DESIGN CHRONOLOGY TURKEY

HOUSING

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VitrA Contemporary Architecture Series Presents: DON'T BE LATE HOME An Exhibition on House through Time

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INTRODUCTION

The social, economic and cultural continuity or disruptions in the different modes of the adventure of dwelling is hidden not in the appearance of spaces, but in their meaning. For instance, pigeonhole of a house. Between this modest approach and our ideal, the social and cultural codes that define our relationship with the place we live in are subject to change. Dwelling, cell, domicile, apartment, housing, ideal house, lottery house, summer house, summer house complex, mass housing, social housing, cooperative, satellite city, TOKİ, condominium, gated community, guarded gated community, village-city, city-village, eco-house, smart house, green house, sustainable house... evolving names of the axes of life.

This dossier is prepared according to the following:

- "EMPLOYEE HOUSING" that is ours for as long as we live in it, "DORMITORIES" that make us dream of moving to a house, or inevitable sojourns at "DISASTER HOUSING".
- True to its name, built overnight, "GECEKONDU".
- The meaning and image of our IDEAL HOUSE changes over the years within the limits of our means: an "APARTMENT" in Şişli, a "SEASIDE MANSION" or wooden "MANOR" on the Bosphorus, the dream of a "LOTTERY HOUSE" with the bank lottery, the second key at home; a "SUMMER HOUSE", as for today, the desire to live in a "CONDOMINIUM" or a guarded/sheltered "GATED COMMUNITY".
- Beyond an ideal, dwelling is a necessity, and as life gets harder, the name of cooperation becomes "COOPERATIVE"; meanwhile "SATELLITE CITY" is an urban dream.
- "SOCIAL HOUSING" that starts with state support, "MASS HOUSING" and TOKI.

THRESHOLDS, LAWS

1826

Public Order and Constabulary Regulations

1839 Imperial Edict of Gülhane (Edict of Reorganization)

1844 First Census in the Ottoman Empire

<u>1847-48</u> Road and Building Regulations

<u>1854</u> Foundation of the Municipality

1855 Establishment of the City Order Commission

<u>1856</u> Edict of Reform

<u>1876</u> First Constitutional Era

<u>1877</u> Municipality Law

<u>1908</u> Second Constitutional Era

<u>1923</u> İzmir Economic Congress

Foundation of the Republic of Turkey

<u>1924-25</u> Carl C. Lörcher's Plan for Ankara as Turkey's First Development Plan

1924 René and Raymond Danger İzmir Master Plan

<u>1926</u> Foundation of the Real Estate and Orphans Bank

Turkish Civil Code

1927 First Census of the Republic of Turkey

<u>1928</u> Hermann Jansen Ankara Master Plan

Act on the Construction of Ministry and Public Office Buildings and Civil Servant Apartment Buildings in Ankara İş Bank's Savings Incentive through Moneybox Mobilization

<u>1930</u> Municipal Law

First Savings Incentive Bonus: İş Bank Gives 1000 Turkish Lira Bonus

1931 Foundation of Turkish Cooperative Association

Act on the Establishment of Bank of Municipalities

1933 1st Five Year Industrial Development Plan and Textile, Chemical, Ceramics, Glass and Cement Factories

Municipality Building and Roads Law

Foundation of Municipal Development Council

Foundation of Halkbank (People's Bank) to Support Tradesmen and Artisans Housing Cooperatives

Foundation of Sümerbank

<u>1934</u> Drafting of the 2nd Five Year Industrial Development Plan

Municipal Land Acquisition Act

Establishment of the Ministry of Public Works

<u>1935</u> Act on the Amendment of the Municipalities Law

Foundation of Etibank

Foundation of Mineral Research and Exploration Institute

Foundation of TC Ziraat Bank (Republic of Turkey Agriculture Bank)

1936 General Guidelines for the Regulation of Urban Development Plans

1937 Henri Prost İstanbul Master Plan

<u>1944</u>

First (Savings Incentive) Lottery House Given out by Yapı Kredi Bank (Building and Credit Bank)

Law on the Construction of State Employee Housing

1946

Real Estate and Orphans Bank of Turkey Transformed into Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey

Foundation of İstanbul Urban Development LLC in Partnership of Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey and Municipality of İstanbul to Build Housing Settlements

1948 Building Construction Incentive Act

Economic Congress of Turkey

<u>1949</u> Old Age Pension Act

Parliamentary Question on Bank (Saving Incentive) Lotteries Presented to the Minister of Finance at the Parliament

Law on Higher Education Student Dormitories and Soup Kitchens

<u>1950</u>

Act on the Amendment of the Municipalities Law

Foundation of Industry and Development Bank

<u>1950s</u> Boom in Bank Lottery Houses

<u>1953</u>

Act on the Encouragement of Building Construction and Unlicensed Buildings

Amendment to the Law on Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey

1954 Foundation of the Chamber of Architects

Proliferation of Architecture Firms

1955

Establishment of Principles and Restrictions on Bank Lotteries by the Bank Credits Regulation Committee **Urban Development Congress**

<u>1956</u> Urban Development Act

<u>1958</u> Banking Act: Regulation of Bank Lotteries as Subject to Law

Establishment of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing

<u>1960</u> Foundation of the State Planning Organization and Planning Period

1962 2nd Urban Development Congress

<u>1965</u> Property Ownership Law

1966

Gecekondu (informal housing) Act

<u>1970</u>

Abolishment of the Bank Credits Regulation Committee and the Transfer of its Duties to Central Bank

1973

The End of the Bank Lottery Houses Era through the Ban on Real Estate Lotteries

1975

Limitation of Banks' New Year's Lottery Prizes to Five Categories

<u>1976</u> Abolishment of All Saving Incentive Lotteries and New Year's Gifts

<u>1980</u> 24 January 1980 Decisions

<u>1981</u> Mass Housing Act

<u>1982</u> Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property

1983-87 Five Zoning Amnesties

1984

VAT Exemption for Construction Contracting Transactions for Housing Cooperatives Subject to the Condition that the Net Area of Each Housing Unit Does Not Exceed 150 Square Meters

Act on Certain Procedures for Buildings Violating Zoning and *Gecekondu* Legislations and Amendment of an Article in the Urban Development Law

Mass Housing Fund: Process of the Inclusion of Private Enterprises

Constitutional Amendment to Legalize the Build-Operate-Transfer Model

1986

Act on the Amendment of the Mass Housing Act

<u>1987</u> Beyoğlu Restoration Plan

<u>1992</u>

Bylaws on the Building and Crediting of Mass Housing and Urban Environment Projects on Municipality Lots

1996 Habitat II İstanbul Conference

2001

Transfer of All Assets of Real Estate Bank of Turkey Inc. Except for Banking Activities and Its Shares in Partnerships Operating in This Field and Its Commercial Real Estates and Surplus Real Estates to TOKİ (Public Housing Development Administration) with All Rights and Obligations

Abolishment of the Mass Housing Fund

2003

Act on the Amendment of the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism

Public Financial Management and Control Act

Foreign Direct Investment Law

2004 Act on the Amendment of Cooperatives Law

Metropolitan Municipality Law

Act on the Amendment of Building Land

Office Law and Mass Housing and the Abolishment of the General Directorate of Building Land Office

Law Authorizing TOKİ to Make Master Plans in the *Gecekondu* Transformation Areas

2005

Law on Soil Preservation and Land Utilization

Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets Act

Municipality Law

Local Administration Unions Law

2006

Act on the Amendment of the Law on Soil Preservation and Land Utilization

Abolishment of Tax Exemptions through the Corporate Tax Law

2007

Act on the Amendment of Mass Housing Act

<u>2010</u>

Act on the Organization and Duties of the General Directorate of Highways

2012

Law on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk

Law on Supporting the Development of Forest Villagers, Valuation of Areas Taken out of Forest Area Borders on behalf of the Treasury and Vending of Agriculture Lands Owned by the Treasury

Law on the Establishment of Thirteen New Metropolitan Municipalities and Twenty Six Districts and the Amendment of Certain Laws and Decree Laws

1.A EMPLOYEE HOUSING

EMPLOYEE HOUSING AS A FORM OF TEMPORARY LODGING

Along the lines of the state's social policies, employee housing refers to housing units, in or outside the city. These lodgings are provided to state employees, technical and administrative staff and workers of a workplace free of charge or at a nominal price for a specific length of time. If the employee housing is located outside the city, it is a settlement designed to meet all the social and physical living needs of its residents. The planning of employee housing is a major issue for the young Republic embarking on a large-scale industrial move; at a time when the building sector is yet crawling, the state which creates a model of modern living, becomes a pioneer with the quality of the living spaces it creates.

The new spatial organization and culture of life at employee housings directly affect the towns and lives of the townspeople in the near vicinity. With the gradual increase of production and need for buildings by extension, the same regard and attention is not devoted to employee housing produced by the state in later years. In many places, the need for employee housing is met by standardized projects. In addition to their physical and social shortcomings, standardized projects also disrupt the spatial qualities and characteristic building pattern of their locations. The state begins to sell the employee housings of public institutions and organizations in the framework of the privatization laws issued in the 21st century.

1932 KOZLU AND ÜZÜLMEZ WORKER HOUSES

It is one of the first settlements for workers in Turkey. The Zonguldak Mineral and Coal Enterprises Worker Houses Neighborhood (1934-1936) and Kozlu Coal Enterprises Worker Houses Neighborhood (193) designed by Seyfi Arkan are the first large scale and comprehensive housing complexes that have brought a solution to the lodging need of workers in the early Republican era. Topography and terrain interaction are taken into consideration in these housing units which are planned to be affordable, rational and easy to produce. The design, which includes houses for workers, clerks and engineers; primary school and tennis courts for village and workers' children; and also a dormitory for single workers and an administrative building, is the translation of the new life introduced by the Republican ideal to the employee housing complex built in an Anatolian village.

1964 EREĞLİ IRON AND STEEL PLANT EMPLOYEE HOUSING

There is great interest in the design competition for the Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory that opens in 1964 with 4200 workers; for first place, the jury selects the project by the group comprised of Yılmaz Sanlı, Yılmaz Tuncer, Vedat Özsan and Güner Acar. The jury defines the achievement of the project as "...the possibility of building the settlement facing the view stage by stage; the adept solution of connection to the surroundings and pedestrian and vehicle accessibility; economic element standardization; the prevention of monotony through buildings of varying heights despite prefabrication." It is the first application of a prefabricated concrete wall panel housing system in Turkey.

1971 ETİBANK SEYDİŞEHİR ALUMINUM PLANT EMPLOYEE HOUSING

Most of the employee housing for Seydişehir Aluminum Factory, which began to be built in1969, is completed as the factory buildings are being constructed. The factory and compound projects that are designed in Soviet Russia of the time are applied by Çarmıklı and Tokar Construction Companies. Without cutting each other's sun or light, they are balanced with green in harmony with the topography. The settlement plan including different housing groups is designed to meet all social and public needs of residents with its clubhouse, guesthouse, hairdresser, barbershop, perfumery, ekonoma (a discount supermarket that belongs to the retailers' cooperative), butcher, shopping area with a newsstand, tennis courts, swimming pool, basketball and volleyball courts, cinema, pastry shop, dairy, playgrounds, greenhouse that provides the landscaping and garden care of the compound, bachelor housing, and workers' guesthouse. The preschool, kindergarten and primary school that are not included in the initial settlement plan are added later.

1980s

After 1980, the possibility to establish new factories and businesses with the build-operate-transfer model encourages the private sector to open small industrial estates around cities. Since the problem of finding workers is gradually resolved, the notion of creating supportive working conditions to bind the worker to the factory and ensure quality workforce and building compounds for factory workers loses its significance. Barring a few exceptional cases, the quality of the unique examples of early Republican era employee

1. EMPLOYEE HOUSING

housing that do not compromise on issues of durability and aesthetic values can no longer attained, given the changing economic conditions and quantitative increase.

1984 GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY MP HOUSING COMPLEX

Following the first state neighborhood Saraçoğlu, designed by Paul Bonatz and taking as its reference Anatolian house architecture, a new concept of "state neighborhood" is put forth to respond to the lodging need of the growing parliament and meet contemporary housing necessities. The construction of the building complex envisioned to resolve the housing problem of MPs is completed in 1984. The project is designed by Behruz Çinici and the complex is located on Oran Road, Ankara, spanning an area of 25 hectares with 400 housing units. "A contemporary interpretation of the concept of neighborhood" and "traditional courtyard-house relations" are primary motifs in the MP housing complex. The housing complex is vacated in 2003. It is decided that the possibilities of selling the units as houses or plots or demolishing the buildings to re-open them to zoning will only yield profit in the long run; the houses are put to sale as offices and demolished. A unique element of urban and social memory is relinquished in the name of economic gain.

1994 ÇERKEZKÖY ATK EMPLOYEE HOUSING

ATK Employee Housing Complex is one of the important buildings Han Tümertekin constructs in the second half of the 1990s. The curvilinearity of the two masses of three storeys each makes them non-appendable, not expandable and for one time only. This attitude stands in contrast to the formation/duplication practice of appending new buildings in case of need which constitutes the primary characteristic of the industrial buildings in the area, and distinguishes the houses. Temporality-permanence, hierarchical homogeneity, different lives under the same roof are fundamental points of discussion in the architect's design of the building.



1949 LAW ON HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENT DORMITORIES AND SOUP KITCHENS

The Law on Higher Education Student Dormitories and Soup Kitchens foresees the regulation of "Dormitories and Soup Kitchens" under the authority and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education. In 1950, the authorization process for the establishment of dormitories by private persons and legal entities and their supervision is assigned to this ministry.

1961 HIGHER EDUCATION CREDIT AND DORMITORIES AGENCY

Article 50 of the 1961 Constitution stipulates "To assure that capable and deserving students in need of financial support may attain the highest level of learning consistent with their abilities, the State shall assist them through scholarships and other means." To this end, the Higher Education Credit and Dormitories Agency is established with the law that goes into effect on August 22, 1961. The agency, which operates under the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Youth and Sports in different time periods with various law decrees, is brought under the jurisdiction of the Prime Ministry in 1983. With the mobilization for construction using the concrete prefabrication technology, a large number of dormitories are built in cities such as Edirne, Antalya, Bursa, Burdur, and Konya in addition to İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir.

DORMITORIES AS A FORM OF TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION

With the increase in the number of educational institutions the need for student housing becomes an important subject matter. Established in 1961 under the prime ministry as a special budgeted legal entity subject to private law provisions, the Higher Education Credit and Dormitories Agency is a public institution of social service aiming to provide financial assistance to students in higher education in need of financial support. The most important function of the agency is to fulfill the need for accommodation. It fails to meet the demand that increases over time; some institutions have private dormitories built for the children of their own employees. Barring a few exceptions, dormitory buildings do not have a distinguished architectural language for they represent a state of temporary accommodation and their users are undemanding young people with low income.

ÇEMBERLİTAŞ DORMITORY FOR GIRLS

Operated by the Agency, this dormitory for girls was built in the second half of 1960s and comprises three blocks with a volleyball court in its courtyard. The large number of dormitories opened particularly in the second half of the 1960s and continue to be used today are the prototypes of collective living with bedrooms shared by four to eight students, shared wet areas, dining halls, snack bars, laundry and ironing rooms, and in some, sports facilities, hairdressers, etc.

<u>1966 MSB (MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE)</u> TANDOĞAN STUDENT DORMITORY

The dormitory in Ankara is designed in 1966 by Şevki Vanlı-Ersan Gömleksizoğlu as three blocks, two for men and one for women, comprising common areas clustered on the ground and first floors and bedrooms on the remaining floors to accommodate a total of 400 students. The block order of even leveled eaves stretching from Kızılay Square toward Tandoğan rises in grades upon reaching the square. The dormitory's positioning in this composition enables the building to blend in with the built environment. The repetition of different bearings descending with a specific rhythm and harmony along the building height enriches the language of design.

2014 STUDIO SANTRAL

Studio Santral Dormitory designed by Erginoğlu & Çalışlar Architecture in 2014 is located in the Silahtarağa Campus of İstanbul Bilgi University. The plot dimensions of 180 x 20 meters adopted in the master plan necessitates the building mass to also form a long and narrow rectangle. With a consideration of the texture and historical buildings in its close vicinity, the block effect is lessened with the vertically repeating terrace gardens. The 20 x 10 meter wide opening on the ground floor both accentuates the building entrances and serves as a passage between the front and rear of the building. At the same time, it has a breadth and open view that makes the historical building in the back readily discernable when looking from the street entrance. The mass/void analyses and material choices on the façade are determined in line with zoning status and functional needs and are designed to meet the demands of each room. Casing is not used for windows; the connection with the surrounding texture is established through the rhythm and asymmetry on the facade.



VILLAGES OF THE REPUBLIC

The goal of creating productive, self-sustaining villages was put to action in a number of pilot villages during the early Republican era for the spread of economic, social and cultural reforms also to rural regions, and the balanced distribution of development and wealth across the entire society. From an architectural perspective, the underlying residential element of the Villages of the Republic Project is solid, small, standardized houses. They are envisioned to have the qualities that allow for rational and rapid construction. Spatial standardization, technical feasibility, prefabrication and similar issues considered for these village projects later reenter the agenda during discussions on disaster housing.

1939 ERZİNCAN EARTHQUAKE AND TURKEY

In the aftermath of the 1939 earthquake when approximately 33,000 people lose their lives, over 100,000 houses are demolished and Erzincan is nearly wiped off the map, pioneering architects such as Martin Wagner, Wilhelm Schütte and Behçet Ünsal step to the fore. They work on the subject of disaster housing in terms of earthquake damage prevention and standardization; they advocate that this issue and village reforms are correlated. As aforementioned, the underlying residential element of the Villages of the Republic Project is solid, small, standardized houses.

1992 ERZİNCAN EARTHQUAKE HOUSES AND SEISMIC RETROFITTING PROJECT

TOKİ (Housing Development Administration) starts to work in the field of disaster management and reconstruction following the Erzincan earthquake of 1992. TOKİ assumes a leading role in efforts of planning, construction and renovation of housing, infrastructure and public services in regions damaged by natural disasters. The Ministry of Public Works and Housing General Directorate of Natural Disasters starts post-earthquake rebuilding efforts; the need for housing is identified taking into consideration earthquake and climate conditions, socio-economic structure and topographical characteristic of the region. Urban style houses built employing conventional construction system, houses built with tunnel formwork, and village style houses are produced in scope of the project. Erzincan Earthquake Houses, which is the first public housing seismic retrofitting project of Turkey, is a pioneering case in terms of

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its compatibility with international norms in the methods and standards to be used in the construction of new buildings. Houses are planned based on the seismic research findings; they are in compliance with engineering principles, regulations and international specifications.

1999 MARMARA EARTHQUAKE AND HOUSING

The 1999 Marmara Earthquake reveals how unprepared the society and all institutions are for natural disasters. Despite the fact that 43% of the country's territory is under earthquake risk and majority of the population lives in the first and second degree seismic belt, policies toward reducing earthquake hazards do not come to the foreground until the earthquake of 1999. Only experts specialized in the field draw attention to the issue; solution proposals and projects do not enter the agenda of central and local governments, universities, the public, civil society organizations or the media. As the earthquake 1999 takes place in the most densely populated region which holds the most important industrial potential of the country, it shakes national economy; it draws more attention than 1992 Erzincan, 1995 Dinar, and 1998 Adana earthquakes.

NATURAL DISASTER AS A THREAT IN THE 2000s

The 2011 earthquake of Van is a threshold not only in terms of the losses, destroyed buildings and disaster houses expected to be built in its aftermath but also for laying the grounds of urban transformation. In 2012, the legal framework of urban transformation is primed with the Act on Transforming Areas under Risk of Natural Disaster. Thus, particularly in big cities, earthquake risk is used to legitimize the demolition of existing building stock. At the urban centers, the process of evicting the low-income group starts. And in high-income neighborhoods it is the means of sharing the urban economic rent.

1950s

BEGINNINGS OF THE GECEKONDU

The masses who migrate to big cities, primarily İstanbul and Ankara, with the dream of finding jobs in newly established factories and founding a new life in the big city settle informally on public/treasury lands. These informal settlements, the first examples of which emerge in 1947 in Zeytinburnu, İstanbul and in 1948 in Altındağ, Ankara, are tolerated by the state until the 1980s. Factories are not obligated by law to build housing for workers but the law does not prevent newcomers from settling on public lands either, it turns a blind eye. Parallel to rapid and unplanned industrialization and urbanization policies the gecekondus multiply. These policies result in large-scale labor force migration from rural areas to the cities, especially İstanbul. Agriculture fields in İstanbul from Haydarpaşa to İzmit, Sirkeci to Silivri, are divided into small parcels and sold by land speculators. Gecekondu zones expand in areas such as Zeytinburnu, Maltepe, Kağıthane located on the axis of beltways.

* GECEKONDU: "BUILT OVERNIGHT" - informal housing

PROLIFERATION OF GECEKONDUS IN ISTANBUL

Zeytinburnu, Gaziosmanpaşa and Osmaniye (Bakırköy) are the largest gecekondu settlements that have developed as of the 1950s. Sağmalcılar (Bayrampaşa), Esenler, Güngören and Kocasinan (Bağcılar) are the centers of gecekondu development on small parcels after 1955. In Kağıthane, in order to house the people who lost their homes with the Menderes zoning operations of 1957, the municipality makes a deal with the village elders council and sells large plots of land by dividing them into 62.5 square meter parcels. This in turn, along with new migration, draws illegal settlements to Harmantepe, Çeliktepe, Gültepe in Çağlayan. Moreover, again in Çağlayan (Kağıthane), the village elders council parcels out lands into small lots and allocates them to newcomers or the homeless until 1959. In Kavacık (Beykoz) and Çengelköy (Üsküdar), Construction on Credit Enterprise of Turkey divides and sells the lands in small parcels and builds houses.

1960-1980

Legal regulations put in place after 1965 increase the number of municipalities, expand their borders and prevent the division of agricultural fields into small parcels to be sold with separate title deeds. Generation of small lots outside municipality borders continues through the parceling out of lands by means of shared deeds and their sale to different shareholders under a single title deed. In shared deeds, even though the deed lists the shareholders of a land and the area they own, the specific shares of land belonging to each shareholder are not registered at the land registry. In 1970s, lots for *gecekondu* construction, which are 200-300 square meters on average, are generated through this method. The densification of the city in small parcels continues through the generation of *yap-sat* (*build-sell*; private-led small-scale housing) and *gecekondu* settlements. *Gecekondu* turns into a commodity.

PROLIFERATION OF GECEKONDUS

Sizes of the parcels registered with shared deeds vary from 120 square meters in Halkalı (Küçükçekmece), to 100 square meters in Bağcılar, and 150 to 200 square meters in Esenler. Before 1980, districts with the highest concentration of parcels with shared deeds are Kartal with 4,450 hectares also encompassing Pendik, Tuzla, Maltepe and Sultanbeyli, and Bakırköy with 2,138 hectares encompassing Küçükçekmece, Bahçelievler, Bağcılar and Güngören. In central districts of the city such as Eyüp (50 ha), Beyoğlu (85 ha), Beşiktaş (25 ha) shared allotments are close to none; shared allotments are located on the peripheries of the city in districts like Kartal and Bakırköy which have extensive vacant lots.

THE STATE THAT TOLERATES THE GECEKONDU

Up until 1980 the system is based on an overall social and economic accord. The socio-economic climate encourages the entrepreneur to produce and increases the consumption possibilities of the high-income population endowed with various rights and social opportunities; the state assumes a protective role and facilitates this domestic market. In this system, all sectors of the society ranging from the industrialist to the small business owner and the wage earner can only maintain their existence through a complete accord with the state and each other. Since the state makes no interventions save for a few legal regulations in 1960s such as zoning amnesties and the Property Ownership Law, urbanization is brought about through the small capital of the small land owner, the small business owner, and the unskilled worker. Urban economic rent can be equitably shared among the small capital and other groups it has mobilized.

1980s

In the 1980s *gecekondu* is no longer a problem of housing but has transformed into a commodity. There is a rapid apartmentization of *gecekondu* areas. A major increase in economic rent is observed in the first generation *gecekondu* areas which are now included inside the city borders owing to the expansion of the cities as of late 1940s. *Gecekondu* owners get a share of the economic rent by building extensions to the existent buildings and renting them out or by demolishing and constructing apartments in their stead.

LEGAL REGULATIONS THAT MOST AFFECT THE TRANSFORMATION OF *GECEKONDU* AREAS

The state pursues a populist policy with zoning amnesties; it attempts to compensate the adverse effect of economic policies on low-income households with the potential revenue from urban economic rent. The 1984 Act on Certain Procedures for Buildings Violating Zoning and *Gecekondu* Legislations and Amendment of an Article in the Urban Development Law, like the previous acts, grants a onetime-only license and utilization permit for illegal buildings and *gecekondus*. However, one article of this law paves the way for building apartment buildings in *gecekondu* areas by means of demolishing the existing *gecekondus*. Thereby, *yap-sat* business loses its base of predominantly the middle class; however, it continues to operate in old *gecekondu* areas that enter the process of rebuilding in mid-1980s owing to the zoning amnesties adopted one after another.

BUILDING STOCK IN ISTANBUL IN 1982

There are legal and illegal individual buildings on small parcels, and though sparse, mass housing developments of 100-300 units on large parcels in the old city centers such as Eminönü, Beyoğlu, Şişli, Eyüp, Fatih, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, Kadıköy; in centers formed along the E-5 beltway in districts of Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik and Tuzla; in centers of Ümraniye, Gaziosmanpaşa, Bayrampaşa, Güngören, Esenler, Kağıthane, Bağcılar, Bahçelievler which are the first generation districts developed adjacent to old city centers; in the coastal villages of Beykoz and Sarıyer districts and around industrial plants located across the city.

2000s

The law that goes into effect in 2004 fully authorizes TOKİ to develop *gecekondu* transformation projects, construct buildings and make financing arrangements. Now TOKİ is authorized to make, order the making of and amend master plans of all types and scales in *gecekondu* transformation areas; in areas it classifies as housing zones on the lands and lots it owns, and in areas allocated as mass housing residential areas by governorships as long as it does not disrupt the integrity of environment and land development. The authority to put into effect the plans that have not been approved by relevant institutions within three months also lies with TOKİ. TOKİ is also invested with the power of expropriation of lands and plots belonging to natural and legal persons and all extensions and buildings in or on these premises.

ÇIKMACILAR Çıkmacılar (construction scrap dealers), which can be defined as places where scraps of buildings are made available for reuse, emerge with informal urbanization in İstanbul particularly in the second half of the 20th century; after 2000, with the impact of globalization dynamics they assume their place at the cross-section of urbanization. *Çıkmacılar* are the places where building elements like windows, doors and sanitary-ware salvaged from building wrecks are collected and recycled. These junkyards associated with *gecekondu*, urban transformation and neighborhood demolitions are found in districts located on the peripheries of the city.

– Onur Ceritoğlu

LATE OTTOMAN - EARLY REPUBLICAN

PERIOD

MODERNIZING LIFE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD

The rapid modernization process that coincides with the 19th century, during which the Ottoman Empire meets capitalism and modernity, trade and capital intensifies, and difference and diversities dominate the empire, is a time when the state strives to strengthen its central authority and rebuild the imperial center. During this era full of contradictions, even though Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats want to retain their distance from European culture while borrowing its civilization and technology, new regulations and institutions and people educated abroad lead to the merging of cultures, decentralization and the seeping of new life styles and new forms of consumption into the country, or in other words, the emergence of the hybrid, eclectic and different.

The imperial city, in line with its increasing significance in foreign trade and as a port, is a rich, cosmopolitan and dynamic platform with the growing capital and population prompted by transit commerce. Foreign companies established one after another, and foreigners, migrants and refugees who come to the city to work at these companies form the cosmopolitan life pattern. The institutionalization of the first municipality and its services, also with the role of the abovementioned foreigners and ethnic groups; the launch of infrastructure works; development of land and maritime transportation, and of course the development of the port, are important elements of the spatial transformation of the capital city, which, like all imperial capitals, is a center of consumption.

The period spanning mid-19th century to the First World War is one of the two periods during which the experience of time and space are reconstructed. İstanbul goes through a radical spatial and social transformation with its train, underground railway, electric tram and bridge. In other words, with slight delay, the city meets the innovations and prestige institutions of Europe such as the train, steam ship, underground railways, industrial exhibitions, coal gas, street lighting, horsecars, apartment buildings, arcades, parks, universities, museums, and theatre symbolizing the technical and cultural development of the 19th century. In this framework, during the second half of the century, the cosmopolitan quality of the capital becomes more pronounced in line with its integration with Euro-centered world capitalism. With the transition from 19th to the 20th century, the macroform of the city expands with new neighborhoods; new living styles emerge in wealthy neighborhoods. At the imperial center of multiple identities, provocative images hold the potential to entrain placid lives.

SPACES AND STYLES

Pursuits of cosmopolitanism and hybridism intertwine in architecture, hybrid images are expressed. This period is one in which architecture is used for the search of identity both in Europe and overseas colonies; one entailing revivalisms, hybrid styles and the search for national styles. The emergence of new styles in architecture, which is nourished by hybrid images and multiple identities; the start of the building of apartment buildings; the formation of new neighborhoods; the embassies and mansions of high level bureaucrats along the Bosphorus coincide with the "condensation of time-space and explosion of visuality". The city sheds its skin in the physical sense; the appearance of the city changes with the "modern" masonry buildings constructed in place of wooden buildings and other new building types. Different aesthetic and cultural practices come to life in the structural environment and housing.

NEW HOUSING PLANS AND HOUSING TYPES

The Historical Peninsula symbolizes the old with its wooden houses, rundown buildings and burned down quarters; it is dilapidated, desolate, no longer an object of experience. It is neglected despite its increasing population density. The borders of the city expand with new neighborhoods; a new and attractive life begins in new wealthy spaces. Decisions are made to expand the roads and design the burned down areas in grid plan. As burned down quarters and areas recently opened to zoning are being parceled, the floor areas of houses are downsized. The plans and morphological types of houses are changed; ground floors that used to be allocated to courtyards and service units are reorganized as living spaces. As courtyards that provide entrance to houses are done away with, main entrance begins to be accessed from within the house; cities meet row houses as a new type of housing. As sub-cities form in the capital with the development of transportation and the building of prestigious houses on urban peripheries, the center of apartment buildings, which are objects of desire in İstanbul, is the hybridizing Galata.

SUMMER HOUSES

A cool and light summer house is one of the musts of the Ottoman imperial city. The choice of Ottoman bureaucrat families who look to the West particularly in the 19th century, and the new class that prospers with commerce, and of course the Levantines and high-income group foreigners is the summer houses on the Bosphorus, and in Yeşilköy and Moda, which are far enough from the center but within limits of accessibility.

SUMMER LIFE ON THE BOSPHORUS

The Bosphorus is distinguished from other regions of İstanbul not only by the material used in houses, but also by its urban environments, life styles and consumer habits. The visual expression of the life of wealth is the palatial manors, seaside mansions and well-tended gardens. The architecture, interior space organization and gardens of seaside mansions and the social life here can be interpreted as the extension of a refined taste, understanding of aesthetics and high quality of life. Foreigners who are active in the building activities of the Ottoman capital and Levantines who settle in the city reflect their cultural practices and aesthetic tastes in the buildings they have commissioned or built; they convey the diverse tastes of fin de siècle multinational Ottoman society in architecture. The wooden palaces of the 18th century gradually present more traces of Western aesthetics in the 19th century, also with the influence of French and Italian origin architects. The buildings that constitute the new texture at the end of the century are now the representatives of a new tradition.

APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN LATE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Residential apartment buildings that become widespread as of mid-19th century are an object of desire for highincome group consumers with the comforts they offer in the modernizing city life. Apartments in Pera, which has turned into a field of attraction, are the new living spaces of earthly pleasures, money, and hybrid and cosmopolitan life. Part of the residents are Levantines who work and live in İstanbul, and Ottoman and foreign businessmen. Apartment buildings are four, five or six storeys, built using masonry technique, with plastered brick walls, and their floor slabs are constructed with wooden or iron beams. The spatial organization includes a common living area, four bedrooms, a main anteroom and service units. While these apartment plans vary depending on the shape of the lot, the part facing the front facade is built as the common living area and the part facing the back façade is reserved for bedrooms that hold higher privacy.

1877 SURP AGOP HOUSES

Like all community institutions which cannot receive state aid, Surp Agop Hospital (İstanbul) has to generate sources of income to sustain its existence. Ten masonry houses and six shops are built in Pangaltı on the avenue in front of the hospital between 1869 and 1883; some of the income from these is used to give scholarships to students. The foundation has 25 more buildings built on Elmadağ Avenue after 1905. These buildings are demolished and rebuilt by the foundation management in 1957 in scope of the Menderes zoning operations for the beautification of the city.

1893 BARNATHAN (HALİL-HAMİT) APARTMENT BUILDING

Barnathan Apartment Building is commissioned by the Barnathan family in 1892-1893, like similar "apartments for rent" of the period to incur rent income. It has a broad U shape plan with façades on three streets in Galata. There are three independent entrances in the five-storey masonry building; two apartments each are accessed from these three entrances and there are six apartments on each floor. There are French balconies on the section above the round arched entrance gates with rich ornaments and the overhangs on the corners of the building. The four top floors are separated by the segmental arch windows separated by wide protruding moldings are designed in a well-ordered series. – Ufuk Demirgüç

1895 DECUGIS HOUSE

Décugis House is designed by the architect Alexandre Vallaury (1850-1921) in 1895 for the Levantine Décugis family who sells French luxury goods in Beyoğlu. Initially designed as a four-storey building with the first floor as a shop on Meşrutiyet Avenue, it is later turned into a six-storey building with the addition of two floors. The entrance of the Décugis House is on Nergis Street. The entrance floor of the facade is ashlar faced, the other floors are plastered. It bears neoclassical, neo-renaissance, and neo-baroque qualities. Twostorey tall pilasters extend between the first storey slab and cornices on the corners of the building. There is a twostorey protrusion on the avenue façade. Different types of segmental arch, round arched, triangular pediment, flat arch windows are used on the two facades and all three floors of the corner building. The ornament on the façade depicts classic headdresses, meander motifs, rosettes, griffon and masks.

- Ufuk Demirgüç

1910 BOTTER APARTMENT BUILDING

One of the masterpieces of Art Nouveau in İstanbul, the building is designed by one of the important architects of the period, the Italian Raimondo D'Aranco (1857-1932) as a multistorey masonry house and workplace for the Dutch couturier Jean Botter and his family who migrate to the imperial capital in late 19th century. The first two floors of the sevenstorey building are designed as the first fashion house of the country, and the other floors as the family's living quarters. Located on the main axis of Beyoğlu, the façade of the ashlar-faced building is adorned with flower and human head figures and its entrance with plant motifs and reliefs in a manner to reflect traces of Viennese Art Nouveau.

1916 (?) VEDAD TEK HOUSE II

It is designed in the final years of the Ottoman era by Vedad Tek (1873-1942), one of the leading architects of the First National Architecture Movement and Early Republican era, as his own house on Nişantaşı Valikonağı Avenue. Located on the corner parcel, the building is among the masterpieces of our architectural history. There are different references as to the construction date of the building. The house goes through certain spatial renovations made by the architect himself over different time periods. Today, it continues to be in use as a restaurant and with similar functions on one of the busy axes of the city.

EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

PLANNING THE MODERN CITY OF THE REPUBLIC AND CUBIC HOUSE

The modern life ideal of the Early Republic, which makes major legal, cultural and education reforms between 1923 and1928, is reflected in the modern city masterplans designed by foreign experts. In the Early Republican era, urban space throughout the country is shaped by state initiatives rather than private enterprises. With the 1924-1925 Lörcher Plan for Ankara which cannot be applied, followed by the 1928 Hermann Jansen Plan, and then the 1937 Henri Prost Istanbul Plan, the central administration's claim for secular life is spatialized. The housing areas of these masterplans foresee cubic houses in gardens for the new modern life.

Foreign architects from continental Europe both play a role in schools of architecture and create distinguished examples of modern architectural practice. In the same period, Turkish architects who stand out among these foreign architects also create original works. The rising Turkish bourgeoisie commissions buildings to both foreign and Turkish architects; they have them design their modern family houses or apartment buildings.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN IDEAL

As a space reflecting all tensions of modern society, everyday life is a stage where tradition and innovation and the acceptance or rejection of new temporal habits are being negotiated. Architecture assumes a revolutionary quality on this stage, constructing, equipping and changing everyday life with modernism. The qualities and states of modern architecture of being more "democratic" with more sunshine; more "free" with open plans; "innovative" with its permeability and lightness meet at a common denominator with the revolutionary structure of the Republic. It is not surprising that in a country founded on the basis of rationalist identity and modern life, architecture is embraced as a part of the Republican ideology. In this context, during the Early Republican era when the entire country enters a rapid building process, the fact that foreign architects are preferred for the design of public buildings turns the attention of young Turkish architects to housing architecture.

HOUSING IN ISTANBUL

The technology of modern reinforced concrete becomes widely used in the building of houses in the Early Republican era; however, at the historical peninsula traditional twostorey designs continue to be applied. There are mostly villas with gardens on the Anatolian side, the islands and the Bosphorus region. In Kadıköy and especially the newly openly opened Bağdat Avenue, apartment buildings with modern and rational characteristics begin to be built. This rising form of new construction is one of the developments that best exemplifies the changing economic conditions and the concept of housing in the Republican era.

APARTMENTIZATION

The evolution of apartment buildings, which are regarded as a symbol of modern life style and cultural change, follows a different trajectory in Turkey. The fact that apartment buildings become the dominant form of housing does not result from the choice of a particular style of house life embedded in the society, but due to objective constraints like scarcity of capital and lack of plots with the necessary infrastructure. After the foundation of the Republic, İstanbul becomes the scene for intense house building activity.





Numerous apartment buildings reflecting the spirit of the era, the modern life ideal and growing Turkish bourgeoisie are built first in areas close to Taksim such as Gümüşsuyu, Ayaspaşa, Talimhane, Cihangir, and then in Şişli, Teşvikiye, Nişantaşı, Kurtuluş, Bomonti, and Kadıköy, Mühürdar and Moda on the Anatolian side.

ORIGINAL APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Diverse stylistic applications can be traced in the housing architecture of the period. At the early stages of the construction of apartment buildings, it is possible to observe the predominance of non-Muslim architects who maintain traditional styles that could be called neo-classic and sometimes neo-baroque. At the outset of modernization, original examples of Art Nouveau and Art Deco that are not common in public buildings can be found mainly in Gümüşsuyu and Talimhane. In the 1930s, there are also examples of modern housing which is presented as the dominant approach of the period. It is possible to see traditional architecture gain weight in the 1940s, and an approach that could almost be called conservative prevails. As can be seen in the works of the duo Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat, the localist approach based on traditional housing architecture, which will later be named as "national", comes to the forefront with buildings symbolizing the period. The effects of the traditionalist approach can also be discerned in the building programs of this period.

Adil Denktaş's Tüten Apartment Building in Gümüşsuyu is noteworthy as an interesting example of early modern architecture with expressionist characteristics. Adil Denktaş, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Seyfi Arkan, Zeki Sayar and Rebii Gorbon can be mentioned as figures renowned for their apartment buildings in Early Republican architecture. Modern architecture reflects in popular culture as cubic architecture. In the war years, a more localist architecture defined as "Second National" becomes predominant. This list could include Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Rüknettin Güney and Emin Necip Uzman.

1932 CEYLAN APARTMENT BUILDING

Ceylan Apartment Building designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and located on Cumhuriyet Avenue facing Taksim Gezi in Talimhane, one of the primary areas of apartment buildings after the 1930s, is one of the most original witnesses of the period. In the positioning of the corner parcel building, which houses stores on its ground floor and single apartments on each storey, factors such as sunlight and view are taken into consideration. A double ceiling structure for indirect light is used at the entrance located on the main avenue, and in important parts of the apartments of the building.

1935 ÜÇLER APARTMENT BUILDING

The building in Gümüşsuyu, İstanbul is designed by adding new floors next to and above the building known as Akar Palas that belongs to engineer Galip, and looks like two adjacent apartment buildings. Occupying the entire corner at the intersection of İnönü Avenue and the steep Çifte Vav Street, the building which is a design by Seyfi Arkan stands in harmony with the old building. The top floors and new block added to the old building envelop the latter. High standards that could be considered luxurious for the time are part of the design of the duplex apartments in line with the comforts of modern life. Architectural elements of the period such as dark grey plaster, corner windows, white horizontal molding and columns at the balcony corners are used in the building.

1936 TÜTEN APARTMENT BUILDING

The building, which is one of the most important examples of the struggle for modernism undertaken in the interior and exterior spaces of the house, is located on İnönü Avenue in Gümüşsuyu, one of the most important axes of the apartmentization process in the city. Adil Denktaş designs the building owned by the tobacco merchant Sabri Tüten. The circular staircase of the ten-storey building on two adjacent parcels with large floor area apartments is located on the side façade. All spaces in the apartments open up to light wells and courtyards which are attained by retracting from both the two façades and the side façades, allowing for natural light and ventilation. Curvilinear lines dominate the avenue façade of the building and openings giving it its unique character. The horizontal strip windows in harmony with the curved façade of the living room and the curvilinear overhanging balcony emphasize the curvilinear and horizontal continuity of the facade.



A RENTAL HOUSE Üçler Apartment Building, Ayaspaşa, Istanbul Architect: Seyfi Arkan Photo: İskender Source: *Arkitekt 5,* no. 5 (1935)

1950s

MODERNISM of 1950s

The Democrat Party, which takes over the administration under the prime ministry of Adnan Menderes, activates industrialization and urbanization policies with a liberal economy approach that aims to create "a millionaire per neighborhood", and while maintaining the trend of modernization with the goal of becoming "little America", also reinforces polices deriving from Turkish and Islamic culture. The slogan of "traffic running like water" becomes a "national issue" throughout entire Turkey and thus the city assumes a symbolic role in this context. However, the choice of transportation based on motor vehicles and highways does not remain limited to the 1950s, on the contrary, it continues with growing influence in the next decades as well. The industrialization policy implemented with a focus on İstanbul in this period leads to rapid urban growth; as a result of this policy, toward the 1960s the population of the city increases to almost two million with migration from rural Anatolia. This era is also the final scene of non-Muslims leaving İstanbul and migrating to European countries, which first started in the 1920s.

THE NEW CENTER

Istanbul is now on its way to becoming the most important modern city of Turkey and gradually its most important center. The masterplan designed by Henri Prost in the 1930s and partially applied in the 1940s constitutes the basis of urban interventions that take place especially in the second half of the 1950s. Applications and urban development operations, in which foreign consultants including the Italian Luigi Piccinato, British Sir Patrick Abercrombie and German Hans Högg work, make their mark on the period. It is as if the city is the stage of a new capital. Architecture supports this perception.

PROLIFERATION OF ARCHITECTURE FIRMS

There is an increase in the multi-partner firms established by young architects in the 1950s with the impact of the winds of cultural and political change and also the internalization of the liberating aspect of modernism and universal modern values. Foremost among these are offices of İMA (Abdurrahman Hancı-Turgut Cansever-Maruf Önal), Haluk Baysal-Melih Birsel, Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa-Metin Hepgüler. Architects who used to work under the patronage of the state in the Early Republican era now choose to stand on their own feet and work independently. The approach of the designs they produce overlap with the international rationalist formal language that becomes predominant in post-Second World War USA and continental Europe.

APARTMENT BUILDINGS FOR RENT

From the 1930s to the 1950s apartments are the symbol of luxury life as the housing spaces of the upper class, but in time they become the dominant type of housing in Turkey. In this period, due to the lack of necessary legal framework, the ownership of a building built on a lot in a city cannot be divided. Apartment buildings cannot be built with joint investments, significant wealth is necessary to build multistorey and multi-apartment housing. Those with wealth and people who do not invest in sectors like commerce or production invest their capital in the construction of apartment buildings. Since it is perceived as a means of investment, multi-storey housing buildings are defined not by the word "apartment" but by the concept of "house for rent". Since there is yet no ownership of individual apartment units, the rate of apartments which are rented out is high. These apartments are rented by middle and upper classes who want to partake in the modern life symbolized by the apartment, but either do not have the financial means or do not want to have apartment buildings built. Nişantaşı, İstanbul, which develops as a neighborhood of mansions and palaces from late 19th - early 20th century onwards, becomes dominated by family apartment buildings or apartment buildings for rent after the 1930s. Neighborhoods around Nişantaşı such as Taksim, Harbiye, Teşvikiye, Osmanbey and Şişli respond to the increasing city center population with the process of apartmentization. This process continues as an elite building process; the neighborhood preserves its character as a housing location preferred particularly by the high-income group. Stores stretching throughout the main avenues support this identity.

1951 BAYER APARTMENT BUILDING

Bayer Apartment Building, located on the corner parcel at the intersection of Valikonağı and Rumeli Avenues, is commissioned by pharmacist Hüseyin Bayer to one of the leading architects of the period, Rüknettin Güney. It is built in the vacant lot of the building that is known as Nişantaşı Palace, which belongs to one of the daughters of Abdülhamid II, Şadiye Sultan. At its time, Kontes Patisserie and İş Bank are located on the side of the building facing Valikonağı Avenue. İş Bank buys the shop of Kontes Patisserie that closes down after the 6-7 September events. As for the side facing Teşvikiye Avenue small shops used as florist, coffee store and haberdasher become part of urban life. Holding a unique place in apartment building architecture, Bayer Apartment Building comes to the forefront with its building form, scale, and architectural language that it introduces to a developing environment and the example it presents for its successors.

1955 DERYA APARTMENT BUILDING

The apartment building in Validecesme - Macka, İstanbul that stands out with the architectural language it introduces to the need for housing is designed between 1952 and 1955 by an Italian architect whose identity is not known. Each floor houses four apartments, with two on the entrance (south) and two on the back (north) façade. Each type of plan is of different size and characteristics. The two mosaic panels at the two sides of the entrance hallway depicting İstanbul cityscapes as original works of the time and the relief in the entrance hallway greeting the entrance are by Turgut Atalay. Furthermore, the interior courtyard of the building has a unique character with its enticing stance as one enters the building, original staircase and bridged entrances; with the natural light and natural ventilation opportunities it provides to all spaces of the apartments through the skylight, and also the common spaces for public use it offers between floors and apartments.

1978 OBA APARTMENT BUILDING

The apartment building is on an important urban axis in İstanbul stretching through Cumhuriyet and Valikonağı avenues to Nişantaşı. Designed by Ercan Hakgüder and Mazlum Sepici in 1974, the building is constructed in 1978. Planned as an apartment building, it comprises of one store, three single-storey and two duplex residences. The façade plan of the seven-storey apartment above the ground floor is distinguished with a 12 meters long large glass window opening framed with an aluminum and concrete cornice; the design of this part belongs to Günay Çilingiroğlu. Load bearing columns of the building at the corners of exterior walls are shaped in a manner that reflects on the façade and facilitates a break from the neighboring buildings. In the slipshod, *yap-sat* housing architecture of the 1970s which fears character, identity and ambition and therefore does not reflect architectural pursuits, Oba Apartment Building is distinguished from its contemporaries both with its flexible/ free interior space organization and the innovative, strong stance of its façade components.

BANK LOTTERY HOUSES

In the new economic order, the extension of the discourse of being Little America is the American life style and new patterns of consumption. As new patterns of consumption enter the country in this period, they are accompanied by dreams of new ways of living. Open kitchens coined as "American Kitchens" in Turkey and American bathrooms that appeal to new individual tastes are especially the extension of new notions of hygiene and new standards. And the biggest space for their staging is the 1957 İzmir Fair.

Bank Lottery Houses, which banks promise to "offer" on a lottery basis, is an important form of housing supply that is presented as a solution to the increasing problem of dwelling in large cities (İstanbul and Ankara) due to migration. Lottery houses, which are offered to holders of Premium Savings Accounts and Premium Family Deposit Accounts as guarantees for their futures, are means for the recently established private banks to increase their capital and depositors. Put on lottery as houses with gardens, countryside houses, summer houses, luxury apartments, apartments with central heating, they are the reflection of the society's dream of a new life. Held in public spaces with broad participation before a notary public, the lottery drawings are spaces where this dream penetrates everyday life. Lottery houses are entrenched in people's minds through leaflets and ads in daily newspapers and weekly/monthly magazines that constantly remind of the importance of a house for a peaceful future.

– Duygu Yarımbaş

SINGULAR AND ORIGINAL EXAMPLES OF ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the 1960s and 1970s during which the modern movement finds its own way through the debates of local vs. universal and original buildings are produced, owes its existence to people who choose to be modern in everyday life despite social and cultural resistances and want to live in the sometimes timid, sometimes bold, and often times ostentatious apartment buildings of the 1950s and the architects who design these buildings under fractures such as the property ownership law, migration to the city, and urban development movements. An important business opportunity for the increasing number of architects is individual house designs for the high-income group. Utarit İzgi's Şaman Villa in Feneryolu which no longer stands; Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel's Saatçioğlu Villa in Anadoluhisarı and Maruf Önal's own house in Bayramoğlu are noteworthy examples of these individual houses. Sedad Hakkı Eldem's





HALUK ŞAMAN VILLA, FENERYOLU, ISTANBUL Architect: Utarit İzgi Photo: Oruç Muradoğlu Source: Arkitekt 27, no. 3 (1959). buildings, which he designed from the 1950s onwards until the 1970s, especially those along the Bosphorus shore, constitute significant examples of houses.

1957 RIZA DERVİŞ HOUSE

The building in Büyükada is one of the least traditional works of Sedad Hakkı Eldem in terms of its layout. The design shows a distinct spatial fluidity. He uses wide transparent surfaces on the exterior façades to the extent possible. The seaside façade is a glass wall shielded from the sun by horizontal sliding lattice shutters. The lattice shutters on the street façade are resolved as sliding bolt. The slightly inclined roof is copper-plated. Gargoyles are used to divert the water flow. The ground floor is completely open to the outside and connected to the garden. The lower arm of the L-plan building forms a cantilever toward the sea. The ceilings are varnished wood and the walls are painted white. The reinforced concrete elements have mostly been left bare. In the interior space, the furniture and fireplace, also designed by the architect, emphasize the character of the house.

1968 BOAT HOUSE

The Özkan Family house in Ankara commonly known as the "boat house" is designed by Danyal Tevfik Çiper. It is an example of a building where the architect expresses himself freely. The western façade facing the Hoşdere Avenue, which is the prow of the building shaped according to the needs of all members of the Özkan family, is the part of the house where the father of the family spends time with his friends; it has been designed so that this part has a view of the outside but cannot be seen from the outside.

ISTANBUL MANSIONS AS THE IDEAL HOUSE

In traditional housing every building was produced through repetition by masters and foremen equipped with the wisdom of being part of a tradition, who did not consider themselves as stars to create new designs and claim to be minds to critique, discuss and transform established models through design. The masses, who became wealthy, initially resided in family apartment buildings they had built, through which they established a representation in the modernizing world. This meant leaving their traditional houses along with the gardens they were set in. Later on, as everyone started to own apartments with the change in property ownership law, a new ideal house became necessary. It was only in the 1960s that Bosphorus mansions recovered from being the symbol of İstanbul's dilapidated image fallen from grace following Ankara's instatement as the capital.

SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM SEASIDE MANSION ARCHITECTURE

Eldem puts forth his understanding of architecture which he predicates on the Turkish civil architecture tradition and defines as "local architecture"; although he takes as basis the symmetrical setup of classical architecture, his approach gradually matures. He uses a language that does not allow for formal emulations. In late 1960s and in the 1970s he makes his mark on the period with superior examples. His original designs include the Suna Kıraç (1965) and Sirer (1966) mansions, Rahmi Koç (1980) and Komili (1980) houses. Sirer Mansion designed in an area characterized by narrow façade buildings in Yeniköy is applied as row housing. Steel balconies that extend through three storeys on the seaside façade establish the character of the building. Kıraç Mansion constructed by using the walls of an existing building at the Vaniköy Dock is unique in terms of its general appearance and mass owing to its location beside Vaniköy Mosque. Since the old bearings are used in walls, openings remain limited.

SUMMER HOUSE

In the 1950s, summer house is yet another stage for the image of "my ideal house". In summer months it is the new venue for getting away from work, the city's commotion and particularly the winter lodgings. Coasts become accessible in the 1950s through the network of roads constructed by the Highways crews, and they are gradually zoned for construction. The modern American bathroom and open kitchen designs made by young architects reflect the desired new life and new patterns of consumption. A place/lot for a house on the Bosphorus, Prince's Islands, Kadıköy side, Marmara seashores, Suadiye or Dragos is selected, along with a young architect to design this house, and a house suitable for the family is built.

SUMMER HOUSE COMPLEXES

As of the 1970s, production of buildings increases as second/ summer house ownership becomes widespread also among the middle class; especially in İstanbul, the summer houses and complexes built on the islands and Marmara shores on both sides of the city expand westbound to Kumburgaz and Silivri and eastbound to Dragos and Bayramoğlu as well as Yalova and Çınarcık. In the 1970s, the principle method of building production, namely the organization of cooperatives, becomes the means for building summer houses. Tuzla, Bayramoğlu, Kumburgaz, Marmara Ereğlisi, Yalova, Çınarcık, Erdek, Akçay, followed by the small towns of Aegean and Mediterranean, evolve into big cities, losing



their spatial quality and authenticity in the meantime. Except for a few special cases, the summer house complex is entrenched in the minds as multiplied heaps of the same plan type congested side by side with total disregard for the relationship of topography, light and direction.

1976 AKTUR HOLIDAY COMPLEX

These summer residential areas are developed by Ersen Gürsel, Nihat Güner, Mehmet Çubuk, Öcal Ertüzün, Ziya Soyer and Erol Yüksel in Datça and Bodrum between 1973 and 1976 primarily with the objective of developing domestic tourism, in the framework of the ecological, political, economic and legal structure drafted by the idealist governor of the time. Located between Marmaris and Datça, the settlement is constructed in stages on three successive bays (Kurucabük, Kovanlık and Çiftlik Bays) and a small peninsula (Adatepe Cape) preserved in its natural state. Spanning an area of 75 hectares on a long narrow shoreline with pinewoods in the back and the sea in the front; catering for a population of 6000 users, three types of houses bearing the language of Mediterranean architecture are completed followed by more dense neighborhoods of three-four storey buildings. In contrast to the settlement in Datça, the housing group in Bodrum is situated on a sloping land of 41 hectares between Bitez and Ortakent, again carrying breezes of Mediterranean architecture. It establishes a strong dialogue between the environment-settlement-human. Both housing groups are designed holistically down to the furniture details.

1978 KUMBURGAZ TERRACE HOUSES COMPLEX

The building complex is designed by architect Hamdi Şensoy in 1978 in Kumburgaz, İstanbul. It comprises of two blocks with flats on the seaside with large balconies, which, in accord with the topography, recedes in stages on each floor; and one block of five storeys with an underground car park that stands in the back without breaking from the other two blocks. The project has a social center and exterior hallways that allow for coincidental encounters.

YAP-SAT* BUSINESS

As of the 1960s, along with the property ownership law, production of apartment buildings by contractors is launched all across Turkey; in later decades, *gecekondus* and apartment buildings form the most prevalent means of housing supply for the lower and middle class respectively. Although there are examples distinguished from their contemporaries with their architectural design, the typology dominating the market is the standard apartment buildings that can usually be defined with their plain façades and repeated plan schemes produced in the *yap-sat* process of the period.

* YAP-SAT: "BUILD-SELL" - private-led small-scale housing

1980s

24 JANUARY 1980 DECISIONS AND CONTEXT

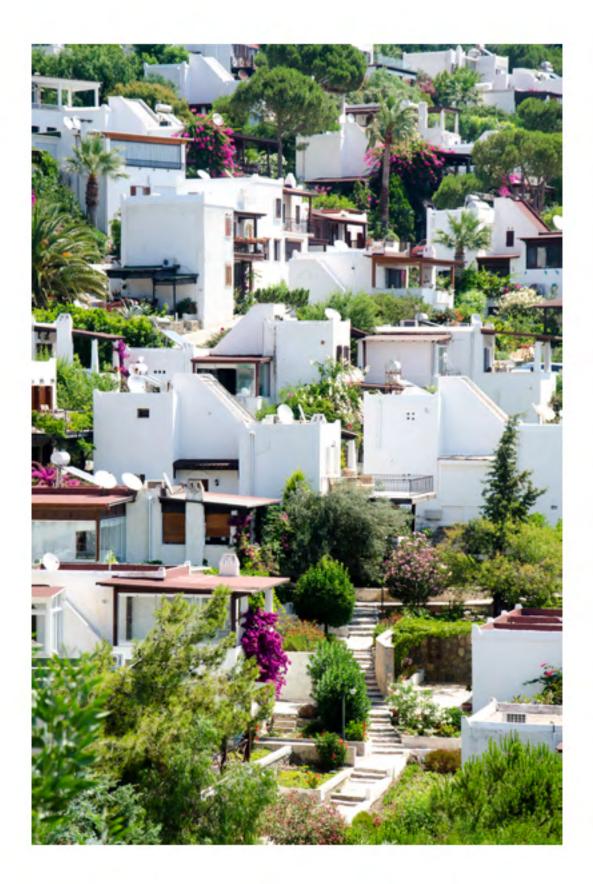
Turgut Özal Decrees launched on January 24, mark the start of the transition to neoliberalism in Turkey; the state downsizes and withdraws from the economy, and pushes for privatization. Global cities dominated by neoliberal policies and post-Fordism economies all across the world are rising with new discourses. While the country opens to foreign trade in process of globalization and privatization, industry rapidly flows to peripheral cities. The postindustrial city becomes specialized in producer services, white-collar employment increases. With the reorganization process subsequent to the 1999 earthquake and the economic crisis of 2001, İstanbul is the rising stage of Turkey in the global arena.

URBAN GROWTH AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION

National migration coalesces with the fluctuating sociospatial pattern of rapidly growing international migration, and with an increasing momentum continues to reshape the geography of all big cities and primarily İstanbul. Meanwhile, the new venues of the globalizing city emerge as business centers/office/finance and service premises, shopping venues and residential areas. As the public space goes through a radical change, modes of consumption are reflected in the everyday life and living spaces. In this process, with its technology, entrepreneurship capacity and organizing skills honed in the 1980s, the construction sector becomes capable of undertaking large-scale projects.

URBAN GROWTH AND DECENTRALIZATION

Decisions on the new, large scale projects and transportation networks that will determine the direction in which the city will develop and the regions that will gain value are not included in the masterplan but are shaped in Ankara. Both in Turkey and the world, cities now tend to grow in a haphazard manner in big chunks rather than through the appending of small pieces to one another like a spreading oil stain. Mass housing production on large parcels increases to meet the rapidly escalating need for housing. Countrywide development of roads in cities and the parallel increase



AKTUR BODRUM Architect: Ersen Gürsel, Nihat Güner, Mehmet Çubuk, Öcal Ertüzün, Ziya Soyer, Erol Yüksel Photo: Ekin Arar Source: E. Gürsel, N. Güner, M. Çubuk, Ö. Ertüzün, Z. Soyer and E. Yüksel Archive in use of private vehicles; mass housing production; development of organized industrial zones; and the building of compounds outside city centers by public institutions such as universities fast-track the trend of decentralization.

CONSTRUCTION FIRMS AND HOUSING

Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası (Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey) pioneers the efforts of large scale housing construction in Turkey by supporting construction initiatives and providing the necessary loans. With the establishment of Public Housing Development Administration in 1984 and the limitation of the bank's activities in 1988, its operations are transferred to the Real Estate Housing Company. Many construction firms founded after the 1950s gradually assume a position of authority in the sector. Even institutions that mostly undertake important roles in non-housing construction such as Enka (1957), Labor Construction and Management Corporation (1958) under Retirement Fund, and Yüksel Construction (1963) actively pursue housing production on occasion. Among these construction firms, Mesa Mesken (1969) changes the approach to mass housing with a perspective that conceives the buildings in their environmental setting, and in 1978 brings tunnel formwork technology to Turkey. As a construction practice with high production speed, standardization and quality, tunnel formwork technology expedites the production of mass housing, but the fact that it comprises of a single model is a factor monotonizing and limiting architectural design.

RESTORATIONS

Restoration efforts on the existing stock of historical wooden and stone buildings gain momentum. Meticulous applications of professional standards with rational project solutions and sensitive restoration projects that make positive contributions to contemporary Turkish architecture are few. The 1980s are stage to numerous projects in which the history is reinterpreted as an invented past. In this context, demand for new housing groups that reinterpret historical images increases. Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property enacted in 1982 places under protection historical buildings dated as late as the end of 19th century; buildings constructed in the 20th century are left outside the scope of cultural heritage. In this framework, the project that most accentuates the nostalgic discourse of the period is the Soğukçeşme Street restoration undertaken by Turing. Meanwhile, the 1987 Beyoğlu Restoration Plan prepares the legal framework for Tarlabaşı demolitions in İstanbul. The avenue opened by widening the road divides the area both physically and socially.

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE

After 1980s, the everyday life is besieged by certain images and certain scenes. The language of everyday life, its spatial character and by extension the meaning of the city changes; the scenes where this change is represented and the tools of popular culture diversify, multiply. Destruction of the public space affected by the 1980 military coup results in a withdrawal to interior space; the concept of decoration infiltrating through new economic policies takes hold of the agenda of Turkey. The first interior design magazine Ev Dekorasyon [Home Decoration] starts to be published in 1976. In a sense this is the discovery of the interior space of the house. A considerable part of society becomes engaged with the aesthetics of the interior space of the house. In an atmosphere where it is not possible to find a place even to be seen in public space, people confine themselves to the shelter of private space; the home, the interior space where they can feel safe both in the actual and psychological sense.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC

The private, protected space blends with the language of the everyday; a new period starts in which private lives are talked about on the one hand, and photographs of the users of interior spaces are presented for public view through decoration magazines and lifestyle and society supplements on the other. This is a period when both the verbal language and spatial equivalent of the private and autonomous interior space is constructed anew, but in a manner that is not new at all, through common likes and tastes. The "private" is standardized with objects selected from an unlived past. These objects that can be deemed nostalgic homogenize desires and yearnings within social codes, norms and certain hierarchies. All the houses resembling one another is a new type of "deterritorialization". While the interior space of houses are "deterritorialized" by becoming identical, the gated communities formed by breaking from the urban context redefine deterritorialization with their references to traditional Ottoman houses, and the emphases in their marketing texts on the old neighborhood fabric and yearning for the "trouble-free" old İstanbul.

<u>NOSTALCİSİ KANDİLLİ</u>

Latif Demirci's cartoon album *Nostalcisi Kandilli* (Nostalgia Kandilli) presents a critique of the urban setting and public space while adopting the interior as its stage, which makes it a first in this respect. The bafflement and position of the individual who encounters the changing images of everyday life is emphasized through the cartoons that use the interior space as their stage. Interior of the houses of new

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intellectuals who take down their political posters and put up Japanese lanterns, and that of the unfurnished houses of the poor with bare light bulbs is imbued with spatial narratives objectified by the discourse of nostalgia.

1990s

SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND LOCALES OF PRESTIGE

In the 1990s different modes of housing production continue parallel to one another; predominant form of housing is mass housing productions in different scales. In the old residential centers of the city and its close periphery, apartment buildings whose service life has expired begin to be renovated. Old gecekondu areas on the other hand transform into individual multi-storey apartment buildings as a result of zoning amnesties and increased zoning rights. Class differences physically crystallize, density increases, and a mass, anonymous and branded architecture comes to the fore in the city, where capital, shopping and communication have increased on an inconceivable scale. Materialization of capital through prestige and luxury material, venues symbolizing power and capital, and diversity in architectural language and approaches can be enumerated as the main observations on the new life projects of the globalizing city.

YAP-SAT BUSINESS IN CRISIS

After 1980, the changing dynamics of urbanization, and, by extension, the production of housing on developed large parcels and in masses particularly through cooperatives in dimensions that outrival the small business owner both in terms of capital accumulation and production mobilization, inevitably throws the *yap-sat* business into crisis. *Yap-sat* business has lost its base of predominantly the middle class, and now operates in old *gecekondu* areas that have entered the process of rebuilding in mid-1980s owing to the zoning amnesties adopted one after another.

LIVING SPACES

Among postmodern spaces of the 21st century, living spaces that develop parallel to patterns of consumption are perceived and reflected as the primary sites to materialize the economic and social segregation. In İstanbul, which has met the image of a new life during globalization, luxuryhousing groups for the upper class come to the fore in design and construction. These luxury consumption patterns rapidly spread to other big cities.

HOUSING PREFERENCES OF THE GLOBAL CITY

Preferences of the new middle class emerging as a result of the social, economic, cultural changes and transformations can be clustered in three groups: purchase and renovation of houses/buildings in decrepit neighborhoods near the city center that have preserved their historical texture, that is, gentrified housing; gated luxury condominium complexes, located in the city center and equipped with advanced management and services and technological amenities; again gated usually low-rise "country" style housing offering various services and located on the outskirts of the city.

URBAN PRESTIGE RESIDENCES AND ARCHITECTURE OFFICES

In the 1990s condominiums are the new ideal living spaces inside the city catering to upper-middle and upper class residents, offering services provided at luxury hotels. It can be observed that some projects without the necessary and sufficient qualities, append the word "residence" next to their name in order to create the impression of prestige for white collars who seek higher social status. In the competition for the image of distinction and quality, architectural language is emphasized with luxury consumption materials.

In globalizing İstanbul, finance and service sectors developing in the postindustrial period materialize on the Zincirlikuyu-Levent-Maslak axis within the borders of old factory parcels; their buildings dominate the urban silhouette and macroform. As gated communities in city center, Levent Loft (2005-2007) and Sapphire (2006-2010) that holds claim to be the tallest housing block of Europe rise with Tabanlıoğlu's rational interpretation of luxury housing adhering to the industrial parceling on the Büyükdere axis. In the 21st century oriented identity building and visualization of the field of architecture in Turkey, architecture offices that contribute to the advancement of the discipline through the intellectual and original aspects in competitions and applications create projects on the spatialization of new living models for metropolises.

MERCAN AND PLATIN HOUSES

The housing group designed by Behruz Çinici is a compound comprised of 120 housing units of ground and roof duplexes varying between 110-430 square-meters and recreational facilities spanning approximately 3000 square-meters of indoor space located on the old Portakal Hill on the shoulder of Ortaköy valley. The mass and façade layouts of the blocks extending toward the valley accentuate spatial differences.



The houses that form the settlement are covered with bricks of special colors and textures. All the units that contain recreational, entertainment, sports and other social facilities are located in the center of the complex. The complex symbolizes the spatial rise of a district (Ulus-Akatlar) at the time of its construction.

1992 SÜRÜCÜLER TERRACE HOUSES

Designed in 1989 by Merih Karaaslan, Nuran Karaaslan and Mürşit Günday, the project construct of this building in Ankara forms the image of a neighborhood based on the settlements of Cappadocia. The building is designed as two blocks facing one another. The area between the two blocks is organized as a space for the common use of its residents and vehicle traffic is kept outside these two blocks. In contrast to the prevalent mass housing tradition in Turkey, it is an original example that strikes an architectural note.

1993 SARI VILLAS

Designed by Mutlu Çilingiroğlu and Adnan Kazmaoğlu, Sarı Villas in Akatlar, İstanbul is positioned on a plot forming a shoulder with its arched pedestrian space and underground car park. A second pedestrian axis is enclosed inside the pedestrian axis. Two ends of the arch along with the squares in the middle serve both as points of connection to the city and meeting places for the community of residents. Housing units are constructed with the replication of a single module assembled with geometric plays.

2000s

URBAN RENOVATION

In the framework of the Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets Act adopted in 2005, restorations move to the urban scale. In this framework, as compared to the restoration and eviction projects in the 1980s, the name of projects implemented in the 21st century changes and becomes "urban renovation"; they increase in scale and numbers. In this context, the urban fabric goes through a complete sociological and physical change. In the framework of urban eviction under the veneer of restoration, neighborhoods of Sulukule, Tarlabaşı, Süleymaniye witness urban interventions. The concepts of urban rights, rights to the city begin to occupy the public agenda.

BUILDING BY DEMOLISHING

Regarded as the biggest obstacle to progressive and formative modernization since the 1950s to date, namely the "dilapidated", "ramshackle", "unkempt" texture and the living spaces of low-income groups become target. Modernization process dominated by discourses of "getting rid of the dump", "hygiene", "security", along with speed, productivity and visibility is supported. 1956-1959 Menderes zoning operations that conjoin the acts of "demolishing and building", 1980 Bedrettin Dalan demolitions in Tarlabaşı, and current processes of forceful eviction in Sulukule, Ayazma, Maltepe erase layers of people's lives. In this process, land ownership becomes a commodity; new projects bring along aestheticized demolitions superposed with global networks, social, economic and cultural dynamics, and rapidly gentrified living spaces. The integrity of public space that gives the modern city its ideological meaning disappears; living spaces disintegrate. Criticisms bring the concepts of urban rights, right to the city, right to housing, and dispossession to the public agenda.

GEZİ MODE OF HOUSING

As a social reaction in the quest for identities and freedoms, Gezi is experienced between May 30 – June 16, 2013 as a site of clash and conflict. Uniting the people around a few trees in Taksim, İstanbul, against the divisive politics and discourse of the central administration. Gezi shifts much beyond architecture and urban design toward urban rights, right to the city, right to housing and yearning for a democratic society; it acquires extraordinary connotations. In the collective movement of Gezi that can be described as the actualization of the unexpected, the object of architecture also loses its traditional meaning; participatory spatial production is realized; call for existence is voiced through design, demand for the democratization of design and designer is expressed. Accompanied by the space, experience and people oriented perspective and representation in Gezi, that which is unexpected, surprising and hybrid emerges. The new language that is formed reveals the need for a new metropolis life and management practices.

DECENTRALIZATION / "LUXURY" HOUSING ON THE PERIPHERIES

Parallel to the advancing means of transportation and the class segregation that marks the post-1980s, the tendency of the new-rich population emerging as of the 1980s to live outside the city center is among the factors that accelerate the process of decentralization. On one hand there is need



SARI VILLAS, AKATLAR, ISTANBUL Architect: Mutlu Çilingiroğlu and Adnan Kazmaoğlu Photo: Murat Germen Source: Mutlu Çilingiroğlu Archive

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for big contractors to zone the large lands outside the city center for settlement and on the other hand procuring and developing these lands while the land value is still underappreciated, gives the contractor the opportunity to claim the economic rent that will accrue in the future.

IDEAL HOUSE OF THE GLOBAL CITY

"The novelty of the present is not the fact that 'home' is the focal point of urban middle class culture, but that through globalization the 'ideal home' belies the historical mechanisms of its construction to acquire the status of a timeless and placeless 'universal' truth, a mythology. In the media-driven culture of the present, the words 'ideal home' evoke linked images constantly reproduced on advertisements, television, magazines. Thus, rather than connections established in language they acquire truth through visual images." (...) "New settlements of the upper and middle classes that have escaped from the city center of İstanbul have transformed into life styles that are homogeneous in themselves but dissociated from one another with sharp differences. In this sense the ever present diversity among the upper and middle classes in İstanbul turned into a both spatial and cultural fragmentation in the 1990s." ¹

REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUSTS

Real estate investment trusts (REITs) can be founded to realize a certain project in a certain timeframe, or to make investments in certain fields for a definite or indefinite time. They can invest in real estate, capital market instruments based on real estate, and real estate projects. Trusts can be founded to undertake specific projects, and carry out economic activities sanctioned by the Capital Markets Board. REITs that become real estate investment trusts are the extension of free market economy in present day construction sector.

¹ Ayşe Öncü (1999). "'İdealinizdeki Ev' Mitolojisi Kültürel Sınırları Aşarak İstanbul'a Ulaştı" [The Myth of the 'Ideal Home' Travels Across Cultural Borders to İstanbul], *Birikim*, 123, July 1999, pp. 26-46.

1930s

COOPERATIVES

Cooperatives emerge in 19th century Europe as a reaction to unfair profit and inequalities created in society as a result of market economy. They are not-for-profit structures and aim to create a social and economic system. Cooperative mobilization, which, in the welfare state approach, is brought about by the dominant capital's accumulation processes, mode of production and its possibilities, can only exist in Turkey with the land and credit support of the centralized and local institutions of the state. The organization of cooperatives in Turkey commences with the Bahçelievler and Güvenevler projects in 1935. Until 1934 to 1945, 56 housing cooperatives are established nationwide, primarily in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir; the construction of only seven cooperative settlements is completed in Ankara in this period. – Neşe Doğusan

1948-1960 MODES OF HOUSING PRODUCTION THROUGH COOPERATIVES

Laws enacted in 1948 incentivizing housing construction encourage the production of housing cooperatives: land share, which is a substantial part of the total cost, is supplied by the state / municipality, and thereby, two modes of housing production become prevalent. The first is smallscale community housing cooperatives within a single unit or under the same roof that will later be promoted by the property ownership law. The second comprises housing groups constructed upon lands zoned for construction by the 150-200-member housing cooperatives that undertake a significant portion of the housing production in Ankara in the 1950s. In both housing acquisition processes, the foundation of the cooperative is defined by the terms of payment and partnerships based upon workplace mobilization. Thus, characteristics such as education, origins, particular interests, age of the family and having children, which regularly determine the standard of the residential living environment, also constitute the basis for the cooperative society.

1939 BAHÇELİEVLER BUILDING COOPERATIVE

The settlement group designed by Hermann Jansen is the very first example of cooperative mobilization within the housing sector in Turkey. Bahçelievler Building Cooperative, founded in 1935 by a group of high-ranking state employees, introduces the notion of garden city a novel concept of architecture and planning to Turkey. Jansen's plan is

influenced by the British garden cities of the Ebenezer Howard Movement and its counterpart in Germany, the "Siedlung" movement. Aesthetically acclaimed and harmonious with the exterior space, the living environment is worthy of praise at the level of individual buildings and also as an entire settlement.

1949 İZMİR STATE EMPLOYEES HOUSING COOPERATIVE

Harbi Hotan is the architect of the 20-unit settlement comprising two types of houses. Even though Hotan wishes to design the project taking into account the seasonal conditions of the city, partners reject this proposal, deeming it a costly fantasy. House type A, designed to accommodate a single family, is a two-storey, reinforced concrete building; whereas type B, again a one-family house, is a single-storey masonry building. Low-priced building materials are chosen in order to make building affordable. İzmir State Employees Housing Cooperative is a pioneering example in the Aegean Region as a contemporary spatial manifestation of the modern family.

– Neşe Doğusan

1950 ISTANBUL ŞENESENEVLER

The Şenesenevler Building Cooperative, founded in 1946, aims to construct sanitary, durable and inexpensive houses based on the needs of its partners. All 49 founding members of the cooperative, with a time span of 20 years, are high ranking state employees. The building complex, designed by Halit Femir, Feridun Akozan and Ahsen Yapanar, is located on the approximately 22-acre land called Taşlı Tarla in the Bostancı neighborhood of İstanbul. Fifty-five houses with five different plan types, a clubhouse, a shopping center and a water tower are constructed between the years 1946-1950 by Amaç Corporation.

1957 CİNNAH 19, WORKERS OF THE DIRECTORATE OF STATE AIRPORTS' BUILDING COOPERATIVE

Designed in 1954 by Nejat Ersin and erected in 1957, the apartment building is presently known as Cinnah 19. The building cooperative was founded by the workers of the Directorate of State Airports Authority and the building was constructed with the housing loan of the Real Estate Credit Bank of Turkey (Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası). The building, positioned perpendicular to the avenue allowing it to face north and thus the view, comprises a wide rectangular floor slab rising upon pilotis and consists of 17 apartments, 15 of which are duplexes. The public space created by the swimming pools on the ground floor and on the rooftop terrace is counterbalanced by the tranquility of the housing units. The *brise soleil* on the south façade constitutes a rich and bold frontal component of the building. With its authentic and dexterous design, Cinnah 19 aptly represents the modern architecture of the era. Worn out though it may be, the genuine architectural statement of its time continues to be a part of life to this day.

1964 HUKUKÇULAR HOUSING COMPLEX

Distinguished from its contemporaries as a superior, bold and atypical precursor of a new building production model, i.e. the cooperative, Hukukçular Housing Complex, designed in the late 1950s and constructed not until the mid-1960s, is the product of a Haluk Baysal-Mehmet Birsel partnership. Hukukçular is an unique, unconventional and experimental building with the vivid relationship it forms with the city at various elevations through its stairways, ramps and different entrances; the transitivity between its public and private spaces; common areas on its top and ground floors; the proposal to use the income from ground floor shops for building expenses and its design as a self-sufficient system from its conception; the flexibility of the housing plans and the holistic design approach that manifests in every detail from the flooring to the lighting, the door handles to heating units.

1970s

COOPERATIVES

Densification on small parcels continues in the 1970s through *yap-sat* and the production of *gecekondus* in industrially developing big cities, primarily İstanbul and Ankara. The increasing demand for housing is met by cooperatives created through small and medium-scale capital accumulation. These can be considered as small-scale mass housing productions. The experience and technology, mobilization skills and necessary capital accumulation for large-scale construction enterprises will only be attained after the 1980s.

SATELLITE CITY

"Satellite city life is based on a strict spatial separation between home and work. Satellite city is essentially a public space whose center is private life. The primary motif in a satellite city is the shrinking of the average family population and the tendency of the nuclear family to isolate itself substantially from broader society. The nuclear family gradually widens the social gap between itself and the extended group of relatives." ¹

OR-AN

By the end of 1960s, *yap-sat* initiatives fall short of resolving the housing problem. During this period, architects and engineers employed as per Decree No. 10195 could obtain financing for housing by establishing cooperatives. In 1969, Şevki Vanlı initiates the OR-AN Settlement project which is considered one of the first satellite city attempts in Ankara. **OR-AN** Construction Incorporated Company is established by shareholders who cannot form a cooperative due to their lower income levels, and the corporation buys a land at the outskirts of the city. The OR-AN initiative is started on this urban periphery, conceiving of a city that proposes a new way of modern life. "The Preliminary Project for the OR-AN Mass Housing Initiative nearby Ankara" is developed as a first step to take the project public. This preliminary project is presented to the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Board of the State Planning Organization. Cooperatives are formed by workers subject to Decree No. 10195 and lots are bought from villagers.

DIFFICULTIES OF SATELLITE CITY IN TURKEY

OR-AN is a satellite city which can only be established by companies with considerable financing capacity and is virtually the utopia of an architect in Turkey without any significant savings. Mass housing production creates serious practical difficulties within the framework of the country's zoning and building licensing legislation, devised merely for city expansion by way of individually constructed buildings. The first mass housing attempt is obliged to assume even the road construction process itself. Despite partial accomplishments the process lags behind the schedule; the company has to face considerable risks with its limited capital stock.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF OR-AN SATELLITE CITY

With the government's revocation of Decree No. 10195, the status of those employed as "state employee-architect" changes to state employees under SSK (The Social Security Institution of Turkey) and they lose their right to establish

¹ Sencer Ayata (2003). "Yeni Orta Sınıf ve Uydu Kent Yaşamı" [The New Middle Class and Satellite City Life], *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye'de Gündelik Hayat* [Fragments of Culture: Everyday Life in Turkey], Ed. Kandiyoti, D. and Saktanber, A., Metis Publications, İstanbul, pp.37-56.

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cooperatives. OR-AN corporation loses a significant portion of its clients. Şevki Vanlı alters the company structure and compromises on the promised standards in the construction process. In a battle of survival, OR-AN transforms from a small capital corporation to a company structure dominated by *yap-sat* capital. The settlement texture, once made up of egalitarian blocks of four-storey cooperative apartment buildings, is shifted towards one that comprises land spared for villas and tall apartment buildings in the *yap-sat* style. The integrity of the OR-AN plan is disrupted by the Atatürk Housing Complex project consisting of cooperatives established by the Ministry of Development and Housing employees, which doubles its development right. Only a very small part of what was originally envisioned can be accomplished in OR-AN.

BATIKENT

Conceived as a social housing project, Batıkent is proposed as a solution for the unplanned urbanization following Vedat Dalokay's election as the Mayor of Ankara in 1973. Batıkent's infrastructure is developed during the mayorship of Murat Karayalçın. Lots comprising present day Batıkent premises are expropriated in order to realize the project. The aspiration is a participatory and democratic project application; Kent-Koop is established to this end and commences its activity in accordance with the undertaken mission. Initially a social housing project, Batıkent in time evolves to a residential area favored by upper-middle and high-income groups, and is among the top-choice residential areas in Ankara today.

1980s

COOPERATIVES

The atmosphere prior to the 1980s allows for entrepreneurs to benefit relatively equally from urban economic rent. New legal and economic regulations in the 1980s, however, bring social, economic and spatial segregation; some groups prosper at the expense of others; urban economic rent is distributed on a highly inequitable and unfair basis. In this context, sustenance and owning a house becomes increasingly difficult for low and lower-middle classes. During this period when the post-1980 economic policies create suitable economic, political and social conditions to prompt the establishment of cooperatives, the most important factor ensuring the sustainability of cooperatives becomes state policies, which support cooperative formation in addition to promoting mass housing production. The state lends zoned and improved land and credit support to cooperatives through centralized and local administrations, and grants certain exemptions through legal amendments. Housing cooperatives, which multiply in this period, are a form of active mobilization as a state policy for the compensation of middle-class economic losses.

MASS HOUSING PRODUCTION / THE STATE AND COOPERATIVES

Mass housing production necessitates the mobilization of a big demand, the development of large plots of land, the suitable technology for a production of such scale, and a large capital transfer. Throughout the 1980s when large capital is yet to fully enter housing production, the state is the biggest land developer. Mass housing production in the 1980s is largely spearheaded by the state and realized through cooperatives established by the mobilization of small-scale savings, on lots mostly located in the urban periphery.

NEW DYNAMICS OF URBANIZATION AND MASS HOUSING PRODUCTION

The dominant process of housing production in the 1980s in line with emerging urbanization dynamics is the construction of mass housing. The 1984 Mass Housing Act authorizes large-scale transfer of funds to cooperatives; the second half of the 1980s witnesses a radical increase in mass housing production through cooperatives.

TÜRKKENT (Central Union of Turkish Urban Cooperatives)

Central Union of Urban Cooperatives is established in Ankara on March 17, 1988 by the conjoining of 14 unions encompassing 307 cooperatives, which mobilize approximately 53,000 individual partnerships. The name of the union is changed as Central Union of Turkish Urban Cooperatives-TÜRKKENT on March 20, 1992. TÜRKKENT aims at the nationwide expansion of the urban cooperative movement with its master contract. The inaugural chairman of the union is Murat Karayalçın. By 1993, the central union grows to include 30 member unions from different cities, 700 subsidiary cooperatives, and 95,000 individual partnerships under its umbrella. From its foundation onward, TÜRKKENT's membership expands to 47 house building cooperative unions mobilized all over Turkey and 2200 associated building cooperatives; over 250,000 housing units are constructed.

THE METROPOLITAN HOUSE BUILDING

The Metropolitan House Building Cooperative, established on July 19, 1985, assumes a pioneering role in mass housing production. In 1989, only within four years following its foundation, the cooperative finalizes the construction of the 6,500 housing unit settlement located in Beylikdüzü on the urban periphery of İstanbul complete with all its social facilities. The goal of producing maximum houses in a short period entails compromises in quality. When the mass housing settlement commences urban life with a mosque, school, shopping center and other such facilities, population rapidly multiplies in the Beylikdüzü district, which in turn is zoned for construction before any rational planning process can be instated.

2000s

THE END OF SOCIAL COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A 2004 amendment in the Cooperatives Act sets the legal framework for allowing public and private legal entities to become cooperative partners. This paves the way for profit-driven private sector investors to become members of cooperatives, which are essentially not-for-profit forms of social mobilization to secure house ownership for low-income groups; thus, the identity of cooperatives changes. Allowing private sector investors to benefit from advantages granted to cooperatives damages the principle of public interest. A second regulation that undermines the cooperative organizations is the Corporate Tax Law enacted in 2006, which not only discourages mobilization at umbrella unions but also revokes another exemption promoting cooperative establishments.

LATE OTTOMAN

1875 AKARETLER ROW HOUSES

Recognized as the first mass housing project of the Ottoman era, the row houses are commissioned under the name of Dolmabahçe Palace Rentals (Employee Housing) during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876; reign 1861-1876), a ruler who takes close interest in the modernization of state. The row houses are designed by architect Sarkis Balyan, in part for the accommodation of palace personnel and in part as apartments for rent. It is planned to use the rental income for the building of the Aziziye Mosque. Construction of the Row Houses starts in 1875. Renovated in the 21st century, Row Houses continue to constitute one of the most distinctive parts of the urban texture and topography, and are transformed into offices and living spaces for the highincome group.

1922 TAYYARE (AEROPLANE) APARTMENT BUILDINGS (Harikzedegan Apartment Buildings)

It is the first social housing group designed by architect Kemaleddin Bey (1870-1927) in Laleli, İstanbul following the 1918 fire in the Fatih-Cibali area. Ottoman Directorate of Foundations donates the land, and financed by the people of İstanbul, the housing group is constructed between 1919 and 1922 as one of the first examples of reinforced concrete buildings in a style reflecting the First National Architecture Movement. The building that is converted into a hotel in the 1990s is still an original part of urban life and texture.

EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

HOUSING PRODUCTION BY THE SOCIAL STATE: SPREADING THE IDEAL OF MODERN LIFE

In the framework of a welfare state approach, the state endeavors to provide mass housing in particular for civil servants and state employees of low and middle income groups. Housing production by the state for these groups is facilitated by two different laws adopted in 1928 and 1944. Subsequently a separate bylaw is drafted for the production of state employee housing. Thus, the state pioneers the planning of cost-effective settlements to provide the experience and quality of modern life all across Anatolia starting from its capital Ankara; the state itself produces the modern and sanitary spaces for its own employees.

1926 FOUNDATION OF THE REAL ESTATE AND ORPHANS BANK OF TURKEY

Founded with the law adopted in 1926, the Real Estate and Orphans Bank of Turkey is also the most powerful contracting company in the building sector. Between 1945 and 1946, through the Real Estate Bank Building LLC established as its subsidiary, the Bank undertakes the constructions of Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, Ankara Etimesgut Aircraft Engine Factory, Adana Courthouse, Dolmabahçe Stadium Covered Grandstand Section 4, Ankara Keçiören Tuberculosis Hospital, Cebeci School of Nursing, Kızılay Hospital, and Ankara University School of Medicine Clinic of Gynecology. It is also the contracting company in the project for the conversion of the Exhibition Hall into the State Opera and Ballet building. Real Estate and Orphans Bank is transformed into the Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey in 1946.

1928 GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF FOUNDATIONS SHOW HOUSES

The law drafted in 1928 as an extension of the welfare state policies of the early Republican era draws the legal framework for the social state to build housing and lodgments for its own employees. The first example of settlement built per this law is the General Directorate of Foundations Show Houses designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. They are designed as affordable lodgings to be rented by civil servants. Layout plans of the seven sample houses comprised of two-storey buildings set in their own gardens along the street are different. There is a living room and service areas on the ground floor facing the street façade; and upstairs are the bedrooms. The spatial transitions and separation between the public and private spaces is very clear in the project. This settlement is both a case of the state's direct affordable housing support to its employees, and the pioneering example of modern urban life and modern living standards for society at large. – Neşe Doğusan

1946 SARAÇOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD

The Law on the Construction of State Employee Housing adopted in 1944 stipulates the allocation of an annual budget from the state budget for the construction of state employee housing. Material from forest, cement and iron industries, means of transportation and local government resources are made available for housing production; in this process that necessitates import of materials, subcontracting the Real Estate and Orphans Bank is made possible. Paul Bonatz (1877-1956), who leaves Germany during the war and settles in Turkey in 1943, designs the Saraçoğlu Neighborhood settlement project in scope of this law. The settlement is constructed by Real Estate Bank Building LLC between 1944 and 1946. In contrast to the single-storey cubic house set in a garden and the "modern" house conception of the early Republican era, the project, which is inspired by the Turkish House and the National Architecture approach, comprises of multi-storey apartment buildings with a total of 434 apartments. It is an original example of the period that manifests the change in architectural language.

1944-1980 STATE EMPLOYEE HOUSES IN THE EAST

The Law of 1944 lays the groundwork for state employees relocating on assignment to eastern provinces to find dwellings that satisfy contemporary living conditions and minimum requirements of comfort. The first settlement group of these houses is comprised of nine units and constructed in Yenişehir outside Kale in Diyarbakır. The settlement is formed by individual two-storey houses separated from one another by 7.80 square-meter gardens. In the front and the back of the houses, each with a floor area of 9.5 x 8.5 meters, there are 10 and 20 meters wide gardens respectively. The houses are provided with services like electricity, water, and plumbing. This affordable opportunity of housing is simultaneously the means for the state to assert its presence in the Eastern Region through the settlement of state employees. These new houses offering contemporary life styles and modern standards also pave the way for state employees to set an example for the local populace.

– Neşe Doğusan

1946 ACT ON THE REAL ESTATE AND CREDIT BANK OF TURKEY

In 1946, the Real Estate and Orphans Bank of Turkey is transformed into the Real Estate and Credit Bank of Turkey. Through its subsidiaries Construction and Material Company of Turkey and Ankara Urban Development LLC, the bank builds numerous dwellings across the country. According to the February 1958 data of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1202 state employee housing units and 149 stores are built in Levent Housing Complex, İstanbul; 417 houses in Koşuyolu, İstanbul; 147 houses and an apartment block comprising 432 flats in Gülveren, Ankara; 82 houses and 10 stores in Diyarbakır Houses; 94 apartments and 20 stores in Atatürk Avenue Apartment Buildings, İstanbul; 795 flats under construction in Ataköy Seaside Housing Complex, İstanbul; 1200 state employee housing units in Yenimahalle Apartment Buildings, Ankara; 105 state employee housing units and 6 stores in Uşak Houses; and 130 flats in Manisa Apartment Buildings.

– Neşe Doğusan

1950 LEVENT HOUSES

Real Estate Bank develops its first important housing settlement project on the military zone known as İstanbul Municipality Levent Farm. Settlement plan of the Levent Neighborhood is designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru and Rebii Gorbon. The settlement of 391 houses comprised of independent twin and row houses contains one movie theatre, a common area and stores on the ground floors of surrounding houses. Following the completion of the first stage in 1950-1951, three more stages are executed; the final stage is completed in 1958. Despite the initial difficulty experienced in sales, Levent gradually becomes a popular residential area catering to the high-income group. It is among the most original examples of modern life style of its period. The architectural language of the settlement and the model of life it offers spread across the country as an object of desire in the 1950s.

1946-1960 HOUSES ON THE ANATOLIAN SIDE OF ISTANBUL

In order to develop a housing group on the Anatolian side of İstanbul in scope of the law, Real Estate Bank and İstanbul Municipality launch a joint competition process and appoint a jury. With the objective of commissioning 1000 affordable houses with small gardens catering to the middle class, the jury organizes a competition to determine the house types; 55 projects participate in the competition. Following the exhibition certain alterations are made on the projects, and a tender is initiated for 200 houses. As a result of the tender, the building of 50 houses in Üsküdar Selamsız, 100 in Kadıköy Koşuyolu and 67 in Fatih Yenibahçe is approved.

1951 KOŞUYOLU HOUSES

It is the housing group on the Anatolian side of İstanbul built by Real Estate Bank and İstanbul Municipality in scope of the law. Its settlement plan is designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru, and architectural projects by Sait Özden and Leyla Turgut. The settlement plan of the section on the western side of the street, in line with the cooperative model catering mainly to Municipality employees, is designed by Seyfi Arkan. The construction of 100 five or six room houses in Koşuyolu is completed in 1951; the application of 315 houses in the subsequent stage is finalized in 1954. The Koşuyolu



DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF 4th LEVENT, ISTANBUL, 1950s The gentleman is Atıf Tuna, a prominent graphic designer of the period. Settlement plan: Kemal Ahmet Aru and Rebii Gorbon Source: Gökhan Akçura Archive settlement cannot find the opportunity to expand most, probably due to the circumscription of the land it is located on. As the model of modern urban life of its period, the settlement is still in use today despite the economic rent pressure in its vicinity.

<u>1961 ATAKÖY COMPOUND</u>

It is designed by the Italian architect and town planner Luigi Piccinato, who was invited to Turkey during the prime ministry of Menderes, on the peripheral area reserved for housing in Henri Prost's 1937 Master Plan for İstanbul. Started in 1957 as an extension of Bakırköy, the project continues with the construction of Ataköy Section 1 houses which begins in 1958; they are delivered as of 1961. Built in stages that have continued until recently, the settlement becomes a satellite city. The settlement plan, designed as buildings of varying heights with the rationale of attaining optimum view, develops as a modern settlement area with expansive common green spaces and planned urban facilities. State employees in upper-upper middle-income groups constitute the majority of the buyers. Beach facilities on the seacoast also increase attraction to the settlement. Beyond the positive transitions between indoor-outdoor spaces, in terms of the positive dialogue it establishes with its environment, it is among the most original solutions in public space design. Today it is an active part of the urban fabric and life.

1966 TOZKOPARAN HOUSES

Tozkoparan Houses is located in İstanbul's first Gecekondu Prevention Area created by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing through the Gecekondu Act adopted in 1966. In terms of our housing history, it is a pioneering threshold in which the state directly intervenes in the housing problem of the unplanned growth of the city by producing housing. Construction of the first apartment blocks in the area starts in 1962 and is completed in 1966. Shopping areas and education buildings are constructed along with the housing buildings that start in the northern part of the area delimited by Eski Londra Motorway. Since the houses are delivered before the completion of landscaping and organization of green spaces, it is shaped and transformed with the contributions of its users in the course of 50 years. As of the 1980s, densification of buildings in its vicinity increases; the vacant lots inside the project borders are allocated to other cooperatives. Today there is a confusion of authority as it falls within the transformation zone. - Şebnem Şoher

1980s

ATAŞEHİR

In 1983, the Yenikent settlement project of 50,000 housing units is designed on a 650 hectares land known as Karaman Farm located on the Anatolian side of İstanbul, at the intersection of Anadolu highway and 2nd Beltway between Kadıköy and Ümraniye. It is considered utopic at the time because it is far from the urban center. Settlement in the area starts in 1993 as it transforms into a satellite city project called Ataşehir. In the transition process from Real Estate Bank to TOKİ "point-blocks" are added to the settlement. In the 2010s, the settlement jumps to the west of the 2nd Beltway with the name Western Ataşehir, and with the development of a Central Business District formed around D100 called Finanskent (Finance-city) the settlement transforms from a satellite city into a dynamic urban unit preferred by the high income group and with an established work-residential life balance.

1994-2000s BAHÇEŞEHİR

The last important project of the Real Estate Bank, Bahçeşehir is designed as a satellite city of 15,000 housing units close to the Ispartakule train station on a 470 hectares land known as Hoşdere (Bojdar) Farm located to the north of TEM and northwest of Küçükçekmece Lake. The first settlement in Bahçeşehir starts in 1994. The settlement envisioned to have 12 square-meters of green area per person wins various international awards. The satellite city with its green area and social facilities developed around a pond and designed to cater predominantly to the high income group, draws other housing development areas such as Boğazköy, Esenkent, Ispartakule to its vicinity. Bahçeşehir, which has easy access to industrial areas both in İkitelli and Hadımköy regions, is promoted more as an independent work district today as opposed to one with an İstanbul-based transportation plan.

LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE FOR HOUSING PRODUCTION BY THE STATE

The legal infrastructure that primes the mass housing production process is comprised of the Mass Housing Act of 1981, the Mass Housing Fund (TKF) put in effect with the Mass Housing Act of 1984, and the credit opportunities. The first Mass Housing Act of 1981 that includes cooperatives, cooperative associations and social security institutions in the purview of mass housing establishment and completely excludes the private sector is telling in terms of the state's stance. Private sector organizations are included in scope of the Mass Housing Fund, the budget of which is separated from the state budget. There is a boom in the number of housing cooperatives established after TKF starts to be used in 1984.

1990s

STATE INCREASES CREDIT SUPPORT

In the framework of Bylaws on the Building and Crediting of Mass Housing and Urban Environment Projects on Municipality Lots adopted in 1992, lands owned by Municipalities are channeled for mass housing production. With the objective of making more efficient use of the Mass Housing Fund, land and credit support is provided for mass housing projects. State's credit support in the housing sector increases. In line with the Bylaws, mass housing credit support at the rate of 60% to 75% of the cost of housing is given with loans of 120-140 month maturity for mass housing projects built by TOKİ in collaboration with municipalities and banks, on lands owned by the municipality and declared mass housing zones, subject to conditions that the housing zones are large enough to contain a minimum of 400 housing units and housing units do not exceed 100 squaremeters each.

2000s

TOKİ IN THE POST-GECEKONDU PERIOD

The law that goes into effect in 2004 fully authorizes TOKİ to develop *gecekondu* transformation projects, construct buildings and make financing arrangements. Now TOKİ is authorized to make, order the making of and amend master plans of all types and scales in *gecekondu* transformation areas; in areas it classifies as housing zones on the lands and lots it owns, and in areas allocated as mass housing residential areas by governorships as long as it does not disrupt the integrity of environment and land development. The authority to put into effect the plans that have not been approved by relevant institutions within three months also lies with TOKİ. TOKİ is also invested with the power of expropriation of lands and plots belonging to natural and legal persons and all extensions and buildings in or on these premises.

2012 AN AMBIGUOUS LAW ON STRUCTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The Law on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk put in effect in 2012 paves the ground for the demolition of existent building stock. The law which adopts an ambiguous and vague attitude is unclear on the provisions pertaining to decision making processes. Solutions offered without examining relevant processes damage the state-society relationship in the long run. Districts of İstanbul, especially those populated by the high-income group, are torn to shreds.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FARMS ON THE URBAN PERIPHERY

With globalization and the free market economy becoming dependent on the construction sector, the last farm lands on the outskirts of İstanbul start to disappear. The entire practice of agriculture and stockbreeding in villages and farms on the peripheries of İstanbul located at the intersection of mega projects such as the Third Airport, Third Bosphorus Bridge and North Marmara Highway and Kanal (Channel) İstanbul is under threat of being wiped out in a couple of years. Today, the lands that were given away by the state approximately a century ago are being re-appropriated by the state to be otherwise utilized. Lives of Balkan immigrants who came to Turkey with the first round of population exchange and have been living on these inherited lands for three generations are about to be destroyed, just like the agriculture and stockbreeding that provides a significant part of İstanbul's food supply. With the loss of fertile farming lands, pastures zoned for construction, polluted water sources, and destroyed plantation, İstanbul is no longer a self-sustaining settlement where urban agriculture can be maintained.

– Gülce Kantürer

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