

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY DESIGN
EXPERIMENTS FOR HOUSING SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY
FROM MID-1960S TO MID-1980S

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FROM MID-1960S TO MID-1980S**

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ABSTRACT

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY DESIGN EXPERIMENTS FOR HOUSING SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY FROM MID-1960S TO MID-1980S

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Based on the argument that cooperative organization has provided a suitable ground for the development of participatory design implementations, this thesis investigates the participatory practices in the planning and design of housing settlements produced through cooperative organization. In this regard, the theoretical discussions on housing and urbanization, the development of the cooperative model, and the emergence of the participatory design ideas throughout the 20th century constitute the conceptual background of the study. The architectural and urban paradigms, such as the Garden City, Regional City, New Towns, Neighborhood Unit, Functional City, as well as the related issues of cooperation, zoning, squatter prevention, suburbanization, low-cost housing, self-help and participation, are crucial to understand the global trajectory of the housing question.

In this context, the development of the housing discourse in Turkey is studied to understand the place of the cooperative housing model and the emergence of the first participatory ideas. In this scope, two archival researches were conducted: First, an investigation on the housing policies was carried out through the legal regulations and the National Development Plans from the beginning of the Republican period to

the early 1980s. Secondly, the articles published in *Mimarlık* journal between 1963 and 1983 were examined to elucidate the evolution of the discourse on housing and urbanization within the architectural profession in this period. In the light of the housing discourse and policies, four prominent housing settlement projects, in which user participation was experimented, were studied in detail. Çorum Binevler Settlement, Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, İzmit New Settlement Project, and Batıkent Project in Ankara, that were carried out with the cooperative housing model in the 1970s, were examined in terms of the possibilities and limitations of participatory design in housing settlements. These projects offered a variety of housing design solutions despite the inexperience and setbacks encountered during the process.

Keywords: Housing Question, Housing Discourse, Housing Settlements, Cooperative Housing, Participatory Design

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KONUT YERLEŞİMLERİNDE KOOPERATİF ÖRGÜTLENMESİ VE KATILIMCI TASARIM DENEYİMLERİ (1960'LARIN ORTASINDAN 1980'LERE)

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Konut yerleşimlerinde kooperatif örgütlenmesinin, katılımcı tasarım uygulamalarının geliştirilmesine yönelik uygun bir zemin sağladığı argümanından yola çıkan bu tez çalışması, kooperatif örgütlenmesi yoluyla üretilen konut yerleşimlerinin planlaması ve tasarımında katılımcı pratikleri araştırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, konut ve kentleşme üzerine kuramsal tartışmalar, kooperatif modelinin gelişimi ve 20. yüzyıl boyunca katılımcı tasarım fikirlerinin ortaya çıkışı, çalışmanın kavramsal arka planını oluşturmaktadır. Bahçe Şehir, Kent-Bölge, Yeni Kentler, Mahalle ve Komşuluk Birimi, İşlevsel Kent gibi mimari ve kentsel paradigmaların yanı sıra, işbirliği (kooperasyon), bölgeleme, gecekondu önleme, banliyöleşme, düşük maliyetli konut, kendi kendine yardım ve katılım gibi öne çıkan kavramlar, konut sorununun küresel seyrini anlamak açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmada Türkiye'de konut söyleminin gelişimi, kooperatif konut modelinin önemini ve ilk katılımcı fikirlerin ortaya çıkışını anlamak amacıyla incelenmektedir. Bu kapsamda başlıca iki arşiv araştırması yürütülmüştür: Birincisi, erken Cumhuriyet döneminden 1980'lerin başına kadar olan dönemde, yasal düzenlemeler ve Ulusal Kalkınma Planları üzerinden konut politikaları

arařtırılmıřtır. İkinci olarak, 1963-1983 yılları arasında *Mimarlık* dergisinde yayımlanan makaleler incelenerek, bu dönemde mimarlık mesleęi içinde konut ve kentleřme söyleminin geliřimi açıklanmıřtır. Konut söylemi ve politikaları ıřıęında, kullanıcı katılımının deneyimlendięi, öne çıkan dört konut yerleřimi projesi ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiřtir. 1970'lerde kooperatif konut modeli ile gerekleřtirilen orum Binevler Yerleřimi, Edirne Cumhuriyet Mahallesi, İzmit Yeni Yerleřim Projesi ve Ankara'da Batıkent Projesi, konut yerleřmelerinde katılımcı tasarımın olanakları ve sınırlılıkları aısından incelenmiřtir. Bu projelerin, süreçte yařanan deneyimsizliklere ve aksaklıklara raęmen, ok eřitli konut tasarım özümleri sunduęu izlenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut Sorunu, Konut Söylemi, Konut Yerleřimleri, Konut Kooperatifleri, Katılımcı Tasarım



To *Rüya*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xx
CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Aim and Scope of the Study	1
1.2 Literature Review and Significance of the Study	7
1.3 Research Method and Structure of the Thesis	12
2 GLOBAL TRAJECTORIES OF HOUSING QUESTION: ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN DISCOURSES OF THE 20 TH CENTURY...19	
2.1 Digging up the Roots: The Origins of the Housing Question in Architecture and Urban Discourses at the Turn of the Century.....	21
2.2 Paradigmatic Continuity Towards the 20 th Century: Garden City & Regional City	24
2.3 International Travel of the Ideas: The Neighborhood Unit	30
2.4 New Phase of the Housing Shortage and the Urbanism of CIAM	33
2.5 Modernism Revised: Team 10	44
2.6 Transformation in the Role of the Architect: The Notion of Participation	49

3	DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSING DISCOURSE AND POLICIES IN TURKEY	63
3.1	The Housing Question in Turkey: Changes in the Governmental Policies	63
3.1.1	The Housing Question in Turkey Before the Planned Period (1923-1960).....	64
3.1.2	Development Plans After 1960: Change in Perspective on the Housing Question.....	85
3.2	The Development of Housing Discourse in the Architectural Milieu of Turkey: A Review of <i>Mimarlık</i> Journal (1963-1983).....	114
4	ALTERNATIVE ANSWERS TO THE HOUSING QUESTION IN TURKEY	145
4.1	Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative	146
4.2	Çorum Binevler Housing Settlement.....	158
4.3	Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood.....	167
4.4	İzmit New Settlements Project.....	178
4.5	Batıkent Settlement in Ankara	197
4.5.1	Participatory Design in Batıkent Settlement: How was it organized? How did it happen?	214
5	CONCLUSION.....	227
	REFERENCES	237
A.	The list of articles on housing and urbanization published in the <i>Mimarlık</i> journal between 1963-84.....	259
B.	Questionnaire applied during the design phase of the Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood	275

C. Questionnaire applied during the design phase of the of the İzmit New Settlements Project.....	289
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	321



LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. Spatial distribution of existing domestic functions according to the results of the survey conducted for the New Settlements Project	187
Table 2. Hierarchy of uses in the Batikent project.....	209



LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1-1. The structure of the thesis	16
Figure 2-1. Conceptual Diagrams of the Garden City	26
Figure 2-2. Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit sketch with his notes on it.....	32
Figure 2-3. The poster for the exhibition of plans addressing the conference theme, designed by Hans Leistikow	36
Figure 2-4. Plan layout and a view from the flat roof of <i>Siedlung Niederrad</i>	39
Figure 2-5. Lucio Costa's winning entry for Brasilia's Pilot Plan competition (top- left), and aerial views of the implemented project, the National Congress and Ministries designed by Oscar Niemeyer	42
Figure 2-6. The Doorn Manifesto as revised by Peter Smithson for <i>Team 10 Primer</i>	47
Figure 2-7. Different housing types of the Ryde housing (above), and the general view of the settlement (below).....	51
Figure 2-8. Molenvliet Project, Fans van der Werf, 1974	52
Figure 2-9. Byker Wall Project, by Ralph Erskine	54
Figure 2-10. Diagram of the Segal's timber framing (left) and Lewisham self- builders at work (right)	55
Figure 2-11. A view of <i>Villaggio Matteotti</i>	57
Figure 2-12. A general view of <i>Maison Médicale</i>	58
Figure 3-1. Legislation on housing from the first 10 years of the Republic	69
Figure 3-2. Laws regarding housing enacted between 1939 and 1950.....	76
Figure 3-3. Legal regulations regarding housing between the years 1950 and 1960	80
Figure 3-4. Plan and elevation drawings of type project examples produced by the General Directorate of Housing, Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement.....	96
Figure 3-5. Legal regulations regarding housing realized in the planned period (1960-71).....	111

Figure 3-6. Legal regulations regarding housing realized in the planned period (1972-83).....	112
Figure 3-7. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in <i>Mimarlık</i> journal in the period 1963-1967.....	120
Figure 3-8. Location of OR-AN settlement in the city (left) and layout plan of the settlement (right).....	122
Figure 3-9. Model photos and plans of Batı Sitesi row houses	124
Figure 3-10. Elevation and floor plan drawings of Batı Sitesi apartment blocks.	124
Figure 3-11. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in <i>Mimarlık</i> journal in the period 1968-72.....	126
Figure 3-12. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in <i>Mimarlık</i> journal in the period 1973-77.....	131
Figure 3-13. Areas determined for İzmit New Settlements Project.....	134
Figure 3-14. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in <i>Mimarlık</i> journal in the period 1978-83.....	135
Figure 3-15. The project that won the 1 st prize in the 1976 Manila Competition.	139
Figure 3-16. Temporal change of the prominent concepts in the texts on housing and urbanization published in the journal of <i>Mimarlık</i>	143
Figure 4-1. The survey conducted by <i>Ulus</i> Newspaper on November 8, 1935	149
Figure 4-2. Hermann Jansen's first sketch for Bahçelievler Settlement plan	152
Figure 4-3. The settlement plan changed by Jansen according to the demands of the cooperative members	153
Figure 4-4. Examples of Jansen's first projects for single-house (left), semi-detached (right-top) and row-house (right-bottom) types, dated January 1936....	155
Figure 4-5. One of the projects revised by Jansen in March 1936, according to the demands of the cooperative members.....	156
Figure 4-6. Diagram showing the location of Binevler settlement.....	161
Figure 4-7. The questionnaire sent to cooperative members by the architectural team.....	163
Figure 4-8. The model photo showing the proposed settlement plan	165

Figure 4-9. Apartment type housing units with separate gardens.....	166
Figure 4-10. Partial settlement plan of Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood (first proposal)	173
Figure 4-11. Plans for 4-room (indicated in red) and 5-room (indicated in blue) housing types	174
Figure 4-12. Plan of two-room housing type	175
Figure 4-13. Settlement plan of the final project	178
Figure 4-14. Areas expropriated for the İzmit New Settlements Project.....	183
Figure 4-15. New Settlement Project - western and eastern settlement plans	186
Figure 4-16. Cooperative settlement plans according to different housing types.	189
Figure 4-17. Examples of housing types with detached garden and entrance	191
Figure 4-18. Examples of housing types with detached entrance and bridge.....	192
Figure 4-19. A photograph taken during a meeting with household groups	194
Figure 4-20. Housing designs finalized at the end of the two-stage participation process.....	194
Figure 4-21. The location of Batıkent and Ankara provincial boundary of the period	200
Figure 4-22. Ownership status of Batıkent land before expropriation.....	201
Figure 4-23. The initial master plan and spatial structure diagrams prepared by Bülent Berksan and his team.....	202
Figure 4-24. Two planning teams within the Ankara Municipality Planning Unit (Left: Türkay Ateş Team, Right: Suavi Akansel Team).....	205
Figure 4-25. 1/5000 Plan of Batıkent devised by Türkay Ateş and his team	206
Figure 4-26. 1/5000 Plan of Batıkent devised by Suavi Akansel and his team	208
Figure 4-27. Housing density areas in the Batıkent project.....	210
Figure 4-28. The responsibilities of three main collaborators of the Batıkent project	212
Figure 4-29. Construction phases of the Batıkent project.....	214
Figure 4-30. Example of first-generation housing projects: two different types of row houses designed for the same cooperative unit (by Recai Ertuğrul)	220

Figure 4-31. Example of second-generation housing projects (designed by Levin Emiroğlu)	221
Figure 4-32. Housing project designed by Haluk Pamir for Detça Cooperative ..	223
Figure 4-33. Housing project designed by Mehmet Adam for Detça Cooperative	224
Figure 4-34. Housing project designed by Cüneyt Budak for Detça Cooperative	225



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

CHP: People’s Republican Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)

DP: Democratic Party (Demokrat Parti)

Kent-Koop: Batıkent Housing Production Cooperatives Union (Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği)

SSK: Social Insurance Agency (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu)

TOKİ: Housing Development Administration of Turkey (Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi Başkanlığı)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim and Scope of the Study

The issue of housing has constituted a significant challenge for Turkey since the early years of the Republic. The issue first emerged with the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic. The lack of sufficient housing to accommodate the civil servants arriving in the new capital constituted the first housing problem in the history of the Republic. In the following period, especially after the Second World War, Turkey began to experience a rapid process of urbanization due to the increasing immigration from rural areas, influenced by changing production patterns, governmental policies, and the global context, as well. Continuous migration from rural areas resulted in a rapid increase of squatter settlements on the urban peripheries. Thus, the issue of housing civil servants, which had previously been a matter of concern for Ankara, was superseded by the housing problem of low-income groups and the uncontrollable growth of squatter settlements. This squatter-centered definition of the housing problem continued for the following 30 years.

Since the 1950s, housing cooperatives became prominent among the methods developed to increase the production of housing in cities, in response to the increasing phenomenon of squatter settlements resulting from migration from rural areas.¹ The search for new financial resources to meet the housing needs of the

¹ In the 1950s, housing projects built for middle and lower income groups through cooperatives were mostly on the scale of single apartment buildings. However, the first housing cooperative experience in Turkey was at the housing settlement scale. Founded in 1934 by civil servants, the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative has been decisive in the practice of housing production through cooperatives in

increasing urban population, housing policies developed in this direction encouraged, if not ensured, the spread of housing cooperatives.

The courses that I took during the doctoral process and the research conducted within the scope of the courses directed my attention to the housing cooperatives. My research on the Batı Sitesi, conducted as part of the AH 544 Architectural History Research Studio Modern Capital: Ankara, 1950-80 course, instructed by Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan, constituted the initial phase of this thesis.² Batı Sitesi could be considered the precursor to the Batıkent settlement, both in terms of its date of completion and its organizational model. Thus, the scope of the research was broadened to encompass the planning of the entire Batıkent settlement.

In the history of housing cooperatives in Turkey, Batıkent project occupies a distinguished place in terms of its scale and the organization model. Batıkent, situated to the north of the Ankara-İstanbul highway, represents a unique case in that it was the largest cooperative settlement at the time of its formation, comprising over 50,000 housing units and a population of over 200,000 across an area of 1,034 hectares. The idea of establishing a new housing settlement on this scale and through cooperatives was first put forward in the early 1970s by Vedat Dalokay, the social democratic mayor of the time, in order to address the capital's housing deficit. As indicated in the Second Five-Year Development Plan, the proportion of Ankara's population residing in squatter settlements increased from 45% in 1960 to 65% in

Turkey. See: İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop, 1984).

² The research conducted on the Batı Sitesi was presented at the DOCOMOMO XIV: Local Expansions of Modernism in Turkish Architecture, held at Zonguldak Bulent Ecevit University on 27-29 April 2018. See: Melike Atıcı, "Batı Sitesi", DOCOMOMO XIV: Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları, Bülent Ecevit University, 27-29 April 2018, Zonguldak. (printed summary)

1967.³ In other words, the issue of squatter settlements constituted one of the most important urban challenges in Ankara during this period.

The emergence of the idea of developing a housing settlement for low and middle income groups with the help of cooperatives was also related to the Cooperatives Law enacted in 1969 and the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office established in the same year. As Baykan Günay emphasizes, the main factor determining the development of a settlement of this scale and its location in Ankara was the urbanization process observed in the 1970s: Regular housing areas reached the thresholds within the geomorphological structure, and the squatter settlements surrounded these regular housing areas on three sides of the city.⁴ Faced with this situation, the idea to channel urbanization towards the western corridor came forth. The project, initially named as ‘Akkondu’ and subsequently renamed ‘Batıkent’, consisted of a residential settlement that was initially conceived to counteract the phenomena of unplanned urbanization and squatter settlements.

A new organization model was developed for the Batıkent project, the planning and implementation of which began in 1979. It was envisaged to establish a union of cooperatives involved in the project and to develop a housing production process based on the collaboration of this union, with the support of Ankara Municipality, and the central government. In this regard, Kent-Koop (Batıkent Housing Production Cooperatives Union) was established on October 17, 1979, with the coming together of 13 founding cooperatives. Kent-Koop undertook a key role in addressing and facilitating equal participation of cooperative members. The other collaborators, which were the Central Government and the Municipality of Ankara, in spite of

³ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Kalkınma Planı: İkinci Beş Yıl (1968-1972)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1968), 275.
https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Ikinci_Bes_Kalkinma_Plani-1968-1972.pdf
(Accessed: 10 February 2024)

⁴ Baykan Günay, “Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme”, in *Cumhuriyet’in Ankara’sı*, edited by Tansı Şenyapılı, (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 60-119.

being centers of decision making, preferred to act as supporting agencies for the project. The Government and the Municipality directed the official procedures, supplied land, infrastructure, and social services. Throughout the process, the communication between different cooperatives, administrators, and authorities was established through the annual and quadrennial meetings organized by Kent-Koop.⁵

Although the idea of developing a new housing settlement emerged in the early 1970s, it was not until the early 1980s that the project was actually implemented. This was due to both the scale of the project and its multi-actor nature, as well as the unstable political environment that prevailed at the time. As a consequence of the changing policies and actors throughout the process, in addition to the lack of experience in developing a project of this scale, there were divergences from the initial principles. Furthermore, the spatial result was perceived to be unsatisfactory in comparison to expectations.⁶ Despite these, over 5,000 houses were designed annually in the first 5 years of production, and a total of 30,000 houses were produced. Thus, Batıkent became the largest cooperative settlement in the country that could be planned and implemented.⁷ In recognition of this achievement in the field of housing production, Kent-Koop was awarded the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless 1987 trophy which was organised by the UK Building and Social Housing Foundation.⁸ The reason for awarding Batıkent was stated as its

⁵ Murat Karayalçın, *Community Participation in Urban Housing in Turkey*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1986)

⁶ Examples of studies criticizing the Batıkent project in terms of planning and urban space include: Çağatay Keskinok, “Kenti Tasarlamak ve Üretebilmek: Toplu Konut Uygulamaları”, in *Planlama Meslek Alanı Geçmişten Geleceğe*, (Ankara: TMMOB Yayınları, 2008), 293-322; Hasan Özbay, “Yeni Yerleşmeler Üzerine İki Karşılaştırma: İslamabad ve Batıkent”, in *Mimarlık*, no.227 (1988), 67-70; Haluk Pamir, “Batı-Kent New Town, Ankara”, in *Mimar*, no.29 (1988), 49-54.

⁷ Murat Karayalçın, “Batıkent: A New Settlement Project in Ankara, Turkey”, in *Ekistics*, vol.54, no. 325/326/327 (1987), 292-9.

⁸ Batıkent project was subsequently deemed worthy of awards in the “We the People: 50 Communities” Competition in 1995 and the “100 Best Implementation Projects” organized by the United Nations Habitat Organization in 1996. See: KENT-KOOP website: “Ödüllerimiz”, <https://www.kent-koop.org.tr/odullerimiz> (Accessed: 20 July 2024)

being a creative, innovative project that encompassed the participation of all segments of society in its implementation.⁹

This emphasis on participation in the design of housing settlements constitutes the main motivation for this thesis. Housing projects designed to accommodate large numbers of people, whether called communal housing, social housing, or mass housing, are generally associated with concepts such as standardization, mass production, prefabrication, and affordability. The design of such housing projects, where the user is not defined, is based on some generalizations about the practices of domestic life and the use of the housing environment. However, housing projects produced through cooperatives have the potential to develop alternative methods in housing design. Although the housing cooperative model was initially developed in response to financial necessity, it is fundamentally an organizational structure that enables the consolidation of the demand. While the ultimate goal is the production of a large number of housing units, cooperative organizations offer alternative design approaches to housing development rather than standardized, mass-produced housing projects. Through the cooperative organization, the identification of end users, and the opportunity for these users to participate in the design of their future houses allow for the possibility of an alternative architectural design. The Batikent project provides a case study that demonstrates how cooperative housing production can serve as an organizational model to facilitate the implementation of participatory design processes. In other words, research on the Batikent settlement led this thesis to focus on three basic concepts: cooperative organization, housing settlement, and the participatory design. These three concepts represent the fundamental pillars of this thesis.

⁹ Jim Sneddon, Caroline Theobald (ed.), *Building Communities: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Community Architecture Planning and Design*, (London: The Building and Social Housing Foundation, 1987), 19.

In this regard, based on the Batıkent project, it is argued that cooperative housing production is an organizational model that supports the development of participatory design processes. The objective of this thesis is to ascertain the extent to which the aforementioned potential was actualized in the design of housing settlements realized through cooperative organizations in Turkey. Within this context, examining the architectural and urban paradigms related to housing in the 20th century and determining the place of participatory design within these paradigms constitutes one of the main subjects of this study. It is important for this study to determine the reflections of these global discussions on housing production in Turkey, to reveal how the housing discourse in the country has developed, and to determine the place of housing cooperatives and participatory design approaches within this discourse. For this purpose, the legislative framework, laws and regulations that were developed for housing, and the housing discourse that was constructed through the architectural journals of the period were subjected to analysis. In light of these discussions, housing settlement projects that challenged the potential of the cooperative model in terms of architectural design, especially those of the 1970s, when the participatory design approach entered the architectural agenda of Turkey, were subjected to a re-evaluation. Apart from Batıkent settlement, Çorum Binevler settlement designed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood designed by Cengiz Bektaş, and İzmit New Settlements Project designed by Birleşmiş Mimarlar (under the leadership of Tuncay Çavdar) were examined in the scope of the research. These projects represent a few attempts to apply the cooperative model as a means of facilitating participatory design in the context of housing settlement production. In addition to these, the Bahçelievler settlement, the first housing settlement that came into being with a cooperative organization in Turkey, was also included in the scope of the study in order to gain insight into the cooperative tradition inherited by the aforementioned projects.

1.2 Literature Review and Significance of the Study

For a study that aims to evaluate housing settlements produced with the cooperative model in terms of the participatory design approach, it is important to examine the studies conducted on housing settlements, housing cooperatives, and the place of participatory design in housing discourse. It would not be wrong to say that the first intellectual approaches that integrated the concept of cooperativism with an alternative settlement model were based on the social constructions of utopian socialist thinkers. In their pursuit of a society characterised by harmony, utopian socialists proposed a cooperative social structure that would reorganise the worker-product relationship. This was to be achieved by establishing a balance between rural and urban life. The settlement models devised by utopian socialist thinkers – such as Henri de Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen – in the 19th century influenced the housing debates of the 20th century.

It is possible to observe one of the most evident manifestations of this influence in English utopianist Ebenezer Howard's proposal of the 'Garden City'. Arguing that a settlement plan combining the benefits of rural and urban life could build a balanced and healthy society, Howard's Garden City Movement was based on co-ownership and cooperative principles. To understand how the cooperative idea was interpreted in the garden city model, Howard's books – *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* and *Garden Cities of To-morrow* – constitute foundational sources for this study.

For an understanding of the history of 20th-century housing and urban planning, beginning with the Garden City theory, it is instructive to begin with the seminal book of English town planner, urbanist and geographer Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*. It offers a comprehensive overview of the principal themes of urban design and settlement planning in the 20th century, examining the impact of major events such as industrialization, world wars, and economic crises on urban development and planning thought. Hall discusses a variety of key themes – such as Garden City, City

Beautiful Movement, Modern Architecture and Urban Planning, critiques of modernist principles and community-oriented approaches, and key figures – including Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Jane Jacobs, and Kevin Lynch, of the 20th century in a chronological manner, depicting the interrelation between these themes and figures.

One of the important sources that examines the reflections of these urbanization and housing debates, which have global effects, in Turkey is Esra Akcan's 2012 dated book, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. By employing the concept of 'cultural translation', Akcan elucidates the intertwined history of modernization processes that unfolded in disparate geographical contexts. Focusing particularly on the works of German and Austrian architects and urban planners who came to Turkey under the influence of the uncertain political environment in Europe between the two world wars, she evaluated how these architects and planners reinterpreted modern architectural and urban planning approaches in Turkey with the help of the concept of translation. Akcan's study offers valuable insights into the influence of prominent housing approaches of the time, such as the Garden City and *Siedlung*, on the establishment of modern housing discourse in Turkey. Furthermore, it provides a framework for understanding similar interactions in subsequent periods.

Ruşen Keleş's book *Kooperatifçilik İlkeleri ve Sosyal Konut Politikası Açısından Türkiye'de Konut Kooperatifleri* that dates from 1967, and İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin's book *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması* published in 1984 stand out as studies examining the interpretation and development of housing cooperatives in Turkey. Keleş analyzed the findings of a survey conducted in 63 housing cooperatives across six cities (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana, Bursa, and Eskişehir) to elucidate the circumstances of housing cooperatives during the 1960s. In the context of a growing awareness of the importance of social housing and the efforts being made to facilitate housing for low-income populations, he undertook an examination of housing cooperatives in Turkey, focusing on two

main factors: the principles underlying the cooperative models and the policies surrounding social housing. Keleş summarized his findings as follows:

- The majority of housing cooperatives were initiated by middle- and upper-income groups, rather than by those from lower-income groups.
- It was common for individuals to be members of multiple housing cooperatives, which were often lacking in adequate oversight.
- A significant factor contributing to the failure of these cooperatives was the insufficient understanding of cooperative principles and requirements among members.
- Once construction was completed, the transfer of ownership to members resulted in a decline in the cooperatives' maintenance and management operations.
- The quality of housing units constructed by housing cooperatives exceeded the public housing standards outlined in the five-year development plans. In other words, housing policies could not be implemented.¹⁰
- Housing cooperatives mostly built single apartment blocks, rather than mass housing projects.

While this study offers valuable insights into the historical context of housing cooperatives, it should be kept in mind Keleş's main assumption was that housing cooperatives do not comply with the principles of cooperatives and ideal housing policy. For that reason, it does not provide any information about the design process of the housing projects, how many cooperatives worked with an architect, and – if established – how the architect-user relationship was established.

¹⁰ The Public Housing Standards, issued in 1964 within the scope of the First Five-Year Development Plan, encouraged housing cooperatives while also stipulating that cooperatives could benefit from credit opportunities on the condition that they produced houses at certain housing standards. A detailed evaluation of these standards was made in the third chapter of the thesis.

As the other prominent study focusing on the history of housing cooperatives in Turkey, İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin revealed the story of Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, which was the first housing cooperative implemented in Turkey. Tekeli and İlkin firstly address the urban, demographic, and economic reasons behind the introduction of the cooperative idea into the housing sector. The study, which begins by explaining Ankara's becoming the capital city, its rapidly increasing population and the emerging need for housing, draws attention to the ideological parallels between the modernization process of the new capital and the idea of cooperative housing. The Bahçelievler settlement, designed between 1935 and 1938 by Hermann Jansen, who won the international competition to plan the development of Ankara, influenced the housing cooperative culture in Turkey in a series of subsequent attempts. In addition, for this study, which is motivated by the argument that housing cooperatives have the potential for the development of participatory design processes, the first experiment of participation introduced by Jansen in the design process of Bahçelievler settlement, is examined as an initial case.

In addition to these books, theses that deal with the cases included in the scope of this study - Çorum Binevler settlement, Edirne Cumhuriyet neighborhood, İzmit New Settlements Project and Batıkent settlement - are also valuable sources for this research. The only study focusing on the Çorum Binevler settlement is Beyza Zihar's thesis titled 'Syntactic analysis of the spatial change of Çorum Binevler Housing Cooperative', which she completed in 2023.¹¹ The study illuminates the spatial transformations at varying scales and the present status of the project through an examination of both the settlement scale and the individual housing scale. There is only one thesis on the Cumhuriyet neighborhood of Edirne, as well. The thesis titled 'The place and importance of the socio-economic factors on determining the housing estates' was completed by Hatice Kıran Çakır in 1994. This study, which examines

¹¹ Beyza Zihar, "Syntactic Analysis of the Spatial Change of Çorum Binevler Housing Cooperative", Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (İstanbul: Özyeğin University, 2023)

social change in Cumhuriyet neighborhood, constitutes an significant source of information regarding the design process of the project, as evidenced by the relevant documents it presents.¹² The only thesis focusing on the İzmit New Settlements Project, titled ‘The changing dynamics of the architectural profession in Turkey, 1960s - 1970s: The rise of participatory design and the experimental case of İzmit new settlements project’ was completed by Eda Bozkurt in 2019.¹³ Despite employing a parallel approach, this study sought to elucidate the hitherto obscure aspects of the design process of the New Settlements project.

In addition to these studies, the Batıkent settlement has been the subject of numerous theses from a variety of perspectives in comparison to the aforementioned cases. While there is only one doctoral dissertation focusing on the Batıkent settlement, 59 master’s theses were written between 1990 and 2024, which evaluated Batıkent from different perspectives. Nine of these are from the field of architecture, and six are from the field of city and regional planning. Ece Küreli Gülpınar’s doctoral thesis titled ‘Urban-spatial analysis of mass housing environments: Mapping Batıkent in search of alternatives to generic housing’ presents the morphological evaluation of the Batıkent settlement at different scales.¹⁴ Among the master’s theses, three studies are the most relevant: Mehmet Gökhan Berk’s ‘Social housing and evaluation of participatory approaches: A case study on Detça Housing Cooperative in Batıkent’¹⁵, Aysu Püskülcü’s ‘An Inquiry into the environmental qualities of neighbourhoods in

¹² Hatice Kıran Çakır, “The place and importance of the socio-economic factors on determining the housing estates”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Edirne: Trakya University, 1994).

¹³ Eda Bozkurt, “The changing dynamics of the architectural profession in Turkey, 1960s - 1970s: The rise of participatory design and the experimental case of İzmit new settlements project”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2019).

¹⁴ Ece Küreli Gülpınar, “Urban-spatial analysis of mass housing environments: Mapping Batıkent in search of alternatives to generic housing”, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture, (Ankara: METU, 2021).

¹⁵ Mehmet Gökhan Berk, “Social Housing and Evaluation of Participatory Approaches: A Case Study on Detça Housing Cooperative in Batıkent” Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: METU, 1997).

planned new settlements: The case of Batıkent'¹⁶, and Elif Ilgın Mahmudov's 'Public space formation in peripheral urban development: A comparative analysis of Batıkent and İncek districts'¹⁷ which are the studies from the field of architecture. While Püskülcü and Mahmudov's studies offer settlement-scale evaluations through the concepts of neighborhood unit and public space, Berk's study focuses on the Detça Housing Cooperative, one of the prominent cooperative housing in Batıkent. In this study, Berk evaluates the assumption that mass housing settlements produced through the cooperative model create social environments with high community awareness by focusing on Detça Cooperative. Detça Housing Cooperative was one of the earliest collaborators of Kent-Koop. Designed by Haluk Pamir, Mehmet Adam and Cüneyt Budak, Detça Housing is one of the implementations where the interaction between the cooperative members and the architects is most visible. Therefore, Detça Cooperative is one of the important cases for this study, as well.

The aforementioned studies are significant in elucidating the evolution of housing cooperatives in Turkey and in demonstrating the extent to which the potential for participatory design is actualized in housing settlements realized with this organizational model. The objective of this research is to make a contribution to the existing literature by carrying out an evaluation of the spatial results of the interaction process between different scales and different actors.

1.3 Research Method and Structure of the Thesis

This study, which uses both theoretical and empirical research methods, aims to evaluate the potential of cooperative housing organization in terms of participatory

¹⁶ Aysu Püskülcü, "An Inquiry into the Environmental Qualities of Neighbourhoods in Planned New Settlements: The Case of Batıkent" Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: METU, 2001).

¹⁷ Elif Ilgın Mahmudov, "Public space formation in peripheral urban development: A comparative analysis of Batıkent and İncek districts", Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2023)

design. In order to grasp the relevant conceptual models, a content-based study was effectuated on the inclusion of the housing cooperative model in the housing sector and the place of the concept of participation in the housing discourse. Studies on the global and local historical development of housing discourse, briefly mentioned in the previous section, provided the theoretical basis of the study. Initiated by Friedrich Engels' 'housing question', how the question of housing evolved throughout the 20th century was examined in the first part of the thesis study. In this context, the second chapter focuses on the literature of the global housing discourse that developed in the 20th century. This chapter aims to investigate the impact of urbanization and housing discussions that developed since the beginning of the century on the relevant cases in Turkey.

Chapter 3 focuses on the development of the housing discourse in Turkey to reveal the place of the cooperative housing model and the concept of participation within this discourse. For this purpose, two archival researches were conducted: The first one focused on the laws in relation to urbanization and housing that were enacted and issued through the Official Gazette, and the Five-Year Development Plans developed after 1960, in order to reveal the housing policies developed in the period from the declaration of the Republic to the early 1980s.¹⁸ While conducting this archival research, İlhan Tekeli's 2012 dated book *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)* was used as a guide source. This part of the research examined how the state defined the housing question in different periods and how solution policies were developed according to these changing definitions. In the second step of the archival research, the journal of *Mimarlık* was consulted to understand the urbanization and housing debates that developed in the architectural profession and to determine the place of housing cooperatives and the idea of

¹⁸ The temporal scope of these archival studies was defined as extending to 1984, the year in which the Mass Housing Law was enacted, which constituted a significant transformation in the practice of housing production in Turkey. This period also provides the context for the projects examined within the scope of this thesis.

participation in these debates. The *Mimarlık* journal, which commenced publication by the Chamber of Architects in 1963, constitutes a significant source for this study, both in terms of its autonomous identity and its status as the longest-running architectural periodical in Turkey.¹⁹ Texts on the themes of urbanization and housing in 198 issues published from 1963, when it first started publication, to 1984 were scanned. Through these texts, it is aimed to disclose which concepts were associated with urbanization and housing issues in five-year periods that overlapped with development plans and how the housing question was defined by the professional milieu of architecture. In this way, the conceptual framework of the period in which the housing settlement projects developed with participatory design were developed was drawn.

In the light of the theoretical background and conceptual framework drawn in the previous two chapters, Chapter 4 focuses on the participatory design experiences of the cooperative housing experiments. The history of housing cooperatives in Turkey, which began with the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, was one of the models frequently used to respond to the housing problem of Ankara, especially in the early Republican period. The housing cooperative model developed for the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative also had a significant impact on the formation of numerous subsequent housing cooperatives (such as Güven Evler Cooperative, Küçükevler Cooperative, Karınca Cooperative, and Tasarruf Evleri Cooperative).²⁰ Therefore,

¹⁹ Other prominent architectural periodicals in Turkey, such as *Arredamento Mimarlık* and *Yapı*, do not cover the period focused on in this study because of the year in which they began publication. Similarly, the journals *Çevre* and *Devrimci Belediyeler*, which appeared in the 1970s, were not included in this study, which covers the period from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s, because they were short-lived publications.

²⁰ According to Ali Cengizkan, two types of housing production stand out through the cooperative housing model: The first type is the housing cooperative, which is organized on a single building scale. These types of housing cooperatives, which became widespread in the 1950s due to the influence of construction technologies and land use decisions, were excluded from the scope since the focus of the study was on settlement-scale housing projects. Housing cooperatives comprising 150 to 200 members, which Cengizkan designated as the second type, offer settlement-scale construction practices on lands designated for development. These cooperatives constituted the initial phase of the case study research conducted within the scope of this thesis. See: Ali Cengizkan,

the Bahçelievler settlement, which represents a significant starting point in the development of the cooperative housing tradition in Turkey, was examined in this study with regard to the influence of the interaction between cooperative members and the architect on the planning of the settlement and the design of the housing units. Cooperative housing production, which became widespread in Ankara during the early Republican period, was generally organized by the upper income group. This situation began to change after 1960, when labor union movements emerged and social security institutions assumed a more influential role in providing credit support. The number of housing cooperatives established by workers and civil servants from low and middle income groups began to increase, despite the fact that their contribution to the total housing production remained relatively modest. Among the cooperative housing experiences of the 1970s, Çorum *Binevler* Housing Settlement, Edirne *Cumhuriyet* Neighborhood, İzmit New Settlements Project and Batıkent settlement were included in the research as examples that attempted to carry out participatory design process. In the context of a study that investigates the planning and design processes of the housing settlements and the participatory approaches employed therein, documents and testimonies about the design processes of these projects are important. In addition to the sources describing the process written by the architects of the projects, documents revealing the change in architectural design throughout the process were traced. The SALT Research Archive was used in particular for its extensive content on the Çorum Binevler and Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighbourhood projects. In order to obtain information about the process of the İzmit New Settlements and Batıkent projects, semi-structured interviews were conducted with people who witnessed the projects and were involved in the design process in different ways. For the İzmit New Settlements Project, architect Aydan Erim, who served as project manager at the time, was interviewed. Erim's personal archive on the İzmit project proved to be of significant

“Cinnah 19: Ütopik mi, Gerçek Modern mi?”, in *Modernin Saati*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği Yayını, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2002), 173-179.

value in elucidating the design process of the New Settlements Project. In the case of the Batıkent project, the number of interviews was increased in parallel with the length of the design process. Semih Eryıldız, one of the witnesses of the beginning of the project, Kadri Atabaş, who served as Project Coordinator and Kent-Koop Founding-General Secretary, Demet Eryıldız, one of the founding members of the Orta Doğulular Cooperative from Kent-Koop cooperatives, and Nevbahar Atalay, who worked in the Kent-Koop architectural design team, were interviewed. The experiences of these actors, who played various roles in the process, revealed different perspectives on the functioning of the participatory process. (Figure 1-1)

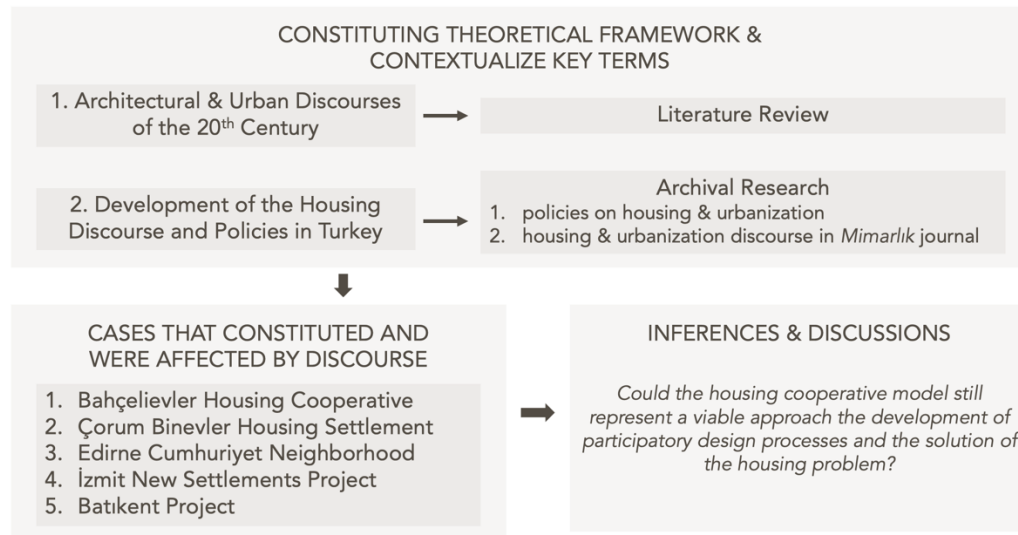


Figure 1-1. The structure of the thesis²¹

It is important for this study to contextualize the case studies within the global trajectory of the housing question debate, as delineated in Chapter 2. It is discussed to what extent the architectural and urban paradigms of the 20th century, such as the Garden City, Regional City, New Towns, Neighborhood Unit, functional city, as well as the prominent concepts of cooperation, zoning, decentralization, squatter

²¹ Produced by the author.

prevention, rural-urban duality, suburbanization, low-cost housing, prefabricated housing, self-help and participation, were decisive in the housing settlement experiments in Turkey, particularly of 1970s.

In the light of these discussions, the questions this study seeks to answer can be listed as follows:

1. How was the participatory design model defined for different housing settlement projects in Turkey?
2. Were different participation approaches applied for different projects in different scales (housing unit, housing environment / cooperative, neighbourhood and whole settlement)?
3. How were the roles of planners and architects defined in the participatory design processes developed for different housing settlement projects?
4. How was the communication between the architect and the end-user provided?
5. How did user demands affect the design of housing and housing environment?
6. What are the merits and shortcomings of the participatory approach in the design of housing settlements?
7. As an unfinished paradigm, is the housing cooperative model still a viable solution for the development of alternative design processes?

CHAPTER 2

GLOBAL TRAJECTORIES OF HOUSING QUESTION: ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN DISCOURSES OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The 1960s and 1970s marked a period during which Turkey witnessed a rapid and uncontrolled process of urbanization, particularly in its major cities. During this period, a number of solutions were developed to accommodate the rapid growth of urban populations. These solutions were either developed in accordance with existing legal frameworks or were informal but tolerated practices. In addition to the prevailing solutions developed for the housing problem, such as apartment buildings produced with the build-and-sell model and squatter settlements, cooperative organizations also entered the housing sector as an alternative solution. In the 1970s, under the influence of increasing mass housing debates, cooperatives organized to produce housing settlements provided an alternative not only to the housing problem but also to the architectural design process. The housing settlements developed through cooperative organization and participatory design approaches exhibit both similarities and differences from the 20th-century housing debates. In order to contextualize these housing settlement projects within the wider global discourse on housing, it is essential to understand the evolution of housing question throughout the 20th century. In line with this, this section of the study is dedicated to examining the global trajectories of the housing question throughout the 20th century.

At this point, it is important to acknowledge that Friedrich Engels' foundational text *The Housing Question*, published in 1872, with its critical perspective on housing, serves as an initial reference point in this discourse. Written at a time when industrialization and urbanization began to accelerate, this text addresses the housing problems encountered by the population that migrated from rural to urban areas to

become industrial workers. In his analysis of the state, ideology, and policies of workers' housing, Engels a semantic distinction between the terms 'house' and 'housing'. The term 'house' was generally used to refer to a single, specific dwelling or building providing living space, whereas; the term 'housing' was often used to refer to a collective living space, particularly in the context of addressing problems faced by the low-income working class.²² As Martin Pawley emphasizes on Engels's approach, the 20th century witnessed the dissolution of the meaning of the house into the meaning of the housing. In this process, Pawley argues that "the financing, planning, construction and administration" of the housing merged into a complex whole.²³ By adopting this approach, it would not be wrong to say that concepts such as communal life and collectivity, which emphasize the social and also economic aspects, are intrinsic to the term 'housing'. When we consider the design of housing – for large numbers of people, rather than for individuals, the implications for social justice and politics are more profound. In contrast to the 'house', which is designed by an architect for a specific individual, family, or defined user, the term of 'housing' presents a challenging question having social, economic and political dimensions.

The initial discourse to address this question emerged at the turn of the 20th century, with the 'Garden City' theory providing a foundational framework for modern housing. The 'Garden City' theory, conceptualized by Ebenezer Howard in his 1898 dated book *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* and subsequently elaborated upon in 1902 in his book *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, approaches the housing question from the perspective of a social organization model. As a solution to the congested and unhealthy conditions of urban industrial centres, Howard put forth a vision for self-sufficient communities based on the principles of mutual support,

²² Friedrich Engels, *Konut Sorunu*, (Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1992).

²³ Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publications, 1971), 10.

cooperation, and collective management. The garden city model influenced numerous settlement planning approaches throughout the 20th century.

This chapter of the thesis, after briefly discussing the antecedents of Howard's 'Garden City' theory, focuses on the architectural and urban paradigms for housing developed in the 20th century, such as the Garden City, regional city, neighbourhood unit, functional city, New Towns, as well as the key concepts of cooperation, zoning, decentralization, squatter prevention, country-city dichotomy, suburbanization, low-cost housing, prefabricated housing, self-help, and participation.

2.1 Digging up the Roots: The Origins of the Housing Question in Architecture and Urban Discourses at the Turn of the Century

In a period when industrialization was just emerging and a new set of social relationships had yet to mature, two major discourses emerged as solutions to the unfavorable conditions—such as squatter formation, poor housing, epidemics, congestion, pollution, and lack of open spaces—of the industrializing city. While the first discourse can be conceptualized as the "palimpsest city," the other is referred to as "utopian socialist scenarios." The former approach considered the city as an entity comprising parts and focused on improving the problematic components, whereas the utopian socialist scenarios were based on the idea of achieving complete perfection of physical space and society together.²⁴

The planning approach that aimed to improve the problematic parts of cities focused on city centers in response to massive immigration, disorganized urban growth, and the unsanitary conditions of the 19th-century tenements in inner cities. By demolishing old buildings and narrow streets, and reconstructing city centers with large boulevards, formal squares, public parks, and sanitary infrastructure, the

²⁴ Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of the Modern Town Planning* (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), xii.

objective was to provide a hygienic urban environment suited to the transforming social, economic, and ideological relations. This type of urban reconstruction practice, justified by the goal of creating a better-functioning modern city – such as Georges-Eugène Haussmann’s reorganization of Paris (1853-1870) – was later criticized as contributing to social segregation and spatial fragmentation by making city centers more appealing to commercial elites and the bourgeoisie.²⁵

Alongside these urban reconstruction practices, the utopian socialist ideas developed by social reformers such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Henri de Saint-Simon, Étienne Cabet, and Jean-Baptiste André Godin were early attempts at addressing urban problems holistically. Their visions of ideal urban life shared the goal of creating population-limited communities in the countryside, surrounded by agricultural green belts to achieve topographical harmony between city and country. These communities were based on principles of cooperation, common ownership, and social harmony. Utopian socialist planning and architectural practices aimed to provide a healthy and self-sufficient physical environment for the masses while maintaining industrial productivity. Although these were European ideas, experiments such as Owen’s New Harmony settlement (1825), Fourier’s short-lived *Phalanstère* at Brook Farm in Massachusetts (1841-46), and Cabet’s Nauvoo Icarian community in Illinois (1849) were attempted in America, albeit with unsuccessful results.

Within the scope of this study, which focuses on housing settlements accomplished through the cooperative model, these utopian scenarios where the first conceptualizations of cooperative practices were introduced. The principles of 19th-century experimental cooperative communities – adherence to socialist ethics, technological progress, collective work, and common ownership – had a critical

²⁵ Harvey explains the concept of ‘creative destruction’ as the reorganization of pre-modern spatial fabric (organic street patterns with building blocks formed according to pre-modern trade relations) in pursuance of spatial and infrastructural needs of the industrial city. See: David Harvey, *Paris: The Capital of Modernity*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 234.

influence on the implementations of garden cities and new towns from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. Although these experiments did not always end up with successful outcomes, the ideas of community and collective action laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of modern cooperatives. Saunders *et al.* regard the following very first views on cooperatives as the foundational principles of today's cooperative thought:

- The abolition of the system of private profit,
- Production for use by voluntary associations of consumers,
- Common ownership of the means of production by the voluntary accumulation of the profit combined enterprise,
- The utilization of the wealth of the commodity for the improvement of the character and happiness of mankind²⁶

Many scholars of environmental history, geography, urban history, and architecture link the birth of modern cities to urban planning practices that oscillated between 19th-century utopian socialist scenarios and urban reconstruction efforts.²⁷ The 20th-century modern architecture and cities inherited not only the planning discourses of the 19th century but also its urban problems, such as overcrowding, pollution, inadequate sanitation, lack of clean drinking water, epidemics, inflated land values, and insufficient housing. This study will examine the solutions developed by the 20th-century planning and architectural movements to address these problems. It will also explore the paradigmatic continuities between these former practices and the

²⁶ A. M. Carr-Saunders, P. Sargant Florence, Robert Peers, *Consumer's Co-operation in Great Britain: An Examination of the British Co-operative Movement*. (New York, London: Harper, 1942), 30.

²⁷ For the discussions on the paradigmatic continuity in the course of physical planning see: Robert Freestone, "Learning from Planning's Histories," in *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. in R. Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-19., Peter Hall, "The Centenary of Modern Planning," in *Ibid.*, 20-39., and Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell Publishing, 2014).

planning and architectural conceptualizations of the 20th century, particularly in relation to housing production culture.

2.2 Paradigmatic Continuity Towards the 20th Century: Garden City & Regional City

Architectural approaches developed in the 19th century provided the framework for 20th-century modernist urban planning, as noted by Mitchell Schwarzer.²⁸ One of the pioneering efforts in this transition process was the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard, who initiated the Garden City Movement with his 1898 dated book *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, later popularized in its second edition as *The Garden Cities of To-morrow*. The Garden City movement was a cornerstone in the development of the modern housing and planning discourse. It carried forward lessons from utopian socialist conceptualizations, despite their failure to achieve harmonious, egalitarian, and fair communities. Howard described his vision of a new community as a “unique combination of proposals” developed earlier. Although he did not directly reference utopian socialist scenarios in his books, it can be argued that the projects from which he borrowed ideas were based on principles akin to utopian practices, such as the decentralization of cities, democratization of wealth and power, cooperation, and self-help.²⁹

As the primary urban issue of the era, the country-city dichotomy emerged concurrently with the rapid mechanisation and industrialization of the economy, which resulted in the economic dominance of cities and the migration of rural populations to urban areas. In response to this phenomenon, Howard proposed the

²⁸ Mitchell Schwarzer, “CIAM: City at the End of History,” *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-garde in America*, ed. in R. E. Somol (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 241.

²⁹ Howard entitled the eleventh chapter of his book *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* as “A Unique Combination of Proposals” which were realized so far. See also: Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier*. (London, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 28.

concept of ‘decentralized industrial villages’ for the 20th century. Architectural critic Martin Pawley describes Howard's Garden City as an “ideal synthesis” of the advantages of both the countryside and the city, compared to earlier attempts to resolve the regional imbalance between the industrial city and the agricultural countryside.³⁰ The Garden City of Howard offers opportunities of urban life such as vibrant social life, adequate salary, and transportation network, as well as the advantages of country as fresh air, agricultural areas, low rents, cooperation, and a sense of community. The circular diagram of these garden cities (Figure 2-1) were planned according to the principle of functional separation³¹ comprising of zones for production, dwelling, social activities, and green areas, which was evaluated by urban historian Robert Fishman as the schematic representation of “properly functioning society just as machine”.³² It is possible to relate this analogy with the emphasis on rationalism as an outcome of the Enlightenment. Howard believed that reforming the physical environment would bring about the revolution in social life.

³⁰ Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publications, 1971), 14.

³¹ At the center, a large park and a glassed-in arcade called ‘Crystal Palace’ for social and cultural activities were located. Beginning from this park, six radiating boulevards divided city into six equal sections. Public buildings, such as city hall, library, museum, hospital, concert hall, and theatre, were placed in the area surrounding the park. Going further, residential areas – neighborhood units of 5,000 inhabitants – organized around a series of radiated roads were distinguished into two parts with grand avenue, which was providing extra space for green areas and schools. Factories, warehouses and markets were located in the outer ring of the city and encompassed with the railroad circle for the flow of labour, raw materials, energy and goods and to reduce traffic. The area outside the city was left for agricultural facilities to prevent the sprawl. Howard foresaw grouping seven identical – indeed, the central one was distinguished in terms of scale – garden cities connected by railway system. The optimum size of a garden city was defined as enough to accommodate 32,000 inhabitants. In case of exceeding this population limit, the construction of new garden cities was envisaged. See: Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1965), 50-7.

³² Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier* (London, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 41.

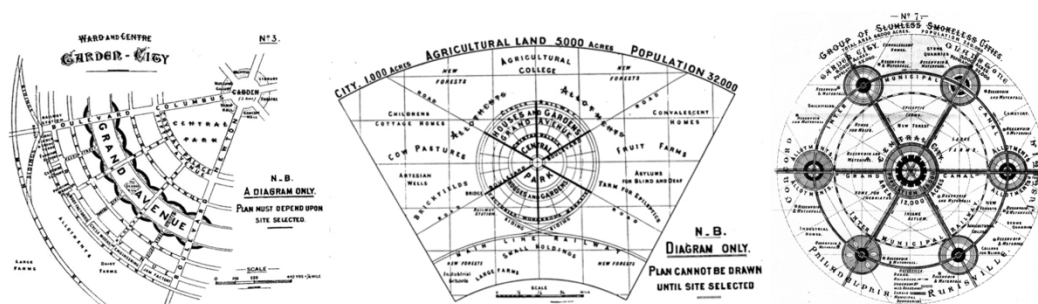


Figure 2-1. Conceptual Diagrams of the Garden City³³

At the same time, Howard dealt with the land reform and cooperative movement. He clarified how the Garden City would be built through a cooperative organization step by step: (1) the establishment of a non-profit cooperative company banding philanthropic supporters together for financial source; (2) the purchase of a large area of agricultural land; (3) building the necessary infrastructure like roads, power, and water plants to attract the industry and residents; (4) natural increase in land values and rents as population increases, making it possible to repay financial supporters; and (5) after the elimination of landownership, the usage of surplus to provide service to the community. With this implementation scheme proposing the communal ownership of land (municipality ownership) with cooperative aims, Howard was convinced that he would achieve a democratic, self-sufficient community.³⁴

In the beginning of the 20th century, with the support of reformist groups and the members of Garden City Association, Howard was able to realize his utopian project, albeit with some compromises.³⁵ The first garden city project developed by

³³ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1965), 52-3.

³⁴ Dirk Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm: From Garden Cities to Gated Communities." In *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. by Robert Freestone (London: E&FN Spon, 2000), 120.

³⁵ Even in the first attempt, Howard had to abandon the structural principles of the garden city. The features like common ownership of the land, cooperative arrangement of the residents, and the

Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker according to Howard's principles, was started to be constructed in Letchworth in 1903, and it was followed by Welwyn Garden City in 1921.³⁶ Even though these examples were quite far away from Howard's claim of 'real reform' – in terms of design and implementation method, the influence of the theory of Garden City was not confined to Britain. Although the propagation of the Garden City Movement did not take place in full accordance with Howard's principles, it became the prominent model for the construction of decentralized new housing settlements in various countries such as France, Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Soviet Union, and the USA.³⁷ Francesco Dal Co explains why Howard's Garden City proposal became one of the most prevailing paradigm in the 20th-century housing and planning discourse in these words:

In the first place, the garden city was in keeping with decentralist theories that received considerable support from the progressivists in their fight for a policy capable of resolving the problems of congestion. Second, the garden city was considered an effective model for attracting the financial interest of business enterprises, because of the stable yield it guaranteed, the possibility it offered for enlarging the real-estate market, and the means it provided for removing the labor force from urban unrest. Third, as a new and entirely planned city and a programmed formula for its management, the garden city made possible not only a series of economies that permitted the realization

agricultural belt were compromised while Letchworth was being constructed. See: Pierre Clavel, "Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes: Two Approaches to City Development", in *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, ed. Kermit C. Parsons and David Schuyler (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 38-57.

³⁶ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1965), 58-65.

³⁷ However, most of these adaptations were not self-sufficient communities independent from the economy of metropolis as Howard envisaged, but housing settlements at the periphery of the city, satisfying the need of dwelling. See: Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 58.

of higher residential standards but also the definitive integration of the housing problem and the planning operation.³⁸

Another prominent name was Patrick Geddes, an English biologist, social scientist, philanthropist and town planner. Geddes, known as the father of regional planning, interpreted Howard's central themes of decentralization and functional separation a step further – not in a chronological sense, and proposed the vision of regional city. From a Marxist point of view, Geddes approaches to the urban problems of his time as the reflections of economic, political, social, and cultural relations of production and consumption in space. He categorized these reflections in two types: *paleotechnics* and *neotechnics*, with the terminology he derived. While *paleotechnics* refers to “a lower industrial civilization” characterized by “a corresponding quantitative ideal of progress of wealth and population”³⁹ through the centralization of production and power, with *neotechnics*, he indicates an evolution towards decentralized regions which are both self-supporting and globally networked. In opposition to the paleotechnic's mass production, neotechnic focuses on a production system depending on craftsmanship, local resources and the characteristics of regional markets, and forms participatory, healthier, more democratic communities.

His unique approach to regional and urban planning bases on the belief that through integration of environmental data with the local community and their means of livelihood, cities could evolve socially, physically, and ecologically. Without understanding the characteristics of each location by surveying with positivistic methods, he claims that, it is not possible to develop new formal expressions of urban

³⁸ Francesco Dal Co, “From Parks to the Region: Progressive Ideology and the Reform of the American City,” in *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal*, ed. Giorgio Ciucci et.al., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1979), 211.

³⁹ Patrick Geddes, “The Twofold Aspect of the Industrial Age: Paleotechnic and Neotechnic”, in *The Town Planning Review*, vol.3, no.3 (1912), 176–187.

life. In his book *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, published in 1915, Geddes emphasized the necessity of a detailed research – establishing an inventory of a region’s flora, fauna, geology, climate, soils, and natural topography, as well as its social and economic opportunities and challenges – in developing effective regional strategies for progressive evolution.⁴⁰ His distinctive approach to surveying, and his emphasis on “Civics” could be seen as the earliest attempts of using participatory planning tools. The triad of “Work, Place, Folk” indicates the three main components which have equal weights on the future projection of cities. It means occupation, *genius loci*, and the public participation are co-creative, dialectic elements used to form neotechnic communities and provide regional development. He took the region as a complex, interconnected ecosystem comprising of cities and towns – taking Howard’s town-country combination a step further, and argued that alternative settlements should be developed without disturbing the natural and social balance.⁴¹

Apart from their visionary urban approaches and comprehensive strategies, Howard and Geddes also played a critical role in establishing the connection between European and American schools of urbanism.⁴² Both of these two pioneers who came to the fore at the beginning of the 20th century believed that constituting an ideal conception of space would bring social transformation along.⁴³ Their beliefs provided inspiration for numerous urban and architectural developments throughout the 20th century.

⁴⁰ Robert F. Young, “Free Cities and Regions: Patrick Geddes’s Theory of Planning”, in *Landscape and Urban Planning*, vol.166 (October 2017), 27-36.

⁴¹ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell Publishing, c2014), 138.

⁴² Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / I*, (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1986), 48.

⁴³ Sheila Crane, Review of: *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard* by Kermit C. Parsons, David Schuyler; *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* by Volker M. Welter, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), 530-2.

2.3 International Travel of the Ideas: The Neighborhood Unit

The conferences and exhibitions organized in the beginning of the 20th century made a strong contribution to the institutionalization of the planning as a discipline. They served as a platform for the transnational exchange of ideas and networking, facilitating the emergence of a global community of professionals engaged in the field of urban planning. Of particular note is the 1910 Town Planning Conference, convened by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in London, which included a travelling exhibition. This event played a pivotal role in fostering international collaboration among town planners and the global dissemination of modern planning ideas.⁴⁴ In addition to the papers presented at the conference, the exhibition showcased a variety of urban projects and offered opportunities for visits to planned settlements in Britain, including Letchworth, Hampstead, Port Sunlight, and Bournville. Thus, the conference served as a platform for propagating British town planning principles, particularly the ideas of the Garden City and the Regional City.⁴⁵ In particular, Lewis Mumford, an American historian, sociologist, philosopher of technology, and literary critic, pioneered the popularization of Geddesian approach to regional planning in the USA influencing the establishment of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA). The Association, formed by a group of New York based architects and city planners such as Clarence Stein, Benton MacKaye, Lewis Mumford, Alexander Bing, Henry Wright, and Catherine

⁴⁴ Illustrious town planners of the time, such as Ebenezer Howard, Raymond Unwin, A. D. Adshead, Thomas Mawson, Thomas Adams, Thomas Coglan Horsfall, and Patrick Geddes (as the head of the executive committee of the organization) from Great Britain; Joseph Stübben, Rudolf Eberstadt, and Werner Hegemann from Germany; Eugene Henard, Augustin Rey, Louis Bonnier from France; and Daniel Burnham, Charles Mulford Robinson from the United States were among the participants of the conference. See: Jose Geraldo Simões, “The Town Planning Conference (London, 1910): International Exchanges in the Beginning Of The Modern Urbanism”, presented in: *15th International Planning History Society Conference The Town Planning Conference*, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2012. <http://www.usp.br/fau/iphs/abstractsAndPapersFiles/Sessions/22/SIMOES.pdf> (Accessed: 13 July 2021)

⁴⁵ William Whyte, “The 1910 Royal Institute of British Architects’ Conference: A Focus for International Town Planning?”, in *Urban History*, vol. 39, no.1 (Feb., 2012), 149-65.

Bauer, had a significant impact on the proliferation and development of Garden City and Regional City models in the US between 1923 and 1933. Taking this British planning culture a step further, the RPAA proposed the suburban housing discourse as “a dispersed yet concentrated urban culture integrated with nature”⁴⁶, offering the ‘neighborhood unit’ as part of the community planning.

The concept of the 'neighbourhood unit', which was based on the principles of traffic and circulation patterns, was implemented by the architects Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in the design of the Radburn settlement in New Jersey. Although Radburn was considered the first settlement developed according to the concept of the neighborhood unit, Peter Hall attributes the theoretical formation of the concept to sociologist-planner Clarence Arthur Perry.⁴⁷ In his article “The Neighborhood Unit: A Scheme for Arrangement for the Family-Life Community”, published in 1929, Perry emphasizes the importance of “intimate face-to-face association and cooperation”.⁴⁸ He depicted the neighborhood as the smallest unit that constitutes the community spirit, counteracting the dense and fragmented life in the modern city. Accordingly, the physical organization of the unit was designed to increase social interaction among neighborhood residents. (Figure 2-2)

The size and the population density of the neighborhood unit were determined by the service area of an elementary school located in the center of the settlement, with a community center, playground and public plaza. Local shops were placed at the corners of the neighborhood unit in relation to the arterial roads forming the boundaries of the unit.⁴⁹ Perry leant the physical design of the neighborhood unit on

⁴⁶ Kermit C. Parsons, “Collaborative Genius: The Regional Planning Association of America”, in *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 60, no.4 (1994), 462-82.

⁴⁷ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell Publishing, c2014), 133.

⁴⁸ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 408-9. Quoted in Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell Publishing, c2014), 134.

⁴⁹ Nicholas N. Patricios, “The Neighborhood Concept: A Retrospective of Physical Design and Social Interaction”, in *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 19, no. 1, (Spring, 2002), 74.

Perry's model, which was reproduced all over the United States many times, became a well-known image of the American suburb. In this context, David Harvey argues that the concept of neighborhood unit, which is based on the formula of a society that could buy houses and cars to commute between work and settlement, turned into an important tool in the creation of the modern city shaped by capitalist motives. The implementation of the functionalist city planning principles based on zoning facilitated the functional separation of space, which was further supported by the developments in transportation and infrastructure facilities. According to Harvey, the initial aim of eliminating the industrial city-agricultural village imbalance was replaced by the aim of creating efficient urban and regional landscape for the capitalist mode of production.⁵² This shift in the purpose of city planning and housing discourse, which integrated planning into the realms of economy and social politics, continues to manifest itself in the inter-war and post-war planning practices of Europe, besides the United States.

2.4 New Phase of the Housing Shortage and the Urbanism of CIAM

The urban problems of the pre-war era, which were characterized by the inhuman living conditions of the working class in the metropolis of industrial capitalism, evolved to a more intense level with the devastating effects of the World War I and following economic depression. The problems of housing shortage and degraded living conditions began to concern larger parts of the societies who did not face the seriousness of the situation before. Therefore, it was necessary to find much more urgent solutions to the social and spatial destruction brought about by the war. Taking advantage of developing construction technologies, which enabled

⁵² According to David Harvey, the production of the urbanization as a rational landscape within which the accumulation of capital could proceed is out of material process grounded on the circulation of capital in space. Increased coordination in space and time for the efficiency is one of the features of capitalist urbanization. In this sense, capital accumulation, technological innovation and capitalist urbanization should move together. See: David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 190-1.

standardization, and mass production, architects and urban planners developed scientifically-based, 'rational' solutions from the housing unit to the urban planning scale.

In this context, a group of architects and urban planners from Europe came together with the intention to develop a modernist response for the rebuilding of European cities under the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM / The International Congress of Modern Architecture). Two major groups were influential in the discussions: the German group of Bauhaus and the French group gathered around the ideas of Le Corbusier. The CIAM was not only concerned with formalizing the architectural and urban principles of the Modern Movement but also saw architecture - sharing similar motivation with prominent names at the turn of the century - as a tool for social development. As indicated by Eric Mumford, the main goals of the CIAM architects were "to improve the living conditions of the majority of the population, to increase economic efficiency through transportation improvements, and to protect the natural environment for mass recreation".⁵³ The spatial remedies proposed by CIAM to urban and architectural problems of the period were subjected to discussion at eleven meetings held in different cities across Europe. Following the inaugural meeting, which was held in La Sarraz, Switzerland, in 1928, the subsequent meetings addressed the following themes: "The Minimum Dwelling" (1929), "Rational Land Development" (1930), "The Functional City" (1933), "Dwelling and Recovery" (1937), "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM" (1947), "The Athens Charter in Practice" (1949), "The Hearth of the City" (1951), "Habitat" (1953 and 1956), and "The Human Scale" (1959). With regard to urban planning and housing, the second and fourth meetings are of particular significance in the context of this study. While the former proposed the rational standardization of housing units for modern urban life, the latter identified four key elements of the

⁵³ Eric Mumford, *Designing the Modern City - Urbanism since 1850* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2018), 156.

modern industrial city, namely housing, production, recreation and transportation. These major discussions of the CIAM set the tone of modern architecture and urban planning, which exerted a significant influence on the built environment in numerous regions across the globe.

In the traumatic atmosphere of post-World War I, while most of the European society is faced with the housing shortage and degraded living conditions, it is not surprising that CIAM held this meeting on dwelling issue. The second meeting of the CIAM – themed *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* (the Minimum Dwelling) – held in 1929 in Frankfurt, where *Das Neue Frankfurt* project had already begun to be built. Throughout the meeting, the activities like lectures on various aspects of minimum dwelling, an exhibition of minimal apartment plans, and visiting tours to new Frankfurt housing settlements were held.⁵⁴ (Figure 2-3) It would not be wrong to say that this meeting was one of the earliest meetings and the most prominent one in which the issue of housing belonging to the ordinary citizen was discussed in terms of architectural style and new understanding of space.⁵⁵ The implied meaning of 'minimum' in the concept of *existenzminimum* generally refers to minimum decent conditions sufficient for the life of a family, not those necessary for a social life.⁵⁶

In the meeting, the minimum unit layouts developed by the CIAM members were discussed and compared in order to achieve the most economic, rational solution for the design of a housing unit, particularly regarding the lower income groups of the

⁵⁴ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2000), 34.

⁵⁵ Until then, alternative housing settlements, which claimed to provide solutions to the problems of the industrial city, were mostly discussed at the town planning scale, rather than architectural scale. The shift from pre-industrial city to the industrial city occurred so fast regarding the mode of production; however, it is possible to say that architectural practice and theory could not keep up with this speed. Even in visionary projects developed at the turn of the century, the common architectural approach was to construct buildings in the neo-classical style. See: Baykan Günay, "History of CIAM and Team 10", in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 8, no.1 (Ankara: METU, 1988), 23-44.

⁵⁶ Carlo Aymonino, *L'abitazione razionale. Atti dei congressi C.I.A.M. 1929-1930* [The rational dwelling. Proceedings of the 1929-1930 CIAM congresses]. (Padova: Marsilio, 1971), 81. (translated by the author)

society. The proliferation of the concrete and steel structures freed them from the rigid floor plans and made different spatial organizations possible. While the size of rooms with individual function was reduced, the living room became prominent as an enlarged central space for socializing and entertainment. Service areas, separated from the general functions, were designed to make domestic works easier, as a result of the increase in women's employment. Karel Teige evaluates this transformation of the house into the functional dwelling as the highest achievement of the modern architecture.⁵⁷

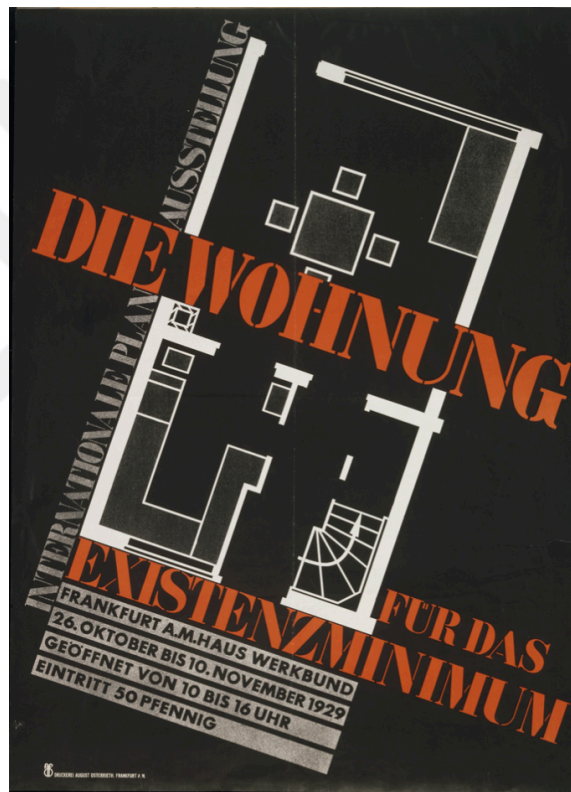


Figure 2-3. The poster for the exhibition of plans addressing the conference theme, designed by Hans Leistikow⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Karel Teige, *The Minimum Dwelling*, translated by Eric Dluhosch, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002), 231-2.

⁵⁸ "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence",

https://www.moma.org/collection/works/6107?artist_id=38239&page=1&sov_referrer=artist

(Accessed: 15 June 2022)

At this point, it would be appropriate to mention the New Frankfurt project implemented between 1925 and 1931 under the direction of modernist architect Ernst May, who was also one of the prominent members of the CIAM. The social democratic government that came to power after the end of the war⁵⁹ made it possible to execute this project designed in accordance with the lifestyle of the working class. Ludwig Landmann, mayor of Frankfurt, appointed Ernst May for the planning of *Das Neue Frankfurt* project. May's comprehensive program was not only comprising of housing units but also industrial, cultural, administrative, and recreational zones. Within the scope of the program May and his team designed and built approximately 15.000 housing units to response the housing needs of non-privileged groups. In the end, although the program was insufficient to meet the ever-increasing housing need, these projects influenced modern residential architecture as being important architectural experiments in which the basic principles of modern architecture - standardization, rationalization and functionality – were searched and implemented.

The general scheme of the New Frankfurt comprising of twenty-four housing settlements (*Siedlungen*) shows similarities with Howard's Garden City in terms of planning principles.⁶⁰ These settlements, at the periphery of the old city, were designed to be independent from the city center with the help of several communal

⁵⁹ During the Weimar Republic period (1918-1933), many attempts were made to address the housing shortage in Germany in relation to the welfare state's political stance. The discussions on nation-state, citizenship, welfare society, and social democracy made it compulsory for states to deal with the problems that concern the middle and lower income groups of the society. According to Susan Rose Henderson, the Weimar housing programs emerged as the result of blurring boundaries between private and public, the market and the state. The issue of workers' housing began to be seen as a problem to be solved by the state. Public housing replaced the factory housing. See: Susan Rose Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May, 1919-1930" Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture, (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 296.

⁶⁰ Ernst May (1886-1970) went to England for his college education in 1906, and studied architecture at the University College in London until 1908. In 1910, his second time in England, he had the chance of working in the architectural office of Raymond Unwin, who was the co-planner of Letchworth Garden City. At that time, Unwin was working on Hampstead Garden Suburb. The experiences May gained during his time in Unwin's office were strongly influential in his professional practice, and also, the constitution of the German Garden City movement. See: Ibid.

facilities; such as a library, market halls, schools, kindergartens, medical clinics, and churches. Moreover, with large green areas and accessibility to the countryside, it was aimed to reconstitute the relationship between nature and people, which was regarded as the fundamental requirement for mental and physical health of the community. The layout of the settlements were designed on the basis of the *Zeilenbau* (open corridor) principle, which is based on the arranging of parallel blocks at regular intervals. This solution ensured that each unit benefitted from fresh air and sunlight, reduced the cost of construction and allowed for a more democratic, non-hierarchical design.⁶¹

In the architectural design of the housing blocks and the dwellings, the design approach of the Bauhaus was influential. Taking the advantage of technological advancement in construction, prefabricated components and standardized furniture made the functional design of housing units – ranging from 55 m² to 75 m² – possible. The settlements, with their flat roofs, zig-zag layout, and white color bands, represented a morphological break from the traditional residential fabric of the city.⁶² (Figure 2-4) These projects, which claimed to make domestic space rational and economic with standardized allotment gardens, electric laundries, and kitchens, aimed to educate dwellers on how modern citizens should live and rearrange family life, accordingly. It was believed that modern space understanding would form the modern citizen and contribute to “the birth of a new urban culture of continued technical modernization and capital growth”.⁶³ For the design of the New Frankfurt, Ernst May worked with forty architects and urban planners, including Max Cetto,

⁶¹ Ibid., 363-7. And also: Hilde Heynen, *Mimarlık ve Modernite: Bir Eleştiri*, translated by Nalan Bahçekapılı, Rahmi Ögdül, (İstanbul: Versus Yayınları, 2011).

⁶² John Robert Mulin, “City Planning in Frankfurt, Germany, 1925-1932: A Study in Practical Utopianism”, in *Journal of Urban History*, vol.4, no.1 (Sage Publications 1977), 3-28.

⁶³ Susan Rose Henderson, “The Work of Ernst May, 1919-1930” Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture, (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 297.

Martin Elsaesser, Walter Gropius, Ferdinand Kramer, Adolf Meyer, Bruno Taut, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Mart Stam.⁶⁴

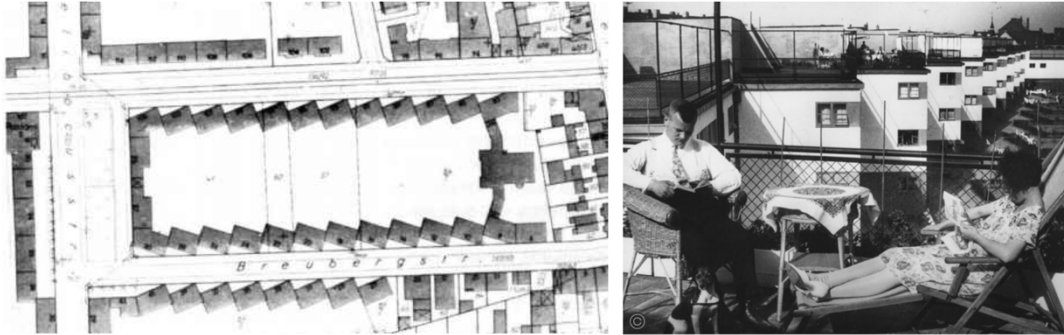


Figure 2-4. Plan layout and a view from the flat roof of *Siedlung Niederrad*⁶⁵

The fourth meeting of CIAM was held on a cruise vessel, the *Patris II*, on a return voyage between Marseilles and Athens in 1933, and focused on the urbanization issues with the theme of the Functional City. The theme derived from Cornelis van Eesteren's Extension Plan for Amsterdam (1929), which was organized according to the approach that "large factories, ports, and collective recreation spaces could be organized in relation to housing by using the most efficient transportation routes, guided by statistical studies".⁶⁶ Throughout the meeting, thirty-three cities from eighteen countries, representing different characteristics – like being a large capital, an industrial city, a harbor city, a colonial city, and a city as cross-road community – were analyzed with land use maps, transportation plans, and maps of the regional context. Taking the Amsterdam plan as a reference, the living conditions in these

⁶⁴ During the years of the Nazi government, some of these architects had to leave the country. The names like Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky spent part of their exile lives in Turkey and affected the architectural discourse in Turkey. See: Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009).

⁶⁵ "The Stretching and The Dissolution of The Block Concept", <https://www.northernarchitecture.us/town-planning/the-stretching-and-the-dissolution-of-the-block-concept.html> (Accessed: 15 June 2022)

⁶⁶ Eric Mumford, "CIAM and Its Outcomes", in *Housing Builds Cities, Urban Planning*, vol. 4, no.3 (Lisbon: Cogito Press, 2019), 294.

cities were evaluated and presented in relation to four functions: dwelling, recreation, work (or production), and transportation.⁶⁷

As a result of this meeting, the general principles determined by the agreement of the architects and planners were announced under the name of the Athens Charter. The Charter that was edited and published by Le Corbusier consisted of three main parts.⁶⁸

1. The city should be analyzed within its regional context, considering economic, politic, geographic, natural and administrative factors.⁶⁹
2. Cities should be tackled according to the basic four functions of the city plus historical heritage and recommendations should be developed accordingly.
 - 2.1. High-rise apartments away from traffic, with easy access to greenery and sunlight should replace dense, unhealthy dwelling quarters.
 - 2.2. Instead of poorly distributed, insufficient open spaces, new residential areas should have sufficient open space, obtained by squatter clearing. In addition, access to natural resources should be provided.
 - 2.3. As the solution of haphazard industrial sites that prolong urban transportation times, industrial and residential areas should be separated and well communicated.

⁶⁷ Josep Lluís Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942), 6.

⁶⁸ These items were summed up from the article published in *Ekistics*, based on Le Corbusier's publication, *La Charte d'Athènes*. See: "The CIAM Charter of Athens, 1933: Outcome of a Similar Effort", in *Ekistics*, vol. 16, no. 95 (Athens Center of Ekistics, 1963), 263-7.

⁶⁹ With this first condition, CIAM IV reminds of Patrick Geddes's regional planning approach, which argues that cities should be planned according to analytical research methods in order to ensure social and economic developments as well as physical developments. However, it should be noted that, this regionalist approach is the one most underestimated concerns by modernist architects.

2.4. Instead of old and inadequate roads and streets, transportation system should be organized according to the hierarchy of roads, separated from pedestrian systems and supported by green arteries.

2.5. Buildings representing historical cultures should be preserved; however, this should not imply the re-use of past styles in modern buildings.

3. As conclusion remarks, it was specified that the city should ensure individual freedoms and human scale, the four functions should be the basis for the reconsideration of a city, the third dimension should be taken into account, which offers the possibility of freeing spaces for transportation and recreation, the starting point for city planning should be the single dwelling unit and its grouping as neighborhood units.

This new vision of the modern city presented high-rise buildings ascending from large green spaces, an accentuated vehicle circulation system, and functionally separated zones as the main patterns. Even if they were not built, the projects like Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, the ideal city scheme developed by Josep Lluís Sert, and the proposal for London by MARS reflected these patterns associated with the functionalist turn in urban planning. Besides these projects, the theoretical framework of CIAM IV could be implemented in 1957 in the Brasilia Plan by the architect and planner Lucio Costa and the architect Oscar Niemeyer. (Figure 2-5) The plan layout in the curved crossed form with a rigid symmetry was comprised of a monumental center for a series of governmental buildings, and the residential blocks for the civil servants of the capital city, surrounding green spaces, and with a system of highways.



Figure 2-5. Lucio Costa's winning entry for Brasilia's Pilot Plan competition (top-left), and aerial views of the implemented project, the National Congress and Ministries designed by Oscar Niemeyer⁷⁰

Claiming that the basic concepts of modernism are universally valid, the principles developed in CIAM congresses were spread all over the world, not just in Europe, by the efforts of architects who were professionals in the networking, and in the production of literature and image. Sigfried Giedion's 1941 dated book on Modern Architecture, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, Le Corbusier's *Unité d'Habitation* project, known as a prominent project for modern housing, the lectures given by Walter Gropius and Josep Lluís Sert at Harvard

⁷⁰ "Brasilia",
https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/28_1/brasilia.html
 (Accessed: 16 June 2022)

University and the publications of these protagonists could be cited as among the factors that contributed to the dissemination of CIAM ideas.

The foundations of urban planning and modern sciences of engineering and sociology starting from the late 19th century paved the way for modern architecture and urbanism to form the ideal built environment for the ideal citizen based on positivist thoughts. However, it was seen that the built environment designed according to the principles of modern conceptualizations did not deliver what it promised. The functional dogmatism, dictating uniformity rather than diversity, prevented modern architects to perceive the nuances of use. For this reason, the older generation of modern architects of CIAM were accused of seriously neglecting to understand the humane characteristics of individuals: As Brolin argues, “Ignoring [...] cultural differences and making most choices based on their own experience, most modern architects assumed that the users would become accustomed to living the way they expected them to live”.⁷¹ As architectural solutions tended to be 'typified', the various surveys (physical, historical, sociological and economic) concerning architectural practice became much less informative.

After the World War II, the younger generation of the CIAM started to increase its influence with the criticism they developed. They introduced new terminology like 'association', 'identity', 'neighborhood', and 'cluster' into the architectural discourse of the CIAM, rejecting its pure rational approach.⁷² With the rising of divergent opinions, founding members such as Le Corbusier, Gropius, Eesteren, Sert and Giedion announced their departure from the organization in the mid-1950s. The young group, questioning the role of the modern architect and the belief in the capabilities of planning for shaping the egalitarian society of the future, met in 1954

⁷¹ Brent C. Brolin, *The Failure of Modern Architecture*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), 62.

⁷² William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1982), 288.

in Doorn and produced Doorn Manifesto depicting their alternative point of view. The discussions of the last two meetings of CIAM were around this manifesto arguing that “specific form of ‘habitat’ must be evolved for each particular situation”.⁷³ From this point, the transition from internationalism to particularism, and accordingly, the changing role of the architect will be discussed hereafter.

2.5 Modernism Revised: Team 10

The economic, political, social and technological transformations of the post-World War I era constituted a suitable context for the birth of modern architecture. While new construction technologies made housing production for the masses as rapid as possible, the rising values of social democracy, citizenship, nation-state, and welfare society legitimized modern architecture's claim to build healthy cities for well-organized societies of the “machine age”.⁷⁴ However, the urban and architectural spaces designed according to the modernist principles (dwelling units with minimum standards, functional organization of urban space, high-rise point blocks or continuous building blocks ascending from large green areas, and an over emphasized vehicular system) began to be criticized, particularly with their spread after the 2nd World War.

Modernist architects who were forced to migrate from Germany to other countries for political reasons before and during the World War II, continued their professional practices, and were influential in the adoption of modernist precepts at the host countries.⁷⁵ After the war, the urgent necessity of reconstructing cities across Europe, provided the Modern architecture with a wide field of application, appropriate to its

⁷³ John Lewis (ed.), *Urban Structuring: Studies of Alison & Peter Smithson* (London: Studio Vista, 1967), 33.

⁷⁴ See: Baykan Günay, ‘History of CIAM and Team 10’, in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 8, no.1 (Ankara: METU, 1988), 23-44.

⁷⁵ Kenneth Frampton, “Notes on Soviet Urbanism”, in *Urban Structure*, ed. by D. Lewis (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1968), 238-52.

claims of rationalization, standardization and mass production. Without concerning the particularities of situations, low-cost, identical mass housing projects started to be constructed in large numbers as part of regional and urban planning programs, such as the New Towns Act in Great Britain. Large scale housing programs initiated by public authorities ended up in monotonously spreading residential areas. A strong criticism burgeoned within the CIAM itself, besides the outsider critiques. The 10th meeting of CIAM held in 1956 in Dubrovnik marked a breaking point. In this meeting, the doctrinarian precepts of modern architecture were challenged by a group of young architects, who prepared the theme and the content of the 11th congress, hence, naming themselves the Team 10. Among the founding members of the Team 10, there were Alison and Peter Smithson, William and Jill Howell, and John Voelcker from England; Aldo van Eyck, and Jaap Bakema from Netherlands; and Georges Candilis, and Shadrach Woods from France. Participants of Team 10 altered during the group's existence. Among the names who joined the group later; Giancarlo de Carlo from Italy, José Antonio Coderch de Sentmenat from Spain, Charles Poldini from Hungary, Jerzy Soltan from Poland, Julián de la Fuente from France, Stefan Wewerka and Manfred Schiedhelm from Germany, and Ralph Erskine from England could be cited. In line with their early reaction to CIAM, Alison Smithson depicted the points they criticized in the text published in the *Architectural Design* journal in 1955:

Each generation feels a new dissatisfaction and conceives a new idea of order. This is architecture. Young architects today feel a monumental dissatisfaction with the buildings they see going up around them. For them the housing estates, the social centers and the blocks of flats are meaningless and irrelevant. They feel that the majority of architects have lost contact with reality and are building yesterday's dreams when the rest of us have woken up today. [...]The social driving force of that movement was the slum clearance, the provision of sun, light, air and green space. This social content was perfectly matched by the forms of functional architecture, the architecture of the Academic period which followed the great period of

Cubism, and Dada, and *de Stijl* of the '*Esprit Nouveau*'. This was the period of the minimum kitchen and the four functions, the mechanical concept of architecture.⁷⁶

The main criticism of Team 10 was the rigid and schematic functional separation of dwelling, work, recreation, and circulation – as put forth in the Athens Charter, and the treatment of space as *tabula rasa*. They argued that local conditions like culture, climate and context were not addressed by the masters of modern architecture, and this approach resulted in urban spaces with orthogonal-mechanical order. The only manifesto of Team 10 – Doorn Manifesto, 1954 – clearly shows Patrick Geddes' influence on the group regarding the evolutionary character of the city and the relationship between housing unit and its community. (Figure 2-6)

⁷⁶ The quotation is retrieved from: Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism* (Stuttgart: Karl Kremer Verlag, 1966), 71.

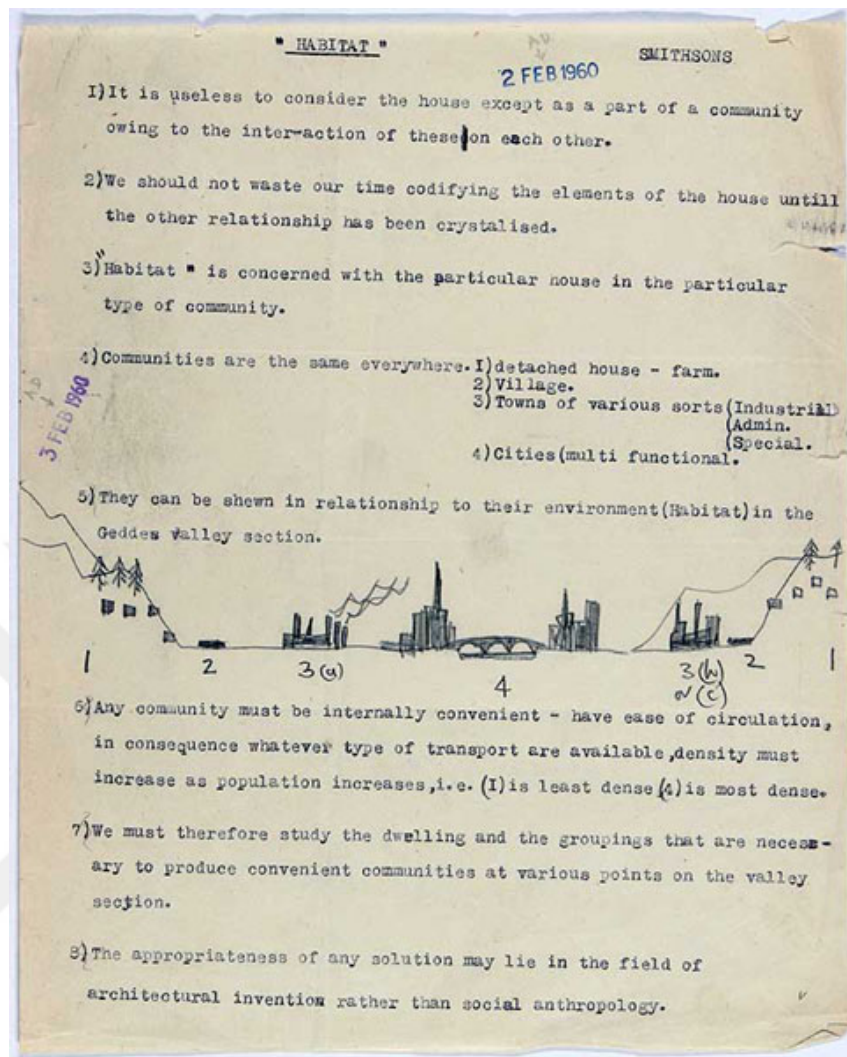


Figure 2-6. The Doorn Manifesto as revised by Peter Smithson for *Team 10 Primer*⁷⁷

The Manifesto starts with the issue of housing and emphasizes that "it is useless to consider the house except as a part of a community owing to the inter-action of these on each other".⁷⁸ For Team 10, while trying to stay away from dogmatic principles in order not to prevent the emergence of different architectural approaches, the

⁷⁷ "The Doorn Manifesto", <http://www.team10online.org/team10/text/doorn-manifesto.htm> (Accessed: 20 June 2022)

⁷⁸ Ibid.

relationship between the dwelling and its community was one of the dominant issues to be agreed upon. They took habitat as a part of an open system in relation with its environment, instead of an isolated entity. They criticized the predominant type of high-rise housing block – containing numerous standardized dwelling units and evenly placed on a Cartesian grid system – for being anonymous, repetitive, and lacking the sense of place.

It should be noted that their stance was not a total opposition to CIAM principles. While criticizing CIAM's inability to respond to changing social aspects, they advocated the moral stance of the early Modern Movement.⁷⁹ Team 10 did not have an institutionalized view like CIAM and architectural approaches of its members differed according to their backgrounds. However, they shared the goal of “forming a new image of community, appropriate to the problems of post-war urban reconstruction”.⁸⁰ As stated by Baykan Günay, the “human association against functional organization, use of line as the unifying element instead of open spaces, continuity of elements instead of discontinuous composition of them, variety of volumes and spaces, and the idea of the ground scraper for horizontal communication”⁸¹ became the new concepts of architectural language. This common approach is exemplified in the projects of Robin Hood Gardens in London by Alison and Peter Smithson, Lijnbaan Project in Rotterdam by Bakema and Van den Broek, and in the University College in Urbino by Giancarlo de Carlo among others. As claimed by Peter Smithson, the most significant contribution of Team 10 could be “the seepage of the Patrick Geddes’ ideas into the general consciousness”⁸² that will be furthered in the following years.

⁷⁹ William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1982), 288.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 290.

⁸¹ Baykan Günay, ‘History of CIAM and Team 10’, in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol.8, no.1 (Ankara: METU, 1988), 37.

⁸² Baykan Günay, “Interview with Alison and Peter Smithson”, in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol.9, no. 1, (Ankara: METU, 1989), 69.

2.6 Transformation in the Role of the Architect: The Notion of Participation

The definition of the user, which evolved from CIAM's ideal citizen to the communities with particularities introduced by Team 10, began to be reassessed in the 1960s under the influence of community actions and grassroots movements. World War II caused almost complete destruction in several European cities. To respond to the urgent need for recovery, a period of economic expansion was started with the help of international, mostly US-based, funding institutions.⁸³ Thus, with the increasing dominance of private sector, and the support of the public sector, the housing construction and urban renewal implementations were accelerated in the decades following the Second World War. Welfare states adopted policies for the production of housing by promoting private construction firms and building industry. With the development of industrialized construction techniques, the concepts of low-cost housing, ready-made housing, prefabricated housing, and imported housing became predominant in the design and production of housing. In other words, the modernist ideas in architecture, which were introduced to trigger social progress in the pre-war period, began to be used for mass production in the hands of the construction sector, without much consideration to their social outcomes. Even though the need for housing decreased in quantitative terms, mass housing production generated new problems.

The reconstruction projects carried out by the private sector were mostly directed to displace the people living in the inner city neighborhoods, which were claimed to be in decline or derelict, to the outskirts of the cities, mostly in high-rise housing blocks.⁸⁴ Such policies of decentralization triggered the classification of urban land

⁸³ Besides the other aid programs, as the most known ones, the establishment of United Nations, and the declaration of Marshall Plan took place in this period, in order to support European countries' reconstruction process.

⁸⁴ The post-war planning acts of European countries mostly generated suburban such as New Towns in England, or *Ville Nouvelles* in France. They were criticized for being low-density ghettos with

according to its speculative value, which resulted in a social segregation. While the valuable central zones were reserved for profitable activities, low income groups were pushed to the periphery, the isolated, minimum standard housing settlements. As a result of urban renewal activities implemented according to market conditions, not only real estate prices, but also community reactions expressing dissatisfaction increased.⁸⁵ Among the prominent arguments of these protests, anti-war movements, human rights, women's liberation, non-discriminatory social welfare, and challenges of alternative cultures could be cited. On the other hand, the welfare states started to provide financial support with loans and credits to individuals instead of directly supporting the construction of housing. Thus, the user's demands became more decisive, causing the change in the attitudes of planners and developers. In this context, the 1960s have been the period that was characterized by the experimental forms of architectural practice and production.⁸⁶

Influenced by these developments, alternative ideology considering the importance of users' right to shape their environment came into the agenda of architects and planners in the 1960s. Peter Phippen, Peter Randall and David Parkes' (known as PRP) small co-ownership patio housing scheme at the Ryde, Hatfield (1963), is shown as one of the earliest examples of resident involvement, where the individual owners of the single storey houses were involved in deciding on the size and the equipment of their houses.⁸⁷ Housing units of different sizes and features were developed according to the demands of the users, between the cross walls placed at 7-meter intervals. The project, which was carried out through a cooperative

commercial centers separated from the residential areas. Despite the contrary expectations, they satisfied neither the necessary quantity nor the efficiency in cost. Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture* (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1986)

⁸⁵ Zeynep Toker, "Housing Production Processes: Can User-Oriented Methods of Production Replace the Conventional Ones?", Unpublished Master Thesis in Urban Design, (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2000), 102.

⁸⁶ Henry Sanoff, *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 2.

⁸⁷ <https://www.prp-co.uk/about/history.html> (Accessed: 21 June 2022)

organization, includes 32 housing units with 1, 2, 3 and 4 beds, besides the communal nursery and sports areas.⁸⁸ (Figure 2-7)

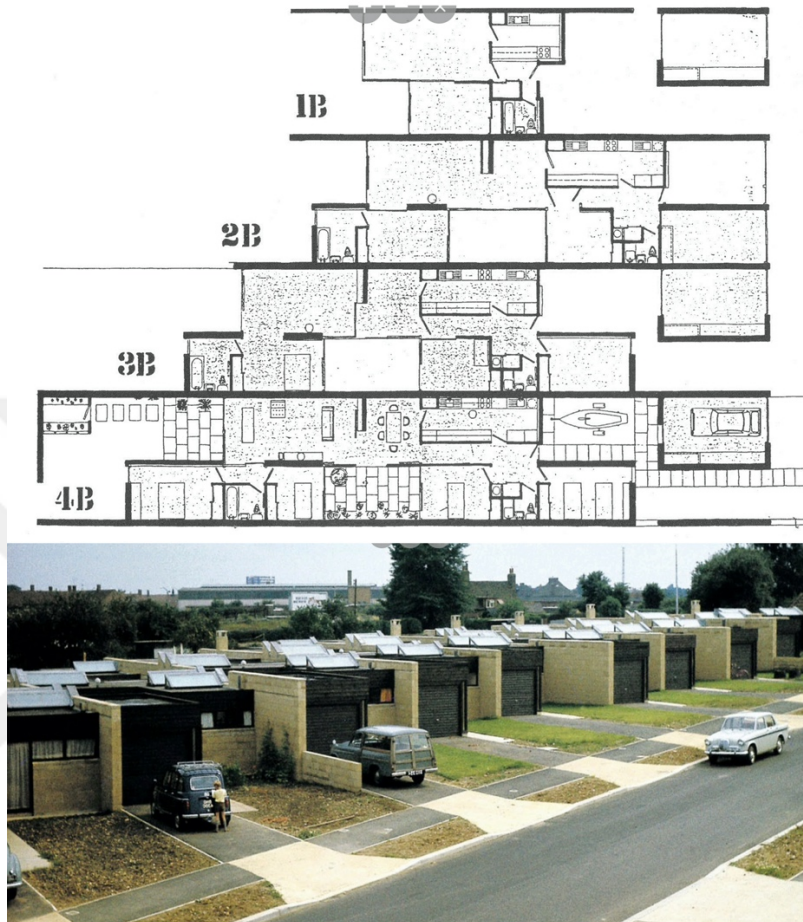


Figure 2-7. Different housing types of the Ryde housing (above), and the general view of the settlement (below)⁸⁹

In Netherlands, proposing a social approach to housing, John Habraken introduced a new approach against the finite housing estate where every dwelling was designed according to established criteria which equated housing production with that of cars

⁸⁸ “House Plan: PRP’s The Ryde”, <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/archive/house-plan-charles-holland-on-prps-the-ryde> (Accessed: 20 June 2024)

⁸⁹ Ibid.

and other consumer durables. In 1965, Habraken founded an architectural research group, SAR (Stichting Architecten Research), in order to open up alternative perspectives on user participation. Asking the question of “How to design the built environment to support both stability – in respect to long term community interests – and change – in respect to individual preferences?”, the group tried to develop regenerative housing solutions. He saw the potential of industrialization to give people more freedom to articulate their houses, and developed the ‘support-infill’ system. The system comprised two components: one is the fixed, prefabricated, and modular-dimensioned ‘support’ created by professionals, and the other one is the changeable ‘infill’ left to the user's choice.⁹⁰ Molenvliet Project by Frans van der Werf, in 1974, is the first project designed within the ‘support-infill’ system. (Figure 2-8)



Figure 2-8. Molenvliet Project, Frans van der Werf, 1974⁹¹

⁹⁰ Habraken was pupil of Jacob Bakema, Jo van-den-Broek, Cornelis van Eesteren, who was the members of Team 10, during his architecture education in TU Delft University. John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing* (London: Architectural Press, 1972)

⁹¹ Van der Werf named this approach as the ‘open design’ as described in his book of the same name. Ibid.

Another prominent project developed with the approach of community participation was Ralph Erskine's Byker redevelopment project in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1969-1982). The project concerned the rebuilding of a 19th century English industrial town. In 1968, when Erskine was commissioned to rebuild the 19th century industrial town of 18.000 inhabitants, almost a quarter of the population had already been forcibly moved from their 2-storey row houses to single floor accommodations. The redevelopment in Byker involved the gradual replacement of cramped Victorian detached houses with a new housing – that consisted of two thousand housing units, specifically designed for the residents of this area. Erskine utilized the 'street in the air' concept. Elevated pedestrian streets and platforms were also used in several urban projects of other members of Team 10, like Smithsons and Candilis, Josic and Woods. As a deeply committed socialist, Erskine made significant efforts to incorporate the original Byker community into the design of the new development. His architecture based on two fundamental precepts: buildings must be related to the climate and to the people who will inhabit and use them.⁹² In order to increase the dialogue with the local community, Erskine moved his office to the project site. Through an intensive and elaborate participation process with an on-site architectural team, he encouraged the community to become more involved in neighborhood planning.⁹³ As a result of a deliberate design process in which concepts such as participation, arbitrariness, and temporariness were used, Byker Wall was indicated as the best social housing in England, by Charles Jencks, in his book *Architecture Today*.⁹⁴ (Figure 2-9)

⁹² Peter Collymore, *The Architecture of Ralph Erskine: The Complete Works, 1940-94* (London: Architect, 1982)

⁹³ Peter Malpass "A Reappraisal of Byker: Myth, Magic, and the Architect", in *The Architects' Journal*, vol.169, (London: EMAP Publishing Limited), 961-9.

⁹⁴ Charles Jencks, *Architecture Today* (London: Harry N Abrams Inc, 1982), 162.



Figure 2-9. Byker Wall Project, by Ralph Erskine⁹⁵

The other architect who was against the top-down paternalistic provision of housing, Walter Segal offered a bottom-up pattern on its own scale and with its own logic.⁹⁶ He focused on reinventing a certain spontaneity, empowering users to make changes to improve their houses over the years. Sharing some ideas with Habraken's support structures, the method of self-build housing Segal proposed is based on a modular grid of timber-frame, the dimensions of which adjusted to build easily.⁹⁷ In 1976, Lewisham Borough Council made a bold experiment by adopting Segal's design and construction approach to build low-income housing. The location and materials were

⁹⁵ Peter Collymore, *The Architecture of Ralph Erskine: The Complete Works, 1940-94* (London: Architect, 1982).

⁹⁶ Peter Blundell Jones, "Sixty-eight and After", in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by P. Blundell Jones, D. Petrescu & J. Till (London and New York: Spon Press of Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 132-49.

⁹⁷ Jon Broome, "Mass Housing cannot be Sustained", in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by P. Blundell Jones, D. Petrescu & J. Till (London and New York: Spon Press of Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 78-9.

provided by the municipality, and the houses were built by the users, following the instructions given by Segal. (Figure 2-10) After this experience, Segal observed that this participatory practice provided a sense of community:

Help was provided mutually and voluntarily – there were no particular constraints on that, which did mean that the good will of people could find its way through. The less you tried to control them the more you freed the elements of good will –this was astonishingly clear.⁹⁸

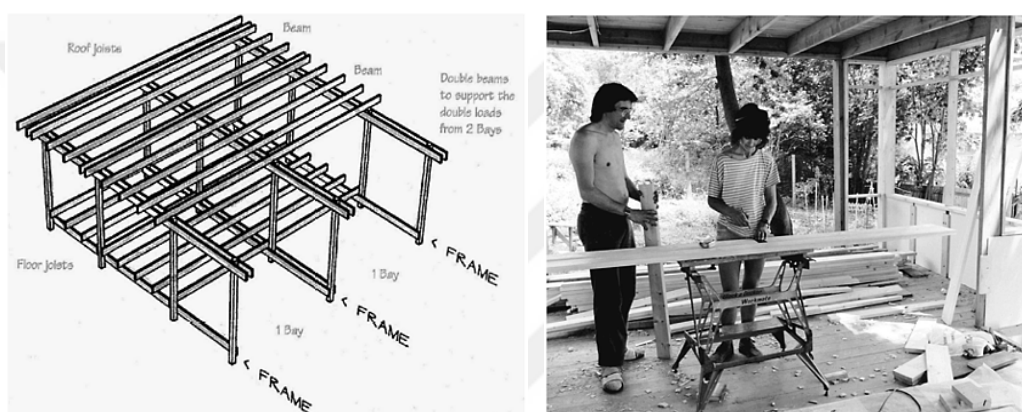


Figure 2-10. Diagram of the Segal's timber framing (left) and Lewisham self-builders at work (right)⁹⁹

Segal's anti-authoritarian stance was also evident in Giancarlo De Carlo's independent and critical thinking outside the established system. Being an architect as well as a theorist, De Carlo appeared as a key figure in Team 10 who criticized the shortcomings of orthodox modernism and sought new directions. His architectural approach was based on contextualizing cultural and social issues with architectural practice, and on concepts such as collective coexistence, participatory

⁹⁸ The quotation is retrieved from: Ibid., 80.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 78-9.

design. De Carlo's seminal article, which was published afterwards, 'Architecture's Public' made a statement about the political nature of architecture and the need for participation to re-empower the user.¹⁰⁰ He states that:

All barriers between builders and users must be abolished, so that building and using become two different parts of the same planning process. Therefore the intrinsic aggressiveness of architecture and the forced passivity of the user must dissolve in a condition of creative and decisional equivalence where each – with a different specific impact –is the architect, and every architectural event –regardless of who conceives it and carries it out –is considered architecture.¹⁰¹

De Carlo's participatory approach replaces the 'plan for the users' understanding of modern architecture with the 'plan with the users' principle.¹⁰² In 1969, De Carlo was commissioned by the Italian national steelworks corporation to design a new social housing project in Terni, Italy, named as *Villaggio Matteotti*.¹⁰³ (Figure 2-11) With this project, he found an opportunity to test his participatory design proposals. De Carlo held meetings with users in different stages of the project, organized exhibitions to offer users different alternatives, and moreover, he enabled many residents to meet with a sociologist.¹⁰⁴ The neighborhood has 250 dwelling units, in 5 typologies, with 45 domestic variations.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Peter Blundell Jones, "Sixty-eight and After", in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by P. Blundell Jones, D. Petrescu & J. Till (London and New York: Spon Press of Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 132-49.

¹⁰¹ Benedict Zucchi, *Giancarlo De Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992), 13.

¹⁰² Giancarlo de Carlo, "Architecture's Public", in *Parametro*, vol. 5 (Faenza Editrice, 1971)

¹⁰³ Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, *TEAM 10: 1953-91, In Search of a Utopia of the Present*. (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005)

¹⁰⁴ Benedict Zucchi, *Giancarlo De Carlo* (Oxford: Butterworth Architecture, 1992), 15.

¹⁰⁵ Virginia De Jorge-Huertas, "Mat-hybrid Housing: Two Case Studies in Terni and London", in *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, vol. 7 (2018), 276-91.

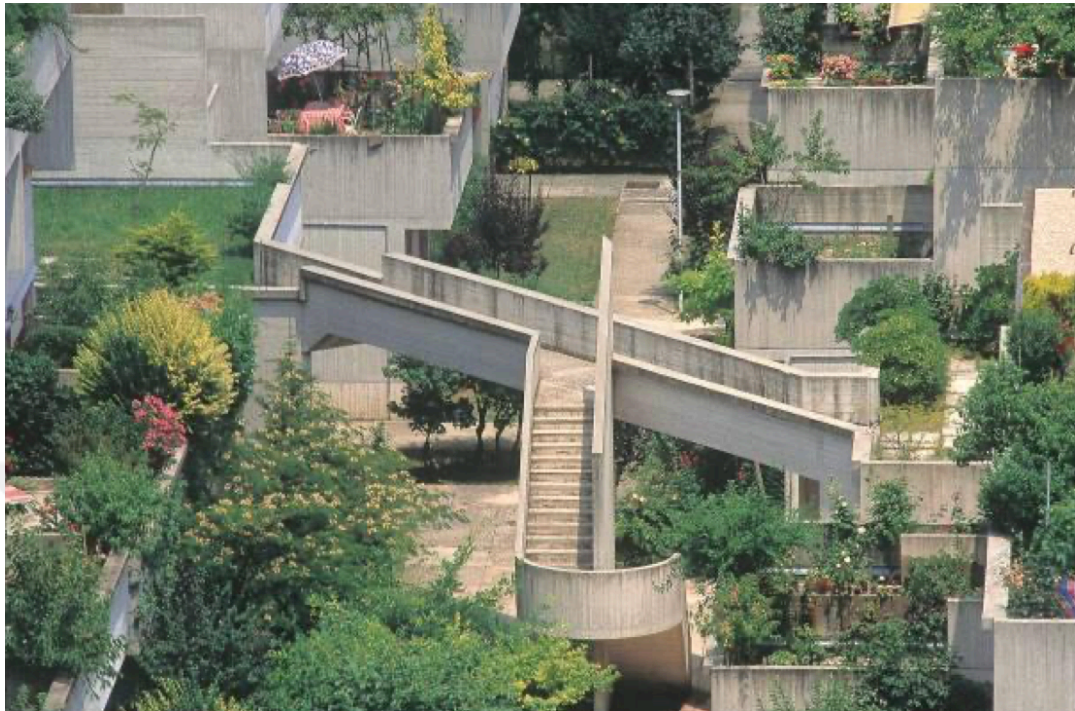


Figure 2-11. A view of *Villaggio Matteotti*¹⁰⁶

Being one of Giancarlo De Carlo's close disciples, Lucien Kroll was another internationally known architect, especially with his work the *Maison Médicale* or *Mémé* at the University of Louvain on the outskirts of Brussels. During the 1968 events, the university had built a massive new hospital in the mechanical and repetitive style typical of that time. Revolting against this, medical students suggested that Kroll, known for his interest in participation, develop a counter project. At the end, intimidated by the riots, the university administration agreed to implement Kroll's project.¹⁰⁷ The context of this project gave Kroll an activist role,

¹⁰⁶ "International working party for documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the modern movement" https://www.docomomoitalia.it/register/MF_37.pdf (Accessed: 15 June 2022)

¹⁰⁷ Lucien Kroll, "The Soft Zone", in *Architectural Association Quarterly*, vol. 7, no.4 (1975), 48-59.

while attributing the project as an architectural image of rebellion. In this regard, Kroll experimented a self-generative architecture, rather than the imposing top-down system. He divided the large program among the staff in his office and dealt with its elements piece by piece, through discussing everything with future users. Instead of a predetermined master plan, Kroll and his team worked with 1:20 scaled models on which the users could easily make changes.¹⁰⁸ Inspired from Habraken's 'support-infill' system, he used piecemeal, mass-produced elements providing an easy assembly of the structural system for the users. As Kroll puts it, as opposed to the unified monotony, the whole process has been "a space of freedom to foster creativity".¹⁰⁹ (Figure 2-12)



Figure 2-12. A general view of *Maison Médicale*¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Peter Blundell Jones, "Sixty-eight and After", in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by P. Blundell Jones, D. Petrescu & J. Till (London and New York: Spon Press of Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 132-49.

¹⁰⁹ Lucien Kroll, "Animal Town Planning and Homeopathic Architecture", in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. by P. Jones, D. Petrescu & J. Till (New York: Spon Press of Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 202.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

Another radical perspective to user participation was developed by John Turner. His studies on the informal settlements in the third world countries led him to reflect upon the potential of self-help in the spontaneous acts of people building their own dwellings. He observed that environmental and social quality of the autonomously constructed settlements is ahead of the planned settlements, in spite of the poor characteristics of the construction methods and materials. Criticizing the inefficiency of the centralized housing production system, he advocated that providing people with the financial and infrastructural elements to lead the housing production process independently would support generating a sense of community. In his own words:

When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over, nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden on the economy.¹¹¹

Indicating to state-owned public housing projects, Turner argues that direct interventions by governments are not properly effective in promoting social and individual well-being. In many Third World countries, the direct involvement of the users in the production of their own housing, as Turner suggested, emerged as an alternative mode of production for failed state-initiated low-cost housing projects.¹¹² In the second half of the 1960s, Turner's ideas became a topic of discussion within the architectural community in Turkey. In these years, due to the high political

¹¹¹ R. Fichter, J. Turner and P. Grenell, "The Meaning of Autonomy", in *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, ed. by J.F.C.Turner and R.Fichter (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 241.

¹¹² John Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*. (London: Marion Boyars, 1976).

instability throughout the country, optimistic approaches about the potentials of squatter settlements began to spread among Turkish architects and planners.¹¹³

Furthering the self-help idea in housing, Christopher Alexander generated a systematical method that prioritizes human needs and values over profit and speed of construction. He emphasized the significance of cooperation and active participation of the end-users into the whole architectural production process in order to prevent the emergence of hostile and insensitive living environments. To constitute a common bond among dwellers, Alexander centered his efforts on the process rather than the end product. According to him, the key concept of this process is user participation, which facilitates the sense of place and eliminates the feeling of isolation. In addition to establishing connections among people and environment, the process of participation, as Alexander states, creates places that are better adapted to users' needs.¹¹⁴

In his book *A Pattern Language* (1977), Alexander and his colleagues were in search of a system that can be more efficient and practical in reflecting the use characteristics by the help of "patterns" each of which represents a fragment of the environment. There 253 patterns introduced by a photograph, an argument in favor of the presented pattern, and supporting evidence, including additional photographs and drawings amounting in each case. In line with his emphasis on process, he also envisioned a new kind of professional who combines a knowledge of architecture with the process of construction; the architect-builder who guides families in the construction of their own houses, allowing greater individuality and freedom in the design process. The decision to build in clusters came partly from *The Pattern Language*, and partly as a means of increasing social interaction among families.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Bülent Batuman, "Turkish Urban Professionals and the Politics of Housing, 1960–1980", in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Ankara: METU, 1988), 59–81.

¹¹⁴ Stefan Grabow, Christopher Alexander: *The Search for a New Paradigm in Architecture*. (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1983).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

By following the global trajectory of housing and urban planning, it was aimed to understand how the housing and housing settlement approaches have changed since the beginning of the century, and also, to analyze the emergence and evolution of user-oriented approaches to housing design within this trajectory. Under the guidance of these debates, the housing settlement projects included in the scope of this study will take its position on this trajectory. Hereafter, the research is directed towards the evolution of the housing discourse in Turkey, regarding the issues of housing and housing settlement.



CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSING DISCOURSE AND POLICIES IN TURKEY

In the previous section, an attempt was made to explain the global housing discourse that developed throughout the 20th century and the emergence of the concept of participation within this discourse. In this section, the housing discourse that developed in the post-Republican period in Turkey and the changing definitions of the housing question are discussed. On the one hand, the aim is to show how the housing discourse in Turkey interacted with global housing debates, and on the other, to discuss the definitions of housing question that emerged due to country-specific conditions and the alternatives that were developed for them. In line with this aim, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the local housing discourse, the housing policies developed in Turkey and how the architectural professional environment addressed the housing problem were taken into consideration.

3.1 The Housing Question in Turkey: Changes in the Governmental Policies

Discussions on housing question in Turkey have been on the agenda of both architecture, city planning, and political circles since the foundation of the Republic.¹¹⁶ Considering the housing debates that developed in the Republican

¹¹⁶ It would not be right to say that the housing question discussions started in the Republican period. In the pre-Republic period, especially with the declaration of *Tanzimat* (1839), the Ottoman Empire began to intervene in urban and spatial problems. The *Tanzimat* movement, which aimed to transform the administrative structure of the state, legal system, education system and society, also intervened in the urban fabric with regulations. These regulations were especially concerned with İstanbul and its urban problems like the areas destroyed by fires, developing trade centers, the creation of new neighborhoods for immigrants, and the first suburbs for the emerging commercial bourgeoisie. New residential settlements/neighborhoods such as Pangaltı and Teşvikiye were planned during this period. Maps prepared for cities where trade developed, legal regulations such as the *Ebniye*

period, it is seen that the definition of the housing question varied according to housing production relations, different governmental approaches and the identity of individuals in need of housing. This means that periodicity and fragmented structure prevail in the housing policies and housing practices throughout the process, rather than continuity.

For this study, which reads housing discussions with a particular focus on housing cooperative model and participatory design process, it is important how the housing question was addressed in the period from the declaration of the Republic to the first half of the 1980s. Although the entire process has been described as discontinuous in terms of housing discussions, the 1960 military coup and the changing constitution stand out as the most decisive breaking point. For this reason, in this section, housing debates and policies developed in Turkey are discussed in two periods: before and after 1960.

3.1.1 The Housing Question in Turkey Before the Planned Period (1923-1960)

Within the state structure that began to take shape after the Republic, the housing problem became an issue that needed to be addressed primarily for the capital Ankara. As the spatial representation of the break from the Ottoman Empire, Ankara was declared the capital of Turkey on October 13, 1923. The population of the town, which started to increase already during the years of the war of Independence, multiplied rapidly as it became the capital of the Republic. The lack of sufficient

Nizamnamesi, and the beginning of the construction of apartment buildings were the precursors of the planning practice of the Republican period. For further reading on urban modernization movement in the pre-Republic period, see: Cânâ Bilsel, “Geç Osmanlı Döneminden Cumhuriyet’e Çağdaş Şehir Düşüncesi ve İstanbul Planlaması”, in *Antik Çağdan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, ed. by Coşkun Yılmaz, vol. 8 (İstanbul: IBB Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2015) <https://istanbultarihi.ist/324-gec-osmanli-doneminden-cumhuriyete-cagdas-sehir-dusuncesi-ve-istanbul-planlamasi> (Accessed: 29 October 2023); İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökleri: Türkiye’de İmar Planlaması*, (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1980)

housing in the city for the newly immigrated civil servants resulted in one of the first definitions of the housing question in the history of the Republic: the problem of housing the civil servants in the capital city.

In the very early years of the Republic, Ankara, as an Anatolian town hosting a population of approximately 20,000,¹¹⁷ was far from being a capital city.¹¹⁸ For that reason, the first legal regulations concerned Ankara, both to solve the housing problem of the city's rapidly growing population and for the development of the modern capital. The first legal regulation made in this context was Law No. 583, enacted on 24 March 1925. The law enabled the expropriation of 400 hectares of land in the south of the existing city. Regarding this law, discussions about producing land for new settlements reveal the young Republic's approach to urban space. In this expropriation process, as the bill to pay the landowners 15 times the value in the title deed received strong resistance, 1/4 of the land was left to the property owners. As a result, the first law proposal, which envisaged the complete transfer of urban rent to the public due to social concerns, had to be waived. This shows that supporting private property and not preventing speculative changes in the value of urban land have been decisive in the state's urban development policy from the very beginning.¹¹⁹ In the expropriated area, Yenışehir settlement consisting of houses

¹¹⁷ Ali Cengizkan, "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950", in *Bir Başkent'in Oluşumu: Avusturyalı, Alman ve İsviçreli Mimarların İzleri*, (Ankara: Goethe-Institut, 2010)

<https://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm> (Accessed: 29 October 2023)

¹¹⁸ To gain insight into Ankara's circumstances during the wartime period, the city's transformation into the capital, and its subsequent evolution, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's widely referenced book, *Ankara*, is an illustrative source. See: Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983)

¹¹⁹ The Law No. 583 on Expropriation of the necessary places and swamp land by the municipality for the proposed Yeni Mahalle in Ankara ("Ankara'da inşası mukarrer Yeni Mahalle için muktezi yerler ile bataklık ve merzagi arazinin Şehremanetince istimlakı hakkında kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no.90, (24 March 1925).

With this law, it was aimed to drain swampy areas, extract water, increase green areas to provide clean air to Ankara, and produce cheap land for new housing settlements. For further reading on the discussions during the law making process, the formation of the Yenışehir settlement and its relationship with the Lörcher and Jansen plans, see: Yener Baş, "Yenışehir'in İlk Sahipleri ve İlk Sakinleri", in *Bir Şehir Kurmak: Ankara 1923-1933*, edited by Ali Cengizkan and N. Müge Cengizkan, (Ankara: Vekam Yayınları, 2019), 79-124.

with gardens was established to meet the housing needs of bureaucrats and civil servants. This first housing settlement built according to a city plan initiated by the Republican government is mostly considered to represent the goal of modernization in this period, with its organization, construction process and later the residential life.¹²⁰

In the first years of the Republic, other legal regulations developed to address the intense immigration pressure on the new capital and the housing problems of civil servants¹²¹ were as follows: (Figure 3-1)

- With Law No. 586 dated 1925, an advance payment of half of the salaries of civil servants was given in order to encourage them to establish housing cooperatives¹²²
- In 1926, with the Law No. 844¹²³, the Emlak & Eytam Bank was established with priorities for Ankara

¹²⁰ For reading on the architectural culture of the period and the Yenışehir settlement, see: İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1980); Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2002); Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: Lörcher Planı 1924-25* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004)

¹²¹ It should be noted that, in addition to the housing problem in Ankara, the housing deficit in the cities destroyed during the war, the housing need of the population coming through the population exchange, and housing need due to natural disasters were other dimensions of the housing question of the period. The establishment of the Ministry of Exchange, Construction and Settlement by the law enacted on October 13, 1923, and Law No. 516, enacted to accommodate earthquake victims after the Erzurum earthquake in 1924 could be given as examples of the legal practices developed for these problems. However, these dimensions of the housing question were excluded from the scope of this study since the role of Ankara in the housing discussions of the period was decisive.

¹²² Law No. 586 on the Advance Payment of Salary-allocation Class Salaries of All Civil Servants in Ankara for the Establishment of Ankara Civil Servants' Cooperative ("Ankara Memurin Kooperatifi Teşkili için Ankara'da Bulunan Bilumum Memurinin Maatahsisat Nısıf Maaşlarının Avans Olarak İtası Hakkında Kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no.90, (24 March 1925).

With the influence of this law, Ankara Civil Servants Cooperative - of which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was also a member - was established in order to increase the effectiveness of cooperatives in the field of housing production. See: İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Bahçelievlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984), 27-8.

¹²³ The Emlak & Eytam Bank Law No. 844, ("Emlak ve Eytam Bankası Kanunu", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 389, (3 June 1926).

- Ankara Zoning Directorate was established in 1928 under the Ministry of Interior with the Law No. 1351¹²⁴
- With the Law No. 1352 dated 1928, the Ministry of Finance was authorized for the construction of housing for civil servants and that of official buildings¹²⁵
- In 1929, The Law No. 1452 providing rental assistance to civil servants as housing compensation¹²⁶
- In 1930, with the Municipal Law No. 1580¹²⁷, the municipalities were given the responsibility of constructing low-cost housing
- 2290 Numbered Municipality, Building and Roads Law, enacted in 1933¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Law No. 1351 on the Organization and Duties of Ankara Zoning Directorate, (“Ankara Şehir İmar Müdüriyeti Teşkilât ve Vezâifine Dâir Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 902, (30 May 1928).

This Directorate was in charge of approving the zoning plans not only of Ankara but of all the cities, and in a sense had the authority to supervise all the municipalities. The reason why Ankara Zoning Directorate was established under the Ministry of Interior was explained in the law as "the development of the capital of the Republic is the direct responsibility of the state, not the municipality". This decision was also aimed at facilitating the implementation of the Ankara Plan prepared by Hermann Jansen. In 1937, the Directorate was attached to the Ankara Municipality. Özcan Altaban, “Cumhuriyet’in Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi,” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978), 41-64.

¹²⁵ Law No. 1352 on Ministry, Government Office, and Civil Servant's Apartments to be Built in Ankara (“Ankara’da İnşa Edilecek Vekalet ve Devair Binalarıyla Memurin Apartmanları Hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 902, (30 May 1928).

¹²⁶ Law No. 1452 on Unification and Alternation of Salaries of Civil Servants (“Devlet Memurları Maaşatının Tevhit ve Teadülüne Dair Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 1229, (30 June 1929).

The increase in housing rents due to the increasing population made Ankara unlivable for civil servants. As a solution for this, the state started to provide rental assistance only to civil servants living in Ankara. After the Second World War, as urbanization became widespread throughout the country, the problem of high housing rents began in other cities as well. Since rent assistance became a privilege for Ankara, this practice was ended in 1951 with Laws No. 5715 and 5716. İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 41.

¹²⁷ The Municipal Law No. 1580, (“Belediye Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 1471, (14 April 1930).

¹²⁸ Municipality, Building and Roads Law No. 2290, (“Belediye, Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 2433, (21 June 1933).

Laws numbered 1580 and 2290 gave the municipalities of cities with a population over 100 thousand the responsibility to prepare city plans and direct urban development. In this context, planning studies were carried out for cities such as Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, İzmit, Erzurum, Bursa and Karabük. This shows that the modernization program of the Republic was not limited to the capital city. Cânâ Bilsel, “Türkiye’de Şehircilik Yarışmalarının İlk Otuz yılı (1927-1957): Cumhuriyet’in Kent

- Starting from 1937, appropriations were allocated from the general budget to build residences for civil servants¹²⁹



İnşasında Uluslararası Deneyim”, in *Planlama*, no. 50, (Ankara: TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Yayını, 2010), 29-46.

¹²⁹ Hülya Baştüzel, “Türkiye’de Konut Politikası Finansman Tedariki ve Kullanma Metodolojisi Üzerine Optimal Bir Yaklaşım”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Economics, (Ankara: Gazi University, 1989).

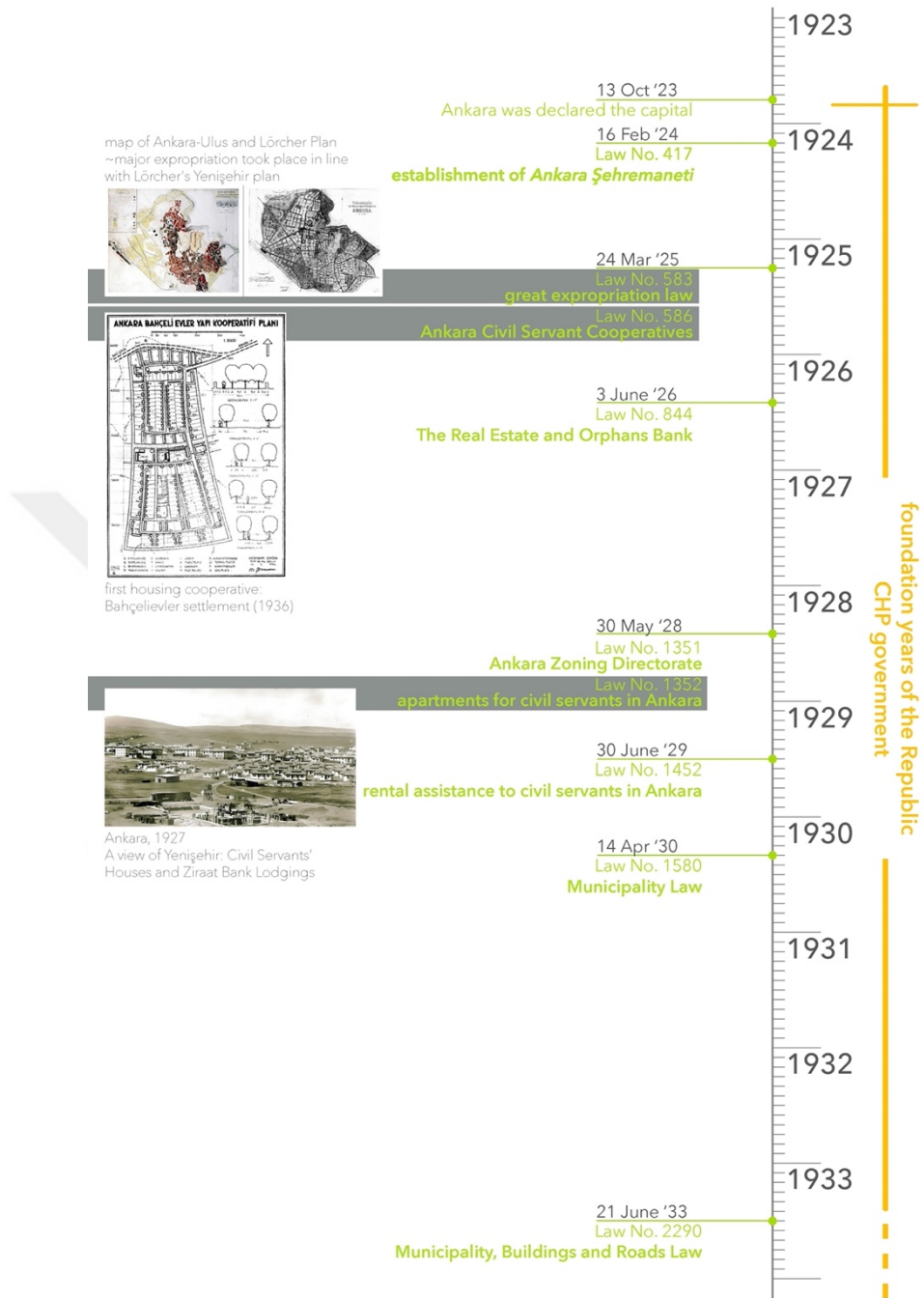


Figure 3-1. Legislation on housing from the first 10 years of the Republic¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Timeline prepared by the author. For images used in the timeline; top: Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2004), middle: İlhan Tekeli, Selim

These housing policies developed during and after the Second World War point out the change in the definition of the housing question in Turkey. While the legal regulations developed in the first half of the 1940s aimed to protect tenants from the extraordinary effects of war conditions, it is seen that in the second half of the decade, they began to move away from the civil servant-oriented definition of the housing question. The housing needs of lower-income groups working in the service sector or as workers was introduced in the agenda of the government policies. In order to respond to the increasing pace of urbanization due to migration in the post-war period, new housing financing alternatives came to the fore. Banking regulations made to encourage the use of savings in housing production and credit opportunities provided to workers and cooperatives were also indicators of the change in the social policies of the period. Housing policies developed during and after the war were: (Figure 3-2)

- National Protection Law No. 3780¹³¹, enacted in 1940, aiming to control rent increases under war conditions
- The Law No. 4626 on the Construction of Civil Servants' Residences, enacted in 1944¹³²
- Establishment of new institutions and reorganization of existing ones to finance housing construction, such as redetermination of the responsibilities

İlkin, *Bahçelievlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984), page, bottom:

https://arsivankara.atilim.edu.tr/DefaultContentViewer?relation_id=FTS_21193_123181_697_4&wsName=GAMOS&dfOpener=%5CTab%3DDLV&v=-721369162Default/#&cq=1927&cp=39.579&cr=1 (Accessed: 10 March 2024)

¹³¹ National Protection Law No. 3780, ("Milli Korunma Kanunu", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 4417, (26 January 1940).

¹³² Law No. 4626 on the Construction of Civil Servants' Residences, ("Memur Meskenleri İnşası Hakkında Kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 5763, (22 July 1944).

With this law, the Ministry of Public Works was authorized to take initiatives to build civil servant residences in places deemed necessary. Although this law was not enacted specifically for Ankara, a large part of the funds allocated to this administration were used for Ankara, and thus; Saraçoğlu District was built within the scope of this law. However, it is known that there are civil servants' residences built within the scope of this law, especially in the eastern provinces, as well. See: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 72-3.

of the Bank of Provinces in 1945¹³³, establishment of the Workers' Insurance Agency in 1945 with the Law No. 4792¹³⁴, enactment of Retirement Pension Law No. 5417¹³⁵, in 1949, and the name and authority change of Emlak Kredi Bank (Real Estate Credit Bank) with the Law No. 4947¹³⁶ in 1946

- With the Laws No. 5218¹³⁷ and 5228¹³⁸ enacted in 1948
- Law No. 5656¹³⁹ which increased the responsibilities of municipalities in housing provision¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Law No. 4759 on Bank of Provinces (“İller Bankası Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6039, (23 June 1945)

¹³⁴ Workers' Insurance Agency Law No. 4792, (“İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6058, (16 July 1945)

¹³⁵ Retirement Pension Law No. 5417, (“İhtiyarlık Sigortası Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 7227, (8 June 1949)

¹³⁶ Law No. 4947 on Turkey Emlak Kredi Bank, (“Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6340, (22 June 1946). At that time, these banks were working not only as sources of credits but also as institutions that provided technical support in housing construction. See: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 54-7.

¹³⁷ Law No. 5218 on granting the Ankara Municipality the authority to allocate and assign land to those who will build a certain part of its land as a residence, regardless of the provisions of Law No. 2490 and under certain conditions (“Ankara Belediyesine, arsa ve arazisinden belli bir kısmını mesken yapacaklara 2490 sayılı Kanun hükümlerine bağlı olmaksızın ve muayyen şartlarla tahsis ve temlik yetkisi verilmesi hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6938, (22 June 1948).

¹³⁸ Law No. 5228 on Promoting Housing Construction (“Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6950, (6 July 1948).

¹³⁹ The Law No. 5656 on Adding Some Articles To The Municipal Law (“Belediye kanununa bazı maddeler eklenmesine dair kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 7471. (31 March 1950)

¹⁴⁰ Law No. 1580 on Municipalities, which entered into force in 1930, included provisions encouraging municipalities to provide rental housing. Law No. 5656, which entered into force shortly before the change of political power, paved the way for municipalities to produce housing. For this purpose, municipalities were authorized to establish revolving funds and to participate in building partnerships already established or to be established. However, Turkey's lack of sufficient technological development in housing production and the limited financial resources of municipalities limited the fulfilment of the responsibilities imposed by this law. Selamsız (cheap houses) settlement in Bağlarbaşı, İstanbul could be cited as one of the few residential settlements realized thanks to this law. See: Mithat Arman Karasu, “Devletin Değişim Sürecinde Belediyelerin Konut Politikalarında Farklılaşan Rolü”, in *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 14, issue 3 (2009), 245-264; and, Burak Öztürk, “Selamsız Ucuz Evler Yerleşimi”, in *Betonart*, no.65 (2020), 18-28.

Although the laws enacted for the housing problem started to move away from the axis of the capital Ankara and its civil servant population, Ankara was still the primary application area of these laws, as the city where the effects of rapid urbanization were felt the most. In the 1932 Ankara master plan prepared by the German architect and city planner Hermann Jansen (1869-1945), the land designated for the new housing development of Yenışehir, in the southern part of the city became insufficient by the end of the 1940s. As the provision of housing fell far behind the migration rate, and due to the incapacity of the public sector to provide low-cost housing, the population migrating from rural areas had to cope with the housing problem on their own. They built their own houses with the know-how they had, and with the building materials they could find. Irregular squatter settlements, built illegally on the public or private lands by the , became widespread.¹⁴¹ Devoid of any sanitary infrastructure, they were considered unhealthy. In response to this problem of unauthorized building of “gecekondu” – squatter – neighborhoods, Law No. 5218 was enacted in 1948, giving the Ankara Municipality the authority to allocate existing public lands on the outskirts of the city to facilitate new housing projects, including cooperative housing, for the purpose of relocating squatter settlements. Although the Law No. 5228 on Promoting Housing Construction was subsequently enacted to provide credit support¹⁴², difficulties such as “the amnesty for squatter settlements”¹⁴³ and high construction costs prevented the progress of

¹⁴¹ One third of the city's population was living in these illegal settlements in the second half of the 1940s. See: Fehmi Yavuz, *Ankara'nın İmarı ve Şehirciliğimiz*, (Ankara: SBF Yayını, 1952), 72.

¹⁴² The Yenimahalle settlement in Ankara , which was realized thanks to these two laws, was an exceptional example with the alternative production model it offered to the squatter problem. For further reading: Merve Okkalı, “The Residential Neighborhood as a Spatial Habitus: The Lived Space of Yenimahalle, Ankara”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2019).

¹⁴³ Law No. 5431 on ‘the Demolition of Unlicensed Buildings and Amending the Municipality, Building and Roads Law No. 2290’, which was enacted one year after these laws, ordered the demolition of illegal buildings built in the last one year. However, the implementation of this demolition decision was not very precise and effective. Binali Tercan, “İmar Affi: 1948’den Bugüne İmar Afları”, in *Mimarlık*, no. 403, (September – October 2018), 20-30.

new housing initiatives by the public sector. As a result, the squatter settlements, which were built within the municipal borders, were legitimized for the first time.

The following year saw the introduction of the Retirement Pension Law No. 5417, which proposed the establishment of cooperative housing as a means of addressing the housing deficit experienced by the low-income urban population. This legislation aimed to support the construction of housing for workers by allowing up to 20% of retirement pensions, managed by the Workers' Insurance Agency, to be used for construction loans that covered half of the building expenses.¹⁴⁴ Initially, loans for Workers' Housing Funds were offered by the Workers' Insurance Agency. However, from 1952 until 1957, they were administered through the Emlak Kredi Bank, providing coverage for 80% of the total construction cost. As a result of the Retirement Pension Law, cooperative housing became one of the primary methods of housing construction in the post-war period.¹⁴⁵ Thus, a co-ownership system was established in which individuals owned cooperative shares rather than directly owning houses. Cooperative housing, which stood out as a solution to the housing crisis in major cities and the financial advantages it offered for financing construction projects, was also compatible with the rising social state understanding of the post-war period.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ *Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu Konut Kredisi Mevzuatı*, (Ankara: Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu, 1977), 10-6.

¹⁴⁵ The Retirement Pension Law facilitated the utilization of cooperatives, hitherto employed to address the housing needs of bureaucrats and civil servants, to address the housing needs of middle and low-income workers. The following are examples of cooperative housing projects built in Ankara in the 1950s: 14 Mayıs Building Cooperative (1951-59), Ucuz Subay Evleri Building Cooperative (1952-57), Ankara Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyeleri Blok Evler Building Cooperative (1954), Dikmen Building Cooperative (1954-57), Milli Kütüphaneciler Building Cooperative (1955-58), Otuz Evler Building Cooperative (1956-57), Meydanlar Müdürlüğü Workers' Building Cooperative (1956-60), Yeşiltepe Building Cooperative (1956-65), Mintrak Building Cooperative (1957-62), Fikir İşçileri Building Cooperative (1957-61), İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Çalışanları Building Cooperative (1957-62). Ali Cengizkan, "Discursive formations in Turkish residential architecture, Ankara: 1948-1962", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2000).

¹⁴⁶ Ruşen Keleş, *Türkiye'de Konut Kooperatifleri*, (Ankara: İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Sosyal Araştırma Dairesi, 1967), 43.

At this point, it would be appropriate to briefly mention the social welfare state understanding that came to the fore after the Second World War and its reflections in Turkey. The social welfare state was a response to the widespread devastation and social challenges brought on by the war. This approach emphasized the government's responsibility for the well-being of its citizens, including providing social assistance, healthcare, education, and other social services. Based on a similar understanding, the United Nations (UN) was established on October 24, 1945, in order to ensure the peace promoting security, cooperation, and development among nations. At the same time, the Marshall Plan, formally known as the European Recovery Program, was launched by the United States in 1948 to help rebuild Western European countries devastated by World War II. The Marshall Plan's economic assistance program complemented the UN's mission of promoting international cooperation and rebuilding war-damaged economies, leading to improved living standards and strengthened economies in the region. Although Turkey abstained from entering the war, it was one of the countries that benefited from the Marshall Plan. With the influence of both the changing management approach and the Plan, new concepts related to the welfare state, democracy, social security, workers' rights, cooperation and self-help began to become effective in Turkey. In order to highlight democratic values in labor relations, references were made to the social emphasis in the UN Constitution in the establishment of the Ministry of Labor in Turkey in 1945.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, the beginning of the multi-party era with the establishment of the Democratic Party (DP) in 1946 marked a significant shift in the political landscape of the country. It was considered a step towards the democratization in Turkey, which switched to a multi-party system with the establishment of the DP. The economic and demographic impacts of the Marshall

¹⁴⁷ The Law No. 4763 on the Establishment and Duties of the Ministry of Labor (“Çalışma Bakanlığı kuruluş ve görevleri hakkında kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 6042. (27 June 1945)

Plan would become more apparent during the DP government, which came to power in 1950.

Turkey's inclusion in the Marshall Plan was subject to certain conditions. It was anticipated that the financial and technical assistance would be utilized to enhance agricultural output, procure contemporary agricultural machinery, and modernize national transportation infrastructure. Hence, Turkey would be able to provide the food and raw materials that post-war Europe needed. With the effect of Turkey's inclusion in the Marshall Plan in 1948¹⁴⁸, an economic development based on agriculture-related industry was prioritized. Accelerating mechanization in agriculture caused a significant number of agricultural workers to become unemployed. While this rural population in search of employment migrated to cities that were undergoing industrialization, the major cities including Ankara encountered a significant housing crisis. The formation of informal settlements on the city periphery during this period drastically altered the spatial character of urban areas.¹⁴⁹ This demonstrates that the urbanization process in Turkey differed from that observed in the West. Rather than the transformation of cities into centers of attraction due to industrialization – as was the case in the West, the main source of urbanization in Turkey was the rural push.

¹⁴⁸ For a comprehensive read on the effects of the Marshall Plan and the United Nations programs on housing production in Turkey in the post-war period, see: Sıla Karataş Başoğlu, “Building Marshall Plan in Turkey: The Formation of Workers’ Housing Question, 1946-1962”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2015).

¹⁴⁹ Although they were not called squatter (*gecekondu*, in Turkish) at that time, this type of housing began to appear in Ankara from the 1930s. Despite the importance given to Ankara's construction, the housing needs of the city, which was rapidly receiving immigration, could not be fully met, especially for lower-income groups. After the war, the number of squatter houses continued to increase rapidly, not only in Ankara, but also in İstanbul and İzmir. İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 77-8.

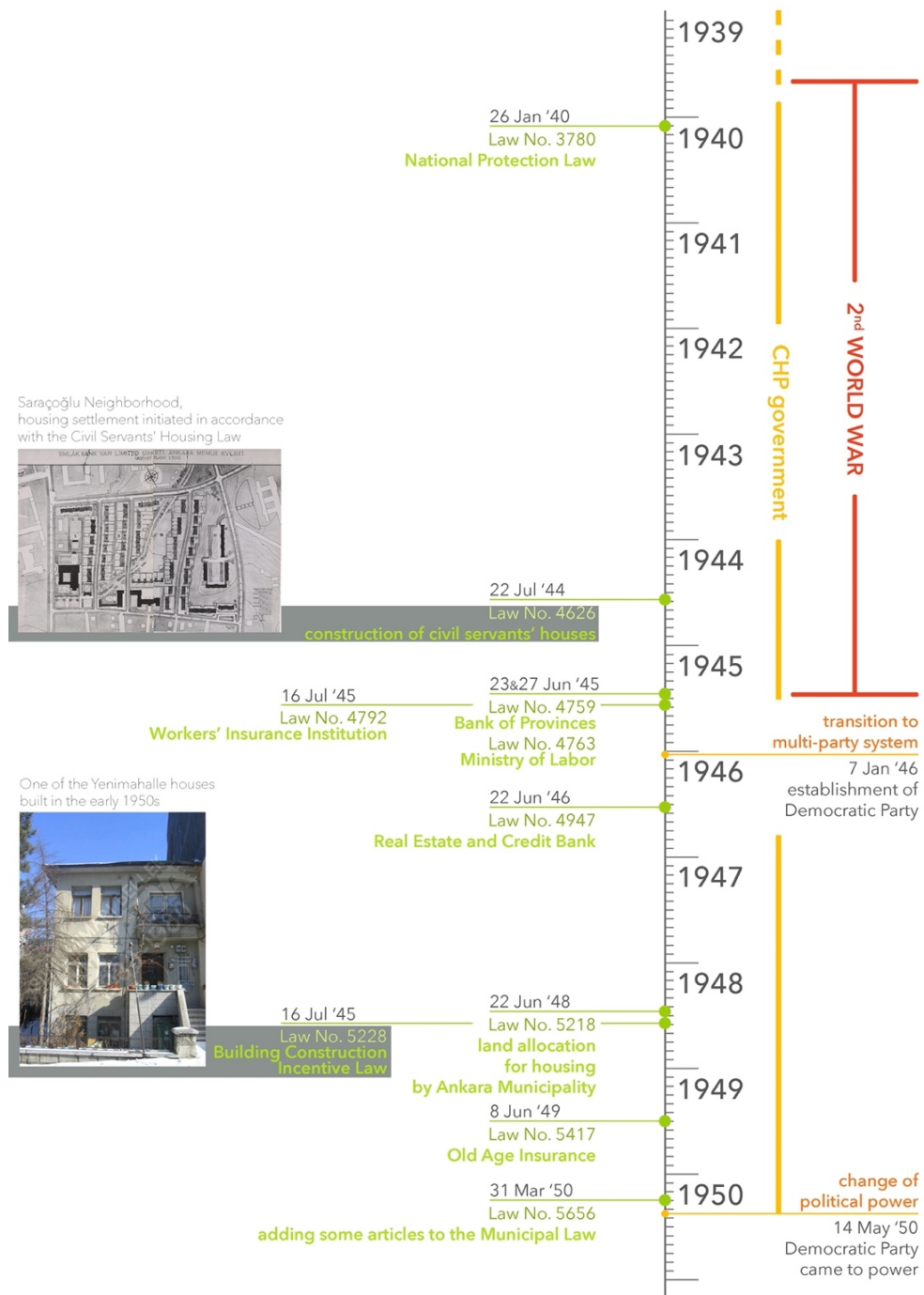


Figure 3-2. Laws regarding housing enacted between 1939 and 1950¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Timeline prepared by the author. For images used in the timeline; top:

The DP government, led by the prime minister Adnan Menderes, adopted a more liberal and market-oriented economic policy, which placed an emphasis on private enterprise, free-market principles, and economic development. Closed and conservative economic policies were replaced by a new understanding in which the economy was liberalized and foreign aid, foreign credit and foreign capital flows intensified.¹⁵¹ Between 1950 and 1960, when the DP government was in power, Turkey's integration with the world system accelerated. Both as part of this integration process and to seek solutions to the increasingly severe housing problem, numerous housing and urbanization experts were invited to Turkey during this period. A significant number of these experts came from the USA, such as Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) in 1951, Donald Monson in 1953, Charles Abrams in 1954 and Bernard Wagner in 1956, and they prepared reports on Turkey's housing problem at that time.¹⁵² Considering the housing and urbanization policies of the 10-year DP government, it can be seen that solutions are being sought especially for the housing problems that arose due to the increased immigration from rural areas. The laws regarding housing enacted during this period were as follows: (Figure 3-3)

https://saltresearch.org/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma99842944608301&context=L&vid=90GARANTI_INST:90SALT_VU1&lang=tr&search_scope=All_SALT&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=All&query=any,contains,saraçoğlu%20mahallesi&offset=0 (Accessed: 25 March 2024), bottom:

<https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/1086> (Accessed: 25 March 2024)

¹⁵¹ There were also populist concerns behind these economic policies. Behind these policies were the concerns of both gaining votes from the rural population and pleasing DP-supporting commercial and industrial middle class. Turkey's Economic Development Plan (1947), prepared before the DP government, was the beginning of the change in the role of the state in the economy. This plan basically prioritized free enterprise, agriculture over heavy industry, and highway construction over railways. Despite the legal regulations (such as Establishment of the Turkish Industrial Development Bank in 1950, Foreign Capital Encouragement laws – numbered 5821 and 6224 - enacted in 1951 and 1954, Petroleum Law of 1954) made in line with this plan, Turkey could not achieve its goal in attracting local and foreign investors. The state had to make 40-50% of the investments (such as the highway network, construction industry and agricultural industry). This situation disrupted the government's liberalization discourse and increased the control of the state in the following years. For further reading, see: Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 313-27.

¹⁵² For a detailed account of these reports, see: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 163-73.

- The Law No. 6188 on Encouraging Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings enacted in 1953¹⁵³
- Laws regarding the reorganization of rental prices: 1953 dated Law No. 6084¹⁵⁴, the Law No. 6444¹⁵⁵, and 1955 dated Law No. 6570¹⁵⁶
- The Law No. 6217, amending Article 26 of the Land Registry Law, enacted in 1954¹⁵⁷
- In 1954, the Law No. 6235¹⁵⁸ with which the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects was founded,

¹⁵³ The Law No. 6188 on Encouraging Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings (“Bina yapımını teşvik ve izinsiz yapılan binalar hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8470, (29 July 1953).

This law, which replaced Laws Nos. 5218 and 5228, included provisions for municipalities to give their land to those in need of housing, to encourage the construction of low-cost housing, and to prevent unauthorized construction.

¹⁵⁴ Law No. 6084 on the amendment of the National Protection Law (“Milli korunma kanununun tadili hakkında kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8406, (12 May 1953).

¹⁵⁵ Law No. 6444 on the amendment of the first article of the law no. 6084, which is about the amendment of the National Protection Law (“Milli korunma kanununun tadiline dair olan 6084 sayılı kanunun birinci maddesinin tadili hakkında kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8892, (30 December 1954).

¹⁵⁶ Law No. 6570 on Real Estate Rental (“Gayrimenkul Kiraları Hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9013, (27 May 1955).

After the rental prices were frozen by the National Protection Law in 1940, although rents were increased to a certain extent by Law No. 5020 in 1947, complete freedom was not provided. According to the law no. 6084, Article 30 of the National Protection Law, which prevented the free determination of rents, would be repealed in 1955. However, as a result of populist pressures, rents were brought under control with the Law No. 6570 enacted in 1955, without being subject to the National Protection Law. This law was implemented in all its articles for eight years. The implementation of the law was ended in 1963 by the decision of the Constitutional Court, established according to the Constitution of 1961. See: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 123-4.

¹⁵⁷ Until this law was enacted, the rule of building a single house on a single parcel was valid. In this case, the parcel owner was building a house on that parcel mostly for his/her own use. With the regulation made in the Land Registry Law, it was possible to establish an easement right to benefit from a floor or flat of a building located or to be built on a real estate. This regulation is the predecessor of the Condominium Law to be issued in 1966. The Law No. 6217 on Amendment of Article 26 of The Land Registration Law, (“Tapu Kanunu’nun 26. Maddesinin Değiştirilmesine Dair Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8603, (9 January 1954).

¹⁵⁸ Law No. 6235 on the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (“Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8625, (4 February 1954).

- In 1955, Turkish Iron and Steel Enterprise was established with the Law No. 6559¹⁵⁹
- The Zoning Law Numbered 6785 enacted in 1956¹⁶⁰, and in connection with this law, Expropriation Law No. 6830¹⁶¹ was enacted in the same year
- On May 9, 1958, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement was established with the Law No. 7116¹⁶²
- Laws No. 7341¹⁶³ and 7367¹⁶⁴ dated 1959, which expanded the expropriation powers of municipalities

¹⁵⁹ Law No. 6559 on Turkish Iron and Steel Enterprises (“Türkiye Demir ve Çelik İşletmeleri Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9011, (21 May 1955).

¹⁶⁰ Zoning Law No. 6785 (“İmar Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9359, (16 July 1956).

It replaced the Municipality, Building and Roads Law No. 2290, which had been regulating development and construction activities since 1933. Instead of the old law, which was a kind of instruction, the new one was developed as a more flexible law that allows each city to develop planning decisions appropriate to its own circumstances. Cevat Geray, “Yeni İmar Kanununun Bazı Özellikleri”, in *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, no. 11, no. 04, (1956), 135-150.

¹⁶¹ Expropriation Law No. 6830 (“İstmlak Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9402, (8 September 1956).

This law, which made it easier for municipalities to obtain land to implement zoning plans, and the Zoning Law No. 6785 were complementary to each other. After the enactment of these laws, the Menderes government launched major construction operations in İstanbul. The opening of Vatan and Millet Avenues and the expansion of main arteries such as Airport road and Ankara Road were carried out within the scope Menderes' construction program. During the 10-year DP government, various organizations - such as the 'İstanbul Development Plans Revision Commission', the 'İstanbul City Development Plan Permanent Commission' and the 'Board of Advisors' - were established for the development of İstanbul. Kumru Çılgın, “Milli Hicabı Aşmak Üzere: 1940-1960 Arası CHP ve DP Dönemi Kent Politikaları”, Unpublished Master Thesis in Urban Planning, (İstanbul: MSGSU, 2010), 173-5.

¹⁶² Law No. 7116 on the Establishment and Duties of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement (“İmar ve İskan Vekaleti Kuruluş ve Vazifeleri hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9906, (14 May 1958).

¹⁶³ Law No. 7341 on adding an article to the Zoning Law (“İmar Kanununa bir madde eklenmesi hakkında kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10232, (16 June 1959).

¹⁶⁴ Law No. 7367 on Lands and plots to be transferred from the treasury to municipalities (“Hazineden belediyelere devredilecek arazi ve arsalar hakkında kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10265, (29 July 1959).

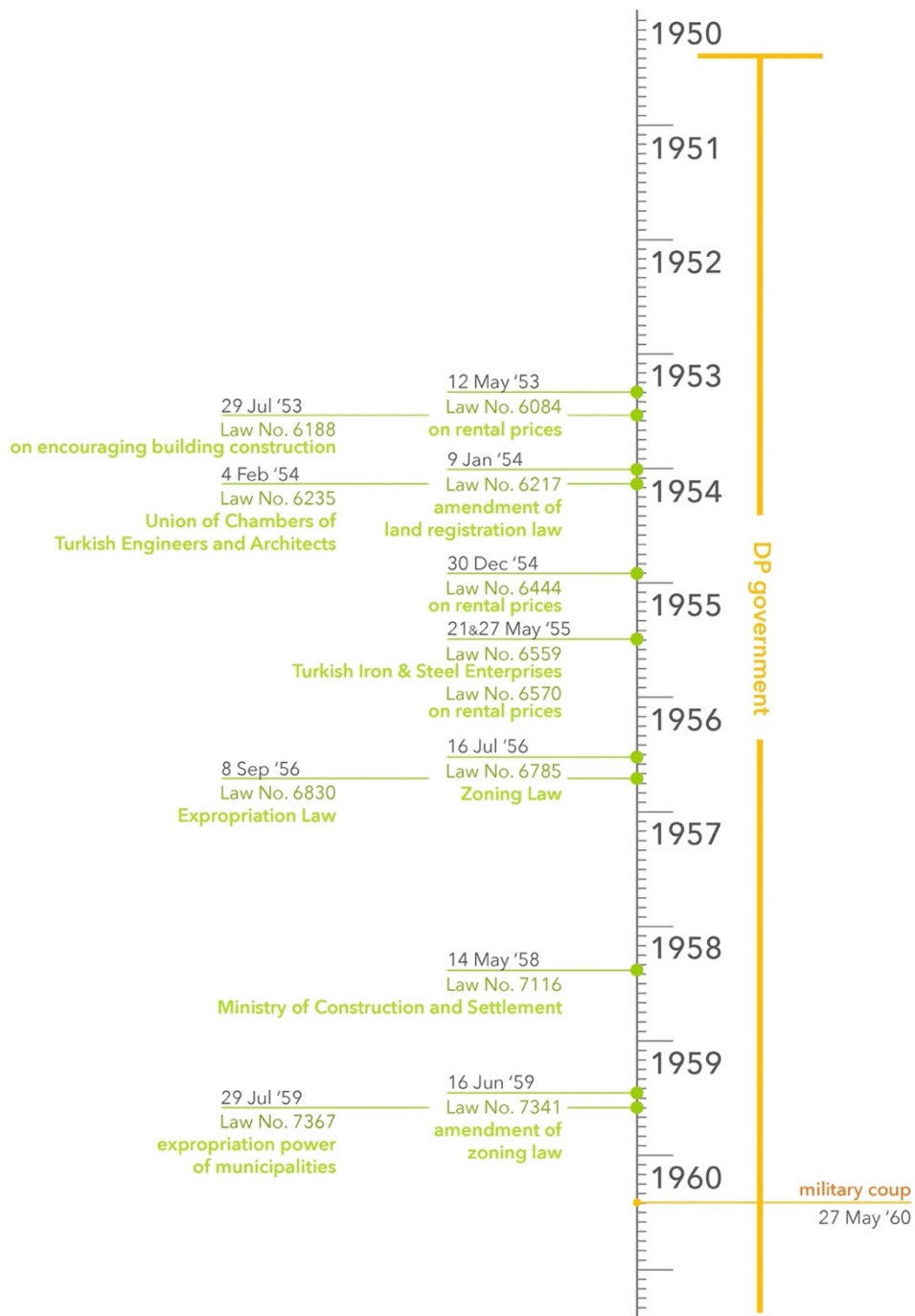


Figure 3-3. Legal regulations regarding housing between the years 1950 and 1960¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Timeline prepared by the author.

Among these legal regulations¹⁶⁶, the establishment of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement should be particularly emphasized. Urbanization and housing practices, which until then were considered primarily the duties of municipalities, became with the establishment of the ministry. Considering the duties of the Ministry, İlhan Tekeli draws attention to four fundamental changes in the state's approach to planning and housing issues in this period.¹⁶⁷ First, the ministry was established with a clear emphasis on research and investigation. Secondly, preparation of regional plans was accepted as a ministerial duty for the first time. This scale change in the planning approach was also a step taken to prevent inter-regional disparities in development. For this task, the General Directorate of Planning was established within the ministry. The third change was seen in the importance given to building materials. It became one of the duties of the state to identify, standardize and provide industrial investments for the production of building materials, especially for cheap housing construction. And as the last change, it was realized that the housing problem of the country could only be solved with a more comprehensive policy. In the words of the first Minister of Reconstruction and Settlement, Medeni Berk, as quoted by İlhan Tekeli:

The housing construction activity, which until now was limited to the financial and technical means of private individuals and some institutions and organizations, and was not considered a mass housing policy, has become mandatory to be accepted as a state policy.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Besides the legal regulations, institutions that provide housing loans also diversified in this period. Organizations such as the State Railways Workers' Retirement Fund, the Military Factories Retirement and Assistance Fund, and the Teachers' Bank provided loans with affordable payment terms to facilitate housing acquisition for their employees. ...Ali Mert Özsoy tezi

¹⁶⁷ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 117-8.

¹⁶⁸ The translation of the quote from Turkish to English belongs to the author. The original quote of Berk is: “Şimdiye kadar, hususi şahısların ve bazı müesseselerin ve teşekküllerin mali ve teknik imkanları ile mahdud olan ve toplu bir mesken politikası için alınmamış olan mesken yapma faaliyetini, bir hükümet politikası olarak kabul etmek mecburiyet haline gelmiştir.” See: Medeni Berk, “İmar ve İskan Vekaletinin Teşkilat ve Vazifesi”, *The 3rd Construction and Settlement Week: 21-23*

Thus, the General Directorate of Housing was established within the ministry to achieve the goal of addressing the housing question in a multifaceted manner. The duties of the directorate, which were comprehensively explained in Article 10 of the law, were as follows:¹⁶⁹

- a. To determine the country's situation and needs related to housing, to develop short and long-term housing programs¹⁷⁰ to meet the needs and to ensure their implementation,
- b. To carry out the necessary work for the construction of healthy, durable and low-cost housing in cities, towns and villages and to ensure its implementation,
- c. To make research and implement rehabilitation and evacuation solutions for housing communities in need of improvement,
- d. To take measures to enable homeless citizens to become homeowners or to shelter at affordable rents,
- e. To encourage mass housing construction attempts and to ensure cooperation between municipalities, departments and organizations that will carry out mass housing construction, to establish the type and status of building cooperatives by directing their work appropriately to their goals, and to supervise construction and administrative works,

May 1958, (Ankara: AUSBF Dergisi, 1959), 11; as quoted in: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 117.

¹⁶⁹ The Law No. 7116 on the Establishment of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement (“İmar ve İskan Vekaleti Kuruluş ve Vazifeleri Hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 9906, (14 May 1958)

¹⁷⁰ The General Directorate of Housing has developed four programs to solve the housing problem: 1. public housing and rental housing program (Houses complying with public housing standards built directly by the Ministry), 2. house building program with savings (facilitating selected beneficiaries to own houses with certain payment conditions), 3. Core housing (“nüve konut”, in Turkish) program (land, project and loan support for those who will build core housing in squatter prevention areas), 4. Land allocation and credit support to cooperatives in squatter prevention zones. See: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı – Teknik Araştırma ve Uygulama Genel Müdürlüğü, *Mesken İşleri Daire Başkanlığının Tarihçesi*, (Ankara: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2006).

f. To determine and regulate the conditions for allocating housing loans and various aids provided by credit institutions, more than half or all of whose capital belongs to the state or local governments, to houses to be built by real and legal persons in cities, towns and villages

Although through the creation of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement an important attempt was made to develop centralized and comprehensive policies towards the urbanization and housing problems¹⁷¹ in the late 1950s, most of the buildings added to the housing stock in this period were irregular and heterogeneous. Individual solutions developed for the housing problem could be evaluated as a result of the lack of “a will that can produce programs and projects on behalf of the entire system, has the authority to determine principles, standards and norms, and that is in communication with the international environment”.¹⁷² Although in the housing production of this period, housing settlements consisting of apartment buildings and houses with gardens - built by the Emlak Kredi Bank, İller Bank, İş Bank and various cooperatives in cooperation with municipalities - were seen, the main topic of discussion of the housing question was the squatter settlements. The majority of the population who migrated from rural areas and worked in the service and industry sectors in cities were not properly covered yet in the social regulations developed

¹⁷¹ This institutionalization at the level of the central government was represented in three major cities by the offices of metropolitan planning. Before these offices were established, city plans were obtained through three means: (1) plans prepared by the Bank of Provinces (in collaboration with the Ministry of Public Works), (2) plans obtained through tenders, and (3) planning competitions. Indeed, the establishment dates of the İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara Metropolitan Planning Offices correspond to the second half of the 1960s. The idea of establishing a planning office first came to the agenda for İstanbul, in order to regulate industrial establishments that settled without a plan. In mid 1960s, it was decided to establish metropolitan planning offices for İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara, under the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement. According to the decree of the Council of Ministers dated 20 July 1965 and numbered 6/4970, the metropolitan area planning offices were established first in İstanbul (1965), then in İzmir (1968) and thirdly in Ankara (1969). See: Özcan Altaban, “Ankara Metropolitan Alan Planlama Deneyimi: 1970-1984 – Nazım Plan Bürosunun Kuruluşu, Yapısı, Planlama Yaklaşımı ve Sorunlar”, in *Planlama*, issue: 4, (2002), 32-45.

¹⁷² İhsan Bilgin, “Konut Üretiminin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi”, Published Ph.D. Dissertation, (İstanbul: YÜMFED Yayınları, 1992), 117.

during this period.¹⁷³ With the influence of the DP government's policies encouraging immigration, the urbanization rate that had increased only from 24.2 percent to 25 percent between 1927 and 1950, reached 31.9 percent in 1960.¹⁷⁴

As mentioned so far, in spite of paradigmatic shifts under the influence of changing policies, the way in which the housing question was dealt with in the period 1923-1960 presents a certain continuity. Although the multi-party era is generally considered to have started in the 1950s, there were only two main policies that determined the state's approach to this question during this period. These seemingly opposing approaches could be seen as a continuation of each other because there was no fundamental difference in the way the housing problem was addressed. The first attempts undertaken for the provision of housing, were initially only valid for the civil servant population in Ankara, gradually shifted towards the lower income groups living in the major cities. Therefore, the problem required a different approach than if it were addressed for a single city and a specific community. It can be argued that the prominent features of this period include the search for singular solutions to singular problems, with local governments that were commissioned with their implementation. Although the laws enacted in this period seem to have given important roles to municipalities in solving housing and urbanization problems, it is seen that the determining actor in the implementations was the central government policies and the municipalities remained in the background. While efforts to institutionalize urbanization and housing commenced during this period, the development of more comprehensive solutions and addressing the housing problem as a state policy commenced after 1960. The place of the housing question in the

¹⁷³ The newly established Workers' Insurance Agency covered approximately 500 thousand workers within the scope of the Labor Law. However, in those years, the active labor force in Turkey was around 14.5 million. Cahit Talas, "Sosyal Güvenlik Meselemiz", in *İçtimai Siyaset Konferansları (Social Politics Conferences)*, issue.VII, (1955); quoted in: Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 161.

¹⁷⁴ Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 166.

new constitution developed after the 1960 coup and how it was addressed in this period, called the planned period, will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2 Development Plans After 1960: Change in Perspective on the Housing Question

The Democratic Party's rule was ended abruptly with the military coup of May 27, 1960. A committee composed of prominent academicians of law, history and political sciences, parliamentarians and representatives of workers' unions, was gathered to work on a new constitution, which was voted in a referendum held on 9 July 1961. With the 1961 Constitution, the fundamental rights of the citizens were recognized, and the state assumed new duties in line with the social welfare state understanding.

Among these, “the right to shelter” was introduced to the constitution as a fundamental right, and housing was considered one of the services that the state should provide to its citizens. Article 49 of the ‘Social and Economic Rights and Duties’ section of the 1961 Constitution, which defined Turkey as a social state, gives a clue about the state's new approach to the housing issue. According to this article, “the state is obliged to take measures to meet the housing needs of poor or low-income families in accordance with health conditions”.¹⁷⁵ In this sense, it can be argued that the right to housing was not only associated with the right to health, but was considered a minimum condition for health. Article 53 of the same section of the Constitution also supports this approach: “The state fulfills its duties to achieve the economic and social objectives specified in this section only to the extent of economic development and the adequacy of its financial resources.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ “The 1961 Constitution”, <https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/oncelki-anayasalar/1961-anayasasi/> (Accessed: 10 January 2024)

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

The fact that the financial resources of the country were limited necessitated a careful use of these resources. In Article 41 of the Constitution, it was emphasized that it is the duty of the state to “ensure economic, social and cultural development through democratic means; for this purpose, to increase national savings, to direct investments to the priorities required by the benefit of the society and to make plans”.¹⁷⁷ This planning task stipulated by the Constitution was given to the State Planning Organization, which was established with the Law No. 91 on September 30, 1960.¹⁷⁸ The duty of the State Planning Organization (SPO) was determined as preparing plans and programs for the use of resources for a more balanced development, monitoring their implementation process and presenting policies regarding problems that may arise. The five-year development plans prepared by the SPO were decisive in ensuring the utilization of resources in the right sectors and their fair distribution among regions. SPO, assisting the government in economic and social development issues, addressed housing problems among the issues related to social development. Especially in the five-year development plans, the housing issue was discussed in subsections. The housing problems of the period were identified and policies for solution were put forward. The Social Planning Department, one of the sub-units of the SPO, was responsible for solving housing-related problems and preparing sector programs.¹⁷⁹

In the first Five-Year Development Plan, prepared by the SPO and put into practice at the beginning of 1963, five main principles were determined for housing policies:

1. To ensure the construction of more houses without increasing housing investment expenditures by more than 20% of the total investment.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Law No. 91 on the Establishment of the State Planning Organization, (“Devlet Planlama Teşkilatının Kurulması Hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10621, (5 October 1960). Based on the Law No. 6223 dated 06 April 2011, the SPO was abolished by the Council of Ministers on 3 June 2011, and the Ministry of Development was established instead.

¹⁷⁹ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 121-2.

2. To ensure the construction of more houses and the accommodation of a larger population by reducing the construction of high-standing housing and choosing the cheapest type of public housing that does not pose health risks.
3. To reduce the impact of rent, especially on low-income families, by building low-rent public housing along with houses to be occupied by their owners.
4. To ensure that those who want to build a house acquire land at affordable prices, by taking preventive measures against all kinds of land buying and selling games.
5. Not demolishing squatters without finding housing for those living in them. First of all, to solve the problems of land ownership of these squatter areas, to improve their situation by completing public services, but to eliminate the very worst of them by satisfying the housing needs of the people living in them.¹⁸⁰

As emphasized by Ruşen Keleş, in this period, when the relationships between housing and urbanization problems and industrialization was established, the way the housing question was addressed changed. The housing question, which had been addressed as part of the city's construction problems in the previous period, began to be approached from the perspective of economy, development and society in this period.¹⁸¹ The solution to the prominent urbanization problems – such as migration from rural to urban areas and the lack of adequate job and housing opportunities for the masses coming to cities - was sought in increasing the pace of industrialization and development. It was believed that the development of an industrial sector would

¹⁸⁰ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Kalkınma Planı: Birinci Beş Yıl (1963-1967)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1963), p. 429.

https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Kalkinma_Plani_Birinci_Bes_Yillik_1963-1967.pdf (Accessed: 10 January 2024)

¹⁸¹ Ruşen Keleş, “Birinci ve İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planlarında Konut Politikası”, in *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, no.23, no.3, (1968), 1.

also address the housing and urbanization issues. Consequently, during this period, financial resources were primarily allocated to industrialization, while investments related to urbanization remained relatively underfunded. Due to the limited budget allocated to urbanization and housing, housing standards were lowered and house sizes were reduced in order to address the challenges posed by rapid urbanization and increasing housing needs.¹⁸² As a result of this search for a low-cost solution, Public Housing Standards were introduced.

Public Housing Standards, published as a decree of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement in the Official Gazette No. 11664 on March 24, 1964, were important in determining the direction of the state's housing incentives and investments. These standards, published in two parts, include mandatory standards in the first part, and advisory standards in the second part.¹⁸³ With these standards, two types of public housing were determined: minimum quality and medium quality. For the minimum quality of public housing, it was envisaged that the size would vary between 30.50 m² and 63 m², depending on the number of children in the family. For the moderate-quality public housing, the size was determined to be between 40 m² and 100 m², again, depending on the number of children. Apart from the size of the public house, the standards included rules regarding the building materials, as well. Housing loans and tax exemptions were provided to encourage the implementation of public housing standards, which were established in parallel with the housing principles of the First Five-Year Development Plan. It was also envisaged that priority would be

¹⁸² İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 109.

¹⁸³ The first section included rules regarding housing projects, installations, static calculations, building materials and project drawings. In the second part, structural systems, heat insulation and fire precautions were included. See: Public Housing Standards (“Halk Konut Standartları”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11664 (24 March 1964). These standards were expanded over time, largely under pressure from labor unions. The first of these changes, especially regarding housing sizes, was made with the Decision of the Council of Ministers dated 13 May 1966 and numbered 6/6450. As a result of continued pressure, another change was made in 1968 (as declared in 11 December 1968 dated Official Gazette, no. 12632) and the maximum housing size was increased to 120 m².

given to those who would build housing by cooperatives. It is interesting to note that the aim was to ensure the development of the country by directing the savings from the housing sector, which was not seen as a productive investment area, to the industry.¹⁸⁴

Other legal regulations regarding the issue of housing made before and during the First Five-Year Development Plan period are as follows:

- Law No. 122, dated 1960, amending the Expropriation Law¹⁸⁵
- Laws No. 180¹⁸⁶ and 186¹⁸⁷ regarding the housing problem of military members, enacted in 1960
- Military Cooperation Law No. 205, enacted in 1961¹⁸⁸
- Law No. 344 of 1961, which reorganized the Social Insurance Agency (SSK)¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Kalkınma Planı: Birinci Beş Yıl (1963-1967)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1963), 121.
https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Kalkinma_Plani_Birinci_Bes_Yillik_1963-1967.pdf (Accessed: 10 January 2024)

¹⁸⁵ With this law, changes were made in determining the value of real estate to be expropriated by municipalities. Law No. 122 on the repeal of Article 9 of the Expropriation Law No. 6830 and the amendment of Articles 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 30 and the addition of two temporary articles to this law, (6830 sayılı İstimlak Kanunu'nun 9uncu maddesinin kaldırılması ve 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19 ve 30. maddelerinin değiştirilmesi ve bu kanuna iki geçici madde eklenmesi hakkında Kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10651, (10 November 1960).

¹⁸⁶ Law No. 180 on the Construction of Residences for Retired Officers in accordance with Law No. 42, ("42 sayılı kanun gereğince emekli olan subaylara mesken yaptırılması hakkında Kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10694, (30 December 1960).

¹⁸⁷ Law No. 186 on Undertaking Temporary Works for the Coming Years for the Housing Needs of Officers, Military Officers and Petty Officers, ("Subay, askeri memur ve astsubayların lojman ihtiyacı için gelecek yıllara geçici yüklenmelere girişilmesi hakkında Kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10694, (30 December 1960).

¹⁸⁸ In accordance with Article 33 of the Law, certain powers – such as opening loans with a maturity of up to 20 years, establishing a Housing Preliminary Savings Fund, purchasing land, building houses on them and selling these houses to its members in cash or with a maturity of 20 years - were assigned to the board of directors in order to enable the members of the institution to become homeowners. Law No. 205 on Military Cooperation, ("Ordu Yardımlaşma Kanunu", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10702, (9 January 1961).

¹⁸⁹ Law No. 344 on the amendment of Article 20 of the Workers' Insurance Agency Law No. 4792, as amended by Law No. 5363, and the addition of a temporary article to this law, ("4792 Sayılı İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Kanununun 5363 Sayılı Kanunla değiştirilen 20. maddesinin tadili ve bu kanuna bir geçici madde eklenmesi hakkında kanun", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 10880, (14 August 1961).

- Law No. 327, dated 1963, on adding a temporary article to the Zoning Law No. 6785¹⁹⁰
- Legal regulations that encourage the production of housing that meets public housing standards: Law No. 198 of 1963¹⁹¹, Law No. 491 of 1964¹⁹², Council of Ministers decree no. 6/3827 of 1964¹⁹³

In parallel with the first five-year plan studies, the funds allocated to housing loans were increased, and the task of distributing loans, which until then had been carried out through the Emlak Kredi Bank, was transferred to the Social Insurance Agency (SSK). In order to qualify for a housing loan from SSK, applicants were required to demonstrate their ability to meet certain conditions. These included the formation of a housing cooperative, the absence of any co-owners with a separate residence, compliance with the standards set out in the public housing sector, and the absence of any partnership with another housing cooperative. With the change in the housing loan regulations made in 1973, the number of partners in cooperatives for which loans would be granted was increased from at least 7 to 30. In 1986, the opportunity to obtain loans from SSK was terminated, and the authority was transferred to the Mass Housing Administration. SSK was the most effective institution in providing loans to housing cooperatives during the 1960-1980 period.

See: Fehmi Yavuz, Ruşen Keleş, Cevat Geray, *Şehircilik: Sorunlar, Uygulama ve Politika*, (Ankara: A.U. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1973), 609.

Hülya Koç, “Kentsel Konut Sunumunda Giderek Unutulan Bir Organizasyon: Konut Yapı Kooperatifleri”, in *İdealkent*, issue 37, no. 13, (2022-23). <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/idealkent/issue/72507/1117042> (Accessed: 30 February 2024)

¹⁹⁰ Article 18 of the Zoning Law No. 6785 did not allow municipal services to be provided to unauthorized buildings. With this change - which is also considered as a zoning amnesty, it was decided to provide municipal services to areas that were identified as squatter areas and accepted by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement. This shows that even during the military intervention period, populist pressures were decisive in housing policies. Law No. 327 on adding a temporary article to the Zoning Law No. 6785, (“6785 sayılı İmar Kanununa geçici bir madde eklenmesi hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11503, (12 September 1963).

¹⁹¹ With the law, purchase and sales taxes were reduced for social housing properties. Real Estate Purchase Tax Law No. 198, (“Emlak Alım Vergisi Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11342, (23 February 1963).

¹⁹² With this law, it was decided that buildings that comply with public housing standards will be exempt from building tax for 10 years, and buildings of medium quality will be exempt from building tax for 5 years. Law No. 491 on amending the Building Tax Law No. 1837 and abolishing the 3rd and temporary 2nd articles of Law No. 206, (“1837 sayılı Bina Vergisi Kanununda değişiklik yapılmasına ve 206 sayılı kanunun 3. ve geçici 2. maddelerinin kaldırılmasına dair Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11751, (11 July 1964). Apart from this law, after 1960, other changes were made in the tax system under the influence of economic planning studies. Regulations were made in real estate taxes under the leadership of the Tax Reform Commission established during this period, but they did not significantly contribute to the solution of the housing problem. İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 141.

¹⁹³ According to this decision, it was envisaged that the houses to be built by the public sector at home and abroad would be of minimum quality houses and only those who would build houses of minimum quality would benefit from loan facilities. Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 6/3827 on Housing Loans and Housing Standards to be Made by the Public Sector, (“Konut Kredileri ile Kamu Sektöründe Yapılacak Konut Standartları Hakkında Karar”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11855, (13 November 1964).

- 1964 dated, the Law No. 499 to create an alternative source for housing finance¹⁹⁴
- Civil Servants Law No. 657, enacted in 1965¹⁹⁵

In addition to all these laws, it is necessary to also mention two important legal regulations that have greatly changed the macroform of cities and housing typology in the following years. The first of these was Flat Ownership Law No. 634, which came into force on June 23, 1965.¹⁹⁶ The increase in land value in cities eliminated the possibility of owning a house on a single parcel for the middle classes. Therefore, new housing production methods were searched to reduce the construction costs, so that the middle could afford housing in the city centers.¹⁹⁷ According to the Flat

¹⁹⁴ This law aimed to direct the savings of Turks working abroad to Turkey. In order to achieve this, it was proposed that the savings transferred to the housing loan fund at Emlak Kredi Bank be offered as housing loans with favorable conditions in the future, provided that they comply with public housing standards. See: Law No. 499 on opening housing and small art loans and lending money to workers working abroad, (“Yurt dışında çalışan işçilere konut ve küçük sanat kredisi açılması ve ödünç para verilmesi hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 11760, (22 July 1964). The law was amended in 1974 and 1979 to expand the credit facility and attract more foreign exchange into the country. See: Mehmet Sakar, “Türkiye’de Konut Kredilerinin Bankacılık Sistemi İçindeki Yeri”, in *Cumhuriyet’in 60. Yılında İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Yurduunun Hizmetinde*, (Ankara: İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1983), p. 336-7. <https://cevresehiriklimkutuphanesi.csb.gov.tr/ShowPDF/b6b2bde3-4ba2-4133-813a-8da160c4afd8> (Accessed: 15 February 2024)

¹⁹⁵ In regards to housing policies, articles 193 and 194 of this law are significant. Within the scope of these articles, it was decided to allocate a budget for the rental housing needs of civil servants where deemed necessary and to allocate housing to civil servants without rent. Civil Servants Law No. 657 (“Devlet Memurları Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 12056, (23 July 1965). This legislation was also significant in that it foresaw the establishment of MEYAK (Civil Servants Solidarity Organization), a body analogous to OYAK, with the objective of addressing the housing, rest and other social needs of civil servants. For MEYAK, which was scheduled to commence operations during the Third Five-Year Development Plan period, a compulsory contribution of 5% began to be deducted from civil servant salaries in 1970. Nevertheless, the implementation of MEYAK was unsuccessful, and the compulsory deductions from salaries were returned to the civil servants with a loss of value in 1982. See: Esin Örucü, *Sosyal Refah Devletinde Bir Sosyal Kamu Hizmeti Konut*, (İstanbul: İÜ Hukuk Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972), 99-100.

¹⁹⁶ Law No. 634 on Flat Ownership, (“Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 12038, (2 July 1965).

¹⁹⁷ In the first 30 years of the Republic, within the framework of the Turkish Civil Code, the smallest spatial unit that could be subject to independent ownership was land. More than one independent property right was not granted on a building located on one land. Firstly, with the Law No. 6217 enacted in 1954, the way for the fragmentation of property rights was paved. According to the joint

Ownership Law, it was inferred that independent sections such as floors, flats and warehouses that can be used on their own would be subject to independent ownership, a separate page would be opened for each independent section in the condominium registry, and the land share would be tied to the independent section.¹⁹⁸

In the period during which the housing problem assumed greater significance, it became evident that the introduction of the Flat Ownership Law enhanced the entry of new actors in the housing market. Build-and-sell housing production, which emerged with the implementation of Law No. 6217 in 1954, accelerated further with the Flat Ownership Law. Build-and-sell, as a housing entrepreneurship model based on selling houses built on land acquired in return for flats, has had significant impacts on the housing sector. These effects can be listed as follows:

- Builders who advocated for increased construction rights contributed to the rise in building and settlement density.
- Since the build-and-sell model aimed to maximize profit in the shortest possible time, significant deficiencies were caused in the infrastructure and social service equipment of buildings constructed in this way. These brought about problems regarding the qualitative aspects of housing.
- The build-and-sell model could not be an optimal solution to the housing problem due to its limitations. One of these was the construction of a limited number of houses at high costs per unit, which resulted in the production of houses for upper income groups.¹⁹⁹
- The build-and-sell model also led to a waste of resources by demolishing single-storey buildings before their lifespan were completed, with the aim to

property rights defined by this regulation, the validity of common ownership agreements regarding the independent use of different parts of a building was limited to 10 years. In order to solve the legal problems caused by this law, which was insufficient to define property rights of building sections, The Flat Ownership Law was developed. For legal practice before the Flat Ownership Law: Law No. 6217 on Amendment of Article 26 of The Land Registration Law, (“Tapu Kanununun 26. Maddesinin Değiştirilmesine Dair Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 8603, (9 January 1954).

¹⁹⁸ Murat Balamir, “Kat Mülkiyeti ve Kentleşmemiz”, in *METU JFA*, vol. 1, issue 2, (1975), 300.

¹⁹⁹ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Kentleşme Yazıları*, (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982), 252-5.

accelerate the construction of multi-storey high-rise apartment buildings in their place. This also brought about the aggravation of some environmental problems, such as pollution in residential areas, due to increased density.²⁰⁰

With the enactment of the Flat Ownership Law and the development of reinforced concrete construction techniques, the share of apartment buildings in housing production increased in this period. As İlhan Tekeli stated, according to the building permits given by the municipalities, the share of apartment buildings in housing production in İstanbul and Ankara increased from 67%, and 54% respectively in 1954, to 89%, and 93% in 1965.²⁰¹ In this context, it can be posited that the predominant housing production model of the preceding period, characterized by the construction of individual dwellings, was superseded by a build-and-sell model and multi-storey apartment buildings.

However, it is important to note that the problem of squatter settlements continued to grow in this period,²⁰² In spite of the fact that the First Five-Year Development Plan, prepared for the period between 1963-1967, envisaged the evacuation of a total squatter area of 18,000 squatters, of which 3,600 would be evacuated annually. At the same time, it was aimed to produce around 80,000 units of social housing during this plan period in order to prevent the formation of squatters, and to meet the housing need arising from the continuing population increase and urbanization. In parallel with the First Five-Year Development Plan, the Squatter Law No. 775 was enacted on July 20, 1966, in order to rehabilitate and evacuate existing squatters and

²⁰⁰ Ruşen Keleş, *Kentleşme Politikası*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2010), 434-5.

²⁰¹ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 151.

²⁰² The proportion of the urban population residing in squatter settlements increased from 16.4% in 1960 to 22.9% in 1965. Binali Tercan, “1948’den Bugüne İmar Afları”, in *Mimarlık*, no. 403, (September – October 2018), 20-30.

prevent the construction of new ones.²⁰³ With this law, separate zoning rules for squatters required by the dual zoning structure of cities was drawn.²⁰⁴ Although the law did not fully accept the legitimacy of squatters, it did guarantee the right to housing of those residing in squatter areas. This legislation, which primarily delineated the concept of ‘squatter’ (*gecekondu*), also determined the conditions for the evacuation and rehabilitation of the houses comprised in this definition. In accordance with the legal definition of squatter and the conditions for rehabilitation and evacuation, a series of zoning and planning studies was conducted throughout the country. The existing squatter areas in the whole country were identified in the following years. A total of 408,375 squatters were identified in 1,052 squatter areas to be rehabilitated or evacuated across 55 provinces and 185 municipalities. It was deemed necessary to evacuate 60,000 squatter houses in these areas. By the end of 1972, 11 squatter prevention zones were established within the borders of Ankara metropolitan area, 9 in İstanbul, 6 in İzmir, and 3 each in Bursa and Adana. One or two prevention zones were defined in other provinces. Between 1966 and 1972, 30.05% of the total cost incurred for the expropriation needed for creating squatter prevention zones, was allocated to Ankara, 19.87% to İstanbul, 3.96% to Adana, and 3.94% to İzmir. The remaining 42.18% was distributed among the remaining 63 provinces.²⁰⁵ With the Squatter Prevention Law, both the state and municipalities, became responsible of building housing for the first time. As stated in Article 31 of the law, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement and, with the permission of this ministry, municipalities were authorized to build social housing, core housing and temporary guest housing for the purpose of preventing the formation of new squatters areas and evacuating the existing areas. In addition to the public and core houses (“nüve konut”, in Turkish) constructed by the General Directorate of

²⁰³ Squatter Prevention Law No. 775, (“Gecekondu Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 12362, (30 July 1966)

²⁰⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 246.

²⁰⁵ Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı – Teknik Araştırma ve Uygulama Genel Müdürlüğü, *Mesken İşleri Daire Başkanlığının Tarihçesi*, (Ankara: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2006), 33-4.

Housing, Law No. 775 also provided land, project, and loan assistance to individuals and cooperatives who would build their own houses. By the end of 1972, 250 housing cooperatives were benefiting from the allocation of land to cooperatives in squatter prevention zones, which commenced in 1969. 31.56% of the lands allocated to housing cooperatives from squatter prevention zones were in Ankara. 14.74% of the allocated lands were in Zonguldak, and 13.28% were in İstanbul. Thus, the land aid provided from the squatter prevention zones of these three provinces constituted 59.58% of the total land aid provided between 1969-1972.²⁰⁶ It is possible to say that there was a similar geographical distribution in the number of housing cooperatives benefiting from credit support. In addition, type project studies were carried out by the General Directorate of Housing to reduce the project costs of individuals and housing cooperatives. Housing types that were developed according to public housing standards were sent as ready-made project sets (including architecture, structure, electricity, plumbing, application projects) to provincial and district municipalities to meet the need for low-cost housing in cities. (Figure 3-4)

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 44.

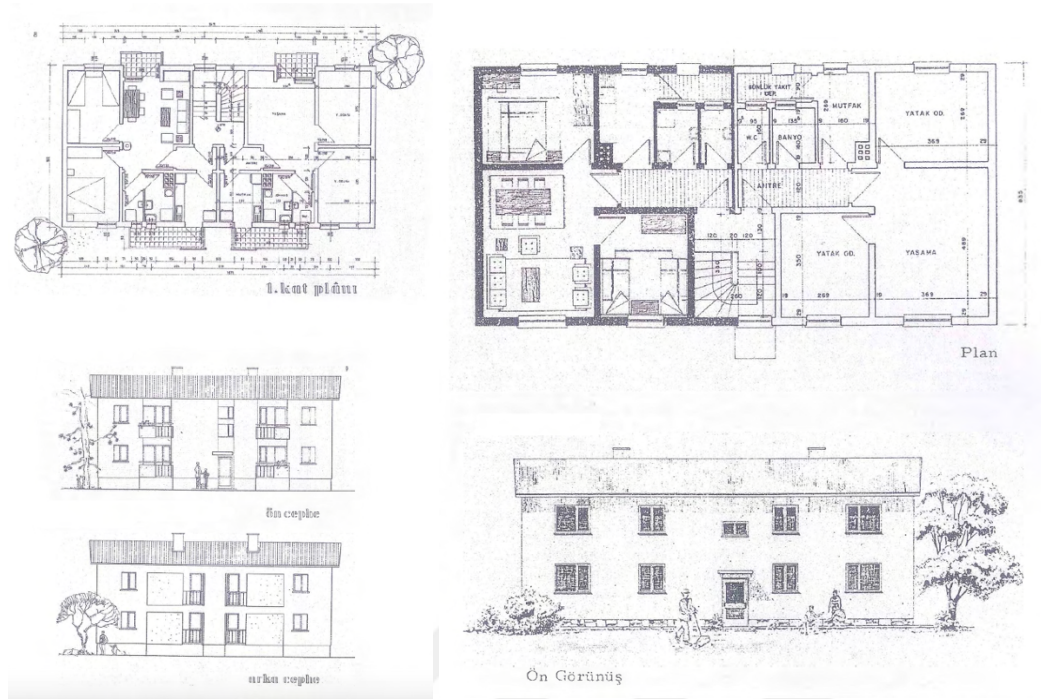


Figure 3-4. Plan and elevation drawings of type project examples produced by the General Directorate of Housing, Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement²⁰⁷

The content and implementation of Law No. 775 demonstrated that, despite the attempt to address the problem of squatters as a social policy matter, populist practices prevailed. Two of the three principal approaches (evacuation, rehabilitation, and prevention) proposed by the law were not implemented as intended. Most of the evacuation in order to avoid victimizing the current squatter dwellers. On the other hand, the lack of sufficient financial resources for the production of new social housing precluded the prevention approach. As a result, squatter settlements continued to grow after 1966, benefiting from municipal services.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 29-31.

After the military intervention and the subsequent suspension of democracy, democratic normalization took place only with the 1965 general elections. The Justice Party (AP, ‘Adalet Partisi’ in Turkish), considered as the successor of the Democratic Party, came to power alone as a result of these elections. The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972) was prepared during this period. Compared to the first plan, it can be seen that the governmental policies related to urbanization changed. Rather than being regarded as a problem, rapid urbanization was perceived as a catalyst for economic and social advancement. The objective was to facilitate urbanization through industrialization. In this regard, it was emphasized that the growth of big cities should not be prevented, on the contrary, their development should be supported. Although the development of major urban centers was encouraged, equal importance was attributed to the balanced inter-regional development and urbanization of all regions. The plan addressed urbanization and housing issues under the title of "Settlement and Housing of the Society in the Country". These issues were discussed in relation to the city, environment, and regional relations.²⁰⁸ In this regard, it could be said that the housing issue, which was addressed in terms of financial aspects in the First Plan under the heading of "Private Investments," was addressed in a more comprehensive manner in the Second Plan under a separate title.

The proposed policies regarding urbanization and housing problems in the Second Five-Year Development Plan can be summarized as follows:

1. The implementation of tax measures that prevent high-income groups from investing in high-standing housing and direct those with financial means to productive investment areas (In this regard, tax and credit policies should be

²⁰⁸ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Kalkınma Planı: İkinci Beş Yıl (1968-1972)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1968), 263. <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Ikinci-Bes-Kalkinma-Plani-1968-1972.pdf> (Accessed: 10 February 2024)

- rearranged to encourage housing construction in accordance with public housing standards, and also the construction of mass housing²⁰⁹),
2. To place housing cooperatives under the supervision of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement with the introduction of new legislation,
 3. To review the draft Housing Law following the Second Plan principles and enactment of the law in a short time,
 4. Amending the Squatter Prevention Law to eliminate contradictions with the draft Housing Law,
 5. Avoiding the sale of publicly owned lands, providing reserved lands in cities' development areas, and taxing the increases in land and housing values that occurs as a result of public investments, and the establishment of the Land Office to carry out these duties,
 6. Establishment of the Building Research Institute.²¹⁰

The first policy that could be achieved among these goals was the establishment of the Land Office. The Land Office General Directorate was established under the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement with the Law No. 1164 enacted in 1969.²¹¹ The duties of the Office were determined in the law as follows:

1. The acquisition of land from locations that are conducive to the construction of residential, industrial and tourist facilities,
2. To carry out the necessary mapping and infrastructure studies according to the intended use of the purchased lands, to make these places ready for construction,

²⁰⁹ Thus, the concept of 'mass housing' entered the agenda of Turkey's housing policies.

²¹⁰ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Kalkınma Planı: İkinci Beş Yıl (1968-1972)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1968), 284-7. https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Ikinci_Bes_Kalkinma_Plani-1968-1972.pdf (Accessed: 10 February 2024)

²¹¹ Law No. 1164 on Land Office, ("Arsa Ofisi Kanunu", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 13195, (10 May 1969).

3. Arranging, selling, renting and granting easement rights when necessary to prevent excessive price increases of land,
4. To take over the lands held by the treasury and municipalities when necessary,
5. Supervising the construction of housing or industrial and tourism facilities on lands given to individuals by selling, renting or easement rights.²¹²

The Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement initiated a further significant contribution to the housing issue via the Land Office, following the implementation of the Squatter Law. The objective was to address the issue of squatters, which could not be resolved with the provision of inexpensive land by the Land Office. However, the Office's lack of financial resources prevented it from fulfilling its obligations in an effective manner. As will be mentioned later, the period when the Land Office provided the largest amount of land for the production of housing was the end of the 1970s.²¹³

Another law enacted in line with the principles drawn in the Second Five-Year Development Plan was the Cooperatives Law No. 1163.²¹⁴ The enactment of this legislation, which replaced Article 18 of the Commercial Law regarding cooperatives, introduced a number of significant innovations pertaining to the organizational structure of cooperatives. Firstly, in addition to individuals, public legal entities, special administrations, municipalities and associations were also

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Between 1971 and 1980, the Land Office contributed to the provision of land for different uses by expropriating it or taking it over from the treasury. The limited financial resources of the Office caused the amount of land provided to remain at 10,074.4 ha. The majority of these lands were allocated to industry. The share allocated to housing was 3.22 ha. Most of these lands were provided through resource transfers in the late 1970s - within the scope of the New Settlements project of the then Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. See: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 258-9.

²¹⁴ Cooperatives Law No. 1163, (“Kooperatifler Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 13195, (10 May 1969).

afforded the opportunity to become partners in cooperatives. The second significant advancement was to allow cooperatives to have higher organizations. Thus, cooperatives were allowed to establish cooperative unions, cooperative central unions (“kooperatif merkez birlikleri”, in Turkish), and the Turkish national cooperative union.²¹⁵ Although this legislation was initially intended for village development cooperatives, in subsequent years it proved to be an effective catalyst for the rapid growth of housing cooperatives, such as for the Batıkent project. Other laws enacted during this period regarding urbanization and housing were aimed at the tax regulations specified in the Second Five-Year Development Plan. In order to limit high-standing housing construction and prevent speculation, Financing Tax Law No. 1318 and Real Estate Tax Law No. 1319 were enacted in 1970.²¹⁶ However, the implementation of these laws was delayed, and during this period, the principles regarding tax measures specified in the Second Plan were moved away. In addition to these legal regulations, Law No. 1605²¹⁷ - which did not directly address the housing problem but had an indirect impact on it - is one of the pieces of legislation that should be reviewed within this period. Articles 7 and 8 of the law set forth that principles such as the settlement order, the use of buildings, construction conditions, and the land-use control along the coasts and areas outside the borders of adjacent areas would be bound to a regulation to be prepared by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement. This regulation entered into force on January 18, 1975.²¹⁸ The purpose of the regulation was to establish principles, rules of practice and procedures regarding the use of lands, division and unification, structuring conditions and the establishment of collective settlements that were not explicitly

²¹⁵ Ziya Gökalp Mülayim, *Genel ve Tarımsal Kooperatifçilik*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975), 93-4.

²¹⁶ Financing Tax Law No. 1318, (“Finansman Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 13575, (10 August 1970), and Real Estate Tax Law No. 1319, (“Emlak Vergisi Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 13576, (11 August 1970)

²¹⁷ Law No. 1605 on Making Some Changes to the Zoning Law No. 6785, (“6785 sayılı İmar Kanunu’nda Bazı Değişiklikler Yapılması Hakkında Kanun”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 14251, (20 July 1972).

²¹⁸ Regulation on Additional Articles 7 and 8 of the Zoning Law , (“İmar Kanununun Ek 7 ve 8 inci Maddelerine İlişkin Yönetmelik”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 15122, (18 January 1975).

mentioned in the law, in coastal areas and in areas outside the municipality and adjacent areas of 47 provinces. This regulation marks the inaugural inclusion of the concept of ‘collective settlement’ within the zoning legislation. Furthermore, the third article of the regulation addressed the issue of planning conditions for these settlements.²¹⁹

The Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977) commenced with an evaluation of the preceding plan periods and legal regulations made during these periods. It was stated that during the first and second development plan periods, the rate of urbanization gradually increased, causing problems such as lack of infrastructure in cities and uncontrolled rise in land prices. Although the Flat Ownership Law was intended to solve the housing problem by legalizing multi-storey construction on the same plot of land, it increased the commodity value of the plots and the build-and-sell phenomenon became widespread. Furthermore, the Plan revealed that the General Directorate of the Land Office, which was established in the previous period with the objective of preventing land speculation, was unable to fulfill its intended role due to the lack of financial resources. Mass housing production and the organization of housing producers into cooperatives, which were not sufficiently encouraged in the previous periods, were among the policy goals of this period, as well.²²⁰ Despite the comprehensive evaluation and determinations, the policy principles of the Third Development Plan were not very different from the previous ones. The housing policies proposed in this plan were as follows:²²¹

²¹⁹ With the regulation, the area to be covered by the local zoning plan to be made in places outside the adjacent area was determined as a minimum of 15 hectares. The upper limit on the size of this area was not established. This meant that local zoning plan decisions for lands outside the adjacent area were left to the discretion of entrepreneurs and land owners, regardless of how large these areas were. See: Özcan Altaban, “Büyük Kentler Dışında Toplu Yerleşme Girişimleri ve Planlama Sorunları”, in *Mimarlık*, no. 156, (1987/8), 37-41.

²²⁰ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Yeni Strateji ve Kalkınma Planı: Üçüncü Beş Yıl (1973-1977)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1973), 828-35. https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Yeni-Strateji-ve-Kalkinma-Plani_Ucuncu-Bes-Yil_1973_1977.pdf (Accessed: 20 February 2024)

²²¹ Ibid., 841.

1. Encouraging the construction of property housing²²² to meet the increasing housing need, as well as the construction of rental housing for low-income groups,
2. The allocation of land, where the minimum infrastructure requirements are met and subdivided by the public, to groups who lack the economic power to purchase property or rental housing,
3. Determining mass housing standards, supporting housing cooperatives and private enterprises that will operate accordingly,
4. Collection of housing loan funds of various organizations and funds that individuals can allocate for housing in a single source,
5. Reconsidering the draft Housing Law according to these principles and measures,
6. The removal of housing cooperatives from the Ministry of Commerce and the transfer of authority and responsibility to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement; enactment of the Housing Cooperatives Law.

The 1971 Memorandum and the short-lived governments that followed disrupted the enactment of the legal regulations that were needed in the field of urbanization and housing, as in other areas. One of the few legal regulations implemented in this plan period was the Land and Agricultural Reform Law No. 1757.²²³ This legal regulation introduced the requirement for an urban use permit in order to prevent the loss of productive agricultural lands due to urban development. In addition to that, during this period, the ‘Social Insurance Agency for Tradesmen, Craftsmen and Other Self-Employed’ (BAĞ-KUR) was included among the institutions offering housing loans.

²²² The term ‘property housing’ was used to refer to the concept of ‘mülk konut’ in Turkish. The Third Development Plan defined the production of housing for sale as well as for rent among the duties of the state.

²²³ Land and Agricultural Reform Law No. 1757, (“Toprak ve Tarım Reformu Kanunu”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 14599, (19 July 1973).

BAĞ-KUR, which was established in 1971²²⁴, started to provide loans to its partners who were members of housing cooperatives in 1975.²²⁵ The diversification of social security institutions that provided housing loans, in addition to the Emlak Kredi Bank, necessitated the coordination of housing loans provided from public resources. For this purpose, the Public Housing Loans Regulation and Coordination Board was established with the Decision numbered 7/9715 of the Council of Ministers.²²⁶ Apart from these, the only legislation pertaining to the squatter problem during this plan period was Law No. 1990, dated 6 May 1976. Despite the intention of Law No. 775 to prevent the construction of squatters, this objective was not achieved. In accordance with the provisions of Law No. 1990, a kind of amnesty was introduced for the squatters constructed prior to 1 March 1976.²²⁷

Although the first three plans followed each other without interruption, the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983) was implemented with a one-year delay due to the economic crisis and political instability in the country. In this plan, the evaluations regarding urbanization and housing issues did not differ greatly from those in the first three plans. However, unlike previous plans, the role of local governments was emphasized in the proposed policies. This emphasis is related to the fact that the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan was prepared during the period when the social democratic People's Republican Party (CHP), which had the majority of municipalities including metropolitan cities, was in power.²²⁸ The

²²⁴ The Law No. 1479 on the Social Insurance Agency for Tradesmen, Craftsmen and Self-Employed Workers (Esnaf ve Sanatkârlar ve Diğer Bağımsız Çalışanlar Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu Kanunu", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 13956, (14 September 1971).

²²⁵ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 267.

²²⁶ Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 7/9715 on Regulation Covering the Working, Powers and Decision-Making Order of the Public Housing Loans Regulation and Coordination Board, ("Kamu Konut Kredileri Düzenleme ve Koordinasyon Kurulunun Çalışma, Yetki ve Karar Alma Düzenini Kapsayan Yönetmelik", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 15296, (15 July 1975).

²²⁷ The Law No. 1990 on Making Certain Amendments to the Squatter Law, ("Gecekondu Kanununda Bazı Değişiklikler Yapılması Hakkında Kanun, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 15588, (15 May 1976).

²²⁸ The social democratic party CHP, chaired by Bülent Ecevit, completed the 1973 general elections as the first party. However, CHP's share of the vote was not enough to bring it to power on its own,

reflection of the mass housing initiatives of the social democratic municipalities that have been in office since 1973, especially in İzmit and Ankara, could be seen in the CHP's government program and the development plan prepared during this period.²²⁹ The following policies regarding urbanization and housing were proposed in the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan:²³⁰

1. Allocating public lands in accordance with development plans, to public credit institutions and local government units that will be involved in housing production, for the construction of social housing,
2. To prioritize urban land production in urban development areas to meet long-term housing needs; to make the necessary institutional and legal arrangements to meet the growing demand for housing and to ensure that families have affordable, quality and healthy housing,
3. Considering the scale of the need, it is not possible to create a healthy residential environment with the traditional method of individual production. Especially in cities, there is a need for technologies and organizations that

and the coalition government it formed dissolved shortly afterwards. Of the declaration prepared by the CHP before the 1973 elections (*Ak Günlere Bildirgesi*), in the section on settlements, the satellite cities that needed to be planned to prevent irregular urbanization and the role of large building cooperatives and cooperative unions in realizing these were mentioned. It is important to note that cooperative unions were mentioned for the first time in this declaration. CHP, which also came first in the 1977 general elections, managed to form a government on 5 January 1978 with the support of independent deputies. See: *Ak Günlere: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi 1973 Seçim Bildirgesi*, 1973. <https://acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr/server/api/core/bitstreams/d378af40-4060-4b42-b81e-0d691a73474a/content> (Accessed: 20 January 2022)

²²⁹ In the declaration prepared by the CHP for the 1977 general elections, it was mentioned that housing production could be accelerated with the cooperation of the central government, municipalities and cooperatives. The aim was to provide special facilities for cooperatives leading the development of new settlements and to promote cooperation in housing production through the creation of large building cooperatives, cooperative unions and higher organizations. This emphasis on municipal and cooperative cooperation in housing production was also reflected in the government program. In the CHP government, which was established on January 5, 1978, the Ministry of Local Governments was included for the first time. See: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi 1977 Seçim Bildirgesi*, 1977.

²³⁰ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı (1979-1983)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1979), 476-7. https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Dorduncu-Bes-Yillik-Kalkinma-Plani_1979_1983.pdf (Accessed: 25 February 2024)

allow the production of many houses at once, together with their social and technical infrastructure. For this purpose, measures will be taken to direct public loans to mass housing.

4. Low-income groups will be supported through housing credit to acquire housing through cooperatives. Local governments will be encouraged to prioritize mass housing cooperatives.

5. Increasing the funds allocated to housing by the social security institutions and public assistance organizations,

6. Developing urban and social infrastructure in squatter areas and raising the standards of squatters with the support of local governments and relevant public institutions,

7. Reorganization of the public housing policy as a policy of accommodating public officials working primarily in developing regions.

The most important legal regulation that was carried out in line with these principles was the Decree No. 7/17491 dated the 17th of May 1979.²³¹ The main purpose of the "Policies for Urbanization and Housing Problem through the Arrangement of New Urban Settlement Areas" determined by this decree was to spread the development in a balanced way at the country level and to keep the population at its source. It was aimed to solve the housing problem by identifying large settlement areas and building mass housing in these areas. The decree covered a broad range of policies, from the determination of residential areas to land production, land allocation, housing supply methods and institutions, housing construction rules, housing ownership, credit resources, public transport links to residential areas and social facilities in residential areas. While these policies were being developed, an inventory of public funds and land provision opportunities was made and it was

²³¹ Decree No. 7/17491 on Policies for Urbanization and Housing Problem through the Arrangement of New Urban Settlement Areas ("Yeni Kentsel Yerleşim Alanları Düzenlenmesi Yoluyla Kentleşme ve Konut Sorunu için Politikalar", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 16667, (15 June 1979).

suggested to establish a "New Settlements Credit Fund" in addition to the existing ones.²³² The new settlement policies stated in the decree could be summarized as follows:²³³

1. In cities with a population above a certain size, identifying new settlement areas in areas that enable decentralization; keeping expropriation areas large enough to prevent speculation in and around new settlement areas,
2. Facilitating the transfer of land that lost its grazing quality and of land held in the Treasury, to the Land Office, to increase the amount of land available for new settlements,
3. Collaboration between the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, the Ministry of Local Governments and municipalities in the planning of land production for new settlement areas,
4. Allocating the produced lands primarily to housing cooperatives; reserving land for those who would build their own individual houses,
5. Providing loans and technical assistance, on condition that the houses to be built comply with the standards for housing area, materials and construction techniques,
6. To facilitate the development of strong and effective housing cooperatives, provided that effective supervision is established,

²³² The mentioned fund was implemented with the 'Regulation on the Use of the New Settlements Credit Fund' published in the Official Gazette on 28 November 1979. The introduction of this fund slightly increased the limited resources of the Land Office. Five conditions were determined for mass social housing projects applying for a loan from the Fund: 1. Being located in a city with a population of over 100,000, 2. Having a higher urban population growth rate than the average annual population growth in Turkey, 3. Being located in an industrially developed city or city with potential for development, 4. Implementing integrated projects with various public investments, 5. Being located in one of the designated new urban settlement areas. These conditions show that the aim was to spread housing investment evenly across different regions of the country. See: Regulation on the Use of the New Settlements Credit Fund, ("Yeni Yerleşmeler Kredi Fonunun Kullanılması Hakkında Yönetmelik", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 16823, (28 November 1979).

²³³ Decree No. 7/17491 on Policies for Urbanization and Housing Problem through the Arrangement of New Urban Settlement Areas ("Yeni Kentsel Yerleşim Alanları Düzenlenmesi Yoluyla Kentleşme ve Konut Sorunu için Politikalar", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 16667, (15 June 1979).

7. Implementation of public transport systems in new settlements by municipalities and related organizations,
8. The market places and facilities in these settlements should be built by the municipalities, their ownership should remain with the municipalities, and cooperatives should be encouraged to run them,
9. Developing cultural, educational and social solidarity opportunities in the planning of new settlements; accordingly, planning neighborhood-scale settlements to accommodate social centers such as market places, commercial facilities, libraries, restaurants, clubs, hotels and nurseries,
10. Establishment of the “High Council of Settlement Order”, consisting of relevant ministers under the chairmanship of the prime minister, to ensure coordination at the country level regarding planning, implementation, investment decisions and measures

A review of these policies demonstrates that the housing question was addressed at the level of settlements in this period. In this context, it is evident that the duties undertaken by the state and municipalities in solving the problem differed. While some of the responsibilities previously attributed to the central government were allocated to local governments, intergovernmental collaboration at the state-municipal level came to the fore. In addition to the recognition that the housing problem could be solved through large-scale construction at the settlement level, it was also acknowledged that the requisite organizational structure must be multidisciplinary. The High Council of Settlement Order (‘Yerleşim Düzeni Yüksek Kurulu’), established by Decision No. 7/17540 in accordance with the new urban settlement areas policy mentioned above, can be taken as an indicator of this.²³⁴ This council, chaired by the Prime Minister, consisted of the Ministers of Reconstruction

²³⁴ Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 7/17540: Establishment of the High Council of Settlement Order, Its Duties and Working Method, (“Yerleşim Düzeni Yüksek Kurulu Kurulması, Görevleri ve Çalışma Yöntemi”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 16671, (19 June 1979).

and Settlement, Finance, Public Works, Industry and Technology, Enterprises, Rural Affairs and Cooperatives, Energy and Natural Resources, Local Government and the Undersecretary of the SPO. It would also be able to work with different ministries and receive support from scientific institutions as needed.

Although this council was abolished with the change of government, the subsequent government established the High Council for the Implementation of the National Housing Policy.²³⁵ The housing policies to be followed by the new council were also reconsidered under the name of National Housing Policies ('Milli Konut Politikası').²³⁶ The principles of this policy, which differed from the previous one, included measures to involve the private sector in the housing cycle, regulations on housing loans and banking, the development of a type of housing that meets the needs of Turkish-Islamic families, and making it easier for citizens working abroad to own a home in the country. The need to address the housing problem together with the general settlement and urbanization policy and the emphasis on mass housing production were also included in these policies.

Although the five-year development plans placed particular emphasis on mass housing production through cooperatives and other means, no tangible support was provided by the relevant legislation. Ruşen Keleş, in his evaluation of the planned period, posited that the legal regulations enacted in 1978-1979 raised questions about the extent to which mass housing production was supported by the state.²³⁷

²³⁵ The High Council of Settlement Order, which was established during the III. Ecevit Government (5 January 1978 – 11 November 1979), was abolished with the change of government. However, since the policy was adopted, a new body with a similar role was established in the subsequent V. Demirel Government (12 November 1979 – 12 September 1980): High Council for the Implementation of the National Housing Policy.

²³⁶ Annex to the Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 8/742: Principles on the Implementation of The National Housing Policy, ("Milli Konut Politikasının Uygulanmasına Dair Esaslar", in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 16985, (11 May 1980).

²³⁷ Ruşen Keleş, "Devlet ve Konut Kooperatifçiliği", in *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, vol. 12, issue 4, (Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü – Sevinç Matbaa, 1980), 31-40.

Nevertheless, the Ankara Municipality Law Enforcement Regulation No. 5656²³⁸, issued in 1980, was to resolve the question marks regarding the support of mass housing production through cooperatives. Although it was a regulation issued specifically for Ankara, its impact in the following years led to it becoming a legal regulation that increased the role of cooperative organizations in mass housing production throughout the country. This regulation, which contemplated the production of mass housing in collaboration with the municipality and the cooperative union, also delineated the manner in which this collaboration would be operationalized. The regulation encompassed a multitude of issues, including matters pertaining to land supply, standards of housing, the provision of infrastructure, the conditions of membership in cooperatives, and the distribution of duties between the cooperative union and the municipality. Article 9 of the regulation was about Batıkent, a new settlement project to be established in Ankara. Urban cooperatives (cooperation between municipalities and the cooperatives union), which was implemented for the first time with this regulation, served as a model for housing settlement projects planned in different parts of the country.

Evidently, there is a dialectical relationship between housing supply, which vary over time, and the rate of urbanization, land supply, building technologies, qualifications of housing producers, and housing policies developed. The legal regulations discussed in this section were designed to address the evolving definition of the housing question over time. However, they have also introduced new dimensions to the problem. The discourses of the welfare state and social justice that were prominent throughout the 1960s and 1970s exerted a significant influence on the housing policies of the period, despite the country's democratic, economic, and social crises. The concern to meet the housing needs of low-income groups, especially through the production of large numbers of houses at low cost, targeted in

²³⁸ Ankara Municipality Law Enforcement Regulation No. 5656, (“Ankara Belediyesi 5656 Sayılı Yasa Uygulama Yönetmeliği”, in Turkish), T.R. Official Gazette, no. 17095, (4 September 1980).

development plans, was decisive in the legal regulations of the period. However, due to the lack of financial resources and the influence of populist preferences, the legislation enacted to solve the housing problem (such as the Flat Ownership Law, and the Squatter Prevention Law) changed the scope of the problem rather than solving it. (Figure 3-5, Figure 3-6) It is also important to note that, due to its origin, the housing question cannot be resolved solely through the implementation of housing policies. Although not included in the scope of this study, policies developed on social justice, the economy and development are as important for solving the problem as housing-related policies.



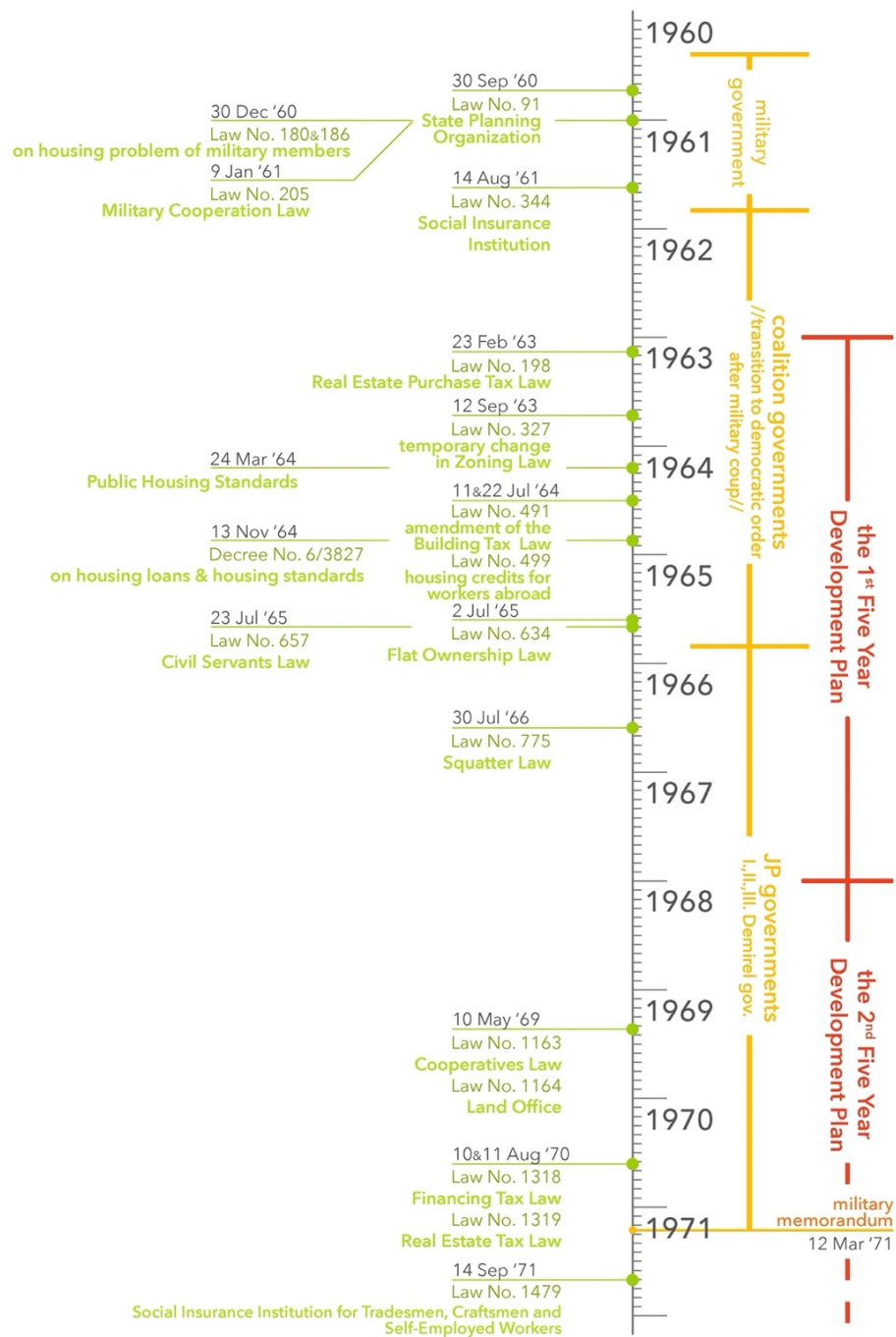


Figure 3-5. Legal regulations regarding housing realized in the planned period (1960-71)²³⁹

²³⁹ Timeline prepared by the author.

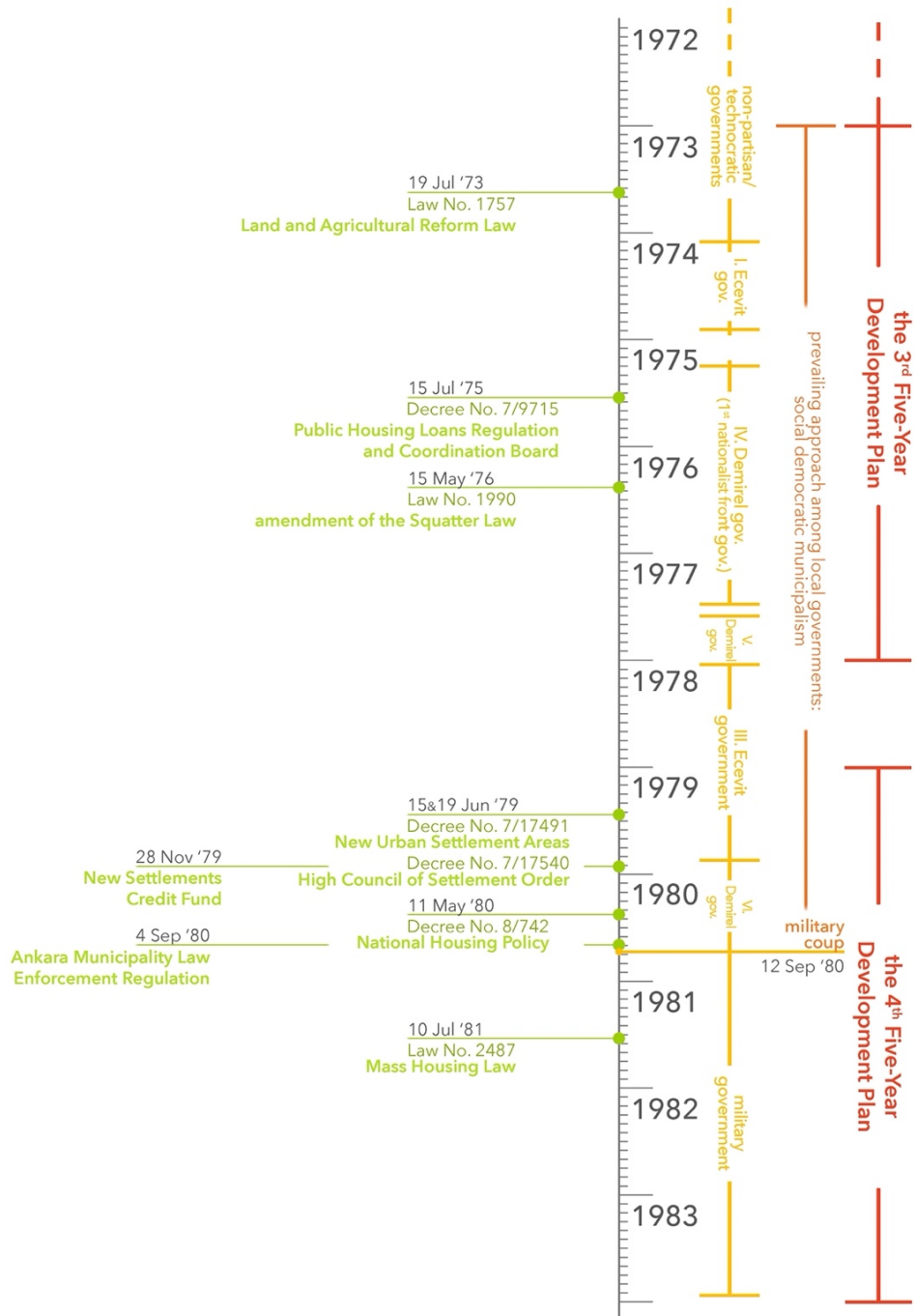


Figure 3-6. Legal regulations regarding housing realized in the planned period (1972-83)²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Timeline prepared by the author.

What is important for this part of the study is to understand how the housing policies, particularly those enacted in the 1970s, drew a framework for the implementation of the housing settlements through the urban cooperative model. The inability to prevent the construction of squatters²⁴¹ and the lack of financial resources required for the production of new housing led to the emergence of cooperative organizations as a solution to the housing problem. According to the data of the Turkish Statistical Institute, when looking at the building permits granted over time, the share of cooperative housing production in total was 2.5% in 1964, and increased to 15.5% in 1980.²⁴² When considered in comparison to other housing production methods (individual housing production, build-and-sell housing production, squatter production, and, to a lesser extent, public housing production) during this period, it could be asserted that the cooperative organization played a pivotal role in the production of housing. In order to facilitate the production of housing, it was necessary to organize end users. This was influenced by credit opportunities that supported the home owner rather than the housing producer. In other words, whether it was the construction company, the union or the municipality that produced housing, it was necessary for them to organize the demand through cooperatives.²⁴³

²⁴¹ After the enactment of Law No. 775 in 1966, although several squatter preventions zones were designated, most of them failed as the specified areas soon turned into new squatter neighborhoods. Between 1960 and 1980, an average of 100 thousand licensed and 150 thousand unlicensed houses were produced annually, and the urban population tripled in this period (from 6.9 million to 20.3 million). See: Ayten Alkan, *Türkiye’de 1980’den Sonra Dar Gelirlilerin Konut Sorunu ve Konut Kooperatifleri*, (Ankara: Türkiye Kent Kooperatifleri Merkez Birliği Yayını, 1998), 21-3.

²⁴² Turkish Statistical Institute, Construction Statistics; as quoted in: İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 319.

²⁴³ The two mass housing laws enacted in the first half of the 1980s (Law No. 2487 enacted in 1981 and Law No. 2985 enacted in 1984) were not included in the dissertation due to the historical scope of the study. It is necessary to note, however, that these laws and the Mass Housing Administration and the Mass Housing Fund established in accordance with them constituted among the most significant interventions of the state in the housing problem. Under the influence of these laws, cooperatives came to the fore in housing construction. So much so that in the second half of the 1980s, the share of cooperatives in housing production rose to 35%. In particular, the first mass housing law envisaged the support of cooperatives, cooperative unions and social welfare institutions as organizations that would build mass housing. In addition, it contained detailed provisions regarding the spatial qualities of mass housing areas. These provisions revealed the importance given to the qualities of the housing environment as well as housing construction. However, in Turkey's effort to

Besides the legal regulations on urbanization and housing, it is also necessary to comprehend discussions on urbanization and housing, within the professional milieu of architecture in order to gain insight into the prevailing spirit of the period. For this reason, the subsequent section of the study focused on the urbanization and housing discourse in the prominent architectural periodical of the period – *Mimarlık* journal. The subsequent section of this chapter will analyze the contributions of these periodical to the discourse surrounding the issues of urbanization and housing.

3.2 The Development of Housing Discourse in the Architectural Milieu of Turkey: A Review of *Mimarlık* Journal (1963-1983)

The first part of this chapter examined the manner in which the housing question was addressed and the policies developed to address this problem from the beginning of the history of the Republic to the early 1980s. This section will examine the approaches of architects (and urban planners) to housing discussions within the architectural milieu. This review is significant in terms of understanding how the housing question was approached and the prominent conceptual discussions about the housing question during the period when developing housing settlement projects with participatory design approach.

As the periodical selected for this review, *Mimarlık* journal, which has been published since 1963 by the Chamber of Architects, is one of the most significant sources of architectural discourse in Turkey. The journal is financed by the Chamber of Architects from the budget allocated from its members' subscriptions. This feature differentiates the journal from its commercial-professional counterparts in terms of content and publishing policies. The fact that it is far removed from commercial

integrate into the neo-liberal economic order and with the effect of changing legal regulations and decreasing financial support, the share of cooperatives in mass housing production gradually decreased. See: Hülya Koç, “Kentsel Konut Sunumunda Giderek Unutulan Bir Organizasyon: Konut Yapı Kooperatifleri”, in *İdealkent*, no. 37, vol. 13, (2022-23).

<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/idealkent/issue/72507/1117042> (Accessed: 30 February 2024)

concerns also shows that the journal's publishing policy is relatively autonomous. As the longest-running architecture journal in Turkey, it can also be considered the most institutional periodical today. For this reason, it is one of the most prominent resources to follow the housing discussions developed in the Turkish architectural milieu.

The journal, the content of which was not entirely clear at the time of its first launch, was published with news from the Chamber of Architects, competitions, and translations from foreign publications. Although there is no clarity in the publication policy, issues related to the housing question and urbanization have been among the topics of interest in the content of the journal since its first issue. The text in the first issue of the journal, which was the first to deal with the issue of housing, aimed to transfer the discussions on urbanism and housing that had come to the fore in the meetings of the UIA (the International Union of Architects) to the Turkish architectural environment.²⁴⁴ In the subsequent years, these two subjects – housing and urbanization – became among the most frequently discussed topics within the content of *Mimarlık* journal.

This study, which aims to understand how the discussions on the housing question developed and which discussions came to the fore during the period when the Batkent settlement took place, focused on texts on housing and urbanization in the period from 1963, when the *Mimarlık* journal was first published, to 1984.²⁴⁵ 157 texts on housing and urbanization were identified in 198 issues published during this 21-year period.²⁴⁶ While 126 of these 157 texts focus on housing, 31 are

²⁴⁴ Ertuğrul Menteşe, “U.I.A. (Beynelmilel Mimarlar Birliği)”, in *Mimarlık*, no.1, (1963), 18-9. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/290/4118.pdf> (Accessed: 15 March 2024)

²⁴⁵ This study encompasses the 21-year period between 1963 and 1983 for two reasons. Firstly, 1983 marked the conclusion of the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan. Secondly, the enactment of the Mass Housing Law No. 2985 in 1984 prompted a shift in housing production practices, influencing the trajectory of the housing discussions.

²⁴⁶ Since the main purpose of the study is to reveal the axis in which urban housing discussions developed and the concepts associated with the concept of housing, only the articles that address the housing issue among urbanization-oriented texts are included in the scope of this study. For the same reason, specialized issues such as disaster housing were excluded from the scope of this study.

urbanization-themed texts. 23 of these texts are translations from foreign magazines or noteworthy articles of the period, and 25 of them are dedicated to the presentation of the prominent housing projects of the period. The study aims to reveal the prominent debates and their evolution over time by focusing on how these 157 texts addressed the issues of housing and urbanization and through which concepts they discussed these issues. For this purpose, the most significant concepts present in these 157 texts were identified. Thus, it is aimed to determine what the prominent concepts in the axis of housing and urbanization were. In order to reveal the changes in these concepts over time, the articles are studied in five-year time periods. The fact that the first publication date of the journal coincided with the beginning of the First Five-Year Development Plan also demonstrated the extent to which the discussions in the journal were related to the housing policies mentioned in the previous section of this study.

When we look at the period between 1963 and 1967, it is seen that 39 texts on the theme of housing and urbanization were published in *Mimarlık* journal during this period. While 28 of these 39 articles focus on housing, 11 are on the theme of urbanization. Four of the articles are on housing projects – as examples of best practice from European countries as well as from Turkey. These are the *Halen Siedlung* in Bern²⁴⁷, the *Courneuve* settlement near Paris²⁴⁸, one of the award-winning projects of the housing estate project competition held for Nürnberg²⁴⁹, and a housing settlement in Ereğli as one of Turkey's first prefabricated mass housing implementations.²⁵⁰ The prominent topics in the project texts were the introduction of building technologies that were novel for Turkey at that time, and the discussion of standardization and prefabrication in mass housing. In addition to these, we also

²⁴⁷ Orhan Göçer, “İsviçre’de Bir Tatbikat Halen Sietlung (Bern)”, in *Mimarlık*, no.8, (1964), 15-6.

²⁴⁸ H. Delacroix, Cl. Tambute, C. Berson, J. - P. Courcoux, M. Mathieu, P. Soulard, “4000 Lojmanlık "Courneuve" İkamet Sitesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.46, (1967), 28-30.

²⁴⁹ Teoman Tanju, Hayo Fisser, “Nürnberg’de Bir İkamet Sitesi Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.48, (1967), 29-31.

²⁵⁰ Nejat Tunaoglu, “Bina Yapımında Prefabrikasyon : Ereğli Örneği”, in *Mimarlık*, no.48, (1967), 26-8.

see that eight translated texts were published during the same period.²⁵¹ The emphasis in these texts was on the problem of squatter settlements and the development of low-cost social housing alternatives as a solution to this problem. Considering that the most pressing urbanization and housing problem of the period was squatter settlements, articles written by international experts, addressing this issue were particularly included. Among these, Charles Abrams'²⁵² text addressing the potential of squatter settlements is particularly noteworthy. The text titled "Gecekondu Yerleşmeleri Sorun ve İmkanları"²⁵³ ("Squatter Settlements: The Problems and the Opportunity"), published in the Urbanism Issue²⁵⁴ of the journal,

²⁵¹ These texts are: "Fransa'da Sosyal Mesken İnşaatının Finansmanı", translated by Bülent Özer, in *Mimarlık*, no.9, (1964), 4; Patricia Tindale, "Amerika'da İskan Problemi ve Mimarın Yeni Rolü", translated by Nur Karahasanoğlu, in *Mimarlık*, no.22, (1965), 12-3; Georges Héaume, "Konut Binalarının Mimarisi ve Tekniği", translated by the Chamber of Architects, in *Mimarlık*, no.26, (1965), 15-7; J. Van Ettinger, "Ucuz Konut Yapımının Gelişim Safhaları", translated by Nigan Doğru, in *Mimarlık*, no.29, (1966), 15-6; Ruth Melamede, "Konutlarda İntegrasyon Sorunu", in *Mimarlık*, no.32, (1966), 5-6; Eric Sibert, "Paris İçin Yeni Bölge Planlaması", translated by Özcan Altaban, in *Mimarlık*, no.32, (1966), 14-5; Charles Abrams, "Gecekondu Yerleşmeleri Sorun ve İmkanları", translated by Ahmet Keskin, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 48-53; Charles Abrams, "Şehirlerdeki Arazi Kullanılış Sorunları", translated by Ayten Çetiner, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 54-57; John Turner, "Konutla İlgili Sorunlar", translated by Atilla Yücel, in *Mimarlık*, no.65, (1969), 20-3.

²⁵² Charles Abrams (1901-1970) was an American expert on housing and urban development. He played a key role in influencing housing policy in New York City. He was renowned for his advocacy of squatter clearance and public housing projects. He came to Ankara in 1954 as the UN Housing Legislation Expert to advise the Turkish government on housing and urban planning. In addition to the reports he prepared on the housing and urbanization problems of the period, he also made significant contributions to the establishment of the Middle East Technical University, which was initially designed as a housing institute. Abrams was not the only person invited to Turkey to work on the housing problem at that time. The works of Donald Hansen, who came to Turkey in 1953, and Frederick Bath, who came in 1959, are also noteworthy. For further reading on the effects of these names and American culture on Turkey's modernization process, see: Emre Gönlügür, "American Architecture and the Promise of Modernization in Postwar Turkey", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Art, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2014); and, Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2020).

²⁵³ Charles Abrams, "Gecekondu Yerleşmeleri Sorun ve İmkanları", translated by Ahmet Keskin, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 48-53.

²⁵⁴ The 11th issue of 1966 (no.37) was published as the Urbanism Issue. In her introductory article, Associate Professor Hande Suher stated that the objective of the issue was to approach the general settlement pattern problems in Turkey from different disciplinary perspectives. For this purpose, in addition to Architecture and City Planning, articles of scholars from the fields of Geography, Economics, and Sociology were also included. The issue is of significant importance, as it represents the inaugural instance of disciplinary convergence, as well. Hande Suher, "Şehircilik Özel Sayısı: Giriş", in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 17.

contains Abrams' observations and research on the squatter settlements and squatter population in Turkey's major cities at that time, along with his recommendations for addressing the squatter settlement problem. He emphasized the potential of squatter housing with the following words:

(...) the squatting process does have some redeeming features. In appropriating government land, the poor man gains access (albeit an illegal access) to a piece of the unused public domain and out of it creates through his own efforts a shred of wealth, divestable though it might be, plus the hope of acquiring and owning a freehold. So too, squatter-building is probably the main contributor to the building inventory of the developing nations. It is largely self-help or aided self-help construction. It is built without government aid. It has the virtues of speedy erection and uses very little, if any, imported material. If it is no solution to housing famine, it might allay some of its spasms.²⁵⁵

Abrams posited that squatter, as a housing production model that can be constructed expeditiously with inexpensive and easily available materials and by individuals' own efforts, may potentially offer a solution to the housing problem, contingent upon the implementation of regulations pertaining to matters such as land determination, infrastructure provision, and landscaping. One of Abrams' suggestions for legalizing squatter settlements was to support the self-help model through the establishment of cooperatives.

A comprehensive examination of the 39 texts on housing and urbanization published in *Mimarlık* journal in the period 1963-1967 reveals that the most prominent

²⁵⁵ This part, which is also included in the translated text in *Mimarlık* journal, is quoted from the original text. Charles Abrams, *Squatter Settlements: The Problem and The Opportunity*, (Washington, DC: Publication of Division of International Affairs, Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1966), 21.

concepts of this period are ‘urban and housing policies’, ‘squatter’, ‘settlement planning’, and ‘social housing’. As seen in Figure 3-7, the concepts most frequently mentioned in this period are indicated with the thickest line. It can be argued that the discussions regarding the legal regulations of the period had a significant impact on the prominence of these concepts. In particular, the evaluations of the Public Housing Standards²⁵⁶, which came into force in 1964, and the contacts with the French Social Housing Delegation²⁵⁷, which visited Turkey at the beginning of 1965, constituted the principal focus of the housing discussions in the journal in 1965. Besides, in 1966, there were extensive discussions regarding the issues of squatter settlements and the planning of new settlement areas, particularly in the *Urbanism* issue of the journal.²⁵⁸ In addition, it can be said that Haydar Kazgan, Hande Suher, Tekin Aydın and Bülent Özer made significant contributions to the discussions on housing and urbanization amongst the articles published in the journal during this period.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ For the texts on Public Housing Standards: Muzaffer Sudalı, “Konut Politikasında Genel Düşünceler ve Halk Konutları Standartları'nın Kitiği”, in *Mimarlık*, no.16, (1965), 24-7; Haydar Kazgan, “Türkiye’de Mesken Politikası Üzerine Yorumlar”, in *Mimarlık*, no.16, (1965), 28-30; Haydar Kazgan, “Türkiye’de Mesken Politikası Üzerine Yorumlar II”, in *Mimarlık*, no.18, (1965), 10-2; “Türkiye’de Genel Yerleşme Sorunu”, in *Mimarlık*, no.21, (1965), 8-9; Doğan Hasol, “Türkiye’de Konut Problemi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.26, (1965), 5-7.

²⁵⁷ For the texts on the contacts of the French Social Housing Delegation: Bülent Özer, “Fransız Sosyal Konut Heyetinin Temasları ve Sonuçlar”, in *Mimarlık*, no.17, (1965), 12-4; Georges Héaume, “Konut Binalarının Mimarisi ve Tekniği”, in *Mimarlık*, no.26, (1965), 15-7.

²⁵⁸ For related texts published in the Urbanism Issue: “Genel Yerleşme Düzeni Görüş Açısından Sorunlar”, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 16-8; Kemal Ahmet Aru, “Yerleşmeler ve Faal Nüfus Hareketleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 19-24; Besim Darkot, “Türkiye’de Nüfus Artışı ve Şehirleşme”, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 31-6; Fehmi Yavuz, “Ankara ve Şehirciliğimiz”, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 43-6; Charles Abrams, “Gecekondlu Yerleşmeleri Sorun ve İmkanları”, translated by Ahmet Keskin, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 48-53; Charles Abrams, “Şehirlerdeki Arazi Kullanılış Sorunları”, translated by Ayten Çetiner, in *Mimarlık*, no.37, (1966), 54-7.

²⁵⁹ Information about the texts (author, year, issue, page) included in this study within the scope of archival research can be accessed from the Appendix A.



Figure 3-7. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in *Mimarlık* journal in the period 1963-1967²⁶⁰

Looking at the period 1968-1972, it is seen that 23 articles were published on the issues of housing and urbanization in *Mimarlık*. A total of eighteen texts can be classified as housing-oriented, while five can be classified as urbanization-oriented. Of these 23 texts, two are translations and six are presentation and evaluation of housing projects. These projects reflecting the housing production practice in Turkey at that time are Hukukçular residential building,²⁶¹ an apartment building designed by Turgut Cansever²⁶² in İstanbul, the OR-AN housing settlement in Ankara²⁶³, the apartment buildings implemented by Emlak Kredi Bank on Vatan Street in

²⁶⁰ This relationship network was obtained by visualizing the data extracted from the *Mimarlık* journal through the Graph Commons platform. The length of the lines is arranged according to the readability of the concepts and does not provide any information about the relationship between concepts. The thickness of the lines gives information about how much the concept is emphasized in the journal. To access the image and associated data:

<https://graphcommons.com/graphs/26316024-05cc-4b7e-8cdb-bb277dad9d31?show=analysis>

²⁶¹ Halûk Baysal, Melih Bırsel, “Hukukçular Sitesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.52, (1968), 13-8.

²⁶² Turgut Cansever, “Kadıköy’de Bir Apartman”, in *Mimarlık*, no.52, (1968), 20-1.

²⁶³ “Ankara’da OR-AN Toplu Konut Yerleşimi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.82, (1970), 22-40.

İstanbul²⁶⁴, the İntaş social housing in Kadıköy, İstanbul²⁶⁵, and the housing projects built by MESA²⁶⁶, a newly established construction company, in Ankara. With the exception of the first two projects, which are single apartment buildings, the other projects were housing estates or settlements complied with the Public Housing Standards in terms of housing size and construction methods. In line with the housing policies of the period, standardization was applied in the projects in order to reduce the unit housing cost.

Among these projects, the OR-AN settlement and the projects built by MESA deserve to be emphasized due their contribution to the (mass) housing debates of the period, besides being located in Ankara. Especially the OR-AN settlement was one of the most prominent projects of the period with the alternative solution that it provided to the housing problem of the middle class. The project was initiated with the claim that “the establishment of new residential areas through the construction of mass housing is the only solution to the housing problem”²⁶⁷, and that it was thus possible to direct the urban growth with satellite residential settlements. This settlement, designed for a population of approximately 30,000 in an area that was located outside the city of Ankara at the time, has become one of the projects that shaped the growth of Ankara - even though the entire project could not be built. (

Figure 3-8) As stated in the project text, the design of a mass housing settlement of this scale was made possible by a comprehensive study from urban planning decisions to the design of housing units. Designed by Şevki Vanlı, one of the most prominent architects of the period, the OR-AN settlement was an initiative of the Orta Anadolu Housing Company, most of the partners of which were architects and

²⁶⁴ Güner Özdoğan, Birol Öbüt, Taneri Alpay, “Türkiye Emlâk Kredi Bankası Vatan Caddesi Apartmanları”, in *Mimarlık*, no.108, (1972), 53-6.

²⁶⁵ Candaş Keresteci, “İntaş Sosyal Konutları”, in *Mimarlık*, no.108, (1972), 57-60.

²⁶⁶ Aykut Mutlu, “Toplu Konut Uygulaması”, in *Mimarlık*, no.107, (1972), 79-86.

²⁶⁷ “Ankara’da OR-AN Toplu Konut Yerleşimi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.82, (1970), 22.

and Batı Sitesi. Although some of the houses in these projects were high-standing individual houses, the majority of them were conceived as medium or low cost houses. This was due to two factors: firstly, in order to qualify for SSK credits, it was necessary to meet the qualifications set out in the housing policies, and secondly, demand was concentrated on these types of housing. As stated in the article, the demand for high-standing housing with a gross area of over 150 m² constituted 2.5 per cent of the overall demand, while the demand for moderate-quality housing with a gross area of less than 90 m² outside the city represented 65 per cent of the overall demand.²⁷¹ While not of the same scale as the OR-AN projects, the location of these mass housing developments was also selected in consideration with the urban planning decisions, the surrounding urban functions, and the profiles of the intended users. For example, MESA's first housing project located in Çankaya was designed for a cooperative, the members of which were technical staff, doctors and civil servants, where both members of the family were working, and the location of this project was chosen accordingly, close to the city center. Batı Sitesi, on the other hand, was located on the outskirts of the city, in close proximity to the industrial zone, as majority of its residents were workers working abroad or affiliated with the syndicates in Ankara. Batı Sitesi, the construction of which started in 1973, is of particular importance for this study, as it constituted a preliminary step before the Batıkent project started; both with its choice of location and its name. Batı Sitesi, which was built when the Batıkent project was still in its early stages of conception, would later become an integral part of the settlement.²⁷² Produced with a cooperative model and designed in accordance with the housing policies of the period, Batı Sitesi is in alignment with the subsequent planning and design decisions made for Batıkent. (Figure 3-9 & Figure 3-10)

²⁷¹ Aykut Mutlu, "Toplu Konut Uygulaması", in *Mimarlık*, no.107, (1972), 79.

²⁷² Batı Sitesi is a residential complex consisting of apartment blocks and row houses, designed with a market place, children's playgrounds, a primary school and sports fields. This design approach is consistent with the planning decisions of Batıkent, as outlined in chapter 4, section 3 of this study.

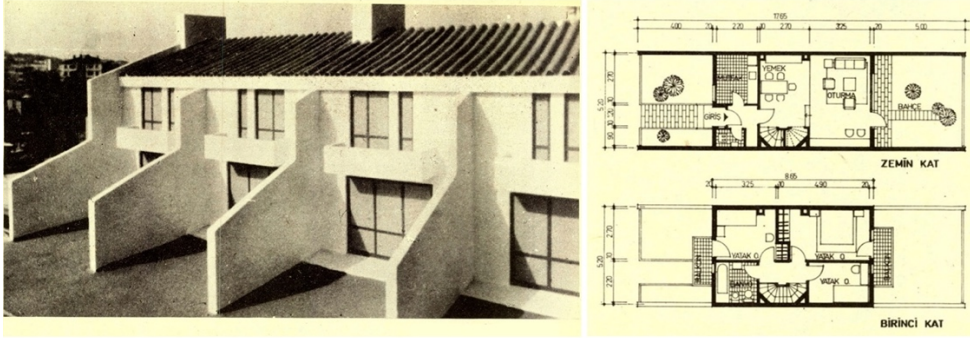


Figure 3-9. Model photos and plans of Batı Sitesi row houses²⁷³

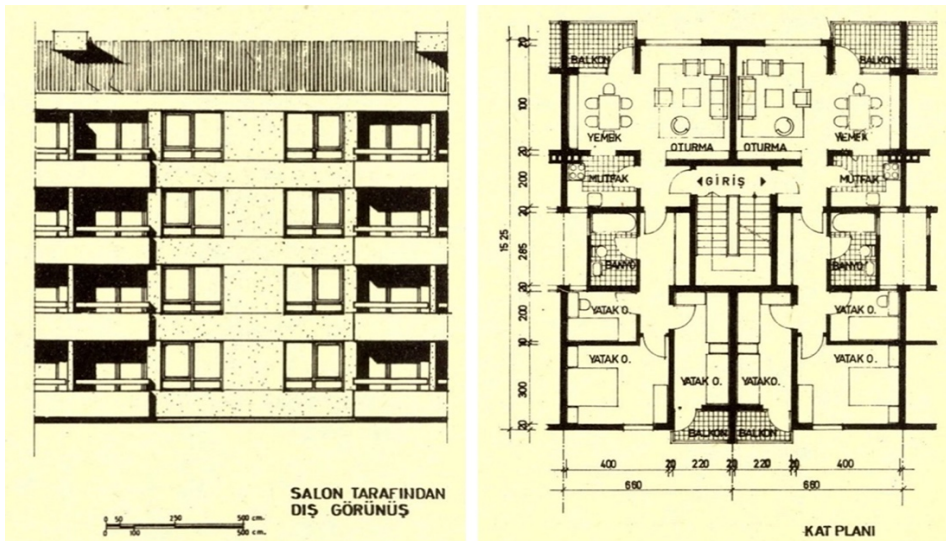


Figure 3-10. Elevation and floor plan drawings of Batı Sitesi apartment blocks²⁷⁴

When all 23 articles on housing and urbanization published in this period are taken into consideration, it is observed that the concept of ‘social housing’ was particularly utilized in critical texts, whereas the projects presented were mainly mass housing projects. As seen in Figure 3-11, the concepts of ‘squatter’, ‘social housing’, ‘rental housing’, ‘standardization’, and ‘urban & housing policy’ are the most frequently mentioned in the urbanization and housing debates of the period. In the articles, the

²⁷³ Aykut Mutlu, “Toplu Konut Uygulaması”, in *Mimarlık*, no.107, (1972), 86.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

main discourse on ‘urban and housing policies’ consists of a criticism of the policies outlined in urban development plans.²⁷⁵ Compared to the previous period, it is observed that the weight of the concept of ‘squatter’ in housing-oriented texts decreased in the articles published between 1968-1972. Discussions on certain themes such as 'social housing', 'rental housing' and 'standardization', and solution oriented proposals came to the fore.²⁷⁶ The emphasis on squatter settlements increased particularly in the articles on urbanization, and the issue was associated with the lack of social planning and the imbalance between urban and rural areas. In this period, the concept of 'metropolitan planning' is introduced in the discussions. In the second half of the 1960s, the Metropolitan Planning Offices that were established for İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara brought the issues related with the metropolitan planning to the agenda of the journal.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ The following are examples of texts published in this period that criticize housing policies: Haydar Kazgan, “Mesken Politikamızda Gelişmeler: Yıkıp Yapma Olayının Sonuçları Üzerine Bir Deneme”, in *Mimarlık*, no.58, (1968), 17-8; Altan Öke, “Türkiye’de Nüfus Planlamasının Konut İhtiyacına Etkisi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.82, (1970), 42-6; Ruşen Keleş, “Fiziksel Çevre Sorunu Olmayan Şehir Sorunları”, in *Mimarlık*, no.89, (1971), 31-4; Ruşen Keleş, “Gecekondu Sorunu ve III. Plan”, in *Mimarlık*, no.108, (1972), 27.

²⁷⁶ As examples of texts in this approach: John Turner, “Konutla İlgili Sorunlar”, translated by Atilla Yücel, in *Mimarlık*, no. 65, (1969), 20-3; Aliye Pekin Çelik, “Gecekondu’dan Sosyal Konuta Geçiş Üzerine Araştırma”, in *Mimarlık*, no.82, (1970), 59-60; Selçuk Abaç, “Sosyalist Ülkelerde Konut”, in *Mimarlık*, no.107, (1972), 31-41; Yılmaz İnkaya, “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Devrinin Başından Günümüze Kadar Konut Sorunu”, in *Mimarlık*, no.107, (1972), 50-65.

²⁷⁷ Although not included in this review, it should be noted that the 79th issue of the journal (1970) focuses on the theme of metropolitan planning. The issue includes the works of İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara Metropolitan Planning Offices as well as criticism and suggestions on metropolitan planning.

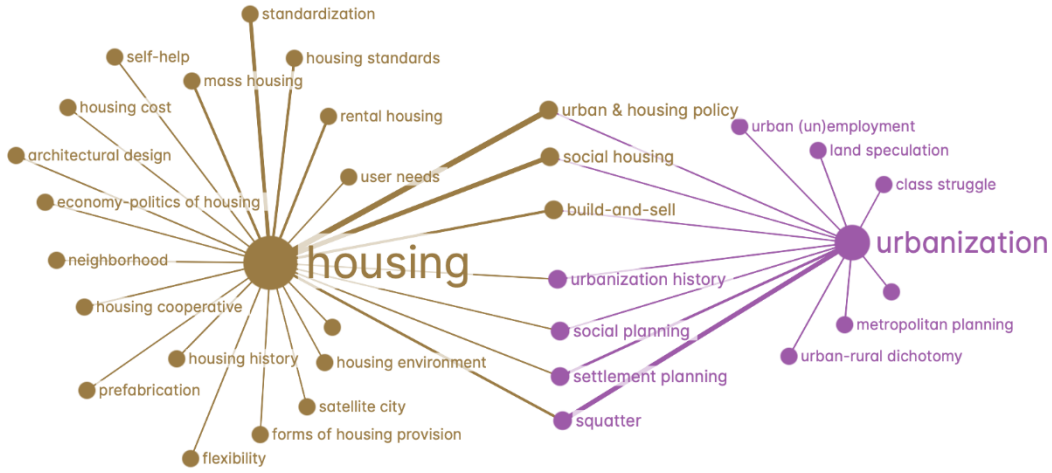


Figure 3-11. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in *Mimarlık* journal in the period 1968-72²⁷⁸

The concept of participation was not on the agenda of the journal in this period, as in the previous period. However, the concepts of ‘self-help’ and ‘housing cooperative’ featured on the journal's agenda, albeit without a strong emphasis. One of the articles that proposed the self-help construction of squatter houses as a potential solution to the housing problem is authored by a British architect and theorist, John Turner.²⁷⁹ In his article “Konutla İlgili Sorunlar: Yöneticilerin Çözümleri & Halkın Çözümleri”²⁸⁰ (“Problems related with housing:

²⁷⁸ This relationship network was obtained by visualizing the data extracted from the *Mimarlık* journal through the Graph Commons platform. To access the image and associated data:

<https://graphcommons.com/graphs/a30ff1d4-1089-4f93-a165-53b81410c434>

²⁷⁹ With full name, John Francis Charlewood Turner (1927-2023), was renowned for his contributions to the field of informal self-help housing and neighbourhood building, which he pioneered in Peru, the United States, and the United Kingdom. His contributions to the field of housing in the 1960s and 1970s have earned him the distinction of being regarded as the most influential postwar writer on housing in the developing world, as well as the "principal architect" of the urban self-help policies for developing countries, as formulated by the United Nations and the World Bank. (... 2. chapter’da Turner var, bu dipnot kalkabilir)

²⁸⁰ John Turner, "Konutla İlgili Sorunlar: Yöneticilerin Çözümleri & Halkın Çözümleri", translated by Atilla Yücel, in *Mimarlık*, no.65, (1969), 20-3.

Administrators' and people's solutions"), Turner analyzed the squatter settlements with examples from South America, and addressed the self-help characteristic of squatter settlements from a financial and managerial point of view. According to Turner, in squatter settlements, the way in which the architecture of the housing unit is achieved should depend on the behavior of the user. The future dwellers use their own labour and effort as much as possible instead of spending money in order to use their already limited financial resources with maximum economy. In this way, it is possible for squatter dwellers to modify their houses in accordance with their evolving needs. Thus, the flexibility of actions and economic necessities ensure that the control and responsibility for the work done depend on the users of squatter houses.

Aliye Pekin Çelik's²⁸¹ article titled "Gecekondu'dan Sosyal Konuta Geçiş Üzerine Araştırma"²⁸² ("A research on the transition from squatter houses to social housing") is another work that touches upon the concept of 'self-help'. In her article, Pekin suggests that the self-help and flexibility characteristics of squatter production should be re-evaluated in order to accelerate the construction of social housing at a lower cost:

... No matter how low the cost of a housing unit, a person at the lowest income level cannot afford to buy it. The best way to reduce the cost of housing is a controlled, self-help system. In a system of infrastructure and building construction provided by the Ministry, the citizen's own labour and construction of his/her own house can greatly reduce the cost.

²⁸¹ Aliye Pekin Çelik commenced her studies at the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University (METU) in 1963. She graduated in 1967 with a Master's degree, subsequently pursuing further studies at Princeton University, where she obtained a Master of Fine Arts in 1970, becoming the first woman in the architectural program to do so. Aliye Pekin Çelik analysed the case of Ankara in her master's thesis on migration to cities and the housing problem for low-income people. This work received an award from the American Association of Architects in 1970. For a short documentary film on Aliye Pekin Çelik: <https://vimeo.com/163203277> (Accessed: 25 March 2024)

²⁸² Aliye Pekin Çelik, "Gecekondu'dan Sosyal Konuta Geçiş Üzerine Araştırma", in *Mimarlık*, no.82, (1970), 59-60.

... Since the different needs of each individual family cannot be taken into account in a social housing project, the maximum freedom should be given to each homeowner within the housing system. The owner should be able to modify his or her dwelling in any way he or she wishes, from moving walls to building additional rooms, and should be able to create a unique shelter that fulfils only his or her own wishes. If, in a housing system, the family can easily transfer its progress over time to its dwelling, this is a great success. Because one of the problems of squatter settlements is that income does not increase at the same rate as the growth of the family. At a time when the family population is increasing and the dwelling needs to expand, the economic capacity is very limited, leading to overcrowding in a small area. The ideal solution is to increase the size of the dwelling in parallel with the size of the family.²⁸³

Another concept that was included in the agenda of the journal in this period was 'rental housing'. Pekin, in the same text, put forth the suggestion that the state should retain ownership of a portion of the social housing constructed either by the state or municipalities, leasing it to those in need for a designated period of time. This approach was proposed as a potential solution to prevent land speculation and urban rent. Another text that re-evaluates squatter settlements in order to prevent land speculation and urban rent is architect Önder Şenyapılı's "Ankara'70".²⁸⁴ Şenyapılı, with reference to İlhan Tekeli, emphasizes that the process of squatting is inevitable and therefore, instead of legitimizing squatter settlements by giving them title deeds afterwards, it is important to provide land for these settlements in advance, provide infrastructure and ensure that they become regular settlements.²⁸⁵ The text, which

²⁸³ Translation belongs to the author. Ibid., 60.

²⁸⁴ Önder Şenyapılı, "Ankara'70", in *Mimarlık*, no.77, (1970), 25-44.

²⁸⁵ İlhan Tekeli, "Gecekonduları Planlama ve Sorunları", in *Proceedings of Türkiye'de Gecekondu Seminar*, 15-6; in Önder Şenyapılı, "Ankara'70", in *Mimarlık*, no.77, (1970), 39-40.

advocates the inclusion of people in need of housing in the production process of their own dwellings/squatters, but emphasizes the necessity of regulating the process through planning decisions, is important as it deals with squatter settlements in urban scale. Aliye Pekin Çelik and Ruşen Keleş were the most prominent contributors to the journal in this period with their articles on housing and urbanization.

In the period 1973-1977, twenty-seven articles were published on urbanization and housing. Seventeen of these texts focus on housing and ten of them are on urbanization. Two of the texts are translations²⁸⁶, and four are on housing projects. Considering the general editorial approach of the journal in this period, the issues of capitalism, class struggle, social justice, local governments, relations of production and their urban/spatial reflections came to the fore.²⁸⁷ It is also observed that the urbanization and housing-oriented texts changed in parallel with these debates. As seen in Figure 3-12, concepts such as ‘economy-politics of housing’, ‘urban rent’, ‘land speculation’, ‘local government’, and ‘cooperative’ were more frequently included in the agenda of the journal. Among the texts that dealt with housing and urbanization issues in relation to these concepts, Erhan Acar and Mehmet Adam’s “Kentsel Konut Dokusu Durumu ve Etmenleri”²⁸⁸ (“The current state of the urban residential fabric and its reasons”), architect Gürkan Gezim’s “Kent Toprakları,

²⁸⁶ For translated texts: “Konut Üretiminde Daha Basit Bir Uygulama”, translated by Cem Umur, in *Mimarlık*, no.125, (1974), 12-3; Jaroslav Korfus, “Çekoslovakya’da Konut Yapımı”, translated by Cem Umur, in *Mimarlık*, no.130, (1974), 29-31.

²⁸⁷ In light of the ideological conflicts and social movements that characterized the 1970s, it can be argued that the editorial stance of the journal reflected the *zeitgeist* of the era. Movements advocating labour rights, social justice, feminist activism and ethnic identity struggles, which were prominent all over the world, were also active in Turkey in 1970s. Alongside these left-wing movements, a right-wing approach, characterized by the dominance of nationalist and Islamist groups, also emerged. The struggle between these two wings was the main determinant of the social and political environment of the 1970s. As a publication of a professional organization, it would not be wrong to say that the journal *Mimarlık* contributed to left-wing debates within the context of this social and political environment. For a comprehensive reading on Turkey in the 1970s: Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye’nin 1970’li Yılları*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021).

²⁸⁸ Erhan Acar, Mehmet Adam, “Kentsel Konut Dokusunun Durumu ve Etmenleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.146, (1976), 23-31.

Yerleşme ve Planlama Sorunları”²⁸⁹ (“Urban territories, Settlement and Planning Problems”), and city planner Remzi Sönmez’s “Kentsel Topraktaki Mülkiyet İlişkilerinin Doğurduğu Sorunlar ve Yasal Denetim Mekanizmalarının İşlerliği”²⁹⁰ (“Problems engendered by the property relations on urban land and the functioning of the legal control mechanisms”) titled studies could be listed. These articles examined the reflections of capitalist production relations on urban space and housing. The involvement of private enterprises - such as *Toplu Konut Holding*, one of the first initiatives of the period - in the production of housing and the subsequent commodification of urban land and housing were widely discussed in the texts of this period. In these articles, it was argued that the emergence of new forms of housing production accelerated the shift in the value of housing, and its exchange value began to overshadow use value. Under the influence of these debates, the concept of 'mass housing', which had only appeared in the context of projects in the previous period, became one of the most frequently mentioned concepts in these critical texts. Although the necessity of mass housing production to meet the housing need was admitted, reservations about this model were expressed as well. It was emphasized that the lands on which mass housing will be built should belong to the public – i.e. the state – and that a number of the housing units in the constructed projects should be designed as rental housing.

²⁸⁹ Gürkan Gezim (ed.), “Kent Toprakları, Yerleşme ve Planlama Sorunları”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 37-43.

²⁹⁰ Remzi Sönmez, “Kentsel Topraktaki Mülkiyet İlişkilerinin Doğurduğu Sorunlar ve Yasal Denetim Mekanizmalarının İşlerliği”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 125-7.



Figure 3-12. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in *Mimarlık* journal in the period 1973-77²⁹¹

One of the concepts most associated with housing and urbanization in this period, was ‘urban and housing policies’ that were criticized for their inadequacy in preventing the monopolization of housing production and the privatization of urban land. It was argued that the laws related with urban development and zoning could not be implemented under the pressure of changing production relations, urban rent and land speculation, which caused the problems of the cities to become even more serious. In this context, we see the ‘local government’ as another concept with increasing emphasis. Inadequate provision of urban services due to increasing population and unplanned urbanization, as well as air pollution, sewerage, clean water, and energy shortages, led the the idea of “municipalism” to gain importance. Another reason why the concept of 'local government' appeared frequently in the

²⁹¹ This relationship network was obtained by visualizing the data extracted from the *Mimarlık* journal through the Graph Commons platform. To access the image and associated data: <https://graphcommons.com/graphs/e6cc5a23-ef4e-4d50-a061-f4a97ad0a3d4>

journal during this period²⁹² was the new municipalism approach of the social democratic party CHP, which won the majority of municipalities after the 1973 local elections. The 'social municipalism' approach was adopted by the municipalities governed by the CHP, and with this approach, municipalities sought to address urban issues by mobilizing local communities. These municipalities attached considerable importance to the concept of public participation as a fundamental element of their social policy. They encouraged the public to contribute to the decision-making processes at the municipal level. Therefore, in relation to this new understanding of municipalism, we see that the concept of participation²⁹³ was also included in the agenda of the journal in this period.

One of the projects developed to address the housing issue with a participatory approach as part of the social municipalism practice was the İzmit *Yeni Yerleşmeler* (New Settlements) Project.²⁹⁴ The project, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter, was one of the housing experiments that received the widest coverage in

²⁹² Although it was not included in the scope of this review because it was not directly related to housing and urbanization issues, it should be noted that the role of local governments, the problems of municipalities, their relations with the central government, and interviews with mayors frequently appeared in the journal during this period. In particular, the 150th and 151st issues of the journal, published in 1977, contain a substantial corpus of texts about the local government approaches of the period under examination.

²⁹³ Even though the concept of participation was only addressed with regard to housing production within the framework of this study, an examination of the texts published in the journal reveals that participation was attempted in a variety of domains at that time. Municipalities tried to carry out participatory processes in various fields by leading the organization of cooperatives in different areas, establishing close relations with unions, universities and professional chambers, and besides, constituting organizations among themselves (such as Devrimci Belediyeler Derneği, Marmara ve Boğazlar Belediyeleri Birliği, Zonguldak Metropolitan Alanı Belediyeler Birliği, Türkiye Belediyeler Vakfı). For some of the texts on participation experiments carried out by municipalities in areas other than housing: Zekai Akay, "Kent Planlamasına Halkın Katılımı", in *Mimarlık*, no.150, (1977), 29; Mümtaz Peker, "Tüketim Kooperatifleri İşlevleri ve Örgütlenmeleri", in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 44-7; Erol Köse, "Yerel Yönetimde Yeni Örgütlenmelere Doğru", in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 57-9; Önder Şenyapılı, "Yerel Yönetim Kararlarına Halkın Katılımı", in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 75-7; Vedat Dalokay, "Yeni Kent Kültürü ve Kent Enstitüleri Üzerine", in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 80.

²⁹⁴ Three of the four project texts published in the journal during this period belong to the İzmit New Settlements Project. The other published project text is the project of Ercüment Gümrük, Gürdal Kaleli, and Mehmet Doruk Pamir, who entered in the Lyngby - Taarbaek Mass Housing Competition and won the 4th prize. See: "Lyngby - Taarbaek Toplu Konut Yarışması", in *Mimarlık*, no.153, (1977), 61-2.

Mimarlık journal. Two articles authored by architect Aydan Bulca,²⁹⁵ who was employed as the New Settlements Project Manager at İzmit Municipality at the time, and another article by the architectural team Birleşmiş Mimarlar that was responsible for designing the settlement,²⁹⁶ were published in the journal. The project was planned to accommodate a total of 150,000 inhabitants in two different areas located at the eastern and western ends of İzmit. (Figure 3-13) In Bulca's articles, the expropriation process of the aforementioned lands, the planned road system in relation to the project's relationship with the city, and the construction technique to be employed in the construction of the housing blocks are explained. The article written by the design team outlines the planning and design process and the methods employed to achieve a participatory project. In the article it is explained that the municipality collaborated with syndicates, and it was at the vanguard of initiatives to provide housing for those in need by establishing cooperatives. While the demand was being collected, the participatory planning and design process was also initiated. According to the text, this process was handled in two stages: 1. Research and survey studies conducted with potential users, where the actual users are not known, 2. collective interviews, and individual interviews with households after the actual users are identified. With these meetings, people were given the opportunity to express their opinions and demands regarding the housing units and the housing environment in which they will live and to actively participate in the planning and design process. Considering, on the one hand, the housing discussions that came to the fore in the journal during this period (such as monopolization of housing production, high-standing housing production, and the housing problem of low-income people being left aside) and, on the other hand, the rising syndicate movements and labor rights debates of the period, the study on how to proceed in a

²⁹⁵ For texts written by Aydan Bulca: Aydan Bulca, "İzmit: 1976", in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 89-99; Aydan Bulca, "İzmit Yeni Yerleşimler Projesi", in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 60-2.

²⁹⁶ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, "Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri", in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 100-3.

housing settlement design that prioritizes participation in an industrial city like İzmit is of particular importance.

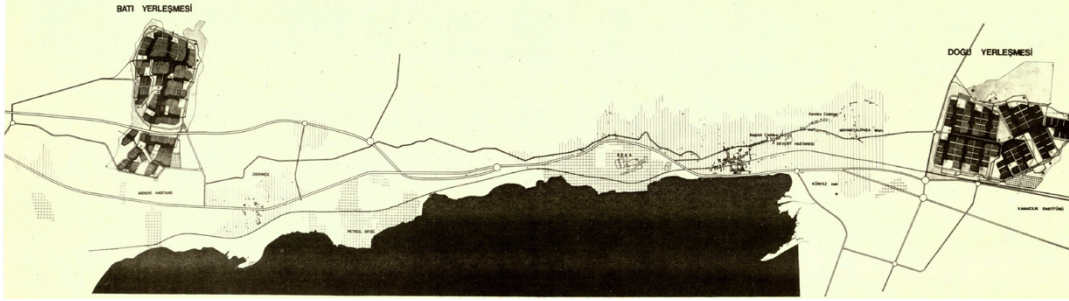


Figure 3-13. Areas determined for İzmit New Settlements Project²⁹⁷

As the last period on which this study focuses, in the period between 1978 and 1983²⁹⁸, 68 articles on housing and urbanization issues were published in the journal. While 63 of the texts under consideration address housing issues, only five of them focus on urbanization. This illustrates a notable surge in the prominence accorded to housing-related matters within the journal's editorial preferences during this period. The 11 project articles published in this period are on mass housing projects, mass housing competitions and housing settlements. Of the 68 articles published during this period, 11 are translated articles. As seen in Figure 3-14, in this period, 'mass housing' is one of the most frequently mentioned concepts regarding housing. This situation can be attributed to two factors: firstly, the fact that the opportunities and risks of mass housing production, which had just started to become widespread during this period, were widely discussed; and secondly, the legal framework that was developed to regulate the production of mass housing. It should also be noted that this increase in emphasis was also influenced by the 156th issue of the journal published in 1978, which was dedicated to the topic of 'mass housing'. While the

²⁹⁷ Aydan Bulca, "İzmit: 1976", in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 90.

²⁹⁸ The fourth of the five-year development plans followed by this review covered the period 1979-83, and 1978 was considered as the interim year. Considering that the journal ceased publication in 1980 due to the military coup, the year 1978 was included in this period of the review.

emphasis on the concept of 'mass housing' increased, other forms of housing production such as 'squatter' and 'build-and-sell' were either not mentioned at all or were mentioned much less than in the previous years. During this period, while the concept of mass housing was a prominent feature, it is evident that the journal's agenda encompassed a more diverse range of concepts than in previous years. This is related to the fact that the concept of mass housing and the housing problem were approached from remarkably disparate perspectives.

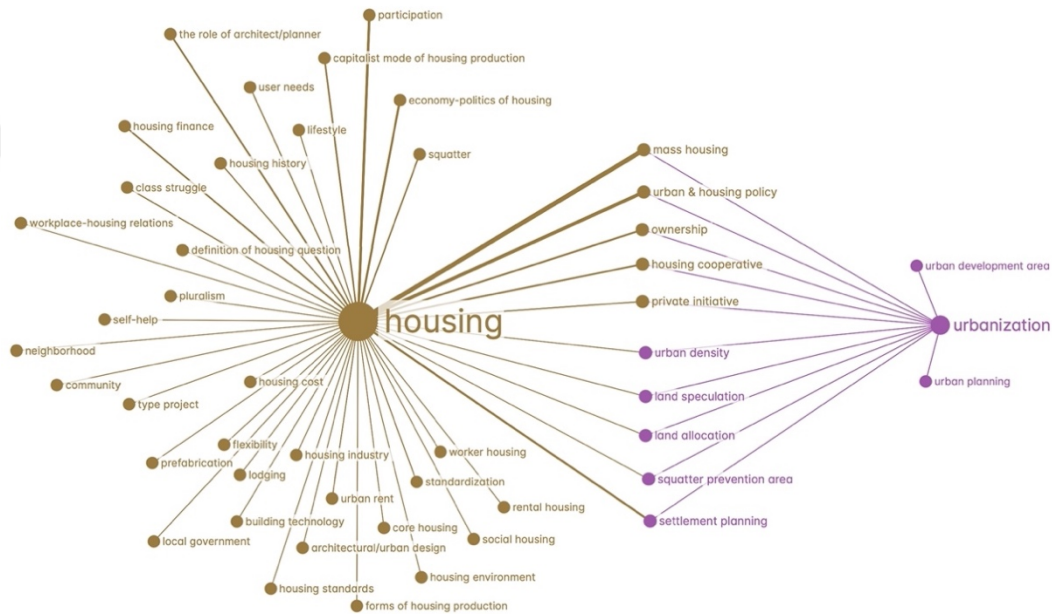


Figure 3-14. Concepts related to housing and urbanization in the texts published in *Mimarlık* journal in the period 1978-83²⁹⁹

It can be said that the texts that critically discuss the concept of 'mass housing' deal with the subject by associating it through the concepts of 'capitalist mode of housing production', 'economy-politics of housing', 'ownership', and 'class struggle'. For example, in his article titled "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Toplu Konut" ("Mass

²⁹⁹ This relationship network was obtained by visualizing the data extracted from the *Mimarlık* journal through the Graph Commons platform. To access the image and associated data: <https://graphcommons.com/graphs/bc818603-8d4d-496c-ab82-f88bb721feb2>

housing in the process of capitalization”), Erhan Acar, after discussing how mass housing reinforces the capitalist order in Western countries, provides a summary of the situation in Turkey as follows:

Under the influence of the policy of turning a blind eye to squatters, (...) the objective conditions for mass housing production have not generally been realized yet in Turkey. Mass housing initiatives carried out so far have either aimed to "collectify" the low rents of the lands in the urban outskirts rather than housing production, or they have been unable to extend beyond the collective organization of groups with limited needs. (...) When viewed from these perspectives, the objective conditions of mass housing production in Turkey appear to be the objective conditions of overcoming squatters - the production of housing that will replace the squatters.

(...)

The term "mass housing" should be interpreted as a means of mass living, an environment of participation, rather than its Western meaning of "mass production". Many mistakes made in the West, with the monotonous and unusable housing environments they create, offer important lessons for countries like Turkey. These lessons can be evaluated; ways to start from a point beyond the mistakes made in the capitalist and socialist countries of the West can be explored.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Translation belongs to the author. Erhan Acar, “Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Toplu Konut”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 36. The quote is in its original language as follows: “Gecekonduya göz yumma politikasının, kapitalistleşme sürecinde darboğazlara yönelmesine karşın, Türkiye’de henüz, toplu konut üretiminin nesnel koşulları genellikle gerçekleşmiş değildir. Şimdiye kadar gerçekleştirilen toplu konut girişimleri ya konut üretiminden çok, kentsel eteklerdeki toprakların düşük rantlarını "toplulaştırmak" amacını gütmüş ya da, sınırlı gereksinim sahibi grupların toplu örgütlenmesinden öte bir boyut getirememişlerdir. (...)Bu açılardan bakıldığında, Türkiye’de toplu konut üretiminin nesnel koşulları, gecekondulaşmayı aşmanın - gecekonduyun yerini alacak konut üretiminin, nesnel koşulları görünümünü kazanmaktadır.

(...)

"Toplu konut" terimini, batıdaki "kitle konut" anlamından öte, bir toplu-yaşam aracı, katılım ortamı olarak yorumlamak gerekir. Batıda yapılan birçok hata, yarattıkları tekdüze kullanışsız konut çevreleri ile, Türkiye durumundaki ülkelere önemli dersler vermektedir. Bu dersler

One year after this 1978-dated article, which made warnings about the mass housing production that had begun to develop in Turkey, the issue became more prominent in the journal as the state attempted to regulate mass housing production. The Decree on New Urban Settlement Areas, which came to the agenda in 1979 – as mentioned in the previous section, was the main subject of the texts published this year. The decree, which envisages the allocation of large public lands to housing producers and paves the way for these companies to benefit from public funds and credits, was criticized on the grounds that it would accelerate land speculation, promote the production of high-standing housing and move away from the already problematic social housing policies. Although the central government had the same social democratic management approach as the municipalities, the decree was interpreted as a violation of the municipalities' authority.³⁰¹ It could be said that similar discussions, albeit not in such an intensive manner, were also on the agenda of the journal in 1981 for the Mass Housing Law.

In addition to these discussions on mass housing, it is observed that alternative ways of housing production were included in the agenda of the journal through the mass housing projects published in the journal. The article on İzmit New Settlements Project, which continues to be on the agenda of the journal in this period, detailed of the participatory design process, architectural drawings and visuals of the final product, and insights into the role of the architect in the process were provided.³⁰² Another housing settlement project, which was also intended to be conducted through a participatory process, was Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighbourhood project. The article, authored by the architect of the project, Cengiz Bektaş, provides information

değerlendirilebilir; batının kapitalist ve sosyalist ülkelerinde yapılan hataların ötesinde bir noktadan başlamanın yolları, araştırılabilir.”

³⁰¹ The texts centered on housing, published in the 160th and 161st issues of the journal, are based on this Decree.

³⁰² Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 55-60.

about the participatory process carried out in this project, and the housing types developed as a result of this process.³⁰³

The Manila Competition, that was one of the most prominent architectural competitions of the period, was also covered extensively in the journal *Mimarlık* in this period. The competition, organized to reconsider squatter-like settlements in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, aimed to develop alternative solutions to the urban housing problem of underdeveloped countries. The main feature of the competition was that the proposals were not only aimed at physical planning and structure. The proposals were intended to be self-sufficient, both in terms of the constructive powers of those who would settle there, and in terms of its physical environment, especially its technical and, to some extent, social infrastructure. In the implementation of this new settlement with a population of 100,000 to 140,000, suggestions were requested that would allow the people who would live here, and contribute to the project with money and labor, and would use their knowledge and skills regarding construction. The competition, which took a novel approach to the concepts of participation and self-help, also received entries from Turkey. In the evaluation text of the competition written by Mehmet Adam, both the awarded projects and the projects participating from Turkey were included.³⁰⁴ The award-winning projects were characterized by an approach that involved the creation of an entire settlement by organizing community units of 3,500 to 5,000 people. These units were designed to benefit from local resources and the skills of the users, while also allowing user decisions to be effectively incorporated into the physical planning and shaping of housing units. (Figure 3-15)

³⁰³ Cengiz Bektaş, “Türkiye’de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 45-52.

³⁰⁴ Mehmet Adam, “1976 Manila Yarışması ve Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 73-82.

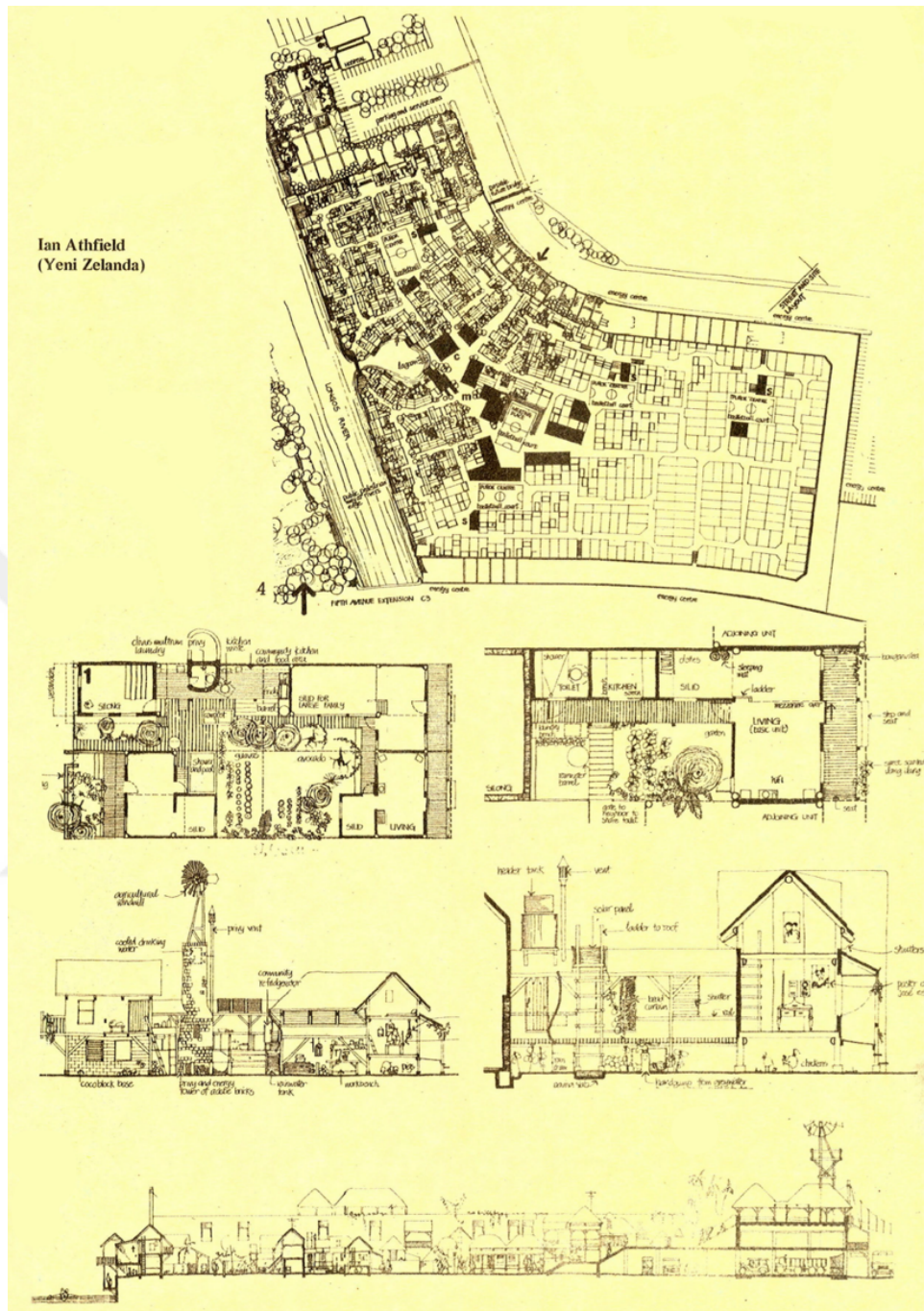


Figure 3-15. The project that won the 1st prize in the 1976 Manila Competition³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Mehmet Adam, “1976 Manila Yarışması ve Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 76.

With the influence of all these projects³⁰⁶ one of the concepts that was included in the content of the journal, increasingly emphasized in this period was ‘participation’. Another reason why the concept of ‘participation’ was accorded more prominence in the journal's agenda during this period was the "Public Participation in the Formation of the Physical Environment" seminar organized by İstanbul Technical University on 13-20 May 1981. The seminar saw discussions develop around the concept of participation, with contributions from prominent architects, Cihat Fındıkoğlu, Atilla Yücel, Tuncay Çavdar, Cengiz Bektaş, the urban sociologist Mübeccel Kıray, and Murat Belge. These discussions allowed for the concept to be explored from a variety of perspectives. As architects who tried to carry out participatory processes in the context of housing settlement design, Tuncay Çavdar and Cengiz Bektaş presented their insights based on their own experiences, illustrating the potential benefits and challenges associated with such approaches. According to Çavdar, the participatory process that they experienced in İzmit New Settlements Project – although the project could not be built – was able to produce a successful model in terms of technological, economic and social organization.³⁰⁷ In the seminar, Cengiz Bektaş observed that the participatory processes conducted for the design of housing settlements were constrained by the issue of scale. In light of his experience in Edirne, which was designed as a settlement comprising 1,000 residential units, he discussed the challenges encountered in identifying the diverse user needs for a settlement of this scale. Furthermore, Bektaş posited that it was important to ensure that the participants were adequately informed to facilitate a

³⁰⁶ Apart from these projects, for the projects that were included in the journal during this period: Sibel Dostoğlu, Haldun Dostoğlu, “Milton Keynes Şehri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 13-4; Olcay Ünlüsayın, “INA - CASA ve Toplu Sosyal Konut Üzerine”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 15-6; Berrak Seren, Yasemin Aysan, “Türk-İş Balgat Yapı Kooperatifi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 83-4; Orhan Dinç, “SSK Ankara Toplu İşçi Konutları”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 85-6; Tayyar Kavukçu, “Çorum Belediyesi 3 Numaralı Gecekondu Önleme Bölgesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 86-7; Naim Bekitoğlu, “Yüksel Sitesi Ankara”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 88; Güven Birkan, “Sunuş : Bir Konut Yarışması”, in *Mimarlık*, no.183, (1982), 13-31; Rainer Joedecke, “Bütün İhtiyaçların Karşılandığı Toplu Konut: Arabella”, translated by İhsan Bilgin, in *Mimarlık*, no.189, (1983), 20-2.

³⁰⁷ Tuncay Çavdar, “Bir Katılımsal Tasarım Uygulamasının Ardından”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 8-9.

sound participatory process. He also emphasized the necessity for the architect to assume a multiplicity of roles throughout the process.³⁰⁸

The final text included in this review is “Uyarlanabilirlik, Değişim ve Kullanıcı Katılımı için Tasarım” (“Design for daptability, change and user participation”) by the Dutch architect, educator, and theorist N. John Habraken.³⁰⁹ As mentioned in the section 2.5. Modernism Revised: Exploring Participatory Design Processes of this dissertation, Habraken's studies on the potential for users to intervene in the living space during the usage phase, thereby influencing the environment in which they live were introduced. In parallel with this, in his article Habraken, argued that the user should be recognized and understood as a power. He dwelt on the formation of space as a process and drew attention to the roles of the user and the architect in this formation process. He approached the roles of the architect and the user in this process with the concept of ‘balance of power’, and defined the role of the architect as follows:

We must begin to regard housing as cultivation. We cannot make end plants (or plans), but as gardeners we should know which plants will take root where and how we can encourage optimal growth. Architects, however, have not been trained with this attitude; they tend to think in terms of finished products. This is acceptable when designing a town hall or a theatre, but

³⁰⁸ Cengiz Bektaş, “Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 10-2.

³⁰⁹ N. John Habraken, “Uyarlanabilirlik, Değişim ve Kullanıcı Katılımı için Tasarım”, translated by Müren Özçay, in *Mimarlık*, no.195, (1983), 49-53. This is the text of Habraken's speech at the Aga Khan seminars in 1979. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, established in 1977, also organized a series of seminars during the determination of the second architecture awards. Habraken was one of the participants of the seminar titled "Housing Process and Physical Form", which took place in Jakarta, Indonesia between 26-29 March 1979. The 195th issue of *Mimarlık* journal focuses on the Aga Khan architectural awards and the seminars organized in this context. In addition to Habraken's text titled "Design for Adaptability, Change and User Participation", Charles Correa's presentation titled "Urban Housing in the Third World: The Role of Architect" was also included in the same issue of the journal. For the original text of Habraken: <https://www.archnet.org/publications/3557> (Accessed: 20 May 2024)

housing is a very different problem, and the process of change must be considered.³¹⁰

The intensification of mass housing debates during this period, coupled with an increased emphasis on participation, illustrates the dialectical relationship between the architectural projects constructed during this era and the prevailing discourses within the field. In this respect, it can be said that the participatory experiments in the housing settlement projects³¹¹ in Turkey – whether they were realized under the leadership of municipalities or by the choice of the designer, were considered among the prominent projects of the period, and they constituted both a driving force and a consequence of these architectural debates. In order to provide a general assessment of the period 1963-83, within the scope of this study, it is possible to state that the concepts of ‘urban and housing policy’, ‘settlement planning’ and, although less emphasized at the end of the period, ‘squatter settlements’ remained on the agenda of housing debates throughout these 21 years. On the other hand, concepts such as ‘social housing’, ‘rental housing’ and ‘housing standards’, which were more frequently discussed at the beginning of the period, started to fall off the agenda in the early 1970s. These concepts, as seen in Figure 3-16, were replaced by other concepts such as ‘mass housing’, ‘economy-politics of housing’, ‘participation’, and ‘housing cooperative’.

³¹⁰ This part, which is also included in the translated text in *Mimarlık* journal, is quoted from the original text. N. John Habraken, “Design for Adaptability, Change and User Participation”, in *Housing Process and Physical Form*, Proceedings of Seminar Three in the Series of Architectural Transformation in the Islamic World, (The Aga Khan Award Publications, 1979), 29.

³¹¹ In the 1963-83 period, which is the scope of the review, although there is no text that deals with the Batıkent project as the main topic of discussion, there are texts that mention the project. Such as: Tului Sönmez, “Bir Yerel Yönetim Biçimi Olarak Belediye ve Kentsel Arazide Belediye Tasarrufları Açısından Olanaklar ve Olanaksızlıklar”, in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 70-2; Haluk Alatan, “1978’e GİRERKEN, Ankara’nın Planlama Sorunlarına Bakış”, in *Mimarlık*, no.152, (1977), 84-6; Ergun Unaran, “Yerel Yönetimlerin Toplu Konut Projeleri : İzmit ve Ankara Deneyimleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.189, (1983), 17-9. Texts on the Batıkent project have been on the agenda of the journal since the second half of the 1980s.

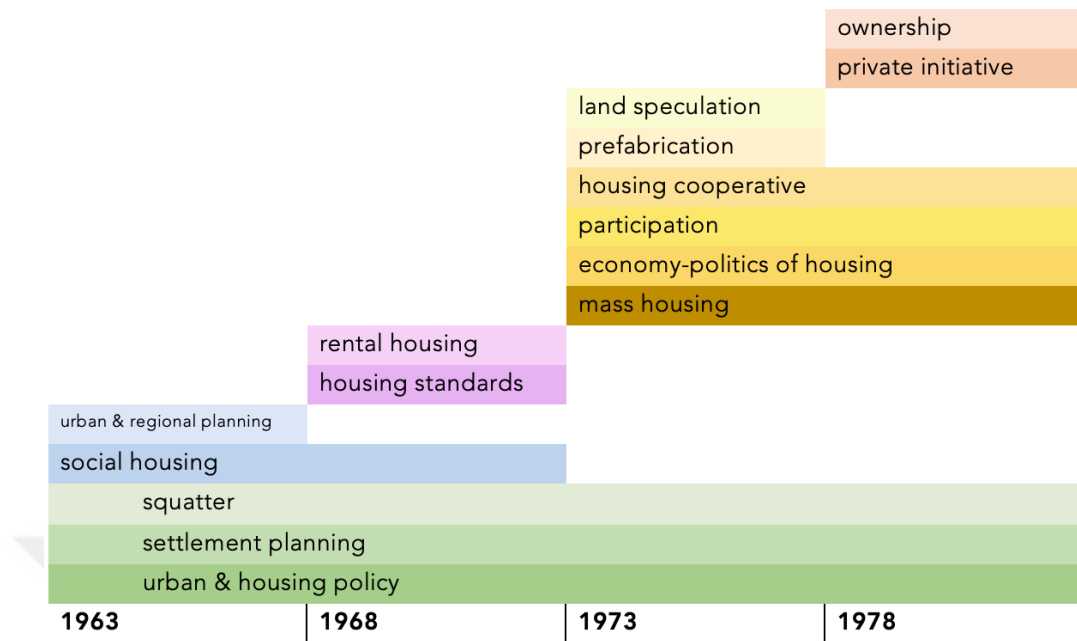


Figure 3-16. Temporal change of the prominent concepts in the texts on housing and urbanization published in the journal of *Mimarlık*³¹²

In this section of the study, the articles published in the first 21 years of the publication life of *Mimarlık* journal were studied in order to reveal which architectural debates were more prominent. In the following chapter, housing settlement projects that stand out in terms of participatory design will be studied and evaluated in the light of this legacy of discourse and design practice, in addition to the evolution of the public policies and legal and institutional framework of the period.

³¹² The image was prepared by the author.

CHAPTER 4

ALTERNATIVE ANSWERS TO THE HOUSING QUESTION IN TURKEY

In this phase of the study, an examination of housing settlements in Turkey that were realized through cooperative organizations will be conducted. The inclusion of cooperatives³¹³ in the housing sector as an alternative solution began with the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, which was established in 1935. Following the proclamation of Ankara as the capital of the recently established Republic, the rapidly increasing civil servant population in the city gave rise to a substantial housing deficit. Although different solutions to the housing problem were sought by the state and private initiatives in Ankara at that time³¹⁴, the cooperative housing model initiated by the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative rapidly gained traction and became a prevalent mode of housing production. As the first example of the cooperative housing model, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative exemplifies decisive features in the formation of the housing cooperative tradition in Turkey. This study

³¹³ Although not in the housing sector, many cooperatives, mostly related to agriculture, were established since the early years of the Republic. Given their alignment with the populist principle, one of the founding tenets of the Republic, efforts were made to develop cooperatives through legal and institutional regulations. On the other hand, contrary to the bottom up cooperative movements emerged in Europe, the understanding of cooperative in Turkey appeared as a part of newly founded government's understanding of the society. This vision of society also referred to the economic development model of the Republic. Through the understanding of different lines of work in solidarity, it was aimed to create a self-sufficient, financially independent nation. However, the application of this principle in practice was evaluated by economic historian and sociologist Çağlar Keyder as being confined to the cooperation between political elites and nascent bourgeoisie in the early Republican period. See: Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. (London, New York: Verso, 1987), 76-8.

³¹⁴ In the early Republican period, in order to solve the housing problem of Ankara's increasing bureaucratic and civil servant population and to build the new capital as a manifestation of the modern Republic, it was decided to expand the city on the north-south axis and to create a new governmental zone to the south of the old city. In addition to this low-density settlement called *Yenişehir*, which was built with public investments, apartment buildings were also built through private initiatives during this period. See: Nuray Bayraktar, Elif Selena Ayhan, Didem Bahar, "Ankara'da Yerleşim Ölçeğinde Modern Konut Uygulamaları", in *Başkent Oluşunun 90. Yılında Ankara: 1923-2013*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013), 137.

examined the communication between the architect and the cooperative members during the design process of this inaugural cooperative housing settlement in the country. Although there was no such intention in the design of the settlement, traces of the participatory design approach were attempted to be detected.

The remaining three projects included in this research are manifestations of a different time period. On the one hand, the welfare state approach that increased after the Second World War and became more prominent in Turkey after 1960, the increasing union movements both in the world and in Turkey, and on the other hand, the rapid urbanization that increased with internal migration and the widespread housing problem paved the way for the development of social housing policies. In the housing policies developed during this period, concerns such as diversifying the institutions that provided housing credits, determining the housing standards that must be followed in order to benefit from the credit opportunities, and encouraging housing cooperative organizations come to the fore. Under the influence of these policies, four of the housing cooperatives organized in the 1970s attempted to evaluate the potential of the cooperative model to develop participatory design approaches: Çorum Binevler Housing Settlement, Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, İzmit New Settlements Project, and Batıkent Settlement in Ankara. At this juncture in the study, an examination was conducted of the original design processes undertaken by these housing cooperatives and their respective architects.

4.1 Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative

In Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's 1934 dated novel *Ankara*,³¹⁵ the protagonist Selma is depicted residing in three distinct houses, each symbolizing a facet of Ankara. The first of these is one of the traditional houses of the old city and represents deficient living conditions. The second house is a modern residence defined as a 'cubic house',

³¹⁵ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983).

representing the modern life of the period. More than 10 years have passed since the declaration of the Republic, and according to Karaosmanoğlu, neither of these two types of housing, which stand out in Ankara's existing housing stock, offered an ideal lifestyle. The cooperative house, the third house where Selma lives in the novel, was also a reflection of the new searches for housing at the time the novel was written.

The mid-1930s was a time when discussions about involving cooperative organizations in housing began to increase. The Turkish Cooperative Association moved to Ankara in 1933, and *Karınca* magazine began to be published in 1934. In the same year, at the annual congress of the Turkish Cooperative Association, it was decided to establish construction cooperatives.³¹⁶ In the light of these discussions, Bahçelievler was established as Turkey's first official housing cooperative on January 26, 1935.³¹⁷ In line with the definition of the housing question of the period, the 169 founding members of the cooperative were mostly high-level civil servants and bureaucrats.

After Ankara became the capital, its population grew rapidly, especially due to the arrival of civil servants and bureaucrats, creating a serious need for housing. During this period, the legal regulations that were enacted to solve Ankara's housing problem (as discussed in Chapter 3) were insufficient to solve the problem.³¹⁸ The *Yenişehir* settlement, which was realized with these regulations, and the Ankara Plan, which was obtained in an international competition in 1928, sought to solve the housing problem on the one hand, but led to land speculation and an increase in rental values on the other.³¹⁹ In a newspaper article published in *Ulus* – one of the prominent

³¹⁶ İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması. (Ankara: Kent-Koop, 1984), 30.

³¹⁷ Hilal Müftüoğlu, Volkan Aydos (ed.), *Türkiye’de Kooperatifçilik*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası, 2001).

³¹⁸ Among these regulations, the Expropriation Law No. 583 of 1925, the establishment of Emlak ve Eytam Bank with the Law No. 844 of 1926 and the establishment of Ankara Zoning Directorate with the Law No. 1351 of 1928 could be cited.

³¹⁹ Although there is no data on rental values in Ankara in the mid-1930s, some information that can help us understand the scale of housing demand was provided by İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin. In 1928, the year of the Ankara Zoning Plan Competition, the population of the city was 74.553, while

newspapers of the period – in 20 May 1935, the situation of the middle class who want to build houses in the planned area was stated as “There is no possibility left for the middle class to build houses in Ankara”.³²⁰

In this context, housing cooperatives came to the fore as an alternative to the solutions developed for the housing problem since the proclamation of the Republic. Under the leadership of Nusret Uzgören, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative purchased a reasonably priced land outside the planned area. After the acquisition of the land, the survey conducted by the *Ulus* newspaper during the planning of the settlement and the design of the housing units is of interest for this study. In response to the newspaper's question, “How can we solve the housing problem in Ankara?”, the following alternative answers were offered regarding the housing for civil servants: (Figure 4-1)

- Should the residences of the civil servants be built as houses with a garden or as large apartments?
- If the garden house type is preferred, would you prefer a system of adjoining houses and gardens or separate houses with separate gardens?
- Should houses be allocated to official positions or to civil servants?

this number reached 122.721 in 1935. This meant that the number of people per house increased to 7,06 and the number of people per room increased to 2,1. *Yenişehir* settlement could only accommodate 1/12 of the city's population. See: İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*. (Ankara: Kent-Koop, 1984), 10-5.

³²⁰ “Arsalar”, *Ulus*, (20 May 1935) <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/ulus/1935-05-20/1> (Accessed: 10 July 2023)



Figure 4-1. The survey conducted by *Ulus* Newspaper on November 8, 1935³²¹

It can be said that with this survey, on the one hand, an attempt was made to collect the opinions of the people concerned and, on the other hand, the demands were directed by presenting predetermined options. Although this survey was not conducted for the design of the Bahçelievler settlement, the answers given (or those

³²¹ "Ulus'un Anketi: Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?", *Ulus*, (8 November 1935) <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/ulus/1935-11-08/4> (Accessed: 10 July 2023)

deemed appropriate among the answers) were published in *Karınca* magazine.³²² It was not a coincidence that the effort to reach the potential user through a survey on housing design and the results of this survey became decisive in the design of cooperative housing. This was both an attempt to prove the legitimacy of Turkey's first housing cooperative and to identify the needs of its members or potential members, which is an intrinsic requirement for a housing cooperative organization.

Among those who responded to the survey was Hermann Jansen, who was also the project author of the Ankara Plan. Jansen answered these questions as follows:

In all the big cities of Europe, people suffer from the trouble of living in large buildings called *Mietskaserne* with four, five, six, seven, and even eight floors, crammed on top of each other, isolated from nature. ... For this reason, building cooperatives should avoid multi-storey dwellings at all costs and favor the construction of private, single or two-storey adjoining row houses with gardens over any other form of housing.³²³

As Tekeli and İlkin stated, considering both the compatibility of this answer with the cooperative members' housing expectations and the convenience of Jansen being the author of the Ankara Plan, he was given the task of planning the Bahçelievler

³²² Almost all of the responses received preferred detached houses with gardens. Among those who responded were influential bureaucrats of the period such as Affan Ataçeri, Vedat Nedim Tör, Veli Atauz, Baha Arkan, Türkan Baştuğ, as well as architects such as Paolo Vietti-Viola and Martin Elsaesser. Among those who participated in the survey were names such as Sadi Reşid Dilek and Vehbi Ergene, who criticized the inefficient use of land by detached houses with gardens and suggested building blocks with 6-8 units within communal gardens. These answers can be found in the issues of *Karınca* magazine published in 1936.

³²³ Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: "Avrupa'nın bütün büyük şehirlerinde insanlar birbirleri üzerine istiflenmiş bir halde yaşadıkları için kendilerini tabiattan uzaklaştıran dört, beş, altı, yedi, hatta sekiz katlı "kira kışlaları" denilen büyük kurağların sıkıntısını çekmektedirler. ... İşte bu sebeple, yapı kooperatifleri çok katlı meskenlerden her ne pahasına olursa olsun sakınmak ve hususi, bahçeli tek veya iki katlı birbirine bitişik sıra evler kurmayı diğer herhangi biçimdeki evlere üstün tutmalıdır." Hermann Jansen, "Yapı Kooperatifleri", in *Karınca* (March 1936), 46.

settlement and designing 8 types of housing.³²⁴ On the other hand, in the article “Mesken Anketimiz Bitti” dated 14 December 1935 by *Ulus* newspaper editor-in-chief Falih Rıfkı Atay, it was stated that according to the survey results, the most preferred housing type was detached houses with gardens, and Jansen's drawings were published as examples.³²⁵ So it turns out that the cooperative had actually started working with Jansen before the survey research.

According to Jansen's first sketches, dated November 1935, he envisioned single and semi-detached houses on the edges of the site and row houses in the middle. While the area in the middle of the land was reserved for common use areas, the areas to the west and east were left empty for the settlement to grow. (Figure 4-2) However, we understand from the January 1936 dated settlement plan that Jansen made a number of changes to this initial sketch. In the second plan, the number of row houses was reduced, the number of single and twin houses was increased, and the overall density of the settlement was decreased. Additionally, facilities such as tennis courts and swimming pools were incorporated into the design. (Figure 4-3) As Esra Akcan indicated, the correspondence between Jansen and the cooperative members was a significant factor in these changes. Cooperative members Mithat Dülge and Nusret Uzgören stated in their letters to Jansen that they wanted row houses not to exceed 20% of the total housing stock, and instead they wanted 30% twin houses and 50% single houses. In addition, it was requested that the settlement have a school, a children's playground, a market, a casino, two tennis courts, and a swimming pool.³²⁶

³²⁴ İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*. (Ankara: Kent-Koop, 1984), 67-8.

³²⁵ Falih Rıfkı Atay, “Mesken Anketimiz Bitti”, in *Ulus*, (14 December 1935) <https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/ulus/1935-12-14/4> (Accessed: 10 July 2023)

³²⁶ Although changes were made to the settlement plan according to the demands of the cooperative members, the final version of the settlement was not Jansen's plan. Since almost none of the members wanted to live in row houses, 106 of the 169 houses in the final version of the settlement were arranged as single houses. Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 154.

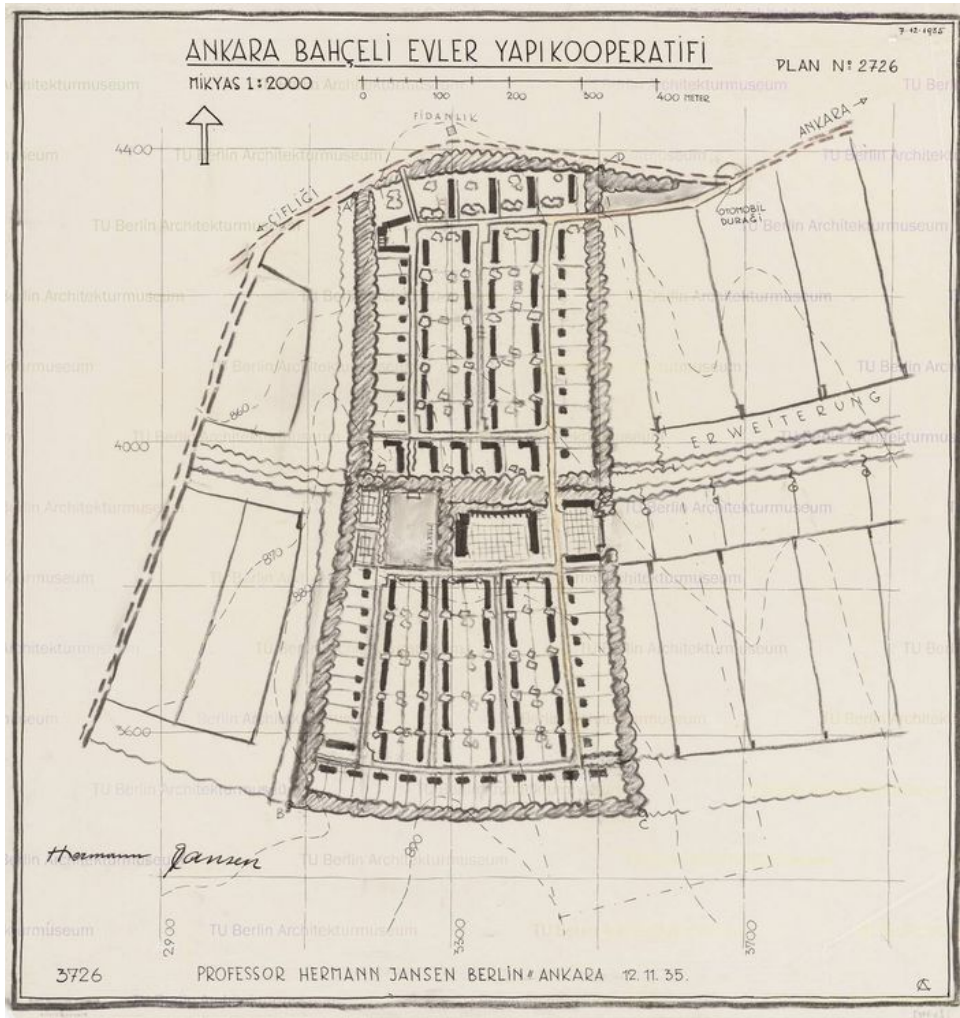


Figure 4-2. Hermann Jansen's first sketch for Bahçelievler Settlement plan³²⁷

³²⁷ “Ankara Bahçeli Evler Yapı Kooperatifi”,
https://arsivankara.atilim.edu.tr/DefaultContentViewer?relation_id=FTS_2244_4696_599_12&wsName=GAMOS&dfOpener=%5CTab%3DDLV&v=-721369162Default/#&cq=bahcelievler&cp=90.397&cr=1 (Accessed: 10 July 2023)

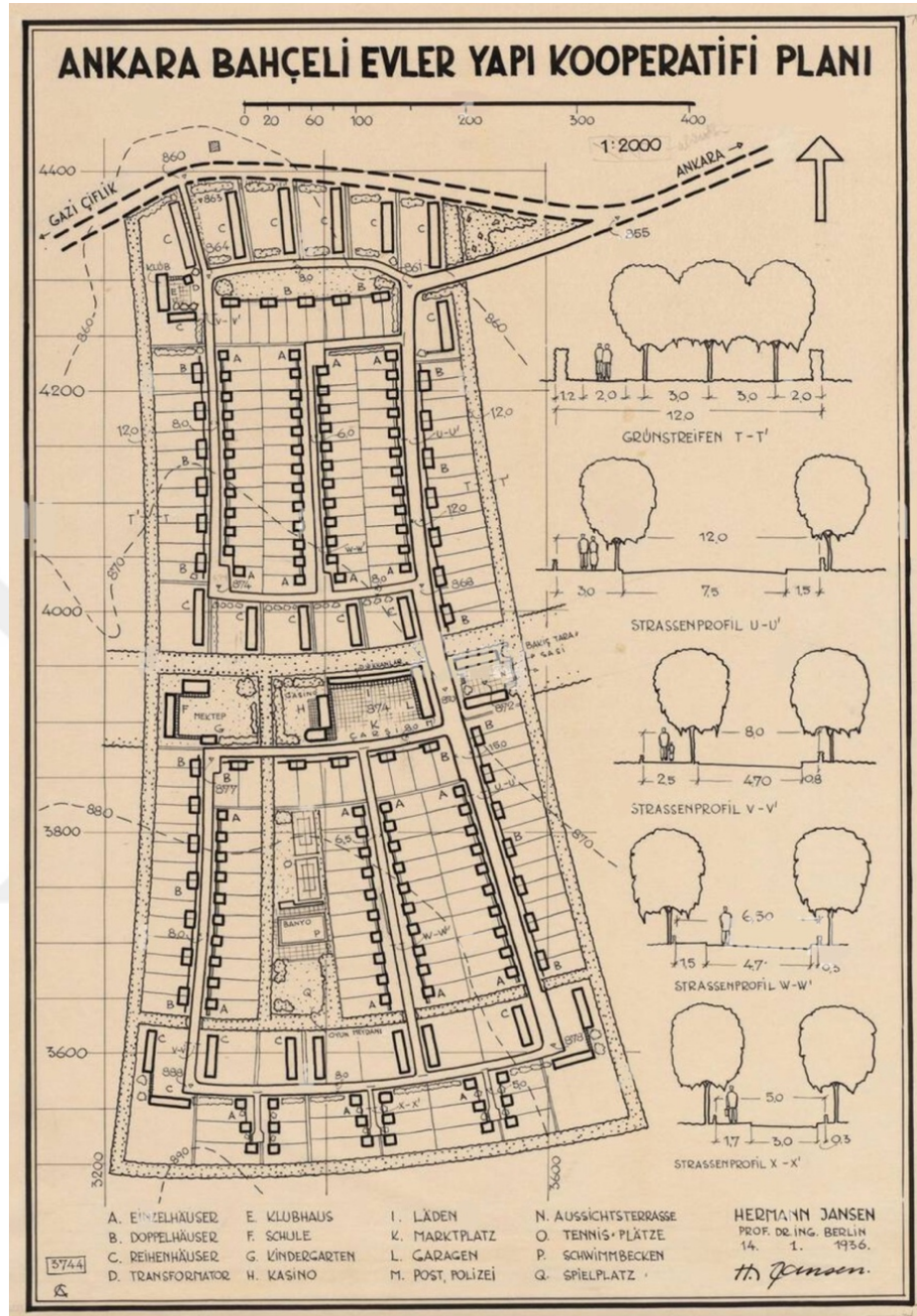


Figure 4-3. The settlement plan changed by Jansen according to the demands of the cooperative members³²⁸

³²⁸ İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, Bağçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması. (Ankara: Kent-Koop, 1984), 61.

Apart from the settlement plan, cooperative members also conveyed their requests to Jansen regarding the design of the housing types. Jansen's designs for single houses, semi-detached houses and row houses were seen as traditional by the cooperative members and they wanted the houses to be modernized. (Figure 4-4) We learn from Esra Akcan again, that Mithat Dülge penned a letter to Jansen in February 1936, wherein he articulated the requests of the cooperative regarding the design of the housing types. In the letter, Dülge stated his demands regarding the housing designs as follows:

- a. We want to build houses in a modern style, not in a traditional Turkish style. We prefer the exteriors of the houses to be in a contemporary style that corresponds to today's materials, rather than in a modernized Oriental style.
- b. We would ask you to give the houses of the settlement a metropolitan rather than a rural character.
- c. Therefore, we want large and wide openings and many terraces and balconies, not oriental cantilevers and small windows.³²⁹

Although it is known that Jansen responded to this letter and defended his design, he ultimately made the requested changes. In the revised drawings of the projects, it is seen that the facade elements such as outer sofa and cantilever, which the cooperative members described as traditional, were removed from the project. (Figure 4-5) Akcan evaluates this entire communication process as intercultural translation. The housing settlement approach, initially conceptualized as the garden city in England at the end of the 19th century, was reinterpreted as *siedlung* in Germany. This

³²⁹ The translation from Turkish belongs to the author, based on Akcan's translation from German to Turkish. For the original text: Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 162.

approach was now being translated into Turkish housing culture with the Bahçelievler project by German architect Jansen.

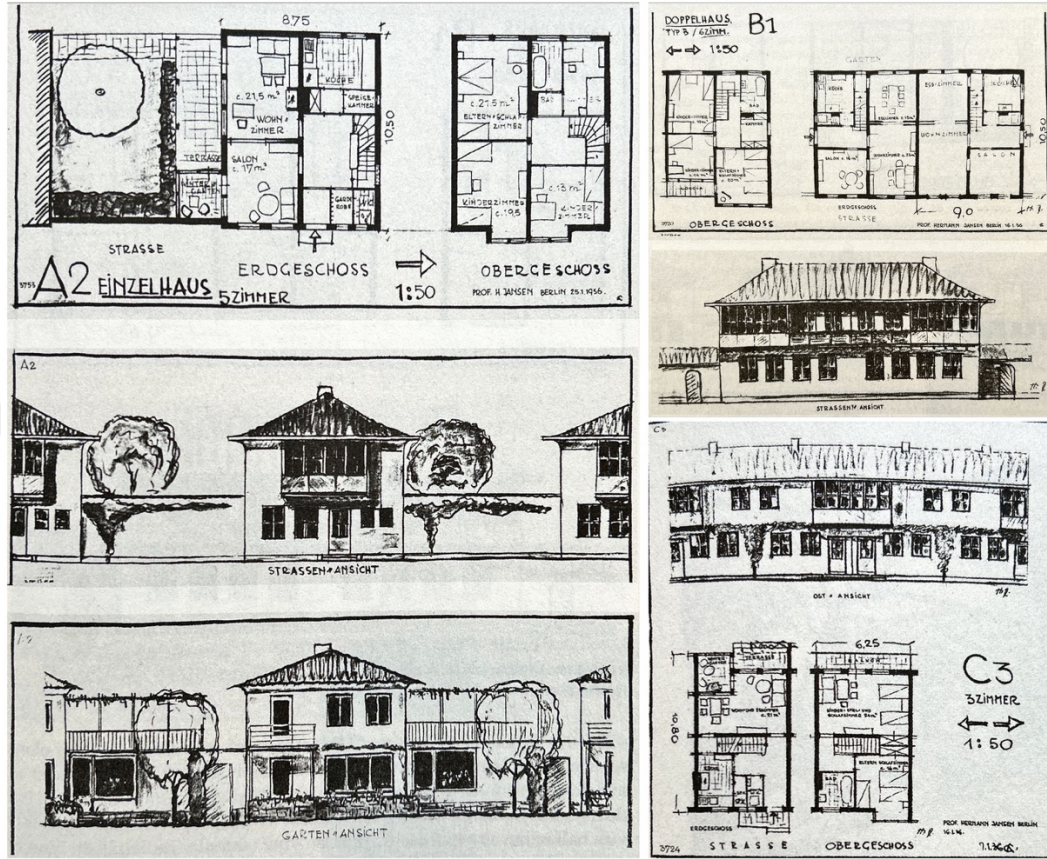


Figure 4-4. Examples of Jansen's first projects for single-house (left), semi-detached (right-top) and row-house (right-bottom) types, dated January 1936³³⁰

³³⁰ Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 159-61.

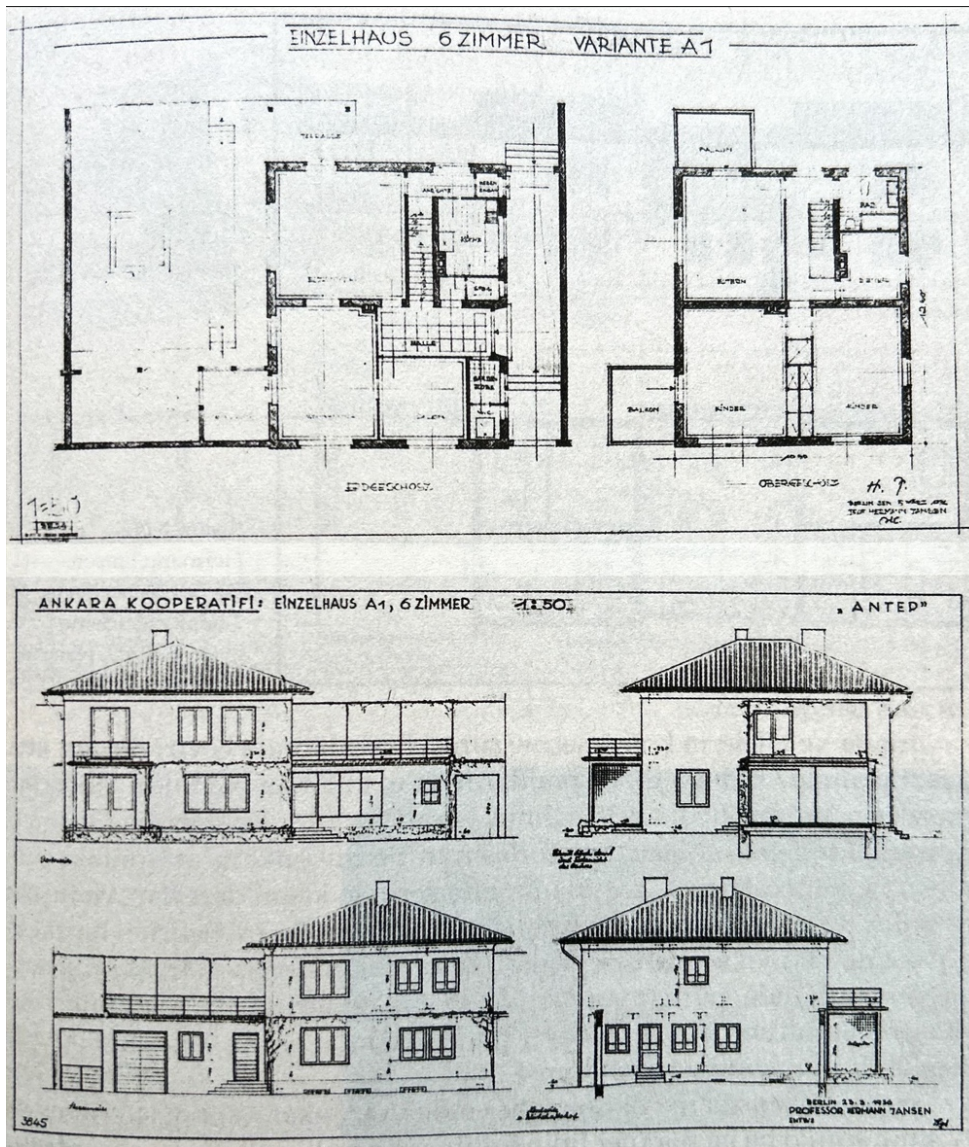


Figure 4-5. One of the projects revised by Jansen in March 1936, according to the demands of the cooperative members³³¹

In addition to this approach, which reads all housing practices of the early Republican period as a cultural translation, Turkey's first housing cooperative

³³¹ Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan – Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 165.

experience is also important in terms of the decisiveness of the relationship between the architect and the user in design. At the very beginning of the process of establishing a mass housing settlement through a cooperative model, conducting a survey through a national newspaper to determine the ideal housing type can be considered as the legitimization of this first experience by gathering different approaches. Besides, this survey was a tool to determine the optimum demand for a mass housing settlement with defined users. In the following process, considering the interventions of cooperative members in the development of the design, it can be said that the cooperative model spontaneously developed a participatory design process. Cooperative members intervened in the projects almost as if they were working with an architect to design their own single-family houses. Indeed, it can be argued that a demarcation problem arose between the architect and the user in terms of determining design decisions during this inaugural experience of housing cooperative. Finally, both the settlement plan and the design of the houses differed from Jansen's in the realized project.³³² Although it was not intended, this spontaneously developed participatory process was decisive in the design of the settlement and the housing units. The fact that the settlement disappeared within 30 years after it was designed and built with such a high level of consideration for the user's demands can be explained, in the simplest terms, by property relations taking precedence over cooperative concerns, the appeal of urban rent, and the lack of a political approach capable of preservation. The Bahçelievler experience served as a model for the subsequent housing settlements (such as Güven Evler Cooperative³³³), and a comparable process developed in these projects, as well. By the 1970s, the cooperative model once again emerged as a prominent approach in the development

³³² For all drawings of the Bahçelievler project, see: Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture", Published Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture, (New York: Columbia University, UMI Pub, 2005).

³³³ For the design process of Güven Evler Housing Cooperative, see: Gülten Kubin, "Güven Housing Cooperative", Unpublished Master Thesis in City and Regional Planning, (Ankara: METU, 1991)

of housing settlements. This time, unlike these first cooperative experiences, the participatory process was designed by the architects.

4.2 Çorum Binevler Housing Settlement

The definition of the ‘housing question’ in Turkey in the 1970s, as discussed in the previous chapter, was quite different from the way it was defined in the early Republican period. The population growth rate was so high that, while the urban population was determined as 3.8 million people in 1935, this number increased to 13.7 million in 1970.³³⁴ The problems of migration and accelerated population growth that Ankara confronted during the early years of the Republic began to become evident in other cities in Anatolia, initially in İstanbul and İzmir. This resulted in an expansion of the geographical and demographic implications of the housing problem. During this period, two distinct forms of housing production emerged and became prevalent, exerting a profound and long-lasting impact on the urban landscape of Turkey: build-and-sell model and squatter settlements. Especially after the transition to the planned period, governments tried to address the housing shortage from various perspectives, and implemented a range of measures. In light of the legal regulations that were in place during this period, it is evident that, despite the competing detrimental impacts of these two production models on the urban fabric, one was ultimately preferred over the other. The 1965 Flat Ownership Law facilitated the proliferation of build-and-sell model, which significantly transformed the character of the built environment. On the other hand, the 1966 Squatter Law legitimized existing squatter settlements while at the same time aiming to prevent the formation of new ones.

³³⁴ Turkish Statistical Institute website, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Kategori/GetKategori?p=Nufus-ve-Demografi-109> (Accessed: 10 July 2023)

In addition to these two forms of housing production, the cooperative model re-emerged as an alternative solution to the housing problem with the enactment of new legislation during this period. In 1961, when the Social Security Institution was allowed to provide direct loans to workers' housing cooperatives, the importance of housing production by cooperatives increased. With the amendment to the housing loan regulation in 1973, the minimum number of partners of cooperatives to which loans would be granted was increased from seven to thirty. This decision was consistent with the policy of promoting mass housing production, which was first articulated in the Second Five-Year Development Plan. Thus, the legislative framework was established to facilitate the development of housing settlements through cooperative initiatives. One of the projects developed in this context was the Çorum Binevler Settlement.³³⁵

The project was designed and implemented by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici between 1971 and 1975. The cooperative was established in 1971 as a land cooperative comprising individuals from disparate social groups (the majority of cooperative members were civil servants, tradesmen and workers), with the objective of benefiting from land speculation. Behruz Çinici, who designed a cultural center in Çorum in the 1950s, enabled the cooperative to transform into a housing cooperative as a result of the social relations he established at that time. We understand from Behruz Çinici's explanations of the process, it is evident that a considerable number of meetings were held between the architect and the cooperative members during

³³⁵ Binevler Settlement was not the first cooperative housing organization in Çorum. The first use of the cooperative model in housing production in Çorum dates back to the 1950s. Located between two major cities, Ankara and Samsun, Çorum began to receive migration from rural areas with the development of transportation networks between these two cities in this period. The establishment of the cement factory in 1957 also had an impact on this situation. In order to address the housing shortage, the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative was established in 1952, followed by the Esnaf Evleri (Tradesmen's Houses) Cooperative in 1954. See: *Altuğ & Behruz Çinici, Çorum Binevler*, edited by Ahmet Turhan Altın, (İstanbul: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Altın Yayınılık, 1996), 22.

this period of transition.³³⁶ This shows that the relationship between the architect and the cooperative members was established from the very beginning.

The Binevler settlement encompasses an area of 135 hectares and is situated in the northern region of Çorum, approximately five kilometers from the city center. (Figure 4-6) The aim of the project was to build 1000 houses in the first phase, continue the construction of houses in the second and third phases and eventually create a satellite town with approximately 3000 houses. Considering that the cooperative housing settlements built up until then were realized with the organization of at most 150-200 cooperative members, this was a new scale for the housing cooperative model. In order to realize a project of this scale, a research team was established under the leadership of Çinici Architecture Office. This team, established to conduct research on national, regional and urban scales, included city planners Raci Bademli, Ferhan Teber, Haluk Elver, and Türkay Ateş; architects İlteriş Tezer and Nuran Alp; mining engineers Şefik Ozanözü and Ertuğrul Doğuç; geologist Sevindik Kiper; and cartographer Nazmi Yıldız. Apart from this team, the architectural group included Oral Vural, İbrahim Erkan, Ayla Uyanık, Mehpare Bilgehan, and Nihal Koçdağ, along with the Çinici Architects.³³⁷ The studies conducted by the research team were published in 1973, as a comprehensive study on a Central Anatolian city with the title *Çorum: Studies at National, Regional,*

³³⁶ The initial plan of the cooperative, which had obtained land at a reduced price outside the municipal borders, was to subdivide the area into one thousand lots and establish separate ownership for each lot. In the words of Behruz Çinici: “In the hope of influencing the opinions of cooperative members, we organized meetings, lectures, exhibitions, and workshops. We made clear the negative aspects of existing patterns of urban living and built-up environment in Turkish cities, discussed problems of housing, underlined the wider implications of and issues involved in creating new communities from scratch; exposed alternative approaches to the question; displayed various examples of the contemporary housing designs and community set-ups; and finally, singled out those aspects of our national and regional heritages which need to be considered when creating new residential areas. Our efforts paid-off. Members of the Çorum Binevler Land Cooperative voted unanimously to support a comprehensive and innovative planning approach. The land cooperative was transformed into a housing cooperative. This was an important turning point in the history of the project.” See: *Altuğ & Behruz Çinici, Çorum Binevler*, edited by Ahmet Turhan Altınar, (İstanbul: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Altınar Yayıncılık, 1996), 28-9.

³³⁷ Altuğ Çinici, Behruz Çinici, *Çorum: Studies at National, Regional, Urban Scales for a Housing Project in Central Anatolia*, (Ankara: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Ajans Türk Matbaacılık, 1973), 1.

Urban Scales for a Housing Project in Central Anatolia.³³⁸ These studies, carried out with such a team prior to the commencement of the planning and design phase, could be regarded as the inaugural stage of a multi-actor and participatory process.

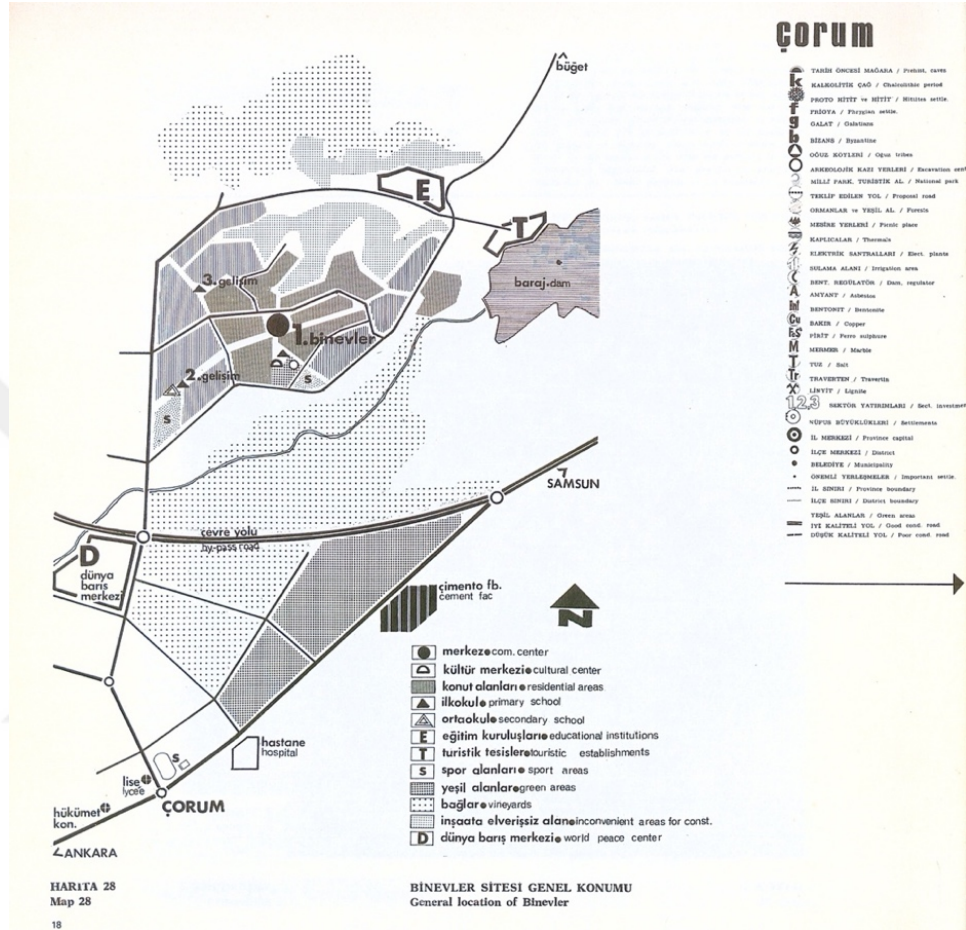


Figure 4-6. Diagram showing the location of Binevler settlement³³⁹

With studies at macro, mezzo and micro scales; determinations and evaluations were made on issues including regional borders, natural resources, population

³³⁸ It is possible to access the work carried out for the Binevler Housing Cooperative through the SALT Digital Archive, including this publication. <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/212> (Accessed: 15 July 2023)

³³⁹ Altuğ Çinici, Behruz Çinici, *Çorum: Studies at National, Regional, Urban Scales for a Housing Project in Central Anatolia*, (Ankara: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Ajans Türk Matbaacılık, 1973), 18.

characteristics, current rural and urban structure, settlement characteristics, and urbanization characteristics. Among the micro-scale studies, the questionnaire sent to cooperative members is of particular importance for this study. In the letter written to the members at the beginning of this questionnaire, it was indicated that a primary objective of the design team was to develop housing solutions that aligns with the “family life and financial capability of each family”, and added:

Our great desire is to get acquainted with you through questionnaires and meetings that will be held on occasions. We can answer your need for a favorable site and dwelling convenient for both the necessities of modern life and our traditions if you would participate.³⁴⁰

When the questions in the survey are examined, in addition to general questions about family members, the families were asked about the houses they currently live in, their social lives, economic conditions, demands for housing types and settlement planning, and their determinations for the province of Çorum. (Figure 4-7) As stated by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, with this survey, the place of cooperative members in the social structure of Çorum was investigated in terms of occupation, education and income groups. As indicated by the findings of the survey, the socio-economic characteristics of the cooperative members were as follows:

[...] it is found that, 25 % of the members are workers, about 50 % are craftsman, and the rest 25 % are officials, military personnel, tradesman, and industrialists. The data which gained importance in the determination of the spatial organization programme, the dwelling types, and the social income

³⁴⁰ Altuğ & Behruz Çinici, *Çorum Binevler*, edited by Ahmet Turhan Altınır, (İstanbul: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Altınır Yayıncılık, 1996), 53.

groups, by an amount of installment paid and type of installment, and by the type of immovable property they own.³⁴¹

BİNEVLER ANKETİ

(A) Aile fertleri ile ilgili genel sorular

1. Kooperatif üyesinin, yaşı, tahsili, mesleği
2. Beraber oturmakta olduğunuz aile fertlerinin akrabalık derecesi, yaşı, tahsili, mesleği
3. Ailenin aylık toplam geliri nedir?
4. Aile reisinin memleketi? Çorum il merkezi, Çorum ilçe ve köyleri, başka iller

(B) Şu anda oturmakta olduğunuz ev ile ilgili sorular

1. Oturduğunuz evin, sahibi misiniz, kiracısı mısınız
2. Kiracı iseniz aylık kira miktarınız nedir?
3. Ev sahibi iseniz ne zaman sahip oldunuz? Kaça mal oldu?
4. Oturduğunuz evde kaç odanız var? Yeterli midir?
5. Isınmak için ne kullanırsınız? Odun sobası, kömür sobası, kalorifer, gaz sobası, diğer?
6. Yemek pişirmek için ne kullanırsınız? Gazocağı, maltız - ocak, tüpgaz, diğer?
7. Evinizin bahçesi var mı?
8. Bahçenizi nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
9. Bahçeniz müstakil mi, yoksa diğer ailelerle ortak mı kullanıyorsunuz?
10. Apartman tipi evde mi, müstakil evde mi oturuyorsunuz?
11. Apartman tipi ise kaç aile oturmaktadır?
12. Hangi semtte oturuyorsunuz?
13. Oturduğunuz ev sizce yeterli mi?
14. Yeterli değilse sizce sizce en önemli eksiklikler nelerdir?

(C) Sosyal yaşayışınızla ilgili sorular

1. Gece ve gündüz boş vakitlerinizi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Özel meraklarınız var mıdır? Varsa

- nelerdir?
2. Spor yapıyor musunuz? Yapıyorsanız hangi sporları yapıyorsunuz?
3. İmkânınız ve vaktiniz olsa idi, hangi sporları yapmak isterdiniz?
4. Yıllık tatil süreniz ne kadardır? Nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
5. Hangi tip eğlence yerlerini tercih edersiniz?
6. Çocuklarınız çoğunlukla nerede oynuyor? En çok hangi oyunları oynuyor?
7. En çok hangi mesire yerlerine gidersiniz?
8. Yakın görüştüğünüz komşuların sayısı kaçtır?
9. Evinize yılda kaç kişi yatılı misafir gelir?

(D) Ekonomik durumunuzla ilgili sorular

1. Günlük alışverişlerinizi nereden sağlarsınız? Semt bakkalı, şehir merkezi, diğer?
2. Haftalık alışverişinizi nereden yaparsınız?
3. Toptan alışveriş yapar mısınız? Yaparsanız nereden?
4. Halen herhangi bir mal için taksit ödüyor musunuz? Eğer ödüyorsanız ne için, ayda ne kadar ödüyorsunuz?
5. Kredi alma durumunda mısınız? Hangi kurumlardan? Banka, Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu, diğer?
6. Gayrimenkulünüz var mı? Dükkan, arsa, ev, diğer (açıklayınız)?
7. Ulaşım araçlarından aşağıdakilerden hangisine sahipsiniz? Özel oto, kamyon, otobüs, minibüs, triportör, bisiklet, motosiklet, at arabası, traktör?

(E) Ev tipleri ve Cazip Bölge Planlaması ile ilgili genel istekleriniz

- (F) Çorum şehri ile ilgili genel istekleriniz ve sizce şehrinizin en önemli eksiklikleri

Figure 4-7. The questionnaire sent to cooperative members by the architectural team³⁴²

³⁴¹ Altuğ Çinici, Behruz Çinici, *Çorum: Studies at National, Regional, Urban Scales for a Housing Project in Central Anatolia*, (Ankara: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Ajans Türk Matbaacılık, 1973), 16.

³⁴² Altuğ & Behruz Çinici, *Çorum Binevler*, edited by Ahmet Turhan Altınır, (İstanbul: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Altınır Yayıncılık, 1996), 54-5.

Although it is not possible to determine to what extent the survey affected the settlement planning and design of housing units without knowing the answers to these questions, it is clear that the number of households, the income status of the families and traditional domestic living practices were decisive. 15 different housing types were designed, varying according to the size and income status of the families. 11 of these 15 housing types were designed in accordance with SSK credit conditions.³⁴³ Reviewing the planning decisions, it is seen that the settlement was designed with low density. Although the majority of houses in the settlement are row houses, there are also 4 and 5 story apartment buildings. Both the spatial organization of the row houses and the architectural form of the apartment buildings were designed with the intention of delineating courtyards or common green spaces between them. In order to meet the social, cultural, and commercial needs of the Binevler cooperative, a series of facilities were designed, including small markets, a primary school, a nursery, a mosque, an assembly hall, a library, an amphitheater, a health unit, children's playgrounds, and open spaces – even though they could not be built. Additionally, a shopping center was designed to be located in the center of the settlement. (Figure 4-8)

³⁴³ Altuğ and Behruz Çinici put forth the proposal of establishing a prefabrication factory to facilitate the production of housing units in a qualified, expedient, and cost-effective manner. Load-bearing walls and floors were produced in this factory as standard elements. These elements were brought and installed with cranes on the foundations prepared on the site. The objective was to ensure the continued utilisation of this factory, which has the capacity to produce 3 to 5 houses per day, in the regional development process following the Binevler settlement. Furthermore, the intention was to facilitate the creation of employment opportunities. *Altuğ & Behruz Çinici, Çorum Binevler*, edited by Ahmet Turhan Altın, (İstanbul: Çinici Mimarlık Yayını, Altın Yayınılık, 1996), 66-7.



Figure 4-8. The model photo showing the proposed settlement plan³⁴⁴

Considering the housing types, it is seen that different interior space organizations are considered in the housing plans, from houses for single person, called 'bachelor dwelling', to houses where families with 5 children can live. The bachelor dwellings (3 types of 50, 55 and 60 m² sizes) were designed as duplex apartments in four- or five-story apartment buildings. Besides, 5 types of apartments (85 and 87 m² in size) were designed for families with two to four children. A courtyard/common green space was defined by bringing these housing types together. One of the original approaches was a residential design that reinterpreted the apartment and row house types and divided the use of the front and backyards into two different residences. (Figure 4-9) In these two units of equal size, the choice of a daily living room

³⁴⁴ “Model photos of Çorum Binevler Settlement”,
<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/86076> (Accessed: 1 July 2023)

connected to the main living room (the housing type indicated as K₂ in the figure) or a daily dining area connected to the kitchen (the housing type indicated as K₁ in the figure) was left to the cooperative members. In addition to these approaches that consider the number of household members and their income level, architectural elements reflecting traditional spatial uses, such as *sofa*, *taht*, *cumba*, *taşlık*, *seki*, *haymalık* or laundry area to be located under the entrance, and fruit-drying areas in the attic, were also taken into account.

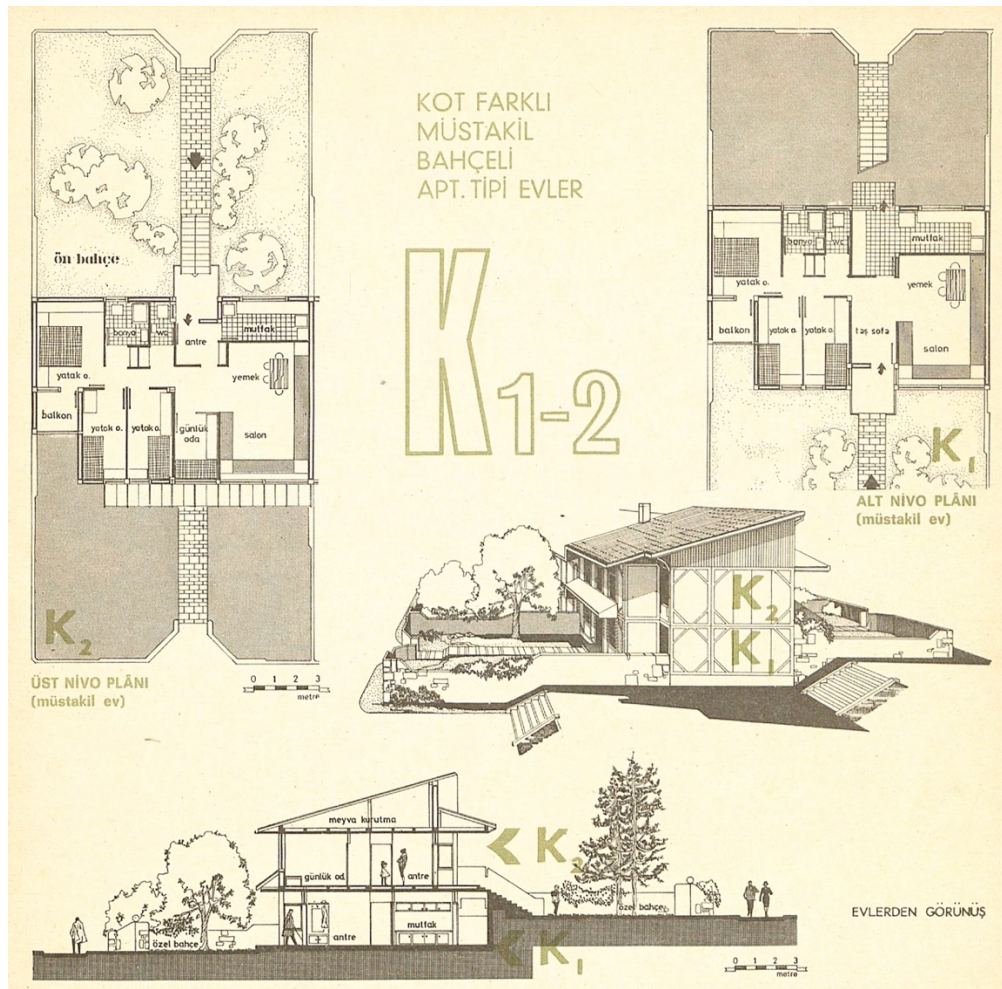


Figure 4-9. Apartment type housing units with separate gardens³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ “Brochure of housing types of the Çorum Binevler settlement”,
<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/83147> (Accessed: 15 July 2023)

The endeavor to ground design decisions in comprehensive research and cultivate them through cooperative members' participation evinces that Altuğ and Behruz Çinici were well-acquainted with the concepts of community-based design and user participation, which started to rise in the 1960s. Another architect who, like Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, closely followed the global architectural agenda, Cengiz Bektaş, also tried ways to carry out the cooperative housing project through participatory processes. In the next section, Bektaş's Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood project and how the participatory process was operated for this housing cooperative will be discussed.

4.3 Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood

Unlike the Çorum Binevler Project, information about the Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood Project, designed by Cengiz Bektaş, can be accessed from a limited number of sources. While the drawings of the Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Project are accessible via SALT Research's digital archive³⁴⁶, the most comprehensive information regarding the design process can be found in Bektaş's article, "Türkiye'de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği: Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı" (An Example of Approach to the Mass Housing Problem in Turkey: Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Neighborhood Research and Approach), published in the 156th issue of *Mimarlık* journal in 1978.³⁴⁷ Organized with the initiative of the Edirne Governor of the period, Mustafa Karaer, 507 people founded the "Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood Residents Construction Cooperative" in the early 1970s.³⁴⁸ 150 acres of land on the İstanbul road, situated approximately three

³⁴⁶ "Edirne Social Insurants Building Cooperative", <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/196064?locale=en> (Accessed: 10 July 2023)

³⁴⁷ Cengiz Bektaş, "Türkiye'de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı", in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 45-52.

³⁴⁸ In line with the Second Five-Year Development Plan, according to the 1969 Investment Program, Edirne province was included in the scope of 'Priority Regions in Development' ("Kalkınmada Öncelikli Yörelere", in Turkish). In this way, it became possible to benefit from supports such as

kilometers from Edirne, was procured to establish a cooperative housing settlement. The cooperative began searching for an architect to design the settlement and decided to work with Cengiz Bektaş. Cengiz Bektaş explained the reasons for accepting to design the project as follows:

1. With the exception of one or two founding members, all of the cooperative members were individuals who did not possess a housing in Edirne.
2. The distribution of occupations and income groups among the cooperative members was found to be highly comparable to the regional averages observed in Thrace. The study to be conducted could serve as a model for the entire region. Nevertheless, a research phase was deemed essential prior to commencing the design phase.³⁴⁹

In this regard, an advisory team consisting of city planners, statisticians, sociologists, civil and mechanical engineers held meetings with the architectural office. Among those attending the meetings were Kazime Erten, city planner Cevat Geray, statistics and planning expert Tevfik Çavdar, architect Baran İdil, sociologist Doğan Ergun, social scientist Emre Kongar, civil engineer Erol Soner, mechanical engineer Cemal Sabutay, and exploration expert Cazip Ekin. Besides, the architectural design team of the project consisted of Cengiz Bektaş, Nadir Hasbora, Anne Özdamar, Serap Orgun, Tevfik Balcıoğlu, and Ali Bülbül. The team commenced their investigation

investment discounts and low-cost credits. This led to an increase in investments in Edirne province and accelerated construction. The housing cooperative organized for the Cumhuriyet Neighborhood should be evaluated in this context. See: Selin Arabulan, Ertan Varlı, Berk Minez, “Toplu Konut Olgusuna Kısa Bir Bakış ve Edirne Uygulamaları”, *Proceedings the 3rd International Symposium on Architect Sinan – Housing in Historical Centers and Rural Areas*, (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 24.

³⁴⁹ Cengiz Bektaş, “Türkiye’de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 45. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “1. Ortakların tümü, bir iki kurucu üye dışında (...) gerçekten Edirne’de konutu olmayan kişilerdi.

2. Tüm sayı içinde değişik meslek ve gelir gruplarının oranları Trakya kesitine çok yakındı. Yapılacak çalışma örnek olabilecekti. Ancak, tasarım aşamasından önce bir araştırma aşaması gerekti.”

by analyzing housing settlement projects implemented or designed throughout the history of the Republic. The research encompassed a number of case studies, including the Saraçoğlu Neighborhood and OR-AN settlement in Ankara, the Ataköy settlement in İstanbul, and workers' housing settlements built for the Karabük Iron-Steel Factory and Kayseri Cloth Factory. Bektaş evaluated these projects as “examples of practices that were somehow aimed at profit, whose programs and housing types were determined by the designers without knowing the users, and which were carried out by making use of a certain accumulation”.³⁵⁰ Apart from these, the project that Bektaş found particularly exemplary was the Çorum Binevler Project, which offers an alternative approach with the aim of developing a design that directly aligns with the demands and limitations of those in need of housing. It is understood from Cengiz Bektaş's another article titled “Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri” (“What Our Experiences Show”, in English), published in the 175th issue of *Mimarlık* journal in 1982, that the Çorum Binevler Project was not the only project that influenced Bektaş's design approach.³⁵¹ In this article, Bektaş mentioned a competition organized with similar concerns for a housing settlement project in Denmark.³⁵²

Following the studies and meetings with the advisory team, the methodology determined for the design of Cumhuriyet Neighborhood was as follows:

1. First, a trip to Edirne will be made together to get to know the conditions.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “Şöyle ya da böyle kazanç amacı güden; alıcıları bilinmeden programları ve konut tipleri tasarımcılarca seçilmiş, belli bir birikimden yararlanarak yürütülmüş uygulama örnekleri vardır.”

³⁵¹ Cengiz Bektaş, “Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 10-2.

³⁵² A survey of the housing project competitions organized in Denmark in the early 1970s indicates that the project Cengiz Bektaş referred to in his article could be the Tinggård Project in Herfølge. The project, designed by Vandkunsten Architects, won the competition on alternative housing forms organized by the Danish Building Research Institute in 1971. Although this project is much lower density compared to the Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, the design approach in the development of the project is similar. During the design process, close communication was established with the future residents of the settlement, and their participation in the design process was ensured. For a detailed information about the project: <https://vandkunsten.com/en/projects/tinggaarden> (Accessed: 15 June 2024)

2. After the trip, the working team will prepare a questionnaire (survey form).
3. Young people will be trained to fill out this questionnaire by visiting families one by one.
4. The survey will be conducted.
5. The survey results will be interpreted in terms of different disciplines.
6. According to the interpretation of the survey results, the program, the quality and quantity of housing, and the path to be taken in urban planning will be determined.³⁵³

Preparations for these studies were initiated at the end of 1974, and the surveys and evaluations of them were completed in March 1975. At the beginning of this survey conducted among cooperative members, there was a preface similar to the letter written by the Çinicis. Bektaş expressed the importance he attributed to this survey with the following words:

If housing construction is isolated from people and society, it ceases to be a bridge connecting the individual to the world. Housing is the environment in which harmonious relations between the individual and her/his inner world, the individual and her/his family, and the individual and the outside world are established, or at least the foundation of these relations is laid. Achieving the aforementioned harmony is to some extent easy at the level of responding to individual demands. The architect, with her/his regulatory and creative qualities, can establish personal relationships with the individuals for whom s/he will design housing, and determine their social and individual structures and behaviors. Even if s/he fails in this regard, s/he can correct the situation through mutual relations and warnings. In a mass housing initiative, such a personal relationship is out of the question. The architect is asked to design housing for unknown people. This is like asking a tailor to make clothes for

³⁵³ Cengiz Bektaş, “Türkiye’de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978),45.

people whose measurements are unknown. Even in this kind of ready-made garment production, the average measurements determined by research are used. Such average measures are also needed in mass housing initiatives. The social environment, the living practices within the dwelling, and the expectations regarding the dwelling are the indicators that will reveal these measures. Again, these indicators need to be known in order to achieve the harmony mentioned above as much as possible.³⁵⁴

This preface is important for understanding how Bektaş approaches mass housing production. Bektaş saw the cooperative model in mass housing production as an opportunity to understand the social structures and domestic living practices of cooperative members and to develop designs accordingly.³⁵⁵ Both Bektaş's this preface and the letter of the Çinicis could be interpreted as an effort to establish a cordial relationship with the cooperative members, with whom it was not possible to meet face to face.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 46. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “Konut yapımı insandan, toplumundan soyutlanırsa, kişiyi dünyaya bağlayan bir köprü olmaktan çıkar. Konut, kişiyle kendi iç dünyası, kişiyle ailesi, kişiyle dış dünyası arasında uyumlu ilişkilerin kurulduğu, en azından bu ilişkilerin temelini atıldığı ortamdır. Sözü geçen uyumun sağlanması, bireysel istemlerin karşılanması düzeyinde, bir oranda kolaydır. Düzenleyici, yaratıcı nitelikleriyle mimar kendileri için konut tasarlayacağı bireylerle kişisel ilişkiler kurarak, onların toplumsal, bireysel yapılarını, davranışlarını saptayabilir. Bu konuda başarısız kalsa bile, bireyle karşılıklı ilişkiler ve uyarılarla durumu düzeltebilir. Toplu konut girişiminde ise böylesi bir kişisel ilişki söz konusu olamaz. Mimardan, bilinmeyen kişilere konut yapması istenmektedir. Bu, terziden, ölçülerini bilmediği kişiler için giysi yapmasını istemektir. Bu türlü hazır elbise yapım yerinde bile, araştırmalarla saptanmış ortalama ölçüler kullanılır. Toplu konut girişimlerinde de böyle ortalama ölçülere gereksinme duyulur. Toplumsal çevre, konut içi yaşama eylemleri, konuta ilişkin beklentiler bu ölçüleri ortaya çıkaracak göstergelerdir. Gene yukarıda sözü edilen uyumun, olabildiğince sağlanabilmesi için bu göstergelerin bilinmeleri gerekir.”

³⁵⁵ As someone who had the chance to do an internship at Bektaş Architecture Workshop for 1.5 months, I can say that one of the main discussions in the work environment - especially on housing designs - was about the determinism of user demands and characteristics in architectural design. It is clear that this concern of Cengiz Bektaş, dating back many years, was one of the main determinants of his architectural production.

The survey questions³⁵⁶ were designed to obtain the following information: demographic, economic and social characteristics of household members (age, marital status, kinship, occupation, occupational position, institution of employment); characteristics of the current dwelling (number of rooms, quality of kitchen and bathroom, access to water and electricity, expenses such as rent); characteristics of the desired dwelling (number of rooms, kitchen, bathroom, toilet, distance to certain places - urban centers); and domestic activities (cooking, eating, entertaining guests, laundry, ironing, sleeping, leisure, play and similar activities).³⁵⁷ However, participation in the questionnaire was low, with only 196 of the 507 cooperative members responding to the questions. In this case, the determinants of housing designs were identified through sampling. The study resulted in a program based on the number of rooms in the houses and the number of storeys in the buildings. According to these results, demand was concentrated on single-storey and four-room housing types. Almost half of the cooperative members preferred this option.³⁵⁸ However, financial constraints led to the abandonment of the single-storey housing type.

In the light of the architectural design team and the advisory board's evaluation of the survey results, initial proposals for the planning of the settlement and the design of housing types were developed. Considering the settlement plan, it is seen that the placement of the housing blocks on the site is determined by the social center placed at the corner of the site. A grass amphitheater and stage were proposed as the social center, to be used by both members of the cooperative and residents of the surrounding area. The social center also included a library, shops, cafeteria and

³⁵⁶ For the survey questions, see: Appendix B.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 47.

³⁵⁸ According to Bektaş, the distribution of demands for a total of 1000 units was as follows: Single storey, 3 rooms: 50 units; Single storey, 4 rooms: 490 units; Single storey, 5 rooms: 250 units; Single storey, 6 rooms: 30 units; Two-storey, 3 rooms: 4 units; Two-storey, 4 rooms: 36 units; Two-storey, 5 rooms: 18 units; Two-storey, 6 rooms: 2 units; 3 and more storeys, 3 rooms: 7 units; 3 and more storeys, 4 rooms: 72 units; 3 and more storeys, 5 rooms: 36 units; 3 and more storeys, 6 rooms: 5 units. Ibid.

administration. Between the residential blocks placed in a radial arrangement according to this center, common green areas and children's playgrounds were designed. (Figure 4-10)



Figure 4-10. Partial settlement plan of Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood (first proposal)³⁵⁹

³⁵⁹ “Edirne Social Insurants Building Cooperative: Preliminary Project”,

Considering the housing types, it is seen that 2-room, 4-room and 5-room housing types are brought together in 4-storey and 3-storey building blocks. (Figure 4-11 & Figure 4-12) 13 different connection details were worked out for the blocks that were added to each other to define courtyards. Housing plans are handled with a modular approach, in order to respond to possible transformation demands. In the plans, it is seen that the corridor was kept to a minimum or not preferred at all, and the rooms open to a multi-purpose space similar to the use of a traditional *sofa*. It can also be said that room-sized terraces were an attempt to compensate for the option of a house with a garden, which was abandoned for economic reasons.

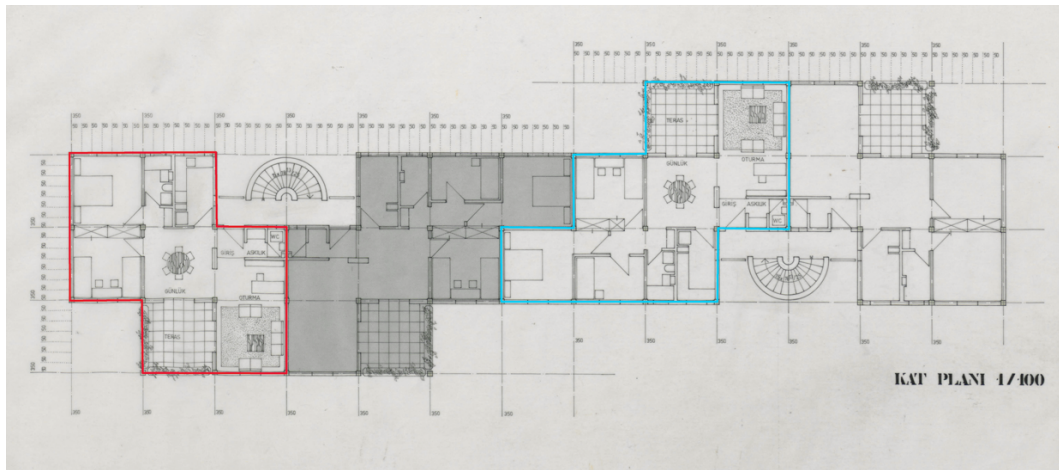


Figure 4-11. Plans for 4-room (indicated in red) and 5-room (indicated in blue) housing types³⁶⁰

<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/196264> (Accessed: 20 June 2023)

³⁶⁰ Ibid. Colors indicating housing types were added by the author.

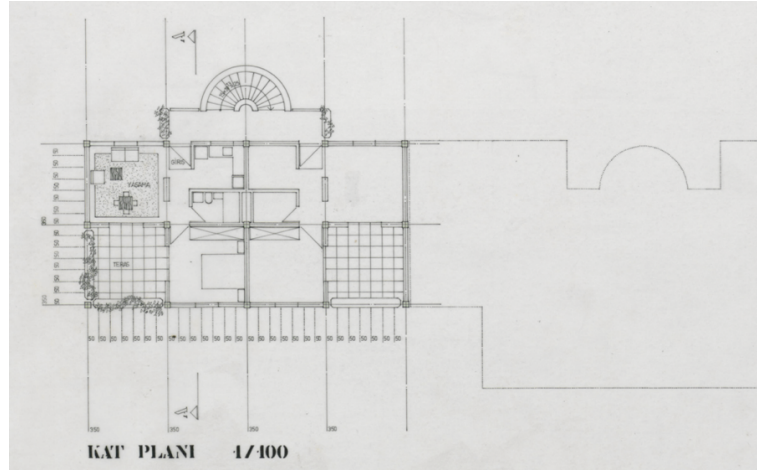


Figure 4-12. Plan of two-room housing type³⁶¹

After completing the planning and design process, as well as the research to make the project easy and affordable to build, a meeting was held with the cooperative members in February 1977. Within the scope of this meeting, an exhibition was also organized to introduce the environment and housing types, from the settlement plan to the detailed projects, in order to explain the whole process. A ballot box was also placed at the exhibition so that cooperative members could express their criticisms and demands. Bektaş stated that the number of evaluations regarding the project was quite low (noting that the participation was much lower than expected, especially from teachers) and listed the few demands as follows:

1. 70.7% approved the design as it is without making any requests.
2. 12.5% approved the design as it is, but wanted the areas to be larger.
3. 3.5% wanted the windows to be larger.
4. 5% wanted a separate balcony for the kitchen.³⁶²

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Cengiz Bektaş, “Türkiye’de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı”, in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 52.

In line with the demands, the 76 m² 4-room housing type was increased to 85 m², and the 88 m² 5-room housing type was increased to 100 m².³⁶³ In this way, the final version of the project was achieved through this multi-stage process of participation. (Figure 4-13) Cengiz Bektaş, who tried to design a housing settlement with a participatory process by using the potential of the cooperative organization, also brought self-criticism to this experience, which was new for both himself and the country. While stating that the preparation and evaluation of the survey questions should have included the participation of professionals from more diverse disciplines, he saw the main shortcoming as their inadequacy in ensuring full participation in the survey. Also, for the exhibition and meeting that took place after the first proposal was prepared, methods (for example, a brochure with model photographs and plans to be sent to out-of-town cooperative members) could be found to encourage the participation of cooperative members.³⁶⁴ Cengiz Bektaş's following assessment of his Edirne experience helps to understand the shortcomings of the participatory design process:

We had a discussion about identifying the needs of these people: should we make some explanations in advance? Should we make adaptations? Or should we directly determine their desires? If the participation had been direct, if we had done exactly what we asked the people in Edirne to do, if

³⁶³ In another article, Bektaş evaluated the participatory design process they tried to carry out in Edirne with the following words: "[...]We made 1/20 models, displayed them in the middle of the city, and put a box there, saying "everyone can leave their criticism there and we will change it (the design of housing units) accordingly." Responses came from every group. The proportions of workers, petty officials, merchants and freelancers who responded were more or less consistent with the proportions of Thrace. However, there was no response from the teacher group. When we asked why, they said, "What you are doing is good". In other words, we did not receive a single criticism from these people, from whom we expected participation and expression of opinion. Of the rest, 60% accepted what we did. 40% made suggestions like "another window, another door". But most importantly, even though we more than met their needs in 66 m², they all wanted 100 m²; because the credit system in Turkey required this. If we had tied the person who could get a loan for 100 m² to 66 m², we would have been playing with the future of the person we were on the side of. For this reason, it was enlarged to 99 m²." See: Cengiz Bektaş, "Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri", in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 11.

³⁶⁴ Cengiz Bektaş, "Türkiye'de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S. Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı", in *Mimarlık*, no.156, (1978), 52.

we had ensured their participation, would it have been a good result? My experience is that it would not have been a good result. Because, especially as a result of the brainwashing of the media tools specific to our age, for example, window sizes, the ladies were left to ask for curtains for “*dekora*” and this turned into a battle that lasted until the last moment. The bathroom issue is an example that I often give, they all wanted a bathtub because it was propagated, only 30% of them said “yes” to the question “do you want hot water”. In other words, the bathtub issue was not the result of a real need, but the direct result of propaganda. Now, let's not take this as “If we do it according to their wishes, it will be completely wrong”. Because things that are done without taking their wishes into account contain much bigger mistakes.³⁶⁵

It is seen that, in the early 1970s, the architects played a pivotal role in these two housing settlement projects, which utilized the housing cooperative organization as a means of facilitating the participatory design process. These architects, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, and Cengiz Bektaş, who have an important place in the history of Turkish architecture with their designs, developed approaches that questioned the role of the architect. The next project in this study is an example where a more diverse range of actors are involved in the organization of participatory design.

³⁶⁵ Cengiz Bektaş, “Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 11. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “Bu kişilerin gereksinimlerinin saptanması konusunda şöyle bir tartışmamız oldu: önceden birtakım açıklamalar yapalım mı? Uyarlamalar yapalım mı? Yoksa doğrudan onların isteklerini mi saptayalım? Katılım doğrudansa, Edirne'deki insanlara sorduklarımızı aynen gerçekleştirseydik, onların katılımını sağlamış olsa idik, acaba bu iyi bir sonuç olacak mıydı? İyi bir sonuç olmayacağını deneyimlerimle yaşadım. Çünkü özellikle çağımıza özgü yayın araçlarının beyin yıkaması sonucu, örneğin pencere boyutları, hanımların “dekora” perdeleri istemesine kaldı ve bu son ana kadar süren bir savaşım haline dönüştü. Banyo konusu çok verdiğim bir örnektir, hepsi banyo küveti istiyorlardı, çünkü onun propagandası yapılmaktaydı, “sıcak su istiyor musunuz?” sorusuna ancak % 30'u “Evet” diyordu. Yani banyo olayı kesin bir gereksinimden değil, doğrudan doğruya propagandanın sonucu idi. Şimdi bunları, "onların isteklerine göre yaparsak, tümüyle yanlış olacaktır" diye almayalım. Çünkü onların istekleri hiç hesaba katılmadan yapılanlar, çok daha büyük yanlışlar barındırıyor.”



Figure 4-13. Settlement plan of the final project³⁶⁶

model. The social democratic municipalism approach of the period and İzmit Mayor Erol Köse played a leading role in the development of the İzmit New Settlements Project.

In the December 1973 local elections, the social democratic party CHP won mayorships in 33 provinces. Compared to the previous elections in 1968,³⁶⁷ this was a significant success for the social democratic political understanding. Bülent Batuman evaluates this rise in the left wing as a result of the accelerated urbanization after 1960 and radicalization of squatter settlements. As indicated by Batuman, at the end of the 1960s, as urban problems became more prominent, “issues related to the built environment began to appear more frequently on the policy agenda”. Alongside worsening urban problems, the intensification of squatter demolitions after the March 12 military intervention led to the radicalization of the squatter population.³⁶⁸ Also, with the influence of the dominant social and political discourses of the 1970s (such as workers' rights, social justice, ethnic identity struggles), demands for more organized and progressive living conditions rose among the urban population - especially among the squatter population. This desire for change led to a shift in municipal governance in the 1973 elections.

One of the provinces that the CHP won in these local elections was İzmit, with the candidacy of Erol Köse. Köse, who took office in April 1971 due to the sudden death of the previous mayor – Leyla Atakan, was re-elected in 1973.³⁶⁹ In other words,

³⁶⁷ The increasing share of the squatter population in the urban population paved the way for the development of populist policies towards squatter residents. The AP's efforts to gain support in squatter settlements with the promise of title deeds paid off, and the AP won the mayorships of 35 provinces in the 1968 local elections. Although squatter supported the AP because of the title deed guarantee, they were unable to save their houses from demolition after the elections. See: Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 168.

³⁶⁸ Bülent Batuman, “Toplumcu bir Belediyecilik Modeli: “Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi” 1973–1977”, in *Mülkiye*, no. 266, (2010), 226-8.

³⁶⁹ Interview with Aydan Erım, held on July 12, 2024, at Aydan Erım's house. For more information about Erol Köse's political life: Mustafa Küpçü, *62 Yıllık Siyaset Hayatıyla Erol Köse*, (İstanbul: Dahi Yayıncılık, 2014).

compared to other elected CHP mayors, he started to implement the social municipalism approach earlier. Erol Köse, who evaluated municipalities as units that contribute to social and political development with the services they provide, argued that municipalities should be transparent, integrative, democratic, participatory, productive, defending social interests and focused on the environment.³⁷⁰

Although the extent of the squatter problem in İzmit was not as serious as in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, the housing problem entered the municipality's agenda due to the fact that İzmit was a developing industrial city, the growing population of workers and high rental prices.³⁷¹ In addition, İzmit was at a disadvantage due to its geographical location, bordered by the Marmara Sea to the south and mountains to the north. In this context, shortly after the elections, the municipality, and in particular the mayor, took the initiative to develop the New Settlements Project in İzmit.

Similar to the Çorum Binevler Settlement and Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood projects, the İzmit New Settlements Project also had an advisory board.³⁷² In particular, young academics from the architecture and city planning departments who were expelled from METU in 1972 and 1975 began to work as 'mayoral advisors' in the municipalities of the CHP. Aydan Bulca, Selahattin Yıldırım, İcen Börtücene, Ergun Unaran and İlhan Tekeli were among the names working as

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 54.

³⁷¹ Aydan Bulca, “İzmit Yeni Yerleşimler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 60.

³⁷² In this period, CHP municipalities received consultancy from experts not only for housing projects but also for other projects they developed. In addition, in order to find solutions to the problems of the peripheral provincial and district municipalities, which were unable to work with consultant staff, and to keep them informed about the discussions in the central municipalities, the *Devrimci Belediyeler Dergisi* (DBD - “Revolutionary Municipalities Journal”, in English) was started to be published in January 1977. Initiated under the leadership of Vedat Dalokay, the mayor of Ankara, the journal was only published for 6 issues. In addition to texts describing the projects developed by mayors and the challenges they encountered, the journal published articles by İlhan Tekeli, Cevat Geray, İlber Ortaylı, Önder Şenyapılı, Fehmi Yavuz and others on different urbanization problems including land speculation, infrastructure problems, urban transportation, and urban health. *Devrimci Belediyeler Dergisi*, (Ankara: Publication of Revolutionary Municipalities Association, Akademi Matbaa, 1977).

consultants in İzmit Municipality.³⁷³ The theoretical knowledge and socialist ideas of these names enabled the municipality's projects to be developed with an approach that supported the participation of the public in decision-making mechanisms. One application of this approach, which considers social demands and emphasizes public participation, was the İzmit New Settlements Project.³⁷⁴

The New Settlements Project aimed to provide affordable housing for 30,000 low-income families, most of whom work as workers in the manufacturing industry.³⁷⁵ In the first phase of the project, which will accommodate approximately 150,000 people, a total of 741 hectares of land were expropriated on the east and west sides of the city.³⁷⁶ (Figure 4-14) It was decided to work with Tuncay Çavdar and his architectural team, Birleşmiş Mimarlar (“United Architects”, in English), for the design of the project, which required an original approach both in terms of its scale and the targeted participatory model. The previous acquaintance of Erol Köse and Tuncay Çavdar was also effective in determining the architectural team.³⁷⁷

The size of the project required studies to be carried out at urban and regional planning scales. In collaboration with the architectural design team, the mayoral

³⁷³ These experts, in addition to their technical and ideological critiques, played an important role in the development of the New Settlements Project, producing numerous reports analyzing the stages of the project's development. Their contributions were important as they provided voluntary support aimed at creating a systematic approach and logical framework for the project, which was intended to serve as a model solution to the shortcomings of mass housing initiatives in Turkey. Bülent Batuman, “Toplumcu bir Belediyecilik Modeli: “Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi” 1973–1977”, in *Mülkiye*, no. 266, (2010), 231.

³⁷⁴ These socially conscious experts played a critical role in the development of the New Settlements Project. They explored various architectural approaches and directed their theoretical focus on the production process instead of the end result. Examining not only the formal aspects of architecture but also the production process, they conducted anthropological analyses of the social and cultural traits of the users. See: Atilla Yücel, ““Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halkın Katılımı” Üzerine Değinmeler”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 7. & Çiçek Abban, Oğuz Ayata, Ayşen Gürel, Aynur Özen, Haluk Özen, “Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halkın Katılımı”, in *Mimarlık*, no.175, (1982), 2-5.

³⁷⁵ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, “Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 101.

³⁷⁶ Ergun Unaran, “Yerel Yönetimlerin Toplu Konut Projeleri: İzmit ve Ankara Deneyimleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.189, (1983), 18.

³⁷⁷ Interview with Aydan Erim.

advisors and other municipal officials conducted preparatory research to gain insights into the social structure of İzmit and to track the changing lifestyles of its population. In order to base the planning on a detailed and in-depth research, studies were conducted in two different directions. The first of these was to evaluate the data about İzmit. This evaluation included both published sources and previously unevaluated sources in the municipality. Secondly, survey studies were conducted directly for the purposes of the project. This team aimed to develop a model that could be applied to solve the housing problem in different regions of the country through a pilot study based on a scientific perspective.³⁷⁸



³⁷⁸ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, *İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması*, (1975), 7-10. [It was accessed through Aydan Erim's personal archive.]



Figure 4-14. Areas expropriated for the İzmit New Settlements Project³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 159.

In addition, ways were sought to cooperate with the people who would live in these settlements and to create socio-economic organizations in order to ensure the fair distribution of the benefits that this project would produce and to develop a social and spatial structure that would respond to the constantly changing socio-economic conditions and the demands they would bring. In line with these objectives, under the leadership of the municipality, organizational mechanisms consisting of ‘cooperatives’ and ‘cooperative unions’ were established to operate the administrative system of housing production. These cooperative organizations also provided a more autonomous area for housing production, offering a degree of freedom from the financial and operational constraints imposed by the central government.³⁸⁰ The cooperatives were designed to comprise approximately 150 members who were engaged in similar professions and possessed comparable income levels and shared analogous characteristics. These individual cooperative organizations came together and became partners in the cooperative union, Yeni-Koop. It was envisaged that these cooperatives and the union would continue their missions as service and consumption cooperatives after the completion of the project.³⁸¹ In order to attract the attention of a community consisting mostly of skilled workers, who were already suitable for organizing, to the project, an extensive promotion campaign was carried out; coffee houses, syndicate houses, and factories were visited one by one.³⁸²

Both the mayor’s political stance, the social municipalism approach of the period, and the architects’ design approach brought about the instrumentalization of the cooperative organization for the development of a participatory design process. The design team explained the contribution of this organizational model to the

³⁸⁰ İlhan Tekeli, *Belediyeçilik Yazıları (1976-1991)*, (İstanbul: IULA-EMME Yayınları, 1992), 126.

³⁸¹ Ergun Unaran, “Yerel Yönetimlerin Toplu Konut Projeleri: İzmit ve Ankara Deneyimleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.189, (1983), 18.

³⁸² Aydan Bulca, “İzmit Yeni Yerleşimler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.151, (1977), 60.

development of planning and design with the concepts of “participation” and “balance in decision-making environment”:

The driving force of the project will arise from the tension between this decision-making environment and the planning system. This tension has given birth to a complex of institutions. The “model” is nothing more than the network of relationships that develop in the information flow and feedback channels between these institutions. The hierarchical center-periphery relationship in traditional models has been replaced by a flexible center concept consisting of constantly changing relationship patterns of parts. Here, the center can only be defined by the vector values of the necessary relations at a certain time interval.³⁸³

This participatory process was carried out in two stages for the New Settlements Project.³⁸⁴ Firstly, during the organization of the demand and the formation of the cooperatives, a survey was conducted with the participation of 1500 people - the largest sample ever conducted in Turkey at that time.³⁸⁵ The aim of this research conducted with potential residents was to “define the socio-economic context” and

³⁸³ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, “Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 100. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “İşte projenin itici gücü bu karar çevresi ile planlama sistemi arasındaki gerilimden kaynaklanacaktır. Bu gerilim bir kurumlaşmalar kompleksi doğurmuştur. “Model” ise bu kurumlaşmalar arasında bilgi akımı ve geri-iletişim kanallarında gelişen ilişkiler ağından başka bir şey değildir. Geleneksel modellerdeki merkez-çevre hiyerarşik ilişkisi yerini parçaların sürekli değişen ilişki biçimlerinden oluşan esnek bir merkez anlayışına bırakmıştır.”

³⁸⁴ In the New Settlements Project Feasibility Study, this two-stage participatory process structure was justified as follows: “An important issue is at which stage of planning public participation would be more productive. A very early involvement, when the public is not yet aware of the issue, is unfavorable in terms of giving an initial impetus and sustaining widespread interest, whereas a later initiative may have a negative outcome because the basic decisions have already been taken. In this respect, programming of participation should be done in a way that balances these two factors.” Birleşmiş Mimarlar, *İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması*, (1975), 134. [It was accessed through Aydan Erim's personal archive.]

³⁸⁵ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, “Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 100.

“identify the salient problems of potential users in a period of rapid social change”.³⁸⁶ The questionnaire aimed to collect information on family structures, lifestyles, use of domestic space, financial constraints, aspirations and hopes for housing, and housing-environment relations. At the end of the survey questions, a ‘home observation schedule’ was added to collect information on the respondent's current residence.³⁸⁷ The results of this research, which was designed as the first stage of the participatory process, were evaluated and the spatial dimensions of the social framework were defined. According to the answers given to the questionnaire, planning proposals for the western and eastern settlements were developed. (Figure 4-15)

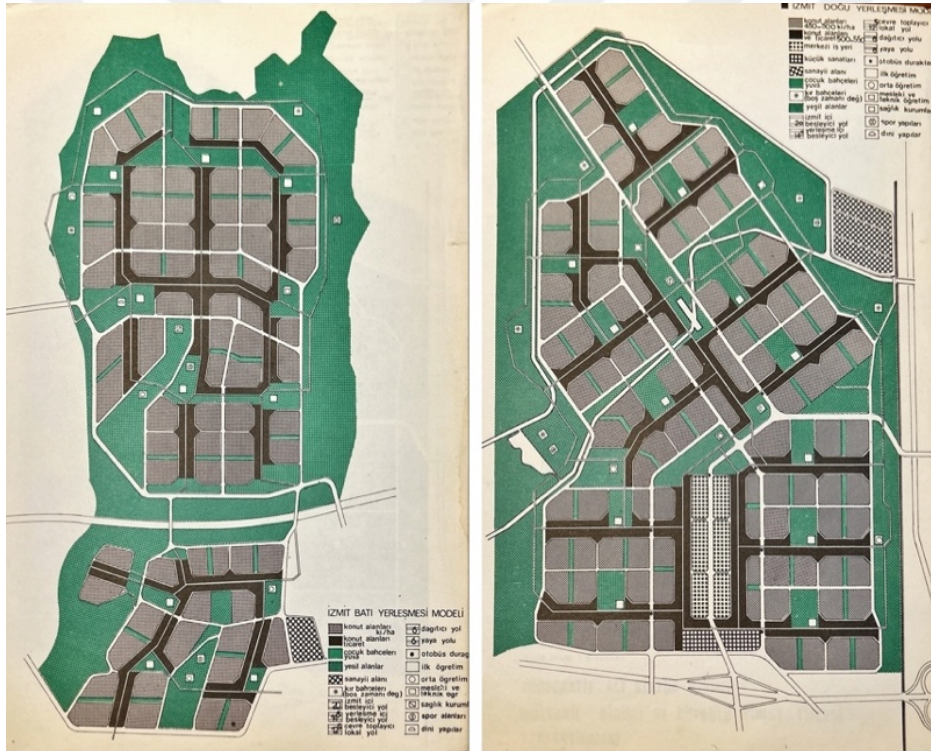


Figure 4-15. New Settlement Project - western and eastern settlement plans³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmir Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 56.

³⁸⁷ For the survey questions and home observation schedule, see: Appendix C.

³⁸⁸ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, *İzmir Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması*, (1975).

With a method similar to Christopher Alexander's 'pattern language' approach,³⁸⁹ analyses were carried out on the organization of domestic space. For example, the evaluation of the answers to the questions on the spatial distribution of existing domestic uses showed that the level of specialization of spaces was very low. Besides, it could be said that outdoor spaces such as street, doorsteps, gardens, balconies and terraces were used extensively. On the other hand, the proportion of dwellings with specialized spaces for children was quite low. (Table 1) Despite this, the guest room was the only space that was emphasized to be specialized.³⁹⁰

	street/ doorstep	garden	vestibule/ hall/ sofa/ corridor	living room	dining room	master bedroom	children's room	pantry/ storage	kitchen	place to wash	wc	terrace/ balcony
sitting				100								
sleeping (parents)						100						
sleeping (children)				38.1		29.6	28					
game playing	62.1	12.2	1.9	20.2		0.2						0.6
studying			4.9	76.6			15.9					
eating			17.9	55.9	3.6				21.8			
laundry	16.6		9.9						14.3	53.2	2.2	
hanging laundry	54.2											43.8
bathing			0.3			2.2				81.8	16.1	
storage	16.8					50.4		14.2				31.3
cooking				14.4					85.6			

Table 1. Spatial distribution of existing domestic functions according to the results of the survey conducted for the New Settlements Project³⁹¹

³⁸⁹ The reference to Christopher Alexander belongs to Tuncay Çavdar. See: Tuncay Çavdar, "Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi", in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 58.

³⁹⁰ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması, (1975), 50.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 51.

As a result of this survey, evaluating the the current socio-economic characteristics of the potential users, their current housing use, their use preferences (as far as possible), and the probable evolution of their needs³⁹², some spatial preferences, which Çavdar called ‘patterns’ (‘kalıp’, in Turkish), came to the fore:

- Spatial solutions that provide private entrances to housing units with separate staircases in multi-story blocks,
- Private balconies and courtyards that are directly connected to the units and, when necessary, become extensions of the interiors, providing spaciousness of use
- Guest room solutions flexible enough to follow the evolution of users' lifestyles
- Considering crowded households, solutions that allow the number of bedrooms to be increased and therefore their size to be minimized when necessary, and their flexibility to adapt to changes over time,
- The traditional ‘multi-purpose room’ solution and the possibility to expand it for private meetings or similar uses,
- To achieve the economy of space required by small and fragmented housing interiors, the application of storage cabinets that protrude beyond the housing area,
- The possibility of changing the location and size of the kitchen in the plan according to different usage patterns.³⁹³

³⁹² As stated in the *İzmit New Settlements Feasibility Study*, while some of the current trends in usage indicated a necessity of adaptation to existing conditions, others were the result of habits due to a long-term evolution. Accordingly, it was thought that when users are placed in a new space, some of these usage tendencies may disappear immediately, while others may require longer-term adaptations. For example, in houses heated by central heating, the spatial need for fuel storage (wood, coal or gas canister) will be eliminated. Birleşmiş Mimarlar, *İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması*, (1975), 161-2.

³⁹³ Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 58.

Through interviews and casual meetings with potential users, the validity of these spatial patterns was questioned and it became clear that some of the solutions were temporary uses, created to adapt to existing conditions.³⁹⁴ As a result of the first stage of this dialectical participation process, fed by feedbacks, two types of proposals were developed for the planning of cooperative units: settlement of housing types with detached entrances and bridges, and settlement of housing types with detached entrances and private gardens. (Figure 4-16)

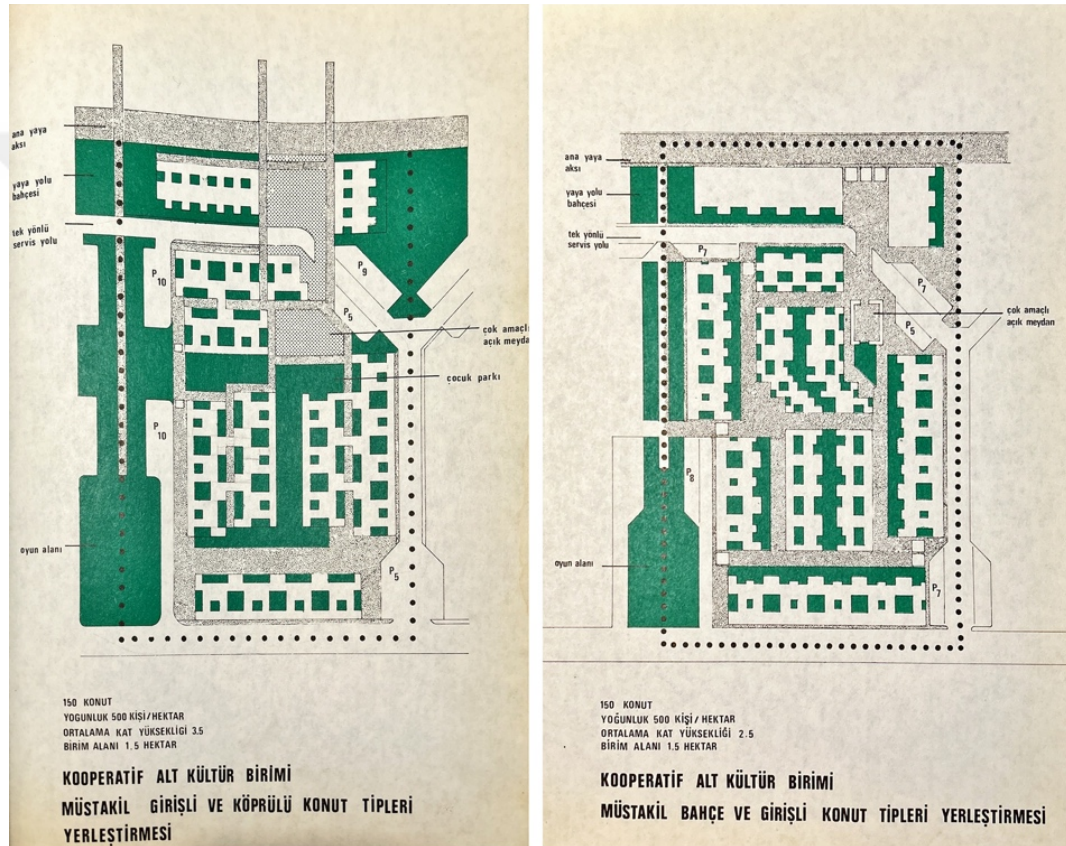


Figure 4-16. Cooperative settlement plans according to different housing types³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ For example, the organization of domestic life around a single center – multi-purpose room or *sofa*, in Turkish – reflected the existing heating system rather than cultural determinants. The use of the kitchen and sanitary facilities was shaped by the lack of running water in the household. Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri Yapılabilirlik Araştırması, (1975).

As understood from the cooperative settlement plans, two basic approaches to housing designs were developed. The first alternative was the housing types with detached gardens and entrances, planned to be built with a masonry system. In this approach, 18 different housing types were produced according to the number of households and family relationships, taking into account the identified use preferences. (Figure 4-17) The second alternative, housing types with detached entrances and bridges, were planned to be built with prefabricated column and slab system. Clustered around a communal courtyard, these housing units were connected by bridges on the 1st floor, while the 2nd and 3rd floors were solved as duplexes. (Figure 4-18) In both approaches to the design of housing units, flexibility to adapt to the changing economic status, family structures and living habits of the users was considered.³⁹⁶

During these comprehensive researches and accordingly developed planning and design proposals, the process of organizing actual users into cooperatives was also completed. The initial phase of the process was shared with actual users through group meetings and individual conversations. Initially, household groups of around 30 families were invited to meetings to exchange information with the architects. (Figure 4-19) These meetings were aimed at introducing the process and explaining the common language to be used throughout the process. Following these collective meetings, conversations were held with individual families, either in their own dwellings or in the planning office.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Flexibility in housing plans, addressed through 3 approaches: 1. diversity of use (changes that can be made within the same space without requiring structural intervention), 2. structural flexibility (a. mobility of interior walls, b. flexibility to grow/ such as core housing, ‘nüve konut’ in Turkish, and c. reproducible modular system), 3. finishing flexibility (fine construction details). These flexibility concerns were also decisive in determining construction technologies. See: Ibid., 170-2.

³⁹⁷ Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 59.

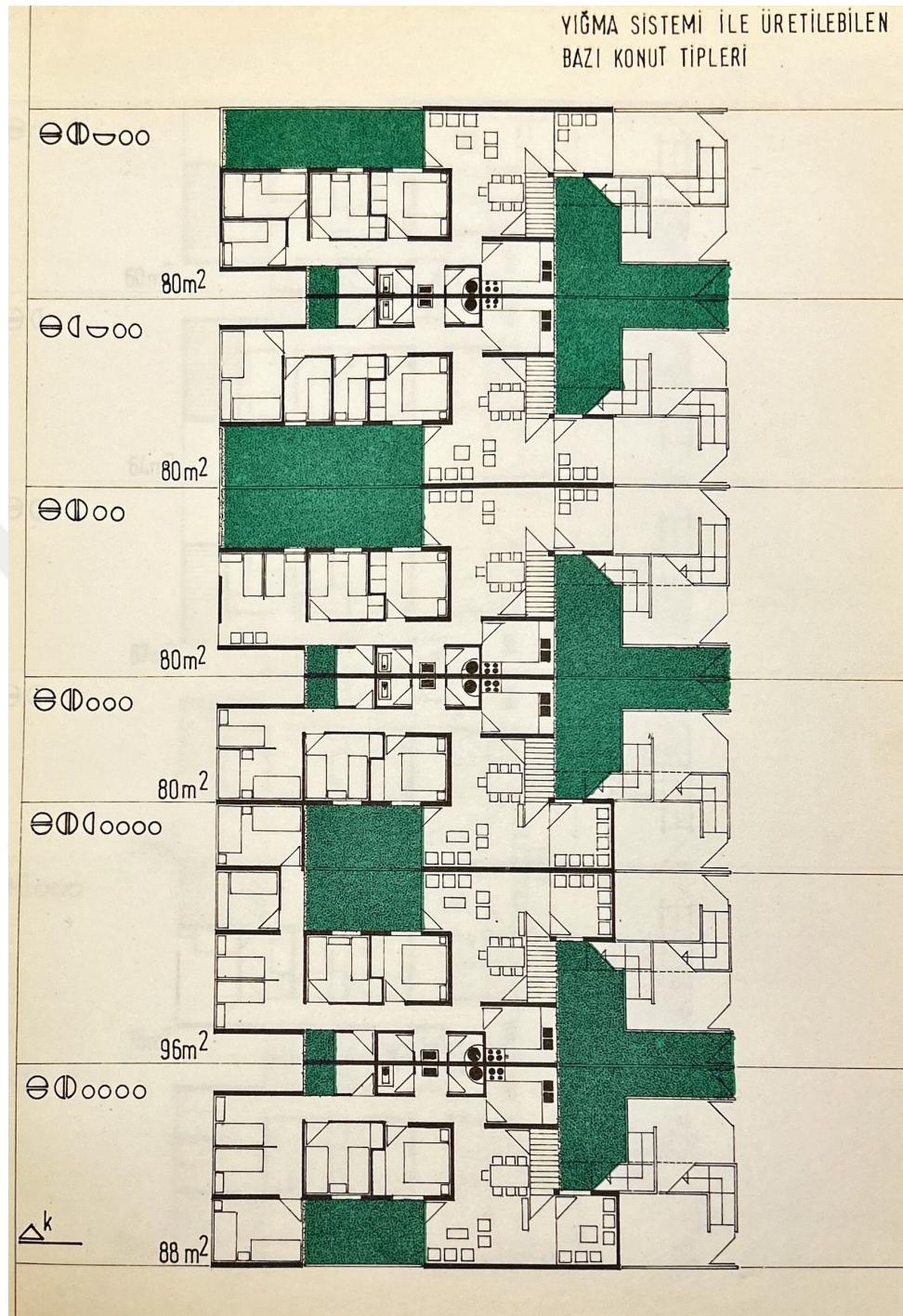


Figure 4-17. Examples of housing types with detached garden and entrance³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

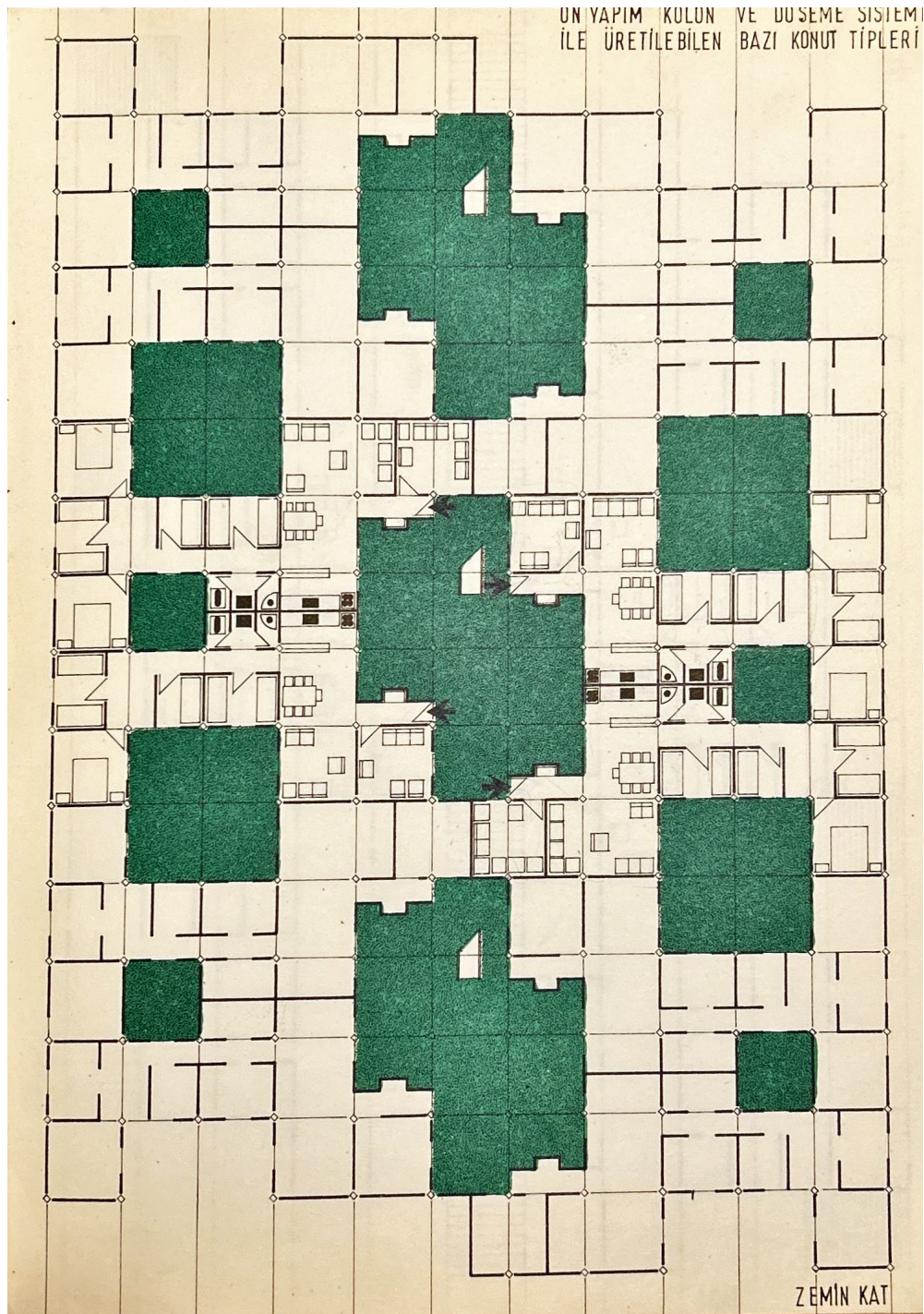


Figure 4-18. Examples of housing types with detached entrance and bridge³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

As Çavdar explained, in these meetings, during which decisions regarding the housing units were made, a group of specially trained architects assisted the users in identifying their actual needs. In the interviews, which were conducted in a friendly conversational manner, the issues that would have significant implications for the design of housing units were recorded in a systematic report prepared in advance. In the meantime, the architect's main responsibility was to identify with the user the reasons for the demands that would affect the design, and to warn about the social, spatial and financial consequences of these demands. As a result of these discussions, the final version of the housing types was determined. (Figure 4-20) The housing type with detached entrance and garden, developed in the first phase of the process, became the agreed approach, with some modifications.⁴⁰⁰ In these meetings, street/neighborhood groups were identified in line with social factors, as well. Neighborhood relations, issues related to living together and their regulation were discussed in meetings with these groups.⁴⁰¹ Thus, while housing types were developed to address the specific needs of families, social relations within the neighborhood units were also initiated. In other words, the preferences of users were decisive, starting from the design of housing types to decisions at the street and neighborhood scale.

⁴⁰⁰ In the initial phase of the process, it was determined that this housing type would be constructed using a masonry system. However, in the subsequent phase of the participatory process, it was decided that a new prefabrication system – called BM system – would be employed to ensure plan flexibility. The system was composed of 3.22m x 3.22m square floor slabs, with columns supporting the slabs at the corners. The floor slabs were divided into nine sub-frames formed by a grid of support beams. Thus, users were able to create a variety of spatial configurations and adapt their dwellings to changing social, economic and cultural conditions over time. The characteristics of flexibility, adaptability, and interactivity inherent in the proposed construction system for the New Settlements bear considerable resemblance to the concept of “Support structures” put forth by Habraken. See: Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 58-9.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 60.



Figure 4-19. A photograph taken during a meeting with household groups⁴⁰²

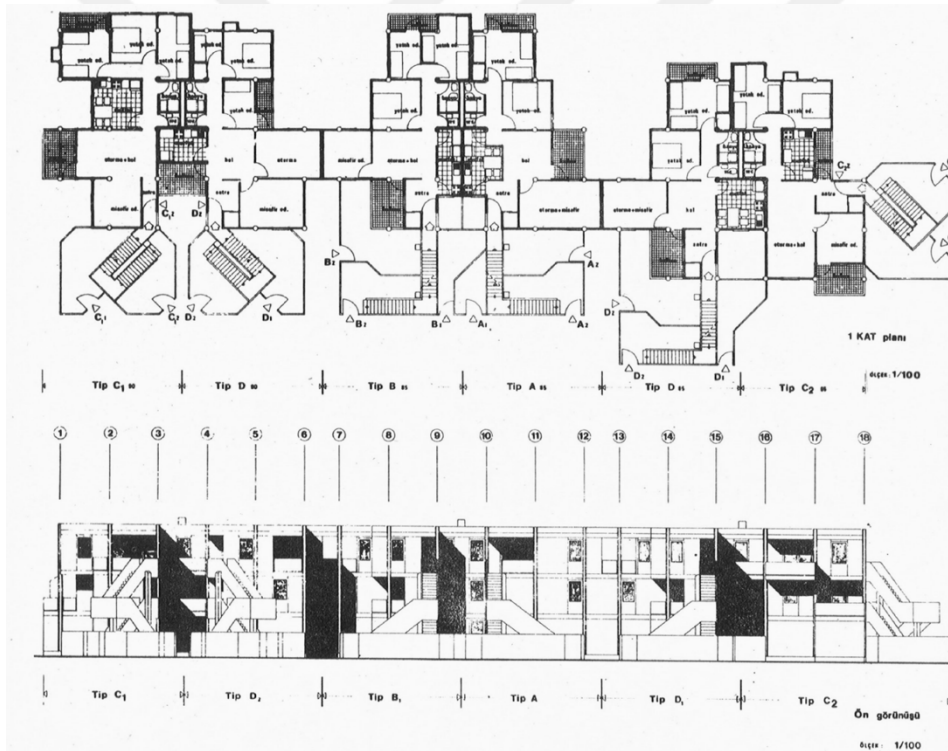


Figure 4-20. Housing designs finalized at the end of the two-stage participation process⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² Ibid., 56.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 58.

In his articles on the İzmit New Settlements Project, Tuncay Çavdar referred to a number of prominent figures in the field of participatory design. One of the names Çavdar referred to was Giancarlo de Carlo. He highlighted de Carlo's perspective on the role of participation in architectural design, underscoring the alignment between this concept and the social democratic approach to local governance that was embraced in Turkey during the 1970s. De Carlo posits that the objective of architectural participation is to incorporate all individuals who may be affected by the decisions made, either directly or indirectly, into the decision-making process.⁴⁰⁴ In parallel, Çavdar evaluated the participatory methods used in spatial decisions as one of the means of creating social awareness and popularizing civil society. Another name that Çavdar referenced was John Habraken. From Çavdar's statements, it is understood that he sought a flexible construction system – that resembled the 'support-infill system' developed by Habraken – for the İzmit New Settlements Project.⁴⁰⁵

In comparison to previous examples discussed in this chapter, the İzmit New Settlements project was influenced not only by design concerns but also by a democratic political stance, which were both instrumental in the implementation of a participatory process. A multitude of meetings between architects and users were conducted throughout the process. These meetings served two purposes: firstly, to reveal the final form of the settlement, and secondly, to raise public awareness of the built environment. In this regard, it can be posited that the architect assumed the role of “the intellectual who sparks the process into a common action rather than being a technical expert”.⁴⁰⁶ Through horizontal communication between the community, local authorities and the architectural team - established through cooperatives, it was aimed to evaluate limited resources for maximum efficiency and to yield the greatest

⁴⁰⁴ Tuncay Çavdar, “Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım: İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi”, in *Mimarlık*, no.154, (1978), 55.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 58-9.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 60.

benefit for the community.⁴⁰⁷ For the New Settlements Project, a distinctive process was implemented, wherein the participation of all stakeholders was encouraged and facilitated at each stage of the project. After 50 years passed since the beginning of the project, Aydan Erim, who served as Project Manager, stated in her evaluation of the process that they had exaggerated participation, and added that asking users for their opinions on every issue gave individuals the impression that they were having a house built specifically for them.⁴⁰⁸

While so much effort was put into the development of the New Settlements Project, the project could not be finalized as intended as a result of Erol Köse's defeat in the 1977 local elections, which was caused by internal party factors,⁴⁰⁹ and the inability of the new mayor – Cevdet Bağdat – to take responsibility of this scale of project.⁴¹⁰ It is unfortunate that this demonstrates the reality that, regardless of the strength of an organization, the realization of project ultimately depended on the initiative of individuals. Although the project did not reach its intended conclusion, the İzmit New Settlements Project occupies a distinguished position in the history of housing production in Turkey. It serves as an exemplar of a housing settlement of this scale that can be designed and realized through a participatory process. The following chapter will examine the settlement of Batıkent, which can be considered a contemporary of the İzmit New Settlements Project, but was realized through a different process.

⁴⁰⁷ Birleşmiş Mimarlar, “Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.149, (1976), 101.

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Aydan Erim.

⁴⁰⁹ Ergun Unaran, “Yerel Yönetimlerin Toplu Konut Projeleri: İzmit ve Ankara Deneyimleri”, in *Mimarlık*, no.189, (1983), 19.

⁴¹⁰ Another reason for the failure to finalize the project was that the machinery and molds imported from the Netherlands and Hungary for the factory that would produce the structural elements of the project such as columns, slabs, exterior walls and partition walls were stuck at customs. Interview with Kadri Atabaş, held on June 27, 2024 at the architectural office of Kadri Atabaş, Ankara.

4.5 Batıkent Settlement in Ankara

In the early 1970s, as a result of the uncontrolled urbanization process⁴¹¹, the central areas of Ankara reached the limits of their capacity with the concentration of commercial, business, administrative, and residential uses. The city began to experience critical urban problems, including congestion, pollution, inadequate transportation, and a lack of space quality. Furthermore, the expansion of squatter settlements in the northeast and south of the city constrained the urban growth. Vedat Dalokay⁴¹², who was elected as the Mayor of Ankara in the 1973 local elections at a

⁴¹¹ The macroform developed by Hermann Jansen was considered for three hundred thousand population within the next 50 years; however, according to entries of Turkish Statistical Institute, the overall population of Ankara increased more than two times between 1927 and 1950, whereas the share of the rural population decreased from 75.51 percent to 57.48 percent. Following the Jansen plan of 1932, a new competition was held for the planning of Ankara in 1955, and it was won by the proposal of Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel. This plan paved the way for increasing the density of the central areas, with the influence of the Flat Ownership Law, as well. In the early 1970s, a new plan was drawn up for Ankara by the metropolitan Planning Office of Ankara. The plan called 1990 Master plan of Ankara proposed the development of the city towards western corridor, and foresaw the placement of squatter prevention zones, new housing developments and industrial zones on this corridor. For further reading on the planning history of Ankara, see: Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-1925 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004), 70-83; Baykan Günay, "Ankara Spatial History", in *AESOP 2012*, https://crp.metu.edu.tr/en/system/files/ankara_spatial_history.pdf (Accessed: 27 December 2022); Baykan Günay, "Our Generation of Planners, the Hopes, the Fears, the Facts: Case Study Ankara", presented at *20th Anniversary Congress of Scupad SS*, Salzburg, Austria, 1988; Baykan Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu Ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme", in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, (Ankara: METU, 2006); Raci Bademli, "Ankara'da Kent Planlama Deneyimi ve Ulaşılan Sonuçlar", in *Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e*, edited by İlhan Tekeli, (Ankara: Ajans İletişim, 1987). For the statistical data on the population of Ankara: Ankara Development Agency, "İstatistiklerle Ankara 2011", <http://www.ankaraka.org.tr/tr/files/yayinlar/istatistiklerle-ankara-2011.pdf> (Accessed: 05 June 2022)

⁴¹² Vedat Dalokay was prominent as an architect before his mayorship. After graduating from Istanbul Technical University in 1949, he came to Ankara and worked at the General Directorate of Post and Telegraph Organization and the Ministry of Public Works, for a while. In 1951, he went to France and worked in various offices in Paris, including those of August Perret and Le Corbusier, and attended the Sorbon Institute of Urbanism. Just before the end of his studies, he won a competition in Turkey, the Eskişehir Porsuk Hotel competition, and returned to Turkey to found the Dalokay Architecture Office. Dalokay came to prominence as a competitor architect in the 1950s. Among Dalokay's competition projects, the Kocatepe Mosque design that he won with Nejat Tekelioğlu in 1957 stands out. Dalokay is also an important actor in the process of professional organization of architects. In the early 1950s, he took part in the organization of the Ankara section of the Turkish Union of Supreme Architects ("Türk Yüksek Mimarlar Birliği", in Turkish), then in the establishment of the Chamber of Architects, and in the important campaigns carried out by the Chamber in the 1960s and 70s. In 1966 and 1967, he served two terms as president of the Chamber of Architects. See: "Vedat Dalokay", *Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar*,

time when such problems were prominent in the city, identified the necessity for the development of new settlements with effective cultural, social, and economic facilities, and began working on this from the first days of his mayorship.

As noted while discussing the İzmit New Settlements Project, as a result of the 1973 local elections, the CHP won the mayoralties in 33 provinces, including Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. Until then, urban problems that were sought to be solved at the national level began to be put on the agenda of local governments with the introduction of the CHP's "Social Municipality" approach. In recognition of the support of the squatter population, one of the first issues that CHP municipalities sought solutions to was the housing problem. The fact that the housing issue was one of the first urban problems addressed also led to the municipality's contact with urbanization experts.⁴¹³ The first attempt to obtain consultancy for municipal projects from urbanization experts who were dismissed from METU in 1972 and 1975 was initiated by Vedat Dalokay. Names such as Esat Turak, İlhan Tekeli, İrem Acaroğlu, Önder Şenyapılı, Adil Özkol, Yalçın Küçük, Ahmet Yücekök and Erhan Acar contributed to the projects of Ankara Municipality as mayoral advisors. The social municipalism program, prepared by these names and published as a brochure in 1977, summarizes the priorities of the municipal projects developed at that time. The brochure outlined five basic principles for the municipal structure as follows: 1. democracy and openness to public participation, 2. productivity, 3. regulation of consumption, 4. unionism, 5. source creativity.⁴¹⁴

With the aim of realizing a project in accordance with these basic principles, preparations began for the development of a new housing settlement to solve the housing problem. As with the İzmit project, the objective was to develop a large-

<https://www.ankaradaizbirakanmimarlar.com/02-dalokay-tekelioğlu> (Accessed: 20 June 2024)

⁴¹³ Bülent Batuman, "Toplumcu bir Belediyecilik Modeli: "Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi" 1973–1977", in *Mülkiye*, no. 266, (2010), 231.

⁴¹⁴ Ankara Belediyesi Başkanlık Uzmanları, *Toplumcu Belediye*, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi, 1977); as quoted in, *Ibid.*, 232.

scale housing settlement through cooperatives, with the dual aim of reducing the pressure of central government on the municipality and of organizing demand. In addition, with the novel model to be developed for housing production, it was aimed to control and direct urban development while constructing a healthy urban and social environment. In line with these objectives, in accordance with the 1990 Ankara Master Plan decisions⁴¹⁵, it was decided to expropriate a land on the Ankara-İstanbul highway in the west of Ankara for the new housing settlement to be created.⁴¹⁶ (Figure 4-21)

After the location was determined, expropriation efforts were initiated. The first master plan had to be prepared for enabling the expropriation of the Ergazi Village and its immediate surroundings, in the northwest of Ankara at that time. Bülent Berksan was commissioned with the preparation of this initial master plan, which was kept confidential to preclude the possibility of speculation. After waiting for nearly two years at the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, the plan was approved in December 1976. Thus, the 1034 hectare area bordered by the Atatürk Forest Farm and OSTİM industrial zone was expropriated.⁴¹⁷ (Figure 4-22)

⁴¹⁵ The western corridor proposed by the 1990 Ankara Master Plan, in both İstanbul Road and Eskişehir Road directions, saw an increase in urban uses, particularly in the form of housing settlements. The Çayyolu-Ümitköy, Eryaman-Sincan, and Batıkent districts were designed with the intention of establishing them as residential areas with their own centers. The aforementioned settlements were intended to address the growing demand for housing in Ankara in conjunction with industrial expansion. In other words, the suburbanization process that began in the 1970s was attempted to be regulated, and this was considered to be resolved through the implementation of a sub-centralization process. The basis of the Batıkent project was established as a result of the aforementioned plan.

⁴¹⁶ According to Semih Eryıldız, who served as the Squatter and Social Housing Director (“Gecekondu ve Sosyal Konut Müdürü”, in Turkish) during Vedat Dalokay's mayorship, this new settlement was first planned to be built on the Çubuk Road, and then in the area around today's Turan Güneş Boulevard, close to the OR-AN settlement. The area on Çubuk Road was abandoned because it had already been invaded by squatter settlements. Similarly, the area around Turan Güneş Boulevard was deemed incompatible with the 1990 Master Plan, and thus abandoned. See: Semih Eryıldız, *Batıkent*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2003), 51-5. & Interview with Demet Eryıldız & Semih Eryıldız, held on June 29, 2024, at AdAkademi, Büyükkada, İstanbul.

⁴¹⁷ The initial phase of the land acquisition, encompassing 178 hectares, was conducted in accordance with the provisions of Squatter Prevention Law No. 775. In the subsequent phase, the area covering the 856-hectare of Yuva, Macun and Ergazi villages, was expropriated in alignment with the

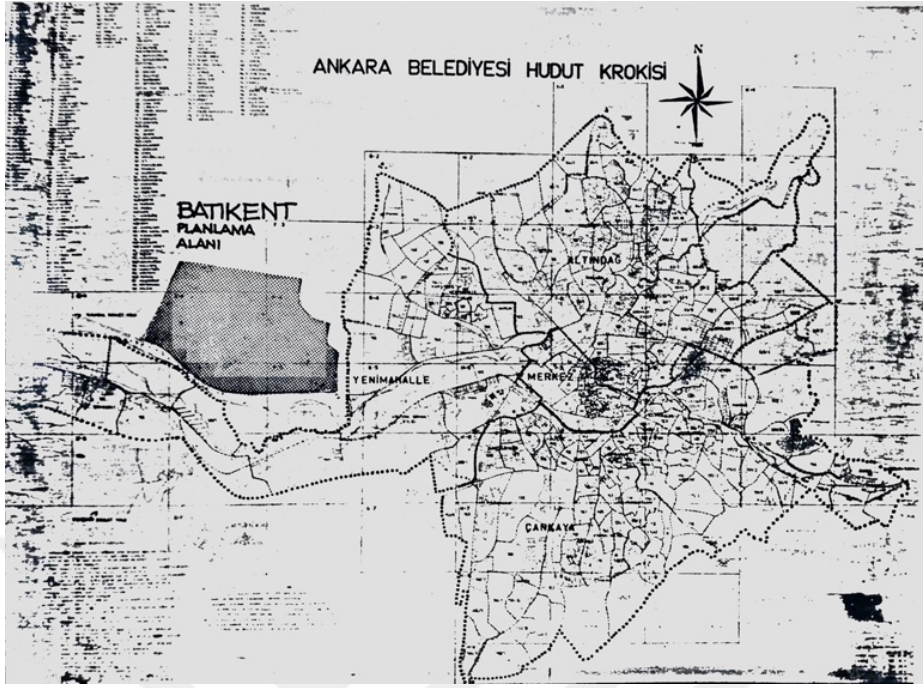


Figure 4-21. The location of Batıkent and Ankara provincial boundary of the period⁴¹⁸

regulations pertaining to municipal housing production, as delineated in the Municipality Law No. 1580 and amending Law No. 5656. See: Erol Sayın, “Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım”, in *Bir Yerel Yönetim Öyküsü*, edited by Korel Göymen, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları, 1983), 115.

⁴¹⁸ *Batıkent Ucuz Konut Alanı Planlama Raporu* (Batıkent Cheap Housing Area Planning Report) prepared by Türkay Ateş’s planning team, (Ankara, 1979). Available in: The Archive of METU – The Department of City and Regional Planning.

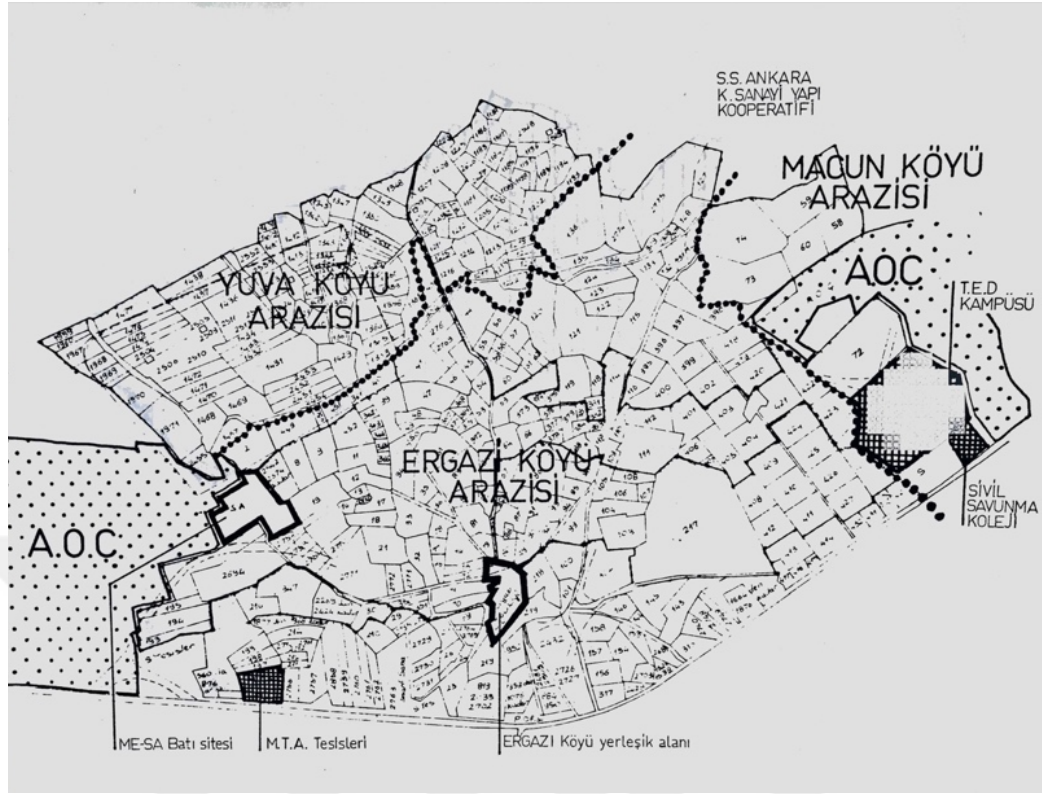


Figure 4-22. Ownership status of Batıkent land before expropriation⁴¹⁹

The plan, prepared by Bülent Berksan and his team, proposed the establishment of general land use zones and a city center, yet it did not delineate the specific functions, spatial hierarchy, or building types that would be applicable within these zones.⁴²⁰ In addition to the 1/5000 scale plan, it is seen in the 1/25000 scale spatial structure diagrams that Berksan brought a spatial hierarchy by organizing the settlement according to sub-centers. (

⁴¹⁹ The Archive of METU – The Department of City and Regional Planning.

⁴²⁰ Bilsel, F. Cânâ. "Three Recent Settlements in Ankara Batıkent Eryaman and Bilkent: Questions on Quality and Sustainability of the Built Environment, Paris. July 4th 7th 2000", IAPS 16 Metropolis 2000, Which perspectives? Cities, Social Life and Sustainable Development, 2000. And also: Çağatay Keskinok, "Ankara Kentinin Planlı Gelişimi Açısından Batıkent Projesinin Önemi/Planlama ve Tasarım Sürecine İlişkin Eleştirel Değerlendirme", in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, edited by Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 120-153.

Figure 4-23)

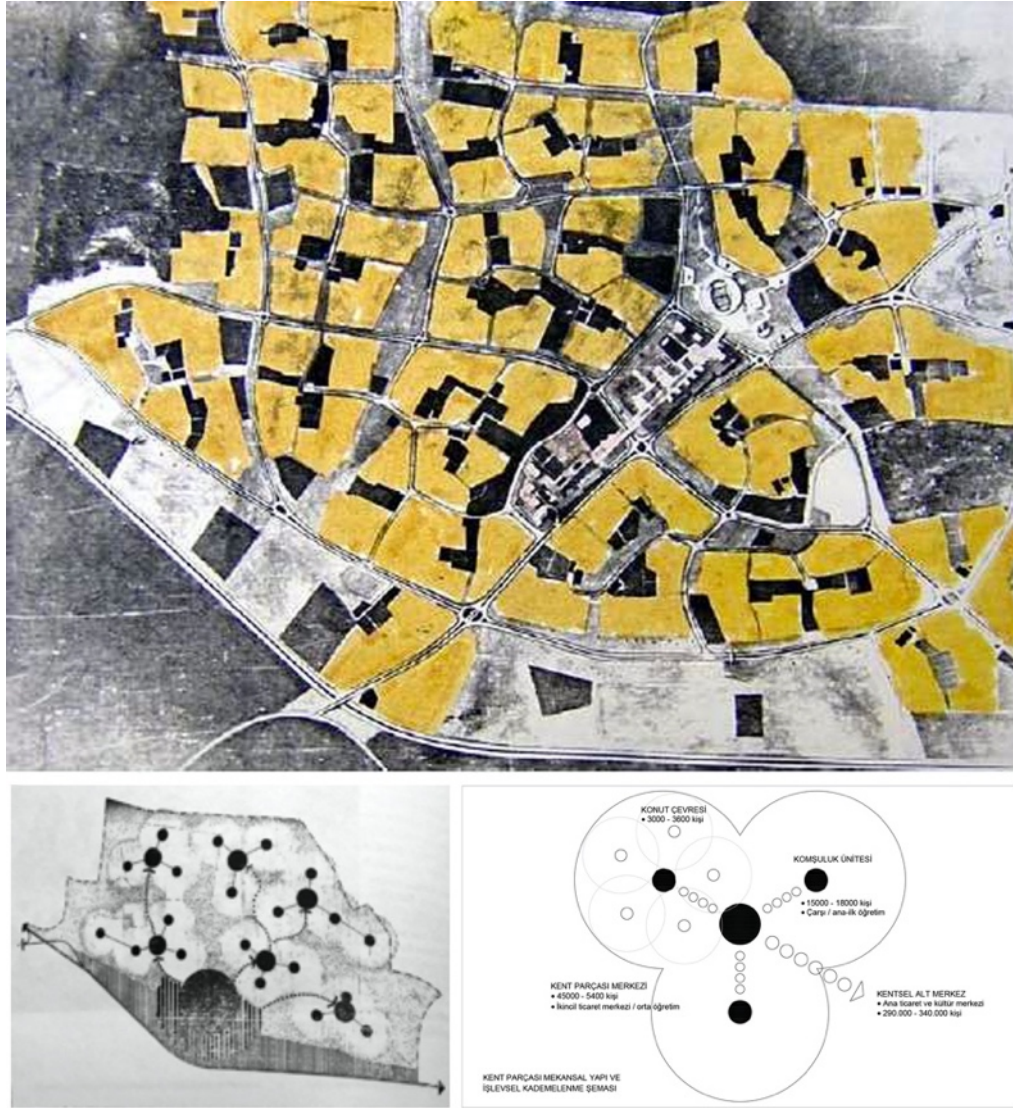


Figure 4-23. The initial master plan⁴²¹ and spatial structure diagrams⁴²² prepared by Bülent Berksan and his team

⁴²¹ Ibid., 127.

⁴²² Ankara Belediyesi Başkanlık Uzmanları, Batıkent Örgütlenme ve Uygulama İlkeleri, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları, 1977), 12. As given in; Ali Faruk Göksu, *Batıkent: Kuram Kurucu Uygulama*, (İstanbul: Den İletişim Yayıncılık, 2022), 74.

In addition to the preparation of the first plan and the expropriation of the land, during Dalokay's mayorship, a report was published in 1977 for the settlement, initially named Akkondu and later Batikent. The report, *Batikent Örgütlenme ve Uygulama İlkeleri* (*Batikent Organization and Implementation Principles*, in English), was prepared by mayoral advisors including Önder Şenyapılı, Erhan Acar, İlhan Tekeli and Mehmet Adam, and delineated the conceptual approach of the municipality to the housing problem. The report addressed the issue of establishing a housing settlement in accordance with six headings: approaches to the housing problem and the formation of a new settlement, ownership, types of housing, organizational model, production process and technology, and operation and maintenance.⁴²³ As can be understood from the headings, the connection of Batikent with the city, the acquisition of land and the way the city develops, the housing production process and the organizations that will manage this process, the technology to be used during the construction, and who will be responsible for the maintenance of the settlement started to be discussed from the very beginning of the project.

Although Vedat Dalokay was not re-nominated in the 1977 local elections, CHP's candidate Ali Dinçer came in his place. In contrast to the situation in İzmit, the Batikent project was able to continue its development under the new mayor's guidance and support. During Dinçer's mayorship, a total of 13 advisory board meetings were held to exchange ideas on how to realize Batikent effectively and in a short time. Approximately 200 individuals participated in these meetings, including representatives from the Ankara Municipality, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office, the State Planning Organization, the METU City and Regional Planning and Civil Engineering Departments, professional chambers, and syndicate representatives.

⁴²³ Ankara Belediyesi Başkanlık Uzmanları, *Batikent Örgütlenme ve Uygulama İlkeleri*, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları, 1977). As quoted in; Ali Faruk Göksu, *Batikent: Kuram Kurucu Uygulama*, (İstanbul: Den İletişim Yayıncılık, 2022), 19-22.

The first of these meetings was held on April 3, 1978 at the METU City and Regional Planning Department, and the last meeting was held on October 19, 1979 at the State Planning Organization. As it can be observed in the minutes of the meetings, published in 1980, in the discussions that lasted for two years, especially the planning issue was focused, apart from the expropriation process, finding financial resources, the transfer of lands to users, the organization of demands, housing typologies, construction management, transportation and infrastructure, density, social amenities, and the capacities of the centers. The rapid planning of Batıkent was important both in terms of completing the expropriation and finding financial resources from national and international funds. In addition, due to the fact that the project was carried out under the leadership of the Municipality, it was requested to accelerate the planning process with political concerns.⁴²⁴

After 1/5000 Master Plan of Berksan, two distinct teams from the Planning Unit of Ankara Municipality carried out the planning studies of Batıkent settlement in 1978-1979. Şükrü Atacan, Aydın Kozak, Mehmet Vidinli, Mehmet Kunt Kuntasal, and Çağatay Keskinok worked in the first team under the responsibility of Türkay Ateş. The conceptual schemes and detailed planning studies prepared by this team were documented in the *Batıkent Ucuz Konut Alanı Planlama Raporu (Batıkent Cheap Housing Area Planning Report, in English)*. After the 8th advisory board meeting, it is seen that new names were included in the planning work. Under the responsibility of Suavi Akansel, the second team consisting of Ahmet Rasim Güler, Turgut Karagöz, Abdülkadir Erginel, Hüsni Ünsal, Barış İlhan, Cahit Kalenderoğlu, Nilgün Nidai and Ümit Bilge replaced the Türkay Ateş team.⁴²⁵ (Figure 4-24) These two plans, prepared by two different teams, show similarities to a large extent, but differ in the details.

⁴²⁴ *Batıkent Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları (1978-79)*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, Batıkent Projesi Yayın Dizisi:2, edited by Erdoğan Arkış, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları, 1980).

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

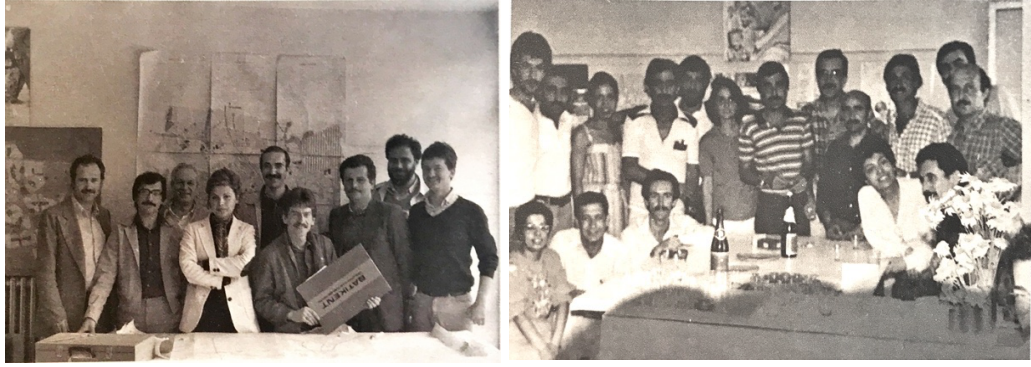


Figure 4-24. Two planning teams within the Ankara Municipality Planning Unit (Left: Türkay Ateş Team, Right: Suavi Akansel Team)⁴²⁶

An earlier version of the plan, formulated by Türkay Ateş's team, had developed Berksan's sub-center approach, thereby establishing a more defined spatial hierarchy. As stated by Keskinok, the plan devised by Ateş and his team was based on the concept of a neighborhood unit designed to accommodate a population of 5,000-7,000. The smallest unit of this organization is a housing environment, comprising 1,000 people in a cooperative block. It was intended that the cooperative groups should be situated in close proximity to social and recreational facilities, within a radius of 100 metres. In addition, three different housing types were developed with an approach that prioritized the housing problem of low-income groups: planned/regular housing (derli konut/gündüzkondu), credit housing (kredili konutlar), and rental housing (kiralık konutlar). For each type of housing, a growth scheme was developed based on user types, financial model, construction system and location.⁴²⁷ (Figure 4-25)

⁴²⁶ Ali Faruk Göksu, *Batıkent: Kuram Kurucu Uygulama*, (İstanbul: Den İletişim Yayıncılık, 2022), 73.

⁴²⁷ Çağatay Keskinok, "Ankara Kentinin Planlı Gelişimi Açısından Batıkent Projesinin Önemi/Planlama ve Tasarım Sürecine İlişkin Eleştirel Değerlendirme", in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, edited by Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 130-5.

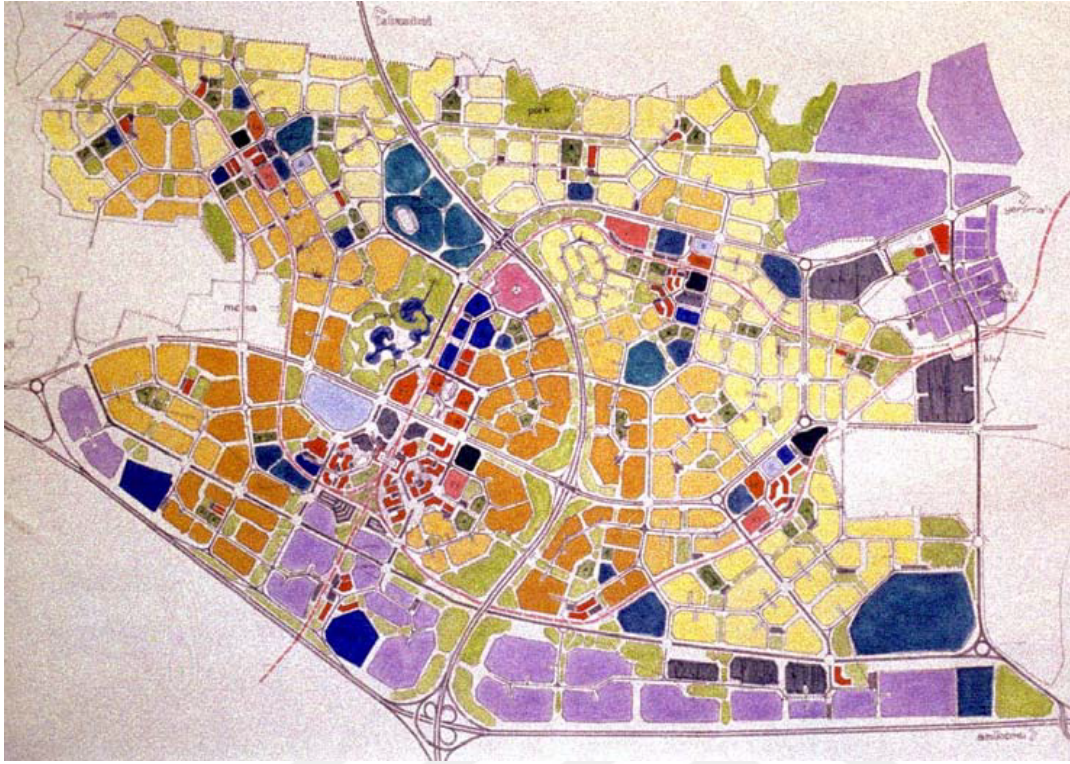


Figure 4-25. 1/5000 Plan of Batıkent devised by Türkay Ateş and his team⁴²⁸

Although the proposal prepared by Ateş's planning team was presented in detail at the 8th advisory board meeting and was appreciated, it was seen that Batıkent's planning work continued with a new planning team under the responsibility of Suavi Akansel at the next meeting.⁴²⁹ Kunt Kuntasal, one of the planners working in the Ateş's team, explains this change as follows:

In a short period of three months, the 1/5000 scale Batıkent Master Development Plan and planning report were prepared and submitted to the Municipality administration. When the Mayor Ali Dinçer and the other

⁴²⁸ *Batıkent Ucuz Konut Alanı Planlama Raporu (Batıkent Cheap Housing Area Planning Report)* prepared by Türkay Ateş's planning team, (Ankara, 1979). Available in: The Archive of METU – The Department of City and Regional Planning.

⁴²⁹ *Batıkent Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları (1978-79)*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, Batıkent Projesi Yayın Dizisi:2, edited by Erdoğan Arkış, (Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları, 1980), 309.

management staff did not agree on the housing production and organization processes proposed together with the plan, they ended the planning team consisting of five people. Turkey Ates resigned. I, Şükrü Atacan, Aydın Kozak, and Çağatay Keskinok were assigned to the Municipal Zoning Directorate. [...] The Batıkent Master Plan and Plan Report, which was prepared in May 1979, was shelved and another planning team was formed to prepare a new plan.⁴³⁰

At the 10th advisory board meeting held two months later, Akansel team presented their proposal for Batıkent. (Figure 4-26) Although this change was criticized at the meeting, industrial engineers, sociologists, economists and lawyers joined Akansel team and the work continued rapidly.⁴³¹ Akansel's plan largely structured the current situation of Batıkent. Although the zoning, housing densities, and distribution decisions were largely consistent with those outlined in the plan of Turkey Ateş team, as Keskinok points out, this version of planning resulted in the creation of an eclectic environment rather than an urban pattern formed by a coherent spatial organization of cooperative units. He also highlights the significant role of cooperatives as the driving force behind the spatial organization and design; however, each cooperative settlement was designed and planned independently, without regarding the others.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ “Commemoration of Turkey Ateş”, in *METU JFA*, no.33, (Ankara: METU Publications, 2016), xiii.

⁴³¹ *Batıkent Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları (1978-79)*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, Batıkent Projesi Yayın Dizisi:2, edited by Erdoğan Arkış, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1980), 314.

⁴³² Çağatay Keskinok, “Ankara Kentinin Planlı Gelişimi Açısından Batıkent Projesinin Önemi/Planlama ve Tasarım Sürecine İlişkin Eleştirel Değerlendirme”, in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, edited by Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 138.



Figure 4-26. 1/5000 Plan of Batıkent devised by Suavi Akansel and his team⁴³³

The urban structure of the plan was organized as a series of five distinct units, each with varying characteristics. The smallest unit, the ‘cooperative block’, encompasses 250-300 housing units and includes a social center for commercial activities, a kindergarten, a playground, and a park. A ‘neighborhood unit’ was identified above the cooperative block, which included the facility of a nursery. Two neighborhood units collectively constituted the ‘quarter unit’, which included a primary school, parks, playgrounds, and squares. A ‘district unit’ was formed from five quarter-units, comprising a high school and a sub-center serving 50,000 people. The main center, designated as the center of the largest unit containing the entire settlement, was established to serve Batıkent with commercial activities, religious units, social and cultural centers. It is important to note that, given the location of the settlement's

⁴³³ *Batıkent Politikalar Demeti: Ana Rapor*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1979).

center within a dry stream bed, the construction of dense structures was avoided, and the design of low-rise buildings was considered to ensure the preservation of the area as a recreational space. The Batıkent plan proposed the construction of 40 kindergartens, 20 primary schools, 4 secondary schools, 3 trade schools, 4 maternity homes, 4 health centers, and 20 m² of green space per person.⁴³⁴ (Table 2)

Unit	Population served	Type of use				
		Education	Health	Culture Recreation	Public	Commerce & Services
Batıkent	250,000	Trade Lycée, Private Lycée	Hospital	Islamic Cultural Center, Planetarium, Sports fields, Recreational areas	Municipal Services, Terminal / Transportation Center, Fire House	Small-scale industry Main Center (wholesalers, stores, banks, hotels, restaurants)
District	50,000	Lycée	Maternity home, Health center	Mosque, Movie theater / theater, Kindergarten	Municipal Services, Post Office, Police Station	District Center (wholesalers, shops, marketplace, office buildings, restaurants/café)
Quarter	10,000	Fundamental schools		Kindergartens, Parks		
Neighborhood	5,000	Nursery	Polyclinic	Cultural & recreational facilities, kindergartens, Parks		Neighborhood Center (shops, supermarkets)
Cooperative block	1,000			Social service areas		Cooperative Center (newspaper stall, grocer, greengrocer)

Table 2. Hierarchy of uses in the Batıkent project⁴³⁵

In order to regulate the density of the settlement, the layout plan was subdivided into distinct zones, each characterised by a specific land-use pattern. As seen in Figure 4-27, the high-rise housing blocks for higher-income families in the center, depicted in brown, were encircled by a zone of medium-density blocks for middle-income families, shown in orange. The zone of low-rise units for workers and new arrivals,

⁴³⁴ Murat Karayalçın, “Batıkent: A New Settlement Project in Ankara, Turkey”, in *Ekistics*, vol. 54, no. 325/326/327, 1987, 292-299.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 296.

represented in yellow, was situated at the outer ring of the settlement. Haluk Pamir evaluates this physical organization of Batıkent as an implementation of outdated functionalist way of planning.⁴³⁶

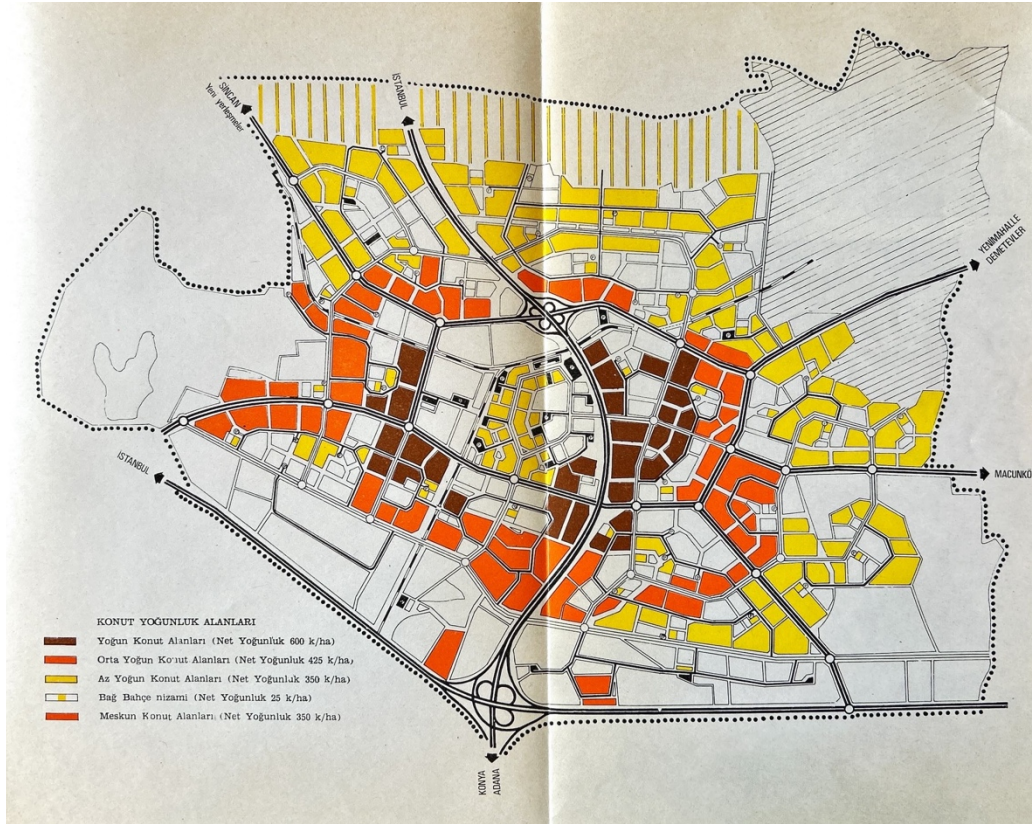


Figure 4-27. Housing density areas in the Batıkent project⁴³⁷

While the planning studies and advisory board meetings were ongoing, the question of what kind of organizational model should be developed for the realization of the Batıkent settlement was also addressed. The objective was to facilitate collaboration between the central government, the municipality, and a civil society organization representing the future residents of the settlement. In this regard, Kent-Koop

⁴³⁶ Haluk Pamir, “Batı-Kent New Town, Ankara”, in *Mimar*, no. 29, (Ankara, 1988), 49-54.

⁴³⁷ *Batıkent Politikalar Demeti: Ana Rapor*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1979), Appendices.

(Batikent Housing Production Cooperatives Union) was established on October 17, 1979 with 13 founding cooperatives, as the third stakeholder of the organization, in addition to the central government and the municipality. The collaboration between these three stakeholder became official with the main protocol signed on December 15, 1980, between the Kent-Koop and the Municipality of Ankara. Following the signing of the protocol, the planning team, which had previously been employed by the municipality, was transferred to Kent-Koop. In accordance with the action plan delineated in the protocol, the responsibilities of three principal collaborators (Kent-Koop, the municipality, and the central government) were as follows: The central government would be responsible for enacting the requisite fiscal and housing legislation, facilitating access to financial resources through government-backed loans, and guaranteeing the provision of social infrastructure through the involvement of relevant ministries. The municipality would be responsible for allocating the site, constructing the technical infrastructure (water, sewage, roads), and managing the municipal services. In addition, Kent-Koop would assume responsibility for coordinating the various demands of the cooperatives, preparing the layout plans, architectural design, and engineering projects for each cooperative, facilitating collaboration between partners, and ensuring the effective functioning of the management structure.⁴³⁸ (Figure 4-28)

⁴³⁸ Murat Karayalçın, “Batikent: A New Settlement Project in Ankara, Turkey”, in *Ekistics*, vol. 54, no. 325/326/327, 1987, 292-299.

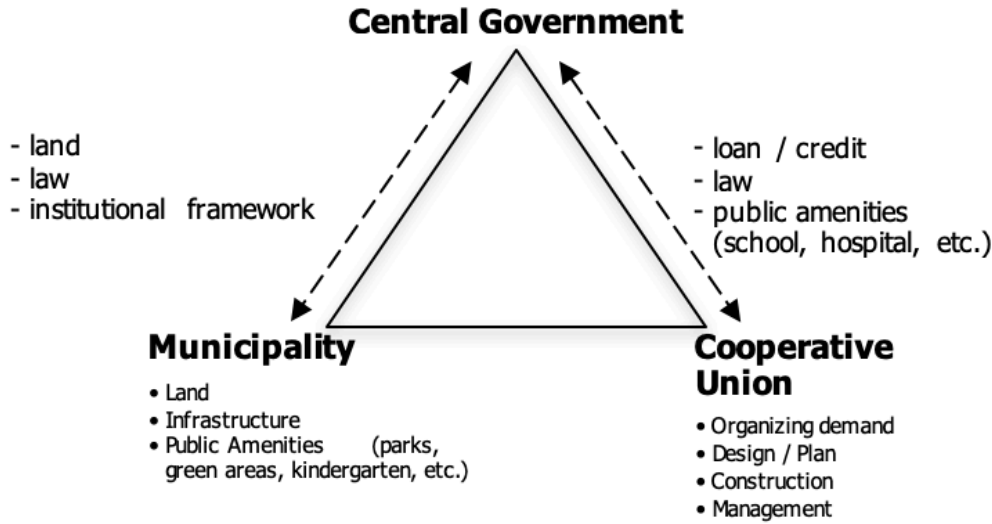


Figure 4-28. The responsibilities of three main collaborators of the Batikent project⁴³⁹

The central administrative body of Kent-Koop was constituted by delegates from each cooperative and the local planning authority. Additionally, the professional departments of administration, finance, architecture, planning, and technical affairs were incorporated into the Union with the objective of providing services to each cooperative in accordance with their specific requirements.⁴⁴⁰ In order to achieve these objectives, a number of potential housing production options were identified and shared with the cooperatives and the central authorities. These options, which could be applied within the context of the wider settlement or could be modified to some extent in line with the specific requirements of the cooperatives, can be broadly categorised as follows:

- Using the informal, small size developer firms and contractors which are producing squatter houses in the existing conditions,

⁴³⁹ Produced by the author.

⁴⁴⁰ İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Konut Sunumunun Davranışsal Nitelikleri ve Konut Kesiminde Bunalım" in *Konut'81*. (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1982), 79-82.

- Using industrialized systems and prefabrication,
- Constructing main structure of the house and leaving the rest to the user,
- Constructing the external shell of the house and leaving the rest to the user,
- Providing only the project and the land, supplying technical assistance and labor power to help the user to construct his/her house.⁴⁴¹

In addition to these construction models, the planning of the cooperative units and the design of the houses were also intended to be achieved through a participatory process, with consideration given to the types, sizes, and numbers of the housing units. The settlement was to be completed in four stages over a period of eight years.⁴⁴² (Figure 4-29) In the initial phase, the boundaries of the settlement were maintained in alignment with the OSTİM industrial zone to the northeast and the MESA Batı Sitesi to the west. As indicated by Kadri Atabaş, it was planned to settle the cooperatives of working population in the OSTİM industrial zone in this first settlement area adjacent to this region.⁴⁴³

Shortly after the construction of the first cooperative units in accordance with these principles, a military coup took place on September 12, 1980. From both the interviews conducted as part of this study and the publications on the Batıkent project, it is evident that this political intervention had a significant impact on the project's trajectory. In the following section, the extent to which these targets set for the Batıkent project - particularly in relation to the process of obtaining housing projects - were achieved will be discussed.

⁴⁴¹ Kadri Atabaş, *Yerel Yönetimler ve Mimarlık*, (İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 1994).

⁴⁴² *Batıkent Yapılabilirlik Çalışması 1*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1980).

⁴⁴³ Interview with Kadri Atabaş.

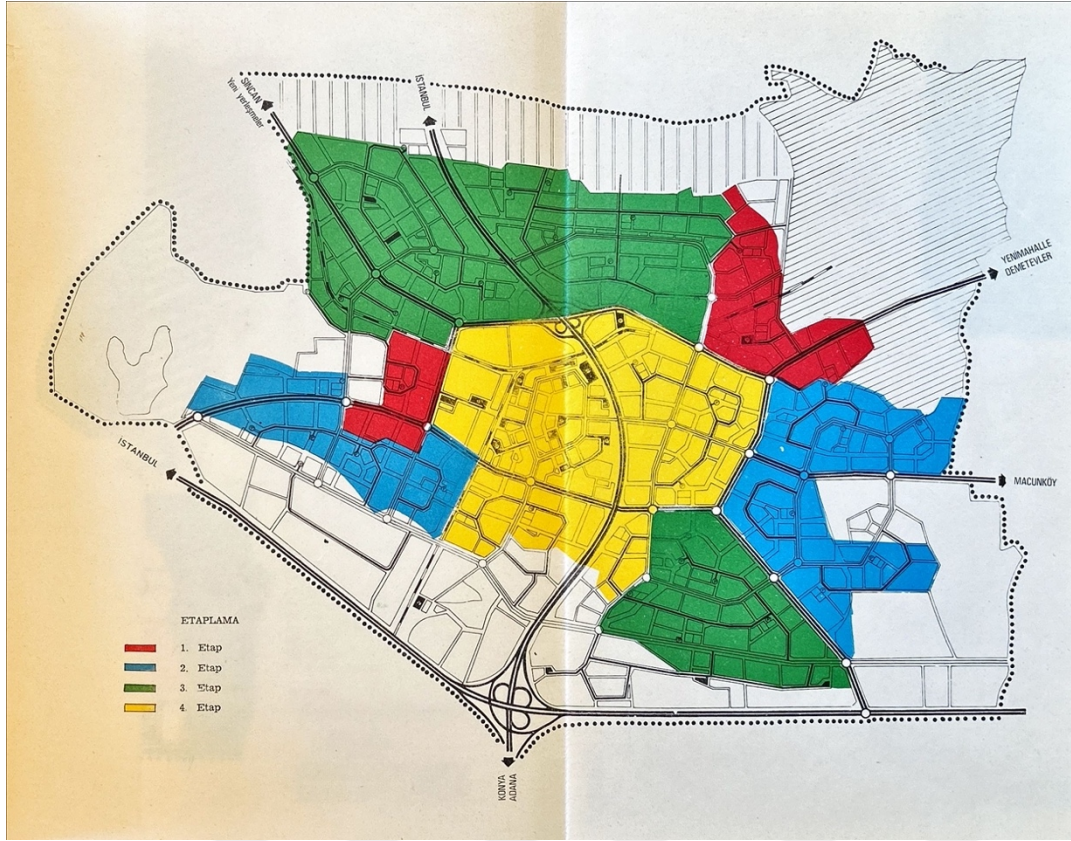


Figure 4-29. Construction phases of the Batıkent project⁴⁴⁴

4.5.1 Participatory Design in Batıkent Settlement: How was it organized? How did it happen?

Following Kent-Koop's first publication, *Batıkent Politikalar Demeti: Ana Rapor*, 106 books, 14 working reports and various periodicals were published on the Batıkent project.⁴⁴⁵ These publications focus on the planning process of Batıkent settlement, expropriation of lands, development of the organizational model,

⁴⁴⁴ *Batıkent Politikalar Demeti: Ana Rapor*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1979), Appendices.

⁴⁴⁵ Ali Faruk Göksu, *Batıkent: Kuram Kurucu Uygulama*, (İstanbul: Den İletişim Yayıncılık, 2022), 168.

distribution of tasks among actors, and the feasibility of the settlement. Although the process was extensively documented from different perspectives through these publications, the design of housing units and the communication between cooperative members and the Kent-Koop architectural team in this process are among the least addressed issues. Therefore, to gain insight into the lesser-known aspects of the housing design process, a series of interviews was conducted. Interviews with actors who played different roles at various stages of the development and construction of the Batikent project proved to be a valuable source of insight for this part of the study. Among the names interviewed were Semih Eryıldız, who witnessed the initial stages of the project and served as Director of Squatter and Social Housing during Vedat Dalokay's mayorship; and Kadri Atabaş, who served as Batikent Project Coordinator and subsequently as Kent-Koop Founding-General Secretary during Ali Dinçer's term as mayor. Additionally, Demet Eryıldız, a founding member of the Ortadoğulular Kooperatifi, and Nevbahar Atalay, an architect in the Kent-Koop architectural team established after 1980, were also interviewed. In addition to these interviews, an effort was made to ascertain information from the aforementioned sources regarding the development of housing projects and the participation of cooperative members in the design of housing and cooperative units.

According to Kadri Atabaş, in the Batikent project, the concept of participation was operationalized in four distinct aspects. As the first aspect of participation, he points to the fact that the project was developed in its early stages with the contribution of Dalokay's mayoral experts. The second aspect is the advisory board meetings held during Dinçer's mayorship. Atabaş underscores the diversity of attendees, representing a multitude of disciplines and backgrounds, including ministry employees, construction company representatives, syndicate leaders, and academics. The third one was to ensure that the process developed in accordance with the legal framework through presentations to various institutions of the state, and as the fourth aspect of participation, Atabaş pointed to the organization of cooperatives and their

involvement in the housing production process.⁴⁴⁶ The four dimensions of participation in the Batıkent project, as outlined by Atabaş, also provide clues as to how the housing projects were obtained and whether the participatory model was applied in housing designs, which is the research topic of this study.

First of all, it is evident that the discussions held during the Advisory Board Meetings are instrumental in elucidating how the issue of housing design was addressed throughout the developmental stages of the Batıkent project. The speech delivered by Ankara Deputy Mayor and METU academic Korel Göymen at the inaugural meeting offers insights toward an understanding of the approach to housing design:

The housing problem in our country is, as far as I can see, firstly related to Turkey's problems, and secondly related to the production process. In the production process, production method and production technology are in question. The third problem is organization, that is, how this work will be organized and financed. Fourth, the relationship with the city. Fifth, the design of this work. That is, its interior arrangement, its spatial arrangement. Now, I think the last one is not that important, we can skip it.⁴⁴⁷

In these early stages, when there were many uncertainties about the project – including financing of the project, organizational model, construction method, land use, etc, it is not surprising that decisions regarding the housing designs were not prioritized. The issue of housing production was included in the agenda of the 6th

⁴⁴⁶ Interview with Kadri Atabaş.

⁴⁴⁷ *Batıkent Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları (1978-79)*, Ankara Belediyesi Proje Dizisi:1, Batıkent Projesi Yayın Dizisi:2, edited by Erdoğan Arkış, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1980), 12. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: “Ülkemizde konut sorunu, öncelikle Türkiye sorunlarıyla ilgili, benim görebildiğim kadarıyla, ikincisi üretim süreciyle ilgili. Üretim sürecinde, üretim biçimi, üretim teknolojisi söz konusu. Üçüncü sorun organizasyon, yani bu işin organizasyonu ve finansmanı nasıl olacak sorusu. Dördüncüsü kentle ilişkiler. Beşincisi de bu işin dizaynı. Yani iç düzenlemesi, mekansal düzenlemesi. Şimdi bence sonuncusu o kadar önemli bir şey değil, onu geçebiliriz.”

meeting of the Advisory Board. In this meeting, which was attended by representatives from the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement and various construction companies, one of the topics of discussion, which developed in line with the experiences of the participants, was how to obtain housing projects. It was suggested that an architectural team should be established within the municipality and that cooperatives should obtain housing projects either through this architectural team or through different architectural teams.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the minutes of the meetings indicate that the primary objective was the construction of the housing units, rather than the design of them.

Another publication by Kent-Koop that offers insights into the housing production process is the book *Batıkent'de Evimiz Var* (*We Have a House in Batıkent*, in English) by Malik Şat, Nevzat Dağlı, and İdris Yılmaz. Telling the story of the Faculty of Political Sciences, School of Press and Publications Employees Building Cooperative (“SBF-BYYO Çalışanları Yapı Kooperatifi”), the book provides information on how one of the first cooperative projects in Batıkent was realized. Founded in April 1979, the cooperative maintained its organization after 1980 and built the houses despite many adversities in the process. The following memory of the cooperative president Malik Şat regarding the housing projects indicates that Batıkent's first cooperative units were devoid of any design-related concerns, and that cooperative members easily intervened in the projects:

We had made so many changes to the projects that the only commonality between the first and the final version was the appearance of the duplex. Sometimes our intervention was directed towards the façade, sometimes it interfered with the internal organization of the dwelling. For example, the coal cellar, which we could not locate in a certain place because we had converted the dwelling into a heated one, turned into a toilet in the occupancy

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 235.

permit. In some places under the stairs, in some places in the basement, was the solution for such needs.⁴⁴⁹

As Haluk Pamir noted, in the early years of the project's implementation, more emphasis was placed on quantity than quality in housing projects, both out of inexperience and in order not to miss the opportunity to implement the project in a climate of political uncertainty.⁴⁵⁰ Karayalçın also categorized these housing projects produced for the hastened construction process as the first generation - type projects. Second-generation projects were those whose designs were developed through a series of separate consultations with each cooperative. In contrast to the first generation projects, these were designs for unplotted lands, developed at the scale of a building block. The first and second generation housing projects designed by the Kent-Koop architectural team consisting of Füsün Öke, Orhan Aydemir, Kemal Kurtsal, Osman Uluer, Bülent Hatipoğlu, Engin Ilgün, Recai Ertuğrul, Levin Emiroğlu, Nevbahar Bozkurt (Atalay), Nihat Külahlı, Gönül Birkan and Bediz Tuncel between 1979 and 1984 were published as the Kent-Koop Architectural Project Album in 1984.⁴⁵¹ Nevbahar Atalay, one of the architects of Kent-Koop, mentioned that especially when these second-generation housing projects were prepared, the heads of the cooperatives ensured communication between the cooperative members and the architectural team, and contributed to the development of projects specific to the cooperatives by conveying the common demands of the

⁴⁴⁹ Malik Şat, Nevzat Dağlı, İdris Yılmaz, *Batıkent'de Evimiz Var: SBF-BYYO Çalışanları Yapı Kooperatifi Öyküsü*, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1985), 47. Translation belongs to the author. For the quote in its original language: "Konutların projeleri üzerinde o kadar çok oynamıştık ki, ilki ile sonuncusu arasındaki tek ortak yön, neredeyse konutun dubleks görünümü kalmıştı. Kimi zaman cepheye yönelen müdahalemiz, kimi zaman konutun iç işlerine karışıyordu. Örneğin, konutu kaloriferliye çevirdiğimiz için, belli bir yere oturtamadığımız kömürlük, iskan izninde tuvalete dönüştü. Kimi yerde merdiven altı, kimi yerde bodrum, bu tür gereksinmeler için çözüm oluyordu."

⁴⁵⁰ Haluk Pamir, "Batı-Kent New Town, Ankara", in *Mimar*, no. 29, (Ankara, 1988), 49-54.

⁴⁵¹ *Kent-Koop Mimari Proje Albümü 1979-1984*, edited by Cahit Kalenderoğlu, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984).

members.⁴⁵² Although the participatory design process was not developed in a systematic manner, particularly in comparison to the İzmit New Settlements project, the Kent-Koop architectural project album presents a diverse array of designs. It is seen that 45 different housing designs were developed – in accordance with the prescribed credit conditions and the demands of cooperatives – for the regular housing type (duplex houses with gardens/ derli konut). Of these, 29 are grouped as first-generation projects (Figure 4-30) and 16 are grouped as second-generation projects.⁴⁵³ In particular, in second-generation projects, it is observed that open spaces were proposed for the common use of cooperative residents, with housing units grouped around courtyards. In this regard, it can be stated that the involvement of cooperative members in the design of second-generation projects initiated the consideration of spatial solutions for communal life. To emphasize this approach, the second-generation projects were included with the layout plan, unlike the first-generation ones, in the architectural projects album. (Figure 4-31)

⁴⁵² Interview with Nevbahar Atalay, conducted online via Zoom on August 14, 2024.

⁴⁵³ According to the architectural project album, first-generation housing projects were developed according to parcels separated by axis intervals of 5, 6, 8, or 9 meters - to facilitate and accelerate construction. All of these houses were a maximum of 100 m² in size to meet the credit requirements. Despite these limitations, 29 different projects were developed for these first-generation houses designed as twin houses or row houses. It would appear that, although no communication was established with the cooperatives in the development of these first-generation projects, a wide variety of projects were presented to them for their consideration. See: *Kent-Koop Mimari Proje Albümü 1979-1984*, edited by Cahit Kalenderoğlu, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984).

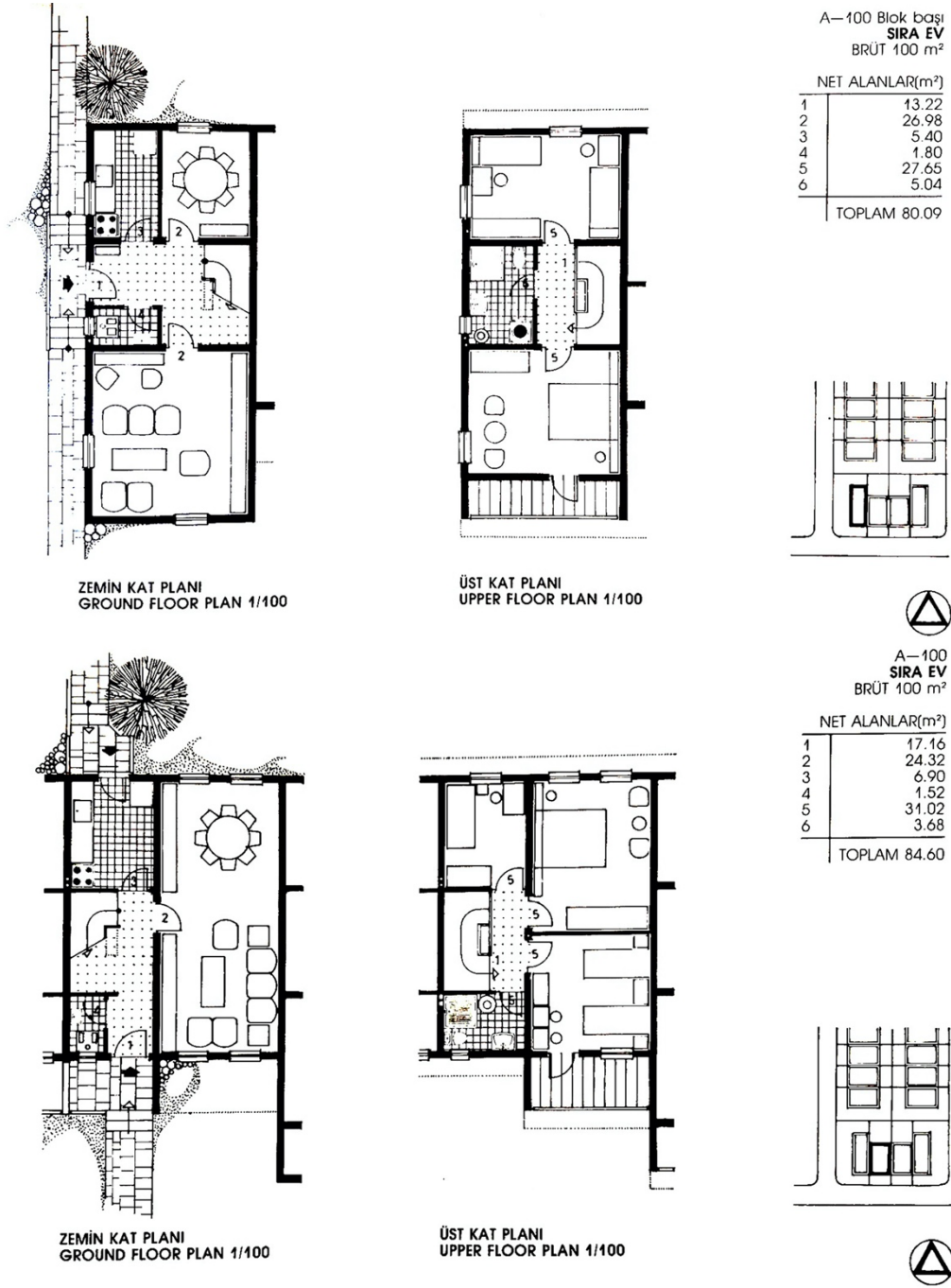


Figure 4-30. Example of first-generation housing projects: two different types of row houses designed for the same cooperative unit (by Recai Ertuğrul)⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

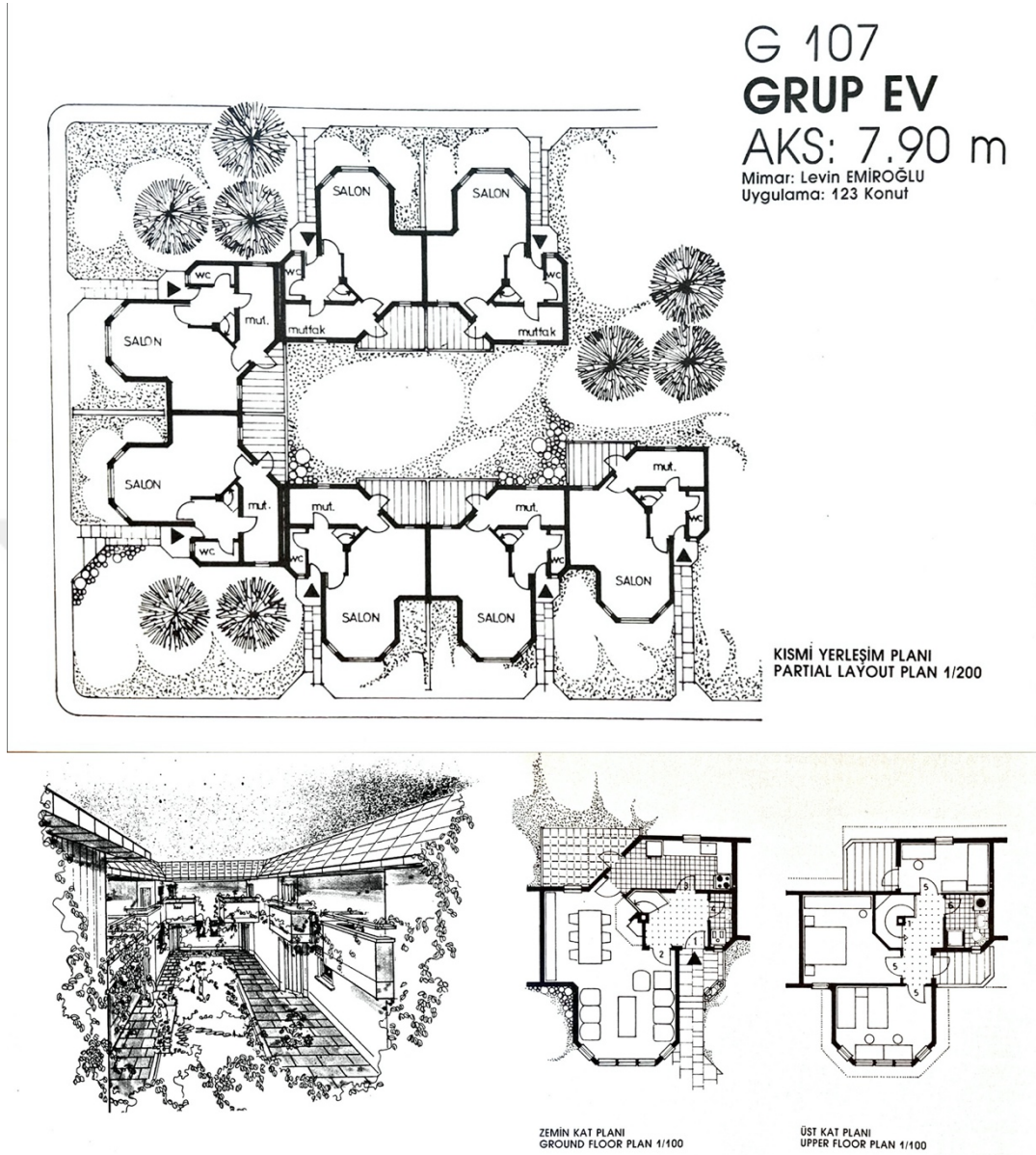


Figure 4-31. Example of second-generation housing projects (designed by Levin Emiroğlu)⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

A review of the second-generation projects reveals the inclusion of projects developed by individuals external to the Kent-Koop architectural team.⁴⁵⁶ Detça (Devlet Tiyatrosu Çalışanları ve Sanatçıları/ State Theatre Staff and Artists) Cooperative housing projects designed by Haluk Pamir, Mehmet Adam, and Cüneyt Budak,⁴⁵⁷ which were included in the architectural album, are particularly significant for this research as they were developed with a participatory approach. Cooperative members, who chose among different housing projects designed by these three architects, also had the opportunity to intervene in the designs during their meetings with the architects. During these meetings, members of the cooperative were informed by the design team about the potential house types and layouts that could be constructed. They were also given the opportunity to express their preferences regarding room sizes, sunlight exposure, and the relationship between the houses and the outdoors. The architects developed the design of the houses in accordance with the criteria determined in these meetings. Consequently, 133 of the 179 residential units were constructed in accordance with the housing project devised by Haluk Pamir, 35 units in accordance with the housing project designed by Mehmet Adam, and 11 units in accordance with the housing project designed by Cüneyt Budak.⁴⁵⁸ (Figure 4-32, Figure 4-33, Figure 4-34) Besides these duplex houses with gardens, the architectural project album also included the housing projects of multi-storey apartment buildings. However, compared to the variety of designs offered for duplex

⁴⁵⁶ As stated by Demet Eryıldız, a member of the Ortadoğulular Cooperative (established concurrently with the Detça cooperative), the Ortadoğulular Cooperative expressed a preference for the architectural design of the houses to be undertaken by its own architect members. Nevertheless, this preference was not accepted by Kent-Koop, and the cooperative's housing designs were instead created by the Kent-Koop architectural team. From this, we can infer that Kent-Koop did not afford each cooperative the same degree of autonomy in the development of housing designs. Interview with Demet Eryıldız & Semih Eryıldız.

⁴⁵⁷ In the initial phases of the project, the design team was also comprised of Adnan Ural and Adnan Taşpınar. The 11 housing projects designed by the aforementioned architects were presented to the cooperative members, and work proceeded with Haluk Pamir, Mehmet Adam, and Cüneyt Budak in accordance with the most preferred housing designs. Mehmet Gökhan Berk, "Social Housing and Evaluation of Participatory Approaches: A Case Study on Detça Housing Cooperative in Batıkent", Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, (Ankara: METU, 1997), 64-5.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

houses, it can be said that very few housing designs were developed for apartment type housing units. Only four different housing designs were included in the album for apartment-type.

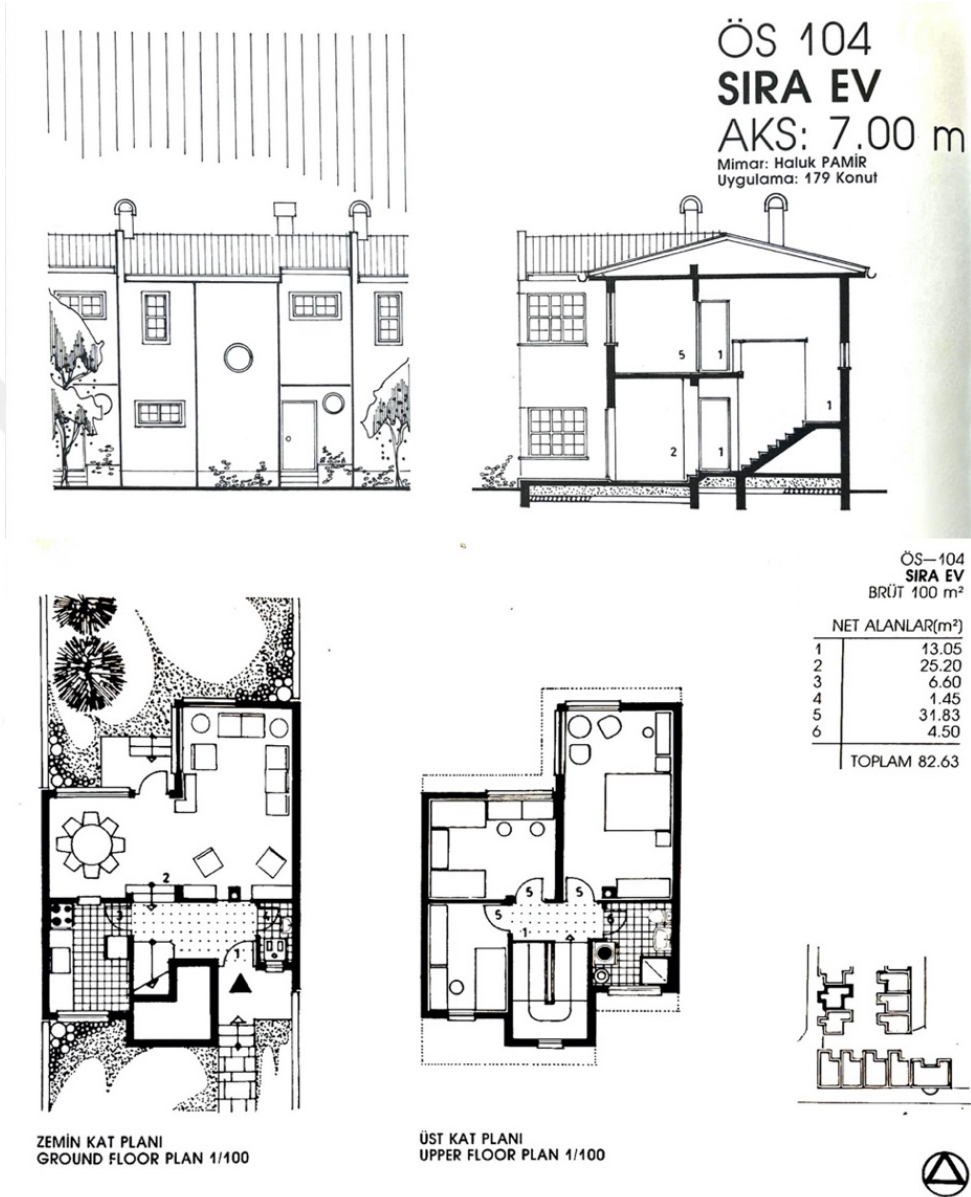
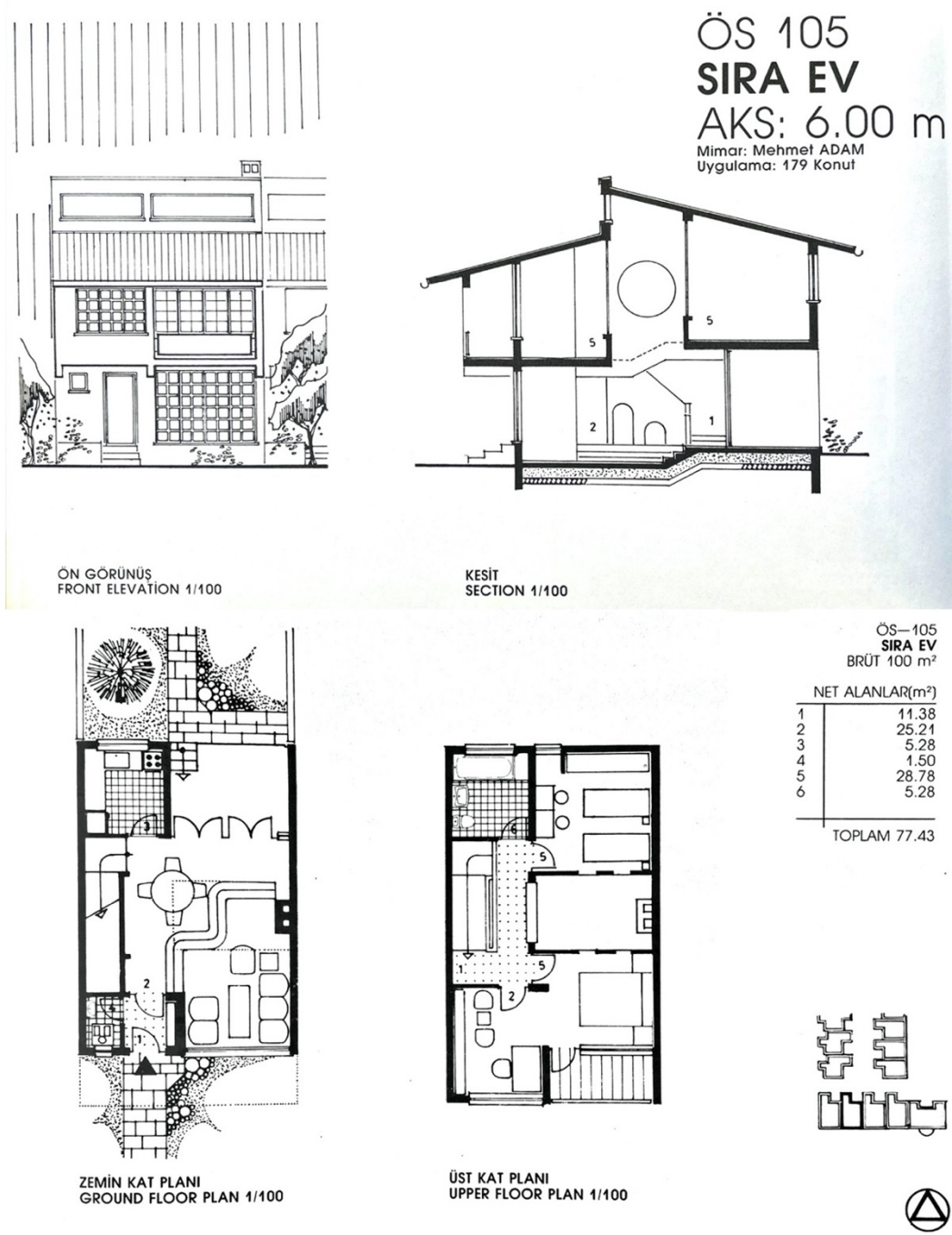


Figure 4-32. Housing project designed by Haluk Pamir for Detça Cooperative⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁹ *Kent-Koop Mimari Proje Albümü 1979-1984*, edited by Cahit Kalenderoğlu, (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984).



⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

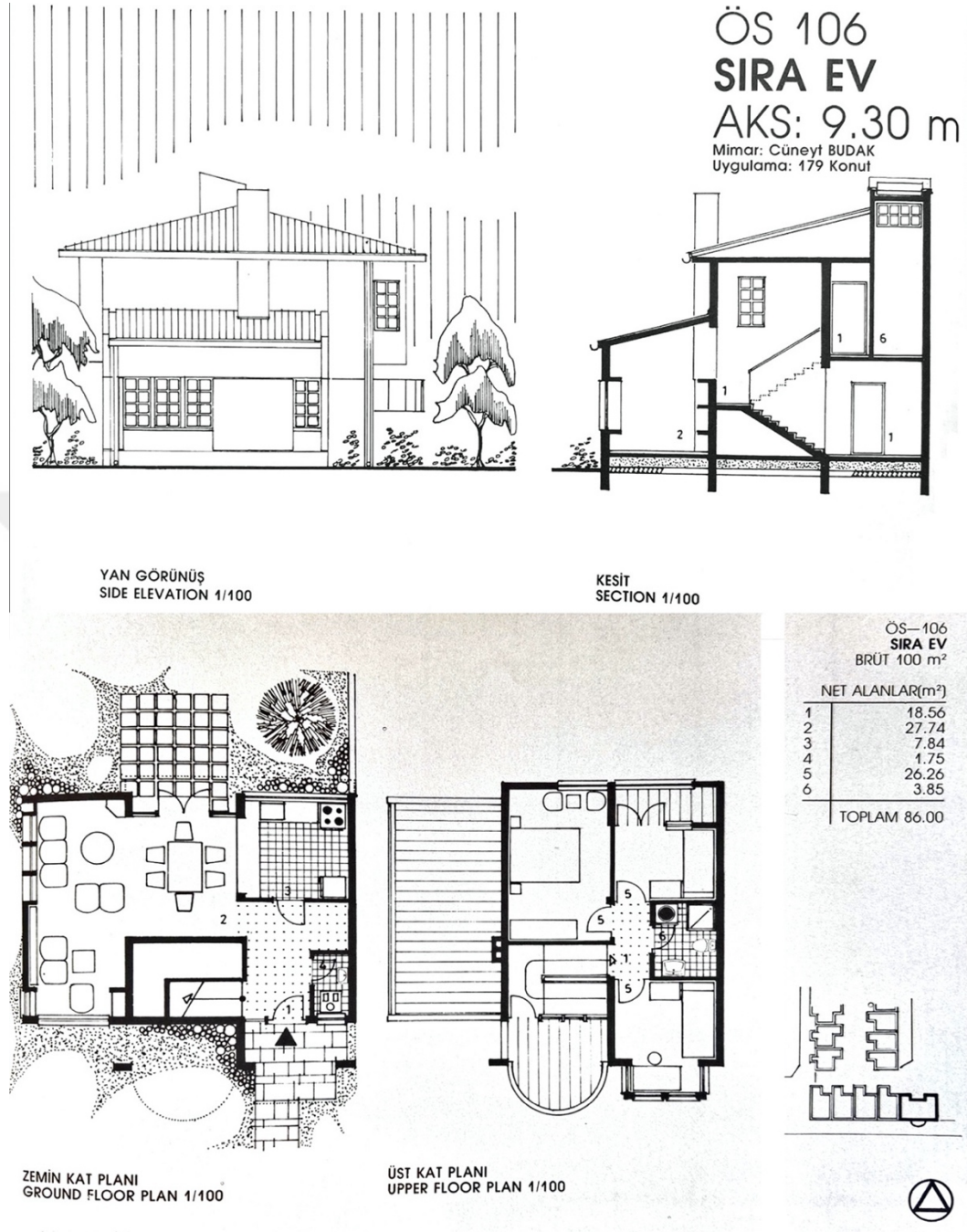


Figure 4-34. Housing project designed by Cüneyt Budak for Detça Cooperative⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

Considering the realization process of Batikent settlement, although the design of the cooperative and housing units, and the involvement of stakeholders in the decision-making process regarding architectural design was not a primary focus, a multitude of housing design alternatives were developed for the cooperatives. It can be said that the Batikent project, a large-scale and multi-actor project, deviated from some of its primary goals – such as the abandonment of rental housing type, the failure to design the center of the settlement, and the lack of urban design principles that would ensure the spatial integrity of cooperative units – due to expected or unexpected factors during the implementation process. The long implementation period of such a large-scale project was also effective in this outcome. Despite these, the cooperative organization provided the experience of producing housing for defined users, and it enabled the implementation of a rich variety of housing designs in Batikent settlement.

In the following section, the evaluations of the cooperative organization and the participatory design process will be discussed in light of the conceptual discussions and design experiences outlined thus far in the study. The opportunities and shortcomings of the process in terms of architectural design will also be considered.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Over a century and a half has elapsed since Friedrich Engels defined the question of housing. This question, that was initially posed for the housing of the workers in industrial cities, acquired different meanings in different contexts over time. The response of Engels' contemporaries to the housing question of the time was utopian socialist scenarios. Utopian socialists, including Robert Owen and Charles Fourier, proposed the establishment of idealized communities characterized by cooperation, common ownership, and social harmony. These envisioned societies sought to integrate urban and rural living, promoting collective ownership and technological advancement to ensure a self-sufficient environment for the masses. Although many of these utopian experiments, were largely unsuccessful, they nevertheless constituted a crucial foundation for the subsequent development of cooperative practices.

The principles of 19th-century utopian socialist communities significantly influenced early implementations of housing concepts in the 20th century, particularly in the development of Garden City Movement. Ebenezer Howard's seminal works, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, and its later edition, *The Garden Cities of To-morrow*, introduced the idea of a new community that synthesizes the benefits of both urban and rural living. Howard proposed the Garden City as a decentralized model for urban planning, aiming to balance urban conveniences with rural advantages such as fresh air and open spaces. The design included zones for production, dwelling, social activities, and green areas, emphasizing functional separation. Urban historian Robert Fishman characterized the concept of Garden

City as a schematic representation of a “properly functioning society”⁴⁶², reflective of Enlightenment rationalism. Believing that an ideal built environment would lead to an ideal society, the execution of Howard's Garden City concept involved forming cooperative organizations to manage land and infrastructure development. His structured plans included purchasing agricultural land, establishing necessary utilities, and utilizing the increasing land values to support the community. Despite compromises in early implementations, such as Letchworth (1903) and Welwyn Garden City (1921), Howard's ideas inspired decentralized housing settlements in Great Britain, followed by other countries.

Another prominent figure who proposed solutions to the challenges of industrial city was Patrick Geddes. Similar to Howard's approach, Geddes also proposed an anti-city model - the regional city - to address the problems of the industrial city. However, Geddes' methodology was founded upon a comprehensive regional survey rather than an exploration of an optimal configuration for the decentralized settlement. This regional survey, which would inform planning decisions, should include an inventory of the hydrology, geology, flora, fauna, climate and natural topography of the region, as well as its social and economic opportunities and challenges. Geddes' approach is significant in that it considers the physical and social context to be a crucial factor in the planning of new settlements. At this point, it can be said that in Geddes' approach, rather than the idea of reaching an ideal society through an ideal spatial configuration, existing social dimensions are considered as one of the important factors affecting the formation of space.

The housing debates of the pre-war period, which focused on the inhumane living conditions of the working class in industrial cities, acquired a new dimension in the wake of the devastation wrought by World War I and the subsequent economic depression. In the aftermath of the First World War, concerns about living conditions

⁴⁶² Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier* (London, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 41.

and housing shortages began to emerge among a broader cross-section of society. Architects and urban planners began leveraging advances in construction technology to create standardized, rational solutions at both the housing unit and urban planning levels. This period saw key contributions from two influential groups: the Bauhaus in Germany and the Le Corbusier-influenced group, CIAM. The CIAM focused on establishing modern architectural and urban principles while emphasizing architecture's role in social development. Eleven meetings were held across Europe to discuss a variety of themes fundamental to urbanism, including “the Minimum Dwelling” (1929) and “the Functional City” (1933).

Despite the advancements promoted by the CIAM, criticisms emerged regarding the failure of modernist principles to address human needs and diverse cultural contexts. Critics argued that standardized solutions disregarded individual variations, leading to a disconnect between architectural designs and the lived realities of users. Following World War II, younger architects within the CIAM sought to challenge established norms. Young architects who challenged the traditional modernist approach of CIAM - including Alison and Peter Smithson, William and Jill Howell, and Aldo van Eyck - formed a new group called Team 10. The advent of new concepts, including those of association, identity, and community, gave rise to a movement that placed greater emphasis on human-centered urban design. Influenced by Geddesian approach, the Doorn Manifesto (1954) of Team 10 emphasized the need for context-specific habitats, signaling a departure from the rigid internationalism of earlier modernist principles. Although Team 10 did not completely oppose all modernist ideals, they advocated for designs that were sensitive to local conditions, social dynamics, and dialogue between community and place-making. They fostered a sense of place, criticizing the prevalence of standardized building blocks in modern urban environment.

By the 1960s, with the rise of the private sector and welfare state policies favoring construction, there was a rapid expansion in housing programs. Post-war urban renewal initiatives often resulted in the displacement of low-income communities from central urban areas to the outskirts, increasing social segregation. Valuable

inner-city zones were prioritized for profitable developments, pushing marginalized populations into standardized, minimal housing settlements. This sparked significant public dissatisfaction, reflected in protests around issues like human rights and social welfare. Influenced by these dynamics, the 1960s witnessed a re-evaluation of the architect's and user's roles in housing. Architectural practices that considered the right of users to actively intervene in the built environment began to come to the fore. These practices and the different design approaches developed in this regard are of particular significance to this study.

When we look at the place of the participatory design approach in the global trajectory of housing question, it is seen that it developed as a counter-argument to the large-scale housing projects built by construction companies on the periphery of cities after the World War II. The argument that these mass-produced, standardized housing projects resulted in the creation of suboptimal built environments from a social and human perspective served as a primary impetus for the advent of participatory design. On the other hand, when we look at the evolution of the housing question in Turkey, it is seen that the inclusion of participatory design in the housing sector was driven by different factors.

The question of housing in Turkey was first posed following the designation of Ankara as the capital city. This was part of the broader initiative to construct a modern capital, with the objective of providing accommodation for the influx of civil servants and bureaucratic population. In line with this, early housing policies included legal regulations enabling land expropriation and the establishment of settlements like Yenışehir designed for civil servant population. Various laws were enacted to encourage the formation of housing cooperatives, regulate rental assistance, and provide low-cost housing options. In this early Republican period, cooperative organization entered into the housing sector with the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative. This initial housing settlement, which was achieved through a cooperative organization, is of particular significance for this study for two reasons: Firstly, it was decisive in the development of the housing cooperative tradition in

Turkey; and secondly, it was an experience of participatory design, although this was not intended.

After the World War II, the focus of the housing question widened to include the housing needs of lower-income groups. With the influence of economic policies prioritizing agriculture-related industry, the rapid urbanization problem that was only valid for Ankara in the early years of the Republic began to be experienced in other major cities as well. The surplus of labor that resulted from the mechanization of agriculture subsequently migrated to urban areas, thereby giving rise to a new housing question: the formation of squatter settlements. The phenomenon of urbanization, which originated within the European context due to the advent of industrialization, occurred in Turkey due to the thrust of rural areas. These infrastructure-less and unsanitary squatter settlements, which were rapidly spreading on the outskirts of cities, became one of the most discussed issues in the architecture and planning milieus.

The military coup in 1960 catalyzed a major reconfiguration of housing policies. The 1961 Constitution recognized the right to housing as a fundamental right, mandating the state to take measures to address housing needs, particularly for low-income families. The establishment of the State Planning Organization marked the beginning of comprehensive planning to address housing issues as part of broader economic and social development goals. The First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967) established key principles for housing policy, emphasizing cost-effective housing solutions while accommodating increasing urban populations. Its key objectives included:

- Constructing more houses within a limited budget to address the low-income housing needs.
- Ensuring equitable land access and providing housing for squatters without displacement.

In line with these, the introduction of Public Housing Standards in 1964 aimed to define minimum and moderate-quality public housing, establishing size and materials requirements to aid construction at both quality levels. Two laws enacted during this period are important in terms of the course of urbanization and housing issues. Firstly, The Flat Ownership Law (1965) came as a response to high land value in urban areas, allowing the middle class to afford apartments in city centers. The implementation of this law spurred significant growth in the apartment building sector, especially by the build-and-sell model. This law transformed the residential landscape of cities by enabling individual ownership of housing units within multi-story buildings. The other legislation, Squatter Prevention Law (1966) aimed to tackle the persistent issue of squatter settlements, which had proliferated due to rapid urbanization and insufficient public housing. While it did not fully legitimize squatter neighborhoods, it defined the term ‘squatter’ and set conditions for rehabilitation and evacuation of these settlements. The law aimed to provide municipal support for housing solutions while addressing the rights of current occupants.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972) called for cooperation among local governments and housing cooperatives to address housing shortages. In this regard, the Cooperatives Law (1969) introduced significant enhancements to the organization of housing cooperatives. This legislation allowed individuals as well as public entities and municipalities to participate in cooperatives, fostering collaborative efforts in housing production. Thus, the model of housing cooperatives were supported as an alternative model in housing production, while also paving the way for community-oriented approaches in housing design.

The 1970s also marked a period when discussions about mass housing entered the architectural agenda. Despite the few examples in Turkey such as Ataköy and Levent settlements, the concept of mass housing, which stood out as a rapid and cost-effective way to meet the housing need, began to be discussed by learning from international experience. Before the practice of mass housing became widespread in Turkey, the search for solutions to the standard, identity-less and inhuman nature of

mass housing environments came to the fore. In this sense, it can be said that the concept of mass housing and participatory design approaches entered the Turkish architectural agenda in the same period. Another reason for this can be shown as the Cooperatives Law enacted in 1969, which paved the way for different actors to be involved in cooperative organizations and the impact of credit opportunities provided to cooperatives established to produce mass housing. Consequently, while the subject of mass housing was a central topic of discussion in the housing debates of the 1970s, participatory design methodologies were also a significant point of focus.

In light of the cooperative housing settlements addressed in this thesis, it becomes evident that these projects were oriented towards the low- and middle-income populations with their organizational models. Since the early of the 1960s, the phenomenon of squatter settlements, which became increasingly prevalent as a consequence of the rapid urbanization, constituted one of the most significant and contentious housing questions of the period. While cooperative housing production was not a fundamental solution to the problem of squatter settlement, it emerged as a significant alternative for mitigating the severity of the problem. In that sense, the cooperative organisation stood out for its potential to be simultaneously an alternative to the two most discussed definitions of housing question at the time - squatter settlements and mass housing.

The housing settlement examples included in the scope of this thesis also shows that the approaches of architects played a decisive role in the introduction of participatory methods aimed at addressing the social deficiencies inherent to the mass housing model. It could be argued that Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, Cengiz Bektaş, and Tuncay Çavdar were engaged with global architectural discourses and contributed to the adoption of these discourses to the Turkish architectural milieu through the housing settlement projects they developed. The experiences of these architects show that while the participatory process requires the architect to share his or her role in making design decisions with the end users, it also imposes new roles on the architect. Participation in design decisions requires the transfer of knowledge about

the built environment and accordingly, the collective production of new knowledge. In this regard, how communication between the architect and the users is established becomes important. Rather than the roles of ‘demander’ and ‘designer in line with demand’, the communication between the architect and the user is expected to determine the architectural product while also dialectically transforming these two actors. At this point, the architect also takes on the role of constructing this relationship. In this point, the demarcation between the demands of the user and the design approach of the architect on the formation of the architectural product constitutes one of the crucial challenges within the participatory design process.

On the other hand, this issue also applies to the relationship between architects and users who are financially capable of procuring architectural services for the design of their individual houses. In this context, participatory design seeks to carry out a similar design process for a larger number of users. The potential for cooperative organization and participatory design offers a means of facilitating the user-architect relationship for low-income groups, although not as evident in the design process of an individual house. In other words, cooperative organization and participatory design approaches contribute to the democratization of architecture by both increasing accessibility to architectural design and allowing more actors to be involved in the architectural design process. This concern for democratization was effective in the adoption of cooperative organization and participatory design by local administrators as well as architects. In this context, it should be noted that the political atmosphere of the period and the ideological inclinations of local administrators were also effective in the spread of participatory design and cooperative organization in the production of housing settlements.

When we look at Turkey's current housing production practice, two models stand out: the production of standardized mass housing settlements and units by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ), and gated communities built by construction companies. While TOKİ addresses the housing needs of low and middle income groups, construction companies develop housing projects that can be considered luxury consumer products. Nevertheless, it can be posited that

both housing production models develop housing environments and housing units in accordance with predetermined standards, rather than through empirical research. These models, in which the role of the architect in mass housing production is gradually fading away, produce settlements identified with a lack of design quality. These spaces, which are produced without taking into account the needs and demands of the users, also mold the lifestyles of the users. Closed communities produced for profit and TOKİ housing built with a quantity-oriented approach bring with them the definition of a new housing question for today's Turkey. Housing environments consisting of a large number of standardized units create settlements that are devoid of design concerns and do not respond to the needs of the users. In addition, Turkey's current conditions, where it is becoming increasingly difficult to afford housing, whether for sale or for rent, raise the question of for whom these housing environments are being produced.

At this point, the housing discussions and different experiments carried out in the 1970s are open sources to be referred to again. These projects, which emerged as an alternative approach in the 1970s when the search for solutions to the housing problem intensified, were able to develop a variety of housing design solutions despite the inexperience and setbacks encountered during the process. For today's housing problem, cooperative organization and the participatory design approaches it brings can offer new opportunities. Cooperative organization is open to re-evaluation today, both to facilitate access to housing and to diversify the design of housing units and housing environments.

However, evaluating these opportunities depends on meeting certain preconditions. The cooperative model, being a financial organization at its core, needs to be encouraged by some legal and banking regulations. In addition, in order for this organization to be sustainable, the awareness of cooperatives in society must be enhanced. In the housing projects to be realized with this organization, the architect is required to assume a different role than usual in order to utilize the potential of participatory design. Although communicating with end users may provide new possibilities in the housing design, most architects do not adopt participatory

methods because of the decisiveness of the users' demands in architectural design. At this point, the competence of the architect in fulfilling these new roles emerges as a new topic of discussion.

Despite the difficulties inherent in the participatory design approach and the cooperative organization, the potential of these for the design of housing units and environments is promising. Different studies conducted on housing settlement examples included in this thesis also show that cooperative organization and participatory design facilitate social sustainability by ensuring that the sense of belonging in the community is formed starting from the design stage. This approach facilitates the formation of a neighbourhood, in other words a community in solidarity, by supporting user belonging not only for the housing unit but also for the entire housing environment. With this alternative design method, architecture begins to contribute to the social sustainability of the space, not only as the final product, but from the beginning of the design process. This study represents an initial investigation into the potential of a limited number of participatory projects in the history of housing settlement production in Turkey for solving current housing problems.

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APPENDICES

A. The list of articles on housing and urbanization published in the *Mimarlık* journal between 1963-84

Year	Issue of journal	Author	Title of the article	Main theme of the article (housing or urbanization)	Related concepts
1963	1	-	UIA: Beynelmilel Mimarlar Birliği	H	.urban planning
	4	-	Mesken Konusuyla İlgili Bilgiler	H	.housing policy .social housing
	5	Trans. by Vahdet Tuğsat	Şehir Planlariyle İlgili Umumi Talimat	U	.urban planning .settlement planning
1964	7	-	UIA VII. Kongresine Gönderilen Türkiye Raporları	H	.squatter .core housing .neighborhood .housing policy .social housing
	8	Orhan Göçer	İsviçre'de Bir Tatbikat: Halen Sietlung (Bern)	H	.neighborhood .settlement planning
	9	Trans. by Bülent Özer	Fransa'da Sosyal Mesken İnşaatının Finansmanı	H	.social housing .housing finance
		-	İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Halk Konutları Standartları	H	.housing policy .housing standards
		-	Sosyal Konut Standartları Üzerinde Mimarlar Odasının Görüşleri	H	.housing policy .squatter .social housing .housing standards
		Haydar Kazgan	Türkiye'de Sosyal Mesken Politikasının İktisadi Yönü ve Finansmanı	H	.social housing .housing finance .land speculation
		Tekin Aydın	Konut Planlaması ve Yerleşme İlkeleri	H	.settlement planning .urban®ional planning .housing policy
		Hande Suher	Bölge Şartları İçinde Standartlaşma	U	.urban®ional planning .site specific housing .housing standards
1965	16	Muzaffer Sudalı	Konut Politikasında Genel Düşünceler ve	H	.housing policy .housing finance

			Halk Konutları Standartları'nın Kritiği		housing standards
		Haydar Kazgan	Türkiye'de Mesken Politikası Üzerine Yorumlar	H	.housing policy .land speculation .housing cost .cooperative
	17	Bülent Özer	Fransız Sosyal Konut Heyetinin Temaları ve Sonuçlar	H	.social housing .squatter .settlement planning .housing policy .the role of architect/planner
	18	Haydar Kazgan	Türkiye'de Mesken Politikası Üzerine Yorumlar II	H	.housing policy .private initiative .housing finance
	19	Firuzan Baytop	Türkiye'de Konut Yapımının Bugünkü Durumu Üzerine Düşünceler	H	.forms of housing production .private initiative
	21	-	Türkiye'de Genel Yerleşme Sorunu	U	.urban®ional planning .settlement planning .housing policy .urban-rural dichotomy
		Mübeccel Kıray	Modern Şehirlerin Gelişmesi ve Türkiye'ye Has Bazı Eğilimler	U	.industrialization .urban-rural dichotomy .squatter
	22	Patricia Tindale	Amerika'da İskan Problemi ve Mimarın Yeni Rolü	H	.the role of architect/planner
	24	-	Gelecek UIA Kongresinin Teması: Mimarlık ve Beşeri Ortam	U	.urban®ional planning .the role of architect/planner .settlement planning
	26	Doğan Hasol	Türkiye'de Konut Problemi	H	.housing policy .squatter .urban®ional planning .settlement planning
		Şükrü Bilik	Mesken İnşaatında Prefabrikasyon	H	.prefabrication .standardization
		Şazi Sirel	Halk Konutlarında Sun'i Aydınlatma Problemleri	H	
		Georges Heaume	Konut Binalarının Mimarisi ve Tekniği	H	.social housing .settlement planning .prefabrication
1965					

					.standardization .flexibility
1966	27	-	Genel Yerleşme Düzeni ve Gecekondu Konusunda Radyo Bülteni	H	.urban-rural dichotomy .squatter .housing policy
	29	J. Van Ettinger	Ucuz Konut Yapımının Gelişim Safhaları	H	.housing cost .mass housing
	32	Eric Sibert	Paris için Yeni Bölge Planlaması	U	.urban®ional planning .suburbanization .urban development area .settlement planning
		Ruth Melamede	Konutlarda Integration Sorunu	H	.settlement planning .community .social aspect of housing
	37	-	Genel Yerleşme Düzeni Görüş Açısından Sorunlar: Türkiye'nin Ülke Yerleşme Planlaması Hakkında Mimarlar Odası Görüşü	U	.urban®ional planning .settlement planning .urban-rural dichotomy .housing policy
		Kemal Ahmet Arû	Yerleşmeler ve Faal Nüfus Hareketleri	U	.urban-rural dichotomy .settlement planning .industrialization .urban employment
		Besim Darkot	Türkiye'de Nüfus Artışı ve Şehirleşme	U	.urban-rural dichotomy .settlement planning .urban®ional planning
		Fehmi Yavuz	Ankara ve Şehirciliğimiz	U	.housing policy .settlement planning .squatter
		Charles Abrams	Gecekondu Yerleşmeleri Sorun ve İmkanları	H	.settlement planning .squatter .housing policy .self-help
		Charles Abrams	Şehirlerdeki Arazilerin Kullanılış Sorunları	U	.house-work separation .squatter .land speculation .housing policy

1967	43	Ayhan Öztürk	Mesken Davaında Mimarın Rolü	H	.the role of architect/planner .cooperative
	46	Tekin Aydın	Ülke Düzenleme Bakımından Türkiye'de Konut Topluluklarının Özellikleri	H	.neighborhood .urban®ional planning .urban development area .settlement planning
		H. Delacroix, et al.	4000 Lojmanlık "Courneuve" İkamet Sitesi	H	.settlement planning
	48	Nejat Tunaoglu	Bina Yapımında Prefabrikasyon : Ereğli Örneği	H	.settlement planning .prefabrication
		Teoman Tanju, Hayo Fisser	Nürnberg'de Bir İkamet Sitesi Projesi	H	.settlement planning
1968	52	Halûk Baysal, Melih Bırsel	Hukukçular Sitesi	H	.architectural design
		Turgut Cansever	Kadıköy'de Bir Apartman	H	.architectural design
	58	Haydar Kazgan	Mesken Politikamızda Gelişmeler : Yıkıp - Yapma Olayının Sonuçları Üzerine Bir Deneme	H	.build-and-sell .housing policy .urban rent
1969	65	John Turner	Konutla İlgili Sorunlar: Yöneticilerin Çözümleri ve Halkın Çözümleri	H	.squatter .housing environment .self-help
1970	77	Önder Şenyapılı	Ankara' 70	U	.build-and-sell .land speculation .settlement planning .urbanization history .squatter
	78	Nihat Toydemir	Yap-Sat Düzeni ve Yeni (!) İnşaat Sistemleri	H	.build-and-sell .urban&housing policy
	82	-	Ankara'da OR-AN Toplu Konut Yerleşimi	H	.settlement planning .mass housing .standardization .neighborhood .satllite city
		Aliye Pekin Çelik	Sosyal Konutun Orijini : Komün Evleri	H	.social housing .housing history
		Altan Öke	Türkiye'de Nüfus Planlamasının Konut İhtiyacına Etkisi	H	.urban&housing policy .housing standards .build-and-sell

1970	82	Kari Richard Krantz	Yeni Konut Biçimlerinden Örnekler	H	.forms of housing production .flexibility
		Nigân Bayazıt	Az Katlı Yüksek Yoğunluklu Konutlar	H	
		Aliye Pekin Çelik	Gecekondundan Sosyal Konuta Geçiş Üzerine Araştırma	H	.squatter .social housing .flexibility .self-help .rental housing
	86	Trans. by Birol Baransu	Ekistics : İnsan Yerleşmelerinin Gelecekteki Düzeni	U	.squatter .settlement planning .land speculation .urban&housing policy .social housing .metropolitan planning
1971	89	Ruşen Keleş	Fiziksel Çevre Sorunu Olmayan Şehir Sorunları	U	.urban&housing policy .metropolitan planning .squatter .urban-rural dichotomy .class struggle .social planning
	97	Malik Çapar	Kentleşmenin Nedenleri ve Kentsel İstihdam Sorunları	U	.urban-rural dichotomy .urban (un)employment .squatter .urbanization history
1972	107	Selçuk Abaç	Sosyalist Ülkelerde Konut	H	.urban&housing policy .cooperative .housing standards .rental housing .social housing
		Yılmaz İnkaya	Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Devrinin Başından Günümüze Kadar Konut Sorunu	H	.urbanization history .housing history .urban&housing policy .social housing economy-politics of housing .cooperative rental housing
		Gazanfer Beken, Necati İnceoğlu	Kullanıcı İhtiyaçları Açısında Halk Konutları Standartlarına Temel	H	.user needs .housing standards

			Olmak Üzere Konutlarda Performans Ölçülmesi		
1972	107	Aykut Mutlu	Toplu Konut Uygulaması: MESA	H	.settlement planning .mass housing .housing cost .standardization
	108	Ruşen Keleş	Gecekondu Sorunu ve III. Plan	H	.urban&housing policy .squatter .social housing
		Özcan Altaban	Üçüncü Dünya Ülkelerindeki Şehirleşme Problemlerine Ait Notlar	U	.squatter .social planning .land allocation .settlement planning
		Güner Özduman, Birol Obuter, Taneri Alpay	Türkiye Emlâk Kredi Bankası Vatan Caddesi Apartmanları	H	.mass housing .prefabrication .standardization
		Candaş Keresteci	İntaş Sosyal Konutları Kadıköy - İstanbul	H	.standardization .social housing
1973	115	-	Türkiyede Konut Sorununa Genel Bir Bakış	H	.squatter .housing finance .build-and-sell .cooperative
1974	125	Trans. by Cem Umur	Konut Üretiminde Daha Basit Bir Uygulama	H	.prefabrication
	126	-	Konut Sorunu ve Konut Politikaları Üzerine	H	.economy-politics of housing .urban&housing policy .settlement planning .mass housing .rental housing .social housing .squatter
	130	Jaroslav Korfus	Çekoslovakya'da Konut Yapımı	H	.prefabrication .mass housing
1975	135	Yücel Gürsel	Dışa Bağımlılığın Kentleşme, Yapı Üretimi ve Konuta Yansıması	U	.urban&housing policy .urban rent .private initiative
	136	Salih Pekin	Toplu Konut Yapımında Son Gelişmeler	H	.private initiative .mass housing .economy-politics of housing
	137	Mümtaz Peker	Türkiye'de Konutlara Toplu Bir Bakış	H	.housing standards
	138	Tankut Ünal	İzmir'de Konut Üretimi Uygulaması Üzerine Görüşler	H	.squatter .land speculation .urban planning

	139	Ergun Unaran'la konuşma	İmar ve İskan Bakanlığında Bir Dönem	U	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .ownership
	140	Cevat Geray ile Konuşma	İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı ve MC Hükümeti	U	.urban&housing policy .forms of housing production .squatter
	145	-	Açık Oturum: Konut Sorunu	H	.land speculation .squatter .urban&housing policy .cooperative .mass housing
1976	146	Güven Birkan	Türkiye'de Kentsel Çevrenin Biçimlenişinde Plancı ve Mimarın Etkinliği	U	.economy-politics of housing .urban rent .the role of architect/planner .forms of housing production .cooperative .local government
		Erhan Acar, Mehmet Adam	Kentsel Konut Dokusunun Durumu ve Etmenleri	H	.economy-politics of housing .forms of housing production .the role of architect/planner .urban rent
	149	Gürkan Gezim	Kent Toprakları, Yerleşme ve Planlama Sorunları	U	.urban&housing policy .forms of housing production .local government .mass housing .urban rent .squatter .land speculation .urban planning
		-	Günümüzde Şehirciliğin ve Mimarlığın Planlama ve Uygulama Sorunları	U	.local government .settlement planning .urban&housing policy .land speculation .economy-politics of housing .participation
		Aydan Bulca	İzmit : 1976	H	.local government .settlement planning .participation

					.organization of demand
1976		Birleşmiş Mimarlar	Bir Yenilikçi Yerleşme Deneyi: İzmit Yeni Yerleşmeleri	H	.local government .settlement planning .participation .architectural design .prefabrication .flexibility .cooperative
		Remzi Sönmez	Kentsel Topraktaki Mülkiyet İlişkilerinin Doğurduğu Sorunlar ve Yasal Denetim Mekanizmalarının İşlerliği	U	.ownership .land speculation .urban&housing policy .urban rent .forms of housing production
1977	151	Aydan Bulca	İzmit Yeni Yerleşimler Projesi	H	.squatter .local government .settlement planning .community .prefabrication .participation
		-	Yerel Yönetim Uygulamaları Üzerine Tartışmalar	H	.local government .settlement planning .participation .cooperative .prefabrication
		Tului Sönmez	Bir Yerel Yönetim Biçimi Olarak Belediye ve Kentsel Arazide Belediye Tasarrufları Açısından Olanaklar ve Olanaksızlıklar	U	.land speculation .local government .urban&housing policy .settlement planning .participation .housing finance
	152	Raşit Gökçeli	Bazı Niyetler Tutarsızlıklar Zinciri Taşınmaz Mal Kiraları , Konut ve Sosyal Konutlar Kurumu Kanun Tasarıları Üzerine	H	.urban&housing policy .urban rent .rental housing .social housing
		Cengiz Çakan , Yusuf Okçuoğlu	Ankara'da İmarlı Alanda Yoğunluk Sorunu	U	.urban&housing policy .land speculation .squatter .cooperative .urban density
		S. Güven Bilsel	Ankara'nın Kentsel Gelişmesinde Yıkılıp	U	.urban density .land speculation

			Yeniden Yapılma Yoluyla Yükseliş Yoğunlaşma Olgusu ve Yaygınlaşma Seçeneği		.urban&housing policy .settlement planning .urban sprawl .urban development area
		Haluk Alatan	1978'e Girerken , Ankara'nın Planlama Sorunlarına Bakış	U	.urban development area .metropolitan planning .settlement planning
	153	Raşit Gökçeli	Sigortalılara Ferdi Ev Kredisi Sağlamak, Konut Sorununun Çözümünde Geriye Atılmış Bir Adımdır	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .mass housing .cooperative .build-and-sell
		-	Lyngby - Taarbaek Toplu Konut Yarışması	H	.mass housing .neighborhood
1978	154	Methodi Pissarsky	Bulgaristan Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde Konut Yapımı ve Kent Arazilerinin Kullanımı	H	.settlement planning .land allocation .mass housing
		Stathia Kalathias	Kıbrıs'ta Konut ve Arazi Sorunlarına Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım	H	.land allocation .mass housing
		Özay Hasan	Kıbrıs'ta Arsa ve Konut Sorunlarına Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım	H	.ownership .urban rent .housing standards
		Ascanio Damian	Romanya Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti'nde Kent Arsaları ve Konut Konusunda Güncel Siyaset ve Eğilimler	H	.urban rent .housing standards .settlement planning .urban&housing policy
		Mehmet Adam, İlhan Tekeli, Özcan Altaban	Türkiye'de Arsa ve Konut Sorunlarına Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım	H	.land speculation .urban&housing policy .ownership .class struggle .housing history
		İlhan Tekeli	Kapitalistleşme Süreci İçinde Türkiye'nin Konut Üretimine Bir Bakış	H	.housing history .urban&housing policy .urban rent .ownership .economy-politics of housing .mass housing .housing environment

1978	154	Bogdan Bozoviç	Yugoslavya'da Konut Sorununun Gelişimine Bir Bakış	H	.housing history .urban&housing policy .housing standards
		Ante Radas	Yugoslavya'da Bina Yapımında ve Arsa Düzenlemesinde Planlama , Karar ve Yatırım Mekanizmaları	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .building technology
		-	Forum: Büyük Kentlerin Arsa ve Konut Bunalımı	H	.ownership .mass housing .rental housing .cooperative .housing environment .local government .land speculation .urban&housing policy .forms of housing production
		Tuncay Çavdar	Toplum Bilinçlenmesinde Araç Olarak Katılımsal Tasarım : "İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler Projesi"	H	.settlement planning .cooperative .participation .prefabrication .flexibility .the role of architect architectural design .community
	156	Sibel Dostoğlu, Haldun Dostoğlu	Milton Keynes Şehri	H	.settlement planning .participation .community
		Olca Ünüsayın	INA - CASA ve Toplu Sosyal Konut Üzerine	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .settlement planning .social housing
		-	Toplu Konut Sayısı Üzerine	H	.mass housing .forms of housing production
	156	Emel Teymur,Necdet Teymur	Konut Sorununun Kavranması Sorunu	H	.mass housing .forms of housing production .urban&housing policy .definition of housing question
		Afife Batur	Toplu Konutun Tarihsel Gelişimi ve İki Örnek	H	.economy-politics of housing

					.class struggle .mass housing .housing history
		Aliye Pekin Çelik	Yirmilerde Toplu Konut Hareketlerine Bir Bakış	H	.economy-politics of housing .mass housing .standardization .housing history .forms of housing production .community
		Mehmet Adam	Toplu Konut Sanayii ve Azgelişmişlik	H	.mass housing .economy-politics of housing .housing industry .capitalist mode of housing production
		Erhan Acar , Mehmet Adam	Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Gecekondu	H	.capitalist mode of housing production .squatter .economy-politics of housing .class struggle .urban rent .ownership .lifestyle
		Erhan Acar	Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Toplu Konut	H	.capitalist mode of housing production .mass housing .squatter .ownership
		Özcan Altaban	Büyük Kentler Dışında Toplu Yerleşme Girişimleri ve Planlama Sorunları	U	.mass housing .settlement planning .cooperative .private initiative .urban development area .ownership .land speculation .urban density
1978	156	Aydan Bulca	Toplu Konut Üretiminde Yerel Yönetim Öncülüğü	H	.urban&housing policy .mass housing .local government .housing finance .settlement planning
		Aktan Okan	Toplu Konut Üretiminde Araştırma Yaklaşımı	H	.mass housing .building technology
		Cengiz Bektaş	Türkiye'de Toplu Konut Sorununa Bir Yaklaşım Örneği : Edirne S.S.	H	.mass housing .cooperative .participation

1978			Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Araştırma ve Yaklaşımı		.user needs .settlement planning
		Suat Selçuk	Konut Sorunu Çözümünde Yeni Teknoloji Uygulamaları ve Bir Deneyim	H	.mass housing .building technology .prefabrication
		Bilgi Denel	Bir Yarı Pre-Fabrike Sistem Üzerine Görüşler	H	.mass housing .prefabrication
		Emine Adam , Mehmet Adam	İngiltere'de Toplu Konut	H	.urban&housing policy .economy-politics of housing .mass housing .ownership .housing history
		Mehmet Adam	Bir Hikaye: Toplu Konutta Hayat	H	.mass housing .lifestyle
		Mehmet Adam	1976 Manila Yarışması ve Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi	H	.mass housing .squatter .participation .cooperative .self-help .settlement planning
		Berrak Seren, Yasemin Aysan	Türk-İş Balgat Yapı Kooperatifi	H	.mass housing .cooperative
		Orhan Dinç	SSK Ankara Toplu İşçi Konutları	H	.mass housing .cooperative
		Tayyar Kavukçu	Çorum Belediyesi 3 Numaralı Gecekondu Önleme Bölgesi	H	.mass housing .cooperative .squatter prevention area
		Naim Bekitoğlu	Yüksel Sitesi	H	.mass housing .cooperative
1979	159	Guy Thorel	CGL'nin Çalışanlarının Konut Sorununun Çözümü Doğrultusundaki Eylemlerinde Amaç, İlke, Yapı ve Yöntem	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .rental housing .housing standards . housing environment
	160	Mehmet Adam	Yeni Yerleşim Alanları Projesinin Düşündürdükleri	H	.urban&housing policy .new settlement area .lifestyle .class struggle .ownership .economy-politics of housing
		Bilgen Sönmez	Konut Sorunu ve Yeni Yerleşmeler	H	.urban&housing policy

1979					.new settlement area .squatter .mass housing .local government
		Teoman Aktüre	Konut Politikası Hakkında Bir İrdeleme	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .housing cost
		Mehmet Adam	Gecekondu Sorununa Bir Bakış Yaklaşımlar, Gelişmeler, Öneriler	H	.capitalist mode of housing production .squatter .economy-politics of housing .ownership .participation .lifestyle
		Simon Clarke, Norman Ginsburg	Konutun Ekonomi Politikası 1	H	.economy-politics of housing .capitalist mode of housing production .ownership .class struggle .urban rent
		Simon Clarke, Norman Ginsburg	Konutun Ekonomi Politikası 2	H	.urban&housing policy .economy-politics of housing .capitalist mode of housing production .ownership .class struggle
	161	-	Sunuş-Yeni Kentsel Yerleşim Alanları Projesi Konut Sorununa Ne Getiriyor?	H	.urban&housing policy .private initiative .capitalist mode of housing production
1979		-	Sunuş-Yeni Kentsel Yerleşim Alanları Projesi Konut Sorununa Ne Getiriyor?	U	.land allocation .settlement planning .land speculation
1981	164	Ruşen Keleş ile söyleşi	Toplu Konut Yasa Tasarısı	H	.urban&housing policy .mass housing .private initiative .housing finance
	165	Zülfük Güneli	Konut Sorununa Köklü Çözümler Aranırken	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .cooperative .private initiative
		Teoman Aktüre	Toplu Konut Yasa Tasarısı Hakkında	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance

1982	175	-	Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halkın Katılımı	H	.participation
		Atilla Yücel	Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halkın Katılımı Üzerine Değerlendirmeler	H	.participation .architectural/urban design .the role of architect/planner
		Tuncay Çavdar	Bir Katılımsal Tasarım Uygulamasının Ardından	H	.participation .architectural/urban design .the role of architect/planner
		Cengiz Bektaş	Deneyimlerimizin Gösterdikleri	H	.participation .architectural/urban design .the role of architect/planner .community
		Mübeccel Kıray	Toplum, Toplumsal Değişme ve Katılım	H	.participation .the role of architect/planner .standardization .user needs
		Murat Belge	Katılımda Başarı Bilinçliliği, Bilinçlilik Yaşama Müdahale Edebilme Yetisini Gerekli Kılar	H	.participation .the role of architect/planner .standardization .user needs
		Feyzan Beler	" Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halkın Katılımı " Seminerinin Düşündürdükleri	H	.participation .the role of architect/planner .user needs
	176	Ali Balamir , Kemal Sarp	Toplu Konut Yasası Üzerine	H	.urban&housing policy .housing finance .private initiative .mass housing
		Özcan Altaban	Toplu Konut Kanunu Uygulamaya Aktarılırken Bazı Görüşler	H	.urban&housing policy .private initiative .mass housing
	178	Ş. Aydemir , S. Erkonak , N. Ökten	Yapı Kooperatiflerinin Kentleşme Aracı Olarak Kullanılabilirliği ve Kaybolan Fırsatlar	U	.urban&housing policy .cooperative .mass housing .urban development area
	179	Sümer Gürel	"Katılım" üzerine	H	.standardization .user needs .participation
1982	183	Güven Birkan	Sunuş : Bir Konut Yarışması	H	.rental housing .social housing

					.squatter prevention area .neighborhood
		-	Yarışma Üzerine Görüş ve Eleştiriler	H	.type project .rental housing .squatter prevention area
1983	188	Güven Birkan	Gözlem/Eleştiri: Toplu Konut Seminerinde Söylenenler Ve Söylenmeyenler	H	.urban&housing policy .mass housing .private initiative .capitalist mode of housing production
	189	Erhan Acar	Toptan Konut, Perakende Komşuluk	H	.mass housing .economy-politics of housing .neighborhood .capitalist mode of housing production
		Ergun Unaran	Yerel Yönetimlerin Toplu Konut Projeleri : İzmit ve Ankara Deneyimleri	H	.local government .mass housing .settlement planning .cooperative .participation
		Rainer Joedeck	Bütün İhtiyaçların Karşılandığı Toplu Konut:"Arabella"	H	.mass housing
		Güven Birkan	Toplu Konutta Toplu Karar Gereği	H	.urban&housing policy .mass housing .participation .user needs .the role of architect/planner
	190	Erhan Acar	Sunuş: İşbaşı ve İşdışı Yaşamın Bütünlüğü	H	.economy-politics of housing .squatter .pluralism .lifestyle .standardization .lodging .house-work separation
		Erhan Acar , Mehmet Adam	Herşeyin Zamanı ve Yeri : İşyeri Konut Ayrımının Bütünlüğü	H	.house-work separation .economy-politics of housing .squatter
	191	Sümer Gürel	Gecekondu Önleme Üzerine	U	.squatter prevention area .urban planning
	191	Zekai Görgülü	Gecekondu Önleme Bölgelerine İlişkin Yasa	U	.squatter prevention area

1983			Değişikliği Hazırlanırken		.urban&housing policy .urban planning
	195	Charles Correa	Üçüncü Dünyada Kentsel Konut : Mimarın Rolü	H	.the role of architect/planner .squatter .urban density .settlement planning .self-help
		N. John Habraken	Uyarlanabilirlik , Değişim ve Kullanıcı Katılımı İçin Tasarım	H	.participation .flexibility .settlement planning .the role of architect/planner .core housing

B. Questionnaire applied during the design phase of the Edirne Cumhuriyet Neighborhood

(This document was accessed from Hatice Kıran Çakır's Master's thesis: Kıran Çakır, Hatice. "The place and importance of the socio-economic factors on determining the housing estates", Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture. Edirne: Trakya University, 1994.)



BİNEVLER KOOPERATİFİ
KONUT KOŞULLARI VE KONUT İÇİ
YAŞAMA EYLEMLERİ ARAŞTIRMASI

Anketörün Adı ve Soyadı :

Ziyaret Tarihi :

Hanehalkı Reisi Adı ve Soyadı :

Kooperatif Üye No :

Açık Adresi :

Anketin Tamamlanma Süresi :

BÖLÜM I. Hanehalkı Üyelerinin Bileşimi ve Nitelikleri

Dikkat : Aşağıdaki çizelgeye,hanehalkı reisinden başlayarak, hanehalkı üyelerinin tümünü kaydediniz.

Hanehalkı Reisinin Adı ve Soyadı	Hanehalkı Reisi ile İlişkili	Doğum Yılı Yeri	Medeni Hali	Mezun Olduğu Son Tahsil Kurumu	Çalıştığı Kurum	Mesleği	Meslek- teki mevkii
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- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

BÖLÜM II. Hanehalkı Reisinin Genel Nitelikleri

2.1. Çalıştığınız yerin ana faaliyet konusu nedir?

2.2. Bu işyeri Edirne'de midir?

Evet..... () 1

Hayır..... () 2

2.3. Bu işyerinde yaptığınız iş nedir?.....

2.4. Edirne'ye gelmeden son kaldığınız yer neresidir?

İl

İlçe

Köy

Yurt Dışı

2.5. Edirne'ye kaç yıl önce geldiniz?

2.6. Aşağıda sıralanan konulardaki düşünce ve eğilimlerinizi belirtiniz :

A. Sizce, evlenen çocukların ana-babaların yanında mı kalmaları daha doğrudur, yoksa ayrı eve geçmeleri mi?

Ayrı eve geçmeleri () 1

Belirli bir süre sonra ayrılmaları () 2

Maddi durumum icaplarına göre hareket etmeleri () 3

Geçimsizlik olduğu takdirde ayrılmaları () 4

Ayrı evde oturmaları () 5

Bu konuda herkes dilediği gibi hareket etmeli () 6

Diğer () 7

B. Size göre evli bir çiftin yaşlı ana-babalarını yanlarına alması mı doğrudur, yoksa ayrı evde yaşamaları mı?

Yanına almaları () 1

Hastalık gibi zaruri hallerde yanına almak () 2

Birisi dul kalınca yanına almak () 3

Aynı eve almadan yardım etmek () 4

Ayrı evde yaşamak () 5

Bu konuda herkes dilediği gibi hareket etmeli () 6

Diğer

() 7

C. Başka şehirde oturan bir akrabanız veya akrabanızın çocuğu iş bulmaya veya okumaya Edirne'ye geldiği takdirde yanınıza alırmıydınız ?

- Karşılık beklemeden alırdım () 1
Maddi durumum müsait olsaydı alırdım () 2
Maddi bir katkısı olacaksa alırdım () 3
Eve almadan yardım ederdim () 4
Almazdım () 5
Diğer () 6

2.7. Hanehalkının bileşimi gelecekte (örneğin 10 yıl sonra) nasıl bir değişime uğrayacaktır? Bu konudaki tahminlerinizi aşağıdaki çizelgede gösteriniz.

Hanehalkı Üyesinin	Beklenen	Beklenen
Reise Yakınlığı	Sayısal Artış	Sayısal Artış
Çocuklar	.....	.....
Yaşlı ana ve babalar	.....	.....
Diğerleri	.....	.....

2.8. Aşağıdaki araçlardan hangisine sahipsiniz, hangisine önümüzdeki beş yıl içerisinde sahip olmayı düşünüyorsunuz?

	Var	Yok	Beş yıl içinde almayı düşünüyorum
Otomobil			
Çamaşır mak.			
Buzdolabı			
Radyo			
Halı			
Pikap/Teyp			
Televizyon			
Dikiş mak.			
Elekt./Gaz Fırını			
Misafir Oda Takımı			
Diğer			

2.9. Evinizde kendi ihtiyacınız için bazı şeyler yapar veya memleketten getirtirmisiniz?

	1. Evde yapılır	2. Memleketten gelir	3. Yapılmaz
Salça			
Tarhana			
Erişte			
Bulgur			
Reçel			
Turşu			
Yoğurt/Peynir			
Elbise dikişi			
Diğer			

2.10. Hanehalkı reisinin aylık geliri nedir?.....

2.11. Hanehalkınıza bütünüyle giren net aylık gelir ne kadardır?.....
(Hanehalkı üyelerinin tüm gelirlerinin toplamı olarak hesaplanacaktır)

BÖLÜM III. Oturulan Konuta İlişkin Koşullar

Aşağıdaki koşullardan hangisine uygundur

3.1. Bu konut

Kira evi..... () 1
Lojman..... () 2
Diğer..... () 3

3.2. Bu konuta ödediğiniz aylık kira nedir?.....

3.3. Konuta ilişkin yaptığınız diğer harcamaların aylık tutarı nedir?

Elektrik.....
Su.....
Tamirat.....
Diğer.....

3.4. Bu konutta kaç oda vardır? (Salon dahil).....

3.5. Bu oda sayısı sizce yeterli midir?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.6. (HAYIR ise) Neden yetersizdir?

Evin nüfusu kalabalık () 1
Eşyaya kafi yer yok () 2
Çocuklara ayrı bir oda istiyorum () 3
Misafir ağırlamak için yer yetersiz () 4
Diğer () 5
Sebep verilmedi () 6

3.7. Yeni evinizde kaç odanız olmasını isterdiniz?.....

3.8. Müstakil bir mutfağınız var mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.9. Mutfağınızda ana şebekeye bağlı akarsu tesisatı var mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.10 Yemek pişirmek için ne tip araca sahipsiniz?

Likit gaz ocağı/Fırın..... () 1
Gaz ocağı..... () 2
Kuzine..... () 3
Elektrik ocağı/Fırın..... () 4
Diğer..... () 5

3.11. Mutfağınızın nasıl olmasını isterdiniz?.....

3.12. Müstakil bir yıkanma yeriniz var mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

Cevap evet ise bu yerin niteliği nedir?

Gusülhane..... () 1

- Banyo..... () 2
Boş bir oda..... () 3
Diğer..... () 4

3.13. Yıkandığınız yerde şu kolaylıklardan hangileri vardır?

- Akarsu..... () 1
Kurna..... () 2
Banyo küveti..... () 3
Duş..... () 4
Termosifon..... () 5
Şofben..... () 6
Sıcak su..... () 7
Diğer..... () 8

3.14. Yıkandığınız yerin nasıl olmasını tercih ederdiniz?.....

3.15. Ayrı helanız var mı?

- Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.16. (Evet diyenlere) Helanızda akarsu var mı?

- Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.17. Helanız alafranga mı, alaturka mı?

- Alafranga..... () 1
Alaturka..... () 2
Basit bir delik..... () 3

3.18. Helanızda sifon var mı?

- Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

3.19. Helanız ne tip bir kanalizasyona bağlı?

- Ana kanalizasyon..... () 1
Açık kanalizasyon..... () 2

Foseptik..... () 3

Adi çukur..... () 4

3.20. Helanız ve yıkanacak yeriniz ayrı yerlerde midir?

Ayrı..... () 1

Aynı yerde..... () 2

3.21. Helanızın nasıl olmasını isterdiniz? Niçin?

3.22. Otuduğunuz bu evde aşağıda saydığımız bölümlerden hangileri vardır?

Balkon/Taraça..... () 1

Bahçe..... () 2

Kiler/Yüklük..... () 3

Asansör..... () 4

Kömürlük..... () 5

Kalorifer..... () 6

3.23. Bu bölümlerden hangilerine sahip olmayı isterdiniz?

(Öncelik verilecek üçü işaret edilecek)

Balkon/Taraça..... () 1

Bahçe..... () 2

Kiler/Yüklük..... () 3

Asansör..... () 4

Kömürlük..... () 5

Kalorifer..... () 6

3.24. Oturduğunuz konutta ısınmak için kullandığınız araç nedir?

Odun sobası..... () 1

Kömür sobası..... () 2

Gaz sobası..... () 3

Elektrik sobası..... () 4

Kalorifer..... () 5

Diğer..... () 6

3.25. Oturduğunuz konuta yerleşme şekliniz sayısal olarak nasıldır?

Yerleşim Yeri

Sayısı

Tek Amaçlı

Yemek odası

.....

Oturma odası	.....	.....
Misafir odası	.....	.....
Çocuk yatak odası	.....	.....
Yatak odası	.....	.....
Çalışma odası	.....	.....
Oyun odası	.....	.....
Diğer	.....	.....

3.26. Oturduğunuz konut aşağıdaki koşullardan hangisine uymaktadır?

Evet..... () 1

Hayır..... () 2

3.27. Oturduğunuz evin yapıya ilişkin nitelikleri nelerdir?

Ahşap..... () 1

Kerpiç..... () 2

Tuğla Yığma..... () 3

Beton..... () 4

Kagir/Ahşap..... () 5

Diğer..... () 6

3.28. Oturduğunuz konutun yaşını biliyormusunuz?

3 yıldan az..... () 1

3-5 yıl..... () 2

5-10 yıl..... () 3

Daha eski..... () 4

Bilmiyorum..... () 5

3.29. Oturmak istediğiniz konutun kat sayısı açısından bir tanımını verirmisiniz?

.....

3.30. Oturduğunuz bu konuta kaç yıl evvel yerleştiniz?.....

3.31. Yerleşme nedeninizi belirtirmisiniz?

Ucuz olduğu için..... () 1

Bunu bulabildiğim için..... () 2

İşime yakın olduğu için.... () 3

Akrabalarımın yakın olduğu için..... () 4

Diğer..... () 5

3.32. Eğer seçme olanağınız bulunsaydı Edirne'nin hangi semtinde oturmayı isterdiniz?.....

3.33. Niçin bu semti tercih ediyorsunuz?

- İşime yakın () 1
- Eşimin işine yakın () 2
- Çocukların okuluna yakın () 3
- Akrabalarımın yakın () 4
- Temiz,tenha ve havadar () 5
- İyi bir muhit () 6
- Diğer () 7

3.34. Oturduğunuz yere yürüyüş uzaklığı içinde ne gibi yerlerin olmasını isterdiniz?
(Bu soruya tüm aile üyeleri cevap verecek)

	Hanehalkı Reisi	Eşi	Çocuk 1	Çocuk 2
Sinema				
Gazino				
Tiyatro				
Park				
Kahve				
Spor alanı				
Kütüphane				
Gıda satış y.				
Giyim eşyası satış y.				
Ev eşyaları satış y.				
Diğer				

3.35. Bu kooperatife girme nedenlerinizden en önemli üçünü sıralayabilmisiniz?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

BÖLÜM IV. Konut İçi Yaşama Eylemleri

4.1. Evinizde yemek yeme ve oturma yerleri ayrı mıdır?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

4.2. Ailenin bütün üyeleri aynı anda ve aynı yerde mi yemek yer?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

4.3. Genellikle nerede yemek yersiniz?

Mutfak..... () 1
Yemek odası (müstakil)... () 2
Oyurma odası..... () 3
salon (genel kullanılmalı). () 4

4.4. Nerede yemek yemek istersiniz?.....

4.5. Misafir ağırlamak için ayrı bir yeriniz var mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

4.6. a) Evinize gününbirliğine ayda kaç misafir gelir?.....

b) Evinize yemeğe ayda kaç misafir gelir?.....

c) Evinize yatıya ayda kaç misafir gelir?

4.7. Evinizin oturma için kullanılan kısmında yatan var mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

4.8. Evin yemek yediğiniz kısmında kimse yatar mı?

Evet..... () 1
Hayır..... () 2

4.9. Çocukların ayrı odası var mı?

Çocuk yok..... () 1

Evet..... () 2
Hayır..... () 3

Cevap (Evet) ise yatırma koşullarınız aşağıdakilerden hangisine uygundur?

Her çocuk ayrı odada yatar () 1
Kız ve erkek çocuklar
ayrı odada yatar..... () 2
Hepsi bir odada yatar..... () 3

4.10. (Hayır ise) Çocuklar nerede yatar?
(Alternatifleri okumayınız)

Ana / babayla birlikte..... () 1
Oturma odası / salon..... () 2
Hem ana / babayla birlikte hem de oturma
odası ve salonda yatan çocuk var..... () 3
Hem ana / babayla birlikte hem de ayrı
odada yatan çocuk var..... () 4
Başka akrabanın odasında (nine v.s.)..... () 5
Diğer..... () 6
Belirsiz..... () 7

4.11. Çocuklar nerede ders çalışırlar?
(Alternatifleri okumayınız)

Ders çalışan çocuk yok..... () 1
Kendi odalarında..... () 2
Salon / oturma odası..... () 3
Başka yatak odası..... () 4
Hol / antre / koridor..... () 5
Çeşitli odalarda, duruma göre..... () 6
Diğer (yazınız)..... () 7

4.12. Çocuklarınız genellikle nerede oynarlar?
(Alternatifleri okumayınız)

Yaz Kış

Oyun çağında çocuk yok

Salon / oturma odası	.....	.....
Yatak odası	.....	.....
Hol / antre / koridor	.....	.....
Bahçe / park	.....	.....
Balkon	.....	.....
Sokak	.....	.....
Diğer (yazınız)	.....	.....

4.13. Çamaşır evinizin neresinde yıkanır?

Banyo.....	() 1
Mutfak.....	() 2
Hela.....	() 3
Başka oda.....	() 4
Koridor / hol.....	() 5
Kapı önü / bahçe.....	() 6
Diğer (yazınız).....	() 7

4.14. Çamaşırınızı nereye asarsınız?

(Alternatifleri okumayınız)

Banyo.....	() 1
Koridor / hol.....	() 2
Balkon.....	() 3
Kapı önü / bahçe.....	() 4
Mutfak.....	() 5
Yatak odası.....	() 6
Oturma odası.....	() 7
Yazın balkon veya bahçede kışın evin içinde	() 8
Diğer / belirsiz.....	() 9

5.3. Tatil günleri hanehalkı üyelerinin başlıca uğraşları nelerdir?

Hanehalkı Reisi	.....
Eşi	.....
Çocuklar	.....
Diğerleri	.....

5.4. Hanehalkı üyelerinin özel merakları varmıdır?

Hanehalkı Reisi	.....
Eşi	.....
Çocuklar	.....

Diğerleri

5.5. Konutta bir kitaplığınız var mı?

Evet..... () 1

Hayır..... () 2

Eğer cevap (Evet) ise mevcut kitap sayısını yaklaşık olarak söyler misiniz?

.....

5.6. Evde genellikle nasıl dolaşılır?

Terlikle..... () 1

Sokak ayakkabısı ile..... () 2

Evde kullanılan

ayakkabı ile..... () 3

Diğer..... () 4

5.7. Sabahları ve akşamları evde tuvalet sıkışıklığı olur mu?

Evet..... () 1

Hayır..... () 2

Cevap (evet) ise konutunuzda kaç tuvalet istersiniz?

.....

5.8. Evinize gelen misafir nasıl dolaşır?

Terlikle..... () 1

Ayakkabısı ile..... () 2

Diğer..... () 3

5.9. Evinize gelen misafirin tuvalet ihtiyacını sizinle aynı yerde görmesini istermisiniz?

Evet..... () 1

Hayır..... () 2

C. Questionnaire applied during the design phase of the of the İzmit New Settlements Project

(This document was accessed from the personal archive of Aydan Erım)

HOUSING CONDITIONS AND SPACE
USAGE SURVEY

Sample Code

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This survey is being conducted by the İzmit Municipality with the aim of gaining a better understanding about the housing problems of İzmit residents and developing a housing project that will satisfy these needs. Thus, your sincerity in answering the questions we will direct to you about your way of living and your house will determine whether or not we come up with appropriate and valid conclusions. We are sure you will not withhold your help on this subject. You can be sure that your answers will be kept confidential and will not be used for purposes other than the aims of this research.

We thank you in advance, for your help.

RECORD OF VISITS	
Date	
Hour	
Result*	
Interviewer	

Interviewer	Date
Field Supervisor	Date
Editor	Date
Coder	Date

(*) Use the following codes for results:

1. Completed Interview
2. Partially completed interview
3. Refusal, incomplete interview
4. Appropriate subject not home
5. Nobody home

PART I. GENERAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

1. Name, Surname :

2. What is your home adress?

House number

Street

Neighborhood

District

City

3. What is your work adress?

Name of the workplace

Street

Neighborhood

District

City

4. Were you born in izmit?

1) Yes

2) No

5. (IF NO) What was your last place of permanent residence before coming to izmit?

City

District

Village

6. When did you come to izmit?

1) izmit resident

2) 21 years and over

3) 16-20 years

4) 11-15 years

5) 6-10 years

6) 3- 5 years

7) 1- 2 years

8) Less than 1 year

9) No answer

PART II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Consumption Unit ()

1. List of household members

Starting with the head of the house, would you tell me who lives in this house?	What is his/her relation to the household head?	Where was he/she born?	When was he/she born?	What is his/her marital status?	What is her/his level of education?	Where does he/she work?	What is his/her job?	Is he/she salaried, self-employed on an unpaid family worker	Income
Name and surname of the member of the household	Relation to head of household	Birth place	Year	Marital Status	Last educational in institution completed	Work place	Profession	Status in profession	Earning
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

What types of spaces were observable from where you entered?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1) Living/guest room	()	()
2) Hall/Entrance/Corridor	()	()
3) Dining area	()	()
4) Cooking area	()	()
5) Sleeping area	()	()
6) Bathing area	()	()
7) W.C.	()	()

Did you feel people hesitated while accepting you into the house?

- 1) A lot of hesitation
- 2) A certain amount of hesitation
- 3) Little, almost none

Did you take off your shoes?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

(IF YES) Where were they put?

- 1) Outside the door
- 2) Right inside, at the door
- 3) Other (Please write)

Eating

(1)	(2)
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>

Was there a permanent table for eating, and chairs?

() ()

Evening sitting

(1)	(2)
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>

Did you see a TV set?

() ()

(IF YES) Where was the TV?

- 1) Across the dining table
- 2) Across the sofa
- 3) Other (Please write)

11. How would you evaluate the financial status of your household?

- 1) Very good
- 2) Good
- 3) Medium
- 4) Quite poor
- 5) Poor
- 6) Very poor
- 7) Uncertain

12. Which of the following appliances, do you own?

(1)	(2)	(3)
<u>Own</u>	<u>Don't Own</u>	<u>In 5 Years</u>

- 1) Refrigerator
- 2) Washing machine
- 3) Radio
- 4) Rug
- 5) Record player/Tape recorder
- 6) Car
- 7) Television
- 8) Sewing machine
- 9) Electrical/Gas oven
- 10) Armchair-Sofa set

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

Which of these do you consider buying within the next 5 years?
(Reread the above list and record the answers under the column marked "in 5 years").

13. Do you produce any of the foodstuffs and clothes
you need at home or do you get them from your
place of origin?

(For example: do you prepare your own tomato
paste? The list will be gone through completely)

(1)	(2)	(3)
Made	Brought	Store
at	from	bought
<u>home</u>	<u>hometown</u>	<u>bought</u>

Tomato Paste

☐

Dried Curds

☐

Pickles

☐

Noodles

☐

Cracked wheat

☐

Jam

☐

Yoghurt-Cheese

☐

Dress Sewing

☐

Other Sewing

☐☐

PART III. GENERAL ATTRIBUTES OF HOUSING

14. Do you own your home?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

15. (IF NO) Are you a tenant?

- 1) Tenant
- 2) Resident in workplace lodgings
- 3) Other (Please write)

16. (IF TENANT) How much monthly rent do you pay?

- 1) Less than 300 TL
- 2) 300-399 TL
- 3) 400-499 TL
- 4) 500-599 TL
- 5) 600-699 TL
- 6) 700-799 TL
- 7) 800-899 TL
- 8) 900-999 TL
- 9) 1000 or over

17. (IF OWNER OF THE HOUSE) If you hadn't owned your house, how much monthly rent could you afford?

- 1) Less than 300 TL
- 2) 300-399 TL
- 3) 400-499 TL
- 4) 500-599 TL
- 5) 600-699 TL
- 6) 700-799 TL
- 7) 800-899 TL
- 8) 900-999 TL
- 9) 1000 TL or over

18. Did you build your own house or did you buy it?

- 1) Built his own
- 2) Builder made
- 3) Himself with the help of a builder
- 4) Bought from a contractor
- 5) Owner bought it from someone else
- 6) Bought from a company
- 7) Has become a house owner as a member of a cooperative
- 8) Other

19. How many rooms do you have?

- 1) 1 room
- 2) 2 rooms
- 3) 3 rooms
- 4) 4 rooms
- 5) 5 rooms
- 6) 6 rooms
- 7) 7 rooms or more
- 8) Unknown

20. Is this number of rooms sufficient?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

21. (IF NO) Why is it insufficient?

- 1) Household too crowded
- 2) Not enough room for the furniture
- 3) I want separate rooms for the children
- 4) Not enough room for guests
- 5) Not enough room for overnight guests
- 6) Not enough room to receive relatives from home-town or other places
- 7) No reason given
- 8) Other (Please write)

22. If you had the opportunity to move into a new house, how many rooms would you have liked to own?

- 1) 1 room
- 2) 2 rooms
- 3) 3 rooms
- 4) 4 rooms
- 5) 5 rooms
- 6) 6 rooms
- 7) 7 or more rooms
- 8) Unknown

23. If you had the opportunity to build a house according to your taste and needs, which rooms would you like to have owned?
(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) Bedroom
- 2) Living Room
- 3) Dining Room
- 4) Guest Room
- 5) Hall
- 6) Children's Rooms
- 7) Bedroom for other members or old relatives
- 8) Storage Room
- 9) Study Room

24. If you were given four rooms, which would you definitely want to own?

- 1) Bedroom
- 2) Living Room
- 3) Dining Room
- 4) Guest Room
- 5) Hall
- 6) Children's Rooms
- 7) Bedroom for other members or old relatives
- 8) Storage Room
- 9) Study Room

25. Now, we would like to ask you a few questions
about some of your rooms and their attributes.

Do you have a separate kitchen?

1) Yes

2) No

☐

26. Do you have a separate place to bathe?

1) Yes

2) No

☐

27. Which of the following do you have where you bathe?

(1) (2)
Yes No

Running water

☐

Bath tub

☐

Shower

☐

Ablution room

☐

Wood store for hot water

☐

Gas heater

☐

Hot water

☐☐

28. Do you have a separate W.C.?

1) Yes

2) No

☐

29. Is your W.C. of the squatting or sitting type?

- 1) Sitting
- 2) Squatting
- 3) Both

30. Which type of W.C. do you prefer?

- 1) Squatting type
- 2) Sitting type
- 3) No preference
- 4) Both are needed in a house

31. Are your W.C. and bathroom in separate places?

- 1) Separate
- 2) At the same place

32. How do you heat your house?

- 1) Coal stove
- 2) Wood stove
- 3) Gas stove
- 4) Central heating (Lignite)
- 5) Central heating (Fuel-Oil)
- 6) Cuisinier
- 7) Sawdust stove
- 8) More than one type of heating implement
- 9) Other

33. How much monthly expenditure do you make to heat your house?

- 1) Less than 100 TL
- 2) 100-199 TL
- 3) 200-299 TL
- 4) 300-399 TL
- 5) 400-499 TL
- 6) 500-599 TL
- 7) 600-699 TL
- 8) Unknown

34. (TO BE ASKED ONLY THOSE WITHOUT CENTRAL HEATING)

Even though central heating is a more expensive heating system, would you prefer to have it?

- 1) Yes, I would
- 2) Yes I would but I couldn't afford the cost
- 3) No, I wouldn't
- 4) Uncertain

35. In terms of your own needs, which of the following types of housing would you prefer to live in?

(Read the alternatives)

- 1) In a flat in an apartment block
- 2) In a one-storey single house
- 3) In a duplex in a single house

36. When did you move to the house you're living in right now?

(If date given, write it here)

- 1) It has been less than 1 year
- 2) 1- 2 years
- 3) 3- 5 years
- 4) 6-10 years
- 5) 11-15 years
- 6) 16-20 years
- 7) 21 years or more
- 8) Uncertain

37. Where did you move from?

City
District
Neighborhood

38. Why did you move?

- 1) Because I became a house owner
- 2) Because of marriage
- 3) Because of immigration to izmit for work
- 4) To be close to work
- 5) Due to tensions in the family
- 6) Because of the inadequacy of the previous house
- 7) Due to an improvement in financial status
- 8) Other (please write)
- 9) Uncertain

39. Do you intend to move from this house in the near future?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Uncertain

40. If you had a chance to choose, which district of izmit would you prefer to live in?

District
Neighborhood
Street

41. Why would you choose this district?

(Alternatives will not be read. In case more than one reason is given, the answers will be ranked as 1, 2, 3 according to their order of mention on the list below)

- 1) Close to my job
- 2) Close to my wife's job
- 3) Close to the children's school
- 4) Close to my relatives and friends from the same hometown
- 5) Clean, quiet, not crowded etc.
- 6) Reason related to social status and prestige of the district
- 7) Close to shopping centers
- 8) Other (Please write)

42. Which of the community centers below would you have liked your house to be close to?
(Alternatives are read. The given centers will be ranked as 1, 2, 3 in terms of preference)

- 1) Cinema
- 2) Market place
- 3) School
- 4) Hospital/Dispensary
- 5) Park
- 6) Children's recreational center
- 7) Coffee house
- 8) Mosque
- 9) Uncertain

PART IV. HOUSEHOLD SPACE USE PATTERNS

43. Are the rooms/spaces you eat in and sit in separate?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

44. Do you have a separate room to receive guests?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

45. Do out of town relatives or friends come to sleep at your house during their stay in izmit?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Rarely, not really
- 3) No

46. Do guests from within izmit frequently come to your house to stay overnight?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Rarely
- 3) No

47. After you get out of work and come home, what do you generally do?

(Mark all the answers given)

- 1) Eat
- 2) Sit with family
- 3) Sleep
- 4) Go to the coffe house
- 5) Go out with male friends
- 6) Go out with family
- 7) Watch TV
- 8) Receive guests
- 9) Other (Please write)

☐

48. Does anyone sleep in the place you use as a living unit?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

49. (Do not ask those who said NO to question 43)

Does anyone sleep in the place you use for eating?

- 0) If question 43 is NO
- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

50. In what part of the house do you eat?

(Alternatives are not to be read. When a location is specified determine whether it is used for breakfast, lunch or evening meals)

(1) (2) (3)
Morning Noon Evening

- 1) Kitchen
- 2) Hall
- 3) Living room
- 4) Separate dining room
- 5) Other (Please write)

☐

51. If your kitchen was big enough, would you have preferred to eat in the kitchen?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Yes for breakfast and lunch, no for dinner

52. Do the children have separate rooms?

- 1) No children
- 2) Yes
- 3) No

53. (IF NO) Where do the children sleep?

(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) With the parents
- 2) Living room/guest room
- 3) There are children who sleep both with parents, and in the living room or the guest room
- 4) There are children who sleep both with parents, and in separate rooms
- 5) In other relative's room (grandmother, etc.)
- 6) All of 3, 4, 5
- 7) Other
- 8) Unknown

54. Where do the children study?

(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) No children who study
- 2) In their own rooms
- 3) Guest room/living room
- 4) Other bedroom
- 5) Hall/Corridor
- 6) Different rooms, according to different situations
- 7) Other (Write)
- 8) Uncertain

55. Where do they play most frequently?
(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) No children at the playing stage
- 2) Guest room/living room
- 3) Bedroom
- 4) Hall/Corridor
- 5) Garden/Park
- 6) Balcony
- 7) Street, outside the front door
- 8) Other (write)

56. In which part of the house is the laundry washed?
(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) Bathroom
- 2) Kitchen
- 3) W.C.
- 4) Other room
- 5) Corridor/hall
- 6) Garden/front door area
- 7) Other (write)

57. Where do you hang the laundry to dry?
(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) Bathroom
- 2) Corridor/hall
- 3) Balcony
- 4) Garden/front door area
- 5) Kitchen
- 6) Bedroom
- 7) Living room
- 8) In the summer in the balcony or the garden, in the winter inside the house
- 9) Other

58. Where do you store your extra belongings (i.e. trunks, cases, dry food, etc.)?

- 1) Under the beds/sofas
- 2) At the corners of rooms
- 3) Balcony
- 4) Hall
- 5) Wardrobe/cupboard
- 6) On top of the wardrobes
- 7) Store room
- 8) Other
- 9) Uncertain

59. Where would you prefer your children to play?
(Alternatives will be read. i.e. in the house?)

- 1) No preference, no children at playing stage
- 2) In the house
- 3) In the street
- 4) Public park or garden
- 5) A common play ground where all of the neighbours leave their children
- 6) Other
- 7) Uncertain

CHAPTER V. LINKS BETWEEN RESIDENCE AND WIDER ENVIRONMENT

60. If you had to be at work at 9 o'clock a.m., at what time would you have to leave home to be on time?

(Code the amount of time spent between the two hours stated)

- 1) Less than 15 minutes
- 2) 15-20 minutes
- 3) 21-30 minutes
- 4) 31-40 minutes
- 5) 41-50 minutes
- 6) 51-60 minutes
- 7) More than 60 minutes
- 8) Uncertain

61. What type of transportation do you use to go to work?

(Do not read the alternatives)

- 1) Walking
- 2) Service car of workplace
- 3) Communal taxi/minibus
- 4) Bus
- 5) Other (Write)
- 6) Unknown

62. Do you have to go far to take the vehicle which gets you to work?

- 1) Does not use any transport vehicle
- 2) I have to go far
- 3) I have to go moderately far
- 4) I do not have to go far

63. Well, how many minutes does this take?

- 1) Does not use any transport vehicle
- 2) Less than 5 minutes
- 3) 5-10 minutes
- 4) 11-15 minutes
- 5) 16-20 minutes
- 6) 21-30 minutes
- 7) More than 30 minutes
- 8) Unknown

64. How much are your monthly transportation costs to go to work?

- 1) I spend no money
- 2) Less than 25 TL
- 3) 25-50 TL
- 4) 51-75 TL
- 5) 76-100 TL
- 6) 101-150 TL
- 7) 151 TL and more
- 8) Uncertain

65. If you have children going to primary school, do they have to travel a long way?

- 1) No children at the primary school stage
- 2) They travel a long distance
- 3) They travel a moderate distance
- 4) They don't have far to go

66. Well, if they had to be at school at 9 o'clock a.m. when would they have to go out?

(Mark the time between the two hours stated)

- 1) No children at primary school stage
- 2) Less than 15 minutes
- 3) 15-20 minutes
- 4) 21-30 minutes
- 5) 31-40 minutes
- 6) 41-50 minutes
- 7) 51-60 minutes
- 8) More than 60 minutes
- 9) Does not know

67. Do you have to travel a long distance from your home for daily shopping?

- 1) I have to travel a long distance
- 2) I have to travel a moderate distance
- 3) I have to travel a short distance
- 4) I shop near my work place

68. Well, at what distance from home do you go for your daily shopping?

- 1) Near the house (100 m, 200 m etc.), at the corner etc.
- 2) At 5 minutes distance
- 3) 6-10 minutes
- 4) 11-15 minutes
- 5) 16-20 minutes
- 6) 21-30 minutes
- 7) 31-45 minutes
- 8) More than 45 minutes
- 9) Unknown

69. If you have to shop for clothes, (i.e. shoes, coat, etc.,) where do you usually go?

City
District
Neighborhood

70. If you have to shop for major household implements (i.e. oven, furniture etc.,) where do you go?

City
District
Neighborhood

71. How much time does it take you to go there from your home?

- 1) Less than 10 minutes
- 2) 10-20 minutes
- 3) 21-30 minutes
- 4) 31-40 minutes
- 5) 41-60 minutes
- 6) 61-120 minutes
- 7) 2-2,5 hours
- 8) More than 2,5 hours
- 9) Uncertain

72. Do you have to travel a long distance for entertainment such as movies?

- 1) Does not go to places of entertainment
- 2) Has to travel a long distance
- 3) Has to travel a moderate distance
- 4) Has to travel a short distance

73. Where do you go for entertainment such as movies or theatre?

1) Does not go to places of entertainment
City
District
Neighborhood

74. How much time does it take you to get there from home?

- 1) Does not go to places of entertainment
- 2) Less than 10 minutes
- 3) 10-20 minutes
- 4) 21-30 minutes
- 5) 31-40 minutes
- 6) 41-60 minutes
- 7) 61-120 minutes
- 8) 2-2,5 hours or more
- 9) Uncertain

CHAPTER VI. PROPENSITIES FOR HOME OWNERSHIP

75. If you received a lump sum of money, what would you plan to do with it?

(Alternatives will not be read. If more than one alternative is mentioned rank them as 1, 2, 3)

- 1) Buy land
- 2) Buy a house/flat
- 3) Pay my debts
- 4) Deposit it in the bank
- 5) Buy a car
- 6) Buy a television
- 7) Buy various consumer goods
- 8) Setting myself up in business
- 9) Other (Write)

76. If you wanted to own a house how much downpayment could you afford?

- 1) Does not want to buy a house
- 2) Does not have any money for downpayment
- 3) Up to 5.000 TL
- 4) 5.001-10.000 TL
- 5) 10.001-15.000 TL
- 6) 15.001-30.000 TL
- 7) 30.001-50.000 TL
- 8) 50.001 and over
- 9) Uncertain

77. How much monthly instalment could you pay?

- 1) Does not want to buy a house
- 2) Up to 300 TL
- 3) 301- 500 TL
- 4) 501- 700 TL
- 5) 701- 900 TL
- 6) 901-1250 TL
- 7) 1250 and over
- 8) Uncertain

78. What is the maximum amount you could consider paying for this house?

- 1) Does not want to buy a house
- 2) Up to 40.000 TL
- 3) 40.001- 60.000 TL
- 4) 60.001- 80.000 TL
- 5) 80.001-100.000 TL
- 6) 100.001-150.000 TL
- 7) 150.001-200.000 TL
- 8) More than 200.000 TL
- 9) Uncertain

79. Is there a social security agency covering you?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

80. (IF YES) Which agency?

- 1) S.S.K.
- 2) Emekli Sandığı
- 3) Oyak
- 4) Bağ-Kur
- 5) Meyak
- 6) Uncertain

81. If you decided to buy a house, how much housing credit would you be entitled to get?

- 1) Not entitled to get housing credit
- 2) Up to 30.000 TL
- 3) 30.001- 70.000 TL
- 4) 70.001- 75.000 TL
- 5) 75.001-100.000 TL
- 6) Over 100.000 TL
- 7) Uncertain

82. Would you consider becoming a member of a housing cooperative established with the help of the Municipality of İzmit?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Uncertain

Our questions end here. Thank you for your kind cooperation.

HOME OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUILDING

- 1) Single house
- 2) Apartment house

Number of Entrances

- 1
- 2
- 3 +

Building looks out to

- 1) Street
- 2) Garden
- 3) Courtyard
- 4) Other (Please write)

Number of storeys

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 +

2. GARDEN

- 1) Present
- 2) None

(IF PRESENT)

- 1) In front
- 2) At back
- 3) At side
- 4) In front + at back
- 5) In front + at back + at side

Relation of the garden with neighboring garden and building

- 1) Separated from next building with a low wall
- 2) Separated with a high wall
- 3) Possibility of entrance from side in spite of wall separation
- 4) Neighboring garden/gardens present
- 5) Empty area in between
- 6) A functional building in between (i.e. chicken pen, tool hut etc.)
- 7) No garden
- 8) Uncertain

3. USE OF THE GARDEN

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back/Side</u>	<u>Garden</u>
1) Growing flowers	()	()	()
2) Growing vegetables	()	()	()
3) Keeping animals	()	()	()
4) Storage	()	()	()
5) Presence of furniture (chair, table etc.)	()	()	()
6) Hanging laundry	()	()	()
7) Other (Please write)			

4. BALCONY

- 1) Present
- 2) None

(If Present)

- 1) In front
- 2) At the back
- 3) At the side

- 1) Covered balcony
- 2) Balcony subsequently covered
- 3) Open balcony

- 1) Sides of balcony covered
- 2) Sides of balcony covered subsequently
- 3) Sides of balcony open

5. USE OF BALCONY

- 1) Growing flowers
- 2) Sitting
- 3) Storage
- 4) Hanging laundry
- 5) Other (Please write)

6. USE OF FRONT OF THE HOUSE

- 1) Garden
- 2) Covered open area
- 3) Car park
- 4) Courtyard
- 5) Other (Please write)

7. USE OF INTERIOR SETTING

- | | (1)
<u>Yes</u> | (2)
<u>No</u> | |
|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1) <u>Entrance</u> | | | |
| From entrance directly into the room | () | () | <input type="text"/> |
| There is a closed space in front of the door | () | () | <input type="text"/> |
| There are belongings of the household (shoes, coal shovel etc.) outside the front door/stair case | () | () | <input type="text"/> |

Control of front door

When the bell rang the front door was watched

- 1) By looking out of the window
- 2) By slightly opening the door
- 3) By looking from the peeping hole
- 4) By opening the door directly
- 5) Other (Please write)

Where were you accepted when you entered the house?

- 1) Entrance or hall
- 2) Living room
- 3) Another room
- 4) We stayed somewhere out of the house

8. In your opinion, is it more appropriate for married children to live with their parents or move to separate homes?

(The alternatives are not to be read)

- 1) Move to a separate home
- 2) Move after a period of time
- 3) Act according to financial conditions
- 4) Move in case of incompatibilities
- 5) Live in the same house
- 6) Live apart but very close
- 7) Everyone should act as they want on this issue
- 8) Other (Please write)

9. If a relative or the child of a relative who lives in another city came to Izmit to find a job or attend school, would you shelter him in your house?

(The alternatives are not to be read)

- 1) I would shelter him/her unconditionally
- 2) I would invite him/her, if my financial conditions permitted
- 3) I would invite him/her, if he/she would contribute financially
- 4) I would help without taking him/her into my home
- 5) I wouldn't shelter him/her
- 6) Other (Please write)

10. Considering the total earnings of every member of your household approximately how much money do you get annually?

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1) Less than 5.000 TL | 8) 35.001-40.000 TL |
| 2) 5.001-10.000 TL | 9) 40.001-45.000 TL |
| 3) 10.001-15.000 TL | 10) 45.001-50.000 TL |
| 4) 15.001-20.000 TL | 11) 50.001-55.000 TL |
| 5) 20.001-25.000 TL | 12) 55.001-60.000 TL |
| 6) 25.001-30.000 TL | 13) Over 60.000 TL |
| 7) 30.001-35.000 TL | |

Where was the stove set up?

- 1) No stove
- 2) In the middle of the living room
- 3) At the corner of the room

How many stoves did you see?

- 1) 1 stove
- 2) 2 stoves
- 3) 3 stoves
- 4) No stoves

Did you notice any function of the stove aside from heating? (For example, heating food, drying laundry etc.)

- 1) No stove
- 2) Yes
- 3) No

(IF YES) What was this function?

- 1) Heating water
- 2) Heating food
- 3) Drying laundry
- 4) Other (Please write)

When you entered the house, who else was there besides the interviewee?

- 1) Wife/husband
- 2) Children
- 3) Grandmother/grandfather
- 4) Guests
- 5) Other (Please write)

What types of activities did you observe in the house?

- 1) Sitting/visiting
- 2) Eating
- 3) Cooking
- 4) Children playing
- 5) Children studying
- 6) Sewing
- 7) Other housework
- 8) Sleeping children or adults
- 9) Listening to the radio
- 10) Watching TV

Please note any outstanding features of the housing environment which may have remained outside the scope of the interview and observation schedule.

Please draw a rough plan of the home visited on the graph paper provided overleaf.



CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	ITU Urban Design	2014
BS	METU Architecture	2010
High School	Denizli Anadolu High School, Ankara	2005

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

1. Mutman, D., Atıcı, M.; “Through the Political and Urban Culture, to the Non-Public Spaces and Non-Public Man: Critical Reflections over the Public Sphere and the Urban Culture of Turkey”, 3rd International Conference on Changing Cities, The Lab of Urban Morphology and Design, 26-30 June 2017, Syros, Greece. (printed summary)
2. Atıcı, M.; “Alternative Solutions for Urban Housing: The Case of Batıkent Settlement, Ankara, Turkey”, Wessex Institute of Technology, Sustainable City Conference, 18-20 September 2017, Seville, Spain. (printed full text)
3. Atıcı, M.; “Batı Sitesi”, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları XIV: Bulent Ecevit University, 27-29 April 2018, Zonguldak. (printed summary)
4. Atıcı, M.; “Built Utopia or Integral Part of the Urban Reality: Reading Batıkent Through the Eyes of Tafuri”, ARCHDESIGN’20: VII. International Architectural Design Conference, 03 April 2020. (virtual)

5. Atıcı, M.; Bilsel, C.; “The Experiment of Batıkent in Ankara: Attempts of Participatory Housing Design in a Satellite Settlement”, Histories of Urban Design: Global Trajectories and Local Realities Conference, 15-17 November 2021, ETH Zurich, Sweden. (virtual)
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7. Atıcı, M.; Lökçe, S.; “A Post-COVID and During-Earthquake Architectural Design Studio Experience in Turkey”, Teaching Beyond the Curriculum: A Focus on Pedagogy 2023 Conference, 15-17 November 2023. (virtual)
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Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

05 TEMMUZ 2024

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın F. Cana Bilsel

Danışmanlığınızı yürüttüğünüz Melike Atıcı'nın "*Ankara – Batıkent yerleşiminin planlanmasında ve tasarımı katılımcı süreçlerin nasıl kurgulandığı ve ne ölçüde uygulandığının araştırılması*" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek **0396-ODTÜİAEK-2024** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır. Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

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