

PRODUCING URBAN SPACE AFTER URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE
CASE OF UKURAMBAR, ANKARA

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



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

SEPTEMBER 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**PRODUCING URBAN SPACE AFTER URBAN TRANSFORMATION:
THE CASE OF ÇUKURAMBAR, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

PRODUCING URBAN SPACE AFTER URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE OF ÇUKURAMBAR, ANKARA

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September 2022, 114 pages

In the era of globalization and digitalization, to keep up with the uncontrolled rapid urbanization, cities have expanded unrestrainedly. This expansion also required an overhaul of the existing urban fabric. Urban transformation, mostly in the form of the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new, redefines the sociocultural urban complexity while creating spatial fragmentations. Approaching urban space as a dynamic entity that is produced over time, the material and cultural production of urban space through complete renewals of the urban fabric unavoidably disrupts the existing identity and everyday life. In 1974, in his work “The Production of Space” Henri Lefebvre argued that the social space is a social product, and the production of space consists of three interconnected moments: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. Suggesting that fragmentation and identity problems result in a cultural, societal and spatial urban discontinuation, this study focuses on Çukurambar in Ankara, a neighborhood that has undergone an urban transformation recently. This study scrutinizes the urban architectural identity problems within Çukurambar district regarding the rapid and inattentive material and

social production of the built environment, and secondly, it identifies and analyses the produced architectural and urban space with the Lefebvre's spatial triad as its framework.

Keywords: Production of Space, Spatial Triad, Urban Transformation, Çukurambar, Ankara



ÖZ

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM SONRASI KENTSEL MEKANIN ÜRETİMİ: ANKARA, ÇUKURAMBAR ÖRNEĞİ

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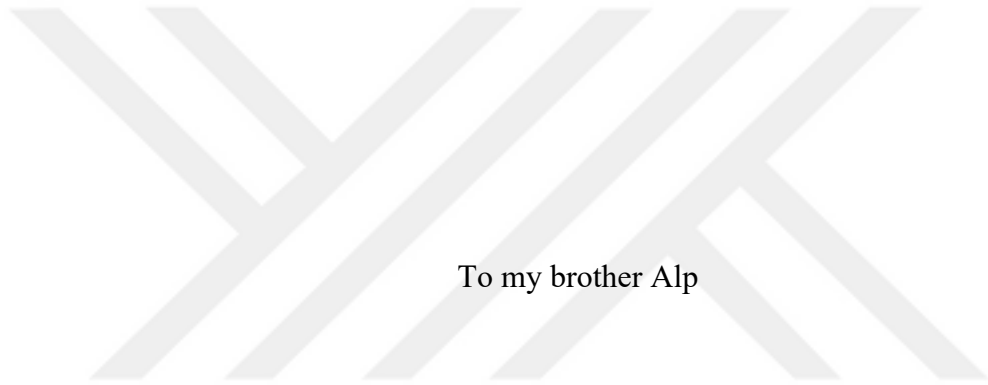
Eylül 2022, 114 sayfa

Küreselleşme ve dijitalleşme çağında, kontrolsüz kentleşmeye ayak uydurmak için şehirler, plansız bir şekilde yayıldı. Bu yayılma, aynı zamanda mevcut kentsel dokuyu gözden geçirmeyi gerektiriyordu. Çoğunlukla eski olanın yıkılması ve yeninin ortaya çıkması şeklinde gerçekleşen kentsel dönüşüm, mekânsal kopukluklar yaratırken, kentsel karmaşıklığı sosyokültürel açıdan yeniden tanımlamaktadır. Kentsel mekâna zamanla üretilen dinamik bir varlık olarak yaklaşıldığında, materyal ve kültürel kentsel mekânın kentsel dokunun tamamen yenilenmesi yoluyla üretilmesi kaçınılmaz olarak mevcut kimliği ve gündelik yaşamı bozmaktadır. 1974 yılında Henri Lefebvre “Mekânın Üretimi” adlı eserinde toplumsal mekânın toplumsal bir ürün olduğunu ve mekânın üretiminin birbiriyle bağlantılı üç andan oluştuğunu savunur: mekânsal pratik, mekân temsilleri ve temsil mekanları. Kentsel kopukluklar ve kimlik problemlerinin kentin kültürel, toplumsal ve mekânsal sürekliliğinin bozulmasına yol açtığını öne süren bu çalışma, Ankara şehrinde son dönemde kentsel dönüşüm geçiren Çukurambar mahallesine odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı inşa edilmiş çevrenin hızlı ve özensiz, materyal ve toplumsal üretimine ilişkin kentsel mimari kimlik sorunlarını irdelerken, sonrasında

Lefebvre'in mekân üçlemesini kullanarak üretilen mimari ve kentsel mekânı tespit edip çözümlemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekânın Üretimi, Mekân Üçlemesi, Kentsel Dönüşüm,
Ankara, Çukurambar





To my brother Alp

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. İnci Basa for her guidance, infinite patience, and endless support. She has always encouraged me to achieve the better in my graduate research and also in my undergraduate studies. I am very lucky that I am guided by her experiences and wisdom throughout my academic research.

I would like to thank to members of the examining committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Haluk Zelef and Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacıođlu for their inspiring comments, valuable suggestions, and contributions during the thesis examination.

Also, I must express my deepest gratitude to my family for their endless support throughout my life. I am very thankful to especially my mother Işıl Tunçbilek, my father Gökhan Tunçbilek and my little brother Alp Tunçbilek for their constant patience and encouragement. Also, I would like to thank my grandmother Ergül Tunçbilek for encouraging me to pursue my graduate studies. I am blessed to have them in my life.

I would like to thank to Furkan Bahadır Elik, for always supporting me and believing in me even when I do not. I feel so lucky to have him in my life. I would not be able to complete this thesis without his support and encouragement.

I am very grateful to have Zeynep Özatay in my life, not only for her friendship but also for being an excellent and patient roommate throughout my university life. She was there for me in every step and in every decision of my life and we have shared countless memories together. In addition, I am very grateful to our lovely cat, Maya, for her constant love, amusement, and distraction.

Lastly, I would like to thank all of my friends especially Kaan Çalık, Ekin Karaca, Alp Ardıç, Barkın Durmuş and Ekin Kuru for their valuable friendship. I am very thankful to have you all.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problematic, Aim and the Scope of the Study

This study aims to examine how the rapid and inattentive urban transformation affects material, social and cultural production of urban space and the everyday life it creates. The spatial production acts as a mechanism to scrutinize continuous changes in space through time in the urban setting. Urban transformation interrupts the continuity in the timeline of its material, social, cultural, and historical production and creates a focal point for this study. The study focuses on the Çukurambar district in Ankara which has undergone urban transformation and transformed into a luxury neighborhood from a small squatter village in a short period of time.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were the eras of new consciousnesses around the world. Civil rights and protest movements, the emergence of countercultures and cultural changes, the emphasis on others, and economic struggles were dominating the sociopolitical climate. The contemporary thinking was altered within this new and changing environment resulting in new approaches to the existing theoretical concepts. The shift in meaning while perceiving and analyzing public spaces was common among scholars while theorizing recently emerging contemporary public spaces and urban morphologies. Specific attention towards the networks and relationships binding together the human activity and objects of the city within dynamic interconnections have arisen as part of the new consciousness (Brenner & Schmid, 2015; Storper & Scott, 2016). Rather than only focusing on the material, physical and concrete qualities of the built environment or urban phenomenon, perceptual, social and cultural approaches have gained importance. There has been

a rapid urban restructuring and transformation at every level of physical, economic, political, cultural and social structures. These changes were global, independent of geographical locations or sociocultural contexts. Typically associated with industrialization and globalization, urban sprawl has accelerated, and urban spread has become apparent in previously peripheral areas in especially developing cities. Within the urban restructuring processes, the global urban system itself was also undergoing political-economic, social and spatial reorganization and transformation (Brenner & Theodore, 2005; Soja et al., 1983).

The contemporary transformations of cities always require a redrawing of the contours of the public and private everyday spaces (Dehaene & de Cauwer, 2008) and therefore, new methodologies to critically analyze these spaces through their changing or newly evolving characters. Rethinking the meaning and significance of urban space and the relations between space and place were widely discussed among scholars from various disciplines. While many focused on the critique of the relations between the built environment, everydayness and the transformation as the result of social and economic processes (Relph, 1976), the visual perception and the recognition processes of the physical environment (Lynch, 1960), dwelling and places coming into existence (Norberg-Schulz, 1979), the relationality, historicity and identity problems of places (Augé, 1992), the set of relations between real and different sites (Foucault, 1986), some were interested in the relations between space, time and the social character (Harvey, 1985; Lefebvre, 1974; Soja, 1996).

Many different approaches emerged to assess urban environments through perception in space and place studies. Rather than focusing on spaces' physical and cognitive analysis, many scholars adopted a perceptive analysis (Cullen, 1961; Jacobs, 1961; Lynch, 1960, 1981; Montgomery, 1998; Moughtin, 1992; Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Rapoport, 1990). Individuals used perception and visual qualities to understand the quality of the urban built environment under concepts such as identity, sense of place and belonging, meaning, city image, activity and vitality, urban form and urban fit. Kevin Lynch's imageability theory was one of the pioneers and most effective tools for understanding visible and perceptible environments.

According to Lynch (1960), the city image can be studied through five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. A robust city image can be constructed through a combination of these elements. Essential elements of cities, which are urban solids and voids, streets, urban squares and green spaces, may be evaluated through Lynch's imageability framework. However, this framework is primarily useful for a city image that is not a social or dynamic entity. Urban spaces accommodate human activity and therefore, they are also social entities. While assessing cities, approaching only through physical qualities means disregarding any social and cultural context they have. Even though analyzing the city image through the perceived space is a successful way to evaluate the built environment, a sociocultural perspective is needed to understand and analyze urban space as a whole.

Henri Lefebvre is an important scholar who introduced contemporary concepts to analyze urban space, its planetary and revolutionary qualities, the everyday life it constructs and its social realm in the era of globalization. According to Lefebvre, space is a dynamic entity in constant change. Production of urban space is a process requiring relations, actions and time. It is continuously produced and reproduced while shaping and being shaped by society. Therefore, society and space cannot be considered independent from each other; they act as unitary organisms. The "spatial production" is a spatial theory introduced in Henri Lefebvre's seminal work *The Production of Space* in 1974. Lefebvre's theory holds a unique and interdisciplinary position when compared to similar theories of other scholars; he argues that physical, mental, and social spaces cannot come into existence independent from each other but coexist through time and contain one another. Therefore, social space is produced through mental and physical space. He underlines that a science of space is needed to understand, analyze and evaluate urban spaces in multiple dimensions. Therefore, the spatial triad is introduced to present a framework to understand social space, spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. Spatial practice is the perceived space and is based on the built environment's form, structure, and morphology. Representations of

space is the conceived space and is the organizing scheme produced through planning by authorities born from knowledge. It also enables the creation of social and political power through the planned and designed urban space. Representational space is the lived space linked to the experience and everyday life. Lefebvre also introduces histories of spaces, absolute, abstract, and differential spaces to emphasize that the production of space is a process and space is constantly produced and reproduced through time. The absolute space is the untouched landscape, consisting of fragments of nature. Capitalism intervenes the absolute space and produces a space of signs and symbols, the abstract space. Differential space is the space of conflicts inherent to abstract space and acts as a counter-space.

“The materialist emphasis of social production is useful in defining the historical emergence and political economic formation of urban space, while social construction refers to the transformation of space through language, social interaction, memory, representation, behavior and use into scenes and actions that convey meaning.” (Low, 2016)

Further studies on the production, reproduction and shaping of space have stemmed from Lefebvre’s works. Approaching and analyzing a built environment through its production requires a multi-layered framework due to its complexity. Therefore, the scope of this study aims to answer the following questions;

- How does Lefebvre’s spatial triad, perceived, conceived and lived spaces, provide a framework for an area that has gone under urban transformation?
- How does urban transformation interrupt the space-time relations in both material and sociocultural contexts?
- How does the production of identity without historicity affect the urban fabric and architectural qualities?

- How is the everyday life produced in a rapidly transformed urban environment through urban rhythms and cultural elements?
- Do social, cultural and political decisions affect the produced urban space of a city neighborhood?
- Can the construction of a social and cultural identity be achieved through the physical built environment?

These questions will be discussed through a case study to have a more concrete and comprehensive study. Çukurambar Neighborhood in Ankara is chosen as the study area for this thesis. Çukurambar was a squatter area on the urban fringe of Ankara until the 1990s. Due to the expansion of the city, and the area becoming very valuable, Çukurambar went under urban transformation. In a very short period of time, the area became a luxurious, mid and high-rise, residential and commercial area. However, this rapid transformation of the complete renewal of urban form was inattentive. I diagnosed that this neighborhood was a produced urban space as the end product of the urban transformation. Çukurambar was also a neighborhood of my personal interest due to the oppositions it accommodates, the variety and sameness simultaneously, was chosen as the case study. Also, Çukurambar being a product of a process, Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and the spatial triad was chosen as the primary framework. To prevent any confusion, Çukurambar Neighborhood and the adjacent neighborhood Kızılırmak Neighborhood will be referred to as Çukurambar Neighborhood through this study.

1.2 Research Methodology

This research will be conducted in two phases. The first part consists of a comprehensive literature review of space theories from different perspectives to understand the perception of space and the relationship between space and place. A

conceptual approach to visual image of cities will be discussed through Lynch's five elements and their material forms, streets, urban squares and urban greenery. In addition, evaluation criteria of successful cities as activity, form and image will be mentioned. Following the spatial organization of the urban space, the main framework as Henri Lefebvre's production of urban space and his spatial triad; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space, also known as the perceived, conceived and lived spaces, will be reviewed. In addition, theoretical research on social space, urban and architectural identity, culture and spatiality, and everyday life will also be included. The derived information from those concepts will be used to understand the produced material, social and cultural urban space after a rapid urban transformation process.

A case study on the Çukurambar neighborhood in Ankara will be introduced for the second phase¹. Starting with a historical review of Ankara and its three major city implementation plans, how Ankara was affected by the globalization era and urban sprawl will be discussed. As a result of the urban expansion, the emergence of illegal housing and governmental policies toward handling the squatter problem will be included. A practical case study on the area will be conducted to contextualize further the previously constructed theoretical research. The study will be supported by archival research such as maps, photographs, newspaper articles and official documents as the analytical tool for the primary data collection method. This archival research will focus on both the historical development and the current situation of the neighborhood. While the primary framework of the case study is Lefebvre's spatial triad, perceived, conceived and lived spaces, Kevin Lynch's image of the environment; legibility, structure, identity, imageability and the city image and its

¹ Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods were also subjects of academic papers and student theses in the previous years (Ajazi, 2015; Akçaoğlu, 2017; Bakkaloğlu, 2019; Barbaros, 2005; Durmaz, 2014; Gölle & Ercoşkun, 2020; Gülbay, 2006; Köken, 2019; Kölmek, 2011; Köroğlu Armatlı & Ercoşkun Yalçiner, 2006; Şahin Körmeçli, 2019; Tan Erşahin, 2002). However, this thesis provides a different theoretical approach to Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods using Lefebvre's spatial triad to analyze and evaluate the produced urban space.

elements; paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Lynch, 1960), cultural and social space definitions and elements of other scholars such as Amos Rapoport, Edward Soja and Setha Low will be included to create a more comprehensive analysis and back up the spatial triad. The case study of the Çukurambar Neighborhood will also include empirical research from personal experiences and observations as first-hand data.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. As the introduction, the first chapter introduces the definition of the problematic and the aim of the study. A general perspective of the framework and key concepts are presented as well as the case study to be discussed in the scope of those theoretical concepts.

In the second chapter, the perceptual approaches to the concept of space and place will be introduced. The framework of building successful cities and high-quality urban environments will be discussed through elements such as activity, vitality, diversity, urban form, urban fit, image, identity and meaning. The elements of cities' visual images will also be introduced using Kevin Lynch's elements of imageability, paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks.

The third chapter focuses on a Lefebvrian approach to social space while referring to Michel Foucault and Edward Soja. The emergence of an assembly of social relations resulted in a unity of mental and physical space. Lefebvre tended to avoid common binaries, thus he introduced a spatial triad as a unitary theory toward the physical, mental and social realms. Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad that is spatial practice, space of representations and representational spaces will be discussed in detail to provide a detailed framework for the study. To support the triad, everyday narratives and rhythms, cultural issues, social experiences and their discursive nature will be further elaborated while discussing the social space.

The fourth chapter is an introduction to the case study of Çukurambar neighborhood. It analyses the changes Ankara underwent since the proclamation of Ankara as the capital of the new Turkish Republic. Also, the implementation plans for the city are discussed in detail to understand the historical and physical changes through sixty-years. Also, the reasons behind the emergence of squatter neighborhoods and actions taken to prevent this illegal land claim will be mentioned.

The fifth chapter focuses on the case study of Çukurambar neighborhood to contextualize the theoretical research afore discussed. Çukurambar's urban transformation through history, urban form and built environment, will be discussed while introducing implementation plans and technical data. Lefebvre's perceived, conceived and lived spaces will be used to analyze the area and approach Çukurambar as a product of spatial product after urban transformation.

In the concluding chapter, the research questions will be answered in light of previously conducted discussions. The main contribution of this study will be evaluating the Çukurambar Neighborhood in Ankara after a very rapid and inattentive urban transformation, primarily shaped by the urban rent and political decisions, through physical, social and cultural perspectives. Using Lefebvre's moments of spaces and Lynch's elements of city image to understand the layers of urban space production of the area, an interdisciplinary perspective will be achieved.

CHAPTER 2

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF URBAN SPACE

Place is a construction in space, a concrete phenomenon meaning more than an abstract location; it is an integral part of our existence (Norberg-Schulz, 1979). While mentioning place, it is usually referred to as the anthropological place, a place of inhabitants who live in it, mark and defend it. It has character, it possesses meaning and both individual and communal identity. Also, it has a social, physical and natural order (Augé, 1992; Relph, 1976) that allows many elements to coexist simultaneously in the same place.

The city in this urbanized era consists of agglomerations of public and private places interconnected with paths, streets, boulevards, squares and public parks. Cities are phenomena of structured complexity (Montgomery, 1998). Many different formulations to understand the complexity of urbanity were introduced, especially since the 1960s. The importance of a perceptual approach toward urban elements has augmented as opposed to physical and cognitive analysis (Cullen, 1961; Jacobs, 1961; Lynch, 1960, 1981; Montgomery, 1998; Moughtin, 1992; Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Rapoport, 1990). Urban quality through the eyes of the observers is discussed under concepts such as identity, sense of place and belonging, meaning, city image, activity and vitality, urban form and urban fit.

Evaluating the success of a city and how can the quality of an environment be evaluated have been debatable topics among urban and architectural theorists. While emphasizing the materiality of cities, Gordon Cullen argued that the approach towards the environment should be through perceptual qualities which is the pedestrian's vision and perception of streets, place which is the positioning of the body in an environment, and lastly content which is the fabric of towns made up of

color, texture, style, character and uniqueness (Cullen, 1961). Similarly, Kevin Lynch focused on how individuals perceive a city and its elements and formulated a theory of 'imageability'. In this theory, Lynch discusses how to achieve a strong visual image of a city using urban elements and how to design aiming for man's successful orientation in urban space. He introduces five elements to analyze the image of the city: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). The relationship between the built environment and activity is discussed in Jane Jacob's seminal work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* as activity both shaping and shaped by its surrounding urban form. City streets, sidewalks, neighborhoods and land use diversity are examined by activities and perception of groups and individuals using four determinants: primary land use, density and intensity of urban blocks, the permeability of the urban form and building typologies such as age, size and condition (Jacobs, 1961). From a more phenomenological and different perspective, Christian Norberg-Schulz discusses visual concepts such as character, essence of place and identity concerning a qualitative phenomenon which he later describes as place (Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

Having mentioned some theoretic approaches of understanding and evaluating the visual image of a city and primary frameworks of analyzing urban space and places with perception, this chapter focuses on the city image, elements and critical components of a strong visual image.

2.1 A Conceptual Approach to Visual Image

Places should be able to create 'mental maps' as internal guides to provide emotional security. Individuals associate themselves with their surroundings, the built environment, create memories and assign meanings. Identifying the environment becomes vital among humans through visuals, shapes, colors, patterns, arrangements and senses: smell, sense, touch and sound. Knowledge of a city can only be constructed through its imageability, and imageability exists through the components of legibility (Lynch, 1960). Legible environments also heighten the depth and

intensity of human experience in cities. Building a city image is a two-way process between its observers and the built environment. What is seen is not enough without the cognitive process of what is perceived to assess an environment.

An environmental image is analyzed through three components: identity, structure and meaning (Lynch, 1960). Although he mentions and explores these concepts separately, Lynch states that in real life, these concepts always exist together as a united whole. Even though other scholars do not use precisely the same terms to theorize the environmental image's components, similar concepts are mentioned. History (Norberg-Schulz, 1979), activity, form and image (Montgomery, 1998), order and unity (Moughtin, 1992) are also mentioned as elements of creating an image of any form of settlement.

The environmental image is perceived in three steps: recognition of an image through its identity as a separate entity from its surroundings, the image being in a spatial relationship with the observer to perceive its structural quality, and lastly this image of the object should mean something to the observer to be relatable. Image ability, or imageability, is the quality of an object that evokes a strong image in any observer through visual qualities.

According to Lynch the image of the city can be studied through five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). He elaborated these terms as following:

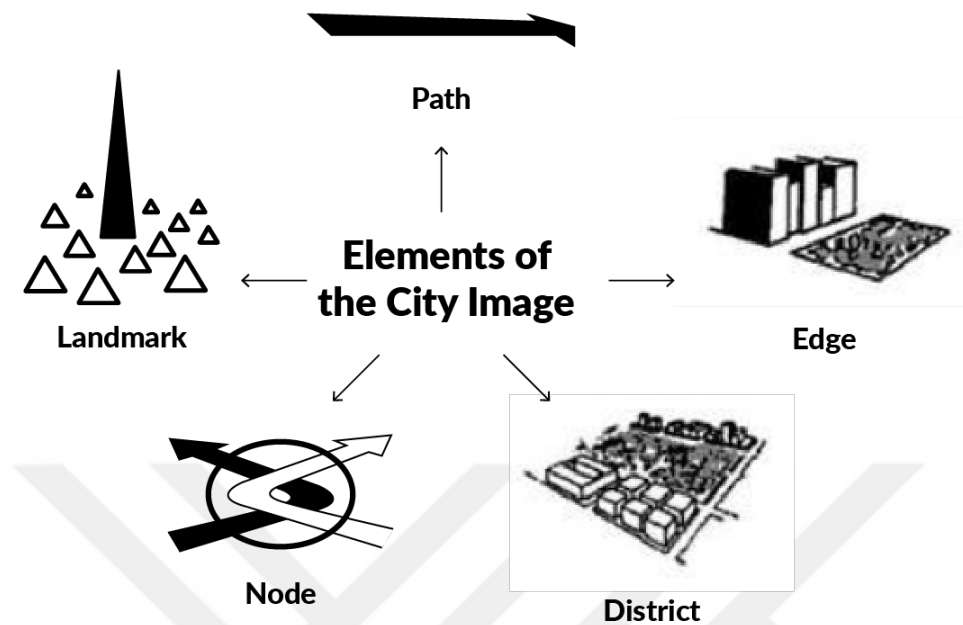


Figure 2.1 Kevin Lynch's City Design Theory

Source: Kevin Lynch's illustrations on his Image of the City (Lynch, 1960)

Paths

Paths are the channels of movement of observers. Streets, avenues, pedestrian walkways, railways and canals could be identified as paths. It is the most dominant element of the city image. Paths also have a vital role in the planning process due to their potential to arrange the layout around them. The observer's observation process is shaped by the paths of circulation. Paths are not only continuous and identifiable but also have directional quality. Individuals like to think of the origins and destinations of paths as identifying characters. This feeling also contributes to tying the city together and gives the observer a sense of demeanor (Lynch, 1960). The problem with the strength of paths is that secondary paths possibly create confusion in a larger scale analysis acting as alternate paths.

Edges

Although edges are similar to paths with their linear and continuous nature, they are unused paths in the eyes of the observer. They act like boundaries or barriers between two phases such as walls, shores and railroad cuts. Usually, they are the linear seams of break, acting as lateral references, intersecting with a continuous and joint region. Edges are not as dominant as paths, but still have importance over the continuity due to creating a feeling of enclosure in a city such as city walls or seashore.

Districts

Districts are sections of the city medium to large in size and conceived as two-dimensional entities. The mental feeling of being inside a specific area or entering an area is created through districts and their identifying characters within the districts. Districts with strong presences usually have clues such as homogeneities of façades, architectural styles, materials, colors and textures. Districts have edges between one another, and these edges can be hard, definite and precise. Also, it is possible that districts are separated with blurry, soft and indefinite edges. Although edges possibly reinforce the district's identity, edges are also responsible for fragmentation and disorganizing of the city.

Nodes

Nodes are points, strategic spots in cities acting as material cores and activity cores. They could emerge from concentrations of activities and groups or from junctions of paths. Some nodes inside districts also act as polarizing centers with symbolic meaning and are influential to their surroundings. City squares, transportation hubs, path intersections and sometimes even city districts are considered urban nodes if the city is large enough.

“A strong physical form is not absolutely essential to the recognition of a node. But where the space has some form, the impact is much stronger. The node becomes memorable.” (Lynch, 1960, p. 76).

Nodes are either introvert or extrovert. Introvert nodes lack strong directionality, only enough to locate the node itself, coming towards or away from it. Extrovert

ones however, general directions and connections are clear to the node itself, surrounding districts or edges such as the seaside.

Landmarks

Landmarks are also point references, similar to nodes but differ in externality. It is not possible to enter landmarks; they are external objects. They are usually simple physical objects, buildings, signs or untouched natural environments. Landmarks could be local or distant in terms of their strength in city image. Local ones are usually known inside a smaller district and community. Distant ones are seen from a distance, and from many angles. Singularity, memorability and uniqueness are the characteristics of landmarks. These characters increase legibility and strengthen the identity of landmarks.

2.2 Essential Elements of the City

As mentioned before, cities are complex entities. There are multiple layers of elements that are interrelated in any urban environment. Dourish and Bell (2007) argue that first, there is a physical layering that is made up of complex topographies and three-dimensional qualities; secondly, a historical layering that reflects the change and evolution of the built environment over a period; and lastly, there is a layer of cultural experience including religious, secular, commercial, familial and many more types of cultural values. From the physical perspective, the traditional city is organized around a network of interrelated streets and squares connecting two elements to compose a whole. Streets acting as paths are needed to create a connection between the private spaces to guide the pedestrian and the vehicular flow. Streets are the backbone of the city, it is a circulation system that enables movement patterns.

“The types of space needed in a city are: the setting for a civic building; the principal meeting places; places for great ceremonial occasions; spaces for entertainment around buildings such as theatres, cinemas, restaurants and

cafes; spaces for shopping, shopping street, arcades and markets; spaces around which offices are grouped; spaces of a semi-public nature around which residential accommodation is arranged; and, finally, the spaces associated with urban traffic junctions.” (Moughtin, 1992, p. 88)

This complexity and variety of spaces exist in two types of urban spaces: hard and soft spaces (Trancik, 1986). Hard spaces are the bounded architectural spaces, the main loci of gathering and social activity while soft spaces are considered the natural landscape or urban greenery, inside or outside of the city. Both hard and soft spaces are essential to call any landscape or geography, a city. Also, it is possible to argue that hard spaces both create and require enclosure while soft spaces may or may not be enclosed. If the soft spaces are enclosed, it is enclosed by an edge of any hard space.

The carved out empty spaces of the urban morphology are as important as the solids of the city. The relationship between hard spaces, soft spaces, public spaces, private spaces, internal spaces, external spaces and enclosure is most apparent in illustrations of figure-ground theory (Rowe & Koetter, 1984). The contrast of spaces is depicted more apparent when the edges are stronger. It also makes it easier to identify elements while making them more remarkable for observers.

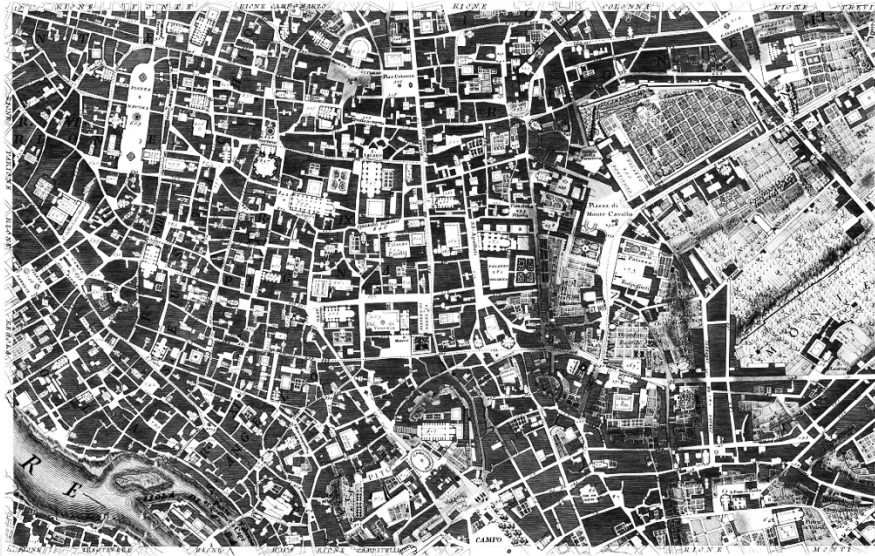


Figure 2.2 Giambattista Nolli's map of Rome

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Battista_Nolli-Nuova_Pianta_di_Roma_%281748%29_05-12.JPG

The most well-known example of figure ground drawing is Giambattista Nolli's map of Rome, drawn in 1748 can be seen in Figure 2.1. The paths of circulation, streets, open public spaces, plazas and greenery are legible on the map looking similar to carved out open spaces from the solid and concrete enclosed spaces. It is also important to mention that the interior of public buildings such as churches are also left white because they are considered as a continuation of the circulation. Nolli maps are successful tools to show the continuous flows of circulation, land coverage patterns and characteristic urban forms of cities from a bird's-eye view.

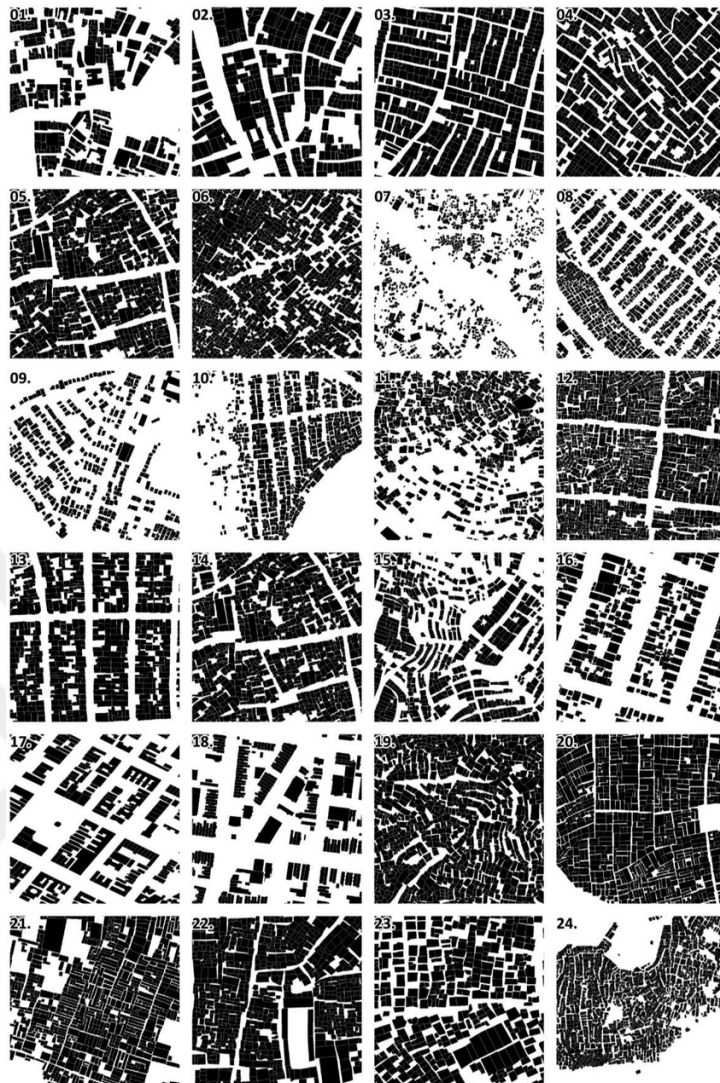


Figure 2.3 Figure-Ground Maps of Different Cities from Africa (1-10), South America (11-15, 19), North America (16-18) and Asia (20-24)
 Source: (Taubenböck et al., 2018)

In addition to Nolli maps, other representation methods such as figure-ground maps are used to map and analyze urban spaces and elements of cities (Ji & Ding, 2021). Building blocks and land coverage are depicted in black solids while the empty ground is left empty or painted white. Figure-ground analyses are also useful in mapping circulation paths and restrictions, continuity gaps, public, semi-public and private spaces, urban blocks' and districts' characters, physical sequences and visual orientations between places (Trancik, 1986).

It is obvious that cities have elements that exist and are visible in every representation. While defining elements of the public realm, streets, squares and public parks are meant with the building façades defining their concrete edges (Moughtin, 1992). Based on Lynch's (1960) five elements of city image, paths of circulation are embodied as streets, nodal points with or without landmarks are marked as urban squares or plazas, and urban greenery as natural public spaces defined by edges surrounding it.

2.2.1 Streets

Streets are linear circulation paths that embody pedestrian circulation with sidewalks, vehicular flows with roads and boulevards, commercial activities with street stores and provide accessibility to a variety of settlement types through building entrances. They are essential to urban phenomena together with urban squares (Norberg-Schulz, 1979). The physical order of a city is determined through its planning and the patterns of streets.

“Successful street spaces, though linear in form, will also have the properties of three-dimensional frame, two-dimensional pattern, and objects to provide interest and focal points. Movement is the essence of streets, but they also serve broader functions, which have often been lost in the modern emphasis on rapid passage through the city.” (Trancik, 1986, p. 70)

According to Jacobs (1961), streets serve many purposes other than just circulatory purposes. Firstly, streets and their sidewalks are what keep the city safe while handling strangers. Through their vitality and the eyes of individuals, natural surveillance is created to achieve safety. Although it is believed that lighting is key to creating a safe neighborhood, Jacobs argues that it only increases the visibility and increasing the field of view and again individual's perception of the street is providing a safe ground. Secondly, streets are used to create contact because sidewalks are tied to various types of public life and commercial activity. There

exists a social structure of sidewalks, more commonly seen in residential neighborhoods. These two issues, safety and contact on the streets, are also influencing segregation and racial discrimination (Jacobs, 1961). Streets are also key elements to create urban blocks. The permeability of city blocks has an impact on commercial activity and the local economy. As it can be seen clearly from Figure 2.3, when streets are long and non-permeable, the only possibility of intersection for pedestrian flow is the main street. In contrast, when there is a porosity of the urban block, small streets feed other small streets through alternative streams and increase the exposure to local commercial activity.

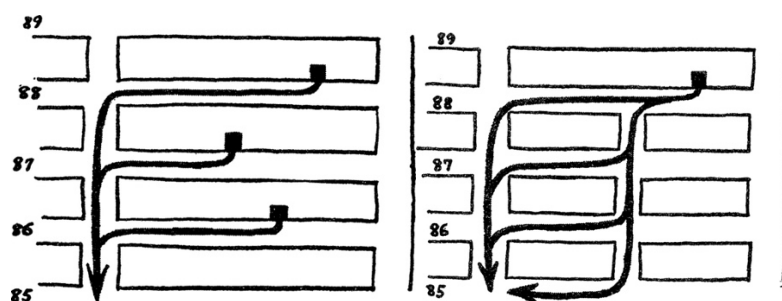


Figure 2.4 Patterns of pedestrian circulation with different porosities of urban blocks

Source: (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 179, 181)

2.2.2 Urban Squares and Plazas

From an etymological perspective, the term *plaza* originates from Spanish, meaning “a town square or a central place of gathering” and from the Latin word *platea* meaning “broad way” (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). In other words, a plaza or an urban square is a broad area in a city that can be used for social activities. Therefore, they are social and spatial in nature, and enclosed with physical and concrete objects while providing a necessary public dimension for vitality. It is the place for gathering and fulfilling social, cultural, economic and even political needs.

Urban squares or plazas have a crucial role in cities as they nest commercial and public activity inside and surrounding them. They can provide a variety of shops, cafes or restaurants with the façades facing the square and their ground floors’ land

use. Also, the plaza itself could become a locus of temporary shops for fairs or festivals and the landmarks that are placed inside these urban squares will attract more individuals as a node for attraction resulting in both public and commercial activity. Enclosure is an important characteristic of an urban square. Its edges can either strengthen its identity or weaken its definition. The spatial identity highly depends on the presence of continuous lateral edges. Squares are mostly visual attractions too, which allow them to attract even more vitality. Urban squares are in fact nodes, covered by edges (verticality is more dominant), paths leading to it and sometimes nesting landmarks or monuments having a symbolic meaning.

2.2.3 Urban Greeneries and Public Parks

Having mentioned streets and urban squares as hard space elements, it is not possible to overlook urban greenery or public parks as soft spaces of the urban phenomenon. They are the open and public spaces of cities creating the urban voids between architectural and urban forms. Public parks are incorporated into the urban grid to create a feeling of relief from the concrete forms, built environment and hard spaces of the city (Trancik, 1986). Reducing the density of the urban forms and creating space for breathing, they are the nodes of natural preservation. Urban parks could be either natural greenery in the form of a pastoral landscape or they can have architectural elements for pleasure activities and monumental identities.



Figure 2.5 Bois de Boulogne as a pastoral park in Paris
Source: <https://www.tripsavvy.com/bois-de-boulogne-paris-the-complete-guide-4172985>



Figure 2.6 Parc de la Villette as a park with architectural monuments in Paris
Source: <https://en.parisinfo.com/discovering-paris/walks-in-paris/exploring-parc-de-la-villette-paris>

Urban parks have an incremental effect on the quality of life as in this urbanized global system, residents of cities have a hard time reaching natural assets. Providing more and more open green areas therefore increases the livability of cities while providing psychological, cultural and social experiences (Chiesura, 2004).

2.3 Evaluating the Success of Urban Spaces

The essential elements of cities, streets, squares and greenery and the elements of city image and perception are discussed. The argument of 'how does a city considered a successful urban environment' and what is the criteria of effective and successful architectural and urban design will be discussed in the following section. These questions are widely debated among theorists because individuals know or have a 'sense' or 'feeling' of success, however, it is considered hard to identify why is so (Montgomery, 1998).

Identifying a well-designed environment has complexity and multiple layers, similar to a city's nature. It is not possible to consider only one aspect of the built environment to evaluate it. According to Lynch (1981), the quality of a place is evaluated through a joint effect of the place and the society that occupies that place. He also mentions that there are three tactics to measure city performance. The first one is elaborating on the relationship between form and purpose which has a social basis due to human nature and is embodied as small social groups or city as network access. The second tactic is linking some specific social institutions and mental attitudes to the spatial form. Lastly, the third one is approaching each city as a different and unique entity and setting standards as general as possible them because situations and values differ. Lynch argues that there are five basic dimensions of performance dimensions of cities' spatial forms; vitality, sense, fit, access and control and he later adds two more as meta-criteria; efficiency and justice.

The physical space has a variety of attributes -discussed in the previous section- and they have to be combined properly to produce urban quality. And yet, it is impossible to reduce urban quality to only physical elements because social, psychological and cultural dimensions are highly bound up with the urban quality. In his essay *Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban Design*, John Montgomery asserts that successful urban places combine quality in three elements: physical space, sensory experience and activity. Although different scholars use different terminology to define successful spaces, the main framework of their studies is the same: combining

the physical aspect and the urban form, meaning or sense of place and activity or vitality. This combination creates a successful space through the built environment, the perception and assigned meanings and the lived space of individuals.

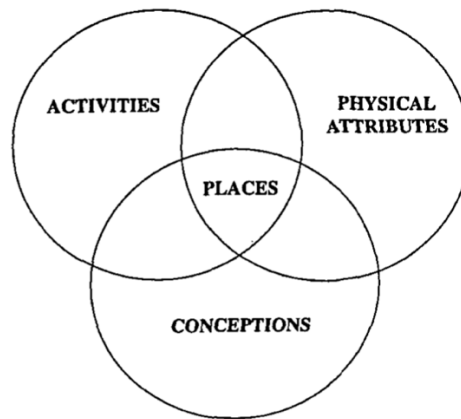


Figure 2.7 The nature of places
Source: (Canter, 1977 cited in Montgomery, 1998)

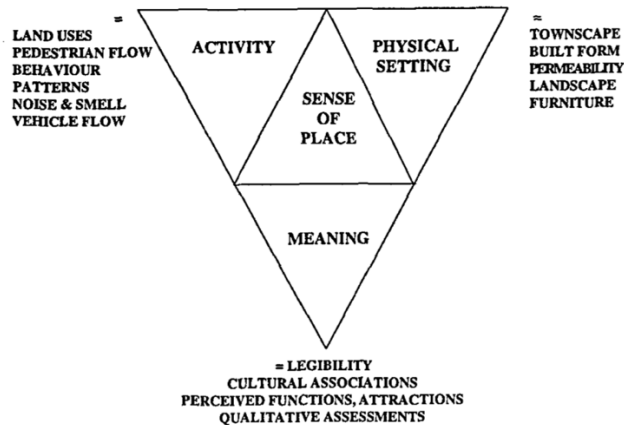


Figure 2.8 Elements of sense of place
Source: (Punter, 1991 cited in Montgomery, 1998)

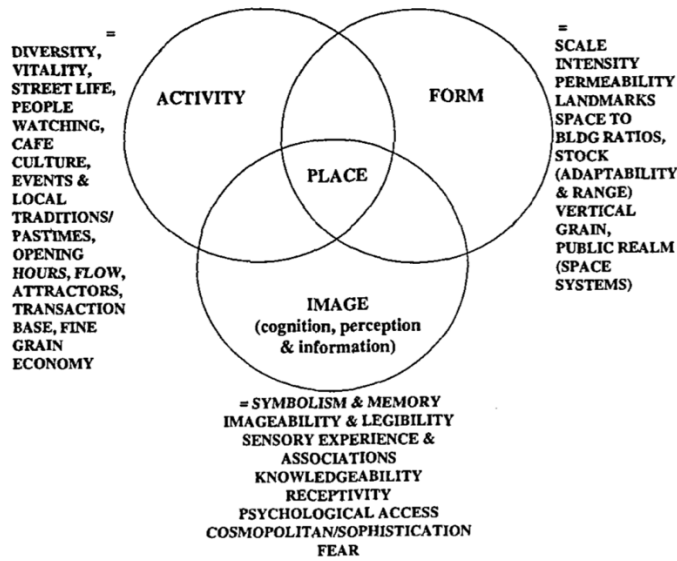


Figure 2.9 Policy directions of urban place
Source: (Montgomery, 1998)

From a counter perspective, rather than giving how to produce successful urban areas, Roger Trancik (1986) gives five reasons how does an urban area become unwanted and unsuccessful while discussing ‘lost spaces’ as the undesirable urban areas: the incremental dependence on cars, modern movement’s lack of attention towards designing the space between buildings while abandoning urbanism principles, zoning and land use policies after the urban renewal processes acting as non-permeable edges in the urban fabric, the privatization of collective public urban spaces and lastly relocating industrial areas and being left with vacant land. In his following arguments, Trancik (1986) argues that there are components of successful hard spaces: the three-dimensional frame, the two-dimensional patterns and objects in space. The three-dimensional frame is the edges enclosing the urban space, the degree of this enclosure and the characteristic of edges, for instance, stone façades, glass high rises or just barriers. The human scale gains importance to understand the degree of enclosure while considering also the openings, transparency and opacity of the enclosure. The two-dimensional pattern is what is on the ground place, its texture, material, articulation and composition. Objects in space serve as focal points

to create more identifiable environments for individuals. Sculptures, street signs, transportation stops, trees, urban furniture and fountains could be considered objects in space.

2.3.1 Activity

Activity is based on multiple factors. Vitality is one of the most important and defining factors of activity. It represents the number and the density of people at any given time in or around the streets, urban squares and parks. It is the everyday life, the rhythm that makes the built environment alive or lively. Consumer spaces and commercial land use also have an impact on activity due to their diverse nature. It is easy to create activity in an area for a short period of time by programming events, cultural activities or festivals, but for it to be long term, complex diversity of land use and large economic activity is needed (Montgomery, 1998).

“Any primary use whatever, by itself is relatively ineffectual as a creator of city diversity. If it is combined with another primary use that brings people in and out and puts them on the street at the same time, nothing has been accomplished [...] Secondary diversity is a name for the enterprises that grow in response to the presence of primary uses, to serve the people the primary uses draw. If this secondary diversity serves single primary uses, no matter what the type of use, it is innately inefficient.” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 200)

The second factor of activity is diversity. Diversity becomes essential to respond to the needs of individuals. There are primary and second uses in urban areas. The primary uses could be commercial activity in an area with dense office space concentrations, while it could be residential activity in a more residential neighborhood. However, these classifications are rather flexible and adaptive than solid definitions. If secondary uses develop and integrate well into the existing activity patterns, could become primary uses themselves. They could even become attraction points to generate even more activity through diversity and vitality such as

luxury shopping streets. Also, a diversity of land use in terms of active times of commerce is important. For instance, if a street has either only bars and night club or only shops, it becomes problematic at different times of the day. Different patterns of opening hours and the existence of night-time activity are important to preserve vitality throughout the day. Also, different consumer places appealing to different income groups create cultural diversity. The amount of public greenery and urban parks are also considered areas that create vitality without any cost as they usually require no fees to enter.

Vitality is achieved not only by man-made elements but also by natural ones, such as the topography and climate. For instance, areas with high slopes or rough grounds reduce accessibility or climate wise too hot/too cold areas reduce the vitality of public spaces as human survival becomes harder. Accessibility therefore has an important role in the activity of the urban spaces. Pedestrian access and vehicular access are different channels of movement from each other. While pedestrian density searches for sidewalks and public transportation, vehicles search for empty spaces aimed for parking. Vehicular access is not always a positive thing. Too much of it becomes a problem for pedestrian circulation through the density of traffic, pollution, noise, the burden of safety and public open spaces transforming into car parks. There are some urban areas that struggle with the intensity and aim to reduce access to improve their safety and quiet (Lynch, 1981). Repurposing sidewalks without restricting pedestrian flow is also an element in increasing activity. Street vendors, florists, cafes and restaurants with transparent façades or even cafes extending towards the sidewalks creates naturally surveilled streets and promenades.



Figure 2.10 A sidewalk cafe in Paris, increasing natural surveillance
Source: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/articles/cafes-reopen-in-paris>



Figure 2.11 A street florist in Istanbul increasing street activity
Source: Sabri Yıldız's personal archive, taken in 2007
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/sariy/2135375720>

2.3.2 Form

The city form is the intersection of the built environment and the public realm. The scale, intensity, permeability and their effects on individuals could be analyzed under this title. Lynch (1981) offers five basic dimensions of city performance as vitality, sense, fit, access and control. Vitality's principal features are sustenance, safety and

consonance. Lynch argues that for an environment to be vital for human health and biology, there should be adequate food, water and energy, there should not be any hazardous or poisonous materials risking safety and should be consonant with human nature. Access exists together with transportation and communication. It allows people of all ages, income groups, races and backgrounds, in other words, independent from their backgrounds, to reach resources, services, information and activities all the time. This also overlaps with vitality to access to basic resources of human nature. User control is the right to be included in the management of the spaces of users. Rather than being decided by authorities, individuals should have a say in decisions about public spaces. Urban fit is “how well the spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behavior of its inhabitants.” (Lynch, 1981, p. 151). If the behavioral pattern of the reality is the same as the expectations of the design process, it can be said that the design is a successful one. It is important to give the urban space some flexibility to grow organically; if the fit is too tight and precise urban space is treated as a solid and concrete entity disregarding its social nature. Also, during the planning process, what looks good on paper and theory does not always work in real life. The quality of designed urban spaces should also be monitored.

Urban space should have a diversity in the scales of businesses which is called fine grain. Both small and larger enterprises have different needs in terms of city blocks. While smaller businesses such as local coffee shops or design boutiques require smaller floor area with more transparency on the street level, larger enterprises such as chain supermarkets need larger floor areas with less transparency. This grain in economic activity projects itself to the city blocks and architectural planning. The relationship between permeability and city blocks is discussed while discussing streets. Long city blocks hinder permeability while reducing the possibility for small enterprise developments.

2.3.3 Image

The image of a place is the combination of its perception and cognitions, as well as the cultural personalities of groups and individuals (Montgomery, 1998). A city's image has multiple layers and requires a two-way process, it is the combination of its identity and meaning and requires the act of perception of identity and meaning by individuals. The image is a subjective entity due to the perception process and could possibly vary significantly between different individuals. Therefore, to understand a city image, urban identity and meaning should be discussed.

The identification process starts with seeing an object and understanding that object is distinct from others and as exists a separate entity in space. It is important for individuals to be able to identify their surroundings to orient themselves in any urban space. Confusion emerges where the identity is not strong enough. The habit of relating the body to its environment is an instinctive and continuous one (Cullen, 1961). The mental picture needs some amount of exposure and familiarity to create an identity. Identity is the sense of place, that creates the feeling of safety and being 'home' (Lynch, 1981).

Urban form directly contributes to the identity of an environment. Building façades aligned on streets create a path identity. The naming of places, streets and squares also assigns them a symbolic identity. When new encounters of spaces take place, individuals tend to take landmarks as anchor points (Montgomery, 1998). When there exists a strong aesthetic and symbolic meaning, it becomes easier to establish a strong identity through memorability. The sense of orientation is achieved through mental maps of urban areas which is essential to individuals as poor orientation results in loss of time and waste of effort (Lynch, 1981).

“The ‘meaning’ of any object consists in its relationship to other objects, that is, it consists in what the object ‘gathers’ [...] It depends on identification and implies a sense of ‘belonging’.” (Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 166)

The perceived and identified objects need to have some meaning for the observer. This meaning could either be emotional or practical. Meaning is a more emotional state compared to identity, therefore “meaning is not easily influenced by physical manipulation as identity” (Lynch, 1960, p. 7). Thus, it is hard to construct meaning only through the built environment. A sense of belonging is also developed through the meaning of places.

When the image of the city fails to be successful and loses identity and its meaning, problematic places emerge. Terms such as alienation (Norberg-Schulz, 1979), placelessness (Relph, 1976), non-places (Augé, 1992) and lost spaces (Trancik, 1986) were introduced by scholars to underline the importance of city image and how the lack of identity and meaning could interrupt the urban continuity.

2.4 The Need for a Social Perspective

As mentioned before, cities are multi layered and complex entities. The importance of spatial organization is discussed in this chapter. Urban elements, streets, squares and green spaces are designed in an organizational pattern to achieve a successful city image. However, it is not possible to approach cities only through physical patterns of organization. The physical form coexists with the social realm through activity and image. The framework to understand and analyze the spatial practices is discussed thoroughly in this chapter. It is apparent that it is not possible to evaluate places from only one perspective as urban spaces come into existence through groups and individuals that inhabit them. The next chapter will scrutinize the social perspective, symbolic and representational nature and the importance of the cultural approach to evaluate urban spaces through Lefebvre’s social space notion and spatial triad with supporting arguments of other scholars.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Producing Social Space

The changing and shifting climate of the late 1960s altering the contemporary thinking towards urban space, its appearances and meanings was the initiation of the construction of a new urban perspective. Especially conspicuous in France, there has been an increasing interest by urban geographers, urban sociologists and philosophers, highly influenced by the post-World War II era, shifting from rural to urban and 1968 student revolts, towards this contemporary perspective. The capitalism, consumerism and social relations were at a crisis and a breaking point. These developments lead to a theoretical shift and a reevaluation of the conceptualization of urban space.

French philosopher Michel Foucault discusses his versions of conceptualization of space while addressing the interrelated networks between knowledge, language and order, and the discursive nature of the system of thought (Foucault, 1969, 1970, 1986). He introduces his version of utopia and heterotopia while mentioning the real and unreal spaces “utopias are sites with no real place...fundamentally unreal spaces...There are also in every culture, real places...simultaneously represented, contested and inverted...heterotopias.” while rejecting empty space and arguing the heterogeneity, (Foucault, 1986) and the intersection of space and language “the simple space in which things are normally arranged and given names” (Foucault, 1970). It is helpful to mention Foucault and his conceptualizations as it becomes clear that the concept of space is changing and new perspectives emerging. Although he introduced an unusual theoretical perspective, Foucault rarely clarified these conceptualizations and failed to connect the theoretical realm with the physical

realm, resulting in remaining unexplored and often misinterpreted by scholars (Soja, 1996).

From a different perspective than Foucault, trying to reconceptualize the urban processes and transformations, David Harvey explores the capitalist perspective, exploring the money, time and space in the urban experience as “sources of social power” (Harvey, 1985). His arguments about “creative destruction” and urban transformation as a way of surplus absorption (Harvey, 2012) are widely discussed in power, capital and urban structuring arguments. His critical approach to the city forming process highlights the reproduction of class relations and unequal distribution of wealth and capital. As an example, (Harvey, 2003) approaches the transformation of Paris, Haussmann’s reproduction of the urban fabric in the late 1840s from a different perspective. The construction of widely planned boulevards required demolishing the existing urban form, and mostly the working class and working poor neighborhoods were affected. The new spatial relations were produced through political-economic power (Low, 2016). Harvey’s works on everyday life, the social production of urban space and the right to the city were highly influenced by the works of Henri Lefebvre.

Henri Lefebvre is considered a pioneer in his works about the urban form and urban condition as a planetary analysis, the urban revolution of the right to be included, the critique and construction of everyday life, bridging the material and mental realms while focusing on the social beings and the social construction of relations of society (Lefebvre, 1968, 1970, 1974, 1987, 1996).

Society has been urbanized in the late 1960s. According to Lefebvre, the historical shift resulting in the transformation of agricultural towns into industrial cities was a critical phase of complete globalization. This phase also meant the transformation of the city image, the shift in the conceptualization of the urban and the urbanist ideology. In his book *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre argues that the city creates nothing other than centralizing the act of creation. This creation is the urban situation where the essence of social relationships is united resulting in an assembly of both

material and mental things. The city is prone to centrality, social, political and economic centers, and polycentricity, the constitution of multiple centers with interrelated networks. The agglomeration of polycentered cities creates the urban society, “places of encounter, assembly and simultaneity”.

“When we speak of difference, we speak of relationships, and therefore proximity relations that are conceived and perceived, and inserted in a twofold space-time order: near and distant.” (Lefebvre, 1970, p. 133)

Differences and differential space are discussed in the book while introducing concepts such as isotopy, heterotopy and utopia. Differences arise at the borders of the homogenized, they are what is excluded from what is considered normal or homogenous. In other words, differentiability or being different requires an existing set of relations to be labeled as different while existing in the mental and social realms. Although Lefebvre further elaborates on abstract, absolute and differential spaces in his future book *The Production of Space*, he makes an introduction to his “evolution of spaces” with differential space.

Lefebvre begins his seminal work *The Production of Space* by discussing how the perception of space has shifted. He discusses the mathematical space, being empty and infinite, space in the absolute realm and scientific space in which philosophy is excluded by giving various multidisciplinary examples from Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Cartesian logic, Euclidian, non-Euclidian, Plato and Leonardo da Vinci. However, it is impossible to reduce the space to a purely mathematical or a scientific one and isolate it from the physical, social and dynamic context. Following these understandings, modern epistemology adopted the understanding of the space as a ‘mental thing’ or a ‘mental place’.

“The quasi-logical presupposition of an identity between mental space (the space of the philosophers and epistemologists) and real space creates an abyss between the mental sphere on one side and the physical and social spheres on the other.” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 6)

From this point, Lefebvre underlines the need for a science of space, what that science should seek and the lack of analytical and theoretical status of the works introduced by other scholars before. This science of space should unite the fields that were understood and looked at separately. It should act as a 'unitary theory' between the mental, physical and social realms, in other words, "logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias." (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 12). The social realm, the space of social practice is usually overlooked as it is not perceived with senses or produced within theoretical knowledge while conceptualizing space. Lefebvre's aims to spatialize the social order so abstract fields can become concrete arrangements in space (Shields, 1999). The three realms should be inseparable and indistinguishable from approaching space as a united whole.

The statement "The social space is a social product." (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 26) can be considered the backbone of Lefebvre's spatial triad. A physical space requires some energy to be deployed inside to become a real space. Without the energy it stores, it is impossible to evaluate that space as the space of social relations. Therefore, the social space, the real space, the space of our society can only be produced with energy, with power and with social relations of the society.

"Space represents a multiplicity of sociomaterial concerns. Space is a physical location, a piece of real estate, and simultaneously an existential freedom and mental expression. Space is both the geographical site of action and the social possibility for engaging an action." (Gottdiener, 1985, p. 123)

In other words, it is not possible to reduce space to only a material entity, space arises through social actions and mental activity. Also, the act of creation is a production process, and it is the social action and its energy incorporated in the production of the social space (Swyngedouw, 1992). If a process is mentioned in the production, then it is impossible to disregard its historicity. The production requires a set of

relations and actions, events over time to be successful. In this way, each layer and moment of space can overlay each other to create social space as a united whole. The social space acts in two ways according to Edward Soja; as a separate field enabling a distinction between physical and mental space and also as an approach for the unitary mode of spatial thinking (Soja, 1996).

3.2 Lefebvre's Spatial Triad

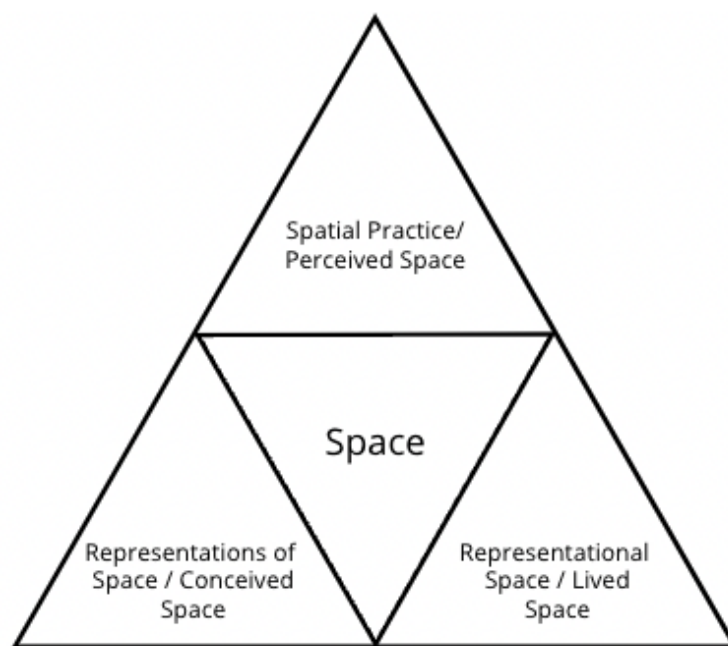


Figure 3.1 Lefebvre's spatial triad

Source: Prepared by the author

After discussing Lefebvre's conceptualizations of space and social space in detail, the science of space will be elaborated. Lefebvre's spatial triad or spatial trialectics suggest an approach towards a unitary theory towards the physical, mental and social realms as an organizational analysis.

"A triad: that is, three elements and not two. Relations with two elements boil down to oppositions, contrasts or antagonisms. They are defined by

significant effects: echoes, repercussions, mirror effects.” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 39)

Lefebvre has chosen a triad on purpose, to prevent dualisms such as: real and imagined, subject and object, concrete and abstract and many more. His emphasis on a triangulated relationship is that each ‘moment’ of space contains each other, it is not possible to understand each of them in isolation or separated from each other, although frequently done this way. The three interrelated moments of space that make up the triad are: spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces or also known as the perceived space, the conceived space and the lived space.

3.2.1 Spatial Practice

It is the perceived space, *l'espace perçu*, how the space is organized and perceived through senses. It is the dominant space of production and reproduction, assigning specific locations to each action and social formation. The materialization of everyday life, daily routines and networks of interaction in public and private life take place. This materialization comes into existing through senses, what one perceives when looking towards any space. It also has a discursive nature as processing the perceived requires previously gained knowledge. It refers to how “the space is organized and used.” (Madanipour, 1996) and therefore highly based on the urban form and morphology, the built environment and structures. Spatial practice is “producing the material form of social spatiality and is a medium and an outcome of human activity, behavior and experience.” (Soja, 1996).

To evaluate the perceived space and its material qualities, the elements of the city form and the perceptual approach toward the urban environment are already discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

3.2.2 Representations of Space

It is the conceived space, *l'espace conçu*; also, “the conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 38). As a product of scientific knowledge and social and political power, the conceptualized space is highly influenced by the order and design it imposes. Lefebvre argues that this is the dominant space found in any society. The planning schemes, principles and urban typologies are considered in this moment of space. Representation of space is the creation of the real made up of the projections of the imagined geography (Soja, 1996). According to Shields, geography and cartography are involved in representations of space (Shields, 1999).

3.2.3 Representational Spaces

The third and last moment of space according to Lefebvre’s triad is the lived space, *l'espace vécu*. It is the space of its users and inhabitants living in the physical space through overlaid signs and symbols. It is the combination of the real and the imaginary spaces (Soja, 1996). This moment of space is alive, it is dynamic and qualitative. Constructed by the individuals, it is highly bound up with the culture and history of people. Representational spaces embrace “the loci of passion, of action, and of lived situations thus implies time” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 42).

“There have been societies[...]whose representation of space is attested to by the plans of their temples and palaces, while their representational space appears in their art works, writing-systems, fabrics, and so on.” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 43).

The experience of space and the everyday life it creates help shape representational spaces according to individuals’ needs. Its dynamic nature comes from this aspect, it can be manipulated, adapted and change according to lived situations. Therefore, local identity and cultural character differ representational space from representations of space.

3.3 Social Space of Edward Soja

Edward Soja, a postmodernist geographer, is another important name while approaching the built environment through material and sociocultural context to understand its production. Space by itself, space as a social spatiality and the space of social production and organization differ from one another. The commonly referred physical space has influenced various spatial analyses with a materialist approach. The problem with analyzing physical space in isolation is although it “has generated broad philosophical interest [...] of its absolute and relative properties, [...] its characteristics as environmental 'container' of human life, its objectifiable geometry, and its phenomenological essences” (Soja, 1989, p. 79), space’s organizational properties and meaning can only be understood through a social perspective.

Soja grounds his theoretical approach mostly on Lefebvre’s social production of space and spatial triad to understand how physical space coincides with the social and mental realm. Similar to Lefebvre, Soja believes that a unitary theory is needed to conceptualize space in physical, mental and social realms. In his book *Thirdspace, Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places*, Soja underlines that he encourages his readers “to think differently about the meanings and significance of space and those related concepts that compose and comprise the inherent spatiality of human life: place, location, locality, landscape, environment, home, city, region, territory, and geography.” (Soja, 1996, p. 1). As it can be seen from his approach toward the meaning and the significance of space, his discussions are highly influenced by the altered contemporary thinking of the era. He approaches the spatial triad, perceived, conceived and lived spaces, in his own terminology and perspective as Firstspace epistemologies, Secondspace epistemologies and Thirdspace epistemologies, although he mainly focuses on the thirdspace epistemologies.

Soja argues that Lefebvre's contribution to the theorization of space and social spatiality is not in a conventional way; his ideas are not developed in a linear pattern but instead there is a lot of going forward and backward to understand interwoven ideas of spatial knowledge. It is not practical knowledge but a spatial discourse. Also, Lefebvre's distance towards the binaries, as mentioned earlier, and introduction of a third element to real and imagined spaces that can be real-and-imagined, can be considered thirding-as-othering. Thirthing frees itself from binaries and emerges as the 'other'. Although trialectical thinking is "disorderly, unruly, constantly evolving, unfixed and never presentable in permanent constructions" (Soja, 1996, p. 70) it challenges and deconstructs the conventional modes of thinking. Lefebvre focuses his critical thirding-as-othering through the social, lived space while Soja does it through Thirdspace.

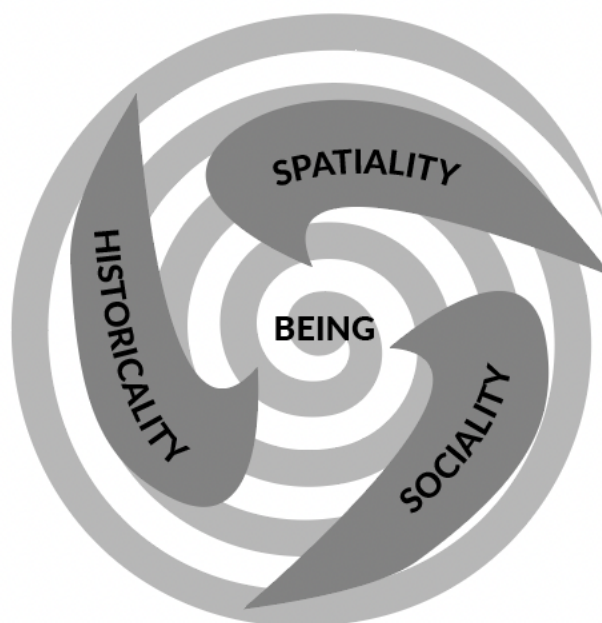


Figure 3.2 Trialectics of being

Source: (Soja, 1996)

Firstspace epistemologies focus primarily on the 'analytical deciphering' of Lefebvre's perceived space, materialized and physical spatiality. It is not subjective, and it focuses on materiality, "it aims towards a science of space." (Soja, 1996, p.

75). The action of dwelling, the social relations between humanity and nature, the architectonics and the constructed, man-made built environment are the foundations of Firstspace epistemologies. Firstspace consists of two layers: one is the surface appearances, what is perceived by the senses and the other one is, spatial explanations. Its empirical nature allows it to have measurable configurations such as distribution patterns, material properties of places and spaces, and spatial organization of social practices. Approaching space towards its enclosed movement networks, the urban nodes, their functions and sizes and overlaid patterns of urban fabric made up of surfaces as a way of pattern finding is considered a schema for Firstspace analysis. Aerial maps, transportation and communication data, uneven surface distribution patterns, mathematical topography, class analysis and labor value are considered the secondary analysis data in Firstspace analysis according to Soja (1996, pp. 75–77). Firstspace epistemologies arise as a product of the historical and social context that have concrete materiality and can be mapped empirically.

Secondspace epistemologies emerge as a reaction to the “excessive closure and enforced objectivity” (Soja, 1996, p. 78) of Firstspaces. Adopting from each other and extending themselves towards the other, First- and Secondspace have blurred boundaries between each other in most cases. Secondspace is conceived space rather than perceived and the production of spatial knowledge has a discursive nature through the conceptions of the mind and its ideas, it is *res cognito*. The thought and imagined space of the designer, architect, urban planner or geographer tend to become the real geographical space with the material qualities and the order it imposes through material construction. The conceptualization and discussions of essences of space such as abstract, absolute, differential and concrete take place in Secondspace epistemologies. Different perspectives can produce different mapping techniques focusing on gender inequalities, class conflicts and racial issues in this epistemology. Soja agrees with Lefebvre that Secondspaces or conceived spaces are the dominant spaces of our society, “surveying and controlling both spatial practices and lived spaces of representation.” (Soja, 1996, p. 80).

“Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history.” (Soja, 1996, p. 56)

Thirdspace epistemologies arise from deconstruction and reconstitution of Firstspace-Secondspace duality, an example of thirding-as-othering. It acts as a recombination and extension of the real, material, concrete and perceived realm with the imagined, conceptual and conceived realm while acting as a tool to capture the new possibilities of this combination of real and imagined. Soja also refers to Foucault’s heterotopias (Foucault, 1986) while discussing Thirdspace, due to its pioneering discourse on the ‘other’ or what Soja calls it thirding-as-othering to approach the unexplored, left out and misunderstood spaces.

3.4 Cultural Context of Urban Space

Every design decision and lifestyle choice results from a set of choices individuals make among many alternatives shaped by a cultural schema. These set of choices have a direct impact on the lifestyle and therefore the built environment. According to Rapoport (1977, 1990), there are three dominating thoughts and definitions of culture: the first as a typical lifestyle of a specified group, the second as a system of symbols and symbolic codes, meanings and a cognitive schema, and lastly, ecology related set of adaptive strategies. A set of relations, an order and a schema of rules have constantly shaped a landscape or a settlement. It creates systematic decisions and consistent choices throughout the design processes required to create stability for individuals. Culture is most apparent in the rhythms of daily life and while creating a sense of place. Urban morphology and urban growth are constructed through “shared experiences and histories of social forms” (Agnew et al., 1984, p. 1) and, react to and are shaped by the needs of innumerable individuals. Culture is the glue of our society and human action is a must for it to exist. As mentioned earlier,

activity and energy are required to produce social space and therefore cultural landscapes exist in social space. The built environment act as a setting and a nest for human activities. Approaching the city in the cultural context requires treating it as both the product and the producer.

“At one level of analysis, activities and activity systems are an even more specific aspect of lifestyle which may offer a most useful entry point into relating culture and environments via human behavior. Starting with activities, it should be possible to work through the sequence and to identify more easily differences in life-style, values, images, world views and, eventually, culture as they relate to the built environment, particularly if we go beyond the surface manifest aspects of these activities to their underlying meanings, which then introduce their guiding images and schemata.”
(Rapoport, 1980, p. 10)

Spatializing culture is a powerful conceptual framework linking the social production of space, nature and the built environment with social construction and place meanings (Low, 2016). Themes such as social production and construction, transformation of space through memory, representation, language and social actions, historical context and political economic nature of urban space, interaction between human-human and human-nonhuman bodies and different space-time aggregations are considered in spatializing culture (Agnew et al., 1984; Amin, 2008; Gibson & Stevenson, 2004; Lefebvre, 1974; Low, 2016; Rapoport, 1984).

Different arrangements and rules are imposed in design to reflect different needs, values and desires of individuals that can be approached through the organization of space, organization of meaning, organization of meaning and organization of communication (Rapoport, 1977). The organization of space is most apparent in public-private relations on several different scales. The meaning organization is the representational aspect of the built environment, expressed through signs, materials, forms and landscape. Rapoport argues that the organization of time may be understood in two ways. It can be a cognitive structuring of time and second, it can

refer to the rhythms of daily life and human activities. The communication between groups and individuals inside these groups, and their interaction with nature is the organization of communication, and essential to understanding how the built environment and the social organization are related and linked.

Culture also has power over the language. Toponymy, also known as place naming, is a kind of linguistic practice that its relationship with space and place is apparent. It is a critical cultural practice connecting people with local knowledge (Low, 2016). The cultural significance of giving names to specific places is also a discursive aspect. Discourse's social nature (Macdonell, 1986) makes it highly open to adapt and respond to its cultural, economic and political surroundings. Defining a place or a built environment with certain statements is related to the individual's cultural background. Linguistic usage of terms such as luxury, nice, unsafe or modern also produces a representational space through culture. As an example, an individual coming from and living in a small, poor village and another individual born and raised in a metropolitan city's upper-class neighborhood cannot possibly share the same idea while defining a specific place.

“Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm. Therefore: a) repetition (of movements, gestures, action, situations, differences); b) interferences of linear processes and cyclical processes; c) birth, growth, peak, then decline and end.” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15)

The relationship between space and the human body is a dynamic one. It is changing, constantly evolving, producing and reproducing through shared experiences and set of choices. Urban complexity and diversity are enhanced through culture and social experience. The conceived time of culture and social experiences are dynamic, multiple and heterogenous (Edensor, 2010). Every public space has its own rhythm of use, dependent on physical and social factors. In his third volume of critique of everyday life, Lefebvre mentions rhythmanalysis to deal with the temporal orders of daily life (Lefebvre, 2004). The rhythms of the city are more receptive to time

compared to space (Meyer, 2008). For example, the car traffic, placement of traffic lights and density depending on the time of the day is an urban rhythm. Also, consumption spaces and activities such as shops, restaurants and cafes create their own rhythms with their own consumers. Cyclic time is actions that are in circular loops such as hunger, sleep and sexuality while linear time is actions that grow from zero, and consist of of discontinuous fragments, actions begin or cease at any time according to Lefebvre. Regular routines of daily life are cyclic rhythms, such as going to work or school every day. Spaces of stillness, gardens, empty areas or backyards create a pause in the rhythm of everyday. Private spaces are affected more in daily rhythms as they are closer to the body and habits; and, hence, to everyday life.

As the production of space analyzes the connections between physical, social and mental dimensions (Lefebvre, 1974), it becomes a powerful tool while approaching cities and regions that are built in a short time. To understand Ankara in its early republican period, while undergoing the transformation from a small Anatolian city to the capital of the Turkish Republic can be analyzed within this framework. Therefore, Lefebvre's understanding of spatial production through spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces became a powerful tool for investigating the urban spaces of the Turkish modernity project (Basa, 2015) because these are produced urban spaces rather than organically developed.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSFORMATION OF ANKARA

The city of Ankara, located in central Anatolia, has been home to many civilizations since the paleolithic ages, such as Hittites, Lydians, Phrygians, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans². Ankara in the Ottoman period was a commercial center exporting wool obtained from Angora goats (Yüksel, 1991). However, due to the lack of industrial production and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara's importance deteriorated and it became just another Anatolian town.



Figure 4.1 View of Ankara looking towards the citadel in the Ottoman Era, exact date unknown but painted between 1700-1799, oil on canvas 117cm x 198cm ³

² Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations consists of archeological findings and artifacts recovered from Çatalhöyük, Alacahöyük, Kültepe, Boğazköy, Arslantepe and many more archeological sites located in Anatolia, is a proof of Ankara (also named as Ancyra, Anküra, Engürü, Engüriye and Ancyra in different civilizations) has been home for many different civilizations in different periods of time. See: The official website of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations for detailed information <https://muze.gov.tr/muze-detay?SectionId=AMM01&DistId=AMM>

³ Anonymous. *View of Ankara*. 1700-1799, oil paint on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Amsterdam. Retrieved from: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-2055>

4.1 Building the Capital Simultaneous to Building a Nation

“The shrinking of İstanbul during the War of Independence while Ankara’s expansion as the new center, with soldiers, civil servant candidates and job seekers even before the proclamation of Ankara as the capital is a known fact.... However, even during the establishment of the Assembly in Ankara and successes at the front, it became an inevitable necessity to improve the urban conditions of Ankara as a result of the overcrowding of the city. Stuck under such factors, Ankara must develop while disciplining, directing and planning its development.” (Cengizkan, 2004, p. 15)

The structural transformation of the state, from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, was also evident in the transformation of the urban landscape around the 1920s. In 1920, due to its geographical location, and railway lines connected to the east, Ankara became the strategic location to conduct the Turkish War of Independence. As a new symbolic locus of the republican government, republican cadres needed to construct a new capital to reflect the spirit and the ideology of the young nation (Batuman, 2005) rather than using the almost 1500-year-old capital, and the biggest, the most populated city of the nation, Istanbul. The production of Ankara with new standards and values as a symbol of national administration also meant building a new nation while creating a sense of national unity (Tekeli, 2009). The proclamation of Ankara as the new capital of the new modern republic required social and spatial transformation in the city.

Despite its very long past, Ankara was almost like a primitive town before 1923 that has not changed in the previous hundred years (Kılıç, 1975). Its typical urban fabric in the early 1920s mainly was 1 or 2 story mudbrick and timberframe houses with inner courtyards, narrow, filthy and damaged streets with very high building density in the center and mostly vineyard houses with vineries and fields in the outer skirts (Karaosmanoğlu, 1983). Even the main streets were not wide enough for two vehicles to fit and it was very dusty in summer and very muddy in the winter (Kılıç, 1975). The infrastructure was inadequate; electricity was provided to the city until

22:00 and houses did not have a fresh water or a sewage system (Şenyapılı, 2004). The existing Roman freshwater canals were destructed, and since 1890, the city was using stone and primitive water canals until 1923. In the following years, plastic freshwater pipelines were installed but they were still unable to provide adequate water to the constantly expanding city. This problem was not solved until 1930, with the construction of the Çubuk Dam (Kılıç, 1975). The shortage in affordable housing was another major problem (Cengizkan, 2004). Locals were hesitant to provide accommodation and rent their houses to the newcomers to the city. Even the government officials were struggling to find houses to rent in the new capital city. It is not impossible to guess that not many people, especially diplomats, were eager to move to this new capital, leaving Istanbul. Vacant lands were given to embassies to promote shifting from Istanbul to Ankara as the new locus of diplomacy.



Figure 4.2 Left, the vacant land on the left is where Gençlik Parkı will be located, 1926. Right, the boulevard from Ulus, facing towards the south, 1926-27.

Source: (Kılıç, 1975)

The existing urban morphology and the sociocultural context required an overhaul to implement a new modern architectural style and a modern society while building a new modern nation. Planning according to urban design principles, organizing with functionality and the systematic approach highlighted Ankara's modern perspective

(Önge, 2008). Planning Ankara was a radical modernity project (Tekeli, 2009). It was aimed to become a model city of the new modern Turkish Republic and was treated as a tabula rasa while planning. It was an opportunity to implement modernization processes into the urban form, leaving the eastern influence behind and facing the west, to accelerate the nationwide physical, social, political, economic and cultural transformations. The aim was to become an advanced and civilized nation in the international system of nation states (Zürcher, 1993).

4.2 The Need for Planning the City

“Mustafa Kemal was committed to creating a modern city with international norms and visions, modern buildings, public squares, wide boulevards, green areas and recreational spaces.” (Basa, 2015, p. 726)

Ankara was growing both physically and socially at an uncontrollable pace. Between 1923 and 1927, there was an intense urban development in vacant lands inside the old city, and on the outer edges. The expanding city created some concerns due to the lack of planning and the organic growth it accommodates, unsuccessful relations between the streets and built environment, the visual image and the solid-void ratios (Tankut, 1988). The augmentation in the population was drastic; the population was 20,000 in 1920, then incremented to 75,000 in 1927 (Keleş, 1971). The city was constantly expanding and consequently facing more infrastructural problems.

According to Cengizkan (2004), a 1924 dated document prepared by the ministry of development and housing shows the urgent needs of Ankara in detail:

1. The Municipality of Ankara will be established. A foreign city planner will be hired to work under the municipality.
2. The city plan of Ankara will be drawn by the end of January 1924; therefore, urgent constructions and the needs of the infrastructure will be planned.
3. Ankara lacks a sewage system. An external company will design the planning of it, the municipality itself will conduct the construction.

4. The freshwater system and the installation of its pipes will be financed if the Directorate of Foundations will be able to provide cash flow.
5. The problem of illuminating should be solved until March 1924.
6. There is an urgent need for housing and accommodation. There are three possible financial sponsors: Directorate of Foundations, private investments (this requires approval as the lands of the proposed constructions belong to the government) and proposals of French, Italian and Swiss investors.
7. The construction of boulevards and streets is essential to construct a city form. At least two urban axes should be planned similar to Çankaya-Keçiören, to act as urban spines.
8. Public transportation will be installed to these urban axes. It will be primarily buses, but trams will also be considered.
9. The communication infrastructure, telephones and mail, will be installed.
10. The financial problems due to the post-war period are expected to be resolved through governmental loans, up to six hundred thousand Turkish Liras.

As it can be seen from this document, the needs of the city were apparent. There was an urgent need to plan the expansion, urban fabric and infrastructure of Ankara.

4.2.1 The 1924-25 Lörcher Plan

The first plan of Ankara was commissioned by Dr. Carl Christopher Lörcher, a German architect and city planner who was also a member of the Istanbul Zoning Board and was previously commissioned to design Pera-Galata and Üsküday-Kadıkoy areas after the city fires (Cengizkan, 2004). Lörcher prepared two plans in two years, one for the existing old part of city-Ulus and another one the following year for the new park of the city-Yenişehir.

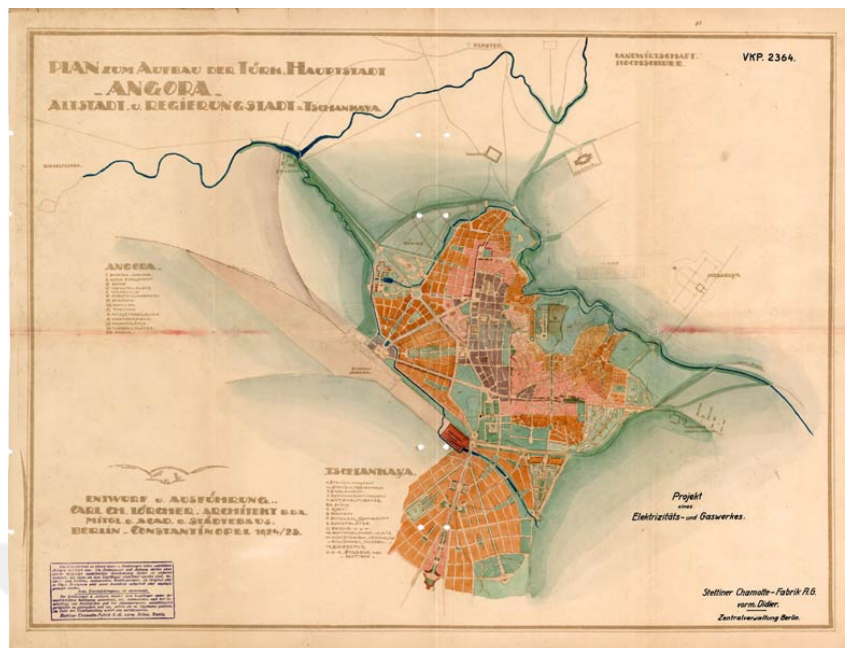


Figure 4.3 Lörcher Plan

Source: (Cengizkan, 2004)

Lörcher aimed to increase the residential areas and reconstruct the old city for a population of 200,000 (Cengizkan, 2004). Zoning in land use, creating interconnected public open spaces and creating low density residential areas were visible in his plans. The emphasis of the open public spaces was designed through recreational areas, urban squares, small lakes and a sports complex (Çınar Özdil et al., 2020). He aimed to link the public spaces together to serve as a pedestrian circulation network.

The 6.4 km distance of vacant land between the old city and the southern part, Çankaya, posed a challenge to Lörcher, as there was neither a building density nor any residents in the area (Kezer, 1998). He proposed to build a wide avenue with a green belt (today Atatürk Boulevard) surrounded by a governmental quarter, with both administrative buildings and housing for especially new officials of the government.

The problem with the new city's plan proposal was the expansion rate of the city. While the plan proposal was given in 1925 and assumed a population of 25,000 in the following years, in 1927, the population of Ankara was 75,000. Although the plan for the new city, Yenisehir, was accepted initially, it was soon understood that the Lörcher plan would not be sufficient even to guide the construction phase (Kaçar, 2010). Although his plans were not implemented, the following plans were inspired by some aspects of Lörcher's plans.

4.2.2 The 1928 Jansen Plan



Figure 4.4 The masterplan for Ankara, prepared by Hermann Jansen

Source: METU Department of CRP, Maps and Documentation Unit, Ankara, Turkey

In 1927, an international competition for the masterplan of Ankara was held, and Leon Jausseley, Hermann Jansen and Joseph Brix were invited to submit masterplan proposals for the capital. It was asked that the plan should be suitable for a 300,00

population in the following fifty years, there should be a proposal for the new city other than the existing old and historical city and main road arteries should be planned accordingly (Kaçar, 2010). Hermann Jansen won the competition with his proposal in 1928, and the plan was revised and approved in 1932 (Çınar Özdil et al., 2020).

The plan proposed keeping Ulus and the old town as the city center while preserving the traditional urban pattern in the Citadel area. Jansen's main concern towards the old city and the Citadel area was an aesthetic one. To highlight the new political character of the city, an administrative district was proposed for the governmental buildings of the new capital. Both Jansen's and Lörcher's planning principles included proposing a change in scale and the pattern of the urban paths of the new city when compared to the existing, organic old city form. An urban axis was also proposed in the north-south direction acting as a spine to connect the old and the new parts of the city. Also, the proposal included that the city might also expand towards the west in case of demand.

Urban green spaces were distributed in a balanced manner with an interconnected green infrastructure across the city (Barış et al., 2010). Atatürk Forest Farm was also integrated into the masterplan extended to the city center, with not only agricultural activity but also providing public space with a zoo, parks, pools, and other sociocultural activities (Çınar Özdil et al., 2020). Gençlik Park, located in Ulus nearby the railway station, was part of this extension and integration. These western architectural features emphasized in public spaces helped individuals adopt the new regime more easily.

Jansen created low density residential neighborhoods, especially Bahçelievler, Çankaya and Yenışehir. These residential areas were mostly two-story or three-story houses with private gardens, enhancing public and private open spaces. However, in the following years, this decision would cause the problem of economic problems due to inadequate and unaffordable housing and therefore result in illegal and unplanned housing developments, squatter neighborhoods. Also, the housing

problem was so apparent that Jansen needed to design a specific neighborhood in the northwest, especially for lower class workers (Şenyapılı, 2004).

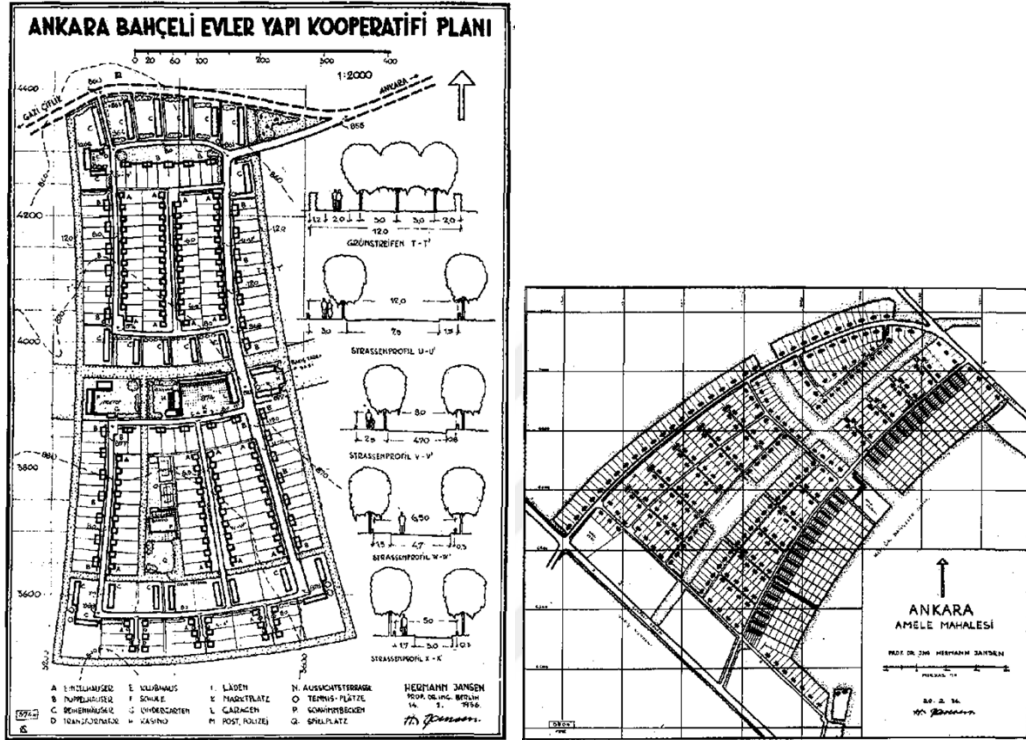


Figure 4.5 (Left) Jansen’s emphasis on green spaces can also be seen in a model neighborhood plan with two-three story houses and their gardens. (Right) The plan of ‘Amele Mahallesi’, the neighborhood for lower income workers.

Source: (Yavuz, 1981)

4.2.3 The 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Plan

Although the design criteria for the 1928 dated masterplan competition was a population of 300,000 in 1978, the city population for Ankara was 157,200 in 1940, 226,700 in 1945 and 288,500 in 1950 (22 Ekim 1950 Umumi Nüfus Sayımı, 1951). The shift in the political atmosphere and the economic struggles following the Second World War led to an increase in nationwide poverty and housing problems (Aydın, 2005) although Ankara’s population was increasing in a steady pace. As a

result, major cities faced the emergence of squatter neighborhoods on illegally claimed lands. There was a need for a new masterplan for Ankara to be able to adapt to and resolve these problems. A new urban planning competition was announced in 1951, and the winners were Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadın. The plan assumed that the population would be 750,000 in 2000, and the authorities approved it in 1957 (Altaban & Güvenç, 1990; Çınar Özdil et al., 2020).

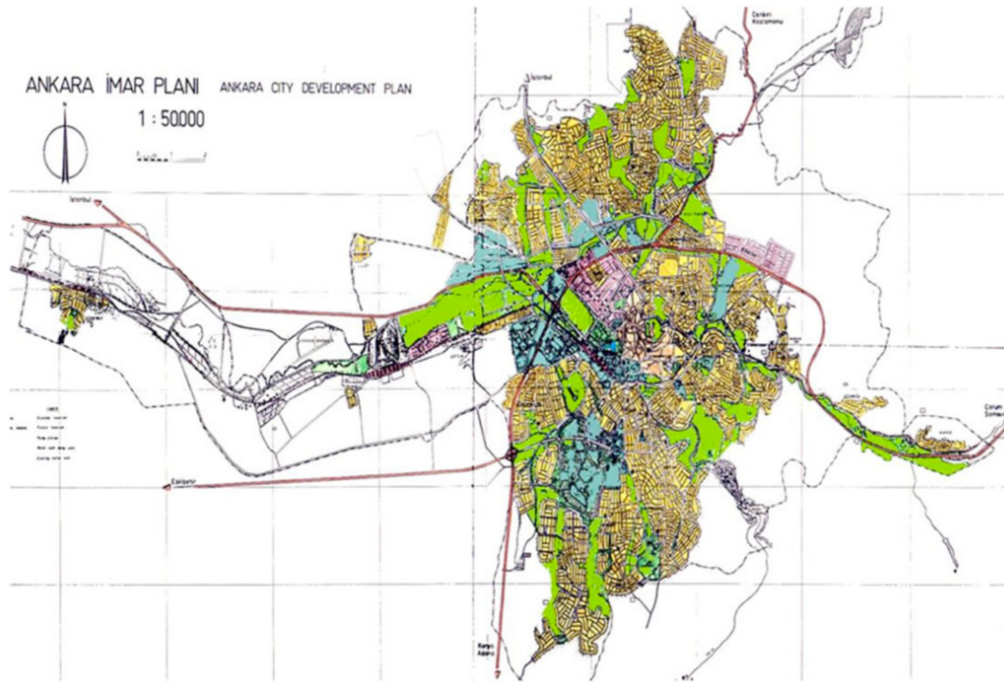


Figure 4.6 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Ankara City Development Plan

Source: METU Department of City and Regional Planning, Maps and Documentation Unit, Ankara, Turkey

Similar to the previous masterplans, the Uybadin-Yücel plan was also keeping Ulus and its surroundings as the city center and the main commercial district. The network of streets and boulevards was increased, constructing new roads in addition to existing ones to link newly planned districts to the existing city. The plan solves the density problem by replacing Jansen's two storey high houses with private gardens and constructing mid-sized apartment blocks in new residential areas. Also, cabinet officers allowed local modifications to the existing fabric, to increase the building

height one to two floors (Çınar Özdil et al., 2020) to fight against the housing problems. The order of the urban form was disturbed by unofficial decisions of land owners and individual transformations of the building typologies. The infrastructure was also struggling to keep up with the sudden increase in densities.

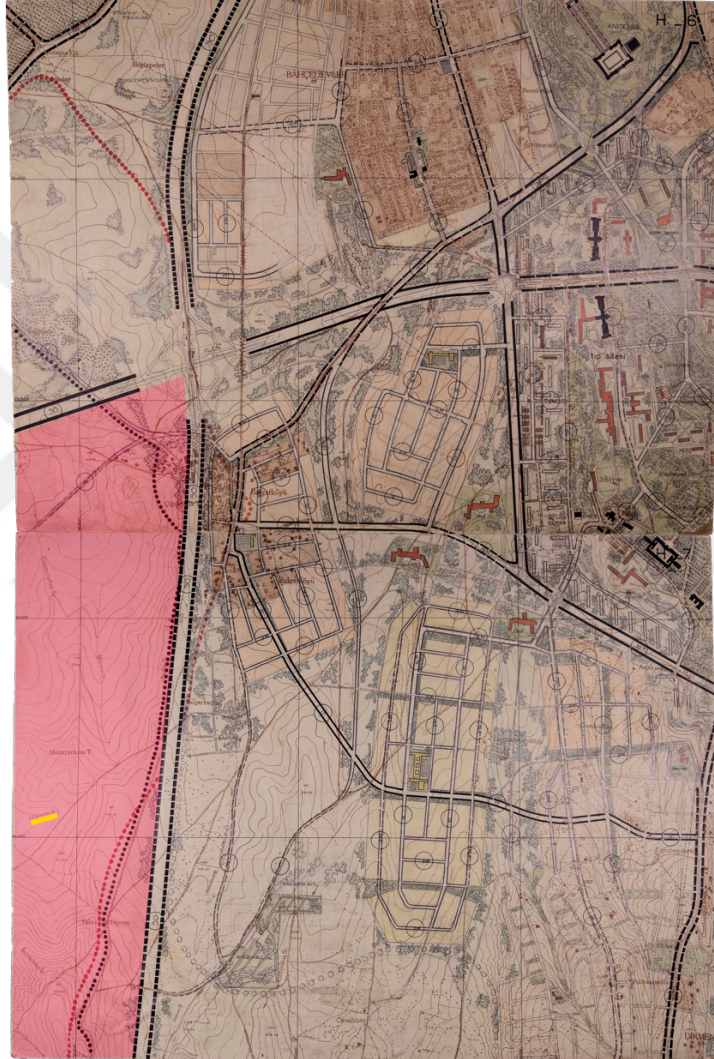


Figure 4.7 H-6 and H-7 plan drawings of Uybadin-Yücel Development Plan. Markings are added by the author. Red markings show the case study of this thesis, Çukurambar area. The label of Çukurambar is underlined in yellow.

Source: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM Kütüphanesi ve Arşivi

This thesis' case study, the Çukurambar district, can also be seen in detailed maps of the plan. The area is not included in the masterplan and appears as an edge of the city (Figure 4.7). The closest residential area is Balgat Village, across the Konya Boulevard. This shows that in the 1950s, there were no formal settlements in Çukurambar that could be mapped. Ankara has not expanded to Çukurambar yet.

4.3 The Problem of Illegal Squatter Settlements

As mentioned before, Ankara has faced an affordable housing stock problem for years as a result of a constant increase in the city population. Due to the limited financial resources, there has been pressure to solve the problem of housing availability. Neither the central government nor the local authorities were able to provide enough capital to invest in the housing market and urban infrastructures.

According to Şenyapılı (2004), the problem of lack of adequate housing was never completely solved in early Republican Ankara. Between 1926-1933, the numbers of legally built houses were respectively 240, 367, 246, 87, 230, 275, 151, 140 in eight years, however, majority were not able to house crowded groups because rather they were mostly two-story garden houses (Şenyapılı, 2004). The supply was not keeping up with the demand, leading to a profitable, unauthorized and illegal housing market. Therefore, there have always been squatter neighborhoods in Ankara since the 1920s. At that time, squatter neighborhoods were mostly placed on the city's northern and eastern outer skirts while the city was expanding towards the south and west.

Due to the lack of public transportation and the commercial activity that only existed in the old town for employment, the squatter neighborhoods were adjacent to Ulus, the city center. The empty land these squatters occupied is unwanted, unplanned and unsupervised land due to geographical conditions. Altındağ neighborhood is

considered an early squatter area adjacent to the old Ankara on a high slope (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8 Altındağ squatter neighborhood in the old town, on a steep sided hill

Source: (Drakakis-Smith, 1976)

The early squatters were not very dense and neighborhood-like. They were usually a couple of one-story houses surrounding the streets. Political figures overlooked this illegal claiming of land for a while. The housing stock problem was not their priority and did not need urgent action and with squatters, the housing problem was solving itself temporarily. Therefore, although they appeared against squatter neighborhoods, authorities also did not make enough effort to prevent them (Şenyapılı, 2004). The political agenda started approaching squatter neighborhoods in the late 1940s. The claiming of illegal land was either a problem or an opportunity. Depending on the period, political figures used squatters for promises to gain more votes and support. Therefore, illegal housing was not only an economic and social problem, but also a political one. It was a ‘populist urban coalition’ between political figures seeking support and squatter dwellers seeking affordable housing (Erman,

2011). The realization of the possibility of manipulating political figures with promises happened suddenly. Before elections, governments were giving out deeds and legalized these squatter clusters by labeling municipalities' neighborhoods. Also, the infrastructure was provided to these areas. Therefore, the faith of the squatters was shaped by the democratic system and rapid modernization (Kılınç & Bezci, 2014).

“If the authorities discover the house during the process of construction, it can be summarily demolished; but if the walls and roof are built then long, tedious legal proceedings are needed to remove the squatters.” (Drakakis-Smith, 1976, p. 227)

There was a constant effort trying to prevent new ones to be built while forgiving the previously built squatters.

Table 4.1 Acts of government, related to illegal housing and squatter neighborhoods and the scope of these acts

Source: (Sat, 2007)

Act No.	Date	Scope
5218	1948	Allowing Ankara Municipality to give parcels of land to squatter dwellers in specific areas
5228	1948	Transferring of empty governmental lands to municipalities and supplying financial loans for housing
5431	1949	Demolishment of unauthorized houses with Municipality decisions
6188	1953	Legalizing previously built squatters and giving parcels of land to municipalities for housing
6785	1956	The act of construction zoning law and building code
775	1966	The first comprehensive squatter law

		Improvement of conditions, demolition of illegal houses and prevention of future squatters
2805	1983	A more detailed act on improvement, demolition and prevention measures
2981	1984	Improvement, demolition and prevention measures
3194	1985	Municipalities were authorized to prepare development plans
3290	1986	Giving more detailed explanations of the scope and terms of Act No. 2981

Also, apparent from the name the *gecekondu*, meaning built over-night, squatters had an unapproved nature. Land occupants were building squatters very rapidly and over-night to prevent getting caught by the authorities. Issued acts and laws were not sufficient enough to cope with the problem. The expansion rate was very high compared to demolishing rate.

These squatter neighborhoods were also problematic in a sociocultural context. Squatter dwellers mainly were the newcomers to the city migrating from Central Anatolian towns, such as Çorum, Yozgat, Kayseri and Niğde (Erman, 2011). Finding an appropriate land to claim for building a house was usually done by reference. An individual was coming to Ankara, then his/her relatives or acquaintances were following that individual and residing in proximity (Şenyapılı, 2004). This created isolated neighborhoods and the problem of not blending with the city. The cultural character of the area was the same as their roots and not very similar to the modern Ankara. These peripheral neighborhoods acted as a buffer zone to adapt to the new city of the Republic and the new cultural norms (Kılınç & Bezci, 2014). The problem was not only squatter dwellers but also the city residents. Şenyapılı (2004) argues that the ‘urbanists’ were also dissatisfied with these changes and limited cultural integration by putting limits on rural migrants. This cultural enclosure resulted in the

fast modernization and westernization project losing its pace due to squatter neighborhoods.



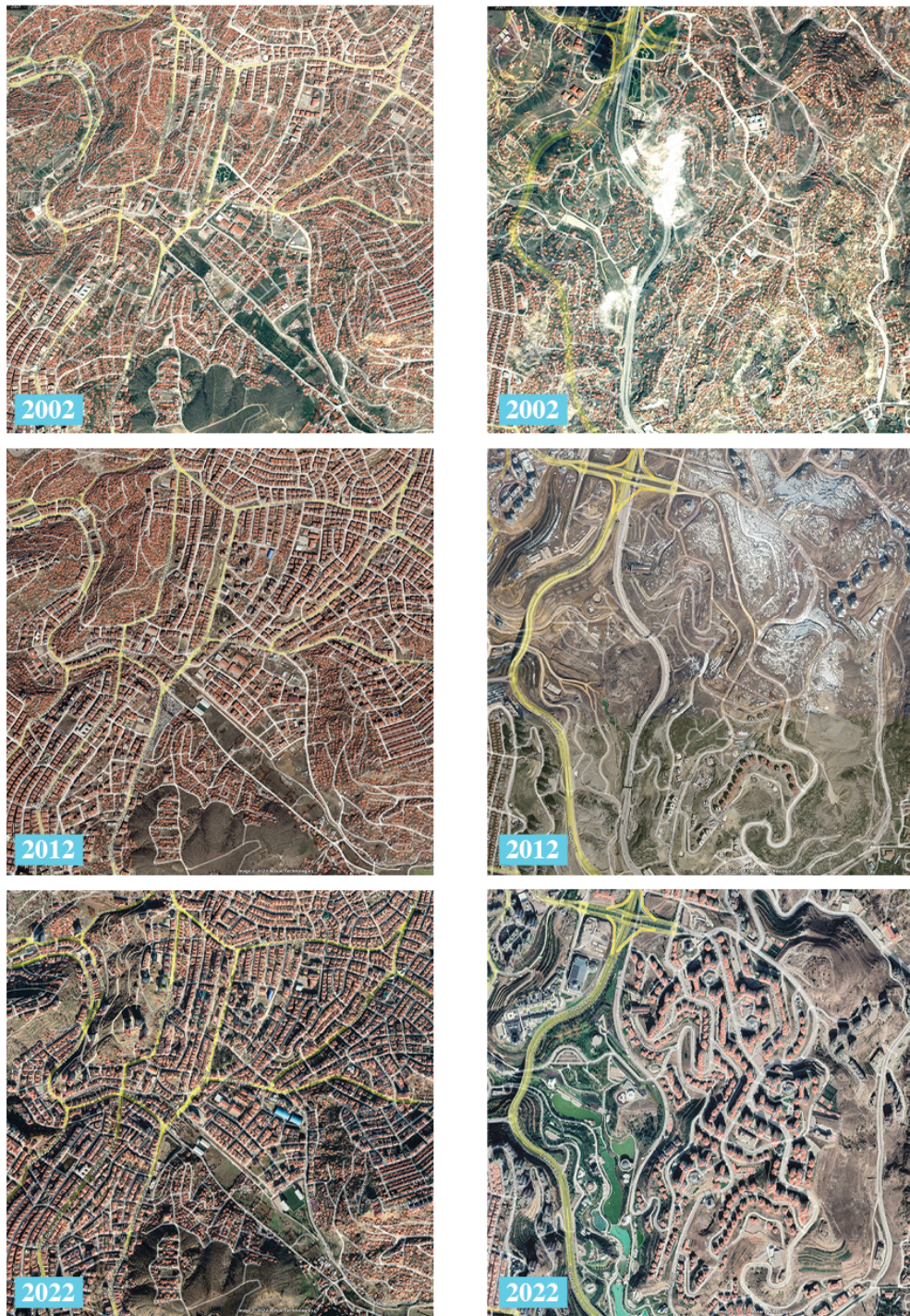


Figure 4.9 Renovation of housing stock between 2002-2022 in Türközü, Mamak (Left). Transformation of squatter neighborhood into a luxury neighborhood between 2002-2022 in Baraj-Şenyuva, Altındağ (Right).

Source: Google Earth

The shift in the perception of squatters and handling of these neighborhoods in the 1980s were influenced by two factors: neoliberalism and Islamist conservatism (Akçaoğlu, 2017). This change in atmosphere was backed up by multiple acts and laws. The most influential one was Act No. 3194 as it gave municipalities the authority to plan, review, approve, and implement development plans of cities. Municipalities monopolized the distribution of urban rent, land use decisions and planning of cities thus they became powerful political actors in the urban planning of Turkey. Squatter neighborhoods were valuable land with a high potential for housing at the urban fringes. There were two major approaches to the occupied lands: the improvement plan model and the urban transformation project model (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). The improvement plan model is a build-sell model in which the parcels and apartment blocks are transformed independent from each other according to an improvement plan. Thus, the contractor and the landowner are the primary actors in the urban transformation process. This method is used especially in areas with valuable land and possibility of high profits, transforming low density squatter neighborhoods into modern, high-rise housing neighborhoods (Erman, 2011). In the latter approach, the urban transformation project model, the squatter neighborhood is considered as a whole rather than individual parcels, and a design project for the area is prepared. This resulting in municipalities approaching these lands as an opportunity to regenerate the housing stock, especially for the middle and upper class through renovation (Erman, 2011).

The case study of this thesis, Çukurambar Neighborhood, was also one of the squatter neighborhoods. Constructed on valuable land at the urban fringe, a solution against squatters was needed to reclaim the land in the expanding capital.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYZING ÇUKURAMBAR AS A PRODUCED SPACE

“The spatial triad is useful for planning research and practice because of the ways it understands the city as: a physical entity requiring resources for its maintenance and development, a space that is institutionally represented and a place that is socially interactive and historically situated, imagined by a range of actors.” (Leary, 2009)



Figure 5.1 An overview of Kızıllırmak and Çukurambar Neighborhoods, 2022

Source: Taken by the author

This chapter focuses on the Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak neighborhoods of Ankara as a case study of how a rapid inattentive urban transformation from a squatter neighborhood to a luxury one affects the urban quality and the produced physical,

social and cultural urban spaces. Also, as aforementioned, both ukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods will be referred to as ukurambar to prevent any confusion.

Until the early 1950s, ukurambar was known for its agricultural properties and grain fields. It was considered a small village rather than a squatter neighborhood. Between 1950-1960, ukurambar was considered one of the densest neighborhoods for zoning and development activities as it recently opened for settlement, along with Ayrancı, Cebeci and Anıttepe. It is known that in 1952 and 1954, ukurambar's base maps and parcellation plans were prepared by mapping contractors Hakkı Subaşı and Niyazi Otmanbölük (Şenyapılı, 2004). Unlike many other squatter areas, ukurambar's squatters were built illegally but on private land, rather than governmental or any public land (Akçaoğlu, 2017). This created the problem of inadequate infrastructure as it was under private ownership. Although the number of migrants and squatters were increasing until the 1970s, the density of the area has not changed very much until it became a neighborhood of the ankaya district in 1972 (Köroğlu Armatlı & Ercoşkun Yalçınar, 2006). From 1972 until the early 1980s, ukurambar continued to get denser with squatters.

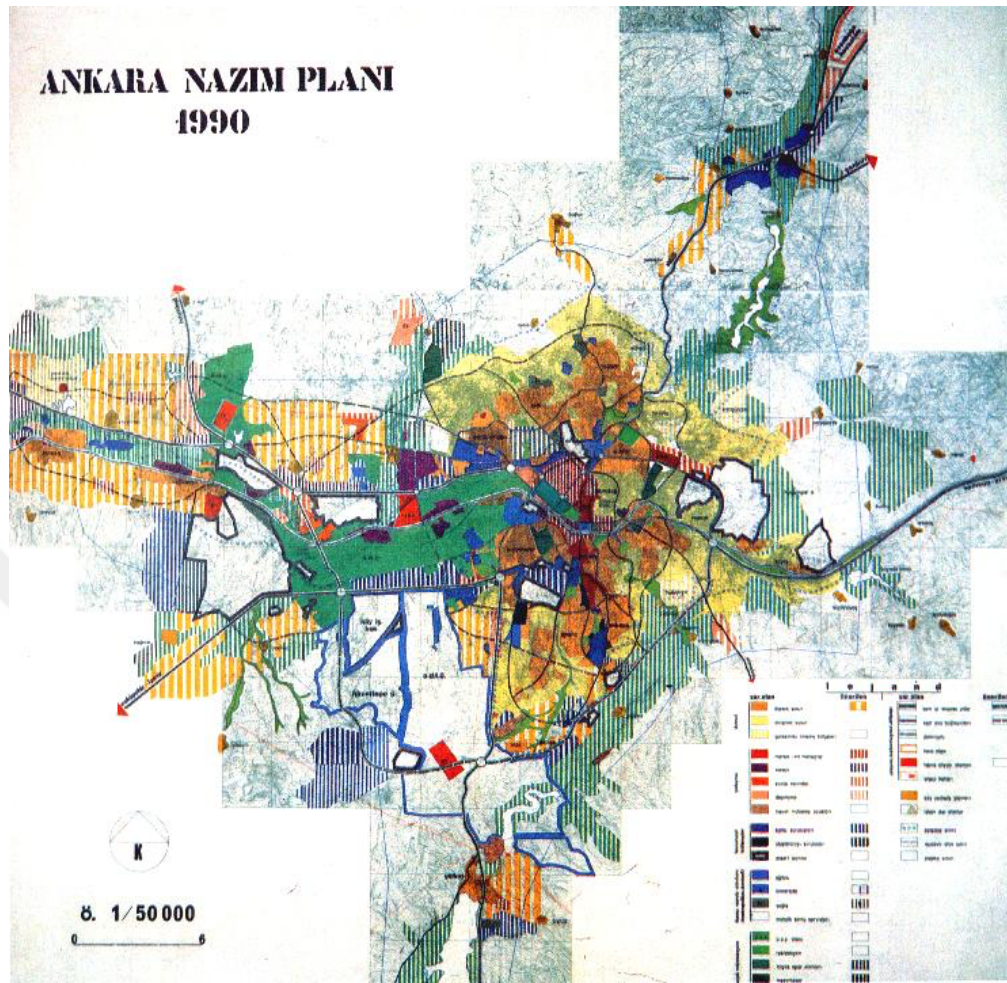


Figure 5.2 1990 Ankara Master Plan

Source: <http://ankaratarihi.blogspot.com/2009/12/ankara-kent-makro-formunun-olusumu-ve.html>

In 1984, an improvement plan was prepared for Çukurambar area in 1/1000 scale. In this plan, the minimum distance between housing units was 5 meters, and the maximum two-story height was allowed to be a low-density residential area. However, in 1993, Ankara Great Municipality prepared a revision plan in 1/5000 scale for the area. These plans for transforming the squatters into a residential area were significant regarding the decided population densities. The neighborhood's density before the transformation was "150 people per hectare, the density in the metropolitan plan proposed 200 people per hectare and then the density in revision

plan determined 350 people per hectare as a proposal.” (Köroğlu Armatlı & Ercoşkun Yalçınar, 2006, p. 180). As seen in the 1990 Ankara Master Plan (Figure 5.1), the city was expanding in the west corridor, and it needed Çukurambar to be a higher density residential neighborhood after transformation.

The urban transformation of the area is important because it acted as a production of space. The aim was not to renew the existing urban form and sociocultural environment but to construct a neighborhood from scratch. Lefebvre’s argument of space as a social product then becomes a comprehensive tool here to evaluate Çukurambar. In a very short period of time, Çukurambar’s physical, mental and social spaces were produced. Therefore, Çukurambar will be analyzed through the spatial triad of Lefebvre, the perceived space, the conceived space and the lived space.

5.1 The Perceived Urban Space

As discussed in Chapter 3, the perceived space or spatial practice is the first moment of space according to Lefebvre’s spatial triad. It is the materialization of the everyday life, daily routines and networks of interaction of public and private life. It is mainly shaped through the urban form and urban morphology of the built environment. Also, the imageability of the city elements for assigning meaning and orientation contributes to producing urban space. Legible environments increase the depth and intensity of human experience and perception.

5.1.1 Location and Topography

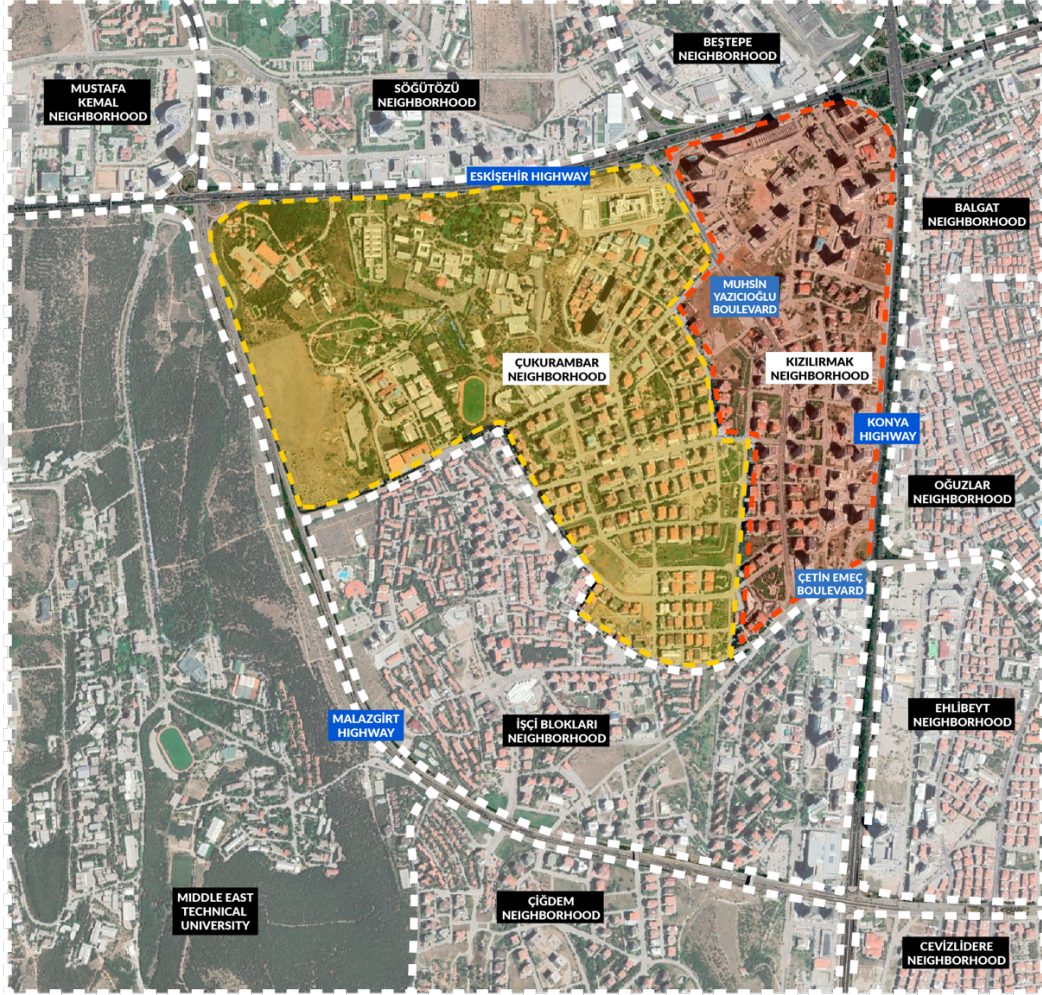


Figure 5.3 The study area (highlighted in yellow and red) and its surrounding neighborhoods.

Source: Base map Google Earth, markings done by the author.

Çukurambar is located close to the intersection of the southern and western axes of Ankara. It is surrounded by main transportation axes of Ankara, Eskişehir, Konya and Malazgirt Highways, also adjacent to Söğütözü, Balgat and İşçi Blokları neighborhoods. However, due to the highways, Çukurambar is only accessible from the İşçi Blokları neighborhood on foot and without the interruption of high-density highways. The area is also in proximity to both the old and the new city center, Ulus

and Kızılay. The location of the area had already become very valuable when it underwent transformation. In the proximity to shopping districts such as Balgat, Bahçelievler and shopping malls Armada, Next Level, located on the primary circulation axis, Eskişehir and Konya Highways, close to governmental buildings, ministries and the Grand Assembly of Turkey and also to the headquarters of political parties, land value was constantly augmenting due to its geographical location.

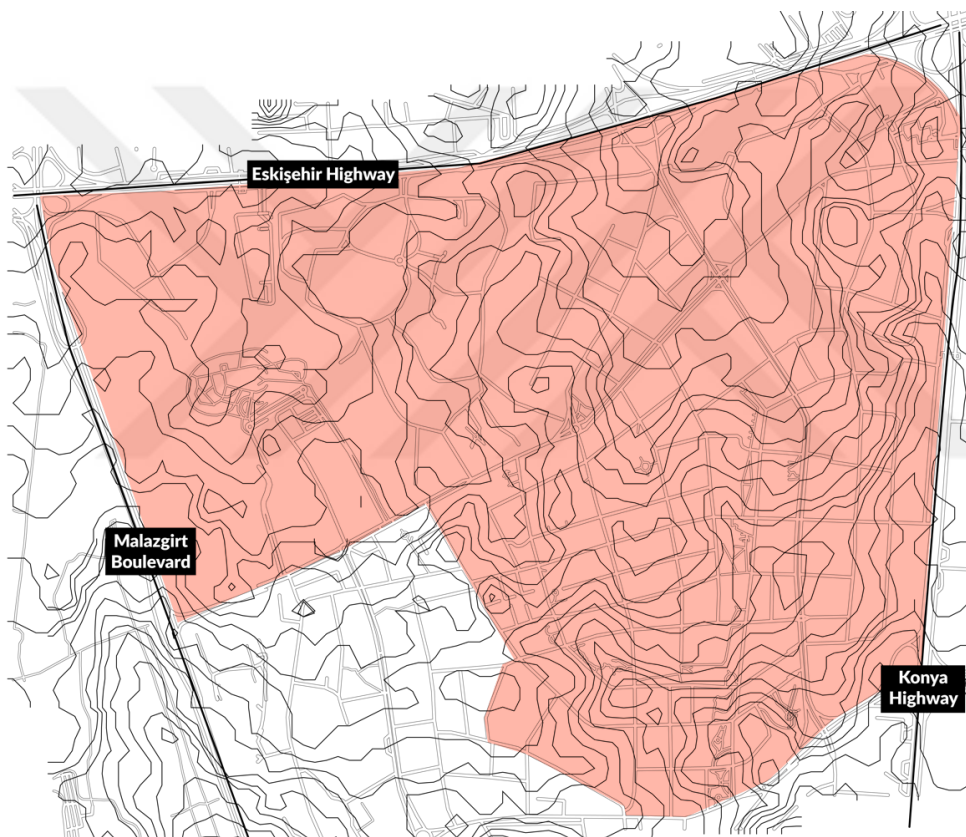


Figure 5.4 Topographical map of the area (marked in red). Contour lines in every 4 meters.

Source: Prepared by the author

As the name of Çukurambar indicates⁴, the area is similar to a pit in terms of its topography. Therefore, there are some areas that are flat and some areas with very high slopes. The elevation difference of the area could be up to 72 meters and with a maximum slope of 20%. As shown in Figure 5.3, the slope is especially dense in the southern and eastern parts of the neighborhood resulting in accessibility problems. Although vehicular access is not disturbed, pedestrian circulation becomes problematic in these highly inclined areas.



Figure 5.5 A steep slope in the area.

Source: Photograph taken by the author, 2022

⁴ *Çukur* means *pit* and *ambar* means *granary* when translated from Turkish to English.

5.1.2 Perceived City Elements

As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the knowledge of a city is constructed through its visual elements and ability to construct a memorable visual image. The perceived urban space of Çukurambar will be studied through its city elements: paths, edges, nodes, landmarks, urban greenery and vacant unused lands. These elements create the necessary framework to approach the materialization of everyday life, daily routines and networks of interaction.

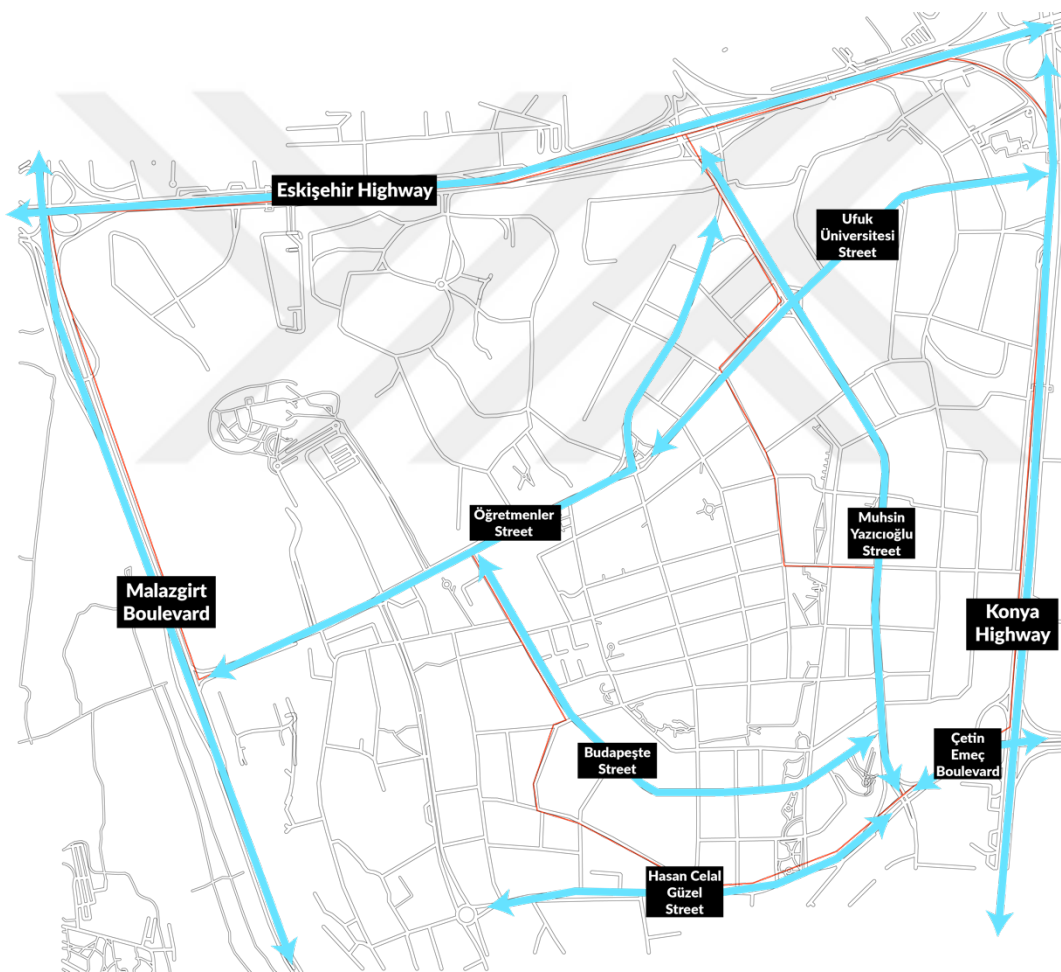


Figure 5.6 Paths, primary roads and secondary roads of the area

Source: Prepared by the author.



Figure 5.7 Vehicular circulation and traffic (Left and Middle). Narrow pedestrian pavements (Right).

Source: Photos taken by the author, 2022

The district is covered extensively with circulation paths, creating a physical order of the area. There are three primary roads, Eskişehir and Konya Highways and Malazgirt Boulevard, surrounding Çukurambar. As Eskişehir and Konya Highways are considered the main circulation axes of Ankara, being at the intersection of these two has advantages in terms of vehicular accessibility. Although these provide easy vehicular access, these highways create spatial fragmentations while creating an obstacle between two districts of the city and blocking any possible pedestrian flow. The secondary paths, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, Öğretmenler, Ufuk Üniversitesi, Budapeşte and Hasan Celal Güzel streets differ in character compared to the primary ones. These streets support mainly vehicular circulation and a little pedestrian circulation to some extent.

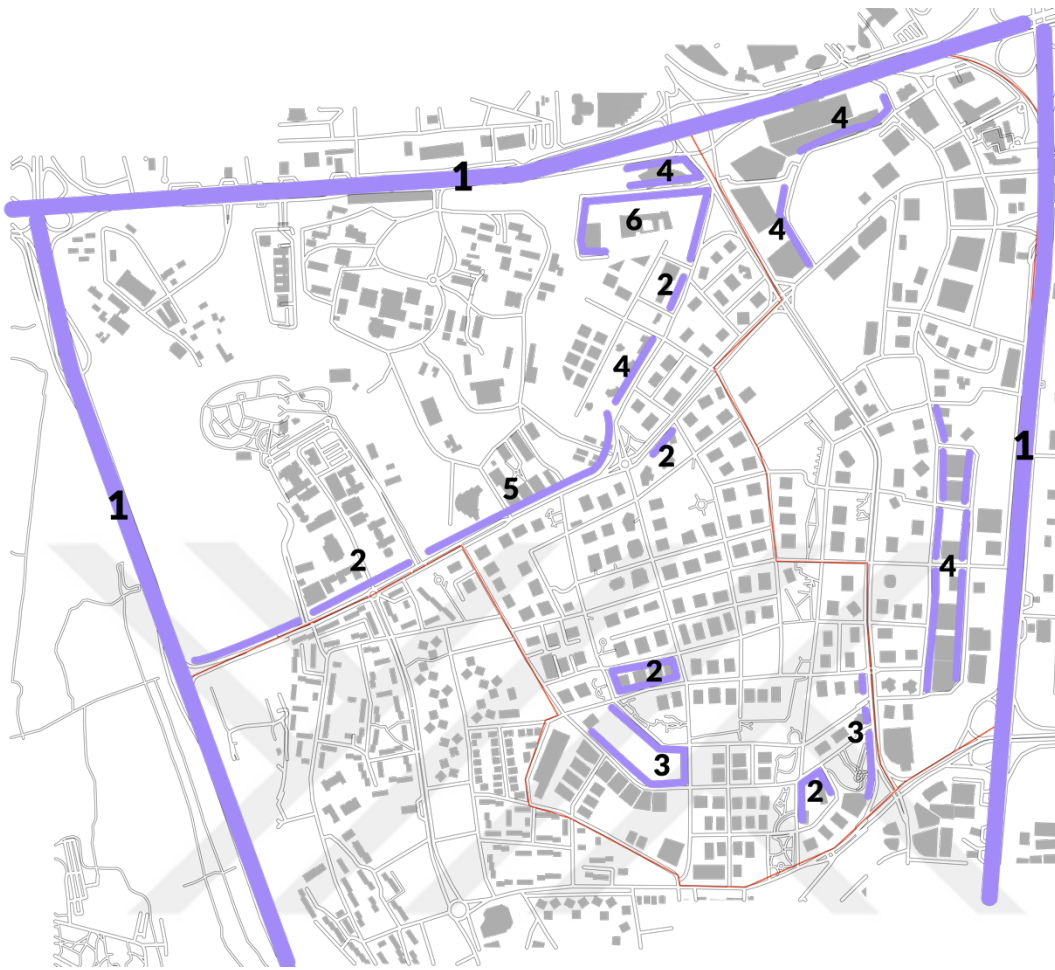


Figure 5.8 Edges of the area

Source: Prepared by the author

As it can be seen from Figure 5.7, Çukurambar has multiple edges with different strengths. The edges labeled 1 are caused by the highways and high slopes towards the highways and edges labeled 2 are the schools and universities creating edges through enclosure. The label 3 is edges caused by the topography and slope difference while creating inaccessibility. The label 4 is the edges of high-rise commercial buildings, hotels and hospitals such as YDA Center, Besa Kule, Next Level Office and Shopping Mall, Cubes and Koru Hospital. The edge labeled 5 is the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration, and therefore has a gated periphery acting as a strong edge. Similar to label 5, label 6 is the Embassy of the United States and has a very rigid edge for security and privacy reasons. This

analysis also shows that the central area of the neighborhood, which is mostly residential, does not have many edges and is therefore able to create permeability.

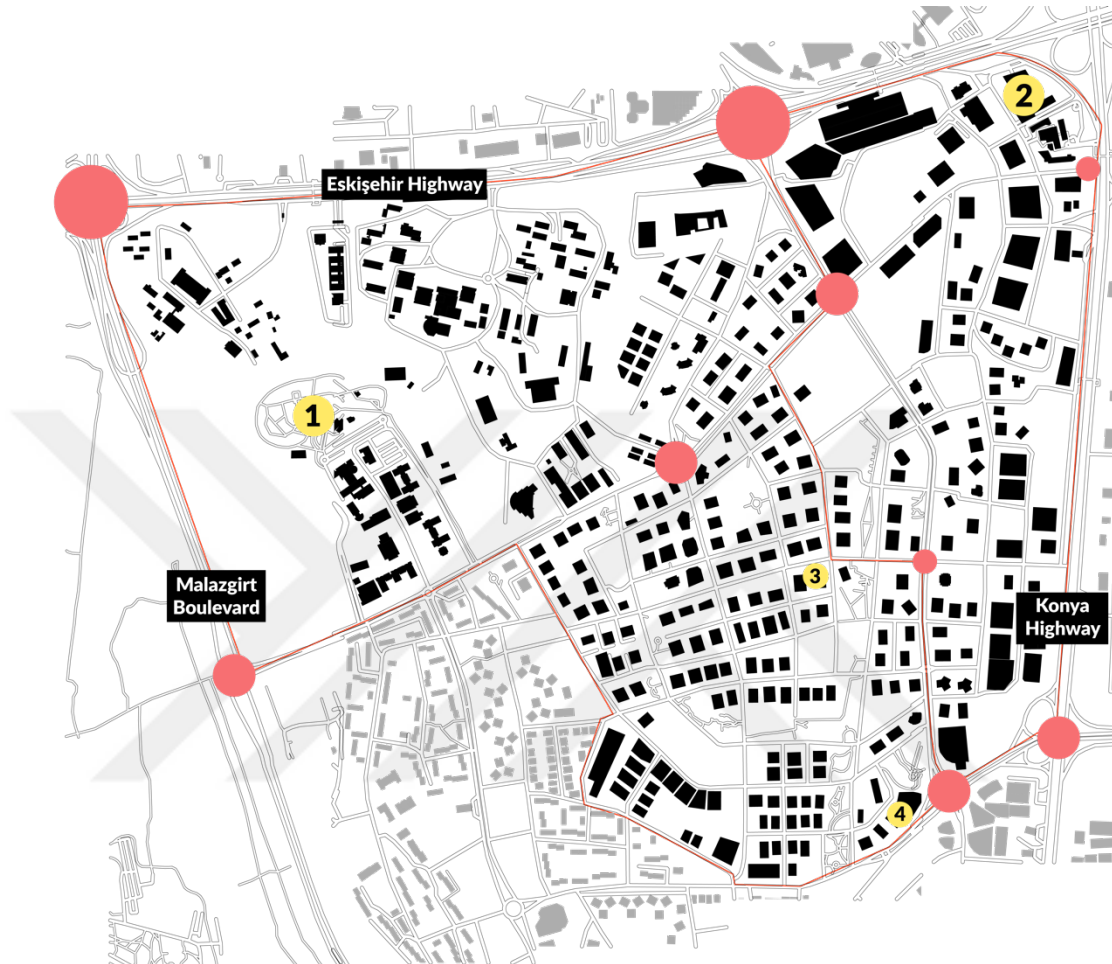


Figure 5.9 Circulation nodes (pink) and social nodes (yellow) in the area.

Source: Prepared by the author

When looking for urban nodes in Çukurambar, circulation nodes are dominant in perceiving the urban flow. The reason for it is, as aforementioned, paths of circulation are mainly targeting vehicular circulation rather than pedestrian one. This creates many intersection points of traffic circulation that can be labeled as circulation nodes. Although most of them have traffic lights to guide and equally distribute vehicular and pedestrian circulation, some do not have traffic lights and therefore disrupt pedestrian circulation. The social nodes, nodes for gathering and

acting as activity cores are very limited. According to the labels in the Figure 5.8 (1) Çansera Park, (2) Next Level Shopping Mall, (3) Sebahattin Yıldız Mosque and (4) Safa Mosque are the centers of symbolic meaning and influencing surroundings. Although there are some nodes, these spaces of encounters are not strong enough in terms of their nature. They cannot create influence on their surroundings in terms of activities and symbolic meanings. There are no urban squares in the area which could have acted as a successful and strong node while emphasizing the intersection of social networks.

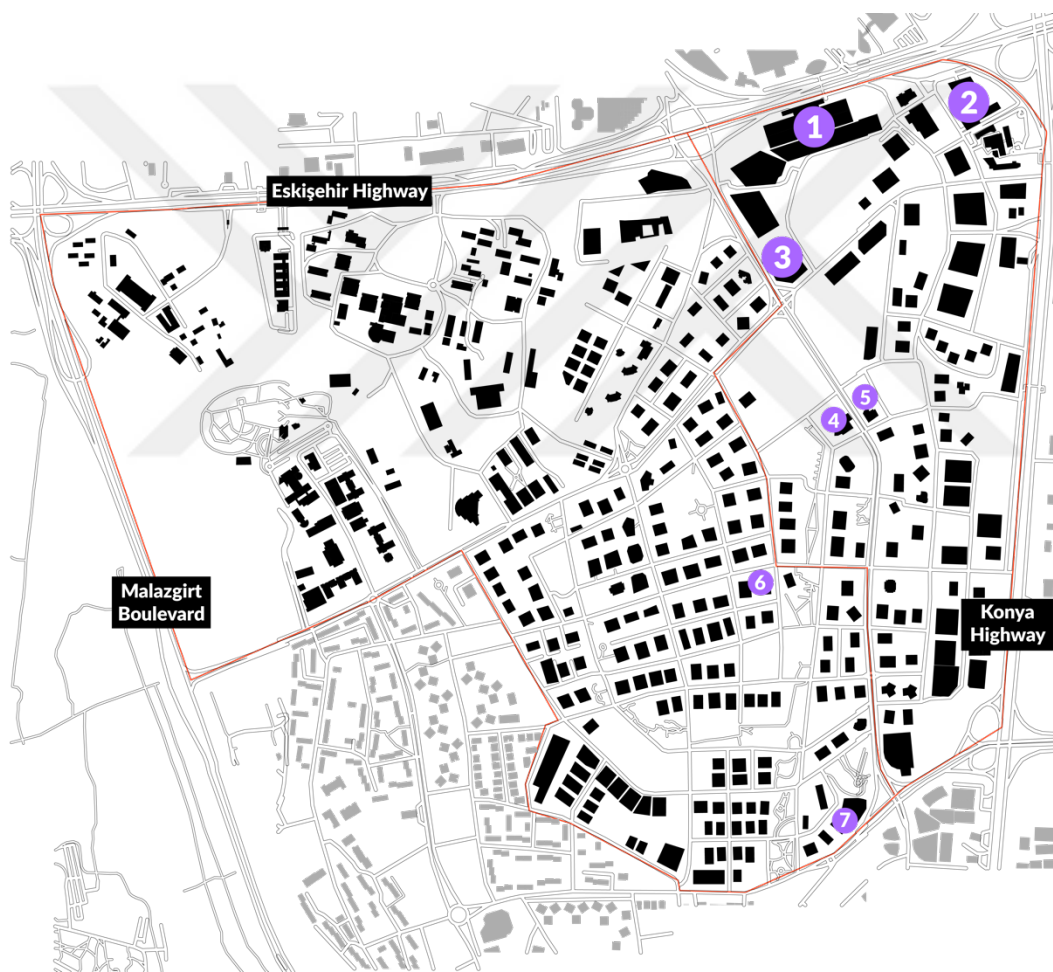


Figure 5.10 Landmarks of the area

Source: Prepared by the author

The area has multiple point references acting as landmarks. Number 1 is YDA Center, a recently constructed high-rise architectural project. With its height (166 meters) and unusual shape, YDA Center is the strongest and the most external landmark that can be seen from a distance and is apparent in the city silhouette⁵. Number 2 is Next Level, a shopping mall with residences and offices. Having two high-rise towers on top with irregularly designed geometric architectural façades and a variety of restaurants and shops to enhance the commercial activity, it is a point of reference and attraction. Number 7 is the Safa Mosque, placed at an intersection and the entrance of Çukurambar. Constructed after a revision in the land use decision of the original plan and converted into a religious area from public greenery, Safa Cami is the biggest in size compared to other mosques in the area. Numbers 1, 2 and 7 can be considered external landmarks while the rest act as local landmarks known in a smaller community. Number 3 is a small shopping mall, Ambrosia, that today has limited commercial activity but is still known as a point of reference. Its landmark characteristic does not come from the commercial activity it accommodates but from its location at the intersection and visual image. Numbers 4 and 5 are chain pastries/bakeries, Mado and Liva. The importance of these two is that they were opened while the Çukurambar was under transformation and have changed very little since then, unlike the constantly changing and shifting commercial shops and restaurants in the area. They have meaning and significance in the local community, especially as a meeting point. They even act as landmarks while giving directions. Furthermore, lastly, number 6, Sebahattin Yıldız Mosque is another local node that is highly functional. Used for religious activities, it gains importance through its

⁵ YDA Center has a very controversial situation in Ankara. 29096 block 10 numbered parcel's density has increased in 1/5000 Implementation Plans and in 1/1000 Revision Plans while the infrastructure has not been improved and its environmental impact has been disregarded. As a result, the parcel that YDA Center located on had 8 revision plans. Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch appealed to the court for the stay of execution under the reason 'city felony' demanding affixing seal and the cancellation of habitation. Ankara 4th Administrative Court uphold the decision. It is still functioning while acting as a solid wall and preventing any permeability between the neighborhood and Eskişehir Highway. Source: <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=11579>

location, placed on the commercial strip of Çukurambar. Also, it has easier accessibility compared to other mosques in the area, as it is located on a wide street located in the center of the area that can provide street parking, and a dolmuş line passing in front of it.



Figure 5.11 Green areas of the study area.

Source: Prepared by the author

There are seventeen open public parks in the area: Safa Park, Ülkü Ece Park, Teoman Öztürk Park, Çınar Park, Akasya Park, Serra Park, Ayyıldız Park, Uğur Mumcu Park, Prof. Dr. Türkan Saylan Park, Meşe Park, Erguvan Park, Firdevs Park, Nil Park, İlknur Yorulmaz Park, Üçgen Park, Ceren Damar Şenel Park and Çansera Kent Bahçesi. All of the parks except the Çansera Kent Bahçesi try to compensate for the

lack of street greenery in the area, placed similar to strips parallel to streets. Due to the area's rapid urban transformation and acting the area as a tabula rasa, there are not many trees preserved while constructing roads and streets. Also, as a result of the sidewalks' insufficiency, there are no greenery and trees on the sidewalks. Gardens of apartments act as the primary greenery within the circulation. The planned greenbelt of the area is readable through the plans rather than the perceived space. It is too fragmented, and its continuity is disturbed through vehicular access. Also, most of these parks have more concrete and solid elements compared to the greenery they provide. The only urban greenery that can be considered functional is the Çansera Kent Bahçesi. It is adjacent to Uğur Mumcu Park and has a long walking path, many urban furniture for sitting and leisure activities, a pond and an equitation facility.



Figure 5.12 The planned green belt of the area, highlighted (Top). A park in the green belt (Bottom).

Source: Taken by the author, 2022



Figure 5.13 Vacant plots of the area.

Source: Prepared by the author



Figure 5.14 Some of the vacant plots in Çukurambar

Source: Taken by author, 2022 (left) and 2021 (right)

Çukurambar still has many vacant lands, and in some of them, there are remaining squatters. These empty lands disrupt the continuity of the urban fabric and create leftover spaces. As mentioned earlier, most of the squatters in Çukurambar were illegally built on private lands. The ownership of private lands during urban transformation required multiple owners' agreements to give their land. However, there were not always mutual agreements especially on the amount of money to be paid. Most of the vacant landowners are not agreeing to construction as they think that their land will be more valuable in time.

5.2 The Conceived Urban Space

The conceived space, also discussed as the representations of space, is the space of scientific knowledge. The planning schemes, principles and urban typologies make up this moment of space. As discussed before, Çukurambar was the space of planners as the existing urban form and fabric were wiped out through urban transformation and designed as a tabula rasa. Therefore, the conceived space of Çukurambar was designed in 1/5000 and 1/1000 implementation and revision plans. After the 1995 revision plan, the area started transforming around 1999-2000. Figure 5.14 shows how rapidly the squatters were becoming high-rise apartments. The rate of transformation of the urban fabric decreased around 2008 in Çukurambar.



Figure 5.15 Transformation of the area between 2004-2011. Blue marked areas are the existing squatters.

Source: Satellite images from Google Earth, markings done by the author.



Figure 5.16 Photographs during transformation in 2006

Source: (Koroğlu Armatlı & Ercoşkun Yalçınar, 2006)

5.2.1 Land Use Decisions

Çukurambar area after the 1995 1/1000 Implementation Plan was dominantly a residential area. The plan created a strip of residential use with commercial use on the ground floor, and also another strip of urban service areas. Urban service areas include municipality service areas, public service areas, clusters of workplaces and small industrial sites while commercial areas include shopping malls, hotels, cinemas, restaurants and dormitories according to the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Culture. Also, there is an adequate number of plots that are designed as educational facilities providing easy access to education, especially kindergartens.

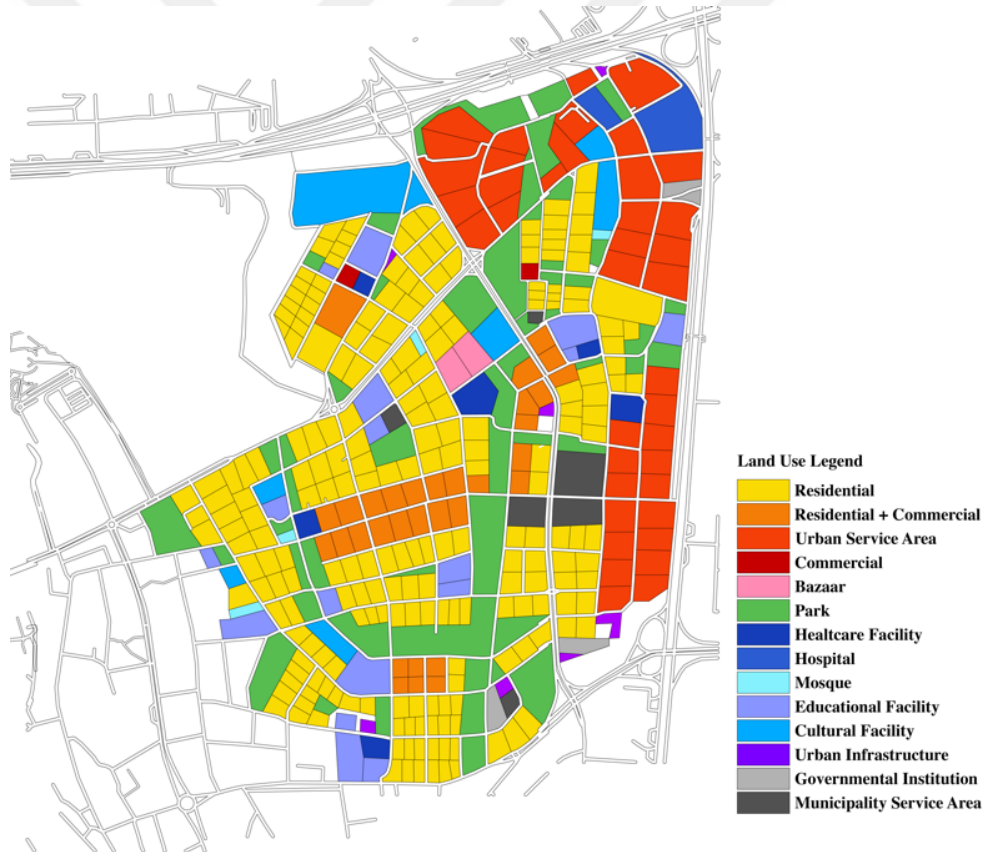


Figure 5.17 Land use decisions according to 1995 1/1000 Çukurambar Implementation Plan

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, prepared by the author

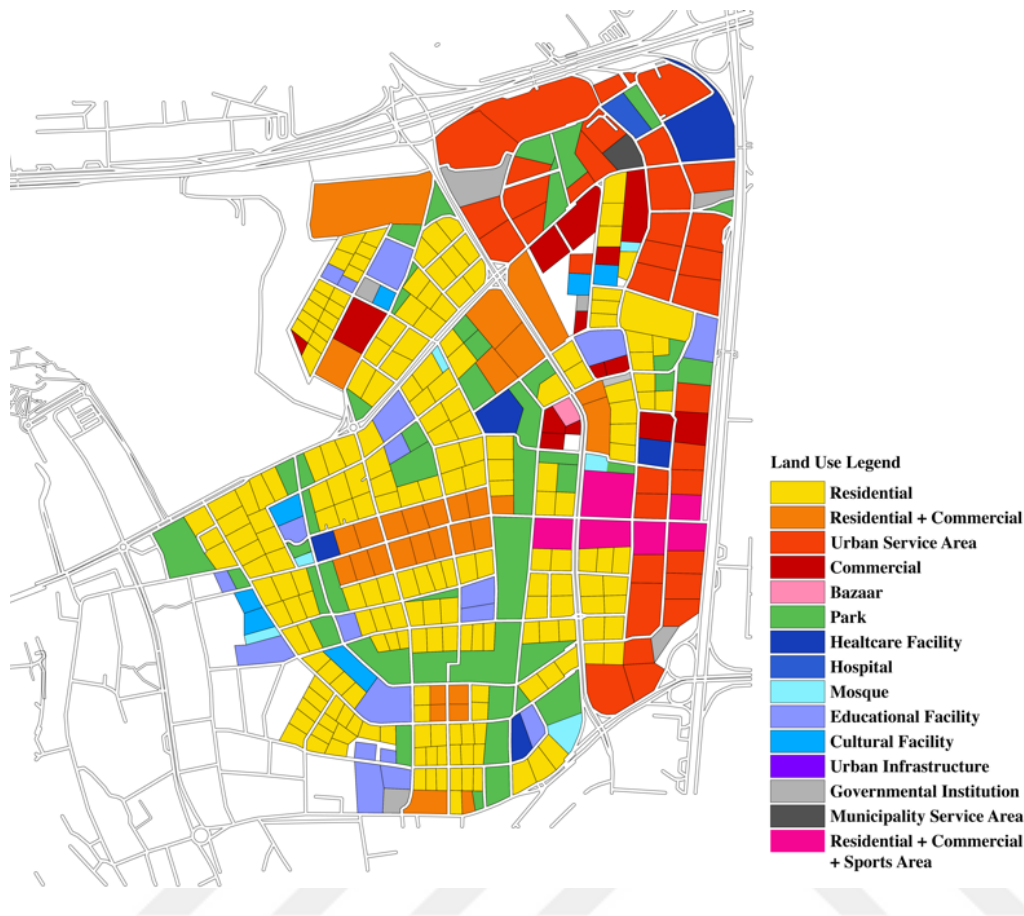


Figure 5.18 Land use decisions after multiple revision plans in 2022

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, prepared by the author

However, today the neighborhood is not the same as the first implementation plan drawn in 1995. Through revision plans of the area and sometimes revisions of individual parcels, land use decisions, floor area ratios and maximum height allowed for construction change in some parcels. The most apparent changes are the increase in the number of urban service areas, residential and commercial mixed use and the addition of residential, commercial and sports facilities mixed use areas. Also, the number of religious areas and mosques increased by transforming the urban parks, while some residential and commercial mixed-use functions transformed into only commercial functions. These changes indicate that especially the eastern part of the area became more of a commercial and urban service district while

reducing the residential functions. Also, most of these decisions were influencing the value of the parcel itself and the ones in close proximity, and of course the urban rent.

Influenced by land use decisions, floor area ratios have also changed over time. Revisions of floor area ratios were mostly for parcels with commercial or service activity. In addition, all of these revisions resulted in an increase of the floor area ratios, allowing an increase in the total construction area. Especially in parcels neighboring Eskişehir and Konya Highways, and the parcels providing permeability from those highways, floor area ratios increased drastically up to 3,20 while the maximum ratio was 2,00 in the 1995 Implementation Plan of Çukurambar. The overall increase in ratios can also be seen in Figures 5.18 and 5.19 when the 1995 Plan and the current situation are compared.

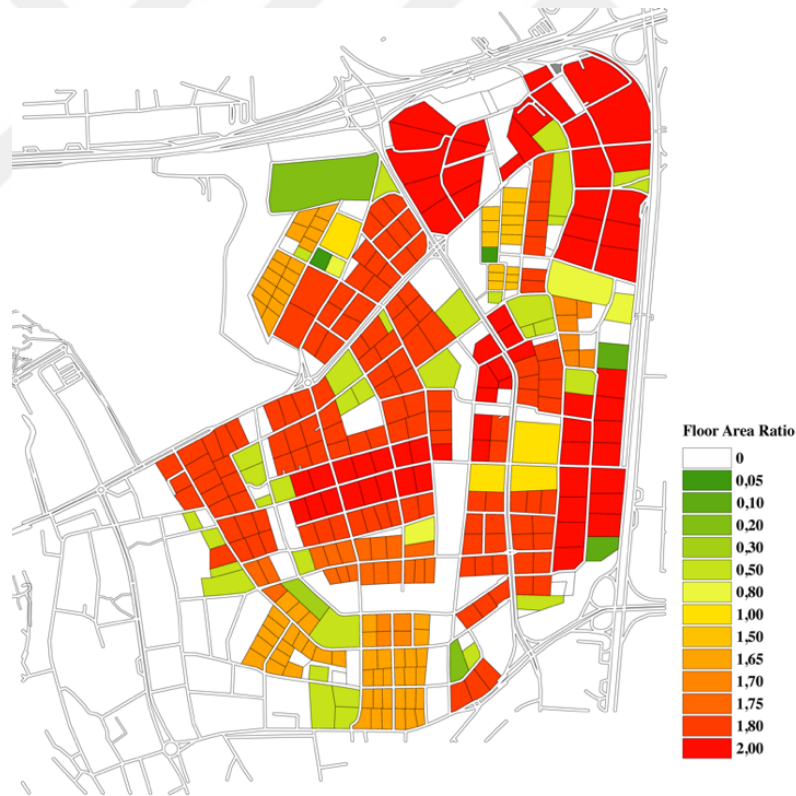


Figure 5.19 Floor area ratios according to the 1995 1/1000 Çukurambar implementation plan

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, prepared by the author.

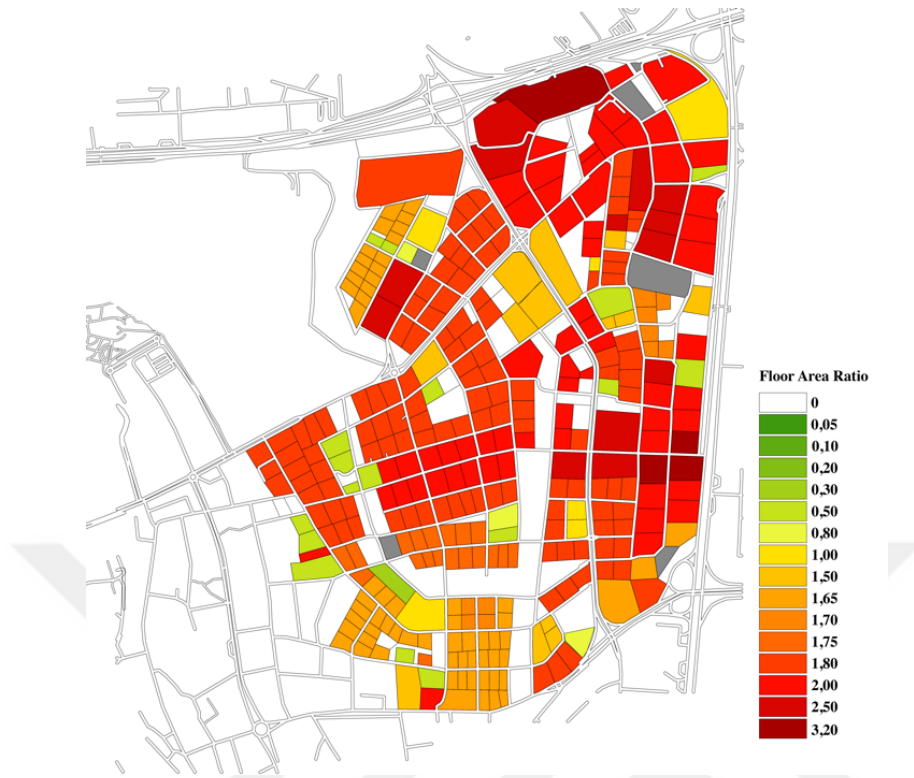


Figure 5.20 Floor area ratios after multiple revision plans in 2022
 Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, prepared by the author

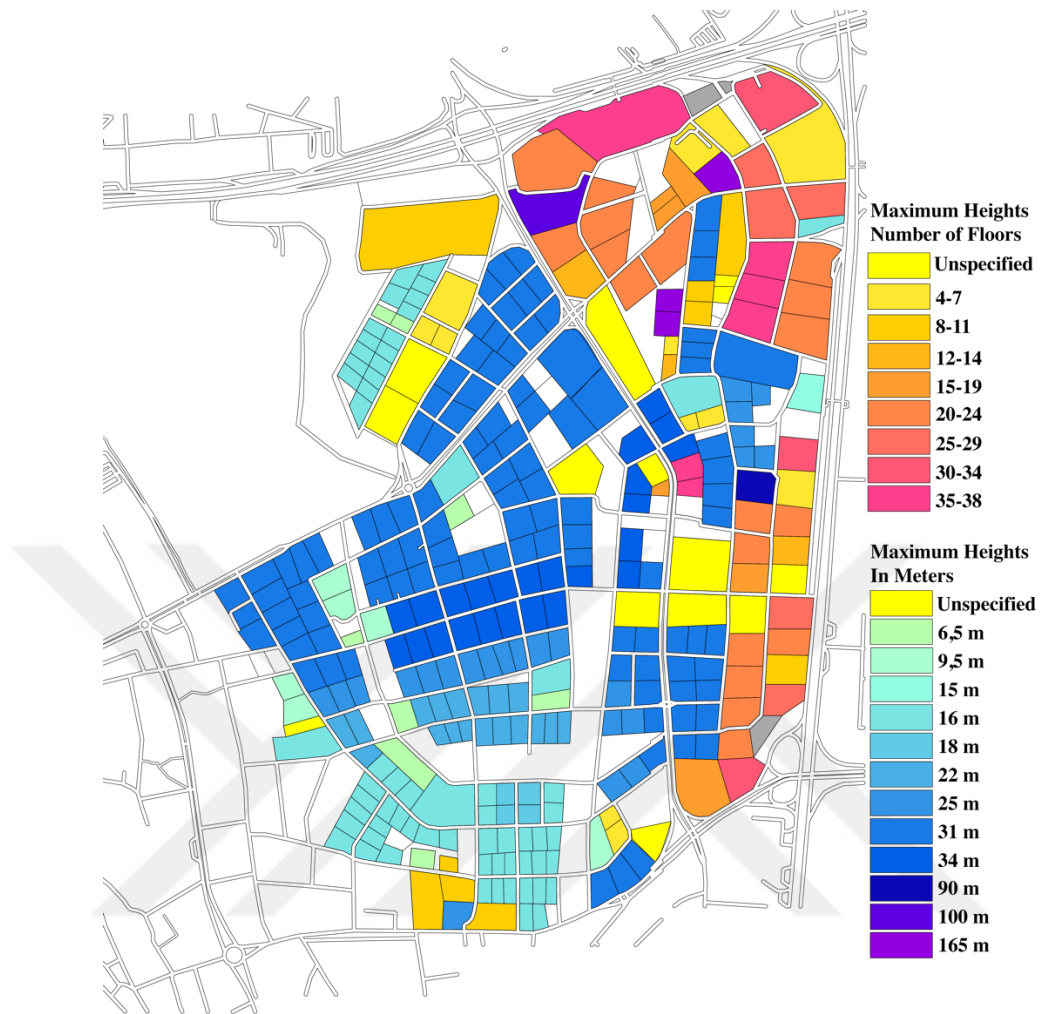


Figure 5.21 Allowed maximum heights of parcels, in number of floors and in meters

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, prepared by the author.

It is apparent that the dense residential area in the southern part of the neighborhood is allowed low-rise and mid-rise apartments with mostly 15-18 meters maximum height which is approximately 4-6 story apartments. The middle strip, a combination of residential use and residential use with commercial use on the ground floor, has a higher construction allowance, between 22-34 meters, approximately 7-11 floors of height. The plots for construction are larger, the amount of commercial activity is higher, and the streets are wider when compared to the southern part therefore this decision can be backed up with these arguments. However, there are some parcels

that have changed drastically through revision plans and disrupt the urban fabric and the conceived urban space.



Figure 5.22 High-rise residential buildings

Source: Photos taken by the author, 2022

For example, Hayat Sebla Houses are located at the intersection of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Street and 1425. Street (connected to Konya Highway) are constructed on plots numbered 25001/4, 27526/1 and 27465/1. Before the 1/1000 scaled 25001 Block 3 Plot Implementation Construction Revision Plan, these lots were Municipality Service Areas with a floor ratio of 1,00. However, while changing the land use decision of 25001/3 from park use to a mosque, adjacent and valuable plots were also revised. The land use became residential, commercial and sports areas, and the land ratio was increased to 2,50. Also not limiting their maximum heights allowed the construction of high-rise buildings. In Figure 5.22, the photograph on the left is Hayat Sebla Houses. There are 4 blocks with 29 stories and 366 apartments changing between 3+1 and 6+1 in size. The human scale and the buildings' relationship with their surroundings are overlooked while planning. A common planning problem of the area is changing urban densities and heights on plans, mostly for the benefit of urban rent, and ignoring how it could affect the urban form.

5.2.2 The Permeability and Accessibility

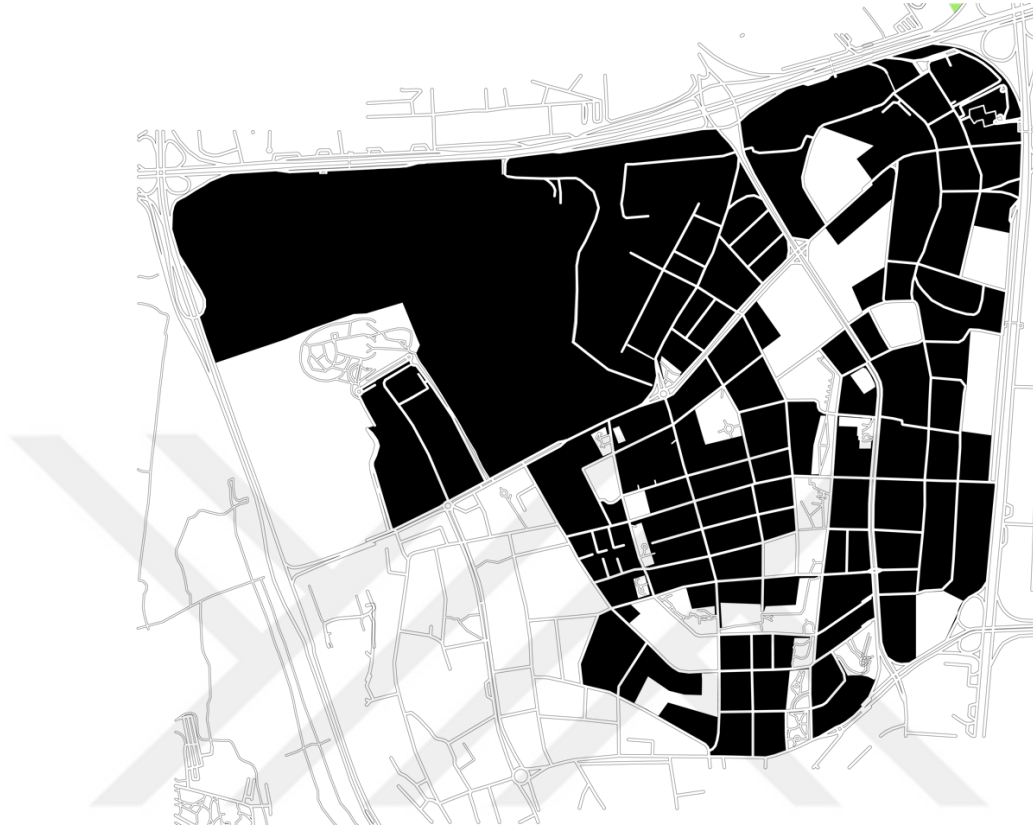


Figure 5.23 Permeability of city blocks in Çukurambar. Parks, vacant lands and green spaces excluded as they are urban voids.

Source: Prepared by the author

The permeability of city blocks can also be approached in this moment of space as they result from the order and the design imposed. The streets, especially in the middle part of Çukurambar have a relatively regular geometry. The primary reason of this order is the agricultural fields and the squatters building inside the boundaries of those fields. While the Çukurambar has plots that are of similar sizes, the Kızılırmak neighborhood is not very balanced and has irregularly shaped and sized plots. Therefore, the permeability is higher in the central and southern parts of the neighborhood, allowing an ease of movement in pedestrian and vehicular activity. The governmental buildings and their campuses, Mineral Research and Exploration General Directorate, Ministry of Agriculture and Forest's Foot and Mouth Diseases

Institute and Turkish Tax Inspection Board act as a solid mass and create no permeability. Therefore, the edges of the area around those institutions are extremely non-permeable and prohibit any access from Eskişehir Highway.

The public transformation of Çukurambar consists of buses, a metro line and a dolmuş line. Although there are two metro stops that are inside the neighborhood boundaries, these stops are located on Eskişehir Highway and provide a limited supply of circulation to Çukurambar Area. One of the stops is Mineral Research and Exploration General Directorate, providing access to the institution's Eskişehir Highway entrance. As mentioned before, this becomes useless as the institution acts as a very solid and non-permeable edge. The second metro stop, Söğütözü, provides access to the northeast part of the neighborhood, adjacent to YDA Center and Next Level Shopping Mall. While there are six different busses passing through Çukurambar, lines 134, 132, 136, 482, 419 and 411, only one of them, number 134, enters the inner parts of the neighborhood. The rest only pass through Öğretmenler Street and continue to İşçi Blokları Neighborhood without providing adequate public transportation to the area. Bus number 134 is also problematic as it does not depart from the city center or any circulation hub of the city, but it departs from the Söğütözü metro station. The only mode of transportation that departs from the center Kızılay, is dolmuş, which is not regulated by the municipality but rather the Chamber of Minibuses. While dolmuşes allow passengers to hop on and off at any place they desire, they have no strict route and hours making them not very trustable while planning journeys. Based on these observations, it can be said that public transportation is not extensively supported in Çukurambar and obliges personal vehicular access to the area as the primary mode of access.

5.2.3 Architectural Qualities



Figure 5.24 Façades of residential buildings

Source: Taken by the author.

Urban solids of the area are not designed with spatial, formal or aesthetic concerns, but rather to maximize the construction area during the urban transformation for maximum profit. Construction area boundaries are commonly ten meters from roads and eight meters from the adjacent plots. This planning decision results in isolated single vertical blocks floating in urban space. While these distances create isolation in solids, they provide an adequate number of private gardens and therefore private green spaces in the perceived urban space. The architectural façades and building

forms of the residential area are quite similar to each other, even though they are constructed by different architects and contractors. The dominant color palette of beige, yellow, orange and brown, similar heights and number of floors of buildings, fenestration-wall placement and ratios and highlighted curvy balconies create sameness and monotony in the neighborhood. This building typology is considered poor in terms of the design, aesthetic, and architectural quality. The repetition of the same poor building typology over and over results in a lack of identity and thus formal and visual variety.



Figure 5.25 Building typology of urban service areas

Source: Taken by the author

Contradicting with the residential part, the commercial district and urban service area part lacks any harmony in itself. There is a strip of all-glass high-rise plazas parallel to Konya Highway. These high-rises are also poor in terms of aesthetic and architectural quality. As the floor area ratios are higher and the maximum number of floors allowed is double the amount compared to the residential area, the urban solid-void difference is apparent between the two parts of the study area. Even though the densities were increased in Kızılırmak Neighborhood, the infrastructure and width of the paths surrounding building lots were not improved. This results in overcrowded and narrow circulation areas with a lack of pavements supporting pedestrian circulation with high urban solids disregarding the human scale. Inadequate parking lots for the density, there are no urban greenery on the ground floor and these areas are reserved for car parking purposes.

5.3 The Lived Urban Space

The third and last moment of space according to Lefebvre's triad is the lived space, representational space. The space of its users and inhabitants' signs and symbols. Due to being a combination of the real and the imaginary spaces (Soja, 1996), lived urban spaces are alive, dynamic and qualitative. Constructed by individuals, it involves the culture and history of people. Therefore, to understand the lived urban space of Çukurambar, urban rhythms, lifestyles and cultural elements such as memory, language, signs and symbols will be analyzed.

5.3.1 Urban Rhythms

The rhythm of the use of public and private spaces is unique to each situation, thus the urban rhythm is not only dependent on physical qualities but also depends highly on the combination of physical, social and cultural qualities. These rhythms are most apparent in circulatory elements, in commercial activity and related to land use decisions. Vehicular traffic, traffic lights and their locations and street parking are useful tools to understand the pace of the area.

As stated in previous discussions, Çukurambar has a prominent amount of commercial activities. This activity helps to build a socio-spatial rhythm of everyday life. The generation of socio-spatial rhythms provides activity and vitality by attracting individuals. The diversity in types of commerce not only creates a rhythm inside the neighborhood, but also enriches the user profile from other parts of the city. Different types of consumer activities create different rhythm patterns and different levels of complexity. For example, a pastry could attract the most of its activity in the morning of the workdays by the white-collar workers, working in the surrounding plazas and having their breakfast to go. Friday and Saturday evenings are the busiest times for neighborhood bars as they are places for relaxation at the end of the week. These temporal orders of daily life are shaped through the conceived space and come to existence in the lived space.

Çukurambar has this commercial variety contributing to different patterns of use. There are many restaurants, cafes, supermarkets, shops and offices with a range of different opening, closing hours and different durations of use. While shops and supermarkets create more dynamic circulation as the time spent is usually between 10-30 minutes, offices and workspaces create a slower and more stable rhythm with the usual 8-hour shifts.

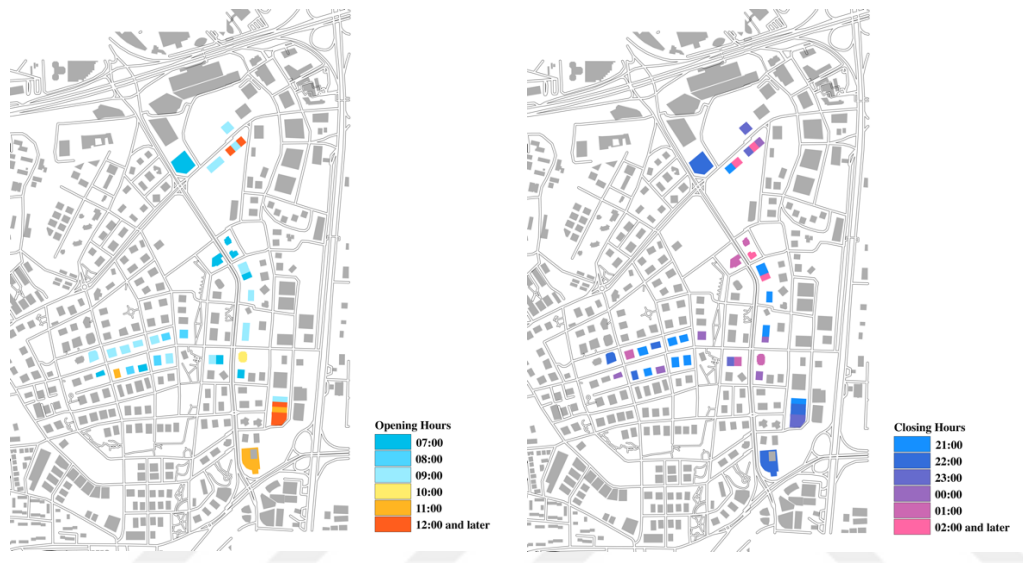


Figure 5.26 The opening and closing hours of primary commercial activities

Source: Prepared by the author

In Figure 5.26, opening and closing hours of primary commercial activities' on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Street, 1425. Street and Ufuk Üniversitesi Street are mapped. While the opening hours do not differ very much and indicate that the daily activities start in the early hours among the commercial strip, a clear difference is seen in closing hours. The nighttime activities in Çukurambar are very low, primarily because of the residential and urban service use patterns. Shops and supermarkets close around 10 pm resulting in a lowered nighttime activity especially in residential and commercial mix use areas. 1425. Street is an example of that. Most of the streets become deserted at night. At the same time, social rhythms continue to function in restaurants on Ufuk Üniversitesi Street and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Street. This is also

an outcome of the lack of residential activity surrounding those urban service areas and the vacant lands.

It is discussed that Çukurambar is an easily accessible neighborhood, but the public transportation is inadequate and covering the area extensively. Therefore, private vehicles, cars and motorcycles are encouraged for transportation to and inside the area. Despite the dense circulation of vehicles and traffic, there are not many regulations such as traffic lights and speed bumps, and the existing ones are clustered in two axes. These physical interventions set the pace and rhythms of urban circulation. The main streets, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, Ufuk Üniversitesi and Öğretmenler streets have traffic lights at nine intersections. The planned urban layout thus regulates the flow of vehicles while easing pedestrian circulation and transpassing in a vehicle-dominated area.

5.3.2 Cultural Elements

“There were a few apartment blocks around but it was dominantly a gecekondu neighborhood which has not had a road yet. The paths that the residents were used to walk were muddy in the winter and dusty in the summer. If you had seen this neighborhood in 1997 with me, you would never imagine the present state that it reached in a decade.” (Interview with Niyazi, taken from Akçaoğlu, 2017, p. 97)

Memory is constructed through time by adding layers on top of each other. Çukurambar is a product of rapid urban transformation. Most of its memory layers are either demolished or displaced. When there were squatters in the area, it was similar to a village. Social relations were very tight, as it was common to spend time outdoors with neighbors and relatives. It created a collective memory and sense of belonging among squatter residents. During the transformation, the memory was also displaced with the previous residents. Landowners preferred to sell their apartments for profit and moved away to cheaper, similar environments. A collective memory

of newcomers, the new residents of Çukurambar, is still not strong enough, due to the rapid urban transformation thus the lack of historicity.

The sociocultural environment's power over the culture cannot be overlooked. Place naming is a linguistic practice that can adapt and change through time according to the political, social and cultural context. Çukurambar's main street on the north-south axis is named after Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, a right-wing, nationalist, Islamist political figure by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. Yazıcıoğlu was the founder and the leader of the Great Union Party (BBP) and a member of the Parliament of Turkey. Also, the street on the southern border of Çukurambar is named after Hasan Celal Güzel, another political figure. Güzel was also a member of the Parliament of Turkey, representing the Motherland Party (ANAP), a liberal and social conservative, Turkish nationalist and economic liberal party.

These linguistic approaches were also supported by some political decisions. In 2002 with the change of the ruling party, AK Party (AKP) came into power. Their promises for election were primarily neoliberal and conservative. There was a parliament housing in Oran, a neighborhood in the southeastern part of Ankara, but the new government decided "to leave the parliament housing arguing that the representatives of the nation should live within the nation." (Akçaoğlu, 2017). This decision overlapped in the timeline with the transformation decisions of Çukurambar. As mentioned before, Çukurambar's central location and proximity to the city center and the Parliament of Turkey was constantly increasing its value. In addition to those, three important political parties' headquarters were located in adjacent neighborhoods, Söğütözü and Balgat. Therefore, the new Çukurambar, with modern and luxury apartments became very popular among the parliament members. As the prominent number of apartments had either three bedrooms or more, and apartments were newly built, they were suitable for the middle and high class. This also created a social and cultural identity of Çukurambar.

Ak Parti'nin arka bahçesi Çukurambar'a sihirli dokunuşlar

5 Şubat 2012



Yeni Türkiye'nin kaymağı ve Çukurambar!

Yazar, muhafazakâr orta sınıf beğenisini, "Zarif ve dinen makbul" ifadesiyle tanımlıyor. Çukurambar'da edindiği çevreyle gerçekleştirdiği derinlemesine söyleşiler ve kişisel tanıklıkları, orta-üst sınıf dindar AKP'lilerin yaşama, hayata, ülkeye, topluma, insan ilişkilerine vs. bakışlarını betimliyor. "AKP'liler" diyorum, çünkü konuştuğu herkes AKP seçmeni.

10 Ocak Perşembe 2019 Saat: 00:02



AK Parti iktidarında mekânların dönüşümü ve Kaşibeyaz'ın konkordato ilanı

AK Parti iktidarının Ankara'nın Ulus-Kızılay-Çankaya aksını terk ederek kendi hattını, yaşam alanlarını Beştepe-Çukurambar-Eskişehir yolu-İncek hattına çevirmesi hayatı nasıl mı değiştirdi? Bunu en iyi Ankaralılar bilir. Eskişehir yolundaki devasa gökdelenler, AVM'ler, her yağmur yağdığında su baskınlarına sebep olan ucube kentleşme, siyasal İslam'ın neoliberalizmle kucaklaşmasının en net fotoğrafıdır.

29 Eylül Cumartesi 2018 Saat: 00:02



Siyaset kulisleri Çukurambar'da dönüyorANKARA'da parti genel merkezlerinde yerel seçim çalışmaları hızla devam ederken siyasiler Çukurambar'da yer alan kafe ve restoranlarda bir araya gelerek kulis bilgilerini paylaşıyor.

Figure 5.27 Some newspaper headlines about Çukurambar

Source: Hürriyet, Gazete Duvar, T24

These sociocultural changes in the area were also shaped by the changes in perceived and conceived spaces in time. The revisions of land use plans and height decisions were in favor of these upper-class residents. The cultural changes in the lived space of Çukurambar were shifting to a more conservative everyday life. When the green spaces were turned into religious spaces for mosques in revision plans, the number of mosques and masjids in a two-kilometer square area increased to eight. Also, in 2013 with Law No. 6487, it was banned to sell alcohol both in markets and restaurants, if there is a sanctuary exists within a hundred-meter radius. This limited the neighborhood's social activity, and led to a more conservative one. More cafes, hookah places and non-alcoholic restaurants have emerged in the lived space of Çukurambar. This also had an impact on the decrease in the night activity of the area, as discussed in urban rhythms.

Therefore, Çukurambar has a cultural identity, but it is not a natural one that is built over time, adding layers on top of each other. It is rather an imposed one, built in a very short time and through the perceived and conceived spaces thus it is not a strong identity.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Cities are polycentric as they constitute of multiple centers of social, political and economic activities with interrelated networks. They are primarily perceptual entities that individuals understand through senses and process cognitively to create meaning and identity. However, to understand, analyze and evaluate cities, perceptual discussions do not create a sufficient framework alone.

The primary approach to urban space is intuitively a perceptual one. We tend to try to understand the material qualities through our senses. Individuals associate themselves with the environment they are in, create memories and assign meanings. Kevin Lynch introduced a theory of imageability to understand how a city is perceived and how a successful city image is constructed using urban elements. His well-known theory included five elements for analysis: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). This theory is backed up by essential elements of the city, streets, urban squares and urban greenery. These essential elements are interwoven with Lynch's five elements and support each other in urban analysis. Evaluating the success of urban spaces is only possible through analyzing those elements. According to Montgomery (1998), successful urban places combine quality in three elements: physical space, sensory experience and activity. Physical space is the urban form, sensory experience is the image, and activity is the combination of vitality and diversity. Although these three elements provide a framework to analyze urban space, they remain incapable of connecting physical, social and mental dimensions to a certain extent.

The social realm, the space of social practice is usually overlooked as it is not perceived with senses or produced within theoretical knowledge while

conceptualizing space. The statement “The social space is a social product.” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 26) created an impact on the discussions of space and place theories. A physical and material space requires some energy to become real. Without the social relations it accommodates, the dull, material space cannot become a real space, the space of our society. It is not possible to reduce space to only a material entity, since space arises through social actions and mental activity. Also, when the social and mental dimensions are added to physical space, historicity is needed to create meaning through memory and cognition. The social space acts in two ways; as a separate field enabling a distinction between physical and mental space and also as an approach for the unitary mode of spatial thinking (Soja, 1996).

Lefebvre in his seminal work *The Production of Space* introduces a science of space made up of three elements. His choice of a spatial triad is on purpose, to prevent common dualisms and to be able to provide a triangulated thus interrelated relationship between each moment of space. The moments that make up the spatial triad are spatial practice, representations of space and representational space or also known as the perceived space, the conceived space and the lived space. The spatial practice is the space of perception, the organization of space through senses. It has a discursive nature because processing what is perceived requires previously gained knowledge. Representations of space is the conceived space, the product of scientific knowledge. The planning schemes, principles and urban typologies are considered in this moment of space. Lastly, representational space is the lived space; it is alive, dynamic and qualitative. It is the space of its user and inhabitants, when the physical space becomes lived through overlaid signs and symbols. Approaching globalized and urbanized space as a product helps us to investigate further how it is formed by physical, social and cultural layers. Lefebvre’s spatial theory provides the necessary framework for the upper scale analysis to produce urban space while analyzing many different layers of urban space.

While Lefebvre provides an overview of production of social space, the spatial triad requires some supporting theoretical arguments to become a more comprehensive tool to analyze urban space in more detail. Edward Soja’s space epistemologies,

Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace, were highly influenced by Lefebvre's spatial triad. Soja also agrees that physical space cannot be analyzed in isolation and a social perspective is needed. Firstspace is similar to perceived spaces, it is what is perceived through senses and spatial explanations. Movement networks, urban nodes, their functions and sizes and overlaid patterns of the urban fabric provide the analysis data. Secondspace is similar to conceived space because it is the imagined space of the designer that will become real through material construction. Thirdspace is the recombination and extension of the perceived realm and the conceived realm. This combination of real and imagined is embodied in everyday life, therefore the lived space.

Also, a cultural perspective is needed to elaborate the everyday life and the lived space. Cultural landscapes exist in urban space to construct the urban morphology through shared experiences and social forms (Agnew et al., 1984). Social construction and place meanings are linked to the produced space and the built environment through spatializing culture. The interaction between individuals and the built environment is seen through urban rhythms and temporal orders of daily life. Every public space has its own rhythm of use depending on both the physical and social factors. Furthermore, culture has power over linguistic practices such as place naming. Studying assigned names of an area could tell sociocultural priorities and structuring of individuals.

The framework of this thesis provides a tool to understand the connection between physical, social and mental dimensions, especially in areas that are built in a short time span because they usually become a product of a rash spatial production process rather than being organically and gradually developed through time. Urban transformation unavoidably damages the urban tissue thus redefining the physical and sociocultural urban complexity while creating spatial fragmentations. Complete renewals of the urban fabric also disrupt the existing identity and everyday life. Suggesting that fragmentation and identity problems result in a cultural, societal and spatial urban discontinuation, this study focused on Çukurambar in Ankara, a neighborhood that has undergone an urban transformation recently. The urban

transformation of Çukurambar was a mechanism to produce urban space from scratch, transforming a squatter neighborhood into a luxury one.

The Perceived Urban Space

As the previous chapter presented in a detailed manner, Çukurambar is located in the southern and western axes of Ankara. This location is particularly important because the western axis is the primary corridor of expansion in Ankara. Çukurambar is also in proximity to the city center, commercial districts and governmental buildings and ministries. Therefore, the neighborhood is obviously located on a very valuable land.

The visual image to understand the materialization of everyday life, daily routines and interaction networks are constructed through city elements: paths, edges, nodes, landmarks, urban greenery and vacant unused lands. To support the theoretical discussions, photographs are taken and diagrammatic maps are prepared by the author to emphasize these city elements (from Figure 5.5 to Figure 5.12).

While there are three primary circulation paths surrounding the area, Eskişehir, Konya and Malazgirt Boulevards, there are also secondary paths covering the area extensively. Although these boulevards strengthen the accessibility through vehicles, they are the primary reason for spatial fragmentation on the urban scale. They create an obstacle between two districts of the city and block any possible pedestrian flow thus resulting in a discontinuation of the urban fabric. The secondary paths, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, Öğretmenler, Ufuk Üniversitesi, Budapeşte and Hasan Celal Güzel streets support the vehicular circulation, and they also support pedestrian circulation to some extent unlike the primary paths.

The edges of the visual image have two emerging points in the Çukurambar case. The first one is the highways surrounding the area. These highways being high density roads with 4-5 car lanes in each direction, they do not allow any permeability. The second one is the building functions and types as the result of the land use decisions. When there are solid urban masses or private and gated lands in an urban area, the edges get stronger thus act similar to urban walls.

As aforementioned, nodes are points, strategic spots in cities acting as material and activity cores. Circulation nodes are more dominant in the neighborhood when compared to activity cores. Most of the circulation nodes are street intersections with a traffic flow and the circulation is mainly regulated by traffic lights. Activity cores are composed of social activity, religious activity and commercial activity. The problem of the lack of urban plazas is seen apparently while analyzing urban nodes because the neighborhood is not able to provide enough strategic spots to accommodate the activity. Urban plazas and squares usually provide open and empty spaces which create flexibility to host any type of activity while emphasizing the intersection of social networks.

Landmarks are similar to nodes, but they are point references that are shaped mostly through symbolic meaning in the city image rather than strategic spots acting as cores. Two types of landmarks, the ones with architectural and material qualities and the other local landmarks carrying symbolic meanings for the individuals can be found in the neighborhood.

There are seventeen open public parks in the area. Due to the neighborhood's rapid urban transformation and the complete renewal of the urban fabric, the greenery, trees and gardens of the squatter neighborhood are not preserved. There is no urban greenery on the sidewalks and the perceived urban greenery is only achieved through these parks and private gardens of residential blocks. There is an effort to create a greenbelt crossing the neighborhood on the conceived space but it fails to create a strong image of the perceived space. The belt is too fragmented, and its continuity is disturbed through vehicular paths. Most of these parks fail to provide soft spaces because there are more solid and concrete elements compared to the greenery in the parks. The only urban greenery that can be considered functional and successful is the Çansera Kent Bahçesi and its success is achieved through a diversity of activities. Çukurambar still has many vacant lands and some squatter owners still dwell on those lands. These empty lands disrupt the continuity of the urban fabric while creating leftover spaces.

The Conceived Urban Space

The space of conception is the dominant space of any society. It is the creation of the real space made up by the projections of the imagined geography (Soja, 1996). It creates physical order through imposed architectural and urban design. Following the decision of transforming Çukurambar, the conceived space was designed in multiple 1/5000 and 1/1000 implementation and revision plans. The first comprehensive plan for the neighborhood was drawn in 1995. The comparison between the 1995 Implementation Plan and the current situation of the land use decisions, floor area ratios and maximum heights are shown in detail in the maps prepared by the author from Figure 5.16 to Figure 5.21. While the land use decisions were mostly residential use, there was a strip of residential use with commercial use on the ground floor, and also another strip for urban service areas. It was a balanced plan providing sufficient green areas and public infrastructure such as healthcare, educational and religious facilities. Floor area ratios were decided up to 2,00 allowing six to ten floors of height. Between the 1995 Implementation Plan and the actual beginning of the transformation, there were many revisions plans for the area that changed the destiny of Çukurambar. The most apparent changes are the increase in the number of urban service areas, residential and commercial mixed use and the addition of residential, commercial and sports facilities mixed use areas. Also, the number of mosques increased by transforming the parks, while some residential and commercial mixed-use functions transformed into only commercial functions. All of these revisions resulted in an increase in the floor area ratios, allowing the increase in total construction area. The maximum floor area ratio became 3,20 increasing from 2,00. The human scale and the buildings' relationship with their surroundings are overlooked while planning. A common planning problem of the area was changing urban densities and heights on plans, mostly for the benefit of urban rent, and ignoring how it could have affected the urban form.

The permeability of city blocks can also be approached in this moment of space as they are the result of the order and the design imposed. The streets, especially in the middle part of Çukurambar have a relatively regular geometry. Kızılırmak

neighborhood on the other hand, is not very balanced and has irregularly shaped and sized plots. Therefore, the permeability is higher in the central and southern parts of the neighborhood, allowing an ease of movement in pedestrian and vehicular activity.

The public transformation of Çukurambar consists of buses, a metro line and a dolmuş line. Although there are two metro stops that are inside the neighborhood boundaries, these stops are located on Eskişehir Highway and provide a limited supply of circulation to Çukurambar Area. While there are six different busses passing through Çukurambar, only one of them provides accessibility the inner parts of the neighborhood. That only bus is also problematic as it does not depart from the city center, but it departs from the Söğütözü metro station. The only mode of transportation that departs from the city center, is dolmuş. However, it causes other problems because dolmuşes have no strict routes and departure hours which makes them not very credible while planning journeys. Therefore, public transportation is not extensively supported in Çukurambar, and individuals prefer private vehicles to access the area as pedestrian access is not very possible. This results in heavy vehicular density, traffic and poor pedestrian circulation in the area.

Architectural elements are not designed with spatial, formal or aesthetic concerns, but rather to maximize the construction area for the profit of the contractors. The most common urban form in Çukurambar is isolated vertical blocks with no relation with the street and each other. Residential blocks have an identity problem due to the sameness, same color, similar height and same opening and balcony patterns. On the contrary, the commercial and urban service areas of the neighborhood have the problem of lacking harmony, with differently designed high-rise glass towers. Those high-density areas are not able to provide adequate infrastructure for elements such as circulation and car parking.

The Lived Urban Space

The lived space is when the physical space becomes the space of its inhabitants through signs, symbols, culture and history. They embrace “the loci of passion, of

action, and of lived situations thus implies time” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 42). The cultural schema shapes the space of everyday life, and it is most apparent in the rhythms of daily life and the overlaid symbols. The temporal rhythms of daily life are shaped through the conceived space and come to existence in the lived space. Çukurambar’s variety in land use decisions creates different patterns of everyday life. While shops create a faster pace, offices and workspaces create a slower one. Restaurants and cafes could be placed in between these two. Also, daytime activity and nighttime activity are influenced by the land use functions. While the daytime activity of the commercial use starts around the same time in the morning and is homogenous, nighttime activity differs drastically in Çukurambar. Only Ufuk Üniversitesi Street and a part of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Street’s commercial activity sustain night activity until late hours. Thus, streets become deserted at night overall.

As previously mentioned, urban transformation redefines the sociocultural urban complexity. The collective memory disappears when the people are displaced, and the built environment is demolished. This is what happened in Çukurambar. Before transformation the social relations in the neighborhood were similar to a village. It was common to spend time on public and open spaces with neighbors and relatives to socialize. When the neighborhood was transformed, both the urban typology and the social profile changed. Also, the transformation happened in a very short time not allowing historical layers to overlay and create memory. Thus, the collective memory disappeared in Çukurambar.

Place naming is a linguistic practice that has a cultural influence and significance thus contributing to Çukurambar’s lived space. There are two secondary streets named after politicians Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and Hasan Celal Güzel. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu is the main street of Çukurambar, passing the whole neighborhood on the north-south axis. He is also a right-wing, nationalist, Islamist political figure who is the founder and the leader of the Great Union Party (BBP) and a member of the Parliament of Turkey. This set the tone of the neighborhood as a conservative one from the beginning. Following this, some green areas were turned into mosques by revision plans, increasing the number of mosques to eight. It was banned to sell

alcohol in restaurants if they were within a hundred-meter radius of a mosque. This limitation on neighborhood's social activity led to a more conservative approach. More cafes, hookah places and non-alcoholic restaurants have emerged in the lived space of Çukurambar.

The main contribution of this thesis is using Lefebvre's spatial triad as the primary framework to analyze and evaluate Çukurambar neighborhood's material and social production as an area of inattentive and rapid transformation. All of the discussions mentioned throughout the thesis show that Lefebvre's spatial triad provided a powerful framework to understand produced spaces such as areas of urban transformation. It also becomes a tool to analyze and evaluate the quality and the existing situation of the urban and architectural forms. Rather than being organically developed with minimal interventions to the spatial, cultural and social realms in a time span, transformed areas are the product of a sudden spatial, cultural and social production. Approaching space through perceived, conceived and lived spaces, all the layers of urban space could be analyzed in depth. As the production of urban space is a process, it requires a starting point. Producing space does not only have material and sociocultural dimensions but also has a political one. Usually, authorities and political figures are behind these decisions.

Urban transformation unavoidably interrupts space-time relations. In the material context, the urban fabric that contains memory layers is usually destroyed and a completely different urban form is imposed. In the sociocultural context, through the material impositions, the existing everyday life patterns change, symbolic meanings shift, and the sociocultural complexity is disturbed. Although the everyday life patterns and urban rhythms change, they can be reconstructed in a transformed environment. They are easier to restore compared to cultural landscapes because primarily everyday life requires a physical environment accommodating social activities. Cultural landscapes and social and cultural identities require a timespan to be successfully constructed. In most of urban transformation cases, layers that make up the collective memory are not preserved. Thus, individuals cannot associate themselves with the built environment and assign meanings. Three components of

the environmental image, identity, structure and meaning are interrupted resulting in a detachment of individuals' everyday life from the built environment. Lefebvre's triad provides the framework to understand this detachment, the unsuccessful conceived spaces result in a perceived space lacking essential elements, therefore, the lived space becomes alienated from the other moments of space. Imprecise transformation processes affect not only the material realm but also the social and cultural realms through the disruption of the urban fabric and sociocultural landscapes.



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