

PROGRAMMING MIXED-USE PROJECTS WITH CHANGING URBAN  
DYNAMICS AND USER PROFILE

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

BY

Emre UĞUR

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

SEPTEMBER 2015



Approval of the thesis:

**PROGRAMMING MIXED-USE PROJECTS WITH CHANGING URBAN  
DYNAMICS AND USER PROFILE**

submitted by **EMRE UĞUR** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of **Master of Architecture in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical  
University** by,

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

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan  
Head of Department, **Architecture**

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın  
Supervisor, **Department of Architecture, METU**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Examining Committee Members:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal  
Department of Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın  
Department of Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan  
Department of Architecture, TED University

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer  
Department of Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Assist. Prof. Dr. Tonguç Akış  
Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** 09.09.2015

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

Name, Last Name: Emre Uğur

Signature :

## ABSTRACT

### PROGRAMMING MIXED-USE PROJECTS WITH CHANGING URBAN DYNAMICS AND USER PROFILE

Uğur, Emre

M. Arch, Department of Architecture

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin

September 2015, 105 pages

The thesis investigates mixed-use projects and their functions and these projects' relationships with urban from urban scale to the building scale with examining mixed-use idea and mixed-use environments in urbanization processes from industrial revolution and post-industrial urbanization to the modernization, post-modernization and eventually context of globalization.

Existing structures in post-industrial era, development of modern cities, modernism, post-modernism and neoliberal globalization, are analyzed chronologically in each chapter about centralization modes of urban and urban planning processes and these processes' relationships with politics and economy.

Contemporary urban structure, relationship between planning and economy and social dynamics and links between mixed-use projects and these relationships are researched with the results of the concepts which are surveyed until contemporary debates. As a result of this, there will be an analyze about contemporary meaning of mixed-use projects and its relationship with architecture, urbanization, urban planning, centralization, social dynamics, user profile and economic structures.

Keywords: Mixed-Use, Urbanization, Centralization, Economy, Society, Globalization, Urban Planning, Ideology and Space, Urban Space, Space, Capitalism



## ÖZ

### DEĞİŞEN KENTSEL DİNAMİKLER VE KULLANICI PROFİLİ İLE BİRLİKTE KARMA KULLANIMLI YAPILARI PROGRAMLAMAK

Uğur, Emre

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Eylül 2015, 105 sayfa

Bu tez endüstri devrimi ve ardından gelişen kentleşme süreçlerinde karma kullanımlı yapılar ve karma kullanım fikrini irdeleyerek modernleşme ve ardından post-modernleşme süreçlerinin sonucunda gelinen küreselleşme bağlamında karma kullanımlı yapılar ve sahip oldukları fonksiyonları ve bu yapıların kentle olan ilişkilerini kentsel ölçekten yapı ölçeğine kadar ölçeklerde incelemektedir.

Endüstri devrimi sonrası dönem, modern kentlerin oluşumu, modernizm, postmodernizm ve neoliberal küreselleşme dönemlerinde var olan yapı, kentsel merkezileşme ve kentsel planlama süreçleri ve bu süreçlerin politika ve ekonomi ile ilgisi her bölümümüzde öncelikle kronolojik olarak incelenmektedir.

Günümüze kadar izi sürülen kavramların sonucunda ise günümüzdeki kentsel yapılanma, planlama ile ekonomi ve sosyal dinamikler ilişkisi ve bu ilişkilerin karma kullanımlı yapılarla olan bağı, etkileşimi seçilen örneklerle birlikte ele alınmaktadır. Sonuç olarak ise tez boyunca irdelenen karma kullanımlı yapılar, mimarlık, kentleşme, kent planlaması, merkezileşme, sosyal dinamikler, kullanıcı profili ve ekonomik yapılanma konuları, günümüz mimari üretimi hakkında bir analiz gerçekleştirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karma Kullanım, Kentleşme, Merkezileşme, Ekonomi, Toplum, Küreselleşme, Kentsel Planlama, İdeoloji ve Mekan, Kent Mekanı, Mekan, Kapitalizm.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin for his precious lectures, and for his great effort, guidance and patience during my studies. I would be always grateful for having such a supportive mentor who inspires me intellectually throughout my degree.

I would like to thank the members of the examining committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namik Erkal, Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan, Prof. Dr. Abdi Güzer and Assist. Prof. Dr. Tonguç Akış for their valuable suggestions and comments.

A study like this cannot be shaped without a great friendship. I want to thank my friends M. Cana Dai, Yasemin G. Fillik, Günce Eşingen, D. Dilan Kara, Y. İpek Mehmetoğlu, Seda Sokullu, Sine Taymaz, Tolga Baş, Gökhan Bilgin, H. Utku Karakaya and Gökhan Kınayoğlu for their help and support on various architectural subjects, cheerful enthusiasm and positive energy whenever I needed. I also thank İrem Dökmeci for her unique support and encouragement through the all those times. She has an intense effort in each word of this work. She also has an important role on my motivation.

I owe my deepest appreciation and thanks to my family, my sister and best friend Ecem, my mother Nermin Uğur and my father Zeki Uğur, for their patience and trust throughout my life. Throughout this study and my degree, I sincerely thank them for their endless support, love and friendship. Their thoughts and guidances would always enlighten my way.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	v
ÖZ.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
CHAPTERS	
1.INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Definition of the Problem and Objective of the Study.....	1
1.2 Method of Analysis.....	5
1.3 Structure of the Thesis .....	6
2. MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1800s-1914.....	9
2.1 Industrial Revolution and Industrial Era .....	9
2.2 Second Industrial Era and Urban Utopias .....	16
3. MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: Between 1914- 1980.....	26
3.1 Postwar Period and the CIAM .....	26
3.2 Results of Modernist Approach .....	32
4. MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: Between 1980- Today.....	43
4.1 Era of Globalization .....	43
4.2 New Urbanism Movement.....	50
4.3 Turkish Case After 1980 .....	54
5. CASES AND ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY MIXED-USE PROJECTS..	58

5.1 Re-Analyzing the Functions of Mixed-Use Projects .....	59
5.2 Cases and Selection Criteria.....	61
5.2.1 Selection Criteria of Cities .....	62
5.2.2 Selection Criteria of Projects .....	63
5.3 Method of Analysis .....	64
5.4 Analysis of Projects .....	65
5.4.1 External Dynamics .....	65
5.4.2 Intermediary Dynamics.....	67
5.4.3 Internal Dynamics and Functional Analysis .....	71
5.5 Assessment of the Cases .....	77
5.6 Assessment of the Chapter .....	82
6. CONCLUSION.....	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	100

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure5.1:** Functional Chart of Projects
- Figure5.2:** Istanbul Transportation Network
- Figure5.3:** European Side
- Figure5.4:** Ankara Main Roads and Former Central Districts
- Figure5.5:** Eskişehir Road General view
- Figure5.6:** Site of the Mahall Ankara Project
- Figure5.7:** Old and new views
- Figure5.8:** Site of the Next Level Ankara Project
- Figure5.9:** Old and new views
- Figure5.10:** Site of the Torun Center Project
- Figure5.11:** Old and new views
- Figure5.12:** Site of the Zorlu Center Project
- Figure5.13:** old and new views
- Figure5.14:** Mahall Ankara Project Site Plan
- Figure5.15:** Mahall Ankara Project Perspective View
- Figure5.16:** Next Level Ankara Site Plan
- Figure5.17:** Next Level Project Perspective view
- Figure5.18:** Torun Center Site Plan
- Figure5.19:** Torun Center Perspective View
- Figure5.20:** Zorlu Center Site Plan
- Figure5.21:** Zorlu Center Perspective View

## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Definition of the Problem and the Objective of the Study**

The subject of this thesis is mixed-use projects which create a new form of central districts in late urban practices in Turkey. While researching the new concept of mixed-use, the thesis aims to define the contemporary meaning of mixed-use projects and also their sub-elements, with a clear background of both mixed-use and central districts with related urban movements.

Throughout the thesis, from urban scale to building scale, space will be analyzed through its social, economic, political and physical dynamics.

It can be accepted that the spatial organization of cities has two main criteria: capital and distribution of population.<sup>1</sup> It can also be added that these two subjects depend on each other. From the industrial revolution, as a beginning point of this thesis, to the twenty-first century, capital has had absolute power over urban structure. Mutually, both capital and urban structure have renewed themselves against the changing economic and social conditions. During these renovation periods, governmental regulations and capital have firstly targeted business districts and transportation systems of the city. Consequently, CBDs (central business districts) have become the centralized notion of finance, power and control.

---

<sup>1</sup> İlhan Tekeli, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması. In Y. Sey (Ed.), 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, p. 20-22, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları

About the relationship of city structure and economic structure Jane Jacobs said that:

We now know a few general things about the economy of cities: that cities are settlements where much new work is added to older work and that this new work multiplies and diversifies a city's divisions of labor; that cities develop because of this process, not because of events outside of themselves; that cities invent and reinvent rural economic life; that developing new work is different from merely repeating and expanding efficiently the production of already existing goods and services, and thus requires different, conflicting conditions from those required for efficient production; that growing cities generate acute practical problems which are solved only by new goods and services that increase economic abundance; and that the past development of city is no guarantee of future development because the city can stop vigorously adding new work into the economy and thus can stagnate.<sup>2</sup>

Control of the production of urban space, on the other hand, depends on some economic relationships. According to Andy Merrifield, our planetary urban fabric - the terrestrial texturing of our urban universe - is woven by a ruling class that sees cities as purely speculative entities, as sites for gentrifying schemes and upscaled redevelopments, as machines for making clean, quick money in, and for dispossessing erstwhile public goods.<sup>3</sup> According to his views, production of urban space, so, new central business districts in our case, are the products of ruler class needs.

At this point, David Harvey's views in *The Condition of Postmodernity* defines another point of view about contemporary urban and architectural spaces. He points out that the velocity of capital has been increased and the new spaces must keep pace with that velocity.<sup>4</sup> Late capitalism needs new forms of space to meet the new demands. David Harvey also determines that the velocity of capital and destruction and reproduction

---

<sup>2</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities*, New York, Random House, 1969, p 121.

<sup>3</sup> Andy Merrifield. *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014, p38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p38.

processes of space are in relation to each other. As a result of this relationship, space is desubjectified. Capitalist modernization, in economic processes and also in social processes, is based on the increased pace of economic growth.

All these renovations bring thoughts about space and politics together with the organization and reorganization concepts of Jean Gottmann. He says that: "The political process develops within the geographical space, and that is the *raison d'être* of political geography. However, geography does not simply 'contain' politics. The political process organizes the space within which it develops, and being a dynamic process, it constantly strives to improve the spatial organization in order to adapt it to change and to fit it to better serve the purposes of government."<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, these new central business districts and new organizational schemes of space bring centralization and decentralization debates in terms of urban planning and urban space. Jean Gottmann points out about centrality that:

Centrality must be perceived by the people using the "central place" as such. That perception is not the simple result of physical design apparent in the field: it is influenced by historical knowledge, political organization economic functions, and so on. Within a national territory there could be several important centres well recognized by the population as national centres: one could be the political capital, another the major economic and financial centre, still another the seat of the higher judicial instance, and perhaps still another the locus of specialized political and cultural activities that complement those of the other three centres.<sup>6</sup>

Before describing the problem and methodology, it would be beneficial to make clear some concepts used in this thesis like "urban dynamics" and "programming a project".

---

<sup>5</sup> Jean Gottmann, *Centre and Periphery : spatial variation in politics* / edited by Jean Gottmann, Beverly Hills, Sage Publication, 1980, p217.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p15.

### **What is "dynamics" in urban space?**

While passing from the agriculture-based society to the industrial society, the countryside lost its former importance and urban space proclaimed its superiority. This superiority generated its own system, which had internal relationships and contradictions. Urban space created an inseparable and dialectical unity with economy and sociology, as well as planning and design. The balance and power distribution in this unity can change and is open to debate; however, its existence is clear. The concept of urban dynamics mentioned in the thesis is an urbanization process, which is based on the relationships between urban space, the economic system, sociology, and planning. More specifically, it can be defined as the control of the capitalist economic system and the social changes that are induced from its political consequences and the effects of these social changes on the space, and also the reactions to these changes in the opposite direction in the relationships.

### **What is "programming" in mixed-use projects?**

Scheduled with a planned process, albeit also arising with a spontaneous process, each space contains an event. When the event is formed, it can be read as a setup, whether its functioning is planned or spontaneous. For mixed-use spaces, it is also possible that their formation has a planned process with a historical background. The designer creates a certain spatial program during the planning. The selection of the combined functions, the significance of the functions in the overall project, and the interactions between each other and also their environment are defined by a program with a planned scenario. In this thesis, the factors that affect the scenario of programming will be researched, in terms of the urban space.

### **Problem Definition**

In major cities especially, problems like traffic, overconsumption of natural sources, qualitative and quantitative lack of public spaces, lack of green areas and congestion of urban areas, continue to increase. Today many new urban plans and developments claim to solve these problems partially.

Again, at the last phase of globalization, the late form of capitalism needs to create a new spatial organization. Architecture and urban planning, inevitably, take their place in this focus.

Neoliberal understanding of urbanism adds new problems to the existing ones. With this addition, the conditions of cities in Turkey, especially the major ones, are faced with serious changes and pressure. Because of these changes and pressure, people's agenda shifts to urban issues. Even riots are happening which focus on urban debates.

In the latest period of urbanization, new central business districts have been formed in the major cities of Turkey. The old and unused districts have decreased in value and companies have created and found new centers. These phases are also the part of the centralization-decentralization processes. Centralization and decentralization movements, which occur continuously and cyclically in the urban space, cause tension, and deconstruction and reconstruction of urban space cause value and usage changes in space.

In the new mode of centralization, newly created central business districts allow the building of unplanned and profit-oriented projects. This new understanding leads to the projects mentioned, which claim to solve urban problems.

In this thesis research, the generation and formation of new mixed-use projects will be researched, while considering the existing change in dynamics of urban and architectural space. Cause and effects of such generation and formation will be considered and analyzed in terms of whether they can solve problems or not.

## **1.2 Method of Analysis**

In this study, analysis and determinations about mixed-use projects, as important spaces in contemporary central business districts, are the key points. The aim of the thesis is to research mixed-use projects: their theoretical background and resources, and their impact on urban space as well as architecture. To study the social effects of spatial organization of these spaces is also important. Critical theories of space,

social practices, economy and politics are used while investigating the issue. Through the thesis, the dialectic between urban space, architectural space, social relationships and the economy will be researched.

The thesis will approve qualitative methods to analyze the foundation, and the conceptual and contextual components of mixed-use projects in contemporary meaning and form. First, mixed-use will be researched in a historical context. Historical meanings of mixed-use show a spatio-contextual framework. The analysis will consider three different periods of time. With its own characteristics and developments, each period creates a different case, with common and different conclusions.

After drawing a theoretical framework, new practices of mixed-use will be analyzed, with selected cases from Ankara and Istanbul. Other than a physical description, the cases and their impacts will be treated on different scales. Contextual reasons and results with urban inputs are key points. Also the differentiation of concepts, from former periods to contemporary, will be redefined in this chapter.

### **1.3 Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis is structured in four main parts: in the first, second, and third parts, a chronological study is pursued on the economic, social and spatial structures of urban space, focusing on center-periphery, the central business district, and mixed-use concepts. The last main part studies the contemporary CBD and mixed-use cases from Istanbul and Ankara. The results of the other three parts are updated according to contemporary practices. This chapter aims to clarify the contemporary mixed-use concept in terms of the era of the mode of urbanization.

In each period, the analysis will be of the relationship between the economic system and the period's urbanization mode with the period's dominant movements. While analyzing the process, a significant debate, center-periphery or centralization-decentralization, will be the focus of discussion.

In the first part, the urban condition of the industrialization period is researched in terms of its social, spatial and economic features. As a starting point of modern urban theory, the industrialization period from the 1800s to the 1939 is critical to understand urban development and early capitalist relationships.

The reasons for and the results of the main urban regulation processes will be researched for their political, social and economic background, as well as spatial and physical structures. Ideas about the Haussmann Plan in Paris, the Brooklyn Plan in New York and the London urban crisis after the industrial revolution, are key to understand the conditions of the time. Also, the utopians' ideas about the ideal city and their correspondence to urban practice are other important points in that period.

In the second part, social and spatial developments after the conditions of WWII will be researched to understand the relationship between modern capitalism and urbanism in terms of theoretical and practiced ideas of the age. Athen's Charter and modernist ideas about the urban space are the key elements in this chapter.

A total understanding of urbanism and its roots in everyday life could be seen during the modernist period of urban structures and architecture. Architects and planners, like the utopians of the previous period, wanted to design an ideal life according to the age's ideas. Post-war conditions, Fordism and new economic redevelopment and urbanism are inseparable topics in terms of creating a new understanding of urban life and also space.

Thirdly, theory and practice in contemporary urban space, defined as after the 1980s until today, will be researched to understand the neoliberal conditions of capitalism and urbanism. The new mode of capitalism and globalization and their effects on urban space are the key issues in this chapter. New urban theories and center-periphery debates in this globalization age will be also discussed. After the discussions in former chapters, in this chapter, the urban conditions and movements in Turkey become part of the discussion.

Lastly, in the fourth part, remarkable examples from Ankara and Istanbul will be analyzed. In this part, while discussing and analyzing the cases, functional and environmental dynamics and changes will be the main focus in order to understand the social, economic and spatial features of various cases.

Throughout the study, three main points will always be in focus: mixed-use projects and developments, and central business districts and their relationship with centralization-decentralization modes of urban space. To analyze the relationships of these three concepts, and the changing profile of production and consumption relationships in urban space, production of the urban environment and architectural space, as well as economic relationships in urban space, will be the tools of research.

In each part of the thesis, mixed-use projects will be investigated in a different time period, in terms of urban dynamics.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1800s – 1914**

In this chapter I will research economic, social and spatial changes in urban scale and will focus on the mixed-used projects' progression, taking the industrial revolution as a starting point in time because of its deep effect on urban, architecture and social life theories.

#### **2.1 The industrial revolution and the Industrial Era**

With the beginning of trade, increase in profit and the rise of the bourgeois class and capital, economic contest had become the most important way to define social life. Every single change in society is affected by the economy or has a dialectical relationship with it.

The industrial revolution is a significant period relating to today's urban, economic and social life, as much as the collapse of medieval cities relates to the Renaissance, the rise of the trade to Protestantism or the rise of the bourgeois class to the French Revolution. It was the beginning of an understanding which started with the rapid technological developments of nineteenth century and extends to the present time.

The formation of the industrial urban context could be analyzed from several aspects. Lewis Mumford explains the political perspective of the industrial urban context:

The political base of this new type of urban aggregation rested on three main pillars: the abolition of guilds and the creation of a state of permanent insecurity for the working classes: the establishment of the competitive open market for labor and for the sale of goods: the maintenance of foreign dependencies as source of raw materials, necessary to new industries, and as a ready market to absorb the surplus of mechanized industry. Its economic foundations were the exploitation of the coal mine, the vastly increased production of iron, and the use of a steady, reliable - if highly inefficient - source of mechanical power: the steam engine.<sup>7</sup>

After the establishment of the first factories, people from towns were hired, and, after that, with the increasing number of factories and the need for workers, people from the countryside arrived in the towns. However, instead of establishing a factory in the countryside, investors chose towns. According to Manuel Castells, the towns attracted industry because of two important factors - manpower and market - and industry, in its turn, developed new kinds of employment and gave rise to the need for services.<sup>8</sup>

But the reverse process had been also important: where functional elements were present, in particular, raw materials and means of transport, industry colonized and gave rise to urbanization.

In both the cases of Manuel Castells, the dominant element was industry, which entirely organized the urban landscape.<sup>9</sup> When the industrial revolution happened and factories were established in urban centers that established transportation links, a labor force and raw materials were easy; inevitable changes had occurred in social

---

<sup>7</sup> Lewis Mumford. *The Culture of Cities*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938, p.145.

<sup>8</sup> Manuel Castells. *The Urban Question a Marxist Approach*, London, Edward Arnold Ltd., 1977,p14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

and physical structures of urban space. Craftsmen became the workforce and unprecedented immigration arrived in urban centers from rural areas. Urban centers had changed irrevocably and irregular development caused urban disorder.

Yet the domination of industry was not a technological fact; it was the expression of the capitalistic logic that lay at the base of industrialization. 'Urban disorder' was not in fact disorder at all; it represented the spatial organization created by the market, and was derived from the absence of social control of industrial activity. Technological rationality and the primacy of profit led, on the one hand, to the effacement of any essential in the overall characteristics of capitalist industrial civilization, and, on the other hand, to the development of functional specialization and the social division of labor in space, with a hierarchy between the different urban areas and a process of cumulative growth derived from the play of external economies.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, urban space, physically, and states, socially, could not respond to the resulting immigration. Because of the more than enough work force, salaries of workers were reduced for more profit exploitation by factory owners. Even fulfilling their humanitarian requirements was harder for the working class. Kenneth Frampton mentions the conditions in growing cities such as London, Manchester, Paris, New York and Chicago, where the enormously rising population forced the transformation of old neighborhoods into tenement districts. The main purpose of the new buildings in these districts was to build cheap, rudimentary and maximum square meter dwellings within walking distance of factories. As a result, such developments were insufficient in terms of basic necessities. Lack of light, ventilation, open space and poor sanitary facilities came together with primitive drainage. Naturally, the conditions of these spaces incited diseases like tuberculosis and the outbreak of cholera in Europe in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>11</sup> When he was a 24 year-old intern in Manchester in 1844, Friedrich Engels described a city of illness and misery, and

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992, p21.

analyzed the life standards as non-humanistic, both in houses and in streets.<sup>12</sup> Some observations, such as those of people, in spite of a 14-hour working day, who could eat only potatoes, were barefoot and lying in basements full of mud, reflect the period's characteristics in terms of the society at the time.

In the industrialization period utopians created new ideal worlds to counter industrial sufferings. One of the first utopians was Charles Fourier, who described the "new industrial world" in *Le Nouveau Monde industriel* in 1829.<sup>13</sup> Robert Owen's New Lanark in Scotland in 1815 and Sir Titus Salt's Saltaire in Yorkshire in 1850 were other important utopian ideas about the period and against the hard conditions of society. These utopias were not accidental or incidental. The changes in economic, social and also urban fields affected philosophers of the era and naturally, they imagined and proposed a better created and planned life for the whole of society.<sup>14</sup> Common points of these utopias are the breadth of their visions. They offered a new social and working life with economic bases and also a new urban life with planned areas.

Despite the problems noted by these utopian ideas, urbanization had proceeded irregularly. Town centers became problematic spaces with an increasing density. On the other hand, the conventional mixed use understanding of towns, which was a necessity in older towns before the industrial revolution because of the compact and comparatively small settlements, turned into a new mixed-use concept that was formed in large-scale towns with the new trade and economic characteristics of those towns. New mixed-use concepts also were more compact than conventional ones and their functions were well defined. The economic change and development of new relationships among production, profit, salary, trade and space, composed a new urban space. This new urban formation had centralized trade and business districts. These new formations, although it is very hard to call them central business districts, would evolve into CBDs and also mixed-use developments.

---

<sup>12</sup> Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of The Working Class in England*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England ; New York, N.Y., USA : Penguin Books, 1987, pp85-109.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992, p22.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p22.

After the breaking up of conventional type of mixed-use concepts to new industrial ones, these utopias had been the first examples of planned mixed-use areas. Central working spaces (factory, farm or production cooperative) surrounded by house blocks, leisure activity spaces etc. were developed in the same area as a part of creating living spaces.

Parallel with the utopias, the factories and the housing units had been the main elements of new urban space in reality. The factory was the nucleus of the new urban organism. Other parts of life were woven around it. On the other hand, because of their importance, factories claimed the best sites. Their needs forced them to be placed near a waterfront. Over a long period of time, this has resulted in destruction: aquatic life, food and clean water were affected by factory waste.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, habitats were generated but on the other hand, the elements of life were destroyed. Environmental pollution worsened the difficult living conditions in slums.

Furthermore, in the beginning of the urbanization period of the industrial revolution, landlords raised rents because of the demand for existing housing stock, which resulted in an increase in land prices. This situation, at the same time, has been responsible for the emergence of urban rent with the meaning as known today.

During this period, state power over cities passed to the power of the capital, and consequently, irregular and even chaotic developments were enforced. Factories, commercial spaces, small consumption spaces and housing units were established in the same areas, and placing them within walking distance was still an important issue in planning. Naturally, it had been possible that spontaneously and even necessarily mixed-use areas were formed in new urban orders.

However, in the first industrialization period, the capitalist system adopted a new urban policy. In this policy, the system observed the faults of the development but allowed them for the sake of money circulation. When circulation was affected by the faults, then the system intervened. Planning and avoiding faults were excluded because of the free-market policy.

---

<sup>15</sup> Lewis Mumford. *The Culture of Cities*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938, p.161.

In new industrial towns, municipal services were absent.<sup>16</sup> Because of the absence of municipal sanitation and plumbing, awful smells arose in the new settlement areas.<sup>17</sup> Even water could not reach the houses of the working class. Municipal services did not consider this situation and could not do anything because of the enormity of the problem. Yet, due to the conditions of the working class (and even unemployed people), finally, the governments or administrators had to intervene in urban life, such as with Victorian housing in England; the first important hole in Adam Smith's liberal and free world utopia.

In 1853 Paris, Haussmann described the polluted water supply, lack of an adequate sewer system, insufficient open space, squalid housing areas and congested circulation.<sup>18</sup> Like the other major cities, Paris had also severe disease outbreak problems because of insufficient water and sewer systems. Together with the physical problems, Haussmann also pointed to another target, of which Kenneth Frampton says that;

At the same time, the existing street system was no longer adequate for the administrative center of an expanding capitalist economy. Under the brief autocracy of Napoleon III, Haussmann's radical solution to the physical aspect of this complex problem was percement. His broad purpose was, as Choay has written, 'to give unity and transform into an operative whole the "huge consumer market, the immense workshop" of the Parisian agglomerate'. Although the Artists' Plan of 1793 and before that Pierre Patte's plan of 1765 had clearly anticipated the axial and focal structure of Haussmann's Paris, there is, as Choay points out, a discernible shift in the actual location of the axes, from a city organized around traditional quartiers, as in the plan made under David, to a metropolis united by the 'fever of capitalism'.<sup>19</sup>

The Paris and Haussmann example shows clearly the relationship between the need for economic change and physical environment planning in terms of the capitalist understanding. The renovation had not begun only with the benefit of the public. In

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.166.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.161.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd. , 1992, pp.23-24.

<sup>19</sup>ibid., p24.

spite of the hard and awful outbreaks of disease and unbearable living conditions, the change had begun when the economic conditions forced the government to do something.

The other side of the Haussmannization of Paris is the effect of social policy on the public. Haussmann tried to design a new public space which did not allow riots and protests against the government. Andy Merrifield, reading Walter Benjamin's writing on Paris, points to the importance of the relationship between the social structuring plans of Haussmann and urbanization. Widening the streets would make it difficult to construct barricades and would provide more space for the security forces. Haussmann thought that the new plan of Paris would secure the city against civil war. New streets would provide the shortest route from the barracks to the working-class areas.<sup>20</sup>

Another example of the capitalist impact on planning decisions was the grid plan of Brooklyn. The grid plan allowed infrastructure to be built easily, establishment of a regular transportation system and the building of defined blocks for all functions. From another point of view, there was no functional differentiation on the plan between the industrial, the commercial, the civic, and the residential quarters.<sup>21</sup> However, the advantages or disadvantages of the plan could not be evaluated in terms of the change in physical environment. Like the Haussmann plan in Paris, the grid plan of Brooklyn also had a capitalist background. Lewis Mumford remarks: "Since the main purpose of the inorganic gridiron plan was speculation and sale, it succeeded admirably on its own premises. The first step in the development of the town or the new quarter was the platting of the streets: the next step was the division of blocks into building lots and their early sale in individual parcels to the private owner or builder."<sup>22</sup> Within the physical purposes, regeneration of the area according to the new capitalist mode has become the main focus of the plan.

---

<sup>20</sup>Andy Merrifield, *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014, p37.

<sup>21</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938, p.185.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

## 2.2 The Second Industrial Era and Urban Utopias

Until the nineteenth century, the main economy had been based on land and agriculture. Despite developments in trading, landlords in the feudal system still kept the major power. Land was separated into large parts and these parts were owned by only a landlord. The situation caused a closed and land-based economy. Wealth creators like castles, peasants and land, could not be sold. The feudal landlords could not sell them, nor was there anybody to buy them. Wealth and land had to be a local concept.

The feudal system had dissolved, starting from the Middle Ages until end of the eighteenth century, and, through the industrial revolution, trading and the open market became the most important tools of the economy. Produced goods were sold in new markets, and the land-based and closed economy had lost its power against the movement. Land became a tradable commodity with the end of land-based wealth and the establishment of trade as the center of the social structure. The situation caused a dissolution in the relationship between the place of land and social, geographic and cultural values of place. This shift has been the quantatization of land. Land has lost all its feudal meanings and has begun to be evaluated within the same criteria as all other commodities.<sup>23</sup>

Another important characteristic of the period is the change regarding centralization and decentralization of the new urban structure. Although more than one contextual key word would define the evolution of the industrial city, 'centralization' is the most significant principle of spatial formation which directly affected the cities to experience an urban life, dwelling on the notion of mixed-use functional strategies.<sup>24</sup> In the 1880s, George Pullman, an entrepreneur from Chicago, established his new industrial town south of Chicago. This new industrial town combined workers' residences with a full range of communal facilities, including a theatre and a library,

---

<sup>23</sup>Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi, İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları*, 2005, p36.

<sup>24</sup>Ali Aslankan, *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation), and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished PHD. Thesis, METU, Department of Architecture, 2014, p20.

schools, parks and playgrounds, all in close proximity to the Pullman factory.<sup>25</sup> A center, which contained offices, banks, retail, governmental buildings, composed downtowns as a new urban form and programmed to the new system. With the support of technological developments, the first skyscraper was opened as an office building in Chicago in 1887. Agglomeration of shopping places in central locations including museums, exhibitions, theatres, clubs, retail and restaurants appeared to be another function of an early downtown.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the early form of the new working dynamics was raised by the new economic system and urban planning. The capitalist system used land as a commodity for the reason of creating a healthier workspace and habitat. While showing its new technological capability, it also ensured money flow.

However, continuation of rapid industrialization and economic enlargement, which began with industrialization and had continued during the nineteenth century, generated highly dense and polluted cities by implanting industrial enterprises within the urban space. Depending on this factor, while the industrial city had thrived, the natural development of mix-uses and central concentration had started to turn into inconvenient forms. Urban activities started to be separated via accumulation of functions in assigned locations and then followed by social segregation.<sup>27</sup>

As Dennis underlines, social homogenization in neighborhoods started at the end of the century, and politically independent small suburban formations appeared as early as the 1910s. On the other hand, the appearance of middle class apartments, 'the tenements' for the working class, were claimed to be the cancer cells of cities, rapidly spreading in urban centers because of lack of maintenance and poor living conditions.<sup>28</sup> The dominant city center slowly turned into a place of unreasonable

---

<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992, p27.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, p228.

<sup>27</sup> Ali Aslankan. *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation), and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished PHD. Thesis, METU, Department of Architecture, 2014, p20.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, p228.

density, pollution and congestion. After the industrial revolution, the system grew and produced its own problems. Then, by using these problems, it created new forms both for solving problems and opening new market areas. Secondly, the system faced its own solutions as a new problem. Inevitably, urbanists and architects, with entrepreneurs and capital owners, had to solve problems with new approaches.

At the end of the nineteenth century, two important advancements occurred in the urbanism and architecture fields. Ebenezer Howard published his solutions in *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1898. After the industrial revolution and some utopian suggestions, Howard's suggestion was the signal of modern planning. At the same time, after the 1890, important architects and theorists of that era, such as Adolf Loss, Peter Behrens, Otto Wagner, Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan, created a new architectural movement with a functionalist background against the historical imitations.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, utopian urban ideas had changed, with realistic proposals like the linear city or Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. In the process of the modern movement, there is no clear distinct moment between the end of utopianism and the birth of realism. Instead, in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, "realistic utopianism" and "utopian realism" exist and are companions to each other. However, with the laws of profit, social utopia was declined. Architectural and urban ideologies were left with the utopia of form as a way of recovering the human totality.<sup>29</sup>

Howards idea had two important sources: firstly, the tradition of the utopias of the first part of the nineteenth century, understood as a perfect and self-sufficient community, a synthesis of town and country, with the social implications traditionally connected with it; secondly, the concept of the single family house set amid greenery, which was, in a sense, an adaptation of the preceding ideal elaborated by Victorian thought in the second half of the century, with the emphasis on privacy rather than social relationships: an attempt at releasing family life from the crowding

---

<sup>29</sup>Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1976, pp.46-48.

and disorder of the metropolis and at making the town as like the country as was reasonably possible.<sup>30</sup>

According to Leonardo Benevolo, Howard reasoned the idea as:

The private ownership of building land meant that the value of land rose increasingly from the outskirts to the center of town, and caused the owners of urban land to exploit it intensively, crowding the buildings and causing congestion in the streets; furthermore the concentration of interests led to an unlimited growth of the city, so that congestion was continually growing and driving back the countryside. If private speculation could be eliminated, the buildings could be set as far apart as was needful and there could be open spaces everywhere; the stimulus to unlimited growth would also disappear and the size of the town could be suitably established so that the countryside was within walking distance. In this way, according to Howard, the benefits of the town - social life, public service - could be combined with the benefits of the country, quiet, greenery, healthfulness etc. Thus the idea of a garden city was born.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of the conditions in the nineteenth century, as mentioned before, upper classes left city centers and located to countryside or suburbs of the cities. After the Haussmann effect and improvements in transportation, city centers had undergone renovation processes. Because of these processes, the working classes had had to leave the city centers and were replaced with upper classes. Changes in the urban space caused social and cultural, but mainly class separations in society. New spaces were built for the upper classes, and working classes were pushed outside the cities. Conditions of downtowns were improved. Other spaces, however, were left to their own devices in free-market policy. Consequently, outskirts and suburbs of cities also needed regulation. After the central renovations of the capitalist process, the next target was determined.

---

<sup>30</sup>Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture Volume I*, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1971, p351.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p351.

Particularly after the First World War, Howard's theory affected the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. However, they used the idea for the reclamation of suburbs instead of building new towns. The later examples and early prototypes of this theory could not break the existing urbanist development, and were produced with dominant trade and industrial effects. Small production units in garden cities had been shut down with bigger industrial impacts. Howard's economic foresights and theories could not resist the capitalist development and naturally, they became a part of it.

On the other hand, Howard's units each had all of the functions to complete a whole city. The city centers were designed as mixed-use developments. Commercial spaces, small production units, housing, administration and cultural spaces were all planned for the same region. Apart from this, Howard suggested that the schools of garden cities would serve as mixed-use buildings. And thus the school buildings might serve, in the earlier stages, not only as schools, but as places for religious worship, for concerts, for libraries, and for meetings of various kinds, so that all outlay on municipal and other buildings might be deferred under later stages of enterprise.<sup>32</sup> The mixed-use project idea, although for the financial requirements of the region, was in his theory clearly expressed in these words.

After the industrial revolution, the era could be separated into two phases; formerly, the First Industrial Era (1800- 1870) which includes steam power and metal industries in transportation and construction fields, and latterly, the Second Industrial Era (1870 - 1920), which was defined by the progress of industrial development, with the introduction of electrification and mass production.<sup>33</sup> In the later period of this classification, work-worker-production space terms were redefined by new tools like new production methods, factories and new urban environments. Developing construction technologies allowed the building of new, lighted, healthier work spaces. Architects such as Peter Behrens, pondered about factory design and work spaces. On the other hand, the changing economy and capital accumulation had

---

<sup>32</sup>Ebenezer Howard. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, London: Faber and Faber, 1965, p45.

<sup>33</sup>John R. Ottensman, *The Changing Spatial Structure of American Cities*, London: Lexington Books, 1975, p36.

created new job branches. Consequently, central business districts were raised in downtowns.

The former instance of the CBD appeared around 1870s as areas of specialized activity in the US.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, clusters of shopping places in the city center, including museums, exhibitions, theatres, clubs, retails and restaurants appeared to be another function of an early downtown.<sup>35</sup> By the 1920s, "most major cities had separate downtown sectors for produce markets, wholesaling, retail shopping, finance, and governmental administration".<sup>36</sup> The notion of a CBD is the centralized concept of economy and power in the functional content of the new metropolis. The form of the office spaces and buildings suggested the new "work" spaces of the century. Although the character of the working-class did not change, the mode of work had begun to shift from factories to office buildings. Meanwhile, technological developments in the field of construction allowed the design of new office spaces, both buildings and urban scale. That is why spatial agglomeration, densification and building taller are the next steps in the urban evolution in the case of CBDs.<sup>37</sup>

The industrialized western world faced its "first large-scale industrialized war" in the second decade of the century. The war meant a breaking point for urban development plans and also economic plans. Kenneth Frampton says: "As the first waves of the 1914 war broke across Europe, that golden age of dreamlike English country houses, ushered in by Webb, Shaw and Nesfield and rendered at its most exotic in the elaborate Country Life creations of Edwin Landseer Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyli, came definitely to a close."<sup>38</sup> Frampton pointed to the United Kingdom, especially, where a dramatic condition had been experienced during the nineteenth century in

---

<sup>34</sup>ibid. p42.

<sup>35</sup>Michael P. Conzen. *The Impact of Industrialism and Modernity on American Cities, 1860-1930*, in T.F. Mcllwraith and E. K. Muller, eds, *North America: The Historical Geography of Changing Continent*, Second Edition, Lanham MD Press, 2001, p348.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p68.

<sup>37</sup>Ali Aslankan. *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation), and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished PHD. Thesis, METU, Department of Architecture, 2014, p2.

<sup>38</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992, p50.

terms of the working class. In spite of this breaking point, Kenneth Frampton adds that; "It is unlikely that the forms and ideals of the English Arts and Crafts movement would have survived the socio-cultural trauma of the first large-scale industrialized war." <sup>39</sup>

Unlike the centralization effect of industrialization in the beginning of the nineteenth century, technological developments, in the last decades of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, caused a "decentralization" movement. Until the early twentieth century, this new organization of space was revealing itself through differentiation of residential patterns via social homogenization and spatial segregation. The middle and upper classes left the city center with the spread of private vehicles. Suburbanization also meant "decentralization" of urban space. This time, suburbia represented a secluded life which was not only socio-spatially distinct from the city, but economically and politically individual. This individualization is the subject matter for several utopians, one of whom is the famous Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959).

The notion of decentralization and mixed-use have confronting characteristics. Separating housing and its relevant functions from city centers caused a disengagement from mixed-use. Although each suburb has its own mixed character, this separation gave rise to a new urban expectation.

In Manfredo Tafuri's analysis, the modern movement is accepted as an ideological instrument from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1931 (to the crisis) and is divided into three successive phases:

(a) a first, which witnesses the formation of urban ideology as an overcoming of late romantic mythology; (b) a second, which sees the task of the artistic avant-garde develop as the creation of ideological projects and the individualization of "unsatisfied" needs, which are then consigned for concrete resolution to architecture (painting, poetry, music, and sculpture being able to realize this objective on but a purely ideal level); (c) a third, in which architectural ideology becomes ideology of the plan. This phase was in

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p50.

turn put in crisis and supplanted when, after the crisis of 1929, with the elaboration of the anticyclical theories and the international reorganization of capital, and after the launch in Russia of the First Five-Year Plan, architecture's ideological function seemed to be rendered superfluous, or limited to rear-guard tasks of marginal importance.<sup>40</sup>

These three phases defined by Tafuri separate the period, which is from the early industrialization period to the 1939 crisis and also the Second World War. They are also the clues for the transition from the industrialization period to a new capitalist urbanization period.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the Second World War, in other words from industrialization to the Great Depression and the Second World War, the characteristics of space changed with urban dynamics. This change created new spaces or regenerations in the notion of spaces. At each turning point, capitalism and its tools used urban space as a renovation device to find proper spaces for its welfare. Dialectical change in society and production methods defined a new perspective for users and planners. Each alteration in economic policies corresponded with a renovation onset in the urban field, also to consolidate it. The transition from a 'rural culture' to an 'urban culture', with all its implications of 'modernity' and resistance to change, establishes the (ideological) framework of the problems of adaptation to new social forms.<sup>41</sup>

In conclusion, with the technological developments and industrial revolution, especially after 1800, social life and economic order changed radically. The need for labor attracted people from all parts of the country. Capitalist evolution created a new working class and new working spaces in urban space. As a result of immigration, urban space enlarged and the life conditions of the working class, which is defined clearly with industrialization, and also the conditions of urban space, were worsened with rapid, disorganized, and erratic urbanization. A wide

---

<sup>40</sup>Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1976, pp.48-49.

<sup>41</sup>Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question a Marxist Approach*, London, Edward Arnold Ltd., 1977, p73.

range of people lived in hard conditions under the pressure of pecuniary and urban problems. Early modes of capitalism did not care about the workers and their conditions. So urban space was not in the interests of upper classes and governments. Capitalist urbanization did not define itself as a controller and organizer of urban space. Instead of this, the system frees the growth and then solves emerging problems because of the growth. It does not want to plan and intervene in expected problems of urbanization, instead, it determines them and fixes them after the critical point. Radical urbanization changes would be applied when the economic system needed spatial renovation, with the new mode and old conditions preventing renovation. Like the Haussmann plan for Paris and the grid plan for Brooklyn, newly generated plans support the new mode of economic change and organize the social structure.

On the other hand, based on the results of the period, contemporary modes could be defined as "Neo Haussmannization".<sup>42</sup> In contemporary urbanization modes, both economic development and social engineering work together against social unrest and social reactions. However, the new understanding also contains new technological developments, such as portable walls.

After the industrial revolution, on the other hand, capitalist evolution demanded new spaces for development. In created town centers, new urban business districts emerged. Different than the old towns, new urban formations redefined trade and business terms. In the capitalist era, centralized business districts are also the basic formations of contemporary central business districts. These centers are also the new mixed-use spaces of the new urban space. Inevitably, the notion of mixed-use was redefined with the industrial revolution and broke off from its conventional meaning. After the industrial revolution, the character of the mixed-uses has kept up with the economic system and urban relationships and has adapted itself to changes for a new space.

---

<sup>42</sup> The term of NeoHaussmannization is used by Andy Merrifields in *The New Urban Question*, chapter 4, *Strategic Embellishment and Urban Civil War*, which is about the Haussmannization period of Paris and its relation with contemporary urbanization mode.

With the turning of the century, urbanization and understanding of urban planning began to change. Capitalist accumulation and expansionist policies entered and there was an important deadlock. Two world wars and the Great Depression were the breaking points and inform a new era in terms of urbanization.

## CHAPTER 3:

### MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1914 - 1980

#### 3.1 The Post-war Period and the CIAM

Beginning from the late nineteenth century, the functionalist idea started to flourish in Europe's and the United States' philosophical, architectural and urbanist mediums. Although the pre-war period and the interwar period had no favorable conditions in terms of economic and political conditions, ideological debates about both natural development processes of metropolises and utopian ideas of architects and urbanists were continued and developed.

At this point, the beginning of the nineteenth century must be investigated. Before 1933, important urban projects were produced. Soviet Suburbs (Soviet Decentralization), the Garden City, the regionalism of the Regional Planning Association of America, and Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City are significant examples. The common point of these utopias is that they were produced for rapid industrialization and urbanization conditions after the industrialization period. Theorists of these utopias were highly concerned with the new urban conditions of their era. Instead of a mega city, they proposed regional communities. On the other hand, Manfredo Tafuri describes these utopias as antiurban ideologies and he defines their anticapitalist positions as "anticapitalist guise".<sup>43</sup>

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, important changes occurred also in built environments. For example, boundaries of metropolitan areas enlarged from ten

---

<sup>43</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976, p120.

miles to twenty-five miles in diameter in the US. The difference between city centers and suburbs increased in diverse ways.<sup>44</sup> The suburban population exploded. While Boston lost 13% of its width, its suburbs gained 17%. The situation repeated in New York and Chicago with a 2% loss against the 70% gain.<sup>45</sup> The growth of suburbia meant an increase in the separation between home and workspace. City centers lost power in terms of retailing and wholesaling. After that, naturally, industries and manufacturing firms moved out of the city centers. This problem of city centers caused a natural decentralization during the long process.

On the other hand, the beginning of the century had a potential for chaos in the political era. In 1914 World War I (WWI) began and continued for four years. The period after WWI was the imbalanced interwar period, with the Great Depression years, which was a great economic depression, from the beginning of the 1930s to the end of World War II (WWII). Just before this war, economic progress and also architectural and urban progress were in crisis, which was difficult to overcome with current trends. The war brought development, and after the war, the economic crisis was overcome. However, as a result of the global war, the balance of power changed, and all strong economies of the era were affected. The United States gained more power in the new political balance.

Although decentralization, with zoning planning, naturally countered the mix of uses in multiple ways between the two World Wars, the formation of CBDs and shopping zones did not take a retrograde step but improved.<sup>46</sup> One of the major turning points, in terms of the CBDs, is the post-war period. The renovation and tightening of capitalism in the post-war period was followed by technological developments in the building industry, like the use of steel and developments in skyscraper typology. Technological developments announced the redefining of city morphology in great cities through redefining urban life. In the post-war period, central urban space was formed in the known status. The CBD had become the city's brain. Industry, labor,

---

<sup>44</sup> John R. Ottensmann, *The Changing Spatial Structure of American Cities*, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1975, pp. 19-24.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p20.

<sup>46</sup> Ali Aslankan, *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation), and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished PHD. Thesis, METU, Department of Architecture, 2014, p.23.

mass media, complex business organizations, government bureaucracy and its intermediaries were established in CBDs. The most expensive land values in a city, were also in these parts of the cities.

The effects of the economic renovation after the Second World War caused a socio-economic change which obviously had a spatial character. Meanwhile, urbanists of the era were developing projects for future cities, many of which never materialized yet still stand as the artifacts of the century. After the period of the two world wars, which can be defined as a crisis period also for architecture and urbanization, there was a huge need for development in both daily living standards and urban conditions. David Harvey, in *Condition of Postmodernity*, defines the relationship between the war (and post-war period) with modern urbanism:

While the tactics and conditions differed from place to place (in, for example, the extent of war-time destruction, the acceptable degree of centralization in political control, or the level of commitment to state welfarism), the trend was everywhere to look to the war-time experience of mass production and planning as means to launch upon a vast programme of reconstruction and reorganization. It was almost as if a new and revived version of the Enlightenment project sprang, phoenix-like, out of the death and destruction of global conflict. The reconstruction, re-shaping, and renewal of the urban fabric became an essential ingredient within this project. This was the context, in which the ideas of the CIAM, of Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, of Frank Lloyd Wright, and the like, could gain the kind of purchase they did.<sup>47</sup>

However, he also adds that instead of being a controlling force of ideas over production, modern ideas have a theoretical framework and justification for what practical-minded engineers, politicians, builders, and developers were in many cases engaged upon out of sheer social, economic, and political necessity.<sup>48</sup> With these post-war conditions of capitalism, modernist designers had a chance to bring their ideas into practice. In the urbanization field, the CIAM and Le Corbusier's zoning program had begun to apply in almost all European countries. In 1961, on the other

---

<sup>47</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, pp. 68-69

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p69.

hand, Jane Jacobs dismissed the contributions of Le Corbusier in her well known book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. She outlines the notions of neighborhood, community and the livable city. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was a frontal attack against the planning ideas of the '50s and '60s.

Unlike Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, which proposed a decentralization and individualization by combining urban and rural, Le Corbusier, in *La Ville Contemporaine*, *Plan Voisin* and *La Ville Radieuse*, offered centralization and strong centralized control and order.<sup>49</sup> Although all of these utopian urban cities were created and discussed before 1939, their effects were seen after the war on the developed or developing countries.

In the post-war era when the mainstream was modernism, the common motto was "modern city would have no ties with the past" since every new age requires its own spatial organization, vocabulary, built environment and lifestyle. Lewis Mumford's famous book *The Culture of Cities* was published in 1938, which was promoting functional separation for urban life, while Jane Jacobs' *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* in 1961 regenerated the integration of different functions by opposing decentralists. Likewise, the most critical gathering was the CIAM. Over thirty years, the journey of architecture through the alleys of modernism cultivated immense debates. The critical moment of the first half of the century would be the contextual shift in the phenomenon of mix of uses in urban life. By the '60s, the ingenuous evolution of mix of uses in the spatial formation of cities was elevated to the notion of mixed-use as a planning strategy. One reason would be Jacobs' warning about deprivation of social networks and unsuccessful utopias, yet other reasons would be the realization of the fact that the urban core kept growing due to the transition from deindustrialization to the information age. However, such spatial and theoretical organization did have a foundation back in the late eighteenth (since the French Revolution) and nineteenth centuries (expanding revolutionist ideals).<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in The Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers. 1977, pp 163-164.

<sup>50</sup> Ali Aslankan, *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation) and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished METU Thesis, 2014, p.24.

Above the individual attempts and suggestions, an organization commenced a new interaction about urban and architecture. The International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) was created by architects and planners and had its first meeting in 1928. It held another ten meetings and lasted 31 years.. The main purpose of the congresses was defining the major characteristics of the modern movement and determining a modern manifesto.

Before the fourth meeting of the CIAM, which was in 1933, the group gathered three times. Baykan Günay introduces the history of the CIAM as follows:

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

51

In the La Sarraz Declaration of the CIAM, which was held in 1928, the aim and the way of the modernist movement and the CIAM's opinions about it was clearly propounded. The relationship between production and architecture was one of the major issues in t the La Sarraz Declaration. The CIAM defined this relationship as: "The most efficient method of production is that which arises from rationalization and standardization. Rationalization and standardization act directly on working methods both in modern architecture (conception) and in the building industry (realization)".<sup>52</sup> Just after the definition about production, rationalization and standardization, the declaration continues with the necessities and outcomes of rationalization and standardization concepts. They react in a threefold manner:

---

<sup>51</sup> Baykan Günay, History of CIAM and Team 10, in METU JFA V.8, p28.

<sup>52</sup> Ulrich Conrad ed. Programs and manifestoes on 20th-century architecture, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1971, p110.

"(a) they demand of architecture conceptions leading to simplification of working methods on the site and in the factory; (b) they mean for building firms a reduction in the skilled labor force; they lead to the employment of less specialized labor working under the direction of highly skilled technicians; (c) they expect from the consumer (that is to say, the customer who orders the house in which he will live) a revision of his demands in the direction of a readjustment to the conditions of social life. Such a revision will be manifested in the reduction of certain individual needs henceforth devoid of real justification; the benefits of this reduction will foster the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number, which are at present restricted." <sup>53</sup>

The fourth meeting in 1933, the Athens Charter, was about "The Functional City". Because of its leading topic, it had a different impact with regard to urban policies. There were three important topics in this meeting on city space: the regional context, functions and the results. <sup>54</sup>

Formally, modernist zoning deals with land use and aims to divide cities into regions and neighborhoods with regard to their current and future utility types. In other words, zoning tries to allocate land to the different functions of the city.

The modern urban theory, which was defined by the CIAM in the Athens Charter, suggests a city planning method that has four major functions: housing, work, recreation, and traffic. <sup>55</sup> This idea is supported with zoning in planning. In the Congress of Athens, it was emphasized that these four key functions demanded special arrangements. The characteristics of these four parts are explained as:

Town planning expresses the way of life of an age. Up to now it has attacked only one problem, that of traffic. It has confined itself to cutting avenues or laying down streets, thereby forming islands of buildings whose utilization is left to haphazard private enterprise. This is a narrow

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p269.

<sup>54</sup> Baykan Günay, History of CIAM and Team 10, in METU JFA V.8, p28.

<sup>55</sup> Ulrich Conrad ed. Programs and manifestoes on 20th-century architecture, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1971, p139.

and inadequate view of its task. Town planning has four principal functions, namely; first, to provide the inhabitants with salubrious housing, that is to say, places in which space, fresh air, and sunshine are plentifully guaranteed; second, to organize workplaces so that, instead of being a painful thralldom, work will regain its character as a natural human activity; third, to set up the installations necessary for the good use of leisure, rendering it beneficial and productive; fourth, to establish links between these various organizations by means of a traffic network that facilitates movement from place to place while respecting the rights of all. These four functions, which are the four keys of town planning, cover an immense field, since town planning is the outcome of a way of thinking applied to public life by means of a technique or action. <sup>56</sup>

The CIAM clearly propounded that architecture was inevitably connected to the broader issues of economics and politics. According to the CIAM discussions, escaping from the new industrial world and also its production method was not possible, and architecture and also urbanization had to adapt through the new political and economic methods with a new production understanding. Further, the CIAM laid emphasis on the need for planned economy and industrialization for maximizing profit. Like other political tools, urban planning served as generator of capital, accumulated in the process of control by the ruling classes.<sup>57</sup>

### **3.2 Results of the Modernist Approach**

On the other hand, Kenneth Frampton indicates the CIAM's debate and after effects in 1980 as follows:

The persuasive generality which gives the Athens Charter its air of universal applicability conceals a very narrow conception of both architecture and town planning and committed CIAM unequivocally to: (a) rigid functional zoning of city plans, with green belts between the areas reserved to the different functions, and (b) a single type of urban housing, expressed in the words of the Charter as 'high, widely-spaced

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p139.

<sup>57</sup> Tarık Şengül. *Planlama Paradigmalarının Dönüşümü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme in Kentsel Planlama Kuramları* edt. by Melih Ersoy, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007, p71.

apartment blocks wherever the necessity of housing high density of population exists'. At a distance of thirty years we recognize this as merely the expression of an aesthetic preference, but at the time it had the power of a Mosaic commandment and effectively paralyzed research into other forms of housing.<sup>58</sup>

The planning efforts of the early modernist period, like the previous methods that were assimilated by capitalism, carried a reactionary meaning to the urban misery created by capitalism. Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City", Le Corbusier's "Radiant City" and Frank Lloyd Wright's "Broadacre City" were shining examples of this kind of "modernist" effort.<sup>59</sup> According to Ebenezer Howard and Frank Lloyd Wright, a healthy and balanced life could only be established in the countryside, which can be the hub of the new forming of urban space. Unlike Howard and Wright, Le Corbusier considered technology as an inevitable potential that could integrate with economic capital and create a higher community.

Le Corbusier's technology-assisted denser urban spaces do not need the functional mix of uses. Centralized high-rises and skyscrapers take up less area, so green areas and public spaces spread. These high-rises and skyscrapers provide also denser human habitations for residential and office spaces. In terms of the mix of functions, Le Corbusier's singular and denser structures provide enough spaces for each function, so separating functions from each other could be possible in that urban scheme. However, the increment in the rate of utility of private cars and construction of new roads and highways resulted in the reduction of the former value of the concept of the center in the city. Consequently, housing projects with lower density were erected in suburban areas, and industrial regions were moving and getting far from centers. This dichotomy was based on the separation of the population into producers and consumers, and separation of the users of lands.

One of the critical changes in the relationship between urban and architecture was that in the modern projects, the building blocks were designed as free-standing. These individual building blocks caused serious stress on the urban morphology. The

---

<sup>58</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992, p270.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p62.

stand-alone structures facilitated formal considerations of modernism.<sup>60</sup> Although the ideal has been to create free-flowing spaces, the lack of communication between the individual blocks and a conventionally defined context led to detached structures allocated among highways and undifferentiated modern space. Essentially, the importance of a single building as a definer of the urban space dissolved, the mass of buildings surpassed by abstract spaces.<sup>61</sup>

Quality of urban space was subject to change by separated buildings. The urban space eventually yielded impersonal and exchangeable environments lacking a sense of place that embraces diversity and meaning. Consequently, the modern movement generated the problem of placelessness, which is described by Edward Relph as "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from insensitivity to the significance of place".<sup>62</sup>

Placelessness, which creates a disconnection between place and context, has made spaces renewable continually. Architectural spaces which could belong anywhere like their existing place, could be collapsed easily, and this situation began to normalize with the placelessness effect. Therefore buildings in a modern city became available for the capitalist economy with their reproducible character in the same place. A site, which is demolished and rebuilt continually, has gained a new value and a new meaning.

During the war and post-war periods, one of most effective changes took place in the area of production. The lean manufacturing of Henry Ford changed production culture and style. Production was freed from manpower. Mass production was subsequently made possible, and this culture was named Fordism. David Harvey defines "Fordism" as follows:

The separation between management, conception, control, and execution (and all that this meant in terms of hierarchical social relations and de-skilling within the labor process) was also already well under way in

---

<sup>60</sup> Seda Türk, *Modes of Urbanization: Changing Paradigms in Architecture at Urban Scale*, Unpublished METU Thesis, 2014, p11.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p11.

<sup>62</sup> Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion Limited, 1976, p. preface.

many industries. What was special about Ford (and what ultimately separates Fordism from Taylorism), was his vision, his explicit recognition that mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labor power, a new politics of labor control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society.<sup>63</sup>

Mass production and industrialization, which were used as a mode of production by modernist architecture and urbanism, formed impoverished environments because of the monotone and similar character of the mass production. The transformation characterized by placelessness broke the clarity of the landscape and concealed the knowledge in the particular environment. The direct effects of the technological developments had different effects on the individuals and on the architectural and urban space. The individuals gained their civil character and took specialized roles in society. Architectural space and urban space, on the other hand, had lost their ties with the site, so with sensory and tactile intelligence.<sup>64</sup> As put forward by Christian Norberg Schulz, "[T]he existential purpose of building (architecture) is to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given environment".<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, defining the urban space through universal tendencies and pragmatic requirements frustrates the identity and the characteristics intrinsic to the context.

Meanwhile, detachment and isolation of functions was done by zoning and regionism. While each zone in the plan reorganized its own character and internal dynamics, in the general scheme, vehicle patterns, which are designed between zones, organized the master plan. Traffic patterns became both the divider and the organizer element between the zones as housing, work and recreation. This division gave each zone its own character. In the modern urbanization discourse, it was claimed that functional division had been rationalized. From another point of view, the distinction resulted in a social and continual conflict among the parts. In terms of

---

<sup>63</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, pp. 125-126.

<sup>64</sup> Seda Türk, *Modes of Urbanization: Changing Paradigms in Architecture at Urban Scale*, Unpublished METU Thesis, 2014, p12.

<sup>65</sup> Christian Norberg Schulz, "Phenomenon of Place", in *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald, New York: Routledge, 2006, p132.

the economy and urban rent, in conclusion, a different advantage was shaped. Each functional part has become individually renewable. This easy renovation could be manipulated quickly by capitalism and urban rent, which had to renew themselves constantly. Changing (or changed) housing trends could be transformed without touching commercial areas, or transformation demands on commercial spaces (functionally or only formally) could be fulfilled without affecting residential areas.

The complexity of urban life, because of the natural character of its systems, caused a conflict with dogmatic formalism. Christine Boyer described the conflict and contradiction as: "Zoning focused on the efficient use and distribution of land for the purpose of increasing the productivity of space but not its organization from the point of view of social needs and uses. It offered no blueprint for society, no comprehensive plan for development and urban growth. The necessary security of the single-family home, all the economic values linked to the efficiency of industrial areas, and the social ethic of racial and economic segregation determined the lines and boundaries of zoning."<sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile, American cities had already gone through several decades of intensive creation of single land-use zones. Furthermore, even during the peak of modernism, European planners continued to allow crossover of land uses, and used zoning mainly to control density and protect residences from heavy industry by requiring it to meet certain standards. After World War II, American planners, on the other hand, split the land uses more strictly and often prohibited the mixing of residential types. Thus, even after the widespread application of modern zoning after World War II, most European cities retained much of their early twentieth-century vitality by preserving the colorful blend of different people, uses and activities at all hours of the day. American cities, in contrast, were typically split into spread-apart land use zones and separated by class via the imposition of rules ensuring that single and multi-family dwellings did not coexist.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Christine Boyer, *Dreaming The Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1983, p171.

<sup>67</sup> Sonia Hirt, *The Mixed- Use Trend: Planning Attitudes and Practices in Northeast Ohio*, *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, Vol. 24 Autumn , No. 2, p. 224.

The paradigm of modernization describes the development process as an evolutionary and linear progression beginning with the traditional structure and moving to the modern. The European and western-based modernization standpoint used evolutionist, diffusionist and structural functionalist notions. As a result of this synthesis, industrialization, social modernization and urbanization are defined as milestones of progress in a sequence. According to western philosophers and modernists, urbanization and modernization processes went along hand in hand. Urbanization promoted technological developments and social democratization, so modernization followed (and also benefited from) urbanization.<sup>68</sup> Besides the economic connection between urbanization of the period and capitalist modernization, social engineering aimed at modernization also used urbanization as a tool.

Moreover, after the post-war period a significant shift can be seen in the field of administration and information. Their importance and relationship with each other on the urban level had caused a change in the relationship between city and industry. Step by step, the importance of information increased. Depending on this, the spatial organization of city and industrial nuclei were redefined with technological developments. On the other hand, this shift needed a new type of worker. Particularly in the middle class, those who did not want to work in factories but did not have enough money to work in his/her own firm tended to work in the information sector. This "desk job" work, despite not defining a new class other than working class, demanded new work spaces. In the downtown areas of cities this demand was fulfilled. Skyscrapers or buildings that were offices only were enlarged or heightened. In CBDs, the white collar workers found more and more space, especially after the Second World War. The CBDs and the working function of the modernist approach established and developed the new worker group. These new worker groups' jobs were mainly about increasing the consumption. Insurance firms, real estate agents, fashion firms etc. commonly created an interest to spend money. On the one hand, capitalism shifted the production area outside the cities for more production and profit; on the other hand, it evaluated empty spaces in city centers with new working spaces to promote the consumption.

---

<sup>68</sup> Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009, pp. 189-190.

Developments in the construction industry allowed the construction of taller buildings in the city centers. Due to this, the separated functions in zoned urban areas could be more concentrated in a limited space, without the difficulty of accessibility to all the different districts of a metropolis.<sup>69</sup> According to Manuel Castells, however, "The metropolitan region is not the necessary result of mere technological progress."<sup>70</sup> Rather than technology-based configuration, Castells identifies that: "The formation of metropolitan regions are closely bound up with the social type of advanced capitalism ideologically designated by the term 'mass society'".<sup>71</sup>

With regard to the characters and social dynamics of the regions, Manuel Castells indicates the classes. After the zoning of a plan, each functional district also had different sectors. On the other hand, all classes had to be integrated into functional zones. He observes that:

On the other hand, the uniformity imposed on an increasing mass of population, is accompanied by a diversification of levels and a hierarchization within this social category which spatially leads to a veritable segregation in terms of status, separates and 'marks off' the different residential sectors, spreading out over a vast territory, which has become the locus of symbolic deployment. The ideological integration of the working class into the dominant ideology goes side by side with the separation experienced between work activity, residential activity and 'leisure' activity, a separation that underlines the functional zoning of metropolis.<sup>72</sup>

As a result of the new zoning plan, upper classes wanted to take advantage of districts and they forced the working class to leave the city centers. The working class had to be kept in economic bondage and isolated from the center to create

---

<sup>69</sup> Jean Gottman, *Metropolis on the move; geographers on the urban sprawl/* ed by Jean Gottman, New York: Wiley, 1966, pp.127-129.

<sup>70</sup> Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question a Marxist Approach*, London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1979, p22.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p22.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p23.

healthy consuming and living spaces for the employers and new bourgeoisie of the era. The upper classes were aware that the modern bourgeoisie was the most important consumer group. To keep the working class far from the center, factories, which meant only a money source for working class, were moved farther from the central district. Class distinction of the modern era, in terms of the spatial arrangement, was established through such a distinction in the working areas.

The metropolis, with its centre and suburbs,<sup>73</sup> the central form of the organization of space of advanced capitalism, lost the importance of physical environment. The distinction between rural and urban space disappeared. In this process, "formation of metropolitan regions was closely bound up with the social type of advanced capitalism ideologically designated by the term 'mass society'."<sup>74</sup>

The Fordist method of production allowed for the standardization of products, so it changed the existing consumption style. Until the Fordist method, production was for upper classes. After time, however other social classes were included in the consumption pool. According to Bocock, mass production and mass consumption derived new consumer groups, which begin to choose among the items produced.<sup>75</sup> Bocock's view also explains the housing blocks, which were built for middle classes after the Fordist kind of production. Hence, while production was expanded according to the wishes of all classes, these classes had become part of mass consumption.

The emergence of mass consumption, from production to consumption, transformed the character of urban space. The production and storage spaces in city centers were moved to suburbs with functional zoning and instead, consumption spaces, like malls

---

<sup>73</sup> Regarding the debate on urban and rural centers, Henri Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution* could be read. In the first chapter, "From the City to Urban Society", he claims that the distinction between urban and rural areas was lost. All the "country" works, like agriculture, are made for (and also in) urban areas. Traditional and typical peasant life was transformed according to urban needs. As a result of the process, a vacation home, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric.

<sup>74</sup> Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: a Marxist Approach*, London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1979, p23.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Bocock, *Consumption*, London: New York : Routledge, 1993, p22.

and shops, were opened. With the desire to appeal to all classes and groups, new shopping and consumption spaces, which have different characters in both quality and quantity, emerged. The same change and transformation was also seen in the work spaces. Middle classes and new groups demanded new work spaces in their new urban environments. With the heavy industry in the suburbs, CBDs or new working districts defined by functional zone were arranged to this new demand.

In brief, from the period of the wars to the neoliberal breakout of the 1980s, urbanization and the period's capitalist mode shared a common fate. The centralized urban space was decentralized. Urban centers being congested and also destroyed, because of the war, the modernist approach proposed and implemented industry zones out of the city centers. The tension between center and periphery and the flood between in and out were rearranged.

To end this chapter, Robert Fish's determinations can explain the turn of the era:

If the nineteenth century could be called the Age of Great Cities, post-1945 America would appear to be the Age of Great Suburbs. As central cities stagnated or declined in both population and industry growth was channeled almost exclusively to the peripheries. Between 1950 and 1970 American central cities grew by 10 million people, their suburbs by 85 million. Suburbs, moreover, accounted for at least three-quarters of all new manufacturing and retail jobs generated during that period. By 1970 the percentage of Americans living in suburbs was almost exactly double what it had been in 1940, and more Americans lived in suburban areas (37.6 percent) than in central cities (31.4 percent) or in rural areas (31 percent). In the 1970s central cities experienced a net out-migration of 13 million people, combined with an unprecedented deindustrialization, increasing poverty levels, and housing decay.<sup>76</sup>

In the meantime, modernist urbanization, under the control of the capitalist system, solved an obstruction and created a new urban space for the new mode of capitalism,

---

<sup>76</sup> Robert Fishman, *Beyond Suburbia: The Rise of the Technoburb*, in *The City Reader Third Edition*/ ed by Richard T LeGates and Frederic Stout, London, Routledge, 2003, p78.

like the Haussmannization in Paris. This change was supported with technological developments, the Fordist method of production in this case, like nineteenth century urbanization did.

While these physical and spatial changes had occurred within the economic mode, social life was also reconstructed. Although details of social structure is not the issue of this thesis, some points, such as worker profile, urban space and user relationships, and also the new user profile, are central to the topic. Like the second chapter and the period of 1800-1914, worker profile, so the production mode, urban space and user profile of urban space were clearly redefined according to the new mode of capitalism and urbanization period. Against the nineteenth century's immigrant workers, urbanized citizens were the main profile. Against the organic and centralized urban space, a controlled, zoned and decentralized urban space was the character of urbanization. Against the uncontrolled, unpredictable mass of the nineteenth century, the generation of controlled, mass production came in the modernist period. Against the old "blue collar" workers, "white collars" were regarded as urban.

After the war years, the CBD term is clearly defined. Before the wars, although business districts could be seen in city centers, after the wars, the spatial and organizational schemes of the CBD were very clear. With the rise of the administration and information sectors, they established and redefined CBDs according to their needs.

Modernist urbanization aimed to solve problems of urban space with zoning and some other tools. However, it prepared the ground for new mode of capitalism. It can be said that the modernist approach clearly defined the problems of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and it was successful in solving them. However, the capitalist mode had begun to change with its own inside dynamics, independent from urbanization. Therefore modernism, which is not independent from the economic system, started to fall short of spatial needs. The system has changed and is in need of new arrangements.

In the next chapter, urbanization after 1980 will be researched, with a discussion of centralization and decentralization, the changing of user and worker profiles and the spatial arrangements of the new capitalist mode.

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **MIXED-USE PROJECTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1980 - Today**

Under the pressure of globalization, metropolitan spaces have transformed into a new structure. This structure is multi-central, loose, variable, and flexible. At the same time, after 1980, large-scale production spaces are completely gone from the urban center, and instead, small-scale production and subcontractor systems are established in the centers. Thus, in the urban centers, the problems which were attributed to industry, were replaced by a sterile urban environment.

#### **4.1 The Era of Globalization**

The new metropolis can be clearly characterized by two main sections: the urban center and the suburban areas. In the urban center, specialization and organization are in the top level. Communication, administration and management are there as well. Also, the main control is still in urban centers. The suburban areas, on the other hand, contain residential areas, and small and middle-scale production units. These areas depend on the urban centers for economic and social bonds. Other than these two main parts, an in-between transition area can be determined outside the suburban area. Although it can be defined as a boundary space, there is no sharp distinction between urban and rural anymore. But sprawl of the metropolis and the first physical connection is happening in this transition area.

In the '80s, urban planning and architecture oriented towards the market and worked for the benefit of the market. Instead of functional zoning, trade-based zoning

developments were made. Charles Jencks explains the transition from the post-war period's modernist movements to the postmodernist movement as follows:

The facts of the two major movements can be summarized very briefly as follows. Post- Modern and Late-Modern architecture started in the sixties as a reaction to Modern architecture and some of its more conspicuous failures. These included, among other things, a failure to generate convincing urban development, and communicate effectively. Hence Post-Modern architecture developed a city-based morphology known as contextualism, as well as a richer language of architecture based on metaphor, historical imagery and wit. ... As a whole this theory revived the notion of urban contrasts, of opposition between monument and background, it revived the idea of urban universals (street, square, circus) and historical collage. City schemes were meant to complete the city pattern, not disrupt it in morphological terms, even if there were formal contrasts.<sup>77</sup>

On the other hand, the changes in the economic field cannot be separated from the social and physical field. The main change in the economic field was caused by production method. The Fordist method of production was gradually changed to the post-Fordist or post-industrial system. Beginning in the '60s, especially in Europe and Japan, Fordism allowed the recovery of economies, and the market race had started for export.<sup>78</sup> Because of the growing problems of Fordism, in terms of the capitalist economy, the flexible accumulation model had risen. This model had been brought together in the post-industrial era.

From the Fordist period to the post-industrial (post-Fordist) period, the industrial cities changed their economic and spatial characteristics.<sup>79</sup> One of the current and important examples of cities which rose in the Fordist period and collapsed after post-industrial policies, is Detroit. In the post-war period it rose with its machine and automobile industry. In this Fordist period, it was one of the star cities of the US. But with flexible accumulation policies and its natural result: the post-industrial period,

---

<sup>77</sup> Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England ; New York, N.Y., U.S.A. : Penguin, 1985, p374.

<sup>78</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, p141.

<sup>79</sup> Andy Merrifield, in *The New Urban Question*, explains the relation between economic and spatial changes with the centralization and decentralization dynamics.

capitalism no longer needed it. The factories began to move overseas where labor costs are cheaper. This depended on the main factories moving: offices were abandoned; the urban dwellers, mostly the white ones, moved to suburbs. Andy Merrifield says: "Between 1950 and 1980, Detroit lost nearly 50 percent of its manufacturing jobs and staggering 1 million of its population," and continues with; "Corporate capital had literally abandoned the city, walked away from it, in a familiar, though dramatically intensified story of what was then happening everywhere to urban America. The structures of white corporate power once created a particular city through its own presence, through its own industrial image; now, its absence continued to shape the urban fabric, tore it to tatters."<sup>80</sup> Between 1950 and 1980, the city of Detroit faced a decentralization movement with the changing economic policy and urban organizations.

In this situation, however, the crisis of Detroit in the late '70s and '80s, the government intervened. The funds, provided from the public, were transferred to private investors to upscale redevelopments into Detroit's riverfront, like the Renaissance Center and Marriott Hotel. During the 1980s, hundreds of projects were approved, land was given for free and federal monies were disbursed. Despite all this financial government aid, the city was ruined in the 2000s and crashed again in 2012. In the long term, the bankruptcies cost \$18 billion in 2012. However, there is no exact information about the 1980s. The monies that had come from government funds in the 1980s could not save the city. Moreover, these monies went to the New York rich companies.

Another example of the centralization and decentralization struggle and its transition from the 1950s to the 2000s is Baltimore. Both David Harvey, in *The Condition of Postmodernity* and also in *Spaces of Hope*, and Andy Merrifield, in *Dialectical Urbanism*, explain the condition of Baltimore from the Fordist period to the 2000s.

The Baltimore case, from its 1980 breaking point to the year 2000, is another example which includes economic and spatial changes. Merrifield writes that Baltimore's population and economic capacity grew during the world war years with production-based development. After the war, however, the city had lost power step

---

<sup>80</sup>Andy Merrifield, *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014, p94.

by step in each ten-year period. In the 1980s, Baltimore hit the bottom. The city, at one time shining with mass production, collapsed because of post-industrial policies. Lastly, in the 1980s, production was moved to overseas countries.<sup>81</sup>

During this period, local governments wanted to change the character of the city with media bombs and propaganda. The blue-collar city was now in a post-industrial era. The old center, which was defined as a depression area, was redesigned to attract the rich companies and tourists. Like the central harbor area, investors renovated some other production areas, such as the old "American Can" factory building. The old factory was restored in 1997 with \$22 million, as a bookstore, cafe and luxury restaurants. In this way, the old factory gained the required conditions for the newly defined user profile. In 1999, Andy Merrifield took a trip to the old factory. He defined it as a "really good job." In the year 2001, two years after the first trip, he took another opportunity to see the old factory. All the stores and restaurants were closed because of customer scarcity.<sup>82</sup>

The rushed imitation of successful urban renovation projects has a reason. Intense competition between cities and urban entrepreneurship force cities to create an urban image and attraction to the center for people.<sup>83</sup> The decentralized and cleaned-up centers began to be a new kind working place. Like the Baltimore media's words, this new working type was no longer for blue-collars. Breaking away from Fordist production and tending towards flexible accumulation policies defined new commercial, technological and organizational structures. The service industry was the new main job branch and provided employment in this new system.<sup>84</sup> Another result in terms of business characteristics is small-scale enterprises. Directly connected with the conversion in the labor market, sub-contracting laboring increased and small scale enterprises had a chance to reproduce themselves in city

---

<sup>81</sup>Andy Merrifield, *Dialectical Urbanism*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 2002, pp. 22-25.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>83</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, p92.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p147.

centers. In the 1980s, these kinds of enterprises were dominant and continued to increase, in terms of number, in the advanced capitalist countries.<sup>85</sup>

The cherished, cleaned-up new type of urban form with its new white collar workers and work spaces revealed a new security problem. This "schizophrenic" problem reflected new typologies such as gated communities and shopping malls. In the conditions of 1980s, all urban arrangements and plans were made for or by capital owners. Socially, culturally and economically different classes were placed in different parts of the cities. Economic gaps had grown and urban fellowship had been lost.<sup>86</sup> The upper classes in particular had established their own living spaces in gated communities. The state ceased developing social policies. Enterprisers developed ideas for upper, upper-middle or middle classes. Like the gated communities in housing areas, malls were reorganized with new class reflexes, which were highly concerned about security issues.

Another characteristic of flexible accumulation is that on the one hand, it has smashed the central states created by the Fordist economy, on the other hand, in urban scale, it has encouraged urban centers in its own way. Its propaganda about flexibility, diversity and multiculturalism matched with polycentricity on an urban scale. Michael Sorkin says about the character of the new polycentric urban scale that:

Cultivating this "natural" polycentricity would multiply opportunities for more self-sufficient neighborhoods where people walk to work, to school, to recreation, and to culture. Such places would also satisfy many of the needs that impel people to seek the densities and economies of the suburbs and edge cities. By regenerating local character, the energy of intracity reaggregation could reinforce the expressive singularity of each of these neighborhoods to which its energies were applied...<sup>87</sup>

Another important impact on urban space is the reforming of mixed-use. In the polycentric urban form, residential units and work spaces are placed in a pattern in

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p152.

<sup>86</sup> Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009, pp. 142-143.

<sup>87</sup> Michael Sorkin, *The Center Cannot Hold*, in *The City Reader Third Edition*/ ed by Richard T LeGates and Frederic Stout, London, Routledge, 2003, p 294.

downtowns. This pattern is generally made up of office spaces and buildings that have been converted to residential use in downtowns. The mix of residential and offices is reinforced by cultural activities, healthcare, educational and commercial institutions to develop a new life of neighborhood.<sup>88</sup>

The polycentric new urban form has new territorial complexes, which seem to be turning the industrial city inside-out. Redefining the centers means that the metropolitan periphery space is transferred into the core region of advanced industrial production. Decentralization from the inner city has been taking place selectively for at least a century all over the world, but only recently has the peripheral condensation become sufficiently dense to challenge the older urban cores as centers of industrial production, employment modality, and urbanism. This restructuring process is far from being completed but it is beginning to have some profound repercussions on the way we think about the city, the words we use to describe urban forms and functions, and on the language of urban theory and analysis.<sup>89</sup>

After the effect of the neoliberal economy and postmodern spatial organization, Andy Merrifield claims that cities become the nerve centers of globalization and of globalizing capital, and equally play a crucial ideological and political role within the system. To maintain their popularity among the other competitors, they have to stabilize and present some sort of place advantage to potential investors. He said that: "Cities - like industries, like people everywhere - have to be much more competitive and entrepreneurial, if only to survive. There is, apparently, no alternative. Social problems must be tackled because this will 'deter investment.' Bad imagery means lost investment; lost investment signals the death knell for a city. Image is forever important."<sup>90</sup> From now on, cities are in a difficult competition for job opportunities,

---

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 294-295

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 294-295.

<sup>90</sup> Andy Merrifield. *Dialectical Urbanism*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002, p12.

for human and natural resources, for capital investment, for newest technologies and innovations, for enough qualified people, as visitors and as inhabitants.<sup>91</sup>

The new mode of capitalism, called neoliberalism, with globalization, has some another spatial consequences through the economic core of activities. Saskia Sassen defines these patterns in three articles:

Three distinct patterns are emerging in major cities and their regions in the developed countries and increasingly also in the rest of the world. First, beginning in the 1980s, there was an increase in the number of firms in the centres of major cities mostly explained by growth in leading sectors and ancillary industries. This type of economic growth in city centres also took place in of the most dynamic cities in rapidly growing Global South countries, such as Seoul, Bangkok, Taipei, Mumbai, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires. Second, along with this central city growth the formation of dense nodes of commercial development and business activity in a broader urban region, a pattern that is less evident in developing countries, except in the export- oriented growth poles discussed earlier or in cities such as Johannesburg, which are undergoing major social transformation in their centres. These nodes assumed different forms: suburban office complexes, edge cities, exopoles, and urban agglomerations in peripheral areas. Edge cities are significant concentrations of offices and business activities alongside residential in peripheral areas that are completely connected to central locations via state-of-the-art electronic means. Until recently, these urban forms were only rarely evident in developing countries, where vast urban sprawl with a seemingly endless metropolitanization of the region around cities has been the norm. ... In developed countries, the revitalized urban centre and the new regional nodes together constitute the spatial base for cities at the top of transnational hierarchies. The third pattern is the growing intensity in the localness, or marginality, of areas and sectors that operate outside that world market-oriented subsystem, and this includes an increase in poverty and disadvantage. A significant exception to this trend toward a peripheral localness is the emergence of what I call global slums - major slums in global cities that are positioning themselves as actors on a global stage. The general dynamic that emerges from these three patterns operates in cities with very diverse economic, political, social, and cultural arrangements. There is by now a vast

---

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p12.

scholarship on these trends and spatial arrangements that took off in the 1980s and continued throughout the early 2000s.<sup>92</sup>

In the globalization and digitalization period, however, Saskia Sassen asks another critical question: "Why do we need centers in the global digital era?" She also explains that organizations analyzed that central coordination and control is important in hard, wide and changeable market conditions. Secondly, although workers can produce any kind of information anywhere, they cannot find social connections that they can find in a workplace environment. Social advantages and connections of a center are still factors to create a center. The other reason is that there is still a competition, collaboration and a hierarchy between global centers such as New York, London and Tokyo. On the other hand, national attachments and identities lose importance for firms and customers. Instead of nationally defined strategies, the system defines new economic subcultures. The global market centers are replaced with national firms.<sup>93</sup>

#### **4.2 The New Urbanism Movement**

In 1987, Leon Krier, from Prince Charles's 'kitchen cabinet', wrote an article about modern urban planning and monofunctional zoning.<sup>94</sup> According to Krier, monofunctional zoning is the main problem in modernist urban planning. He also observed that the system is anti-ecological. As a result, circulation of people between zones, ways of artificial arteries, becomes the central preoccupation of the planner. Generating an urban pattern is, in Krier's judgment, 'anti-ecological' because it is wasteful of time, energy, and land:

The symbolic poverty of current architecture and townscape is a direct result and expression of functionalist monotony as legislated by functional zoning practices. The principal modern building types and planning models such as the Skyscraper, the Groundscraper, the Central

---

<sup>92</sup> Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy* - 4th ed., Pine Forge Press, 2012, pp.228-229.

<sup>93</sup> Saskia Sassen, *Urban Economics and Fading Distances*, in *Megacities Lecture 2*, Amersfoort, The Netherlands: Twijnstra Gudde Management Consultants, 1998. pp.33-40.

<sup>94</sup> Leon Krier, *Architectural Design Profile* No: 65

Business District, the Commercial Strip, the Office Park, the Residential Suburb, etc. are invariably horizontal or vertical overconcentrations of single uses in one urban zone, in one building programme, or under one roof.<sup>95</sup>

After 90s, critiques about monofunctional zoning were raised with the new urbanism movement. Other than neo-traditionalist movements in new urbanism, the main point of this movement is very close to the premodern urbanist movements like the Garden City.<sup>96</sup>

Unlike the monofunctional zoning urbanist idea, New Urbanism proposed another type of planning. Simon Parker explains the New Urbanism:

What the Principles set out to challenge is the formless suburban sprawl that has characterized American residential developments since 1950s. The authors prescribe, instead, a return to the traditional street with mixed land-uses incorporating retail and residential units varying from single bedroom apartments to family town houses. Elementary schools and day care should be within walking distance, children's play areas should also be a short distance from any dwelling, while the streets themselves should be narrow in order to reduce vehicle speed and to encourage pedestrians and cyclists. Porches and verandas are favoured architectural style by which the authors hope to stimulate good neighborliness and openness to one's surroundings. Where possible, natural features and drainage are to be preserved in order to have the minimal environmental impact, and infrastructure and services are designed so as to minimize waste and maximize energy efficiency.<sup>97</sup>

New Urbanism's definitions about urban problems are analyzed and converted to the solution proposals by architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Duany and Plater-Zyberk reject modernist ideas like machine-age efficiency, large scale and monofunctional zoning planning. They claim that the modernist ideas that produced suburbia are no longer relevant. They suggest a balanced mix of dwellings, workplaces, shops, parks, and civic institutions. In their scheme, key elements are the neighborhood, the district and the corridor:

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p.69

<sup>96</sup> The "Thirteen points of New Urbanism" by Architect Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

<sup>97</sup> Simon Parker, *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2015, p 66.

The fundamental organizing elements of the New Urbanism are neighborhood, the district and the corridor. Neighborhoods are urbanized areas with a balanced mix of human activity; corridors are connectors and separators of neighborhoods and districts.

A single neighborhood standing free in the landscape is a village. Cities and towns are made up of multiple neighborhoods and districts, organized by corridors of transportation or open space. Neighborhoods, districts and corridors are urban elements. By contrast, suburbia, which is the result of zoning laws that separate uses, is composed of pods, highways and interstitial spaces.<sup>98</sup>

The architects suggest thirteen points about urbanism:

1. A central space where different modes of transportation convene. This neighborhood node can either be a green space or a landmark building.
2. Housing is within a five-minute walking radius of the center.
3. A variety of housing types to accommodate the needs of different age groups, financial status, and marital status.
4. Shops and offices are more towards the fringes of the community.
5. Zoning that allows for small rental units or workplaces to be built in the backyards of homes.
6. Schools are within a safe walking distance cutting down on vehicle traffic.
7. Playgrounds within a tenth of a mile from every dwelling.
8. Networked streets integrated with different forms of transportation provide multiple routes to any destination and disperses traffic.
9. Narrow tree lined streets slow down traffic while creating a safer area for pedestrians and cyclists.
10. Buildings in the center of the community should be placed closer to the street to create a stronger sense of place.
11. Parking and garages are located out of view of the main façade.

---

<sup>98</sup> Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *The Neighborhood, the District, and the Corridor*, in *The City Reader* (edt by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout), 2003, p. 208.

12. Neighborhood centers and other visually important sites provide a place for civic institutions.

13. Community is responsible for governing itself. Issues such as taxation, maintenance, and security, are to be decided within the community.<sup>99</sup>

These points define the general ideology and line of New Urbanism. Breaking Le Corbusier's Zoning Plan and attaining again the complex regional planning is the main target of New Urbanism. According to Peter Calthorpe, the principles of New Urbanism begin with the regional land use and transportation connection. Then fair housing and deconcentrated poverty are the key points. With these proposals, green lines and bounded urban growth are introduced to physical urban environments. Other important points are urban schools, regional education balance, regional tax-base sharing and social equity.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton develop a regionalist approach in urban planning. Differently from other New Urbanist names, Calthorpe and Fulton emphasize the multiple sides of design like ecology, economy, history, politics, regulation, culture, and social structure. Against the zoning-based plans, they also suggest well-organized regions with designing the neighborhoods.<sup>101</sup>

Apart from Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Calthorpe's views The Charter of the New Urbanism observes that:

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape

---

<sup>99</sup> The "Thirteen points of New Urbanism" by Architect Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

<sup>100</sup> Peter Calthorpe, One, in Charter of New Urbanism, ed. by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. New York, McGraw Hill, 2000, p19.

<sup>101</sup> Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton, "Designing the Region" and "Designing the Region Is Designing the Neighborhood", in The City Reader /ed by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 2003, pp. 333-334.

design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology and building practice.<sup>102</sup>

From another point of view, Stan Allen compares the CIAM's urbanist practices with the New Urbanist ideas:

The inter war project of modernist urbanism attempted to discipline the city with architecture, to bring metropolitan chaos under control via building, plans, and codes. Today with the dispersal of the city with the reorganization of the urban at other levels (both global and cybernetic), architecture has returned, conversely, as sublimated chaos absorbed by a market that had previously been characterized by confusion but which has now been rendered, via corporate-statist intervention, as simply consumerist. Against the "speculative" (of both commercial development and formal experimentation), and in an uncanny reprise of the CIAM, the New Urbanists, too, attempt to "fix" urbanism with architecture, an attempt that leads with equal if opposite force to the predilection for a particular style. Literalizing the metaphor of urban planners before them, they seek to architecturalize the city, to see the city as a big (classical or modernist) building, a device of discipline and order.<sup>103</sup>

### 4.3 The Turkish Case After 1980

While the argumentation continues in urban and architectural areas, in Turkey, capitalism and its urban reflection proceed with a parallel timeline after 1980. After the first decades of the new republic in the 1950s and especially in the '60s, there was a rapid spread of squatting in the metropolises of Turkey. This rapid change affects the social structure of urban areas. The middle class had lost its authority on urban areas and lost its projects.<sup>104</sup> Although the middle class had lost their projects, they did not lose their urban layer, and they continued to gain their share from urban rent.

---

<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Barnett, What is New About New Urbanism, in Charter of New Urbanism, ed. by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. New York, McGraw Hill, 2000, p10.

<sup>103</sup> Stan Allen, Points + lines : diagrams and projects for the city , New York : Princeton Architectural Press, 1999, p140.

<sup>104</sup> Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009, pp. 124-125.

<sup>105</sup> However it can be understood that utter dominant authority lost its position and must share urban space with lower classes. This process can be divided into three main periods: firstly, in the 1950s the squats and the existing urban space have a tension with insider and outsider relationships. In 1960s, however, the squatting spaces are internalized and articulated in urban areas. Lastly, in the 1970s, these efforts caused contradictions between the state and its existing structures.<sup>106</sup> Besides these, in 1960s, people who were squatting were seen as a new labor force which was required in the production of industrial labor. Apart from this, while supporting the economy, the new labor force did not use any resources from state or capital.<sup>107</sup> With the new economic perspective, the lower class began to dream about being middle class. On the other hand, after 1980s, the development caused capital accumulation with politic changes. In 1980s, the relationship between the 'first circle' of capital accumulation and the 'second circle' had begun to be redefined. As a result of this, the large cities increasingly have become the main target of private and public investments. According to Tarık Şengül, the political and economic restructuring of the 1980s closed the period of urbanization of the labor force; on the other hand it started a capital dominant urbanization period.<sup>108</sup>

Increasing numbers of people who came to cities in the period of the '60s and '70s in Turkey, generally settled in peripheries and sometimes in the empty urban center areas. After 1980, urban space became an area where there were contradictions with an intensive economic and politic governmental planning strategy..<sup>109</sup> As Ruşen Keleş says in *Kentleşme Politikası*, in the five-year plans made by governments, such as 1978-1983 and 1985-1989, urban issues ranked as an important and wide article.<sup>110</sup> Like the political and economic movement in the world, however, urban development after 1980 was in the hands of entrepreneurs and the private sectors..

---

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p125.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p126.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p129.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 137-138.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 138-139.

<sup>110</sup> Ruşen Keleş, *Kentleşme Politikası*, Ankara, İmge Yayınları, 2004, p77.

Urban rent had been more important, according to income, because the state reduced industrial investments. Reducing industrial investments provided for the increasing importance of urban rent to the economy. The state supplied funds to the private sector with open bids. At the same time, the private sector did not limit itself to only bids of state. After urban centers became an important source of capital accumulation, the private sector became involved with direct investments in built environments. With the 1990s, malls, luxury hotels and business centers had sprawled rapidly in urban centers. Thus, urban centers had become a commodity.<sup>111</sup>

As in the other examples of postmodern urban practice, in Turkey also, a turn towards city centers began but the centers were polycentric and scattered. This polycentric structure combined with class distinction and caused a spatial disintegration. The upper classes left unhealthy, insecure and messy environments and established their gated communities. The return to the centers and social disintegration also caused new problems. People living in poor conditions up to the 1980s, were removed from their homes with slum demolitions. Peripheral or undesirable spaces increased their value as a result of the new centralization trend.

In brief, from the post-war period to the 1980s, the capitalist economy and urbanization had been obstructed and had decayed. After this period, it had to renew itself with a new economic understanding and a new urbanization mode. It opened up to the market conditions, which were freer than before, and the market became the only dominant factor in urbanization. So capital could renew itself faster than in any other period, through land speculations and construction. With postmodern understanding, neoliberalism found its rhythm, and cities were made an open market.

The new mode of capitalism defined a new mode of urbanization, which was attuned to the economy. The decentralization of urban centers was turned inside out. The new centralization mode created a polycentric urban form. The basic difference is that the polycentric form allows more competitive urban space between the entrepreneurs from all levels of market. However, each piece of the urban land became the target. Investment areas, spread over a wide area, are seen as profit tools. As a result of this, development and planning are evaluated for profitability. Another

---

<sup>111</sup> op.cit. p141.

result of this competitive environment is uncontrolled structuring. New centers enlarge and the enlargement has no limit and order except the capital. Governmental regulations are made according to the demands of the market. Public spaces, old structures, and natural areas can be used as new development areas. Creating spaces which are healthier, regular, covering the whole of society and user oriented, remain at the investors' discretion. Healthy spaces, targeted by the theory, could be designed if the profit of the investor and the benefit of the user overlap.

On the other hand, the CBDs also adapt themselves to the new period. White collar working style faces digitalization. Individualization is the new trend in work environments. The worker profile is now competitive, and digitalized. Buildings in some districts have been turned into housing. Concepts like the home-office emerged. And mixing of use, both spatial and conceptual, increased. After the hard separation of uses, mixing and combining them in urban space is an inevitable response. Increasing traffic pressure in growing cities and appreciation of time, force people to a new usable space. The mixing of uses can also be a toll of integrated cities.

In the next chapter, contemporary examples of mixed-use projects from Turkey will be researched, drawing on the perspectives of these three theoretical chapters.

## CHAPTER 5:

### CASES AND ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY MIXED-USE PROJECTS

There is a direct relationship between economic system and urbanization, as claimed in the previous chapters. Destruction and reconstruction, expansion and continual reformation of urban space has happened with decentralization and centralization processes. These processes and relationships are examined, starting from the industrial revolution, 1800, as a claimed historical starting point, to contemporary movements with additional debates. In this chapter, the relationship between contemporary capitalism and mixed-use projects will be examined, with case studies from Istanbul and Ankara.

After the year 2000, Turkey entered a new era, completing the adaptation process to the neoliberal economic system. Because there was a requirement of new urban forms and institutions, a new construction system was supported by laws and regulations. Privatization processes and urban renewal projects led the change. Yet, the unavoidable expansion of the city was not taken under control. Instead of control, the growth has been unintentionally supported by the development of mega residential projects at significant points of the urban space.

It can be said that there has been a centralization process with multi-centrality in contemporary urban movements, as explained in the fourth chapter. Empty lots and suitable locations for investment in the city centers, have been valued. There has been a rapid change around main roads and central districts. The change can be observed in Turkey's two main cities: Istanbul and Ankara. Şişli, Mecidiyeköy and Maslak districts in Istanbul and Eskişehir Road Axis and Söğütözü-Çukurambar regions in Ankara are notable regions.

Another outcome of the previous chapters is that spatial changes and changes in the characteristics of functions have a unity. There is a necessity to redefine the

functions systematically, in contemporary centralization and multi-centralization processes. For this reason, the functions of mixed-use projects must be redefined.

### **5.1 Re-Analyzing the Functions of Mixed-Use Projects**

In this part of the chapter, common functions of mixed-use projects are researched and redefined according to their contemporary meanings. Residential, office, shopping mall, hotel, social and cultural parts of the projects are discussed individually.

#### **Residential Function**

From the 1800s until today, in some periods a housing crisis has occurred, and after WWII, mass housing and social housing practices tried to solve this crisis. Demand for housing in different types and styles emerged after the 1980s, with rising diversity in consumption trend, which is one of the elements that mixed-use projects has tried to satisfy. This function, with residences in projects under consideration, provides security, in-house cleaning, and laundry services. The main difference between them and mass housing is the user profile that it appeals to. The upper-classes, which return to urban centers from gated-communities in suburbs, are the major targeted profile for the new residential type.

One of the important features of housing in mixed-use projects is that they provide 24-hour dynamism and liveliness to the complex. Investors try to make this possible by encouraging users to keep any other function in daily life dynamic.

Contemporary residential function is redefined as: housing, which the service functions enter directly inside, begins to become a hotel, does not allow its users have a direct relationship with each other, is connected to the other functions with an important or even vital relationship, satisfies various quantitative and qualitative demands like area, amount of service, air and sunlight conditions; also housing which maintains the class definition and distinction in city centers.

## **Office**

Another major function in mixed-use projects is the office. After the industrial revolution, work space was defined as a factory and was spread and then taken out of the city center. After that, office spaces became dominant in city centers as a form of Central Business District (CBD). In the contemporary case, mixed-use complexes are used to try to attract workers into CBDs, considered as white collar workers. Work spaces in mixed-use projects have a character which targets the service sector firms, like CBDs did and still do. These work spaces are configured to be sterile and secure, generally designed by an interior designer or architect, and prestigious venues. While it is expected that people do shopping and are engaged with social activities in the complex, workers are not in the complex 24 hours a day. On the other hand, workers from the office part could live in the same complex. This situation in the New Urbanist Theory, which is theoretically the base of the contemporary mixed-use idea, is analyzed as a factor to reduce traffic congestion, the waste of time, and energy consumption. Prestige of mixed-uses, security, parking areas, and services of the complex are some other criteria when choosing mixed-use projects from the point of view of firms.

## **Shopping Malls**

After 1970s in the US and after the 1990s in Turkey, shopping malls began to become widespread. In mixed-use complexes, the mall part is important both for the needs of users in the residential and office parts, and also for customers from outside, to provide attraction and liveliness in common areas. In this way, advertisements of the complex could be made through prestigious brands in the mall. At the same time, dwellers from the residential part, who are from the upper class, can use their own complex for shopping.

Although the residential and office parts are the major parts for mixed-use projects, in the case of Turkey, the organizer and key part is the mall and commercial. Aggrandizing of consumption and promoting it provides income for investors.

## **Tourism/ Hotel**

Mixed-use projects in city centers are important options for hotels which want to be in centers too. Social and commercial functions combined with security have an advantage. Other than that, the office part and the hotel part have a mutual relationship. Guests of firms could stay in the hotel, and receptions, invitations and seminars could be held in it.

## **Social and Cultural Functions**

Associating public space with consumption tools has been a major effort while consumption culture has become popular. Some common areas of malls began to be referred to as a square, and in some cases, it is claimed that streets are created in the malls. Also, in mixed-use projects, where the attempt is to create a center of attraction, it is possible to find social spaces, such as cinemas, theatres, concert halls, galleries and convention centers. Commercial spaces are promoted with social activities and defined as a nice way to spend time.

Redefining of the major functions of mixed-use complexes according to the new economic and social intimate relations of the neoliberal era of 21st century could also be observed in projects from Istanbul and Ankara. These examples contain at least three or more functions and are present examples designed in current mode of urbanization.

After the definition of functions of projects, research can be conducted on some major samples from Ankara and Istanbul according to these new perspectives.

## **5.2 Cases and Selection Criteria**

It is important to clarify the selection method of both city and projects. Because of this, before analyzing the cases, selection criteria of cities and projects are discussed in this part.

### 5.2.1 Selection Criteria of Cities

There are two major cities that come forward in the particular case of Turkey at the point of the research: Istanbul and Ankara. There are three main reasons why these cities are chosen. Firstly, these two cities are in the center-periphery debates which are discussed in Chapter 4. Contemporary capitalism reaches its neoliberal phase and urban spaces are managed with neoliberal politics in the contemporary meaning. With the economic supports, urban spaces are planned and reorganized as a polycentric form. For a long time, the center-periphery debates have continued in the practical field, and, especially after the 90s, polycentricity has become the main policy of local governments. In Ankara, government buildings, bank buildings and private firms which were located in the line of Çankaya-Kızılay-Ulus, have been relocated firstly at Eskişehir Road and than in the Çukurambar Region (and partially Konya Road) in the last ten years. Again in the sub centers like Eryaman, Keçiören, and Çayyolu, local companies created alternatives to the main center. In the same way, in Istanbul, the historical trade center of city, the Eminönü-Galata axis, was distributed to different regions of the city, and the Levent, Kadıköy, Maslak, Mecidiyeköy regions have become the new centers of the new capital. Secondly, capital accumulation is an important selection factor. Istanbul has the main companies of Turkey and branches of international companies. With this character, Istanbul is the major city in the accumulation of capital in Turkey. Office buildings of private corporations and international entrepreneurs have spread suddenly over three decades in Istanbul. At the same time, large-scale retailing and shopping spaces turned into the mall form with the reorganization of city space and redistribution of capital. On the other hand, Ankara is the capital and the second largest city of Turkey. With governmental support, the construction industry has potential. Apart from that, the private sector has accelerated in Ankara after the '90s and 2000s. These two important reasons: urban policies and the accumulation of capital, are major criteria of selection of the cities.

In its present condition, Istanbul, with density of capital accumulation, rapidly produces new spaces. These spaces pave the way for contemporary capitalism on the one hand, on the other, they help with the redistribution of capital. In Ankara

developing private sectors constructed their own buildings after the 1990s. In addition to this, after 2010, office spaces, retail and shopping centers began to be mixed in new projects. It may be predicted that, with the newly produced projects, the spatial development will proceed, multiplying in number.

### **5.2.2 Selection Criteria of Projects**

Selecting effectual projects in both Istanbul and Ankara is another important aspect. One of the first criteria, which is important as regards the topicality of the research, is the topicality of the cases. Because of this reason, samples are designed or built after the year 2010. The selection year is decided as a breaking year which is a part of a series, beginning from the '80s and maturing after the year 2002. Economic policies and their effects on space need a new form after the year 2010. Secondly, functions of the project are another important criterion. Projects must have particular residential, office and leisure functions. Other than these main functions, variety of functions is an input in the selection process. Selected samples and functions contained in these samples are seen in table x. The functional variety of the projects is not only indicator of size of the project, but also a clue about operability of the projects under the meaning of mixed use. In terms of the contemporary mixed-use movement in Turkey, creating a life vision with all sides of the urban life is an important criterion. Thirdly, the urban expansion and development axis, which arose in last 20 years, is another important selection criterion. The selected projects must be on the new popular development axis of their cities. These axes and regions are the Büyükdere Venue-Levent-Maslak regions in Istanbul, and Eskişehir Road in Ankara. These main axes of cities became popular after '80s, and most of the large-scale investments are on these axes. Especially in the last 15 years, many new and popular buildings have been built. These axes where the cases are positioned are important in terms of urban analysis and effects. These axes and individual projects are mutually supportive. However, the latest product of the built environment is another research topic in this thesis. To investigate the relationship between an individual project - its functions and urban space, suitable and current venues are required and selected.

	Name Of the Project	Location	Residence	Office	Mall	Hotel	Sport Facilities	Performance Hall
<b>Ankara</b>								
1	Mahall	Eskişehir Road	+	+	+	+	+	-
2	Next Level	Eskişehir Road	+	+	+	+	+	-
<b>Istanbul</b>								
1	Zorlu Center	Zincirlikuyu	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	Torun Center	Mecidiyeköy	+	+	-	-	+	-

### **Samples:**

#### **Istanbul:**

1. Torun Center and Old Liqueur Factory (EAA)
2. Zorlu Center (EAA-Tabanlıoğlu)

#### **Ankara**

1. Mahall (RMJM)
2. Next Level (Brigitte Weber)

The chosen projects were designed after the year 2000. All of these projects are mixed-use projects and part of a new mixed use development area in their cities. Zorlu Center is on Büyükdere Road and the Torun Towers are in Mecidiyeköy, which is near the Büyükdere Road. The Büyükdere Road and the Mecidiyeköy area is Istanbul's new business center, which is controlled and shaped by companies.

### **5.3 Method of Analysis**

While analyzing the selected projects there are important topics to consider, from urban scale to building scale. First of all, the urban dynamics of the projects will be researched under the title of "External Dynamics". In this research the main topics

are Istanbul and Ankara. The urban dynamics are analyzed to understand the selected projects' relationship with the urban scale. After that regional structure and dynamics will be researched under the title of "Intermediary Dynamics". In this part, regional dynamics and environmental relationships will be discussed to understand the close spatial environments. Each selected project will be analyzed separately. Lastly, the projects will be analyzed according to their functional program under the title of "Internal Dynamics".

## **5.4 Analysis of Projects**

### **5.4.1 External Dynamics**

The historical core of Istanbul, the Eminönü-Beyoğlu district, is composed of small-scale production spaces. Negative effects of the centralized small production area joined the decentralization process with industrialization. The historic center could not fulfill the growing demands of the urbanization processes. Therefore, CBDs organically moved to the expansion route on Şişli, Mecidiyeköy, Levent and Maslak. On the other hand, Istanbul has wanted to adapt itself to the new globalization movement. The old center was left to touristic strategies and the new district was accepted by both local and multinational firms.

CBDs have gained a new position with information age. The city center was left free from enterprises and consumption spaces. In this new position, CBDs needed a new space organization to create prestigious structures like towers. With the current urban form, finding spaces to form new CBDs was not easy and a new way had to be found. In the case of Istanbul, the bridges provided suitable conditions to a new spatial organization for new economic needs. Firstly, in 1973 Bosphorus Bridge contributed to the creation of the Kadıköy and Şişli districts. Afterwards, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge defined new districts on both sides of Istanbul. The effects of the bridges helped the placement of the new business districts and new housing districts, with a new understanding of houses and new transportation patterns. Like

the Haussmann instance in Paris, two bridges and their sidewalks prepared an infrastructure for the new capitalist mode, neoliberalism, and to new global Istanbul.

On the other hand, in Ankara, Mahall, the Next Level and YDA Söğütözü are on Eskişehir Road, which has been developing since the '90s. Hospitals, institutional buildings, shopping malls, congress centers and business centers are located on this road. All three projects include business, housing, shopping, leisure and recreational spaces.

The Mahall project, (on the Eskişehir Road) , is located at the connection point of the road between two suburb regions: Bilkent and Beysukent. This part of the axis is the new development area. Besides Mahall, there are many other new projects with different functions. Settlements like Bilkent, Beysukent and Çayyolu were established as suburbs, but today, they are accepted as parts of the city, with their high numbers of population. With the Mustafa Kemal Neighborhood, Bilkent, Beysukent and Çayyolu are the closest regions to Mahall.

The Next Level and YDA Söğütözü projects are also on the Eskişehir Road but they are located closer to the city center than Mahall. Their region is the Söğütözü-Çukurambar region and there are also many new projects with different functions and forms. New towers of the city have also arisen there.

In terms of transportation, Mahall, the Next Level and YDA Söğütözü use the same public transportation facilities through the main road: buses and a subway line from the center to the west districts. Apart from the public transportation, Eskişehir Road is one of the main roads in Ankara. With its size and connections, it promotes the use of private vehicles.

In the urban scale, projects are located in new development areas which will be, or are, new CBDs of Ankara. This axis is under intense pressure by both private equity and governmental investments.

The Istanbul and Ankara examples, especially the chosen districts Levent and Eskişehir Road, can be defined as centers in new polycentric metropolises. These centers should be located in economically valuable areas. Surrounding areas are

mostly high-rent areas, major business centers, and they are transportation and communications nodes. Hereby, these centers could enhance a competitive media for companies that demand proximity to downtown business districts and logistical infrastructure.



**Figure5.1** Istanbul Transportation Network and European Side



**Figure5.2** Ankara Main Roads and Former Central Districts and Eskişehir Road General view

### 5.4.2 Intermediary Dynamics

In this part, relationships among the surrounding environment, land use, close transportation and pedestrian paths and connections will be researched.

#### **Mahall**

The main transport route is Eskişehir Road. Public transportation and private cars connect through this road. Except to the nearby building, Tepe Prime, there is no direct pedestrian connection to the site and these buildings have separator walls at their borders. Pedestrians must walk by the roadside. In addition to this, the majority

of the pedestrians come from the subway station of Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock (*Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı* in Turkish).

In the project, different functions utilize different building blocks. Instead of combined or connected typologies, separated forms are preferred. The blocks, which are close to the road and main entrance, are office and hotel blocks. Leisure and shopping functions and parts are right behind them.

### **Next Level**

Next Level is distinguished by its location. The site of the project has connections with two main roads of Ankara. Eskişehir Road and Konya Road have a direct connection with the site. Private vehicle and public transportation accesses use these main roads. Unlike the Mahall project, Next Level has pedestrian access ways with office buildings from south area of the site. Also, there is a busy pedestrian flow from Armada and Eskişehir Road bus stations and the subway station side.

Another important characteristic of the project is that it symbolizes the new development area of the Çukurambar-Söğütözü region. From the axis of the city center, the first things seen on the Eskişehir Road are the towers of the project.

### **Torun Center and Old Liqueur Factory**

The Torun Center Project is located on the D100 highway's Mecidiyeköy part, which also can be defined as a west part of Maslak-Mecidiyeköy CBD. The site of the project is an old football stadium area, Ali Sami Yen Stadium, one of the biggest teams of Istanbul. Ali Sami Yen Stadium was opened in 1964 and demolished in 2011. After demolition, the Torun Center Project was developed.

One of the biggest advantages of the site is the transportation network. Because of its location in the area of an old stadium, both a public transportation network and a private car network are ready from the beginning. From the north site of the area, the D100 Highway provides the main transportation axis. In addition to this, from the south side, the Mecidiyeköy district, the road network and access roads are in use. Subway access is also available from Şişli Station, which is 700m away.

The north side of the area is blocked with the D100 Highway, and all other sides are surrounded with neighborhoods of the Mecidiyeköy region. Geographically, the area is on a higher point than the surrounding areas. This physical position provides a vista advantage to the project, especially the higher levels of towers. In the surrounding buildings, typical blocks are between five to eight storeys.

### **Zorlu Center**

The Zorlu Center is located at a highly strategic and important point in the European side of Istanbul. It is on the junction point of the Büyükdere Boulevard and the D100 Highway coming from Bosphorus Bridge. This site is also at the central point of the central business district of the Istanbul European side.

Zorlu Center, which is near the Büyükdere Boulevard, has its tower and "urban balcony" looking towards the Bosphorus. On the other hand, on the ground level, its C-shaped podium faces the boulevard. The podium creates an open atrium. There are housing developments on the west side of the project. The south side is blocked by the highway and the east side is also closed off by the Büyükdere Boulevard. There are many office towers on the north side of the project, which are also located on the Büyükdere Road.

Accessibility of the project site for pedestrians is problematic. Among the underground passages, the underground subway connection from Gayrettepe Station is the most used way, despite its length. Private cars can come from Büyükdere Boulevard, Akmerkez Road and Koru Street.

### **Assessment of Intermediary Dynamics**

After analyzing projects individually, there can be common points under the intermediary dynamics title.

Firstly, all projects from Ankara and Istanbul are located on main axes of the urban center. These axes also define the new central business districts of regions.

Secondly, despite being part of a CBD, none of the projects have a direct relationship with other projects. The main organizer of the districts is the chosen roads, which are Büyükdere and the D100 Highway in Istanbul, and Eskişehir Road in Ankara. Absence of the relationship aims to enhance the value and uniqueness of the project but it also causes an absence of wholeness for the district. Numerous individual projects could not compose an integrated region.

Thirdly, although private car transportation is accepted as a main access method, chosen areas have also proper public transportation networks. With this support, the number of users could be raised.

Lastly, the chosen axes are the new central business regions of new work and lifestyles. Expanding urban areas, because of the suburbanization, finds new and suitable centers to create new centers for the new demands of the age.



**Figure5.3:** Site of the Mahall Ankara Project, old and new views



**Figure5.4:** Site of the Next Level Ankara Project, old and new views



**Figure5.5:** Site of the Torun Center Project, old and new views



**Figure5.6:** Site of the Zorlu Center Project, old and new views

### 5.4.3 Internal Dynamics and Functional Analysis

In this part, functions of each project, relationships of the functions and critiques of their redefined concepts and programs will be investigated.

#### **Mahall**

There are residential parts, office parts, including home offices, hotels, shops and restaurants in the project. Unlike the other cases, buildings are designed to be separate from each other. On the ground floor level there is a connection with walking paths from outside the buildings. The office block, 19 floors, has 140 offices. Apart from that, a horizontal office block contains 86 offices. There is also a mixed block, consisting of home offices and apartments, which has 22 floors, and

near the road, there is a hotel with 5000 square meters and 6 floors. The project has a 59,500 square meter residential area, which is divided between the two residential towers. There is also 5,500 square meter rentable area for shops and restaurants. While circulation is solved on the ground floor, the designers did not create closed shopping areas for users. Instead of this, some kind of a street concept is predicted.



**Figure5.7:** Mahall Ankara Project Site Plan



**Figure5.8:** Mahall Ankara Project Perspective View

## Next Level

The project consists of three main parts: a base, office tower and residential tower. On the ground floor level two towers define an open courtyard, which has restaurants, cinema and a bookstore. The base under the courtyard is a shopping mall with direct connections to the office and residential towers. The residential part has 105 apartments, of which 40 of them are suites, from 1+1 to 5+1. The block has 20 floors. The residential part also has its own sports and health services for the dwellers. The office tower, on the other hand, has 30 floors, with a variety of offices from 165 square meters to 2,400 square meters.



**Figure5.9:** Next Level Ankara Site Plan



**Figure5.10:** Next Level Project Perspective view

### **Torun Center and Old Liqueur Factory**

The project contains the functions of housing, office, culture, and leisure. Different from other cases, Torun Center does not contain a mall part. Instead of this, the ground floor is designed as an open space with restaurants and cafes. There are three high-rise buildings, of which two are residential blocks and the other is an office block. The old factory building that had three floors became a cultural center in the complex. The residential blocks also contain semi-closed spaces, restaurants, libraries, and sport centers on different levels. The total construction area is 242,000 square meters. The residential blocks have 42 floors and the office block has 36 floors. On the ground floor there is a 10,000 square meter open space which was designed as a "public square".

Different from the other mixed-use projects, it can be said that the Torun Center complex aims to create a living and working oriented complex. Instead of shopping, cinema, and some other commercial spaces that attract people from outside the complex, the project is mainly targeted to create a self-sufficient mechanism. However, despite being in the CBD on the European side and near the beltway,

public transportation to the site is not efficient compared with other projects in the region. Private cars are the main transportation of the major user group of the complex; the situation shows guidance.



**Figure5.11:** Torun Center Site Plan



**Figure5.12:** Torun Center Perspective View

## Zorlu Center

The project consists of two parts, the C-shaped podium and towers. The podium defines an urban terrace and creates a public space on the Büyükdere Boulevard level. The mall part, cultural part, and offices are located in the podium. Of the four semi identical towers, three of them are residential units and the other one is the hotel part. The residential and hotel functions are separated from the public functions with a shell, which defines the "urban balcony", with a vista of Bosphorus. The cultural function, the concert hall, called Zorlu Performance Art Center, is located in the south, still as a part of the podium, with a capacity of 25,00 people.

Different from the other projects, in the Zorlu Center the office function is accepted as a part of the base. Residential units, with hotel, are separated from the base with towers. The project has a direct underground connection to Gayrettepe Subway Station. Still, because of its location, walkways are not efficient for outsiders.



**Figure5.12:**Zorlu Center Site Plan



**Figure5.13:** Zorlu Center Perspective View

## **5.5 Assessment of the Cases**

The main projects of the two metropolitan cities of Turkey reflect the general idea of mixed-use and development of central districts. While studying the projects, there are three main problems in spatio-contextual meaning that are revealed. Firstly, although all projects have an idea of a site plan, there is no master plan on large scale. Secondly, because of the rivalry between the investments, designs do not include a direct relationship with surrounding areas. Therefore all projects are introverted and ignore the urban scale and pattern. Lastly, the introverted projects want to be single and refuse to integrate with the environment, and demand to create a micro center in their own part. While they may be defined as central districts, these districts contain micro sub-centers.

Another result from the cases is that the transportation axes are important while investors decide on the land of the projects as well as the districts. Although old types of gated community typologies are not valid for mixed-uses, residential parts have high security measures, and a clear psychological barrier exists in semi public

areas. Because of the perpetual competition for income, the main aim of the project is established on making money, and they set a course as regards the high-income groups.

On the other hand, while studying these projects, I assumed that there is a change in workers' profile. Blue collar workers have moved towards becoming white collars in urban centers. So there would be a need for these new types of workers. Mixed-use projects in Istanbul, and Ankara's new development areas, stand for these needs. On the other hand, in modern or postmodern understanding, mixed-use projects and developments point to some urban problems. Although these projects seem to share the same worries, they cannot be the solution because of the capitalist mode.

Chosen projects also reflect similar determinations. These determinations have been changed and redefined by changing urban dynamics. Changes are also related to social, economic and political reasons. Context, scale, form, function, quality and user are sub research titles of project research.

## **Context**

Architectural space works with its environment. Space and the surrounding environment affect each other. Built or unbuilt references and architectural space define their context. However, capital transforms context with its international flow among the geographies. Capital-based spaces cannot be explained with conventional context terms. It ignores local character of context and relationships between place and space. Instead of context, it proposes the term 'site'.<sup>112</sup> Site is defined by capital and has an abstract meaning independent from geographical place. It allows a new relationship between place and architectural space. This new quantitative site is regenerated in different places with economic inputs. Therefore a new environment could come up with repetitive site relationships and mechanical articulations.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*, İstanbul : Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005 p.111

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p111.

After transition from context to site, profit possibilities determine the site of projects. Targeted user and cost of plot are compared and maximum profit balance is expected. Developing projects and plot selection is defined by the optimum balance of economic levels of user, targeted consumer and land costs.

## Scale

The continual growth of capital forces spaces to become more complex and large scaled. The power of capital and its reflection about space are related. Rem Koolhaas defines the problem about scale of space as that after a point, the scale of the space has a feature that can change the qualification of it.<sup>114</sup> 'Scale', 'togetherness', 'integrity', 'piece', 'interior-exterior' terms lose their validity and space enhances new behaviors coming from its size.<sup>115</sup> On the other hand, according to Rem Koolhaas, scale has grown so much so, that against terms like 'population', 'density', 'dimension' and 'speed', a single building does not mean anything.<sup>116</sup> Instead of 'scale', he defines the 'bigness' term.<sup>117</sup> Koolhaas adds that, "Beyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building. Such a mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture, or even by any combination of architectural gestures".<sup>118</sup> He continues with: "Together, all these breaks - with scale, with architectural composition, with tradition, with transparency, with ethics - imply the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue."<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *Small, medium, large, extra-large : Office for Metropolitan Architecture/* edited by Jennifer Sigler ; photography by Hans Werlemann, New York Monacelli Press, 1995, pp 495-499.

<sup>115</sup> Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*, İstanbul : Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005 p.111

<sup>116</sup> Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *Small, medium, large, extra-large : Office for Metropolitan Architecture/* edited by Jennifer Sigler ; photography by Hans Werlemann, New York Monacelli Press, 1995, p 500.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p495.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p499.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p502.

The new size of the space that is defined by capital, makes the exterior unnecessary in all respects. Instead of the exterior, the interior gains importance and establishes a new publicness.<sup>120</sup> This publicness is introverted.

### **Form**

After the postmodernist rejection of modernist "form follows function", capital reverses the relationship between form and function. Relationships between space and context are put away, and, with the magnitude; space and surrounding form, have come down to a shell.<sup>121</sup> When the relationship between interior and exterior, which is defined by function, disappears, the shell is now reduced to a décor seen from the outside.

### **Function**

Other than the form-function discussions, function and service have a different important separation. In the capital-based space, the term 'function' has a quantitative meaning. This quantitative function can change with all kinds of objects and temporal rhythms. Moreover, the term 'service' is directly related with profitability. Instead of the quality of the function, a quantitative service has to respond flexibly to the demands of different periods. Continual profit request is the main function of the space.

### **Quality**

Spaces, which are defined by capital, have quantitative objectives. Instead of quality, projects advertise the number and variety of goods or parts. Floor area becomes important promotion information.

### **User-Consumer**

Space, which is the object of architecture, is designed for the use of people. However in the consumption era, the character and definition of people have also changed. The

---

<sup>120</sup> Hakkı Yırtıcı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*, İstanbul : Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005 p121.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p125.

relationship between user and space is redefined. The user is not at the center any more. Instead of 'user' and its benefits, the term 'consumer' is used. Space reorganizes itself into the logic of shopping. Consequently, the term 'user' returns to the term 'consumer'.

All of the inputs, coming from the terms, define a new kind of space. This space needs a new programming method in terms of urban planning and architectural planning.

The projects are located in their areas according to their profit potentials. Instead of suiting the context which they are in, they create their own installation on their sites. Zorlu Center is contained inside the shell and separates itself from the surrounding area and urban pattern. The Torun Center Project also separates itself from the Mecidiyeköy district and chooses to refer to the beltway. Instead of integrating with the context, it creates its own program with open and closed spaces. Two sides are main roads and a further side is the bus station of the Next Level project in Ankara. It also isolates itself from its context and defines its site with a shell. Inside its shell, it serves open, semi-open and closed spaces, which have no connection with the outside of the shell. The Mahall project already has an unestablished pattern. Its only reference points are nearby (neighboring) sites, which have walls between sites, and a main road. The creation of streets and squares has no connections and continuity and these creations exist just for themselves.

Changes in the quality and scale terms also are clearly visible in the way the projects are promoted. Structures, designed as high as possible, are continually expressed with numbers, and square meters. The basic information about the spaces is on multitude of numbers.

There are basic spatial, economic and social differences between the projects' mixed-use neighborhoods after the zoning period and contemporary mixed-use projects. Firstly, the user profiles of these two are different. For example, when examined, the neighborhoods of the Mecidiyeköy district, which the Torun Center is in and the Zorlu Center is close to, house prices and rents are fungible for a wider population, which can pay around \$1,000 - \$1,500 for a square meter. In the Torun Center, on the contrary, a square meter is around \$5,200 - \$5,800. As a result of this data, it can

be said that classical neighborhoods involve a much wider part of the community, though in the mixed-use projects only high-income groups can live in or buy apartments and offices. So, using security measures, satisfying service demands and with other advantages, the mixed-use projects create spatial class distinctions of the contemporary capitalist mode.

In the urban context, mixed-use projects want to isolate themselves from other parts of the context, except their vistas. Although this isolation is different from gated communities, integrity with the site is still not a priority of mixed-use projects. Despite traffic problems, neighborhoods try to ensure a transportation web consisting of pedestrian ways, private vehicles and public transportation. Mixed-use projects, yet, mainly intend to promote private cars, because of their user profiles. They are located on the highways and main roads. Public transportation is the secondary way to arrive at the complexes. Users' ('customers' from the investors' perspective) time spent is desired to be extended as long as possible. During this time, not thinking about other complexes is another point for investors. Caused by the lack of competition between the neighborhoods, users are not kept to spend more time. These neighborhoods are obtained through evolving housing functions, with offices and commercial spaces according to demand.

## **5.6 Assessment of Chapter**

The chosen projects are key projects to create new central districts in the two main cities of Turkey, which is the main difference between the other current projects and the chosen ones. The main important difference between the previous period's mixed-use projects and the chosen ones is that the new central districts, which are created to be an alternative to the old ones, are shaped by these projects. The role of the mixed-use projects has shifted compared to old projects.

Mixed-use projects, which arose in a spontaneous way and existed intensively in the pre-modern period, were generally created according to needs. Yet, the current examples of mixed-use tend to create a new lifestyle and design a space for the artificial needs of society.

There are also similarities between the sample projects and other current projects and also former mixed-use projects. The most prominent similarity with current examples is that all of the projects are created based on competition for profitability. As can be seen in newspapers, billboards and TV channels, the architecture of these projects has been turned into an advertisement element. This is the natural result of competition for profit. As a result of this, the main aim of the architecture in these projects has become to produce the most profitable concepts. This kind of competition also forces the projects to draw a line between each other and it prevents acting as a part of a whole. Projects which must be located together physically are designed as if they are the only project in the district.

There are also basic similarities between the chosen samples and former mixed-use examples. Spatial flexibility of functions is the main feature. Whether they are designed or spontaneously placed, mixed-use spaces are suitable in terms of economic and social renewal. They can be shaped according to the market's new demands. In the contemporary forms, late capitalism, which searches for a shift and conversion like former transition periods, demands a physical renovation and uses mixed-use forms.

Redefinition of the functions, which are part of a program of mixed-use projects, is another main topic. Redefinition brings structural and social changes to functioning. First, redefinition of every single function causes a formal change, and the form of the mixed-use project could take form with domination of a function. Shapes of podium-tower, street-tower, square-tower, square-podium, and street-square-podium ... are selected with density of the chosen functions.

Secondly, there are direct causes on formal structure and social structures of close environments. Effects of projects, in terms of new understanding of functions, have immediate impact on close environments. New and profitable practice transforms older ones. The mentioned change is both on a level of understanding but also physical. Neighboring settlements of mixed-use projects and central business districts change also physically and formally, where former forms are altered with newer ones. During this transformation, mental change occurs too. For example, housing blocks are changed for residences, old office spaces are changed with new

office blocks. Also proximate neighborhoods preserve their mixed character; buildings are opened to redefinition of functions and their requirements.

On the other hand, in terms of the urban scale, the new central business districts are not only 'business' districts, but also they are new consumption and living spaces. Consumption is concentrated in these spaces. Other than workers or dwellers of complexes, projects want outsider people. With the residences and night activities, 24-hour living centers are the aim. Thus, people are directed to new consumption centers. The redefinition, which has a direct impact on social structure and behavior of people, creates a new habit. Economic structure, physical structure and social structure move, shifting and supporting each other. In the urban scale, like business and housing functions; the cultural axis, sportive axis and leisure spaces move to new districts which are created by mixed-use projects.

Another main change has occurred with regard to the article "context-scale-form-function-quality and user-consumer". Transformation on economic grounds directly affect these concepts. Contemporary forms of mixed-use projects symbolize a new economic, capitalist spatial change, with the change in definition of these concepts. It is no coincidence that regions of Maslak-Levent in Istanbul and Eskişehir Road in Ankara are both centers of new architectural-urban understanding and also new locations of capital. Newly produced spatial organization relives consumption and also leads up to a new class alteration of late capitalism.

Lastly, in terms of the urban development of Istanbul and Ankara, the chosen projects have important roles. Work power, especially new white collar work power, moves from old centers to the new centers. Expansion of urban centers will slow down and the suburbanization mode is nearly finished. Instead of suburbanization, existing suburbs will be included in the city, and this creates polycenters. Middle scale investors can manage the polycenters but new business districts could be managed only by bigger scale investors. This differentiation designates the future of the two cities. On the other hand, the municipalities of Istanbul and Ankara support the investors directly. The needs of new projects are solved by them.

On a sub-scale, the Levent-Maslak region in Istanbul and the Eskişehir Road-Söğütözü-Çukurambar region in Ankara are faced with the inevitable results of the

understanding of urbanization. The regions, which were substantial for urban growth with their wide empty lands, are used for new developments. Cities' and regions' existing problems increase. Instead of solving problems like traffic, crowding of public transportation, density of urban centers or irregularity of urban plans, the new districts add to the list of problems.

In the building scale, on the other hand, these architectural products define a new relationship between building and city. The buildings create micro urban environments with their public spaces. The public space concept is broken away from free spaces of urban areas and it is closed to restrained micro models of complexes. Courtyards of the projects become new urban public spaces in these micro environments. Instead of solving the problems of existing public spaces, the projects suggest imitations.

## **CHAPTER 6:**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this study, the concept and practice of mixed-use projects were investigated through urban theories with historical backgrounds. In the last part of the thesis, mixed-use project examples from Istanbul and Ankara were analyzed to define a contemporary meaning.

In the conclusion chapter of the thesis, firstly the methodology and structure of the thesis will summarize the content of the chapters. After that, as the author of the thesis, some subjective assessments will be made under particular titles.

Throughout the thesis, the main article, mixed-use concept, has been accepted as a part of urban space, and the dialectic between urban space, with its economic and social dynamics, and mixed-use space are held together. In order to analyze the relationship, it is necessary to define a historical position of mixed-use idea. While doing the positioning, central business districts and centralization modes are also important topics to define contemporary mixed-use issue.

After historical analysis, contemporary mixed-use projects were analyzed in the spatial context of new central business districts of Istanbul and Ankara. Rather than a formal analysis, a spatio-contextual research was made from the bigger scale of urban space to the functional components of the projects. The theoretical and methodological background of the thesis was influenced by the works of such key figures as David Harvey, Andy Merrifield and Manuel Castells because of their

dialectical approach to space. While analyzing the contemporary position of debates, the works of Jane Jacobs, Saskia Sassen, Lewis Mumford and Kenneth Frampton are also pathfinders.

In this way, the research is divided into four main parts: firstly in chapter 2, conditions post the industrial revolution were researched from 1800 to the beginning year of the First World War (WWI). In chapter 3, the time period between 1914 to the 1980 was researched. In chapter 4, the time period between 1980 and 2015 was investigated. In the last body chapter, chapter 5, analyzes the contemporary meanings of mixed-use projects through the cases from Istanbul and Ankara.

This research attempts to find out how urban space is designed by economic and social dynamics in the industrialized capitalist cities. The urban theories and practices are very important to define a clear point of view. Moreover, with the pressure of the capitalist crisis, the change of urban space and architectural space is an important issue. In order to establish a productive discussion, economic, social, cultural and spatio-cultural analyses have been made throughout the thesis.

According to these methodological thoughts, the first chapter of the body dealt with the early urban theories after the industrial revolution, the Haussmannization period of Paris, urban utopias of the nineteenth century, especially the garden city of Ebenezer Howard. During the period from 1800 to 1914, modern urban planning was developed. After the industrial revolution important dynamics have grown in urban space and 'urban' took on a new meaning. Work power was urbanized, technological developments accelerated and production gathered in cities, capital began to accumulate in urban space, and consequently capitalism shifted to a new and advanced mode. After that point in history, the contradiction of capitalism in the field of urbanism also showed up in daily life. Against the emerging problematic issues, sometimes governmental interventions were inevitable, such as housing intervention in major cities of England. Like the other important changes in urban space, the industrial revolution and new urbanization broke conventional types of mixed-use, and a new form came out according to new production methods, meaning industrial factories.

There are also two main characteristics of the period. Firstly, the new urban plans, like the Haussmann Plan and the Brooklyn Plan, implied a new urban formation would pave the way to capitalism. Secondly, in this period of time, important urban utopian ideas were produced and some of them had examples, like the garden city. Another important characteristic of the garden city is that, after losing the validity of conventional mixed-use formation, it proposed a new type of mixed-use development. On the other hand, capital accumulation and work power created new centers and central business districts in major cities. Central business districts of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century depended highly on new work branches of the new capitalist mode and technological developments in the construction sector. The beginning of the First World War (WWI) is accepted as an important breaking point in terms of the transition to a new mode of capitalism and urbanization.

In the second chapter of the body part, the ideas of the CIAM, and modernist architecture and urbanism are examined with changes in urban space and the new mode of capitalism. The effect of the economic system on urbanist theories of modernism is also an important point. During the period, character of the central business districts of twentieth century and suburbanization of cities are main developments. In general, the discussion is developed with the ideas of the CIAM, especially the Athens Charter and "the functional city" theory, and modernist theories on urbanization. Mass production and its effects on society and naturally on architecture and urbanization, new production methods, new work branches and styles of the period and mass consumption are analyzed with a theoretical discussion. First critics about modernist urbanization and new problems of cities are also this chapter's important articles. As a transition year to neoliberal politics, 1980 is an important year to divide the eras.

In the third chapter of the body, the period from 1980 to today is analyzed. Globalization and its effects on economy, society and urbanization are researched in their general meaning. Post-modernist theories on urbanization and new neoliberal understanding of urbanism are key points. Fordist production to post-Fordist production and the effects of this change on urban space is analyzed, with Andy Merrifield's Detroit case from *The New Urban Question* and the Baltimore case from

Dialectical Urbanism. New polycentric mega cities and new class distinctions are also analyzed, related to the urbanization mode of the era. On the other hand, the centralization and decentralization debate is another important article, with Saskia Sassen's ideas. After modernist ideas and post-modernist ideas on urbanization, the New Urbanism Movement has a point in this chapter with its approach and effects on new mixed-use development theory. The Movement's Thirteen Points of New Urbanism is discussed. In the last part of the chapter, the case of Turkey is also researched in terms of the urbanization modes in Istanbul and Ankara.

In the fourth chapter of the body, the contemporary meaning of mixed-use projects is researched, with the cases from Istanbul and Ankara. Before the analysis, functional characteristics of mixed-use projects are redefined according to contemporary meanings. After that, the cases are analyzed in three different scales of dynamics: external, intermediary and internal. The external dynamics focused on the new central business districts of Istanbul and Ankara. In the intermediary part, the environmental features of cases are analyzed. Lastly, in internal dynamics, the functional characteristics of cases are analyzed. After the analysis parts, determinations about some architectural concepts are redefined.

In the chosen examples of the thesis: Ankara and Istanbul, regional organization of the projects is another important point. The investors of projects aim to increase the value of the projects. In both cities, new central business districts and projects are close to the suburban settlements, which might be accepted as a luxurious type of life. Through this selection, the real estate investments are focal areas for both old center dwellers and suburban dwellers.

As the author of the thesis, what can be also added to the future expectation about the development of cities in terms of the mixed-use projects is that in the coming years, new mixed-use projects will be built in the central business districts of cities. On the other hand, in a profit battle, these projects will try to formally differentiate each other. When the new central business districts reach their limits physically and economically, new and profitable projects will be planned for the peripheries of urban space. Moreover, new forms of mixed-use projects could also be seen in other

cities. Like the shopping malls, the investors of other cities of Turkey, may want to make quick money from the new trend of architecture and urbanization.

Furthermore, the centralization mode and creating new central areas will continue in developed and major developing cities. It is very hard to detect a world-wide spread of mixed-use movement in the new meaning of it. Different geographies have different dynamics. However, it may be expected that the changes in the functions and concepts have an international side because of capitalism's progress.

With the results of these analyses, as the author of the thesis, I can make certain "subjective" criticisms about the debates and contradictions which are derived from the thesis:

### **"Urban space and Capitalism" debates**

As analyzed in the thesis, economic systems and urban space have a strong relationship. All planned and built urban space has an economic and political background and also a purpose. Urban spaces and plans especially are under the control of the dominant economic system. Capitalism, in these cases, controls the urban space and makes plans. However, in the capitalist polity, the rulers of space are capital owners. The majority of users cannot be in this decisive position. On the other hand, this situation is almost same for urban planners and also architects. In the capitalist system, designers of space have to meet the demands of capital owners. The aim of the processes is profit.

Another important characteristic of capitalism, as mentioned before, is flexibility of capitalism according to profit target. Designed spaces could be demolished, redesigned, abandoned or restored according to needs of the capitalist era. Capitalism needs restoration periods to renew itself because of capital requirements.

Another flexible characteristic of capitalism is, if an idea could be used according to its needs, the system converts it and uses it. For instance, the zoning plans of the CIAM or the urban utopian ideas of the late nineteenth century planners were converted according to the capitalist system.

These renovation processes, which were also done to urban and architectural spaces, create tension for society. The resources of the state, meaning the public's, are used to make profit. Moreover, valuable areas of cities are used for the needs of capital owners. Problems of cities and requests of society are either not done or are done perfunctorily.

In this research from the Haussmannization period of Paris, Brooklyn's grid plan, and the CIAM's zoning plans, to the new central business districts, new forms of mixed-use typology were analyzed from this perspective.

### **Mixed-Use Projects and New Neoliberal Urban Policy Debates**

The second main consequence, which has been gathered from analysis: the New Urbanist ideas of new types of mixed-use and neoliberal urbanism, are poles apart in their aims. Problems in cities, like traffic jams, wasting time and lack of public spaces, are used in advertisements of new projects of neoliberal developments. However, the last products of the ideas are completely different. New Urbanism wants to create spaces which are designed according to human scale. In neoliberal practice, however, the buildings are designed in a race of bigness. To make more profit, the area is multiplied by the number of floors. On the other hand, in the neoliberal urban plan, the regions cannot be designed together and whole because of property relationships and conflicts of interest. However, in the New Urbanist theory, the region must be held as a whole development to create targeted space.

The reason to compare the New Urbanist theory and neoliberal understanding of urbanism is the references of neoliberal propaganda derived from the New Urbanist Movement. Like the other capitalist examples, late capitalism takes what it needs to renew itself and expand its limits in urban space.

On the other hand, another important alteration happens with redefinition of the functions in mixed-use projects. Changes which occur in basics of functions, create new kind of spaces. As a result of changes, spaces lose their essential functions and turn into consumption objects.

The selection process of functions is related to profit targets of projects rather than the needs of the environment. Although different projects use the same functions in a different form and commercialize them with different ways, in substance, characteristics of spaces are the same. This approach causes an overproduction and overconsumption. When the limits of consumption are reached, spaces will be declared as unneeded and surplus.

At the other side of the debate, essential functions of space lose their value and aim in society. Spaces which have lost their character and importance, will become a commodity and break bonds with the community. However, all of the functions, redefined by new idea, are necessities of a healthy urban space for the community.

### **White Collar Labor and Users**

Firstly, in the concept of mixed-use environments, it is expected that working spaces of people and their homes could be close to each other. In this way, they could save time. However, in most cases in Turkey, salaries of white collar workers could not afford the prices of houses. Only the managers of the companies have that opportunity. One of the important reasons for the mixed-use idea also collapses at that point. Closing housing and office functions does not provide any advantage to users.

Another important point is the user profile of the new spaces. Changes are not only in the physical formation of spaces, but in the user profile. Importantly, central business districts' workers become the dominant worker profile of new urban structures. Raising the service industry also increases the number of white collar workers. As workers of office parts in mixed-use projects, they are also natural users, or customers, of other parts of the complexes. However, as a customer or worker, there is no direct effect on these spaces.

Differently from blue collar workers, most blue collar workers have graduated from university and they belong to a sub-sector, like accounting, consultancy, or banking. This situation creates a rivalry among sub-groups. Rivalry also creates individualism.

However, for their welfare and life standards, all of them must act as a group. The individualized new worker profile has become one that is synonymous with the spaces. Yet, as a dominant character of the new mixed-use concept, white-collar workers must have an active rather than passive role.

Moreover, users, who are customers in the new concept, have lost their power over urban space. Instead of public spaces, these new individualized spaces relate to the rights of people in urban spaces.

### **Architectural Form and Urban Form Relationship**

One of the most important consequences in the thesis is the relationship between architectural form and urban form. Because of the competition between architectural projects, they create their own micro environments. Individually, each building has an architectural value. Nevertheless, the togetherness of these projects cannot create a proper urban environment. Unplanned establishment of buildings causes new problems. Buildings become architectural objects which are lined up on main streets. Not only in these districts, but other parts of urban space have no communication channels with these projects. When the building is defined as an object detached from urban space and its environment, the reality of existing problems remains.

The relationships among professions is weakening. A scale problem arises because of the methodological problems. The scale of architectural products allows attempts at solving urban problems. On the other hand, when the scale of the architectural products expands, urban planning issues begin to interfere out of scale. These interventions, from both sides, could be accepted a necessity in a design problem. However, an unplanned process from the start causes irregularity between professions, and, at the end of the process, decisions are made by investors.

Moreover, the effects of central business districts are very crucial. Overall formations of cities cause deep changes. For an important time period, new central areas of cities will remain. However, in this methodology of production, the new centers have problems from the beginning.

Furthermore, with the changes in definitions in functions and concepts of projects, new centers are not only spaces for consumption but also the production of projects is consumption. It may be said that these spaces are produced to consume themselves.

### **Centralization, Decentralization and Polycentralization Debates**

Another important dynamic, which is held in the thesis, are centralization and decentralization debates. When the economy needs to change the existing space and restructure it, the development direction of cities has changed. Centers are abandoned by capital or capital has returned to centers. The region, which is valuable and costs a lot to change, is altered to a more useful one. However, this process creates another tension in the urban space. While abandoned places change their character, new places generate another value. In this case, which is analyzed in the thesis, new central business districts imply a new centralization mode. In Ankara and Istanbul, not only a new mode comes, but new centers are designed instead of old ones.

Another significant point is the polycentralization mode between centralization and decentralization. Polycentric structure of cities serve a different kind of lifestyle for a while. These centers are not only neighborhoods anymore. For example, Beşiktaş in İstanbul has all the functions that a center needs. However, a newly offered formation wants to attract users of them. It also creates a new tension in urban life. If it is evaluated in terms of the mixed-use environment, polycenters of cities already offer an environment with their own functions. Different from suburbs, they have strong connections with each other. However, the problems of urban spaces also affect them (and are naturally created by them). The relationship between these polycenters and new central areas is another important research topic for the near future. For instance, the relationship between Şişli or Beşiktaş with the new central area of Istanbul and Bahçelievler. or Balgat with new central area of Ankara will be problematic.

What is significant in centralization and decentralization movements in urban space is that these modes are determined by the economic system's crisis and needs instead

of public needs. It can be expected that problems of the existing space are identified and solved with the creation of a new space. Yet, the known problems, if they are not profitable, are not seen by investors. Eventually, the movements only provide the redistribution of accumulated capital.

### **Mixed-use Environments**

The mixed-use idea is used and consumed to the welfare of contemporary capitalism, whereas, integrated, socially structured, healthy and well designed urban space and architectural space is a demand of contemporary society. People have a request for better spaces. In the mixed-use theory of the New Urbanism theory, or in other contemporary mixed-use ideas, the aim of mixing uses and designing a complex development is different from the practice of examples.

The suggestions of New Urbanism about the problems of cities, such as town life, street life, human scale oriented design, and neighborhood, are completely destroyed with the usage of mixed-use in its new form. Furthermore, social and economic sustainability are not possible because of the character of neoliberal urban policy.

In each period of time, as analyzed in the thesis, it can be seen that the movements, which are controlled and directed by capitalism, are applied while breaking away from their idealist aims. But in recent years, the general debate in society references the urbanist and architectural theories often. If the debates on the economic system and architecture and urbanization have wider ground in society, the theories will have a positive discussion platform. Otherwise, theories like mixed-use environments will become a tool for creating a new mode of economic systems.

A final word about mixed-use environments: while former mixed-use formations are shaped in a spontaneous way, contemporary mixed-use ideas need a careful planning and design process. Different from former processes, it greatly needs criticisms and comments from society, especially in central urban areas. To solve the existing problems of cities, it also greatly needs the professional knowledge of architects and urban planners.

After these determinations, it can be also added that the debate, which goes on about urban issues, is not only an architectural form and typology discussion. The economic and political background of this debate remains important. Without considering all sides of the problem, suggestions for solutions will be inadequate. Important views or suggestions in urbanist and architectural theory could be easily transformed to the needs of capital owners. Architects will only have a figurative role in this system. Instead of this, suggested solutions, which are concentrated on the problems, will be prepared on economic and political grounds. Then, an urban understanding and an urban plan must be prepared according to the solutions. Finally, a formal and typological discussion could be made with the all the dynamics of the environment. Plans which are directly serving the economic systems and even prepared for them, create only workarounds and new problems.

In the case of Turkey, a heated debate has lasted since 2002. The policies of government on urban space and the construction industry increase tension in society. Excessive consumption of natural sources, direct intervention in urban space, and, lastly, plans on public spaces, caused a social explosion with other unrests. The neoliberal urbanism, with its limitless profit target, aims on the one hand to create and define new kinds of spaces like new central business districts; on the other hand it transforms existing spaces with all their meaning in society. Designing new buildings on empty lots and transforming existing spaces have different dynamics. However, dialectical meanings about urban space and society are evaluated together. The policies of the new capitalist mode must be considered as a whole. As a part of policies, new business districts, mixed-use projects, and functions with redefinitions constitute a side of the debate.

Future research and studies related to this thesis may include the development of completed new central business districts and their effects on urban space. Resistance against the new understanding of space and its dynamics may be another topic. Another issue that has to be monitored is the new definitions of functions in architectural programs and their relationship with architectural forms and urban formation.

Based on this thesis, moreover, progress of mixed-use projects and also mixed-use development ideas may be analyzed with their solution suggestions in the case of both Turkey and other problematic cities. While doing this research, instead of the abrasive aims of neoliberal urban ideas, modernist critics on urbanism and utopian ideas of the nineteenth century should be considered along with new mixed-use development theories.

This study criticizes the creation and redefinition of space under the control of the economic system through the contemporary case of mixed-use projects. The projects are also part of the new central business districts, and, naturally, urban space. The critique and analyses of the thesis involve discussion about urbanization with architectural elements. Moreover, the historical backgrounds of mixed-use projects, central business districts and centralization are analyzed. The criticisms of the thesis also involve the functional elements of architecture and mixed-use projects and some architectural concepts. The existence of mixed-use projects, in the contemporary meaning, symbolizes a new form and understanding.

Nearing the conclusion of the thesis, some subjective but clear determinations about urban space by Andy Merrifield are noted:

Our planetary urban fabric - the terrestrial texturing of our urban universe - is woven by a ruling class that sees cities as purely speculative entities, as sites for gentrifying schemes and upscale redevelopments, as machines for making clean, quick money in, and for dispossessing erstwhile public goods.<sup>122</sup>

To understand and find out the methods of neoliberalism is a significant step to discussing and making suggestions about public oriented urbanization and architecture. As an architect, to design an architectural object, being aware of the meaning of it, with all its elements and dynamics, is an important professional perspective.

---

<sup>122</sup> Andy Merrifield. *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014, p38.

It can be said that with this mode of capitalism and neoliberal urbanization, new forms of mixed-use projects will be designed in other cities of Turkey. Characters, economies, user profiles and local governors will determine the capacity of developments.

On the other hand, while general determinations could have same basics and theoretical backgrounds in other examples, still different countries, regions, cities and spaces need different evaluation processes.

Yet, to erect a solid consciousness and to design public spaces, the basic reasons for a problem should be remembered. Against the problems of cities, the common sense of both the public and architects must suggest solutions instead of remaining as an audience by taking a passive role.

Andy Merrifield's question must be asked at this point:

The new urban question for radical politics, for progressive people everywhere, thus means figuring out what to do about all this? One response to this regime of accumulation and mode of urbanization, its political contraflow, might be: is it possible to similarly periodize a mode of dissent, a revolt against the dominant order? May be it's possible to identify and nurture a new brand of progressive dissenters, people who symbolize and enact a different, historically specific disposition to make trouble, to protest, to revolt against the structures of neoliberal parasitic power?<sup>123</sup>

As the final word: urbanization and architectural design affect public health directly. Saving a group's personal welfare and making them user-centered (public-centered) should be aim of professions. Moreover, a healthy public life and structured space have mutual interests. Social awareness should be raised to a higher level. The collective work of individual and professions could create permanent and strong solutions.

---

<sup>123</sup> Andy Merrifield. *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014, p119.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, Theodor, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Allen, Stan, *Points + lines : diagrams and projects for the city* , New York : Princeton Architectural Press, 1999.

Aras, Ebru, *Gayrimenkul Projelerinin Kent ve Mimarlık İlişkisindeki Rolü: İstanbul Büyükdere Caddesi, Dosya 21: Mimarlık, Kent ve Rant*, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2010.

Aslankan, Ali, *Mixed-use High-Rise [Residential] Complexes in Istanbul: A New Urban Form(ation), and Role of the Architect*, Unpublished PHD. Thesis, METU, Department of Architecture, 2014.

Balula, Luis, *Urban design and planning policy : theoretical foundations for a European new urbanism*, Saarbrücken : LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2010.

Barnett, Jonathan, *What is New About New Urbanism*, in *Charter of New Urbanism*, edt. by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. New York, McGraw Hill, 2000.

Benevolo, Leonardo, *History of Modern Architecture Volume I*, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1971.

Benevolo, Leonardo, *History of Modern Architecture Volume II*, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1971.

Bilsel, Cana, *Yeni Dünya Düzeninde Çözülen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan*. Internet accessed from <https://kendineaitbiroda.wordpress.com/2009/08/01/yeni-dunya->

duzeninde-cozulen-kentler-ve-kamusal-alan-istanbulda-merkezkac-kentsel-dinamikler-ve-kamusal-mekan-uzerine-gozlemler-yazar-cana-bilsel/ last accessed on 05.01.2015.

Boyer, Christine, *Dreaming The Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1983.

Neil Brenner, Neil & Marcuse, Peter and Mayer, Margit (Edt.), *Cities for people, not for profit : critical urban theory and the right to the city*, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2012.

Calthorpe, Peter, One, in *Charter of New Urbanism*, ed. by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. New York, McGraw Hill, 2000.

Calthorpe, Peter and Fulton, William, “Designing the Region” and “Designing the Region Is Designing the Neighborhood”, in *The City Reader* /edt by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 2003.

Castells, Manuel, *The Urban Question*. London: Arnold,1977.

Clarke, David B.,*The Consumer Society and the Postmodern City*, London: Routledge, 2003.

Conrad, Ulrich (Ed.), *Programs and manifestoes on 20th-century architecture*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971.

Coupland, Andy (Ed.), *Reclaiming the City: Mixed-Use Developments*, London: E&FN Spon, 1997.

Conzen, Michael P., *The Impact of Industrialism and Modernity on American Cities, 1860-1930*, in T.F. McIlwraith and E. K. Muller, eds, *North America: The Historical Geography of Changing Continent*, Second Edition, Lanham MD Press, 2001.

Dennis, Richard, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Duany, Andres and Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth, *The Neighborhood, the District, and the Corridor*, in *The City Reader* (edt by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout), 2003.

Engels, Friedrich, *The Condition of The Working Class in England*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England ; New York, N.Y., USA : Penguin Books, 1987

Ersoy, Melih (Ed.), *Kentsel Planlama Ansiklopedik Sözlük*, İstanbul: Ninova Yayıncılık, 2012.

Ersoy, Melih (Ed.), *Kentsel Planlama Kuramları*, Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 2007.

Fishman, Robert, *Beyond Suburbia: The Rise of the Technoburb*, in *The City Reader Third Edition/* edt by Richard T LeGates and Frederic Stout, London, Routledge, 2003.

Fishman, Robert, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. NewYork: Basic Books, 1977.

Fishman, Robert, *Urbanity and Suburbanity: Rethinking the 'Burbs'*, *American Quarterly*, 46, 35-39, 1994.

Frampton, Kenneth, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992.

Gallion, Arthur B. & Eisner, Simon, *The Urban Pattern: City Planning and Design*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1986.

Garreau, Joel, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*, New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Giddens, Anthony, *Modernity and Self-identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

Giedion, Sigfried, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of A New Tradition*, Harvard University Press, 1968.

Günay, Baykan, *Atina Bildirgesi*, in Melih Ersoy (Ed.) *Kentsel Planlama Ansiklopedik Sözlük*, pp. 17-66, Ninova Yayıncılık.

Günay, Baykan, *History of CIAM and Team 10*, in METU JFA V.8.

Gottmann, Jane, *Centre and Periphery: spatial variation in politics* / edited by Jean Gottmann, Beverly Hills, Sage Publication, 1980.

Gottman, Jean, *Metropolis on the Move; Geographers on the Urban Sprawl/* Ed. by Jean Gottman, New York: Wiley, 1966.

Haas, Tigran (Ed.), *New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc., 2008.

Hays, K. Michael, *Architecture Theory Since 1968*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998.

Harvey, David, *Paris: The Capital of Modernity*, New York Routledge, 2003.

Harvey, David, *Social Justice and The City*. UK: Basil Blackwell, 1973.

Harvey, David, *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Harvey, David, *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Harvey, David, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards A Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. New York- London: Verso, 2006.

Harvey, David, *The Enigma of Capital*. London: Profile Books Ltd, 2010.

Harvey David, *The Limits to Capital*. London: Verso, 2006.

Helbrech, Ilse and Dirksmeier, Peter (Edt.), *New urbanism : life, work, and space in the new downtown*, Farnham ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate, 2012.

Hirt, Sonia, *The Mixed- Use Trend: Planning Attitudes and Practices in Northeast Ohio*, *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, Vol. 24 Autumn , No. 2.

Howard, Ebenezer, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, London: Faber and Faber, (originally published in 1898) 1965.

Jacobs, Jane, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, London: Vintage Books, 1961.

Jacobs, Jane, *The Economy of Cities*, New York: Random House, 1969.

Jencks, Charles, *Modern Movements in Architecture*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985.

Jencks, Charles, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1987.

Keleş, Ruşen, *Kentleşme Politikası*, Ankara, İmge Yayınları, 2004.

Keskinok, H.Çağatay, *Kentleşme Siyasaları*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2006.

Keskinok, H.Çağatay, *State and the (Re)production of Urban Space*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 1997.

Koolhaas, Rem and Mau, Bruce, S, M, L,XL. New York: Monacelli Press, 1995.

Koolhaas, Rem, *Delirious New York; a retroactive manifesto for Manhattan*. New York: Monacelli Press, 1994.

Krier, Leon, *Architectural Design Profile No: 65*.

Leccese, Michael and McCormick, Kathleen (Edt.), *Charter of the New Urbanism*, New York : McGraw Hill, 2000.

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*. New York-London: Blackwell, 1991.

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Merrifield, Andy, *Dialectical Urbanism*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002.

Merrifield, Andy, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002.

Merrifield, Andy, *The New Urban Question*, London, Pluto Press, 2014.

More, Thomas, *Utopia*, London ; New York : Penguin Books, 1984, 1965.

Montgomery, John, *Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban Design*, *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), pp. 93-116, 1998.

Mumford, Eric Paul, *Defining urban design : CIAM architects and the formation of a discipline, 1937-69*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 2009.

Mumford, Lewis, *City development; studies in disintegration and renewal*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945.

Mumford, Lewis, *The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961.

Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace & Company, (originally published in 1938), 1996.

Ottensman, John R., *The Changing Spatial Structures of American Cities*, London: Lexington Books, 1975.

Parker, Simon, *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2015

Relph, Edward, *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion, 1976.

Sargin, Güven Arif, *Hybrid Spaces*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2004.

Sargin, Güven Arif, *Nature as Space, (re)understanding Nature and Natural Environment*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2000.

Sassen, Saskia, *Cities in a World Economy - 4th ed.*, Pine Forge Press, 2012.

Sassen, Saskia, *Urban Economics and Fading Distances*, in *Megacities Lecture 2*, Amersfoort, The Netherlands: Twijnstra Guddé Management Consultants, 1998.

Schulz, Christian Norberg, "Phenomenon of Place", in *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald, New York: Routledge, 2006.

Soja, Edward W., *Another New Urbanism*, in T. Haas (Ed.) *New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future*, pp. 292-295, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2008.

Soja, Edward W., *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Soja, Edward W., *Postmodern Geographies; The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London- New York: Blackwell, 1996.

Sorkin, Michael, The Center Cannot Hold, in The City Reader Third Edition/ edt by Richard T LeGates and Frederic Stout, London, Routledge, 2003.

Şengül, Tarık, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009.

Şengül. Tarık, *Planlama Paradigmalarının Dönüşümü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme in Kentsel Planlama Kuramları edt. by Melih Ersoy, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007.*

Tafuri, Manfredo, *Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1976.

Tekeli, İlhan, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması. in Y. Sey (Ed.), *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, pp. 20-22, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.

Tschumi, Bernard, *Event Cities: Praxis*, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1994.

Tschumi, Bernard, *Event Cities 3: Concept vs. Context vs. Content*, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2004.

Türk, Seda, *Modes of Urbanization: Changing Paradigms in Architecture at Urban Scale*, Unpublished METU Thesis, 2014.

Yırtıcı, Hakkı, *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Mekansal Örgütlenmesi*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005.