

**PROSPECTS, POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF MASS
HOUSING IN TURKEY, 1960s – 1980s:
HOUSING THE MIDDLE CLASS WITH THE SİNCAN
– ELVANKÖY NEW TOWN EXPERIMENT**

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By
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We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate,
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ABSTRACT

PROSPECTS, POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF MASS HOUSING IN TURKEY, 1960s – 1980s: HOUSING THE MIDDLE CLASS WITH THE SİNCAN – ELVANKÖY NEW TOWN EXPERIMENT

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M. Sc. In Architecture

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The thesis comparatively examines the mutual dynamics of the housing problem in distinctive settings to track the traces of housing policies and practices in Turkey. After the proclamation of the Republic, the housing problem gained momentum with the relocation of the bureaucratic nucleus to the capital Ankara. In order to compose the life patterns of the national bourgeoisie in this city, housing policies were oriented toward the aspirations of the bureaucrats and civil servants, constituting the backbone of the middle-class in Turkey. The government enacted particular policies and established distinctive institutions to operate and finance housing production; these initiatives primarily contributed to the individual efforts of the middle-class in Ankara until the end of the Second World War. In the meantime, the housing supply flourished with cooperatives, mass housing companies, local authorities, *yap-satçı* and *gecekondu* in response to the rapid urbanization of the city center. Therefore, middle-class families preferred mass housing settlements in uncharted territories of Ankara, accelerating the formation of satellite cities disconnected from the urban centers. The prominent mass housing practices reframe the discourses and debates connected with the new middle-class as an emerging social component that claimed attention in Ankara after the 1960s. With the particular interest in the suburban mass housing experiment for the middle-class in Ankara after the 1980s, the thesis investigates Sincan – Elvanköy New Town to manifest intertwined dynamics of the national and international architectural debate. Sincan – Elvanköy New Town achieved a breakthrough

considering the direct connection with the railway and highway, integrating the mass housing settlement and the urban fabric on a nodal point. Therefore, the aim of the thesis is to investigate and demonstrate the evolving dynamics of the housing problem in architectural discourse, pondering on mass housing settlements as the core discussion in the architectural agenda of Turkey in the 1960s–1980s.

Keywords: Housing Problem, Housing Policies, Middle Class, Mass Housing Settlements, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town Experiment.



ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DE TOPLU KONUT BEKLENTİLERİ, POLİTİKALARI VE UYGULAMALARI, 1960'LAR – 1980'LER: SİNCAN – ELVANKÖY YENİ KENT DENEYİ İLE ORTA SINIFIN KONUTLANDIRILMASI

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki konut politikaları ve uygulamalarının izlerini takip edebilmek için konut sorununun ortak dinamiklerini farklı ortamlarda karşılaştırmalı olarak incelemektedir. Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra bürokratik çekirdeğin başkent Ankara'ya taşınmasıyla konut sorunu ivme kazanmıştır. Ulusal burjuvazinin bu kentteki yaşam kalıplarını oluşturabilmek için Türkiye'de orta sınıfın bel kemiğini oluşturan bürokrat ve memurların isteklerine yönelik konut politikaları uygulanmıştır. Hükümet, konut üretimini işletmek ve finanse etmek için belirli politikalar çıkarmış ve kendine özgü kurumlar kurmuştur; bu girişimler öncelikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuna kadar Ankara'daki orta sınıfın bireysel çabalarına katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu arada, şehir merkezinin hızlı kentleşmesine tepki olarak konut arzı kooperatifler, toplu konut şirketleri, yerel yönetimler, yapı-satıcı ve gecekondular ile gelişmiştir. Bu nedenle orta sınıf aileler, Ankara'nın keşfedilmemiş bölgelerinde toplu konut yerleşimlerini tercih ederek, kent merkezlerinden kopuk uydu kentlerin oluşumunu hızlandırmıştır. Önde gelen toplu konut uygulamaları, 1960'lardan sonra Ankara'da dikkat çeken yükselen bir toplumsal bileşen olarak yeni orta sınıfla bağlantılı söylemleri ve tartışmalarıyla yeniden şekillenmiştir. 1980'lerden sonra Ankara'da orta sınıf için banliyö toplu konut deneyine özel ilgiyle, bu çalışma, ulusal ve uluslararası mimari tartışmanın iç içe geçmiş dinamiklerini ortaya koymak için Sincan - Elvanköy Yeni Kenti'ni araştırmaktadır. Sincan – Elvanköy Yeni Kenti, toplu konut yerleşimi ile kent

dokusunu bir düğüm noktasında bütünleştiren demiryolu ve karayolu ile doğrudan bağlantısıyla bir atılım gerçekleştirdi. Bu nedenle tezin amacı, 1960-1980'lerde Türkiye'nin mimari gündeminin ana tartışma konusu olarak toplu konut yerleşimleri üzerinde kafa yorarak, mimari söylemde konut sorununun gelişen dinamiklerini araştırmak ve ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut Problemi, Konut Politikaları, Orta Sınıf, Toplu Konut Yerleşimleri, Sincan – Elvanköy Yeni Kent Deneyi.





To my family...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Ankara’da orta halliler için ev yaptırmak imkanı kalmamıştır.”¹

The prominent attitudes and ideologies within the architectural theory catalyzed the housing problem of the middle-class in Ankara, considering the inadequate policies engaged in the housing production mechanism of Turkey. When the need for urban housing in industrialized societies led to a dense horizontal housing texture deprived of hygiene, the necessity of reframing the housing problem through the lens of quality constituted prominent mass housing settlements (Power, 1993). From Ebenezer Howard’s (1898) self-sufficient *garden city* to Ernst May’s (1927) modern *siedlung*, “migratory tendencies of rationalism, functionalism, and standardization” (Colquhoun, 2002, p.10) structured the *existenzminimum* to “enjoy a minimum of modern comforts” (Heynen, 1999, p.18). As the dominance of modern architecture amplified with *Congr s Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) (1928-1959), pioneers advocated the mechanical and technological development in urban existence through Le Corbusier’s (1933) *Ville Radieuse*, composing a prominent mass housing model. However, after the Second World War, “the reactionary group” Team 10 widely criticized the ideology regarding “cultural obsolescence” (Smithson, 1968, p.52) with the “notions of identity and

¹ Quotation was published in the prominent newspaper *Ulus*, translating to: “It is not possible to build houses for the middle-class in Ankara.”. Retrieved from: Arsalar. (1935, May 20). *Ulus*, 1.

association” (Frampton, 1992, p.272). Mass housing proposals of Team 10 supported a holistic development approach, considering the hierarchical organization of “the house, the street, the district, and the city” (Smithson, 1968, p.76). These critical theories and practices echoed similar dynamics in the architectural agenda of Turkey with different housing policies, production methods, and target groups. After the proclamation of the Republic, the housing problem gained momentum with the relocation of “the bureaucratic nucleus” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124) to the capital Ankara. In order to “compose the life patterns of the national bourgeoisie in this city” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.10), housing policies were oriented toward the aspirations of the bureaucrats and civil servants constituting “the backbone of the middle-class in Turkey” (Karpat, 1967, p.32). The government enacted particular policies and established distinctive institutions to operate and finance housing production; these initiatives primarily contributed to the individual efforts of the middle-class in Ankara until the end of the Second World War (Keleş, 1990). In the meantime, the housing supply flourished with “cooperatives, mass housing companies, local authorities, *yap-satçı* and *gecekondu*” (Tekeli, 1982, p.177) in response to the rapid urbanization of the city center. Therefore, “middle-class families moved outward in the spreading metropolis” (Danielson, Keleş, 1985, p.123) and preferred mass housing settlements in uncharted territories of Ankara, accelerating the formation of satellite cities disconnected from the urban centers (Ayata, 2002). In this context, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town achieved a breakthrough considering the direct connection with the railway and highway, integrating the mass housing settlement and the urban fabric on a nodal point. The settlement’s critical position encouraged the correlation of architectural and urban scales, as the priority of this experiment was “to fight against chaotic urbanization” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.VI), responding to the remonstrations of the middle-class.

Under this theoretical framework, the thesis comparatively examines the mutual dynamics of the housing problem in distinctive settings to track the traces of housing policies and practices in Turkey. The prominent mass housing practices reframe the discourses and debates connected with the new middle-class as an emerging social component that claimed attention in Ankara after the 1960s. With the particular interest in the suburban mass housing experiment for the middle-class in Ankara after the 1980s, the thesis investigates Sincan – Elvanköy New Town to manifest intertwined dynamics of the national and international architectural debate.

1.1 Aim, Scope and Methodology

The chronic housing problem in urban settlements experiencing the industrial revolution concentrated on resolving qualitative obstacles to ensure spatial and social diversity. “The first scientific models of urban planning on a territorial scale” (Tafuri & Dal Co, 1986, p.29) was the *garden city* originated by Ebenezer Howard (1896) in England. After World War I, the autonomous units of the *garden city* gained an international character while the *siedlung* canonized the urban life in Germany. Although both models followed the principles of satellite cities, the *siedlung* distinguished with the accessibility to urban centers. In the meantime, pioneers of modern architecture dominated the debate regarding urbanization problems with *Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (1928-1959). On the basis of Ernst May’s *Das Neue Frankfurt* (1925-1930), *CIAM II* (1929) investigated the minimum space standards for the emerging lifestyle of the society through “rationality, functionality, industry, experiment and *existenzminimum*” (Heynen, 1999, p.37). As the search for minimum dwelling standards continued, *CIAM IV* (1933) pondered on urban planning and divided the city into rigid functional zones. Although Le Corbusier (1986) governed the housing problem of modern architecture with “the spirit of construction, living and conceiving mass production houses” (p.227), *CIAM* witnessed criticism from the younger generation, *Team 10*. After World War II, the members reintroduced modern architecture in terms of “the history and context, the issues of collectivity and mobility, identity and modernization, participation and education” (Risselada & Heuvel, 2005, p.6) and promoted the significance of association in mass housing settlements. Building upon these distinctive architectural debates regarding the housing problem before and after World War II, the thesis demonstrates the formation of mass housing settlements in conformity with the location of the settlement (urban, suburban), the character of the settlement (apartment, *site*, satellite city, etc.), the housing typology (linear block, point block, mixed development, etc.), the density (horizontal, vertical), the approach to housing planning (qualitatively, quantitatively), and the outdoor organization (isolated, associated, undefined green area).

The international debate on the mass housing settlements echoed in Turkey after the 1960s, considering sequential military interventions (1960 Coup d’Etat, 1980 Coup

d'Etat) and liberal constitutions (1961 Constitution, 1982 Constitution) shaping the political and social structure through “the freedom of expression and association” (Yücel, 2005, p.126). In an effort to constitute the basis for mass housing settlements of the 1960s–1980s, the thesis interrogates the housing problem starting from the proclamation of the Republic. After the relocation of the capital to Ankara, the government manifested “the wilful effort to create a new national bourgeois culture” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.124). The first step was to resolve the zoning problem of the capital with the master plan as the government established several institutions (Directorate of Reconstruction, Real Estate and Credit Bank, etc.) to operate housing production (Keleş, 1990; Yavuz, 1952). Benefiting from these institutions, the formation of *cooperatives* alleviated the deteriorating housing problem under the economic weight of World War II. Since the aspirations of the bureaucratic nucleus conditioned the prospect of cooperatives, housing production was inadequate in the capital. As the migration to urban centers accelerated, “the acute housing shortage of the low-income groups gave rise to the phenomenon of *gecekondu*” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.131). Despite the measures to prevent and demolish fringe settlements, the workers’ accommodation dominated the agenda of the government. Consequently, local authorities got involved in the housing problem by rehabilitating squatter settlements or allocating uncharted territories within the municipality’s borders. With the regime of the Democrat Party in the 1950s, “the private sector helped fuel a boom in apartment-house building but directed very few resources into lower-cost housing” (Danielson & Keleş, 1985, p.158). In order to expedite the process of financial matters, several social security institutions were established. These institutions provided low-interest and long-term loans through the internal structure of Real Estate and Credit Bank, which “expanded the activity in house construction at the end of 1950s” (Sey, 2005, p.171). Concurrently, an authentic entrepreneur called *yap-satçı* entered the housing market to profit from the outcomes of Title Deed Law. The entire housing production was mediated through *yap-satçı* without any capital investments, from the provision of the land to the realization of the building, without any investments.

The unsteady economic and political agenda forced the 1960 Coup d'Etat, which “led to reformist movements and new democratic institutions” (Sey, 2005, p.126). Along with the socialist ideology of the 1961 Constitution, the military government addressed the housing problem through the five-year development plans of the State Planning

Organization, supporting that “scientific development planning could be achieved outside the realm of politics” (Tekeli, 2005, p.27). Since the government’s role regarding the housing sector was defined as “a regulator rather than an investor” (Sey, 2005, p.174) in development plans, private initiatives were encouraged to participate in the housing problem through market mechanisms. However, these initiatives were encouraging excessive consumption of the middle- and upper-class instead of catalyzing the housing problem (Tekeli, 2005). As the migration to urban centers deteriorated, the class struggle intensified in the socio-political agenda. In the 1970s, mass housing settlements of private companies moved outward to distinguish from “the constant struggle and great disorder projecting the image of a jungle” (Ayata, 2002, p.29). Several municipalities were “endeavoring to realize mass housing projects that reflected contemporary ideas and technological dimensions” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.21) under the programs of *satellite cities*. Although these settlements attempted to incorporate prefabrication into construction, the inadequacy of infrastructure averted the industrialization of housing production. After the 1980 Coup d’Etat, the right to housing was regulated with the Mass Housing Law of the 1982 Constitution, lending countenance to social housing programs through loan facilities. “Since this legislation primarily aims at creating financial resources, therefore would chiefly help upper-income groups” (Sey, 2005, p.179).

Considering the housing policies and practices oriented to “the creation of a national bourgeoisie lifestyle, Ankara became a unique settlement alienated from the rest of the country” (Tekeli & Okay, 1982, p.140). This significant cultural dimension originated from “the bureaucratic nucleus” (Neyzi, 1973, p.123) relocating to the capital. The aspirations of the bureaucratic nucleus “forming the backbone of the *middle-class*” (Karpat, 1973, p.59) governed the political and cultural forces in the country. In order to manifest the established regime’s success, sequential zoning plans of Lörcher (1925), Jansen (1932), and Yücel-Uybadin (1957) and Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau (1990) were implemented in Ankara. Each master plan addressed the housing problem through different methods. As the bureaucratic nucleus initiated the first housing cooperative in the country, the anticipated settlement model (Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi) traced the *garden city* attributes in Jansen Plan. Soon after this development, public investments were directed toward another housing settlement (Saraçoğlu Mahallesi), reminiscing the characteristics of *siedlung*. Both

residential areas appealed to the middle-class and were criticized for “not being adequate” with the economic conditions (Sayar, 1946, p.50). As a consequence of the distinctive housing supply strategies in this period, Ankara fragmented with “a dual social and physical structure” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.134), containing lower-class settlements in the periphery and middle-class settlements in the center. After World War II, the formation of economic occupations in the service sector expanded the middle-class structure with “the entrepreneurs, managers, small manufacturers, and new businessmen” (Karpas, 1973, p.59). However, this group advocated different political opinions from the bureaucratic nucleus, taking a pivotal role in the election of the Democrat Party. Since the regime accelerated the investments in industry, the migration to the city center was beyond expected. The tension between social classes escalated as “the hulking concrete blocks built with an apparent lack of any aesthetic concern, the mass on the streets, and the relative lack of entertainment and cultural facilities” (Ayata, 2002, p.28) exhausted the urban life. In this context, the middle-class pursued settlements (Yeşiltepe Blokları, Dikmen Yapı Kooperatifi, etc.) with a gradual shift in distance to distinguish immediately from “the utterly provincial, vulgar and uncivilized city crowd” (Ayata, 2002, p.28). Along with the legislation on the condominium, yap-satçı mediated middle-class housing cooperatives and estates in the suburban adjacent to gecekondu settlements, complying with the limits of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. Subsequent to the 1960 Coup d’Etat, the prominence of consumption and lifestyle reshaped not only the structure but also the preferences of the professional, managerial and entrepreneurial *new middle-class* through “the access to educational expertise and disposable wealth” (Ayata, 2002, p.40). In this period, “spatial proximity to the city center was still the principle criterion in the choice of residential location” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.136). Even though the ascending spatial mobility with private vehicles amplified the demand for suburban settlements (OR-AN, ME-SA, etc.), the lack of infrastructure, financial capability, government assistance, and public transportation facilities often interrupted the operation of private companies. Consequently, the city became “more complex, segmented and fragmented” (Ayata, 2002, p.27) in the 1980s.

Within this framework, the thesis orients toward the particular case study, *Sincan – Elvanköy New Town* (1984), as an experimental mass housing settlement for the middle-class in Ankara. Following the zoning plan of the Ankara Metropolitan Area

Planning Bureau, Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank commissioned Altuğ and Behruz Çinici to envisage a *satellite city* prototype consisting of three thousand dwelling units (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). The proposal was an attempt to construct a strong connection with the urban core through the last station of the banlieue railway in the west direction. “The possession of such an important transportation facility provided the opportunity for planning and structuring densities in dynamic and successful urban development” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.67). Since the settlement integrated with the city structure on a nodal point, the proposal did not offer an enclosed environment yet promoted the correlation of architectural and urban scale, distinguishing it from previous mass housing practices in Ankara. The particular attention to the overlooked issues of “houses and common areas, ownership and property rights, organizational problems of planning and construction, esthetic quality and cultural meaning of the new environment, and management and administration” (Çinici, 1983, p.V) proposed a contemporary definition for mass housing settlements in Turkey. The programmatic character of the project fostered the ideal way of living embedded in the historical tradition considering the evolution of mass housing prospects and policies in the twentieth century. From garden city to siedlung, individual houses to high-rise apartment blocks, rational planning to vernacular character, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town synthesized, embodied, and promoted the legacies of the housing problem in the architectural discourse.

The aim of the thesis is to investigate and demonstrate the evolving dynamics of the housing problem in architectural discourse, pondering on mass housing settlements as the core discussion in the architectural agenda of Turkey in the 1960s–1980s. Within this framework, the thesis attempts to address the following questions: How did the housing problem’s interdependent dynamics in the architectural debate lead to the formation of mass housing settlements? In which mediums housing supply of distinctive agents incorporated into the housing problem of state machinery? What were the aspirations of the middle-class as an emerging social force that structured the architectural discourse on mass housing settlements? The thesis illustrates the social forces of state machinery in determining and implementing housing policies to unfold emerging actors in housing production. Since the housing policies were directed primarily toward the bureaucratic nucleus relocated to the capital, the study emphasizes the critical forces that constituted the middle-class. In an attempt to utilize

the housing policies for the middle-class mass housing practices in Ankara, the attitudes and practices of prominent architectural debates are revealed. In this context, the study explores how Sincan – Elvanköy New Town (1984) was established as an experimental mass housing settlement for the middle-class in Ankara, considering the echoes of international debates and dynamics on the national policies and practices. With a humble attempt, the research can be perceived as a contribution to the history of architecture with the original knowledge it provides on the chain concepts of middle-class mass housing projects in Ankara. The study follows data collection and data analysis methods, depending on qualitative research to provide a comprehensive literature review of international and national architectural debates focused on the concept of mass housing. After the primary resources were obtained from archival research containing books, journals, conference papers, academic dissertations, articles, newspapers, and visual materials, the collected knowledge was compared and contrasted with the correlational analysis of approaches and implications of mass housing settlements.

1.2 Structure

The thesis consists of six chapters with the introductory and concluding chapters. The introduction indicates the problem statement, aim, scope, methodology, and structure of the thesis.

The second chapter reveals the chronic housing problem in urban settlements experiencing the industrial revolution through the concept of mass housing. The self-sufficient *garden city* and the modern neighborhood *siedlung* are introduced as urban models that structure the ideology of mass housing settlements after World War I. The debate on urbanization and housing problems are evaluated with prominent practices of the modern architecture pioneers that promoted functionalism and rationalism in *CIAM*. Following the pivotal role of World War II, the chapter investigates the significance of association in mass housing settlements through the reactionary debate of *Team 10*. This chapter reveals the international debates on mass housing settlements to track similar dynamics in the architectural debate of Turkey.

Touching upon the contextual analysis provided in the second chapter, the third chapter orients the focus to the housing problem in Turkey, with a particular interest in housing policies produced in successive periods after the Republic. In order to reveal the shift in housing production, the remarkable incidents of World War II, 1960 Turkish Coup d'Etat, and 1980 Turkish Coup d'Etat are reviewed with their impact on the socio-economic structure of the society. With entrepreneurs joining the housing production under the uncontrolled urbanization, imbalanced economy, and political alternation after World War II, the chapter ponders not only housing policies but also housing supply methods of *cooperatives*, *yap-satçı*, and *gecekondu*. The emergence of initiatives such as Real Estate and Credit Bank, Social Insurance Institution, and State Planning Organization points out the regulation of the housing problem in Turkey. As the migration to urban centers deteriorated after the 1960 Coup d'Etat, the class struggle intensified in the socio-political agenda leading to the *satellite city* initiatives. In order to grasp the social forces of state machinery in determining and implementing housing policies, the chapter questions the formation of mass housing settlements with emerging actors in Turkey.

As these critical regulations and developments are predominantly echoed in the modern capital Ankara, the fourth chapter focuses on the social structure of the city with qualified residential textures for the middle-class. After the proclamation of the Republic, the housing problem gained momentum with the relocation of the bureaucratic elite to the capital Ankara. In order to provide a modern city for the national bourgeoisie, housing policies were oriented toward the aspirations of the bureaucratic elite constituting the middle-class. Therefore, the chapter identifies the behaviors and characteristics of the middle-class, considering the changing living conditions and demands for mass housing settlements in Ankara. Through spectating relevancies with the agenda of modern architecture, this review compares and contrasts the evolving housing prospects of the middle-class that governed the political and cultural forces in Ankara.

The fifth chapter revolves around the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town (1984), funded and commissioned by Real Estate and Credit Bank to Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, which sets a different middle-class mass housing settlement with the conceptual approach proposing a new social environment and lifestyle. The character of the project fosters

the ideal way of living embedded in the historical tradition considering the evolution of mass housing prospects and policies in the twentieth century. Promoted as an experiment in mass housing, the proposal is significant with the connection to the urban core through the vicinity of the banlieue railway. The architectural and urban scale correlation distinguishes the project from former middle-class mass housing practices in Ankara. Thus, the chapter investigates the objective of creating an exemplary mass housing settlement with respect to architectural debates on the housing problem, emphasizing the socio-political structure in the architectural agenda of Turkey.

The concluding chapter gathers the information provided in the thesis, questions the contribution to the field of study, and ponders the findings of the research for further discussions.

CHAPTER 2

SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF MODERNIZED SOCIETY

One may follow the typological evolution of the housing problem from industrialized community's need for healthy housing to modern society's search for spatial quality. Industrialization caused a radical change not only in production systems but also in society's social, economic, and political structure (Mumford, 1938). As a result of the mechanization of agriculture, there has been a lack of employment in rural areas. With large numbers leaving the feudal structure, demographic concentration increased in urban areas. When transportation improved with railway networks, the formation of industrial centers accelerated (Pevsner, 1974). Consequently, a severe housing need has arisen in Europe, and cities have become unable to respond to a need of this scale with their existing housing stocks. When the need for urban housing led to a dense horizontal housing texture deprived of hygiene, the necessity of reframing the housing problem through the lens of quality constituted prominent mass housing settlements (Lampugnani, 1985). Distinctive utopian settlement models were proposed as "the ultimate solution to the conflict between city and country" (Tafuri, 1986, p.30), including *garden city* and *siedlungen*. After World War I, the dominance of modern architecture accelerated with *Congr s Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses of Modern Architecture). While the pioneers promoted mechanical and technological development in urban existence, the younger generation widely criticized the "cultural obsolescence" (Smithson, 1968, p.52) of modern architecture. *Team 10* incorporated "the notions of identity and association" (Frampton, 1992, p.272) in mass housing proposals after World War II. Following the

failure of “orthodox modernism” (Venturi, 1966, p.14), architectural pursuits that are similar in unity but different in particular blossomed. Consequently, the chapter evaluates debates and dynamics of the housing problem under the clashing ideologies and practices of modern architecture, grasping the evolving dwelling typologies and urban layouts. Discussing the pivotal role of World War II, the chapter investigates the formation of mass housing settlements in Europe to track similar dynamics in the architectural debate of Turkey.

2.1 The Housing Problem of Industrialized Societies

There was a need to re-evaluate urban housing in economic, political, and cultural terms. In this regard, England and Germany set an example as the first countries to experience this process where the primary problem was producing land for new houses (Benevolo, 1993). The first intervention was increasing the density of the existing zoned areas in the city by raising the height of the buildings and downsizing the housing units. The second was the conversion of agricultural lands around industrial zones outside the city into zoned areas. In order to quickly close the housing deficit, “rental houses have emerged as a new type of building in industrial cities” (Richards, 1970, p.32). That being the case, a dense horizontal housing texture containing maximum residential units became dominant. These units comprised inconvenient living spaces devoid of light, air, and infrastructure equipment. Since the housing problem was considered quantitatively rather than qualitatively, excessive population density and unfavorable health conditions started to draw attention (Frampton, 1992). Uninhabitable city centers forced countries to propose legal arrangements prioritizing hygiene and healthy housing.

While the search for mass housing settlements continued in all European cities experiencing rapid industrialization, the *garden city* model as the ultimate utopia has come to the fore in England. Ebenezer Howard’s “To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform” (1896) proposed “an independent ideal township, consisting of rural housing estates, sufficient arable land, shopping facilities, cultural institutions, and a central park as the communal and recreational center” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.33). Interconnected by a green belt, the housing estate grows through small self-sufficient

garden cities where “freedom, co-operation, and community would grow in harmonious surroundings that united the values of the countryside with those of the town” (Power, 1993, p.176). The dwelling units were either detached or contiguous in a great diversity of styles, respecting only the street lines fixed by the municipal authorities. Although the model was extremely challenging to realize, Raymond Unwin executed the first *garden city* in Letchworth (1903) as “an escape from the city” (Benevolo, 1993, p.511). Unlike the 19th century typologies, Letchworth residences offered divided units such as the kitchen, living room, bedroom, and bathroom with large gardens, indicating a search for human health and housing quality (Glendinning & Muthesius, 1994). However, Letchworth only appealed to “the middle-class, intellectuals and small manufacturers of craft type, which made it exceptional rather than a typical community” (Tafari & Dal Co, 1986, p.32), countering Howard’s ideology for housing the workers’ class. Although the physical conditions improved with the applications of the *garden city* model in Europe, the measures taken against the housing problem in practice could not go beyond completing the housing deficit quantitatively before WW1.

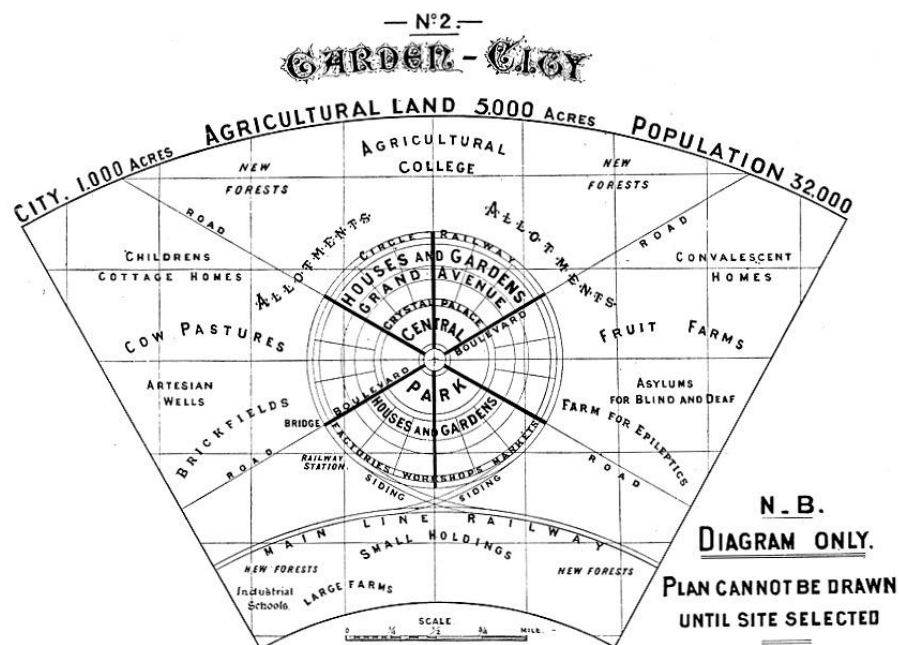


Figure 2.1 Ebenezer Howard’s territorial and urban organization of the garden city model for cities experiencing rapid industrialization in Europe. (Source: Howard, E. (1898). *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.)

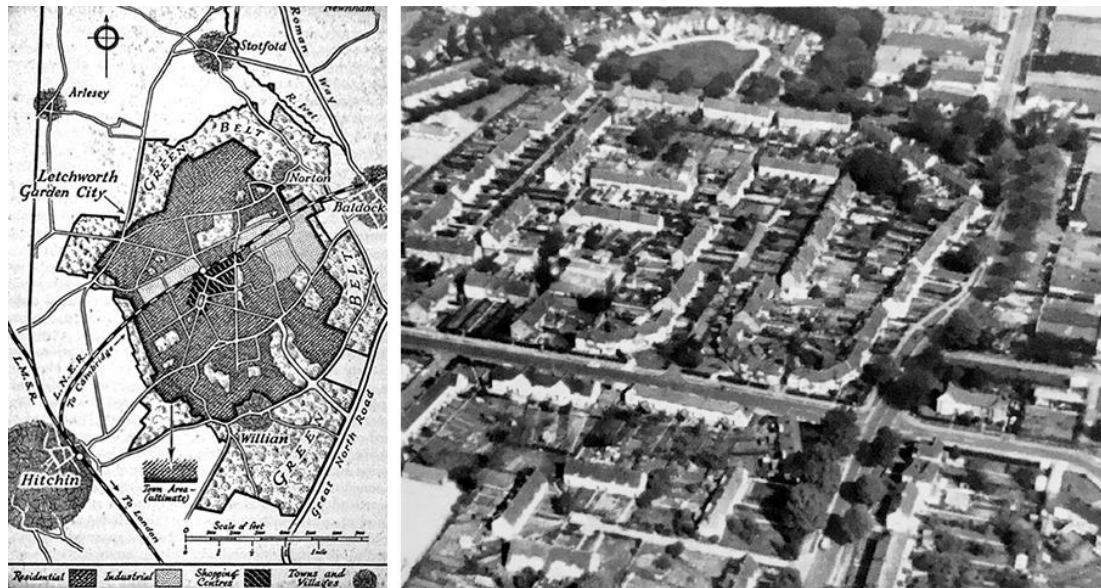


Figure 2.2 Raymond Unwin's master plan for the first garden city execution in Letchworth. The aerial view of the settlement demonstrating individual houses with private gardens. (Source: Tafuri, M., & Dal Co, F. (1986). *Modern architecture, 1. Electa*.)

Investments in the housing sector were suspended during the war, forcing many people to live in poor conditions coming from the pre-war period. The *garden city* model has gained an international character and deeply affected governments' urbanization and housing policies in Europe. Nonetheless, "the professional architectural debate was geared towards remedying what was perceived as the unnatural lifestyle of the industrial age, the lack of cohesive neighborhoods, and the uncontrolled development of cities." (Akcan, 2005, p.3). With the economic and political consequences of World War I, the concept of *siedlungen* came to the fore as a solution to the housing shortage of industrial workers in Germany. Victor Aime Huber (1847) introduced the complete urban model "disposed in a ring around the city never more than a quarter-hour distant from the places of work by modern means of transportation" (Tafuri & Dal Co, 1986, p.24-25). Considering the emphasis on the vicinity to the urban core, *siedlungen* was an alternative neighborhood model controlling the overcrowding and unhealthy living conditions through affordable housing production mostly built on the city's outskirts. In order to reintroduce a sense of community, architects identified the *siedlungen* for "the working and middle-class residents to combine their financial resources and escape the destitute living conditions" (Akcan, 2005, p.3). At the same time, local municipalities initiated comprehensive social housing programs with the well-known architects of the period. The municipality's policy of "ousting private entrepreneurs

from the building sector” (Tafuri & Dal Co, 1986, p.153) morphed into an actual method of urban control that demonstrated historical significance in Frankfurt, commissioned to Ernst May in 1925. Following the principles of the *satellite city*, “a large independent unit that combined the advantages of urban life with the country life not detached from the main conurbation” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.131), the city transformed into a critical experimental center for housing and settlement models with innovative solutions it proposed regarding the ideals of rationalism, functionalism, and standardization. The monthly architectural magazine *Das Neue Frankfurt* documented the development process of the city through the modern *siedlungen* aspiring to “the unification of maximum fulfillment of function with minimum form” (Gössel & Leuthäuser, 1991, p.154). In terms of massing and network, the Frankfurt *siedlungen* were both “urbane and neighborly” (Lane, 1986, p.294), offering a new urban lifestyle for modern society. With the dominant typology of linear blocks consisting of multiple flats, May’s office offered an affordable version of the *garden city* model. In the settlements, the primary approach was to overcome the disadvantages of the closed block so that each flat could benefit from fresh air and sunlight (Heynen, 1999).

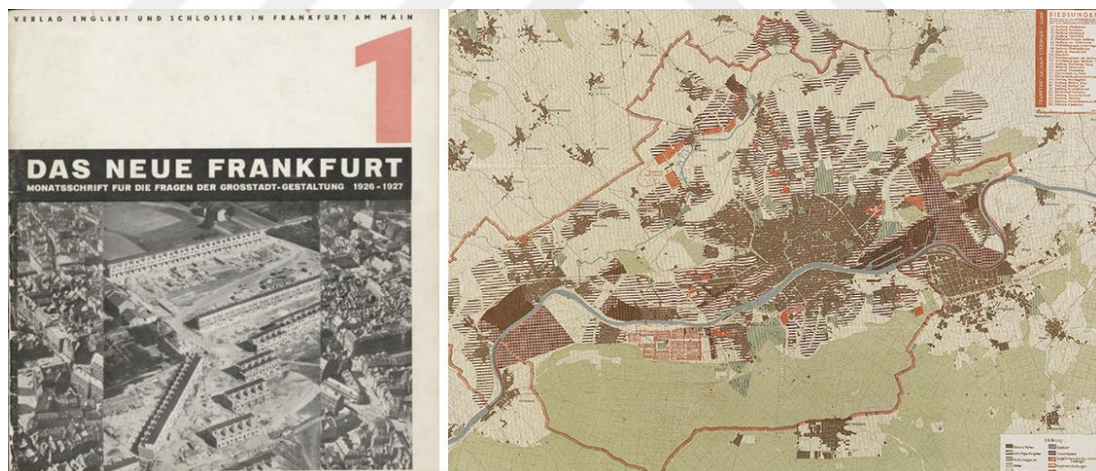


Figure 2.3 *Das Neue Frankfurt*’s first issue dated 1926. Frankfurt city plan with *siedlungen* developed under the program of Ernst May. (Source: *Das Neue Frankfurt*. (1926). <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17292#0001>)

In the 1920s, housing settlements built in Germany followed the *Neue Sachlichkeit* formula (Frampton, 1992). With the functional floor plans, and high-standard equipment, May strived to create an integrated, serene, and orderly city. Owing to his early training with Raymond Unwin in England, “May’s rationalism was tempered by a feeling for tradition” (Frampton, 1992, p.137). May envisaged the creation of

“satellite residential nuclei twenty to thirty kilometers from the city center that was held firmly together by a traffic network and was based on decentralization of the factory nuclei” (Tafuri & Dal Co, 1986, p.155). His first project Bruchfeldstrasse (1927) in Frankfurt, embodies this effort with the zigzag blocks “enclosing an elaborately landscaped communal garden” (Frampton, 1992, p.137). Römerstadt (1925-1930) was “characterized by an exemplary interplay of landscape, verdure, and architecture” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.132) with the synthesis of careful interior gardens and street-oriented planning. Regarding architecture and planning, Römerstadt was an unexpectedly qualified settlement from a social housing program where economic efficiency was at the highest point (Banham, 1967). The organic texture of the settlement that follows the slope of the hill, the visual relationship it establishes with the valley through the viewing terraces, and the interaction of curvilinear and rectangular forms give the settlement a distinctive identity. In the settlement, dominated by low-density row houses, the *garden city* ideal becomes concrete in the dialogue between nature and built form (Henderson, 2010). Despite the economic savings brought about by rationalized construction and minimum ground plans, “the majority of tenants belonged to the middle-class” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.132). Nevertheless, Römerstadt stood out as one of May’s most sophisticated urban planning and mass housing examples. Since *Das Neue Frankfurt* introduced a wide range of architectural terminology regarding the standardization of the housing unit, the program was also on the agenda of modern architecture. As discussed by Muthesius (1914), “...only through standardization can architecture recover that universal significance which was characteristic of it in times of harmonious culture.” (Conrads, 1987, p.28). Along with the vision of modern architecture, the housing problem leaped forward in the scale of construction. May (1929) states that “dwellings are articles made in the mass; to supply them in good quality and cheaply, one must adopt the methods invariably followed by industry when producing goods for mass consumption.” (Mullin, 1977, p.8). In this context, May introduced the concept of *existenzminimum* and formulated minimum space standards for the lifestyle of the emerging new society (Frampton, 1992). Sigfried Giedion (2019) defined “the minimum dwelling as a new form of housing that minimizes space and maximizes living value” (p.11). For this, the minimum dwelling had to be better organized and “based on a scientifically determined minimum existence” (Giedion, 2019, p.12). In harmony with the discussions of modern architecture pioneers, the primary motivation

of *Das Neue Frankfurt* was to redesign modern housing according to the working classes' biological, psychological and social needs. Through rationalized dwelling units, spatial constructs were open to modifications. Especially *Frankfurter Küche* (1926), a “laboratory-like kitchen designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky”, prioritized efficiency, hygiene, and health (Frampton, 1992, p.138; Heynen, 1999). As Lewis Mumford (1937) stated, “*Das Neue Frankfurt* program achieved one of the best results in the type of community design” (p. 486).

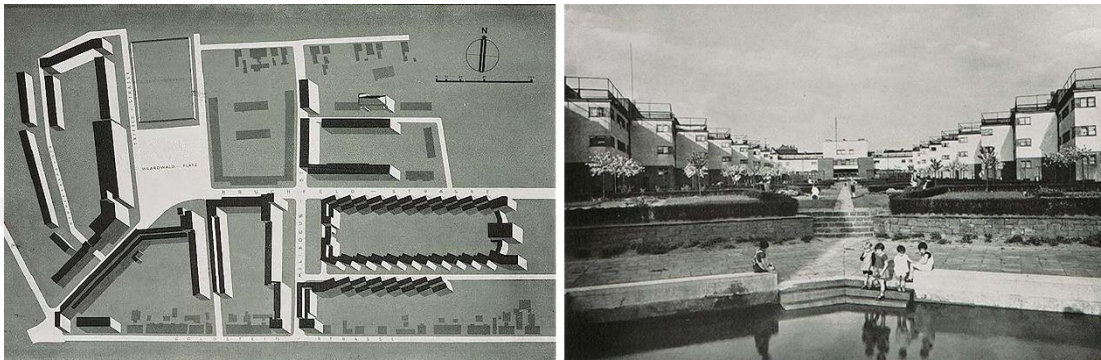


Figure 2.4 Siedlung Bruchfeldstrasse's (1927) master plan and central square. (Source: *Das Neue Frankfurt*. (1926). <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17292#0001>)

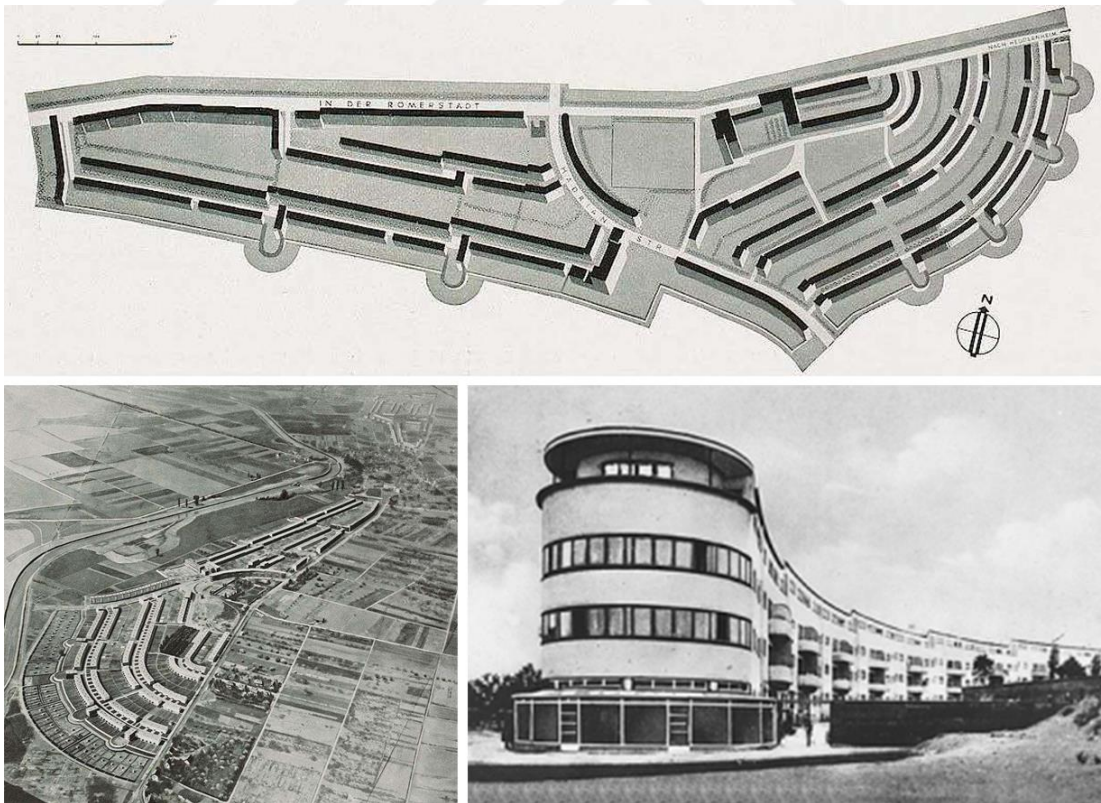


Figure 2.5 Siedlung Römerstadt's (1930) master plan and aerial view. The unusual rounded shape of residential blocks distinguished the settlement. (Source: *Das Neue Frankfurt*. (1926). <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17292#0001>)

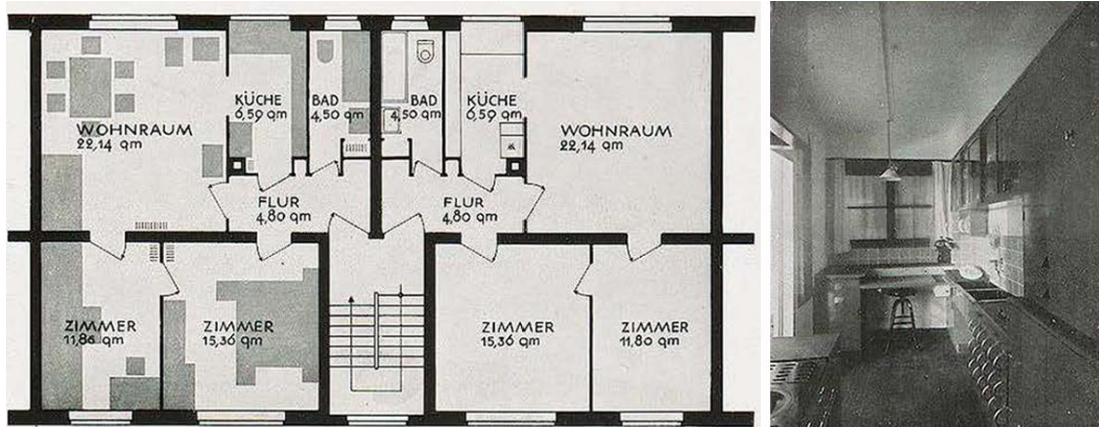


Figure 2.6 Ernst May's rational, functional and standardized dwelling units. Frankfurter Küche was the core of each dwelling type. (Source: Das Neue Frankfurt. (1926). <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17292#0001>)

Germany brought up more radical debates concerning housing settlements during the interwar period. *Deutscher Werkbund* initiated large-scale exhibitions not only to overcome the bias against new housing units but also to introduce different design approaches. On that note, *Siedlung Weissenhof* (1927) was one of the most prominent exhibitions developed “as an experimental *siedlung* to establish the principles of modern mass production building” (Pommer & Otto, 1991, p.56). Under the control of Mies Van der Rohe, a representative group of architects consisting of Oud, Le Corbusier, Gropius, Hilberseimer, Max and Bruno Taut, Poelzig, Stam, Behrens, and Scharoun was selected to produce distinctive dwelling units in Stuttgart (Gössel, 1991). From single-family houses to row houses, Rohe's (1927) apartment building capitalizing on International Style, “illuminated the tendencies of spiritual and material life to provide space for creative powers” (Pommer & Otto, 1991, p.109). The building tested the prefabrication construction system and building materials, developed daylight and ventilation criteria for planning, and provided “functional multiplicity within formal unity” (Pommer & Otto, 1991, p.3). Despite the differences in the designs and practices of the European architects, Weissenhof was the first common experiment area of modernist pioneers portraying that modern architecture had reached a stylistic unity before *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses of Modern Architecture). In 1928, CIAM was established with a meeting held in Switzerland under the leadership of Sigfried Giedion and Le Corbusier. Congress introduced CIAM's objective as responding to “the need for a new conception of architecture which will fulfill the material, sentimental and spiritual demands of present-day life” (Günay, 1988, p.28). The next congress was held in

Frankfurt in 1929, and the discussions focused on the concept of *existenzminimum*. “Under the chairmanship of Ernst May, Europe’s greatest expert in the field of social housing, *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* dealt with minimum standard housing” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.99). At the same time, Lihotzky’s effort to give maximum function to a single housing unit in a minimum area was on the agenda for the whole house. As a result of the studies, various typologies have been proposed for housing that can provide minimum living conditions. While the third congress (1930) addressed the optimum height and block spacing for the most efficient land and material use through the existing plans of Le Corbusier and Gropius, the fourth congress concentrated on *Functional City*, establishing “the four functions of the city: dwelling, recreation, work, and transportation” on the “Charter of Athens as a pure declaration of urbanization problems” (Günay, 1988, p.29). In 1932, International Style defined that “there is now a single body of discipline, fixed enough to integrate contemporary style as a reality and yet elastic enough to permit individual interpretation and to encourage natural growth” (Nuttgens, 1988, p.112).



Figure 2.7 Siedlung Weissenhof (1927) exhibition for *Deutscher Werkbund*. Row houses accompanying Mies van der Rohe’s apartment block. (Source: Pommer, R., & Otto, C. F. (1991). *Weissenhof 1927 and the modern movement in architecture*. University of Chicago Press.)

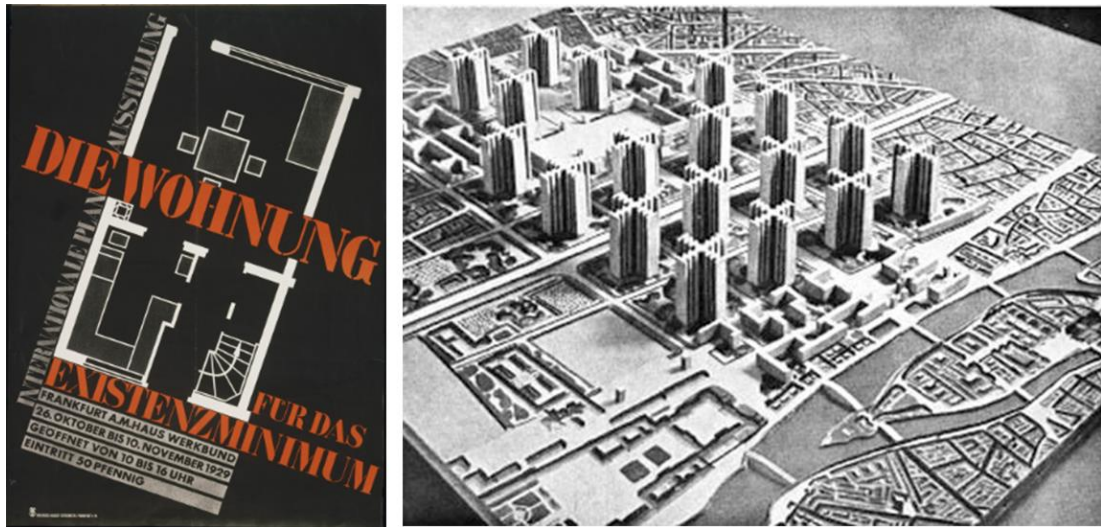


Figure 2.8 The Dwelling for Minimal Existence as the objective of *CIAM II*. (Source: Leistikow, H. (1929). *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*. Druckerei August Osterrieth, Frankfurt A.M.)

Figure 2.9 *Ville Radieuse* promoted in the Charter of Athens in *CIAM IV*. (Source: Le C. (1933). *La ville radieuse*. Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui.)

In the years following his departure from the Bauhaus school, Gropius' involvement with the housing crisis grew. He developed a theoretical interest in housing standards to make a housing block inclusive of all social strata (Frampton, 1992). Gropius (1956) argued that “biological factors should determine the design of the minimum dwelling and minimum space, air, light, and heat should be provided to realize life functions fully” (p.98). In his housing settlement Dammerstock Siedlung (1927-1928) in Karlsruhe, six-story, thin and long blocks were placed in parallel rows to benefit from maximum sunlight and airflow. Nevertheless, this “ruthlessly rational” layout was criticized for having “mechanical repetition that treats the inhabitant as an abstract dweller” (Colquhoun, 2002, p.165-166). “As a residential development at the edge of the city” (Tafuri & Dal Co, 1986, p.128), Dammerstock did not contend with urban problems. Following the array-block layout Gropius practiced at the Dammerstock Siedlung, Siemensstadt (1929-1934) was designed with five-story high white blocks for the workers of Siemens in Berlin. “Flats were to prove a model for housing in a new age” (Nuttgens, 1988, p.113), interconnecting with green areas to benefit from maximum sunlight. In terms of establishment, the Siemensstadt shows that there were attempts by the private sector as well to spread the modernization in Germany.

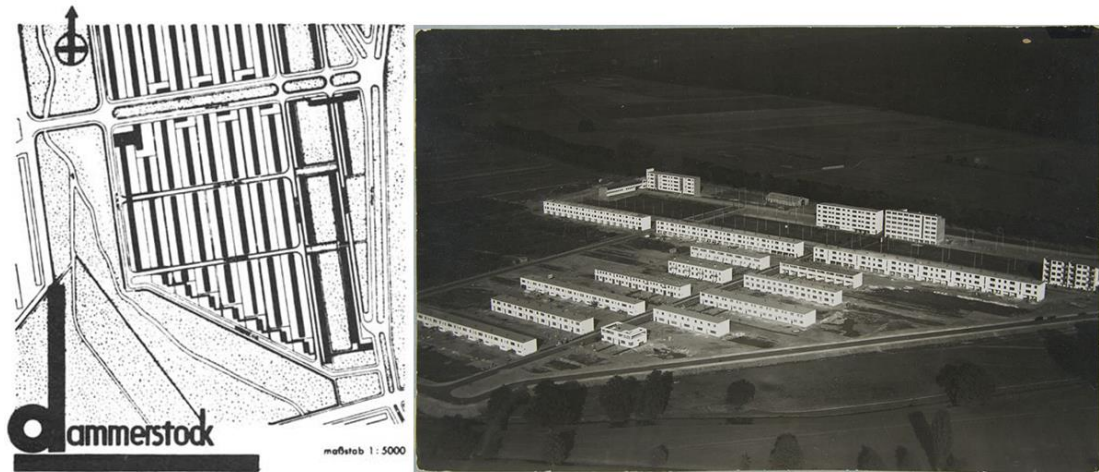


Figure 2.10 Dammerstock Siedlung's master plan and aerial view displaying array blocks. (Source: Tafuri, M., & Dal Co, F. (1986). *Modern architecture, 1*. Electa.; Rowe, P. G. (1995). *Modernity and housing*. MIT Press.)



Figure 2.11 Siemensstadt's aerial view and apartment block. (Source: Sharp, D. (1991). *Twentieth century architecture : a visual history*. Facts on File.)

May (1930) discussed the transformation of housing typology from courtyard blocks to linear blocks corresponding to the needs of modern society in *Das Neue Frankfurt* (p. 34). Since the linear blocks provided hygienic conditions, the demand for rational layouts increased. Thus, settlement density has increased vertically, leaving larger green areas between the blocks. However, as the blocks heightened, people were alienated from undefined green areas. At this point, investigating settlements in Holland expands the argument concerning the qualitative characteristics of linear blocks. According to J.J.P. Oud (1918): “The design of standard types of buildings will bring back the proportions and rhythms of a town which are so lacking in the present-day townscape. The artist-architect must, however, take great care not to

become ruled by his observance of these ideal proportions and types.” (Benton, 1975, p.107). The traces of this statement were evident in his masterwork for Kiefhoek Siedlung (1925-1929) in Rotterdam, consisting of both courtyard and linear blocks. “The uniform typology of rows of duplex houses, with individual gardens for families in highly rationalized cells” (Tafari & Dal Co, 1986, p.168) was underlined with a series of repeating standard units, a continuous wall plane, concentric roof levels, and window bands providing integrity and clarity as an unusual settlement (Rowe, 1993). Spangen Siedlung (1919-1921) was yet another settlement that deviated from the conventional design with the proposal of an elevated street. The balconies and ramps served as an elevated pedestrian path attaching the interior to the exterior.

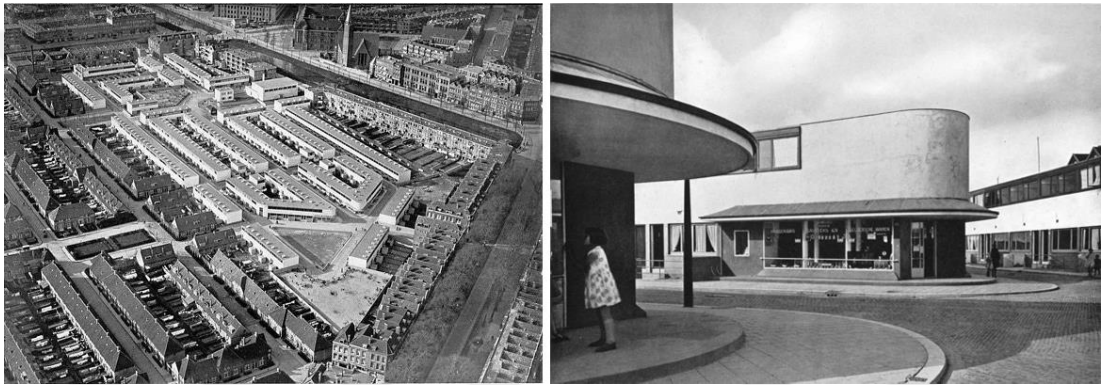


Figure 2.12 Kiefhoek Siedlung’s aerial view and street elevation. (Source: Rowe, P. G. (1995). *Modernity and housing*. MIT Press.)

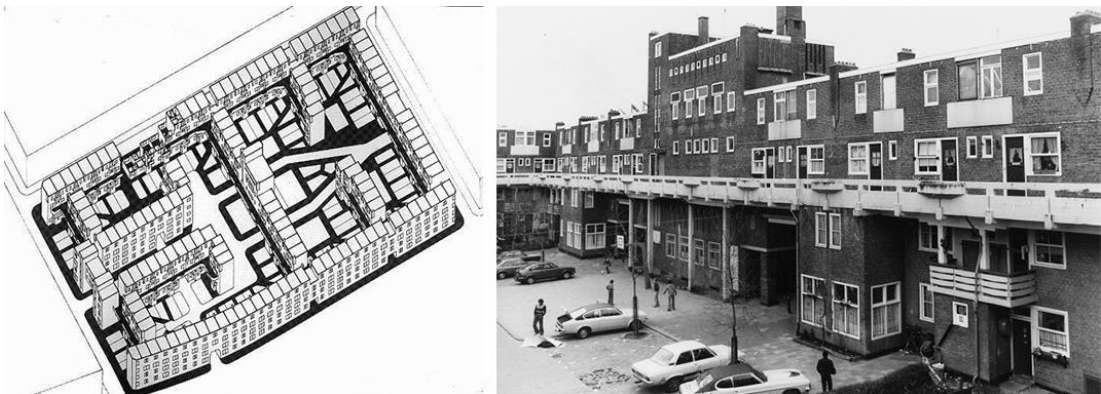


Figure 2.13 Axonometric diagram for Spangen Siedlung. The elevated street attached to units offers a unique circulation layer for residents. (Source: Rowe, P. G. (1995). *Modernity and housing*. MIT Press.)

Consequently, in the interwar period, the most distinctive feature of housing was to meet the demand numerically until the search for space quality gained importance. Legal measures and interventions were taken for healthy housing and hygiene. In line

with the principles of modern architecture, maximum functionality in minimum space operated the mass housing production. The use of rational and standardized architecture began to dominate the architectural agenda.

2.2 Emergence of Mass Housing Phenomenon After The Second World War

After the Second World War, which officially ended in 1945, significant changes and developments occurred in the political geography of Europe. The world witnessed a bipolar political split, shaped as east and west by the dominant powers of the Soviet Union and the United States. While the eastern side took shape by the aid and influence of the Soviet Union, the western side received a sizable share of Marshall aid from the United States due to the Truman Doctrine (Hogan, 1989). When the capital system flourished in the west, creating a welfare society was an important goal. These developments created a threshold period that prepared the economic system called neoliberalism. Following the critical environment of the period, essential publications closely related to the subject of city and architecture put forth in the theoretical field of the 1960s. Paul Ricoeur (1961) questioned the paradox of “how to become modern and return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization...” (Frampton, 1992, p. 314) by developing a critical view toward international architecture. Robert Venturi’s (1966) “Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture” criticized the purism of modern architecture with a “gentle manifesto” (p.16). Published in the same year, “The Architecture of the City” by Aldo Rossi (1966) stated that life in the city is defined by the common memory and should be sustained with it and that the building typology in the city is important. Françoise Choay (1969) proposed new urban models: “One of these models looking to the future and inspired by a vision of social progress we shall call *progressist*. The other, nostalgic in outlook, is inspired by the vision of a cultural community and may therefore be called *culturalist*.” (p. 31). These publications stood out among the many publications of the period by directly or indirectly questioning the approaches of modernity with a critical attitude. This environment led to the emergence of different pursuits in architecture. Therefore, this environment marked a period when architecture did not only seek answers to the questions of existence, hygiene, economy,

and function but also expected to understand architecture beyond these conditions (Curtis, 1987).

Despite the severe housing shortage after the war, the housing problem was no longer evaluated in terms of quantity. “Density, uniformity and lack of identity” (Smithson, 1967, p.24) have become qualitative problems that need to be resolved to ensure spatial and social diversity. Hence, different housing types, such as point blocks, four-five-floor linear blocks, and twin houses, were brought together in the same settlement, offering different spatial structures that gathered mass society from various income groups (Burnett, 1986). In line with these considerations, Churchill Gardens Estate (1951) prioritized the effort to create non-residential communal spaces to provide social needs such as school, laundry, and shopping. The project has developed different types of plans that can accommodate socially and economically different families. In order not to create undefined, tunnel-like spaces between the houses and to spoil the monotonous image, the high-density blocks were dispersed, and the spaces between them were considered communal gardens and playgrounds for children (Dannatt, 1959, p.133). Parallel to these developments, there were changes and transformations in the pioneers of modern architecture, especially in Le Corbusier’s understanding of architecture. While Le Corbusier’s five principles continued to appear in his architecture and the clues of monumentality began to be observed. In post-war France, Le Corbusier’s Unite d’Habitation (1946-1952) envisaged a city within the building. “The concept was that the structure should be large enough to incorporate the communal services required to support the daily lives of its inhabitants” (Colquhoun, 2002, p.211). Each interlocking duplex dwelling unit was self-contained, and spaces that composed the city’s daily life, such as a playground, theater, and bazaar, were located inside the block by giving a hint to the façade. Thus, the functions distributed in the previous example were concentrated in the single housing block of Unite d’Habitation. A large concrete mold with concave surfaces framed the monumental presence of the structure. The entrance of the building was exposed concrete, and only the balconies and window niches were painted in different colors. According to Le Corbusier (1929), Unite d’Habitation was the peak of his “concept of modern middle-class housing” (Colquhoun, 2002, p.211).

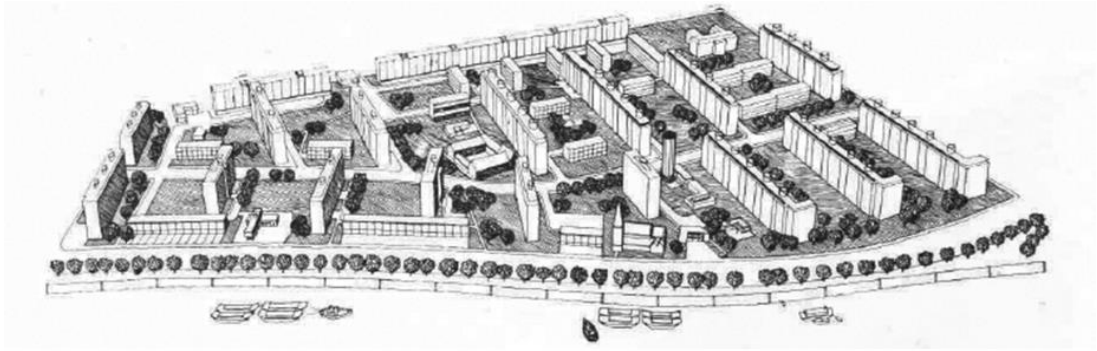


Figure 2.14 Axonometric diagram for Churchill Gardens Estate. High-rise blocks enclosed the playground for children. (Source: Dannatt, T. (1959). *Modern Architecture in Britain: Selected Examples of Recent Building*. Batsford.)

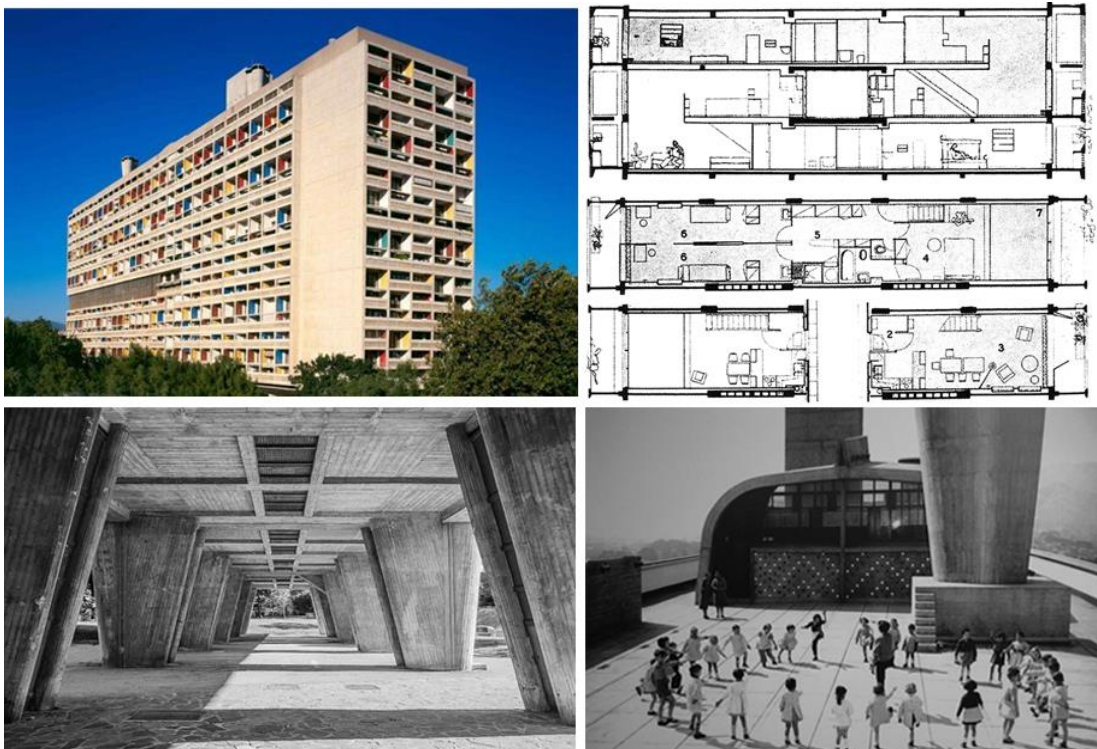


Figure 2.15 Unite d'Habitation's housing block, floor plans, *pilotis* and roof garden. (Source: Kozlowski, P. (1997). *Unité d'Habitation, Marseille*.)

Discussions about modern architecture and representation included the concept of monumentality. Sigfried Giedion and Josep Lluís Sert (1943) joined to discussion with an essay “The Need for a New Monumentality”, manifesting the necessity of civic centers representing the community (Colquhoun, 2002). “Challenging the orthodoxies of the rationalist tradition” (Colquhoun, 2002, p.212), Louis Kahn engaged “New Monumentality” as a vital component of his architecture under the influence of Giedion and Sert. Kahn developed an understanding of architecture that gave importance to the senses as well as the mind. His reinterpretation of the program also revealed his stance against functionalism. These dates show that the periods when “the function dictated the form are over, that architecture does not seek answers to the problems of *existenzminimum*, hygiene, economy, and function, and that a search for an architecture beyond these is expected” (Mumford, 2001, p.103). As a reflection, in the CIAM congresses that lasted until 1959, different opinions among the members began to come to the fore. When the reaction to the CIAM movement was formed, young architects began to oppose the innovative philosophy of the masters. Giancarlo de Carlo from Italy, Peter and Allison Smithson from England, Jaap Bakema from the Netherlands, and many others formed the young generation of modern architecture known as Team 10 (Risselada & Heuvel, 2005). Together with Team 10, which nurtures architectural understandings that are similar in general but differing in particular, a period of divergent pursuits in architecture has opened. At the heart of this group’s thinking were the concepts of association of people and identification with the environment. Rejecting the academic and rigid principles of CIAM, the Golden Lane (1952) proposal of The Smithsons criticized the four functions of Le Corbusier and “opposed these functions with the more phenomenological categories of house, street, district and city.” (Frampton, 1992, p.272). The Smithsons objected to the fragmented development, emphasized that the city’s functions should be together, and defended the necessity of holistic urban development. Following Le Corbusier, The Smithsons “adopted the architecture of New Brutalism that marks the use of *beton brut* in the exterior” (Lampugnani, 1985, p.117). The concept of Golden Lane was put into practice with Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith’s Park Hill Estate (1957-1960) scheme (Frampton, 1992). The settlement, built by the local authority, was designed as a satellite city to create new housing areas for people living in war-damaged houses and reduce the urban population density. Robin Hood Gardens (1966-1972), which has a similar character to this settlement, was realized by The Smithsons with an “urban life

setup that emphasizes the importance and priority of pedestrian circulation” (Curtis, 1987, p.204). Exterior halls for residents and the use of topography for the large common green area are the most critical features of this mega-structure.



Figure 2.16 Similar characteristics of Golden Lane (Left) and Park Hill Estate (Right). (Source: Smithson, A. (1968). *Team 10 primer*. Cambridge: MIT Press.; Banham R. (1966). *The new brutalism : ethic or aesthetic*. Architectural Press.)

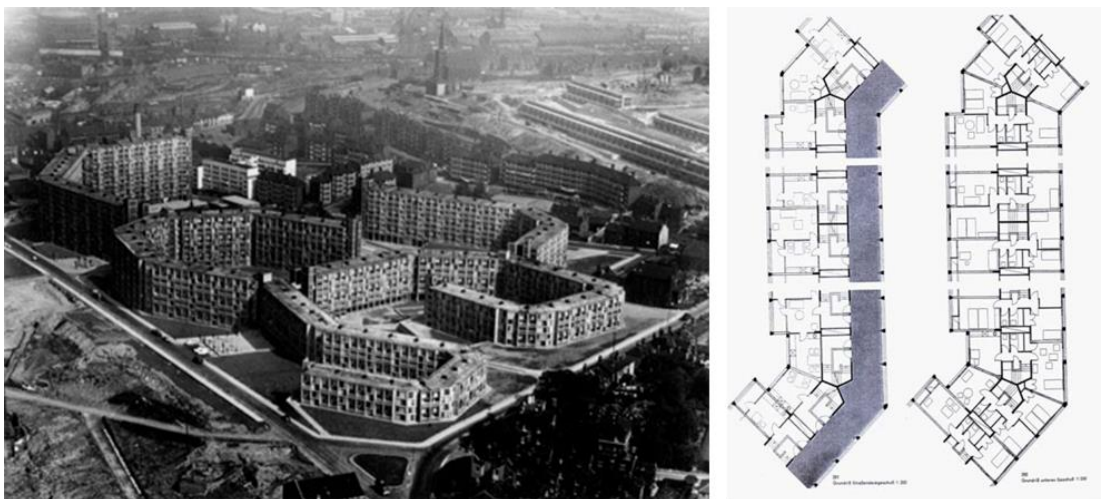


Figure 2.17 Aerial view and drawings of Park Hill Estate. (Source: Banham R. (1966). *The new brutalism : ethic or aesthetic*. Architectural Press.)

Team 10 continued to make significant contributions to the field of architecture with the discussion of the internationality of the modern. In fact, the discussions that started with the sensitivities of Giancarlo de Carlo and Alvar Aalto regarding region, place and culture made concepts such as climate and tradition stand out against the discourse of internationality and created conceptual and formal results in architecture. As Frampton (1992) delivered, “Critical Regionalism tends to flourish in those cultural interstices which in one way or another are able to escape the optimizing thrust of universal civilization.” (p.327). In traditional settlements, all indoor and outdoor spaces are shaped by importance, scale and dimension, reflecting the social order. This order mainly occurs at the community, neighborhood, family and individual scales. In vernacular architecture, “the house exhibits a form that integrates with the street it is located in and the functional attitude in its interior arrangement” (Nuttgens, 1988, p.40). The fact that the houses are shaped in almost the same language along a street gives the street visual integrity. Each house has different meanings and values within the same grammatical rules. In addition, housing is not just a functional unit that provides shelter. It is a micro-environment that reflects the family’s entire value system, lifestyle, and traditions, which form the core of society.

Despite the need for rapid construction after the Second World War, the housing problem was viewed as qualitative rather than quantitative, unlike before the First World War. The mixed development model, consisting of distinctive typologies, also emerged and started to be implemented in this period. “One of the most distinctive features of the period is the increase in the height of the residential blocks” (Tafari & Dal Co, 1986, p.156). The settlements, which gained density horizontally before the First World War, started to gain vertical density after the Second World War. In this case, more spaces were left between the blocks, and green areas were only visually associated with the residences. As a result, the most distinctive feature of housing and residential areas in the post-World War II period was that they were self-sufficient and suitable for the social needs of people.

CHAPTER 3

PROSPECTS, POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF MASS HOUSING IN TURKEY

Investigating the chronic housing problem, the chapter focuses on principles, methods, and measures included in the housing policies to illustrate the formation of mass housing practices in Turkey. Another factor to consider is that the housing problem is an inherent problem of capitalism. Because the market economy “leaves the housing to oscillate the supply and demand balance” (Keleş, 1990, p.274), not only does it cause those with insufficient ability to pay to tend to houses that are not qualified, but also “impose economic function on the housing at the moment of capital accumulation” (Keleş, 1990, p.276). Naturally, the state’s role in determining housing policies as well as providing affordable land and housing loans are crucial tasks. However, how these tasks have been carried out depends on “the relative strength of the social forces that shape the state machinery” (Gilbert & Ward, 1985, p.53). In order to address the method of housing production, this review introduces the actors authorized to determine and implement the housing policy in Turkey (Tekeli, 1984). While making a periodization in terms of housing, the connection between the urbanization process and the housing problem should not be ignored. In this context, the development course of urbanization, prospects, policies, and practices will be examined in three periods: 1923-1945, which includes the establishment of the nation and the state, 1945-1960, which is characterized by the migration of labor force to the city and 1960-1980, which is reformed with development plans after the military intervention.

3.1 1923-1945: Housing Problem of Civil Servants

After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the relocation of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara led to an unexpected increase in the city's population (Keleş, 1990; Yavuz, 1952). Being the center of political administration, Ankara was seen as a step toward creating an exemplary prototype for modern Turkey (Tekeli & İlkin, 1983). In order to reflect the ideology of the newly established young Republic, critical transformations were made in the fields of politics, law, education, and culture until the end of the 1930s (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973). The size of the stagnant urban population was not a compelling factor for developing a housing policy because the etatism of the period allocated limited resources to industrialization (Şengül, 2009). Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention a few notable developments in this process. The immigrant regions exposed to the exchange responded to the housing problem with “economic houses built out of cheap materials such as mud, adobe, and thatch” (Çoban, 2012, p.79).² Immigrants composed distinctive neighborhood patterns with these dwelling units across the country (Cengizkan, 2004b). However, the government was more interested in the housing needs of civil servants, “whose number increased with the development of the institutional organization of the new state” (Yavuz, 1952, p.30). In 1925, a law allowed civil servants to be given “an advance of half their salaries to establish housing cooperatives” (Keleş, 1990, p.331). Four years later, housing compensation for civil servants was initiated to overcome the increasing housing shortage in the capital (Yavuz, 1952). In 1944, a law authorized building civil servants' residences where needed, “but the priority was given to Ankara” (Çoban, 2012, p.80). In this context, it can be said that housing was not considered a social problem throughout the country; individuals attempted to meet their housing needs on their own while the government directed the housing policy toward the housing problem of the civil servants moving into the capital.

At this point, elaborating on the comprehensive housing policies for Ankara will unveil the actors involved in the housing problem of this period. While the administrators of the Republic shifted to Ankara, they wanted to create “the life patterns of the national

² Although the name differed according to regions, these two-room residences under one roof generally called ‘iktisadi haneler’ were built by immigrants, with the financial resources of the state. For more information, see; Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri* (1. baskı.). Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi.

bourgeoisie in this city” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.10). The fields and vacant lands near the old town started to be bought by the newcomers from the locals. As a result, the area with the highest land value increase was the old Ankara. Since zoning operations to establish a modern city where land values increased would be very expensive, the government wanted to set the modern neighborhood in an area disconnected from the old town (Keleş, 1990; Tekeli & İlkin, 1984). Regarding this issue, one of the most critical decisions was to “expropriate the 400-hectare site where the new city would be built” (Keleş & Payne, 1984; Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.14). This first neighborhood was called Yenışehir -a new settlement area that comprehends today’s Sıhhiye, Kızılay, and Maltepe. In 1927, Christopher Lörcher prepared the first city plan in which “individual buildings were envisaged to be located on large parcels of 150-hectare in Yenışehir” (Yavuz, 1952; Cengizkan, 2004a, p.57). When the plan became insufficient over time, two critical developments emerged. The first of these was the “establishment of the Ankara Reconstruction Directorate in 1928” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.21), and the second was to “put the plan of Ankara into an international competition” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.23). With these two interconnected initiatives, Ankara’s zoning problem has ceased to be municipal and has become a cabinet problem. For this purpose, a limited competition was opened by Ankara Reconstruction Directorate to choose the master plan that would be implemented: “Hermann Jansen, who won the Berlin city planning competition, Leon Jausseley, the head architect of the French government, and J. Brix, Professor of the Berlin Graduate School of Engineering, were invited to the competition” (Cengizkan, 2004a, p.104). As a result of the competition, the development plan proposed by Hermann Jansen was approved and put into practice in 1932 (Cengizkan, 2004a). Despite the plan’s existence and the unit responsible for zoning works, land speculation was not prevented in Ankara, “continuing as a part of government policy to create a primitive capital accumulation towards forming a bourgeois section of the Republic” (Çınar, 2004, p. 208).

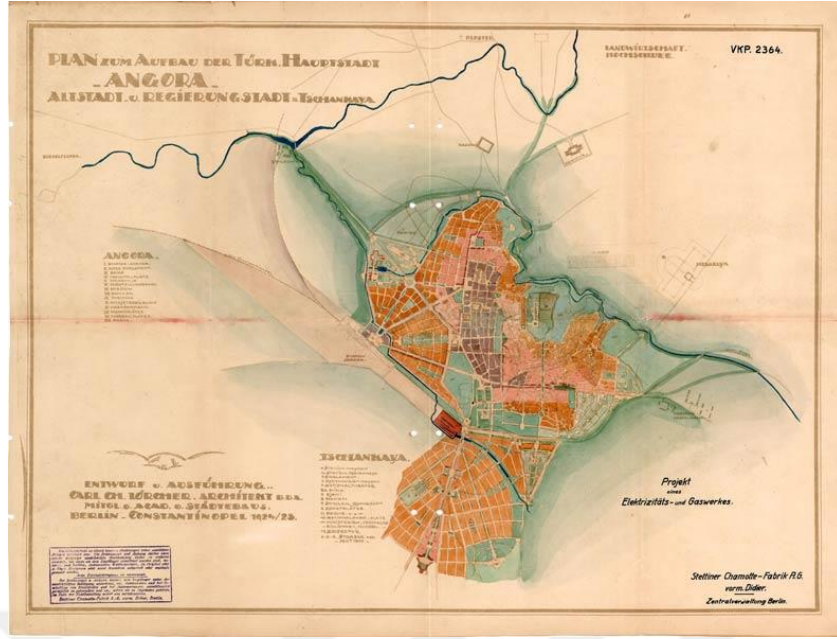


Figure 3.1 Lörcher Plan. (Source: *Ankara'nın ilk planı : 1924-25 Lörcher planı: kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları.* Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı.)

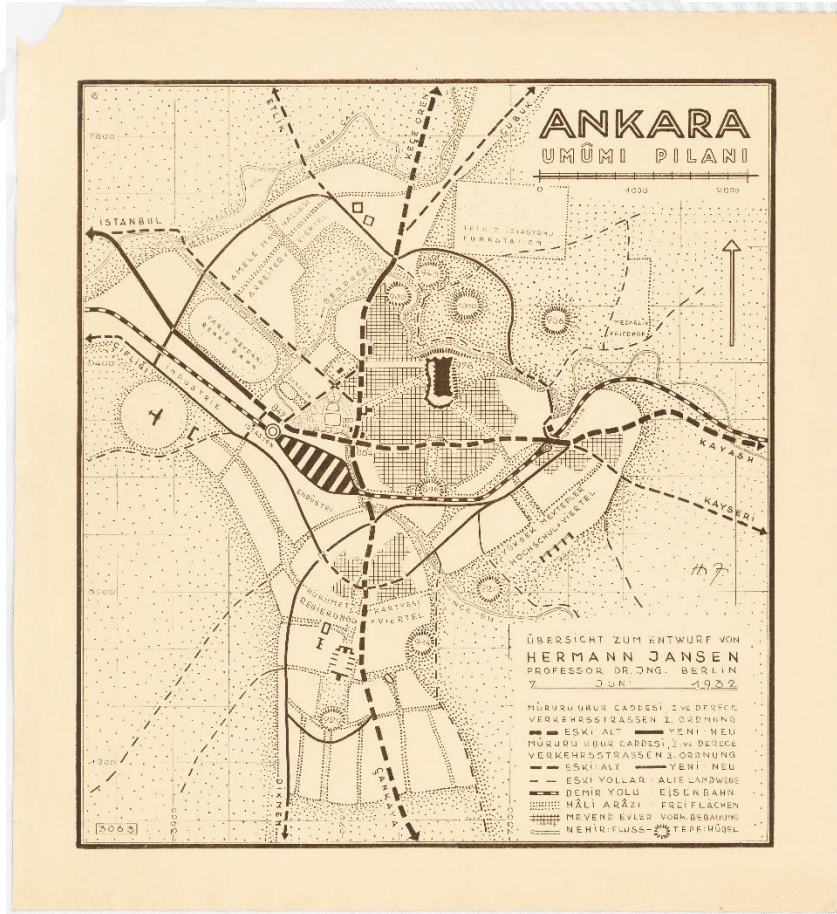


Figure 3.2 Jansen Plan. (Source: Jansen, H. (1932). Museum of the Technical University of Berlin.)

During this period, the government did not deal with the housing problem outside of Ankara, and the municipalities did not directly play a role in housing production (Keleş, 1990). Legally, it was among the municipality's duties to build municipal housing and sell or rent them to the needy. "Although this was an optional task, cities that had not fulfilled their mandatory duties did not allocate funds for the task of constructing optional housing" (Tekeli, 1982, p.195). In practice, the municipalities played a role in "regulating the land market, in the purchase, expropriation, and transfer of the land" (Keleş, 1990, p.346) rather than producing houses directly. Due to the rapid increase in the values of the lands in the areas with a zoning plan in Ankara, civil servants did not have the opportunity to build houses on a single parcel: "Since the condominium has not yet developed as an institution in this period, Ankara's powerful bureaucrats have overcome this obstacle by forming cooperatives" (Koç, 1986; Tekeli, 1982, p.182). In 1934, the first housing cooperative experiment of the Republican period reflecting the *garden city* concept, Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi (1934-1938), was introduced to the upper and middle echelons of the bureaucracy (Tekeli, 1982). Therefore, in Turkey, the establishment of cooperatives arose on a very different social basis from the European examples. Since it was only possible for the cooperative to implement the project if the financing was provided, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası (1926) created the necessary political environment to support such an initiative, offering "long-term, low-interest housing loans to civil servants" (Keleş, 1990, p.236). However, various reasons prevented the bank from fulfilling its duties properly. Foremost among these was that most houses built using bank loans remained luxurious, contrary to the purpose of "building cheap housing" in the founding law (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973). In fact, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi (1944-1946), which was controversial in terms of cost, was built as public property but rented out to high-level bureaucrats.

3.2 1945-1960: Housing Problem of Workers

With the end of the Second World War, a severe increase in "the rate of urbanization and the proliferation of slums" (Alexander, 1960, p.352) was observed in big cities. The effects of the war economy and the profiteering of the war years, which fed the industrial bourgeoisie, were alleviated. However, mechanization in agriculture became

widespread with the economic aid provided by the United States between 1948-1951, depending on the Marshall Plan (Hogan, 1989).³ Within the framework of this program, the laborers began to break away from the countryside, considering the improvement in the wages of civil servants. For these reasons, “the urbanization of labor” distinguished this period (Şengül, 2009). The strengthening of the labor movement, the transition from a single party to a multi-party regime, and the establishment of a ministry responsible for housing, city, and regional planning, shifted the priority from housing problems in the capital to major cities. In this environment, low-income groups, who migrated to the cities without a regular job, initially built “houses which land in the night” (Danielson & Keleş, 1985, p.157) on the treasury land, referring to *gecekondu* as the state left the housing problem to individual construction.⁴ Since the terrain selection and dwelling construction started simultaneously in *gecekondu* without legal frameworks, “the minimum housing program was built in a short time” (Keleş, 1983, p.93). The dwelling unit was often demolished and rebuilt, leading to an erroneous production process (Keleş, 1983). As a reaction, the market mechanism also started to operate in the shanty districts, “attaining a semi-organized character in which various groups operated the housing production” (Tekeli, 1982, p.203). After the slums in a region accumulated to a size that would form a particular pressure group, the local governments started to meet the infrastructure needs at a low level. Two successive laws enacted in 1948 contained provisions that enabled assistance to deal with the housing problem. The first was to “provide legal status for the slums within the municipality’s boundaries” (Keleş, 1990, p.333). The law introduced the rule of “rehabilitating the suitable slums” (Keleş, 1990, p.334). Within the laws stipulated, the treasury land occupied by the slums was transferred to the municipality. By this means, the municipality allocated the cheaply produced lands to the slum owners or those who wanted to build a house. With the

³ As a result of the United States' directing Turkey towards agriculture, the planned breakthrough in the industry was not realized. For detailed information about the housing problem of workers during the application of the Marshall Plan in Turkey, see; Karataş Başoğlu, S. (2015). *Building Marshall Plan in Turkey: the formation of workers' housing question, 1946-1962* [M.Arch. - Master of Architecture]. Middle East Technical University.

⁴ In the early days of squatting, even if a house was built without permission, a long process of the court decision was required for demolition. Therefore, the people who settled in the treasury land built quickly at night in order not to encounter the obstacles of the police. In the morning, it was impossible for the police to demolish the house immediately. This process gave the name to the concept of *gecekondu*. For more information regarding *gecekondu*, see; Keleş, R. (1983). *100 Soruda Türkiye’de Kentleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu* (Genişletilmiş.3.baskı.). Gerçek Yayınevi.

second law, the sector's duty to produce land for housing has been expanded to "cover all treasury lands within the municipality's borders, whether they are slums or not" (Keleş, 1990, p.335). In addition, it was possible to allocate the produced lands to cooperatives and individuals. Therefore, "the people continued to improvise their own solutions where the government could not respond" (Sey, 2005, p.170), even with *gecekondu* settlements.

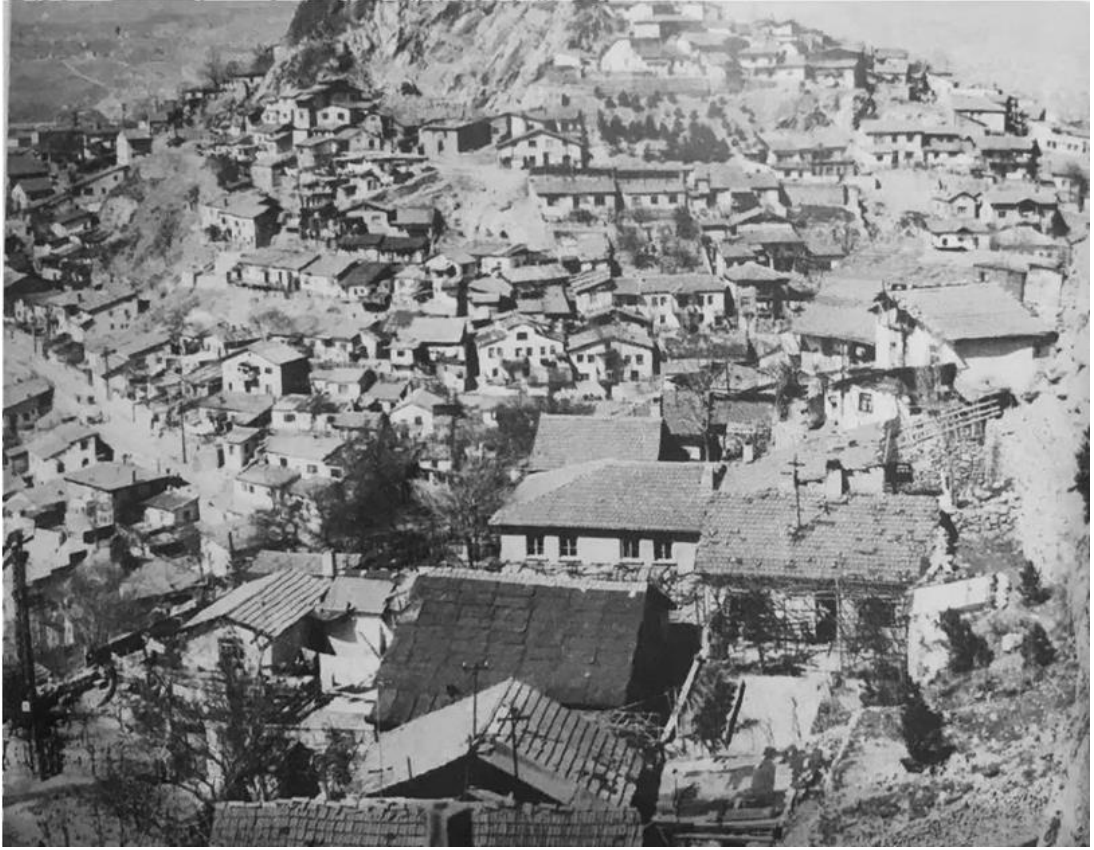


Figure 3.3 *Gecekondu* settlements in the hills and ravines of Ankara. (Source: Danielson, M. N., & Keleş, R. (1985). *The politics of rapid urbanization : government and growth in modern Turkey*. Holmes & Meier.)

The interest in the workers' accommodation conditions increased on the agenda of the Ministry of Labor (1945). "During the 1950s, the ruling Democratic Party's strong support of the private sector helped fuel a boom in apartment-house building, but directed very few resources into lower-cost housing." (Danielson & Keleş, 1985, p.158). However, according to Sülker (1975), "*Her İşçiye Bir Çatı*" propaganda of the Democratic Party for the 1954 elections became the core strategy illustrating the

response to the demands of the workers for housing (Koçak, 2008, p.105).⁵ In fact, Çalışma Vekaleti (Ministry of Labour) (1957) delivered the administration's enthusiasm for the welfare of workers: "The Democratic Party has considered its duty to ensure that Turkish workers spend a hygienic future-oriented life, earn superior income and have professional knowledge that will provide high efficiency."⁶ In order to meet the citizens' housing needs, the Ministry of Development and Housing (1958) operated the legal aspirations and priorities determined by the state (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973). According to an article of the law, this ministry had the authority and duty to "determine and implement the principles of housing policy suitable for the country's structure" (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973, p.595).⁷ Among the duties of the ministry were to "provide homeless citizens accommodation with moderate rents, encourage the construction of mass housing, ensure the mass housing initiatives of municipalities and determine allocation conditions for housing loans given by credit institutions" (Keleş, 1990, p.348). In parallel with these developments, various social security institutions prioritized workers' housing loans. İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu (1946) gave housing loans only to the members of worker's housing cooperatives. The institution supported the construction with low-interest and long-term loans through Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank to provide better technical and financial control (Arıbaş & Tokman, 1985). Although the institution transformed into Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (1965) with the primary role of social security issuing loans directly, the success in housing production was limited because the housing problem was seen as an additional assignment. Including the workers' housing cooperatives of Etibank and Sümerbank, "Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu provided 71825 dwelling units, considering 1.5 million workers in this period" (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973, p.613).⁸ Most of the time, the loans were not enough to complete the buildings, disproportionate differences arose between the incomes and the costs, and as a result, the workers had to rent or sell

⁵ The quotation is retrieved from: Koçak, H. (2008). *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumunun Sessiz Yılları: 1950'ler* (p.105). Toplum ve Bilim 113.

⁶ The original quotation: "Demokrat Parti iktidarı Türk işçisinin temiz, sıhhi ve istikbale emniyetle bakan bir hayat sürmesini, üstün kazançlar elde etmesini, yüksek verim sağlayacak mesleki bilgilere sahip olmasını temin etmeyi kendisi için vazife bilmiştir." Quoted in: Çalışma Vekaleti. (1957). Preface. *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

⁷ The original quotation: "Memleketin bünyesine uygun konut politikası esaslarını tespit etmek ve tatbikini sağlamak yetki ve görevi bu bakanlığındır" Quoted in: Yavuz, F., Keleş, R., & Geray, C. (1973). *Şehircilik: sorunlar, uygulama ve politik*. Ankara Üniversitesi.

⁸ The original quotation: "Memleketin bünyesine uygun konut politikası esaslarını tespit etmek ve tatbikini sağlamak yetki ve görevi bu bakanlığındır" Quoted in: Yavuz, F., Keleş, R., & Geray, C. (1973). *Şehircilik: sorunlar, uygulama ve politik*. Ankara Üniversitesi.

the houses. In terms of quality, successful results have not been achieved when considering “the proper establishment of their connections with the city development plans and the benefits they provide in terms of strengthening social solidarity” (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973, p.614).



Figure 3.4 The propaganda poster of the Democratic Party in the general elections of 1954. (Source: Milli Kütüphane Microfilm Archive.)

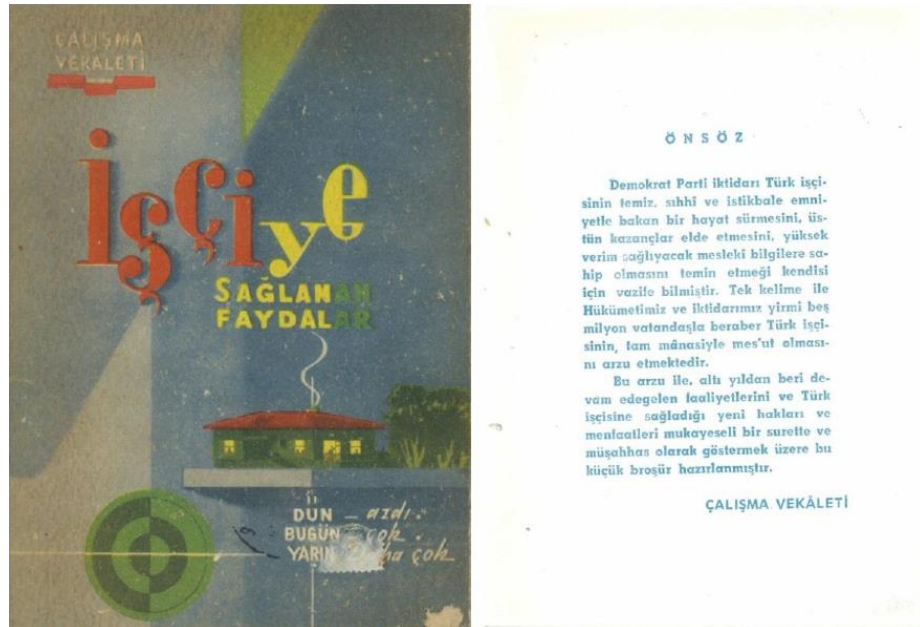


Figure 3.5 The cover and preface of the booklet prepared by Çalışma Vekaleti for propagating the Democratic Party's efforts for the welfare of workers. (Source: Çalışma Vekaleti Yayınları. (1957). *İşçiyeye Sağlanan Faydalar*. Ankara.)

In 1946, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası's duties expanded with increased capital, and the institution continued as Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank (Keleş, 1990). The bank's main task was to "build cheap housing for non-residents, give housing loans for mortgages and deal with the construction equipment industry and trading" (Keleş, 1990, p.295). Similar to the previous period, the houses loaned by the bank were not cheap houses for the low-income, but large and expensive houses. The first attempt of the institution in the early 1950s, Levend Settlement (1947-1951), was established with sub-centers with the inspiration of the *garden city* model in İstanbul. The Fourth Levend Settlement (1956-1960), the first example of a settlement consisting of multi-story blocks, was an attempt to increase the life quality with social facilities. Ataköy Settlement (1957), whose construction process was graded, was the most comprehensive of the settlements produced by the state. Linear and point blocks were used together to seek typological diversity, reflecting the typical post-war architectural understanding. Nevertheless, supporting large, expensive, luxurious housing has alienated the bank's founding purpose (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973).

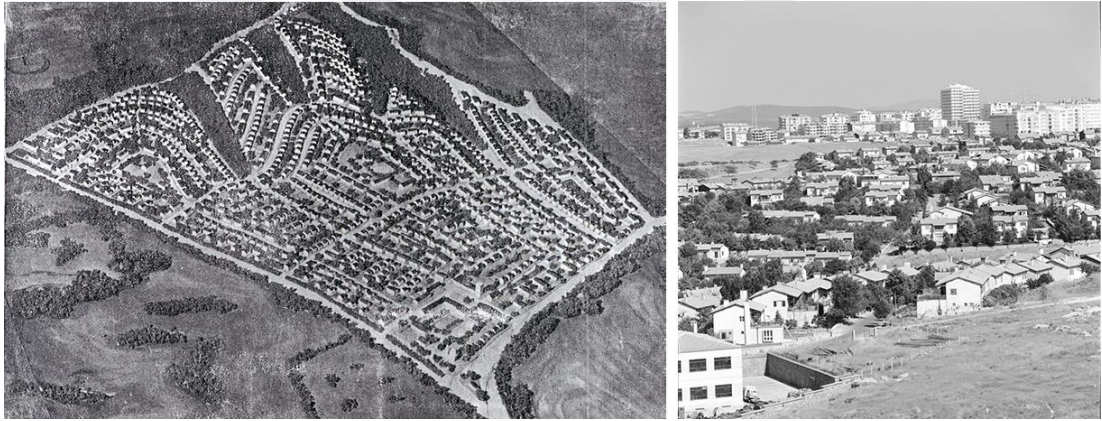


Figure 3.6 Levend Settlement. (Source: Türkiye Kredi Ve Emlak Bankası. (1956). *Levend Neighborhood: Brochure*. Salt Research.)

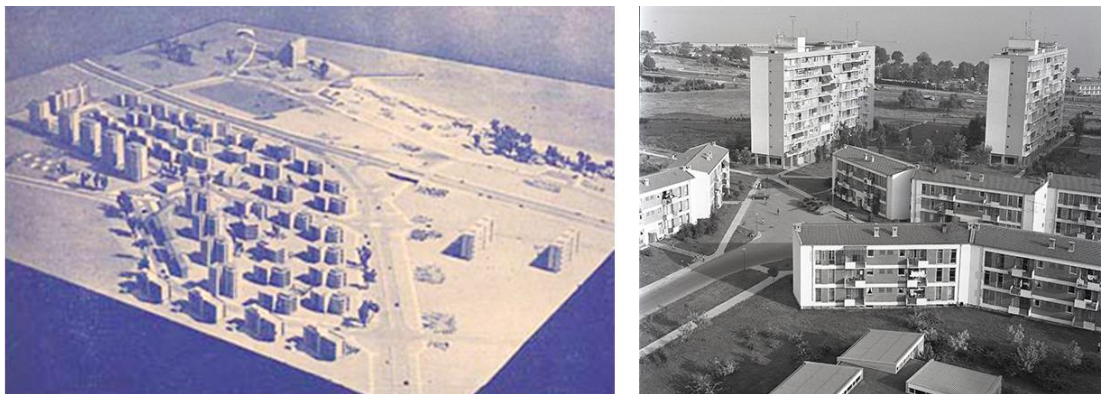


Figure 3.7 Ataköy Settlement. (Source: Türkiye Kredi Ve Emlak Bankası. (1960). *Atakent Neighborhood: Brochure*. Salt Research.)

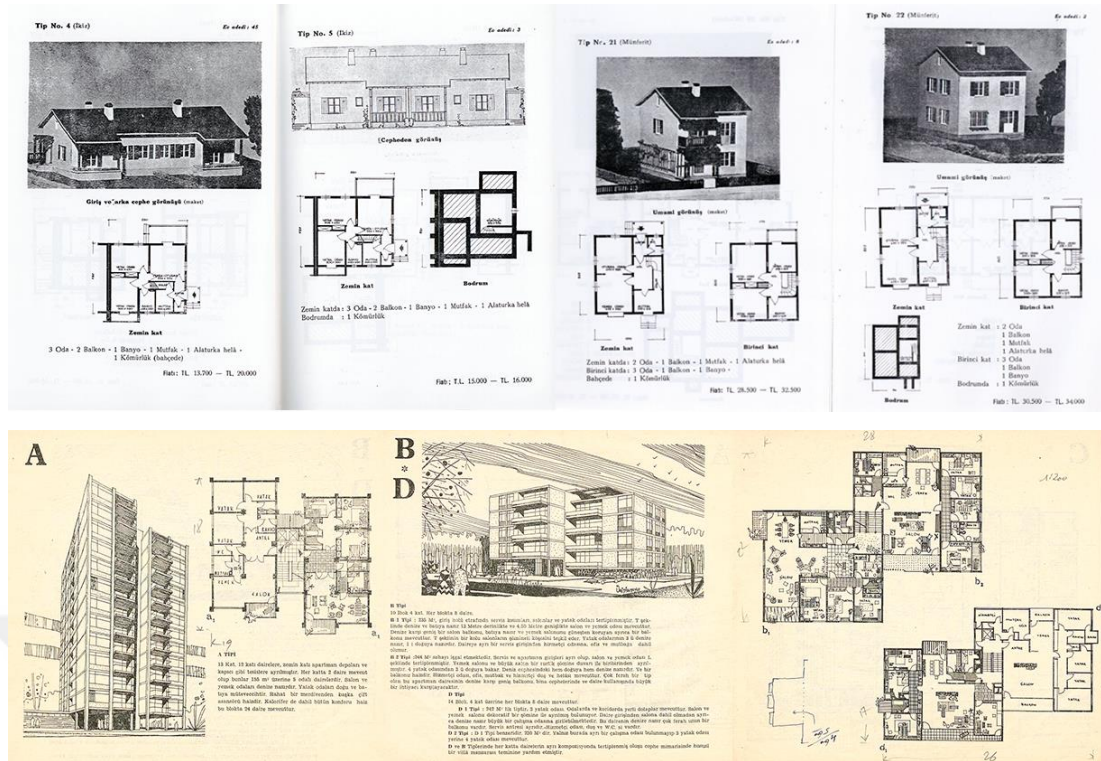


Figure 3.8 Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank’s booklets promoting the various types in Levend and Ataköy Settlements. (Source: Türkiye Kredi Ve Emlak Bankası. (1960). Salt Research.)

In these years, as the housing problem increased its impact, new actors entered the housing market following the enacted laws to prevent the production of *gecekondu* (Keleş, 1990). After gaining the zoning rights, the *gecekondu* areas turned into *yap-satçı* areas. The first breaking point in this transformation was the potency of the Democratic Party in 1950 by taking the majority of votes from the slums (Şenyapılı, 1998). Until the mid-1950s, the rule of building a single house on a single plot made it difficult for the entrepreneur to enter the housing market. “In 1954, with an arrangement made in the Title Deed Law, the right of the easement was established to benefit from a floor or flat of a building on a real estate” (Çoban, 2012, p.85). Therefore, the phenomenon of *yap-satçı*, a housing entrepreneur emerged “who sells the built houses on the land acquired in return for a flat” (Tekeli, 1982, p.187). From the provision of the land to the realization of the building, all operations were controlled by *yap-satçı*. Hence, there were significant deficiencies in the infrastructure and social service equipment of the buildings produced, as it was a priority to obtain high profits from this activity as soon as possible (Tekeli, 1982). These brought along problems related to the qualitative aspects of housing because “housing production at

the parcel scale paved the way for individual initiatives instead of holistic planning” (Tekeli, 1982, p.190). It should also be kept in mind that the relations with the local government were less frictional since they were established through *yap-satçı*. Since a small number of houses with high costs were built and promoted to high-income groups, “*yap-satçı* production did not offer an option for the housing problem” (Tekeli, 1982, p.190).

3.3 1960-1980: Housing in Development Plans

“Defined by the military coup of 27 May 1960”, the unsteady social and political agenda of the period led to the failure of the housing policy (Batuman, 2006, p.60). The military forces, which ended the dominance of the Democratic Party, started to form various democratic units paving the way for suppressed feelings and ideas. The division processes of political parties also arose spontaneously. On the one hand, nationalist fronts formed; on the other hand, populist groups emerged. Due to the creation of new formations by social democracy, political dilemmas and ideological conflicts have emerged (Ergül, 2000). The government expressed measures such as not interfering with politics in internal affairs to eliminate partisanship among the citizens, ensuring equality and security. At the same time, the concepts of democracy and freedom helped capitalism and imperialism progress in multi-party Turkey, where economic policies began to warn citizens against consumption culture (Dağlı & Aktürk, 1988). Another significant development in this period was the 1961 Constitution reforming the executive and judicial procedures by removing any undemocratic expression from the character of the government (Danielson & Keleş, 1985).

During this period, the class struggle intensified, and the labor movement strengthened, bringing its demands for social-political agenda. The housing problem faced by the low-income people, which could not be resolved with various laws and financial systems, was the subject of a constitutional arrangement for the first time with the 1961 Constitution. The Constitution continued the traditional understanding with a great attempt to “take measures to meet the housing needs of the poor and of low-income families in accordance with their health requirements.” (Danielson &

Keleş, 1985, p.157).⁹ However, authorities sought ways to increase the number of units produced without allocating a more significant share of the national income to the housing sector. Assisting the government in economic and social development issues, the establishment of Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (1960) allocated a vital place to evaluate housing problems objectively considering the planned economic model (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012; Tekeli, 2005). Since then, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı introduced national urbanization and industrialization principles with Five-Year Development Plans (Tekeli, 2005).

A new dimension of the housing problem emerged and became the subject of discussion in The First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967). Planning efforts generally aimed at the country's rapid development, and for this, the plan wanted to direct all resources to productive sectors. However, since the investments in housing did not directly increase production, they played a regressive role in development. As delivered by Ergüden (1982), "The First Five-Year Development Plan advanced the principle that the housing sector should not be a profit-making field, but instead, housing investments should be accepted as a social service." (p.4)¹⁰. As a result of this contradiction, rationalizing housing investments without changing the investment amount entered the plan. In order to achieve this, Social Housing Standards have been prepared and published (Keleş, 1990). Housing investments shifted to social housing construction that will accommodate more population with taxes and credit policies. These standards were compulsory for the public sector with the intention of encouraging them in the private sector. Thus, Turkey's planned period started with a similar approach to the *existenzminimum* of CIAM 2, emphasizing life quality in minimum size. Moreover, the plan enacted Gecekondu Act (1966) to legalize not the squatter construction process but the slums built due to this process. Following this, another critical policy the plan adopted as a principle was not to demolish any squatter houses before finding a place for the inhabitants. However, all these practices did not have a positive effect on housing production. As a result of land speculation, high

⁹ The original quotation belongs to Article 49 of the Constitution of 1961. Quoted in: Danielson, M. N., & Keleş, R. (1985). *The politics of rapid urbanization: government and growth in modern Turkey*. Holmes & Meier.

¹⁰ The quotation is retrieved from: Danielson, M. N., & Keleş, R. (1985). *The politics of rapid urbanization : government and growth in modern Turkey*. Holmes & Meier.

profits from housing construction, and political pressures from various interest groups, the implementation of the plan was prevented (Adam, Tekeli & Altaban, 1978).

The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1973) defined the state's role in the housing sector not as an 'investor' or a 'producer' but as a 'regulator' (Keleş, 1990). This regulation did not go further than providing financing with housing loans. The plan evaluated housing in terms of social, economic, and qualitative aspects, considering the problem together with urbanization. Although The Second Five-Year Development Plan prioritized industrial investments because housing investments were not profitable, it developed a more positive perspective on the problem of housing (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973):

“The most influential factor in shaping cities in Turkey, which is experiencing rapid urbanization, will be housing construction in the long run. Therefore, housing should be understood not only as a shelter but also as an indicator of civilization. Without increasing the ratio of the housing sector investments determined for the Second Five-Year Plan, in order to produce the highest number of houses possible, the construction of public housing in minimum standards will be directed. Due to the steady development of the cities it provides, mass housing will be built instead of individual housing units.” (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1968, p.274).

As a result of the industrialization caused by economic development and rapid population growth with excessive land prices, The General Directorate of Building Land Office (1969) was established (İnkaya, 1975). The purpose of the office was stated in the law as to prevent excessive price increases in lands, to make regulatory purchases in this direction, and to perform the necessary expropriation procedures for housing and industrial zones. It is possible to interpret that the General Directorate of Building Land Office used a significant part of the lands expropriated to provide land support for housing cooperatives.

Mass housing production, unlike the others, required activating a significant capital, organizing demand, providing a large plot of land, and planning this land with infrastructure (Tekeli, 1993). While the state was expected to realize an initiative of

this scale, the private sector and local governments started the first mass housing initiatives. The first entrepreneurs faced many obstacles due to the gaps and inadequacies in the law regarding the legalization of the mass housing construction process. OR-AN and later MESA, the first examples of private mass housing companies' development, entered the housing production field with minimal capital and primarily relied on institutions lending to housing cooperatives. The legalization process could only be achieved by enacting mass housing laws in the early 1980s.

The Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977) envisaged a further reduction in the housing investment rate. The plan emphasized sharing housing responsibilities between the private and public sectors. In this period, the production of high-rise apartment blocks through cooperatives continued. Plan laid down the main principles of mass production of social housing to meet the needs of low-income groups (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1973). The third plan, which attaches importance to the allocation of resources by the state for social housing, is a continuation of the second plan with this feature. The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1978-1983) did not contain any innovations different from the previous plans. It included the development of measures to prevent speculation on urban land and to limit infrastructure services such as roads, water, electricity, and sewerage in slum areas groups (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1978). Differing from the other three plans, the Fourth Plan foresaw the encouragement of construction technologies that provide mass housing production with its social and technical infrastructure. Due to the political instability covering the years it was implemented, this period can also be considered unplanned because the plan could not create a practical guide (Keleş, 1990).

The practice of using the funds held by social security institutions in housing finance became widespread in the 1960s. Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu (1961) also provided members with individual and cooperative housing loans after the military intervention. As a strategy to sell cheaper houses to its members, the institution was also involved in constructing projects. Ten years later, “the Esnaf, Sanatkarlar ve Diğer Bağımsız Çalışanlar Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (1971) also offered loans to artisans and self-employed” (Çoban, 2012, p.86).

In 1980, another military administration seized power to end the country's political impotence and re-establish democracy (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012). This period

encouraged the unplanned development of the economy and was used to maximize the role and leadership of private entrepreneurs in all areas of economic and social life. Since the housing sector was seen as a key sector in the economy with employment opportunities in the manufacturing industry, The Mass Housing Law (1981) was enacted (Keleş, 1990). The law included the definition of social housing, provided credit facilities as the construction area got smaller, and created a situation in which middle-upper income groups could benefit. While the Mass Housing Law was revised periodically, the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Administration was established in 1984.



CHAPTER 4

HOUSING THE MIDDLE-CLASS IN ANKARA

As the class identifier role of consumption has increased with the neoliberal policies of Turkey, lifestyle gained importance in the modern capital Ankara, where distinctive mass housing settlements recognized the requirements of the middle-class, “comprising both economic and bureaucratic groups” (Neyzi, 1973, p.123). After the declaration of the Republic, a series of inadequate policies operated the housing production for the “bureaucratic nucleus” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124), overlooking the rapid urbanization. Until the post-war period, the migration from rural areas led to the formation of *gecekondu*, and this production method generated tension with the local community. Since the middle-class portrayed the housing problem in the city center as the “peasant invasion” (Karpas, 1976, p.62), the residential zones were gradually polarized. Especially after the 1960 Coup d’Etat in Turkey, the middle-class in the capital was “developing occupational habits and ways of thinking different from the rest of the society” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124). These ideological dynamics reformed not only the character of the middle-class but also the aspirations for contemporary settlements. Despite the nostalgia for the garden city model, the favored housing typology was the cluster of high-rise apartment blocks. Due to the socio-economic mechanism, these enclosed environments were initiated by “cooperatives, *yap-satçı* or private mass housing companies” (Tekeli, 1982, p. 177) in suburbans, originating the departure point for inchoate districts. Approaching the 1980s, since “municipalities of provinces were endeavoring to realize mass housing projects that reflected contemporary ideas and technological dimensions” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.21), the concept of satellite cities became prominent among the middle-class. However, in

most instances, the objectives of these settlements were left half-finished due to financial and infrastructure difficulties. In this context, this chapter gravitates toward the multifaceted housing problem of the middle-class in Ankara through analogical mapping of significant mass housing settlements.

4.1 Identifying the Middle-Class

“Cities are divided into a number of localities in which imagined differences between classes and cultures are established as social and spatial boundaries.”¹¹

Discussing the characteristics and the development of the middle-class at the theoretical and conceptual level constitutes the essence of the argument for the housing problem. The contemporary social stratification studies arise from the theories of Marx and Weber (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006). For Marx, “a class is a group of people who stand in a common relationship to the means of production” (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p.301). Under this definition, two poles compose the society, “the bourgeoisie and the proletariat” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.21):

“By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live.” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.49).

The gap between these classes blends through “the petty bourgeoisie” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.21), which was perceived as a transitional class in urban fabric rather than rural areas. Marx and Engels (1888) advocated that “the petty-bourgeoisie sink down into the proletariat” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.22) and did not emphasize the political importance as much as “the bourgeoisie and the proletariat” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.49). In line with this argument, Giddens (1975) stated that “the petty bourgeoisie – independent artisans, small shopkeepers, etc.– has steadily dwindled in the course of capitalist development” (p.34). Without reducing stratification to only economic

¹¹ Quotation is retrieved from: Ayata, S. (2002). The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia. In D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (Eds.), *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey* (p.25) London: I.B.Tauris.

factors, “Weber developed Marx’s class theory in a broader framework” (Edgell, 1993, p.20; Weber & Roth, 1968). The components of consumption patterns, living standards, and property ownership were incorporated to instrumentalize “the status and party” (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p.302; Weber & Roth, 1968). Although Weber and Roth (1968) exemplified the middle-class with “the self-employed farmers, craftsmen, public and private officials, liberal professions and labor groups with exceptional qualifications” (p.304), new professions and work orders emerged after the cultural and economic transformations in the Second World War. Eventually, the diversification between “the bourgeoisie and the proletariat” (Marx & Engels, 2017, p.49) led to the genesis of the “new middle-class, the new petty bourgeoisie, or professional-managerial class” (Burris, 1987, p.5; Halpern, 1963, p.51; Poulantzas & Fernbach, 1975, p. 204).¹²

Building upon the integrated ideas of Marx and Weber, the differences within the new middle-class were also highly elaborated in contemporary stratification studies. Consisting of “white collar employees, technicians, supervisors, civil servants etc.” (Giddens, 1975, p.34), Poulantzas (1975) determined the characteristics of the new middle-class through “economic (productive or unproductive labor), political (non-supervisory or supervisory positions), and ideological criteria (mental or manual labor)” (Giddens, 1975, p.34). On that note, Goldthorpe’s (1995) significant contribution was “the service class” (p.314), consisting of “professional, administrative and managerial employees” (Butler & Savage, 1995, p.314). Halford and Savage (1995) emphasized that “the bureaucratic career is central to middle-class identities” (p.117). This line of business, “by merit of their educational credentials or technical qualifications, occupy positions that provide them with greater material and cultural advantages” (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p.314). In contrast, Mills (1956) illustrated how “the white-collar people slipped quietly into the modern society” (p.ix) with “occupations in the lower middle-income brackets” (p.63-64). Regarding the diversity within the new middle-class, Bourdieu (1984) illustrated the most comprehensive schemas as “the individuals increasingly distinguish themselves from others on the basis of economic, cultural (education, consumption, leisure pursuits), social (networks, friends, contacts) and symbolic capitals (possessing good

¹² The term “new middle-class” was first introduced in: Halpern, M. (1963). *The politics of social change in the Middle East and North Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

reputation)” (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p.322). Therefore, contemporary studies define the new middle-class as “a broad spectrum of people working in many different occupations” (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p.313), considering the “consumption patterns and different tastes” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.117).

Within this theoretical framework, the middle-class housing problem should also be outlined in a broad spectrum. Along with the influx to urban centers, “the growing dependence of private consumption” (Castells, 1978, p.39) amplified the withdrawal from public space. As the boundaries of urban space lost clarity with the developments in transportation technology, the obligation of living in the city where “people increasingly lost functional contact with each other” (Sennett, 1977, p.135) vanished. According to Sennett (1977), “the middle-class desire to be shielded from the masses of strangers was strong” (p.137). Another desire was to “differentiate themselves from, and avoid interaction with, people from lower classes” (Ayata, 2002, p.25). This contradiction of “exclusion and inclusion” (Ayata, 2002, p.25) gravitated the middle-class toward suburban mass housing settlements to maintain privacy and safety. In this regard, the ideal housing typology in these suburban settlements for the middle-class was the individual housing unit with a garden. Ayata (2002) remarked that the primary justification for this tendency was to “escape from pollution, street life, and social heterogeneity while maintaining the family intimacy, rule-bound society, and order” (p.26). Since these territories envisaged economically homogeneous neighborhoods without “cultural pollution” (Öncü & Weyland, 1997, p.65), the economically homogenous community derived from the middle-class were “acquaintances (not total strangers) of similar background and social status” (Öncü & Weyland, 1997, p.65). Considering the fragmented functions of “work, accommodation and recreation” (Ayata, 2002, p.25), the middle-class shared “interests or connections complicated enough to take them to different parts of the city” (Sennett, 1977, p.136). As a result, construction companies deliberately located settlements to “reach within minutes by car on the expressway” (Öncü & Weyland, 1997, p.62) to get the upper hand in the housing market. Construction companies promoted not only accessibility but also lifestyle regarding “the role of housing in communicating status” (Rapoport, 2000, p.158). Hence, housing became a tool to indicate residents’ power, wealth, beliefs, and status, leading to “the isolation of social classes from each other in the city” (Sennett, 1977, p.135). These critical discussions illuminate the middle-class formation in

Turkey with a particular focus on the characteristics and tendencies of the “bureaucratic nucleus” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124) in Ankara.

4.2 Formation of the Middle-Class in Turkey

The economic and cultural changes were continuous during the political break from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (Mardin, 1967). With the commercial agreements made for the goods imported from England to Turkey, the opportunities for trade and industry constituting the middle-class passed into the Europeans (Mardin, 1991, p.336). As the demand for this profession decreased, “the merchants attempted to raise their children as clerks” (Mardin, 1991, p.337). With the concern of providing employment, the cadres of civil servants expanded. Especially after the proclamation of the Tanzimat (1839), the civil servants were reliable administrative staff “who helped to establish many well-founded administrative and political institutions” (Mardin, 1991, p.338). After the First World War, these officers were partially transferred to the civil servant cadres of the Republic “with the task of shaping modern Turkey” (Mardin, 1991, p.339). In this context, it has been historically deduced that the backbone of the middle-class in Turkey was formed by “the bureaucratic elite” (Neyzi, 1973, p.125), transmitting “the cultural heritage to modern democracy” (Karpas, 1967, p.32).

In the first years of the Republic, while the principle of nationalism was used as a “tool to ensure state integrity”, the principle of populism was used as a “tool to ensure social integrity” (Timur, 1994, p.63). Although the government targeted a classless society to prevent social conflicts and discrimination, the middle-class “originating in economic occupations and professions” (Neyzi, 1973, p.123) directed the political and cultural life. The middle-class consisted of “landlords, professionals, bureaucrats, and intellectuals” (Karpas, 1973, p.59) with an “above-average salary, a relatively comfortable life, a good education, and an idea of etiquette” (Karpas, 1976, p.196). Approaching the 1950s, the middle-class that gained power in the interwar period faced challenges from “the entrepreneurs, managers, small manufacturers, and new businessmen” (Karpas, 1973, p.59) in the growing industry and service sector. Alexander (1960) stated that since this group “acquired capital resources through commercial profits” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124), they advocated different political opinions

from the bureaucratic nucleus. With the formation of this group, the structure of the middle-class diversified. Identified as “the new middle-class” (Neyzi, 1973), this group not only diversified the structure but also took a pivotal role in the election of the Democrat Party and “decided the destiny of Turkey until the mid-fifties” (Karpas, 1973, p.59):

“To the nascent entrepreneurial sector, a role in the political process meant the ability to act on essential matters of capital and property within a stable system which guaranteed their possessions. While both the Democratic and Republican parties agreed in 1947-50 that private enterprise should be fostered and statism should not be further extended, the Democratic Party succeeded in identifying itself with the aspirations of the entrepreneurial and agrarian segments of the middle class and in mobilizing support from the worker and peasant sectors.” (Neyzi, 1973, p.124-125).

However, Democratic Party’s government continued to invest in the industry, leading to rapid growth in private enterprise. On top of that, the migration beyond expected deteriorated the middle-class conditions in the urban centers. As Danielson & Keleş (1985) delivered: “For established city dwellers, the newcomers were a blight that undermined the quality of life in *their* cities.” (p.123). While the migrators were criticized for “illegal affairs, overcrowding cities, and disrupting order” (Danielson & Keleş, 1985, p.123), the government’s efforts to prevent these circumstances were insufficient. “Conflict was intensified as middle-class families moved outward in the spreading metropolis where new conventional housing often adjoined squatter settlements.” (Danielson & Keleş, 1985, p.123). The housing projects targeting the middle-class were positioned far away from city centers to reduce their connection with the “peasant invasion” (Karpas, 1976, p.62). As a result, the settlement patterns of the middle-class constituted new districts and urban centers where the slums were being destroyed. After the 1960 Coup d’Etat, Turkey adopted “the social state principle” (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973, p. 595), recognizing the class structure for the first time with “the rights given to labor unions in the 1961 Constitution” (Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973, p. 593). In this context, the class was not defined as the product of conflicting economic relations but as groups that share a range of occupations, orientations, and interests (Neyzi, 1973; Karpas, 1973; Mardin, 1991).

4.3 Housing the Middle Class in Ankara

Considering the housing policies and practices oriented to “the creation of a national bourgeoisie lifestyle, Ankara became a unique settlement alienated from the rest of the country” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.140). This significant cultural dimension originated from “the bureaucratic nucleus” (Neyzi, 1973, p.123), relocating to the capital after the declaration of the Republic (Yavuz, 1952). This development required the management structures for the administration and the residences of the bureaucrats and civil servants. Following the “radical modernity project stemming from the idea of enlightenment” (Bayraktar, 2014, p.22), the space was considered an ideological tool for social transformation. The authority held all the social and political power in developing the capital to manifest the established regime’s success through the sequential zoning plans of Lörcher (1925), Jansen (1932), and Yücel-Uybadin (1957) and Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau (1990) were implemented in Ankara. The Jansen Plan, which was obtained as a result of international competition, assumed the development areas with the central axis foreseen in the south (Cengizkan, 2004a; Tekeli & İlkin, 1984).¹³ With the implementation of the plan, “ministry buildings, parliament, and civil servant lodgings took place in Yenışehir” (Cengizkan, 2004a, p.105). The Jansen Plan favored “a design that dwelled on social issues rather than on grandeur, as a clue to the regime’s attitude towards power and society” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.129). Tekeli and Okyay (1982) stated the social structure of the city through two groups of migrants:

- “The first type was the unskilled worker arriving from the rural region of Ankara. These constituted the main body of the low-income habitants” (p.129)
- “The second type of migrant was skilled and could have an origin anywhere in the country. These formed the middle-class groups in the city” (p.129).

While the first group initiated *gecekondu*, the second group initiated *cooperatives* for the housing problem. According to Uybadin (1992), Jansen did not include industrial and commercial zones in the plan, “insisting that Ankara would never be an industrial

¹³ Although the competition resulted in 1928; the plan was put into practice with several discrepancies in 1932. For more information: Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Ankara’nın ilk planı : 1924-25 Lörcher planı : kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı’na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları*. Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı.; Tekeli, İ., & İlkin, S. (1984). *Bahçeli evlerin öyküsü: bir batı kurumunun yeniden yorumlanması*. Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği.

city” (Bayraktar, 2014, p.24). The essence of the plan was to ensure balance by integrating the separate old and new cities with a protectionist approach. With the proposal of a green belt outside the city, the new development districts envisaged a unified system with nature. Jansen (1936) stated that *amele mahallesi* (worker’s quarter) and *ziraat fakültesi* (faculty of agriculture) were to be built in his plans, but they were not constructed due to the increasing land speculation (Yavuz, 1952). “The urbanized area touched the boundaries of the existing plan while the growth of the city continued at an undiminished rate” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.133), requiring a new master plan for Ankara. After an international competition, the plan of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadın (1957) was put into practice. Along with the legislation on the condominium, *yap-satıcı* started to mediate middle-class housing estates in suburbans, complying with the limits of the Yücel-Uybadın Plan. Although “the inadequacy of road, electricity, gas works, the lack of playgrounds, school spaces and newly fragmented ownership pattern” (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982, p.134) obstructed the construction in uncharted territories as *satellite cities*, “the suburb trend towards its separation from work, street life, and the kinship and neighborhood community has become decisive (Ayata, 2002, p.31) in middle-class mass housing settlements. Consequently, the city became “more complex, segmented and fragmented” (Ayata, 2002, p.27) with the evolving lifestyle preferences of the middle-class until Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau’s 1990 Plan.

4.3.1 Dominance in Urban Centers, 1923-1960

Until the 1960s, “a dual pattern” (Ayata, 2002, p.26) composed the housing production in Ankara. While the migrants built illegal *gecekondu* in suburbans, “the vast expansion of middle-class residential areas of apartment blocks in central parts” (Ayata, 2002, p.27) were built by “cooperatives, institutions, or private enterprises” (Baydar, 1994; Tekeli, 1982, p.177). Starting from the first years of the Republic, with the rapid increase in land prices due to the implementation of the Jansen Plan, “the tendency to purchase land outside the plan’s boundaries and obtain development rights on these lands to later reduce housing costs has strengthened” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.25). “Since the condominium has not yet developed as an institution in this period” (Keleş, 1990, p.280) Ankara’s powerful bureaucrats have overcome this obstacle with

cooperatives. Consequently, the form of cooperatives has been conditioned by the possibilities and aspirations of this group in Turkey, arising on a very different social basis from Europe. Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi (1935-1938) was the first cooperative established with these tendencies, “far away and outside the zoning plan, proposing a living environment on a human scale, close to nature, expressing the contemporary city” (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p.56). With the location selection of Bahçelievler, “the city made a significant leap toward the west for the first time” (Tekeli, 1982, p. 65), gathering a substantial part of the middle-class to obtain loans from Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984). The planning and the construction of the neighborhood were also commissioned to Hermann Jansen.¹⁴ The dominant building type was adjacent blocks with respective gardens, reflecting the *garden city* ideology.

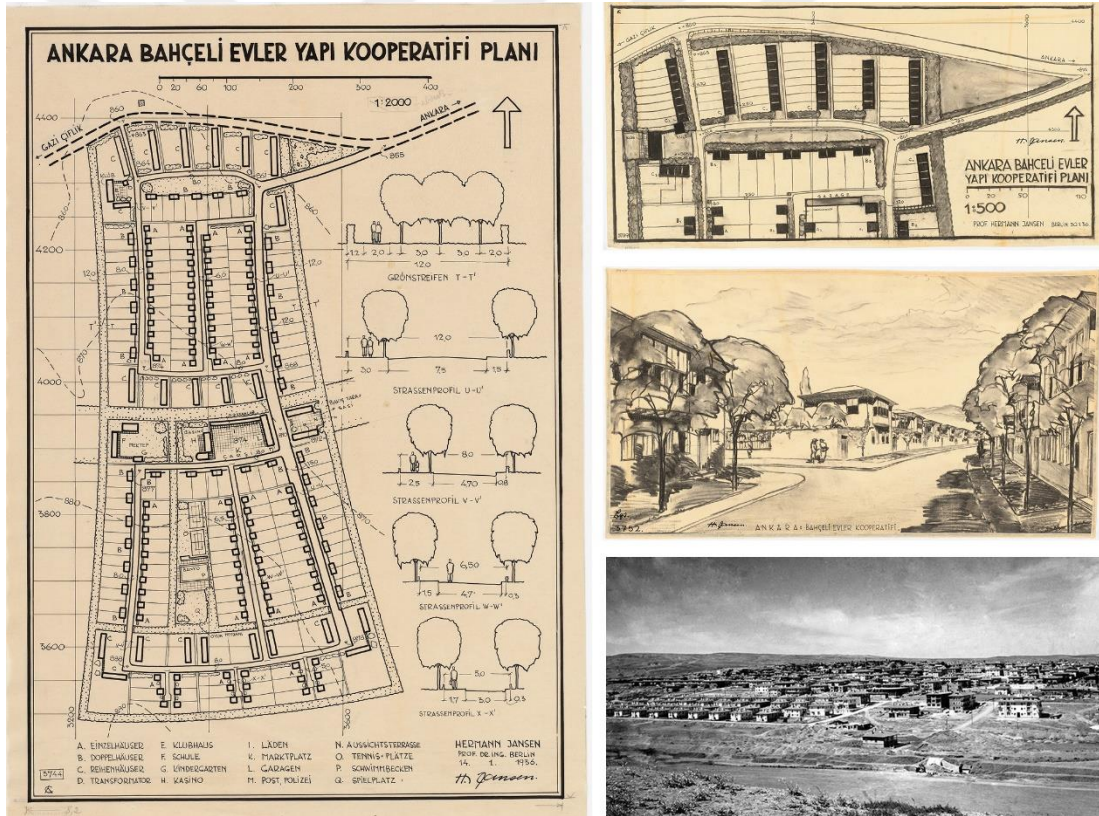


Figure 4.1 Jansen’s plan, aerial view, and perspective view drawings for Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi. (Source: Jansen, H. (1936). Architectural Museum of the Technical University of Berlin.)

¹⁴ Jansen was also commissioned with Emlak Bankası Kooperatifi (1937) and Ziraat Kooperatifi (1937).

Although the first mass housing initiative demonstrated the minimized appearance of bureaucracy to illustrate social housing, the application was luxurious, reminding Unwin's Letchworth (1903). However, regarding the target of the housing problem in Europe and Turkey, contrasting advertisement brochures of two settlements unveil a distinction between the perception of the middle-class. On the one hand, Letchworth was promoted to a nuclear family consisting of a man, woman, and children, detaching from social bonds; on the other hand, Bahçelievler was promoted to middle-class acquaintances of multiple families relocating together to live isolated. Tekeli & İlkin (1982) delivered that when Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi set up the substructure for emerging housing cooperatives, the uncharted territory became a populating district with Yeşilyurt Yapı and Şenyuva Yapı Kooperatifi (1941), Emekli Sandığı Yapı Kooperatifi (1942), İş Bankası Memurları Kooperatifi (1942), Dikmen Yapı Kooperatifi (1954), and Eser Yapı Kooperatifi (1958).



Figure 4.2 Advertisements of Letchworth and Bahçelievler. (Source: ALAMY).¹⁵

Although cooperatives became the most effective method of obtaining housing in the 1940s, a housing policy focused on public investments was followed for civil servants (Tekeli, 1982). During these years, the country entered the war economy without participating. In this context, the first mass housing example built with public investments in the city center, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi (1944-1946), was “controversial

¹⁵ The text on the Letchworth brochure: “Where shall I live? Guide to Letchworth catalog of urban cottages. Complete plan specification with over fifty designs.”. The text on the Bahçelievler brochure states: “Bahçelievler is always a source of joy and well-being for its owners. These lovely homes offer their residents to benefit from the sun, the open air abundantly, and rest.”

in terms of the high-cost construction with significant political meanings” (Keleş, 1990, p.295). However, the opposite ideology was delivered in Ulus Newspaper:

“At a time when the war surrounded the world in a cloud of fire which stopped all the construction activities of our country, this project, which was put forward to accommodate self-sacrificing civil servants, was able to pass from paper to reality despite all the difficulties, thanks to our determined and energetic Prime Minister Saraçoğlu.” (Suley, 1945).¹⁶

Therefore, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi was named after the Prime Minister of the period, who also laid the foundation during the construction ceremony. In parallel with this development, Churchill Gardens (1951) was the only mass housing settlement constructed according to the post-war plan in London, named after Prime Minister Churchill (Pevsner, 1974). This political overlap hints at the illusoriness of the government in power through the housing problem. As a result, “Saraçoğlu Mahallesi was a rare example where the law was implemented, and 434 publicly owned houses were built and rented out to high-level bureaucrats” by Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank (Keleş, 1990, p.398). Designed by Paul Bonatz, the idea of *siedlung* was implemented with social structures and identical residential blocks representing the Turkish house formation (Akcan, 2005).

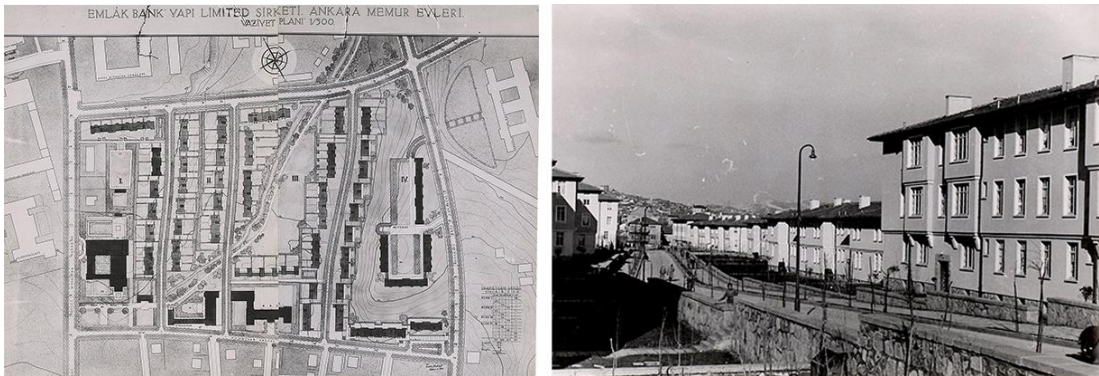


Figure 4.3 Saraçoğlu Mahallesi’s plan and street elevation. (Source: Bonatz, P. (1946). *Emlak Bank Yapı Limited Şirketi Ankara Memur Evleri Vaziyet Planı.*)

¹⁶ Original quotation: “Dünyayı bir ateş bulutuna saran harp, yurdumuzun bütün yapı faaliyetlerini durdurduğu bir sırada, fedakar memur vatandaşlarının barındırılması için ortaya atılan bu proje azimli ve enerjik başbakanımız Saraçoğlu sayesinde, bütün güçlüklerle rağmen kağıttan gerçeğe geçebilmiştir.” Retrieved from: Suley, N. (1945). Saraçoğlu Mahallesi. *Ulus*.

After the Second World War, with the intensified urbanization movement, big cities were under pressure from the migrating population. In Ankara, which was the prototype for Turkey in terms of planning, significant difficulties have arisen in realizing new development areas due to the impossibility of establishing the physical and social infrastructure (Tekeli & Okyay, 1982). Ankara had already reached the population density envisaged in the Jansen Plan, necessitating a new master plan. After an international competition, the plan of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadın (1957) was selected. In the direction of a competition request, planners kept the city's growth within the municipality's boundaries (Uybadın, 1992). Thus, the town was loaded considerably in the north-south direction by complying with this limit. In Turkey's new political order after the 1950s, bureaucrats left the leading role to the ruling party in that region to form cooperatives, which opened new areas to urbanization (Keleş, 1990). Housing cooperatives started to appear in the unplanned zones of Jansen's plan with a gradual shift in the distance, creating origin points for soon-to-be districts of Ankara. As the illegal construction and squatter housing began to accelerate, the Municipality of Ankara ensured the realization of Yenimahalle (1949) with a series of laws. The residences were designed with a maximum of two floors, ensuring that the settlement remained at the human scale. In 1965, "the population of Yenimahalle reached 87 thousand people" (Ministry of Construction and Settlement, 1973, p.48). Although the application "targeted low-income families primarily to own a house, it appealed to the middle-class" (Arıbaş-Tokman, 1985, p.24).

Due to land speculation, it was no longer possible for the middle-class to build single houses on a parcel. As a result, the middle class continued to meet the rising land prices with high-density housing in cooperatives. *Yap-satçı* brought the middle-class together for the condominium institution and the credit mechanism to acquire property housing (Tekeli, 1982; Yavuz, Keleş & Geray, 1973). In a short period, housing cooperatives Üniversite Apartmanı (1954), Israil Evleri (1955), Kütüphane Evleri (1955), Maliye Evleri (1956), Yeşiltepe-Yıldıztepe Blokları (1956) and Mintrak Apartmanı (1957) expanded in the south and west borders of the city.¹⁷ "Transforming Ankara's urban

¹⁷ One of Ankara's most dominant architectural offices, Demirtaş Kamçıl and Rahmi Bediz, designed all these housing cooperatives. Only the preliminary design of Maliye Evleri belonged to Emin Onat. For more information about Kamçıl and Bediz: Altan, T. E., Boyacıoğlu, E., Sert, S. Ç., Dedekargınoğlu, C., Öztürk, S. S., & Başoğlu, S. K. (2020). *Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar Dizisi I: Demirtaş Kamçıl-Rahmi Bediz*. VEKAM.

scale and dominant housing typology, as well as the stylistic characteristics and the use of new materials with the developing building technologies, these buildings reflected the modernist approach successfully in Turkey” (Altan, 2020, p.14). Yeşiltepe (Yıldıztepe) Blokları were the first high-rise residential blocks appealing to the upper class of Ankara (Çapoğlu, 2008). Two of the flats, which the cooperative requested to be of the same type, came side by side in the plan.¹⁸ A horizontal circulation corridor with entrances of the apartments surrounded this space in eight blocks. In this way, all flats were independent and made maximum use of common open areas. Architects organized the blocks in pairs at the site’s periphery, creating a configuration that left a green area in the middle of the plot, providing a spaciousness of vision. Another example, Meydanlar Müdürlüğü Kooperatif Apartmanı (1956-1960), also known as Cinnah 19, specifically drew parallelism with Le Corbusier’s Unite d’Habitation (1946-1952). Bozdağan (2004) delivered the “internalized modernism” (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 177): “Built as cooperative housing for a group of urban, professional families (including that of the architect, Nejat Ersin), Cinnah 19 consists of a large rectangular slab raised on pilotis, which is divided into a uniform grid of twelve duplex apartments and features a swimming pool and public areas on the roof.” (p.118).

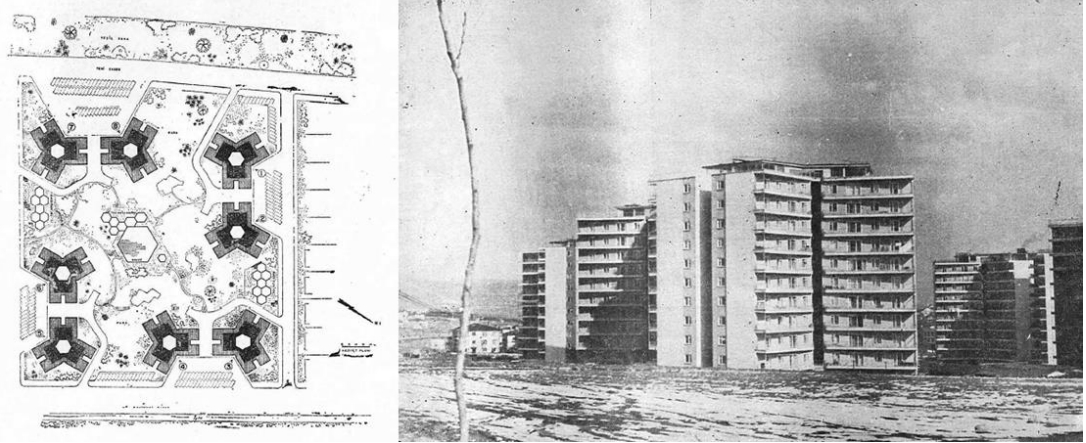


Figure 4.4 Yeşiltepe Blokları. (Source: Bediz, R. & Kamçıl, D. (1956). *Yeşiltepe Kooperatif Blokları – Ankara*. Arkitekt.)

¹⁸ For more information: *Mahdut Mes’uliyetli Yeşiltepe Yapı Kooperatifi 1961 yılı İdari Meclis Raporu*. (1962). Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası.

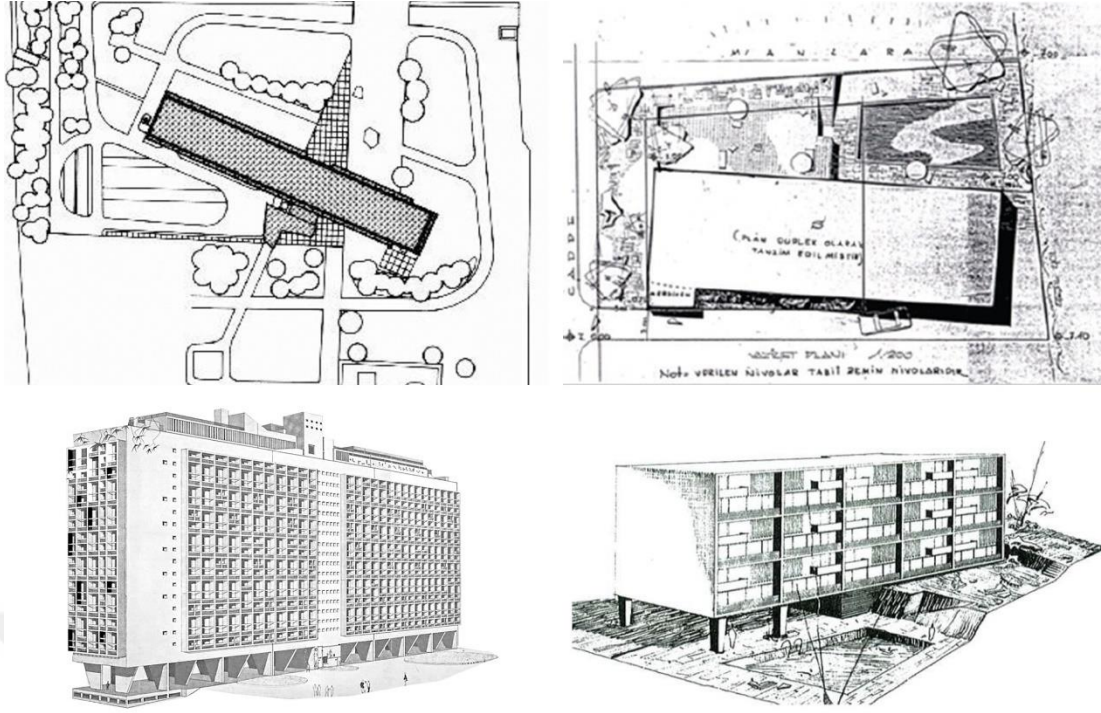


Figure 4.5 Drawings of Unite d'Habitation (left) and Cinnah 19 (right). (Source: Cohen, J.-L., Benton, T., & Phaidon Press. (2008). *Le Corbusier le grand*. London: Phaidon.; Cengizkan, A. (2002). *Modernin saati : 20.yüzyılda modernleşme ve demokratikleşme pratiğinde mimarlar, kamusal mekan ve konut mimarlığı*. Mimarlar Derneği.)

4.3.2 Progressive Housing Criteria of the Middle-Class, 1960-1980

The unsteady economic and political agenda forced the 1960 Coup d'Etat, which “led to reformist movements and new democratic institutions” (Sey, 2005, p.126). Along with the socialist ideology of the 1961 Constitution, the military government addressed the housing problem through the five-year development plans of the State Planning Organization, supporting that “scientific development planning could be achieved outside the realm of politics” (Tekeli, 2005, p.27). Since the government’s role regarding the housing sector was defined as “a regulator rather than an investor” (Sey, 2005, p.174) in development plans, private initiatives were encouraged to participate in the housing problem through market mechanisms. However, these initiatives were encouraging excessive consumption of the middle- and upper-class instead of catalyzing the housing problem (Tekeli, 2005). The modern capital Ankara had “a homogeneous elite community and culture until the 1970s, and it was this aspect of

the city that its predominantly bureaucratic middle class enjoyed” (Ayata, 2002, p.29). With the increasing complexity, “the city lost its charm in the eyes of the middle-class inhabitants” (Ayata, 2002, p.29). In the 1970s, mass housing settlements of private companies moved outward to distinguish the middle-class from “the constant struggle and great disorder projecting the image of a jungle” (Ayata, 2002, p.29).

The 1960s-1980s, characterized as a crucial period considering urbanization and spatial development, investigated transformations in the housing preferences of the middle-class in Ankara. Despite the successive five-year planned periods, the unpredictable migration led to the housing shortage after the 1961 Constitution (Keleş, 1990; Tekeli, 2005). Consequences of this process manifested the increase in floor heights for the solution of the housing problem and the spread by “organizing informal social networks towards the outer periphery of the city habitat” (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p.141). In 1965 and after, arrangements regarding the zoning conditions paved and accelerated the way for the apartment building. The general characteristics of the city centers have deteriorated, and *yap-satçı* apartments have emerged, consisting of repetitive multi-story buildings in adjacent order (Tekeli, 1982). Therefore, when the formation of the cities’ development patterns was examined in residential environments, high-rise apartment blocks and satellite cities stood out as the living habitat of the middle-class (Cengizkan, 2002). The mass housing construction, which seemed to be the only solution to the housing problem in the period, was enriched by the participation of private companies entering the housing production with minimal capital. These companies relied on institutions lending loans to housing cooperatives to benefit from the financing opportunities.

Orta Anadolu Mass Housing Company (1968), publicly known as OR-AN, utilized the support for the mass housing initiatives provided in Second Five-Year Development Plan. Architect Şevki Vanlı (1970) emphasized that settlement targeted “huge numbers according to the conditions of the period, later on facing many problems” (Vanlı et al., 1973, p.86). OR-AN, one of the most critical mass housing projects realized in Ankara, was not only the first private housing project realized in Turkey but also the largest-scaled housing construction initiated outside the official sector (Vanlı, 1970). Having a holistic approach to mass housing planning brought the possibility of keeping urban growth under control. It is not an “unhealthy growth in the form of an oil stain, but it allows growth by making controlled, certain jumps from the center and leaving green

tissue in between” (Vanlı et al., 1973, p.90). Despite the foresight in the Second Five-Year Plan, the OR-AN initiative carried out its work without state support due to the lack of necessary policies, visible in the statement of Ankara Planning Bureau: “This is a dormitory settlement. The residents said that transportation cost will harm their economy, as they come and go to Ankara for work.” (Vanlı, 1970; Vanlı, 2000). Against these claims of city and regional planning experts, OR-AN stated that creating a self-sufficient settlement away from the city through providing social activities was the main goal (Vanlı, 1970). However, the experts justified the workplaces of people who will live in the OR-AN populated in Ankara. However, units designed within the settlement were insufficient for the settlement to gain a sub-urban character since the target residents’ workplaces were indeed in Ankara, justifying the bureau. Thus, the importance of the OR-AN initiative stems from playing a role in reducing the state burden on housing production and revealing the role of the private sector in line with the country’s housing policy (Vanlı, 1970).

While OR-AN started construction to establish a mass housing settlement with many partners, ME-SA Company started small-scaled construction in the same period to establish a structure with few partners (Mutlu, 1973). By taking advantage of the height of the mass housing, providing the infrastructure the municipality could not provide, and building turn-key housing that had overcome all bureaucratic obstacles, ME-SA aimed to create a civilized environment (Mutlu, 1973). The completed construction provided financing for the incoming construction, and the company continued to grow this way. According to Mutlu (1973), ME-SA had always selected project locations by examining the demands and workplace-housing conditions of the social class they wanted to address. Thus, residences built in Çankaya were inhabited mainly by “the middle-class consisting of technical staff, doctors, and civil servants” (Mutlu, 1973, p.83). With the convenience of using a single apartment building, ME-SA applications accelerated the apartment building process influencing single entrepreneurs to participate in housing production (Alsaç, 1993). ME-SA fully realized Çankaya Sitesi (1972-1973), formed by shifting high-rise blocks where the circulation core was in the middle. Thus, the entrance was defined, and the circulation core was projected onto the façade with a horizontal window arrangement. Although Çankaya Sitesi was considered social housing, the houses’ characteristics and spatial richness

constituted a notable middle-class example since it proposed a different model in the housing production process (Alsaç, 1993).

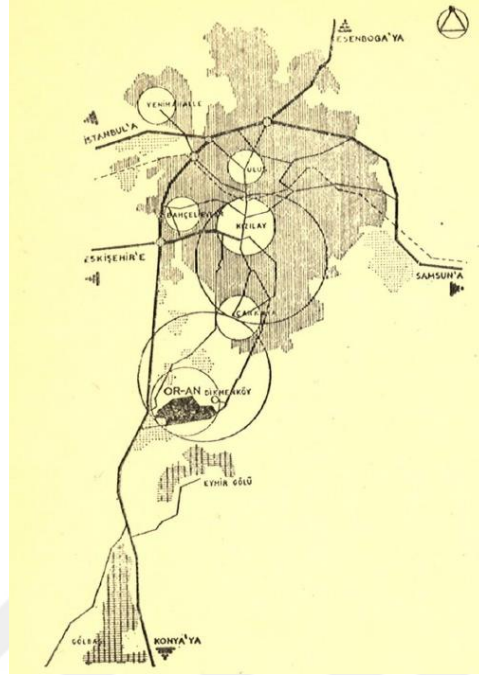


Figure 4.6 The location of OR-AN within Ankara. (Source: Vanlı, Ş. (1970). Ankara'da OR-AN Toplu Konut Yerleşimi. *Arkitekt*, (82), 28.)



Figure 4.7 Aerial view of the settlement. (Source: Vanlı, Ş. (1970). Ankara'da OR-AN Toplu Konut Yerleşimi. *Arkitekt*, (82), 32.)



Figure 4.8 ME-SA's mass housing projects. (Source: Mutlu, A. (1973). *Toplu Konut Uygulaması. Arkitekt*, (374), 79.)

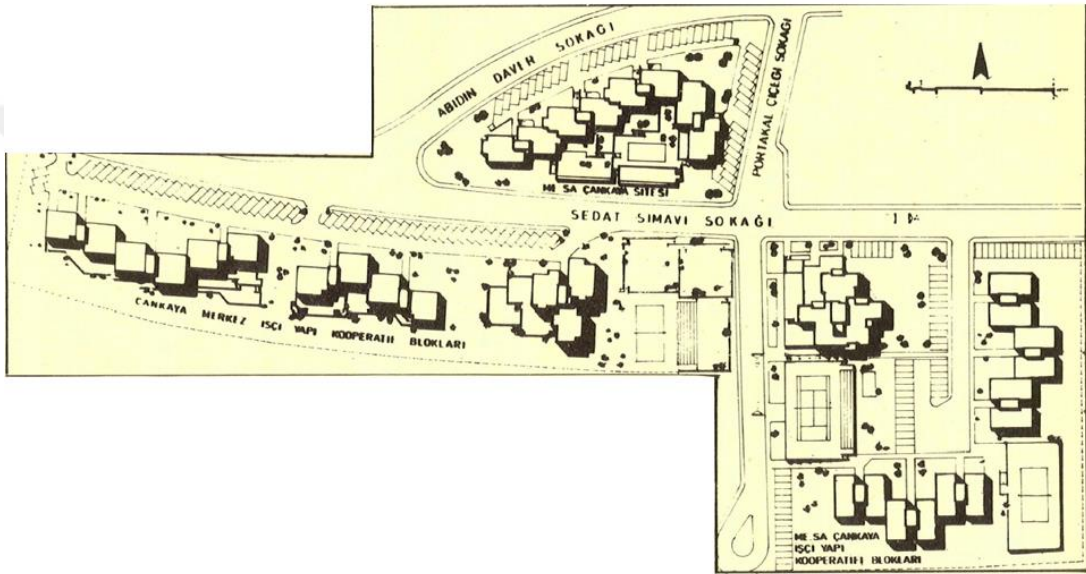


Figure 4.9 Plan of Çankaya Sitesi. (Source: Mutlu, A. (1973). *Toplu Konut Uygulaması. Arkitekt*, (374), 83.)

Since Third Five-Year Development Plan emphasized sharing housing responsibilities between the private and public sectors, the production of high-rise apartment blocks through cooperatives continued in the middle-class. Indeed, projects reflecting the typology of Unite d'Habitation and Cinnah 19 increased. Mobilgaz Sitesi (1972) was designed by Tülay Taşçıoğlu in Yenimahalle. One of the examples of high-density housing in the region, Mobilgaz Sitesi, consisted of ten floors, including duplex apartments (Özalp, 2015). The circulation tower had a staircase, designed independently of the mass connecting to the rear facade. Two more buildings near the building were handled with similar mass decisions and plan setups but were built by different cooperatives (Vekam, 2014). These structures, designed by Adnan Taşçıoğlu, were Özgü Sitesi (1973) and Türk Traktör Sitesi (1973).

An application of the private sector, Yüksel Sitesi (1977-1980), was designed by Naim Bekitoğlu following the planning principles of Yeşiltepe Blokları. The mass housing project consisted of five identical blocks with 220 dwelling units (Bekitoğlu, 1978). The project had a bazaar and an inner garden in the center of the site, using green areas as unifying elements. In a parallel configuration next to Yüksel Sitesi, Dostlar Sitesi (1971-1972) was built with Yeşiltepe typology. All these projects had circulation corridors as extended social spaces, reminding Smithson's proposal for Golden Lane (1952). However, Yeşiltepe Blokları was isolated when it was first built, compared to Yüksel Sitesi and Dostlar Sitesi, built in an already developed district Bahçelievler. In an interview held by Vekam (2014), a retired physics professor, Gökçe Bingöl said the following: "There were Yeşiltepe Blokları when we were looking for a house in the 1950s. Yeşiltepe Blocks were utterly disconnected from Bahçelievler. When my wife said we should look for a house from there, I joked about calling a taxi from Konya when we needed to go to the city." (p.2).

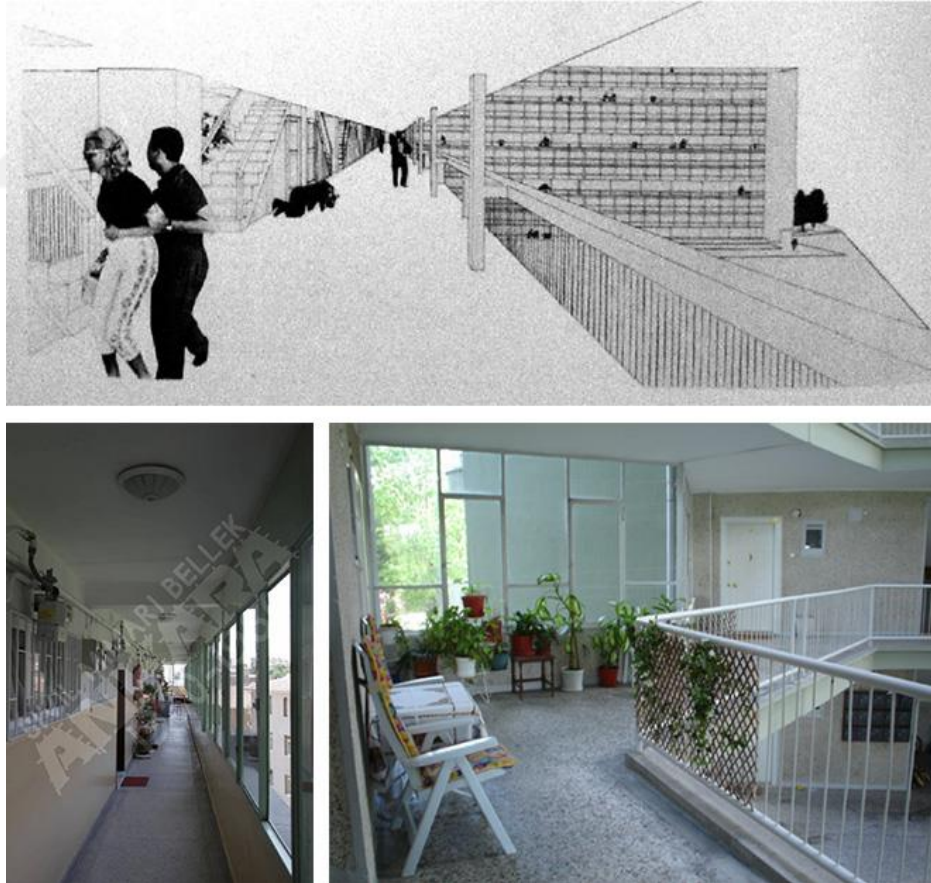


Figure 4.10 Social corridors of Golden Lane, Mobilgaz Sitesi and Yeşiltepe Blokları. (Source: VEKAM)

After the 1980 coup d'etat, the development plan was explicitly rejected, encouraging the unplanned development of the economy to maximize the role of private entrepreneurs in all areas of economic and social life (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012). The 1982 Constitution regulated “the right to housing, positioning shelter needs in urban and environmental contexts and a planning framework” (Keleş, 1990, p.347). However, the social class priority in meeting the housing needs of the poor and the low-income, which was in the 1961 Constitution, was abandoned after 1980, paving the way for middle- and upper-class housing. “The Mass Housing Law was enacted in 1981” (Keleş, 1990, p.347). The law included the definition of social housing, provided credit facilities as the construction area got smaller, and created a situation in which middle-upper income groups could benefit. Consequently, the 1960s–1980s differed from the previous mass housing applications for evolving characteristics, aspirations, and necessities of the middle-class, considering the construction technologies and typologies. Within this framework, the thesis orients toward the particular case study, *Sincan – Elvanköy New Town* (1984), as an experimental mass housing settlement for the middle-class in Ankara, to reframe the discussion with the aforementioned architectural debates.

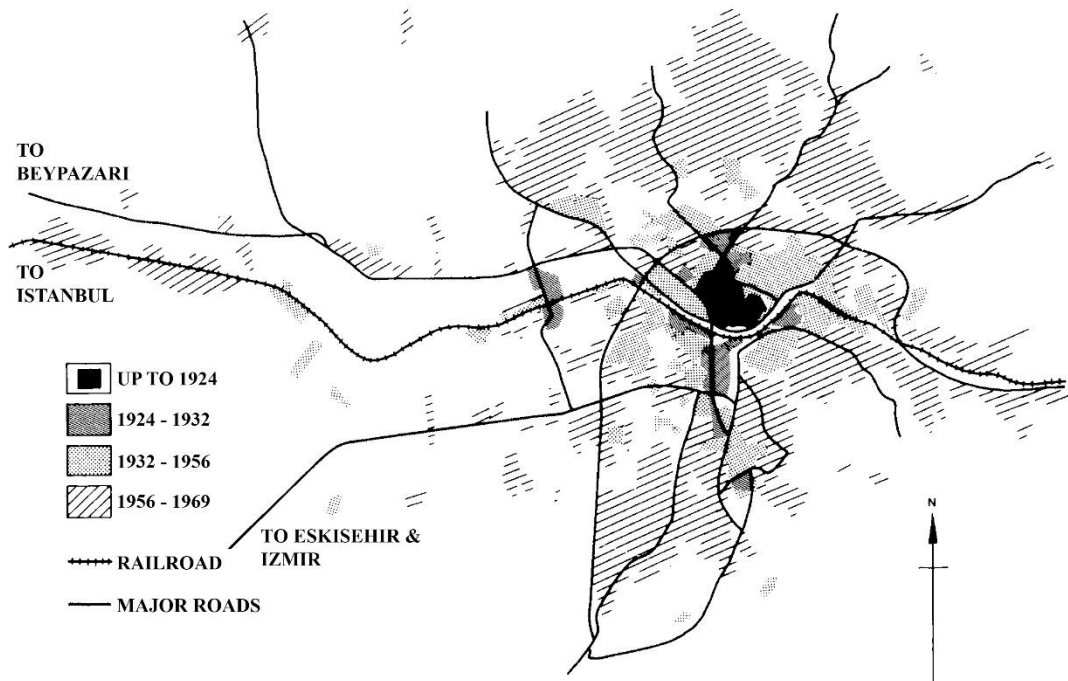


Figure 4.11 Stages of housing growth in Ankara.

CHAPTER 5

A MASS HOUSING EXPERIMENT FOR THE MIDDLE-CLASS IN ANKARA, THE SİNCAN – ELVANKÖY NEW TOWN

“A definition of mass housing has not yet been made in Turkey. Mass housing should not mean the construction of a great number of housing units in blocks. However, it has unfortunately been understood as such, either as blocks of multi-story houses or as chains of identical single-family dwellings put together. The use of houses and common areas, ownership and property rights, organizational problems of planning and construction, esthetic quality and cultural meaning of the new environment, and management and administration of the site are conveniently overlooked. How can one talk about mass housing when such vital issues remain unsolved?” (Çinici, 1983, p.V).

Housing became a production and investment tool as a crucial consumption good due to economic, political, social, and technological dynamics in Ankara after the 1980 Coup d’Etat. The significance of lifestyle echoed in the middle-class’ consumption patterns and housing demands as “the work, accommodation, and recreation are increasingly separated” (Ayata, 2002, p.25) in distinctive sections of the city. Eventually, the desire of the middle-class to live in suburban mass housing projects as isolated neighborhoods became evident with the desire “to differentiate themselves

from, and avoid interaction with, people from lower classes, and where they can exercise strong rules of exclusion and inclusion” (Ayata, 2002, p.25). These settlements formed distinctive spatial production as “the urban individuals’ withdrawal from the public sphere led to glorifying private life” (Massey, 1993; Sennett, 1977, p.135). The middle-class aspired to set life in the outskirts with “an independent house in a garden” (Öncü & Weyland, 1997, p.67), detracting from the priority of typology in the dwelling unit. “The vision of a community of like-minded individuals with uniform rules that govern neighborhood conduct” (Ayata,2002, p.40-41) forged ahead the congestion of the urban center through an attempt to revive the stance of *garden city* and *siedlungen* models. With the emphasis on human-oriented environments, the chapter sheds light on Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici’s experimental proposal for the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town (1983-1984), investigating the prospects of mass housing for the middle-class of Ankara. Since the settlement integrated with the city structure on a nodal point of the railway, the proposal did not offer an enclosed environment yet promoted the correlation of architectural and urban scale, distinguishing it from previous mass housing practices in the capital. Therefore, the greatest advantage of the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town is “the possession of such an important transportation facility as the railway, which makes possible the planning and structuring of densities, providing the opportunity for dynamic and successful urban development.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.67). The proposal was an attempt to construct a strong connection with the urban core through the last station of the banlieue railway in the west direction as an ideal *satellite city* with easy and quick access for those working along the railway (Çinici & Çinici, 1984).

5.1 Location, Historical Development and Transportation Opportunities

The center of the settlement was located on the 24th km of the Ankara-Istanbul railway (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). Resting on the southern slopes of the railway, Sincan began to expand in particular after the 1960s due to the expansion of the Ankara metropolis and industry moving out in that direction parallel to the railway. The rapid population expansion of the Sincan center was connected to a large extent, first with the development of the railway line and secondly with the development of highway

transportation. When suburban transportation became more frequent, the railway route became a meaningful locational site for public and private institutions and developed economically. Sincan became an attractive spot, particularly for those who worked in places along the route and also for those who wanted quick and easy transportation into Ankara along that line (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). Expansion became self-sufficient when the city, public services and business sector developed, when it became a market center and when the agricultural center began to show more liveliness and variety. As urbanization proceeded, a new-business administrative district began to form perpendicular to the railway. New housing and buildings started to emerge on both sides of this district on streets parallel to the railway.

The Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was one of the settlement areas planned by the Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau according to the urban development strategy along the Western Corridor for the year 1990 (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). Previous to this, Western Corridor was virtually used as a laboratory by the public sector in the search for a solution to the national housing problem. The Sincan Gecekondü Prevention Area, The New Settlements project located above Eryaman Village, and The Ankara Municipality Batıkent Project (undertaken with the cooperation of Kent-Koop) were all products of this way of thinking. The greatest advantage of the Sincan – Elvanköy project site compared to these large areas was the proximity to the railway, as a significant factor in transportation to the metropolis. Çinici (1984) stated that “the one-directional workflow into the metropolis will be transformed into a two-directional flow during work hours” (p.68) with the implementation of the plan. In this context, Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank commissioned Altuğ and Behruz Çinici to envisage a mass housing prototype of 3000 units following these objectives (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.1):

- “To alleviate density in the existing city area.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.61).
- “To orient the direction of development outward, making maximum use of the existing infrastructure of the transportation network by carefully evaluating the relationship between home and workplace.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.61).
- “To control, to the extent possible, the inflation of land values by orienting the direction of urban development from the periphery inward towards the already existing structure.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.61).

In other words, the development was “not only independent of the capital flow but also obligated to the regional production and consumption” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.63). The proposal was composed around “the main principles of the bank, the program aspired, and the development plan of the country” to provide scopes regarding “social structure, economic structure, physical environment, and townscape” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.1). Çinici (1984) indicated some of the anticipated targets of the project as:

- “Sheltering around 12.000 people in 3000 housing units, giving priority to low- and middle-income groups and seeking flexibility in planning.” (p.1).
- “Creating work opportunities and thus an urban environment relying more on production than consumption, reflecting the characteristics of past cultures as well as contemporary living” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.1-2).
- “Standardization of repetition elements in buildings, allowing in situ production. An important factor in design policy of the buildings should be elasticity that allows room to changing demands.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.2-3).
- “In the design of the buildings and services, contemporary science, technology, and esthetics have to be harmonized; the relation between the natural and man-made environment should be taken up in the design of a single housing unit as well as that of the whole.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.2-3).
- “Areas of communication between functions (roads, meeting places, markets) should be incorporated with the open areas through passages, ascensions and descents, through contrasts between light and shade.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.3).
- “The relations between housing and cultural, social, and economic activities should be studied in terms of pedestrian roads and walking distances. Different expectations should be taken into consideration in their design.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.3).
- “Emphasizing structure, character, and meaning of the environment to create a synthesis of traditional forms and contemporary values.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.3).

Therefore, the programmatic character of the project fostered the ideal way of living embedded in the historical tradition considering the evolution of mass housing

prospects and policies in the twentieth century. The booklet published by Real Estate and Credit Bank (1984) for the promotion of the project devoted close attention to their previous housing projects (Saraçoğlu Mahallesi, Levent Yerleşimi, etc.): “Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank is again in a position to lead the country through the difficulties of transition to the stage of mass housing by producing exemplary living environments.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p. IV).¹⁹ However, instead of realizing the proposal for Sincan – Elvanköy, the Bank encouraged Altuğ and Behruz Çinici to form an analytical document regarding the contemporary urban design and housing approaches starting from the 19th century, the evolution and legal issues of mass housing design in Turkey, the types and patterns of housing in Ankara, the demand for housing in Ankara, the analysis of settlement area in Sincan, and design proposals for the designated land in Zone 40 (Çinici & Çinici, 1984).

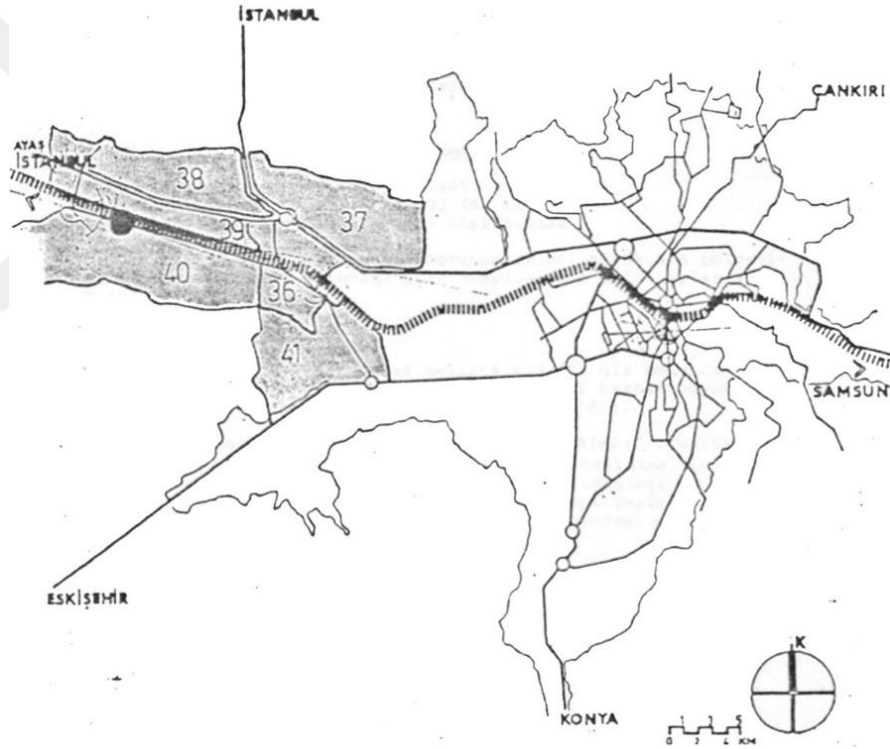


Figure 5.1 Development zones indicated in the Ankara Development Strategy for the year 1990. The black area in the Zone 40 resembles the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1).)

¹⁹ For more information see the Editor’s Preface and Foreword in: Çinici, A., Çinici, B., & Yücel, A. (1984). *The Sincan-Elvanköy New Town, An Experiment in Mass Housing* (A. Yücel, Ed.). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.

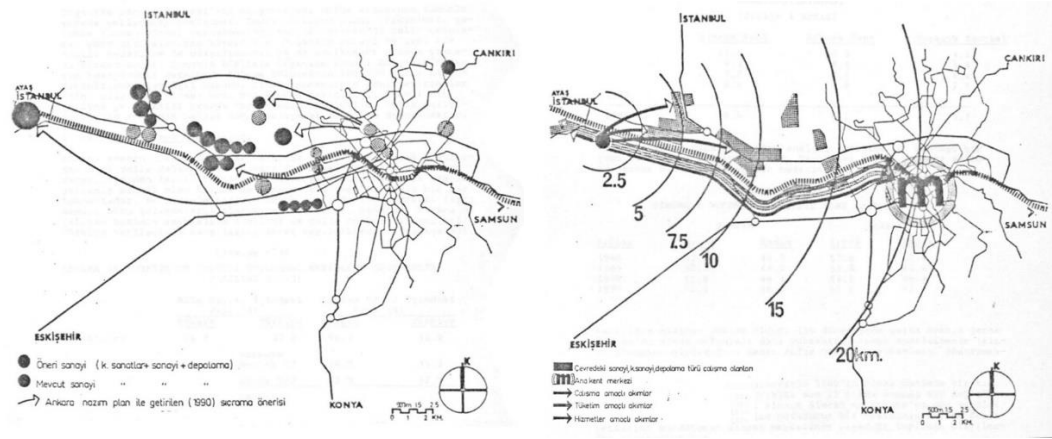


Figure 5.2 On the left, present and planned industrial activity and changes along the Western Development Channel. On the right, integration of Sincan area with its neighborhood and Ankara at the end of the plan. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

5.2 Planning and Design Proposals for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town

In order to elaborate on the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town, it is necessary to position Altuğ and Behruz Çinici’s design approach in the history of modern architecture. In the 1960s-1970s, modernist urban planning principles were far from responding to the needs of post-war societies, leading to the second generation’s rebellion against functional and mechanical cities. “Grasping Smithsons’ human association and urban re-identification as the main issues, Behruz Çinici (1998) narrated the city scale as destiny, representing architecture and urban design inextricably linked with living environments” (Bozdoğan, 2016, p.27). These living environments with fragmented morphologies consisted of blocks, clusters, patios, and mat buildings, reinterpreting vernacular textures (Bozdoğan, 2016). Against the mechanical modernist urbanism, pedestrian axes determined where socialization, human relations, and daily encounters will occur. These vernacular values were reconciled with developing technologies in their projects, adhering to rational production principles of the modernist canon (Pamir, 2011). Bearing the traces of crucial ruptures experienced in modern architecture and urban design theories, “Çinici’s architectural office was identified with the campus and holiday-village scale (identified with METU) in the 1960s and

urban scale (identified with Çorum Binevler) in the 1970s” (Bozdoğan, 2016, p. 27).²⁰ The Middle East Technical University campus in Ankara strongly emphasized “the integration of elements in nature and references to regional tradition” (Kultermann, p.315). Contrary to the rhetoric of flexibility and uncertainty of the 1960s, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici designed each tiny detail to direct people’s behavior in the urban setup (Tanyeli, 1999). Atilla Yücel (1962) illustrated the project as “an amalgam of forms borrowed from different sources. Japan, Aalto, Bakema, Rudolph, Gowan and Stirling, and finally Anatolian culture were brought together, interpreted and recomposed with a talented touch” (p.13). According to Çinici (1998), this social engineering was a lofty mission responding to social, cultural, and demographic changes experienced in the country, generating ideas for the organization of capital, the development of agriculture, the establishment of modern factories, and the provision of education, culture and tourism investments. With these responsibilities in mind, Çinici’s (1996) design of the Çorum Binevler Housing project composed a prominent mass housing settlement as “a realized utopia” with the objective of “shaping the Anatolian people” (Çinici & Çinici, 1996, p.76). The primary purpose was to provide a satellite city for the low- and middle-class with particular attention to urban design principles. Therefore, this type of association in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was rooted in the Çinici’s Çorum Binevler Housing project. In this context, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici (1984) stated the components of the planning process as “studies on planning and design, reports on services and engineering, and projects of urban and architectural design.” (p.81). The expected outcomes from the project were portrayed as:

- “The short-term aim regards the inner dynamics of the project and comprises the program of the project that will eventually constitute the basis of the initial project. The building program is based on the planning, infrastructure and engineering data.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.81)
- “The long-term aim is to produce the data and initial projects that will constitute the foundation for the final project and construction phases and to

²⁰ Altuğ and Behruz Çinici were well-known for designing the Middle East Technical University Campus (1961-1963) in Ankara and Binevler Housing Complex (1971-1975) in Çorum. For more information: Kultermann, U. (2000). Constituting a Turkish identity: the architecture of Behruz Çinici. *Journal of Architecture*, 5(3), 315–326.; Çinici, A., Çinici, B., & Altın, A. T. (1996). *Çorum Binevler : gerçekleşen bir ütopya = a realized housing utopia*. Çinici Mimarlık.

designate the general principles for planning and construction.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.81)

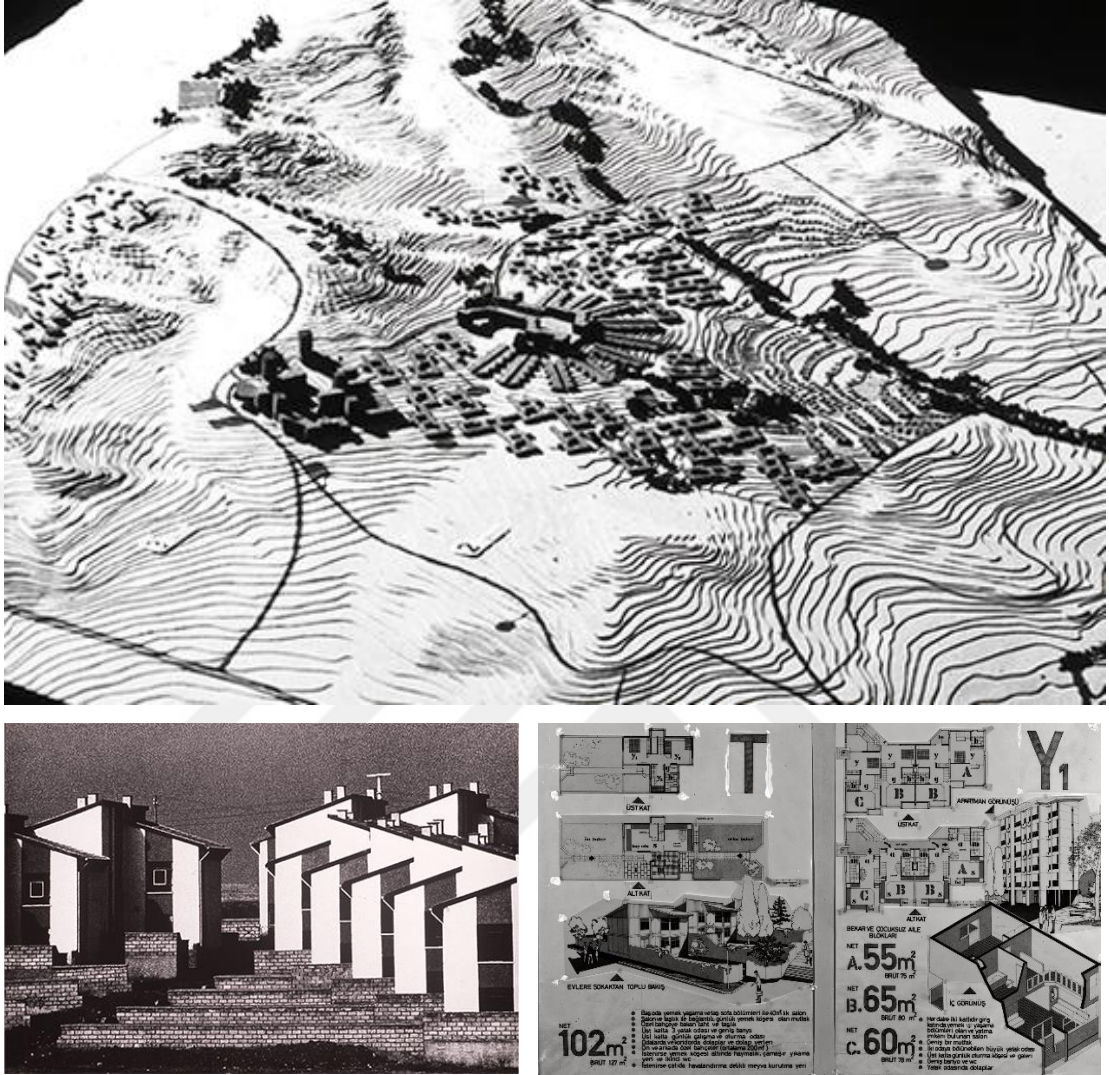


Figure 5.3 Çorum Binevler model, individual houses and dwelling types brochure. (Source: Salt Archive.)

5.2.1 Evaluation of the Housing Market

As urbanization accelerated in Turkey, high-density settlements responded to the need for housing, leading to demolition and land speculation in the urban structure. The reaction of the middle-class was to acquire real estate to preserve the value of their savings (Çinici & Çinici, 1984; Keleş, 1990; Tekeli, 1982). Since the “production in the housing market was for the most part financed by individual buyers, the *yap-satçı* dominated the market even without investing capital” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.85;

Tekeli, 1982). *Yap-satıcı*'s tendency to profit from the houses as much as possible caused the expansion of units with expensive materials, increasing the market prices above the average. While the working class gravitated towards *gecekondu*, savings of the middle-class were insufficient with interest rates (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). After 1980, inflation began to damage investments in the market, leading to depression in housing demand (Tekeli, 1982).²¹ In this context, Çinici (1984) put a strong emphasis on their strategy for middle-class housing in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town: “The demand of middle-income groups for housing in the conditions of the pre-1980 period has kept falling, and there is no going back to the previous structure. Primarily, unnecessarily spacious housing units will have to be given up, and housing designs in keeping with social structure and behavior will have to be developed.” (p.86). In other words, it was necessary to transform the spacious and expensive housing units into functional forms reminiscing *existenzminimum*. Therefore, lowering the costs of housing with “remodeled organization and financing structures” (Çinici & Çinici, p.86; Keleş, 1990) through the participation of private institutions would be the only solution for the middle-class’ housing problem.

In this context, it is also necessary to demonstrate the structure of Mass Housing Legislation (1981). Housing was indicated as a “profitable investment reflecting the significant change in mentality” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.86; Keleş, 1990), prioritizing the lower- and middle-class. Since this legislation only “encouraged positive development in housing production procedures” and was not a definite solution to the housing problem, Çinici (1984) stated that Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank’s policies shaped the “materialization of the Sincan – Elvanköy New Town” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.86):

- “Mass housing enterprises will preferably be realized in regions recommended by the Superior Council of Mass Housing and local character will be taken into consideration.” (p.87).
- “Although various income groups are taken into consideration in the projects, lower and middle income groups will have special weight.” (p.87).
- “Turkish workers in foreign countries, retired people and newly married couples will be given special consideration.” (p.87).

²¹ Tekeli (1982) denominated this process *bunalım*. For more information: Tekeli, İ. (1982). Türkiye’de konut sunumunun davranışsal nitelikleri ve konut kesiminde bunalım. *Kent-Koop: Konut 81*, 57-101.

- “All technology appropriate for the country that will enable better, cheaper, more beautiful or more rapid construction will be employed, if necessary joint enterprises will be considered.” (p.87).
- “With wide-spread construction of mass housing, production will increase, work opportunities will be created for the unemployed and experience will be attained for doing work outside Turkey” (p.87).

5.2.2 Construction, Organization and Proposals Concerning Building Maintenance and Management

Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank depicted Sincan – Elvanköy New Town as “the product of a new understanding, a new organization and a new urban model.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p. 103). At the end of the initial design phase, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici (1984) proposed “future apprehensions for the bank, inhabitants, and settlement to be evaluated during the construction” (p. 105-107). Although the project was not constructed, it is critical to observe how architects criticized and canalized housing production machinery to reveal the multi-faceted actors in the 1980s. Since the leading actor in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank, it is necessary to illustrate the organization chart and management model proposed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, indicating the complexity of housing production with priorities, hierarchies, and stipulations. The target user group was low- and middle-class, who can obtain loans through cooperatives from social security institutions under Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank. Although the Ministry of Development and Housing supported the bank’s activities with financial resources, Behruz Çinici (1984) stated the need for an increase in the bank’s capital for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town:

- “For the construction of the main project of mass housing, the capital designated by the Bank should be made available. New resources should be found through new regulations. Outside Turkey, the project should be introduced to finance bodies like World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, the European Council Housing Fund, and the Islamic Development Bank.” (p.105).

Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank directed these resources to design, construction, maintenance, and production branches with the contributions of the design group (architects, urban planners, civil engineers etc.) and private corporations (agriculture, leisure, service etc.). According to Çinici (1984), incorporating public, semi-public, and private enterprises was critical:

- “Ministries and public institutions of the economy should be consulted for their possible contribution in planning, marketing, or construction of housing for their employees. Cooperation with individuals or institutions producing or marketing buildings or building materials in the region should be encouraged.” (p.105).

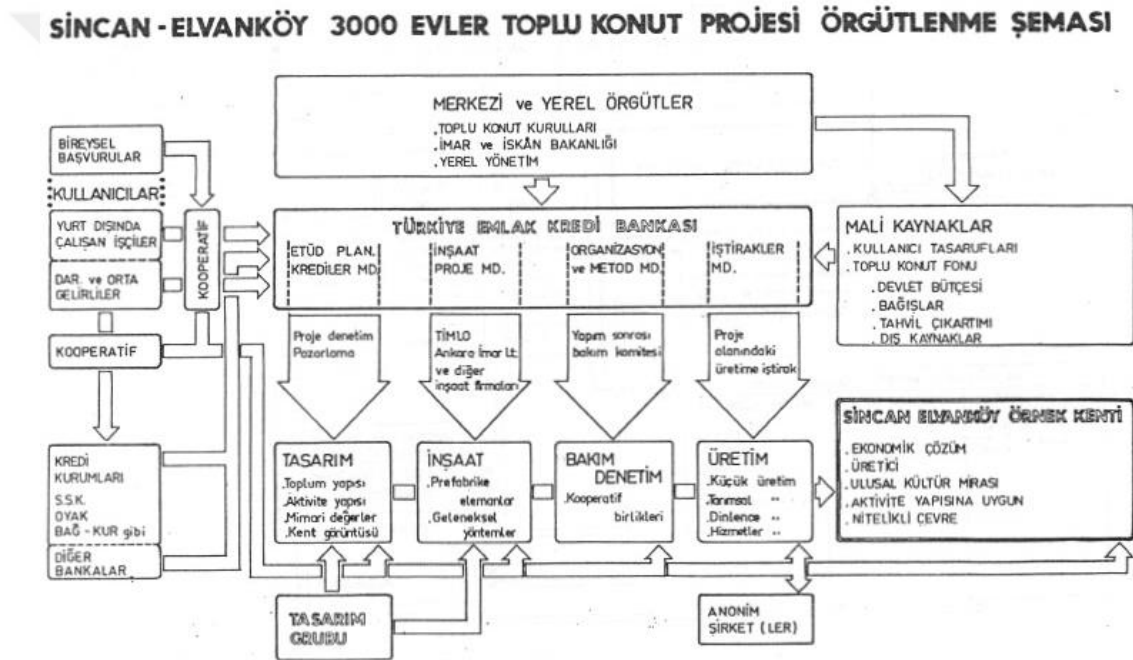


Figure 5.4 Organization chart for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1).)

At the same time, “the establishment of new organizations contributing at the stages of planning, pre-construction, construction, and post-construction” helped to coordinate the process (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.105):

- “The centralized units of the Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank, namely, the directorate, and its construction companies, Timlo and Ankara İmar Ltd. Şirketi, should be reorganized to the level of contemporary examples. Also, continuous functioning of the organization of the bank that provides

management, administration, maintenance, and control should be secured.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.105).

SINCAN - ELVANKÖY 3000 EVLER YÖNETİM-İŞLETME MODELİ

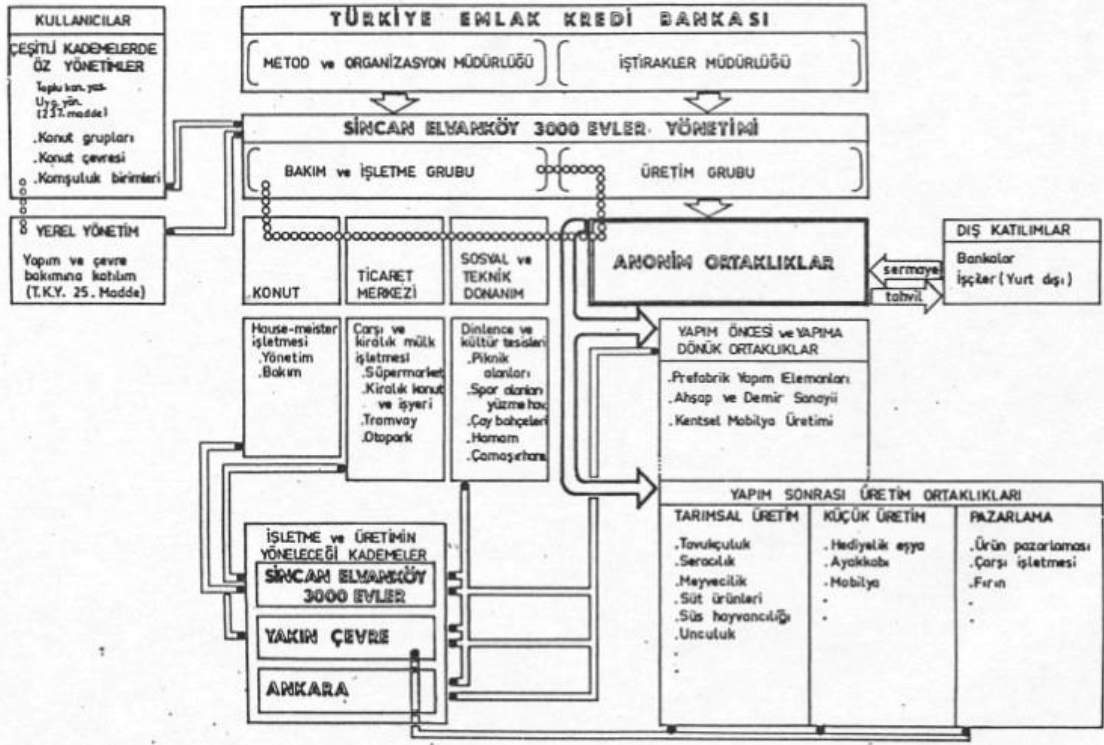


Figure 5.5 Management model for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1).)

The management model proposed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici (1984) considered the future inhabitants and settlement characteristics as the main factors, differentiating Sincan – Elvanköy New Town from other mass housing programs:

- “Characteristics of inhabitants should be studied so that the population will not be brought together haphazardly. Social solidarity, cultural identification, and common production should be possible.” (p.106).
- “Mass housing projects of today are designed solely for the function of providing shelter. The Elvanköy settlement is not only a housing area but a small town. The organization of the activities of the inhabitant in relation to the settlement itself, to the immediate surroundings, and to the city would increase its chances of creating a living environment.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.106).

- “A major characteristic of housing cooperatives designed for individual ownership is their dissolution after the construction of the project. This should be avoided through the establishment of continuous organization under the guidance of the bank.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.106).

The final result was the exemplary town with an economical solution to low- and middle-class housing and a qualified environment generating the national cultural heritage. The attempt to construct an integrated community stems from the architectural legacy of Team 10.

5.3 Spatial Characteristics and Housing Typologies of the Residential Environment

The distinct shift from traditional family structures to modern nuclear families evolved parallel to the attempts at modernization and social-economical realities. In Sincan – Elvanköy, it has been surmised that single families will be the inhabitant of the housing units (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). Hence, the primary concept guiding the housing design was the neighborhood unit to obtain urban standards. Following Smithsons’ urban re-identification grid of house – street – district – city, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici (1984) proposed the hierarchical order of house – street – residential area – neighborhood unit to compose a new urban environment for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. Although the Mass Housing Legislation promoted functional dwelling units, Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank’s oppression led to the design of spacious units (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). Behruz Çinici’s initial design predicted an equal distribution among various sizes, whereas the survey conducted by the Bank loaded on the larger sizes (Çinici & Çinici, 1984). The final design of housing units for Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was in line with the survey results, targeting the middle-class dispositions. At the same time, the survey questioned the anticipated housing typologies with three options: “individual houses with gardens, row houses with gardens, and multi-story blocks” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.88). The tendency was clearly toward the *garden city* model but Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank’s authority committed to the high-rise apartment blocks.

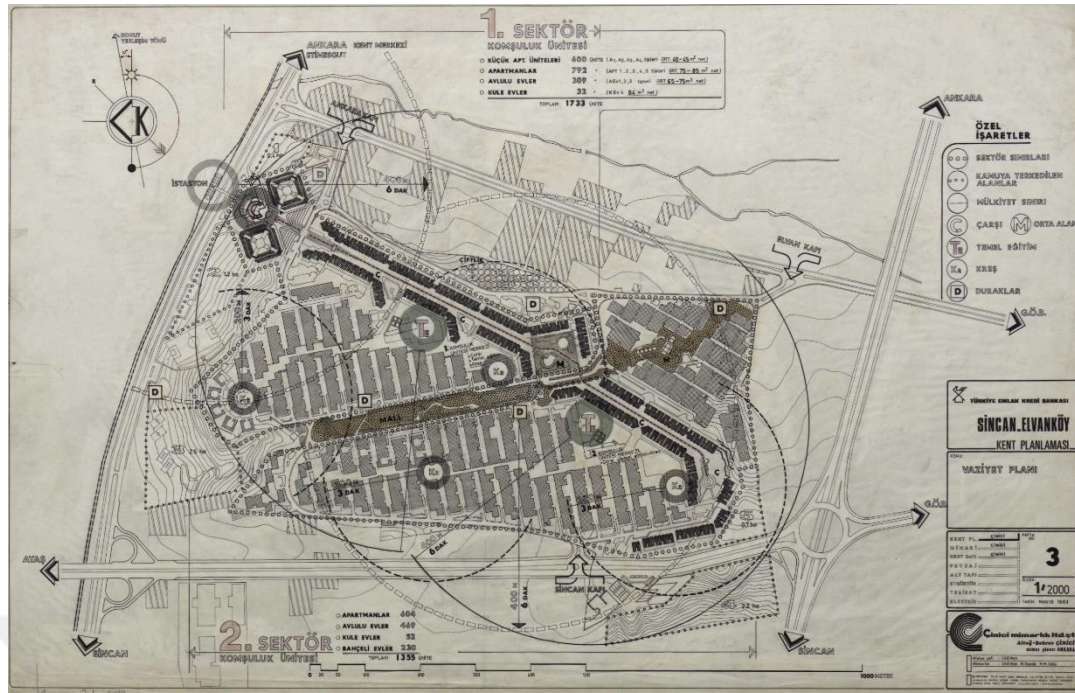


Figure 5.6 Site plan of Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1).)

Table 1: The distribution of house sizes to be constructed. (Source: Çinici, A., Çinici, B. (1984). *The Sincan-Elvanköy New Town, An Experiment in Mass Housing* (A. Yücel, Ed.). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

Size (m2)	Predicted Percentage	Percentage of Bank's Survey	Determined Percentage	Number of Units
45-50	25%	1.5%	18.9%	584
60-70	35%	19.2%	9.4%	291
80-100	40%	76.9%	71.7%	2213

Table 2: The distribution of housing typologies to be constructed. (Source: Çinici, A., Çinici, B. (1984). *The Sincan-Elvanköy New Town, An Experiment in Mass Housing* (A. Yücel, Ed.). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

Housing Typologies	Percentage of Bank's Survey	Percentage of Bank's Proposal
Individual houses with gardens	78.7%	30%
Row houses with gardens	10.8%	
Multi-story blocks	8.8%	70%

Table 3: Characteristics and quantities of housing typologies. (Source: Çinici, A., Çinici, B. (1984). *The Sincan-Elvanköy New Town, An Experiment in Mass Housing* (A. Yücel, Ed.). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

	Type No	Characteristics	Building Net (m2)	Total Number
Individual Courtyard 2-Storey	A. house 1	In equal lots of 11x13m.	78	364
	A. house 2	Horizontal development extension	85	338
Individual with garden, single-storey	A. house 3	Extension at roof level (kuşganalı)	6	34
Tower Houses	K. house 4 (A - B - C)	Ground floor type A with private gardens	64	126
Multi-Storey Houses with Private Gardens	B. house 5A	Single-storey	67	230
	B. house 5B	2-storey	85	
5-Storey Apartment Blocks without Lifts	Apt.1	Private gardens duplex	85	232
	Apt.2	First and second floors	75	452
	Apt.3	Third and other floors	80	624
	Apt.4	Corners, first and second floors	95	30
	Apt.5	Corners, third and other floors	99	58
High-Rise Apartment Blocks, Apartments, and Suites	A1–A2–A3	Between 37-45 m2	40	582
	A4	Duplex	68	18

Since housing was the primary concern of the proposal, Çinici (1984) produced spatial characteristics and typologies responding to the modern lifestyle of the middle-class. In terms of urban design, their three main elements were traditional but contemporary *konut dokusu* (housing texture), *mall yeşil aks* (mall green axis) for gathering the community, and a commercial *kent omurgası* (urban spine) defining the community path for friendship; “composing the main elements of the neighborhood units to originate public spheres for human relations and daily encounters against

modernist urbanism” (Bozdoğan, 2016, p.27; Çinici & Çinici, 1984). The urban spine was surrounded by high-rise apartment blocks designed to rent and commercial units to form a linear center, dividing the project area diagonally. The urban spine’s starting point was the *agora*, which perpetuated “the closed bazaar tradition of Anatolian-Turkish origin, acting as a node, a focal point of the transportation network, a gate.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99). At the end of the urban spine, *bekar bloklar* (bachelor blocks) were located next to the train station with a large courtyard consisting of an amphitheater, fountain, and bridge, reminiscing a sophisticated version of Yeşiltepe Blokları (1956), as an attempt to urbanize the project. Pierced at an angle to the urban spine, the mall axis constituted “a pedestrian-considerate area” with the cultural center, multi-purpose hall, bazaar, library, and open green areas (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99). The mall and urban spine’s intersection was the *forum*, the center of the settlement for low-rise housing units. Reflecting the cultural values of the village, housing units were located at the end of the mall axis with a mosque and bath, “expecting to attract a population of rural origin.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99). At the other end of the mall axis, “a contemporary interpretation of the spatial patterns of Anatolia and the 200-year experience of the humanistic urban structure of Europe have been attempted to be brought together.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99). Individual housing units formed spontaneous connections with the streets, gardens, or courtyards with externalizing spatial components. Traditional streets rather than housing block groups formed the urban fabric, where each residential unit was supported in size, height, and accessibility to receive service within walking distance. All residential units had visually distinctive exterior spaces without directly facing the adjacent units. Uninterrupted pedestrian paths accompanied open spaces in various sizes, shapes, and activities. While the housing activity represented open spaces, open spaces represented the visually accessible public services located at the focal points. Altuğ and Behruz Çinici (1984) also enhanced the modern lifestyle with educational areas, socio-cultural facilities, administrative buildings, health services, commercial activities, service areas, playgrounds, landscaping, and transportation network in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. “Although functionalism was a primary concern that guided the design, the proposed environment was far from being a mechanical interpretation of orthodox functionalism. A living environment that contributes to its inhabitant has been sought.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99). Regarding the housing aspirations of the middle-class, 1240 out of 3088 dwelling units were houses with private gardens (Çinici & Çinici,

1984). This ratio can be reinterpreted as a strategy to fulfill the middle-class' longing for the *garden city* model.

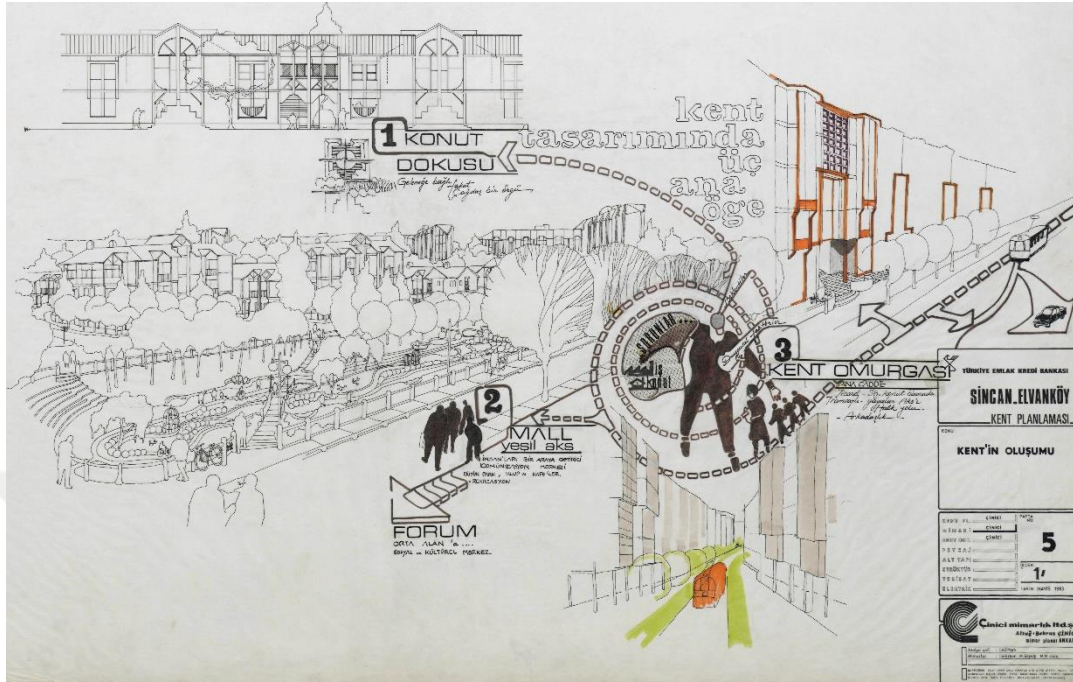


Figure 5.7 Çinici's main principles of urban design. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1).)

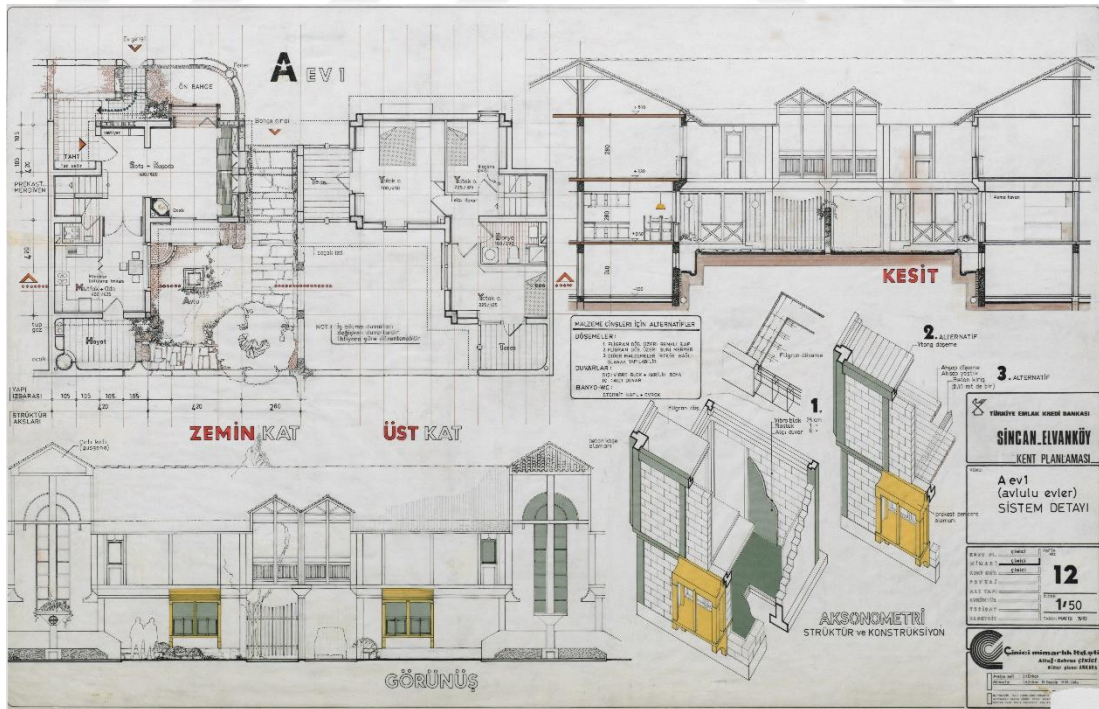


Figure 5.8 Drawings of courtyard houses. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

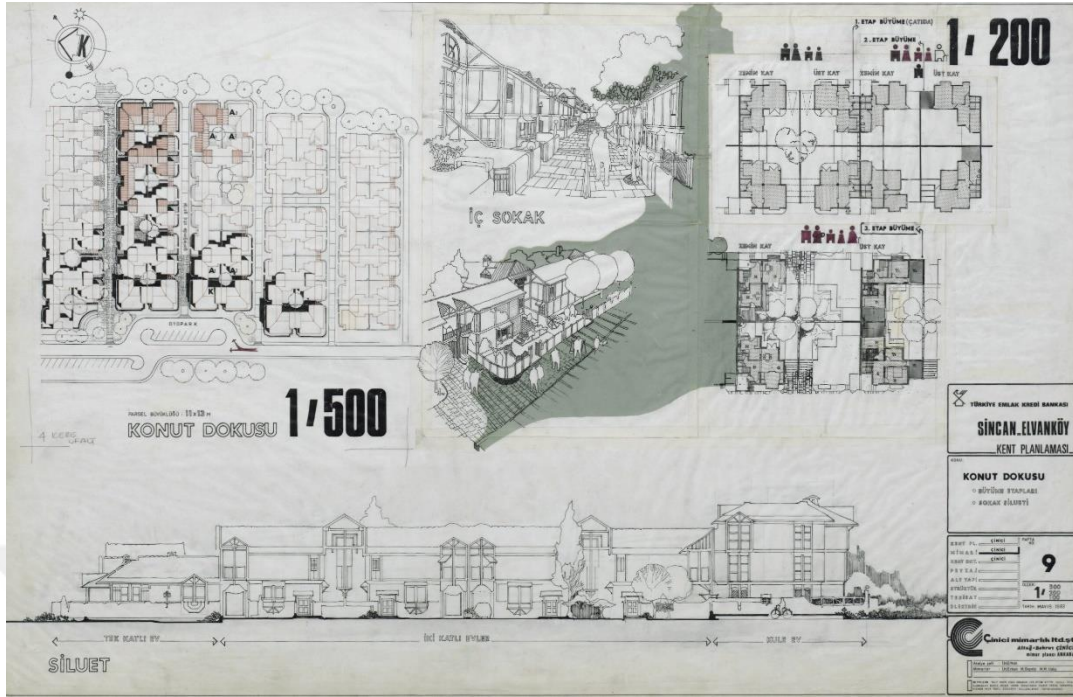


Figure 5.9 Drawings of individual houses. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

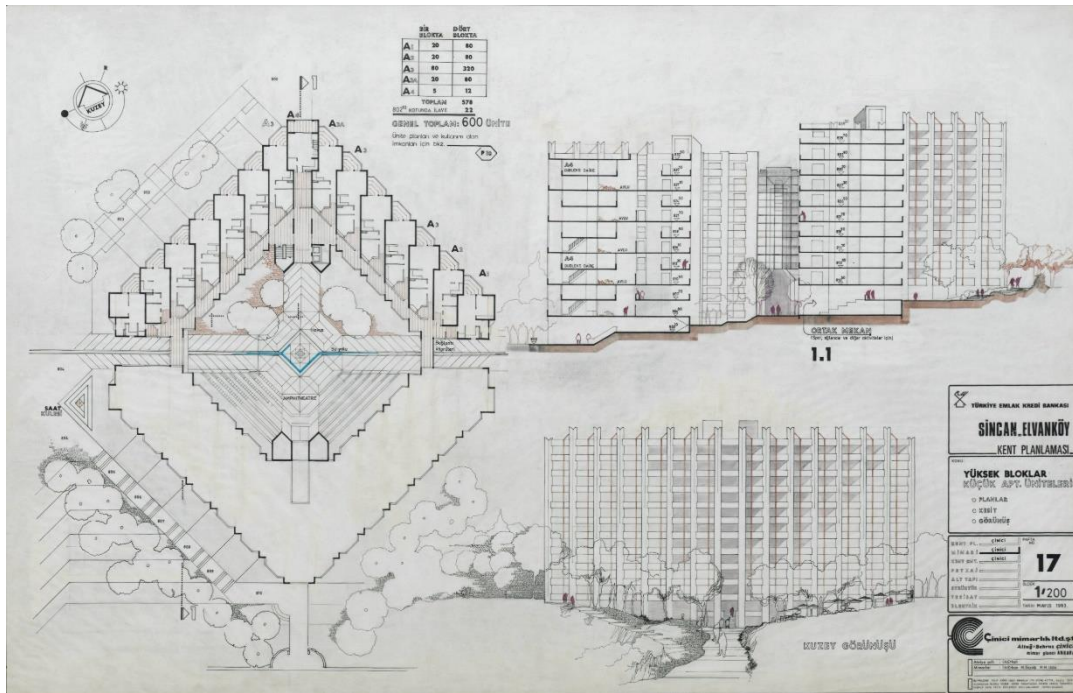


Figure 5.10 Drawings of high-rise blocks. (Source: Çinici, A., & Çinici, B. (1983). *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sincan-Elvanköy 3000 Evler Toplu Konut Planlaması* (Planlama Öncesi Araştırması ed., Vol. 1). Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank.)

In order to illustrate the similar dynamics between the project and prominent architectural debates, it is necessary to investigate plans for several housing typologies in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town. Starting with the individual courtyard houses, the relevancies with Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi and Letchworth arouses interest through the in-between corridor of dwelling units, the distribution of spaces, and the relationship with the garden. More than that, Çinici's (1984) use of the term *hayat* (life) reminds the vernacular houses' patio (*avlu*, *çardak*, *sergah*, etc.) in Turkey, explored by Doğan Kuban (1995). The term was widely used in Turkish architectural terminology even through the mass housing competitions of the 1980s to investigate the interconnected role of *hayat* with other functions in the house. At the same time, Çinici (1984) incorporates the *sofa + bașoda* typology as the primary living environment of the house, exposing the typological formation of the Turkish house studied by Sedad Hakki Eldem (1954).

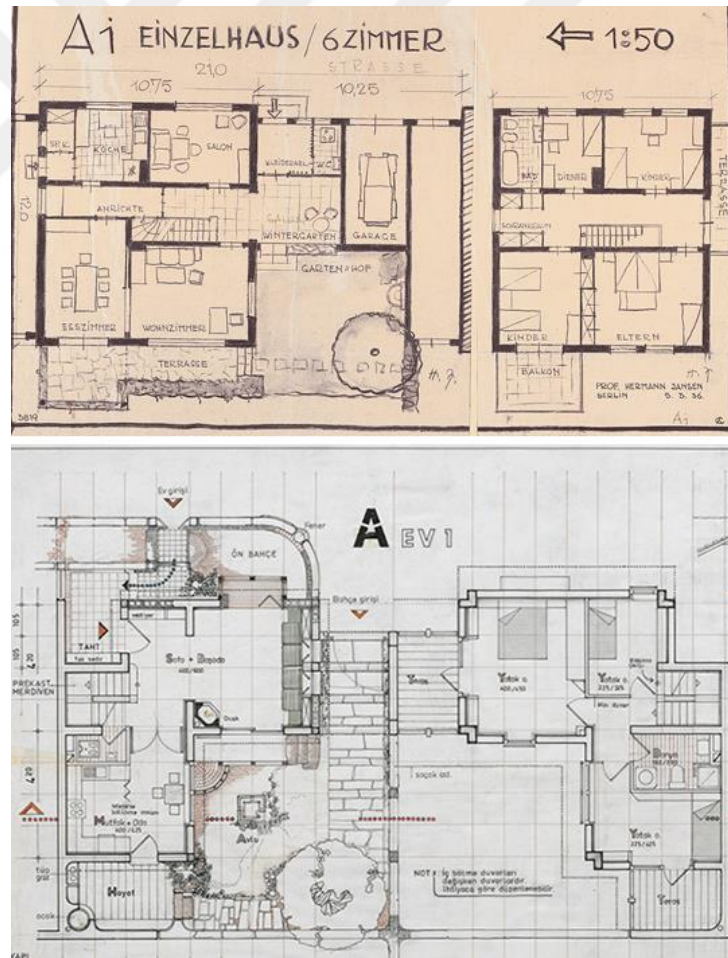


Figure 5.11 Drawings of Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi A1 type and Sincan – Elvanköy courtyard houses A1 type (Source: Jansen, H. (1936).; Çinici, B. (1984).)

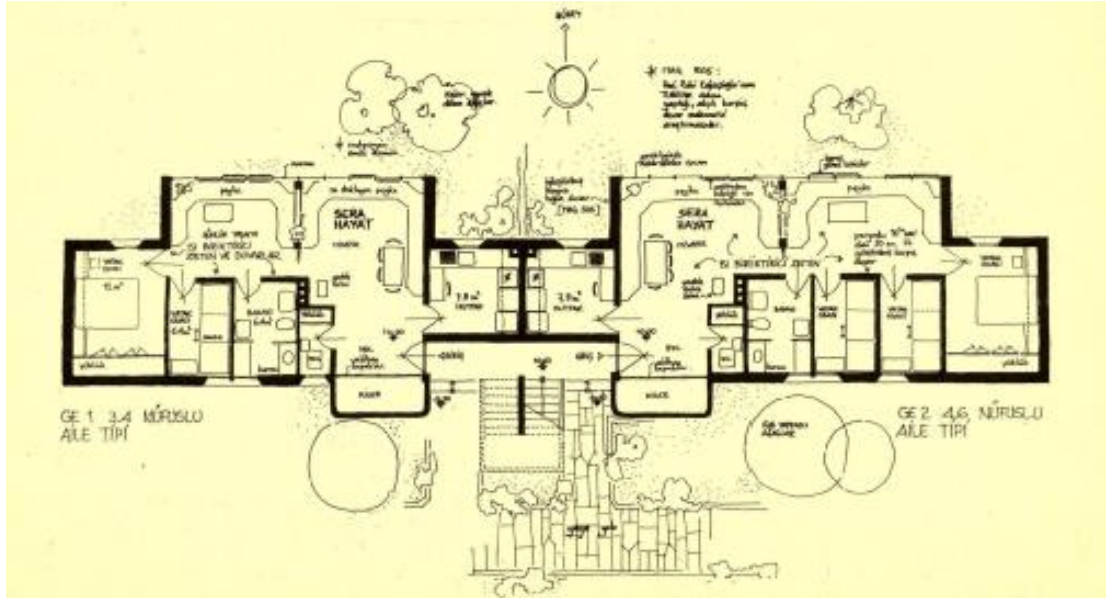


Figure 5.12 Submission for the housing competition using the *sera hayat*. (Source: Arkitekt.)

The five-story high apartments of Çinici (1984) reminisce the array block layout of Churchill Gardens, Dammerstock Siedlung, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi, İsrail Evleri, etc. through the formation of the floor plan. The urban correlation between blocks alters the street scale into the neighborhood scale with the traditional daily encounters. The high-rise apartment blocks consist of rationalized dwelling units following the *existenzminimum*. While in terms of urban development, Çinici (1984) reinterpreted the model of Yeşiltepe Blokları, in terms of architectural composition, characteristics of Unite d'Habitation are apparent in both interior and exterior organization.

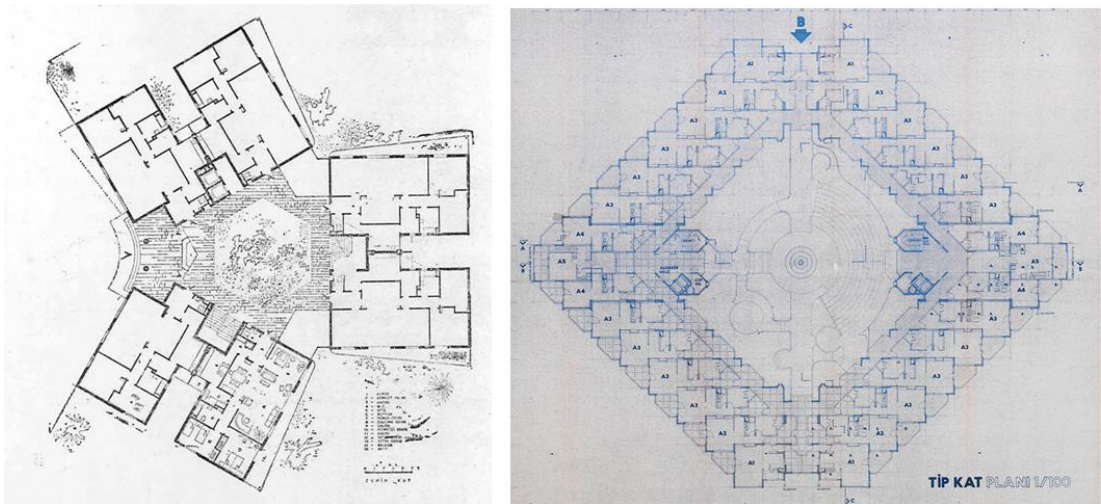


Figure 5.13 Apartment block of Yeşiltepe Blokları and Sincan – Elvanköy. (Source: Arkitekt.; Çinici, B. (1984).)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

With industrialization, a radical change occurred in the social structure and the development of production technologies, amplifying the orientation to the urban areas. Demographic concentration in urban areas and the expansion of the railway network accelerated the formation of industrial centers, leading to a severe housing shortage (Mumford, 1938). The necessity of re-constructing residential areas in the cities caused excessive population density and unfavorable health conditions, directing authorities and architects to find solutions on quantity first. Besides the quantity, hygiene and healthy housing were considered priorities to clear the depressed areas that threaten human health through legal arrangements. Upon this, many industrialists started to build factories and housing settlements for their workers outside the cities, envisaging sub-central settlements under the influence of the *garden city* model that came to the fore in England and has been effective in most European countries (Benevolo, 1993; Howard, 1896). After the First World War, Germany was the first country to be affected by the *garden city* through smaller-scale applications of *siedlungs* on the city's outskirts. Unlike these sub-center models, urban mass housing blocks were built primarily in the Netherlands. Although the primary problem between the two world wars was to meet the demand for housing numerically and to produce housing units with technical equipment that could eliminate hygienic problems, the applications were also searching for quality as modern architecture was brought to the agenda (Frampton, 1996). After the Second World War, housing was accepted as a qualitative

problem where new models were questioned, and consequently, mixed development models consisting of various typologies started to rise.

The evolution of socio-economic structure in industrialized countries of Europe echoed in Turkey after the Second World War. As a result of the mechanization in the agricultural sector, the housing problem increased in parallel to the population movement from rural to urban. In these years, housing production was operated in the forms of “*cooperative*, *yap-sat*, and *gecekondu*” (Baydar, 1992; Keleş, 1990; Tekeli, 1982). With the government’s support, cooperative settlements were planned outside the zoned areas considering the lower land prices. The *yap-sat* production was a private initiative in the zoned areas of the cities, prioritizing profit. Executed mainly by unemployed migrators, *gecekondu* was an illegal enterprise on empty public lands around the city. Although many housing policies were enacted to supervise these production methods from the declaration of the Republic, housing also acquired dimension as an assurance against the turbulent economic conditions of the country. The transformation of the housing problem into an investment tool with speculative expectations shaped housing as an indicator of social status (Castells, 1978; Keleş, 1990; Türel, 1989). Under the influence of the consumer society paradigm, the increasing sense of insecurity in the urban structure dissociated the housing predispositions of different income groups. Especially in Ankara after the 1960s, the desires of bureaucrats and civil servants -constituting the backbone of the middle-class with an above-average salary, a decent education, and an idea of etiquette- to live in protected mass housing settlements far from the city center became evident with new actors joining the housing production (Karpaz, 2000; Mardin, 1991; Neyzi, 1973).

Under this framework, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town achieved a breakthrough considering the direct connection with the railway and highway, integrating the mass housing settlement and the urban fabric on a nodal point. “Since the project area is closely linked to the mass transportation system, this characteristic constitutes a departure point for its design.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.97). The settlement’s critical position encouraged the penetration of both architectural and urban scales, as the priority of this experiment was “to fight against chaotic urbanization” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.VI). Thus, unlike the limited inferences of urban environment in ME-SA and OR-AN, Sincan – Elvanköy not only focused on the building scale but also meditated the urban scale to provide accessibility within the self-sufficient structure. Another

critical component is the “street + market tradition that has shaped the Ottoman-Turkish towns.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.97). While most mass housing projects responded to the need for commercial spaces within the ground floor of residential blocks or as total separate blocks, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town reflected the vernacular habits through uninterrupted pedestrian networks wandering around the commercial spaces.

While the high-rise mass housing blocks predominated the middle-class settlements in Ankara, Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was planned with the rational reinterpretation of the *garden city* model, disclosing the vernacular character to attract prior habits of the middle-class. The neighborhood structure also resembled the *siedlung* and reframed Smithson’s hierarchical order as “the house, the street, the residential area and the neighborhood unit” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.90). Thus, the settlement excluded vehicle traffic in the low-rise residential areas and enhanced pedestrian access along green belts. “The gate to the settlement was a focal point of the transportation network and a big market” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.99), surrounded by high-rise mass housing blocks for rental purposes. The monumental entrance led to the “linear space of *urban spine*” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.98), emphasized with five-storey high apartment blocks and commercial units. Since the settlement consisted of “educational areas, socio-cultural facilities, administrative buildings, health services, commercial activities, service areas, playgrounds, landscaping, and transportation network” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.91-97), it is a self-sufficient settlement on paper. Therefore, the distinctive catalog of housing typologies in Sincan – Elvanköy New Town composes the mixed development, with the influence of vernacular architecture.

Although Sincan – Elvanköy New Town targeted the low- and middle-income groups, most likely, the application would appeal to the middle- and upper-class looking at the intensity of individual housing typologies suggested. However, this was a typical pattern of the Turkey Real Estate and Credit Bank, also experienced in the Saraçoğlu, Levent and Ataköy applications due to unanticipated financial and political problems. According to Baykan Günay (2012), the bank was “inadequate to grasp the abstract of the project” and consequently could not implement the proposal for Sincan – Elvaköy New Town. However, Çinici (1984) had already planned every detail of the project, from dwelling units to urban furniture. The final archive consisted of Turkish and English booklets, introducing itself as “an experiment in mass housing”, aiming to

“constitute a supportive framework for other planning activities.” (Çinici & Çinici, 1984, p.1-3).

Although Sincan – Elvanköy New Town was not realized, another mass housing project in the same region was built in the following years by TOKI under the name Atakent, appealing to low-class. The discussion regarding whether the bank benefited from the contributions of Altuğ and Behruz Çinici in developing this project is ambiguous. Although the urban decision of linear axis is visible in Atakent between the identical high-rise point blocks, the quality and characteristics of architectural and urban space are generally missing in the application.



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