising urban population with the intense migration experienced during the period, large areas were allocated as residential development zones. These areas were arranged in the form of elongated building islands with the concern of obtaining the maximum residential residence area that can be observed in today's Ankara (Figure 5.3). This situation is detailed by Çalışkan (2015) in the following sentences: *“This plan, which determines the islands and its*

*session at the level of two-dimensional schema, has transferred the formations of the islands to their parcel plans and the typical building islands emerged from the apartments we see today.”* (p. 269). The residence areas of the residential buildings within the produced islands are defined by the distances drawn inward from the outer border of the parcel. The typology of the building, which consists of 4 to 10 stored flats with discrete order, constitutes the residential texture of today's Ankara. The buildings that complete their lives within the housing arrangement which allow the formation of common areas within the island in a limited way are constantly renewed.

As a result of the intense migration in Ankara, there has not been sufficient implementation to ensure the control of land use again. In the previous period planning approach, slum areas covering large areas have been defined as ‘irregular housing areas’ and no models and searches have been carried out to regulate them (ABB, 2007, p. 64). For this reason, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau, which was established under the Ministry of Development and Settlement with the decision of the Council of Ministers in 1970s, implemented the Ankara 1990 Master Plan which is a metropolitan scale planning study for the first time in the history of the country (Figure 5.4). This plan character is explained by Tekeli (1976) in the following sentences: *“The Ankara 1990 Master Plan is a new understanding of planning in which detailed planning studies are conducted in the light of a directional frame that can be called a structure plan rather than a development plan experience”* (pp. 4-5).



*Figure 5.4.* 1990 Ankara Nazım City Plan (1970) – (Source: 2023 Master Plan of Ankara Documentation, 2007)

The main function of the plan was to take Ankara urban development out of the ‘bowl’ where it is located topographically and to attract it in the western corridor, the only direction where it can develop. During this period, a strong corridor and sub-centers consisting of large industrial zones and residential areas were designed in the western direction of the city and urban development was directed. In terms of usage of these sub-centers, residential areas have been produced in a typology where different and common uses can be observed compared to previous periods. Thin and long-form building islands, which were found in the previous planning periods, expanded in the housing development areas and reached a size that could serve the use of housing estates (Figure 5.5).



*Figure 5.5. Housing islands (left) and cooperative sites' typology produced in relevant period – (Source: Bing Satellite Image, 2019; Çalışkan's personal archive, 2004)*

As in current names; Housing islands in Batıkent, Eryaman and Sincan regions; consists of semi-discrete-detached houses and apartment buildings (Figure 5.6) located on enlarged building islands compared to the previous period. These housing areas, which have been implemented by cooperatives, can be produced with medium-dense apartment buildings or densely detached dwellings that are used in sites that do not interact with each other, away from a holistic urban life.



*Figure 5.6. Housing islands (left) which was produced with 1990 Ankara Master City Plan and high rise buildings' typology produced in relevant period – (Source: Bing Satellite Image, 2019; Çalışkan's personal archive, 2004)*

The master plan period, which was officially approved in 1982 and implemented strategic urban practices for the Capital, is of critical importance for our country's planning history. As emphasized in the previous chapters of the study, the successive zoning amnesty laws, which were issued by the dominant ideology shaped by political



concerns for the regulation of shanty areas, increased with the local government and public institutions authorized to make planning decisions and increased rent pressures on urban space. Along with these factors, numerous plan modifications and plan revisions have begun; the holistic planning approach and its accuracy have started to be abandoned. The concepts of speculation and rent over the sub-parts of the city began to intensify with the relevant period<sup>9</sup>. With the mentioned developments, the planning phenomenon has been reduced to the means of rent acquisition and distribution via fragmented plans by moving away from the high-scale holistic planning certainty in capital city Ankara.

Although urban planning and housing density have been tried to be controlled by past planning practices, Capital City Ankara is concentrated mainly in the 'bowl' due to its topographic location. Due to the increasing population and housing density in urban settlements, meteorological lift-off conditions of the city have started to deteriorate every year. For these reasons, the 2015 Structural Plan 'was prepared by the Middle East Technical University in 1986, which includes a transportation master plan and urban development decisions that will come to life with this plan. The 2015 Structural Plan Chart, which forms the subway line of the period and introduces the ways of organizing public transportation within the city; the main focal points developing along the corridors provided a spatial urban development model supported by green spaces (Figure 5.7).

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<sup>9</sup> The period specified in 1/25000 scaled 2023 Ankara Nazım Master Plan – Plan Explanation Report which entered into force in 2007, is explained with the following sentences: *“In this period in which urban rent and land speculation were more effective in shaping urban space than ever before and local governments started to use urban rent as the main determinant in governing the city, urban rent started to be used as the basic argument for ‘boss-man’ relations.”*(p.66).

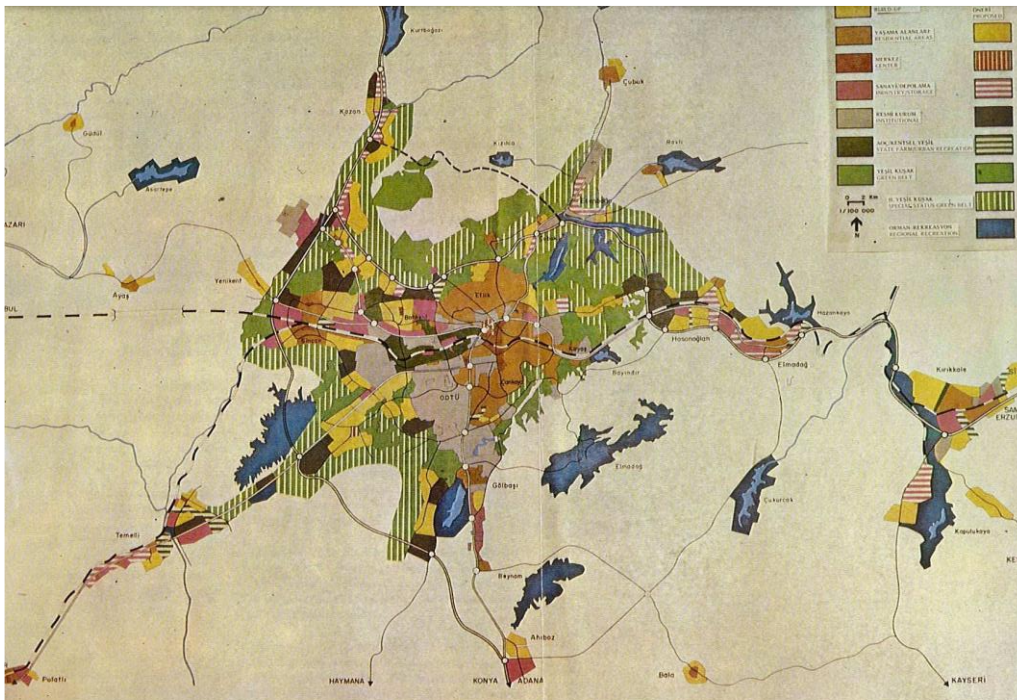


Figure 5.7. The ‘structural plan’ based on 2015, which decentralized urban development,’ out of the bowl and supported it with green openings on the corridors’ – (Source: 2023 Master Plan of Ankara Documentation, 2007)

Considering the irregular housing development in the capital Ankara from the previous periods, the green gaps needed by the city were designed especially on the radial corridors on the west and south-west axes of the city. In this way, the plan foresees that the residential areas will be arranged along the corridors with the green wings in order to recover the irregular and disorganized urbanization of Ankara. These green gaps, which are one of the important decisions of the plan designed with a decentralized urban development approach, have become the focus of speculation and uncontrolled urban sprawl as a result of the implementations carried out by different institutions authorized to approve the plan over time. In other words, since there was no determination and administrative force can realize the decentralization envisaged by the plan, speculative land mobilization occurred between the urban development corridors and the green open spaces. The land use balances predicted by the plan scheme have started to deteriorate and the rent pressure and expectation of the housing market has been felt intensively on the green areas.

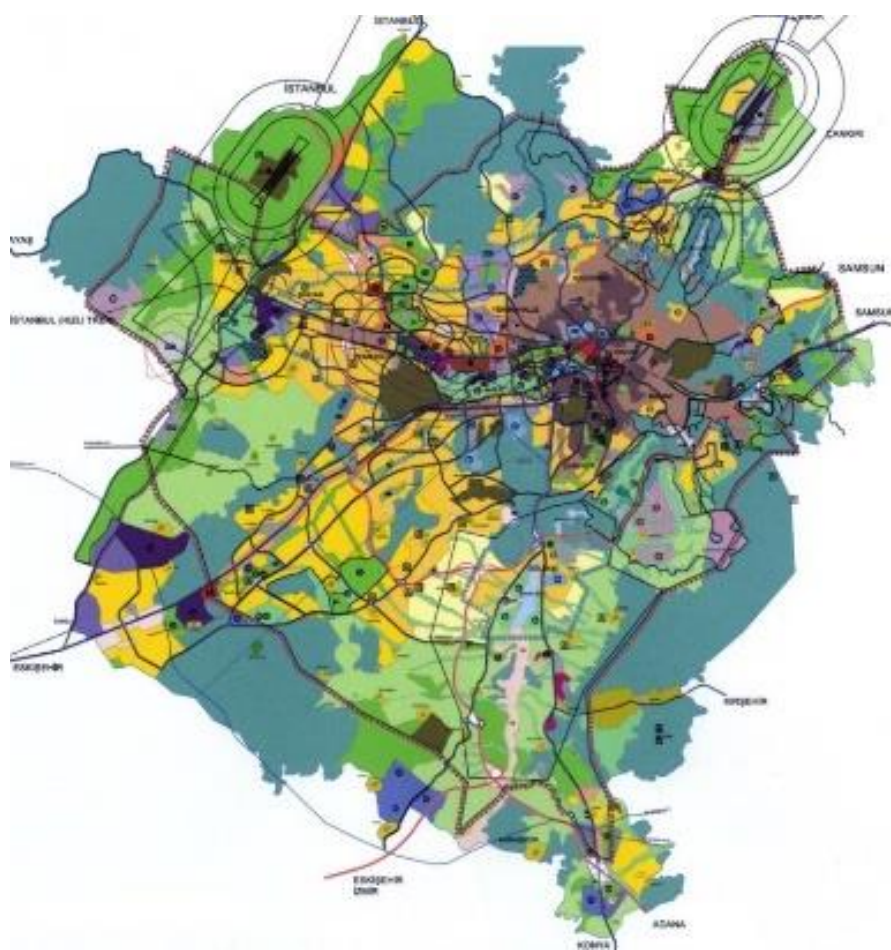
In the period extending from the relevant period to the present day, especially in the region between Eskişehir and Konya road, the density of housing has increased with each passing year and nowadays, it has become the area where the housing projects oriented towards the use of upper income group are found mainly. The mixed typology of buildings constructed by large-scale construction firms in areas that can be considered as urban walls emerged with this period (Çalışkan, 2015). These dwellings are in the form of a site surrounded by walls, as observed in the north-west direction of the city, and they have special landscaping arrangements and common areas for the use of residents (Figure 5.8). Unlike the residential areas located in the north-west direction of the city, the residential areas, which were designed and implemented by the contractor firm, are in the typology of a residential texture that lives within its borders without the concern of integration with its environment. With the mentioned planning period and previous planning decisions, housing development was encouraged in the north-west and south-west directions of the city.



*Figure 5.8.* Residential islands (left) with the pattern of closed housing sites and the typology of high-rise housing produced in the relevant period (right) – (Source: Yandex Satellite Image, 2019; Çalışkan's personal archive, 2004)

By the end of the 1990s, although the Ankara Master Plan for the year 2025 was finalized and presented for approval, it could not be officially approved due to disagreements between the institutions authorized to approve the plan. This plan is a high scale planning study in which the new planning understanding that has been dominant since the 1990s can be realized. Accordingly, the intention of urban

development along the corridor envisaged for the scattered urban development problem identified in the 2015 structural plan scheme; the plan was broken. Urban openings were closed by combining prescribed urban development areas on the corridors. Although the population growth rate slows down and the existing housing stock is sufficient to meet the requirements, it expands large areas to residential use with an exaggerated population projection (Eceral & Uğurlar, 2018). The plan, that spread the city away from the concept of holistic urban development with its decisions, distributes and intensifies spatially the western and south-west corridors of the city; it also encouraged the fringe of the region by meeting the speculative zoning expectations of the previous period (Figure 5.9).



*Figure 5.9. 2025 Ankara Master Plan (1998), where housing development areas are predominantly located in the south-west direction - (Source: 2023 Master Plan of Ankara Documentation, 2007)*

As a result of the mentioned planning approach, the building islands, which can be seen in the previous period, do not relate to their environment and are volumetric in vertical direction, are the dominant house typology in the related planning period. In the period in question, TOKİ, whose authority has been increased in the formative level of urban space, has realized many public housing projects separated from the city center with the fringed city macro-form. The mentioned project areas can be located quite far from the city center; it can also be produced by means of rehabilitation zoning plans and plan modifications, which have been put into practice in order to regulate the slum areas in the city center.

The housing islands that do not have any tendency to produce urban texture by mass housing applications far from the city center are located on the land which can be considered as rural area. The residential areas, which are designed to accelerate and encourage urban development in the city wall, establish a very low level of relationship with the city. In addition, the existing islands within the boundaries of the project area are in a morphology away from spatial organization that can relate to each other (Figure 5.10).



*Figure 5.10.* TOKİ's housing project developed in the western corridor of Ankara (left) and the dominant housing typology produced by TOKİ (right) – (Source: Yandex Satellite Image, 2019; Mapio, 2016)

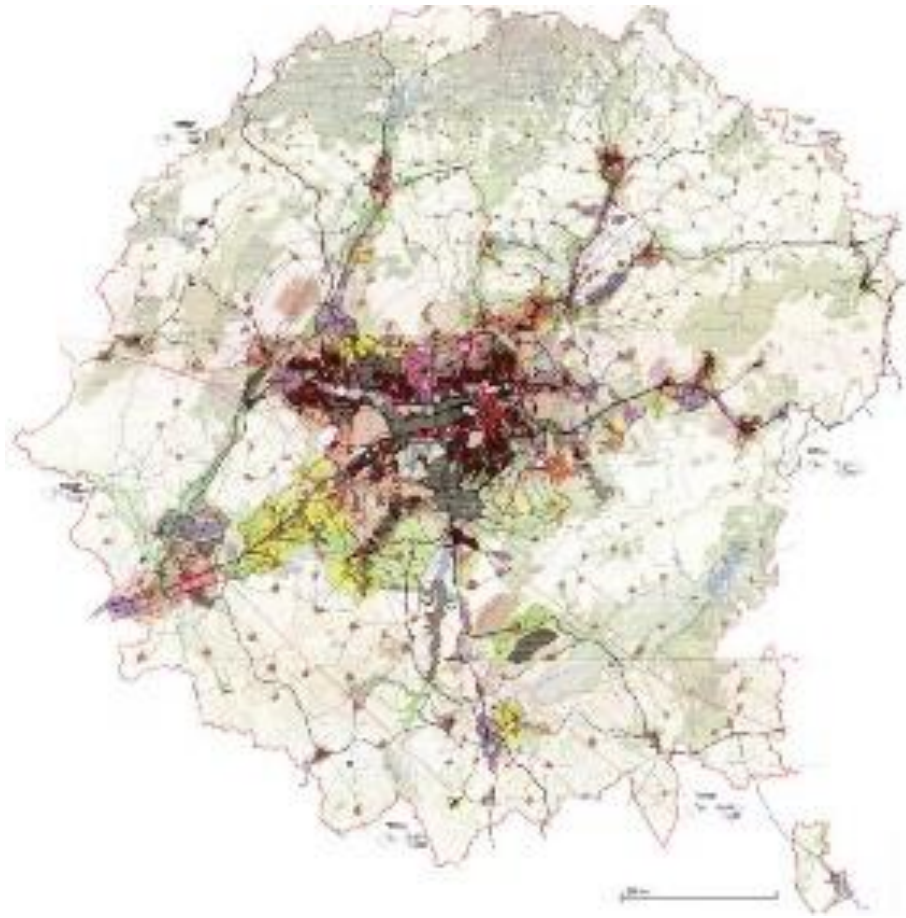
In parallel with the rapid wall development, it is observed that with the improvement plans and plan modifications implemented in the city center, the slum areas which have been continuing from previous periods have been transformed into zoned

housing areas. Residential areas included in planned urbanization; urban development areas where different urban textures coexist. Especially the residential areas located in the south-west and west directions of the city have become sheltered housing sites where the density of the entrance and exit is controlled. The housing areas, which are designed to be isolated from their surroundings in large building blocks, do not form an urban scale texture (Figure 5.11).



*Figure 5.11.* Residential areas (left) and hybrid housing typology produced in the relevant period (right) – (Source: Yandex Satellite Image, 2019; Çalışkan’s personal archive, 2008)

The most recent top-scale plan in the capital planning history is the 1/25000 scale 2023 Capital City Master Plan, which became official in 2007. In Ankara, where there was no officially approved master plan due to the high-scale plan canceled in the previous period, urban development became the most important capital production tool of the real estate market by directing it with sub-scale fragmentation planning activities in line with the land speculations. With this plan, a holistic structure of the city is defined and efforts are made to control the fragmented urban development of the period. For this purpose, the sub-scale implementation plans, which have surplus housing development areas, are revised and concentrated on certain axes, mainly on the south-west axis, where steps were taken in previous periods (Figure 5.12).



*Figure 5.12. 1/25000 Scale 2023 Capital City Master Plan, which determines urbanization boundaries and directs the housing development areas (2007) - (Source: 2023 Master Plan of Ankara Documentation, 2007)*

In the said plan period, due to the lack of a management approach to reflect the high-scale plan strategies to the design and structuring decisions at the lower scale and to supervise the physical development, the fabric of the housing, which does not comply with the high-scale strategic predictions throughout the city, continued to be produced with the sub-scale planning activities. According to this, the housing estates, which were sheltered in the large building island, was the common typology of the previous period, and did not relate to its environment, took on a mixed use form on the large building islands by including the trade and service sectors with the related planning period.

Residential areas, which are generally located in urban development areas as in the previous period's housing production, are in the typology of mass-housing projects where detailed landscape arrangements, large commercial units and service sector are presented together in the street view (Figure 5.13).



Figure 5.13. View of the project and the surrounding where a mini city life is tried to fit into building islands (right) – (Source: Bing Satellite Image, 2019; EmlakNews, 2017)

The super-block form, which is reproduced in a way that is incompatible with the surrounding residential fabric and where trade, office and residential uses are presented together within its borders, is another dominant typology of the period. Both typologies are produced with modern and ambitious spatial design and affect urban life in many respects. Diligent (2015) argues that in this period: *"There is a long period in contemporary western countries with a sociological perspective, it falsified and production to the end of the housing typology of Turkey, in Ankara, as in many cities, widespread and central economic preferences of the ruling We live in a period of re-manufactured."* (p. 275). As it is frequently emphasized in the previous chapters of the thesis, housing areas of the period, which were formed under the intense pressure of capital in Ankara, became a kind of urban investment tool that should be produced and provided with rent, unlike the previous periods.

In the Capital, which can be seen as a rapid transformation of the urban upper form since its foundation with each of the above mentioned planning periods, urban spaces are being constructed in a manner that is deprived of the effective direction of high-



scale planning decisions. Although planned urban development was elaborated as an extension of the historical fabric in the early stages of the process, it had detailed structuring directions, but in the following processes, high-scale plans directed urban development; and that could not go beyond the abstract indication of density zones, transport relations and building island forms. In other words, the administrative will to control the design systematics and sub-scale implementation plans that would reveal the urban space in a concrete sense could not be revealed by the high-scale plans that came into force. The plans in question; it lacks the design codes, design guidelines, implementation processes, and urban design controls that control, manage or guide the production process that exposes the space and space to be revealed in the sub-scales.

## **5.2. Revealing the Role of Spatial Design(ers) in Practice: the Case of Housing Market in Ankara, Turkey**

In this section, sample projects will be examined in order to reveal the contribution of urban design discipline to the production processes of space and the production processes of housing projects which are the dominant part of this process. In this context, sample projects are not considered as a finished product, but as the process to be examined. In order to comprehend the complex network of relations that exist in the process of space production, the conditions under which space emerges and the effect of the actors who play a role in the space production processes are investigated.

In this context, sample areas were selected from the housing projects located in the south-west urban development corridors of Ankara (Figure 5.14). These projects are being built by development firms which employ different professions such as real estate development, marketing and advertising as well as architecture. Sample areas were selected among the projects produced by the large-scale, well-known architecture offices for the upper-middle class who are used to consume speculative urban space rapidly through intense marketing.

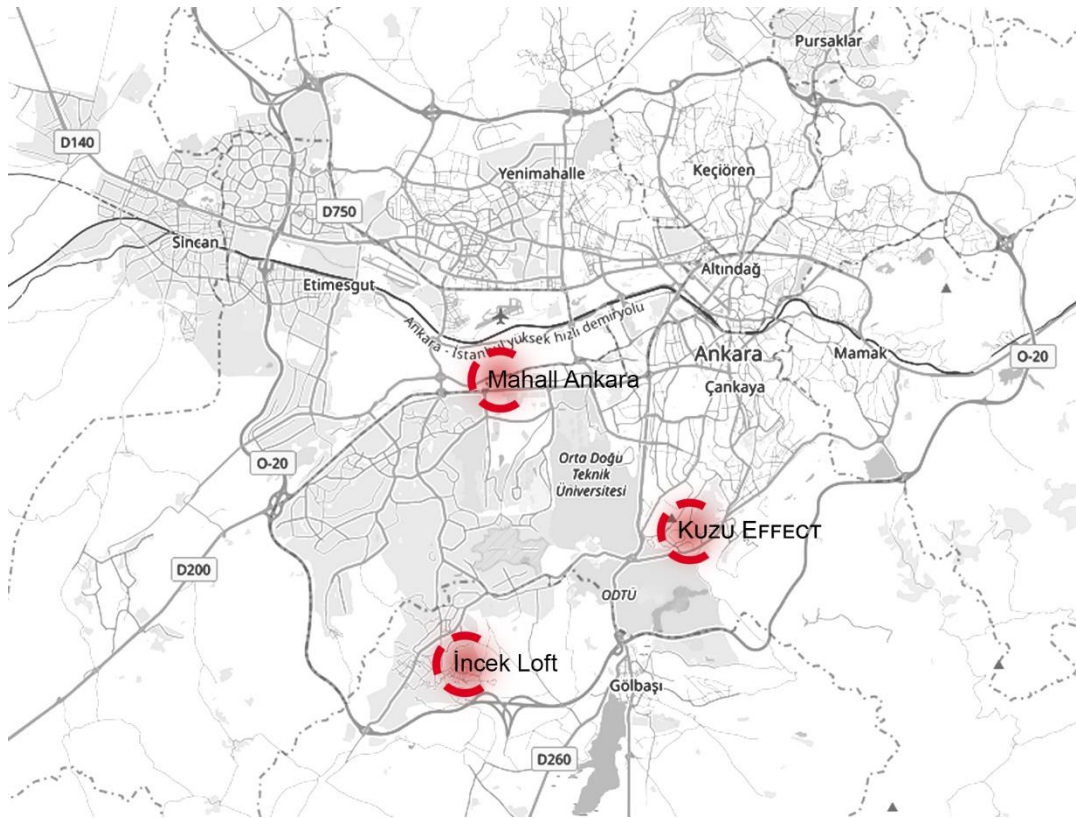


Figure 5.14. Location of sample areas – (Source: After Open Street Maps, 2019)

Within the scope of the study, ‘İncek Loft’, ‘Kuzu Effect’ and ‘Mahall Ankara’ projects, which were promoted by the cultural norms of the consumer society and have been recently completed as a kind of mass housing projects, were selected as exemplary projects. The interviews were conducted with actors that have direct impact on the production processes through development of large scale housing projects. Through the interviews conducted with the actors in the managerial positions within different stage of the projects, it is aimed to comprehend the relational integrity of the housing production and to interpret the overall process. Therefore, in this part of the study, the main intention is not to provide quantitative information of the projects (i.e. budget, building density, price levels etc.) but to make; a kind of discourse analysis through the interviews. In line with this aim, interviews were conducted with the actors who had been effective in the decision making processes from planning to the spatial design and marketing. The concept of planning, which enables urban space and

therefore related processes to find life, is positioned above the space production process.

From this perspective, actors who are at the executive position from three different professions (i.e. project development, design and marketing) were interviewed for each selected housing project. At this point, the project development phase is actually covered by real estate development expertise. Since the second half of the 20th century, real estate development has been described as “*a dynamic business shaped by market marketing and the demands of capital*” (Long, 2011, p. 32). Real estate development activities, which offer ‘lifestyle’ to its users with the developed projects, are predominantly directed towards mixed-use projects. Project development, which has a key role to reveal this lifestyle; the location choice of the project to be developed can be summarized as the concept development processes and the determination of the budgets to be financed when taking the investment decision (Frej and Peiser, 2003). After the investment decision is taken, the phase of the project proceeds with the architectural office in order to run the design process. At this stage, the biggest expectation of the capital owner, who is the commercial company investing on land, is that the project could be sold profitably and fast. For this purpose, the investment made for the project and the expectations of the space to be produced are transferred to the design office. The designer starts to shape the space with the briefs conveyed by the investor and produces the space by ending the process with his own professional knowledge.

Then the process is ended with the marketing department that would meet the consumer by determining the marketing strategies of ‘the product’. The marketing activities carried out by the department, including advertisement and sales organizations, which are fundamentally different, but complementary to each other for the specified housing projects. The department requires the area of expertise in which the language to be used within the scope of marketing activities is selected, where one-to-one relations with the consumer are established and the space criteria are re-

evaluated and requested to be changed in line with the demands of the users in order to increase sales rates.

The venue, which is the common denominator of three different professional groups, provides guidance in the context of each professional group's own lines while the concrete product comes to life. At the stage of marketing the living space, which is the main target, is characterized by the prevailing norms of the consumption culture. In this regard, the interviews were conducted with the relevant professional groups reveal how the actor act accordingly. Although similar questions were generally asked to the professional groups interviewed, the content of the questions differs in details in order to reveal the impact of the relevant specialties on the place and their position in the process. Accordingly, each actor was asked questions based their intrinsic role taken in the process.

The interviews, in this framework, started with personal information and job description and continued with the definition of the interviewer's expertise and the specific task pursued within the project. In order to analyze the relations with the other professional groups working in the project, the interviewer was asked the questions as follows:

#### **Questions asked to the professionals in the project development departments**

- *What is your job description?*
- *What are your main objectives in the project?*
- *What was considered during the location choice the project in the city?*
- *What are the main concept of the project and important design criteria for you?*
- *What was considered when composing the project design team and marketing team? How was the distribution of the roles established? How did the dialogue between the teams proceed?*

- *How do you believe the project adds value to the city?*

### **Questions asked to the professionals in the design offices**

- *What is your job description?*

- *What kind of life did you aim to create in your project?*

- *What is the desired item to be brought to the forefront when designing the project?*

- *How were the decision-making processes for the project design elements shaped? To what extent was the project management team involved in the design process?*

- *How were the image elements that were the result of the project decided? How has the decision-making mechanism been shaped for the items that are intended to be emphasized in the decided images?*

- *Do you think you have achieved the initial intension on the life to be ensured by the project? How do you evaluate the result product?*

- *How do you believe the project adds value to the city?*

### **Questions asked to the professionals in the marketing departments**

- *What is your job description?*

- *How would you describe the project?*

- *Who is the target group in project marketing? What was the target group selected for?*

- *What values of the project were emphasized in the advertisement to reach the target group in the housing market?*

- *What was the process of deciding on the display and content of the project creation?*

- *What is the content of the relationship established with the project management team and the design team during marketing process? How did the dialogue between the departments proceed? How were the roles distributed among the groups?*

- How do you think you have made an impact on the society during marketing process via project ads? What kind of value do you believe you create for the city?

In these interviews, additional questions could be added, spontaneously, it is aimed to fully understand the space production process in details for each project. In this context, in order to understand the conditions under which the selected project areas emerged as an example; interviews with project management, architecture office and marketing departments.

### 5.2.1. İncek Loft

The project<sup>10</sup> was started in 2014 and completed in 2016, with a construction area of 274,000 m<sup>2</sup> on a 108.300m<sup>2</sup> land; It consists of 1199 houses and 44 commercial units. The project area located on the south-west urban development corridor of Ankara in the İncek neighborhood is surrounded by large openings of various sizes (Figure 5.15). The project area, where the entrances and exits are controlled and surrounded by sheltered walls, is a mixed-use housing site where the residential and commercial uses are supported together by wide landscape landscaping arrangements.



Figure 5.15. A view from the project area - (Source : Arkiv, 2017 )

<sup>10</sup> İncek Loft was established under the coordination of Akfen Real Estate Investment, which operates under Akfen Holding. According to the information obtained from the official website of the project; Akfen Consulting is a subsidiary of Akfen Holding. Project management and marketing activities have been carried out by Tabanlıoğlu Architecture Office.

As stated in the project introduction catalog, 75% of the land area is allocated as landscape and social area and social reinforcement areas and trade use are offered with a wide range of options. İncek Loft has a non-residential urban area that can be an almost urban sub-center in today's Ankara.

#### **5.2.1.1. Project Management**

With the above features, the project management unit, in which investment decisions are made for İncek Loft and other actors are selected, is in a very critical position. In the project area where the planning activities are completed in Ankara but the urban settlement is not yet concentrated, the project management unit has an active role in the process from the idea of making a huge investment decision with the details to the concrete place. As stated by the the project manager<sup>11</sup>, actively involved in the process from project site selection to completion of construction activities, İncek Loft's "*main objective is to profit with space quality*".

In order to increase the profit value over the produced space, in a clearer discourse in "*the project can sell itself by profitably*", cheap land selection and project contents are the direct determinants of the commodity value to be obtained over the space. The project area, which is located in a remote area away from the city center in order to obtain the land as low as possible, is defined as "*the most virgin and developing region of Ankara*" considering its location. Stating that increasing the commodity value of the space has priority, the project manager draws attention to the urban services and commercial uses to be provided in the project in order to sell the space to be produced profitably; "*self-contained*" mixed-use projects support space consumption. Accordingly, in selecting the urban services that will be offered while the project area is being shaped, the building Island where the project will be positioned was chosen in accordance with the planning decisions that constitute the legal basis of the space

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<sup>11</sup> Güven U., civil engineer and chief of project management at Akfen Construction Inc., 29.10.2018, at project management office

production, considering the size of the building island, the construction area, the height decisions and the permitted land use decisions.

Due to the fact that it is outside the city center and the urban settlement is still not concentrated, the project area is equipped with services and recreation services that can be considered as urban sub-centers. In a sense, in the project area where the city center is imitated on a mini scale, urban services are offered with wide options considering the daily life needs. Details such as brand and location selection, which will take place in the center uses controlled by the investor firm, are directed by the investor who owns the capital, and the ‘mini-scale city center’ is kept alive. As stated by The Project manager, *“in line with the objective of creating and keeping the promised social life”*, many facilities are provided for the units to be located in commercial units. In addition to this, the urban services offered in the project are privatized to attract consumers' attention. The project area is *“privatized with no other projects”* such as pony club, organic garden, sky observation towers.

While shaping the project details, joint decisions are made with the design department that produces the space and the marketing department that connects the produced space with the consumer. The role of the departments in the production of the space is expressed by the project manager in the following words: *“We were involved in the project design. I can say that our boss Mr. Hamdi<sup>12</sup> directed the project. We demanded that it be different from the classical Ankara houses and a design that people will remember. Our marketing manager, Mrs. Fulya, has changed the housing types considerably and revealed the options that everyone can take. We also held frequent meetings with our architects. We have made sure that our project is green. We wanted it to be seen as a pile of buildings from a distance. We gave guidance on the distribution of green areas.”* As mentioned, negotiations were held between the project management unit, which owns the capital, and the architectural office that put forward the space by performing the project design. With these interviews, the owner

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<sup>12</sup> Hamdi Akin, Akfen Group Company Board Chairman



of the capital has been involved in the design processes by focusing on the consumer and the options of salable areas in order to make the space easier to consume. While the architectural office that depicts the space with its design is described, sentences supporting the definition of ‘star architect which is the popular discourse of today are emphasized by the Project manager: *“Their designs are stylish and modern. This situation can be seen clearly from the awards it has already received. Tabanlıoğlu in Ankara had no projects before us. With Tabanlıoğlu coming to Ankara, we took a risk and wanted to make a difference”*. The ‘risk element’ mentioned at this point is the non-consumption of the produced space. In order to ensure that the space will be consumed by taking into consideration that there is no similar project in Ankara until the implementation of the project, regular coordination meetings were held with the participation of all units. In particular, in order to reach more customers by breaking down the salable areas, the impact of the marketing department is conveyed by the Project manager with the following sentences:

*“Especially in floor plans, marketing department had important comments. They were telling you how to sell it faster and in large numbers. For this reason, the floor plans were changed and the customer was tried to be reached from all segments.”*

#### **5.2.1.2. Design**

In order to produce the project area in which the investment decision is made with the intentions specified in terms of real estate development, the architectural office is engaged. Interviews with three different actors from the relevant architecture office actively involved in project design were conducted via Skype. The actors in question are listed below according to their authority to make decisions that will affect the design of the space: design director<sup>13</sup>, as the executive architect of several different

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<sup>13</sup> Çağbayır Ç., master of architecture and design director at Tabanlıoğlu Arch., 28.02.2019, via skype call

projects, including İncek Loft, department leader<sup>14</sup> and corporate communication director<sup>15</sup>.as the leader of the project-created department of 6-8 people.

The architectural office, which designs the physical space in the space production processes, produces the space with the intention of investment, which is decided by the owner of the capital by choosing its position in the city and defined in general terms. The investment decision in the idea stage is concretized by transferring the location information of the project area, the construction information allowed by the planning decisions and the project brief to be spatialized to the design office. With the aim of profitable return on investment made by the investor, which is a commercial profit company, the expectations of the capital owner regarding the space are met by the space produced by the architectural office. At this point, all kinds of risk scenarios related to the place to be produced are worked out by the investor to ensure a profitable return on the investment. This process, which can be considered as the beginning of space production intention, is emphasized by the design director with the following sentences: “*The architect does not throw a sketch at first and try something. The investor had a research on the land position.*” Potential consumer sociological groups and space preferences are analyzed by the investor firm for the project area, which is located in an area that can be considered as urban wall.

The design to be preferred is directly determinant when shaping the space and user relationship to be produced. As stated by the department leader, “*the relationship gives an idea of a wide range of issues, from the design language to the construction material to be used*”. While the investment decision of the project was in the idea stage, the project started out as a social housing, and gained a mixed-use with the analysis performed by the capital owner due to its location and size in the city. Approximately 1200 housing units offered within the scope of the project will accommodate an average population of 4000-5000 people; “*self-sufficient*” and “*to*

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<sup>14</sup> Aydın A., city planner and team leader at Tabanlıoğlu Arch., 28.02.2019, via skype call

<sup>15</sup> Altundağ S., corporate communication manager at Tabanlıoğlu Arch., 28.02.2019, via skype call

*meet the needs of daily life*” is a kind of urban sub-center options that can be non-residential use options. Although it is far from the city in terms of its location, the uses that will make the inhabitants feel within the city are encouraged in a controlled manner within the scope of the project area. In addition to the use of the center, which was designed to mimic the city center in a sense, it was inspired by the city center in the production of residential typologies:

*“Mr. Hamdi's <sup>12</sup> had special requests: for example, he wanted it to be designed as an apartment for the people on the street front. Someone who may want to change its use in the following processes. You know the typology of Ankara, everything consists of apartment buildings. University enters the same apartment, then becomes a hospital. Therefore, in fact, within this typology, urban use is constantly moving with its own flexibility. But you can't see it in urbanization because all these changes in the apartment absorb everything. Mr. Hamdi demanded a similar typology. I can say that the housing typologies are shaped according to Mr. Hamdi's request.”*

The physical and social dimensions of the space are emphasized along with the approach described above. Project units are designed to support consumption activities by keeping them as close as possible to consumption areas. İncek Loft, which is located on a very large land with dense construction square meters, houses residential buildings of different scales and numerous commercial uses. In the project area where a mini city life is presented, the design criteria are put forward and the interaction of these spaces with the public spaces and hence the social life relations are comprehensively discussed. Stating that public uses within the project area are encouraged by the joint decision of the design office and the investor firm, the design director describes the problem encountered with the project management unit during the design of different uses and different scenarios together: *“We had conflicts with the employer in details. For example, there were problems about how to pass through security when navigating between uses, but we have now come up with solutions for these situations.”* The project area, where public use is encouraged in a controlled manner, has been designed to serve urban inhabitants and the surrounding area. A kind

of sub-center was designed with the use of the center to facilitate the daily life offered to the users and other citizens (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.16. Incek Loft's 'platform' and 'section' image - (Source: Incek Loft Official Web Page, 2018)

While the space is presented by the designer with the qualities described above, other departments are actively involved in the process, especially in the profitable recovery of invested capital. As stated by the design director, the project management department, including the chairman of the Akfen Holding board of directors, the architectural project department and the people responsible for the marketing department participate in the meetings held weekly or 15 days from the beginning of the project. The design produced by the architectural project department and the design office within the investor firm are physically implemented. As stated by the design director, the architectural project office, which deals with the structural issues in detail, carries out the engineering operations. As emphasized before, the main meetings where decisions are taken to guarantee and nurture the “*value of exchange*” of the produced space are discussed and to facilitate consumption by breaking down the space. The differentiation of the meeting titles is stated by the design director in the following sentences: “*We had meetings with the design department within Akfen*

*Holding. There was a department headed by Mr. Kaya<sup>16</sup>. Detailed issues were discussed with this department in terms of engineering. The main topics were discussed in the meetings where Mr. Hamdi was held. Types of flats, distribution of residential and commercial use, use of green space. Interestingly, Mr. Hamdi was quite dominant in the process and was able to communicate his wishes clearly.”*

In this context, the design department and the marketing department at the beginning of the project are directly determinant of ‘exchange value’. These departments are selected by the capital owner in order to ensure the recovery of the invested capital exponentially over the space. If this trust is not felt by the capital owner, changes may occur in the related units. The mentioned change has been experienced in İncek Loft and its effect on the project is expressed by the design director in the following sentences:

*“We’ve changed the marketing department, yes. Before us, a small team worked in the sense of design but for a short time. Mr. Hamdi<sup>16</sup> changed his marketing team and hired himself a new marketing manager. Mrs. Fulya<sup>17</sup> wanted to set her own norms in this marketing mix. An advanced project, almost completed the field, we will get a license; again, without changing its axes, that is, without changing the external masses, we had to incorporate the new decisions of Mrs. Fulya here. So, we have increased the number of apartments from 750-800 to 1200s. Therefore, a radical change was made at this point. This is indeed the most challenging issue for architects. Change of investment decision, change of usage and change of units.”*

With the decision taken from the highest administrative level of the investor with direct capital, the ‘change value’ in of the space was fed by producing more than half of the residential area targeted to be produced. The number of parts divided is increased so that the space can be easily bought, sold and exchanged. In the meetings held between the units, the focus was on how to increase the value of the space beyond its use value. As a result, the ‘change value’ obtained over the space has been increased

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<sup>16</sup> Architect Kaya Alpan, Chief of Design Office at Akfen Construction Inc., Akfen Holding

exponentially. The difficulty of this situation for the designer is accepted by the design director and it is emphasized that it is inevitable under market conditions:

*“We set off with a foresight, but Mr. Hamdi<sup>12</sup> changed it completely and we have to adapt to that. Architects should have such flexibility. If we work with the investor, not the end user. Because the people we're in contact with are not the ones to use it. We shape the project with the investors before the people to use it, there is no potential customer, so we have to take brief from them.”*

While the space to be produced is delivered to the consumers, without building a concrete space in the project area; representations of the project, such as models, rendering were used. These representations were not produced by the relevant architecture office and are produced by another company specialized in computer rendering. While project representations are intended to be used in marketing activities, the design office is in a position to transfer project details, direct and control the representation images produced. In the marketing booklet, newspapers, television and other mass media, the images are displayed in accordance with the design decisions. The reasons for this situation are explained by the design director in the following sentences: *“The architect's view is always more abstract. The language of architects is different, but what you call marketing requires a transition to a world that is much more fancy and rough. In this process, we actually love or try to direct.”*

The said images represent a kind of intermediary position that will bring the project area to the customer. The marketing department, which is the unit that will ensure the profit and recovery of the invested capital, is analyzed with a more effective marketing consideration while the design office seeks to transfer the space it has designed correctly. At this point, the conflict between the departments is explained by the design director with the following sentences: *“I can say that Mrs. Fulya is a bit assertive. We had a lot of fights with him. From the angles of the image we will take, we have had long discussions about the selection of the materials that I call this frustration, how to put the tree. But in the end, we always came to a point”*. The reason for the clashes between the marketing department and the design office while obtaining the

representation images of the site is explained by the corporate communication director: “*At this point, the employer always says this. Or well that we understand that the customer does not understand! This is not what the customer says. We have to address them.*” As a result of the mentioned discussions, the representation images of the place consisted of images taken from a “*human perspective*”. As the corporate communication director, who defines his own companies as “*a firm that can stand a bit harder*” against the owner of the capital compared to other design offices in the market, the representative images of İncek Loft were selected and the investor firm and marketing department were directed. In accordance with the spatial design language, the investor firm was “*convinced*” to use images in which “*there are not too many ‘nice’ silhouettes*” and the expressions expressing the masses with their modern lines clearly (Figure 5.17).



Figure 5.17. Examples of representation images used in the presentation of the project area - (Source: Official Web Page of İncek Loft, 2017)

İncek Loft, which finds space with a spatial pattern separated from the city and differentiates itself with its design identity, is guided by the intention of self-sufficiency. It has begun to form the complex and complex living order within the city. The design and the impact of the designer who created the space while producing the project area in which different demographic structures are combined and the urban service areas are presented with wide choices are expressed by the design director in the following sentences:

*“I think you put an extra value on architecture. Especially because you call it consumer society. In a world of planning, we could take the process up to the 1970s, and we could have done that, you could probably comment that architects were in the forefront, but a number of people came and disrupted it. But at the moment, especially in such projects, which there is no planning, because no one organizes on behalf of the public, an investment is formed in the large parcel that can be obtained, which is shaped entirely under market conditions.”*

As stated, the project area, as a natural result of urbanization policies that have been continuing since 1980s; it has become an urban commodity that does not relate to the city, strives to present the city within its borders, and is directed by the owners of capital in the focus of physical development. In our country where there is no control mechanism on space production processes, the lack of planning systematic in directing urban space is accepted by the design director and the importance of urban design is emphasized:

*“In fact, I think urban design emerges precisely from this void. Planning no longer exists, but large objects are being produced. The question of who will design the gap between large objects is revealed. If we do not design this project area with our own will, the integrity of structures without character is revealed. In fact, I would like to work in a planned city, but this is not the case. In that respect, the number of projects that give the architect this much clear power is very small. I think that the fact that this type of venue quality decreases to affordable prices in Ankara scale is the success of Akfen Holding.”*



### 5.2.1.3. Marketing

The project was selected by the project management unit within the investor firm and the spatial design was produced by the architecture office. was introduced to the consumer by the marketing unit within the investor firm. After the investment decision is taken, the unit determines the marketing strategies for the sale and presents the space details that will feed the sale. While the investment decision is taken for the project, marketing activities with a large number of sub-actors begin. In order to transfer the project to the consumer, the advertising agency, one of the sub-actors, is selected and the project area is brought to the public.

As it is known from the interviews with other actors, the main objective of the project is “*making profit*” for its customers by the manager of marketing<sup>17</sup> and the project is defined as “*city opportunity*”. In line with the mentioned marketing strategies, the project area was introduced to the consumer with different fictions. Within the scope of the marketing activities, which were designed by removing the change value of the foreground, various mass media and representation images of the project were used. With the advertisements presented, customers were reached by using the convincing power of the design and the economic opportunities to be obtained through space. As stated by the Manager of marketing, in order to give a project message that “*attracts the attention of the people*”, the venue was not presented directly in the project introductions and users were reached with various side meanings. ‘The beauty of design’ and ‘social facilities’, which are used in the project advertisements, are symbolized by a female model. An academic expert in the field of economy, which is known to the public, is symbolized by using it to emphasize the profit value to be obtained through the space. As a continuation of advertising and marketing activities, the project will be presented as unreachable because it is very luxurious with the marketing office where specially designed to create perception on people where the

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<sup>17</sup> Kilislioğlu F., manager of marketing unit at Akfen Consultancy and Project Deveopment Inc., 29.10.2018, at project sales office

fine details of the project are presented; and then it will be sold with payment facilities by the manager of marketing.

As a result of the marketing fiction mentioned above, the project area was marketed quite successfully. In the words of the Manager of marketing: *“When the ads first appeared, 613 apartments were sold in 40 days. Ankara was the record, our office was like a market queue, people were standing up. It was a serious success and we continued with the emphasis on the opportunity to profit”*. The small number of space renders used in the promotion of the project were produced by a company that specializes in producing professional computer drawings and has nothing to do with design. At this point, the visuals produced in order to transfer the space correctly were controlled by Tabanlıoğlu and used by the marketing department in project promotion activities. As the promotional activities started, the marketing department were changed by the investor for various reasons. After the physical production of the space began, the marketing department changed and there were changes in the size of the houses produced predominantly. The ‘new’ marketing department, which enables the residential areas designed within the project area to gain a more *“fragmented structure”* states that this situation is shaped in line with customer demands. The ‘proliferation’ is explained by the manager of marketing in the following words: *“We have changed mainly square meters. Even after the sale, we changed the floor plan of a few flats, had to be involved in the process because if they had stayed as they were, they would not have been sold. We wanted to make changes because we know that marketing problems will occur. When you produce quick solutions in line with feedback from people, it changes sales by 90 percent.”*

As emphasized in the interviews with other actors involved in the shaping of the space, it was emphasized that the space produced could be consumed more easily by transforming the space into a more fragmented structure. It is clear that housing prices on lower square meters will be cheaper if the unit is calculated on square meter price. As it is mentioned in the previous section, the produced space has been made more

attractive for the consumer as a result of advertising and marketing strategies shaped by the consumption culture, supported by appropriate marketing prices and given a more accessible structure. In addition to the mentioned housing areas, the project attractiveness is supported by commercial uses, landscape arrangements and other reinforcement areas located in the project. The marketing unit has a direct impact on the positioning of consumption spaces by creating a street image in the project area and it is emphasized by the manager of marketing that the space to be produced is of the quality to be selected by “*mark brands where customers can feel more special*”.

Apart from the mentioned contents, which were intervened in order to feed marketing concerns over the space, the design was generally shaped by Tabanlıoğlu Architecture. This architecture office is defined by the manager of marketing as “*very rare solution*” and “*not changing its standards*” and it is emphasized that “*it is closed to change*” compared to other design offices in the market. As mentioned, Tabanlıoğlu Architecture has been able to produce space while preserving its design line. Tabanlıoğlu Architecture Office, which has enough brand recognition to be defined as ‘star-architect’ in our country conditions, has revised the space mainly in the marketable areas of the project with its professional knowledge.

### **5.2.2. Kuzu Effect**

The second example project<sup>18</sup> was initiated in 2015 and delivered to its users in 2018; It has a construction area of 188,000 m<sup>2</sup> on a land of 30,730 m<sup>2</sup>. The project area located on the south-west axis of Ankara; It is located on Turan Güneş Boulevard in a position that can be considered as a border with the forest area of METU campus. According to the information obtained from the project catalog, there are 17-storey loft housing, 46-storey residential tower, three-stored shopping mall, three-stored horizontal office, three-stored home office and social facility units. Ankara’s first

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<sup>18</sup> Kuzu Construction, which is part of Kuzu Group has been implemented by. Within the scope of the information obtained from the project official website, Kuzu İnşaat A.Ş. Project management, marketing operations were carried out by; Emre Arolat Architecture designed the space.

LEED Gold<sup>19</sup> certified project; It is a mixed-use area with 212 houses, 125 stores and 41 offices in total with different characters (Figure 5.18).



*Figure 5.18.* Aerial photo of the project area – (Source: A screen shot from promotion video, 2018)

In the past, low-density housing units belonging to the Ministry of Finance were located on the publicly owned project land. In 2013, TOKİ was awarded to the investor firm to develop a project by income sharing method for land.

### **5.2.2.1. Project Management**

The project area, which is located on the south-west axis of Ankara, and its surrounding area, have had many low-density dwellings owned by the public in the past. In today's Ankara, the tendency of mass-housing housing, which has recently been observed for the capital, has become the dominant typology around the region where the project area is located. The project area, which is a member of the mentioned

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<sup>19</sup> Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) is one of the most popular green building certification programs used worldwide. Developed by the non-profit U.S. Green Building Council (USGBC) it includes a set of rating systems for the design, construction, operation, and maintenance of green buildings that aims to help building owners and operators be environmentally responsible and use resources efficiently (Wikipedia, 2019).

housing typology, has been prepared for investment with the change of plan realized by TOKİ, which is in the position of land owner, and has been awarded to the contractor firm. Within the structure of the investor firm, a meeting was held with the project manager<sup>20</sup>, who was unable to display a normal management due to the crisis as in his own words, and had to get involved; it was also learned that during the active construction period, the project was also carried out in the position of chief of the construction site in order to terminate the project due to the fact that the project was late. The project manager has played a role in the production of the project area from the selection of the site to the completion of the construction activities.

While making the investment decision for the project area, it was emphasized by the investor firm that many housing projects in Istanbul and abroad were completed successfully. As the company will be the first luxury housing project in Ankara, it is stated that it is aimed to produce one that can “*sign the city*”. With this intention, the project area has been determined by the real estate and investment appraisal unit within the investor firm and submitted to the approval of the project management unit in order to provide investment. Turan Güneş Boulevard, where the project area is located, is in a sense the boundary that separates urban development and natural environment. Although similar distinction between the recently developed project areas and an aforementioned distinction has started to disappear, there is only a road between the project area and METU forest land and the Eymir Lake it contains. Project location is defined as “*no other alternative area*” by the project manager due to its proximity to the region which is one of the few recreation areas of Ankara; It is stated that the lake and forest view of the area is a “*great luxury*” for the capital.

In spite of the advantages mentioned for the project location, it is stated by the Project manager that the project has been “*proved to be a profitable project*” for the investor company when entering the tender held by TOKİ, the land owner. The relevant proofs

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<sup>20</sup> Oğuzoğlu O., construction engineer and project manager at Kuzu Construction Inc., 18.02.2019, at project management office

are shaped by the quality of space ‘and other environmental factors that will be produced as a result of the investment to be provided. In addition, one of the biggest costs for the investor to be profitable is the land cost. When defining the content of the agreement to be provided with TOKİ, the land owner, the Project manager; “*a job with income sharing*” and a project that “*progressively paid TOKİ at regular intervals*” were emphasized and the process was compared to a form of “*payment given to the land owner by the contractor*”. In addition to the mentioned payments, the landowner controls the compliance with the planning decisions of the project area. It is stated by the project manager that there are no design and construction interventions that may be added to this situation by the land owner and that the site controls are provided only periodically.

In addition to its location, the project aims to be the most prestigious “*residential project*” in Ankara and determines the quality of space and prestige that will be produced. For this purpose, as stated by the project manager, care was taken to the criterion of “*being known by everyone*” when determining the designer of the space to be produced. The design language put forward by the selected designer states that a highly detailed and compelling spatial arrangement is put forward, and the diversity of usage presented in the project is highlighted. The project manager praises the spatial design by stating that different uses such as residences, studio-offices, loft apartments and open bazaar are “*seamlessly*” articulated with extensive landscaping arrangements. In this case, the maximum level of compliance with the designer decisions is explained by the following sentences: “*We work with the world-renowned architecture office, he is a very valuable architect. The project was as intended by the architect; the returns were like this. If you can do the Emre Arolat project as planned, you have accomplished many things*”.

While the design of the space in the specified quality is produced physically, attention has been paid to the design details of the space. In order to produce the details completely, the design office visited the site every 2 weeks and checked the works

regularly. The control processes stated to be reported to the management department of the investor firm were not intervened by the investor, but were supported. This was emphasized by the following sentences: *“It was important that Güven Kuzu<sup>21</sup> said ‘do not spare what the architect says and do what he says’. I can say that the architect is difficult and a little coy. When we said that it was wrong, it didn't happen and we destroyed it and rebuilt it”*. The impact of the project management department and marketing department on the design of the space is minimal and it is expressed that the professional knowledge of the designer is trusted.

#### **5.2.2.2. Design**

The publicly owned project land was transferred to the investor for the purpose of project development. Within the scope of the project to be developed, the expectations of the investors regarding the space are produced through the design office. The design office, which analyzes the space to be produced within the project area and its network of relations, has been selected by the investor company. During the project production in the related design office, an actor who was actively involved in the process and transferred to another design office near the completion of the project construction was interviewed as a design office member<sup>22</sup>.

While the space is produced by the design office, preliminary information about the project area is communicated by the investor. In addition to the space usage options and construction area sizes determined by the planning decisions, the expectations of the space character to be produced are transferred to the design office. In the meetings attended by senior executives of both companies, *“the social group and project function”* to be addressed by the project determined by the investor is transferred to the design office. The design office member, who states that the process has begun with the *“customer demands”* sent to the design office, examines the project area on-

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<sup>21</sup> Güven Kuzu, Kuzu Group Company Board Chairman

<sup>22</sup> Anonymous interviewer from design department at EAA Architecture, 21.02.2019, via telephone call

site and states that *“a bridge is established between demand and space”*. Architecture offices are engaged in the transformation of investment decisions and criteria into concrete spatial products. However, the process of each product varies. The process is described by the design office member as *“a process that must be learned once more, almost every time, regardless of function, scale, location”*. Since this will be the first project to be developed by the architecture office in Ankara, analysis studies have been carried out in order to understand the relationship between city and location in the capital. In this context, it is emphasized that the spatial design which will *“feed the region's innovative spirit”* is produced for the project area, which is stated to be concentrated in the recent past as urban development is different from classical Ankara urbanization.

It is stated by the design office that mixed-use projects in the capital city of Ankara have been on the rise for a long time due to *“their physical complexity, with their integrated ownership and wide-ranging use”*. The project area approach, which is stated to be located in a *“very special place”* in Ankara with its location and innovative character, is explained with the following sentences: *“The project is located in a position which has the qualified view and the existing housing, office and trade functions in Ankara can be brought together easily. In terms of physical and social relations, it was aimed to produce a mixed-use project that can establish strong relations with the environment in which it is located.”* (Figure 5.19). At this point, the conceptual scheme of the space has been determined by the designer and guidance has been provided on the value of use and exchange.





Figure 5.19. A view of the project location and surroundings – (Source: Official Web Page, 2018)

As a result of the analysis carried out in the project area, four living spaces were designed. Different living spaces produced as residences, loft home, office and bazaar, as stated by the design office member, *“different life plans were produced with different access hierarchies”*. It is stated that a *“permeable settlement at ground level”* is organized by using both vehicle and pedestrian access at different levels with the uses around the project area and the forest area. The relationship between the project area and the environment is explained by the design office member with the following sentences: *“The main inner alley that connects the Turan Solar Boulevard on the south and the Zulfu Tigrel Street on the east creates a strong fluidity at the main circulation axis of the building.”* The commercial uses and landscaping arrangements at the ground level of the project area are not only made available to the inhabitants of the project, but are designed to include the inhabitants of the region. It was stated by the design office member that attention was paid to *“the production of a project with a public side”* through the defined network of relations.

In addition to the space *“public space network defined in the horizontal direction at the ground level”*, *“semi-public meeting places”* were produced in the vertical

direction with the trade and landscape area arrangements intended for the use of the residents of the project. In order to provide diversity in the space produced for both residential and office uses and to feel the “*association with the surrounding forest pro*”, large terraced units have been designed. While the project mass is being formed by the design office, the approach is explained by the design office member in the following sentences: “*When you examine the project, you can see that qualified vistas are dense. Our main objective was to incorporate these sections into the living space. This enabled a smoother transition between project units rather than a dramatic transition soft*”. In addition to this, it was stated that the construction technology used in the project was designed to be “*one of the smartest projects in the region*” and solutions were provided to increase the living comfort of the people living in the project area and control energy consumption.

It is emphasized that the options of usage are conveyed by the investor company while producing the project area with the stated space qualities. The dialogue established between the project management unit and the design office is explained by the design office member with the following sentences: “*The basic element of the design is to meet the needs of the user. The investor firm explained in detail what he expected from the project. After seeing the design that would serve more than they expected, they did not interfere*”. In this context, the character of the project to be produced was formatted by the investor and the details of the space to be produced within the scope of the project were revealed by the design office. With this situation, the definition of the work carried out by the design office was defined as “*reducing ideas floating in the ground*”. Accordingly, the public uses produced in the project area and the creation of the project area in a sensitive manner to its environment were emphasized as “*priority responsibility*”. It is stated that within the scope of this ‘responsibility’, “*the place is detailed with many professional disciplines*”.

It is stated that a site visit is carried out every 2 weeks to ensure that the design details are not lost in the construction activities and that the observed errors are reported

directly to the project management unit. In the project, which was emphasized that the faulty project elements were demolished and rebuilt, the support provided to the design office by the investor company is explained with the following sentences: “*Mr. Emre<sup>23</sup> is actually from Ankara. Since it will be our first project in Ankara, he was directly interested in design details. As a result of Mr. Guven's instructions ‘do whatever the architect says, he and his engineers had no chance of making mistakes.’*” It was stated by the design office member that the project area produced as a result of this situation could be constructed as almost the “*same space designed in sketches*”.

While the space designed in the project area comes to life, in addition to the sketch drawings specified by the design office member, the site is provided with computer-generated rendering images. In a sense, the production of image elements that can be considered as a final product for the designed space was provided by the architecture office that produces the spatial design. While the representation images that are used extensively in marketing and marketing activities were produced, a joint decision was taken with the other offices as stated by the design office member. Describing the production of project promotional visuals as an “*ideological subject*”, the department member explains the visuals produced with the following sentences: “*Everybody expects from the rendering. The employer wants to explain how big a project it is, and the architect focuses on showing what life will be like. We have produced solutions that can respond to what everyone expects from renderers. We have received images that can give the feeling that we intended to make the design feel*”. Accordingly, it is emphasized that a different image is not produced for the intended space. While producing representative images of the space, as stated by the design office member, the image options with the “*forest-facing side of the project*” that marketing departments are mainly interested in were increased. For other images, it is stated that no orientation is provided by the marketing department for representative images produced by the design office.

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<sup>23</sup> Emre Arolat, EAA Architecture Founder



Figure 5.20. Presentation of highlighting project location, width and usage options – (Source: Official Web Page of Kuzu Effect, 2018)

Produced representation images were used in marketing and marketing unit activities and used directly without any additions. This is explained by the design office member: *“This is not a surprise. We produce images that describe our design to the investor company. We know what purposes we produce the project. They also pass on the project to the customer in order to use it in marketing”*. The location, width and usage options of the project area were emphasized with the said images. In a short period of time, it was stated that the images produced in the project area were carefully prepared and emphasized the belief that *“Ankara will become one of the landmarks”* and the relationship between spatial design and consumption dynamics was interpreted with these sentences:

*“It is a known fact that spaces, architecture and design have become a commodity. A sentence like I designed it but I don't want it to be consumed. The primary requirement is that the product you produce is consumed in order to live on the market. Architecture is a part of this systematic, perhaps I do not know the focus.”*

### 5.2.2.3. Marketing

After the project investment decision is taken by the management departments, the design office is selected and the spatial design determined by the capital owner is produced. Producible salable areas are offered to consumption by the marketing department within the investor firm. The project area is defined as “*a national scale project, not Ankara scale*” by the marketing officer in the department that manages customer relations, advertising and marketing activities for the consumption of the project area. The position and importance of the project, which is also mentioned by other actors involved in the production of space, is also highlighted by the marketing officer<sup>24</sup>. Said position, “*the most expensive parcels*” as attributed it to the production of project “*Turkey's ‘most’ of which are combined*” is expressed. As a result of this situation; It is emphasized that the company is working with internationally recognized companies with its spatial design, building materials and project management staff, and as a result of the project concept and design concerns, “*high class customer portfolio*” usage space is produced.

The project area, which is stated “*to be designed for the use of a certain income group*” with the quality of space, is selected by the marketing department and presented to consumption. The design and quality of the space produced by the designer will remain vivid to the extent that the inhabitants respect it. For this purpose, it is emphasized by the marketing officer that not only the rich ones but also the customer group who can perceive the structure “*not only as a mass but able to perceive the strong design details and respect the produced life*”. While reaching the target group, it was emphasized that the location of the project area has a unique location and strong and original design elements produced with the star architect line a were brought to the fore. Compared to similar projects, the project area, which has a very special position and design language, is differentiated by the “*wide choice and real mixed*

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<sup>24</sup> Anonymous interviewer from marketing unit at Kuzu Group Consultancy and Project Development Inc., 18.02.2019, at project sales office

use” space offered to the users. It is emphasized that the different uses presented are articulated with “*organic transitions between uses that are not yet another example in Ankara*” and the original space quality of the project is emphasized.

As stated by the marketing officer, the advertising and marketing strategies were shaped in line with the decision of “*we are special*” within the context of the spatial expression. For the reasons mentioned in the previous section, the project area, which is emphasized as unique, was presented to the users and orientation was provided to the upper income group. In order to reach the target customer group, it is stated that the project visuals are presented only in areas that can be considered by the upper income group. These promotional images were produced by a department specialized in rendering within the design office. At this point, the marketing department has been present in the process by providing feedback on the images produced. The marketing fiction is interpreted by the marketing officer as follows: “*We do not need to say much about the income group ads selected for the project. We can only observe that our position and the name of the architect we work with is enough with our sales rates and our earnings.*”

The main objective is to make profitable recovery of the invested capital in the “*seriously invested*” project, while producing a space with the qualifications specified by the investor, a commercial company. While the final product was produced by the design office in the space production processes, the support of the project management unit was received and the marketing unit was given the minimum right to speak. This situation was criticized by the marketing officer and it was emphasized that the marketing unit should be more active in the process in order for the project area “*to feed into its investors by turning into faster cash*”. As the marketing person states, there is no concern to create “*a museum object for the final produced space*”. It was emphasized that the design criteria would not make sense without the location of the project area and it was stated that the project was valuable if it had a commercial equivalent. The content of this opinion is explained with the following sentences: “*I*

*believe that if the project is formatted once more, would our managers want to work with the same designer? I need to ask. I say this for the following reason, the architect may have design concerns, yes, but the product we produce is ultimately cost.”*

### **5.2.3. Mahall Ankara**

The third sample project<sup>25</sup> area and the construction activities started in 2012 and completed in 2016; It consists of a total of 976 independent sections with a construction area of 283.700 m<sup>2</sup> on a land of 40.620 m<sup>2</sup>. Within the project area, there are 597 housing units and 400 home offices, offices and stores with different characters. Located on the western axis of the capital city Ankara, which is the most important urban development corridor for many years, the project area is located directly on the Eskişehir Road, and it is a mixed-use area containing different usages. A total of 7,800 m<sup>2</sup> of green space is used within the project area and various mass structures are located together (Figure 5.21).



*Figure 5.21. A view of the project area located on the Eskişehir Road and containing different masses  
– (Source: Arkitera, 2017 )*

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<sup>25</sup> Mahall Ankara was realized by Türkerler Construction Inc. within the body of Türkerler Holding. According to the information obtained from the promotional catalog of the project; Türkerler Holding Construction Inc. managed and invested the operation and Öncüoğlu Architecture made the designs.

The land ownership, where the Mahall Ankara Project located, is the public. Formerly known as the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, the parcel was transferred to TOKİ in the following periods. With the authority to supervise and coordinate TOKİ in the Mahall Ankara project, he is in charge of all of the spatial formation processes. A tender was held for each of the different processes that will create the space on the parcel in question. More clearly, the project was realized by investing in space with the cooperation of public and private sectors.

### **5.2.3.1. Project Management**

Located on the Eskişehir Road, where unit land prices are quite high, the investment decision by the capital owner is critical in many respects for Mahall Ankara. The western axis, where urban development is managed with high-scale plans that encourage urbanization along the ‘corridor arak by taking the urbanization of the capital Ankara out of the bowl’, is one of the main carrier backbones of today's Ankara. The project decision was taken by TOKİ, the land owner in the mentioned precious position, and awarded to the contractor firm. In its own words, the project is defined as “*income sharing business*” by the project manager<sup>26</sup> who plays an active role in the projecting processes. The share of TOKİ in the project is stated to be 40% of the contract price. TOKİ, which has the authority to make planning and urban design decisions directly affecting the formation of spaces on the land allocated to public institutions, has a very active position in the project phases and processes. Accordingly, as stated by the project manager, TOKİ, which has a perceptible hand from the beginning in the details of the project, is the determinant of the space production stages and results performed by the investor company.

While the investment decision is taken by the capital owner, the position of the project area in the city affects the commodity value of the space. Located on the western axis of Ankara, the project area contains similar project areas that were implemented in the

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<sup>26</sup> Gedik A., civil engineer and manager of project development at Türkerler Holding Co., 25.02.2019, at project management office



past years due to its location. The project, which is considered as a reason of choice by the Project Manager after taking the façade from Eskişehir Road, is introduced as “*newer*” and “*much more modern design*” compared to other similar uses that have been implemented and can be marketed rapidly on this axis. It is stated that consumer interest can be attracted more easily with the specified criteria and it is assured that the space to be produced will be consumed.

The project manager, defined by the project manager as a “*mixed project*”, is the product of the planning decisions to a large part of the reasons for consumption specified in the project area. The implementation plan, in which the basic decisions regarding the location to be produced, such as its location, construction decisions and type, is legally implemented by TOKİ, the landowner and project manager. As the project manager stated, in the project; “*how much space to use for design of the area*” and “*floor height*” are determined by TOKİ. Within the scope of the project, the type, usage and the number of segmented units to be produced are determined by TOKİ when the company decides on the location. While making the design decisions of the space, different designs were produced according to the physical space built and changes were made in order to increase the sales profit over the space to be produced. In this context, the Project manager expresses the approach to the space in the following sentence: “*Selling something is more profitable, like separating the area of housing and trade by multiplying it.*”. It is emphasized that the entrances to be used for different purposes in the project area can be separated and created a successful zoning activity in the spatial design.

The project aimed to create a miniature scale street life supported by residential and commercial areas, recreation and entertainment venues, which were regionally separated and presented more fragmented than the initial design decisions. Consumption and production spaces have become intertwined with spatial organizations such as office, residence and trade designed.

While the project area is put forward with the mentioned qualities, TOKİ is effectively involved in the whole process. All of the departments that will develop engineering and infrastructure applications are selected and controlled by TOKİ from the design group that will design the space to be produced. This is explained by the project manager in the following words: *“For example, you cannot make any changes on the front according to your own mind, the architectural office which is the author of the project opposes it. At this point TOKİ comes into play. He decides whether the approved project will be revised”*. It was also emphasized that the marketing price of the place produced was also determined by TOKİ considering the market conditions and it was stated that customer demands were received and decided in order to increase the marketing capability. With all these characteristics, TOKİ is the main supervisor of project management activities and manages both spatial design and marketing activities. It was stated by the project manager that TOKİ is the biggest tender to be awarded to the tender at once and that the project area is an exemplary project for Ankara with the selected design language. It is emphasized that a brand has been created Ankara with the space quality and project location offered to the user.

### **5.2.3.2. Design**

The project area, which is tendered by TOKİ, is designed by the investor company and the spatial design is produced by the architecture office. Just as the investor is selected, TOKİ is selected by TOKİ as a result of the tender and the space production processes are carried out through the dialogue between the investor firm and the architecture office. As in all other processes, TOKİ plays a controlling role in the final product while shaping the spatial design processes. In his own words, the design office manager<sup>27</sup>, who is the leader of the design office from the concept stage of the project to the coordination of the construction site was interviewed about the project design processes.

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<sup>27</sup> Kaya Ö., master of architecture and co-founder of Öncüoğlu Arch, 27.02.2019, at Öncüoğlu Architecture office

As a result of the tender opened for the design of the project space, the design processes were started and the existing uses on the western axis of the capital and the close environment of the project area were designed and analyzed. As a result of the said analysis, it was stated by the design office manager that the project area should be developed as an office usage and it was stated that the use of hotels, offices, residences and street shops were added to the brief given by the capital owner firm and a mixed-use character was added. As a result of the analysis conducted to determine the design criteria, the use of the project area is determined and the investor firm is concerned that the project will be marketable. In this context, when determining the design language of the space to be produced, frequent meetings are held between the design and project management departments. In these meetings where the venue is discussed, the request of the investor company is explained by the design office manager as follows: *“Recently, almost all investors wanted to have a project that would create a different impact in the city. This project was designed according to this request.”*

When the spatial design was put forward with the stated intention, it was aimed to differentiate the space to be produced among the buildings rising along the west axis where the project area is located. The project area design has been started with the aim of creating a symbolic structure in the city with the aim of differentiating from other projects in Ankara and the surrounding structures. In the mentioned scope, the residence units are designed on two towers that can reach up to 40 floors on the horizontal block where floors close to the floor are designed for office use, while the last 10 floors will be designed as a symbol that will explode ‘like a lighthouse’. With the design language put forward, the project, which was aimed to *“gain a symbolic meaning for capital city Ankara”*, could not be implemented physically.

Due to the flight corridor along the Eskişehir Road where the project area is located, there is a maximum height restriction for the structures to be produced. Design office manager, who states that this restriction is known from the beginning, emphasizes that

they continue to work in line with the commitment given by the investor firm to remove the restriction in the region. In order to start the construction process without delay, a preliminary project was requested from the architectural office, “*which was different from the fact*” that it was in conformity with the existing constraints in the field, and the investor was assured that “*the design with the main labor would be applied*” in the following processes. The construction permit was obtained from the municipality and the foundations of the project were laid. In the following processes, the design office manager explained that the main design of the project could not be implemented with the following sentences: “*In the end, we could not implement the concept we did and did. Unfortunately, the project we have designed for the license is currently alive and we have a product that has nothing to do with our project.*”



Figure 5.22. A view of the project area final product located on Eskişehir Road – (Source: Arkiv, 2017 )

Flight corridor is not the only factor in the failure to implement the original design developed for the project area. These factors are expressed by the design office manager: “*The misfortune of the work has changed the quality of the project, which is a real mixed use. Our main factor is the fact that the flight corridor is yes but the demand for housing within the market increases and the demand for office is not that*

*much.*” Accordingly, in order to comply with market expectations in order to consume the project area, which is an income sharing business, most of the uses in the first project design have been turned into residential areas with different characters.

While the above-mentioned changes are experienced, TOKİ, which will earn revenue from the place to be produced in addition to the investor firm, has a say in the process. When designing the space to be produced; The content of the meetings held between the capital owner investor firm, the landowner TOKİ and the architecture office is explained by the design office manager with the following sentences: *“They specify a salable area, according to the direction of the building, according to their relations, according to the entrance and exit. We have land with a high construction area. The investor company is aiming for salable area and we send our comments accordingly.”*. It was emphasized that the planning decision in which the details of the project were determined was taken in the 1990s, in addition to the commercial use with a certain construction area continuing along the west axis, it was stated that extra uses and construction areas were provided in the project area. The public institution authorized to approve the plan within the relevant period; not found in the immediate vicinity; the approval of a plan that will enable its own parcel to make special construction decisions and uses is defined by the design office manager as *“a situation that needs to be discussed from an urban perspective”*.

Despite the construction right and diversity granted to the project area, the design fiction that could not be implemented due to flight corridor was ‘revised’ and the final product space was produced.

The construction right that cannot be used in the vertical direction is concentrated by using the horizontal direction. It is stated by the design office manager that the space produced in this form creates *“a more intense feeling of structuring”* and is turned into an integrity of eclectic buildings whose ratio has not been achieved. With these changes, most of the planned uses of the project design fiction could not be realized. The existing hotel and office uses in the design fiction have been revised as a result of

the changes. As project design manager stated, marketing concerns and field usage decisions were intervened. This is explained by the following sentences:

*“The area planned as public use; hotel, office and was a serious need for the public. It's used now as a residence. Returning to this decision from the hotel, the marketing unit said that ‘this place is made up of very large areas. These areas should shrink.’. At that time, 1 + 1 and 2 + 1 were sold very fast. This is an area where there should be a long-term return on investment. Hotel usage was canceled due to marketing and investor firm demand”*

In addition to the change in project design fiction due to construction constraints, the use decisions of the area have changed as a result of marketing concerns. As a result of these changes, the design office was able to intervene in a limited way to revise the space according to the new order and to ensure the *“differentiation of the project”* requested by the investor from the beginning of the process. When a symbol that would *“explode like a lighthouse”* which was emphasized as the main focus of the design in the first editing of the project could not be implemented, a new differentiation element was created with the words of the design office manager in order to *“create differences at least on the facades”*.



*Figure 5.23.* The residential area designed as a hotel usage – (Source: Arkitera, 2018)

With the changes in the design area of the project area, the space produced by the design office could not be revealed. The capital owner investor firm and the land owner have undergone numerous changes in the process under the control of TOKİ. The resulting design is evaluated by the projects design manager with the following sentences:

*“It is the worst possible situation for the designer to have a completely different product on the way. Another fiction has emerged and we have made an intense effort to make it an area desirable for usable people. We could not create the desired effect, but I still see the resulting product as an original and ambitious project.”*

### **5.2.3.3. Marketing**

After the investment decision is taken for the project area, the conditions under which the place to be produced by the marketing departments within the investor firm are delivered. In determining the marketing strategies of the project area, an interview was made with the assistant director of marketing, *“which was actively involved in the process from pre-launch preparation to completion”*. The marketing officer, who defines his / her job description as *“identifying deficiencies in the project”* and *“identifying areas that the market can handle”*, introduces the project area as ilk the first mixed life project of *“Ankara as of the date of construction activities”*.

It is emphasized that inspired by *“the old neighborhood culture”* and Mahall which is a Turkish word is used to name the project area. With this approach, the advantages of the location of the project area in the city are frequently emphasized in marketing activities. The main advantages of this transportation system are that it is easily accessible, close to business centers and it contains the opportunities of urban life. With the determination of the fiction, a wide-participation launch was organized *“to prepare people for sale”*, and marketing activities were initiated while *“there was nothing else”*. Within the scope of marketing activities; the project area was conveyed to the consumer through 3d visuals, models and renderings. The representations of the space mentioned were exhibited in various regions of the city as the decision to

*“establish brand recognition”*. As stated by the Assistant Director of Marketing<sup>28</sup>, 85% of the salable areas in the project could be sold successfully in the year following the launch night.

During the production of representation images belonging to the project area, a technical drawing office which was selected by the marketing department and specialized in rendering images professionally was worked. While creating the representation images, it was stated that a limited dialogue was established with the design office which revealed the real space. In the spatial design process, it is emphasized that there are discussions about the use of space to be presented in the project, which also affects the design to be revealed. As it is known from previous interviews, changes in usage have been experienced in the project area with the diversity of space and content offered, *“in order to be designed to meet all the needs of the residents”*. The usage change request, which is stated as market-oriented, is primarily communicated to the project management unit with justification. The requests that are deemed appropriate are transferred to the design office at the meetings where marketing department managers also attend.

As outlined by the assistant director of marketing, the marketing department has two fundamental effects on the project area. The first of these, the transformation of the hotel area into residential use is explained by the following sentences: *“We knew that the hotel would not work in this project. There were no areas around us to feed the hotel. We've been telling this from the beginning, but we can't convince anyone. As a matter of fact, they were convinced to turn into a house with the city hospital, which we heard would be built right next to us.”* In addition to the mentioned change of use, it is stated that pressure has been established to reduce the units within the project area. The situation is elaborated by the marketing person with the following words: *“Because we are in hot contact with the customer, we know better what people want. For example, 1 + 1 and 1 + 0 s were selling well and we passed it to the management.*

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<sup>28</sup> Altan E., assistant director of marketing department at Türkerler Holding Co., 02.03.2019, at project sales office



*In this project, the fastest selling city suites emerged. The smaller we sell, the faster we can say.”.* With these marketing strategies, it is emphasized that 96% of the residential areas within the project area are sold quickly.

The investor consulted TOKİ through the project management unit for the said decisions, which are stated to be taken due to marketing concerns on the site. Unless it is contrary to the construction conditions specified in the planning decisions, it is stated by the marketing representative that there is no comment of TOKİ for the said changes.

#### **5.2.4. Evaluation of the Findings**

In this part of the study, interviews with nine different actors who took part in the formation process of three different projects are evaluated. For each project; as a result of the meetings held with the project management, spatial design, marketing officials. It was stated that the sub-departments connected to the units contributed to the process. The departments of which were collected in the head of the parent unit, which is connected according to their contents (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. *Basic information on the selected projects*

|                                  | <b>İncek Loft</b>           | <b>Kuzu Effect</b>                     | <b>Mahall Ankara</b>                   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| <b>date for construction</b>     | <i>2014 - 2016</i>          | <i>2015-2018</i>                       | <i>2012-2016</i>                       |
| <b>land owner</b>                | <i>Private</i>              | <i>Public</i>                          | <i>Public</i>                          |
| <b>land area</b>                 | <i>108.300m<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>30.730m<sup>2</sup></i>             | <i>40.620 m<sup>2</sup></i>            |
| <b>construction area</b>         | <i>274.000m<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>188.000m<sup>2</sup></i>            | <i>283.700 m<sup>2</sup></i>           |
| <b>The uses involved</b>         | <i>House<br/>Commercial</i> | <i>House<br/>Commercial<br/>Office</i> | <i>House<br/>Commercial<br/>Office</i> |
| <b>zoning transformation</b>     | <i>Yes</i>                  | <i>Yes</i>                             | <i>Yes</i>                             |
| <b>Controller of the project</b> | <i>Municipality</i>         | <i>TOKİ</i>                            | <i>TOKİ</i>                            |

The project management unit, which is the first professional group interviewed for each project; is operated in the construction sector of large-scale commercial firms which have investments in many different sectors and whose main objective is to maximize 'profit' of the firm with the return on investment. As superstructure companies in the construction sector, there are different companies in the functions of real estate and investment, such as; public housing construction, real estate development, investment partnership. Through the stated companies, the companies that provide investment in the project aim to ensure return the investment profitably through the urban land to be produced. At this point, as stated by Berman (1994), 'value of exchange' is gaining significance against the 'value of usage'. While determining the value of the exchange, the project planned to be invested are analyzed in detail by the project management units and the process is initiated. As can be seen from the cases, projects cannot be developed without being sure of the return of the capital invested by the investor company. For this purpose, when making an investment decision, as Lefebvre (1991) stated, the place is being searched for profitable reproduction: "*Space is marked out, explored, discovered and rediscovered on a colossal scale*" (p.334). With this research, the scope of the projects to be implemented is analyzed in this sense.

Site selection options and development right conditions determined by the plans are taken into consideration by the project managers. The residential, commercial, and office use options and spatial capacity presented within the scope of the project are shaped by direct planning decisions and fundamentally affect the design of the project. While making the project in question, it minimizes the "*time to pursue consumption*" by providing commercial units in a wide range of options with housing areas within the sample projects that try to accommodate social urban needs (Bauman, 1999, p.40). At this point, as Carmona, & Gallent (2003) points out, the selected location within the city directly shapes the character and character of residential areas. More specifically, the exchange value of space and its corresponding spatial character is mainly determined by the project management unit. The situation is emphasized by

Lefebvre (1991) with the following sentences: “*Its potential for being occupied, filled, peopled and transformed from top to bottom is continually on the increase: the prospect, in short, is of a space being produced whose nature is nothing more than raw materials suffering gradual destruction by the techniques of production.*” (p.334). While this situation is highly conditioned under the guidance of planning decisions, the space is shaped with the ‘envisaged’ project concept by project management. Face-to-face interviews with project actors support this situation (Table 5.2):

Table 5.2. *The normative concepts expressed by the actors involved in the project*

|                                      | <b>İncek Loft</b>  | <b>Kuzu Effect</b>   | <b>Mahall Ankara</b>   |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <b>project management department</b> | <i>the most <b>virgin</b> region</i>                           | <i><b>no other alternative</b> location</i>                                | <i><b>self-marketing</b> location</i>                            |
|                                      | <i><b>profit</b> with space quality</i>                        | <i>sign the city</i>   | <i>much more modern design</i>                                   |
|                                      | <i>make a <b>difference</b></i>                                | <i>the most <b>prestigious</b></i>   | <i>inspired by the old neighborhood culture</i>                  |
|                                      | <i>self-contained</i>  | <i><b>being known</b> by everyone</i>                                      |  |
| <b>design office</b>                 | <i><b>description of the project</b> given by the employer</i> | <i><b>the direction of the investment</b> was conveyed by the investor</i> | <i>on <b>the brief given by the investor</b> company</i>         |
|                                      | <i>to meet the needs of daily life</i>                         | <i>to feed the region's <b>innovative</b> spirit</i>                       | <i>to create <b>a different impact</b> in the city</i>           |
|                                      | <i><b>flexible design</b> for the future use</i>               | <i>a project with <b>a public side</b></i>                                 | <i>a more intense feeling of structuring</i>                     |
|                                      | <i>different uses at different platforms</i>                   | <i>different life plans with different access hierarchies</i>              | <i>create <b>differences</b> at least on the facades</i>         |
|                                      | <i>sub-center for the environment</i>                          | <i>strong relations with the environment</i>                               | <i>to gain <b>a symbolic meaning</b> for capital city Ankara</i> |
| <b>marketing department</b>          | <i>city <b>opportunity</b></i>                                 | <i>a national scale project, not Ankara scale</i>                          | <i>make life easier for the city</i>                             |
|                                      | <i>attracts the <b>attention</b> of the people</i>             | <i><b>high class</b> customer portfolio</i>                                | <i>to establish <b>brand recognition</b></i>                     |
|                                      | <i>emphasis on the opportunity to <b>profit</b></i>            | <i>to be designed for the use of a certain income group</i>                | <i>to be designed to meet all the needs of the residents</i>     |
|                                      | <i>more fragmented to be sold</i>                              | <i>seriously invested</i>  | <i>the smaller, the faster selling</i>                           |

As a result of designing the project concept by project management comes to life, marketing research is carried out in order to guarantee the consumption of the space to be produced. With the researches conducted, the social profile of the potential consumers of the project area is analyzed. As expressed by Bourdieu (1984); the objective concepts of “*positions*” and subjective “*position takings*” of individuals coincide to the form the concept of “*habitus*” (p.56). Individuals in a certain income group, that is, their ‘positions and certain tastes, that is, their ‘position takings’, prefer to live in spaces with certain criteria. According to the projected criteria, an architectural concept is defined by project management and produced physically by the spatial design. In other words, the habitus data predicted by the project management unit are transferred to the design office and generated spatially.

At this point, the design office takes over the process, which is the second professional group where interviews are provided. On-site; the design office, which houses a wide range of design experts such as urban planners, architects, landscape architects and spatial designers identifies the physical space through the market input conveyed by the project management unit. While producing space; the main objective is to select a flexible design language that can respond to ever-changing consumer society dynamics and to adapt to consumption expectations and lifestyles. As emphasized by Baudrillard (1997), the phenomenon of consumption in urban space, shaped by a planned orientation by the capitalist economy, has changed from ‘complementary to everyday life’ to ‘determinant of everyday life’.

The designer, who shapes the project area with design, takes an important position in the capitalist consumption of space. As expressed by Tafuri (1976), the designer who forms the space is not only a specialist in designing masses and relationships in a simple sense, but also that in coordination: “*The architect is an organizer, not a designer of objects.*” (p. 125). As emphasized by Baudrillard (1997), the designer, who produces the ‘habitus’ of consumers with the project concept defined by the investor company, is pursuing formal searches in order to turn the society into

*“voluntary consumers”* with the space it produces (p. 61). For this purpose, as can be seen from the case study areas, residential areas are produced with strong design elements together with the areas where the variety of usage is offered in the option of being ‘miniature scale replica of urban sub-centers’ where commercial activities will take place in the project areas, as well.

The power dynamics are shaped by the consumption dynamics that guide the process when producing spatial design of the project area. The physical space produced by the design office is approved by the investor company in consideration of the prevailing expectancies of the ‘customer’. At this point, the owner of the capital is the power holder in decision making for the space to be produced within the project area. As stated by Çalışkan (2015), in the current conditions of our country, since there is no authority to guide design of collective spaces in the parts of the city; spaces are shaped only according to the market preferences. TOKİ, which is the owner of the Kuzu Effect and Mahall Ankara lands, is the decision maker for the projects; ‘revenue sharing business model’ focuses on the ‘value of exchange’ of the space to be produced, just as investor firms do. As expressed by Keskinok (2012); in the housing projects realized by TOKİ on public land, urban spaces are produced and consumption is encouraged with exaggerated display and measurements in terms of spatial design. (p. 111).

In this context, the power holder, as argued by Tafuri (1976), is more than just an ideological content. Accordingly, rather than the design process where consumption expectations are met in the basic sense; different effects, (i.e. ‘unique’, ‘assertive’) are intended. It is expected to produce spaces with an original character with the qualities as such. The space to be revealed by the designer, is controlled by the investor; intensively, and *“more exploited with the aim of capital gain through the space produced”* (Donald, 1999, p. 13). In other words, it is expected that the *“abstract space”* imagined by the investor would be produced by the designer as *“lived space”* (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). At this point, the space is produced with the help of the

designer who has the professional knowledge and skill that is expected to be produced as ‘interesting’ plans. As emphasized by Twombly (1996), space, in this case, is shaped by the specific taste of the designer. As seen in İncek Loft and Kuzu Effect projects, the space was produced with the selection of designers who were considered ‘star architects’ with international recognition. While generating project areas that offer ‘lifestyle’ to its users, the project management and marketing department of the investor firm, which holds the main voice in decision making, intervened at a minimum level. In the case of Mahall Ankara, while the project management unit produced several framework of the project, the knowledge that would create the space could not be transferred to the design office. For this reason, the project management and marketing department made intensive interventions in the design of the space in order to ensure that the space to be produced becomes feasible in market condition.

While this ‘lifestyle’, which is frequently emphasized in the project promotional catalogs, is produced by the design office, the space is shaped within the definition of abstract space set by the investor, the owner of the capital. As can be observed in the sample project areas, the space is being formed and the spatial design is produced with the guidance provided by the investor company. The space ‘imagined’ by the investor for the project area is ‘concretized’ by the designer by interpreting it with his/her own professional knowledge and creativity. At this point, as stated by Levy (1959), projects that are implemented with “*symbolic and cultural meanings*”, become an important factor of consumption dynamics with their conceptual schemes which will be transformed into a certain style over time (p. 118). The following sentences were used respectively by their designers for the cases: “*Self-sufficient by meeting the daily needs of the people*”, “*in a very special position of Ankara, nurturing the innovative spirit*” and “*creating a city symbol, shining like a night light*”. These expressions actually confirm the point. At this stage, content is provided to support the consumption of the project area including marketing department within the investor firm. As stated by Berman (1994), the marketing department, which focuses on the

exchange value of the space, assigns ‘symbolic value’ to the project and conveys the project to its consumers with side-meanings beyond the use value.

While highlighting the symbolic value; designed life is simulated in the project area by rendering images, videos and 3-dimensional models produced by computer environment. The images either produced by the architectural offices that produces spatial design, or by the offices specialized in computer-based digital drafting which does not necessarily require any architectural education. At this point, the architecture office is in a control position in order to accurately convey the design images and representation to be used in marketing processes. İncek Loft “*spatial quality profit*”, Kuzu Effect “*the city's most prestigious*” and Mahall Ankara “*inspired by the culture of the old neighborhood*” projects are all attributed to symbolic values involved in marketing and marketing. As stated by Baudrillard (1997), these projects are supported to be consumed through the lifestyles, promising “*commodity-sign*” as a result of symbolic meanings imposed by the active manipulation of marketing and advertisements. While organizing space in accordance with the concept of the project the designer articulates the ideas of marketing unit emphasizing the concepts; ‘difference’, ‘status’, ‘identity’ etc.

In accordance with the settled norms of consumer society, the spaces produced today are different from their design forms and become stylistic of indicator. This point is observed in all the Ankara projects examined in the thesis. In this context; Kuzu Effect is supposed to provide, high class customer portfolio usage; as İncek Loft is ‘unreachable’ because it is very luxurious and Mahall Ankara is aimed to ‘make life easier for the city’ as emphasized by the marketing department. At this point, it can be stated that there is a “*social corner tag*” as in expressed by Featherstone (1991) for the evaluation of consumer society (p. 72). Status of the projects made into the symbol of private life when; project areas afforded by only higher social groups seeking new spaces to maintain or open the distance from the city itself.

In addition to residential use in project areas, the options that characteristically make the project unique are highlighted by marketing departments. As stated by Featherstone (1991), with the discourse of project locations, uses and space suggested projects, an effort has been made to reach a privileged position within the society. According to Baudrillard (2008), the notion of status in the consumer society is becoming widespread as a criterion for determining the social position of man and tends to coincide with the concept of “*level of life*” (p. 236). In other words, the status in society is enhanced by choosing the place where the definition of life level is realized. At this point, while choosing the place by the consumer, as argued by Freud (1913), it is realized through the identification of the values represented by the place and ‘selves’. In this way, the consumer intends to have the commodity space and reach the symbol of the space manipulated as a result of marketing activities.

While the residential areas were produced with the specified content, the main influence of the marketing departments was directly for factors that would accelerate the sale. İncek Loft and Mahall Ankara projects, the number of dwellings produced by the architect was increased in line with the direction of the marketing department. However, the definition of “*fractured space*”, expressed by Lefebvre (1991), is strongly present in acquiring the commodity value of space (p. 358). Accordingly, in order to market the space more quickly and effectively, the space has been divided into several parts.



## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The impact of liberalization policies got effective in the production of space as in many other areas around the world as of the second half of the 20th century. During that period; consumption is one of the most prominent concepts as the determinant of daily life within the framework of new conditions brought up by the new economy, culture and technology. Within the scope of the thesis study, this concept has been examined in all its dimensions, and its relationship with space production processes has been established through mixed-use residential projects in Ankara. For this purpose, in order to reveal the effect of the consumption on space, an overarching perspective to the dynamics of consumption is suggested the processes of space production with both theoretical and practical aspects.

From the above mentioned point of view, firstly, it has been analyzed primarily how consumption phenomenon is produced in socio-spatial sense and then, it has been associated with the industrialization experienced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the related period, new social and economic concepts emerged in urban life. The phenomenon of consumption, which can be explained by bridging the disciplines spread across a wide range of bases on the theory, is driven by the capitalist economy, which, goes beyond just trying to produce a space in a physical sense. With this guidance, the phenomenon of consumption has evolved from the complementary of daily life to the determinant of daily life. While urban space is being formed with phenomenon of consumption; beyond only trying to produce a physical space, a consumer society is created with many concepts and products that supports the process. Accordingly, the dynamics that provide the ground encouraging the consumption of space are gathered from ‘economic’, ‘sociological’ and psychological ‘perspectives’.

The urban space formed in the light of the phenomenon of consumer society is produced by being transformed into a commodity in a gift structure supporting its consumption. In this context, the production and consumption processes of space were analyzed by Lefebvre with the argument that “(social) space is (social) product” (1991, p. 26) used in the definition of space. As a social product, the place incorporates all kinds of production and consumption forms with the social, political and economic sides of daily life. In other words, space, which is a product of capitalist accumulation strategies with the values of the consumer society, was designed and marketed by creating the value of exchange. Nowadays, the spaces produced are in a continuous consumption state just like the concept of ‘fashion’, both in terms of their designs and the lifestyle they offer. In order to consume the commodified space by focusing on the value of exchange, the experts and actors involved in the space production processes have certain expectations from the designer. In this context, while urban space is being formed with modern capitalist planning and design practices, the housing production which the study focuses on is directed with the great influence of the capital owner.

In this context of the current study, periodical analysis of the actors involved in the housing production processes and their relations has been examined and it has been ensured that today's housing production processes can be understood, accordingly. Nowadays, residential areas which are identified by a large number of subordinate meanings in addition to the purpose of sheltering are generated with the involvement of many new actors in the production. This situation emerged, all over the world as well in Turkey where the impact of liberal policies has increased from the period of the 1980s and the capital flow has been directed to the urban land. Within the related period, the number of institutions authorized to make decisions about the physical development of the city was increased and the laws that had an impact on the urban space due to political concerns were adopted and housing production was encouraged. As a result, the holistic planning approach that deals with the city as an integrated framework has been ceased and the land speculation has been intensified over the partial areas of the city. Under the influence of the mentioned concepts, the city is in

a constant transformation; supported by state policies and driven by the consumption culture. Especially after the 2000s, this process has been hosted by changing housing typologies.

As there is no administrative authority with the control of urban morphology, residential areas are produced with partial implementation plans whose physical conditions are very limited. The housing projects, with the housing typologies within the large urban blocks, are produced together with the, service and commercial functions required by the new modern urban life. In addition to the spatial arrangements that are not related to the large context, the projects have been turned out to be an instrument, of 'identity' and 'status' which are the basic components of the consumption culture. Accordingly, the material base of the residential areas produced by establishing the close relationships between the trio; owner, designer, and marketing expert.

With the expansion of the capital allocated by private sector investors to housing, commercial firms that had investments in different sectors have played an active role in housing production. Sample housing projects were selected from the capital, Ankara, a series of interviews were conducted with the actors actively involved in space production in order to make sense of spatial design's position in the overall process. Although the author got in touch with the public institutions and municipalities that took the planning decisions as the main initiator of the production processes, no positive response was received to make interviews with them.

As a result of the interviews with the actors of the sampling project areas, it has been specified that the project management department within each investor firm selected the project area at the 'best location' in the city and started the process. After the site selection, it is revealed that the project management and marketing department of the investor firm have great expectations from the designer for the space to be produced in the project. In particular, the design language and preferences displayed in the project area are attributed to symbolic values and the consumption processes are

accelerated by such a symbolic representation. With the design language chosen in the project areas, the culture of consumption, which constantly seeks innovation, is fueled by the notions such as ‘original’, ‘new’ and ‘different’. The fact that the spaces produced with those identities could gain meaning as the places where so-called urban life begins. ‘Abstract space’ produced as a result of such a ‘mental fiction’ as Lefebvre's (1991) argues, becomes ‘lived space’ in which daily life is spatially existing.

At this point, it is necessary to mention the dialectical nature of spatial design between the concept and the object. From the beginning of the thesis, it is argued that space production processes have a structure that oscillates between objects as the product and concepts as the idea. In this context, the role of spatial production in transforming the conceptualized space (representations of space) into perceived space (representative spaces) is emphasized, and the effect of abstract image is realized on the production of concrete (physical) spaces. In the space production processes, ‘abstract spaces’ which are reduced to quantities by the power holder, are transformed into ‘living spaces’ which are acquired as a result of their designer abilities. At this point, the concept of ‘habitus’ is produced by making sense of subjective preferences, needs and desires by the designer.

Within the scope of the thesis study, sample project areas that are evaluated as the equivalent of the concept of habitus are produced by the designer and find space as a result of the dialogue established with power holder. The process initiated by power holder is detailed by setting out the expectations for the urban space to be produced. With the selection of the design office by power holder, the active executive of the process changes. As a result, the power holder, which has evolved into ‘a customer’ for the design offices, must be persuaded for the space to be produced. As can be observed in cases, the power holder and design office seek to understand each other by conducting periodic negotiations. At this point, the designer is positioned in a

critical position, which will reveal the spatial design with his/her technical and professional knowledge.

As observed in the three mix-use housing projects examined in the thesis study, power holder expects from the spatial designer to produce 'unique' spaces. It has been analyzed that there are different orientations so that the characteristic in question can be revealed by the designer. The process has been started by examining the project location while the urban space is being produced by the design offices, which are all internationally known with their professions. The type of relationship, often highlighted as being designed in accordance with the current location within the city, that projects will establish with their surroundings is guided by spatial design. As can be seen in all of the cases examined, public use produced in projects is controlled by different permeability and orientation. With urban morphology to be produced by the designer, commercial life viability and public use are encouraged.

The state of being close to consumption, highlighted from the beginning of the study, allows for different design choices. Urban design processes, which cannot be guided by the means of planning, are shaped by the designer initiative. The project areas, in an effort to create an alive urban sub-center by establishing a relationship with its close environment in horizontal direction, are in an effort to provide a 'special living space' to their users by privatizing in vertical direction. In other words, 'a sterile' urban sub-center, free from the complexity and chaos that exists in today's city center, is offered to project users. In this way, housing areas for the residents of the project are encouraged with the side meanings are provided.

In this case, as can be observed in the cases, when the spatial designer is able to maintain his professional independence, projects of the 'unique' character demanded by the power holder can occur. The design itself acts as an important catalyst for the marketing factor, with the spaces produced in such originality. For this reason, power holder prefers design offices that have proven themselves in its profession and have been able to produce original designs with its professional knowledge. In this way, the

rate of profit to be obtained from the project to be produced is guaranteed. As it can be seen from the sample areas, the design processes are mainly interfered with through the areas where the marketing will take place. As a result of this complex network of relationships, the role and contribution of the actors involved in spatial production processes are conceptualized as follows, figure 6.1:

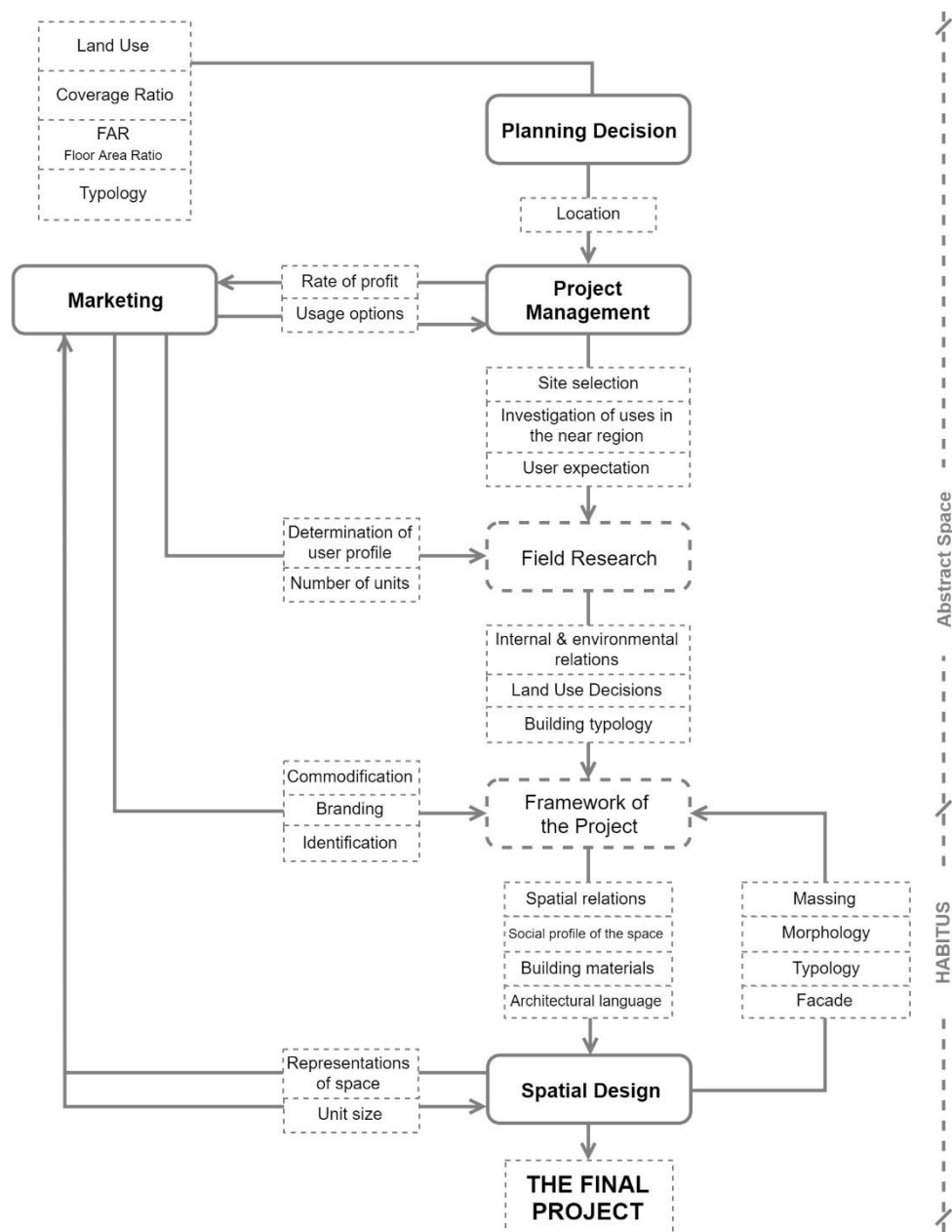


Figure 6.1. Relation structure of the housing projects

At this point, the design offices, which can be considered 'star-architect', are one step ahead of the power holder as they have proved themselves with the original designs. The designer should direct the power holder with his/her professional knowledge, whose main purpose is to increase the profit rate from the space. Otherwise, the owner of the capital who has no knowledge of the place will not be able to move beyond the position of a kind of technician who realizes what the power holder want.

As a result, the thesis does not only offer a critical evaluation of the actor's role in the production of space, but also a multi-sectional and layered interpretation of the complex processes of space production characterized by the dynamics of consumer society. It also speaks from within critical theory of the problem of spatial production as a real dimension of consumer society. It is difficult to talk about the spatial production that is disconnected from cycles of the capital invested in space. Due to its dialectical structure, spatial production constantly run between the object and concept and is re-constructed according to socio-economic specificities of the context. Therefore, it requires questioning and interpretation from a critical perspective. The methods used in mass media are usually utilized as the manipulation tools in relation to the consumer behaviors in the production of urban space in housing sector. That basically signifies the critical role of the designer to reproduce the symbolic value of the 'house' and 'housing' in the consumer society.

### **6.1. Limitations of the Research and Further Studies**

Within the scope of the thesis study, residential production processes were analyzed with a socio-spatial approach. While the stated analysis was carried out, the unique relations network of the space production processes was revealed. In line with this aim, interviews with actors who are actively involved in spatial shaping processes are realized and the shaping story of the space is made sense. Since the thesis focusing on the formalization of the process rather than making sense of urban space through quantifications, fills an important gap in the literature.

From this perspective, the extent to which consumer preferences can be driven by design can be the subject of another studies in terms of housing production processes which are argued to be shaped by the influence of consumer society. In other words, has spatial design been reduced to a function that manipulates (lies to) user preferences in the housing sector? In this sense, renderings of sample housing projects and images served to the user must be analyzed extensively. It is critical of the conditions under which the produced space is offered to users.

All of the spatial designers analyzed in the thesis study have the awareness that they can be considered ‘star architects’. Another issue that can be examined is the situation of housing projects produced by design offices which cannot be counted as star architects. As a natural consequence of this situation, the perception of housing quality for those living in produced residential areas is another issue that needs to be discussed.

As expressed from the beginning of the thesis study, spatial production processes are in a dialectical structure that commutes between objects and concepts and is constantly re-fictionalized according to context. In this sense, it is hoped that the thesis work has made a promise to be questioned, discussed and criticized in the new thesis work.



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