

**PROFESSIONAL VALUE SYSTEMS OF TURKISH ARCHITECTS
WITH RESPECT TO CLIENTS AND USERS
IN CONTEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL DESIGN PRACTICE**

A THESIS

**SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
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FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
ART, DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE**

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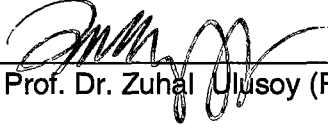
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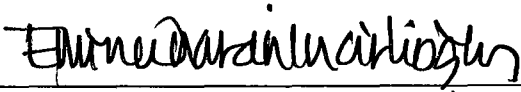
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ABSTRACT

PROFESSIONAL VALUE SYSTEMS OF TURKISH ARCHITECTS WITH RESPECT TO CLIENTS AND USERS IN CONTEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL DESIGN PRACTICE

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Ph. D. In Art, Design and Architecture

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August, 2000

This study is based on the exploration and understanding of the value systems of architects regarding clients and users during residential design practice. This needs an inquiry of the existing Turkish social context as well as the context of design practice, including various actors. After an introduction to the basic concepts of the study, including knowledge, values, value systems, professions and professionalism; an actor-based framework is proposed to analyse architects' value systems. The architectural profession and its relationship with other actors is discussed briefly throughout history, including the changing role of the architect in Turkey with respect to society at large and during distinct residential design processes. Afterwards, a research is carried out with twenty-four practicing architects in Ankara, through open-ended interviews, investigating architects' perspectives and experiences during design practice, their relationship with the actors and the impact of these on their professional conduct. The data analysis is based on the derivation of basic themes forming categories followed by the discovery of emergent relationships between these themes. The value systems of architects during residential design practice is presented in a model comprised of an interrelated set of corresponding and conflicting beliefs regarding the architects' values attributed to their professional identities, clients, users and the society at large, their professional aim and objectives, and how these beliefs guide their action and interaction at different stages in the design process. Suggestions are proposed with respect to theory and research development as well as education.

Keywords: architectural profession, knowledge, value, value system, architects, clients, users, residential design practice.

ÖZET

GÜNÜMÜZ KONUT TASARIM PRATİĞİNDE TÜRK MİMARLARIN MÜŞTERİ VE KULLANICILARA İLİŞKİN MESLEKİ DEĞER SİSTEMLERİ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı konut tasarım pratiğinde mimarların kullanıcılarla ve müşterilerle ilgili değer sistemlerinin araştırılması ve anlaşılmasıdır. Bu, şu andaki Türkiye'nin sosyal bağlamıyla bir çok aktörün bulunduğu pratik bağlamını araştırmayı gerektirmektedir. Bilgi, değer, değerler sistemi, meslek ve mesleklaşma gibi çalışmanın temel kavramlarının tanıtımından sonra, mimarların değerler sistemini analiz etmek için aktörlere dayalı bir model önerilmiştir. Tarih boyunca mimarlık mesleği ve onun diğer aktörlerle olan ilişkisi tartışılmıştır. Bu tartışma, mimarın Türk toplumundaki ve özellikle farklı konut tasarım süreçlerindeki değişen rolünü de içermektedir. Daha sonra yapılan araştırma kapsamında, Ankara'da çalışan yirmi dört mimarla, onların pratikteki deneyimlerini, müşteri ve kullanıcılarla ilgili görüşlerini ve ilişkilerini, ve tüm bunların mesleki eylemlerine nasıl yansıdığını sorgulayan açık-uçlu mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Analizde, verilerden çıkarılan temel temalar kategorileri oluşturmuş, ve bu temaların birbirleriyle olan ilişkileri belirlenmiştir. Mimarların konut tasarım pratiğindeki mesleki değer sistemleri, onların kendi mesleki kimlikleri, müşteri, kullanıcı ve toplum ile ilgili görüşleri ve mesleki amaçlarından oluşan çakışan ve çatışan inançları; ve bu inançların tasarım sürecinin farklı evrelerinde eylem ve ilişkilerini nasıl yönlendirdiğini içeren bir modelde sunulmuştur. Kuram ve araştırma geliştirilmesi ile eğitime ilgili öneriler getirilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: mimarlık mesleği, bilgi, değer, değer sistemi, mimarlar, müşteriler, kullanıcılar, konut tasarım pratiği

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNATURE PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST F FIGURES	xv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The Aim of the Research	1
1.2. The Research Questions	5
1.3. The Structure of the Thesis	7
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
2.1. Knowledge and Values	10
2.1.1 Knowledge	10
2.1.2. Values	12
2.1.2.1.Values Regarding the Identity of the Self and Social Groups	14

2.1.2.2. Values Regarding Objectives and Goals of Groups That Guide Action and Interaction	16
2.1.2.3. A Model to Analyse Value Systems of Social Groups	18
2.2. Professions and Professionalism	21
2.2.1. The Functionalist Model of Professions	22
2.2.2. The Conflict Model of Professions	24
2.2.3. Professional Knowledge	28
2.3. An Actor-Based Framework to Analyze Professional Value Systems of Practicing Architects	31
2.3.1. Actors in the Professional Domain	32
2.3.1.1. Social Groups within Professionals	33
2.3.1.1.1. The universities and research-academicians	33
2.3.1.1.2. Professionals in governmental institutions	34
2.3.1.1.3. Practicing professionals	36
2.3.2.2. The Non-Professional Social Groups and Institutions in Architectural Practice	38
2.3.1.2.1. Other Architects	38
2.3.1.2.2. Other professionals and non-professionals	39
2.3.1.2.3. The Clients	40
2.3.1.2.4. The Users	41
2.3.2. A Model to Analyze Value Systems of Practicing Architects with respects to Clients and Users	42

3. ARCHITECTS' HISTORICAL SELF DEFINITION AND RELATION WITH CLIENTS AND USERS	46
3.1. The Professionalization of the Architect and His/Her Beliefs with respect to Users and Clients	47
3.1.1. Architects' Beliefs with respect to Users in General and in Residential Design in Particular	55
3.1.2. Architects' Values regarding Their Role with respect to Users and Clients	59
3.1.3. Architects' Beliefs about Clients and Their Interaction During the Design Process	61
3.2. The Architectural Profession and the Residential Design Process in Turkey	66
3.2.1. Different Types of Residential Design Processes and Their Actors	74
4. THE RESEARCH	81
4.1. Methodology	81
4.2. Results and Interpretation	87
4.2.1. Turkish Architectural Context	91
4.2.1.1. Architects and Architecture	92
4.2.1.1.1. The negative value judgements on architects, architecture and society	92
4.2.1.1.2. The positive value judgements on architects, architecture and society	97

4.2.1.2. Architects' Self-definition with respect to Other Practicing Architects	100
4.2.1.3. The Institutional Context	102
4.2.2. Client Characteristics and Reflections on Client Interaction	104
4.2.2.1. Client Education, Knowledge, Knowledge Claim, Trust and Respect.	105
4.2.2.1.1. Education low, trust and respect high leading to consensus	105
4.2.2.1.2. Education high, non-architect, trust and respect high leading to consensus	107
4.2.2.1.3. Education high, architect/engineer, trust and respect high leading to consensus	107
4.2.2.1.4. Education high, architect/engineer, trust and respect high leading to conflict	109
4.2.2.1.5. Education high, architect/engineer, knowledge low, knowledge claim high leading to conflict	110
4.2.2.1.6. Education low/high, not having knowledge but claiming it leading to conflict	111
4.2.2.2. Client Aims and Expectations	113
4.2.2.2.1. Aim to live in: consensus and conflict depends on expectations and requests	114
4.2.2.2.2. Aim to profit but also having architectural expectations leading to consensus	114
4.2.2.2.3. Aim only to maximize profit leading to conflict	115
4.2.2.3. Homogeneity and Number of Clients/Users	118
4.2.2.4. Individual Differences	119
4.2.3. Values and Action with respect to Determination of Fee and Client Selection	121

4.2.4. Values with Respect to Clients and Users and Reflections on Design Action	125
4.2.4.1. Values with respect to Users During Design Phase	127
4.2.4.2. Values with respect to Client-Architect Interaction During Design Phase	129
4.2.4.3. Respondent Classification	131
4.2.4.3.1. Architects as educators: Respondents 11 and 22	131
4.2.4.3.2. In between interpreting and educating: Respondents 14, 18 and 24.	135
4.2.4.3.3. Architect as interpreter of needs but with negative value to 'other' lifestyle	139
4.2.4.3.4. Respondents 6, 9 and 21: Equal positioning with respect to users and clients	142
4.2.4.3.5. Submitting power to the client	146
4.2.4.4 The 'Other' Users	148
4.2.5. The Type of Client/User Requests and Reflections on Design Action	151
4.2.5.1. Lifestyle Requests and Reflections on Design Action	152
4.2.5.1.1. Conventional designs	152
4.2.5.1.2. Bringing new alternatives/ interpreting needs	153
4.2.5.1.3. Imposing the 'ideal' lifestyle	154
4.2.5.2. Requests Regarding Taste and Aesthetics and Reflections on Design Action	155
4.2.5.3. Requests of Maximum Room and Square-meter and Reflections on Design Action	156
4.2.6. The Project Characteristics and Reflections on Design Action	157
4.2.7. Strategies Adopted by Architects During Different Phases of Building Activity	157

4.2.7.1. Client Convincing Strategies	158
4.2.7.2. A Common Design Strategy in Residential Design	162
Practice: Flexibility	
4.2.7.3. Strategies on Receiving Knowledge on Users	164
4.2.8. Architects' Role within Different Phases of Design and	168
Reflections on Product Quality	
4.2.8.1. Initial Phases: Site Planning and Making of	168
Codes and Regulations	
4.2.8.2. Implementation phase: Construction Administration	169
4.2.8.3. The Phase after Project Implementation	171
5. CONCLUSION	175
4.2. Suggestions for Further Research	179
REFERENCES	183
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A	190
APPENDIX B	196
APPENDIX C	202
APPENDIX D	222

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Sex of Respondents	196
Table 2. Age of Respondents	196
Table 3. Education of Respondents	196
Table 4. Income Level of Respondents	197
Table 5. Respondent's Previous and Current Work	197
Table 6. Information about the Firm	197
Table 7. Number and Work of Employees in the Firm	198
Table 8. Number of Villa and Second Housing Projects	199
Table 9. Number of Apartment Housing Projects and Their User Income Level	199
Table 10. Number of Housing Projects for Cooperatives and Their User Income Level	200
Table 11. Number of Housing Projects for Private Firm or by Competition and Their User Income Level	200
Table 12. Number of Housing Projects for Public Institutions and Their User Income Level	200
Table 13. The Distribution of the Type of Housing Projects Designed by Architects in the last 10-15 Years	201
Table 14. Category 1: Client/User Characteristics	203
Table 15. Category 2: Architects' Characteristics	204
Table 16. Category 3: Architect- Client Interaction During Design	204
Table 17. Category 4: Strategies of Client Convincing and Reducing Conflict	205
Table 18. Category 5: Values and Action on Determination of Fee and Client Selection	206

Table 19. Category 6: Project Characteristics	207
Table 20. Category 7: Design Action and Strategies	208
Table 21. Category 8: Values of Architects on Their Role with respect to Clients, Users and Society	210
Table 22. Category 9: Knowledge and Values about Turkish Context	214
Table 23. Category 10: Value Attributed to Architect's Product and Action	218
Table 24. Category 11: Other Practicing Architects' Characteristics	218
Table 25. Category 12: Strategies to Receive Knowledge on Users	219
Table 26. Category 13: Values and Action towards Unconsulted Intervention After Design	220
Table 27. Category 14: Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building	221
Table 28. Pattern 1: Client/User Characteristics → A-C Interaction	222
Table 29. Pattern 2: Client/User Characteristics → (Interaction) → Design Action	225
Table 30. Pattern 3: Client Characteristics- Requests → Design Action	228
Table 31. Pattern 4: Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building → Product Quality	229
Table 32. Pattern 5: Project Characteristics → Design Action	230
Table 33. Pattern 6: Client Characteristics, Architect Characteristics → Determination of Fee and Client Selection	230
Table 34. Pattern 7: Knowledge and Values on Turkish Context → Design Action	232
Table 35. Pattern 8: Client/User Characteristics → Strategies for Receiving Knowledge	232
Table 36. Pattern 9: Architects' Characteristics ← → Other Practicing Architects' Characteristics	233

Table 37. Pattern 10: Architects Characteristics →	234
Architect – Client Interaction	
Table 38. Pattern 11: Turkish Context → Architects' Characteristics	234



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Relationship Between Knowledge, Values and Action	21
Figure 2. The Relationship Between Knowledge, Values and Action of Architects	45
Figure 3. An Example of Coding the Data	86
Figure 4. The Relation of the Model of Architects' Value Systems to the Data Analysis and Interpretation	89
Figure 5. A Model of Architects' Value Systems with respect to Clients and Users in Residential Design Practice	90

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Aim of the Research

As professionals, architects have various roles in the production of the built environment. Their occupations range from the production of formal knowledge in institutions such as universities, to the application of knowledge in building practice. Their positions also differ in terms of being employed by an institution, by another professional, by universities, or being self-employed. Despite the various positions and occupations carried out by architects, they are identified as a professional group on a certain base. Their self-images and professional identities are influenced by a set of qualifications they are assumed to acquire through their profession.

Professionals differentiate themselves from other actors who are directly or indirectly involved in the building production process. These actors range from clients, employers, employees, the state, people of different occupations, other architects that compete within the building market, and the people for whom they design buildings, the users. Thus, distinguishing 'us' as a separate category of members of the architectural profession requires a definition of 'them' , or 'not us', based on certain criteria. Various belief systems structure architects' images of themselves and others, and form a basis for their professional identities as well as activities. In that respect, both factual and evaluative beliefs play a crucial role. These beliefs may be explicitly defined or implicitly held by members of the group

and/or outsiders. Sub-categories within the profession and conflicting identities concerning other arenas in life are also possible, hence a match or mismatch between different beliefs.

The aim of the research is to investigate architects' value systems with respect to other actors within the society, particularly clients and users. Architects' underlying evaluations concerning their position within the society, their exercise of professional power regarding clients, as well as the people that will inhabit their future buildings, will be investigated. Their assumptions and knowledge of how the users and clients in the current context, the values attributed to them, as well as architects' goals regarding how they ought to act in particular situations will be studied in the case of architects' professional practice, specifically when they design residential environments. Architects have a specific position when designing residential environments, since, unlike other building types, they have personal experience as 'users' of residential environments themselves. Besides, during the design process, the direct and indirect information they receive from the clients, users, and other resources are integrated with their values about them, and reflect on their design action according to their multiple goals. However, within the housing process in Turkey, there is little chance to have one-to-one contact with the future residents of housing. In that respect, architects' own assumptions about the life and experience of the users is believed largely to be dependent on their self-images as well as personal and professional experiences. Comparison of themselves with the users, their interaction with the clients during the design processes, and how they position themselves within the society at large, are open to discussion.

A large amount of research has evaluated built environments as products with conclusions and criticisms about the beliefs and design decisions of architects.

However, products can not be discussed in isolation from processes, and processes can not be discussed without considering the historical and societal context. In order to understand the assumptions and beliefs of architects with respect to 'people', first we should identify the historical process of professionalization of architects taking into consideration the social, political, economic factors. This analysis also requires an understanding of the profession as it coincides with, or opposes various belief systems in the societal context in the course of achieving an identity. Within the larger social context, we can explore and relate the values that practicing architects hold when they directly or indirectly interact with people whose roles in the society are different from theirs. This would also make it possible to identify corresponding and contrasting roles, self-identities and social-identities that practicing architects confront in their daily lives as professionals.

Architects are often criticised for the discrepancy between the built environment and the expectations of the occupants. They are also criticised for certain convictions they are assumed to hold in terms of relations to class, gender, and culture; which lead to a mismatch between the design of the built environment and the needs of people. I argue that this is also directly related to how they view themselves as architects, with respect to the society at large and the people they design for in particular projects. However, their interaction with the client and how this shapes the decision-making of architects is also integrated with their perceptions of and attitudes towards users.

In this framework, clients and users as actors are of particular importance in the professional practice of architects. Architects' professional self-definition is directly related to the definition of the 'client' and 'user'. Thus, whom the architect is to serve, whom to include in the 'user' category and whom in the 'client' category is

structured largely by the social-historical context. Goals and activities are also crucial in that respect. The 'service ideal' of the architect changes meaning and content accordingly, with emphasis given to distinct social groups. On the one hand, the everyday practices of architects require direct communication with the client. On the other hand, the design process incorporates architects' factual and evaluative beliefs about the users; thus an indirect communication between the architect-user is always present in the practice. The architectural practice is partially shaped by the reflection of professional value systems of architects regarding clients and users. This process reflects both the unification of and the struggle between the architects', the clients', and the users' interests.

Only when analysing the design process can one explicate the multiple factors and conditions that act upon the decision making of architects, rather than making direct interpretations about architects' value judgments from their products. The proposed framework to analyse architects' professional images regarding other actors in the society is an attempt to place architects' viewpoints about themselves as well as other people in a larger, socio-cultural context.

Understanding the value systems of architects is believed to be an important contribution to the research on architects and architecture, particularly in the formation of a 'normative theory of architecture', in Lang's terms (1988).

The objective is to understand the different positions the architects have taken and why they have taken them, to understand their design intentions and the beliefs on which they are based, to understand the materials and design principles with which they work and why they have selected them, and the design process used. This understanding is important both in education and practice. (Lang, 1988: 604).

An explicit understanding of the value judgments architects hold may lead to a re-evaluation of the diffusion of values regarding the profession in the education system (Lang, 1988; Pultar, forthcoming). Moreover, the analysis of value systems of

architects would provide an understanding of the multiple values that act upon the decision-making of architects, particularly how architects resolve the problem where there are conflicting values, such as those that concern individual interests with community interests. These would also help an explication of the conflicts that arise between different social groups in the design process (Pultar, forthcoming.).

1.2. The Research Questions

In this thesis, an interrelated set of research questions will be explored regarding the value systems of practicing architects with respect to their roles, identities and objectives towards clients and users, and the impact of these value systems on decisions and activities during residential design.

A. Architects' values about their professional role in the society at large.

- a. What are the knowledge and values of architects regarding their role in the current social context of Turkey? How do they distinguish themselves from other social groups? What is the self-definition of the architect in relation to possession of expert knowledge? How do they identify their goals and aims which include both individual interests such as gaining socio-economic position, and aims such as service to the society?
- b. How do these factual and evaluative beliefs are reflected in their activities?

B. Architects' values about their professional role with respect to the client

- a. What are the knowledge and values of architects regarding the clients they interact with, including the condition as it is, and how it ought to be? What are the significant characteristics of clients they attribute value to?

- b. What are the architects' perceived role, goals and objectives towards clients at different stages of the design process? What authority do the architects believe they should have during architect-client interaction?
- c. How do the factual and evaluative beliefs with respect to clients, and the objectives of what architects ought to do at particular situations reflect upon their interactions and actions in residential design practice? How is power negotiated through architect-client interaction, particularly considering economic resources and knowledge-as-resource as a means of influencing interaction?

C. Architects' values about their professional role with respect to the user.

- a. What are the assumptions, knowledge and values of architects about users? What is the relationship of architects' self-images -- as users themselves and as architects-- to their images of 'users'?
- b. What authority, as professionals, do the architects believe that they have and ought to have towards users, when designing residential environments? What are the design goals and objectives of architects regarding users?
- c. How do the factual and evaluative beliefs with respect to users, and the objectives of what architects ought to do at particular situations are reflected in their interactions and actions in residential design practice?

D. What is the relation between architects values with respect to themselves, clients and users at different phases in the design process? What are the corresponding and conflicting values? How do these system of values finally guide their decisions and action in residential design practice?

1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

This study is based on explicating the domains where architects form a social-identity as different from 'others', based on their professions, and the content of the values they hold regarding their professional role with respect to clients and users, within the socio-historical context.

The second chapter introduces the basic concepts that will be explored in the thesis, with the general theoretical framework. Initially, the understanding of knowledge and values as beliefs, and the proposition of a model to analyse value systems of person and groups is presented. Afterwards, with an analysis of the definition and properties of professions as a social group, the model is distilled to consider an actor-based approach to understand the value systems of practicing architects with respect to clients and users.

In the third chapter, a brief account of the professionalization of the architect in the United States, Europe and Turkey is provided. The multiple values of architects which have guided them to establish their identities and relationship with other actors have been explored. This is followed by a literature review of the current research concerned with the perspectives of architects with respect to their roles towards clients, users and the public at large, and their interactions with these actors in architectural practice. The account of the profession in Turkey has been presented with the interaction of architects' role with the transforming socio-historical and political medium. Particular emphasis is placed on the residential design process in Turkey, exploring the role and relationships of various actors, including architects within different types of processes.

The fourth chapter embodies the research conducted. The research focuses on a sub-group within the architectural profession, the self-employed practicing professionals in Ankara, Turkey. Twenty-four open-ended interviews were conducted with them. Architects' experiences in professional practice in general, their specific views on clients, users, and the society at large, their objectives and aims, and how these finally reflect to their design practices were asked. The architects interviewed were confined to a sub-group who had graduated from university at least twenty years ago. The universities included basically two major universities in Ankara, with a small number of exceptions. The respondent group was randomly selected from this subgroup.

The major aim of the research has been to find out the knowledge and values that architects hold, and find significant in their practice. The open-ended interview allowed the architects to focus on certain issues where they could describe their values; self-images, aims, objectives, and particular experiences. In addition to the general views about the profession, specific opinions about users and clients have been grounded on conversations about different residential projects that architects have designed. This seemed significant in order to investigate how the variety of beliefs held in the minds of architects were carried out to their practices.

The in depth interviews lead to the emergence of categories explicated by architects, and the relations between categories were brought out during the analysis of the interviews rather than previously structured. The theoretical framework guided the interpretation of the findings in a systematic manner and helped identifying the links between the issues. Moreover, one of the objectives was also to discover the implicit assumptions and value claims, and how claims made for one issue could be linked to a claim or activity regarding another issue, thus finding out the underlying system of beliefs. Thus, the main goal has been to set the

domains of significant categories and the links between categories that can lead to the understanding of the interacting values that guide action at different stages in practice.

The findings are believed to open up new directions for further research in areas that have not been previously explored. An inquiry into value judgments of architects and other actors in the design process may lead to an understanding of the conflicts among them in terms of values, goals and aims, and interests (Pultar, forthcoming.). Hence, it is believed that there is an ignorance of architects' experiences in the existing context, because the focus of analyses and interpretation is on products rather than of processes. An analysis of the needs and interests of various actors within the process; how these are perceived, valued and reflected to the self-images of architects is crucial (Lang, 1988).

The thesis is based on the assumption that there are common values related to the profession, client and users, that signify a common subculture of the architectural profession (Cuff, 1991). This subculture is an important determinant of the architects' design practice, although many other factors are also influential. Yet, further subcultures also exist within the professional medium that are based on socio-economic status, age, gender, positioning of the individual architect in the larger context, experience, education, and personal biography. Thus the initial intention in this study has been to discover and systematically analyze architects' basic value domains that act upon their practices. Since a small respondent group has been interviewed, the findings do not go beyond suggesting certain possible value and knowledge domains based on what the architects brought out during the interviews related to their professional value systems.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Knowledge and Values

Beliefs are constructs of the mind that form the base of our conceptual structure and understanding of ourselves and the world (Dijk, 1998; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). Fishbein and Ajzen state that “a belief links an object to some attribute” (1975: 12). The object may be a thing, a person or a group of people, an event, a situation or an action; whereas the attribute may be a characteristic, a consequence, an object, a quality. Beliefs, although held by the individual may be socially shared (Dijk, 1998). Within the broad category of beliefs, we may make a distinction between factual and evaluative beliefs. On the one hand, knowledge is a specific type of belief which is verified in terms of the criteria of true/false; on the other hand, values are judged in terms of good/bad (Pultar, 1995). A further exploration of these two types of beliefs and how they are formed and communicated is necessary.

2.1.1. Knowledge

Knowledge may be defined as justified true belief (Lett, 1987). In that respect, any factual statement is an assertion that may be true or false. The truth/falsity of the statement should be justified according to certain criteria. Thus, there must be evidence to confirm the truth of knowledge.

Theories concerned with epistemology have questioned whether there could be a single source of knowledge that would be reliable and universally valid.

Phenomenologists have held the position that 'reality' exists only from the perspectives of the observers, and that there were as many truths as there were individuals (Lett, 1987). In addition, Relativists have claimed that knowledge is relational to the social context in which it is produced (Dant, 1991; Eagleton, 1991). This position asserts that every thought is ideological and partial, including scientific knowledge. Yet, relativism leads to a paradox since it denounces the validity of any proposition, including itself. Put in another way, if relativism claims absolute validity, when proposing that everything is true from its own perspective, it contradicts its own thesis, and leaves out any criteria of judgment, evaluation, and validity (Dant, 1991; Eagleton, 1991). This also endangers the criteria of rationality, reason, logic, and objectivity as claimed by scientific knowledge.

Karl Mannheim adopts a view which he terms as 'relational', as an alternative to relativism, which rejects any agreed basis for knowledge. Relationism suggests that ideas are located within the social system which produces them in a certain historical moment (Eagleton, 1991). As Dant clarifies:

Whereas absolutism evaluates according to the truth/falsity of the contents of knowledge, and relativism merely recognises the impossibility of such an evaluation because of the multiplicity of truths, relationism eschews an evaluative approach in favour of understanding knowledge in its social context. The elements of meaning in any given situation derive their meaning from their reciprocal interrelationship in a given frame of thought and it is in this sense that knowledge is relational. The frame of thought and the web of interrelating meanings are situationally and historically specific however so that meanings and knowledge can be analysed only with reference to the context in which they occur (1991: 17).

Presuppositions about the social and natural world underlie our every-day knowledge, and enable us to communicate with others regardless of our positioning within the society. This forms our common-sense knowledge. Knowledge which is generally defined as 'justified true belief' may be analysed in relation to its situation

within a social and historical context, undermining its validity as truth. Thus, a factual belief considered to be knowledge for one social group may be accused of being an illusory and false belief by opposing groups. In that respect, knowledge is justified belief where the truth criteria for justification may vary between groups (Dijk, 1998). Whether true or not, the individual collects information from various sources in the environment and forms the beliefs about his/her self and environment. These beliefs underlie and determine the individual's attitudes, intentions and behaviours (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). As Fishbein and Ajzen propose:

Our approach thus views man as an essentially rational organism, who uses the information at his disposal to make judgments, form evaluations, and arrive at decisions (14).

Knowledge is thus one of the basic resources that values are based upon.

Therefore, regardless of their validity, factual beliefs, and fact-claiming propositions that are made explicit by people are crucial in the formation of their values.

2.1.2. Values

The concept of value has been studied and analysed with changing meanings in various fields such as economics, philosophy, arts, and the social and behavioural sciences (Kilby, 1993). Kilby introduces the concept as held by individuals or groups of individuals in the analysis of human values. Across many definitions, the concept of value has been commonly identified as “beliefs as to what is good, best, and right, and their opposites – bad, worst, and wrong.” (Kilby, 1993: 32). Recalling the definition of a belief, values are thus linking objects to an attribute which is judged in terms of good, bad, right and wrong. Differing from a statement of fact, which expresses the information about objects as it has been, is, or will be, stating them as they are; value judgments comprise how objects “ought to be” (Goldthwait, 1996). This implies where the object—which may be a thing, an event, a situation or people— is placed by the person relative to an ideal state along the spectrum of

goodness, and implies a comparison of the existing condition with the possible ideal conditions. In that respect, values can also be referred to as 'conceptions of the desirable', as proposed by Kluckhohn (Kilby, 1993). Consequently, value judgements make statements of whether a value is preferable and desirable in certain conditions or not (Pultar, forthcoming.).

A value attributed to an object as to how it is close to an ideal state requires a comparison. Comparison leads us to evaluating the object in terms of a degree (Bahm, 1993). A "scale of goodness" is thus used to attribute values to objects (Bahm, 1993; Pultar, forthcoming.).

Many of the value judgments held by people are explicitly stated. However, people may also hold values implicitly, without expressing it verbally. They may not be totally aware of the values they hold related to objects. As Kilby suggests: "It is that the person becomes involved in a network of more specific attitudes, goals, human interactions, and rewards which result in a living of value without an articulation of it" (1993: 37). Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish factual claims from value judgments since they may exist together. Thus, what is and what ought to be are often inseparable and combined in the conceptions of people (Kilby, 1993). Similarly, many statements that appear to be in propositional form may involve emotive and evaluative content, or they may actually be value-judgments which we may agree or disagree with, but can not prove (Goldthwait, 1996; Lett, 1987).

Value judgments can be very broad and general, including propositions about the world and reality. They can also be very specific, concerning practices of everyday life (Dijk, 1998).

Values held by people toward objects do not exist independently from one-another, but construct a system of values. Pultar defines a value system as “an abstract collection of value judgments held by a person or a group regarding the various values involved in a phenomenon” (1997: 265). Within the value system, there may be major values which are composed of other values (Pultar, 1997). Values may be in congruence with one another or they may be in conflict. In order to resolve conflicts within value systems, value judgments of how one ought to resolve the conflict are also required (Pultar, 1997). This can be resolved by person or groups at different situations with respect to the degree of importance of values. Schwartz and Bilsky (1987), in their definition of values express that values are themselves evaluated by people along a range of importance from very important to unimportant, and this aspect guides their decision making.

2.1.2.1.Values Regarding the Identity of the Self and Social Groups

Values have been defined as beliefs of the desirable held by a person or groups of people regarding objects, which may be things, events, situations or other people. In the formation of self-identity and identity of social groups, values play a crucial role.

In the social and behavioural sciences the person - or the 'self' - is viewed as an organism who is aware of his/her existence (Czikszenmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981). The self, having a self-identity, distinguishes the limits of 'me' and 'not me' or 'them' (Rapoport 1982). Identity is an individual's or a group of individuals' being seen by others or by themselves as different from others (Rapoport, 1982). Thus, identity requires the existence of the self -- and the expression of it by any means-- in the social and physical environment, in order to be recognised as an individual among others (Scott, 1971) .

In order to define the self or the group among others, a content and a boundary is necessary (Rapoport, 1982). Here, the content defines what is within the unit that has the identity and what includes 'others'. The boundary is the limit between these two contents. The identity expressed may be an individual identity or a group identity. It may be communicated internally—by the individual to the members of the particular group— or externally -- the individual or the group communicating identity to others or outsiders.

A person may see the self as being a member of several categories of groups. The social role of a person is shaped according to the many identities one internalises. A social role is defined as "the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status" (Goffman, 1959: 16). Possessing a role within different social groups are patterned by a set of rules that relate the person, the role and the setting together. In that respect, rules act as structures that regulate the relation between the individual, the society, and material artifacts (D'Andrade, 1984). These rules are a part of the value system of the individual or group, that defines the social role of the self and the group.

Values encompass the identifications of the members of groups and set the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. This would include a system of value judgments regarding existing conditions and ideal ones. Standards of identification of members within groups incorporate values attributed to the characteristics or traits that the members possess. For example, a positive value may be attributed to 'us', whereas a negative value may be attributed to 'them' based on certain criteria identified through a value system (Dijk, 1998). The reverse may also be possible.

One should also note that not all social groups and categories need to share a common value system. Thus, a collectivity may be identified as a social group not because of their shared value systems but shared life-styles, familial relations, material or symbolic resources, etc. Overlapping may occur between groups one becomes a member of, or discrepancies may occur.

The perspective of the member as an individual with a particular personality and biography, in addition to his/her position within certain social groups constitute his/her framework of thought. Thus "... cognition is not totally determined by socially given presuppositions and the individual can think creatively and reflectively on their experience and that of the group" (Dant, 1991: 21). In that respect, the belief system of the individual may be comprised of personal values that are not shared by the group as well as values that the group shares and agrees upon.

Resources are also related to the social identities of groups. For example, possessing certain resources may be a mechanism of inclusion or exclusion to a group. In that respect, material resources as well as knowledge and values may be used as resources to access to power by the members of a social group, such as the members of a certain profession, and distinguish them from others.

2.1.2.2. Values Regarding Objectives and Goals of Groups That Guide Action and Interaction

Rather than having a passive role within the world, the person is an active agent in shaping the world he/she subjectively experiences (Giddens, 1991). The person or group can direct his/her existence toward certain goals; so that they are carried out to achieve specific objectives (Czikszenmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Canter, 1988). Objectives and goals of groups, and the value judgments of what activities

ought to be carried out to achieve these goals have a significant place in the value systems of groups. Beyer suggests that “values make some courses of action more desirable than others, or some outcomes more desirable than others, and so values also influence choices of what or which courses of action to take” (1993: 166-167). In every decision-making process, one relies on a set of values on a scale of goodness, grounding the decision on “the choice of a greater good over a lesser good” (Pulgar, forthcoming: 4).

How values guide the decision-making process prior to any action is identified by Goldthwait:

Whenever we have a problem, we need a value judgment, a statement of what ought to be done; we need it because it is the value judgments, the value-claiming propositions, that guide us and tell us what to do. (...) These problem-solving value judgments are of the underlying pattern, “Here is what you ought to do.” They serve as specific rules of conduct for the particular problems we are trying to solve. And they assume that we have a sufficient knowledge of the field or fields in which our problems are likely to arise (1996: 53, 55)

The value systems of the group identify the common goals of the group and organise the appropriate activities to perform to meet the goals. The goals may be made explicit through propositions, or they may be implicit.

Group goals not only encompass how to act towards a certain situation, but also how to perform interactions with other groups. Therefore, values related to group objectives involve preservation or resolution of conflict between groups. Values regarding desirable interaction also direct the power relationship between groups; sometimes aiming the preservation of power relationships between groups and sometimes aiming to resist them. Thus, power relationships are crucial in the interaction between groups.

Power may be defined as a relation between two groups, where one group has control over another group in a certain respect (Dijk, 1998). Power exists only in action, and is exercised through action (Foucault, 1980). Foucault points to the precaution that:

... power is not to be taken to be a phenomenon of one individual's consolidated and homogeneous domination over others, or that of one group or class over others. What, by contrast, should always be kept in mind is that power, if we do not take too distant a view of it, is not that which makes the difference between those who exclusively possess and retain it, and those who do not have it and submit to it. Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. ... (Individuals) are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power." (1980: 98)

An internal hierarchy among members and power relations also exists within social groups. Elites are the agents that explicate certain values among the members and set the criteria of inclusion and exclusion within groups (Dijk, 1998). The elites or leaders may have access to public discourse, a specific knowledge or expertise related to the norms and beliefs, or an individual charisma of leadership and coordination. While they may define the contents of the goals and activities of the group and identify the boundaries of membership, it is still a prerequisite for the values to be shared among the 'followers' in the group. The boundaries between the leaders and ordinary members may dissolve and change, while leaders may be replaced by others, all of which influence the structure of the knowledge and values held by the group, that guide their actions and interactions.

2.1.2.3. A Model to Analyse Value Systems of Social Groups

The previous section introduced how values exist in the formation and constitution of membership to social groups, as well as how values underlie the actions carried out by individuals and groups with respect to their objectives. The 'objects' that the

values are attributed to can be further distilled in order to analyse actions of people and groups, through an actor-based framework.

According to Long, an actor-based study aims at "... developing theoretically grounded methods of social research that allow for the elucidation of actors' interpretations and strategies, and of how these interlock through processes of negotiation and accommodation". (1992a: 5). This allows the analysis of the actor in his/her context, which includes multiple factors acting upon his/her decision-making and conduct, confronting with different 'social worlds' (Long, 1992a). Social scientists have studied organisations in work, occupations and professions in order to enhance a better understanding of these different types of organisations. Clarke identifies the basic concepts in order to understand 'social worlds' (1997). Social life is organised by reference groups of individuals that have shared perspectives, which, accompanied with commitments, form the basis of their social actions. Social worlds have been defined as "groups with shared commitments to certain activities sharing resources of many kinds to achieve their goals" (Clarke, 1997: 68). An analysis of value systems may yield knowledge about what these shared perspectives are, what is the content of the commitments and goals that groups share in order to reach the 'desirable' and finally what actions the groups perform.

A framework to analyse the relationship of humans' beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour has been proposed by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). In their study, they refer to attitude as a "learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object" (6). In many studies in psychology, attitude is used extensively as beliefs that promote a certain type of action. However, a major distinction can be made where values are more general than attitudes, and that attitudes are based on underlying values (Kilby, 1993: Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). Fishbein and Ajzen propose that the attitude toward an

object is determined by the beliefs about the object. Similarly, the intentions of the person with respect to the object is determined by the attitudes toward the object. Finally, the intentions to perform a certain behaviour is related to the actual behaviour of the person. In this framework, `intention` is identified as a specific kind of belief where the object is always the person himself/herself and the attribute is a behaviour.

In order to investigate the relationship of different value domains of social groups with respect to objects, and how they relate to actions, I propose the following framework. The person or group of people hold certain beliefs, which include both knowledge and values, about objects. The properties of the object is evaluated along a 'scale of goodness'. In other words, the existing factual beliefs are evaluated according to how they are close to the ideal state; how they 'ought to be'. These beliefs guide the aims and objectives of the person or group toward that object. That is, the beliefs guide the person or group in terms of how they ought to act or interact. Multiple beliefs co-exist within the value system about the object which may lead to congruent or conflicting goals and objectives of people. The action toward an object is guided by the person or a group making a choice among multiplicity of goals and objectives that are `desirable` for them. At this point, the degree of importance of values, which interests the values serve, and the context of action gain significance. This process may not be explicit, and the person or group may be unaware of the process. This framework can be schematised in the following way:

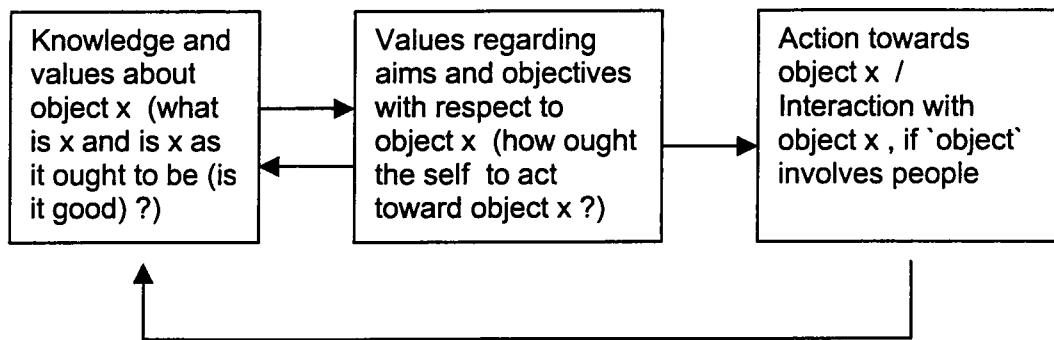


Figure 1. The Relationship Between Knowledge, Values and Action

2.2. Professions and Professionalism

In many societies, groups of individuals who are referred to as professionals have been socially formed through history. Professionals are a social group among many other groups in society, who achieve their identities through a certain set of characteristics. Memberships in professional groups require education, degrees, and certain expertise. This will also help us clarify a tentative general definition of a profession.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines profession as “vocation or calling, especially one that involves some branch of advanced learning or science” (1982). The profession is defined by Wilson as an occupation based on extended and specialised intellectual training which enables the person to carry out a specific service (Glazer, 1974). For him, the dimensions along which the degree of professionalization is discussed include “a full-time occupation, esoteric but useful knowledge or skills acquired through training or education, an orientation towards service, and autonomy.” (Glazer, 1974: 347). Freidson identifies the basic characteristics of professions as occupations that earn a living, have an exposure to formal knowledge and as such have a capacity to exercise a degree of power

(1986). Collins, on the other hand, includes the values attributed to the professions by the society in his definition. He defines professions as “socially idealised occupations organised as closed occupational communities” (cited in Burrage et al., 1990: 205).

What theorists include in their definitions of professions are dependent upon their evaluative and factual beliefs regarding profession. There are commonly two approaches observed in the literature on professions (Kultgen, 1988; Torstendahl; 1990; Brante, 1990). The first approach aims at distinguishing the ‘essential properties’ of professions in order to formulate a working definition of a profession. A classification of professions is thus made according to their identifying characteristics. This method is taxonomical, with the aim to identify the ‘true nature’ of professions. It is referred to as the functionalist model (Kultgen, 1988), the essential property approach (Torstendahl, 1990), or the ‘naive perspective’ (Brante, 1990).

The second approach identifies how social groups perform collective action in order to socially identify themselves as professionals, and in order to gain control of the market, status and wealth. This approach investigates the conflict between social groups and their overall intentions. It is referred to as the conflict model (Collins, 1990; Kultgen, 1988); the ‘strategic action’ approach (Torstendahl, 1990) or the ‘cynical perspective’ (Brante, 1990).

2.2.1. The Functionalist Model of Professions

The functionalist model relies on an approach of consensus in the structuring of society. From this perspective, individuals cooperate with one another and perform actions with the preservation of core values within the society, creating and

reproducing a normative order (Scott, 1995). Core values have positive influence in the functioning of the society.

The functionalists, who define the professions based on the ideal profession, tend to include the normative aspects of how a profession should be, within the definition. The most important debate on the nature of professions concerns their aims and functions in society. Thus, functionalists claim that the goal of professions is service to humanity, rather than profit. Ethical codes of professional associations present their goals as service to society, for the whole human welfare, or the public at large. Then, all of the members of society are implied to have equal access to a profession's services. That is also how a business is differentiated from a profession: a business's aim is profit while the aim of a profession is to serve the public through serving the client. Symbolic rewards are valued more than monetary rewards by the professional (Kultgen, 1988).

Theorists commonly represent degree of professionalization along a spectrum including a number of dimensions. Not all occupations possess these qualities equally while some do not possess a number of them at all. The various dimensions of professionalism discussed by sociologists is classified by Kultgen (1988). These dimensions represent the ideal-typical profession, or occupations which are highly professionalised:

1. A profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge.
2. The skill requires extensive and intensive training and education.
3. The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test.
4. The profession is organised and it is represented by associations of distinctive character.
5. Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct.
6. Professional service is altruistic.
7. The professional assumes responsibility for the affairs of others.
8. Professional service is indispensable for the public good.
9. Professionals are licensed, so their work is sanctioned by the community.
10. Professionals are independent practitioners, serving individual clients.
11. They have a fiduciary relationship towards their clients.

12. They do their best to serve their clients impartially without regard to any special relationship.
13. They are compensated by fee or fixed charge (60).

The knowledge base of professions is grounded in rational scientific principles.

Practice is given primacy in professions, in collaboration with theoretical knowledge.

In relation to the claim of authority on a domain of knowledge, the main characteristic of a profession is its autonomous structure. That is, only professionals can judge the work of other professionals. Therefore, the organisation acts somewhat freely from the clients and the public at large, and is controlled by collective and individual means. Standards of technical competence, the structure of education and ethical principles enable the inner monitoring of professionals by its own community. In that respect, the 'leaders' within a profession represent the 'best', who are open to trial and judgement by their colleagues. However, they represent the 'ideal' qualifications of the profession, through their service. They are the professional elites.

The functionalist model of professions is subject to criticism by conflict theorists. According to this view, the 'ideal-typical' profession and its qualities are a myth in order to legitimise the role of professions within a society. The main difference between the two views is the way they define the aim of professions.

2.2.2. The Conflict Model of Professions

The second approach to professions is based on conflict theory. Conflict theory stresses the role of conflict in the analysis of society and social behaviour. Social behaviour and social structure are explained in terms of interests of individuals who aim to increase their power, wealth and status in the society. The values underlying

the establishment of professions are identified differently by the functionalists and the conflict theorists.

The keystone of the functionalist model is the claim that professions are oriented to public service. Viewed from the conflict perspective, they are seen instead to be interest groups seeking scarce social goods such as wealth, prestige, power, and autonomy. They do so by making their expertise available to those able to provide the goods rather than to humanity at large. Professionalism reinforces the social system whatever it may be. If it is hierarchical, the professions bet the exploitation of the lower strata, providing only minimal service to replenish their ranks and quiet social unrest. The main service is to the upper strata, to help them achieve their aims whatever the cost (Kultgen, 1988: 99).

The conflict model argues that the core values of the professions are used to mask the divergent interests of groups and to legitimise the power of groups (Scott, 1995). This view of professionalism clarifies the dilemmas within professions and between professions in terms of conflicting purposes and clashing aims. At the centre of the argument of conflict theory is professional ideology.

A professional ideology is defined by Kultgen as “a set of beliefs and claims, both normative and factual, employed by an occupational group to win or preserve its status as a profession by interpreting and justifying its practices to its own members and others in society. The historical context determines the content of these beliefs.” (1988: 106). Conflict theorists view professional ideology as distortion and mystification, and view the position of the professionals as the dominant social group who have an ideology to preserve their status within the stratified society.

In these terms, the ‘core values’ are used as ideological resources by groups to preserve or change their position via others. In society, the dominant groups wish to preserve the social structure, whereas the oppressed groups wish to change it, resulting in conflict.

Since professions are part of larger social systems, and they depend on these systems for their very existence, they must legitimise their activities and goals within these systems (Beyer, 1993). From this perspective, the value of 'service to the public' of the ideal-typical professions is merely a justification of their practices to the public. Professional ideologies may be used to legitimise the profession and to protect it against 'outsiders'. They may have ideologies that serve to bind people together within the community and to help practitioners make sense of their occupation (Kultgen, 1988).

The ideal-typical profession is not actually independent and autonomous; they depend on clients in order to exist. In that respect, service to the public disregarding their status, power and ability to pay does not hold in the real situation: professions serve the ones who can pay. The self-critical and self-monitoring qualities of professions are also put up to question since self-criticism within a profession endangers the power and status of the profession with respect to other professions as well as its place with respect to outsiders.

I argue that these two views in terms of the aim of professions and the role of professionals within the society are not necessarily conflicting and mutually exclusive views; they represent the inherent conflict existing within the value systems of professional groups. The first stresses the collectivistic values of the professions, or their positive functions with their goal to serve the public good. It presents the professions as ideal. It neglects the professions' self-positioning within the society with respect to other groups in terms of power and control over resources. The second approach views that the major goal of professionals is to preserve their status within the society by controlling expert knowledge, and they use the service-ideal to mask this ideology. It gives significance to the 'service ideal', among other claims, not as goals themselves, but only as means to reach other

goals. The individualistic values and the common group values of the professional groups to gain and preserve economic and social status is emphasised as the major objective of the professions.

Individuals are attracted to certain professions for certain purposes, confronting the dilemmas of conflicting individual and social interests. These interests include material and symbolic rewards of money and status, as well as the enhancement of life through the intrinsic values inherent in the work (Larson, 1977). The intentions of professionals are thus framed by multiple values. These values include distinct cultural norms, conceptions of role relations and objectives. Therefore, I suggest that professional value systems should be analysed taking into consideration inherent conflicts, which indicate both goals of service to the society and satisfaction of individual interests, rather than attributing only the positive or negative functions and goals. The knowledge and values attributed to the profession as it is and as it ought to be, as well as the rules governing professional role with respect to other social groups co-exist with one another. Consequently, the conflict of interests of the person, the group and the society lead to a multiplicity of aims and objectives, which guide decision making and action in concrete situations. It is the characteristics of these situations and how these conflicts are resolved in certain contexts that should be investigated in order to understand how professional value systems function for the people and groups in their practices.

The distinguishing feature of professions when analysing the professionalization of social groups has been knowledge. Professional knowledge seems to be a crucial resource through which professionals define their identity, distinguish themselves from other social groups, and carry out their activities with respect to their varying goals and interests. Therefore, a closer look at the functioning of knowledge in the identification of professions and relationship of social groups is fundamental.

2.2.3. Professional Knowledge

Social groups attain their identities through certain properties they hold as distinct from other social groups. The major feature that characterises professions as social groups are their claim to certain domains of knowledge. The definitions of professions are established on the formal knowledge they acquire through formal training in institutions. Professionals need exposure to formal knowledge to earn a living through their occupations (Freidson, 1986). Thus, knowledge not only identifies professionals from other professionals and lay people, it is the basic resource that professionals utilise when they carry out their occupations in practice. As such, the authority over knowledge and utilisation of knowledge establishes the positions and relationships of the professionals with other actors in their practices. The content of knowledge and how it is claimed by professionals is crucial in the ascertaining of the position of the professions within the society and how other social groups attribute values to them.

The knowledge of professionals is differentiated from common knowledge based on their justification criteria. Recalling the definition of knowledge as “justified belief” based on the truth criteria as agreed upon by social groups, professional knowledge is justified as ‘true’ by the criteria of science and rationality. The justification by reason, and by measurement, thus distinguishes formal knowledge that professionals acquire through training from common knowledge and nonformalized specialised knowledge (Freidson, 1986).

Knowledge becomes power through its usage in everyday lives by the agents who create it, transform it, apply it and use it (Freidson, 1986). It is not only an instrument of power, but also an effect of power (Foucault, 1980; Roweis, 1988). Freidson (1986) suggests that professions are the linking institutions that enable knowledge

to become power. This is possible through the professionals' claim about the right to control certain areas of public policy and human life through their differentiating feature of knowledge. Certainly, the degree of claim varies when other professions also compete for similar knowledge domains in the market. Knowledge in professional practice becomes a tool of guidance-power, in Roweis' terms (1988). The aim of the exertion of guidance power is to guide with the appropriation of knowledge as a resource. Yet, knowledge "... is an instrument of power, but is not always on the side of the agents of guidance" (Roweis, 1988: 182). This depends on the position of the professional to claim expertise over knowledge as well as the content of knowledge that is used for guidance. Rather than applying violence and threat, guidance power is used to guide the choices, decisions and actions of individuals, grounding its justifications on rational norms. In guiding decisions, values are accompanied and justified by the knowledge that the individuals have or claim to have.

The necessary conditions for the knowledge of occupations to professionalization is discussed by Wilensky (Lipman, 1976). The knowledge should be neither too vague and broad, nor too precise and narrow. When knowledge base is too vague, it is harder for the professions to control the knowledge in their domain of expertise and have authority over them. Since professional expertise depends on possession of knowledge excluding others from it, that is, monopoly over knowledge, knowledge with no defined boundaries would obscure the boundaries of the profession. As Larson suggests, there is no expertise when everyone can become an expert (1977). It must therefore be specific enough to draw the boundaries of membership to a profession, and to be able to show the distinctiveness of the professional service when compared to non-professional service.

Professional knowledge should not be too specific to diminish the interest and trust of the public for its necessity, as a profession by itself. Lipman describes this problem of specificity :

Knowledge at the other end of this postulated scale, for example, the readily demarcated and specifically defined areas of competence, say, laboratory or comptometer technicians, is also a 'poor foundation for professional jurisdiction'. Here the vulnerability of the claims made by or on behalf of such occupations lies in the very specificity of the doctrines: in their possible or suspected inability to persist as identifiably independent spheres of knowledge for sufficiently lengthy periods of time to be accepted as 'established'. (Lipman, 1976: 12).

The properties of professional knowledge thus determine the relations of non-professionals-- the public-- with the professionals. The question of autonomy/heteronomy of the professionals is conditioned by the degree of control they have over the service they produce, without judgment from the outside (Larson, 1993). The obscurity of boundaries of knowledge enables the criticism and judgment of the lay people on areas defined as the domain of the professions.

The content and type of knowledge is also significant in the professions. Glazer makes a distinction between the major professions, referred to as the 'learned' professions, law and medicine, and minor ones, in which he includes all other professions (1974). Thus, the knowledge of law and medicine are not available to lay people; it is gained by formal education and they deal directly with human beings. The minor professions do not require knowledge that is as technically complex as the major professions, and they deal with machines and objects, only indirectly with human beings.

The use of knowledge intermediates between social groups in their social activities guided by their value systems. Value systems, and use of knowledge differs regarding the social positioning of distinct social groups. Therefore, in order to investigate the value systems of professionals regarding their self-identities and

other social groups, one should first situate the professional among related groups, with a comprehension of sub-groups within the professions themselves. The identification and characteristics of social groups, their relationships, their conflicting and corresponding interests and goals, and how these guide their interactions and activities can further be investigated. In the following section, I intend to situate the architectural profession among other social groups, and distil the model according to the specific research questions.

2.3. An Actor-Based Framework to Analyse Professional Value

Systems of Practicing Architects

As with other professions, the definition of architecture and the professionalization of the architect are shaped by various factors which are dependent on the social practices situated in context. The rise of professionalism and the problems and dilemmas that occur in the profession have therefore been shaped and transformed with respect to the socio-economic contexts in specific situations throughout history.

Architects have been defining themselves through an ongoing interaction and communication with the actors they engage with in various professional domains. The values of architects regarding their position, power and role with respect to others and how they define their professions and goals accordingly require an actor-based approach.

In the analysis of professional world-views and value-systems, it is necessary to study the positions of professionals in relation to the other actors within the society (Burrage et al., 1990; Freidson, 1986). An actor-based framework can reveal values that influence and shape the formation of social groups among other groups, the

relationships of power between groups and sub-groups within the groups, and the activities carried out by groups toward the other groups. 'Shared perspectives', in other words, common knowledge-value systems; commitments and goals, and actions of actors may be understood within this framework.

2.3.1. Actors in the Professional Domain

When analysing professions, it is crucial to study the institutions where professionals carry on various activities. Burrage et al. (1990) identify five actors when approaching the processes of professionalization in history: the practicing professionals, the state, the clients, the users of professional services and the universities. To this list, other professions should be added. Professional associations are also influential in the professionalization of occupations (Freidson, 1986). Within these institutions, there are distinct roles that professionals take besides their roles as professional, with respect to other actors in the system.

A general distinction between social groups may be made between professionals and non-professionals. These groups may be situated at various institutions ranging from universities, to large and small work organisations, to the state. Freidson (1986) considers the subgroups among professionals primarily as: the academic-researchers, the practicing professionals who may be self-employed or employees, and the professionals working for the state (1986). Non-professionals, on the other hand, may be positioned as clients, as users of professional services, as employers and employees in private work organisations or the state, as other professionals in collaboration or competition with the profession, and non-professionals that may cooperate and compete. The diverse positions of these professional sub-groups have an impact on the value judgments they hold due to

their specific interests. Therefore, the positioning of the social groups and sub-groups should be explored in further detail, particularly considering architects.

2.3.1.1. Social Groups within Professions

According to Freidson, professionals' distinct positioning within sub-groups is likely to influence their views with respect to their self-definition and other sub-groups:

The differentiation of members into practitioners, administrators, and teacher researchers is thus a central characteristic of the organisation of professional occupations. It also represents a critical division bearing on both professional powers and the use of formal knowledge. Located in different positions in the system, with different duties, each has different interests and perspectives. (1986: 212).

2.3.1.1.1. The universities and research-academicians

Schools are central institutions in the professionalization of occupations. They support the self-definition of the profession among other occupations through the claim of transmitting specialised knowledge to the students. As Larson points out, "the autonomous discourse of a profession- the knowledge and justification it produces by and for itself- is articulated, transmitted, and above all, received in schools" (1993: 11). It is also the base where students become enculturated in the profession. The idealised notions of the professional, the standards of inclusion and exclusion to the profession, and the rules of conduct of the professional that are transmitted through the universities are of crucial importance at this point.

The universities are the institutions where professionals carry out full-time teaching and research, and are responsible for the production of new knowledge. As a social group, they "maintain control over innovations to the body of knowledge they claim as their own by keeping it within the professional family" (Freidson, 1986: 83). The universities have the authority to set the standards for the profession. Through

entrance, graduation and diplomas they control the boundaries of the profession. Moreover, although teachers and researchers do not have direct power over the professionals who work for the state or who are practicing professionals, they have the power to form the basis of the professional definition through the formal knowledge given, as well as through the nature of social practices carried out in schools.

Due to the significant role of schools, the interests and goals of academic-researchers are likely to be different than that of practitioners. Academics and practitioners largely have different interests concerning what the knowledge base of the profession should be, and how it should be applied (Burrage et al., 1880).

Practitioners complain in almost every profession about the incapability of universities to prepare the student for practice due to their academic, theoretical, abstract training (Freidson, 1986). The idealistic goals offered through schools is believed to be inconsistent with everyday problems of practice.

Besides the goals of academic-researchers that are related to their profession in general, they also have interests as a sub-group of academic-researchers. Thus, their position and status depend on the credentials they receive, through research and education. The standards established by universities which require professionals with high credentials control the inclusion to the academic community (Freidson, 1986).

2.3.1.1.2. Professionals in governmental institutions

The government as an institution has a significant role in the professionalization of occupations. It is involved in the professional domain through establishing standards, education, licensing, and the creation of a market for professional service

(Burrage *et al.*, 1990). The impact of governmental institutions is observed in practice through the written resources of standards, rules and regulations rather than direct intervention of individual actors. The change in political ideologies of the government largely determines the positioning of the profession in the market, and with respect to other social groups. As Burrage *et al.* clarify: “ The power, wealth and prestige of any profession therefore depends largely on the policies of the state to which they are subject” (1990: 210). At certain historical phases, the professional value systems may be in coherence with the ones explicated officially by the state, while at other times, they may be in conflict.

Besides numerous occupational groups working in governmental institutions, architects as professionals are also employed by the government. The professionals employed by the government may carry out a wide range of work, spread through various departments. The main distinction between the practicing professional, the academic-researcher and the government employee is that the latter is associated with a government policy. Thus, their professional views may coincide or conflict with the objectives that guide policy decisions in the government. The approach of the government also differs from practice in that it has to take into consideration the totality of the profession and its influences in the society, rather than immediate effects (Freidson, 1986). The goals regarding the activity of building may not correspond to that of the practicing professional; where the practitioner has direct involvement in the design of a building, the architects working at institutions have ranging, but different roles towards the building activity such as controlling, establishing programs and allocating governmental resources.

The professionals in the government have relative power of setting rules for implementation. In government standard-setting organisations, professionals establish official standards for products and services, having a certain degree of

control over work. Consequently, these reflect on professional education and the self-definition of professionals. Meanwhile, the standards and regulations have a direct impact on the professional practices. They are explicit value-statements of how certain practices ought to be, and thus set the standards of goodness (Pultar, 1997).

Indeed, if one may generalise across the varied professions and agencies of the federal government, one may suspect that professionals who are bureaucrats are likely to have a rather different perspective on policy issues than do the professional associations that advance the perspective of the majority of the members who work outside the government... They do yield important powers by virtue of their positions in the bureaucracy, but the policy position adopted by the executive branch that employs them, the substance of the legislation that is their duty to implement, and their own perspective on the issues are all likely to influence their use of those powers (Freidson, 1986: 195-196).

Besides the functions of regulating practices, establishing rules and standards, defining general policy relating to the market and managing policies about education, the government may also be the client for architectural services, which may transform the role of the architects within governments as clients.

2.3.1.1.3. Practicing professionals

Practicing professionals transform the formal knowledge that has been acquired in universities through their activities at work. Their interests and power differ depending on whether they are self-employed or are employees. In both situations, they have a degree of power over clients, as they differentiate themselves by the formal knowledge they claim. However, the degree of autonomy of work is largely determined by their positioning in the administrative sector within the work. As Freidson notes, employee professionals use discretion and judgement to a certain extent (1986). Yet, this is limited since they do not have control over the allocation of resources, most importantly, time and budget. This is the main distinctive feature of professionals who are in a managerial position whether they are self-employed or

not. This also marks the difference in interests, priorities and power of the individuals. Hence, rank-and-file architects may have priorities relating to their professional activity, whereas manager-architects may have the priority of preserving the integrity of the organisation. Thus, they determine the goals accordingly. The commitment to profession is therefore differentiated through the sub-positions. Tensions and conflicting values may emerge in practice on the one hand, due to professionals' multiple roles, and on the other hand, tensions are likely to emerge in practice due to the available resources (time, money, labour, etc.), the workers, the supervisor-managers, the professionals, and the clients.

The struggle for a position in society with respect to clients, users, non-professionals and among competing professionals in the building activity is influenced by the types and areas of knowledge that professionals acquire and utilise and by the different sub-sectors within the profession who have a variety of goals and objectives. In that respect, the power relationship between architects and other social groups also changes.

Insofar as practitioners, administrators, and teacher-researchers are located in different places in the professional system and perform different tasks, it follows that there will be a variation in the amount of power they have... There is power in policy-making and administration, power to define public needs and problems, power in resource allocations, power over clients, and power to control the work. The differentiation of professions into academics, administrators, and practitioners represents a differentiation of access to those powers. (Freidson, 1986: 213).

It is also suggested that, being in specific social positions, the application of professional knowledge in these positions are also likely to change (Cuff, 1991; Freidson, 1986; Roweis, 1988). The knowledge given through education, or the theoretical knowledge available in books and texts is used and transformed in professional practices. Thus, the body of 'professional knowledge' encompasses speculative, interpretive, normative, and fictional elements besides theoretical, empirical, technical elements (Roweis, 1988).

2.3.1.2. The Non-Professional Social Groups and Institutions in Architectural Practice

Along with the internal professional division, an exploration of the social groups that interact with the professionals in practice is necessary. Since professional practice is central to the discussion of this dissertation, I will now concentrate on the social groups and institutions which interact with architects in practice.

2.3.1.2.1. Other architects

A distinctive property of professions in general is their colleague-oriented nature (Kultgen, 1988). This is partially due to the internal community control of the professions, for example through associations and chambers, such that boundaries of inclusion/exclusion are set by the standards within the community. Knowledge and values amongst professionals are transmitted through educational institutions, professional organizations, publications and awards (Larson, 1993).

There is a distinct stratification in the profession of architecture. As in any profession, the professional elite are influential in setting the standards for what is appropriate in terms of services and products, to include in the professional domain (Larson, 1993). This is particularly important in architecture where the identification of the profession as “art” is largely based on the unique works of artist-designers and their ‘built exemplars’. “Thus, the majority of practitioners derives professional legitimacy from the presence in the same field of the very small elite of artist-architects”. (Larson, 1993: 9).

The above discussion includes only one aspect of architecture- it's artistic dimension. Thus, the critics, historians and elite practitioners define what buildings are to be judged as art and be included in the discourse of architecture (Larson, 1993). Yet, architecture is a service with a multiplicity of dimensions, and in practice, competition between architects continue with the increased complexity of buildings, increased areas of specialization and the high number of architects in the arena, as Gutman specifies considering the context of US (1989).

2.3.1.2.2. Other professionals and non-professionals

The professional self-definition requires a boundary that distinguishes the product and service from those that are not produced by others. This is crucial especially in the building industry, where a very large number of the building processes are carried out by non-architects. Moreover, there is an obscurity in the identification of an architectural product from a non-architectural product. Therefore, in order to gain a position within the market, the profession must first persuade the clients and the public that the service is 'needed', and that the services must be distinguished from non-professional products (Larson, 1977). Hence, professionalization is an attempt to create and monopolise opportunities in the market for those social groups which acquire a distinct body of knowledge (Collins, 1990). This has shaped the formation of the boundaries of the profession and its products throughout history, with the aim to identify the architectural products from ordinary building.

The competition of architects with other professions to have monopoly over the building process can be traced in history. The features of inclusion to the social group as defined by architects is largely based on the differentiation of knowledge base. The multi-faceted nature of the building process has produced competition between architects and occupations ranging from masons, surveyors, artists,

engineers, interior designers and landscape architects. This is increasing due to specialization of services and the increase of large building programs where architects have to re-establish their identities and work domains (Gutman, 1989).

Besides competition, architects have to cooperate with the other actors that take part in the building process. This is also crucial since buildings are conceptualised by the architect, but require multiple actors to realise the construction process. An analysis of architectural profession in history also includes the architect's relation to workers, technicians, engineers, etc. , in terms of collaboration and division of labor between the occupant groups as well as the power relationship of control and authority during building design, planning and production processes.

2.3.1.2.3. The clients

The type of client the architect serves, and its relative position are significant in the degree of power the architect has, as much as the type of service that is carried out. Despite the autonomous nature of 'art' and the authority over knowledge and practices that architectural profession claims, the existence of architectural products depends on clients (Larson, 1993). Therefore, the characteristics of clients as well as the relationship between the client and the architect, influenced by the changing socio-economic context historically, shape the self-definition of the architect and architectural products.

Generally, the clients of architectural services may be identified as the state, the individual client-user and the client who is not the user of service, whether a large-size corporate client or a small sized firm or individual. The priorities, goals and intentions of the clients, their perception of the architect's role, their economic

resources, amongst many other characteristics have an impact on the nature of the architect-client interaction, the design process and the final product.

2.3.1.2.4. The users

The users of services are crucial in the architectural profession, not only because they are whom the buildings are built 'for', but also because the knowledge about users is also a part of the domain of expertise architects claim. The 'user' may take various roles in relation to the architect.

The users of professional services of architecture vary in terms of how they 'use' the buildings. First, the client may be the user himself/herself, who has a direct contact with the architect. This is the case, for example, with the client commissioning the architect for a private residence. However, considering the urban condition today in Turkey as well as in many other countries, architects usually practice their professions for a large number of users other than the client-user, without having a direct contact with them. Some of the users may actually occupy the buildings. However, the architectural service may also be for some other 'users' who view the building in its urban context, being directly affected by its existence, because a significance of the architectural product is its impact on the built environment as an artefact besides its function.

The client-user-architect interaction is crucial in the design of residential environments due to the indeterminacy of the knowledge the architect and the client both have, and claim to have, in this process. Thus, in the case of designing residential projects for unknown users or directly for client/users, the needs, habits and ways of life of the clients are also a part of the knowledge that will find place in the design product. This differs from the more complex programs of hospitals, formal

public buildings, etc where the program involves far less direct substance from the client. The basic reason for this is that the architect not only has to know how a user group will live in his or her proposed project, through various means and feedback, but the architect must also make an evaluative judgment of whether the user should live that way or not. In addition, a value judgment of how that way of life, whether 'good' or 'bad', ought to be reflected to design decisions is also held by architects. Therefore, architects perform practice guided by the knowledge and assumptions on lifestyles, the values attributed to them and the professional goals and aims related to them. Since the client/user constitutes one of the basic resources of the knowledge on how people live, the criteria of design decisions are partially received from them. This influences interaction, blurs the boundaries between knowledge claims, value claims and their reflections on architectural design decisions.

I have only given a brief account of the actors and institutions that take part in the professional scene. I have identified them as distinct due to their varying degrees of power with respect to one another, changing membership criteria, values, norms, goals, and resources; varying ideologies. The interrelationship between these actors shape, produce, transform the everyday practices of professionals.

2.3.2. A Model to Analyse Value Systems of Practicing Architects

with respect to Clients and Users

It has been suggested above that within the social structure, professionals acquire a specific position through their difference from other social groups by their work and their relative control over formal knowledge. In that respect, the building activity is a social process where a variety of actors, including professionals, interact, forming social worlds with a variety of commitments, goals and interests (Guy and Farmer, forthcoming.). Hence:

The different patterns of social organization that emerge result from the interactions, negotiations and social struggles that take place between the several kinds of actor. These latter include not only those present in given face-to-face encounters but also those who are absent but who nevertheless influence the situation, affecting actions and outcomes". (Long, 1982b: 21)

The values of architects regarding other actors are shaped either indirectly or directly through face-to-face interactions. These values are accompanied with others through the differentiation of roles within their social group, such as: teacher-researchers, administrators in state institutions or private institutions and practicing professionals, as well as amongst other actors, such as: members of other professions, non-professionals, clients and users. Moreover, professionals are situated in a certain socio-historical context which determines their position with respect to other members of society, influences their perceived role within the social structure and influences their value systems.

The intention in this dissertation is to investigate the value systems of architects with respect to their professional roles regarding society at large, and clients and users in particular. Identification of multiple values that frame and are reflected in the professional activities of architects in various positions and roles within the society is also an intention of this study. My objective is not to verify the truth of beliefs that underlie architects' values, or make evaluations of the value judgments held by architects. I aim to clarify the content of the values that architects attribute to themselves, as members of a distinct profession, to clients and users; how these interrelate with their professional objectives of how to act at certain situations, particularly in residential design practice; and finally how these reside in action. —

At this point, my intention is to explicate the frameworks that underlie the belief systems of individuals as constituted by their individual interests, their personalities, and their multiple social interests as they acquire certain roles in society. Thus, I assume that both collectivistic and individual interests shape the

value systems of practicing architects, such as the professional service ideal versus the ideal of gaining economic interest, power and status within society. These values, accompanied with others, are reflected upon the practices of individuals in everyday lives. Action is carried out at a certain specific moment through the resolution of a conflict between values through a degree of importance and appropriateness to the situation. My intention is to discover the properties of the competing and corresponding values of practicing architects, in terms of the architects' self-identity, norms, goals, positioning within society and regarding clients and users, and use of resources-- particularly, professional knowledge. The research study will be confined to architects' values of clients and users when they design residential environments; thus focusing on the process of residential practice.

I am assuming that individual action is shaped both by the qualities of the individual, and by the social, cultural and political context at a historical moment. There is an interplay between the individual and the social, between the micro-factors and the macro-factors. Through the building process and products, social relations are structured, transformed and reproduced (Giddens, 1994). The outcome of the situated activities of knowledgeable and capable human actors, who are conscious of their individual actions, influenced both by their personalities as well as the larger context is reflected back to the larger context, transforming it and reproducing it.

The model that introduces the relationship between knowledge, values and action can be further distilled according to the purposes of this research. Along with many 'objects' that the architect attributes value to, the self as part of a social group, and the other groups of clients and users will be the focus of the study. Having certain beliefs about the profession, clients and users, the architect is guided by a set of values of how he/she ought to act in a situation, or to interact with the clients and users. These values, specifying the aims and objectives of the architect, may be in

harmony with one another or in conflict. Yet, the architect performs a specific action guided by the value system. This can be schematised in the following way:

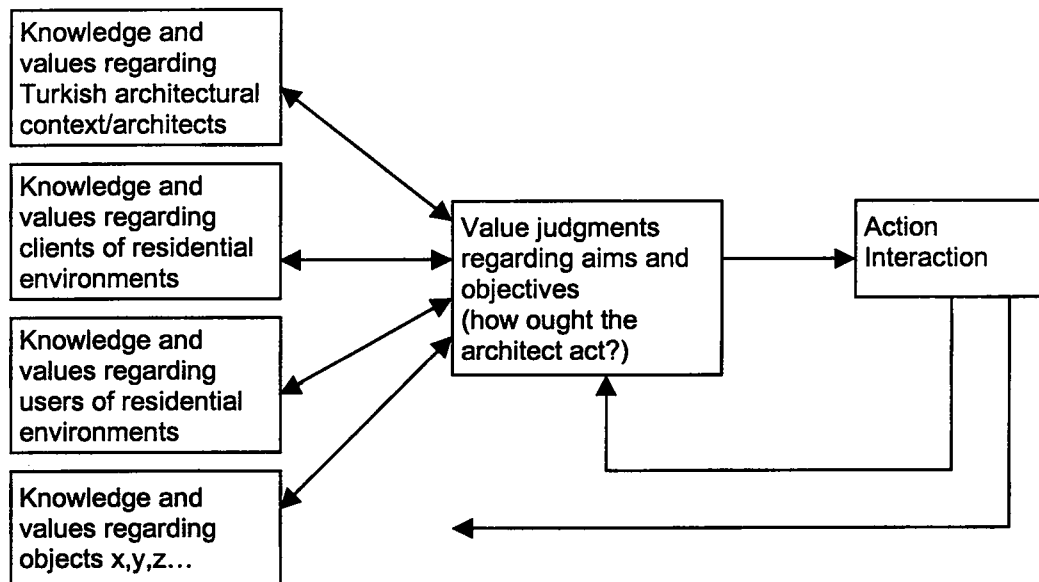


Figure 2. The Relationship Between Knowledge, Values and Action of Architects

3. ARCHITECTS' HISTORICAL SELF DEFINITION AND RELATION WITH CLIENTS AND USERS

In this chapter, a brief discussion will be provided of the changing role and self-definition of architects historically, followed by an overview of literature of architects' views of, and interactions with clients and users in practice. Furthermore, the professionalization of the architect in Turkey will be reviewed, with an emphasis on the current role of the architect in residential design practice.

How definitions of role relationships reflect the ideals of the profession, the domain of expertise and the changing interactions regarding clients, users and the society at large will be covered in the discussion. The interplay of multiple values within the profession, basically the ideal of service to the society, and the goal of gaining economic and professional status will be explored.

Since professions are defined by the expert knowledge they attain, and the very knowledge they attain is what gives them their professional identities, the content and nature of this knowledge, as well as how it is acquired is ultimately important. This claim to knowledge defines the roles and objectives of the professional, as well as establishing boundaries between other actors.

Kostof (1977) sees the primary task of architects as visualising buildings and communicating this visualisation of how buildings should be to other actors, such as clients and builders. However, the majority of the building activity, such as

vernacular buildings, is carried out without architects' professional skill. In that respect, architecture is an exceptional profession, since it can not control a monopoly over the totality of the building process. As Larson clarifies, "... unlike older professions, it does not succeed in establishing jurisdiction against either professional competitors or lay resistance". (1983: 75).

The basic feature that differentiates architecture from other professions is that architecture is described both as an art and a science, therefore including values, particularly aesthetic values, as a significant domain in its range of beliefs. In capitalist societies, architecture as a profession has established its status to possess artistic, technical and social dimensions (Larson, 1993). However, as Larson argues, at different moments in history, the emphasis on each dimension has varied differently. Thus, although architecture is said to combine 'commodity, firmness, and delight', three ideals which present the functionality, engineering, and aesthetic aspects of architecture, there is not a consensus about which should have, and has priority (Blau, 1984).

3.1. The Professionalization of the Architect and His/Her Beliefs with respect to Users and Clients

Architects were present in 3000 BC, and a need for architects emerged when there was a need for a refined and elegant built environment (Kostof, 1977). In the Middle Ages, the architect was usually the stonemason, with the 'master mason' directing the workshop in the construction process. This began to change during the Renaissance when the humanists aimed at re-establishing the role of the architect (Boyle, 1977; Larson, 1993). The Renaissance ideal of the architect was specified by his extent of knowledge and practice from mere craftsmanship to theory and

intellectual activity. This also gave the 'learned' architect a higher social status- placing him among artists (Ettlinger, 1977; Wilkinson, 1977).

The majority of the clients of architects at this time were rich educated patrons and royalty. They would commission architects with churches, small commissions, as well as military designs (Wilkinson, 1977; Ettlinger, 1977). In the late 16th century it was customary for upper-class families to hire an architect. However, architects were highly dependant on their patrons. There was no protection of architects by an established guild (Wilkinson, 1977). The degree of autonomy of architectural practice was undetermined in the beginning of the professionalization. Meanwhile, until the latter half of the 18th century, the architect gave the service of designer as well as construction supervisor in England (Wilton-Ely, 1977). In England, the architect had to distinguish himself from the surveyor, who was a professional measurer of buildings and their parts. On the other hand, the architect-client-craftsman relationship had to include a fourth person - the general contractor- with the rise of population, speculative activity and rapid housing construction in the 1830s (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

The establishment of institutions, associations, and particularly educational programs were factors in the professionalization of architecture, which continued since the 17th century in Europe. The purpose of the Beaux-Arts Movement, for example, was to raise the status of the profession. As Draper points out: "Architects wanted to be recognised as experts with specialised knowledge, obtained through long study. They sought to infuse the profession with a theoretical base and to establish ethical principles of conduct." (1977: 214).

A transformation of the role of the architect, and their relationship with clients occurred in the 19th century, with the emergence of new building types and the

advance of technology (Larson, 1993). Architects had a need to redefine their expertise with respect to the 'machine' and re-establish their artistic tradition within the building industry, incorporating the changing society (Larson, 1993). A rivalry with the engineering profession also claiming responsibility for building enterprises also became apparent.

Meanwhile, in the 19th century United States, nearly all of the building industry was controlled by tradesmen rather than architects. The rise of demand for new building types, mainly complex and expensive large department stores, banks and office buildings, especially in Chicago and New York, led to the establishment of the architectural profession (Saint, 1983). In both of these cities, architects were forming architectural firms with architect-manager partnerships, and establishing architectural workshops and offices (Saint, 1983). The rise of large architectural offices had a negative impact on the image of the individual artist-architect (Boyle, 1977). Thus, in practice, the building process was a matter of organisation, management, effectiveness, and gaining money prior to art. The specialist knowledge of employees within a large office, and their lessened role in the total decision-making process as well as artistic aspects was in contrast with the presentation of the architectural profession to the professionals themselves as well as to the public (Boyle, 1977). Meanwhile, the establishment of architects' status in the construction industry developed when the first registration laws were legislated in Illinois in 1897.

At the turn of the 20th century, professional ideologies in architecture communicated and practiced by the leading designers were in parallel with the political ideologies of the period (Montgomery, 1989). Thus, intentions in architecture represented the socialist institutions and values, as a reaction to the rise of capitalism and extreme individualism. Architecture was beginning to take a

new role of the betterment of society through the use of knowledge and the rationality of science as well as technological advancements. Architecture was thus seen as a key to social welfare (Kostof, 1989), as presented by the elite.

In order to legitimise its practices, architecture turned to the 'truths' of science. The 'utility' aspect of design gained much more significance than before (Rowe, 1994). This way, the traditional, 'subjective' interpretation of design was replaced by 'objective' findings (Boyle, 1977). This view of architecture rejected the individual artist-architect of the past, who was isolated from the social context and the members within the building process.

The problem of housing arising after the First World War provided grounds for the application of modern architectural theory to practice. Architects turned to the needs of the 'people', especially workers, in parallel to socialist ideologies (Kostof, 1989, Harris and Lipman, 1986). This was an arena for the use of architecture as a tool of social reform, as Philip Johnson later recalled, "... the coming Utopia when everyone would live in cheap prefabricated flat-roofed multiple dwellings- heaven on earth" (Harris and Lipman, 1986: 840). The elite positioning of architects remained, with their goal to provide the ideal places for living, the way that they believed it ought to be.

Modernist architecture, with its ideology, discourse and practice, in different forms regarding changing socio-cultural contexts, maintained its dominance until the late 1950's in the US and the West. One should note that these were also 'ideals' and the degree to which they could be realised in the discourse and practise of the profession is open to discussion. Consequently, in course of time, criticisms of modernism began to dominate the architectural scene.

The criticism of modern architecture centred around three issues; the technological, the social and the formalist aspects (Ghirardo, 1991). Certainly, all of these aspects were directly related to, and were outcomes of one another.

The technological critique claimed that the belief that the rational application of technical advancements without considering existing social, economic and political structures would cure all societal problems and modern living, had failed (Ghirardo, 1991).

The formalist critique was based on the negative impact of the modernist aesthetics and style on the modern city image, as well as on the individuals. The uniform geometries introduced by modern architecture were seen as imposing and alienating. The Modernist materials of steel and glass were evaluated as oppressive, dull and impersonal, creating 'placeless', unfamiliar spaces. The exclusion of historical elements were believed to have caused the impossibility of modern architecture to communicate with the public at large (Crawford, 1991).

The social critique was based on the argument that modern architecture had failed to solve the social problems that it had idealised to accomplish (Ghirardo, 1991). With their services unable to reach the 'classless' public—which did not exist—architects had not been able to achieve a role in solving the social, economic and political controversies. Besides, the Modern architect, with his/her designs for the idealised universal human being, ignored the diversities of individuals of the real world in terms of gender, age, ethnic and cultural differences.

The social critique raised by both architects and social scientists was a reaction to the presupposition of the 'universal man' for which the modernist architect were designing, who actually did not exist (Jencks, 1987). The social science trend was

opposed to the concept of 'universal man', since it ignored the psychological and social needs of the everyday 'person'. This necessitated the input of the social sciences in architectural practice, to consider the needs of actual people rather than ideal versions. The needs of human beings were to be researched and grounded on a scientific base, to serve architectural practice (Studer, 1990; Ward, 1993). This led to research on the relationship between people and their built environment by design and social science professionals. For the profession, this meant "... the end of architecture as art and the beginning of architecture as a field interested in making places for people- meaning users and occupants." (Studer, 1990: 269). So, the role of the architect was beginning to change from the sculptor-creator to the social-scientist- server to accommodate the needs of the 'people' rather than his/her artistic aspirations. She/he would become a social researcher in order to overcome the alienation between himself/herself and the user (Auden, 1971).

Although the environment-behavior studies changed its scope during the 1980's and 1990's, questioning its own research areas and methodologies, its implications to the role of the profession with respect to other actors has been apparent. Initially, there was the decrease of the power of design, with an objective of the scientification of design (Studer, 1990; Ward, 1993). The built environment would now fall into the discourse of a new set of professionals who would intervene to the designs of the architects with their legitimate scientific knowledge. At the same time, though, the architect was seen from a new perspective, with the questioning of his/her profession outside the realm of aesthetics or engineering. The architect had been designing spaces for people since the beginning of his/her profession, but what his/her images of the users or intentions with respect to the users was for the first time called into question in comparison to the actual impact of the product. The architect had to justify her/his practices not because of the products' formal aspects, or soundness, but from the point of view of the people who experienced and lived in

the buildings and thus a re-establishment of its place among the sciences, rather than the arts.

Along with the emphasis on the social sciences, the emphasis on the aesthetic sphere was also simultaneously taking place in the practice of architecture. Coinciding with the criticism towards the theories and practices of the Modern Movement in architecture that began in the 1960's in the United States and the Western World was an advancement of communication systems and technology. The rapid circulation of products and capital lead to the increased importance given to the service sectors rather than the production sectors (Harvey, 1990). The construction industry was threatened by the economic recession in 1973, and was mobilised by the recovery of the private sector. This also determined the transformation of practices of architects from the public sector to private commissions (Larson, 1993). The substitution of public housing and community projects with commercial projects implied the emphasis given to the aesthetic aspects of architecture rather than the social aspects, giving a re-formulation of architects' previous role as decorators of environments, with an increase of commissions from the 'elite' class (Montgomery, 1989).

The architect's goal was re-established to be concerned with the aesthetic meaning of the built environment. In this new context, the objective of the architect, while accepting the socio-economic conditions as it is, was to take a 'modest' social role, concentrating on the visual impact of its products, to communicate with the 'everyday person' through the symbolic aspects of built form. The positioning of architecture as a means of communication accepted plurality of the society with varying levels and classes (Amendola, 1988). The ideals of modernism, the aspirations of total design, order, and unity, were replaced by the celebration of diversity, change, chaos, disorder (Harvey, 1990).

Within this new arena, the corporate client in the private sector would be, and has been the significant client type emerging (Gutman, 1989). In the current practice in the United States, the client profile is varying to include large corporations, governments, institutions as well as developers and individuals (Cuff, 1991; Larson, 1993). Meanwhile, the complexity of buildings and the advancement of technology has lead to the a restructuring of actors in the building enterprise, influencing particularly architects.

The role of architect in current practice has changed with the transformation and inclusion of role-players in the building process. It is a question of which aspect of architecture must be emphasised in order to gain respect and status within society- and to have specialised expert knowledge on one domain (Gutman, 1989). The diverse activities to be performed in the building process require a need for specialization, and the growth of large architectural firms, particularly in the United States and Great Britain (Gutman, 1989; Symes et al; 1993). Competition of architects among themselves and the emerging professions, such as interior designers, landscape designers and project managers to gain a share in the market, has also questioned the self-definition and role of the architect (Gutman, 1989). Thus, as Symes et al. indicate, the practitioner has taken the new role of the architect-entrepreneur (Symes et al. ,1995). "The building design team, normally until very recently led by an architect, has come to see itself as a business organisation providing services in the market-place" (Symes et al, 1995: 5). The various roles an architect now takes in the occupation, as described by Blau, are artist, business expert, bureaucrat, social reformer, user, advocate and technician (1984).

Being shaped by, and shaping these changes in practice, Crawford notes that there is an ongoing conflict between individual concerns of architects and their

professional positioning (1991). Thus, there is a gap between the needs of professional identity and social responsibility. This leads to a contradiction between architects' design convictions as ideal, with convictions in practice (Blau, 1984; Cuff; 1991). The current conditions of practice require a set of values that may contradict with the idealised goals and objectives of the profession. At this point, the qualities attributed to the 'society', 'users' and the 'client' is significant in the definition of the profession. These categories are not value-neutral, whereas the criteria and establishment of their boundaries with respect to the architect, and how the architects get to know them, and evaluate them are directly interrelated with their self-definitions, goals, professional activities. How architects view their role, and specify their objectives with respect to clients and users in current practice, and how multiple values shape their professional practices should therefore be investigated.

3.1.1. Architects' Beliefs with respect to Users in General and in Residential Design in Particular

During the design process the architects must take into consideration the inhabitants of the buildings they design for. Yet, interaction with the users themselves is not always available. There is an indirect knowledge of the users gained from the agents in the process (Cuff, 1991). In that respect, rather than the interaction itself, other resources stand out that are used to gain knowledge on the users to be incorporated into the design process (Darke, 1984). Moreover, the user image in the architects' mind becomes a significant aspect in the determinant of the building project. Therefore, the knowledge and values of architects with respect to users during design, in general or in specific projects, demands further exploration.

There is extensive research on architects beliefs on 'architecture' in general, including studies on architects' assumed beliefs about their users which are derived

from the analysis of built products and studies on the views of users regarding the built environment. Yet, there has been a lack of empirical research on the architects' in current practice (Ellis and Cuff, 1989; Lang, 1988). A focus of the intentions of architects, and the beliefs that these intentions are based upon during the design process is important in the understanding in the production of the built environment.

In an investigation into the worlds of seven elite New York architects, Cuff has distinguished three main positions of architects as to how they see themselves in relation to others when they carry out their work (1989). These architects had an explicit differentiation of 'me', people similar to me, who included other architects, and the world at large. Yet, while some viewed their work as a means to self-exploration, others took on a phenomenological perspective, seeing architecture as a way of 'being-in-the-world'. The third stance that they took was a significant relationship with the others, viewing architecture as a way of cultural expression and interpretation of the wider cultural and social sphere.

According to Cuff's study, the common characteristics of the people that architects design for were: a need to be related to nature and natural elements basically through perception and a need for orientation and a sense of order in the physical space. Other more ambiguous qualities attributed referred to peoples' appreciation and awareness of architecture and art. Architects' identification of the people revealed mainly individualistic characteristics. However, notions of community, social interaction, work or familial relations did not seem to be clearly defined and elaborated by the architects, on behalf of the other. Finally, the changing nature of the existing world and values of others had an impact to the design process. Since the architect could not predict these changes, he/she freed the decision-making process partially from the functional expectations (1988). "The ever-changing social

values require a timeless, great work that goes beyond the immediate circumstance” (Cuff, 1988: 98).

The goals and intentions of elite architects interviewed by Larson also include values that go beyond the immediate concern for the client, leading to the enrichment of the human quality of life (1993). Along with the aim to create meaning through buildings, aesthetics and design, thus concentrating on the signification of the built form, architects attribute worth to the buildings’ ability to enhance life and satisfy the everyday needs of the people (Larson, 1993).

Apart from architects’ general beliefs about users, their knowledge and assumptions about users in residential design process have been studied by Darke, interviewing the architects of six public housing projects (1984a, 1984b). Darke questioned the architects’ images of the users, the intentions of architects and reflections of these on design outcomes.

One of the main aspects that the architects considered with respect to the users were their orientation to personalise the dwellings to achieve individuality and identity, and thus considered the functionality and aesthetics of their projects to encourage peoples’ identity and self-expression. Besides, they believed that the physical environment would influence social behaviour, if not determine it. This led most of the architects’ design objective to enhance social relationships and encouraging community, except for one architect who was rather concerned with aesthetics and another who aimed to provide an environment which would enable the residents to choose the degree of contact; and withdraw from it when they desired.

The fact that the number and characteristics of the future residents of the projects were unknown lead to an intention to provide possible use patterns within the dwellings by the architects rather than the provision of spaces for a single type of usage. Thus, flexibility seemed to be significant for them since they had inadequate knowledge about the users. There was a stereotyped image of the users by the architects, as Darke criticises:

The household is seen as a 'happy family' or, in a few cases, as an elderly person; the increasing variety in types of household is not given consideration. As an extension of this misperception, the larger group of residents on an estate is also expected to be cohesive and to enjoy conflict-free relationships with each other. (...) In short, the view of the estate as a social grouping is characterised by an image of consensus rather than conflict. Although a case could be made that consensus is desirable, this is not the same as claiming that it automatically or invariably exists... (1984a: 403)

The architects' sources of assumptions about their users were mainly based on their personal experiences, followed by information from the client, feedback from completed schemes and observation and personal contact with the residents. The awareness and the utilization of social research and the belief that it was useful was not commonly held by architects. The reliance on personal experience and the assumption that these experiences would be similar to those of the users was partly related to the fact that it was a housing project. Thus, "... since everybody has experience of living somewhere, it is easy for architects to assume, as most of them appear to do despite a tenuous awareness of social differences, that their own experience provides sufficient evidence of requirements to serve as a basis for designing for others" (Darke, 1984b: 412).

3.1.2. Architects' Values Regarding Their Role with respect to Users and Clients

Based on factual beliefs held with respect to users received from a variety of resources, architects constitute their professional objectives, which define their professional identities in general and guide their design decisions at particular situations. These decisions are particularly problematic when the interests of the society at large, the client and the self are all to be considered by the architect to be incorporated into the final outcome.

In an extensive survey carried out across principal architects of firms of various sizes in Great Britain, questioning their beliefs about the architectural profession, it was discovered that almost 80 percent believed that architects serve to educate the client and the public (Symes et al., 1995). The architect as educator and captain has also been found to be a significant characteristic of the professional self-image of Turkish architects, in the analysis of the professional journals in Turkey by Eyikan (1999). Many architects believed that they ought to educate clients and show them the 'correct' way, opening up their vision; and described stories of such occasions. Yet, in contrast with the British survey and Eyikan's findings, the firm principals in the United States did not believe that architectural products actually educated the client or the public (Blau, 1984).

In a study of architects in the United States, the major quality that distinguishes architecture from other professions is identified to be arts and creativity (Blau, 1984). Yet, along with the dimension of arts which is a self-defining quality, one of the major objectives that architects attach to their professions is to satisfy user requirements. Analyzing the professional design goals explicated in architectural journals in Great Britain and through interviews with architects, Lipman suggests

that the two ideals of satisfying user needs and accommodating aesthetic intentions through design are the distinctive values upon which the profession of architecture is based (1976). The importance of the value attributed to the satisfaction of user needs is argued to be related to the increase of the strength of the profession's knowledge base and self-justification towards the public at large (Lipman, 1976; Montgomery, 1989).

The values of architects surveyed by Symes et al. confirm with the emphasis on professional value orientation to meet user needs (1995). Thus, over 90 percent of architects in the study believed that they ought to serve peoples' needs, and satisfy the clients. However, when these two goals conflicted in practice, the architects placed client satisfaction value above the value of serving the public interest. Thus, 80 percent disagreed with the statement that architects always place public interest before client satisfaction. Similarly, the objective of producing the desired project quality was often stated to be limited by the demands of clients. As Symes et al. suggest, "there seems to be a conflict between the importance of serving the client and the perception that clients limit excellence" (1995:49). This conflict may be raised when the requirements of clients as to how a building ought to be contradicts with the 'desirable' of the architect, leading to a difficulty in decision making.

Similar values regarding users were held by the architects interviewed by Blau in the United States at the end of the 1970's. Regarding their convictions about what architecture ought to be and how the design process ought to be, about 85 percent believed that "architecture should not be designed for peers or clients, but for users" (1984: 80), and that "much more attention should be given to the users' cultural values, spatial needs, and aesthetic preferences". Besides, a similar percentage of

architects held the belief that spatial relationships could influence, and even determine, social interaction and relations.

However, when comparing the convictions of employed architects with principals of firms, other values related with the success of the firm, held by the principles was identified (Blau, 1984). Although many ideals of both groups of architects were similar in terms of how buildings ought to look and that they should serve user needs, on the agendas of firms, the goal of client satisfaction and financial success gained priority. Serving peoples' needs was believed much less to be an indicator of a firm's success, and thus concerned the firm principals less in practice. The concern for users and the goal of the social functions of architecture, then, when coupled with the goal of gaining profit and client satisfaction, decreased in importance. This is consistent with the findings in the British survey, where in practice, client satisfaction is considered more than the public interest (Symes et al., 1995). These findings correspond to Freidson's identification of priorities of goals and objectives between employers and professionals in a managerial position compared to employees (1986).

3.1.3. Architects' Beliefs about Clients and Their Interaction

During the Design Process

Although the architect-client relationship comprises a very significant part in the design process, existing research is inadequate to understand and reveal this relationship (Cuff, 1991). In current architectural practice, the client plays an important role, giving the program, putting forth the preferences, giving constraints, approving and disapproving decisions, etc. A distinct feature of architectural profession is the architects' dependency to the clients and patrons, which contradicts a professions autonomy (Larson, 1983).

Considering the impact of the architect-client interaction on the product requires an understanding of design as a social process. Historically, the artist and the designer have been seen as unique and creative individuals, being the only ones who are the creators of the final product. On the contrary, Cuff (1989) and Forester (1985) argue that art and design work are socially produced. One dimension of this view is that the process of designing and making art is inescapably dependent on the existing technical, social, political and institutional context. A second dimension in the understanding of the social production of art is that the design product is itself not created by the individual on the drawing board, but by the negotiations, discussions and conversations that include many other people who are interested in the product; the client, the workers, the users, other professionals such as mechanical and electrical engineers, etc. Thus, these conversations in fact reformulate the design problem, and have impacts on the changing of the final product. The designer is not the ultimate creator responsible for the final solution; rather he/she is one of the participants in this social construction. Forester (1985) sees designing as making-sense together in conversations, where the parties negotiate between various issues in order to produce joint-gains for all the parties.

Exploring architects' perspectives in terms of the nature of interaction, values related to the degree of client/users' involvement into the design process seems significant. According to the British survey, 95 % architects find direct contact between the user and architect during design process as important (Symes et al., 1995). Besides, the majority believe that the initial meetings between architects and clients are crucial in the development of the project and that communication between clients and users during the process should continue with numerous meetings. The practitioners' business capability and the importance of communication with others is also highly valued by the architects in United States (Blau, 1984).

Ideals about how the architect-client/user interaction ought to be, however, may not hold when the control over the design project is threatened by the nature of interaction. As Cuff has analysed, architects complain when clients interfere too much in the design process, and prevent the quality of the product as desired by the architect (1991). This is similar to the conflict explicated by architects on the client restrictions that influence the design product in a negative way (Symes et al., 1995).

The conflicts in architect-client interaction in practice are described by Cuff:

In everyday architectural practice, there are frequent mismatches between the architect's and the client's understanding of what is being designed. For example, the architects often complain that clients' demands are completely inconsistent with the building's basic idea. Clients have similar complaints. In some cases, architect and client appear to aim for entirely different outcomes... (1991: 238).

During interaction, while the architect has the resource of knowledge and skills that can guide the process and interaction, the client has the monetary resource to use to exert power over the process. "In the negotiations between architects and their clients, as in any negotiation, an underlying consideration is control over knowledge and information" (Cuff; 1991: 39). Here, the ambiguities inherent in the nature of design problems aid the architect to have influence and power (Forester, 1985).

In the interactions between architects and clients, Cuff has observed a number of strategies used by both of the parties in order to claim authority over the process: explicating preferences, avoiding conflicts and constructing progress (1991). When values between the parties contradict, one of the parties "retrains from his strong position to one that is more agreeable to the other, either by compromise or by admitting a mistake". (Cuff, 1991: 184). Turkish architects also find compromise as an inescapable aspect of their interactions with clients (Eyikan, 1999). As Eyikan discloses, the architects' ability and power to endure, resist and to persuade

determines the final outcome when there is a conflict in aesthetic values between the architect and the client. Although architects have experiences where design quality is achieved by the aid of constructive relationships with clients and other parties during the design process, the majority of design experiences are expressed to be 'against all odds'. These odds may be the financial problems, the aesthetic and other values imposed by the clients on architects, the limitations of codes and regulations, etc. As both Cuff (1991) and Eyikan (1999) demonstrate, there are even times when the dispute cannot be overcome during the interactions and the project is put off.

A number of characteristics stand out in the architects' evaluation of favorable and unfavorable clients. In a research on the practices of elite designers in the United States, architects have distinguished between individual clients as opposed to institutional clients (Larson, 1993). The institutional clients, be they universities, corporate clients or governments, were judged to be difficult to interact with, due to the obscurity of the person who is the decision-maker and the existence of many heads which lead to possible conflict during interaction. Individuals were preferred since they had the power to make a decision. In institutional client groups, the intermediary people that mediated between the client and the architect, who were mainly architects themselves were said to be reluctant to make decisions or approvals. However, corporate clients were preferred when they commissioned large projects that would lead toward financial benefit. While repeated commissions by clients were valued for profit, one-of-a-kind commissions were valued for the professional growth and prestige of the architects.

Developers, who were a major client type of elite architects, were majorly evaluated in degrees of goodness, depending on them being speculators only or 'better kind' of developer (Larson, 1993). Although both types' major goal was said to be to

profit, the second category included developers who were more socially responsible, cared more for design quality, better educated, and understood that good design would sell more. Yet, low value was attributed to the general category of developers, both by the architects who worked for them and those who did not. Moreover, architects believed they had less control and power over the working drawings when they worked for developers, which was another reason for dissatisfaction. Larson points out that with the decrease of public commissions from the government and the increase of the power of private sector in construction, architects work for developers not because they prefer to do so, but because of a lack of alternatives (1993).

While the difference in aims of architect and client can raise dispute, certain characteristics of clients are desirable for the architect. As one of the architects in the Cuff research explained, a client is ideal if he “knows what he wants and what he wants is right” (1991: 182). Of course, the ‘right’ in this context is that which corresponds to the values and goals of the architect. Turkish architects also have stated, although rarely, other parties that have positive influences to the design process (Eyikan, 1999). Good communication between the client, contractor and the architect; a degree of freedom of the architect as respected by the client, and an expectation for the client to allow architects’ creative abilities to be put into design were examples that had positive impact on the design product (Eyikan, 1999).

From the architects’ perspective, the clients’ demand for quality is a factor that stands out to influence the design outcome positively (Cuff, 1991; Eyikan,1999; Larson, 1993). Besides this client expectation is their trust of the architect and a controlled degree of involvement to the process: “In the case studies, clients generally avoid stepping into the architects’ role, keeping an arm’s length from formal design... During the design process, clients discussed their requirements,

opinions of the architects' proposals, and ideas for better solutions, but they removed themselves from the actual manipulation of physical form" (Cuff, 1991: 238-239). Flexibility of both parties within the process and respect for one another's expertise and opinions seem to be characteristics of interactions that lead to outcomes preferred both by the client and the architect (Cuff, 1991).

3.2. The Architectural Profession and the Residential Design Process in Turkey

The professionalization of the Turkish architect and the establishment of his/her identity as it is today began in the 19th century. Based on Nalbantoğlu's (1988) thorough story of professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish architect, a brief discussion will be provided here, followed by the changing role of the profession and its position in society throughout the Republic to contemporary Turkey.

The duties of architects in the Ottoman Empire, their definitions, images and their patrons were very different from that of the European architects in the 15th and 16th centuries. From the 15th century to 1831, all building activity was controlled by the state through the Office of Royal Architects. Rather than being within a separate school or university, architectural education concerning construction and shipbuilding were given within the domain of military training or geometry in the palace school. Architects carried out their careers along with their intense military and administrative services. Rather than being identified as an individual artist-architect, at the time emerging in Europe, Ottoman architects were mainly servants to the Sultan, defined within the hierarchy of the bureaucracy of the Empire. Thus,

their socio-economic power and status came from their status within this hierarchy, based on the centralised power of state patronage.

Architecture as a bureaucratic occupation began transforming to a marketable profession in the late 18th century, when the state went into a series of reforms with the decline in the economy and military defeats. The reformers sought to gain back power by looking to the achievements of the Western world. The introduction of the French educational system in the Military Schools with the opening of Royal School of Military Engineering (*Mühendishane-i Berri-i Humayun*) initiated a change in the institutionalisation of architectural knowledge. Until 1833, all architectural training was given here, incorporating the visual aesthetic vocabulary of European Neoclassicism to enter in the built environment. Later, Civil Service School of Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye*) was founded in 1884 and the Royal School of Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) opened in 1883. With the latter, it was the first time that architecture was defined among the arts of painting and sculpture in the Ottoman Empire.

In 1831, the closing down of the Office of Royal Architects to be incorporated with the Directorate of Royal Buildings (*Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü*) further decreased the power of state patronage upon building activities in the Empire. Meanwhile, a new European and non-Muslim Ottoman population began to emerge in Istanbul, that acted as mediators between the Ottoman world and the West. They were socially and economically privileged small tradesmen, bankers, etc. This initiated the founding of architectural offices, with non-Muslim architects receiving private commissions from these new clients. The need for new buildings emerged such as banks, schools, factories, theatres and museums, as well as homes for the wealthy. These were either commissioned by the state or the new clients of individuals and firms.

At the beginning of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire, architects identified themselves with engineers, who were the key figures in the ideal of Westernisation and advancing the Empire through science and technological imports. The Ottoman Society of Engineers and Architects (*Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimarlar Cemiyeti*) was formed in 1909, but problems of economic and social status, and the emergence of rivalry between the two professions within the building market would begin to emerge, during the establishment of the Republic. Meanwhile, the domination of foreigners in the architectural field raised criticism amongst Turkish architects and was reflected on their architectural styling to emphasize the formalistic aspects of Ottoman buildings, a trend which would continue onwards to the Republic.

The social context of architecture after the Republic is viewed by Tekeli considering Turkey as a peripheral country, having the conflict of integrating international values with the values of national identity and tradition (1984). Hence, architectural practice after the Republic can be characterised by distinct periods in relation to the social and political transformations (Tekeli, 1984; Yavuz, 1992).

The First World War and the Turkish War of Independence caused an economic decline in Turkey. This required a reorganisation of the professionals, including their role and status definition. In 1927, architects formed the Society of Turkish Architects (*Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti*). Meanwhile, they joined the Society of Artists (*Ressamlar Cemiyeti*) in 1928, which was a further sign of internalising the artistic self-image of the architect and separation from the engineering sciences. This corresponded to the Westernisation ideologies of the Republican period, and the consideration of architecture as a part of fine arts like painting and sculpture (Alsaç, 1973). Certain non-Muslim architects were also significant in the transformation of the role of architect from builder-administrator to artist-entrepreneur (Nalbantoğlu, 1988).

In the 1930's, a new nationalism was politically governing, with the dominance of the state (Tekeli, 1984). This was reflected in the architectural domain where reviving formalistic principles from traditional Anatolian houses were combined with the ideals of the Modern Movement of universality to be reflected in architectural products, mainly civic buildings of the new Republican Turkey. This movement led to the systematic analysis and historic documentation of traditional Turkish architecture (Alsaç, 1973). The nationalist ideology was combined with the Westernisation process, appropriating the aesthetic vocabulary of Modernist architecture through education, publications and practices (Nalbantoğlu, 1988). Meanwhile, İstanbul Engineering School was founded in 1937 to later become İstanbul Technical University in 1946 where a separate department of architecture was established (Tekeli, 1984).

In these years, architects were able to practice their professions through competitions opened by the government for the public buildings of the new capital, Ankara, as well as houses and villas for the upper class citizens in İstanbul. Yet, the struggle of gaining economic and professional status in the building market among the non-professionals, engineers and foreign architects continued among Turkish architects, who had become 300 in number by the 1940's, along with the ideology of nationalism. Nalbantoğlu (1988) maintains that the embodiment of the state ideology as a professional ideology was based on the dependence of the architects' economic and social status to the power of the state.

In the 1950's, a change in economic policy occurred in Turkey. The new policy favoured a liberal economy, a reduction of the dominance of state power for the acceptance of the private sector in the development and the increase of investments in the construction sector (Tekeli, 1984). Spatial reflections of the socio-economic

developments in the cities were evident in terms of over population in the cities, immigration from villages, reconstruction of the transport system and the impact of international firms on the economy.

In this decade, the nationalist tendencies in architectural style gave way to the diffusion of modern aesthetics with the International Style. The rise of construction activity and the increase of the involvement of private sectors in construction decreased the control of architecture by the government and changed the client typology (Tekeli, 1984). Meanwhile, architects' efforts to increase their role in the housing sectors and design process continued. In 1956, by means of the Building Laws (*İmar Kanunu*), only architects were legalised to design architectural projects (Güran, 1964). In addition, the 1954 law gave licensing authority to the Chamber of Turkish Architects which provided relative autonomy for architects. The Chamber of Turkish Architects gained power by distributing the commissions to architects, as well as organising competitions. While Turkish architects began to constitute freelancing offices, their rivalry with foreign architects continued (Alsaç, 1973). The opening of Middle East Technical University and Karadeniz Technical University, the education of architects diffused to Anatolia. .

Viewing the position of architects with respect to the society in general, Tekeli argues:

In general however, both the organisational principles of architects and their preferences among different architectural styles were totally marginal to the internal dynamics of Turkish society. Rapid urbanisation generated its own rules and mobilised different social forces in creating a new living environment. Neither architects nor other professionals were able to play any role in this process. They only tried to retain their professional monopoly and to ensure their elitist, urban identity (1984: 26).

With the military intervention taking place in 1960, groups with Socialist ideologies began to take roles in the socio-political arena. In addition, two major changes in the

building processes due to urbanization was taking place. These factors initiated a change in the professional identities of architects.

The first of the new building processes was squatter housing (*gecekondu*), the unauthorised house building of immigrants from the villages to the cities. The second one was the formation of apartment housing through “build-and-sell” contracting and cooperatives. The population growth and continuation of the building processes without the involvement of professionals lead to the questioning of the role of the professionals. Thus, the establishment of a State Planning Organisation in 1961 placed architecture and design into its societal context, aiming to provide planning decisions with the aid of the scientific principles of the social sciences. According to Tekeli, this initiated the transformation of the social role and consciousness of architects in Turkey, with the consideration of the social problems at large (1984).

The architect, in parallel to the changes in Europe, was aiming to reestablish an identity to a person to provide service to society rather than an artist-designer (Şenyapılı, 1968). The value that society’s interests should be placed before the interests of the professional and political institutions an individuals was proposed (Uyaroğlu, 1966). The detachment of the architects from the society at large was criticised occasionally by the leading architects of Turkey, where architectural education was also subject to criticism (Bektaş, 1970, Boysan 1970; Şenyapılı, 1968). Thus, it was believed that rather than looking at individual buildings, architecture should be viewed in the context of urban planning and design, and the architect ought to design environments for the general rather than specialised clients, concentrating on issues such as housing (Cansever, 1970; Kuran, 1970).

In the 1960's the distribution of the architects across the country was uneven. There were no architects involved in the construction process in many Anatolian cities (Kulaksızoğlu, 1963). Yet, unemployment became a problem starting the mid-seventies due to the expansion of architectural schools in many cities of Turkey (Yücel, 1984). Despite the unemployment of Turkish architects, primacy was given to foreign architects and technical personnel in terms of employment as well as financial means (Çakır, 1971; Mimarlar Odası, 1971). This raised opposition among Turkish architects against foreign capital and work force, which was reflected in various media such as the journal of The Chamber of Turkish Architects (Mimarlar Odası, 1972). Besides the emphasis on the general socio-economic problems of the society at large, problems of professionals working in architectural offices and governmental institutions and the competition between engineers in the building enterprise were also among the issues of discussion (Güngör, 1963; Kulaksızoğlu, 1965; *Mimarlık*, 1964; *Mimarlık*, 1975).

Due to the rapid urbanisation of the period, a productive architectural arena was that of competitions held by government, with building types ranging from hospitals to schools, to universities, to government offices and town halls. In the mid-seventies, besides the increase in office building programs, public buildings, vacation houses and hotels in the coasts of Turkey were also commissioned to architects (Yücel, 1984).

Similar to the 1960-1970 period, in the 1970-1980 period, the Chamber of Turkish Architects was engaged with the political activities in the country despite the opposing tendencies across architects (Hasol, 1984). According to Yavuz, In this decade, there began signs of fragmentation and differentiation of political attitudes, which would largely increase after the 1980's and give way to complex and heterogeneous professional environment and products (1992).

Governmental policy after the 1980 military intervention gave significance to liberal economy and foreign trade. This not only strengthened industry but also increased the role of large companies, foreign and national alike, to play a major role in political economy (Tekeli, 1984; Yücel, 1984). Thus, similar to the transformations in the United States, with the decrease of public commissions and competitions held by the government, the client range shifted from formal (public-governmental) institutions to private institutions. Moreover, the concentration on capital reduced the importance given to restoration and conservation, with the increase of land speculation to a high extent (Yavuz, 1992).

The increase in the number of architects grew in the market from thousands to tens of thousands until the 1980's, adding up to the surplus of architects that began in the 1960's (Aktüre, 1983). The Socialist trend in the architectural domain, which was intense in the 1970's, decreased due to the changing socio-economic atmosphere and de-politicization in the 1980s (Tekeli, 1984; Yücel, 1984).

The increase in the number of professionals and the shift in the nature of the construction industry has increased the competition between architects and also has differentiated the role of architects within the government from the practicing professionals in the private sector. Besides, large firms providing similar residential schemes, and having in-house professionals has decreased the demand of self-employed architects in the housing sector.

According to Tekeli, rather than a homogeneous group with a common value system, sub-groups of architects now hold various belief systems within different architectural institutions (1984). However, according to Cuff, despite the pluralism and multiplicity of values which include personal, social and political values, much

of the knowledge and values architects hold are common to their social group (1991). An illustration of the values regarding Turkish architects' self-images revealed through their statements in architectural journals, as previously discussed, has been given by Eyikan (1999).

Being a profession among other professions with boundaries of membership, the profession has, whether ambiguous or not, a definition of knowledge domain and specified goals, interactions with specific types of actors in the design process, as well as proliferation of a set of values through education, associations, written and visual media. Therefore, an exploration of the similarities of beliefs among architects and their differences is subject to inquiry.

3.2.1. Different Types of Residential Design Processes and Their Actors

In order to understand the existing role of architects in various residential design processes in contemporary Turkey, the existing housing provision types and the multiple actors playing in these different types is in need of further analysis. Thus, the values, activities and aims of these actors differ, which reflect on their relationships with the designers.

The major types of processes of residential building in Turkey today can be identified as: house-building through individual means, squatter housing, cooperative housing, apartment type of housing through flat-ownership and mass housing through private and public institutions.

In house-building through individual means, which was a major type of housing provision since the Second World War in Turkey, an individual who wants to own a house buys a piece of land and uses the land's building rights (Turkish National

Committee, 1995). After that , he/she prepares projects with professional assistance and receives permission from the municipality. The building construction may be carried out with assistance from small contractors and subcontractors, or by the individual. The main difference of this client type with others is that the users of the buildings are the clients themselves, who have direct interaction with the architects (Turkish National Committee, 1995).

After the Second World War, due to immense immigration to cities and the growth of urban population, the government fell short of providing housing for its citizens (Sey,1984). This lead to the emergence of two types of housing: unauthorized squatter housing (*gecekondu*) and apartment housing through flat-ownership (Turkish National Committee, 1995).

Squatter housing is built by city dwellers that are poor and unable to own a house legally, thus constructing their own houses on the peripheries of cities, on land owned by the government. Squatter housing proliferation was possible due to the inadequate housing provision by the state in contrast with the demand for labor in the developing cities (Turkish National Committee, 1995). Even though squatter housing is an illegal access to public property through appropriation, it has been legalized at certain stages by the governments, grounding on multiple social, economic and political factors (Balamir, 1996). Neither the architect, nor other professionals concerned with construction enterprise are involved in the squatter house building process. Particularly after the 1980's, with the transformation of the intention of squatter building from merely shelter to land speculation and rent maximization, squatter housing areas are being turned into unqualified apartment housing areas either by individuals or by contractors (Şenyapılı, 1996; Turkish National Committee, 1995).

The second housing provision form due to urban growth and socio-economic transformations has been apartment housing through flat- ownership. This type of housing emerged from the need for the middle-class residents to own dwellings, which was difficult due to the result of urbanisation and land speculation leading to an increase of land values in the cities (Evyapan, 1986). This increase also caused a decrease in the size of the building lots into narrow 'parcels' which already, by their size and shape, defined the building to be constructed (Evyapan, 1986). Flat-ownership was institutionalised in the 1950's, allowing a number of people to buy individual flats of a single building.

Apartment housing spread across Turkey to occupy more than 50 percent of the urban housing stock in most Turkish cities (Pamir, 1982). Apartment housing type is possible by two means: 'build-and-sell' and cooperatives (Turkish National Committee, 1995).

In the build-and-sell type of house building, the major role players are the land owner, the entrepreneur – a contractor with small capital– and the architect. The contractor deals with the landowner so that the landowner receives a number of flats when the construction is completed. Thus, the construction is usually to be finished as cheaply as possible, with the flats being sold quickly (Turkish National Committee, 1995). The apartment block is built with small capital and the flats are sold during the construction phase. In this process, the residents are not known before the construction, except for the landowner who may or may not use the flat(s) he is to own. The architect has a very limited role in this process.

One of the basic differences of this type of housing provision, as expressed by Balamir, is that there are multiple role-players with interests of their own, who have access to power to make decisions on the property. This prevents the

consideration of the construction process for long-term consequences, for the needs of the possible users of the building and the impact of the building at the macro-scale (1996). On the other hand, the major profit aims of the multiple actors who have power have caused an ongoing pressure on the increase of building rights, which had direct impacts on the urban environment (Turkish National Committee, 1995).

An impact of the build-and-sell system under the existing building codes and parcelation of cities has been a decrease of environmental quality as well as a decrease in demand for professional expertise. Thus, many of the buildings have been constructed without a specific project, but a typified standard scheme. The problem of standardisation of projects by the codes lead to “signaturing”, that is allowing unqualified architects and even other professionals to sign prototypical residential projects (Ersoy, 1974). This is still a continuous problem in the professional domain.

The positioning of architects towards apartment housing, in general and the build-and-sell type of process in particular, has been various. Within the discussions of residential design, questions and oppositions have been raised of what should be the orientation of architects to the decay of housing and environmental quality. For example, Bektaş has pronounced that designing apartment projects is unethical for an architect since this encourages a type of lifestyle to which he attributes a negative value (*Mimarlar Odası 40. Yıl Panelleri ve Forumu*, 1994). On the other hand, other architects have criticised this objective, aiming to raise the quality of the environment within the system, since the architects do not have the power to change the system (*Mimarlar Odası 40. Yıl Panelleri ve Forumu*, 1994; *Mimarlık*, 1985).

Apartment housing was also provided by cooperatives with the institutionalization of flat ownership. Meanwhile, build-and-sell type of housing process has decreased at the end of the 1970's because of the expenses of the construction process and materials, although it continues particularly in squatter areas as previously stated.

The inadequacy of apartment housing through build-and sell and cooperatives and the increase of unqualified urban environments in squatter areas led to the emphasis given to large mass housing projects by both the public and the private sectors in the 1980's with the aim of providing large numbers of dwellings for both low-income as well as middle and high-income people (Bilgin, 1996, Özüekren, 1996). The states's contribution to the promotion of mass housing has been through its Mass Housing Law, its credit mechanisms, the establishment of the Housing Development Administration and the increase of housing provided by the Turkish Real Estate Bank.

In accordance with the transformation in the 1970's, cooperative housing, which was carried out through the construction of small scale residential environments including apartment blocks, began to take a new role, introducing the concepts of mass housing to the housing sector in Turkey. With the enabling law of The Cooperatives Law in 1969, cooperatives were permitted to form unions with other actors, such as public and private institutions. This lead to the provision of large-scale cooperative housing projects by local municipalites with state support (Özüekren, 1996). Cooperative housebuilding was further encouraged by the Mass Housing Law in 1994, with priorities given to cooperatives.

Construction firms and architecture firms have been active in the design of residential environments in large cooperative projects (Dülger, 1987). The project may be an adoption of typical schemes provided by the ministry, may be prepared

by the professionals within the construction firm itself, or it may be commissioned to individual architectural firms by the construction firm.

During the design phase, the architects have interaction with many actors in the cooperative housing process, according to the type of unions involved and the nature and scale of the project. The architect encounters the Cooperative Board composed of maximum of three members who mediate between the architects and the cooperative users. However, at times, the users are also able to have a face-to-face relationship with the architect. The major quality of enabling a participatory process of the users in cooperative housing has not always been possible in practice. For example, when cooperatives are organized by large construction companies and municipalities, most of the cooperative members join the cooperative after the major decision-making phase. Similarly, due to financial difficulties, many members offer their shares to the market, again reducing the significance of the relationship (Özüekren, 1996).

Construction firms not only appear as significant actors in collaboration with others in housing provision, but also provide housing for middle and high-level income groups in suburban areas and satellite towns. Large construction firms were formed after the 1970's since advanced building technologies were required in order for the large residential projects to be implemented (Tapan, 1996). Either employing architects within their organisation or commissioning architectural offices, these private firms have played an important role in the urban social transformation, providing high-rise housing as well as detached residential neighbourhoods. As Bilgin notes, they have introduced enclosed self-contained settlements at the peripheries of cities influencing the formation of urban social distribution (1996).

In residential design processes, although not direct clients, there is one more professional group that should be considered who have a direct influence in the residential design process: those who are employed either by the municipalities or by the Housing Development Administration. Building permission is given by the local municipality in the project design phase by review and approval of the project by the professionals working there. The approval decision is made with respect to the building codes of that region or city. On the other hand, in large housing projects which are funded by the Housing Development Administration, the project is approved with respect to the special regulations put forth by the administration in terms of number, area, distancing etc. In the project design phase, the architect is in direct contact with these engineers and architects in governmental institutions in order to get his/her building constructed.

It is in this context that practicing architects encounter multiple actors that have different social, economic and personal interests in their practices of residential design. Architects' perspectives about the clients they have interaction with during the process, as well as the anonymous people that they design for; how these perspectives define their professional values that include self-identities, goals and intentions, and how these shape the design process and outcome will be explored for a sub-group of self-employed architects in Turkey in the next section.

4. THE RESEARCH

4.1. Methodology

The basic objective of the research was to explore the value systems of practicing architects regarding clients and users during their residential design practice. Since the intention was to find out the knowledge and values of the architects as they experienced it, qualitative research methodology was found to be relevant for my purposes.

Qualitative research can be differentiated from quantitative research in that data analysis and inference are not based on statistical methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Thus, the analytical procedure uses other means than mathematics. In this type of study, the researcher is not viewed as a value-neutral agent, but a participant in the whole process of research; she accepts her subjectivity and explicitly puts forth her own interpretation. While some researchers act as an agent to reflect the voices of the participants, and thus give a thorough description of the phenomena, others interpret the observed and studied (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Denzin, 1994; Silverman, 1993). Respondent number is not important; the goal is to understand concepts from the informants' viewpoint, rather than making generalisations from many answers. 'Coding' is a method that is used to analyse data, which is collected directly from the respondents. Research and methods are not used to test, prove or disprove hypothesis, but rather to test, modify and/or develop a theory or interpretation.

In order to explore the value systems of practicing architects as they design residential projects, three pilot studies were conducted. The first interview was carried out with an architect who is working in an architectural office. It was possible to discuss the interview questions with her afterwards. This helped understand how the questions were comprehended by the respondent. The pilot interview was carried out in June 1999 and modifications were made accordingly. After revision of the interview questions, a second pilot study was carried out with two self-employed architects just prior to the actual research. The structure of these interview questions was believed to be successful except for certain modifications in formatting. In addition, a number of questions were included and further clarified, which was believed to guide the architects in their description of their values regarding the influence of architect-client interaction on the design products.

For the final research, a selection was made from all the self-employed architects in Ankara. Variety was aimed to be reached in terms of education, age and gender. For this, the list of architectural offices was obtained from the Chamber of Turkish Architects. The general information on respondents as frequencies regarding age, gender, education, etc. is presented at Appendix B.

The respondents were limited in terms of their graduation years, from 1965 to 1980, because it was expected that this would increase the chances of architects to have designed a range of residential projects. Besides, experiences of architects and their views with respect to the condition of architects and architecture in Turkey in comparison with their past was also expected to bring richness to the investigation. Yet, this limitation certainly tracks the respondents as a social group in themselves, with their 'similar ' pasts, although open to variation in terms of their differences in age.

In terms of education, it was found that the majority of practicing architects in Ankara are from the two major Ankara universities, Middle East Technical University and Gazi University. The former is a state university while the latter was established as a private university initially, but later turned into a state university. A few architects who had graduated from Istanbul Technical University, the Academy of Fine Arts, and Karadeniz Technical University were also included. The men-women distribution was also dependent on the list. Despite the very few women, the percentage of women respondents in the sample was increased to 25 percent, with the inclusion of 6 female architects, with quota sampling. Otherwise, the rest of the respondents were randomly selected from every fifth architect from the list of Middle East Technical University and Gazi University Graduates. This list had been previously formed, again with the same method, from the larger list of architectural offices received from the Chamber of Turkish Architects. The architects who were not available, due to their being out of town, or not having designed residential projects, etc. were replaced by the architect above or below on the list. Except for one architect who refused to be interviewed, I was kindly welcomed by all of the architects, who were willing to share their experiences with me, and gave me appointments immediately. The interview phase took place between December 1999 and February 2000.

The interviews were tape recorded, except for one architect who kindly requested me to take notes instead, and for some unfortunate moments where the battery of the recorder ended, the architect began speaking before I could start the recorder etc. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours. After a closed-ended questionnaire to receive general information about the respondent and the firm, the interview proceeded with open-ended questions which were reorganised in terms of their turns, with the addition of spontaneous questions in the course of the interview (Appendix A). Actually, the initial aim was to concentrate on one project and relate

the conversation to other experiences of the designer. This was important in order to prevent the architect to talk in general terms without referring to what he/she had actually carried out in design action. In addition, the intention was to understand his/her assumptions about users when the user was not known, thus eliminating villa-type projects. However, in course of the interview, it seemed quite impossible to make clear distinctions of 'client' from the 'user' since the user could be- and was- involved in the design process in many projects, at certain phases of design.

Therefore, as the interviews progressed, the nature of my questions changed in two ways. First, with the suggestion of some of the architects, I asked them to compare different client types and different residential design processes subject to their experience, if they wished to do so, but always giving examples from their actual design experience. Secondly, I decided not to eliminate projects with direct user-interaction since it formed a very large part of architects' experiences in residential design.

The difficulty in the open-ended interview, as I discovered, lies in the interviewer's ability to lead the interview without actually imposing a certain answer. This sometimes leaves the questions misunderstood, or not clearly understood, since what is expected from the respondent is not precisely stated in the question. Since the answers actually rely on the architect's experience, and that experience is not known by the interviewer, where the interview leads to is somehow determined by the architect. This leads to the 'selective' choice of the architect, despite the leading of the questions by the interviewer. However, I believe that this should not be taken as a 'bias', but an inherent part of the actual task of this research; to understand the values of architects related to their perceived roles. Thus, architects present themselves in a certain way, and the research interaction is a stage where this presentation is also executed. The results are grounded on how architects perceive the residential design process and the related actors involved in it, and also how

they want to be perceived. Yet, being an architect myself, (being a member of the same social group) and having stated my task of understanding architects, the interviews as I experienced were highly sincere.

The interviews were fully transcribed by myself and a writer. All of the interviews were analysed initially, with the application of qualitative analysis methods.

Grounded theory is a qualitative research method which conformed with the basic action-oriented approach, particularly the conceptualisation of value systems. One of the goals of grounded theory is, not only 'coding' the data through formation of basic categories that reside in the data, but also to search for patterns between categories; that is, finding links between the categories. The categories are formed through the identification of themes that occur throughout the interviews which can be grouped. The concepts can be distinguished according to their 'properties' and 'dimensions'. Afterwards, connections between categories are sought with respect to their relationships. Thus, a category (or a theme) may be related to another being it's causal or intervening condition, context, or a consequence. Action and interaction may be both conditions and consequences of other categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Konecki, 1997).

In the initial stage of the analysis, the transcriptions were analysed to search for common themes, that is categories with their 'dimensions' or 'properties' (Appendix C). The labeling of categories were either taken directly from architects' phrases or conceptualised by myself. Along with labelling of categories and sub-categories began the process of seeking for connections and relationships between categories in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This procedure was again based on the links that the interviewers had provided, which were rare or repeating, forming patterns between categories (Appendix D). Thus, With many reorganisations and revisions, categories and relationships between categories emergent from the data were

created. An example of a coding scheme can be illustrated from an interview extract:

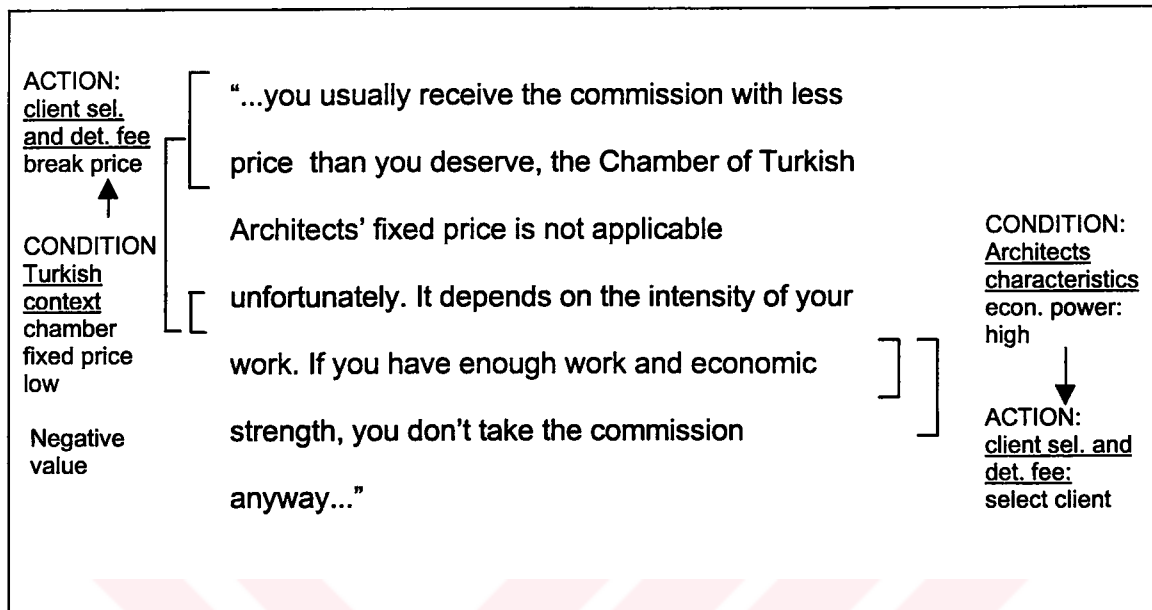


Figure 3. An Example of Coding the Data

In the extract, we see the relationship between two categories which create a condition for an action, forming a third category. Thus, the client selection and determining fee (App. C, Tab. 18) of the architect is believed to be influenced by an institutional feature in the Turkish context (App. C, Tab. 22) and a characteristic of the architect (App. C, Tab. 15). While knowledge and values on the Turkish context and their relationships with architects’ conditions in general are represented in Table 27 as a category, the latter relationship between architects’ properties and client selection is specified as a pattern (App. D, Tab 33). The values attributed to the situation by the architect is coded in the interviews and tables accordingly.

The drawback of the grounded theory procedure is that it eliminates what is not said. Thus, the architect who has not made a statement about a certain subject may not actually mean he/she has no value judgement on it. Therefore, generalisations are not easily made in such research. Yet, certain patterns have emerged

frequently, which can lead us to interpret recurring relationships between categories. They are just at the stage of formation of hypothesis and possible links that needs further research to be generalised to a larger group. Yet, the links are as valid as how architects experience them, so they represent the perspective of the respondents.

4.2. Results and Interpretation

The analysis and interpretation of the data presented in this section are derived from the categories and patterns between them which are grounded in the data. After the completion of the analysis, I have aimed at forming a general model that constitutes the base of the analysis, as it conceptualises the whole process in terms of the general framework that I had proposed in Figure 2. This model was formulated after the data analysis for a number of reasons.

One important finding from the data has been that architects' values and actions with respect to other actors are not limited to the actual designing of the project, but extend through various phases of the whole process. Architects' beliefs should therefore be analysed ranging from selection of clients, to the role of architect in the initial phase, the design phase and the implementation phase of building, to the values and action after the product has been completed. A model that considers the process is therefore fundamental.

Secondly, the interview data embodied interrelated factual and evaluative statements by the architects which needed differentiation. Therefore, one of the main tasks in the analysis has been the identification of the factual and evaluative statements of the architects and how they relate to one another. The 'facts'

represented by the architects and the knowledge claims made by them were not questioned in terms of their truth or falsity, but presented and distinguished from their evaluative statements, where they stated their beliefs regarding what is good and bad.

The difficulty in relating the interview data to the basic framework lay in the implicit value judgments inherent in the statements of the architects. Therefore, when constituting the model (Figure 5), certain links were made between themes by myself even though some of the architects hadn't made these associations directly. For this reason, while the categories and patterns in Appendix C and D are derived directly from the experiences of the architects, the relationships in the model includes implicit values of architects (Figure 5).

The model provides an understanding of architects' system of beliefs in complexity with the inclusion of the multiple factors that have an impact on practice. Architects' action is guided by multiple objectives of what an architect ought to do at certain situations or towards certain actors, based on the knowledge and values related to that situation or actor. This whole system, where beliefs compete and correspond to one another, guides the choice of a greater good over a lesser good where a certain objective dominates the other objectives residing in the action. Many values coexist within this system, regarding specific roles of the architect in terms of client, user, his/her social and economic position within the society, position in different stages of residential design practice etc. These values involve a set of beliefs attributed to specific actors, their goals and objectives, and possible actions. Figure 4 shows the following sections of the dissertation related to the model in Figure 5. In the model, the categories that emerged from the data are identified as C1, C2..., and the links between categories forming patterns are identified as P1, P2..., which can be seen in Appendix C and Appendix D.

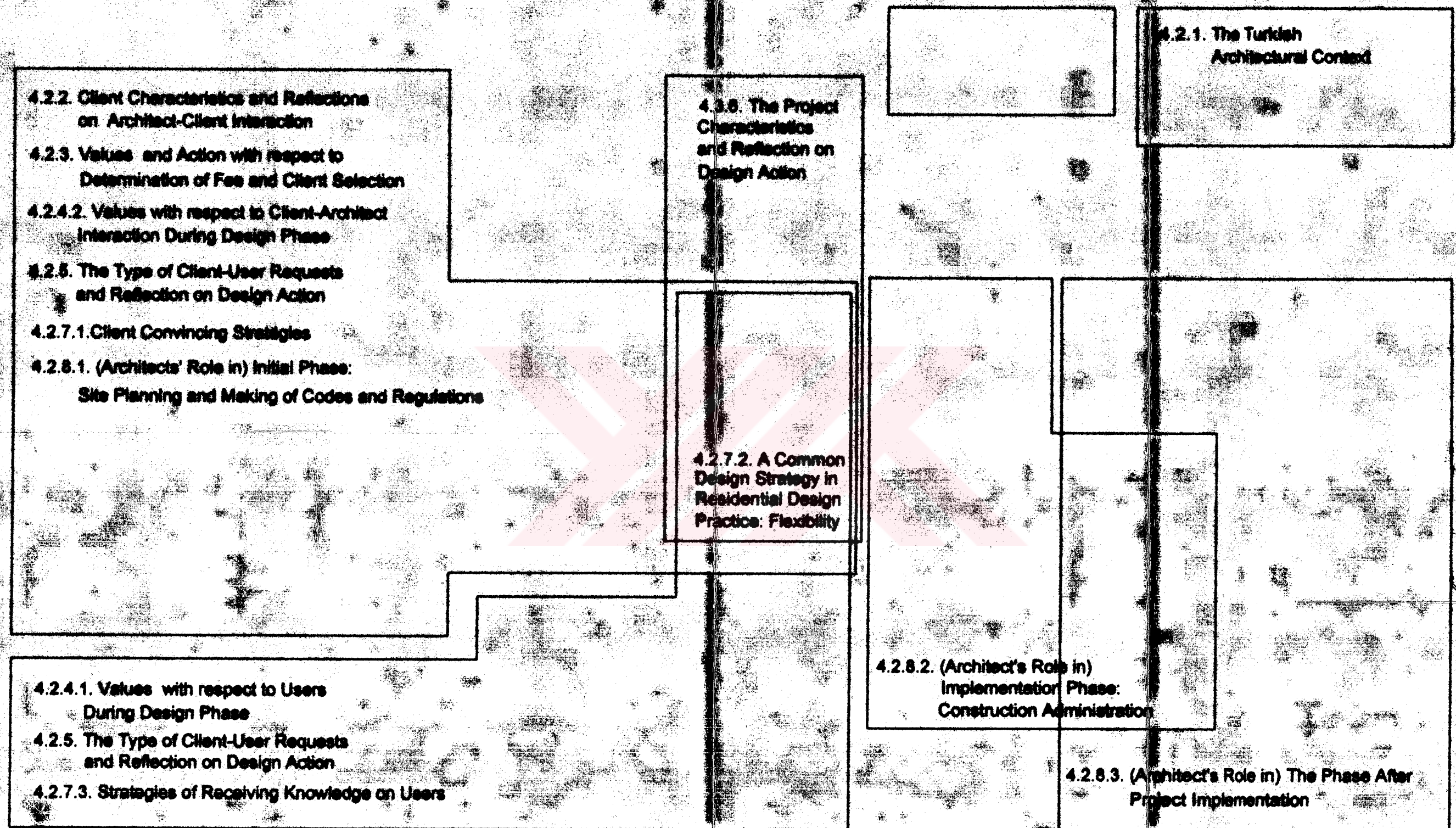


Figure 4. The Relation of the Model of Architects' Value Systems to the Data Analysis and Interpretation

4.2.1. Turkish Architectural Context

The questions exploring architects' views on their position within society opened many doors, which can be directly related to the objectives guiding their actions during the design process. Initially, then, I will present the general context of Turkey as perceived by practicing architects, and their respectful role as a part within the professional arena, the construction industry, and the society at large.

The architects were asked about their opinions on the condition of architects and architecture in contemporary Turkey (App. C, Tab. 15, 22, 24; App. D, Tab. 34, 36, 38). Since this was largely an open-ended question, it led the architects to express their perspective about architects in general, in terms of their role and status with respect to society, qualifications and differences as well as how the changing media/ production/ technology influenced architectural products. They also shared their personal and individual experiences of how they viewed the profession in the past as compared to now. I have not included the personal experiences in the formation of categories, since too much variation existed - from the self-evaluation of an architect in terms of how his education in an architectural office he had been employed to another who received the question in terms her changing values regarding aesthetic principles. I will, however, refer to expressions of the changing self-images of architects as they relate this to the general context of the profession in Turkey.

I will only provide insight to the dimensions mostly expressed by the architects, and relevant to the role of the architect within society and how society – or specific groups in society is thought to view architects, whereas other categories that are indirectly related may be seen in Appendix C, Tab. 22. I must note that since the aim of interviews was not to explore certain issues, such as the relationship

between practicing architects and the university, architects were not directed to discuss such issues for further discovery.

4.2.1.1. Architects and Architecture

4.2.1.1.1. The negative value judgements on architects, architecture and society

In correspondence with the major presupposition of this dissertation, a number of architects, while describing their experiences in architectural practice needed to related these to the socio-cultural and economic context in Turkey. They identified certain issues in this context which they experienced as having a direct relationship to their design practices.

The current situation of the rise of the number of architects in Turkey over the last decade which was mentioned in the previous chapter, is judged as negative by 33% of the architects, since they believe that this leads to a decrease in the qualifications of architects, and as 20% of architects note, to unemployment. The architectural schools which are being established nationwide are questioned by a number of architects in terms of the quality of education. On the other hand it is claimed that the surplus of architects reduce their prices in order to receive commissions. This leads to a reconsideration of architects' objectives and actions in client selection and fee policy, which is discussed in the following sections.

Questioning the value judgements of architects with respect to how they are valued by society at large, 55% of the architects claim with disappointment that there is a low value attributed to architects by society. With interrelated statements, architects express that the society does not know architects and does not at all respect the architect's role in the building process. A very related belief of architects is that the

respect given to creativity in general is low. A striking story is told by an architect, while 3 other architects have expressed similar experiences:

It happened to one of our masters. In the opening ceremony of a hotel- the minister mentioned even the cook and thanked him while the architect was never named, even though he was there. At least, he was invited, since sometimes the architect is not even invited. (...) The architect, a blank page in front of him/her, designs the whole project, but he/she has no name. (R19)

The apparent indefinite domain of knowledge of the profession threatens the respect and status of architects and their distinction from other professions. Thus, architects complain that they are either confused with engineers, or seen as draftspeople. Some architects emphasise that 'even the educated people' perceive them as such, with the value judgment that people with higher education ought to have a different attitude towards architects. What do all these statements imply? Although not specifically clarified by architects themselves, the disturbance lies in the fact that a basic resource of membership, which is professional knowledge that distinguishes architects from other professions, is not recognised by society. One architect in attempting to distinguish his profession said:

The society doesn't know architects. In Anatolia, they call you an engineer. We tell them that an engineer produces the structure, plans the mechanical and sanitary components, we are the ones who design the building, who bring it to birth. (R5)

Even more annoyance is caused by the recognition that everyone claims some domains of architectural knowledge- even laypersons. That is, they find the right to demand authority to make decisions on certain aspects related to the building design, which they 'ought to' leave to the architect.

At the phase of painting, it is unbelievable. In our society people believe in two things: You know, every Turkish woman knows parenthood when born. She needs no education for it- however that may be. Similarly, everyone who has begun contracting knows color and material very well- how can that be, I fail to understand. They even don't find the need to ask. I don't know if they select the color with the plasterer. (R14)

... they perceive the process as very easy... , and almost everyone assumes that they can decorate their houses and draw their own plans. Moreover, the

majority of them look for a person who will draw the project that they will depict. Even though they are forced to consult an architect or interior designer, they are actually seeking a draftsman. (R22)

In these two examples, we can observe the obscure boundaries of what constitutes professional knowledge of architecture. For example, in the first case, beliefs about color and material may be factual and evaluative. In the second case, the claims of architects cannot be justified as true or false. This leads to a transfer of power to the client/user and decreases the authority of the architect. Moreover, some of the knowledge domains and skills of architects are too wide to take monopoly of. Hence, 'drafting' is a skill that, although it requires a degree of training, people with certain visual perception and drawing skills can still carry it out. This differs from a skill required from, for example, a doctor during an operation. Therefore, the wide range of knowledge and skills of the profession reduces the authority of the professional (Lipman, 1976) and obscures the boundaries of membership to the profession (Larson, 1977).

Another dimension that further supports society's perceived lack of recognition of architects' profession and their authority is that they find the right to intervene in buildings without the need to consult the architect. Although occasionally experienced by architects in particular design processes, almost half of them also generalised this intervention, occasionally with a negative value. The power of clients to easily intervene with the projects is largely conditioned by the limited role of the architect in the construction phase in Turkey as well as the restricted power of the architect as proposed by the laws. Unconsulted intervention occurs not only in the implementation phase, but also after the buildings are inhabited. The boundaries of architects' rights and the property owners' rights in their act upon the building, thus personalization of the dwellings by the users, is also questioned by architects with varying opinions. 'Interference' during design process and 'intervention' after

the product is finished implies a negative value, rather than a concept of 'participation' which somehow explicates the idealised roles of the architects and users/clients towards the rights on the building. These conceptions will be dwelled upon further in the following sections.

Associated with illustrations of how society sees architects and the role of architect in society is how architects see society and make some generalisations about the clients they encounter.

The phrase "it is not obvious who has the money and the faith" is indicative of an 'unjust' distribution of economic power, as well as the deceptive faithful appearance of ideologists of radical Islam. This phrase and statements with similar meanings have been made by 42% of the architects, who depict the people they work with: clients whose economic power is not indicative of their socio-cultural background. This includes contractors, whom one third of the architects made generalised statements about the decrease in their qualifications in the context of Turkish construction industry. A few architects have stated that the majority of contractors are not professionalised into the occupation and do not have adequate knowledge and skills, which causes a conflict between architect and client during the design process and leads to negatively valued urban environments in general.

The socio-cultural level of the society is said to be directly indicative of the status of architects and architectural quality. In that respect, Turkey did not seem to be on the positive side, as many of the architects complained. Through various evaluative statements, 46% of the architects complained that a low degree of awareness, social responsibility and a high degree of ignorance of society, including its various institutions, formed a system of which architectural practice was an inseparable part.

A number of architects criticised various actors in the society that had an impact on the constitution of this 'system' and the negative influence on architectural practice.

Some architects blamed their own colleagues, stating that unqualified products by architects led to society's misperception of the profession. They believed it was the task of professionals to present themselves by producing work that is appreciated by architects and by being more organised to introduce the profession to the society through various media. As such, the disorganised institutionalization of architecture was also criticised, which was somehow an outcome of factors like the policy of dispersion of the political leaders, as well as the large number of architects with a variety of values that leads to an impossibility of unity. The inability of architects to act as a body prevented unified actions to increase professional status and quality.

Political leaders and bureaucrats were criticized since they made the major decisions leading to land speculation, urban decay, etc. for their economic interests, however working against the benefit of the society at large. The institutional problems put forth by architects was also related to the values of the state.

The contractors were subject to criticism for many of the problems of building quality, where the earthquakes that occurred in August and November 1999 in Turkey were given as dramatic examples. All of these role players were perceived as linked to one another, producing and reproducing its own context and practices. In this context, 'society' was also to blame, for its lack of consciousness, unawareness and ignorance of the consequences of its own actions. An architect who was older compared to other respondents expressed his views on the issue in a highly negative tone:

Six or seven architects are adequate for Turkey. They will design the very special buildings, the rest will be built by the common people. And when there is an earthquake, they will die- they have to die because there is no other way.

Because, they learn only when they die, you can not teach them by explaining. An ignorant man, an uncultured man does not know how to learn from experiences, how to utilize science. He learns only through learning by doing.. This is the reality of Turkey. (R12)

The conflict in this expression, I believe, is that although a highly negative value is attributed to the people whom the blame is put in terms of earthquake where the architect is believed not to be included in this group, the architects are also responsible for the earthquake just like all the 'others'. Yet, the definition of the 'ideal' role of the architects and their 'real' role seems far from coinciding from the interviewees viewpoint.

The economic condition and its relation to the status of the architectural profession was also pointed out by two architects, mentioning the special nature of the profession serving a minority of upper-middle and middle-class clients. Thus, they stated that the status of the profession and its diffusion would only be possible through the raise of the general economic condition of society. The economic dependency of the professional to the client was thus identified.

4.2.1.1.2. The positive value judgements on architects, architecture and society

In contrast to the negative evaluations of architects in terms of their professional status relationship with society, some architects have a different viewpoint. I argue that the difference depends on the position where architects are within society, how architects choose to evaluate the multiple mechanisms that act at the same time in the Turkish context, which influence the general demand for services and architectural product quality.

Following on from the previous section, with respect to the increase of unqualified professionals, 30% of architects have exposed their opinions as a criticism of the general decrease of architectural product quality observed in the current urban

environment. The prototypic apartment building projects which are of course products of architects are subject to criticism the most, even by the two architects who consciously are within that group who do such projects- they have strong professional dissatisfaction. Some of the conditions that lead to this low level of product quality are identified by architects, as stated in the previous section, in terms of increase in architect population, decrease in quality of education, decrease in economic power of architects etc.

Contrary to the negative evaluation of general product quality, 25% of architects, one who has indicated both positive and negative evaluations, find an increase in demand for architectural services, which leads to a higher architectural quality. The reason for the demand, for some, is the rise of the number of private firms, who attribute value to architectural quality and thus increase housing quality by commissioning large housing projects. In addition, the increased influence of media and concepts of 'prestige' have gained importance, which the architects believe has led to a demand for architectural services:

I believe it will get better. I mean- even the small apartment contractors – even they say let it be something original so that I can sell more. They may not understand, but they have started looking for architects that someone they trust has told them, or whose name they have heard. They used to find someone and let him sign the project just for the sake of a signature. (R24)

A number of architects clarify that the demand for better quality products in general have increased which expanded the need for professional services with expertise on aesthetics. For example, an architect has indicated that the client profile of the architects has transformed to include middle class residents as well, while it only included upper-class elites before, within the context of 'consumer' society. So the profession's somewhat acclaimed knowledge on aesthetics seems to increase their power when the clients use aesthetic values as means to maximise their own profit

and when the user/clients' awareness of aesthetic values and taste are increased through various media.

Besides the above opinions which approach the Turkish context from a somewhat different perspective, I would also like to draw attention to the characteristics of architects who have not complained about the unawareness of the society and of the unqualified contractors/clients in a generalised manner. Why is it that, while almost half of the interviewees speak similarly when they are asked about the society at large and how architects are perceived, another half do not find it significant?

Although not mentioning does not necessarily mean that they feel the opposite, since open-ended questions may lead to multiple possible answers depending on the way the problem is approached, I would like to point out some factors that stand out that may be related to their choice of propositions. Yet, I would be cautious to say these are only tentative suggestions, and remind that the complexity of factors are interrelated influencing the experiences of architects.

Initially, two architects stand out to position themselves differently from others with respect to society at large. Their perception of the architect-client relationship and architect-society relationship is based on 'equality' rather than a difference in position, and this is explicitly presented throughout the whole interviews. I will dwell upon this issue later, but the reason that they did not express any negative opinion about the society may be due to their professional stance.

A number of architects do not mention the unqualified contractors in the general sense or in particular experiences not because of their positive value towards them, but rather because they have not worked with them. An architect who works on the basis of adjudication (*ihale*) and who has carried out residential projects for cooperatives, two architects who select to work only for large private construction

firms or public institutions and another architect who usually earns commissions through competitions for public institutions, are examples that can be given. Therefore, the views on clients in the larger context, or in particular depends on the architects' particular experiences, as well as their professional standing points. These architects do not present particular sub-group in terms of age and education, although all of the architects mentioned are male.

4.2.1.2. Architects' Self-definition with respect to Other Practicing Architects

Practicing architects have many 'other's that they distinguish themselves from and sometimes contradict with. These include a large number of actors that have direct and indirect relationship with their professional group. In the interviews, the 'other' that architects differentiate themselves from stood out as significant identification of boundary definitions and membership criteria (App. C, Tab. 15, Tab. 24; App. D; Tab. 36). 'We', therefore consists of a membership within the practitioners, who may include the architects as an individual, or a sub-group of architects, in which the 'other' is not included. The most interesting aspect of this exploration is that within the group, one architect's 'we' is another's 'not-we', or 'the opposite of we'. These are related to judgements of how architects ought to be.

Since the interview questions were indirectly related to the respondents' membership of a sub-group within his profession, data of their distinction from the other practicing architects is incomplete, only indicating the possible issues that relate to their criteria of distinction, within the theoretical framework of professional values.

The quality of buildings is a basic distinction between the architect and other architects. Thus, referring to the general building context of Turkey, architects often

differentiate their projects from the majority of products, which they identify as being ordinary or of low quality. However, a few architects admit their position within the system, along with a negative value.

Priority given to economic interest over professional commitment is a subject of criticism amongst architects. Lowering the price to receive commissions, and carrying out bad quality design projects accordingly, is commonly identified by architects. Professional commitment is also a major criterion of distinction.

Commitment is rendered by the degree of importance given to one's own project during both the design phase and the implementation phase, through, for example, choosing to administer the construction process for the sake of quality despite its economic drawbacks.

One important category that distinguishes the respondents from the others is some form of 'knowledge' of architecture. This knowledge, which enables the architect to produce high quality buildings, include domains such as structural design, engineering, material types and quality, building economics, design management, knowledge related to project implementation and know-how on site, detailing, law, and urban design. Artistic capacity and aesthetic values are as much significant factors through which architects compose their self-images. As they do this, for example, 'others' are criticised to work as draftsmen, not giving importance to 'architecture as art'. Yet, the reversal is also possible for a few architects who criticize the professional values of those who only give significance to architecture as art. Similarly, a number of architects distinguish themselves from others in terms of their values about client-architect interaction. These issues will be explored thoroughly in the following sections.

4.2.1.3. The Institutional Context

The institutional context that conditions the professional practice of architects, their role within the construction process and the characteristics of buildings have been evaluated by architects in the interviews.

The organisational power of architects and the power of the architectural institutions, for example the Chamber of Turkish Architects, has been stated to be inadequate by 33% of the interviewed architects. The high number of architects and their distribution throughout the country, the inefficient communication of the architects among themselves and with other sectors of the society seem problematic for a number of architects, saying that these have a negative impact on the status of the profession.

Thirty-eight percent of architects have criticised that Turkish laws do not support profession's status. Two issues stand out at this point. First, the laws do not oblige the contractor to appoint the architect for construction administration, that is to oversee the construction process. This prevents the architect's authority in the project implementation phase. Secondly, the laws do not support the copyrights of architectural products, which, related to the first issue, also prevents architects from protecting their rights in cases of unconsulted intervention, copying etc. These issues are constantly discussed, especially in the Chamber of Turkish Architects, and the struggle for copyright continues. Meanwhile, the service fees set by the institution, which are already considered as low, are criticized for not being applied currently in practice. Thus, the strength of the laws and regulations that support architects' professional goals regarding their architectural product as well as socio-economic position have been questioned.

A general negative evaluation by 42% of the respondents are attributed to urban planning decisions that are made, which influence the sub-divisions of urban land into lots, as well as the codes and regulations related to buildings. These regulations are stated to limit architectural creativity and lead to low quality and unoriginal urban environments. Thus, the role of architect is confined within the limits of the dictated regulations, particularly for those who receive commissions on single lots rather than at a neighbourhood scale. The impact of building codes on practice is further explicated in specific experiences of design problems by most of the respondents.

A significant issue revealed by the interviewees is related to their way of receiving commissions. Since this was not particularly asked but emerged through the interviews, the data is limited. Yet, I find it important since it indicates that the commission-receiving system is an integral aspect of architects' changing role within the society and their professional qualifications.

A number of architects compared their current professional experience with their earlier years, commenting on the termination of architectural competitions held by the government. Not only was there a fewer number of architects, but also they were able to engage with practice through national design competitions, having a chance to accomplish a variety of objectives.

We established a place through competitions. A person can not have strong credentials the moment he/she graduates- now the recent graduates can not have references. We had, because there were many competitions. It was both education and a reference. (R3)

Value given to architect and architecture continuously decreased since my graduation. We are being submitted to contractors. How?.. The Ministry of Public Works used to hold competitions for every project, and the architects who trusted their talents entered and won. (...) This also encouraged architects to create projects of higher quality (R8)

It should be noted that the Ministry is currently commissioning with the method of adjudication, choosing the architect or contractor who lowers the price the most. In my opinion, the criteria of commissioning has transformed from quality to quantity, which conforms with the experiences of architects.

The value judgements on competitions among architects who have been practicing for a longer time seemed interesting as they were based on their specific previous experiences, whereas the younger architects who are practicing in Turkey now have not undergone this transformation. Thus, the comments on methods of commissioning may somewhat be peculiar to this professional sub-group, although further research is necessary to reach such a conclusion.

4.2.2. Client Characteristics and Reflections on Architect- Client Interaction

The descriptive and evaluative comments raised by the respondents about client characteristics are significant as they condition the nature of architect-client interaction. For this reason, the general qualities of clients were indicated by the architects if they effected the interaction during practice, leading to a pattern where the client characteristics conditioned the type of interaction (App. C, Tab. 14; App. D, Tab. 28).

I have labelled the interaction type as 'easy' and 'difficult' which can also be referred to as 'consensus' and 'conflict'. Certainly, there is a "goodness gradation" of the degree of consensus and degree of conflict, which may also change during the design process. Yet, this research was insensitive to the gradations, unless stated by the respondent.

I should point out that one property of a client can be both advantageous and disadvantageous at the same time. Therefore, although usually consistent, some respondents indicated a client characteristic as influencing interaction both positively and negatively.

4.2.2.1. Client Education, Knowledge, Knowledge Claim, Trust and Respect

One of the basic qualities of clients as perceived and explained by practicing architects is their education, knowledge, claim of knowledge, trust and respect. These are frequently mentioned together since they seem to be interdependent. Thus, it seems for the architects that, regardless of education, the determining factor to the quality of interaction is the trust and respect of the client for the architectural profession, reflected on the architect in particular. Although the statements of the architects, when they describe such people, rarely includes the resource 'knowledge', a further investigation of what 'respect and trust' mean reveals that trusting the knowledge of the architect is inherent in this explanation.

Being friends, talking, liking, when he comes and goes to the office, giving the job, talking to you, his behaviour—and him surrendering to you is very important. (How?) I mean, if he feels that you will accomplish the work, he then trusts you. He has no question marks in his mind and he surrenders to you. And as you go along, he tells his desires, wishes, right? Thus the process is naturally guided. (R19)

The following patterns grounded on the statements of the interview respondents indicate how the mentioned qualities of clients condition the interaction.

4.2.2.1.1. Education low, trust and respect high leading to consensus

Three architects have stated that they have clients whose education levels are low, but are very easy to interact with. The reason lies in their trust and respect for the architects, which may be an outcome of their education level, allowing the architect to use knowledge as guidance-power. It follows up that their requests and

expectations are also 'natural' and preferred by the architects. As R11, a male architect explains:

... particularly those who have earned money in a rural village, those who somehow glorify Ankara, and you—maybe glorifies as much as he ought to and respect you. These men are very sweet (...) you can carry out their desires because their requests are so natural, for example he wants a cellar next to his kitchen. You observe that he brings in sacks of flour, you observe it is a natural request—it is not a nonsense request of a doctor who has been educated in America and wants to show his status.

I must note the contrasting value judgment attributed to the requests that arise from the basic functional needs of the user when compared with the assumed wishes that arise from, for example, the clients' objective of status-raising and self-recognition. A similar comparison has been made by R19 who says she works with a contractor from Urfa, an Anatolian town, who she would prefer to 50 educated people from Ankara, and R3 who compares non-architect housewives with architect ones:

... Since she is an architect, she thinks that she knows what she wants from you. Yet, you do not become an architect by graduating from an architectural school. I prefer a plain housewife to her. Because she openly clarifies what she wants and leaves it to you. But the other is not so. She hasn't practiced architecture but still wants to preserve the authority over the design process.

In these two evaluations of the clients, the requests are welcome by architects as they are not indicators of the clients' higher claim of professional knowledge, but their natural needs. Hence, the type of requests of the client is also placed in a scale of 'goodness' and attributed a positive or negative value. Besides, practitioners appreciate clients whose intervention to their work is low, an aspect that was indicated in the study by Cuff (1991). Thus, when there is less intervention, the control of the architect over the work and the power he/she has within the process is higher.

4.2.2.1.2. Education high, non-architect, trust and respect high leading to consensus

Four of the respondents perceive their clients as being respectful because of their high level of education and cultural level, setting the frame for positive interaction. This can be interpreted in terms of their conscious choice of the architect due to their high education, which presupposes a respect for the architect. On the other hand, having a higher education, but not claiming the knowledge domain of architecture, the clients may view the notion of profession differently from the uneducated. It may also be that they, through their higher education, would place the profession of architecture at a position desired by the architect. The basic criterion is degree of intervention to the design process:

It all depends on manners. (yes) We designed a villa for a professor, he had stayed in the US for years, very good- he did not intervene with anything. We did it all, we didn't like it, changed some aspects, he didn't come once and ask, what we are doing. We placed everything, he just opened the door with his keys and entered in it. (..) Now, working with someone like this is very comfortable. (R12)

Here, the respect for architects' design is observable from the client's attitude, as perceived by the architect. The client is appreciated as he does not claim knowledge and intervene at any process of the design, disrupting the process. The client gives power to the architect, with respect and trust and this leads to a comfortable interaction. Another respondent's comments on a similar experience:

These people, all of them were educated- a young group of electronic engineers knowing what they want. They had carefully researched and chosen their architect. That is, they knew how and why they came. (...) I think it has been a successful work. (R24)

4.2.2.1.3. Education high, architect/engineer, trust and respect high leading to consensus

Another client typology, as depicted by 63% of architects are the ones who are architects or civil engineers who are knowledgeable about construction and housing

and have respect for the professional. The majority of such clients are working at higher positions of large-scale construction and/or contracting firms. However, architects who sit on juries of competitions, individual contractors and architects at governmental institutions are also encountered by a few practicing architects. Since large construction/contracting firms are experienced in the industry, and have to be 'professional' in order to establish themselves, they differ from the build-and-sell contractors who are not necessarily educated, conscious and respectful. That will be portrayed later, however.

Some of the basic qualities of such clients are reported as having expectations of architectural quality besides profit aims of the firm. Being a member of a similar social group, they recognise the efforts of the architects and accept their authority. "He was also a man of profession, thus our relationship was based on respect", R9 explained.

Consensus is reached when both the architect and the members of the large firm believe that their success in the market depends on high-quality building which will then add to their economic gain. Thus, they have common professional interests. They also speak the same language.

The technical personnel were also good. Not only did they know construction business and materials, but also they did not turn it into a dispute, they always asked... They accepted the authority of the architect. But of course the client initially gave that atmosphere. The technical personnel suited him.(R14: 23)

We worked with a civil engineer who was also the upper level administrator of the firm. (...) Besides requesting the maximum number of units that he was permitted by the regulations, he desired a healthy architectural solution. We worked very easily. In terms of professional ethics, architectural and engineering principles, we were in consensus (R22)

In these examples, we can see that knowledge is used for the benefit of both the architect and the client and enabled them to work in consensus. The authority of the architect and his role within the construction process, when affirmed by the client, is

very much reflected upon positive interaction and mostly lead to a positive product quality.

4.2.2.1.4. Education high, architect/engineer, trust and respect high leading to conflict

Speaking the same language and understanding the others' profession can frequently be considered as a positive aspect for interaction. However, two architects mentioned the conflict that could occur in such a situation. The first respondent while stating that the responsibility and authority should be given to the architect by the client, complained that this was not carried out by contracting firms. "That's what we don't like about contracting firms. They conflict with you in terms of knowledge" (R20). The influence of knowledge-power was furthermore described by the respondent in being appointed to construction administration:

.. if you want to be appointed, you try to make the property owner believe that he depends on you. For example, you consciously leave certain detail drawings undone and less. Yet, you cannot do this to a contracting firm.

Here we can see a conscious use of strategies where knowledge is the basic resource of power for the architect to carry out his practice.

Another respondent, although generally stating that quality of interaction increased when he worked with an architect from a construction firm rather than a build-and-sell contractor, also pinned down the difficulties when the knowledge of the architect on constructional aspects of housing was a source of some conflict.

Their perspective is just from the side of implementation... I have struggled a lot for the design and aesthetics of the project. Of course for me to explain my purpose to them... umm.. of course you cannot cut it short like you can to a (build-and-sell) contractor saying this is like this, that is like that... (R8)

The above comment reflects conflict that has arisen from differences in the value judgements that influence design decisions of two architects who have distinct

professional knowledge and values conditioned by their professional experiences. Thus, the project architect's emphasis on aesthetic values conflicting with the clients' priorities regarding efficiency in construction has led to a struggle that affected design. The product was positively valued by the architect finally, however the economic dimension was not, since the labour he had put to work had outweighed the financial benefit.

4.2.2.1.5. Education high, architect/engineer, knowledge low, knowledge claim high leading to conflict

For architects, the client's respect and trust for them and their professional knowledge is a prerequisite for a positive interaction. However, this is valid only for a subgroup of clients. When analysing the architects' descriptions of the 'other' architects, including the authorities in municipalities and in the Housing Development Administration who give permission to their projects and control them, employees at governmental institutions for which they design projects, and also a few private firms and landowner clients, the evaluations change significantly.

Thirty-eight percent of architects in the group stated conflict that arose from the power struggle between themselves and architects at various roles in the client-control group. The conflict arises especially when architects in governmental institutions are in positions to control the projects of the practitioners:

Our basic problem was the inexperienced architects at the Housing Development Administration. (..) Thus, the technical personnel who controlled projects at such an institution as Housing Development Administration did not know what concrete 225 was. We struggled with these. (R16)

My major annoyance is the fact that those architects who have never drawn a project are in the position of inspecting my project. I guess, those who have produced these building codes and regulations have never drawn a project, and that is the reason why these regulations are so horrible (R8)

Conflict not only arises from the architects' claim that the 'other' has less knowledge, but also the nature of design problem, with the inclusion of a variety of value judgments in the decision making process leading to dispute. One male architect described that he is currently working only with private firms, due to his previous unpleasant interactions with architects at governmental institutions:

We don't do projects for architects. Therefore, 'architectural caprice' is eliminated. I mean by that the intervention of the architect to the concept of design.. Let's say you have proposed a three meter glass surface to receive natural light, and a good composition at the facade, having many positive sides. They say, let's not do this, it would be difficult to clean. Now, every positive aspect has some negative sides to it. You send some of your clothes to the dry-cleaner and do not machine-wash it, right? (R23)

The basic problem as identified by architects was the intrusion of non-practicing architects to their arena-- that of practice-- and the uneven distribution of knowledge-power. Thus, 'having designed a project' seems to be the basic distinguishing feature of the practitioners from the others, and lead them to the presupposition and expectation to have power accordingly. The differential access to professional powers, and the different goals and aims of professionals at different positions, as stated by Freidson (1986) is apparent in the value judgements of practitioners with respect to non-practitioners (or supposed non-practitioners).

4.2.2.1.6. Education low/high, not having knowledge but claiming it leading to conflict

Similar to 'architects who think they know architecture', the non-architects who think they know architecture is a source of frustration for the practitioners I interviewed. The attitudes of these people to the profession in general and the architect in particular is problematized by the respondents, and can be related to the unstable status of the profession in the current context in Turkey.

... I designed a villa project where the landowner was a mechanical engineer. The man believed as if he was an architect- that is how he approached the matter. He thought that actually he would design the project but had to consult an architect to have his signature underneath it. (R15)

An experienced architect who was over 65 years old explained his frustration towards a client who was described as ignorant and uneducated. The client first explained his requests verbally, and then took a pen and attempted at drawing what he described, with a deformed sketch. The architect took the pen away from the client and said "You explain your wishes in words, I am the one to draw". They lost the job. Another architect clarified that it was easier to take the criticism of an architect-client who knew the subject and was more experienced than him. However, if the criticism came from someone who did not have such an experience, it was problematic. He continued:

Sometimes although he is not an architect, since he gives the money, he attends every meeting. He feels that he has the authority to interfere with everything, from detailing to the color of ceramic tiles, whether or not he knows it. (R10)

The fact that architects have to depend on the economic resources of the client in order to carry out their profession, and that this inherently introduces a power inequality between the client and architect is sensed from this extract. Thus, in these two examples, money-as-resource dominates the knowledge-as resource in the interactions, which places the architect in a position with less power with respect to the client, disappointing the architects.

Attention should also be drawn to the inquiry that architects speak generally about the body of knowledge of architecture without differentiating knowledge from values. However, what raises conflict between the architect and client is not only the broad and non-technical knowledge related to architecture that the architect cannot claim authority, but also the value judgments which are commonly involved in the design decision-making process and whose justification cannot be proven by truth criteria.

Thus, in the example above, I assume that a decision regarding the choice of ceramic tiles is not conditioned by aesthetic values that everyone has a word to say, rather than, for example, the knowledge related to the material in terms of strength, durability, etc. Therefore, the claimed expertise of architects, that of aesthetic values, can sometimes be turned against them forming an indeterminacy of guidance-power of architects' domain.

From the descriptions of architects regarding their role in the Turkish society, to their perceptions of clients in terms of their characteristics of interaction, it appears that a majority of architects interviewed view themselves in an elite position with respect to the 'other', which is ignorant, or uneducated, or unacknowledged. Thus, conflicts arise when architects wish to acquire authority over the building enterprise based on this differentiation, but are unable to do so because of a number of factors. Three of the factors that stand out are the ambiguous knowledge definition of the architectural profession which obscures professional boundaries, the inclusion of values as a significant aspect of expertise which further prevents justification, and finally the economic dependence of the architect to the client, whatever the characteristics of the client. Yet, the role definition of the architect in the process seems to be having a total control over the whole process without the inclusion of the client after having stated their requests, wishes, desires; where 'respect' to the profession means not intruding to the architects' occupation: design. Although implicated by a majority of respondents at certain phases of the interview, this attitude can not be generalised through the whole interview group, where a minority has a different position.

4.2.2.2. Client Aims and Expectations

The aims and expectations of clients are very important in the determination of the quality of architect-client interaction. It is certain that both the architect and the client

have many goals with respect to the building and the design process is conducted with negotiations between these goals. In design practice, architects encounter user/clients who will live in the building that will be designed by the architect. The type of the building and the number of clients may differ from single families or small groups of users who commission single villas, to a landowner who makes an agreement with a build-and-sell contractor for an apartment, to large scale users of cooperative housing. Thus, interaction with each type of client group naturally differs.

4.2.2.2.1. Aim to live in: consensus and conflict depends on expectations and requests

Assuming that one of the basic goals of professional practice is to give service to society and satisfy user needs when designing residential projects, I had predicted that architects would welcome clients whose aim was to live in the project. This also carries the advantage that direct knowledge can be acquired from the user. However, clients who will reside in the projects are appreciated by architects only when they have established requests. When the clients are conscious of their expectations and these expectations are clarified by the client-architect interaction through interviews, thorough questions and analysis, the architects' design process becomes easier. However, when the requests are not approved by architects, they are difficult to perform in terms of design decisions, they conflict with one another and/or they change continuously during the design process, architects have problems.

4.2.2.2.2. Aim to profit but also having architectural expectations leading to consensus

One of the reasons why large contractor firms are identified as good clients by practitioners, directly related with the educated and knowledgeable professionals that

they employ, is their aim and expectations. For example, when they are compared with uneducated contractors whose only expectation is to maximise profit, it is easier for us to understand how practitioners differentiate :

If you work with a large firm, no problem arises. Because the firm understands you, and it already chooses you before giving you the job. (R12)

All of the firms there were large construction firms. They could break price, have technical equipment, such as vanes, moulds etc. they could apply their technologies to the projects. The outcome was good (...) The construction firm is a professional institution. If their attitude is professional, then they should apply the construction according to the project, working with the architect. This is how it should be. Yet, in Turkey construction is not implemented by professionals.(..) Everyone does construction. (R24)

There are certain construction firms, who we should separate from the people who we call contractors, who have low education, low economic condition and make the cheapest trade of the job. Thus, the large firms construct buildings, but they expect project at a certain quality level (...). these pay more attention to the quality of the project, the planning and the quality of construction and technology. (R8)

I assume that being able to become 'large' in the construction industry has some prerequisites of quality in construction and design. Moreover, educated employers are assumed to acquire certain values regarding professional conduct, which differentiates their priorities given to goals and expectations from the non-educated clients.

4.2.2.2.3. Aim only to maximise profit leading to conflict

One of the major conflicts encountered by architects is when the client has no intention of architectural quality and where his/her only aim is to maximise profit. This, when it contradicts the architect's design intentions that place other values before clients profit maximisation, becomes highly problematic for the architect.

To illustrate this type of client, an architect whose specialization is in large housing complexes commented on the problems and conflict with a number of construction

firms he has worked with. The conflict arose from the firm's preference of maximization of profit, whereas the architect valued another aspect in the design. At this point, the firm employees disregarded architects' decision and carried out unconsulted intervention at certain stages of the design or construction. For example, they were criticised for not making the facade characteristics as designed by the architect, for the sake of economics and time gain, but reducing the aesthetic quality of the residential project.

Placing maximisation of profit with no concern about architectural quality, however, is the 'speciality' of a largely uneducated group of contractors, mostly build-and-sell contractors, as 50% of architects claim. The basic reason is their priority to sell the building over considering the way it will be used, which is a concern more of the architect:

Since very uneducated people also do contracting, constructing a dialogue becomes very difficult. They do not approach the problem professionally and do it only to earn money. (S3)

Education seems to be a crucial factor that goes along with how the contractor approaches the building and its elements as factors for profit. There is a variety of ways of maximising profit for the build-and-sell contractors. One of the most important aspect, however, is to maximise the area of the flats, maximise the number of flats and maximise the number of rooms within a flat. Although the requests of contractors will be stressed in the following section, suffice it to say that these requirements put a lot of pressure on the architects who believe that there is more to architectural quality than square meters:

He wants three rooms. You explain that there is no point in placing three rooms in 80 m²s, most of the space will be used up by the corridors. A 2-roomed solution will be much more comfortable. You try to explain, but he refuses and insists on three rooms. Okay, understood. (R8)

A number of architects made similar remarks on how the contractor requested number of rooms that did not function in terms of use, in order to sell the flat at a higher price.

Another factor that determines the degree of input from the architect depends on the clients of the contractor: where the building will be built defines the target market of users. In that respect, as one architect puts forth, buildings in high-socio-economic neighbourhoods are expected have an aesthetic quality for prestige. This distinguishes the approach to the problem by the contractor and hence the role given to the architect.

Expectations of profit may cause conflict not only between the build-and-sell contractor and architect, but in other situations. A contractor who is commissioned by the cooperative users or a villa owner may perform unconsulted intervention during the construction of the building in order to save labour time and economy, as two architects have experienced. On the other hand, a property owner, also a contractor, changed his approach toward the villa he had commissioned, when his aim changed from living in it to selling it. This lead him to use a material without consulting, so that it will 'sell'. In my opinion, these examples also inherently indicate the client's low value given to architects' an creation, or at least how other values outrule respect to professional conduct.

The impact of the expectations of the clients on the design process and outcome is parallel to the findings of Cuff (1991), Eyikan (1999) and Larson (1993). A demand for quality, provided that 'quality' is comprised of similar values according to both the client and the architect, leads to a positive interaction between the two parties and hence, a highly valued architectural product.

4.2.2.3. Homogeneity and Number of Clients / Users

One of the factors not mentioned when there was not a problem, but mentioned when it caused a problem, was the number and heterogeneity of the users. This problem arose especially in cooperative-housing projects when the architect, although occasionally coordinated with the board of directors of the cooperative, composed of maximum three people, had to confront with the requests of a high number of people from hundreds to thousands. People with different lifestyles, household compositions and aims towards the dwelling require successful optimum solutions to be provided by the architect. It may also be a case where all of the shares of clients in an apartment building are different and therefore require different flats. These are sources of conflict for architects and raise the difficulty of interaction. Phrases like 'a different voice was coming out of every head', 'cooperative housing is the hardest to work on, because you can not transform that large amount of people' and 'you have to then confront the whole cooperative owners with your project' are used by architects.

It is interesting that the interaction with multi-headed clients seems to be a common problem for both architects interviewed in this research and those studied by Larson who are the elite architects of the United States (1993). The client characteristics, architects' characteristics, the building types and the institutional contexts are very different in these two studies. I assume that the similarity arises from the significance of authority over the design process. Thus, design problems are unpredictable by nature, open to many alternatives and comprised of a complex number of decisions to be made about many issues. Thus, the multiplicity of client/users increases the difficulty of decision-making and control over the design process with people who have a range of values about many aspects of the design.

However, from the 10 architects who designed for heterogeneous and high number of clients, half of them also appreciated this process in terms of cooperation and inclusion of user collaboration in design. In this situation we can see a preference of an objective that architects should involve user participation in design to provide better solutions despite the difficulty of interaction as well as the time and labour consumption inherent in the process. An architect designing cooperative housing for a low-socio economic group showed his professional satisfaction from the process and his role in it:

Finding the optimum demand of hundreds of people was very difficult. However, despite the difficulty, I urged to get them together and we have been successful. (...) Letting the sisters and wives speak, letting them live the scenario as if they were cooking and going out to the balcony really cheered them up. (R9)

A conflict may also occur when there is a small client number but different requests, which was confronted by an architect who changed the project five times due to the contrasting requirements of husband and wife.

4.2.2.4. Individual Differences

The above classifications are naturally provided by the data of the interviews of the architects. The degree of knowledge the clients had and their claim of knowledge, their respect and trust of the architect, their education, their basic aim with respect to building, and their number/heterogeneity emerged as the factors standing out to influence the interaction between architect and user. It also seemed that certain client types, due to their expectations and roles regarding the construction process, had a tendency to have a positive or negative interaction with the architect.

However, the architects also stressed the point that character and personality were very significant in the determination of the relationship, regardless of the above factors:

Some (contractors) ask a lot, they analyse and every time they call you and show you, others don't ask at all, take the project and you never see them again. And when it ends, you are surprised and sometimes you cannot recognise the project.(R12)

... They talk to you, discuss, believe and afterwards they always ask you and do it the way you have told them; or they may not do so at all. It is like when a doctor gives a person a medicine. One may question the consultation given by the doctor. Thus, when a doctor advises him/her to take one medicine per hour, (s)he may question this and take it one every 10 hours... it is similar. Trust is related to character. (R22)

It must be noted that throughout the whole relationship between client type and interaction quality, it is inherently presupposed that positive interaction leads to a positive product quality and visa versa. This may not always be the case. For example, an architect says that you reach the same conclusion at the end of both type of relationships, however, in a difficult relationship to reach that end takes three days whereas in an harmonious relationship it takes three hours. A different example was described by another architect who explained different attitudes of clients at different phases of design and finally lead to unpredictable outcomes:

For example a contractor comes to you. He understands the project very well, he can talk and discuss with you, but when he constructs, he does it his own way. You see that he has not acted according to that conversation. On the other hand, another one doesn't understand the project, you try to explain an aspect 40 times, and you are unsuccessful. However, when you go and see the building, the construction is perfect.(R14)

Despite this case which is different, the architects sometimes pronounced verbally, sometimes presupposed that the interaction quality was a determining factor on design decisions and finally product quality.

Architects' knowledge and values about clients have an impact on the quality of their interaction. Both of these factors, on the other hand, reflect on architect's objectives and activities regarding selection of clients, and establishment of their fee policy which is also linked to other factors. The following section will dwell upon this issue.

4.2.3. Values and Action with respect to Determination of Fee and Client Selection

The values of architects regarding how the architects should determine their fee and whether they ought to select clients or not, seemed significant to the interviewed architects for their role definitions, their interaction with clients, as well as their economic objectives. These values, in addition to their actual practices are presented in App. C, Tab. 18, and App. D, Tab. 33.

Except for one architect who found it ethically wrong to refuse a client who asks for service, 42% of the architects interviewed explicitly stated that architects should select their clients and that they must do so in order to increase product quality. One 'radical' architect, who was an older architect within the group and saw the architects at a definitely higher position than the clients, expressed his view on client selection: "Just as they have a right to choose their architects, we have a right to choose our clients... we are not people on the boulevard waiting to accept to everyone... we accept whoever we want" (R11). Even the architects who do not clearly state their explicit opinions on client selection apply certain client selection strategies. Thus, 70% of the architects select their clients. On the other hand, some of the architects who wish to select their clients are not always powerful enough to do so, the reasons for which will be discussed.

Clients may approach architects through 'natural selection', that is, by way of the architect's specialisation, by his/her general socio-cultural context, etc. Similarly, reference from other clients or from an acquaintance is a common way of commissioning for clients. Architects stressed that, when a client commissions a project for the second time, or when he/she comes by a reference, it is much more easy for the client to trust the architect and the interaction is comfortable. Another

way of a selection policy is by refusing to do certain project types, due to client quality or other reasons. For example, some architects refuse to do apartment buildings for build-and-sell contractors, since they believe that the design action is initially limited by standard requests, as well as limiting codes and regulations. Another reason for not doing apartment projects is the problematic procedures to obtain a building permission from the municipalities, where conflict occurs between architect-controllers, as I have already mentioned. Other architects refuse to do work for governmental institutions, for economic reasons or for conflicts between the technical personnel in them. Villa commissions are also selectively accepted by architects due to the intense one-to-one correspondence with the client and due to the difficulty of designing projects for the special and changing requests of the clients. Therefore, architects who have stated this difficulty prefer to have had a certain acquaintance with the client prior to the commission.

Clients may be refused at the initial meetings commonly for economic reasons, as well as to reduce possible conflict at further stages of design in terms of contradictory viewpoints or time shortage. Architects have also rejected clients during the design process due to sources of conflict. Refusals in terms of professional ethics are also mentioned by two architects, one who refused to take the 'modification' of another architect's project, whereas another architect convinced the client of the unfeasibility of a particular project and its program at the specified site, since it would not function properly, therefore turning down the commission for the benefit of the client.

The fee policy and difficulties arising with the communication of economic gain with the clients seems to be the problematic aspect in the architectural profession. This is, I believe, once more due to the imprecise status given to the profession by the society, and the low value given to technical professions and creative professions.

Moreover, the interviews revealed some taken-for-granted assumptions about client-architect relationships which may be specific for the socio-cultural context of Turkey. The term “work as a favour” is an established notion which weakens the economic aspect of any profession. Even for an architect who believes that making a project for a very low price or for free is unethical, in between the lines, she commented on her doing an interior design project: “well, these type of projects for acquaintances is more like a favour of course”. Other similar problems where the boundaries of ‘intimacy’ and professional relationship is not established can be discovered from the architects’ statements:

Of course when it is a residential project, it is not formal... He said to me let me take this project home and examine it... that was the last that was seen of him. (R20)

Well, we made the project and the model, but he was an acquaintance. And we hadn’t spoken about any fees or costs, and when we said it would be about this much, he said okay don’t continue any more (laughter). (R2)

Dependency on clients’ references to gain other clients is also a factor that prevents architects’ determined action toward fees. Thus, an architect explains that jobs come by references and through friends. They are occasionally acquaintances, and that is why the architects usually don’t require fees.

The uneasy position of architects in these situations is caused by the conflict between a value judgment on how a professional client-architect relationship ought to be versus how a person-friend/acquaintance relationship ought to be. When these two relationships merge, it is the architects’ tendency to act for the sake of the individual-friend relationship, sacrificing economic gains or gains with respect to product quality. These comments leads to the suggestion that the clash of socio-cultural values one is enculturated into and the values that are ‘taught’ to the person through education, such as values regarding professional action, requires further in-depth analysis, especially when studying client-professional interaction.

Besides the majority who consciously or unconsciously select clients, one architect finds it ethically wrong to select a client. He has also emphasises architect-client interaction as the core of architectural practice, which has been neglected among the majority of architects in Turkey. Parallel to his attitude on client selection, this same architect has a particular fee for particular clients 'according to their economic condition', rather than a fixed price. What are the goals behind this activity and whether the aims include the increase of economic status besides the value of 'equal right for every client' is much open to question. My questioning arises from the architect's statement that 'the only way to get recognition is to have our projects built', from where he concludes that a consensus must therefore be reached between the client and the architect. This gives the indication of another goal behind his strategy on client selection.

Architects' economic power seems to be a significant determining factor on the client selection and setting the fee. Thus, whether clients can be selected according to the wishes of the architect or not depends on the changing economic condition of the architect, rather than wholly determined by architects' desire for consensus and high quality products. To put it in another way, economic gain is hypothesised to precede professional commitment such that only when a certain socio-economic status is reached, then a luxury of client selection can be applied. This degree is of course determined by the architect. In that respect, besides architects who have plainly stated that they select clients and others who stated that they don't, a number of architects indicated how their client selection decisions changed with respect to their economic condition, although value judgements on client selection is constant:

We could not choose at the beginning, I sincerely say. We have even designed a project for free. (..) Just for having work, you don't know, you are inexperienced, and you need a job for the office... But when your drawers are filled, you have work experience, and you are in a condition to supply your child and not worry about what you will eat tomorrow, you definitely have to choose, this is very important. (R19)

Mamak, Keçiören, those regions... I would not let those type of people (contractors) into my office until recently... But in the previous two years, there has been extensive unemployment. So many unqualified people are receiving a diploma, they are also architects and receive commissions for a very low price; you are also an architect and you say this price. There is a tremendous gap. If you refuse the job— well when there is no money circulation, it is very difficult to keep the office up, because we run small offices. (R8)

The conflict of economic interest with other objectives regarding architects' professional role will further be discussed in the following sections.

I have aimed at providing a general outline of architects' knowledge and values regarding client characteristics, how these condition interaction and how both of these condition and are conditioned by client selection of the architects. From this, I will move on to the values and aims of architects with respect to clients and users as they design projects and how these reflect to their design action in particular experiences.

4.2.4. Values with Respect to Clients and Users and Reflections on Design Action

One of the main goals of this dissertation was to identify the value systems of architects with respect to themselves as professionals, the clients, and the users; and how the values that formed the system influencing their design decisions. The goal of architects, their position with respect to other role players in terms of power relationships and how they redefine themselves as professionals on the basis of their activities form these values. Their operability depends on a preference of one aim over another based on values, leading to a specific design action. Certainly, professional knowledge is a resource that is commonly used to confirm the decisions.

From the large number of value statements, I have identified statements that could be clustered to form a value system regarding architects' role within the larger scheme. I have grouped the related statements to a tentative overall defining category in a spectrum in terms of architects' role with respect to users and clients, which may correspond or differ, and have listed the statements of the respondents accordingly (App. C, Tab. 21). Afterwards, I have attempted to trace the value systems of architects and their related activities- whether value statements correspond with one another, and whether they correspond with client interaction and design action (App. D, Tab. 29, 30). The frequency of value statements within each interview extract were also very much indicative of architects' positions. I must stress that a large number of interlinked values exists, including values related to building technology, material, strength, etc. However, I will focus on the issues that are directly related to the self, the client, and the user- and the interaction between them, particularly in residential environments where the values and lifestyles of the users and clients are likely to differ from that of the architect.

A final aspect that should be pointed out is that an architect's knowledge, values, aims and activities regarding clients and users during project designing form only a part of the set of beliefs that form the value system. Thus, attitudes and behaviour before the reception of the commission, at initial stage of design, at project implementation phase and architect's perceived role after the product completion are all interrelated with the architect's attitude during design, forming the value system. In that respect, although this section concentrates on architects' role during design activity, values and action in other stages of the process will be referred to when significant, to present the system in its totality.

4.2.4.1. Values with respect to Users During Design Phase

When designing residential environments, one of the basic criteria on which the architects base their design decisions is the assumptions, knowledge and values they have regarding the lifestyles of the users. Basically, two main value judgements stand out to influence architects' design action, which other sub-categories may be linked to, and form a spectrum. These value judgments relate to how a person ought to live, and what the architects' role ought to be in terms of the design action taken, according to the way users are known, or assumed to live. Therefore, these values are influential to design action particularly when the lifestyles of users are different from that of the architects'.

The architects are diffused along this spectrum with a change in values, where role-definitions and membership, goal/aim of architect, power and position with respect to user are identified. I will briefly clarify the two ends of the spectrum as well as the centre:

1. 'They do not live as they ought to live, so we should educate them'

A number of value-claiming statements made by architects position their roles as an educator with respect to the needs, lifestyles and tastes of the users. Thus, the architects, by definition of their social and educational standing have a more powerful position towards the users, and as such, have a goal to discipline the 'ways of life' of the users towards a 'correct' way. This value is that of the Modernists, who aimed at imposing an ideal life to the users that they designed for. Thus, in terms of client and user interaction, the architects find themselves the right and the power to show the users 'correct' ways, in terms of aesthetics and lifestyle. In addition, the 'other', who has a different lifestyle or taste than the architect, is negatively valued within various degrees, and design action is taken accordingly.

This picture is the 'ideal' version of the position of "architect-as-educator". A number of interviewees I have identified come close to this end of the spectrum, with a concentration of value statements that are indicative of this professional identity, while their design action and values related to client selection as well as unconsulted intervention correspond to these values. Yet, a number of statements also conflict with them.

2. 'They do not live as they ought to live, but we professionally should not impose our 'correct' way; we should either orient them or provide solutions to their requests'

The middle way between "architect- as- social- servant" and "architect- as- educator" is where architects continue to evaluate others' lifestyles that are different from theirs negatively, but have a different professional conduct towards this difference. The architect, due to his/her professional role, believes that he/she should not impose his/her own lifestyle to the users through design, but either interpret the needs of user or provide the exact solution that is required.

This interpreter-architect has a degree of power on the user needs and lifestyles, due to the knowledge claim of the professional. The architect is in interaction with the client and the user, where possible, and able to orient the users towards new alternatives and problem solutions that will make small alterations in their lives. Another way of putting it is that the architect must understand the needs of the user more than the user himself, to analyse them and provide solutions that the user has not thought of, but appreciates them as it suits the user's life.

A second design approach to be taken is to give the exact solutions that the users request in terms of their lifestyles and needs. Thus, the needs are taken as given rather than being interpreted and/or rather than the provision of new alternatives to

the user. The architect's role is to understand the user and give what they need.

User participation is crucial at both the design processes and decisions in order to have the knowledge of user needs, expectation and lifestyles.

3. 'They know how to live, even if it may be different from ours, so we professionally should not impose our 'correct' way; we should either orient them or provide solutions to their requests'

The basic difference between this end of the spectrum to the middle way is based on architect's self-image compared to the people who have a different lifestyle than his. Thus, apart from the knowledge and professional values an architect gains through profession, an equal status within the society is attributed to architects and users, where the differences in lifestyles is not negatively valued. The design action of what architect should do, is, again, to either interpret the users' needs or give solutions that best fit what they require.

4.2.4.2. Values with respect to Client-Architect Interaction During Design Phase

The relationship between the client and the architect is reflected at many phases in professional practice, from the selection strategies which have previously been explored to interaction strategies during the design phase to actions and value judgements during the implementation phase and the production phase. Since the process of practice and client-architect interaction is diffused along many phases, it is more difficult to identify a coherent system of beliefs with respect to the client in terms of one goal or aim and one type of action to be conducted. In this section I would like to refer to the value judgements of what architects should do when there is a conflict during the design phase, where, similar to the values regarding user lifestyle, a spectrum can be proposed:

1. 'The architect should do as he/she wishes regardless of clients' wishes '.

Correspondent with the architect-as-educator regarding user needs, architect as a decision giver with respect to every design decision without receiving consent from the client is the values of architect-as-isolated designer. Thus, the architect is in the powerful knowledge position to know what is right for the users and the clients, and should be given full authority to carry out his/her design process without interference. Conforming to the higher status of architect with respect to client during the design phase is his/her position during the selection phase, where the architect has a right to choose the client according to his own wish.

2. 'There should be an equal power between architect and client, and a middle way should be found. '

The middle way in the spectrum is where architect and client are valued to have equal power within the interaction phase. Thus, both the professional aims of the architect and the aims and goals of the client- when conflicting- are met on both sides with negotiations and a desire to convince the other. The aims of the architect, the aims of the client and the aims of the assumed 'user' are negotiated and a 'middle way' is found.

3. 'The architect should do as client wishes regardless of society's interests and/or the architect's interests'.

When power is submitted to the client, the architect is obliged to answer client requests regardless of the architect's own professional goals, and regardless of users' needs and requirements. Client satisfaction is the ultimate goal of the architect. The goals of the client may correspond to those of the users, or to those of the architects, where consensus can be reached; or they may conflict, where the

final decision is dependent on the clients' requests. This goal may be composed of other individualistic or professional values such as economic gain or aim to service the client.

4.2.4.3. Respondent Classification

I must admit that, in the provision of the respondent classification along the spectrum, a multiplicity of factors were included in my interpretation among the value-claiming statements. The views on client selection, the views on unconsulted intervention, the changing views with respect to the taste of the users as compared to the lifestyle of the users and most importantly the design action taken along several decision-making points in different design processes have been indicative of the positions that I put forth. However, one of the determining factors was the 'degrees' of good and bad, right and wrong, that was explicated throughout the whole interview. Besides, conflicting value statements were frequently observed, as well as actions not corresponding to the professional roles architects claimed to hold. These arose out of either the implicit objectives of architects regarding their professional role or another objective that they were guided by that conflicted with their professional objective. Since attitudes and activities related to clients were very much linked with those related to users and in many design processes the client was actually the user of the project, a separation of the two dimensions was found artificial.

4.2.4.3.1. Architects as educators: Respondents 11 and 22

Two architects were grouped as having values of architect-as-educators, and held value judgments that could be linked to this system in various ways.

Initially, they made value statements that actually indicated the 'educator' role of the architect, towards an 'ideal' life style. For example, R11 complained about the clients' leaving his design unfinished in the transitional spaces of a mass housing project:

When you give the people such spaces, at least you should also give some education. You have to make one or two reminders. Placement of two benches, a clock would make that reminding. We could not do it. Thus, the design was incomplete. As space, it was finished but as a way of life it was not. (R11)

Similarly, R22 criticised that the standards of worker housing was based only on size and numbers: "They are cheap and they are small- the name given to it is 'housing for social workers'- but they do not care about the workers, the workers also do not learn a life style". Yet, negative values towards certain lifestyles or aesthetic values are held by numerous architects, although their professional attitudes towards these are somewhat different from educator- architects.

The aim of teaching the users certain 'correct' ways of living presupposes that the users have problems in living, which could be solved through design. Thus, negative values towards users' lifestyles and aesthetic values are apparent in the architect's statements. This is obvious particularly about interventions made or attempted by the users to the architects' buildings, which are somewhat unacceptable when they contradict with their ideal.

In the apartment flat they placed an absurd fireplace with carvings and glass elements with flowers on it. Unfortunately they took away the building from the healthy world that you had planned and thought. Thus, my understanding is to keep the inner world of the dwelling neutral, so that the users can give the liveliness, can act comfortably with their choice of material, curtains, carpets and furnishings. I don't find dominant things such as an absurd fireplace, correct. (R22)

Though I see that the neighbours have begun to place flowers there and started to enliven that space (...) Yet, there are habits. For example that space was purposefully finished with stone, so that people would not run and skate. They call and ask if it can be replaced with asphalt, saying that the women with high heels have problems or something..(R11)

The conflict in both of these remarks is how the interpretation of the users interventions are made according to how architects view the 'correct' way of personalization. Thus, although R22's aim is to leave the space neutral for the easy personalization of the user, he finds it unhealthy when this is carried out which doesn't fit 'his' way. Similarly, when users place flowers in transitional spaces, they are appreciated since they correspond to the idealised life that is supposed to take place there, whereas when asphalt is proposed to be furnished, it is valued as negative, and 'bad habit', since it does not fit the picture in the architect's mind. R11 is thus disappointed when the users do not 'fit' the picture, when he is complaining about how they could place plastic chairs and an air conditioning unit on the balcony of an apartment project he designed: "I always say, buildings are not toys that we give adults who didn't have toys in their childhood for them to break. They should not be using them vulgarly. "

The imposition of an 'ideal' solution to the users is a common attitude of these architects. In fact, R11 explicitly states that he designs according to the 'ideal' user, rather than the actual user with assumed current needs:

Sometimes you love a person because you attribute all the values that you believe in to that person. Or maybe, we think so. (...) I always liked the client that came to me as such. That is, by making a sort of idealisation. If not, at least I believe that his/her children or grandchildren will be as such- even if I see them improper, if they don't understand, their children definitely will; if not, their grandchildren will definitely be conscious. Otherwise, you cannot be optimistic.(R11)

These same architects also believe that the architect's role is to interpret the needs of the users. Thus, they claim that the users come without awareness of their actual needs and the architect's goal is to discover those implicit desires and provide solutions for that.

These architects' attitude towards clients is a further implication of their higher positioning as an elite and an educator. They both claim that the architect should be

selective towards clients and have stories of how they rejected clients during design phases when there was a misfit between the designer and the client. R11's 'radical' views on client selection was presented in Section 4.2.3. R22 recalled his experience with an educated client who commissioned an interior design project that was inappropriate in his modernist building. He rejected the requests of the client and finally stopped interaction.

The self-image of the creative artist-architect at a higher position than the client is best exemplified by R11, who explained a general design process from his perspective. He mentioned that the client initially looks up to the architect, since the architect is able to solve a problem that he has worked on and been unable to find a solution. As the process continues, however, the client begins to envy the architect's creativity and his ability and gets involved in a power struggle with the architect, thus the interaction transforms from consensus to conflict. R11 ended the description of his experiences with a remark that in an interview, Albert Speer had explained that Hitler was jealous of him.

We can see that from a standing to their attitude towards the clients, to the value given to users and clients' tastes and lifestyles, to attitudes towards unconsulted intervention, these architects act according to a coherent system of professional values in their practices. However, this does not mean that architects do not consider at all the needs of the users every time that they are different from theirs', or that they always go their own way in every design commission. As I will clarify soon, the architects carry out idealised objectives whenever the 'ideal' conditions exist, in terms of type of residential project, client type and economic condition. For example, both of the educator-architects have designed conventional projects, one an apartment building and another a 2-block high rise complex, when required by contractors. The architects took the requirements as given and thus acted

accordingly. Similarly, when R11 intended to propose a plan scheme to the mass housing projects without corridors, and was refused, he changed it to the conventional scheme without hesitation. Yet, corresponding to his perceived professional role, he did not negotiate this with any 'clever' handling of the codes and regulations to propose the large transitional space in his mass housing project, which challenged the conventional apartment-type housing. Action, therefore is an outcome of a multiplicity of factors, including strategies, negotiations, and decisions from a realm of choices.

4.2.4.3.2. In between interpreting and educating: Respondents 14, 18 and 24

Three architects are placed in between the architect-as-interpreter and architect-as educator category, either due to their conflict between values and action, or their actual in-between positioning.

I have had difficulty in interpreting the values of R18 since the statements carry implications of 'educator-architect' who is an individual decision-maker. For example, he imposes certain 'ideal' solutions to the users according to his own desires, such as a 'tower' form, however allowing the user to perceive it as his own request. He explains: "Occasionally people are very closed to new things (...) it is a very rare chance that you can build the house that you purely think of." Similarly he has negative value towards ways of life that are different from his. However, he designs projects accordingly when he knows that the client will not accept otherwise:

You plan according to the concept that the living room (*salon*) will be closed and the family room (*oturma odası*) will be used- a practice which I have not appropriated and believe that it will fade as the socio-economic status of women has developed. (...) This is the data. If you do it otherwise, you decrease the chance of the contractors' selling. (R18: 4)

Although R18 does not express his role explicitly as an educator-architect or an architect who proposes an ideal lifestyle on the users, his design actions clearly indicate strategies to impose his own way of life and schemes whenever the conditions are convenient. For example, he explained that he insisted on a living room alternative which he thought was correct in spite of the objections of the client in a cooperative housing project. In addition, he tried to convince a client to have a circular living room, and was refused because of the criticism that there were no circular carpets available. Objecting to this criticism, the architect continued that they tried out this form elsewhere and were successful. Finally, while the architect was complaining about the fact that, similar to R11 and R22, people have standard interests and habits they cannot leave, he complained about a villa owner's rejection of a courtyard scheme that he proposed: "Even though we had a close relationship with the client, we could not persuade him. Although it didn't finalise exactly the way he wanted as well, we could not carry out the scheme that was very good". However, he was able to carry out that scheme in a competition project, where, not the users, but the jurors were architects. Thus, the 'ideal' scheme was finally carried out, with the appropriate commission!

The two architects, R24 and R14, the former female while the latter male, have certain conflicting attitudes towards users and their role with respect to them. They both believe that user participation is necessary when possible and have achieved a participatory process in their cooperative housing projects. They both state that since they will not live in the dwellings but the users will, they plan according to their needs and possible modifications. R14 showed three design strategies according to user needs. In one villa, he declared his happiness to have satisfied the desires and dreams of the user, even though it did not fit his own lifestyle. An example of R14 interpreting a need is when his female client requested a staircase up to the second

floor from the middle of the living room, which the architect objected due to his concerns of privacy. He finally found the middle way:

Finally, we reached a consensus. Now there is a very monumental staircase reaching upstairs from the living rooms as well as a service staircase at the back. We both were happy. Because I know that in the future if it was with one staircase, I would be criticised. She would be right. She would say she was the one who requested as such, but, as an architect, I was supposed to know what it actually meant.

In contrast to these actions where the role of architect as orienter was valued, R14 presented an imposition at another situation, similar to that of R24. Contradicting with their previous value statements, both architects had negative value towards the 'other' lifestyle and indicated design decisions based on showing the user the 'correct' way of life. The family room (*oturma odası*) was the typical case:

You make a large space for a life style, and they close the door and live somewhere else. This is absurd. I cannot find a rational reason for this. (B: And you try to prevent it with your design?). You try but still it doesn't work. For example you take the room and position it in the bedroom section, separating from the entrance, hoping that they may not use it. An alternative private space—No, they still go there and use it as a family room (R14)

You know the concept of leaving the living room for the guests and actually living at the other room? That will be difficult in this project for the users to practice. Because the actual livable area is the living room and all the other rooms are relatively small. (B: you did it on purpose- to encourage them to use the living room?). Yes. (...) If they spend time together as a family in the evenings, they will probably spend it at the living room- or that they should (B: any objections to that?) No, there was no objection. (R24)

R24 calls this "while satisfying the needs, on the other hand orienting the people modestly without being very didactic, such as a flexible kitchen... or encouraging them to live in the living room". This example shows the obscure boundary between 'orienting' and 'imposing'; so that while R24 interprets her action as orienting, I have interpreted it, supported with her value judgements, as 'imposing', yet with the awareness that it is open to discussion.

The architects' negative attitude towards the use of the *salon* can not be explained only by 'professional' values of efficient use of space. A closer investigation to the use of interior spaces of houses by social groups in the Turkish society is necessary. Following that different social groups in the urban environment use and assign diverse values to their houses, it is likely that some architects associate a certain type of lifestyle with the lower socio-economic group, particularly the migrants.

Research on middle-class urban dwellers by Ayata (1988), Ayata and Ayata (1996) and of rural-to-urban migrants by Erman (1996, 1997a, 1997b) reveal that the living room (*salon*) has a symbolic meaning for these groups in the formation and representation of their urban identities. Particularly for women who have moved from squatter areas to apartment dwellings, the *salon*, with its size and material contents on which most of the economic resources are spent, is reserved as a space to communicate their achieved social and economic status to outsiders. On the other hand, the sitting room (*oturma odası*) is where a traditional lifestyle is carried out (Erman, 1997b). While the 'self' is presented in the 'front stage' (Goffman, 1959), the *salon* which is the public space of the house used only for guests, the *oturma odası* is a 'back stage' where the family can perform their daily activities, which is flexible, comfortably furnished, intimate and private. Hence, some of the architects' negative evaluation of the use of the dwellings as such may be due to their self-images as elite urban dwellers and the images of the 'other' as belonging to a lower socio-economic group, whose lifestyles they disapprove.

Client selection is consciously made by R14 and natural selection occurs with respect to R18 and R24. R14 puts his principles that he would never work with a client who has a different aesthetic tendency than his and throughout the interview devalues certain aesthetic decisions made by villa users or contractors where he could not control the outcome. Meanwhile, R24 is questioning her own attitude

toward personalization, explicating the conflict between the value judgement 'user personalization is good' versus 'intervention to architects' design/creation is bad'.

The basic criterion of prototypic projects is flexibility. Because, in the end everyone shapes the place that they live according to themselves, but when we see the real outcome of this, I cannot judge how good this is in Turkey.

I have to note, before discussing the next section, that the two architect-educators and one respondent from the above category, R18, are all in the group of male respondents who are over 60 years old. Although the numbers are very low and it is unhealthy to reach a conclusion from this observation, it strikes me that all these architects somehow hold Modernist ideological tendencies. Is it because they were educated in more or less the same years, in the late fifties and early sixties conditioned by the architectural medium at that time in Turkey? This is just a hypothesis which needs a thorough research with a comparison of a larger number of architects of different age groups.

4.2.4.3.3. Architect as interpreter of needs but with negative value to 'other' lifestyles

A very wide range of architects that I interviewed made a variety of statements against the architect that imposes his/her own desires and have positioned the architect in a different role, either that of the interpreter or that of the exact-solution-giver, or both. These positions carry common value judgements related to architect-user interaction, such as allowing the user to participate to the design process, and understanding the needs of the users themselves rather than imposing the architects' own lifestyle through design.

The ideal space formation is that which is developed from the collaboration of the architect and the user, for example finding certain clues from their ways of life and designing such a space that (s)he will do something new there, develop him/her-maybe not develop but... (s)he will be happy there, be

comfortable to use the space, not the way (s)he used it before. But it is difficult to do for an anonymous user, you have to know the person.(R15)

Whatever the user requests, I believe... if it is defined and reasonable within its own framework, my duty is to satisfy it. That is, my job is to organise the space according to him/her, not me. (R1)

Their positions are explicit in terms of how they should act professionally to the users' lifestyles that are different from theirs. However, architects in this category still see some users as member of a group on which they place a negative value in terms of lifestyle, and/or taste. While their professional attitude differs from the educator-architects, their value judgements related to 'difference' is similar. This conflict can be understood from the following statements:

I personally always prefer minimum spaces. If it were up to me, I would keep the wet spaces, and other spaces as small as possible. However, I would never do that in a project, since I know that people want spaciousness. I have been against it, a lot of Turkish people have a fetishism about largeness - we have such a thing- if you do not know how to use it, let it be big- let them all rooms be big. I think these are opinions that have not been clarified and sensible. (R15)

For example, you reserve a working space that is attached to the living room. He requests a working space with a separate door. We wish to connect spaces to one another, visually communicate them. We prefer to live at a corner, work at a corner, sit at another corner of our living space. You design a project accordingly, but he requests otherwise. This actually contradicts us, but we have to do it. (R19)

Therefore, architects' design action is carried out according to the values related to their professional roles, either providing conventional solutions or new solutions for the lives of the residents, in the projects where it is possible, despite the fact that they do not approve of the residents' lifestyles.

An architect grouped in this category initially showed positive value towards differences and clarified his objectives that, for example, if he knew that the users of the dwelling used a *sedir* (a longitudinal furniture for sitting which is of low height, used in village houses) , he would lower the window heights accordingly, to allow visual communication. However, his comments on why he chose to specialise on

urban design revealed that he would be more isolated and independent in the decision-making process, since less people had a claim to the knowledge of that profession:

They don't know... You are more comfortable. If you propose to plant a type of tree there, they can not ask what it is. If you say that it is a pine tree, they say okay. (...) However, here the person knows what a family room is. That is why he has a lot to say about it. He has a typical stove in his mind and wants to impose that type to your design. If it doesn't suit your image, then there is conflict. (R16)

This comment shows how a lack of authority over knowledge in residential design led the architect to specialize in a domain where he would have more control and secure his professional position.

Another architect on the other hand, although having no negative value about users and having the objective of providing solutions to incorporate users' lives even if they were different from his, saw himself at a higher position from all the other actors with whom he was working, with the blame put on them for the problems that had occurred during the design of a mass housing project:

...a contractor who owns a jewellery shop- though he is my friend – I ask him certain documents about the project and he does not know what they are.. A recent graduate who works at the municipality is not capable of understanding the regulations...You go to an institution such as the major municipality, and the director is concentrated more on teaching the Turkish language, rather than architecture... We finally received building permission three months later. (R7)

Moreover, he explained that although he had proposed alternatives to the cooperative board of directors, they rejected them because of the user heterogeneity. He accepted this rejection:

They said there would be dispute among the cooperative members if there were different plan types. Well, we accepted that, you know, they are right. We reduced it to one scheme in order not to encounter and struggle with the cooperative users.

This showed that he was not very insistent on the objective of user participation and the provision of a variety of alternatives for different needs of the users, preferring one type of solution, although he had proposed them initially.

One last issue that I would like to point out is that two architects in this category did not admit conflicts with respect to lifestyle differences, although one had problems with contractors' unconsulted intervention to his aesthetic decisions, since he worked largely with public and private institutions, providing projects for anonymous users. These architects provided flexible and multiple solutions that were for the user who would buy the dwelling accordingly and were not confronted with 'contrasting' needs, especially one of them who mostly designed for upper-middle income and upper-income residents. 'Difference' for him was not negatively valued, however one can not clarify his attitude toward lower-middle class ways of life. Flexibility, on the other hand, was a design strategy adopted by both of the architects to provide for different uses.

4.2.4.3.4. Respondents 6, 9 and 21: Equal positioning with respect to users and clients

Despite a variety of architects holding a similar position in terms of interpretation of needs versus imposition of needs, three architects stood out with their explicit ideologies about clients and users, with the emphasis on how the interaction should actually be, including comparisons with architects that conduct practice otherwise. That is why I would like to place them on this end of the spectrum.

Initially, two of the architects stated that the isolated individual artist-architect image is bad and problematic in the context of Turkey, both as a reaction to the user needs and client interests. As R9 disapproved:

We have chosen the functional but not necessarily artistic ways. We have not had a tendency to impose our own pyramids, towers, glass surfaces.... This is a problem in Turkey I believe. There are such examples. The property owner is not satisfied but the architect has achieved his/her goal. They have departed with fight- the architect has spent the clients money, but the building is there, and he/she takes photographs and shows it around. For us, the shaping of passion in this manner is unacceptable.

It is interesting that this architect had a presupposition that when architects design buildings to satisfy their own artistic desires and to increase professional recognition, the clients are unsatisfied with such buildings in terms of the economic deficiency.

All three architects held positive values towards lifestyles of the users, even if they are different from theirs'. While in certain situations, they gave exact solutions requested by the users, at other times they brought alternatives that could incorporate the existing life. In addition, all three architects carried out research into residential design processes at larger scales. R6 carried out observation and surveys, as well as making use of academic research. R9 made a general survey for cooperative users, and involved the users into the design process, whereas R21 carried out nationwide research to provide housing that fit the particular needs of workers of a formal institution in specific regions of Turkey, rather than providing standardised solutions. R9 and R6 stressed that it was wrong for the architect to see himself/herself in a higher position than the user. They saw the role of the architect as interpreter:

The aim is never to give the feeling that the architect does it the way he/she wishes, to let them understand that we are friends. The architect is not an isolated person, he/she is actually a servant. That is, interpreting their needs but knowing many languages. They are human beings and they know how to live. How shall they not know- the basic instinct nature gives to them is to live... (...) No need to be know-it-all, but you will provide your professional vision through tips and clues. (R9)

The most important thing is, ethically, to try to understand people. That is, not viewing what you know as the ultimate right: not to devalue them. Thus, when you start from this point, you begin observing. (R6)

The position of R21 was made explicit through her experience of change in her perception of professional role through the years, which she exemplified with the observation of shoes placed by users at the courtyard of a residential project she had designed:

I now think that radical solutions and forced decisions are of no use. I did not think this way before. For example, if they are city dwellers, let them use the place as city dwellers, I would react. However, now it all seems more naive. They trust one another so much that they are able to leave their shoes outside; it is a traditional behavior, a behavior of trust. I have changed my perspective.

In terms of power equality between architect and client, these architects presented practices that support their opinions of power equality, but not total submission to the client. For example, while R9 explained that after a long phase of interviewing and talking with the client to understand his requests, he stopped there and proceeds with design without the client's involvement, unless a logical request came from the client. Similarly, R6 did not submit to the unquestioned requests of the cooperative directors who prefer prototypic buildings, and thus used his knowledge to challenge this request to allow non-standard housing that could fit the various needs of a heterogeneous group of users. Finally, R21 indicated that she sued the government because of unconsulted intervention- building a roof to an open air stadium-- without asking her permission.

Two of the architects categorised here showed a consistent values-action system throughout the interview. On the other hand, the professional positioning of R6, who based all of his interview on the power equality between client/user-architect, needs further analysis.

He reinforced his professional stance with his differentiating opinion about the isolated artist- architect who imposes his own ideals, and the architect-as a technical person who submits all power to the client. Referring to the building traditions of Anatolia where the users are naturally a part of the building process, and

differentiating it with the emergence of the architect as it relates to the fine arts tradition in the West, he held a strong position against the Modernist educator-architect, and claimed that clients and users should be involved in the design process, having a total collaboration with the architect. He also stressed that he did not give the exact solution requested by the users, but instead brought new alternatives to incorporate their existing way of life. For example, in contrast to the architects who devalue the sitting room, R6 developed a specific plan scheme that has a living room, a kitchen and a multi-purpose room almost as large as the living room in sequence, where the kitchen has a direct communication to both of the spaces. He said proudly "This is a solution especially designed for the Turkish lifestyle that I have observed".

His professional self-definition and position was consistent throughout all of his practices from the view that it is ethically wrong to select a client, (being proud that he is able to give service to the widest range of clients nationally in comparison with other successful architects who have a limited range) to the attitude towards unconsulted intervention: "Many other professionals complain that their buildings are changed after they have designed. My buildings aren't changed, because the client is directly involved in the design process. She/he knows the building as much as I do, even its philosophical background, and can support it".

However, even in this 'system' there is a point where these values are violated. When the architect is the user of his own building, his attitude towards the various uses against his idealised lifestyle is highly negative. The experience of observing a 'misused' building once, and observing it continuously as a user in the physical environment seems to make a difference. Thus, his practice of 'orienting' continues not through professional practice, but through the directory role of the residential complex he resides. Compare these two phrases by the same architect:

When contrast between me and the client increases, I prefer multiplicity, complexity in style. When the gap is less, I prefer to less and plainer forms. For example this is explicit in many commercial buildings. They put on signboards. (...) . You will make such a building that whatever is hung, it will not be ruined. And at one point you think- is it right to prevent it? The man is doing trade there, he will put up his signboard accordingly.

The residential complex has been designed on the assumption that a community consciousness would be formed.(...) It did not develop at the rate of our assumptions (...) I have taken the role of directing the complex to accelerate this. Umm.. there is an advance... For example, some things have settled down in these 6 years. Everyone places plants on their balconies, no one takes away the roses from the garden. Nobody shakes carpets and places old furniture on their balconies any more, but all of these occurred by our two years of direction, and its continuation afterwards. We put up signs and cautions etc, and most of these have decreased.

I find this case significant as it shows how different roles a person takes in different communities and how value judgments regarding these different roles may correspond and conflict with each other. However, it is important that they are interrelated and influence one another, so that although the person may be able to reflect his professional values consistently throughout his professional practice, his practices where he is a different `actor` may contradict to his `idealised` version of the architects` role.

4.2.4.3.5. Submitting power to the client

Providing solutions for the satisfaction of user needs and lifestyles should be distinguished from the satisfaction of the client needs, particularly when the client needs conflict with the assumed requests of the user. This conflict may arise occasionally when, for example, the client is a contractor whose main aim is to maximise profit, whereas the architect holds a major aim of providing solutions to the needs of the users. In terms of professional position, none of the respondents have declared that the architect should provide the solutions exactly requested by the client regardless of the quality of the requests. On the contrary, the client, particularly when dependent on profit may either be judged neutrally- taken as a given- or may be judged negatively- particularly as it conflicts with `service to the

society' aims. Yet, although none of the architects interviewed claim that architects should do as requested, they do indicate that they are sometimes obliged to do as requested. This obligation comes from the economic and professional dependency of the architect on the client. Thus, at certain times the values with respect to economic interests determine the design action taken by the architect which conflicts with the architects' professional value system of 'service' to society at large, or to personal aesthetic values.

They insisted on having arched windows and doors, and sincerely speaking, I had to do it. I feel disappointed every time I see that building. Well, what can you do, the client is the boss... (R1)

(on apartment projects) ... generally they are finished after several sketches, because you cannot play with it. For me this is not actually architecture, they are stupid cliches. Sometimes I feel doing these as oppressive. But what can you do, this is trade. (R4)

In the build-and-sell projects, they request the unusable fourth room just to say it is of four rooms despite your rejection. Then you bring such two small rooms adjacent, thinking that you have provided the possibility of combining them, silencing your conscience. You have to do these sometimes because it is work. (R19)

I must clarify that how often economic gain is preferred over professional commitment, and to what degree, is dependent on the architect. Although the reflection of the conflict to design practice varies, this conflict is recognised throughout the interviews in various ways, indicating professional dissatisfaction.

However, with the analysis of the type of projects designed by architects, two respondents who specialize in apartment housing stood out. Doing the prototypic projects that are negatively valued by most of the architects, they were also dissatisfied with their own professional work. R4 explicitly stated that architecture is a trade and the system in Turkey forces him to carry out the professional work as such. On the one hand, R8 complained that he had to lower his expectations about client characteristics and fee policy, and became more client-dependent than before, because of the decrease in availability of receiving commissions. Yet, just

as educator architects carried out conventional projects at times, these two architects carried out projects that they were satisfied with in terms of professional quality. For example, R4 valued his villa projects where he interpreted the user needs after extensive dialogues with them, whereas R8 was satisfied with the residential project he designed for a large construction firm where he was able to introduce a variety of design alternatives. In this project, he also considered the differently abled people. He stated that he was able to propose novelties and designs with rich alternatives when he believed that the client would accept it. These examples show that design outcomes are dependant on multiple factors and that the importance given to certain values are specific to particular situations.

4.2.4.4. The 'Other' Users

The previous section has explored the attitudes of architects towards the users whom they perceived as 'other', having different lifestyles than theirs. Besides them, there are other 'others' who have a different position with respect to architects. Unless asked, they are not mentioned at all; and the design activities towards them are not explicated or distinguished by the architects.

Initially, as previously explained, the architects do not seem to differentiate the anonymous users in terms of subgroups of children, elderly, single-parent families, etc. When asked if they had assumptions about sub-groups, 33 % of the architects clarified that they were either providing optimum solutions for the anonymous users, or that the client requests were explicit at the initial stage of design, which were taken as given. Certainly, this was not the case when the architect was in direct interaction with the user, such as in villa projects, where specific needs of the individual was incorporated into design. After a number of interviews, it seemed insignificant to question if they considered the sub-groups, such as elderly and the

differently abled in residential projects, since it was obvious that they had not. While one architect, when asked, explained that he considered differently abled people in his projects of public buildings, another, as previously explained, considered it when requested by the client. The only architect that thought about a sub-group was R9, a male architect, who guided the cooperative users to give priority to the elderly and children to dwell at the lower floors of the project.

The typical users of architects expressed in the scenarios in their interviews was usually the family with children. This is similar to the findings of Darke (1984a) who found out that a stereo-typed image of ideal families existed in the images of users of architects. Yet, this image also seems to arise from expectations of clients and users.

Women were considered as a sub-group when asked, only by a few architects, all of whom associated the needs of women with the design of kitchens. They stated that they provided large kitchens for women, and sometimes planned balconies in front of the kitchens. Only one woman architect stated that she considered storage spaces and the availability of spaces for maximum functionality placing herself as the housewife of the assumed family.

Another question I raised to the respondents was their planning of the caretakers' dwellings. Caretakers are usually immigrant families who have a lower socio-economic status than the dwellers of the apartment buildings. In residential projects, there is an obligation to place a minimum 30 square-meter space for the caretaker in apartment buildings. This obligation may change in relation to the scale of residential projects. The caretaker system is decreasing due to the transformation of the heating system of buildings from coal to natural gas.

I have not asked the question to architects who have not designed apartment buildings, while the people I have asked have different design attitudes regarding the caretakers. In terms of how they incorporated the caretaker dwelling into the design, 25% of the architects provided the minimum requirement set by the regulations, that is 30 square-meters. On the other hand, 21% clarified that they provided a larger space for the caretaker family, with at least two rooms, a proper kitchen and a bathroom. There was only one architect who designed the caretaker dwelling almost up to the standards of the dwellings at the upper stories of the apartment buildings she had designed for cooperative members in Safranbolu. She stated with appreciation that this was a particular request of the user/clients, who were sensitive with the value that there should not be a social hierarchy between the caretaker and the dwellers.

Four architects, most of whom fit to the minimum standards also showed a negative value to the system of caretaking as it not only created a social gap with the other users in the buildings, but also the design for the caretaker dwelling imposed by regulations was not healthy for a family. However, they could not design better spaces since, they clarified, the clients were against it. Actually, one architect, who was unclear of whether she provided the dwelling with the minimum requirements or more, stated that even if they designed the proper dwelling, the clients would afterwards transform it into a commercial space and enforce the caretaker family to live at another space, such as the storage area or space next to the heating room in the basement.

The above descriptions reveal that, when the users are anonymous, the client requests and assumptions of a generalised family are the bases of the design decisions given by architects, where considerations of 'others' are not given priority unless required specifically.

4.2.5. The Type of Client/User Requests and Reflections on Design Action

In the previous discussion, I referred to design action and strategies within the context of value systems of architects, examining which value judgements acted as a system, and which conflicted, reflecting on design action. Thus I have discussed a number of design activities that were specifically carried out by certain architects conditioned by their defined professional roles. However, the interview data gave the indication that design action is not only dependant on the idealised objectives. The initial project characteristics, the codes and regulations, the nature of client requests, the type of interaction between the architect and the client, whether the users are known or anonymous, and the type of residential project commissioned are all influential on the design decisions made by architects, which incorporate the objectives that consider all these factors.

A number of design actions can be generalised amongst the architects according to these criteria. However, it should be stated that the data with respect to design actions are based directly on the examples given by the architects. Thus, as I have previously indicated, my initial interviews were based on one specific project of the architects' choice. However, in later stages of the data collection, I found it more fruitful for the architects to compare different residential design processes, and directed the interview so that they could give examples of design action in specific situations, rather than only declaring their opinions. So, the data is restricted to what the architects chose to comment on and bring out, having also made generalizations occasionally, but they do not cover their entire residential design experience. This section discusses the multiple factors that condition the design actions of the architects, with emphasis on the nature and type of requests of the clients/users (App. C, Tab. 14; App. D, Tab. 30).

4.2.5.1. Lifestyle Requests and Reflections on Design Action

4.2.5.1.1. Conventional designs

From the data, it emerged that the 67% of the architects, regardless of their idealised definitions of professional roles, provide solutions that are conventional rather than aiming to provide new alternatives and interpretations when confronted with specific type of projects. For example, particularly in apartment projects, the contractors' requests, and the users' assumed expectations from the apartment housing are standard, reflecting the market conditions. The 3 room+1 living room or 4 room+1 living room schemes, the size of the flats and the areas of rooms, are somewhat taken as givens, whether or not a positive value is attributed to them. In fact, when the users are not known, and the architects are asked if their plans changes depending on the location, 25% declared that except for the changes in the sizes of the rooms, the addition of rooms and a second bathroom, and the change in quality of material; the plan scheme was standard regardless of site.

Another project type that leads to conventional solutions is the cooperative housing, due to the large number of users and the aim of finding a shared standard solution to fit their changing needs. Finally, in certain projects, when a design decision is given that is 'new' and unconventional, which carries a risk element in it, other design decisions are compensated for, by providing the familiar. For example, two architects R11 and R6 brought alternatives to the semi-open and open spaces in the housing complexes they designed, however not insisting on challenging the conventional design solutions in the interior planning scheme. As R6 clarified, he attempted to bring alternatives in the interior after he had earned the trust of the contractor due to the fame of their previous housing project, thus having raised his persuasion capacity.

4.2.5.1.2. Bringing new alternatives and interpreting needs

Amongst the respondent group, 65% have carried out design projects that brought new design solutions as an outcome of interpretation of needs, or in order to encompass the existing lifestyle of users in a better way. The design processes also involved interactions with clients where the architect returned to conventional solutions when alternative solutions were refused by the clients. As one architect tells, he has never been able to convince the build-and-sell contractors to have a scheme that provides a visual communication between the living room and the corridor, in order to increase spaciousness and reduce the dark, longitudinal formation of the corridor.

The range of residential project types and client types are broad, as well as the type of alternatives brought to the projects. Besides the examples that have been explored in the previous sections, I would like to illustrate the range of design activities conducted by architects in various projects.

Small modifications within conventional solutions are, for example, the provision of a large kitchen and a large balcony connected to the kitchen, or to always positioning one room near the entrance rather than the private domain for the possible use of a family room. A modification in apartment housing by a third architect is designing the wet areas on the periphery of the building rather than towards a light well, since the light wells are misused and filled with garbage and usually smell.

A solution provided by R9, as previously explained, was giving priority to the elderly and families with small children to reside in the lower floors of a cooperative project for easy access. This was appreciated by the users who participated to the process.

On the other hand, an architect working for the Housing Development Administration provided interior systems that were adaptable to multiple use according to the changing needs of anonymous users.

Alternatives in the neighborhood and housing complex scale can also be exemplified by R13, who made a low-rise cooperative housing project by transferring the front open space to the backyards of the dwellings to allow personalization of exterior spaces by the users. Of course, this was possible since he was also the urban designer at that point and modified the codes and regulations accordingly. Yet, he provided conventional solutions in the interiors. On the other hand, one architect who was consulted by a firm contractor to recommend a suitable site and design the residential schemes for the upper-class, chose a site where he could utilise a concept of 'villas within an inner-city block'. Thus, he designed high-rise blocks with 600 square-meter residences on every floor, having observed the need to provide alternative inner-city residences for upper-class families rather than suburban villas.

From the above examples, it is clear that the range of the architectural novelties brought by architects depends largely on the scale of the project, the limits imposed by the design givens, and the client requests.

4.2.5.1.3. Imposing the 'ideal' lifestyle

I have already exemplified the architects whose design activities reflected their educating intentions. I should note that the decision of planning small sized rooms far away from the public spaces in a dwelling unit may be carried out by architects with different objectives. The specific objectives of architects R14 and R24 to prevent the users to use one of the rooms as a family room, however, differentiates them from other architects in terms of their professional self-definition regarding

users. The design activities of R11 and R22 and their reactions toward unconsulted intervention to their products has already been discussed.

4.2.5.2. Requests Regarding Taste and Aesthetics and Reflections on

Design Action

Since the user lifestyles rather than the architects' attitudes towards tastes and aesthetics were concentrated on, the data is rather incomplete and does not reflect a pattern that can be linked directly to architects' values, the client/user types or building type. I have differentiated the attitudes with respect to lifestyle from attitudes towards aesthetic values. Although a specific question was not asked in terms of how they acted when there was a different attitude towards taste, 38% of the architects at some point in the interview criticised their users' or clients' aesthetic values. This is also observed in the architects' reactions to intervention of their buildings without their consultation, their selection of clients, etc. An example will illustrate the point:

The land owner of the villa project says I will furnish it with stone, shingles on the roof, trees, fireplace... whatever he has seen until then, he wants to make a soup out of them. I finally refused to do the revisions... (R15)

Aesthetic values is a delicate issue for architects, since it encompasses a large domain of expertise for architects' profession. Thus, criticism towards unconsulted intervention with respect to aesthetics, the claim of users and clients' authority on aesthetic values, the conflicts that arise with the client related to such issues should be differentiated from requests related to lifestyle and maximisation of profit.

4.2.5.3. Requests of Maximum Room and Square-meter and Reflections on Design Action

The maximisation - of - profit requests, particularly when it conflicts with the professional's architectural goals, is problematic. First of all, a number of architects who work with either contracting firms or build-and sell contractors have identified that the clients who know the market and know what will sell come with reasonable requests, thus not necessarily contradicting with the assumed needs of the users. In those cases, the client requests are taken as given, as already explained, with the provision of conventional solutions. On the other hand, at times, the clients' aims may conflict with the assumed benefits of the users. This commonly occurs with build-and-sell contractors, as I have previously explained, since their only goal is economics regardless of architectural quality. This leads them to request maximum useable area and maximum number of rooms in order to sell.

What are the architects' reactions towards these requests, and most importantly, what are their actions? Architects say that they try to convince the client as much as possible when in conflict. For example, they explain through dialogues the impossibility of fitting in the requested number of rooms or number of flats in the existing area. An architect has thus convinced the build-and-sell contractor to place the staircase at the periphery of the apartment in order to receive daylight, rather than using the 'valuable' area for another space of a dwelling.

At points when the client is not convinced however, architects, despite their negative professional values, accept the client requests, except for a small number of architects who reject the client at that phase if the request is intolerable. Thus, client dependency precedes social service. However, the architects adopt design strategies to compensate for this conflict. One of the solutions is flexibility, a design

strategy that is utilised most commonly by architects in order to accommodate the multiple and complex factors that condition the design process. Therefore, I would like to dwell upon the usage of flexibility in further detail in Section 4.2.7.

4.2.6. The Project Characteristics and Reflections on Design Action

Since my aim was to discover the values of architects with respect to clients and users, the concentration of the interview was based on their self-images, roles relative to these to actors in the design process. Certainly, many other factors were pinned upon during the interviews, which are labelled as project characteristics (App. C, Tab. 19). Technical knowledge, the design givens in terms of topography and site considerations, climate and lighting etc., the available technology and construction techniques to be used etc. are some of the factors that condition design decisions (App. D, Tab. 32).

Besides the characteristics above, the institutional requirements (basically the codes and regulations and site limitations in the inner-city blocks) are intervening conditions for the architects to perform their practice as desired. Thus, 50% of the architects criticised the inflexibility of the plot system and the imposition of the codes and regulations towards a predetermined fixed building volume, according to the set-back distances, the maximum height, the allowance of balconies etc.

4.2.7. Strategies Adopted by Architects During Different Phases of Building Activity

This section provides an overview to the common strategies architects utilize during different phases of client/user interaction and building activity. The client persuasion strategies and flexibility as a design strategy are emergent from the data, indicating

that they play a significant role in the practices of architects. On the other hand, I have introduced the question of how architects received knowledge about users and have given some examples to clarify my question. Therefore, the related dimensions are largely created by me rather than by the respondents. The interviewees stated that one source of knowledge could not really be separated from another, and all were embedded in their experience, however the utilization of certain resources were illustrated by them.

4.2.7.1. Client Convincing Strategies

As the interview sessions proceeded, one of the predominant phrases used by the architect was 'convincing' which seemed to stand at the core of the client-architect interaction (App. C, Tab. 17). Convincing the client or being convinced by the client led to a certain design decision made and carried out. On the other hand, how convincing took place, that is, strategies of persuasion or convincing seemed to require more attention since it was an inherent factor in the interaction process and reflected the values of the architects as well as carrying certain qualities that were intrinsic to the nature of a design problem. So, I will briefly discuss some of the strategies verbalised by the architects, however noting that these may certainly not be all of the strategies used.

Presenting more than one alternative to the client is a strategy most commonly used by architects. Initially, the nature of design leads to the creation of multiple alternatives as solutions to a design problem, but presentation of them to the client bears more conscious strategic aims. One of these aims is to gain trust and recognition of the work put into the project, thus the architect intends to show his/her seriousness. On the other hand, the architect has often made his/her preference of the best solution before the presentation. By explaining pros and cons of the

solutions, he/she not only is able to strengthen the trust of the client by self-criticism and 'honesty' , but also is able to lead the client to the 'best' solution that he proposed. In fact, two architects explained that they consciously brought three alternatives: one of them is an inappropriate solution, a second one is orienting to the third one which is the last preferred by the architect. This also prevents clients' requirements of changes and doubts of possible 'other' solutions at later stages of design, since he/she is able to see the impossibilities and negative aspects of such alternatives initially. So, the possible conflicts are reduced in the first stage.

A very important reason for the provision of alternatives is to get feedback from the client/user. As architects illustrate, it is very healthy to receive contribution from the clients, especially when they make comments on aspects that are less recognised by the architect. These can then lead to unpredicted, but richer design solutions. Thus, the positive and negative criticisms provided through discussions can then be integrated to other design decisions.

A major source from which architects obtain information for the design problem is the clients/users themselves. As architects explain, this is also crucial since the clients usually 'don't know what they want'. So it is the architect's task to guide the client to describe his/her requests, needs, wishes, aims etc. Again, this is carried out not only to be able to reflect these in the design, but also to reduce possible conflicts, changes, interventions at later stages of the process.

Two reasons stand out for the requirement of participation. The main objective is operational: the requests of the client are reflected on the design, thus client satisfaction is increased in terms of design outcome. The second one is a more subtle dimension related to the psychology of the client, I would call it. Architects wish to permit the users' perceived involvement and contribution to the project and

for them to increase their identification with the project. The following quotations clarify the architects' attitudes:

If we can increase his/her familiarity with an idea initially... for example, I like the tower form very much. We sometimes lead the client to imagine and consider such a proposal and then carry it out as if it has been his/her request.(R18)

It depends on their personality. But they are happy when they feel 'I have also proposed something and we have discussed it, but I was wrong...' or since he will use it, if it doesn't contradict my own views too much, I make that addition, then he/she becomes happier. This is occasionally possible in villa projects... (R10)

For example he/she brings something to me and says he/she wants something like that. I say 'sure', but I don't follow that route. Because there are many other routes that I can go. It is very wrong to wound his/her excitement initially. I don't mean in terms of business, but it is very humane and amazing to hear a desire... He/she seems to think a certain way but has not questioned it. Now it is my task to discuss it with him/her (R9)

User participation into the design process within the limits of trust and respect is certainly appreciated by the architects. I add 'trust and respect' since extensive participation may lead to knowledge claim of clients undesired by the architect, which leads to conflict. So, another strategy which is just the opposite of participation is applied by architects – to kindly explain to the client initially not to intervene into the design process. For example, an architect who listened to requests that the client seemed to dictate to him told the client that he would appreciate to take on these suggestions, however also invited the client to trust the architect further on. Thus, if the client wished the architect to draw what he had required just as it is, he would not do so. Similar approaches are carried out by architects who perceive that the interaction in the further stages of design is open to conflict.

Although the following strategy is integrated with all of the above forms of interaction, it demands a separate category because it has been stressed so much by architects: explaining. Architects perceive themselves as very patient and good 'convincers' as they explain again and again, describing thoroughly the pros and

cons of problematic aspects of design solutions, until the client finally is convinced, although there are certainly conditions when clients can not be persuaded. When I asked them 'how do you convince', they reply 'you have to be good at explaining' and comment on one of the qualities all architects must possess: patience (App. D, Tab. 37). These comments are similar to those of architects that were studied in the research of Eyikan (1999), who viewed working 'against all odds' as an integral part of their professional identities.

Due to the complex and multi-factored nature of design problems and due to the different goals of architects and clients towards design problems, it is somewhat easy for the architect to be able to carry out his priorities which are not significant for the client, while at the same time accept doing something that is not as crucial for him but requested by the client. Although this was rarely stated as such by the interviewed architects, similar statements were made in terms of where they would not compromise: the concept. Thus, since many of the architects' prior aim is to keep the concept unchanged, the changes that will not alter the main concept are occasionally accepted by them. This is possible not only when clients are aware of this, but also, as two architects claim, they are not aware. 'Since they do not see with the eyes of the architect, you can integrate your own design criteria and solutions into the solution without their awareness' and 'since they are interested in the details, and I am interested in the design concept, I make the changes that they require without any conflict' are the comments made on this subject.

One of the problems encountered by architects is the less knowledgeable clients' inability to think in three dimensions. This problem is partly reduced by architects' extensive use of images of existing examples, their own buildings, and most commonly use of 2-D and 3-D representations of the commissioned project, in order for the client to visualise the project.

Finally, I will once more recall an architect's interesting strategy to consciously leave certain detail drawings undone in order to be 'needed' at the construction phase of the design. It should be clarified that the type, qualifications and attitude of the client to the architect and the design process is really a determining factor in deciding which strategy will be utilised by the architect. Thus, while not doing detail drawings in order to be appointed construction administration cannot be applied to an informed contracting firm, extensive 3D presentations may not be required for an architect-client. Similarly, the strategy of involving user-client participation into a design or being cautious not to do so depends highly on the client's respect and trust for the architect.

4.2.7.2. A Common Design Strategy in Residential Design Practice: Flexibility

One of the basic problems in residential design practice is that architects are designing for anonymous users who have to adapt themselves to their physical environments according to their changing needs. The anonymous users may change with respect to the number of members of the household, lifestyle or socio-economic status. On the other hand, with respect to the changing usages of residential areas into office spaces in Turkey, the dwellings may be transformed into offices in time.

In order to solve the problems that rise in terms of user change and anonymity, flexibility is one of the main design strategies adopted by architects (App. C, Tab. 20). One of the main issues that is considered is the possibility of combining small rooms to form a larger one, especially designed when the build-and-sell contractors insist on high number of rooms.

Another is the consideration a room that could be used as a sitting room when desired; a design alternative brought by a number of architects, but certainly not all. For example, a small subspace is provided in the living room next to the kitchen, which can be closed and used as either a sitting room, or a dining room. Another design solution is the provision of one room with a side facing towards a corridor, which may be used as a working space, a sitting space, or closed to become another bedroom according to needs.

The kitchen-living room connection is also considered by many architects who are conscious of possibility of different lifestyles. Thus, while in the `traditional` Turkish lifestyle, a closed kitchen is said to be preferred because of tidiness and smell problems, architects also often indicate that this is changing due to the changing composition of society. Thus, providing spaciousness through a combination of kitchen with living area is more and more considered by architects. Accordingly, when the design project enables them, a number of architects pay attention to the possibility of opening or closing the kitchen to the living area.

The possible change in user size in the dwellings is also considered by architects. For example, architects have explained that they give importance to the placement of a small room adjacent to the living room, so that when children of elderly parents leave, they can combine the room with the living area according to their changing needs.

Flexibility of possible use of dwellings to accommodate offices is considered by two architects. One of them has received feedback from her previous building project, where she wanted to open her office, but could not because she had designed the windows only for bedrooms, having dark spaces. Another architect, on the other hand, had an experienced architect client who had foreseen the possibility of

transforming the residential area into a business district, and thus provided spaces without columns if one intended to use it as an open-office.

An aspect considered by three architects is the possibility of expanding the dwelling interior to the exterior with the usage of terraces and balconies. As one of the architects explained, since this would be carried out by the users anyway, she designed the project initially with the thought that the general mass expression of the buildings will not be destroyed if these modifications are made. Yet, the degree of modifications were so intense that finally, she complained that the buildings were unrecognisable!

The above design strategies emerge largely from the existing lifestyle assumptions, observations, experiences and creation of possible scenarios of architects, forming architects' knowledge received on users.

4.2.7.3. Strategies on Receiving Knowledge on Users

The architects were asked what their sources of knowledge were on users when they were designing residential projects, particularly when the user was anonymous (App. C, Tab. 25; App. D, Tab. 35). Observation of the users around them, as well as the type of users that could be particular for each project was one of the key sources of knowledge. For example, while designing a residential project targeting the upper-income level user, the architect formed the program based on the needs of the people that he observed around him, such as his friends and acquaintances. Similarly, architects who designed residential projects for hot-regions in the east observed peoples' needs and lifestyles there. From those observations, one provided wide open terraces for the residents to sleep there in hot weather, whereas

another planned the dwellings for extensive cross-ventilation and flexible transitions from interior to exterior.

Architects' own user experience is of course embedded in their design projects. They may carry out an aspect from their lives to the project that they desire, such as a woman architect who provided a large eating balcony and a large kitchen for the dwellers, whereas they may also consciously provide solutions for the users that they individually would not prefer, such as a closed kitchen for the users in spite of their preference of an open kitchen. Thus, their own user experiences within dwellings provide a starting point for their design projects, as a form of self-referencing.

When users are not known and requests are not clarified, architects create general lifestyle assumptions and possible scenarios of ways of life while they design projects. This leads them to provide certain fixed design solutions, such as the separation of the 'night' region from the 'day' region, while possible alternative scenarios encourage them to provide flexibility within the dwellings, for example a scenario of a large family where the older children will leave soon may lead them to design rooms which could be enlarged and merged. They do not always expect that the dwellings will be used as they imagined, however, they design accordingly:

Well, we thought that if they find the living room small, they would add that room, for example when they are husband and wife. Interesting, no body did that. They insist on keeping it as a family room. You know the Turks' wish to appear tidy, you know the family room is untidy when the guest comes. (R10)

Feedback from architects' previous professional experience integrated with their feedback from clients and users also provided bases for further projects. When asked if they went back to the projects after they had been constructed and inhabited, some architects told they always paid attention to do so, while others

explained that they had not, with some receiving feedback from the main client rather than the users themselves. One architect, R4, who mainly designed apartment housing projects was self-confident saying that he did not need to go to the projects to see the users. He thought that since all of the users had standard requests, they would be satisfied anyway.

Research is an integral part of design practice. Yet the range of research may vary from being informed of the latest architectural scene and technology, with the concentration on the aesthetic tendencies and criticism, to preliminary research carried out for every project in terms of the building requirements, building program, specific qualities of particular building types such as hospital, factory etc. These are, although not specifically stated by all of them, believed to be utilised by architects often. What I mean by 'research' in this context is scientific research used by the architects that have been previously carried out in similar residential projects or about the possible users of that region, or actual research carried out specifically for that residential project.

Two of the architects employed the knowledge that they gained from governmental institutions while they were working there. Thus, a user profile of a certain region, for example, was known by the architect due to his research studies in the planning department of a municipality. On the other hand, three of the architects who were carrying out large cooperative housing projects acquired information by either directly handling out questionnaires to the users, or by utilising the existing research about the cultural and economic conditions of the group they were designing. One architect whose commission was to design housing to be implemented throughout the country for the workers of a governmental institution, collaborated with the institution to carry out large-scale research to understand the different requirements of users at each region. This lead her to be able to design according to the actual

needs of the inhabitants that differed largely, rather than prototypic projects for everyone. She highly appreciated the project. Finally, the architect that stressed the values of equal-power-to-both-client-and-architect throughout the whole interview explained that, in collaboration with a construction firm, he attended (or had personnel attend) the sessions where the houses were marketed to interested buyers, with specified questions and observations about their wishes, attitudes, needs. He also utilized the research carried out on his housing projects by university graduate students.

The strategies of observation, creation of lifestyle assumptions and basing design decisions on their own personal experiences are similar to the experiences of architects in Darke's research (1984b). Yet, Darke's study had revealed that social research was not at all used by the architects. A number of factors are likely to be influential on the beliefs of architects, including the difference in the time of the conduct of Darke's study, which was in the late 1970's and this research. The social contexts of architects is assumed to condition architects' values.

The emphasis on research is because of my questioning the utilization of scientific knowledge by practicing architects. It seems that only 30 percent utilise such knowledge, and only in large projects where the users are either less familiar or highly heterogeneous. However, it is still important that in this group of architects who have had certain level of experience and educational background, almost one third are aware of the relationship between research and design, rather than only basing their projects on their own assumptions and experience. Yet, this proportion requires to be reevaluated in terms of to what degree they use the research, how they reflect it into the design process and whether architects with other degrees of experience and age utilise research in a similar way.

4.2.8. Architects' Role within Different Phases of Design and Reflections on Product Quality

The values and practices of professionals range across the entire building process. Although not directly asked to the architects, at certain stages of the interview the limited role of the architect within the whole process (from building programming, designing and implementation) has been pointed out. In fact, cases have been stated where the degree of involvement in certain phases of the process directly reflected to the product quality. Moreover, the role of the architects continued after the end product, in terms of how they positioned themselves with respect to the product, the clients and users, according to their varying aims (App. C, Tab. 23, 26,27; App. D, Tab. 31).

4.2.8.1. Initial Phases: Site Planning and Making of Codes and Regulations

It has been previously stated that the codes and regulations perceived to be imposed on architects are subject to intense criticism by them. Certainly, the impact of these codes and regulations depends largely on the building type and location; whether it is an apartment building on a single urban parcel or whether it is a residential complex on a larger site. Yet, when architects who could take a role in the determination of certain regulations, and in some cases the urban design, the process seems to have led to positive outcomes.

For example, an architect initially executed the urban planning and design of a previously unplanned region in Urla. The cooperative housing project, whose client was the head of the municipality, was designed as low-rise. The architects eliminated the minimum setback distances in the front, which is an obligation according to the regulations in Ankara, and enlarged the backyards of the dwellings

to provide semi-private gardens open to personalization by the residents. The design quality was appreciated by the client and the architect. A similar intervention to the codes and regulations by an architect was possible when, he convinced the clients- again a cooperative project for a municipality- to change the regulations that allowed a maximum of five stories to permit variations in height from three to seven stories. This led him to consider the characteristics of the topography and achieve a higher design quality. Another architect who was satisfied with the collaboration in decision making with the contracting-firm client, was even involved in the site selection process with the client.

The opposite experience is described by an architect who was included in the process after the site was chosen and initial payments were made by the cooperative users on an equal basis. This eliminated the chance of providing a qualified location, and possibility of variation of dwelling areas and types according to heterogeneous needs of the group. Thus, the architect's role, as he suggests, should be being the main adviser of the user from the initial stages.

4.2.8.2. Implementation Phase: Construction Administration

Even more important than architect's contribution to the initial decision-making processes in building construction is his/her role after the project has been finished on paper. One of the major problems in Turkey is the limited role of the architect as defined by official law. Thus, appointing the architect to oversee the construction is not an obligation for the client/owner. This creates a gap between the design of the project and implementation, reflecting directly on the product quality. The authority and responsibility taken away from the architect during construction phase leads to unconsulted intervention by the client and /or the contractor.

The significance of the architect overseeing construction was stressed by many of the interviewed architects, where they compared the value of the buildings they could oversee the construction process as opposed to the ones that they could not. While describing one design process which he could distinguish from all others in terms of positive evaluation, an architect indicated the only reason was because he had overseen the construction and was perceived by the client as the only authority in decision making during construction. On the contrary, architects spoke occasionally of projects which they could not recognise as their own, where the construction process proceeded without their participation and control. This led to another decision to be made by the architect; to take or refuse the responsibility of the product after it is constructed.

Architects overseeing construction not only has a benefit for a building's quality, but also has financial benefits for the architect. This raises a major problem when architects must decide upon how they ought to act when construction administration is not given to them. As with all other factors, architects' attitude towards participation in a building's implementation when they do not get paid for construction administration varied with respect to the priorities of architects. A conflict of value judgements occurred at such moments, and some architects acted with respect to their professional commitment preceding their economic gain; sometimes with acceptance of the situation, sometimes with resentment:

Most of the contractors don't give construction administration. But those who are concerned with projects, like us, do it without receiving a fee. Every time they call you, or ask something, you run there with commitment, feeling that you should correct the problem, rather than them ruining the project. Of course when they appoint you formally to oversee the construction, it is much better. (R19)

... but the most important fact is this: nobody pays you. So, if an architect in Turkey does this, it is his labour, his time, his personality... otherwise, they don't pay you for this. (R14)

Is the professional commitment for the quality of building the only criteria for decision making? When asked to what extent he struggled for construction administration, or the degree of his intervention even if not appointed, an architect replied that it depended on the type and location of the building: whether it would be a good reference for himself or not. For example, he would care less if the building was at a narrow unknown street in a suburban village. However much more importance would be given to it if it was at a corner of a busy boulevard. This example is I think crucial because decisions can not only be guided by objectives related to providing high quality service for users, or for purely economic gain, but also for professional recognition.

4.2.8.3. The Phase after Project Implementation

I have exemplified architects' attitudes after the completion of their residential designs in various sections of this chapter, since these attitudes are an integral part of their belief systems regarding clients and users. A closer view of varying objectives and activities where architects exert their power is, however, necessary.

One of the major problems after the construction of a building is dissatisfaction of the architect, mostly conditioned by the unconsulted intervention of the clients during construction or by the users after completion. When the architects are dissatisfied, they complain that they are not able to recognise the buildings that they have designed. This leads some architects to refuse taking responsibility of the building, in order to prevent criticism from their colleagues. As one architect ironically points out:

There is a building of mine which I won't even tell you the location. The client has covered it with marble without asking me. A friend of mine who knows it threatens me that he will tell everyone when we argue on an issue. (Laughter)
R14

Another architect commented on a large housing project which several contractors undertook in different places. She explained that she could recognise her own

project only at one site, where the contractor, who was the only engineer among them, carried out her project exactly. She commented; 'When I saw that project, my self-esteem was established; otherwise I was questioning my own professional qualifications observing the other built products' (R24)

When unconsulted intervention by clients occurs, architects, just as during client selection, are confronted with the dilemma of preferring objectives regarding social relations over professional commitment. In these cases, architects choose not to sue the clients, or increase conflict. For example, an architect has chosen not to sue the client due to his intervention, guided by the value attributed to social relations, besides the reasons of loss in economy:

What will you do to the man, I mean... you can prosecute him or something, of course? hmm... but the man is an acquaintance- an acquaintance of a friend. Now when you cannot overcome these associations, there is annoyance (R15)

On the other hand, two architects have sued the clients because of unconsulted intervention they had carried out during implementation, or after the completion of the project.

I have already pointed out the similar actions of two architects, R6 and R11, although they are at opposite ends in the spectrum of values regarding user lifestyles. R11 refused permission for placing asphalt to the mass housing project, as well as not permitting the users to enclose the balconies. On the other hand, R6 aimed at controlling behaviour of the users of the housing complex he was living in, through his role as director.

Five architects, although attributing a negative value to changes to their buildings, did not carry out any action towards this, with the belief that they had no power, or because they did not give it much importance. For example, two architects

complained that the users had closed the balconies, while one architect complained that a user changed the facade of the ground floor of the building because he was opening a boutique there, but neither of these carried out an action against these changes.

With respect to change of their building by the users, a few architects are in a dilemma of whether they should attribute a positive value to this or not. I have already indicated the attitude of R24 at section 4.2.4.3.2., who questioned the degree of personalization that she could tolerate to her building. R13, on the other hand attributed a positive value to the changes users had made to the low-height dwellings in a cooperative housing project he designed at Urla, which he took photographs of:

... telling them not to do these and suing them is an attitude... but the users want to make changes.... they are their dwellings. And this is Turkey... so when I look at it this way, I become more neutral, probably also because their interventions are not trivial; these show that the people have appropriated and identified with the dwellings.. I don't perceive it to be that negative. (...) But it also depends on the building type. These are low-height simple dwellings with gardens. The high-rise project that X has designed in Ankara, for example is finished in itself and would not take such changes.

This extract incorporates multiple values interlinked with one another. The questioning of the degree of power the architect has to sue clients, whether an architect's role should be to sue or not, the value judgment that users may personalise their dwellings since this is a sign of belonging, together with the view that this would be inappropriate in certain projects with specific architectural qualities are all identified by this architect finally leading to a neutral/positive evaluation of user changes to his project.

The common attitude recognized in the majority of architects' interviews, to conclude, is that they are the creators of the building and that they should be asked when a change to the building is desired. A further analysis is necessary, however to

identify the different views they hold regarding interventions that change the aesthetic qualities of the building, and changes that are due to users' lifestyle and needs. Moreover, the degree of intervention and the significance of change made to the building seems to be also conditioning the value judgments of the architects.



5. CONCLUSION

The goal of this research has been an attempt at an initial understanding of the architects' value systems when they design residential projects, particularly regarding clients and users, within the general socio-economic and cultural condition of contemporary Turkey.

One of the most significant contributions of this study has been the emergence of the major knowledge and value domains raised from the interviewees' discussions on their opinions and experiences of residential design practice. The qualitative interview approach allowed the explication of the interlinks between multiple conditions and consequences, and permitted an understanding of the residential design process in its entirety.

The theoretical framework introduced in the thesis provided a base to the model derived from the data analysis. This formed the conceptual basis for understanding the interrelated set of beliefs that led to various architects' activities at certain phases of the building process. It has been explored that architects' convictions can not be isolated from one another at different stages of practice; they integrate to constitute a system of ideas and beliefs regarding a multiplicity of issues and actors.

The research found the architects' factual and evaluative beliefs on the two important group of actors they encounter during practice, clients and users, which influence their interactions. The architect- client interaction seemed to be a very

important process that guided design decisions. In that respect, 'design' did not seem to be carried out individually by the architects, but through the understandings, evaluations, compromises and negotiations taking place among the actors. Thus, the concept of design as a social practice, and design as making-sense together in practical conversations corresponds to the experience of architects (Cuff, 1991; Forester, 1985), whether or not they desire it to be so.

Architectural practice is a field of current struggle for the architect to define professional identity and authority. During design, architects make decisions to what degree they should act according to clients' requests, and determine the power relationship with the client. In that respect, knowledge and claim to knowledge is noticed to be a determinant factor in the beliefs held by architects towards the other actors, having significant impact on the quality of interaction, decision making and outcome. The reasons of many conflicts that rise between clients and architects lie in the vagueness and broadness of knowledge (Larson 1977; Lipman, 1976). The difficulty to gain monopoly over professional knowledge, a condition to fix boundaries of the profession is very difficult in the residential design practice. Since many skills, such as drafting, can be carried out by other actors besides architects, the boundaries of the profession are obscure. Moreover, the intensity of value-related decisions, such as designing according to aesthetic principles or particular life-styles of the user, where justification of intentions can not be proven as true/false, reduces the architects' control over their services. Generally, the architects interviewed believe that the fit between the expectations of the clients and the architects, as well as clients' group size and homogeneity influence their practice, which have been also indicated by Cuff (1991) and Larson (1993).

The model derived from the data revealed that significant value domains stood out regarding architects' role with respect to clients and users, which formed their basic

aims and objectives. The three major values, based on the interpretation of data with respect to the theoretical framework on the major role of professions, can be clarified as: professional aim of service to the society; the individual aim of gaining professional recognition, and the individual aim of gaining economic power and status. Within the group of actors whom the architect is to service, the client and the user play a significant role. However, the aims of serving the users on behalf of the society at large and serving the client may correspond or conflict. Thus, these major value domains lead to specific intentions of what ought to be done at a particular situation; the professional role of the architect.

Actions conducted at certain stages in the design process are carried out through a resolution of conflicts, if there are, between these values, leading to a choice among alternative intentions. Specific decision making areas that involve value judgments include: client selection, interaction with the clients, participation of the user/client during the design process, doing or not doing what the client/user requires during designing, design decisions and professional role with respect to the different lifestyles of the users, overseeing the building construction with or without fee, action towards unconsulted interventions and taking professional responsibility after the completion of the building. In these specific decision making points, architects redefine their roles and evaluate their goals and responsibility with respect to the interest of their selves, the client, the user, their colleagues, the society at large and so on.

In terms of defining professional role towards the users' life-styles, the architects ranged from viewing themselves as educators, as interpreter of users' requirements, and as service people to provide the solutions that the users require. At this point, architects' decisions were made by the guidance of two value domains: how a person ought to live and what the role of architect ought to be towards others'

lifestyles. The majority of the architects interviewed believed they should not impose their own lifestyle on to others and they should interpret the needs of the users, although architects with different role-definitions also existed. However, these are only indications and further research is necessary in order to investigate these factors at a wider population of architects.

While certain values were held by a majority of architects, a number of architects stood out with their distinct role definitions and professional positions. Moreover, while a number of architects showed a consistency throughout their practice in terms of their professional values and actions; others presented inconsistencies and inner contradictions. These have been partially explained by the actions carried out by implicit value on one issue, which contradicted the architects' explicit value on another issue. The research also shows that common activities were carried out by a majority of architects, regardless of their role definitions and positions with respect to clients and users. Economic considerations, the type of residential project, initial project characteristics and the institutional context are factors that affect these activities.

Particular strategies emerge from the data as an integral part of residential practice: client selection strategies, strategies for convincing the client during interaction, particular design strategies such as flexibility and ways of receiving feedback from their buildings as well as information about the users for whom they would design.

The whole design process as well as the commonalities of certain activities were analysed in terms of the specific socio-economic and institutional context of Turkey, of which the processes are an inseparable part. Thus, the process is conditioned by the context of Turkey, their consequences reflect back upon the context, reproducing and transforming the system.

This study has shown that even in a group of architects who are rather homogeneous in terms of location, years of practice, education, etc. there are important differentiations in terms of their values and the reflections of these values in their practices. Hence, a variety of role definitions and professional positions exist, including value judgments which are in contrast with one another, even in a subculture of architects. It would be misleading to interpret the professional value of an architect through merely an analysis of built products. The explication of the complexity and multiplicity of values and how they interrelate at particular phases throughout the whole design processes, all of which are unique in terms of influencing factors, expectations, architects' priorities at that moment, etc. is thus fundamental. The model has been a tool to understand architects' professional value systems including this complexity, reflecting in activities at particular situations and transforming throughout professional lives. It is a distillation of the values that lead to 'similar' as well as 'different' activities of an architect and among architects. Consequently, the model is open to expansion and development through the investigation of architects' experiences at different phases of their professional activities, regarding themselves and other actors.

5.1. Suggestions for Further Research

One of the significant contributions of this study has been the proposal of a model to analyse value systems of professionals and the reflection of these in their practices. The model provided in this study can be used to analyse the value systems of other actors within the design process, as well as to analyse architects' value systems regarding other actors besides clients and users. This would lead to the understanding of the major sources of compromises and conflicts that arise in

practice, depending on the distinct sets of beliefs and objectives by the actors involved (Pultar, forthcoming.). For example, the knowledge and values of clients with different characteristics and the values of architects working at institutions regarding practicing architects and their objectives during execution of their work would reveal the underlying beliefs to guide the activities in professional practice. How knowledge is used as power in interactions and how negotiations take place from their points of view is significant to understand the residential design process in its complexity and totality, considering the multiple view-points of the actors with different memberships and role definitions.

Besides dwelling into the residential design process and the actors involved in it, exploration of value systems of actors during the design of other building types would allow a comparison of the differences of architects' role definitions and values regarding the actors and buildings in these processes. Hence, the knowledge utilized in the design of buildings such as hospitals or schools is expected to change the architect- client/user interaction extremely. Involvement of other specialists into the process is also likely to change the perceived role definition of the architect.

The impact of values and their relations during different phases of the design process is open to further investigation. Values are interlinked not only with design actions, but also with actions such as client selection and rejection, action taken or not taken towards construction administration and attitudes towards unconsulted intervention. The connection of all these can not be isolated from one another and should be analysed in totality. During the interviews, it has become clear that interaction is a dynamic and changing process which can not be easily described as 'good' or 'bad': negotiations and compensations take place which simultaneously reflect upon design decisions and finally on the product. The changing nature of the design process should be analysed and dwelled on in detail in order to understand

how architects' and clients' changing interaction and values reflect upon practice. Analyzing direct observations of client-architect meetings is a method that could be applied for this. This would provide a further analysis into the strategies adopted by the actors at various stages of building enterprise - in the evolution of a design project - during their individual actions and interactions.

The differences between the architects' value judgments have not been analysed in relation to their own characteristics, such as age, gender, educational background, personality, etc., mainly due to the small number of respondents. Similarly, however wide their practical experience is, the small size of the number of interviewed architects still limited the data to a professional subgroup of architects practicing in Ankara, with a rather homogeneous educational and age distribution. Their experiences reflected this distinction, as they differentiated the Turkish context from the past, from 'other' architects such as those working at governmental institutions and other practicing architects. Thus, I expect that comparisons of architects working in Istanbul and other towns of the country would reveal major differences in their perception of the Turkish context and beliefs regarding clients and users. Such a comparison, as well as a comparison with architects with less experience would also present differences amongst the subgroups of practicing architects with respect to how they view their current professional practice and how multiple factors, including their belief systems are reflected on their design practices.

My final suggestion concerns architectural education. An institution where the role of the architect is defined, established, produced and transformed is education.

Although a large part of architectural education consists of forming the belief systems of the students that includes not only knowledge, but also values, these are largely implicit. Exploration of the underlying belief systems that educators hold and the guidance of the students by explicating their existing and constituting value

judgments would be a contribution to an awareness in the self-identification of the profession and its roles (Pultar, forthcoming.). Moreover, values in spheres of action that students will face during design practice that have direct reflections on product outcome, such as value judgments effecting the determination of fees and action towards unconsulted intervention are ignored in architectural education in Turkey. Although issues such as management and communication, negotiation between other actors are distinct parts of the design process, they are not adequately considered in education. As Cuff has suggested, reconsidering the interactive dimension of design would aid at carrying out practice considering the ideal of service to the society, reducing possible conflicts between other actors through communication tools (1991).

Awareness of existing values of architects with respect to their individual and societal goals is a prerequisite to question these values and initiate change. Assuming that in terms of the professional goal of the architect, service to society should come before goals regarding self-interest and the interests of the client when in conflict, the complex interaction of values should first be made explicit. Within a transforming society and changing building enterprise where many actors take place, the establishment of the identity of the architect and the adaptation of the architect to these transformations is necessary. This requires an understanding of the actors' own interpretations and experiences of their and others' identities in the current context. The knowledge and values of the actors guide the design process and influence the products. Therefore, initially exploring and afterwards questioning them can lead to decision-making processes and activities to enhance the 'quality' of the built environment, which is and ought to be the major responsibility of the architect.

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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Burçak Altay. I graduated from METU Architectural Faculty in 1994. After two years of research assistance, I worked for two years in an architectural office. Currently, I am continuing my doctoral studies at Bilkent University, Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design.

I have received your name and telephone from the Chamber of Turkish Architects.

The subject of my thesis is how architects interact with the society, user and the client during their professional practice, particularly when they design housing projects. The assumptions of architects about users, and the architect-client relationship is the consideration of my study.

For my research, I am conducting interviews with about 30 architects having architectural offices in Ankara, who have designed housing projects. My aim is to understand the architects' own experiences. That is why, I wish that the interview will proceed as a conversation. I believe that the conversation will not take more than one hour.

Initially I will document general information about your firm. Afterwards, we will talk on a housing project that you have designed, as a starting point. Along with this, I will ask for your thoughts on the architectural profession. Our concentration will be on your views and your thoughts when you were designing the project. Yet, you may give examples from other projects of your design, and pass on to other subject matter that you see as relevant. I will tape-record this interview. However, all names will be concealed in my research. During transcriptions, I will not include the names. Do you have any questions to ask?

Name of Firm:

Date:

Starting Time:

Ending Time:

Information on the Interviewee:

01. Age

1. 35- 40 2. 41-45 3. 46-50 4. 51-55. 5. 56-60 6. 61 +

02. Sex : 1. M

2. F

Education

	School+ Department	Year
Undergraduate	03	04
Graduate	05	06
PhD	07	08

09. Your income level (you may wish to give the average income, or provide an answer to the following:

1. Middle level
2. Middle-upper level
3. Upper level

Information on Firm

10. Do you have an additional work/duty besides your firm?

1. Part-time Instructor
2. Consulting _____
3. _____
4. _____

11. Where were you working before establishment of your firm?

1. As an employee at an architectural office
2. Partnership at an architectural office.
2. University
3. Construction Firm
4. Another profession _____
5. Other _____

12. Establishment year of the firm:

1. before 1970
2. between 1970-1980
3. between 1980-1990
4. after 1990

13. Are you the only head of the firm, or in partner-ship?

1. single
2. Partnership with a person
3. Partnership with a person (husband/wife)
4. Partnership with three people _____
5. Other _____

14. The profession of partner?

1. No partner
2. architect
3. civil engineer
4. other _____

How many people are working at the firm, and what are their professions?

	NUMBER	PROFESSION
15		Architect
16		Draftsperson
17		Interior Des.
18		Secretary
19		Accounter
20		Model-maker
21		Landscape Des.

22. How are project designing and the major design decisions accomplished in your office, and by whom? How is division of work carried out?

23. Which major services are provided by your firm?

1. architectural project
2. controlling
3. contracting
4. project management
5. consulting
6. research
7. marketing of a product (if yes, state which prod.)
8. engineering _____
9. other _____

24. Is your office specialised on a certain building type, or are you designing building types of all kinds?

1. All types of projects/buildings
2. Specialisation on a certain type: _____
3. (other) _____

25. Can I receive information on the housing projects designed in the last 10-15 years?

	city	YR	type		No. Of stories					User type (socio-eco. st.)					Client type						
			Apt.	Housing comp..	Villa type	4-8 floors	More than 8 fl.	No. Of hg. units	total m2	Low	Low-middle	middle	Middle-upper	upper	contractor	housing coop.	Housing. Devel. Administration	Const. firm	Our own firm	Individual	other
1																					
2																					
3																					
4																					
5																					
6																					
7																					
8																					
9																					
10																					

Notes.

	1	Housing project no.	
	2	Project description and explanation	
	3	Design criteria and priorities	
			General criteria/criteria specific to project
			Formation of the scheme
			Requests, characteristics, economic requirements
	4	Did you have any image of users while designing?	
	5	Did you consider any sub-groups of users? How did you define them?	
		(special designs for..?)	Specific family type?
			Specific age? — children, elderly?
			Differently abled people?
			Socio-economic status?
			Cultural properties?
			Female users?
			The caretaker dwelling?
	6	Did you consider the aesthetic values of users while designing?	
		Were the user needs and lifestyles similar to or different from yours?	
			How did similarities and differences influence design?
	7	In general, when user profile differentiates, is this reflected in your designs? How? Example.	
	8	When designing, is your major aim to respond to user expectations, bring new alternatives or both?	
	9	What are the sources where you obtain knowledge on users?	
			Personal experience?
			Information received from client?
			Observation and personal interaction?
			Experiences from previous buildings?
			Research- which type? (ergonomic, social...)
	10	Did you go to the project afterwards?	
			Positive-negative evaluation...
			Are the ways of life as expected?

	11	How was the interaction with client?
		Points of conflict? How was it resolved?
		<u>Generally</u> what are the sources of conflict?
		Were there any differentiation of requests?
		Any problems in interaction? Why?
		At which aspects, consensus is easier, you have worked comfortably?
	12	What are the differences between the client's and architects' view towards the project?
		Do differences in clients reflect on their perspectives?
	13	When clients differ, does this reflect upon the process and outcome? How?
	14	How do you think the client-architect interaction ought to be?
	15	In terms of process and/or outcome, which one was the project that you appreciate the most? Why?
	16	Did you ever reject a project? Why?
	17	What do you think differs architecture in terms of knowledge bas?
		Sources of knowledge base?
		Objective/subjective
	18	Architecture has many dimensions. Which do you give significance to, if you do?
		Artistic, technical, engineering, organizational, scientific, social...
	19	What are the main problems of architects in practice?
	20	How has your perspective towards architecture changed since the beginning of your career to today?
	21	How do you evaluate the architects' relation with society?
	22	Since the beginning of the profession, do you think there has been changes in the relation between architect and society?
	23	Anything you would like to add?

Thank you.

Would you like a copy of the interview?

APPENDIX B

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1. Sex of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	18	75
Female	6	25
TOTAL	24	100

Table 2. Age of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
41-50	17	70.8
51-60	4	16.7
60+	3	12.5
TOTAL	24	100

Table 3. Education of Respondents

Education	Frequency	Percentage
University Graduated		
Middle East T U	9	37.5
Gazi U	11	45.8
Istanbul T U	1	4.2
Karadeniz T U	1	4.2
Güzel Sanatlar Akademi	2	8.3
TOTAL	24	100
University graduation year		
1959-1965	3	12.5
1965-1970	2	8.3
1971-1975	8	33.3
1976-1980	10	41.7
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
Master's		
No masters	13	54.2
Middle East T U	7	29.2
Istanbul T U	1	4.2
Güzel Sanatlar Akademi	2	8.3
Other	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
Master's graduation year		
No master	13	54.2
1960-1970	4	16.7
1971-1980	1	4.2
1981-1990	5	21
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100

<i>Table 3 continued</i>		
Phd		
No	22	91.7
Yes	1	4.2
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100

Table 4. Income Level of Respondents

Income Level	Frequency	Percent
Middle	5	20.8
Middle-high	11	45.8
High	8	33.3
TOTAL	24	100

Table 5. Respondent's Previous and Current Work

Previous workplace(s) before establish. of firm	Frequency	Percent
Governmental institution	9	37.5
Architectural office	11	45.8
Construction firm	4	16.7
Own firm with partner	8	33.3
University	8	33.3
Other	4	16.7
Other work besides firm?	Frequency	Percent
No	15	62.5
Part-time instructor	4	16.7
Professional coord.	1	4.2
Work for association	1	4.2
1 and 3	2	8.3
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100

Table 6. Information About the Firm

Firm establish. Year	Frequency	Percent
Before 1970	1	4.2
1971-1980	1	4.2
1981-1990	17	70.8
1991+	4	16.7
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
Alone or with partners	Frequency	Percent
Alone	12	50
Partnership	5	20.8
Partnership with wife/hus.	5	20.8
3 people	1	4.2
More than 3	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
Profession of partner	Frequency	Percent
No partner	12	50
Architect	7	29.2
Architect and planner	2	8.3
Other(econ,jou	2	8.3
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100

<i>Table 6 continued</i>		
Services of firm besides arch.al projects	Frequency	Percent
Construction admin.	16	66.7
Contracting	3	12.5
Consulting	9	37.5
Interior design	4	16.7
Restoration/renovation	2	8.3
Urban Design/ planning/landscape	5	20.8
Research	1	4.2
Product marketing	2	8.3
Who makes major design decisions	Frequency	Percent
	1	4.2
Totally firm heads	12	50
Basically firm heads	5	20.8
All together	5	20.8
Teams	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
Variety of projects carried out in firm	Frequency	Percent
A variety of projects	17	70.8
Mostly housing projects	2	8.3
Mostly formal/public	1	4.2
Mostly tourism	2	8.3
Housing and office	2	8.3
TOTAL	24	100

Table 7. Number and Work of Employees in the Firm

Work of person	# of people	Frequency	Percent
architect	0	5	20.8
	1-2	13	54.2
	3-4	2	8.3
	5+	2	8.3
	Free-lance architects	1	4.2
	missing	1	4.2
drafter	0	11	45.8
	1-2	10	41.7
	3	2	8.3
	missing	1	4.2
Interior d.	0	22	91.7
	1	1	4.2
	missing	1	4.2
secretary	0	13	54.2
	1	10	41.7
	missing	1	4.2
Map eng./ civil eng.	0	21	87.5
	1	2	8.3
	missing	1	4.2
TOTALS		24	100

Table 8. Number of Villa and Holiday Second Housing Projects

# of villa projects (for single client or small group)	Frequency (of Firm)	Percent (of Firm)
None	2	8.3
1	3	12.5
2-4	9	37.5
5-10	4	16.7
11-20	1	4.2
40+	1	4.2
missing	4	16.7
TOTAL	24	100
# of holiday second housing projects	Frequency	Percent
No	19	79.2
Yes	1	4.2
2-5	1	4.2
5-10	1	4.2
Missing	2	8.3
TOTAL	24	100

Table 9. Number of Apartment Housing Projects
and their User Income Level

# of Housing Projects	Frequency	Percent
None	5	20.8
1	1	4.2
2-4	10	41.7
5-10	4	16.7
11-20	2	8.3
40+	2	8.3
TOTAL	24	100
User Income Level	Frequency	Percent
None	4	16.7
Low-middle/middle	1	4.2
Middle/ middle-high	5	20.8
High	3	12.5
Low-middle/middle and Middle/ middle-high	1	4.2
Low-middle/middle and high	2	8.3
Middle/ middle-high and high	1	4.2
Missing	7	29.2
TOTAL	24	100

Table 10. Number of Housing Projects for Cooperatives and their User Income Level

# of Housing Projects	Frequency	Percent
None	10	41.7
1	4	16.7
2-4	6	25
5-10	2	8.3
11-20	1	4.2
Missing	1	4.2
TOTAL	24	100
User Income Level	Frequency	Percent
None	10	41.7
Low-middle/middle	4	16.7
Middle/ middle-high	3	12.5
Low-mid./mid. and mid./ mid. -high	1	4.2
Missing	6	25
TOTAL	24	100

Table 11: Number of Housing Projects for Private Firm or by Competition and their User Income Level

# of Housing Projects	Frequency	Percent
None	8	33.3
1	6	25
2-4	4	16.7
5-10	1	4.2
11-20	1	4.2
40+	1	4.2
Missing	3	12.5
TOTAL	24	100
User Income level	Frequency	Percent
None	8	33.3
Middle/ middle-high	2	8.3
High	5	20.8
Low-mid./mid. and high	2	8.3
Missing	7	29.2
TOTAL	24	100

Table 12: Number of Housing Projects For Public Institutions and their User Income Level

# of Housing Projects	Frequency	Percent
None	11	45.8
1	5	20.8
2-4	2	8.3
5-10	1	4.2
11-20	1	4.2
40+	1	4.2
Missing	3	12.5
TOTAL	24	100
User Income Level	Frequency	Percent
None	11	45.8
Low-middle/middle	2	8.3
High	1	4.2
Low-mid./mid. and mid./mid.-high	5	20.8
Low-mid./mid. and high	2	8.3
Missing	3	12.5
TOTAL	24	100

Table 13: The Distribution of the Type of Housing Projects Designed by Architects in the last 10-15 Years

	Types of housing projects																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	Villa type project? (no- yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1						✓						✓											
	2-4	✓								✓		✓		✓				✓					✓	
	5-10		✓			✓													✓					
	11-20			✓																				
	40+																			✓				
2	Apartment project? (no- yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1										✓													
	2-4	✓			✓		✓			✓		✓	✓						✓					
	5-10		✓															✓			✓			
	11-20					✓			✓															
	20-40																							
	40+			✓				✓																
3	Cooperative Housing? (no-yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1		✓										✓					✓						
	2-4			✓		✓									✓						✓			✓
	5-10	✓																	✓					
	11-20													✓										
4	Housing for private firm? (no-yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1			✓						✓			✓					✓						✓
	2-4		✓			✓			✓						✓									
	5-10															✓								
	11-20																						✓	
	40+																✓							
5	Housing for public inst.? (no- yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1										✓		✓					✓						✓
	2-4			✓																				
	5-10																							
	11-20																							
	40+																✓							
	Housing for public inst.? (no- yes)																							
	If yes how many?																							
	1										✓		✓					✓						✓
	2-4																							
	5-10																							
	11-20													✓									✓	
	20-40																							
	40+																							

APPENDIX C

CATEGORIES DERIVED FROM DATA

Abbreviations:

A: Architect
Ap: Apartment
C: Client
CA: Architect, jury member of competition
FI: Formal institution
FM: Contracting/ construction firm
G: General
HC: Housing complex
IA: Architect working at a formal institution
K: Cooperative housing
KU: Cooperative housing user
M: Contractor
PO: Property owner
U: User
UU: User unknown by architect
UV: User of villa
V +/- 0 / - : Value positive/ negative/ neutral
VL: Villa
YM: 'Build-and-sell' contractor.

Table 14. Category 1: Client/User Characteristics

Category 1		Client/ User Characteristics		dimension
	property			
1	Type	villa owner, build-and-sell contractor, cont. firm, arch. at inst. , competition jury arch., cooperative user, unknown user.		
2	Education			low-high
3	Profession (arch-non-arch)			arch –not arch.
4	Knowledge of profession (as perceived by respondent)			low-high
5	Claim to knowledge of profession (as perceived by respondent)			low-high
6	Economic condition			low-high
7	Expectations and consciousness			Archit.- non-architectural
8	Goal/aim			to live in- to sell/profit
9	'level' (cultural?)			low- high
10	Respect for profession			low- high
11	Trust to professional			low- high
12	Personality			
13	Number			low- high
14	Homogeneity			homog.- heterog.
	Nature/type of requests/needs by client/user			
15	degree of consciousness- knowing what they want			low- high
16	Degree of conventionality/standardness			low- high
17	Similarity to architects' requests			low- high
18	Degree of value attributed by architect			low- high
19	Similarity among oneanother			low- high
20	Request Type	Related to taste/aesthetics, lifestyle, economy, profit ...		

Table 15. Category 2: Architects' Characteristics

Category 2	Architects' Characteristics	
	Property	Dimension
1	Economic condition	bad-good
2	Experience	low-high
3	Existing exemplars	low-high
4	Range of clients	narrow-wide
5	Opp. To get jobs	low-high
6	Personal Capacities of convincing	low- high
7	Specialization on a knowledge-domain of profession	no-yes
8	Perceived knowledge of profession (and sub-specialities of profession)	low- high

Table 16. Category 3: Architect- Client Interaction During Design

Category 3	A-C Interaction during design	
	Property	Dimension
1	Difficulty of Interaction	Easy-diff.
2	Evaluation of Interaction	- / 0 / +
3	Degree of user-client participation	low- high
4	Type of interaction and relative positions of client-architect.	Value of A
	4.1. Self-consensus	- / 0 / +
	4.2. A-C consensus	- / 0 / +
	4.3. Conflict- A convinces C	- / 0 / +
	4.4. Conflict – A tries to convince C, C refuses – A accepts	- / 0 / +
	4.5. Conflict – C convinces A	- / 0 / +
	4.6. Conflict – A refuses/rejects C	- / 0 / +
	4.7. Unconsulted intervention	- / 0 / +
	4.8. Institutional refusal	- / 0 / +

Table 17. Category 4: Strategies of Client Convincing and Reducing Conflict

Category 4	Strategies of Convincing/ Reducing Conflict	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	Show more than 1 alternative	✓						✓	✓	✓				✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
2	Talk/ask thorough questions to understand requests	✓		✓			✓		✓					✓	✓						✓		✓		
3	Reference to others built ex.										✓														
4	Reference to own built ex.						✓				✓													✓	
5	Use of models/3D pres.	✓	✓						✓					✓	✓								✓		
6	Explain pros and cons of situation / long dialogues		✓	✓			✓				✓								✓				✓		
7	First be self-convinced						✓																		
8	A: Increase client/user perceived involvement / B: Involve the user/client in the design process	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓			A ✓				B ✓	B ✓	B ✓
9	Give away something less important to take something more important										✓														
10	If you want to be appointed constr. admin., don't do certain details— (only applicable to unknowledgeed clients) (obscure reality?)																				✓				
11	Explain initially that he/she should not interfere./intervene		✓						✓														✓		✓

Table 18. Category 5: Values and Action on Determination of Fee and Client Selection

Category 5	Values and Action on Determination of Fee and Client Selection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
val./act.	Properties and dimensions																								
	Determination of fee																								
V-1	One shouldn't give lower price		✓			✓		✓																	
V-2	One should take fee for service		✓			V0																			
V-3	One should take fee for construction administration			✓											✓										
A-4	Lowering price – No-Yes (V+/-)			N		Y (past)		N	Y V-		N									Y (past)	Y				
A-5	Giving free service- (no- yes) (v+/-)			N+ Y	Y															Y (past)	Y (past)				
A-6	Economic dependency/ client come by reference → cannot sue him for unconsulted intervention .														✓	✓		✓							
	Client Selection																								
A-7	Architect should select clients (No-Yes)			Y			N	Y			Y+	Y			Y	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
A-8	Is selection made (No-Yes through natural Selection-Yes)	YS	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	YS	N		Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y			Y	YS	Y	Y	Y	YS
A-9	How selected :																								
	9.1 Competition										✓	✓													
	9.2 Natural selection										✓	✓	✓												✓
	9.3 Refusal of client initially (to reduce possible conflict later)		✓						✓ (past)			✓	✓		✓		✓			✓		✓	✓		
	* (past): action was conducted in the past																								

[illegible]

Table 19. Category 6: Project Characteristics

Category 6	Design Givens
	Properties and dimensions
1	Type of project (villa, cooperative, apartment housing, housing complex)
2	Scale of project
3	Site area
4	Topography
5	Climatic/ natural conditions
6	Multiplicity and complexity of design problem
7	Technical conditions

Table 20. Category 7: Design Action and Strategies

Category 7	Design Action and Strategies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Properties and Dimensions																								
	Limitedness of Design Action																								
1	Design action – (free-limited)																								
	Action towards User/client needs/lifestyle																								
2	Bring new alternatives that are proposed to alter/change the existing life towards the 'right' life (imposition of a lifestyle)																								
3	Bring new alternatives that is expected to be accepted wrt existing life (Interpret the lifestyle)																								
4	Bring a conventional solution will encompass existing life (give exact solutions)																								
	Architects design action when client requests conflict architects.																								
5	Do what client/user wants (V+, V0 or V-)																								
6	Find the middle way (V-, V0, V+)																								
7	Do what architect wants (V-, V0, V+)																								
8	Formal considerations (low-high)																								
9	No functional differentiation but design change only wrt economy (size, material etc.)																								
10	Find open holes/flexibilities in codes and regulations																								

Table 20 continued			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Flexibility	User Type	Project Type		-	UU AP	-	UU AP	FM HC	KU K	K, VL	KU K	AP	-	AP	K, ym	UU	-	KU K	HC	KU K	G	G	-	-	FM HC	KU K
11	Flexibility to allow user personalization/intervention								✓						✓			✓								✓
12	Flexibility for multiple use of interiors (interior design)																									
	12.1. For possibility of making 4 rooms to 3 (or 3 to 2)				✓				✓		✓	✓								✓	✓	✓				✓
	12.2 For opening up/closing kitchen				✓			✓		✓									✓	✓						✓
	12.3. multifunctional rooms/For poss. Use of oturma				✓			✓	✓		✓	✓				No			✓		✓			✓	No	
	12.4. For expansion of rooms/salon for change of user size				✓				✓		✓	✓										✓			✓	
	12.5. For change to office				✓								✓													
	12.6 For interior expansion to involve balconies (small m2?)																	✓						✓	✓	
	12.7 for expanding salon with a room																					✓			✓	
13	Flexibility on site considerations										✓				✓				✓			✓				
14	Flexibility (?) of project to be redone after taking building permit (two separate projects designed)									✓ V-	✓															

Table 21. Category 8: Values of Architects on Their Role with Respect to Clients, Users and Society

Category 8	Values of Architects on Their Role with Respect to Clients, Users and Society	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	On architect's role, authority and responsibility																								
1	All other professions should work under the head- Architect is organizer/maestro/orchestra	✓		✓		✓		✓				✓									✓			✓	✓
2	Architect should play multiple roles of politician, manager, marketing, besides designing because it reflects on your success						✓																		
3	Architect should be all-organizer ONLY if paid for service (no fee , V is neg.)				✓																✓	✓		?	✓
4	Client-landowner , contractor and architect are crucial role players in building process. All three should be in consensus			✓			1							✓										✓	
5	Our knowledge should include all subcomponents : architecture is responsible		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓							✓			✓	✓
6	Architects are like artists, but more responsible than artists			✓			✓						✓												
7	Architects start from scratch and fill in the white paper (creativity/artistic-intellectual activity) – different from other professions	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓									✓	✓				
8	Talent/creativity is of most importance, all knowledge other is intrinsic – what differs form you from others is creation										✓														
9	Talent/creativity is of secondary imp.. Client-architect interaction and related knowledge are most imp.						✓																		
10	Architect should participate at first stage of housing process for high quality product to satisfy needs								✓				✓												✓
11	Architecture exists by building so we should find consensus + middle way						✓														✓			✓	

Table 25. Category 12: Strategies to Receive Knowledge on Users

Category 12	Strategies to Receive Knowledge on Users	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Strategies mentioned																								
1	Own user experience and observation nearby	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓
2	Own professional experience (feedback from prev. Bgs)	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓							✓		✓		✓			✓
2	Research				✓ (past)		✓			KU ✓					KU ✓		KU ✓					✓	✓ (past)		
3	Observation		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓			✓
4	Feedback from user/client interaction	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
5	Creation of 'possible' scenarios			✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓				✓				1				✓	✓
6	General lifestyle ass.		✓		✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
7	Forming target market						✓																		
8	Assumptions based on 'culture' and 'history' of Turkish life											✓		✓											
9	Fashions/general market information				✓					✓					✓				✓						
10	Idealization of the user											✓													
11	See around /travel etc				?				✓																

Table 26. Category 13: Values and Action Towards Unconsulted Intervention After Design

Category 13	Values and Action towards Unconsulted Intervention After Design	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	C/U int. similar A + A has power → Accept user wishes						✓					✓		✓											
2	C/U int dif A (formal/aesthetic) + A has power → sue client		Y M ✓																		FI ✓				
3	C/U int dif A + A has power → impose 'ideal' lifestyle/ no acceptance						✓					✓													
4	C/U int. similar to A + no power → V+											✓													
5	C/U int dif from A + no power → V+ (ethically, they can personalize to a degree)											✓		✓		?	✓	✓							✓
6	C/U int dif from A + no power → they should consult, but what can you do without power?	✓ V0 /-	✓									✓	✓	✓	✓						✓				
7	C/U int dif from A + no power → V- (really negative value)		Y M ✓				✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			✓
8	Value towards personalization/interv. may change with respect to building type											✓													
9	Unknown User req. similar A (lifestyle) → Unconsulted intervention (V+)											✓	✓	✓											
10	C unconsulted intervention not so significant → (V0)												✓												
11	Unknown user req. dif from A (lifestyle) → unconsulted intervention (V-)											✓				✓ V0									
12	Client/User respect low → consensus during design → unconsulted interv. afterwards (V-)		UV ✓									✓	✓	✓	✓			M FI ✓							

Table 27. Category 14: Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building

Category 14	Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building
1	Before initial phase: determination of fee and client selection
2	Initial phase- clients choice of site and requirements/ programming/ codes and regs.
3	Design phase
4	Construction phase- construction administration
5	After construction: action towards building and client/user

APPENDIX D

PATTERNS DERIVED FROM THE DATA

Table 28. Pattern 1: Client/User Characteristics → A-C Interaction

Pattern 1	Cat 1 → Cat 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Client/User Characteristics → A-C Interaction																								
	CU education, knowledge and know. claim + respect																								
1	Edu low. + respect and trust high → interaction easy (requests natural-s11 and 19))							KU ✓				G ✓								M ✓					
2	Edu high, nonarch. Respect and trust high → interaction easy R-T high, no intervention								M- PO ✓				UV ✓			UV ✓									UV ✓
3	Edu architect/engineer. respect and trust high → interaction easy			FM ✓				G, FM ✓	FM ✓	K M✓	FM CA ✓		FM ✓		FM ✓	IA ✓		FM ✓	CA ✓			M ✓	FM ✓	FM ✓	FM ✓
4	General/ Regardless of Education: respect and trust high → interaction easy			UV ✓				G ✓			M ✓	G ✓			M ✓	G ✓				G ✓	UV, G, PO ✓		G ✓		
5	Edu architecture/similar architecture. Having knowledge and claiming it → interaction difficult								FM ✓												FM ✓				
6	Edu architecture/similar, having knowledge but no respect → int. dif. + uncons. intervention									M ✓				M ✓				FM ✓							
7	Edu low. Not having adequate knowledge but claiming it → interaction difficult R-T low										✓														

[illegible]

Table 28 continued		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
C/U number and homogeneity		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
19	User/client number low → interaction easy						UV M ✓									UV (7)				Loj ✓	UV (1)				
20	User heterogeneous and heterogeneous goals, but user participation → value (+) product outcome positive						KU ✓			KU ✓				KU ✓	KU ✓	KU ✓									KU ✓
21	User heterogeneous + heterogeneous goals → interaction difficult ** villa user atab. Check (design difficult, S21)						KU ✓	K ✓								KU ✓			KU ✓						KU ✓
22	Later stages of design – C envies A → interaction difficult/conflict										G ✓														
23	Personality and character differences → degree of unconsulted intervention + interaction difficulty varies												M ✓	G ✓	M ✓		IA ✓			G ✓			G ✓		
	C: Culture high + education high + expectations architectural/consciousness high → int. easy (V+)			G ✓							G ✓		G ✓										FM ✓	FM M ✓	KU M ✓
	professional by nature + degree of knowledge high + know what they want → interaction easier (v+)						M ✓		Y M ✓				Y M ✓						M ✓				FM ✓	FM ✓	
	C at formal inst – cannot take insiyatif → conflict											IA ✓					IA ✓							IA ✓	
	UV comes by reference, knows/respect you → trusts you → int easy	KU ✓	G ✓				FM ✓	M ✓							UV /G ✓					G ✓	G ✓	M PO ✓		UV ✓	UV ✓

Table 29. Pattern 2: Client/User Characteristics → (Interaction) → Design Action

Pattern 2	Cat 1 → (Cat 2) → Cat 6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Client/User Characteristics → (Interaction) → Design Action																								
	Interaction (C conv.A A conv.C) → make small changes /modifications, keep the 'concept' the same											✓		✓			✓							✓	
	C request change wrt lack of prof. knowledge → do as C wants																	IA V-							
	C req dif from A (unknown/general) → C conv.A/C refuse A → A does as C wants	K ✓ V-																IA V-				✓ V- /0			
	U requests economic → do as C wants + find middle way							KU M ✓ V- /0		KU ✓ V+			M ✓ V0	KU ✓ V+		KU ✓ V0									
	C req dif from A (unknown/general) → A bring solutions → C refuse → A does as C wants									KU ✓ V0			✓ V- V0	✓ V- V0	✓			✓	✓ V-						
	C req dif from A (unknown/general) → C conv.A/ A conv.C → find middle way						✓								✓				✓						
	C req dif from A (unknown/general) → A conv.C → A does as A wants						✓		M ✓			✓ (C V-)	✓ (C V-)				IA ✓		KU ✓		KU ✓		G ✓		
	C lack of knowledge/cannot perceive → A does as A wants								Y M ✓																
	C req. dif. A (general/unknown) → conflict + A unable to convince C → Client rejection of client during design process							M ✓					G ✓									G ✓			

Table 29 continued																									
Request wrt formal/aesthetic																									
C req dif from A (formal/aesthetic) → C cnv.A → A does as C wants																									
Client: contractor; aim prestige → do as C wants																									
C req dif from A (formal/aesthetic) → C cnv.A/ A cnv.C → find middle way																									
C req. dif. A (taste, formal) → uncond. intervention. (V-) → not take buildings responsibility																									
C req. dif. A (formal-aesthetic- taste) → conflict + A unable to convinceC → Client rejection of client during design process																									
Request wrt lifestyle/use																									
C req dif from A (lifestyle/use) → (C cnv.A)→ A does as C wants																									
C req dif from A (lifestyle/use) → A bring solutions → C refuse → A does as C wants																									
C req dif from A (lifestyle/use) → C cnv.A/ A cnv.C → find middle way																									
C req dif from A (lifestyle/use) → A cnv.C → A does as A wants																									
Request wrt profit/economic																									
C req dif from A (max rm/max m2- wrt profit not use) → C cnv.A → A does as C wants																									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
	KU ✓ V-			M ✓ V-		✓ V0	✓ V+	✓ V+	✓ V+ /0	✓ V+								✓ V0	Y M ✓	✓ V0		✓ V+			
			G ✓ V0		M PO ✓ V0				KU ✓ V+					G ✓											
														✓ V-	✓					✓			UV ✓		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
	KU ✓	G ✓	UV ✓	G ✓		Ap t ✓	UU ✓	Y M ✓	✓	UV ✓	Ap t ✓		✓ V-	UV ✓	G ✓	G ✓		M ✓	KU ✓		✓			✓	
	✓										HC ✓									Va ✓				KU ✓	
														✓		G ✓		✓							
											G ✓			UU ✓				KU ✓						KU ✓	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
			M ✓ V0	M ✓ V0	M- ✓ V?	M ✓ V+	G ✓ V-	Y M ✓ V				M ✓ V-		M ✓ V-	KU ✓ V-			M ✓ V0	Y M ✓ V-		M ✓ V0			KU ✓ V-	

Table 30. Pattern 3: Client Characteristics- requests → Design Action

Pattern 3	Cat 1 → Cat 7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Client characteristics- requests → Design Action																								
	Design action limited/free																								
	Client aim to profit+ request max m2/room + requests standard → design action limited + conventional design	✓ V0 /-	✓		✓						✓ (N-	✓	✓		✓				✓ V- /0	✓ V-					✓
	Limited design action + conventional design → no conflict, consensus. (no intervention)		✓		✓				✓			✓													
	Client power wrt codes/regulations high → codes/reg altered → design action free																Ins ✓ V+								
	Action towards lifestyle																								
	User unknown + standard requests → conventional design (eg gece gündüz/ 3+1)		Y M- ap ✓	✓	Y M- ap ✓ V-	Ap .H C ✓ V-	Y M- ap ✓	K ✓	Y M- ap ✓ V- -/0			Ap .H C ✓ V-	KU ✓ V0	G ✓ V-	KU ✓	KU ✓ V0			UV M ✓ V- -/0	KU M ✓ V- V0			G ✓ V0		KU ✓ V- /0
	User unknown + standard requests → design wrt formal considerations bring alt. That will encompass existing (what they want)		apt ✓		apt ✓	apt ✓	apt ✓								apt ✓										
	Education and culture not significant + requests/needs similar to one another → no functional change but change only in material/ size/econ.		Ap t✓	✓	✓		HC FM ✓	G ✓		KU ✓	✓?				✓		KU G ✓ V+	✓							
	Client/user standard requests → bring new alternatives → client refusal → conventional design	KU ✓ V0			Y M ✓ V-			✓ V- -/0				HC ✓	Co mp -cl v0	UV ✓ V0							apt ✓				KU ✓ V- /0

[illegible]

Table 31. Pattern 4: Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building → Product Quality

Pattern 4	Cat 14 → Cat 10																							
Phase of Architects' Participation in the Process of Building → product quality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Architects participation late – not in decision making phase of users → limited design action, product quality low								✓	✓															
Participation at initial stage of design- design gives (site planning and related regulations) done by architect → design free → product quality high (V+)												✓								✓			✓	
Architects control → design outcome positive			✓	✓							✓	✓							✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Architects no control→ design outcome negative (not recognize building or unconsulted intervention high)					✓							✓		✓					✓	✓	✓		✓	K ✓

Table 32. Pattern 5: Project Characteristics → Design Action

Pattern 5	Cat 6 → Cat 7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Project Characteristics → Design Action																								
	Site area fixed → design action limited (V-)	✓	V0	apt ✓		apt ✓	apt ✓	apt ✓	apt ✓			apt ✓	apt ✓	✓		✓	✓						apt ✓		
	Design type not apartment/ special/ site different → design action free and non standard (V+)											apt ✓	apt ✓	KU ✓									✓	V+	
	topography → design accordingly / design flexibility on site	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓				✓			✓	
	Climatic conditions → design accordingly			✓	✓	✓							✓	✓			✓				✓				

Table 33. Pattern 6: Client Char, Arch. Characteristics. → Determination of Fee and Client Selection

Pattern 6	Cat 1, 2 → 5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Client Char, Arch. char. → Determination of Fee and Client Selection																								
	Determination of Fee																								
1	Acting professionally → not do free service (avan)			✓																					
2	Variety of clients → special fee for all of them					✓																			
3	Reference form another client/tanidik → No Initial fee for service (V-)		✓	✓	✓																				
4	House project- informal → informal fee payments (V-)																				✓				
5	Own economic power low → break price/selection low					✓			✓	V-			✓							✓	Pa st				

Table 34. Pattern 7: Knowledge and Values on Turkish Context → Design Action

Pattern 7	Cat 9 → Cat 7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Knowledge and Values on Turkish Context → Design Action																								
1	codes and regulations limited → architectural design action limited /standard (V-)			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			
2	Codes and regs limited → design action limited → find holes in it /turn them into advantage → design action free/flexibility (V+)						HC MF ✓			G ✓		HC ✓													
3	Plot conditions+ codes and regulations limited → architectural design action limited /standard (V-) + give imp. To formal aspects			✓	✓		✓					✓			✓										
4	codes and regulations flexible → design action less limited (V+)				✓									✓											

Table 35. Pattern 8: Client/User Characteristics → Strategies for Receiving Knowledge

Pattern 8	Cat 1 → Cat 12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Client/User Characteristics → Strategies for Receiving Knowledge																								
1	User unknown + 'build-and-sell' type project → form target market + their possible lifestyle assumptions						✓																	✓	
2	User unknown + standard requests → no need for feedback				✓																				

Table 36. Pattern 9: Architect's Characteristics $\leftrightarrow$ Other Practicing Architects' Characteristics

Pattern 9	Cat 2 $\leftrightarrow$ Cat 11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Architect's Characteristics (we) $\leftrightarrow$ Other Practicing Architects' Characteristics (they)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1 We don't give lower price – they do				✓				✓			✓			✓											
2 We don't work for free – they do			✓																						
3 We don't do prototypical projects – they do $\rightarrow$ Turkey architectural quality low)					✓			✓									✓				✓				
4 We + private firm design quality housing $\rightarrow$ they (formal institutions) design bad quality housing																								✓	
5 Our projects original – their projects standard/ conventional							✓				✓														
6 Our client range wide (V+) – their client range narrow (other elite architects) (V-)							✓																		
7 We don't impose own artistic/lifestyle desires – they do							✓			✓															
8 We- collaboration with client – they isolated from client (see them as upper)							✓			✓															
9 Our buildings are not intervened without consult – theirs' are (related with arch. – client interaction)							✓												✓						
10 We don't choose clients – they do							✓																		
11 Our knowledge of certain issues is high – theirs' low				✓			✓							✓											
12 Our knowledge of practice high – theirs' low				✓									✓												
13 We bid price – they bid price (V-)				✓				✓																	

[illegible]

Table 37. Pattern 10: Architects Characteristics → Architect – Client Interaction

Pattern 10	Cat 2 → Cat 3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Architects Characteristics → Architect-Client Interaction																								
1	Convincing capacity high + selfconvincing high → A conv.C + long dialogues					√													√						√

Table 38. Pattern 11: Turkish Context → Architects' Characteristics

	Pattern 11	Cat 9 → Cat 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
		Turkish Context → Architects' Characteristics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1		Contractors' economic standard decrease → self opp. to get jobs + economic condition decreased				√																				
2		Everyone claims knowledge of architecture → architect specialized in urban design/ landscape																√								