CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

CAUMME 2012

International Symposium

Global Impacts and Local Challenges

كلية الهندسة
College of Engineering
جامعة قطر QATAR UNIVERSITY

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Edited by
Nazire Diker

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Preface

Cities challenged

by Murat Soygeniş [1]

Today, I am honored to host the distinguished guests, scholars and researchers who contributed to Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East 2012 International Symposium in Istanbul at Yildiz Technical University, Faculty of Architecture. Welcome to Yildiz Technical University, welcome to Istanbul. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to our university's Rector, Professor İsmail Yüksek, to Professor Ashraf Salama who is the co-chair of this symposium, to the advisory committee, organization committee, scientific committee, and to Assistant Professor Nazire Diker who is the head of the organization committee, and all others who put efforts into this event. We all are thankful to them.

Architecture and urbanism are challenging topics in the Mediterranean and the Middle East starting with the 21st century. Cities such as İstanbul, Abu-Dhabi, cities in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and many others are facing with rapid growth and large scale work of commercial, residential or mixed use functions. These cities have developed hubs between east and west and are facing with the influence of global knowledge and economy in the form of urban developments requiring high-tech, transcultural, international services. While the agenda behind this may be quite complex, highly political and economical, our concern today will be more on why's and how's of the outcomes and we will concentrate more on architectural and urban issues.

We have many contributions from many institutions and countries including Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Iraq, Italy, Lebanon, Malaysia, Qatar, Turkey, United Arab Emirates. They have dealt with issues such as:

Architectural Identity, City Branding, and Image Making
Architecture and Urbanism of Cities within Cities
Informal Urbanism - Behind the Scenes of the Global Images
Multiculturalism and the Emerging City
Place Making, Politics and Urban Power
Scopes of Flows and the Contemporary City
Social Impacts, Health and Sustainable Environments
Urban Cohesion, Sustainability and Community Participation

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Urban Sprawl, Density, and Transport
Urban-Spatial Regeneration and Heritage Conservation
Local Impacts in Architecture
Local Impacts in Urbanism
as each of them are challenging issues of contemporary architecture and urbanism and needs a careful attention and thorough a research.

Some of the very interesting discussion issues in this symposium includes, among many others, topics like urban transformation process, city image, urban morphology and sustainability.

The urban transformation of Doha started with the intent of the decision makers to regard the oil-wealthy capital as a hub which would make the global networks to enter in which eventually lead to the introduction of investment strategies and the liberalization of the urban governance. The reflection of this decision showed itself on the reshaping of Doha's urban morphology which was largely based on speculative interests and case by case decision making process. I believe that this development is very much familiar with many of the cities we will be talking about during this symposium. Similarly the outcomes of this kind of development created new city image in some parts of the city, and the overall result as described is 'fragmented clustering with increasing infrastructural deficits'. Is this what we understand and expect from new urban development? This question among others, I believe will be thoroughly discussed during this symposium.

Another paper on Dubai takes a different stand than the Doha example. It emphasizes the importance of the mega projects which transformed the city into a global city. Accordingly the issue discussed here is the production of places of flow as experienced in Dubai. The global flow of capital, people and information as stated by the author managed to upgrade the city to the status of global world city from a peripheral one.

With the new mega developments, the cities around this part of the world experience consumer culture which seems to dominate and eventually shape our environment with a building typology of shopping malls. The challenge of artificial mall like environments and their relation with the traditional cities are questioned in the case of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. The vibrant cities of the past seem to be replaced by network of highways linking buildings of consumer culture such as malls. These climate controlled environments with huge parking facilities create cities with abundant transportation systems, an issue discussed in another paper on Istanbul.

This paper emphasizes the transportation systems affecting the city image in the case of Istanbul which is another global issue facing urban environments all over the world. The question highlighted here is the transportation decision making. Is it just for the sake of solving the traffic problem? What other issues need to be integrated? What about the image of the city?

As we all know, one of the issues of the 21st century influencing our decisions not only as architects and urban designers but inhabitants of this planet is sustainability. Another paper from Egypt deals with the ecological parks and explores its role in our lives besides their

recreational role. This paper deals with the utilization of the ecological potentials of these parks as renewable sources of energy, again a very up to date and global issue of our era.

As we all can see from these resarch papers, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, maybe more than ever are facing with the dilemma of the global and local. With new lessons learned from global warming and climate change imperatives, a new vision is needed to adress the problems of urban and architectural issues in translating the so called Global Sustainable Culture into a responsive local environment.

I believe that this symposium will foster a sophisticated platform for debate on the issues of global and local and will open insights for cities of Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Once again welcome to Istanbul, and have a fruitful symposium.

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Mosque Architecture through Rumi

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Methodology:

Analyzing Rumi literature, and considering different texts written describing architecture as seen in "Tezkire ul-bunyan" by Sinan ,in order to explore a more explanatory interpretation for the architecture at the time Turkmen Emirates racing the impact of Mevlevi rite through different aspects of Ottoman culture produced at the time , such as literature, architecture, miniature panting and maybe music also.

1.0. The Significance & the Significant:

 Examining art and architecture of traditional societies had expressed a system of understanding and communicating with the universe and its Creator, All artistic work uses different tools to express their understanding of relations between the creator, universe & mankind, through network of relations proposing significant meaning, aiming to transcend the materiality aspect of human being, as God wanted humans to signify their transcendence of nature, as Ezren stated that human creation was conceived in a network of relations with a world already supplied and ordered with meaning[1]. It is this consciousness that endowed the artist's work with the most significant aesthetic meaning. also referring is made to Messiry, who has distinguished between two types of modeling for societies[2], comparing between two social systems: Monotheism and Pantheism, in terms of their understanding for the Creator, the universe, monotheism and the monist, as we shall see later the reason for this kind of comparison, first I will explain the rule and characteristics that best describes the structure of literature and art produced in the modern world.

1.1.   The significance of Structuralism:

 Began as an approach to linguistics developed by the Swiss linguistic Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) at the end of the 19th century, the theory states that meaning is not a private experience, but the product of a shared system of signification. Furthermore, texts are to be understood as constructs to be analyzed and explained scientifically in terms of the deep structure of the system itself. For many structuralisms, this "deep-structure" is understood to be universal and innate[3].it is to note here that generalization ignores the diversities that is distinguished art & architecture product for different ancient civilizations, it is to state that universality of values is not criticized, as mankind share it, as each civilization has its deep structure in linguistics and art product as a tool to express their understanding and application for their selected believes and values.

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[1] (ERZEN, 1991, p. 5)
[2] (Almissiry, 1991, p. 20)
[3] (Piaget, 1970)

According to Saussure, the basic unit of language is a sign. A sign is composed of signifier and a signified, the relation between a signifier and a signified is arbitrary in at least two ways. First, there is no absolute reason why these particular graphic should signify the concept. There is no natural connection or resemblance between the signifier and the signified. Hence, the term structuralism, Saussure bracketed out of his investigation any concern with the real, material objects (referents) to which signs are presumably related[4]. This bracketing of the referent is a move that enabled him to study the way a thing (language and meaning) is experienced in the mind, according to what is proposed by Saussure, the language is not considered anymore a tool to communicate or to transfer meaning, as there is no assumed meaning or significance for any significant, also it has become an empirical accident, it refers only to its material existent in the universe , not referring to any spiritual or metaphorical meaning beyond its material existence, as a result Messiry mentions that in this term, the universe is beyond our judgment or evaluation, as it becomes the significant and the significance, there is no space separating these two elements therefore ,as language and its significant becomes united, also nature is united with the Creator, this characteristic is the first that distinguish between the monotheism and the pantheism societies[5].

1.2. Orientalism as Structuralism interpretation for the Orient:

These two different forms of society, is affirming the need for a different approach for interpreting Islamic architecture, imposing a methodology that is in harmony and proposed from the very same culture that produced it, as Edward Said also clarifies the contradiction in interpreting the East, he affirms the use of modern theories when examining the orient :

"The ambition to formulate their discoveries, experiences, and insights suitably in modern terms, to put ideas about the Orient in very close touch with modern realities. Renan's linguistic investigations of Semitic in 1848, for example, were couched in a style that drew heavily for its authority upon contemporary comparative grammar, comparative anatomy, and racial theory; these lent his Orientalism prestige and—the other side of the coin—made Orientalism vulnerable, as it has been ever since, to modish as well as seriously influential currents of thought in the West".[6]

Structuralism is not considered a fundamental tool in analyzing poet texts that belongs to traditional societies ,as it denies the separation of both language and its significance, and considers language as a tool to describe the universe, and to communicate with it, with a structure of relations, based on the understanding of nature as a symbol and a sign for the Creator existence and majesty, either in literature, art, architecture and music, and according to Ezren, these forms of art production act as a performance of a belief system of understanding.

The Islamic religious, Sufism & philosophical texts has been studied as a tool for representing the East, as Said clarifies how the orient has been represented by Orientals :

"The Oriental is depicted as some-thing one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual). The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks"[7]

Distinguishing the difference between representing the orient - through describing its literature and art - and the orient interpretation for the same literature and art product:

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[4] (Piaget, 1970)
[5] (Almissiry, 1991)
[6] (Said, 2003)
[7] (Said, 2003, p. 45)

"Yet what gave the Oriental's world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West."[8]

Orientalism imposed limits upon thought about the Orient. Even the most imaginative writers of an age, men like Flaubert, Nerval, or Scott, were constrained in what they could either experience of or say about the Orient. For Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). This vision in a sense created and then served the two worlds thus conceived. Orientals lived in their world, "we" lived in ours.[9]

Our initial description of Orientalism - as Said has suggested - learned field now acquires a new concreteness. The Orient is simulated in texts, as a stage and a virtual space to be represented according to the Orientalist, Said also refer with the word orient to the whole orient (middle and far east) which is represented on the stage The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world , but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe [10]. An Orientalist is but the particular specialist in knowledge for which Europe at large is responsible [11], in the way that an audience is historically and culturally responsible for (and responsive to) dramas technically put together by the dramatist.

What is Said suggesting is to clarify the descriptive & Structuralism tendencies in interpreting the Islamic architecture, as when examining the mosque architecture, to its components (dome, minarets…etc), in his search for the origin of the mosque terminology in the Holy Quran, Grabar states the absence for the mosque as a building type, therefore he comes to a conclusion that mosque is not considered a religious building[12], if the term "religious" refers to applying the divine revelation , considering it is not part of a belief , to have a building type as Mosque, it should be stated that ancient civilizations had also no divine text to follow concerning their worship architecture, Grabar also clarify that the internal Muslim purpose for building mosques was not primarily religious but included all the activities that made the community function[13].

2.0. Interpreting Architecture as a poetic Text:

Examining architecture through poetic texts, proposes the characteristics of these texts as a classical expression of the society, as mentioned by Erzen, that poetic texts at the time, renders life intelligible and compact, Ezren describes these texts as a unique mixture of poetic metaphorical and narrative description with didactic explanation, Erzen has proved that aesthetic consciousness at the ottoman culture and artistic product of art architecture miniature panting literature and music is a traditional product rather as a creation of art[14]. She arouses the most important problem in interpreting Islamic architecture, that most archeologists, limits the interpretation to building techniques and style, ignoring that product as being an art product only to the extent of its belonging to a curtain style or previous civilization influences, focusing only on these two factors, it may be considered as judgment on the art and architecture of the 13th & 14th centuries of Anatolia of being a pure expression of structure system, ignoring the culture realm and influence of the philosophical thought and Sufism that formed the main culture streams of that period.

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[8] (Said, 2003, p. 43)
[9] (Said, 2003, p. 43)
[10] (Said, 2003, p. 46)
[11] Ibid
[12] (Grabar, 1973, p. 101)
[13] (Grabar, 1973, p. 101)
[14] (Mokoc, Apr.2008, p. 35)

2.1. Poems of Rumi as a Classical Text :

Schimmel has aroused the relation between word and meaning in Rumi's poetry, Rumi always uses words as symbols for meanings in his poetry:

"You may call a man 'a lion' in braveness show great the difference between the outward form of man and lion may be: the interior meaning of both, e.g. the essence 'bravery', is the same The corporeal senses have to serve as a vessel for understanding and too much water may break the vessel."[15]

Also for Rumi, Certainly, there are correspondences between experience and Expression, experience is like the hand, expression is like the instrument [16], through which the hand acts, like the pen or brush by means of which are painted on a wall pictures, which are mere reflections of true beauty, shades which man thinks to be real. Schimmel continue in describing Rumi's theory, as expressions for him are beacon-lights which are needed only so long as one has not arrived at the port; they are the scent of heaven, apple-trees, or stars which work by God's permission.

Rumi has often tried to solve this riddle of the relation between words and meaning, of experience and expression, he also confirms in his poems the feeling that words are merely dust on the mirror of experience, dust brought forth from the movement of the broom 'tongue', and the true meaning, the 'soul of the story' can be found only when man loses himself in the presence of the Beloved where neither dust nor forms remain.

The previous analysis for Rumi's poetry, suggests a different approach for the relation between the word and its significance, first, there is a strong connection between both the significant and its significance in the universe, second, Rumi proposes a different approach for the relation between the poet, the universe and God, these two approaches are related to each other, as the first one is the tool for describing the second, hence , structuralism here is denied, and cannot be the tool to analyze Rumi's texts, as first it will deny the relation between words and its interpretation, which is the main stream in the Sufi's poems, secondly , there will be no clue for the reason of creating this type of texts.

2.2. Between Texts & Arts

During Turkmen Emirates period, The Nakkashane – institution for craftsmen- has been established to undertake all forms of decorative arts and crafts, the poetic temperament constantly seeks and creates new relations amongst things. It sees the world as a realm of similitude's on which it bases its metaphors. This kinship in the world makes for a form where elements are interdependent and shifting in their orientation according to what relations are chosen. As resists calculative thinking.1* Through rhythm and rhyme, verse relates what is read to the sense of hearing so that experience keeps its immediacy without the intervention or abstraction of concepts. In a relational approach things are experienced differently in different contexts and not fixed as rigid entities.

Ezren explains that a whole genre of literature concerned with the wisdom of God's creations proliferated in pre-modern Islam. Even Islamic historiography was predicated on the notion of itibar, it is the search of God wisdom that forces to study history and take lessons from, it is very common in the Muslim literature and especially the Sufi's heritage that were produced in Islamic civilization. I will take the example that Ezren had mentioned, The seventeenth-century text of Risale-i Mimariyye wonders about the architecture of the world[17]:

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[15] (Schimmel, 1993)
[16] (Schimmel, 1993)
[17] (ERZEN, 1991)

What is this exalted mosque and retreat for witnessing?
What is this lofty vault and lamp ornament?
What is this bright window, what is this luminous taper?
What is this wonderful creation, and what is this beauteous form?
What is this vault of heaven, and what is this surface of the world?
What is this lofty arch, and what is this great pavilion?
What is this? Who made such an edifice?
Without drawings and without mathematics and without analogy?

The whole Mathnavi is an attempt to show the way that leads towards the inner meaning which is 'hidden like the lion in the forest, dangerous and over whelming[18]. Schimmel describes Qaratay Madrasa in the light of Mathnavi, as its form is merely influenced by the spirituality of the Sufi poet:

"In 1251i.e. before the Mathnavi was begun Mowlana's friend, the minister Jalaloddin Qaratay, founded the Qaratay madrasa, a small edifice which, in my opinion, better reflects the character of the Mathnavi than any rational explanation could do: its inside is covered completely with the turquoise blue tiles that are so typical of Konya and of Seljuk art; its walls join the tambour-zone by means of five so-called 'Turkish triangles' in each corner; on these triangles, the names of the Prophet, the first four caliphs, and some prophets are inscribed in black quadrangular Kufic. The tambour zone itself is covered with an exquisite Koranic inscription in plaited Kufic of the most complicated styles [19]"

The above description is very important, for many reasons; first, it arouses many questions concerning the influence and reflection of spiritual texts and form giving, second, the text may conclude to non- rational interpretation written at that time of Turkmen Emirates, which states that beyond the techniques, a main stream must has been expressed as form giving through techniques.

3.0. Rumi and the Stations of Wisdom

Introduction

The universality of spiritual doctrine is clearly demonstrated in "Treasury of Traditional Wisdom "by Whitall Perry. As stated by Martin Ling, traditional wisdom is divided to three main category corresponds to the three basic principles of the Islamic mysticism, fear, love and knowledge, each of these divisions has two aspects: the domain of fear action: abstention and accomplishment. Love has: dynamic intensity & static aspect of contemplative bliss. Spiritual knowledge has its objective & subjective aspects as it is concerned with the Absolute as Transcendent Truth and Immanent Selfhood.[20]

Since the work of sacred art is concerned with holiness and the as it is also concerned with the crystallization of sainthood which sets before man as a model[21], Islamic architecture is to be examined to reflect these aspects of spiritual dimension in mosque architecture.

As these aspects is also reflected in the poetry of Galal Din Rumi, as stated by Ann Marie Schimmel in her book "The Triumphal Sun" the three stages of fear, love and knowledge are the main stations in the Sufi life in his journey to God, these stages are the main dimensions in his prose and poetry, as The microcosm is man, who reflects these same qualities but as a totality. The macrocosm and the microcosm are like two mirrors facing each other[22], Rumi also, although

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18 (Schimmel, 1993, p. 45)
19 (Schimmel, 1993) For the complete description , kindly refer to the original text.
20 (Lings, 1991, p. 116)
21 (Lings, 1991, p. 117)
22 (C.Chittick, 2005, p. 49)

living after Ibn 'Arabi follows the earlier terminology in his writings. Discussing the true nature of man, Rumi remarks that philosophers say that man is the microcosm, while theosophies or Sufis say that man is the macrocosm[23].

Also Rumi discuss Universal Man as the principle of all manifestation and thus the prototype of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Chittick explains that Individual man, or man as we usually understand the term, is the most complete and central reflection of the reality of Universal Man in the manifested universe, and thus he appears as the final being to enter the arena of creation, for what is first in the principal order is last in the manifested order.[24]

According to Rumi:

"Externally the branch is the origin of the fruit; intrinsically the branch came into existence for the sake of the fruit. If there had not been desire and hope of the fruit, how should the gardener have planted the root of the tree? Therefore in reality the tree was born of the fruit, (even) if in appearance it (the fruit) was generated by the tree".

Rumi summarizes the relationship of the Shahddah to the states of fana and, baqa as follows:

"Everything is perishing but His face": unless thou art in His face (essence), do not seek to exist.

When any one has passed away (from himself) in my [God's] face, the words "everything is perishing" are not applicable (to him). Because he is in "but, "he has transcended "no", whoever is in "but" has not passed away [in respect of his real Self][25]

"When a man's "I" is negated (and eliminated) from existence, then what else remains'? Consider, 0 denier. If you have an eye, open it and look! After no, why, what else remains? (VI, 2096-97).

To examine the stages of wisdom as reflected in Rumi's proses and poetry, is more related to understand his Sufi doctrine, and his path to God, as Chittick explained that according to Rumi Man should not waste his efforts in trivialities but should concentrate all of his attention on the Path, for "except dying, no other skill avails with God" (VI, 3838). The individual self is a prison which keeps man separated from God: "To be nigh (unto God) is not to go up or down: to be nigh unto God is to escape from the prison. (C.Chittick, 2005, p. 70).

The architecture of the mosque, as a worship place, is the place where man begin his journey to perform prayer, it could be a simulation for these stages of self, in her journey to God, it is suggested that mosque architecture as a product of the Turkmen emirates period, was influenced by the Sufi doctrine of Rumi, and through his understanding of universe, a methodology for the mosque could be based in parallel to the Sufi doctrine of the period at the 13th and 14th century at Anatolia.

3.1. The Entrance & Abstention Fear: The first stage of wisdom:

3.1.1. Symbolism & Manifestation of Fear:

The Mosque with its protected walls & door is a pure expression for fear aspects, as through door one's is turning his back to the external danger of the profane world, expressing the flight from danger, as there is no refuge from God except to him.as for Rumi, every faithful Muslim repentance is not a unique act , he knows that the door of repentance is situated in the Maghreb, Man should never despair of finding this door ,which is according to our poet is one of the eight doors of Paradise.[26]also we find Rumi's mausoleum bear the inscription:

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[23] Ibid,P52
[24] Ibid,P52
[25] (C.Chittick, 2005)
[26] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 244)

"Come back, come back, even though you have broken your repentance a thousand times."

3.1.2. Fear in Rumi Poetry

On the mystical path of Rumi there are fear and hope, considered to be the two wings by which the human soul can fly toward God. Rumi knows the Divine ruse which may overcome man when he feels safe:

"Know that the station of fear is the one in which you are safe, Know that the station of security is that one in which you tremble."

But as important as fear and hope are, they constitute for Rumi only preliminary states to be drowned in spiritual wine; they may bring man closer to God during a certain portion of his journey, but The seaman is always on the planks of fear and hope when the plank and the man get annihilated, there is nothing but immersion, for in the Ocean of the Godhead neither fear nor hope, neither patience nor gratitude are any longer existent. Rumi highlights in one of his discourses the necessary interrelation of fears and hope with the image of the peasant who sow scorn and hopes that it may grow but fears a crop failure; but in his poetry he once praises hope as the true mover of life: Is there anyone who has sown the corn of hope in this soil, to whom the spring of His grace did not grant a hundred fold (fruit)?[27] Passing through the door corresponds to the stage of detachment, of sobriety; it also corresponds to purity and immortality. To enter the mosque also is to be immediately impressed by its emptiness, and also for these walls symbols to the steadfastness of soul which is the basic virtue of this station.[28], both the wave of coolness which conspires with the silence and emptiness to give the wings – of fear and hope as Rumi has mentioned – to the soul for initial renunciation.[29]

3.1.3. The Gate at Green Mosque:

As examining the Entrance of the Green Mosque of Bursa, one enters the mosque influenced with its holiness and the several rows of stalactites, into the small hall; with its wall thickness the quietness is sensed.

Figure 1. Entrance of the Green Mosque, Bursa

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[27] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 247)
[28] (Lings, 1991, p. 116)
[29] Ibid.P117

3.2. Pillars & Accomplishment Fear: The second station of wisdom:

3.1.1. Symbolism & Manifestation of accomplishment Fear:

The second station as stated by Lings, corresponds to the positive aspect of fear, which is attack, Lings also points out to the symbols of this spiritual station, that of combat, victory, it is the inner act to the affirmation of the Self.[30], which is called "Gihad" the most spiritual form of the "Gihad" is the inner one with the profane needs of one's self.

This station is overwhelmingly expressed in the mosque architecture in pillar, which is dynamic in its virtue of its function as the structure tension element, against gravity, resembling the soul when it is conquering spiritual laziness, inattention and dreaming , which all has to be overcome. The pillar by it upwards towards the sky against gravity ,resembles the soul in its longing to God, against its habitual passivity here we refer to Rumi when he mentioned that trees are like dervishes, slowly advancing, slowly growing and smiling until they bear full fruit[31], and their leaves bear witness of the root's character and tell what kind of nourishment they have imbibed, As long as the branches are dry, they resemble ascetics who become refreshed (green-headed) and intoxicated when the friend's lip touches them as ceticism is transformed into love.[32]

3.1.2. Fear in Rumi Poetry

Chittick reminds of what Rumi thinks of the fruit as the main purpose of the tree:

Externally the branch is the origin of the fruit; intrinsically the branch came into existence for the sake of the fruit, If there had not been desire and hope of the fruit, how should the gardener have planted the root of the tree? Therefore in reality the tree was born of the fruit, (even), if in appearance it (the fruit) was generated by the tree. Hence Mustafa (Muhammad) said, "Adam and the (other) prophets are (following) behind me under (my) banner."[33]

Schimmel also clarifies that trees and flowers are perfect symbols of human beings; in Rumi's philosophy ,and the poet resembles the stations of heart as the seasons of the year, giving an example at spring time, the changes in the garden 'human heart' which bears spring and fall in itself if man would only look as reflected in the external world; and once the beloved approves of the heart, hundreds of thousands of roses will open, nightingales will sing. For just like man, the world, too, is sometimes patient, sometimes grateful, and that is why the garden now wears a lovely dress, and then, again, becomes empty.[34]

Defeating fear is not just a dynamic act of heart, soul and mind of a man, it is a continues act during his life, to stand against gravity, not as an aim of itself, but the real aim is to continue the path which needs the flowering and fruits of the soul , and to accomplish peace when examining the pillars that helps to hold the dome, or the roof peacefully as the place of Heaven in the mosque.

3.1.3. The Pillars at Sulemaniye Mosque:

As the four marble columns of the Sulemaniye mosque were gathered from four different places, Morcok were examining an interpretation which is more meaningful rather than being subject to materiality in explanation, questioning of the importance of these columns that physically are a load bearing columns, but his explanation suggests that columns are beyond its physical existence,

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[30] (Lings, 1991, p. 116)
[31] (Schimmel, 1993)
[32] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 74)
[33] (C.Chittick, 2005, p. 53)
[34] Ibid,P71

these four columns were not important because of their capability of bearing loads, they inherit meaning, and that is the reason of having a four columns that were already used in other religious buildings, as a symbol for meaning, pillars in that sense resembles the pillars of religion , as Celebi has said:

This well – proportioned mosque become a Ka'ba
Its four columns become the four friens
The House of Islam on four pillars
Was strengthened by the four friends.[35]

As mentioned above interpreting architecture that belongs to the pre modern age, as a product as significant that implies a significance, suggests understanding the metaphors behind the poetic text, as part of expressing and producing beliefs , conquering fear is based on having a supports for the soul against darkness which helps to discriminate to the heaven.

3.3. Dome as Passive Love: The Third station of wisdom:

3.3.1 The Symbolism & Manifestation of passive love:

For Jalaloddin Rumi, the third station for wisdom is the passive mode of love, which is contemplative contentment. The quality of calm – as Lings explained- derives from the infinite beauty in the world [36], which when realized as ecstasy blessing from Creator, it senses peace, beyond our material existence there is the peaceful realization derived from the Creator as the source of all beauty ,Nasr investigate the dome as the symbol for the creator, he argues the interpretation for the mosque as the symbol of monotheism, spirituality of universe in that sense is hierarchal system in its manifestation, linking between the celestial and the profane, the angelic world to the archangelic world, the spirit to the source of Soul – the creator- whom to Him all the paths lead.

 Lings distinguishes the symbolism of dome as it is the curved part of the building, it corresponds to the celestial aspect, while the square part of the building corresponds to the terrestrial aspect, resembling the passage from the earth to heaven.

At the Green mosque Figure 3, the above simulation for the passage between the terrestrial and the celestial worlds is manifested, as the dome is the heaven where the sun – as the source of light, the sun offers itself as a fitting symbol for anyone who tries to describe the Divine Majesty and Glory[37], and is, indeed, one of the most common images in religious literatures throughout the world not to mention the numerous religions in which the sun itself was worshipped as 'the God', or at least one of the leading deities. But for Rumi, he points out to the light of the sun:

What letter could one read in the lightning's light?

As if the kind of light will give more spiritual meanings to the awareness of the lover, , Also for Rumi the sun is important as It is not only the brilliant but also, that friendly luminary which ripens the fruits and fills creation with happiness. As the lover needs to be under the dome (the dome of spiritual illumination) as to grow spiritually.

As the sun rays need to be reflected to be realized, when examining the Green mosque walls, where there is no shadows, simply light is reflected on plain walls of the mosque.

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[35] (Mokoc, Apr.2008)
[36] (Lings, 1991, p. 120)
[37] (Schimmel, 1993)

3.3.2 The Passive love in Rumi's poetry:

The passive mode of love is symbolized in Rumi's poetry - as mentioned – with relation to the place where man is beyond the sun and its illuminating light, the place is the earth beyond the sky, where peace and contentment is achieved only when man is in his journey of awareness – through meditation and prayers, the place is simulated at mosque in the prayer hall, where man stands and performs prayer, also the dome is resting on a cube (Iwan – prayer hall) as a symbol for earth, where the dome is the sky, walls and domes are reflecting light.

3.1.2. Dome as manifested in Rumi Poetry

Interpreting the dome meaning and relation to light and walls of the mosque implies further interpretation for meaning for the development of pedentive dome beyond its structure role as the roof of the mosque, there are numerous studies for the classification of plan design using pedentive dome as main criteria to categories the plan layout's variations of the Ottoman mosque architecture, a criteria that will categorize instead of interpret, as a descriptive method for analyzing architecture forms of the mosque, proposing that analyzing courtyard plan unit types is the symbol of Ottoman mosque architecture incorporating simple and pure geometric shapes [38] the previous assumption , describes the form as a symbol in itself, no meaning beyond its material form, as the form has no significance to imply, hence analyzing through descriptive approach is to describe objects as a subject to achieve in itself, with no metaphor meaning, while as previously mentioned, that architecture at pre modern world is part of a culture that generates system of beliefs as an art product, hence it is more likely not to propose that forms are analyzed depending mainly on its function or method of construction, as interpreting forms through the descriptive approach will limit interpretation, in addition that it suggests a description based mainly on separating form and meaning as structuralism has suggested, a criteria that maybe against the beliefs that shaped the literature, art and architecture of that period of time.

Figure 2. Bursa, Yesil Cami (Green Mosque);
Section, Architect: Haci Ivaz

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[38] (Merhand Mazloomi, Dec.2010)

3.4. Mihrab as Active Love: The Fourth station of wisdom:

3.4.1 The Symbolism & Manifestation of Active love:

The Mihrab as active love, as it is the orientation symbol at mosque, as symbolism is not depending on the niche as an architecture element, it goes beyond the physical orientation towards Mecca, it is the orientation of heart towards Heaven, in order to be attracted to Heaven, as heart is the center of microcosm, movement is from periphery to center, from external forms to the inner self. The Truth is the center, of the circle which gives Sharea its meaning and reason to be established[39].

Mihrab in Arabic terms implies to the honorable place at any magles (the gathering of wise men at mosque or qaa'a) as it is mentioned in Quran before Islam:

"So the angels called him while he was standing in prayer in the chamber, "Indeed, Allah gives you good tidings of John, confirming a word from Allah and [who will be] honorable, abstaining [from women], and a prophet from among the righteous."(Surat Ali'Imran-39)

As it is the spiritual union with God (al -Wisal bil'-haqq)to reach that point one has a long and difficult journey. Man attains to Reality only by passing away from his illusory self and subsiding in his real Self.

It is symbolized in Mihrab with the layers of stalactites which ends with a half dome , these layers , symbolizes the spiritual transcendence of the soul in its journey to God, it could be stated as :Al nafs Al Ammara (The misleading self) Al Nafs Alawama (the blaming self), al nafs Al molhama (The inspired self) m al nafs al mo'mena (The believer) al nafs al mardeya (the gratitude self) al nafs alsafeya (the pure self).

Archeologists have analyzed the niche according to architecture style and building or crafts technique, which also had an influence on the final product, but it was used as a tool for the manifestation of a variety of beliefs, and according to the mihrab role as the linking point between the profane and the transcendent worlds, and also because it is the sign of orientation of heart and body, hence mihrab or niche form must express the main role of man on earth as God wanted, according to Rumi ,This original function of man to be the Universal Man and act as a channel of grace for the world is referred to by the Quran as the "trust" {al-amdnah) placed upon man's shoulders at his creation. Rumi emphasizes the extreme importance which Sufism gives to this concept:

"There is one thing in this world which must never be forgotten. If you were to forget everything else, but did not forget that, then there would be no cause to worry; whereas if you performed and remembered and did not forget every single thing, but forgot that one thing, then you would have done nothing whatsoever. So man has come into this world for a particular task, and that is his purpose; if he does not perform it, then he will have done nothing.[40]

3.4.2 Active love in Rumi's poetry :

According to Rumi, Faqr is a man's nurse and teaches him how to behave. He, the absolutely poor being, is contrasted with the eternally rich Lord, and after reaching perfect poverty, becomes annihilated in Him. Faqr with Rumi is almost a coterminous of fana'* 'annihilation', as it was prefigured in the poetry of Sanai* and `Attar*.[41]

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[39] (Mahmoud, 1998, p. 110)
[40] (C.Chittick, 2005)
[41] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 249)

As Schimmel clarifies, that Fana' is the last stage that matters for Rumi:

A fire of piety (taqva*) burnt the world which is besides God:

A lightning from God struck and burnt piety.

It is known between Sufi's circle the ability of transcendence through space and time, as Schimmel also describe that Rumi himself had experienced ecstatically raptures, he was able to transgress time and space, or to be present in several places at once[42]. Here we stress and insure that souls are beyond place and time, and this idea was a challenge for artists and crafts men to emphasize and interpret in their work of art. Numerous lines describe the cosmic consciousness of the lover who feels that he is neither from the North nor from the South, neither from earth nor from heaven, neither Christian nor Jew.[43] or that he is everything and above everything.

Schimeel is describing a poem in that sense:

A poem in which the reader can almost feel the rising intoxication uses the imagery of the sea, describing the slow arrival of the call of love which, then, in accelerating rhythm carries the lover towards the ocean until the boat of his body is shattered in the wave 'alast', the Divine address of the primordial covenant to which he finally returns'. (Schimmel, 1993, p. 252)

Every moment the voice of Love is coming from left and right.
We are bound for heaven: who has a mind to sight-seeing?
We have been in heaven, we have been friends of the angels;
Thither, sire, let us return, for that is our country . . .
Came the billow of 'Am I not?' and wrecked the body's ship;
When the ship wrecks it is the time of union's attainment;
'Tis the time of union's attainment, 'tis the time of eternity's beauty, 'Tis the
time of favor and largesse, 'tis the ocean of perfect purity.
The billow of largesse hath appeared, the thunder of the sea hath arrived,
The morn of blessedness hath dawned. Morn? No, 'tis the light of God

Closely connected with Rumi's ideas of the mystical path are those about the saints and about the mystical leaders which occupy a large portion of his poetry. Rumi's description of the saint, the sheykh, the beloved, the true Muslim is scattered through out this work, mainly in the Mathnavi.[44]

3.4.3. Mihrab at Green Mosque :

To other Muslims of that time, whom were the students of our poet, have followed or adapted the same imagination of the ideal Man or universal man, as it was part of his doctrine, the universal man is expressed in his poetry in relation to his journey to God, through his profane life, there is no separation between the universe ,the poet and God, this triple relations is manifested in literature, art & architecture should be examined based on understanding of Rumi's manifestation of Sufism, as for him it was important to communicate spiritually as the main task of existence, suggesting that art and architecture are supposed to have a goal of their existence , beyond the physical role, it should help humans in their journey of transcendence.

This approach of recalling for love is achieved at the mihrab, with its curved surface, and when Examining the Mihrab at Green mosque at Bursa, it is described to be the paradise itself[45].not just the gate of paradise, its columns is described like the trees of life, which supports a twelve rows of stalactites, the flat surface is full with flowers as a symbol for a fertile reign. Figure 3

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[42] (Schimmel, 1993)
[43] (Schimmel, 1993)
[44] (Schimmel, 1993)
[45] (Goodwin, 2003, p. 62)

There is an inscription in honor of Ali bin Ilyas Ali, Known as NAkkas Ali or Ali the designer, it was stated by Goodwin, that he was likely to be the master of considerable eminence[46,] referring to the location of the inscription and its size that it must have an important role to be mentioned.

Figure 3. The Mihrab of the Green Mosque

3.5. The Minaret as the objective aspect of knowledge: The Fifth Station of wisdom:

3.5.1 The Symbolism & Manifestation of Objective Knowledge:

Knowledge is attained to self with continues completive meditation and is defined with two aspects, according to the stages of wisdom, the objective and subjective aspects. As it is achieved by discrimination and identification, with the minaret corresponds to the first aspect, as it corresponds to the vertical axis and discrimination to the height, as the minaret is free from bearing loads it is a pure form of ascending towards heaven.

Rumi sees steps and ladders everywhere: the branches and twigs which in spring appear from the depths are like a ladder which those who travel to heaven have put into the garden, as if the buds and leaves were spirits who have reached paradise, having left the dark dust.[47]

Man should transform himself into a ladder when he sees that all the doors of peace and rest have been closed before him then he will find his beloved on the roof[48], radiant like the moon The first step in this ladder which leads man towards God is essential: the beginning of a minaret is made with one brick[49], and if man neglects one single brick in the foundation, the whole building will be ruined soon.[50] This first step is the strict adherence to ritual duties as taught in the Koran and explained in the tradition. Fasting, prayer, religious alms and pilgrimage are indispensable, for they are the expression of true faith.[51]

As for Rumi, he states that during our spiritual journey passes through steps but, these steps is not for staying:

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[46] (Goodwin, 2003, p. 63)
[47] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 35)
[48] Ibid.P36
[49] Ibid
[50] Ibid
[51] Ibid

"All these pleasures and pursuits are like a ladder. The rungs of a ladder are not a place to make one's home; they are for passing by. Fortunate are those who learn this. The long road becomes short for them, and they do not waste their lives upon the steps."[52]

Minaret as a symbol of the affirmation of God, it conquers the space as a symbol for transcendence to God, physically as it used to be higher than any building around, and spiritually through the call for prayer that comes from the minaret.

3.5.2 Objective Knowledge in Rumi's Poetry:

As for Rumi, Schimmel describes that the spiritual ladder as a manifestation of the journey is very clear for the eyes of the ones whom aware of their real task in life:

"But the chosen, ones of God, who have true knowledge, see neither the hereafter nor the stable. Their eyes are fixed on the first principle, the source of all thing"[53].

Rumi has mentioned the spiritual experience for the prophet Muhammed (PBUH) as the most transcendent journey the prophet (PBUH) has achieved during his life, he describes it as the manifestation of Divine love.

The meaning of transcendence and Divine Love manifested itself best in the experience of the isra', the Night-Journey, the ascension to heaven to which the Koran (Sura 17/1) alludes: 'Praised be He who travelled with His servant at night'. This night journey has been interpreted from at least the days of Bayazid* Bestami* as the prototype of the mystic's flight into the immediate Divine presence and thus as symbol for the highest spiritual experience. The Prophet who 'dedicated his day to work and gain, and his night to (Divine) love[54], because his 'heart was awake even though his eyes slept', as the hadith says, was uplifted on the miraculous steed, Boraq*, whose very name became among the mystics and particularly with Rumi equivalent to love[55]

3.5.3. Minarets at the Green Mosque:

As for the minarets of the Green Mosque it is free also of any load, the two are located at the north-east and north-west of the entrance façade, standing free and independent of the mosque, its circular shape and the several steps in its form resembles the stages in discernment. However, it is worth to mention that locations of the minarets is considered important as it is emphasizes the entrance with the desire of discernment not just to the depth but also to the vertical access, this assumption is merely depending on the interpretation of rumi's stages of wisdom, and the required transcendent to accomplish by Man, it doesn't contradict with the problems of identifying the date of adding the minarets, as the main stream for building the minaret will not be different, and will apply the same purpose and meaning, interpreting these minarets as a vital part of the architecture of the mosque, gives a clue that it is more likely that the mosque was designed to carry minarets from the start and at the current position – at the corner of the façade.

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[52] (Arberry, 1993, p. 119)
[53] (Arberry, 1993, p. 37)
[54] (Schimmel, 1993)
[55] (Schimmel, 1993, p. 232)

Figure 4. Bursa, Yesil Cami, Minaret-
http://www.ask.com/wiki/Bursa

3.6. The Light as the subjective aspect of Knowledge:

3.6.1. The Symbolism and Manifestation of subjective Knowledge:

In The sixth stage, there is no more discrimination, as all the previous stages merged and united in the illumination of knowledge, it is the ultimate stage that one seeks, the knowledge which illuminate, hence it is the subjective aspect that identify.

Rumi often speaks of the sun which transforms, by means of its Divine rays, the hard stone into a ruby, making it partake of the eternal sun-light.[56] Schimmel describes his point that the sun is both tremendous and fascines, and thus the perfect symbol of that God who is kind and loving and, at the same time, a consuming fire.[57]

3.6.2. Subjective Knowledge in Rumi's Poetry:

 Schimmel points out that Rumi was inspired by The Koran, which endowed Rumi with new possibilities of combining the sun motif with God: did not God call Himself 'the Light of the heavens and the earth' in the famous light-verse of the Holy Book (Sura 24/35) This verse, which is amply quoted by the mystics in different interpretations, serves Rumi, to describe the spiritual sun, Rumi is focusing on the essentiality of Man's spiritual growth which cannot be accomplished without the influence of the Divine Sun as it reveals " Al – Haqq", Man becomes purified and gains some approximation to the Divine qualities, which is a must to apply the following Prophetic tradition : Qualify yourselves with the qualities of God (takhallaqu bi-akhlaq* Allah*), until he becomes a transparent vessel for the Divine Light.

Then we can summarize that Sun (spiritual sun which illuminates one's awareness to the Haqq) is important in Rumi's poetry, there is no end for the interpretation of Light and its importance in his work,

Also Rumi refers to the light's significance in Man's life :

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[56] (Schimmel, 1993)
[57] (Schimmel, 1993)

In this world everyone is preoccupied with a separate affair. One is in love with women, one is in love with wealth, another is engaged in acquiring possessions, another in acquiring knowledge. Everyone believes that their cure, their joy, their pleasure and comfort can be found in that one thing. And that is a Divine mercy, because when they search they cannot find, and so they return. After they have waited a while, they say again, "That joy and pleasure must be looked for. Perhaps I didn't try hard enough. I will search again." Then they look again, but still they cannot find their desire. So they continue, until that time when Truth removes Its veil. Then they know.[58]

The previous quote for Rumi, is considered an imaginary for the paths man's tries before getting his real desire in life, which is his spiritual awareness of God, an imagination is resembling that light is connected to knowledge, hence, it could be said that light in terms of Rumi , the light which illuminate and causes growth, in the Green Mosque, we Can see that light is not only knowledge, but a status of merging with it.

Some socialist say, "The human being is a rational animal," yet we consist of two things. Lusts and desires feed our animality in this material world. But as for our true essence, its food is knowledge, wisdom, and the sight of God[59]. The animality within us flees away from God, while our spiritual self flees away from this world[60].

"One of you is an unbeliever,
And one of you a believer."
Two people are warring within you.
Who shall succeed?
The one that Fortune makes her friend.[61]

3.6.3. Light at the Green Mosque :

Light is experienced at Green Mosque as becoming as using openings and small windows , and openings at the dome, to enable a fragrance of light for illumination, the light coming from he dome, is playing the same role as the sun rays of Haqq (truth) that is mentioned by Rumi, and below the dome there is a fountain where water reflects the light, also water is a symbol for knowledge in Rumi's poetry, the light in the Yecil Cami is the light which illuminate, more than light that causes growth, as the light is concentrated in front of the mihrab.

Figure 5 Yesil Cami, Bursa. The prayer Hall
with steps up from the court

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[58] (Arberry, 1993, pp. 51-52)
[59] (Schimmel, 1993)
[60] (Schimmel, 1993)
[61] (Arberry, 1993, p. 106)

4.0. Conclusion:

 The search for a more exemplary interpretation for Islamic Architecture at the Turkmen Emirates period is depending on understanding the spiritual influence of the poetic text of Galal Eldeen Al Rumi, the previous analysis for the spiritual basics that forms Rumi's thought & Sufism, in parallel with analyzing the architecture was held to answer the questions that were aroused by Schimmel through the description of Qayetbai madrasa, concerned of the influence of beliefs on form giving ,it is clear that a realm of thoughts has formed both community beliefs and the form giving of art & architecture. A different approach concerning the influences between the community & architecture, than the contemporary understanding of architecture & art theories as an individual expression of belief.

The Sufi thought of Rumi depends on system of symbols, manifested & revealed in nature, that helps humans in their transcendence to the ultimate truth, his vision presupposes Sufi relation between the significant and the significance, after his death, his descendants and students has maintained the Sufi order through different schools of Sufism & art, as art at the time was not an individual expression of self beliefs.

Through both Rumi poetry and the Green Mosque at Bursa, the wisdom of fear, love & knowledge can be traced as the main stations in transcendence, Several questions is to arouse, concerned with the spiritual basics of form giving that is influencing contemporary mosque architecture: are these spiritual basics for Rumi exists in the 21 century ? is there a quest for a different spiritual meaning to express through contemporary mosques ?

Do the same values exist as a community belief or as an individual choice? Is there an interest to express a spiritual belief through building contemporary mosques? Do technologies considered a tool in expressing a curtain belief? As not only the descendants of the Mavlevi order whom are concerned in building mosques, then even in expressing their belief, probably using the same forms and shapes, is there a tendency in creating new forms to express their belief ?

Community at the time of Turkmen Emirates is considered a Monotheism community, expressing this realm in architecture and art product, especially the one influenced by Rumi Sufi order, compared to the 20th century, community cannot be influenced only by spiritual order, Architects are not studying Sufism, and philosophy in relation to art product, art is considered not a community product but rather an individual expression.

How the mosque architecture is affected in the 20th century by the structuralism and by the descriptive method in analyzing? As the significant has no significance, hence having un limited possibilities of significances, as a result forms has been detached of being a system of symbols, it was rather for forms to be reused not to express a belief rather than expressing an aesthetic vision and um limited form giving possibilities due to new technologies, which have responded to the tendency of expressing values de attached of a system of values, through individuality ot through community.

Architecture as a product through the two types of communities mentioned above, is classified as: architecture expressed through community belief, and architecture expressed through individual belief, hence contemporary mosque architecture – as a building type that express a community belief – has no significant reference to be analyzed through, as interpreting Islam through architecture requires a new spiritual interpretation to affect a curtain community's belief and way of life.

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The Impacts of Prestige Projects on the Skyline of Istanbul

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1. INTRODUCTION

City skylines are admitted as rates for visual identity. They reflect cities' spatial transformation especially in terms of three dimensional features. "Especially in last decades, high speed and continuous flow in global extent, has altered the programme of urban development and architectural output. With the integration of political, economical and cultural information network, present environment and cities can be defined by a chaotic and multi-layered structure."[1] Thus this process has complicated the preservation of historical features of city skylines.

In such competitive circumstances for gaining a world city vision, local governments today handle cities with prestige projects. Along with this approach, prestige projects have also become initiator factors for spatial transformation of Istanbul. "When urban transformation is implied in Istanbul, come in mind the places where prestige projects that will constitute the sterile spaces of 'global city vision' are planned."[2]

However, interests shown by local governors in prestige projects have triggered high rise building and dense urbanization in Istanbul since 1980's. Most of them have been built in a disorganized and unplanned manner, interfering with the most significant visual identity of Istanbul, Bosporus skyline. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to review the skyline transformation process by mathematical models and discuss the impacts of prestige projects on Istanbul's waterfront skyline.

2. THE CONCEPT OF PRESTIGE PROJECTS IN ISTANBUL

Prestige projects mean high quality investments for the images of cities. These projects are constructed by new technologies. These high rise and high tech building groups usually show the economic power of the country together with political authority. Therefore, central and local authorities always have a desire to reconstruct world cities like Istanbul.

"The commodification of space has led to a close relationship between space production and the cyclical nature of the markets, resulting in cycles of urban development"[3]. The urban transformation process in Istanbul is related to construction of prestige projects. "Istanbul is shaped

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[1] Görgülü et.al., 2009, p.109.
[2] Kahraman, 2006, p.99.
[3] Madanipour, 1996, p.137.

by new and converter global city image and prestige projects."[4] In terms of these kinds of transformations Istanbul have some similarities to London. "In response to the global restructuring of industry in 1970s and 1980s, elected governments of economically depressed cities have increasingly adopted growth-orientated local economic development policies. A key component of pro-growth local economic development strategies, adopted by UK city governments and central government agencies has been investment in, and promotion of, high-profile prestige property developments and civic booster activities."[5] In terms of these kinds of transformations, Istanbul has some similarities to other globalizing world cities like London.

2.1. The Approaches of Istanbul Municipalities for Prestige Projects

Municipalities are decision-making units for planning urban districts and areas. Therefore, they are main actors in the development process of the city or district. However, planning process in municipalities is also related to political expectations. In planning process, urban planners have different roles and tasks. This is both a technical, political and social process. "Places are formed through the development of buildings and other structures. Since buildings involve highly complex and valuable arrangements of materials, services and spaces, it is not surprising that their form is heavily influenced by relationships of ownership and control as well as political processes and cultural practices."[6] "Governments, both central and local, should take on a more central role in cities to lead development initiatives and ensure that basic needs are met."[7] On the other hand, local governments are highly focused on big investment projects such as "prestige projects" for their political publicity rather than finding suitable conditions for low and middle income classes. For Istanbul, enlivening the vision towards prestige projects can be detected from the chronological timeline of political visions as follows;

"In traditional Turkish architecture, several written and non written rules were existent for regularizing the skyline of the city. For example in the generation of district, mosque was to be visible and ezan was to be audible. And mansion house was to be situated at the corner and other houses were to be built a little behind and lower than the mansion house."[8] "The historical skyline reflected that Istanbul was the centre of a military based empire and religion played a big role and mosques and palaces were its images. Therefore, the skyline of the city reflected the social and economical structure of the city."[9] In preliminary planning projects, there was no demand for restricting building heights. "The planning insights, which were adopted quite late, were perceived as making good advantage of zoning rights. However in Europe, planning meant to use zoning rights while standing back and coordinating publicity first."[10] "The zoning improvements which have transformed Istanbul city and its skyline within time, in some occasions these transformations ended up with more destructive results than natural disasters."[11] Between major zoning operations can be cited as Prost's (1936-1937), Menderes' (1956–1960), and Dalan's (1984–1989).

With the new millenium, Istanbul has entered a new era where global impacts in archirure are accepted without any consideration for the existing urban pattern. After 2000, prestige projects triggered by the concept of urban transformation have transformed the city's form and skyline significantly *(Figure 1)*. Today besides the desire for development, there is also a political force for the city to be destructed and rebuilt almost completely due to the probable forthcoming earthquake. Hence a strategy is essential for preserving the city's unique values.

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[4] Kahraman, 2006, p.99.
[5] **Loftman and Nevin, 1996, p.991.**
[6] Roberts and Lloyd-Jones 2001, p.13.
[7] Mutizwa-Mangiza 2009.
[8] Konuk, 2008 (*http://www.arkitera.com/s105-planlamada-yuksek-yapi-politikasini-olustururken-esneklik-onemlidir.html)*
[9] Öke, 1991 (*http://makaleler.tripod.com/bilimsel/03.htm)*
[10] Konuk, 2008, (*http://www.arkitera.com/s105-planlamada-yuksek-yapi-politikasini-olustururken-esneklik-onemlidir.html*)
[11] Çavuşoğlu, 2006, s.45.

Figure 1: *Gökkafes (Süzer Plaza) Building late 1980's.*[12]

After 1980's, speculative estate markets appeared in cities which participated in the dynamics of global economic system. In this period, capital being invested in the commercial estate market generated new building types such as business and shopping centers, plazas and luxury hotels. In top level global cities such as London and New York, besides the national real estate market even an international estate market has initiated. After 1980's, similar tendencies were seen in Istanbul where capital began to reproduce itself via investments on business and shopping centers etc.

In 1980's, developments in Istanbul were mainly private sector based shopping centers and office buildings besides the few which were government and metropol driven. The major actors of these projects were the owners of big capital and multi-national companies acting in different sectors of economy. "Similar to other financial centers and world cities, a highly speculative estate market has become a major component of Istanbul."[13] "Land as a buyable and soldable asset, has become the most precious speculation object which determined the city's spatial span."[14]

After 2003, urban land profit raised and along with national and international capital local and central authorities grew interests in those profits. Continuously huge urban and redevelopment projects came in order and foreign architects and planners developed projects for Istanbul. "Development slowed down a bit but still continued with new aspects of indigence."[15] Time would display whether Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Department could succeed in creating policies for determining the future of the city. "Whilst global policies were being practised within national borders, Istanbul's redevelopment had been handled as a 'grandiose project' and a 'political tool' and used as a 'public relations strategy' to reach the masses."[16]

"When neo-liberal globalism is the criterion, Istanbul has revealed a success graphic. The city, is a business platform for elitists working in multi national companies and is a big store for cosmopolist consumers who wish to carry on a global life style. Recently built high rise office blocks, luxurious gated communities and dozens of shopping centres which offer special shopping experiences are available."[17] "The new criterion for the transforming city is money."[18] After 1980's, which are called as the breaking point, the multi-dimensional socio-spatial transformations, diversities and unequalities were reflected on the urban context. Land use changed, rant factors emerged, disparity arose in income distibution, delays appeared in service sectors and spatial distribution occurred between social income groups which were the pieces that make up urban dissociation's image. These overlooked pieces were the breakdowns that lead the city to 'profitopolis'. Along with similar views that base the tendency of high rise building on expediency theories, there are also

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[12] http://www.yapi.com.tr/Haberler/istanbulun-cirkingercekleri_74415.html
[13] Özdemir, 2000.
[14] Keyder, 2009, 45.
[15] Çavuşoğlu, 2006, 45.
[16] Akpınar, 2008.
[17] Keyder, 2009, s.45.
[18] Tütengil, 2001.

contrary views which relate global skyline with the dynamics of modernisation. The common ground for all the planning practices explained above is the priority of Bosphourus skyline preservation.

"Bosphorus was developed in Ottoman era and Bosphorus civilization was formed."[19] "Bosphorus was edited as a theater stage where the two banks of Istanbul could watch the other. It became a magnificient water boulevard, which was the new space for ceremonies of sultans and festivals."[20] "Bosphorus, has carried on its urban image and its identitiy of 'magnificient water boulevard' during the few decades after The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed. But 1950's has witnessed the beginning of an urban development process which destroyed this cultural landscape."[21] The dynamics created by economic development strategies in the beginning of 1950's have started the mass immmigration from rural to urban area and triggered a rapid urbanization in Turkey. During this period, land and building rates increased rapidly and nearly all public crowds started out racing for a share from the speculative urban land market. "Bosphorus, as a special place has got its share from speculative building explosion. Specifically the economic strategies of 1980's and afterwards together with public interventions in accordance with these ideologies played a central role rising the speculative tendencies in Bosphorus."[22]

3. AESTHETIC QUALITIES OF CITY SKYLINES

An urban skyline represents a memorable reference value of the city by reflecting its specific identity, general characteristics and aesthetic qualities. "Aesthetic appreciation of urban environment is primarily visual and kinesthetic."[23] Thus in studies of urban design and aesthetics, aesthetic evaluation is handled either objectively or subjectively. In the fields of architecture and planning using objective methods for aesthetic evaluation is a quite new concept. Among various objective methodologies, the use of mathematical and computer based methods have an outstanding importance.[24] In the aesthetic evaluation of the city these mathematical methods involve approaches which are related with the formation of urban form in different scales. During the last four decades in studies of design and aesthetics, objective methods have gained increasing importance since they are able to present much more precise and innovative approaches in the evaluation of characteristics of cities.

3.1. Different Characteristics of Istanbul Skyline

Istanbul is a complex city with intersections of multi-cultures, diversities, monumental structures, green landscapes and waterfront relations. It has a unique panorama owing to its location on both Asian and European continents. Due to its waterfront relations, historical background and aesthetic dimensions, the skylines of Istanbul has remarkable urban patterns. These various characteristics of skylines can be observed from different locations of the city and some of these skyline types can be seen in *Figure 2-3 and 4*.

Figure 2: *The Main Symbolic Historical Skyline of Istanbul (The Historical Peninsula).*

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[19] Ağat, 1963.
[20] Artan, 1989.
[21] Yenen ve diğ., 1993.
[22] Enlil ve diğ., 2001.
[23] Carmona et. al., 2003.
[24] Bostancı and Ocakçı, 2009, p.44.

Figure 3: *Mixed Skyline Image Historical and New Buildings with Green Landscape (Dolmabahçe).*

Figure 4: *The Global City Skyline with High Rise Buildings (Beşiktaş-Maslak).*

4. METHODOLOGY

In this paper, two distinct mathematical methods; GIS and entropy are coordinated to validate the measurability of skyline and its temporal transformation. Initially, a GIS model is composed to visualize the skyline transformation of Istanbul from 1980's to present and near future. Temporal skylines are extracted from the model by GIS analyses. These linear skyline representations are then coded manually according to several formal aesthetic qualities: contour, mass, vertical, horizontal and hierarchy values. The entropy values of these five distinct aesthetic criteria are finally compared to discuss the effects of high rise prestige projects on skyline.

4.1. Adapting entropy method to GIS in Aesthetic Evaluation of City Skylines

While urban environment is being formed in the duality of randomness and design, aesthetic qualities of the spatial form are composed. Nasar defined that, there are two types of variables in urban design: formal and symbolic.[25] "According to this approach, the concepts that compose the aesthetic qualities of cities can be separated into two groups as being formal and symbolic. While defining the formal aesthetic qualities of cities, evaluations on the concepts of diversity, harmony and clarity can be made. On the other hand, the concepts of meaning and function, spatial experience and belonging, which are closely related with urban life, are prominent among symbolic aesthetic qualities."[26]

Cities are complex structures and so are their skylines. Skylines embody all the formal and symbolic codes of the cities which are integral to their aesthetic evaluation. In a city skyline formal and symbolic codes are concealed in building layers and topography. From the definitions and relations between city skylines and aesthetics *Table 1* can be formed as below.

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[25] Nasar, 1994, 377.
[26] Bostancı and Ocakçı, 2009; Bostancı, 2008.

Table 1: *Evaluation Criteria of High Rise Structures in Cities.* **Evaluation Criteria High Rise Structures in Cities**

GIS		City Skyline	ENTROPY	
Buildings	**+ Topography**		**Aesthetics**	
Form	Landscape		Formal	Symbolic
Function	Height		Aesthetic	Aesthetic
Time	Point of View		Qualities	Qualities
	Contour Lines			
	Slopes			
	Scale			
			Diversity	Meaning
			Harmony	Function
			Clarity	
				(not included in this paper)

In the paper, layers comprising the formal characteristics of skyline, which are building and topography, are modeled mathematically via GIS. Skylines belonging to different periods are visualized by GIS analysis. The linear outputs of skyline analyses are then interpreted using entropy method, which is based on the formal aesthetic qualities of skylines. Hence, a new methodology for the objective evaluation of the skyline transformation is introduced. Despite the fact that skylines are mostly recalled by people according to their symbolic aesthetic qualities, these subjective judgements have been excepted from entropy calculations at this stage. In future research, they may also be included through statistical results of surveys on the attractiveness, satisfaction and preference levels etc. of skylines. So that entropy methodology restricted with the formal characteristics of skylines here may also be affirmed their symbolic aesthetic qualities in future.

4.1.1. GIS Methodology for Skyline Analysis

Designers use several mapping techniques to understand and represent the relations between city levels. Visualizing and querying information in relation with space reveals invisible interrelations within the built environment. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mainly used by geographers, own a similar rationale of mapping. GIS softwares enable

- view spatial data,
- create layered maps,
- perform basic spatial analysis,
- manipulate shapefiles and geodatabases,
- edit and analyze 2D and 3D data,
- share spatial information.

Thus, in time GIS softwares have become important mapping tools for architects and urban designers. Besides hosting 3D city simulations, some geodesic virtual globes like ArcGlobe[27] also have advanced 3D analysis tools. In the paper 'skyline tool' is used to automatically derive the skyline of chosen building(s) from selected viewpoint(s) over the topography. The extracted lines are then assessed via entropy method.

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[27] www.esri.com

4.1.2. Entropy Methodology for Skyline Analysis

Urban skyline composes a visual frame that can be coded with entropy approach. In order to carry out measurements in this frame, generally skyline photographs and schemas derived from photographs or 3D models (as in the paper) are used[28] The visual codes in images are obtained and their entropy values are calculated.

In the application of entropy to aesthetic evaluation in urban design, entropy is used as an aesthetic evaluation methodology and a measurement unit for urban skylines. Therefore, entropy is used for finding aesthetic value of urban skylines. The concept of aesthetic information measurement, which is based on the combinational properties of elements in a given environmental universe, is used. The idea here is to measure the amount of information relative to the probability distribution of elements – types which have appeared on a given universe, such as the elevation of a building. This is done by measuring the amount of information conveyed in a facade scanning process on the basis of transitional probability distribution.[29] In the measurements among several formal aesthetic evaluation criteria; contour effect, mass effect, horizontal effect, vertical effect and hierarchy can be analyzed. Evaluation tables in respect with the visual coding quantities are prepared and the operation shown at equation below is applied.

$$H = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i \log_2 (p_i) + \varepsilon$$

In equation, while n represents the number of cases, ε value is a very small value preventing the logarithmic expression to approach infinity. In the context of the formula, the use of logarithm and probability based quantitative approach is seen. The H in the equation is the entropy value and has a quantitative expression on "bit" basis. Pi is the quantity of the probable cases and in this research the probable cases are the visual code quantities of the formal aesthetic evaluation criteria.

5. CASE STUDY: MASLAK-ZİNCİRLİKUYU AXE AS A SYMBOLIC SKYLINE OF GLOBAL ISTANBUL

After 1980's under the effects of globalization Büyükdere Avenue: Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis which has rapidly become a Central Business District (CBD) in Istanbul *(Figure 5)*. In this paper temporal transformations due to high rise office blocks and shopping centers in this CBD, which is known as Levent district, are analyzed over past, current and future skylines.[30]

Figure 5: *The highest 10 Buildings of Levent in Google Earth Interface.*

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[28] Bostancı, 2008.
[29] Bostancı, 2008; Bostancı and Ocakçı, 2011.
[30] Girginkaya, 2011; Güney et..al, 2012.

5.1. Analyzing Maslak-Zincirlikuyu Skyline with GIS Model

The skyline development in Istanbul is represented below by three dimensional modeling and visualization functions of ArcGIS Desktop 10 *(Figure 6 and7)*. In *Figure 8*, the skylines are created geometrically with the advanced visual analysis tools of ArcGIS 3D Analyst extension. In this skyline analysis, formal characteristics such as smoothness, which gives the number of times a skyline is broken, affects view quality of the city scape.

Skyline analysis carries important potentials in terms of evaluation of urban aesthetics. By visualizing and testing proposed urban design guidelines over the city scape, their impacts the can be examined. Threats to the city's historical skyline, such as visual dominancy of high-rises can be obstructed. Also landmarks symbolizing the modern side of the city, such as the two Bosporus Bridges or 256 meter high Sapphire Building can be displayed more effectively. Even the visual impact of future projects such as, third bridge can be considered.

a

b

c

Figure 6: *Transformation of Büyükdere Street Skyline: View From Gayrettepe to Levent (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.*

a

b

c

Figure 7: *Transformation of Büyükdere Street Skyline: View From Maslak to Zincirlikuyu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.*

Figure 8: *Temporal Skyline Analysis of Levent District Viewed From Sarayburnu*
(a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Overlapping Past-Current and Near Future Skylines.

In *Figure 8*, the dimension of temporality has been incorporated into the 3D geovisualizaton of skylines. The orange line displays the current skyline, the grey line illustrates the former skyline and the red line indicates the evolving skyline of CBD in Istanbul viewed from a selected viewpoint. The geometrical lines obtained by this skyline analysis include the metrics of spatiotemporal changes.

5.2. Analyzing Maslak-Levent Skyline with Entropy Method

Entropy method makes it possible to measure aesthetic qualities of urban skylines through a variety of concepts. These concepts are defined as formal aesthetic evaluation criteria. For skyline evaluation, while each criterion represents a probability value according to its appearance requency, the observation frequency of these criteria composes the entropy value.[31] Below are *Figure 9-10-11-12 and 13*, showing entropy analyses for the evaluation of CBD skyline transformation from 1999 to near future. Schematic skyline of Levent viewed from Sarayburnu is coded according to its formal characteristics and entropy values of five different criteria; contour, mass, verticality, horizontality and hierarchy are measured. The numerical results of entropy analyses are revealed in *Table 2-3 and Figure 14*. The analyses can be varied in future.

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[31] Bostancı, 2008.

Figure 9: *Contour Effect of Transforming Skylines of Levent
Viewed From Sarayburnu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.*

Figure 10: *Mass Effect of Transforming Skylines of Levent
Viewed From Sarayburnu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.*

Figure 11: Vertical Effect of Transforming Skylines of Levent
Viewed From Sarayburnu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.

Figure 12: Horizontal Effect of Transforming Skylines of Levent
Viewed From Sarayburnu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.

Figure 13*: Hierarchy of Transforming Skylines of Levent Viewed From Sarayburnu (a) Skyline in 1999, (b) Skyline in 2008, (c) Skyline in Near Future.*

Table 2*: Typical Aesthetic Analysis by Entropy Method, (On Levent Skyline Viewed from Sarayburnu in 1999).*

Entropy Criteria	Visual Codes	Entropy
Contour Effect	55	0,437612574
Mass Effect	14	0,414014238
Vertical Effect	9	0,328683525
Horizontal Effect	5	0,228562944
Hierarchy	8	0,306942999
Sum	91	**1,71581628**
		1.716 bit

Table 3*: Change of Aesthetic Values within Years.*

Entropy Criteria	1999 Skyline	2008 Skyline	Future Skyline
Contour Effect	0,44	0,45	0,47
Mass Effect	0,41	0,41	0,48
Vertical Effect	0,33	0,37	0,35
Horizontal Effect	0,23	0,21	0,15
Hierarchy	0,31	0,3	0,3
Sum	1,72	1,74	1,75

Figure 14*: Visualization of Aesthetic Values Changing Within Years.*

Table 2, shows the entropy values obtained by visual coding, done manually, over a typical skyline. *Table 3*, gives entropy value distributions for formal aesthetic criteria of each skyline belonging to 1999, 2008 and near future respectively. *Figure 14*, is the comparison graphic of entropy values given in *Table 3*.

In *Figure 14*, the most dominant characteristic appears to be the contour and mass effects while hierarchy effect decreases in such a low extent. Since the total sum of entropy value is consistent, horizontal and vertical effects decrease despite the increase in the number of buildings within time. Spatial perception of a person varies due to several contrast effects; such as horizontal-vertical, space-mass, foreground and background etc. While these contrast effects are eligible enough, space becomes identifiable and memorable. Although the aim of planning approaches is to keep visual impacts in the city, constant high rise building have ended up in complex contours and heavy masses which have blurred vertical and horizontal effects together with mass hierarchy. This reveals that the attitude of continual rising in cities will lead to visual chaotic skylines.

In order to make further interpretations, the number of skylines whose entropy values are measured and the number of formal aesthetic values used in entropy measurements here should be varied. Also, different urban scenarios such as those having similar characteristics and those having totally distinct characteristics should be modeled and analyzed by GIS in order to find optimum entropy value ranges for the aesthetic evaluation of skyline transformations. To conclude, the paper has been limited with a single case yet, since the objective has been to achieve a methodology for the objective aesthetic assessment of skyline transformation.

6. CONCLUSION

Urban design has a wide range of research content interrelated with various disciplines. Within this content, especially when the formal characteristics of the urban environment are examined, computer and mathematic based models contribute to the discipline as innovative approaches. From the case study, it can be understood that GIS is a useful tool for understanding the topological relations for urban skylines. Aesthetic evaluation of the skylines can be advanced by implementing different methods to GIS such as the information theory based entropy method explained above.

The studies about urban entropy have so far indicated that those urban skylines and their aesthetic values, which are measurable and comparable via entropy method, shall also contribute on the detection of visual problems appearing in urban environment. Among the important inputs of these

researches are the implementation of the measurability of aesthetics in a certain rate and the determination of quantitative aesthetic values concerning urban form. "Furthermore, interpretations on the aesthetic qualities of skylines can be made with the entropy value ranges found for urban skylines. With this method, the aesthetic qualities of urban skylines are made comparable. Therefore, the entropy method has been put forward as an applicable innovational approach in the matter of aesthetic evaluation in urban design."[32]

In the paper, together with GIS entropy method has been put forward as an innovative approach in the matter of aesthetic evaluation in urban design. The methodology is original in coordination of two different mathematical models for aesthetic assessment of skylines. The approach can be improved for the solution of different urban problems. Several aesthetic assessments can be done on distinct skylines varying due to their viewpoints, details, scales, close and distant views etc. The scale of skylines may vary from close views that exhibit details such as roofs, windows, doors, materials and front projections to street fronts scale, to remote urban skyline scales represent scales where a wider panorama of the city is visible. Over the general fabric of the region, specific areas can be approached in a variety of scales and their close affiliations can be examined in details.

The numerical outputs of the entropy method may be used as inputs for designing more aesthetic skylines. Due to globalizing trends all over the world, the symbolic skylines of cities are threatened by high rise buildings which are mostly welcomed with no questioning over the local pattern, such as in Istanbul. In the need of more systematic design and planning tools for preserving historical skylines and developing global world cities, skylines and their formal and symbolic aesthetic values can be used as criteria for detecting urban transformation.

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[32] Bostancı and Ocakçı, 2011.

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"Localization of Globalization" Case of "Narmak-Tehran" Prototype of Iranian Modernist Housing Project

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Introduction: Middle East | Contextualization of Modernism

In 1950s contextualization of the 'International Style' and translating western modernity was the main question of the time. On 22 July 1950, during the CIAM VII, Le Corbusier introduced 'Habitat' as the objective for drafting a 'Charter of Habitat'. Its main goal of consideration was the context and localization of modernism. Localization of modernism specifically in terms of housing and human settlement was the same issue for young UN as well; "Meanwhile after World War II the UN organization for technical assistance concentrated in its early days on (low-cost, low-income) housing, the increasing relevance of contextual and cultural specificities reflects the importance of this issue.[1]" Housing as an indicator of vernacular modernism played a role to show transformation of globalization to localization. As Nezar Alsayyad discussed about modernism and globalization in his book, he noted that in Middle East like other developing nations, governments alike often used public-housing projects as an instrument of nation-building in an attempt to gain the allegiance of the new citizenry. Both ethnicity and religion were becoming the prominent forms of community identification in the Middle East. National identity as perceived by a government is inherently tied to an image it wishes to project in the international arena. Many Middle Eastern governments resorted to using local and foreign architects to help them create such a new national style. While many of these post-independence projects continued the modernist schema, some others totally retreated to older traditional forms, and at times to newly invented ones that claimed to be based on specific historical periods, this refers not only to those public buildings but also to the vast numbers of five-story public housings[2]. This 'new national style' was a combination of the modern and traditional way of life which caused multiple modernities. In other words, in the Middle Eastern countries, searching for modernity and modernization resulted in diverse meanings that were different from the western definition of modernity. As Sandy Isenstadt debated in the book 'Modernism and the Middle East': There are unique ways in which Middle Eastern countries have invented their own versions of modernism, sometimes aligned and sometimes at odds with more familiar European versions, and in varying relations with larger patterns of imperialism and colonialism. When individual designers and decision makers crossed national borders to build or learn, to provide aid or extract resources, as architects, teachers, or tourists, the dichotomies of Modern-traditional or Western-Eastern did not truly hold.[3] Concurrently, this transaction of modernity from West to East, re-conceptualized the meaning of modernity and tradition, and modernization was defined not only as the extension of the industrialized building process, but also as the ideology to build framework for the administration of industrial societies and the new way of life."Importantly, non-western countries demonstrated the localization of modernism as a process in which people worked actively to make themselves modern, instead of merely being made

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1 - d' Auria , De Meulder , Shannon, 2010, s.11.
2 - Alsayyad, 2008, s.258.
3 - Isenstadt and Rizivi, 2008, s.9.

modern. They showed that modernism entered the local scene much earlier than the launch of the Cold War, and played a wonderful role in introducing societies into modernity. The domestication of modernist architecture involved dense local practices of translating, selecting, mixing, and reinventing[4]." Modernist architecture, through purifying traditional restrictions and re-conceptualizing space-time, was considered to embody modern modes of living, thinking and production. In this order, re-definition of identity for modern society became a goal, and architecture as key indicators of the socio-economic and cultural aspirations played a main role. Therefore housing as an indicator of 'National Identity' and producer of 'Modern Society' became important element for estates. The 'Estate-Housing' were made for middle-classes and usually appeared as new towns like Islam-Abad in Pakistan and Narmak (smaller scale) in Tehran. These modernist public, middle-class housings tried to shape the socio-cultural taste of citizens but at the same time were aimed at producing modern life. On the other hand, the modern cultural values was embedded in new independent economic and political elites, in 1950s by increasing of 'urban population' need of new socio-economy planning for further development was rising. The inauguration speech of H. Truman on 4th of January 1949, in the 'Act for International Development' and 'Point Four Program' was run in non-western countries. Concurrently, in 1950, UN's main focus on developing housing and especially construction of 'Low-Income Housing'. The same idea occurred in Middle East with more focus on contextualization of modernism and a combination of 'Vernacular' and 'International Style' in public-housing. In other words, 'Low-Income Housing' became the indicator of modernism in different aspects of culture, architecture, planning and social life. By looking at Iranian housing policy in 1950s and the case of 'Narmak', the first Iranian modernist-public-housing project, this paper tries to respond to how architectural modernism developed with reference to not only Western epistemology, but also to the experiences and knowledge of other Third World countries? It further investigates how the meanings of modernism shifted during the process and how globalization in the form of modernism was localized by architecture?

Towards Planning: The Iranian Modernist Development Plan | 1948-1954

In recent years, the breeze of "modernism" has transformed Iranian social life and has created a "Spirit of Modernity" in people – a spirit that is perfectly visualized in architecture. Soon, the Iranians encountered modern problems and their survival was dependent upon the resolution of these problems. This era (20th century) pushed people to make more efforts and its impacts would be seen in all aspects of social life. We have responsibility towards future generations and we should shoulder our responsibility in the best possible way; if we stick to our traditions and consequently fail to take our responsibility, we prove to be worthless, meaning that we are unable to take care of our progress and excellence and we fail to have an adequate understanding of the "Spirit of the Time".

Vartan Hovanesian-Architect, 1946, *Journal of Architect*, Vol. 1.

The greatest ideological appeal of the 'Modern Movement' was its claim to transcend ideology. During the interwar period, many new regimes and diverse political systems, from socialism in Weimar Germany and post-revolutionary Russia to fascism in Italy, Zionism in mandate Palestine and Kemalism in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran, embraced the progressive discourse of the 'Modern Movement'[5]. In Iran, the post-Reza Shah period (1941-1953) provided Iran the rare historical possibility of constructing a democratic political structure and pluralist culture, which the country had long strived to achieve. During this interval, Iran witnessed the development of political and cultural practices and intellectual achievements unprecedented in its modern history. In this period, there was a progressive shift from family, clan, tribe, sect, ethnic group, and other forms of traditional (horizontal) social organization and solidarity to modern (vertical) forms based on class,

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4 - Lu, 2011, s.7.
5 - Sibel, 2001, s.5.

occupation, and other secular social stratifications[6]. The urban middle class, workers, women, and intellectuals experienced collective participation in social groups and organizations. In sum, a very impressive transformation of public life and culture occurred[7]. In a society characterized by strong ethnic, tribal, religious, and other traditional bonds and institutions, political orientations, occupational ties, and other social attributes developed into important denominators of identity[8]. Concurrent with the foregoing arguments about 'return to' or 'freedom from' 'self' by Iranian intellectuals, a group of technocrat economists were busy planning and then implementing seven-year plans for economic development of the country[9]. The first seven-year plan, actually prepared in close collaboration with U.S. based consultancy firms, is representative of the general adherence to the theory of modernization in the years following World War II. The first seven-year plan came up concurrently with the Marshall Plan in 1948. With the institution of the American's Marshall Plan (1948-52), the European economy was reconfigured according to American precepts, resulting in an emphasis on continued growth in productivity and an even greater dependence on oil. "The Middle East thus moved to the centre of foreign-policy strategies for a number of Western nations, becoming also a site of contentious ideological positioning between the Soviet Union and the United States, with both nations acting out their political differences through technical aid and development projects as well as culture exports.[10]" In this order, the first seven-year plan provided a frame for social, economic and cultural development, following the model of 'modern societies' such as the U.S. and Western Europe. In Iran, several elements led to the socio-economic development plan: the Oil Nationalism Crisis, 18th August Coup and economical crisis of World War II on one hand. On the other hand there was repeal for the requirement to obtain licenses to migrate between cities and an unprecedented population influx to Tehran from other cities. Furthermore, the unfavorable foreign exchange incomes and reliance on borrowing from International Development and Restored Bank on the other hand forced the Iranian government and intellectuals (architects) to think about planning for long and short terms. In its final form, "the First Plan called for public investment expenditures in the total amount of 21 billion rials ($656 million), later raised to 26.3 billion rials, to be undertaken during a seven-year period, from 1949 to 1956[11]." The main goal of the first seven-year plan was promoting knowledge and improving people lives and livelihoods with the specific policy of direct intervention of government and institutions in construction of 'Low-Income Housing' in long term installments[12]. For this reason, in 1952, the 'Planning Organization' and 'Construction Bank' were established through the investment of the Agriculture Ministry and Iran Insurance Company, under the supervision of Doctor Mohammad Mosaddeq, the prime minister at that time.[13] According to the first seven-year plan, transfer of ownership of the ' dead lands' from the state to the 'Construction Bank' for construction of 'Low-Income Housing' for middle class, and inclusion of 'Low-Income Housing' as a subsection of social affairs in the law program in parliament, was approved. Local and global architectural ideas were used for preparation of maps of one, two and three roomed single-houses[14]. In addition forecasting of service centers, public facilities and the definition of the meaning of 'new modern neighborhoods' was the main concept of this plan. The two main necessities of the 'low-income housing' plan were first unprecedented by the increase in the 'urban population' and high demand for housing and second by increasing the 'renting amount' due to the

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6 - Hassan Abutorabian, Iranian Press, 1940-1946 (in Persian) (Tehran: Ettela'at Publishers, 1987).
This is an expanded bibliography of the Iranian press based on L. P. Elwell-Sutton, "The Iranian
 Press, 1941-1947," Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies 6 (1968).
7 - Mirsepassi-Ashtiani, 1994, s.52.
8 - In Iran between Two Revolutions, Abrahamian provides a fascinating nar-rative and a critical analysis of the politics of Iran, including ethnic politics, during this period. Look at
9 - Jahanbegloo, Ramin, 2004, s.7.
10 - Isenstadt and Rizivi, 2008, s.6.
11 - Daftary, 1973, s. 179.
12 - Planning Organization, report of implementation of First Seven-Year Plan, 1964, Part I, the Municipal Civil Actions.
13 - Habibi, Ahari and Emami, 2011, s.58.
14 -Before approval of the law of 'Apartment Possession in' 1965 , Iran had Land Possession Law, which means all public housing before 1965 was made as single-house typology.

limited supply for housing. The 'Construction Bank' got the responsibility for design and construction and the Estate Company for providing infrastructure services for the houses. Indeed 'Construction Bank' played the role of 'Housing Ministry' on a smaller scale. The main responsibilities of this institute included purchase and sales assignment, division of land, housing construction, establishment of material factories and production of affordable construction materials on one hand and long-term loan submission (maximum 15 years) on the other hand. 'Construction Bank' had young engineer architects who studied in Europe and made an association in 1945 which was called 'Association of Iranian Architects Diploma'[15]. they were Iranian avant-gardes who believed in planning and were against the chaotic urbanism situation of the time. 'Architect Magazine[16]' was one of the outputs of this organization. It was for informing citizens and guiding governments and executers in their duties as well as reminding them of their responsibilities. So 'Association of Iranian Architects Diploma' started its close co-operation with 'Construction Bank' which got responsibility from Tehran Municipality to design and implement 'Low-Income Housing'. The architectural team included the following: Ali Sadegh and Hossein Sadegh who graduated from Beaux- Arts de Bruxelles, as Supervisors, Abbas Ajdari who graduated from Beaux- Arts de Paris as Director and Mimarzadeh who graduated from Beaux- Arts de Teheran as Assistant Director. Also graduate students from the Fine Art Faculty of Tehran University and National University participated in these projects. 'Low-Income Housing' projects did not end in Tehran but were also in other cities. 'Construction Bank' constructed several public-housing projects for instance in Khuzestan, Tabriz, and Isfahan among others. But the first prototype of single-public-houses was in Narmak in Tehran, the first massive modernist middle class housing project which was a direct outcome of the 'first seven-year socio-economic plan'.

Narmak[17]: the first massive modernist middle class housing project

Narmak that was once a wasteland and devoid of residents was quickly changing into a beautiful modern city … Narmak is now a perfect sample of Iranian architectural taste … This city has all modern life requirements, cinema, theatre, hospital, play ground, water and electricity and so on … Department stores which are like European cities and large boulevards have given this modern town urban-life qualities.

15- Manouchehr Khoursand, architect and urbanist in an article in 'Architect Magazine'1946 introduced 'Association of Iranian Architects Diploma' as young engineer architects who studied in Europe and returned to Iran, but because of public opinion and disagreement of tradition with modern style, they were not accepted by the people as well as government officials such as municipalities who were responsible for development of cities. Although, currently some rules about observance of hygiene standards in buildings and the preparation of maps by engineer architects has been approved by Tehran municipality, public officials do not see the need for engineer architects. Thus the rules are never implemented; even for the development of cities and urban reforms in which no master plan has been used and development is taking place through un-skilled mayors and military commanders, so there is no place for urbanist experts. This chaos and anarchy forced educated young architects, who had come back from Europe with many dreams of development for Iran, and were struggling with this chaos individually, to unify. Therefore, in 1945, they established 'Association of Iranian Architects Diploma' with the major goal of reviving architectural techniques.

16 - The Architect Magazine was published in 1946 for the first time. Iraj Moshiri (Architect-Urbanist) editor of Architect Magazine, in the introduction of the first volume wrote: 'The main goal of this magazine is discussion about architecture and urbanism techniques. We want to emphasize on successful and powerful points of our industrial achievements and detoxify its weakness. This magazine is an artistic-technique and does not want to have any connection with political issues. For young architects who are educated and skillful, observation of mistakes and weaknesses in urbanism which are happening in Iran is sorrowful. Therefore, we decided to discuss these problems and express our point of view by publishing this magazine for enthusiasts. This magazine will be technocratic and will critique all practical and theoretical approaches of Iranian urbanism of today, due to weaknesses and defects in practical and theoretical public projects which are occurring every day. In the articles, we mention that un-educated and un-skillful people should be removed from urbanism and development projects and be replaced by scientific and young architects who are specialized in urbanism.

17 - Narmak called 'Kuy 30 Tir' from .

Daily Magazine of Keyhan

Today our Iranian-European lifestyle makes a big problem for the design of our housings. Even our knowledgeable and leading architects cannot respond to the complex demands of the clients; people want a perfect house with a minimum space and the high quality of traditional housings and at the same time with consideration of all the elements of modern life; for instance, when a family asks an architect to design a house for them, they may say: "we want grand living and dining rooms and private rooms for ourselves; also we want a bathroom with a warm floor and a bath like French Salle de Bain." Thus, to design a house, we need to consider the disciplines and traditions of the owner; architects therefore, need to analyze traditional Iranian housings and include important elements of traditional housing like climate, as well as religious and local materials in their designs.

Mohammad-Karim Pirnia, 1955, *Journal of Construction Bank*, Vol.1, No.2

Figure1: Narmak Fringe City of Tehran, 1953

In 1953, the 'Weekly Information' magazine published 'Narmak Modern New Town' as constructed in the Eastside of Tehran with respect to all modernist regulation in urbanism and the cultural life style of Iranians[18]. The necessity of new towns in the border of Tehran was due to the unexpected growth of the urban population and increasing price of land and housing. From 1930s, Tehran started its centrifugal motion towards the border without any specific plan and it grew uncontrollably. But in 1949, by approval of the 'First Seven-year Socio-Economic Development Plan' and establishment of the 'Association of Iranian Architects Diploma' architects started to find new solutions for the future development of Tehran. They proposed two models for urban development: first was the construction of diffused single-houses inside the city with existing infrastructure, and secondly, the construction of public-housing complexes – in new towns outside the border of Tehran[19].

According to land possession in the 1950s, development inside the city was quite impossible[20]. Therefore by approval of the law of "Recording Dead Lands" in 1952, large fields surrounding Tehran (outside of the border) were apportioned to the State. Thereafter, Doctor Mosaddeq[21]'s cabinet approved construction of two large towns by observance of urbanism regulations in two areas; Nazi Abad lands in the South and Kuy-Narmak North-East of Tehran[22]. In this order, Kuy-

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18 - Bank-e-Sakhtemani, 1955, s.36.

19 - Adjdari, 1946, s.15

20 - Only in 1965 law of apartment possession was approved by parliament, before that possession of land has recognition.

21 - Prime minister of time.

22 - Habibi, Ahari and Emami, 2011, s.59.

Narmak was designed for 25,000 residents in the North east of Tehran on 600 hectares of land (a sixth of the area of Grand Tehran at that time)[23]. 200 hectares of the land was allocated to administrative, service buildings and public facilities. This neighborhood included 800 residential units with areas of 200 - 500 square meters[24].

A) Modern Society and Public Facilities

The land division was rectangular in shape taking into consideration the semi-arid climate of Tehran. For the highest benefit of warmth in winter and least disadvantage of heat in summer, architects used traditional North-South direction for the houses. This urban design project was a hybridization of modern and traditional elements. Narmak was designed for middle-social class which was supposed to be a 'modern society' of Iran, therefore combination of modern and tradition was one of the main goals of this project. Then neighborhood was divided into 19 parts; each part having four blind alleys and one small square, green space and ground play for children. In the proposal, each part had its own bazaar, hammam, school and water wells. The water supply was managed by digging a aqueduct (Qanat) in the North-East side of the site[25]. They used the same traditional approach for saving water underground and supported this system using concrete templates for control of water, using more volumes of water in the summer and saving more amounts in winter time.

A part of administrative and commercial facilities were in the central square, the rest of the facilities were around the neighborhood such as the contemporary museum of art in the South-West of the residential complex. Factories, workshops and a large sports centre were in the North and a vast park was located in the west of the neighborhood[26]. As a complete version of 'New Town', architects provided a deaf-mute school, the first one in Tehran and Iran. In addition, the 'Construction Bank' provided 48 units of shops, planted 20,000 trees in the main street of the town[27]and arranged them like traditional 'Persian Gardens'.

Figure2: Public Facilities and arrangement in the neighborhood

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23 - Khodayar, 1955, s.6.

24 - Masoud Khodayar report, Sakhtemani Bank Magazine, July –August 1955, Volume 2.

25 - Khodayar, 1955,s.7.

26 - Masoud Khodayar report , Sakhtemani Bank Magazine, July –August 1955, Volume 2.

B) Housing Typology and Construction Methodology

For housing, three different phases were implemented; in the first phase 750 units of 3-4 roomed single-houses were designed and executed by 'Construction Bank', in the second phase 250 units of the same typology were designed by Construction Bank but made by people under the supervision of architects, and in the third phase, only maps and the location of houses were decided and parcels were sold to the people to construct for themselves. In 'New Town of Narmak', the challenge of modern and traditional life was clearly seen. The plan of the units was designed using a functional base. It was basically divided into three parts: day zone which accommodated the living room, dining room and office; night zone which accommodated the bed rooms and service zone which accommodated the kitchen, bathroom and laundry.

Figure 3: three phases of construction

In general, for housing plots, the architects used straight streets and assembled them in a grid. Each plot measures between 200 to 500 square meters. Rectangular shaped (with north-south position) choose for typology of plots according to traditional land division based on semi-arid climate in Tehran. The master plan of Narmak foresaw 7500 housing plots. The proportion of length and width of plots is 1 to 2, what allows an adequate space for the build-up area and a vast open space as court-yard for each plot that guarantees each house suitable light and air. The roofs were made by armed concretes. All the buildings were equipped with water pipes and electricity. For the façades Bahmani[28] bricks were used. Roof fences and window frames were realized in white concrete. Since the site had been transferred from the state to Bank-e-Sakhtemani, the bank charged buyers only the building costs (40 Rials the meter, while prices elsewhere in Tehran already reached 400 to 500 Rials)[29]. Part of the construction materials were provided to the contractors by the bank. The price of buildings without counting cistern is 1150 Rials for each square meters and the price of cistern is 850 Rials for each square meters. For 2 rooms housing, 1500 Rials as pre-payment was claimed from applicants. The total price for 2 rooms housing was 95000 Rials[30].

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28 - Name of popular bricks belongs to 40s, 50s.
29 - Moeenfar, 1955, s.32.
30 - Moeenfar, 1955, s.33.

Neighborhood System

A-Site Plan
■ Neighborhood Centre | Gardens | Parks

B-Spatial Hierarchy
From Private-Private to Public-Public
From Micro Scale to Macro Scale
■ Neighborhood Centre and
Dead-Ends Alleys
Private Yards

C- Unit Neighborhood

■ 2 rooms housing
■ 3 rooms housing
■ 4 rooms housing

Proposed Plan for 3 Rooms Housing   **Proposed Plan for 4 Rooms Housing**

Housing typology was divided to three main types: 2 rooms, 3 rooms and 4 rooms housing. 2 rooms housing, with area of 54 sq meters for building and balcony, 12 sq meters for cistern, in total had 66 square meters with kitchen and store which were provided for each unit as well. Two typologies for the three roomed-single houses -65.80 square meters and 72.20 square meters were designed; and four typologies for the four roomed-single houses -75.60 square meters, 84.90 square meters, 142.39 square meters and 155.00 square meters[1].

Also bank constructed 50 large 4-rooms, 10 of them for bank-e-sakhtemani employees in the centre of town and the rest were located in the west side and divided to people by lottery. Also one, 5 rooms housing unit was constructed in the centre as well but it was not welcomed to people. In the meanwhile people ask bank-e-sakhtemani to construct housing with balconies so 46 housing units with 4rooms and balconies were constructed[1].

In terms of construction, The French prefabrication Kalad Factory was established in Narmak. This factory functioned 250 days per year and had a production capacity of 250 to 300, 4 rooms housing units with 80 sq meters area. The factory produced as well prefabricated toilet and kitchen. This semi-automatic prefabrication system makes sandwich housing with modular of 1.10 meter with maximum opening of 4.40 meters. Each day one housing unit is assembled. Kalad system has sound and heat insulation and double walls. That allows suitable protection against earthquakes.

In the Iranian traditional lifestyle of that time, the staircase was designed outside, besides the chimney, for going to the roof and that space was used as the sleeping place during summer time. Also in terms of hierarchal circulation from public towards private, several sequences were designed in respect of traditional Iranian spaces: from the main square to the collective yards and then to the private yards. Each unit had a small court-yard in the south side of the plot and a small semi-roofed entrance. In this way, the traditional hierarchy of spaces from public to private was abstracted into modern style. 'Narmak New City' was a response to the socio-economic situation of the time by respecting the Modern Movement and other global planning in the world.

Today, most of the houses even plots changed and single houses are replaced with6-7 floors apartments; the only remained element is small garden in the middle of each neighborhood (in general speaking Public Spaces) and grid. The main cause of this typological transformation is over population, increasing of land price and scarce of land in Tehran. But Narmak residents are still using Public Park, and children are playing in semi-private gardens. It means although housing typology changed during the time but the main idea of project which is garden-city and privacy and calmness for residents is still remaining.

Conclusion:

Low-income housing in 1950s was globally an indicator of modernization and a symbol of Estate-power for non-western countries. CIAM conferences, the Marshal Plan, Point Four Program and other global development and events in the world had its effect on the modernization of other countries and this process of modernization in non-western countries defined different kinds of modernity by localization and contextualization of modernist thoughts and approaches. 'Narmak New Town' is one of the successful modernist low-cost housing which came out from the Iranian modernist development plan. Searching and re-defining an identity for the modern society through architecture of housing and combining lifestyle with modern movement premises was the main index of this project. Housing is still a question for developing countries and modernity is an endless process. Globalization and growth of the 21st century population is one of the challenges of Middle-Eastern countries. By looking at prototype modernist projects and re-reading the responses of those projects the first questions of expansion of cities, identity and dichotomizing of modernity and tradition could help to find new perspectives to face the present challenges.

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Scales of Flows. Qatar and the Future Legacies of Mega-Events

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1.1. Introduction

1.1. Qatar. Creating New Legacies for a Post-Carbon Economy.

In the Post-soviet global restructuring of the 1990s, Qatar emerged on the global stage due to a number of interconnected international, regional and local changes in the political and economic spheres – the Gulf Wars, the change of Emir in Qatar in 1995, 9/11 in New York, the occupation of Iraq, recent oil and gas price increases and the emergence of Dubai as a commercial and entertainment hub in the Gulf Region.[1] This has led to a rapidly developing urban realm and the rise of a new form of capitalism – cultural capitalism – that is, creating new spaces for entertainment, culture, tourism and sports.

Qatar has the third largest Natural Liquid Gas reserves in the world, with the hydrocarbon sector contributing on an average over half of the country's GDP, which is the currently the highest worldwide at $95'000 per capita. Nevertheless, its leaders are wisely seeking to diversify its economy and to lay the foundations for the transition to a post-carbon and knowledge society and to develop infrastructures to serve its economic, financial and educational goals. Culture, Education and Sports are seen as three sectors of the post-carbon economy, and it is believed that hosting the FIFA World Cup (and possibly the Olympics if Qatar wins its bid for 2024) as well as major continental and regional sports events will help diversify Qatar's economy.[2] Both the public and private sector in Qatar are working to re-orient the economy and to develop additional educational, cultural and touristic venues to this end and Qatar is becoming a leader in the Middle East in building a knowledge-based economy, centered on technological innovation and connectivity, investing in its human resources, with great emphasis on education. This vision is embodied by Education City, a pioneering education initiative of Qatar Foundation that houses branch-campuses of eight international universities, including Cornell Medical School, HEC Paris and Georgetown's School of Foreign Services.[3] It is not only an educational hub, but is also becoming an "architectural hotspot" with buildings by world renowned architects including Rem Koolhaas, Arato Isozaki and Riccardo Llegoretto.

Furthermore, Doha is enhancing its global brand city image through the construction of a number of museums by world star architects including Herzog and De Meuron, Jean Nouvel and the recently constructed Museum of Islamic Arts by I.M.Pei. This singular strategy that the government has taken to distance itself from Dubai's mode of development is now being echoed by Abu Dhabi which is constructing four major museums by star architects on Saadiyat Island.[4] Qatar is also investing in Communication Technology and its main telecommunication's carrier, Qtel, is fast becoming a global brand. It is expected that by 2022 an optical fiber network will be in place to ensure that the World Cup will have its own Wide Area Network (WAN) to connect all venues in Qatar.

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[1] Adham, Khaled. 2008. P.236.
[2] Doha 2020 Olympic Bid Website
[3] Doha 2020 Olympic Bid Website.
[4] Adham, Khaled. 2008. P.240

Figure 1. National Museum of Qatar. 3D Model. Project by Jean Nouvel.
Source: Artefactory, © Ateliers Jean Nouvel

HE Sheikh Saoud bin Abdulrahman Al Thani, Secretary of the Qatar Olympic Committee recently stated that the Olympic Games would enhance Qatar's economy in a major way and support the process of diversifying it as laid out in the 2030 National Vision. [5] "Sports tourism has great potential and Qatar has had tremendous success over the last two decades staging top international events which have helped bring in tourists." [6] While Qatar did not make the final candidate selection for the 2020 Olympics (where it was competing with Istanbul, Tokyo, Madrid and Baku) it is aiming for the 2024 Olympic bid. Reacting to Doha's failure to make it as a candidate city, Noora Al Mannai, CEO of Doha 2020 Olympic Committee stated that the Doha Committee was looking forward to the 2024 Olympic Race. "The good news is that our National Vision and master plan guarantees an urban fabric that places sport at its heart; therefore Doha will be ready to host the Games at some point. (…) and many of the projects for the legacy plans for 2020 will go on; we will digest the findings of the IOC report and look forward to the 2024 race".[7]

Aside from the economic incentives, there is also a stimulus to launch a drive that will educate people about the important role of sports in their individual and social lives. In 2011, the Emir issued a decree marking the second Tuesday of February (starting 2012) a National Sports Day in the State of Qatar. The aim of National Sports Day is to create awareness about sports and its health benefits in the State of Qatar and it will usher in an era where sports activities are emphasized, especially for the young and for women. But is not just increased sport facilities and practices that will be the legacies of these future Mega Events. Qatar and Doha will be transformed with new urban infrastructures to serve and accommodate the events, propelling the country to become one of the biggest construction sites in dollars per square meter in the coming years, with an estimated spending of USD 160 billion on development projects. The mega-projects include a new public transportation system and improved roads, sports stadiums and infrastructures, residential buildings and entertainment venues, as well as a Sporting and Olympic Museum.

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[5] Qatar N ews Agency, 2012.
[6] The international events include the Arab Games 2006 and 2012, as well as the Pan Arab Games in 2011.
[7] Olympic Games Bid 2012.

Deutsche Bank indicated that Qatar's extra spending on World Cup-related infrastructure will lift capital expenditures by 23% annually for a decade, as well as increase private sector borrowing and add to population growth.

It is estimated that Qatar will spend the equivalent of 24% of its GDP on World Cup infrastructure, which largely surpasses South Africa's spending of 1% of GDP for the 2010 event, Brazil's 0.9% of GDP for 2014, and Russia's 3% of GDP for 2018. As such, it is noted that the impact on the country's economy will be far more important than for other hosts of the World Cup. It added that Qatar has been spending heavily on infrastructure for several years, as average capital spending has been equivalent to 33% of total expenditures and to 31% of GDP on average since 2004 and it is expected that Qatar will spend $30bn on additional infrastructure to host the World Cup.[8]

A US$ 4 billion stadium building program will see the construction of nine new eco-friendly, cutting-edge football stadiums and the expansion of three existing stadiums. Additionally, Qatar will build over 80,000 new hotel rooms by 2022. This comes as the country's answer to FIFA's requirement that the host country should have 60,000-room capacity. Doha has said it will provide 80,000 to 90,000 by 2022. A US$ 20 billion road improvements and expansion program will include the US$ 687 million Lusail Expressway, Doha Expressway, Dukhan Freeway, and the Doha Bay Crossing. Another US$ 25 billion rail network will cover the construction of a metropolitan railway in Doha, a high-speed rail link between New Doha International airport, Doha city center and across the proposed Qatar-Bahrain causeway into Bahrain, in addition to a freight line that will link up with the wider GCC rail network. The US$ 4 Billion Qatar-Bahrain Causeway with its 45km long fixed link between Qatar and Bahrain was put on hold in June. As an important component of the World Cup Bid in FIFA's evaluation report, the scheme will now be given renewed impetus. "Building towards the World Cup will inject a new dynamism into the drive by Qatar, and the region, to diversify its economy away from its dependence on oil and gas," says MEED construction analyst Andrew Roscoe. "Almost US$ 60 billion-worth of projects that were planned will now definitely happen as a result of this success, giving a decade-long boost to the state's projects industry that had reached a peak."[9]

The importance of the legacy of the FIFA World Cup for Doha - that is, what it will contribute in terms of to the development of Qatar and Doha – requires that the Master Plan for the 2022 Games be aligned with, and complement the long term Qatar 2030 Vision, which includes the four pillars of Economic Development, Human Development, Environmental Sustainability, Social Development.[10] To achieve this, the Supreme Committee has been established as a delivery authority to integrate different initiatives and bring together the multiple stakeholders – and it took its inspiration from the Barcelona 1992 Olympics which provided a much admired model of how to achieve a Mega-Event and how to leverage the games as a catalyst for positive urban transformations. The Supreme Committee has recognized the importance of the long term sustainability impacts of Mega-sport Events on the urban, social and ecological infrastructure (energy, transport, public space, etc.). "How a government body (national, regional, or municipal) plans for the legacy of supporting infra-structure can have a ripple effect on the development of a region for decades to come."[11]

1.2. Creating Legacies. Sporting Events as Catalysts of Sustainable Urban Development

International sporting events transform communities and cities into world stages — but what happens when the games have ended and the crowds have gone home? Will the site fade to disuse and dilapidation, or be forever lifted by the investments to new levels of increased

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[8] Deutsche Bank

[9] www.projectqatar.com

[10] Grichting, 2012.

[11] Price Waterhouse Coopers (April 2011)

economic, environmental and social quality?[12] The theme of Mega Events as drivers of urban transformation is a contemporary one, and cities such as Barcelona, London, Rio, Beijing, Shanghai, and Lisbon have been transformed through hosting international sporting and cultural events. "The activities needed for the preparation and hosting of the Olympic Games –as the biggest sporting event- are in a scale able to act as a catalyst for urban redevelopment, enabling changes which might normally take several decades to complete."[13] While the subject of Mega Sporting events as drivers of urban transformations is an emerging theme in policy, planning and urban design, it is not a new one. Historically, World Fairs are other transient events that also lay down roadmaps for how and where urban development takes place and can help leverage improvements and permanent amenities. As Seattle prepares to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Seattle World's Fair in 1962 – the Century 21 Exposition is remembered as a great space-age fair of the New Frontier-era that popularized monorail and disseminated the idea of revolving restaurants to the world. An excellent reminder that expos can be powerful agents of urban transformation, Century 21 left a permanent legacy of infrastructure and attitude that continues to shape Seattle to this day. [14]

Today, sustainability has become the keyword to all the Mega-Events, and the concept of legacy is closely aligned with the notion of sustainability. While in earlier events, environmental and social issues were previously ignored, they have become central to realizing holistic sustainable development.[15] The London 2012 and RIO 2016 Olympic Games both have developed Master Plans with visions beyond the event – with parks, neighborhoods and urban infrastructures that will continue to be built after the games. The Barcelona model was a unique case that leveraged the Olympic Games of 1992 to continue an ongoing process of urban regeneration and development of new public spaces in a city faced with social and economic problems following the deindustrialization of the economy.

Ultimately today the purpose of the games goes beyond the sport and the spectacle. It is important that the event maximizes positive evolutions and sustainable developments while minimizing adverse environmental impacts. "Mega-sports events are widely recognized as having environmental impacts and frequently form part of the environmental strategy of a country or a destination region within a country. Most of the organizing committees are particularly sensitive and committed to protecting and improving the environment while staging the event."[16]

1.3.   The Flow of Legacies. From Barcelona to Beijing

3.1.   Scales of Flows. Barcelona as the Mega-Event Legacy Model.

How do the best practices of these Mega Events flow on the global stage of aspiring world cities? What are the different scales of urban interventions related to these Mega-Events? And in what way do they become catalysts or boosters or urban regeneration and urban development? If Paris was the capital of modernity and Los Angeles of post-modernity, Bilbao and Barcelona in Spain have become meccas for urban regeneration and economic boosterism through cultural icons and mega-sporting events. The Bilbao effect and the Barcelona Model are being diffused internationally through what may be called urban policy tourism. The popularity of the Bilbao and Barcelona models, which have become exemplars of universal global best practices, suggests a process of global urban policy convergence and there has been recent interest to study the transfer and the international 'motion' of urban policies. Although both models are internationally known for a set of elements, the messages mutate and shift as they circulate through the policy circuits.[17] The

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[12] www.Aecom.com
[13] Preuss, 2004
[14] Berger, 2012.
[15] Doudouras & James, 2012)
[16] International Olympic Committee, 2002

[17] González S. 2011

planning of the Barcelona Olympic Games of 1992, which has inspired Doha's Master Planning for the FIFA 2022 and the 2024 Olympic, bid has become a global model for Sports Mega-Event planning, much as the Bilbao Guggenheim became the Iconic museum that launched the Bilbao Effect, that is the theme of culture and museums as drivers of Urban Regeneration. The strategies of Mega-Events as drivers of Urban Renewal and Regeneration became popular once the organizers of the Barcelona 1992 Olympics provided a much admired model of how to achieve a Mega-Event in a period of political and economic crisis. The Barcelona Model has been examined from different perspectives by economists, geographers and town planners as it is recognized that the transformation of Barcelona over the last 20 years is linked, to a large extent, to the 1992 Olympic Games.

The rebirth of the city with the implementation of strategic urban projects linked to the 1992 Olympic Games worked as a leverage to urban renewal and recovery, and was part of a bid to re-launch the city in the context of economic and political crisis experienced from mid-1970s to mid-1980s – due to economic globalization and deindustrialization, formal and informal urban growth, increasing urban speculation, and peripheral expansion. The process of regenerating Barcelona began in the 1980s with specific interventions in public areas to produce high quality urban spaces and was followed with the implementation of strategic urban projects linked to the hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games. In this way, Barcelona successfully achieved structural improvements that have resulted in its becoming a becoming a model city of public spaces and venues. Richard Rogers, who's office designed the Master Plan for the London 2012 Olympics – included a forward by the former Mayor of Barcelona in his book "Towards an urban Renaissance" where he underscored the importance of improving and creating public spaces to solve social and economic problems. A specific character of the Barcelona Model was that there was an approach from the small scale to the large scale, from quality to quantity, where the effectiveness of small-scale projects of urban reform were proposed as an alternative to the abstraction of conventional planning and large Master Plans, as a means of overcoming the limitations of planning through architecture. Through this plan, more than 150 projects in parks, squares and amenities during the 1980s. "It is critical to understand that improving public spaces is relevant to solving social and economic problem…The trick in Barcelona was quality first, quantity afterwards. From small scale to large scale."[18]

Figure 2. The Two Iconic Towers of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Village at the Olympic Port.

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[18] Urban Task Force (1999).

The Barcelona Olympic Master Plan built on the specific interventions in public areas, undertaken from the beginning of the 80s, which included infrastructure improvements that would contribute to the modernization of the road network, the "Opening of the City to the Sea" – the waterfront regeneration scheme and the General Metropolitan Plan which included a framework for actions of recuperation of public spaces and facilities, including reclaiming Land for green areas and amenities and proposals for changing road layouts. It was through this plan that land reserves – critical for 1992 Olympic operations - were obtained and public spaces of the historic city, squares and streets, were recovered.

The candidature for the Olympic Games was put forward in 1981 as a strategy to attract public and private investment and a vehicle capable of generating consensus and action in a depressed economy. The strategy had similar qualitative criteria as the strategy for smaller public spaces while incorporating objectives corresponding to the new scale of the Olympic Urban Development interventions. The project contained three main strategies, which included the location of the Olympic areas in strategic sites – edges and peripheries; applying the method of urban projects used to implement the public space projects; and ensuring the future use of the buildings and infrastructures after games.

1.3.2. London 2012. A new Model for Mega-Event Legacies?

The London 2012 Olympic Games is the most contemporary case. Based on an ambitious vision – to use the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games to make a real change in London, across the UK and globally – the 200-hectare rehabilitation Olympic site in East London is one of the biggest current regeneration project in the EU.[19] It is located in the most diverse and deprived communities in the country, at the western edge of the Thames Gateway and it is expected that the Games will operate as a catalyst for the re-development of the Lower Lea Valley – with new public infrastructure, employment opportunities, housing, educational and recreational facilities and the development of sport.[20]

Figure 3. London Olympic Park Lower Lea Valley.

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[19] London 2012 Sustainability Plan
[20] IOC International Olympic Committee Report

The environmental centerpiece of London's proposal is the 246-hectare Olympic Park that will accommodate ten sport venues, the Olympic Village, media centers and new parkland built around the Lea Valley waterways, creating a vast new urban parkland, with wetland and waterways restoration, natural corridors, environmental solutions to resources, water, waste and energy management, and sustainable building development. The selection of this site was based on sustainability considerations: the area's accessibility by public transport and the potential for regeneration that the 2012 Games could unlock.[21] New green areas will be created after the Games as part of its integration into a greatly expanded Lower Lea Valley Park, and while a number of venues will be retained, the parkland will be extended, and thousands of new homes will be built.

Sport Concepts and Richard Rogers Architects developed a "dynamic and comprehensive master plan" for the lower Lea valley, with a combination of overlapping medium to high density zones of living, working, leisure and shopping, and public transport oriented urban design. Three master plans were required: one governing games-time needs; one for the immediate transformation after the games; and one for the longer-term development of the land in the 20 or so years beyond the games.

The Sustainability Plan focused on five key themes: Climate Change, Waste, Biodiversity, Inclusion, and Healthy Living. These strategies are in line with the principal objectives of the International Olympic Committee, which are to "encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport, and require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly; promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the Host Cities and Host Countries."

London's transport strategy for the Olympic Games was a key element of the successful bid to host the 2012 Games, with more than 100 walking and cycling schemes on eight routes across London linking the Olympic Park.[22] A number of rail stations have undergone sustainability improvements and the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) – along with London Underground, rail services, buses and walking and cycling routes – will be the main transport options for spectators attending the Games.

What will the major legacies of the 2012 Olympic Games be in London? After the Games the Olympic Park will be transformed into one of the largest urban parks created in Europe for more than 150 years. The canals and waterways of the River Lea will be cleaned and widened; natural floodplains will be restored with Wetland habitat for wildlife; sports facilities will be available for sports clubs and the local community; the Olympic Village will be converted into homes, and additional housing will be built in the Olympic Park site and along the riverside with shops, restaurants and cafes. Not to forget the multiple pedestrian and networks and the new or improved transport infrastructures - new metro lines, new and renovated stations, water networks, and improved and new bicycle lanes. Economically, thousands of new jobs are expected to be created in the Park alone, as well as training opportunities for local people.[23]

1.4. Evaluating the Legacies of Mega-Events

While the promises are convincing, how do we measure the long term effects of Mega Events and over how much time? The evaluation of the sustainability impacts of any mega-sport event is a complex task which involves more than quantifying the potential revenue and expenditure."[24] 20 years after, the Barcelona Olympics of 1992 have become a model as there has been sufficient time to evaluate and assess the positive and lasting impacts. Likewise, the legacies of the 2012 London Olympics will be measured over a long period and time will tell if the Games will assist the UK in overcoming the present economic crisis as well as acting as a catalyst for the re-

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[21] Idem 9.
[22] Transport plan for London, 2012
[23] People's Daily Online
[24] Douras & James, (2004)

development of the Lower Lea Valley, a 200-hectare rehabilitation and regeneration project in East London, providing long-term benefits for the residents including employment, housing, educational and recreational opportunities and the development of sport.[25]   The regeneration of so-called "blighted areas" is not always welcome by the inhabitants especially if they induce a process of gentrification, and it is important that these legacy projects be developed with the involvement of the concerned communities and stakeholders. Gentrification and eviction are often a negative side-effect of the economic and urban boosterism. An in-depth study on Mega Events, Olympic Games and Housing Rights was conducted by COHRE – the Center on Housing Rights and Evictions - which conducted critical research on the key impacts and the number of persons evicted as well as proposing multi-stakeholder guidelines on Mega-Events and the Protection and Promotion of Housing Rights and recommendations for 'Olympic' opportunities and 'mega' possibilities for protecting and promoting housing rights. These recommendations include giving power to whoever is going to be affected by the games as well as guarantees that if you are going to tear down 100 units, you will build even more affordable or social housing.[26]

An innovation in the London 2012 Olympics is the Olympic Games Impact Study Pre Games Report that was published in June 2010. This study is a result of the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) desire to develop an objective and scientific study of the impact of each edition of the Games and to create a database of information common to all Olympic Games on the effects and legacy of each Game. In this way, the ICO fulfills two primary objectives of the Olympic Charter; - to promote sustainable development in sport and environmentally responsible games and to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the Host Cities and Host Countries.

The pre-games report was carried out by local Universities (University of East London) and experts with an aim to adjusting and improving the ongoing project and procedure for the London 2012 games. This report will be followed by a post-Games report in 2015 and was preceded by an Initial Situation Report in 2008 with a progress report submitted to the IOC in early 2013 prior to the dissolution of LOCOG (London Olympic Games Organizing Committee). The report uses a series of indicators classified in the three realms of Social, Economic and Environmental. The idea of this type of analysis was first introduced into the official Games planning requirements for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games, and London is the first Summer Games Host City to be mandated to carry out the study.[27]

The London Legacy Plan included determining the after-use of facilities at an early stage, building temporary structures where no long-term legacy could be assured and developing the vision for regeneration, at the same time as preparing the plans for the 2012 Games themselves – the first time a Host City has done this.[28] Time will tell if despite the difficult economic climate, the games will also become a model, like Barcelona. In terms of assessing the sustainability of the legacy, the Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 states that it "expects legacy to embody the principles of sustainability and demonstrate exemplary practice"[29] This is defined as: A better standard of living for Londoners in the host boroughs; Quality, affordable housing; An increase in the skills base of people; A culturally diverse society that engages in work, community and in cultural institutions; People adapting healthier ways of living through sport and lifestyle choices; Long term career prospects for Londoners and UK residents; Disabled people able to readily access services, jobs, homes and community activities; Sites ready for future sustainable, low impact development; Residents adopting good environmental practices such as recycling and waste reduction; Minimal impact on climate change; Public spaces and facilities that are accessible, well used and maintained.[30]

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[25] International Olympic Committee (IOC) Report (2010)
[26] COHRE (Center on Housing Rights and Evictions), 2007. P. 200
[27] Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012 Pre-Games Report
[28] London 2012 Sustainability plan
[29] Ibid 26.
[30] Ibid 26

2.1. Olympic and Mega Event Master Planning

"Legacy planning is important in the early process, as well as in the implementation. It will determine the difference of whether enduring value is derived from the investment in hosting a major international sporting event or whether it will have no lasting impact to the area after the games have ended," states Peter Flint, director of AECOM's Sports group.[31] AECOM is leading a broad consortium formulating the Legacy Communities Scheme, which delivers the potential embodied in the master plan by guiding the transition to post-games development through detailed strategies addressing social infrastructure, housing, employment, leisure and culture, town planning, transportation, water, waste, strategic sustainability, infrastructure, energy and climate change. The Scheme envisions and end state of 2030 and represents an unprecedented scale and complexity. A major sports venue involves many stakeholders besides the venue owner/operator and cities, governments, universities, sport franchises and teams are increasingly adopting a more comprehensive approach to the development of sporting facilities and major events.[32]

The Rio Olympics are further afield and projected for 2016. The Rio 2016 Olympic Park Urban Masterplan will be coordinated by the Municipal Olympic Company, in partnership with the Brazil's Architects Institute (IAB).[33] Also developed by AECOM's Sports Group, the proposal outlines how the Olympic Park area will be used, the public spaces, squares and parks as well as the location of the permanent and temporary venues and the future real estate developments to be built at the site.[34] There are three Master Plans, one for the Games, one for the transition and a final one which shows the plan of the legacies after the Olympics.

Figure 4. Rio Olympic Games 2016 Master Plan. Source Aecom.

These Physical and Community Legacy Plans as well as the Pre-Games Reports are important instruments and strategies that could also be applied by the Qatar FIFA Supreme Committee to assure that the promises of Sustainable Legacies are planned, implemented and evaluated. To this end, Qatar has developed a Sports Venues Master Plan which is being implemented within the Qatar 2030 Vision, and is also developing an Olympics Master Plan for the 2024 bid.

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[31] www.Aecom.com
[32] Aecom
[33] Rio 2016 Website
[34] Rio 2016 Website

2.2. Architectural Legacies. Iconic Buildings and White Elephants.

"Architecture isn't an Olympic sport just yet, but it certainly has a lot to do with a successful Olympic bid".[35] A successful Olympics is not only measured by the medals, spectacles and firework displays or receipts from media and advertising, but above all by what it leaves behind in the form of urban infrastructures, landscapes and architectures. Britain's first Pritzker Prizewinning female architect Zaha Hadid was selected through a competition to design the Olympic Aquatic Center for the London 2012 Olympics. Resembling a manta ray with undulating wings, Hadid's design fulfilled its functions as a an iconic and seductive building for the Olympic bid, and also functions as a structure that can be transformed into a regular municipal pool once the Games are over. 40 years after it was built, Kenzo Tange's Olympic pool for the Tokyo Games is still a landmark; Frei Otto's stadium in Munich has been preserved from demolition by public outcry. In Beijing, the Olympic park has a 100,000-seat stadium, designed in the form of a giant bird's nest by Herzog and de Meuron, and it has become an international icon and symbol of the Beijing Games.

Figure 5. The Bird's Nest Stadium by Herzog and De Meuron, Beijing, China 2008 Olympic Games.
Source: http://cc.nphoto.net/view/2008/11587.shtml

Besides the iconic buildings by star architects, there are also white elephants and failures. For Barcelona and Sydney, staging the Olympics propelled each city to the World Class stage while for Montreal and Athens, the Olympic legacy is mostly seen in the form of debt. For the upcoming London Olympics 2012 and the Rio 2016 Olympics, the legacy issues are at the center of the planning for the games. In the case of London, the bid contained the promise that London would be the "first sustainable Games", from an environmental, socio-cultural and economic point of view and included the following strategies to avoid White Elephants: to use venues already existing in the UK where possible; to only make permanent structures that will have a long-term use after the Games; to build temporary structures for everything else. The Games were also clearly used as a catalyst for change, for the regeneration of and improvement of quality of life in East London and to encourage more healthy and sustainable lifestyles across the whole of the UK.[36] Learning from

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[35] Sudjic (2005)
[36] London 2012 Eco-Olympics

Barcelona's experiences, Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London at the time of the bid, backed the games for the catalytic effect that they would have to help kick start London's eastward expansion and to accommodate the 800,000 Londoners expected over the next two decades. Qatar is playing a role in the London Olympic Legacy. The Olympic Village next to the Olympic Park in East London has been sold to the Qatari ruling family's property company, Qatari Diar, in partnership with the UK property developer Delancey Estates for £557m. After the 2012 Olympic Games, the village will be converted into a new neighborhood with housing, schools, shops, bars, clinics and parks.[37]

Figure 6. Artists Impression of the Olympic Village London 2012. Source: http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2011/aug/12/olympic-village-qatari-ruling-family

3.   Qatar: Mega-Event Planning and Legacies

3.1.   Sports and Cultural Tourism in Qatar

A sporting \ Mega Event has a Dual Function: it is a substitute for the Nation and it puts the city on the World Map. The Games are as much about the "City as Spectacle" as they are about Sport, theatricalizing urban sites, generating media events, creating urban centers as sites of cultural consumption. It is also about Sports Tourism and attracting visitors to a country and region, and offering them not only sports, but other cultural experiences.

Having taken the center stage of the gas and oil producing countries over the last 50 years, Qatar is building itself as a nation and Doha is profiling itself as a global city. This implies creating a number of cultural institutions which house and exhibit both the traditional local and regional nomadic and sedentary cultures, as well as the greater Arabic and Muslim cultures. Visiting museums is not very much a part of the Qatari's cultures, who make up only 20% of the population, and it is clear that the museums are largely targeting visitors and tourists, and are an important complement for the hosting of any major events, sporting or otherwise. There are significant efforts being made to promote the museums amongst Qataris, just as there is a move to engage them in Sports. All these strategies are seen to be part of the Four Pillars of the Qatar National Vision, but they do require some gentle modifications of cultural habits and practices – especially concerning the practice of sports for female practitioners and competitors.

Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad, president of the Qatar Olympic Committee (QOC) presented Qatar's bid to the General Assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) as a bid on behalf of the entire Middle East and North Africa region, and not just as an individual effort of

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[37] www.guardian.com (2011).

Qatar, but one of a region whose population will reach 700mn people by 2020".[38] The Doha 2020 Olympic Bid website also promotes regional attractions to potential visitors of the Games – from the Pyramids of Egypt to the Temples of Persepolis in Iran. "There are many things to do in and around Qatar before, during and after any sporting event. The Louvre and Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi – set to open in 2013 -The Pyramids, the ruins of Babylon, Petra and even Persepolis are less than three hours flight away.[39]

Aside from promoting regional cultural and touristic sites, the Qatar Olympic Committee also wants to utilize the 2020 Games to create new sporting and commercial opportunities for the Olympic Movement, and to develop sporting programs and venues that benefit an entire region."[40] Qatar's National Vision 2030 positions sports as part of its world class ambition for nurturing talent, not just in the development of future Olympians, but also with unprecedented opportunities for empowering women. This vision demonstrates a nation committed to earning its place as a truly global sports hub."[41]

Re-orienting the economy towards this expanding income source, the Qatar Tourism Master Plan establishes Doha as a high-quality destination for cultural tourism which includes beach and lifestyle resorts, cultural facilities (museums) business events (exhibition halls) and sports infrastructures. The Sports Master Plan includes the development of Sport Facility and Infrastructure plans, Sport Development plans and an Olympic Games Exploratory Study. Rem Koolhaas, amongst others, has been invited with OMA to work on the Sports Master Plan.

3.4. Qatar Airways, Katara, Al Jazeera. Branding as a Legacy.

Qatar is categorized as a small state, alongside other small nations like Luxembourg, Switzerland, Panama, Monaco, Kuwait, Bahrain and Dubai. All these small states have explored unique niches that benefit the region or the world, in order to gain economic advantage and global recognition as in the case of Switzerland with its banking system and political neutrality.[42] Branding for political entities is relatively new and may be seen as an extension of cultural branding, and where states do not have easily identifiable brands, it is necessary to invent them. Qatar's branding strategy has raised its profile and international awareness by hosting major conferences and enhancing its involvement with international organizations. The Gold certified green Qatar National Convention Center has been recently completed to host such major international events in Qatar, the next to date being the COP18/CMP8 UN Conference on Climate change that will be held in November 2012, attracting 15000 delegates from 195 nations.

Figure 7. Advertising the Museum of Islamic Arts, Doha, on a London Taxi.

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[38] Inside the Games Website
[39] Doha 2020 website
[40] Gulf Times
[41] Doha 2020 website
[42] Peterson, 2006. P.742.

Qatar Airways, along with Al Jazeera, an Arabic satellite television network owned by the state of <u>Qatar</u>, have helped to place Qatar on the Global Map. While many people did not know the location of Qatar, many tourists transit through Doha with Qatar Airways on their way to other destination. A veritable hub between East and West, the new Doha International Airport is being built to accommodate passengers. On its completion in 2016, it will accommodate 50 million passengers and 2 million tons of Cargo. Qatar Airways, with flights to over 100 destinations across the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, South America and Australia, advertises itself as a Five Star airline and was voted best airline of the year in 2011.

Katara Hospitality is a Qatar based deluxe international hospitality company which was recently rebranded from its previous designation as the Qatar National Hotels Company to a new corporate identity. The new brand – the ancient Greek name for the Qatari Peninsula – is more relevant for the company's strategic expansion in the global market. Aside from its Qatar based projects – the Lusail Marina and Merweb-hotel City Center Doha it has 24 hotels in 8 international destinations, having recently acquired the Royal Savoy in Lausanne, the Gallia Hotel in Milan, the Peninsula in Paris and the Burgenstock Resort in Lucerne, Switzerland. The iconic Lusail Development in Doha – the Lusail Marina Towers – take the shape of the symbolic crossed swords and is advertised as being ideally located for travelling football fans of FIFA 2022, becoming a perfect getaway for Middle East leisure travelers once the games are over.[43]

Figure 8. Rendering of Lusail Iconic Development in the Shape of Crossed Swords.

Sports is considered another important aspect of Qatar's branded image, and winning the FIFA World Cup bid for 2022 was a culmination of many years of investment in branding Qatar as sports destination and regional hub. Qatar's next ambition is to host the Summer Olympic Games, and after losing its bid in 2012 for the 2020 Games, the nation will compete once again, this time for the 2024 Games. Qatar is building on a legacy of international sporting events – the Asian Games in 2001 and 2006 – as well as annually hosted competitions such as the Moto Gran Prix, ATP Tennis tournaments, gymnastics, volleyball, basketball, handball, football, Master's golf, Grand Prix Fencing, powerboat racing and yachting.

3.3. Doha Master Planning for Mega Events

What future urban transformations will result from hosting the FIFA 2022 World Cup in Qatar? How does this sporting event become a catalyst for urban development and urban renewal or restructuring? How can it remediate negative urban evolutions and participate in constructing a better future? What landmark structures, new public landscapes and new centralities will be created? What social improvements will occur? Will there be any negative outcomes?

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[43] SITES Construction, June 2012. P.23

To host the FIFA World Cup and to develop the Olympic bid, Qatar has developed a Sports Venues Master Plan which is being implemented within the Qatar 2030 Vision. The plan includes but is not limited to the development of Sport Facility and Infrastructure plans, Sport Development plans and an Olympic Games Exploratory Study.[44] It builds on the legacy of a number of sporting events held in Doha over the years, the first major event being the Asian Games in 2001 which saw around US 3 billion dollars in infrastructure development, and was followed by the 2006 Asian Games. This was Doha's first regional mega-event that began to put the city on the sporting tourism map and a new sports city of 130 hectares emerged in response to Doha's new sporting aspirations which included Khalifa International Stadium, Aspire Sports Dome, Hamad Aquatic Center / Orthopedic Sports Medicine Hospital, the Energy Center and Aspire Park. The most iconic feature of the Sports City is the 300 meter Aspire Tower, currently the highest building in Doha, which received the Olympic flame at its summit. Today it is a major landmark in Doha and contains a high class hotel with a revolving restaurant at its summit. The Sports City also provided an important new public space in Doha, the Aspire Park, and a series of Public Realm improvements such as the cycling paths, footpaths, street-lighting and urban furniture around the Aspire area.[45] The Asian Games of 2006 hosted by Doha was a very successful and important event and the spectacular opening and closing ceremonies were used as a flagship spectacle to promote the new brand image of Qatar globally. In addition to the world class spectacle designed by the creators of the Sydney Olympics opening ceremonies, many people today still remember the opening ceremony and the breath taking ascent of the Heir apparent on his horse to light the torch on a very slippery ramp.

Figure 9. The Torch Tower at Aspire Zone.

The Sports Master Plan that Qatar is preparing for its Olympic bid for the 2020 Games ensures no 'white elephants', with a totally sustainable approach for the environment, for the venues, for the local communities and for sports in the region.[46] The sporting venues for the Olympic Games will be integrated throughout the city in a way that is only possible for a metropolis that is still growing. In the making for several years prior to the bid application, the Qatar Sports Venue Master Plan had already planned and budgeted for 91% of the venues needed for the Games, 35% of which

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[44] Design Sports Org.
[45] Adham, 2008.
[46] Gulf Times, 2012.

are already completed. At the center of the venue plan is an Olympic Village, which will house a minimum of 16,800 beds, the Main Athlete Training Site, the Media Village with 2,400 rooms, and the Main Media Centre. In the Master Plan, the Olympic Village design will serve as a model for mixed-use developments throughout the Middle East – after the Games, the Village will fulfill its use as a legacy women's sport development center, as well as desirable market-ready residences. Doha's Olympic Venue Plan ensures that all venues are within an area measuring 15km by 30km of each other. The plan includes 10 celebration sites around the city to ensure a festive season for non-competing athletes and spectators. Games venues will be further developed to provide regional training facilities for both women and men.

Figure 10. Map of the new Doha Metro with the connections to the Stadiums for the FIFA 2022 World Cup.

The Transport Master Plan is an important element of the Sports Master Plan for the Olympics as well as the FIFA 2022 World Cup. Well before 2022, Qatar will have completed a system of roads, metro, light rail transport, people movers and bus routes linking venues in a safe and efficient network. The first stage of a fully integrated and fully accessible metro network is already commissioned. The railway – which will connect the Doha Olympic Park with the new Doha International Airport - includes connections to light rail transit system and people-mover system.

3.4. The infrastructural and physical Legacies.

As a FIFA Sporting Host Nation, Qatar's Legacy Aims include organizing the First Carbon Neutral FIFA World Cup which will contribute globally as a model of sustainable Mega-Events, and will locally leave improved transport, energy and recycling infrastructures. Modular Stadium will be dismantled and can be recycled and reconstructed anywhere in the world. As the first Middle East FIFA World Cup it aspires to contribute to the Social and Cultural Development of the region.

At the city level and in the long term, the transport strategy and concept for the games will leave behind a first class public transport system for the city, connected with the regional high speed rail as well as new sea transport and taxis. Doha Metro in Qatar's capital city will be one of the most advanced rail transit systems in the world when it becomes operational in 2016. The emirate originally planned the metro in 2007, in a bid to host the 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Doha. Doha Metro is part of the larger railway network. The wide network design consists of five modern and flexible railway systems integrated across the Persian Gulf. They include the development of passenger and freight rail transport systems, along with fast rail links to the international airport

based on the GCC feasibility study.[47] It is hoped that the Doha Master Plan and the National Master Plan will accompany this new transit system with a strategy of transit-oriented development, offering housing, work opportunities and leisure with easy reach of the transport nodes.

With the ambition to become a carbon-neutral Mega-Event, the FIFA 2022 will produce new energy and recycling infrastructures for Qatar. An Environmental Working Group was established early on to identify study and analyze the environmental impact and develop the Green Qatar 2022 plan, which is consistent with government legislation, the national vision and international standards for environmental management. The environmental protection plan foresees the generation of excess renewable energy sources which would contribute to a carbon-neutral event and be used to offset all unavoidable emissions. Given Qatar's climate, the activities would firstly concentrate on water and waste management and, secondly, on minimizing carbon emissions through specific energy, transportation and procurement activities.

3.4.2. Sporting Infrastructures

A number of innovations will demonstrate the fundamental role of technology in Qatar's bid and the resources the country is committing to realizing an environmentally sustainable and commitment to social development. The solar powered stadium will keep temperatures around 27 degrees on the playing fields, with solar thermal collectors and photovoltaic panels on the facades and roofs. The solar energy will be used to cool water which will be blown through the stadiums as cooling and photovoltaic panels will export electricity to Qatar's national grid when games are not taking place. Engineers and researchers at Qatar University are working on a remote controlled cloud that will provide ample shade for the entire stadium. Along with donating the stadiums, Qatar plans to make the cooling technologies developed available to other countries in hot climates, so that they too can host major sporting events.

Figure 11. The New Stadium for the FIFA World Cup at the Doha Corniche

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[47] http://www.railway-technology.com/projects/doha-metro/

The Qatar 2022 Bid revealed details of the Fan Zones that will provide spectator areas where visitors will be able to enjoy an exhibition featuring the history of the World Cup, showcasing the previous editions of the tournament with 10 minutes clips from each final as well as information and archived pictures on each competition and details on the winners and runners up. Nasser Al Kather - Qatar 2022 Bid Communication Director describes the Fan Zones as an effort to engage the local community and provide a unifying outlet during the World Cup. They will contain two main exhibitions and other informative, interactive features for children and adults alike. The Fan Zones will focus especially on youngsters, with various games set up from virtual soccer with PlayStations to football tables, from `precise shot` to `hard shot` competitions where prizes will be given out each day to the winners. It is not clear where these fan zones will be located, or what they will become after the Games.

Figure 12. The new Doha Metro Network will connect the Doha Olympic Park with the new Doha International Airport. http://www.doha2020.qa/en/article/transport-geared-games

3.5. The Social and Political Legacies.

The Qatar bid for the FIFA World Cup is a singular context with regard to other similar events, as it is being held in a country that is ruled by an Emir and his family. While it is working towards democratic development, there is little freedom of press and the FIFA committee and the Olympic Committee are both led by members of the ruling family. Qatar has the highest ratio of migrants to citizens in the world, with only 225,000 citizens in a population of 1.7 million. More than 1.2 million migrant workers—mostly from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Nepal, and Bangladesh—live and work in Qatar. The largest sector, construction, employs 506,000 migrants. A recent report by Human Rights Watch has indicated that country has some of the most restrictive sponsorship laws in the Persian Gulf region, leaving migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Forced labor and human trafficking remain serious problems and labor laws are frequently violated, with the workers living in unacceptable conditions, without their families and spouses. Local media have estimated that the construction of the projects for the FIFA World Cup would require recruitment of hundreds of thousands of new workers from abroad. Will the FIFA International committee intervene to ensure that the construction for the World Cup infrastructures be carried out in humane and acceptable conditions, and that Human Rights will be respected?

On the level of sports education, the Qatar Football Association (QFA) is already under-taking various education and community programs through the Qatar Olympic Sport and Environment

Council that will continue to promote sports activities and education, especially for youth and women. The outreach program will involve all stakeholders in planning and enable businesses to communicate their role in forward-looking and sustainability-oriented enterprises.

3.5. A Price to pay?

With such a high number of venues and a totally new transportation infrastructure to construct, Qatar is faced with many challenges related to the planning and timelines for such an important international event. With just 10 years until Qatar hosts football's FIFA World Cup in 2022, Doha is focusing its attention on building the infrastructure required to host the event. In recent months, major state-backed construction projects, from regeneration schemes to science parks, have been cancelled or put on hold as the tiny Gulf state prioritizes projects essential to hosting the competition. Plans to redevelop the Doha Corniche and surrounding area in Doha and proposals to build an Aerospace research and tourist facility in Al-Khor have been shelved in recent weeks. The Doha Grand Park project in the center of the capital city, an urban regeneration project developing a park similar in design to New York's Central Park and London's Hyde Park, scheduled to contain food and beverage outlets, a museum and other attractions has also been shelved. Building $20bn-worth of road schemes, a multibillion-dollar metro network and $4bn-worth of sporting facilities is set to provide planning and logistical challenges. Doha has realized that to complete everything within the set time frame, it has to focus on essential projects and leave others until later.[48]

4. Conclusions: Urban Design and Reweaving the public and social realm?

What will be the global impact of the FIFA World Cup on Qatar and how will the small state face up to the many challenges that such an event may generate? What kind of spaces will be created for the new "cosmopolitan citizen" as a spatial response to this twining of cultural entertainment and tourist and sport industries will be created as legacies for Doha and Qatar? [49] Qatar is currently the nation with the highest Carbon Footprint in the world. Qatar's available capital can be wisely invested in research and development projects that will improve the urban environment and the quality of life, and reduce the environmental footprint of the country. Doha is a city that is currently organized around private transport, with urban highways crossing the city and intersecting with multiple lane roundabouts, serving islands of inhabitation like gated communities and mega-shopping malls. This creates a fragmentation of the urban realm, and results in little or no spaces for soft Mobilities – pedestrian, cycling, etc. Good urban design will be able to remediate many of the negative effects of unplanned or badly planned developments, and particular attention should be placed around the transit nodes so that they be used as opportunities to encourage many modes of public or pedestrian transport, at the same time creating new public spaces that can help to create a new public realm and to connect soft mobility networks, reweaving the disparate fragments of the city. There is also an opportunity to introduce not only more mixed-use developments, especially around and along the transit nodes and routes, but also to introduce more "mixed-income" or "mixed-culture" developments, to begin to create a truly cosmopolitan and just city. The conditions and quality of life of the immigrant workers will have to be improved and they will also need to be more integrated in public life and public realm. The global branding of the emerging metropolis through its hospitality, airline, media network and Mega-Events, as well the "Qatarization" of the public realm through the establishment and construction of Qatari cultural spaces and museums should be accompanied by a real social and cosmopolitan integration of all the residents of the nation.

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From Pre-oil Settlement to Post-Oil Hub
The Urban Transformation of Doha

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Introduction

The Gulf region has witnessed a rather rapid modern urbanisation during the 2nd half of the 20th centure. Before oil was found most settlements were small fishing villages and only a few of them could develop to small cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants during the peak of pearl trade at the end of the 19th century (Scholz, 1999). These larger settlements were the home of major tribes, who resettled from inland oases to the coast in order to benefit from the emerging trade. Although the region was never colonialized as other regions in the Middle East, several protectorates were installed by the British in order to prevent any conflicts between tribes and the British East India Company and its trading routes. These protectorates gained another dimension of importance when oil was found in the beginning of the 20th century. The large-scale production of oil commenced after World War Two leading to the first period of modern urbanisation. And after the declaration of national independence in the late 1960s and beginning of 1970s the small Gulf states witnessed exponential urban growth during the oil boom.

After the oil boom new economic strategies were introduced at the end of the 20th century in order to stimulate the transformation of Gulf cities from rentier state structures to international service hubs. Based on a fortunate geopolitical location between Asia, Europe and Africa, many governments recognised a potential to enter regional and global trading networks by investing in extensive and state-of-the-art harbours and airports (Scholz, 1999, p. 82). This general strategy was accompanied by different types of investments in order to accelerate urban growth. Subsequently, new economic sectors were introduced by joint ventures between public and private sectors, which meant a new era of urban governance in the Gulf. Subsequently, privatisation and decentralisation have been integrated to stimulate and accelerate investment in order to realize the vision of becoming global centres. Although the wealth of fossil fuels can currently still be considered as the main basis of recent expectations for growth, Gulf cities have entered a fierce competition to transform outdated structures in order to accommodate new post-oil economies (Davidson, 2009, p. 182).

In the following the paper seeks to investigate the urban evolution of Doha by analysing its four distinct phases of development. Each phase is analysed according to historic events and circumstances leading to new economic developments and thus a transforming urban structure. In all four cases the analyses focus on urban governance, the socio-economic context as well as the urban images produced by each urbanisation phase in order to provide insights into the contexts of the resulting built environment.

1. The pre-oil settlement Doha

During the 18th century the Al Maadhid tribe and its leading family clan Al Thani moved from central Arabia to settle on the northern coast of Qatar, where they resided in the area around Zubara. As a consequence of tribal conflicts with the Al Khalifa tribe the Al Maadhid tribe under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed bin Thani resettled on the eastern coast of the Peninsula in 1847, where its clans founded the settlement of Al Bidaa at the location of an old fishing village (Adham, 2008, p. 221). The choice of location was based on the water source Wadi Sail and the fortunate shape of the coastline, which protected the settlement from sea attacks. At the end of the 19th century Ottoman troops built a fort in Al Bidaa, which became the area containing the largest settlements on the eastern coast at this time, in order to restore their interests in the region. After the withdrawal of Turkish troops the British Resident in the Gulf signed a protection treaty in 1916, transforming Qatar into an official British protectorate (Scholz 1999, p. 184). During the first decades of the 20th century Al Bidaa and its eight settlements grew to around 12,000 inhabitants due to the flourishing pearl trade. However, its population rapidly decreased during the 30s, when Qatar's entire population dropped from 27,000 to less than 16,000 inhabitants because of the collapse of pearl fishing caused by the invention of cultured pearls in Japan (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 149).

The development of Al Bidaa into eight distinct settlements along the shoreline, which together occupied an area of around 1.23 sq km (Fig. 1) (Hasan, 1994), was caused by the need for access to the sea, land distribution to tribal clans and the location of water sources. Al Bidaa was later renamed Doha, which either refers to a big tree standing at the coast or to the cicrcular shape of the coastline (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 181). Each social group lived segregated in their own areas and the main centres of social interaction were the harbour, market and mosque (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 190). Due to the socio-economic importance of the market and harbour area each neighbourhood was directly linked via roads. However, the road network was in general not a result of conscious planning but rather the consequence of the collective building efforts of each family. The ruler's function concerning the administration of the settlement development was limited to incentives regarding where to build his palace and mosque in addition to a macro-distribution of land regarding markets and new residential districts. Furthermore, within the tribal structure he was seen as the leading sheikh and thus as executor of Islamic law, which also covered building violations. However, most construction concerns were dealt with at lower levels within tribal clans and their *majlis* and thus it can be stated that Doha's settlement development was mainly governed by bottom-up rather than top-down decision-making.

Figure 1: Doha's pre-oil settlements in 1947. Source: Authors.

Doha's traditional urban form remained intact until the middle of the 20th century when modern urbanisation began. Its vernacular structure and architecture were the result of direct human interaction and participation within the building process. Climate and culture had thus shaped a built environment reflecting not only how its spaces were used from a functional point of view but also how these spaces expressed the inner world of a society that was highly dependent on its natural environment and tribal affiliations. The former was reflected in structural aspects of the local architecture that were adapted to the desert climate while the latter was reflected in decorative elements such as plant images or geometric patterns on walls and doors indicative of the people's tribal origins (Jaidah and Bourenane, 2009, p. 23). Both advanced building techniques and the conservation of traditional façade decoration convey the old roots of Doha's historic built structures. Thus, although the settlement was founded as a small fishing village at the beginning of the 19th century and thus looks back on a rather short history, its urban and architectural forms are thousands of years old (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 186). Inherited knowledge and traditions have built this space by following no planning or centralised regulations. Despite the allocation of land by tribal rulers, land was generally free to use and build on. Thus, organic settlement patterns evolved based on the principle of a cell, in this case the courtyard house, multiplying into clusters to form neighbourhoods that connected to the central backbone of the settlement – the market, port and mosque (Fig. 2). Doha's pre-oil settlement is to a large extent the product of the collective efforts of its inhabitants, their habits and their intuition. Capitalist incentives caused by the pearl trade or the interaction with colonial powers had not yet led to centralised planning and state regulations impacting Doha's vernacular structure.

Figure 2: Aerial picture of Doha in 1947. Source: MMUP.

2. Modern urbanisation as a result of the first oil production

Although oil had already been found by Petroleum Development Qatar Ltd. in Dukhan in the west of the country in 1937, oil production in Qatar began after World War II (Scholz, 1999, p. 188). The first revenues made from oil were mainly invested in the development of infrastructure such as the construction of a regional road connecting the Dukhan field with Doha and the first airport, which was built in the east of the city. Due to the location of the residence of the ruling Al Thani family,

Doha became the centre of modern urbanisation in Qatar. From the 1950s to 1970 Doha's population grew from around just 14,000 inhabitants to over 83,000, with foreign immigrants constituting about 67% (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 217). Almost 90% of the working population was non-Qatari in 1970 due to a lack of educated workforce among the indigenous population and the introduction of subsidies, which turned Qatar into a classic welfare state reliant on its fossil resources. Nation-wide only about 25% of around 30,000 Qataris were counted as workforce by a census in 1970 and most were engaged in the newly established public administration in Doha (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 168). The private sector was run by immigrants from South Asia and other Arab countries, who mainly worked in the expanding trade businesses or as employees in the lower service sector.

During the 1950s and 1960s settlement patterns were determined by the development of modern infrastructure such as roads and the supply of fresh water and electricity. The modern administration, which was distributed among various buildings all over the city, was just in its infancy and despite the introduction of the first public housing law in 1964, planning and regulations still had limited impact on the general development (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 192). Yet, a major impact was made on the urban form by imported goods, particularly cars and air conditioning, and the vast immigration. Subsequently, roads were widened in central areas to provide access by car and the old courtyard buildings were replaced by modern building blocks made of cement stones. Furthermore, new housing areas were constructed in a rather uncoordinated manner around the former city boundaries in order to accommodate expatriate labour as well as Qataris moving from other parts of the country to Doha. Subsequently, the city grew in all directions with development mainly concentrated in the west because of the road to Al Dukhan and south-east toward the airport (Fig. 3). Due to the rapidly growing trade of imported goods many informal shopping areas grew along the periphery of the city centre and in proximity to the old market area (Scholz, 1999, p. 201).

Figure 3: The settlement areas in 1947 and 1971. Source: Authors.

In this first period of Doha's urban transformation developments were generally rather uncoordinated. However, incentives such as the reclamation of an area at Doha's port or the construction of the Al-Corniche Road would become elements that defined later urban developments. Rectangular settlement patterns and modern cement buildings added a fragmented belt around the old centre and its harbour, which in turn were gradually replaced by modern urbanisation (Fig. 4). Thus, Doha's traditional urban environment faced its rapid end, caused by the first investments in modern infrastructure and the increasing purchasing power of its population. Subsequently, cars and air conditioning enabled the emergence of a new urban structure with low built densities, extensive road grids and cement block architecture.

Figure 4: The centre of Doha in 1970. Source: MMUP.

3. The Introduction of Central Planning during the Oil Boom

While an initial public administration already existed in the 1950s and grew during the 1960s when the first municipality was founded in 1963, it was only after the declaration of Qatar's independence as a state in 1971 and, perhaps even more significantly, when Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani took over as ruler in 1972 that an efficient central administration came into being (Zahlan, 1979). This administration included several ministries that dealt with Qatar's urbanisation, the most important of which was the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Agriculture (MMAA) with its town planning section established in 1974 (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 207). It was later followed by the creation of several ministries that dealt with infrastructural development such as the Ministry of Public Works (MPW). The centralisation of governance enabled petrodollars to be efficiently invested in the urbanisation process, leading to rapid urban growth during the 1970s and 1980s when oil prices reached new heights.

During this period, many Western consultants were involved in the first phase of urban planning in Doha. In 1974 the British consultant Llewelyn Davis was appointed by the new town planning authority within the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Agriculture to design the first masterplan of Doha for 1990. His plan was based on a ring concept with a clear definition and a functional distribution of land uses regarding each ring. Based on this initial zoning plan and newly introduced

land policies a new city centre was created consisting of commercial developments, services and multi-storey housing for guest workers. During the 1970s all old Qatari neighbourhoods were replaced and the indigenous population moved to new suburban developments such as Al Rayyan, Medinat Khalifa or Al Gharrafa in the north-west of the city. This was made possible by the land policies, which included the free replacement of properties with allocated plots of land measuring 30 × 30 metres and the provision of interest-free loans for the construction of housing or financial compensation, which usually exceeded the market price of real estate at that time (Naqy, 1997).

Subsequently, the 1970s witnessed increasing land speculation within the city centre and its surrounding areas. Until 1991 the Planning Department of the MMAA was in charge of subdividing land into parcels while public housing programmes were the domain of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs as well as the Ministry of Public Works. These superposed responsibilities led to coordination problems, which were further exacerbated by the fact that high-profile projects were usually under the supervision of the Emiri Diwan and thus not part of the general legalisation process within ministries (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 203). Despite these debilitating factors the main elements of Doha's first master plan were implemented and its proposed land reclamation of 630 hectares in the north of the city centre, which included the development of a circular Corniche, was completed at the end of the 1970s (Scholz, 1999, p. 202). The main objective of the plan was, however, to establish a modern city centre. For this purpose, informal commercial building was no longer possible and traditional buildings were replaced in order to make space for access roads and multi-storey developments.

In 1975 the American planning consultancy William L. Pereira Associates was commissioned to develop in parallel a new masterplan for an extension area in the north, known as North District of Doha (NDOD) or West Bay (Adham, 2008, p. 233). The plan included the development of Qatar University and housing for its staff as well as residential districts toward inland. With regard to coastal development at the northern end of the Corniche, it proposed a large hotel development for conferences, a diplomatic and ministries area and a new business district surrounded by a large park (Naqy, 2000, p. 137). While the hotel development and several embassies were completed during the beginning of the 1980s, the commercial centres remained to a large extent unbuilt due to the focus of commercial activities in and around the city centre.

While in the transition period during the 1950s and 1960s old traditional structures were gradually replaced by a rather uncoordinated process of modernisation, the implementation of a first masterplan and the city extension via land reclamation were decisive steps in Doha's modern urbanisation, carried out by a newly established public administration during the 1970s. Subsequently, the population of Doha's metropolitan area grew from 89,000 inhabitants in 1970 to over 434,000 in 1997. In addition to this rapid growth, land policies and real-estate speculation caused the total urban area to increase exponentially from around just 130 hectares in the middle of the 20th century to over 7,100 hectares in the 1990s (Fig. 5) (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 407). The urban sprawl during the oil boom led to a scattered urban landscape with low densities, caused by the prevalence of suburban typologies and a large percentage of unbuilt land due to speculation (MMAA, 1997). While the two-storey housing areas in the outskirts became the residence of Qataris as well as high-income guest workers, the central areas became the residence of foreign labour. This led to a reduction in investments and subsequently to a deterioration in urban qualities in Doha's centre.

Figure 5: The settlement expansion in 1971 and 1988. Source: Authors.

Doha's transformation from a vernacular pre-oil settlement to an expanding oil city was sudden and as precipitous as the oil boom that instigated it. The modernisation of the city was rapidly and simply executed by importing the expertise and labour necessary. This transition to modernity was reflected in the architecture and urban design of the period, which broke away abruptly from the vernacular to principles imposed by the state. This can be seen best in the replacement of the traditional neighbourhoods of the indigenous population, consisting of courtyard houses and winding streets, with modern suburban dwellings that stood on equally sized rectangular plots accessed by an orthogonal grid of roads. The Western consultants who advised this process during the post-war decades applied their Western understanding of modern space to the modernisation of Doha, which at that time considered the car to be the main means of transport. Thus, Doha developed into a car-based city incorporating geometrical grids with various road hierarchies and space for roads and parking sites, which meant the end of high densities (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: A typical suburban settlement in 1988. Source: MMUP.

Since the introduction of centralised governance and state planning erased the previous practice of self-governed neighbourhoods the extent of the local inhabitants' participation in urban development was reduced. Protests and resistance were, however, mediated by the introduction of welfare-state mechanisms and the subsequent tremendous rise in living standards. Within only three decades the indigenous population found itself in a new kind of city that enabled and promoted consumption on a scale never experienced before. However, while Western consumption industries entered Doha's urban space, cultural traditions were preserved in some respects, for example, by the practice of erecting large walls around dwellings in order to protect the privacy of families. The biggest impact of Qataris on the urban development though was their emerging habit of investing in land and real estate rather than accumulating wealth in bank accounts or stock markets, which led to a high percentage of over 55% vacant land within the urban area in the mid-1990s (Al Buainain, 1999, p. 407).

4. The Introduction of a Post-oil Vision and its Impact on Urban Development

The change in Qatar's rulership in 1995 when Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani came to the throne opened the door to a new path of economic development for what was a restrictive and conservative country (Scholz, 1999, p. 185). In the following years Qatar has developed to an uprising political centre in the Middle East claiming the role as intermediator within relationships between the West and Arab World. Parallel to its growing political engagement various projects were launched to develop the capital city Doha into a global hub. Since the mid-1990s the population has more than tripled, making Qatar one of the fastest growing nations in the world. This rate of population growth is mainly due to the recent construction boom that incited the immigration of hundreds of thousands of guest workers from South Asia (Naqy, 2006). Almost 90% of Qatar's current population of around 1.7 million lives in Doha and its metropolitan area (Qatar Statistics Authority, 2011, p. 13). While liberalisation mechanisms have been introduced by deregulating the real-estate market in 2004, increasing interest from the private sector in investing in Qatar was mainly ignited by direct investments of oil and gas revenues, which can be categorized in terms of media, real estate, infrastructure and services, culture and sports as well as education and science.

The founding of Al Jazeera in 1996 changed the world's perception of Qatar due to its role as a news provider from the Middle East. Despite the fact that the initial funds of USD 137 million were provided by the Emir, Al Jazeera has always claimed that it maintains an independent editorial policy (Sakr, 2001, p. 58). This liberalised news network has influenced an understanding of Qatar as a progressive and politically engaged country in the Gulf. Despite the still open question of the extent to which Al Jazeera can be considered independent, it has had a major impact on the development of the media in the Middle East as the voice of the people instead of simply a reflection of political agendas (Rinnawi, 2006, p. 23).

After the successful introduction of a new image of Doha major public real-estate investments have been made by the Qatar Investment Authority and its subsidiary Qatari Diar Real Estate Investment Company, which was founded in 2004 (QIA, 2012). In addition to Qatari Diar's function of founding master developers such as Lusail Real Estate Development Company to carry out projects, it holds 45% of the shares in Barwa, the largest listed real-estate company in Qatar (Barwa, 2011). Further public real-estate investments are made by the Qatar Foundation and its subsidiaries. In order to become a global hub large investments were made to expand the existing airport and harbour as well as to develop new facilities. A new airport development was launched in 2004, with estimated funds of over USD 11 billion, on a reclaimed area of 890 hectares to the east of the existing runways (NDIA, 2012). Parallel to this, Qatar Airways, one of the fastest growing airlines in the world, is directly funded by the state with the aim of turning it into one of the world's leading aviation providers (CAPA, 2011). These investments have made Qatar a serious future competitor as a transit hub for passengers and cargo beyond the Gulf region itself.

In addition, several efforts were made to attract international sport events to Qatar such as the Qatar Tennis Open and the 2006 Asian Games. While large investments in sport events led to the recent successful bid for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, the development of cultural landmark projects has also been important in attracting tourists. The first project in this regard was the redevelopment of the traditional market area, known as Souq Waqif, followed by the Museum of Islamic Art. Since the 1990s Qatar's rulers initiated the development of educational and research facilities in order to build a foundation for a more diversified economy. Thus, in 1995 the Qatar Foundation was introduced as a non-profit organisation to develop a basis for new economies by focusing on three pillars, namely, education, science and community development (OBG, 2009, p. 23). Its first project was Education City, the development of which was launched in the north-west of the city in the late 1990s (Adham, 2008, p. 243). In order to attract high-profile universities various investments were made such as the USD 759 million that was invested in Cornell University in order to open a faculty in Doha (Miles, 2005, p. 21). Science and research are promoted by the subsidiaries of the Qatar Foundation, namely, the Qatar National Research Fund and the Qatar Science and Technology Park.

Recent investment strategies have mainly focused on stimulating urban growth by launching large-scale projects and by creating a new city image. According to a series of face-to-face interviews with ten planners at the Ministry of Municipalities and Urban Planning (MMUP) the most decisive public investments transforming the urban structure of Doha have been within the real-estate sector. The subsequent construction boom has shaped contemporary Doha not only morphologically but also socio-economically due to the businesses and foreign workers that have moved there as a result. While economic visions are being put into place by investment in various strategies and liberalisation policies, urban planning has faced the challenge of guiding the recent construction boom toward the creation of a functioning metropolis. The idea of developing Doha into an international service hub resulted in large-scale developments and a new form of decision-making in physical planning. The last comprehensive master plan, known as the Physical Development Plan (PDP), was prepared during the 1990s. Although it is still used as the basis for general land-use policies its implementation in 1997 has had a rather limited impact on Doha's urban development because of the increasing influence of new public authorities and public-private partnerships (Adham, 2008, p. 237). This merge of the public and private sectors was a direct consequence of expanding investments and the liberalisation of markets. The new urban development strategies at the end of the 1990s and the subsequent investment pressure challenged a public administration that was not able to manage urban growth on this scale and of this nature. The limited staff capacity did not permit the urban planning department to coordinate urban developments with the implementation of new plans or the adjustment of existing plans, which led to the decentralisation of governance.

Due to the new situation of unprecedented amounts of investment being made in Doha's urban development, existing zoning plans that were developed on the basis of the PDP have quickly become outdated. Furthermore, zoning plans have lost the status of legally binding documents and have been treated in many cases as technical recommendations rather than development regulations. The most prominent example of this is the construction of high-rise buildings in the Diplomatic District (West Bay) on land, which was previously zoned for developments with low to medium density. In addition to the fact that initial zoning plans have been bypassed in many cases, another phenomenon that decentralised governance was the rise of master planned projects in form of cities within the city (Fig. 7). These projects are usually connected with investment strategies and are thus in most cases joint ventures between the private and public sectors. In general one master developer is founded to coordinate the development and given extensive legal rights to develop and implement master plans for their projects without approval from the ministry and its urban planning departments.

Figure 7. Map of current projects under construction. Source: Authors.

The construction of large-scale projects by joint ventures between the private and public sectors has led to a focus on individual development sites rather than consolidation and cohesion within overall urban areas. Today, around six of these projects have been completed or are still under development, occupying more than 30 square kilometres. Despite their large size most of these projects do not serve adjacent settlement areas with services and infrastructure. This 'island' approach to development has led to a general lack of land-use integration, creating long driving distances between residences and services. In addition to an absence of integration of land uses projects have been built without taking into account their surrounding built environment or future urban areas under construction. The main reason for this lack of integration is the decision-making process itself, wherein the master plans of individual projects are approved without regulations of a central strategic plan regarding overall urban developments. The overall result is a rather fragmented structure of developments leading to a pattern of urban patchworks instead of cohesive and integrated urban areas.

Another aspect of contemporary urbanism in Doha is the lack of a defined urban structure consisting of centres and subcentres. This circumstance is rooted in the fact that Doha's urban area has been growing exponentially toward the outskirts over the last decades without the guidance of plans for developing subcentres. The establishment of 'decentralised centralisation' has been further complicated due to a lack of public transport networks and thus no major junctions that would enable higher densities of residential and commercial use. In addition, the old city centre's previous function as a centre for commercial and public activities has been increasingly undermined by new shopping mall developments and business districts along the urban periphery. Despite redevelopments of the historic centre, large parts of Doha's central urban area are occupied by high-density residential districts for low-income groups. In general, it can be observed that the lack of public transport and extensive social segregation between income groups have caused an urban structure of sprawling peripheries served by shopping malls and a high-density mixed-use down town area for low income groups.

Another characteristic of Doha's contemporary urbanism is the increasing privatisation of many urban areas due to large-scale developments by the private sector. In this regard, the Education City and Pearl developments are prominent examples of gated developments with limited public access. The privatisation of urban space is rooted in the nature of many recentprojects to be exclusive entities that set themselves apart from other urban areas in order to attract attention and

thus investment. The Katara Cultural Village is another example of a controversial development that has introduced the first 'public' beach in Doha, which again is only accessible by entering gates and paying entrance fees (Fig. 8). Public space has become commercialised and thus filtered and limited in its function to invite all social groups to interact. The Souq Waqif, one of the most prestigious developments in Doha, appears to be a public space but is actually managed like an open-air mall (NZZ, 2011). Today, the Corniche can be considered to be the main public space in traditional terms as it constitutes an accessible central area to be used by anyone at any time.

Figure 8: Katara – Cultural Village. Source: Authors.

In addition to the fact that the privatisation of urban governance has led to the privatisation of urban areas, the previous urban morphology has been changed by higher building heights. The most prominent example is the Diplomatic District in West Bay, where more than 50 high-rise buildings have been built, of which 18 have a height of over 150 metres. This high-rise agglomeration has changed the morphology of contemporary Doha from a rather simplistic structure of a medium-high urban centre surrounded by low-rise suburbs to vertical developments with a new emphasis on the waterfront (Fig. 9). The high-rise waterfront at West Bay is to a large extent the product of public incentives that provided private investors with the prospective of ministries and other public or semi-public organisations occupying commercial high-rises as tenants in the future. Along the coast to the north, however, many high-rise and medium-rise developments arose out of speculation in the growing freehold-property market and the potential for selling seafront properties at higher prices.

Figure 9: Waterfront high-rises in West Bay. Source: Authors.

Another characteristic result of the recent construction boom in Doha is the high contrast between masses of poorly designed projects and exceptional quality in a small number of representative buildings. This concerns both construction and design and has three main causes, namely, a need for a rapid supply in order to accommodate the fast rate of growth, a lack of restrictions and deficient standards within the construction industry itself. One phenomenon is therefore catalogue designed residential and commercial typologies, mainly introduced by South-Asian and Chinese contractors, made of cement pre-fabricated elements, assembled in a few weeks by poorly educated construction workers with limited supervision. A generic appearance and the need for a high level of maintenance due to low-quality finishing and utilities are two main resulting characteristics. A further problem is the common practice of chosing one major contractor and architectural consultant for the entire development, which can lead to monotonous and repetitive designs. Today, the contrast between the mass production of buildings and the state-of-the-art design of individual landmarks has become a reflection of a segregated and fragmented urban development that is undergoing a continuous struggle to integrate quality within quantities.

Figure 10: Residential high-rises at the Pearl development. Source: Authors

Conclusion

The urban evolution of Doha can be summarised in the four previously analysed phases. While its urban environment was first a product of the direct interaction of residents and their surroundings, the introduction of modern infrastructure followed by the establishment of central planning fundamentally led to a new type of city. At the beginning modern developments existed in parallel with traditional settlements and the urban structure was incoherent and scattered without following any central plan. Subsequently, the 1970s led to a new urban era, not only because of the development of the Corniche, which is still considered to be the signature image of modern Doha, but particularly due to the establishment of central planning. In the following decades Doha's urbanism was regulated by land-use plans and a clear system of land distribution using equally sized plots. The new urban form followed the Western idea at that time of a car-based city and urban sprawl, which was exacerbated by speculative interests, was the foreseeable consequence.

During the 1990s a new urban transformation period began when Doha was no longer seen by decision-makers as limited to its role as the administrative capital of an oil-wealthy nation and began to be regarded as a hub that could provide an opportunity to enter global networks. This new urban vision has led to the introduction of several investment strategies and the liberalisation of urban governance. Consequently, large-scale projects based on case-by-case decision making and speculative interests began to reshape Doha's urban morphology. While the introduction of new typologies and urban designs diversified certain areas and created a new city image, the overall result of this period can be best described as fragmented clustering with increasing infrastructural deficits. Thus, urban governance is currently facing the major challenge of implementing development strategies based on a holistic vision that integrates social, economic and environmental aspects in order to guide urban growth. This vision, known as Qatar National Vision, was introduced in 2009 and implemented in the form of the Qatar National Development Strategy in 2011. Thus, Doha is making a new evolutionary step in its development, defining its future between continued event urbanism and enhanced urban consolidation.

Acknowledgement

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Managing the Image of Cities in the "Global Village": City branding as an opportunity against globalization

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CITY BRANDING IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

Because of rapidly developing communication and transportation technologies globalization has an impression that the world is getting smaller and everyone will benefit from all sorts of contemporary opportunities any time they want. The effects of the development of communication technologies have been depicted as reuniting humanity within the 'global village' theory of McLuhan. He has also stated that because of electronic media the whole world will be contracted into one united consciousness. McLuhan also asserts that electronic communication devices will spread culture in a way that the whole World will become a "global village"[1].

Therefore, we need to clarify the factors that had an impact on this process, in other words define the main components that shaped today's environment. Examining from this perspective, the incredible developments in technology and the almost indefinite number of communication methods that arose as a result of such technological developments are revealed as the main factors that shaped today's world. According to this approach, fast improvements and developments in technology and communication constitute the core of globalization. Such developments naturally are reflected in all facades of life and economics, politics, social sciences and culture are all individually or commonly affected by such a change.

However, in this study, globalization will not be discussed as a concept that emerged due to the developments in communication and technology, but as a historical process that occurred because of economic and political developments.

The positive association of this concept comes from it's use in English as global (spheric)-isation, which is related to 'integration' process. Le Nouveau Petit Robert uses globalization in the same meaning as 'universalization". Universalization is defined as a doctrine "*aiming to build united politics for humans"* or "*that embraces all humanity without considering the differences between humans*"[2]. From a similar perspective, universalization can be perceived as increasing the possibility of benefiting from resources however, it is at the same time accepted as a result of a system in which conditions that enable unlimited use of resources.

Until the transoceanic voyages commenced in the 15th Century and especially until the "Modernism" ideology emerged during the "Enlightenment Period", which favored human mind and logic, the earth was defined according to the parts that have been discovered and was represented by the Western Europe. Europe was the financial and spiritual center of the world. In the 16th century, which is deemed as the starting point of one of the most important concepts of our age, "globalization" according to many social scientists, the world has been divided into two by "me" and the "other" concepts and priority was again given to the Western Europe due to technological and

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[1]Rigel *et al*., 2005, p.17
[2]Gürel, 1999, p.35

scientific developments and the way such developments were expressed. Because the world did not tolerate any diversity, civilizations that have existed for thousands of years mainly in Asia and South America and also Africa regions were founded and vanished from history almost at the same time. The world had to become uniform otherwise it should collapse. The objective was to establish industrial capitalism based on production, which aimed only at increasing profits and creating consumer societies based on this type of capitalism[3].

When the 20th centruy history is examined, it is evident that the for the World Leader position, which United Kingdom had abandoned between 1914-1945, USSR was the main determining force for the struggle between Germany and USA. The 1929 Economic Crisis, which occurred in between the two World Wars, could only be overcome by the 2nd World War. After the war, the periphery countries all encountered and experienced independence movements. As a result of the Great Depression and the effect of USSR, after the 2nd World War, Keynesian Welfare State concept materialized in Western capitalist countries. This period continued until the economic crisis of 1970's. With the neo-liberal policies that were put into effect to resolve this crisis, the deregulation process has started. Restrictions were imposed on social benefits earned by the working class as a result of the Keynesian Welfare State approach in the Western World.

According to Manisalı, we can summarize the effects of economic politics suggested by neo-liberalism as below:

a)   *The existing economical borders between nation states will disappear, local markets will be exposed to the entry of large corporations and companies functioning based on international capital will be able to benefit from natural resources in the world, without any limitation whatsoever.*

b)   *Capital and technology, without facing any restrictions and limitations, will be utilized to increase the profits of capitalist within all markets of the World according to the requests and needs of those who are in possession of such capital and technology.*

c)   *The industrial, financial, banking, technology and cultural politics to be implemented in the World will be determined by the prevailing Western multinational corporations.*

Multinational companies have started manufacturing the fundamental parts of their products at different locations in the World. These emerging multinational corporations are now dominating the world economy. Markets, production, capital and communication have now been globalized. Films, television shows, news agencies or fashion industry have all started producing and manufacturing common image, symbol and thought systems for the whole world[4].

The first objective of the industrialization concepts, which emerged in the 17th century is to gain profit, raw materials and the most comprehensive mass of consumers that can be reached. It is inevitable for the technological innovations that emerged as a result of such a vision to have the same aims and targets[5].

It is evident that these technological advances are mostly effective and conclusive in economics and all the economical instruments in the world are rapidly uniting and developing with an increasing speed to form the global village. Therefore, in doctrines that try to explain globalization based on economic integration, the universal integration of free movement of capital and production relations is the most important aspect.

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[3]Rigel *et al.*, 2005, p.262
[4]Yaylagül, 2010, p.188-194
[5]Rigel *et al.*, 2005, p.262

Since the technological infrastructures necessitated by contemporary communication systems require a high amount of capital and extensive financial power, communication technologies are firstly owned and utilized by the states and secondly by financial investors. This is the main reason why Althusser refers to mass communication devices as "the ideological tools of the state". It is not a coincidence that the owners of technological advances are also the same people who are dominating the World as the most important advances in technology appeared in the last quarter of the 20th centry[6].

McLuhan's "Global Village", where by the communication technologies similar senses and perceptions shared by everyone, where the time and spatial notions are lost now became the "Global City" after 1970's. The global cities which are in a competition and connected by satellites to each other, where ideology vanished due to post-industrialism are based on service sector activities now have a more important mission than the nation-states. The world became united with the modern satellite communication and the developments in the capitalist production methods. Global city became an advertised city of the multinational corporations.

Today, the "global village" is dominated by these multinational companies which are also dominating the world. These powerful corporations have an important effect on the lives of people around the world and at the same time they are capable of shaping thought structures, consumption habits and even politics in the world[7].

According to the first model of "world cities" created by Friedman, these cities will function as the decision headquarters for the global economy dominated by the top institutions of multinational corporations. However according to Sassen, global cities will specialize more on strategic services that help to run the World's economy instead of being decision headquarters of multinational corporations. The main characteristic of global metropolitans is that they accommodate financial institutions that carry out and inspect the flow of funds, banks and insurance companies, communication-telecommunication, computer and data services, media, market research and advertising companies aimed at global markets[8]. According to global systems theory Knox *et al.,* states that the global cities are the centers of transnational corporate headquarters, business services, international finance telecommunications and information processing, the bulk of current work focuses on the urban impress of economic globalization[9]

Any field that benefits and develops from this interaction will first need a more comprehensive activity area and by trying to exceed such limitations, the classical spatial boundaries disappears.

While spaces are expending and borders are disappearing, the time concept rapidly diminishes and possibility to reach and interfere with much wider locations within a shorter time arises.

As a result an interesting paradox appears. While the influence area of technology widens, the world relatively becomes smaller and this paradox is resulting in the appearance of the "global village" where the competition is fierce within the ever diminishing world.

In today's world, competition does not only take place in between products or companies, but also exists between countries and cities. Therefore, cities that want to benefit from such competition should determine the characteristics that might help them to become "brands" and try to search for ways that will help the branding process. Branding does not only concern companies and products, but has a much wider effect area. Besides products and corporations, cities and even humans can become their own brands[10].

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[6]ibid., p.262
[7]ibid., p.17-18
[8]Öncü and Weyland, 2010, p.15-16
[9] Yeoh, 1999, p.609
[10]Özdemir and Karaca, 2009, p.114

According to Kotler *et al.*, "the international branding endeavors" of cities mainly depend on economic reasons. In fact, trying to attract fixed capital investments and the capital in circulation (in areas such as transportation, tourism, cultural activities, etc.) through establishing international identities for cities has already become a major universal economical progress strategy. There is no fixed formula that will enable development of national and urban economies by reaching welfare and prosperity. However, required actions need to be taken in a systematic manner. The formula for such a development includes an evaluation mechanism that will ensure that the nation or the city in questions selects the most successful way to reach economic development or revival process amongst all the other ways alongside analyzing the starting conditions, main advantages and strong and weak points of such a nation or a city[11].

According to İlgüner and Asplund the marketing success of a city or a location depends on 5 major elements:

- *First element is the exclusiveness and superiority of such a location.*

- *Secondly, the success depends on locality and variety and also the conflict between two trends; adaptability and standardization.*

- *Third aspect is regions and locations to become responsible from their own marketing and branding efforts. Settlement units should be free and capable of forming the required strategies to survive in a competitive market.*

- *Fourth element is the integration of information technologies into the marketing plans.*

- *Fifth aspect is the management of communication process.*

The ruthless pressure applied by the global economy regarding interconnected products and services is making it inevitable for cities to assure high standards and perfection[12].

Setting up a strategic branding plan for cities consists of four main elements; cultural heritage, natural resources and environment, unique output and inherent skills. Every city can develop a strategy by using at least one of these elements[13].

Hanna and Rowley listed the conditions that have necessitated branding for cities as below:

➢ *The increasing and expending power of international media*

➢ *Decrease in the cost of international travel*

➢ *Increase in the spending power of consumers*

➢ *Increase in the similarity between services offered by cities*

➢ *Increase in interest shown to different cultures*

In order for a city to become an important brand, it has to have one distinctive quality. The city brand also includes the silhouette of the city, the experience of the inhabitants and their beliefs and behaviors[14]. From that point of view, İstanbul has lots of distinctive qualities to become an important brand. But instead of using these qualities to make the city a brand city it is forced to be a global city by the transnational companies and unfortunately loses it's uniqueness. Being a global city İstanbul may gain temporary advantages but in a long term she will be loosing irreplaceable values.

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[11]ibid., p.115
[12]İlgüner and Asplund, 2011, p.15
[13]ibid., p.278
[14]Özdemir and Karaca, 2009, p.116

Through perceptions and images the city's image is formed not the city itself. Image is the result of various; different and often conflicting messages sent by the city and is formed in mind of each individual receiver of these messages separately[15]

At this point we can claim that the solution lies in forming a corporate image as explained below. However, what is of concern here is not examining cities one by one but establishing strategic approach on a national level.

National communication encompasses all sorts of communication that takes place within a nation. All such contact and communication is related to the political-economic unit called the nation since all such activities are carried out in order to perform the needs of people. A nation state refers to an organized social structure. This structure is shaped by relations both within itself and also relations to other outer structures. This social structure also shapes a certain political structure. The entity named as the nation constantly materially and cognitively reproduces itself. This reproduction takes place at three levels; reproduction of the material and cognitive structures through communication within corporate structures at the economical level, reproduction of the political systems through current political structures and reproduction of the cultural structures and system through the current cultural production. The reproduction manner and the political structure that is formed based on this reproduction will differ between nomadic societies and agrarian societies or societies living by the attainments from their invasions. Therefore, economical organization within societies explains how a society reproduces itself. Within this organization, human beings produce material products or services that are required for certain needs within the daily work flow and also shape the consciousness structure that legitimize such organization, work flow and the material life that is being produced. Such production manner and the relations within this structure only are possible through strong communication[16].

According Baudrillard, "infrastructure" no longer defines development any more, today "superstructure" forms the basis of development. This model which exterminated the universal model approach enables each country to form its own model and enables everyone's attempts to form a unique model, as long as it is not an imperialist model. According to Baudrillard who defined superstructure as the infrastructure, instead of economical infrastructures, superstructures are more unique and powerful in terms of values. Since they can avoid the universal economy, it becomes possible for countries with a strong cultural structure and background to get away from universal pressures by forming an unique model[17].

RELATION BETWEEN CORPORATE IDENTITY, IMAGE MAKING and CORPORATE IMAGE IN CITY BRANDING AS AN OPPORTUNITY AGAINST GLOBALIZATION

First examples of corporate identity can be found in crests and army uniforms of nobility, kings and cities. The reason behind this is the need for individuals to express themselves as a whole and with a common identity after individuals became socialized and started living together as communities. Such signs and marks aimed at keeping the bearers and holders together and to form a spiritual unity and ensure that such individuals reached their targets as a whole. The main objective was to prove loyalty to the identities, ideologies and reign such individuals belonged to. With production, trade and finally industrialization, corporations also needed to define themselves, have an identity and integrate.

Throughout history, new loyalties and senses of belonging were created, borders were drawn, ideas were developed and new work methods have been formed by the use of certain rituals, symbols and various visual expressions. During colonialism, certain nations formed national identities in order to establish some sort of a unity within the countries they had invaded. Formation

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[15] Kavaratzis, 2004, p.58
[16] Erdoğan, 2011, p.443
[17] Rigel *et al.*, 2005, p.207

of a national identity can be encountered in all newly founded states, when the rules were changing or when the invaded state accepted the colonial state. All such symbols, traditions, rituals and myths created are the product of trying to prove a common identity and to create a certain unity and loyalty. Not only nations but cities can also have identities on their own. A good example can be Florence. The rulers and governors of Florence have hired artists, architects and writers and requested from them to paint a picture of Florence for it to be different/separated from Malta. This is an early example of identity formation works and can be deemed as an attempt to express the differences between cities[18].

According to Roman Antonoff, no state, religion, army, political party or sports club would be able to be founded or have survived without a corporate identity[19]. With developments and progress of trade, manufacture and industry, the concept of identity has also changed. It is possible to divide this revolution into periods as the traditional period (the period that lasted until the end of the First World War), branding technique period (in between the two World Wars), Design Period after the 2nd World War (which includes the period in which companies started international activities after 1950's) and the Strategic Period (that is between the end of 1970's until now)[20].

The corporate identity consisting of a corporate ideology, corporate design, corporate communication and corporate behavior reflects who the corporation is, what it does and how does it. Another important element that has an effect on corporate identity is the corporate culture. Corporate culture has an incomparable effect on the corporate identity[21].

Balmer suggests that the elements that constitute a corporate identity are:

-Strategy (management vision, corporate strategy, product/services as well as corporate performance, corporate brand covenant, corporate ownership)

-Structure (relationships between parent company and subsidiaries, relations with alliance or franchise partners)

-Communication (total corporate communication, which encompasses primary, secondary and tertiary communication)

-Culture (the soft and subjective elements consisting of the mix of sub-cultures present within, but not always emanating from the organization)[22]

According to Olins, everything a corporation does is an expression of the corporate identity. Offices, factories and showroom buildings or other premises, all materials and methods that manifest the objectives and aims of a corporation from advertisements to manuals and to communication channels employed and the quality of such materials and methods should also express and manifest the corporate identity. The corporate design which materializes all off these methods is an aspect of the identity concept. According to Gregory and Wiechmann, common aim and objective of all corporations is to be distinctive and memorable. Within the extreme amount of advertising occurring as a result of the competitive business world today, at least half the competition is shaped based on this objective.

When examined from an approach that has been accepted as effecting our perceptions and opinions about people from the times of Aristo until today, defined by ethos, which defines the charisma, physique and outfit of a person, pathos, which explains the behavior of people and logos

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[18]Okay, 2003, p.17-19
[19]ibid., p.39
[20]ibid., p.19-32
[21]ibid., p.38
[22] Kavaratzis, 2004, p.64

which defines a logical framework, the relation between the corporate image and the image in people's heads, in other words, the symbols that define the corporation and the corporate image will become clearer[23].

The state that is formed as a result of corporate identity activities forms the "image" of the corporation, company or organization. Especially today corporate image is the reason why certain corporations are preferred however; such an image cannot be founded before a corporate identity is formed[24].

Sometimes the concept of identity and image are interchangeable used and new meaningful content is added to such concepts. However, this is a terminological mistake and both these terms have different meanings[25]. According to Crissy *"image is the cumulative stimulating effect a corporation, shop, brand or product has on a person or on a group"*. Since values, experiences, backgrounds and needs of everyone are different, the same image does not get formed in everyone's heads. Such differences also cause differences in interactive human processes such as perception, thinking and feeling[26]. Johanssen' defines image as *"the total of all attitudes, information, experience, wishes, feelings, etc. that are related to a certain visual sight"*. In terms of a spiritual 'pre-programing', images help various sorts of information and promotion materials that form the image forming factors of a corporation to be conducted and communicated[27].

Identity can be defined in general as how a corporation is perceived as physically and image can be defined as how a corporation is perceived mentally. There is an inevitable interaction between these two concepts because one of them is how the corporation defines and expresses itself and the other one is how the corporation is perceived in the minds of people. According to Jefkins, the image of a corporation depends on the situation and the conditions the individuals interact with the corporation whereas a corporate identity will remain the same for everyone. Main objective of corporate identity studies and works is to form a good, positive image in people's minds.

The corporate culture that incorporates all rules adopted by the corporation and the corporate strategy will define the character and the identity of the corporation as a way of defining itself. This identity will become visible through the corporate communication strategy, corporate behavior and visual identity signs and will shape the picture. In other words, will shape the image people have about that corporation in their minds. Obviously, the corporate behavior and communication strategies will shape the corporate image by affecting the mental picture and visual signs will also have an impact on the image as the element that materializes and visualizes such identity[28].

According to Regenthal, corporate image is the effect of the corporate identity on the employees, target groups and the public and encompasses four major elements: idea about the corporation, the publicity, prestige and the comparability of the corporation with its competitors. Like Nagai also mentions, it is necessary to create a successful corporate image instead of creating detailed ad campaigns and new images for each product[29].

This opinion completely corresponds to the concept of managing city branding through corporate image that is being explained in this study. Just like companies that have to compete and establish strategies in order to survive against the economic powers held by multinational companies as a result of the globalization process, countries also need to identify and define specific and unique strategies for themselves. Therefore, this study aims to adopt the methods utilized for establishing corporate identities while forming national identities. Just like Baudrillard's assumption of

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[23]Peltekoğlu, 2007, p.545-546
[24]Okay, 2003, p.39
[25]Peltekoğlu, 2007, p.544
[26]Dörtok, 2004, p.59
[27]Okay, 2003, p.242
[28]Peltekoğlu, 2007, p.544-563
[29]Okay, 2003, p.245

superstructures becoming the infrastructures, this study underlines that forming of a national corporate identity on an upper scale will positively affect the images of cities on the lower scale. The identity that is formed as a result of studies to establish an integrated corporate identity such as corporate ideologies, corporate design, corporate behavior and corporate communication also reveals the corporate image. The application of such a process at a national and urban level will help to shape the 'corporate city image' concept.

Metropolitans that became global during the globalization process encompass certain elements of the world's economy along with economical elements of a nation station. Thus, big cities now have to start to compete with each other in order to become a global city or to be transformed into a global city. Unfortunately as a result of such competition, social polarization and divergence have occurred in global cities and the urban populations had to suffer certain social consequences[30].

According to Pelsmecker, the importance of corporate identity is emphasized since the solution, which will be tailored for different target audiences in order to resolve integration problems that have occurred due to globalization amongst other reasons, lies again in identity and branding studies that will ensure consistent and steady communication structures. At this point communication should be managed by a bilateral symmetrical model. This model utilizes research and dialog in order to manage conflict, improve mutual understanding and set up good relations with the public and according to this model, both the organization and the public can be persuaded however, both sides might have to change their attitude[31].

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[30]Dinçer, 1999, p.132
[31]Grunig, 2005, p.52

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The Interlinkages of Residential Satisfaction and Urban Identity Design

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1. Introduction

This article seeks to present the critical role of residential satisfaction and place identity for a successful outcome in both city branding and urban planning process. In this respect, the first part emphasizes to the most important theoretical frameworks of residential satisfaction and place identity. The second part examines the interlinkanges between these two frameworks through the complex variables of place attachment and length of residence. Finally, it highlights the aspects of satisfaction and identity that affect the place marketing prospects through the analysis of identity crisis, the role of built heritage and place market identities.

2. Residential Satisfaction. Definitions and theoretical background

The issue of residential satisfaction has been the main research topic of several theoretical and methodological approaches. According to Weidemann and Anderson[1], residential satisfaction is determined through two different perspectives: a. referring to residential satisfaction as an important parameter defining the quality of life in a residential environment[2], and b. referring to residential satisfaction as influential parameter to human behavior affecting residential mobility[3].

One more definition of residential satisfaction emphasizes on the difference between the objective environmental conditions and the subjective perception of residential environment of every individual[4].

According to his approach, residential satisfaction can be defined as the degree to which people perceive their residential environment that facilitates their needs and the attainment of their goals[5]. In addition, a very important aspect of residential satisfaction is the role of emotional and temporal qualities of environmental experience[6]. In this respect, residential satisfaction is strongly affected by the inhabitant's attachment to their living environment[7] and the concept of place identity[8].

In any case, residential satisfaction is the result of the relationship between the individuals/inhabitants and their living environment. This relationship is affected by various

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[1] Wiedemann, S., and Anderson, J. R., (1985), p.153 – 182

[2] Marans, R.W. & Rodgers, S.W. (1975) ; Galster, G. C. & Hesser, G. W., (1981), p.7335-758; Amerigo M. & Aragon es, J.I, (1990; 1997), p. 313-325; p. 47-57; Bonaiuto M. et al., (1999), p.331-352; Parkes et al.,(2002); Pinquart & Burmedi, (2004) p.195–222.

[3] Speare, A. Jr. (1974), p. 173–188.; Newman, S. J., & Duncan,G., (1979), p. 154–166.

[4] Galster, G., (1987), p.539- 568; Lu, M., (1999), p.264-287; Francescato, G., (2002), p. 15-34

[5] Yang Y., (2008), p.301 – 323

[6] Bahi G., Félonneau M., Marchand D., (2008), p. 669-682

[7] Amerigo M. & Aragones, J.I., (1990) p.313-325; Mesch, G. S., & Manor, O., (1998). p.504-519; Bonaiuto M. et al., (1999), p.331-352

[8] Lalli M., (1992), p. 282-303; Bonaiuto, M., Breakwell, G. M., & Cano, I., (1996), p. 157-175; Bonaiuto M. & Bonnes M., 2000, p. 67-78

parameters and the most important that determine the satisfaction degree of an individual are classified into three main categories (in detail in Table 1):

(a) spatial and physical planning of an urban environment area,

(b) socio-economic characteristics of residents,

(c) cognitive and behavioral processes.

During the planning process, is impossible to divide between the spatial and social links[9]. According to Lynch[10], spatial relationships shape environmental quality and social equity while the evaluation of urban form is based on its effect on satisfaction and development of individuals. On the other hand, the demographic, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants determine the planning process and the planner's decisions since the infrastructure facilities, the residential units and all the elements that compose the living area, should satisfy the needs and requirements of the residents.

The built environment characteristics like urban form and scale, is usually determined by the development control standards, such as density, site coverage in relation to open and green spaces, (mixed) land uses, etc., that contribute to the development of attractive and high quality living standards. The physical environment is also very important and parameters such as the geographical location, landscape and morphology, view, climatological conditions, and noise levels affect the residential satisfaction of users[11].

Other factors like the length of residence, the ownership status the feeling of safety, the psychological attachment to the living space, the social relationships of a place, the presence of relatives and friends, the symbolic aspect and image of a place as a result of cognitive perception of the urban environment, are strongly related with the level of satisfaction and the concept of place identity.

Table 1. Predictors of Residential Satisfaction

Categories	Predictors of Satisfaction	Sources
1. Spatial planning & physical characteristics	• Urban form – design • Development Control Standards (plot – ratio, density, site coverage)	Lynch (1960; 1984)
	• Existence of open and green spaces	<<
	• Mixed Land Uses	<<
	• Typology and quality of Residence	Weidemann et al. (1982)
	• Existence of Social Infrastructure Facilities – Urban Amenities	Aragone´s & Corraliza (1992) Amerigo & Aragone´s (1988; 1990)
	• Administration of the Area	Anthony, Weidemann & Chin (1990)
	• Degree of Maintenance of the living Environment	Weidemann et al. (1982)
	• Connection with Utility Networks (Electric, gas, telephone etc)	Aragone´s & Corraliza (1992)

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[9] Vrihea, A., (2003)

[10] Lynch, K., (1984)

[11] Lévy - Leboyer, C., (1987); Maramotti, I., (1997) p.169-174; Green, R., (1999), p. 311- 329; Gifford, R., Hine, D. W., Muller-Clemm, W., Reynolds D'Arcy, J., & Shaw, K. T. (2000), p.163-187

	• Geographical Position	Galster & Hesser (1981); Gifford, Hine, Muller-Clemm, Reynolds D'Arcy, & Shaw (2000); Green (1999); Lévy-Leboyer (1987); Maramotti, (1997)
	• Morphological Characteristics	<<
	• Climatological Conditions	<<
	• View	Gifford, Hine, Muller-Clemm, Reynolds D'Arcy, & Shaw (2000); Green (1999); Lévy-Leboyer (1987); Maramotti (1997)
	• Noise levels	Miller et al. (1980); Gifford, Hine, Muller-Clemm, Reynolds D'Arcy, & Shaw (2000); Green (1999); Lévy-Leboyer (1987); Maramotti, (1997)
2. Demographic & socio-economic characteristics	• Age	Bonnes et al. (1991); Loo (1986); Amerigo & Aragone´s (1988; 1990); Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Marital status	Aragone´s & Corraliza (1992); Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Synthesis of the households	<<
	• Labor Status	Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Income Level	<<
	• Educational Level	<<
	• Homogeneity	Loo (1986); Weidemann et al. (1982)
3. Cognitive & behavioural dimension	• Length of Residence	Bonnes et al. (1991); Rent & Rent (1978); Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Ownership Status	Rent & Rent (1978); Loo (1986); Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Safety	Loo (1986); Weidemann et al. (1982)
	• Relationships with Neighbors	Aragone´s & Corraliza (1992)
	• Presence of Relatives	Rent & Rent (1978); Amerigo & Aragone´s (1988; 1990)
	• Length of Residence	Bonnes et al. (1991); Rent & Rent (1978); Galster & Hesser (1981)
	• Friendship	Weidemann et al. (1982)
	• Attachment to the Living Area – Appropriation	Aragone´s & Corraliza (1992); Amerigo & Aragone´s (1988; 1990); Bonaiuto, Aiello, Perugini, Bonnes, & Ercolani (1999); Mesch & Manor, (1998)
	• Symbolic Aspect of the Place	Lynch (1960; 1984)
	• Image of the place	Boulding (1956); Anthony, Weidemann & Chin (1990)

An indicative small scale example of applying some of the variables of residential satisfaction of Table 1., is the Greek private settlement of Theseus in Heraklion, Crete. It was a response to the need for better conditions for residential settlements of the city of Heraklion (population 173.450,

Census 2011, density population by sq. km 709,08) and for high quality summer resort. The settlement was funded, planed and constructed by a private construction firm (Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.), including 1.500 residents at a privately owned plot of 163.266,93 sq.m.. The location of the settlement is in small distance of the city of Heraklion (16 km) and the city's international airport.

In addition, the general morphology, climatological conditions, view and geographical position of the plot is an important aspect of the settlement, which put into practice the Predictors of the first category: Spatial planing and physical characteristics(Figure 1).

Figure 1. The general morphology and context of the settlement's plot *Source:* Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.*, 2011*

Figure 2. The planning organization of the settlement *Source:* Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.*, 2011*

Figure 4. A panoramic view of the settlement *Source:* Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.*,2011*

Due to the *steep morphology* of the plot (max level differences of 160 m.) the settlement is developed in various large levels and offers a *panoramic sea view* to all of total nine neighbourhoods.

The residential zone of the settlement comprises of 26 building blocks with total area of 59.720,81 sq.m. divided in nine neighborhoods each with distance architectural identity and name (Figure 2). The total residential units is 350 and the basic building regulations for residence use is: a. building factor 0,6-0,7, b. cover factor 60% and c. building height 7,00 m. The residential units do not follow the same typology and their size varies from 50 sq.m. to 400 sq.m. In general includes two story buildings with basement, all with private parking spaces, green area and storage.

Figure 5-6-7*:* Residential Zone of the Settlement,*Source:* Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.*, 2011*

The settlement has a high proportion of open areas and green spaces. Specifically includes a private seaside, parking places, green zones, street and sidewalks of total area 77.645,41 sq.m. (Figures 8-11).

Figure 8-11. Green spaces in construction, *Source:* Techniki Anaptixiaki Kritis S.A.*, 2011*

Furthermore, the *proper administration* and management of settlement ensures the maintenance of the open spaces, and protects the *"image" of the place*.

In total, the above *building codes and standards* in conjunction with the high proportion of open spaces and green areas and the proper administration, contribute to the creation of the attractive and high quality living environment of the settlement. This interrelation of characteristics is evident in most of the determinants of residential satisfaction of Table1. In general, when more determinants are incorporated in one given urban environment, as they all aplly positively in terms of residential satisfaction, the final outcome is most likely to be larger in total. Thus, interrelation of determinants is not only a positive result, but also a necessity of urban planning affecting both residential satisfaction and urban identity.

3. Urban Identities. Definitions and theoretical background

The concepts of place identity[12] and place attachment[13] represent complex and interdisciplinary aspects of the urban realm. Although it seems to play a significant role in most urban regeneration and promotional strategies, is essentially very important to the well-being and socio-psychological stability of a local community. Besides the identification parameters of a marketing approach, the issue of place identity, in terms of its identity processes[14] incorporates the framework of environmental psychology and sociology that affect the result of an exchangeable interrelation of place and human identity. From this relationship evolve the concepts of self and social identity important for the emotional and psychological stability of the self an the well-being of a community.

The most important theoretical frameworks and traditions that influenced the psychological work on place identity are the following[15]:

i. The cognitive perspective

Is based upon environmental psychology, human geography and urban planning and concentrates on the role of cognitive representations, known as cognitive maps, to spatial behavior. This approach of cognitive representations is divided into two subcategories, one of orientation-related representation and the meaning-related orientations. The first covers the cognitive encoding of the spatial environment and although this research is geographical in origin[16] this side of cognitive perspective grows much attention since the work of Lynch[17]. The general concept is the organization and processing of spatial information about orientation in an urban environment.

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[12] Proshansky, H. M., et al., (1983) p.57-83; Lalli M., (1992), p. 282-303

[13] Altman, I., & Low, S., (1992)

[14] Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996)., p. 205-220

[15] Lalli M., (1992), p. 282-303

[16] Gulliver, (1908); Trowbridge, (1913)

[17] Lynch, K., (1960)

The second, meaning-related orientations, concern the functional, evaluative and symbolic aspect of the environment. This symbolic and evaluative aspect of representation represents what is mostly considered as city image[18] as it stands for the meaning of the urban environment rather than the orientation characteristics that are ore functional than symbolic in nature. The work of Lynch[19] offers an interesting framework of spatial characteristics that provide legibility and imageability of the urban environment and thus contribute to the identification of it. The orientation-related characteristics of an urban environment are less important in the process of place identity as are more functional, whereas the meaning-relate characteristics provide the necessary symbolic content for place identity.

ii. The phenomenological perceptive

This approach concentrates on the intentional interaction of a person and the environment[20]. This interaction includes the whole of the environmental context as experience be an individual[21]. The phenomenological approach to urban identity emphasizes the emotional attachment to the environment. The state of identification with the environment in this framework is largely unselfconscious and becomes aware when threatened[22]. Important to this emotional attachment to the environment is the concept of home, as a central reference point of an individual that represent a source of meaningfulness[23]. In this respect, this approach focuses on the subjective experience of the environment, emotionally, cognitive and behaviorally affected. Also, it conceptualizes the relationship of a person and the environment as a unity and in this way reality becomes part of that experience.

iii. The self and self-concept theories

It is mostly influenced from sociological self theories (symbolic interactionism[24], cognitive self-concept[25]) and is based on the concept of self-identity. According to this approach:

The self is the result of social differentiation processes which are mediated by social experiences. These processes enable individuals to distinguish between themselves, others and the physical environment, and thus to develop a self-concept. Self concept can be understood as the subjective representation of self[26].

This process allows an individual to organize self-referent cognitions and evaluations and derive meanings that are share by other individuals that interact with this individual. This means that meaning in this sense is intersubjective[27] and symbolize social and cultural values, rules, expectations and personal exercise. Thus, place identity in this approach can be considered as part of self-identity, comparable to gender identity, political identity, or ethnic identity. Depending on a given situation, multiple identities co-exist at a given environmental context[28] and interact in such a way that one affects the other.

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[18] Boulding, (1956)
[19] Lynch, K., (1960)
[20] Graumann, C. F. (1990), p. 97-104
[21] Taylor, C., (1964)
[22] Fried M., (1963), p. 151-171; Relph, E., (1976), Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996), p. 205-220
23Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996), p. 205-220
[24]Mead, G. H., (1934)
[25] Gecas, V. (1982), p.1-33, Hormuth, S. E., (1990)
[26] Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996)., p. 287
[27]Wilson, .M., (1980) p. 135-147
[28] Graumann, C. F., (1990), p. 97-104

iv. The sociological influence

This approach stems from urban sociology and social and human ecology. This theoretical framework concentrates on the influences of environmental stimuli to the human psychological process[29]. The excessive stimuli for example that are encounter in the everyday experience within the urban realm is considered to be responsible for the rational and distanced behavior of residents[30]. This is due to a stimulus overload that affects negatively the cognitive processing capacities of residents and thus results to a selective absorption of information and in some case interaction[31]. In terms of place identity this psychological approach emphasizes at the micro-local level and on an autobiographical significance of the environment[32]. This autobiographical spatial significant reflects the high importance of the place of birth to the construction of place identities. The significance of place of birth however is significant for a person when spent at least the childhood or adolescence period of life[33]. This occurs because at that period of personal life, the cognitive processes are highly place attached, as the conscious identification process of more advanced and complicated meaning are not formed consistently at that period of a person's life. This importance of a place of birth is evident in various studies that identify a significant difference of place identification characteristics between individuals born and not born in one location. Relations with the physical and social environment are strengthened with increasing length of residence[34].

These relations are further intensified if a monument with historical significance that remains stable for some time is a part of common memory for local groups[35]. The significance of historical contexts, are related to place identification by growing the feeling of belonging and uniqueness of a given environment, which is based not merely in the existence of historical buildings but of the long experiences of social life that incorporates place attachments. The social relationship of a place play an important role in the construction of personal identity and in this way local identity[36]. This importance or social relationships is evident in the work of Treinen[37] that demonstrated the association of strong social activity, i.e. large cycle of friends and acquaintances, are more likely to develop place attachments within the environment of their social activity than others with no significant social participation. Another important factor that influences the process of place identity in this theoretical framework is land ownership rather then owing a flat. An increase of number of flats, in the sense of new high-rise buildings, applies an inverse proportionate affect on local identification[38]. In addition, the quality of and satisfaction with living quarters is a significant influential variable on place identification process[39]. Poor quality living conditions is much likely to result in low place identification, whereas positive evaluation of urban quality strengthens the degree of identification with an urban environment[40].

The above four theoretical frameworks that attempt to explain the process of place identity, in relation to the characteristics of a given place, include two different sub processes which are the following:

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[29] Chombart de Lauwe, P. H., (1956) ; Treinen, H., (1965), p.73-97 & 254-297
[30] Simmel, G., (1903)., p. 187-206
[31] Mitscherlich, A., (1965) ; Milgram, S., (1970), p. 1461-1468.
[32] Rowles, G. D., (1983), p.299-313
[33] Treinen, H., (1965) p.73-97 & 254-297
[34] Becker, H. & Keim, K. D, (1973)
[35] Becker, H. & Keim, K. D, (1973)
[36] Gerson, K.et al., (1977), p. 139-161; Schneider, G., (1986), p. 204-218
[37] Treinen, H., (1965) p.73-97 & 254-297
[38] Treinen, H., (1965) p.73-97 & 254-297
[39] Becker, H. & Keim, K. D, (1973)
[40] Lalli, M., (1988)., p. 303-311

a. Place identification

The subjective identification with a place, a social identification that is dependent upon a certain location or spatial context. The most common example is the link of a person with a birthplace or a living place such as New Yorker, Parisian, etc.

b. Place identity

It is the result of a transactional relationship of a person with the urban environment that are inevitably place-related. This is not however as spatially related as place identification, as place identity is comparable to social identity incorporating a mix of variables and symbolic interpretations not of location but of meaning.

This conceptual classification of place and identity is concurrent and follows a process that is compound of four principles[41]:

i. Distinctiveness

It refers to a desire to maintain personal distinctiveness or uniqueness. This means that people use a place related self-referent in order to present themselves as distinct from others[42]. This is common to examples of resident's association with a specific urban environments, i.e. a district, that enables them to differentiate from other districts. It is simply a process of differentiation leading to identification and in this sense a place functions in a similar way as a social category and social identification.

ii. Continuity

It refers to a desire to preserve continuity of the self-concept as a motivator of action[43]. This concept of continuity relates to both time and situation between past and present self-concepts. Continuity in terms of identity is described in two forms, as place-referents and place-congruents. Place-referent is the process where a place acts as referents of previous identities allowing in this way a sense of continuity[44]. Place-referent characteristics may include historic sites that enhance national or social identity[45], monuments, or any other urban element that can attain symbolic significance as a substrate of social, emotional and action - related contents. The sense of continuity is very essential to a person's stability and in the case of uncontrollable change in the physical environment resulting in the loss of the principle of continuity, may cause a grief or loss reaction[46]. Place-congruent is different from place-referent continuity, which derives from emotional significance to a given place, in that it maintains continuity from the characteristics of places that are generic and transferable from one place to another. It is a reverse process as in place-congruent continuity a person adjusts a place that fits the values that represent the preferable lifestyle. In place-referent continuity, a person is emotionally attached to place and no transferable qualities are existent besides memories. However, absence of place-congruent continuity may lead to general dissatisfaction and a desire to relocate[47].

iii. Self-esteem

It refers to a positive evaluation of oneself or the group with which one identifies, representing a person's feeling of worth or social value[48]. Specific environment conditions are likely to favor and

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[41] Breakwell, (1986), Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996)., p. 206-209

[42] Feldman, (1990), Hummon, (1990), Lalli, M. (1992)., p. 285-303

[43] Breakwell, (1986), Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996)., p. 206-209

[44] Korpela, (1989); Giuliani, (1991); Lalli, M. (1992)., p. 285-303

[45] Devine, (1994)

[46] Fried, M. (1963), p. 151-171; Speller, (1988)

[47] Feldman, (1990)

[48] Gecas, V. (1982), p.1-33

enhance the feeling of self-esteem[49]. This is often evident in children that their self-esteem is treated when being at the own rooms during times of distress. In addition, the context of a historic urban landscape may assist a person to feel a sense of pride be association[50].

iv.   Self-efficacy

It refers to the belief in the capability to meet situational demands. It is a value of a manageable environment in a way that an environment facilitates a person's everyday lifestyle by maintaining the belief that is able to perform any personal actions and activities. An environment that is unmanageable it is a threat to self-efficacy.

4. The interlinkages of residential satisfaction and urban identities

It is evident from the analysis of the theoretical framework of residential satisfaction and place identity that these represent two closely related aspects of the urban life. Many parameters that affect one, in some similar way affect the other. However, residential satisfaction is an evaluation result that includes place identity concepts and not all the predictors of residential satisfaction presented in Table 1 equally affect the degree and the process of place identity. From the first group of predictors of residential satisfaction, the spatial planning and physical form of a place, the main emphasis is on the assessment of the urban environment through the evaluation of descriptive development control standards and physical characteristics of an area. The second group goes beyond the simple evaluation of development control and physical factors[51] by considering the socio-emotional inscription of inhabitants living environment. The third group highlights the perceptive and evaluative perspective of the cognitive and behavioral processes of the residents of a place that are in a constant interaction with their environment.

The most important common ground of residential satisfaction and place identity is the emotional and temporal dimensions of the environmental experience that are recognized as a component part of the people–environment relationship, resulting eventually to residential satisfaction. Residential satisfaction is indeed strongly associated with personal attachments to the living environment[52], a variable that is closely related to the quality of place identification[53], which is an important element of place identity[54].

Place attachment is defined as the feelings that an individual develops towards a familiar place[55], and is considered a significant part of place-identity, although the concept of place-identity consists more than place attachments. As place identity is a substructure of self-identity, much like gender and social class, it consists perceptions and comprehensions regarding the environment organized to two categories: a. memories, thoughts, values and settings, and b. the relationship among different settings, i.e. home, school and neighbourhood[56].

The relationship between place attachment and identity is also highlighted by Breakwell[57] and Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, following the four principles of: a. place identity, b. distinctiveness – continuity, c. self-esteem and d. self-efficacy. Thus, place attachment represents an emotional

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[49] Korpela, (1989)

[50] Lalli, M. (1992)., p. 285-303; Uzzell. (1995)

[51] Stokols, D., & Shumacker, S. (1981), p. 441-488; Altman, I., & Rogoff, B. (1987), p.7-40 Amerigo M. & Aragones, J.I, (1990; 1997), p. 313-325; Nasar, J., L., (1998)

[52] Amerigo M. & Aragones, J.I., (1990) p.313-325; Mesch, G. S., & Manor, O., (1998). p.504-519; Bonaiuto M. et al., (1999), p.331-352

[53] Lalli M., (1992), p. 282-303; Bonaiuto, M., Breakwell, G. M., & Cano, I., (1996), p. 157-175; Bonaiuto M. & Bonnes M., 2000, p. 67-78

[54] Bahi G., Félonneau M., Marchand D., (2008), p. 669-682

[55] Altman, I., & Low, S., (1992); Gifford, (2002)

[56] Proshansky, H. W. & Fabian, A. K. (1987)., p. 21-40; Lappegard, H. A., (2007), p.1-15

[57] Breakwell, (1986; 1992); Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D., (1996)., p. 205-220

commitment to a place which is a mixed product of institutional ties, social activity and interaction, local presence of friends and relatives and residential satisfaction[58]. In addition to the emotional aspect of place attachment, another important link of residential satisfaction and place identity is the temporal dimension in terms of length of residence and place familiarity.

The length of residence is considered unanimously discriminating in the analysis of the relationship with the daily environment either because it influences the cognitive processes of identification with the urban environment[59], because it directly influences social relationships[60], or because it promotes identification and emotional connections[61]. In any case, the length of residence enhances the place identification processes, affecting thus the concept of place identity, which in turn influences the degree of satisfaction with the residential environment[62].

Even though more variables may also play a significant role in the relation of residential satisfaction and place identity, two basic and significant variables are place attachment to the living environment and the length of residence.

5. Place marketing prospects

The anxiety of identity crisis and the role of built heritage

Globalization in general, as Castells[63] (1993) also refers to, is generating an 'identity crisis' essentially as a result of two conditions[64]:

a. cultural and institutional fusion,

b. the decline of national 'boarders' and communal identities

c. the march to supra-nationality within the European Union that blurs national identities and makes people uncertain about the power holders of their destiny, thus pushing them into withdrawal, either individualistic (neo-liberalism) or collective (neo-nationalism).

d. the intensified phenomenon of migration –legal or illegal– to European cities that gradually transforming European urban societies form culturally bounded and most homogenous entities into multicultural and heterogeneous entities[65].

Regarding the urban landscape, identity crisis is translated mainly as a crisis of local heritage (built, cultural, etc) and lack of distinctiveness. Therefore, cities in order to safeguard their heritage and also to avoid any social distress or dissatisfaction, as a result of its potential lose, make efforts to secure their place identity. Commonly, one way of handling this issue is by policies that promote large urban projects of architectural design[66]. These projects may include cultural and public use[67], exhibition and conference centers, commercial use like shopping centers, etc. However, this mainly market driven urban design and architecture, has been criticized as being a condition of 'hard branding'[68]. This is because design aims at the creation of a marketable image for stimulating

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[58] Livingston M., Bailey N. and Kearns A., (2008), p.1-97
[59] Milgram, S., & Jodelet, D., (1976)
[60] Sampson, R. J. (1988). p.766-779
[61] Riger, S., & Lavrakas, P. J. (1981)., p. 55-66 ; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Stinner, W. F., et al., (1990)., p. 494-521; Bonaiuto M. et al., (1999), p.331-352; Bahi, (2000)
[62] Bahi G., Félonneau M., Marchand D., (2008), p. 669-682
[63] Castells, M., (1993)
[64] Gospodini A., (2004), p. 225-248
[65] Castells, M., (1993)
[66] Gospodini A., (2004), p. 225-248
[67] Zukin, S. (1995); Shaw et al, (2004)
[68] Evans, G. (2003), p. 217-440

consumerism, tourism and sometimes even public pride[69], but in the same style like common commercial branding.

Place market identities

Cities usually promote their territorial potentiality by employing marketing techniques, well-known to corporate strategies of product promotion (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Van den Berg et al., 1995). Economic competition and the need for differentiation, compels cities to enhance their 'sense of place'. Efforts, however, to raise the appeal factor of a place, is a very old issue. As Van den Berg describes: "cities and regions have always existed within markets"[70]. However, in the last 20 years there is a growing recognition of importance of marketing and promotional policies in urban planning and management[71].

Nonetheless, the importance to the distinct characteristics of a locality must not be overlooked as the resulting policies will fall into a process of homogenization. This threat of identity homogenization is also described as the great paradox of architecture, where global abstractions are housed in structures of permanence[72].

Similarly, Riewoldt (1997) calls this architecture a return to its elementary protective and identity-creating functions.

Architecture mainly by its symbolic production of the urban space (e.g. with monuments), develops a 'collective' mental image, which operates as a social membership and 'collective mirror'[73]. This quality of architecture, also known as the 'recognition effect', represents an accord sense of belonging that is crucial for building identities, by the manipulation of collective images and memory[74].

Architecture however is trying today to evolve and position itself in this new era, by considering two contemporary challenges:

a. the diversiform of symbolism, and

b. the miscellaneous of urban life(style)

Urban morphology and according to Gospodini[75], intertwined since identity depends on a sharing of common memories, images and landscape identity. This identity fine tuning, by recreating anew a 'sense of belonging', is based upon the assumption that the urban landscape acts as "an ordered assemblage of objects and, thereby, can act as a signifying system"[76].

6. Conclusions

Residential satisfaction is a very important aspect of the urban life as it is the result of an environmental evaluation including both the spatial an the socio-cultural characteristics of a place. This evaluation is closely related and interdependent with the concept of place identity, which is a similar evaluation of the synthesis of the environment, in the broader sense, and the socio-cultural identity. It is unlikely that both residential satisfaction and place identity exist one without the other. Also their evaluative characteristics are usually inlined, hence a positive for example evaluation of

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[69] Arruti, N. (2003a,b), p.141-144; Plaza, B. (2002), p. 383-389
[70] Van den Berg, et al., (1999), p. 992
[71] Kavaratzis, M. and Ashworth, G.J. (2005), p.506-514
[72] Loe, E., (2000)
[73] Lefebvre, (1991)
[74] Therborn, G. (2002),p.26-47
[75] Gospodini A., (2004), p. 225-248
[76] Gospodini A., (2004), p. 229

residential satisfaction is coupled with positive to some degree evaluation of place identity. This is more likely to be evident in small scale urban or rural centers, but not so likely in large scale urban centers, as a whole rather than distinct district. Large scale urban centers are confronted with multicultural societies, a vast number of spatial characteristics - stimuli, and complicated symbolic and cultural associations. This urban condition is usually the main reason of the intensified anxiety of identity crisis, which often is perceived solely as personal identification crisis. This explains the increased interest in large urban and architectural projects that emphasize on place identification by distinction. These urban strategies as they are concentrated on spatial distinction often are failing to meet the other element of place identity of emotional, psychological and social attachment with a place.

This one-sided planning may quickly result to a minor or no lorn-term adaption of an urban project that seeks spatial distinctiveness. Thus, it is important that place identification is handled with the appropriate evolvement of those variables that affect residential satisfaction and the concepts of place identity. This paper highlighted the theoretical framework of residential satisfaction and place identity and their basic common base of the complex variable of place attachment and length of residence. However, in every cease of urban strategy that rethinks its place identities, it is important to include the emotional, cognitive, psychological and in general environmental parameters that are complementary to the spatial characteristics. It is the urban aspect that must always be incorporated in every spatial intervention.

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The Process towards Forming 'Urban Identities'

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1. Introduction

The process of forming urban identities is a complex interaction of environmental, social and cultural characteristics of a given place. The rich in context, nowadays, urban environment, the increasing cultural heterogeneity and the challenging social solidarity, affects strongly the traditional processes of identity that results to policies that aim to reinforce local identity, followed mainly by an anxiety of "placelessness" [1]. This paper raises firstly the current urban issues of local identity, within a competitive global, economic and cultural framework that affects the urban environment multifariously. Secondly, it stresses the somewhat insufficient concept of "distinctiveness" that responds to the reinforcement of place identity with an emphasis on achieving spatial distinct identification and thus being ineffective in incorporating other important aspects of urban identity. In reply to this concentration of urban identity to spatial characteristics, the third part of this paper introduces the basic theoretical framework of identity processes according to the different perspectives of urban life: a. place-identity[2], b. social (self)-identity [3] and c. identity processes[4]. This theoretical review provides   an influential rethinking of the pragmatic stress of local identity, by highlighting the process rather than the spatially distinct characteristics of a place. Finally, a new concept is raised, based on the totality of a place by including the most pronoun elements of an urban environment that can affect the perception and the sense of urban identity.

2. Rethinking local identities within a context of global competitiveness

The growing stress of economic 5 and "territorial competition" 6, challenges the urban environment in various ways. It affects mostly the economic base of cities, but consequently also affects many qualities of the urban environment as a result of an internalization of culture and symbolism 7 (i.e. McEuropean city 8, McDonaldization 9). This process of urban internationalization and/or generalization impacts in many ways the existing traditional identities of a place. This issue of local identities in transition is at the epicenter of theoretical analysis of different disciplines, like social sciences (social-identity), architecture (aesthetics and symbolism), environmental psychology (human behavior), etc. However, there is no clear, empirically and practically tested theory, which embodies all aspects of the interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary influential characteristics of the

[1] Relph, 1976

[2] Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Proshansky & Fabian, 1987; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003

[3] Tajfel, 1972, 1982; Turner, 1982; Hogg & Abrams, 1995

[4] Breakwell, 1983, 1986; Korpela, 1989

[5] Lever, 1999

[6] Cheshire & Gordon, 1998

[7] Govers & Go, 2009

[8] McNeill, 1999

[9] Ritzer, 1996

urban environment on local identity, especially in a condition of transition. A theory of such kind may be extremely complicated and extensive; nonetheless, urban policies and practices may focused on all efforts to succeed in that, even if most of the times this is too difficult to achieve. Urban identity may always be a challenge of a mosaic of sub-identities that seek to be in a cultural and social equilibrium.

3. The insufficient concept of "spatial distinctiveness"

The internationalization of urban space, which to some extent generates a spatial generalization [10], raises the issue of "distinctiveness" as a reaction of the anxiety about the possibility of loss of local identity. Most commonly, this reaction concentrates on urban interventions with a central task to attract, by global attention, both investments and tourism (i.e. most urban regeneration schemes). To a large extend, the concept of "distinctiveness" emphasizes on the role of the symbolic spatial qualities of an urban environment, which in most cases it is guided by a larger place promotion strategy. However, there is barely a theoretical background that supports these urban interventions, in terms of the impact on the social and cultural identity of a place, as most of them focus on a shock-effect methodology, including large scale projects, in some cases of ambivalent symbolism, use or architectural expression[11]. This attention driven urban strategy of "distinctiveness" is often criticized as being a process of "hard branding" [12], mainly due to the emphasis on a marketable image stimulating consumerism, tourism and public pride [13], in the same way as common commercial branding.

Paradoxically, this approach of "spatial distinctiveness" and "hard branding" is refusing its essential aspect of identity (or locality), which is the cultural and social personality of a place. By attempting to be distinct in spatial terms only, this approach neglects the most of its distinctive characteristics that form its uniqueness. Thus, any effort to achieve "distinctiveness", within the rich context of the urban environment, focusing only to spatial characteristics, represents a deprived version of a constricted urban identity. This is evident in the following part of this paper, which introduces briefly the basic theories of place-identity processes.

4. Place and identity: an introductory theoretical framework

a. Definitions

"Place" is a complicated concept and it is difficultly defined or described, same as the concept of "place-identity". This difficulty in terminology is evident also in literature concerning the relation between place and identity[14]. In this respect, concepts like "place-identity", "place-attachment", "place-identification", "social identity" and "self-identity", are theoretically and empirically difficult to distinguish[15]. Similarly to the concept of place, "identity" is also a very complicated term and it is used in literature according to the traditions and specific theoretical perspectives of every discipline. The combined term of "place-identity" describes a process of mutual influence of a place to the different aspects of identity and *vice versa* (i.e. places influenced by identities). This interaction of place and identity represents a holistic and reciprocal association between people and their physical environment.

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[10] McNeill, 1999, 2000

[11] Gospodini, 2004, pp. 225-248

[12] Evans, 2003, pp. 217-440

[13] Arruti, 2003a,b, pp.141-144; Plaza, 2002, pp. 383-389

[14] Gerson, et. al., 1977; Gecas, 1982; Breakwell, 1983; Proshansky, et. al., 1983; 1987; Korpela, 1989; Altman & Low, 1992; Breakwell, 1992; Lalli, 1992; Hogg & Abrams, 1995; Uzzell, 1995; Bonaiuto, et. al., 1996; Twigger-Ross& Uzzell, 1996; Twigger-Ross, et. al., 2003; Carrus, et. al., 2006; Bonaiuto, et. al., 1999; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hauge, 2007; Lappegard, 2007; Bahi, Félonneau & Marchand, 2008;

[15] Speller, 2000

b. Theoretical perspectives of the process of identity

The most significant theories that explain the impact of place on identity, based according to the different field of study, are [16]:

i. place-identity theory

It is a general theory that consists of all aspects related to a place. The term[17] "place-identity" describes the individual's incorporation of a place into the larger concept of him/herself, which according to Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff (1983, p.60) is explained as: "potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings". This broad view of place-identity also includes the concept of "place-attachment" (although place-identity represents more than just attachment to a place), which is defined as the feelings that a person develops towards places that are highly familiar as a result of everyday experience[18]. Place-identity according to this theory, is considered as a substructure of self-identity, like gender and social class, consisting of perceptions regarding the environment that are organized in two basic categories based on:

◆ attachment, the psychological outcome of environmental interaction including memories, thoughts, values and settings,

◆ Identification, the process of distinguishing environmental settings and characteristics, like home, workplace, etc [19].

The process of place-identity, according to this theoretical perspective, is rooted in the early personal experiences with the physical environment and its characteristics. For example, home represents the "prime" environment, the referent spatial origin necessary for constructing and interrelating other environments, like school and neighborhood. Place-identity is an ongoing psychological process that develops with personal experience according to five basic functions[20]: a. recognition, b. meaning, c. expressive - requirement, d. mediating change and e. anxiety and defense function.

This theory represented the dominant view of environmental psychology concerning the relation of place and identity; however, today it is criticized for weak analytical structure and methodology[21], less developed than the following theories[22]. In addition, the five functions of place-identity[23] process described above are not defined sufficiently in relation to other identity categories (i.e. social theories). Nonetheless, this theory offers an important description of the subjective feelings of place identification, especially in relation to home and neighborhood.

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[16] Hauge, 2007

[17] Proshansky, 1978

[18] Altman & Low, 1992; Gifford, 2002

[19] Proshansky & Fabian, 1987

[20] Proshansky & Fabian, 1987

[21] Twigger – Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003

[22] Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Speller et al., 2002

[23] Proshansky, 1978

Figure 1. Place-identity theory summary

ii. social-identity theory

This theoretical perspective concentrates on the "self-concept" as a product of personal perception in relation to abstract social categories and identities. It represents the process of personal identification according to the qualities and characteristics of the social groups a person participates in. This theory defines the concept of "social-identity" as the individual's perception of belonging to certain social groups, along with the emotional values and psychological implications related to them. This reflects the argument that social-identity depends on the specific characteristics of the social groups for which a person develops a positive reference and by his/her membership to these groups, develops and adapts specific behavioral characteristics. Different aspects of social membership may result in different types of self-concepts and consequently to different behavioral patterns[24].

A basic assumption of this theory is that people reflect positive feelings of themselves and their involving groups, because these positive group attributes respond to the subjective necessity to acquire and preserve a positive self-esteem. There is a strong aim, by participating to groups, to acquire positive self-esteem evaluations, and in case that this is not preserved, it is likely that a person will either leave that group, deny its negative characteristics, or even reinterpret those negative characteristics as positive self-concept perceptions[25].

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[24]Tajfel, 1972, 1982; Turner, 1982
[25] Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982

In terms of the physical environment, a place is often associated with certain attributes of a social group, distinguished by various contexts of characteristics, like lifestyle, social or cultural status, etc. In this sense, people tend to prefer places that contain physical symbols (place-referents) that maintain and enhance positive self-esteem evaluations, and if possible, will avoid places that produce negative impacts on their self-esteem perception[26].

Social identity theory, in general, assumes that place is a neutral context containing a rich variety of social markers (labels reflecting perceived group identities), or cultural symbols of different ideologies[27]. However, this theoretical basis is disregarding, to some extent, the influence of environmental psychology on the process of place-identity, like including physical characteristics and their meaning attached to them[28]. Thus, although social identification may operate in a similar way as place identification[29], social-identity theory is commonly used to explain the concept of the "sense of place"[30], the symbolic meanings of architecture[31], the attitudes towards environmental sustainability[32] and the identification processes in respect to the built environment[33].

Figure 2. Social-identity theory summary

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[26] Twigger – Ross et al., 2003; Hauge, 2007

[27] Speller et al., 2002

[28] Twigger - Ross et al., 2003

[29] Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000

[30] Stedman, 2002

[31] Sadalla & Sheets, 1993

[32] Carrus et al., 2006

[33] Uzzel et al., 2002

iii. identity process theory

This theory assumes that identity is a dynamic and social product of interaction of the capacities for memory, consciousness and organized interpretations[34]. This view emphasizes on the aspect of structure and process of identity that is manifested through action and interaction within and with the urban environment. In this sense, there is no distinction between personal and social identity, but between the notions of *content* and *value*. The element of *content* refers to both personal and social identity, whereas *value* represents the positive and negative quality of *content* categories. This model of identity process is adjusted according to inputs and characteristics from a social context and it is regulated by accommodation and/or assimilation processes and the integration of new elements of the existing identity structure. This process of identity is based according to the following principles of: a. continuity, b. distinctness, c. self-efficacy and d. self esteem.

In relation to urban environment, according to this theory, places are important sources of identity elements as they contain symbols of social and cultural meanings and significance. Places also represent personal and socio - historical common memories as a result of place attachments. This rich content of places with meanings and symbols, is under a constant renegotiation, socially and culturally, ending thus to different identities through time. The matrix of personal, social and cultural meanings appear to maintain an organizational pattern that is rooted from prime environments like in place-identity theory, starting for example from a private room (spatial referent) to the scale of larger environmental settings like a country, a cluster of counties (i.e. Europe), or the globe. Nonetheless, this mental hierarchy of environments is not necessarily spatially related but purely subjective.

This theory, in general, assumes that place is a part of many different identity categories similar to place-identity theory, as it contains social and cultural symbols like social class, gender, family and other social roles. The major difference between this theory and the place-identity theory is the emphasis on the process and structure of the content and value of environmental characteristics, rather than identification and attachment processes that are to some extent based on subjective feelings. In this sense, place is a component of different sub-identity categories and in this way it can be incorporated in other identity perspectives [35], representing thus the most realistic and sufficient methodology to understating the process of urban identity formation.

a. Basic common principles of urban identity

Even though all three theories attempt to explain place and identity according to the values and traditions of each field of study, regarding the role of environmental characteristics to the processes of identity, there is a common ground on four basic and determinant principles [36]:

i. *Distinctiveness*

Represents the personal desire to maintain distinctiveness or uniqueness, in the sense that people use place related self-referents in order to present themselves as distinct from others [37]. This is evident for example in a resident's association with a specific urban environment, i.e. a district that due to some distinct characteristics can be differentiated from other districts. It is a subjective process of identification by differentiation and in this way place functions as a social category.

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[34] Breakwell, 1983, 1986; Speller, 2000
[35] Twigger - Ross et al., 2003
[36] Breakwell, 1986; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, pp. 206-209
[37] Feldman, 1990; Hummon, 1990; Lalli, 1992, pp. 285-303

iii. place-identity process theory

Figure 3. Place-identity process theory summary

ii. *Continuity*

It is the desire to preserve continuity of the self-concept as a motivator of personal action [38], including characteristics between past and present self-concepts. Continuity, in terms of identity, is described into the forms of: a. place-referents and b. place-congruents. Place-referent is the process where a place acts as a referent of previous identities, allowing in this way a sense of continuity [39]. Place-referent characteristics may include sites of cultural and historical significance that enhance social identity [40], monuments or any other urban element that can attain symbolic significance as a substrate of social, emotional and action - related contents. The role of continuity is very essential to a person's emotional stability, so in cases of extreme alterations in a given physical environment, which may result in the loss of continuity, feelings of grief or loss reactions [41]

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[38] Breakwell, 1986; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, pp. 206-209
[39] Korpela, 1989; Giuliani, 1991; Lalli, 1992, pp. 285-303
[40] Devine, 1994
[41] Fried, 1963, pp. 151-171

may be generated. Place-congruent continuity is much different from place-referent continuity, as it derives from emotional significance attributed to a given place, from characteristics that are generic and transferable from one place to another. In place-congruent continuity, a person adjusts to a place that satisfies certain value characteristics, i.e. a preferable lifestyle. Absence of place-congruent continuity may lead to general dissatisfaction and a desire to relocate [42]. This is not possible in the case of place-referent continuity, as a person is emotionally attached to a place, thus it is unlikely to transfer qualities from one place to any other, beside memories.

iii. *Self-esteem*

Describes the positive evaluation of a person or the group that this person identifies, representing feelings of *worth* or *social value* [43]. Specific environmental conditions are likely to favor and enhance feelings of self-esteem [44]. This is often evident for example in children's self-esteem that is strengthen when being at their private rooms during times of distress. In addition, a historic urban context may assist a person to feel a sense of pride, as a result of personal and social association [45].

vi. *Self-efficacy*

It is the person's perception of being able to meet situational demands at a certain environmental context. It reflects the positive value of the perception that a manageable environment (in the sense that it facilitates a person's everyday decisions and actions), may maintain the belief that there is a large number of possibilities. On the other hand, an environment that is unmanageable, it becomes a threat to the principle of self-efficacy.

5. The concept of "environmental identity" of a place

The brief theoretical framework certainly points the important aspect that place identity is not a marketable image-making strategy. It is a very complicated psychological and social process containing all the characteristics of a place. Thus, the aim to reestablish a strong local identity by means of strictly spatial and architectural distinction is an insufficient methodology. It is also quite ambiguous as to whether a marketing process may exist in case of a local identity. Consequently, it is one issue the process and what represents the concept of urban identity and another issue the possibilities of its promotion. In any case, what is certain is that image is much different than identity.

The process of urban identity is represented mostly by the third theory of place-identity process. It is a combination of different identities (self, social and place) that altogether construct the larger concept of "urban-identity", in a more environmental meaning. It may also be right to support the fact that there might be a variation of different, sometimes opposite, perception of urban identities, depending on the constituting sub-identities of self, social and place (i.e. different districts within a city). This however does not necessarily mean that the process of urban identity is the product of accidental results, but that it is unlikely to develop a concept of urban identity solely on the spatial dimension.

Based on all theories that explain place and identity, but most of all in the theory of place-identity process, the environmental concept of urban-identity must engage all aspects of urban life depending the given context of every locality. In this sense, as a summary of the theoretical framework, the most important elements and perspectives of an urban environment that can affect the perception and the sense of urban identity are presented and organized in categories in the following table:

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[42] Feldman, 1990
[43] Gecas, 1982, pp.1-33
[44] Korpela, 1989
[45] Lalli, 1992, pp. 285-303; Uzzell. 1995

Table 1. Important elements of urban identity

- Place attachment	Every environmental context or condition that can facilitate a person or a social group to develop positive feelings towards this place, acts as a catalyst of identity processes (even if this parameter is to some extent subjective, including issues of self-identity). This is a qualitative parameter that mostly depends on the design of the condition for personal experience and social interaction.
- Place identification	An environmental context must provide a set of distinguishable characteristics and in this way enable a series of interrelations with other environmental settings. It is both a qualitative and quantitative spatial parameter with large effects in social and personal identity processes as a result of association with a place and its characteristics. However, the spatial characteristics are coupled with the symbolism of the social and cultural context that is responsible of their meaning. This parameter is also responsible for place referents as it represents a process of association of meaning with a certain place. Basic function of this parameter is recognition and meaning.
- Social identification (personal identification)	Place characteristic are associated with certain attributes of social groups that a person associates with by participating in them. This creates positive feelings of his/her self-esteem and in general affects the behavior of those that participate in that group (behavioral patterns). This process develop place referents that contain environmental symbols that enhance positive self-esteem evaluations. Also concepts like "sense of place", "social markers" and "architectural symbolism" are concepts that can be related to social identification.
- Content of identity	All inputs that can be associated with the process of social and personal identity.
- Value of identity	The positive and negative quality evaluation of content categories. This process of evaluating the content of the identity process, follows the principles of continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy and self-esteem.
- Distinctiveness (environmental)	Represents the concept of uniqueness in the sense that people use place related self-referents in order to present themselves as distinct form others. It is a socio - psychological process that relies on the characteristics of the social and spatial sphere of the urban environment.
- Continuity	The preservation of the self-concept as a motivator of personal action, including the forms of a. place-referents (a place acts as a referents of previous identities, like historical sites, etc.) and b. place-congruents (emotional significance attributed to a given place, i.e. lifestyle).
- Self - esteem	The positive evaluation of a person or the group that this person identifies, representing feelings of worth and social value, including environmental characteristics and contexts that favor the feeling of self-esteem (monuments, etc.)
- Self - efficacy	The personal evaluation of a certain environmental context that meets situational demands, i.e. facilitating a person's decisions and actions.

6. Conclusions

Urban places present a rich variety of symbols of different social and cultural content and meaning, hence they represent and maintain the concept of identity on different levels and dimensions[46]. The process of forming a place-identity occurs simultaneously across other identity subcategories, like self-identity, social-identity, etc. A very significant influence of an urban environment on the process of identity, is the result of a reciprocal interaction between people and their physical environment, not from a static "deterministic" perspective, where environmental characteristics affect (directly) the human behavior, but from a dynamic and interactive perspective that incorporates the complexities of social, cultural and psychological aspects of urban life. An emphasis on the multifaceted and distinct nature of a given locality (rather than simplistic interpretations of promotional image-making distinctive characteristics), with respect to the variability, adaptability and the fluidity of the processes that form place-identities, reflect more efficiently the personality of a place. Place-identity is a concept far more complicated than its spatial dimension, it is as complicated as urban life itself.

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Global Image Hegemony: Istanbul's gated communities as the new marketing icons

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Methodology: The analyses in the paper are mainly inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's analyses regarding class, lifestyle and taste. The case studies were selected in order to investigate how publicity products shape and define consumer choices, through a clever formulation of project names, mottoes and slogans that accompany the housing projects' imagery.

Introduction

Housing production in Turkey is dominated by marketing strategies and advertising jargon more than any time in the past. Offering innumerable versions of the 'ideal house' to the upper middle class clientele, marketing strategies seem to prefigure architectural production rather than references to clichés, like the 'Traditional Turkish House' which were prevalent in the 1980s. Mass media is the most common and effective way for marketing these settlements. In housing commercials, the major strategy is to make customers believe that it is not only an ideal home that one buys in the end, but it is distinction and privileged status.[1] This paper focuses on how marketing strategies of the rising consumer society has affected housing production in Istanbul as a corollary development of globalization.

There has been a remarkable growth of gated communities in almost all metropolises around the world. Similarly, gated communities emerged in Istanbul in the beginning of 1990s and their numbers have continued to increase since then. Embedded in the political economy and cultural imaginary of neo-liberal American urbanism of recent decades[2] gated communities are becoming global commodities and cultural icons eagerly consumed by urban elites worldwide. Gating, the physical form of which existed for a long time in history, can be dated back to the walled city used for military defence and was not utilized for social exclusion. The concept of 'gated community' involves a complex tension- as the discourse of 'community' emphasises shared lifestyles and values which enhance social interaction, yet as a gated space it excludes non-members from social interaction.

During the past 30 years, the meaning of lifestyle has shifted from the acquisition of a stable privilege of social status[3] to that of an aggressive demand for cultural capital[4]. In Turkish print media, readers are shown images and text illustrating a vast array of design products that they are encouraged to purchase, use and display in their homes to express good taste, appropriate style, high status and achievement of success. Advertising therefore is the major fuel of conspicuous

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[1] Keyder, Ç. (2006).
[2] McKenzie, E. (2005) p:187-203
[3] Weber, M. 1946.
[4] Bourdiue, P. (1984) p:114.

consumption[5] in which commodities are sign values in conveying social meaning and forming status hierarchies based on social distinctions[6]. Consequently home-related designs and products are more than objects; they signify a general social end.

The most significant element that dominates the discourse of all these commercials and brochures is the vague representation of a type of housing as indispensable to a totally new life style associated with a 'new Turkey.' Such assertions of 'a new life style' are externalized under striking slogans 'unique' to each development. This 'new life style' is represented via practices of dwelling among those who share a similar life-style of total security and isolation against the urban violence, chaos, and lack of hygiene; characteristic of a metropolis in global disarray.

The analyses in this paper are mainly inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's work regarding class, lifestyle and taste. The case studies are physically and socially segregated urban settlements that target privileged high-income groups. They were selected in order to investigate how publicity products shape and define consumer choices, through a clever formulation of project names, mottoes and slogans that accompany the housing projects' imagery. The primary sources for the analyses are the projects' representational tools for marketing, which are original project catalogs, brochures, films, computer animations. We aim to understand how the design and marketing of a number of gated communities in Istanbul are affected within the context of global urban transformations– decentralization, dissolution between locality and architecture, spatial segregation, social change and its direct reflections on Turkey.

The Rise of Gated Communities, Their Development and Marketing in Turkey

During the post-1980s early globalization, the 'new elites' of Istanbul began searching for new residences away from the 'gecekondu's and the city centre and looked for 'secure,' 'adequate,' and 'culturally clean' places. Praying on this desire, high-end housing settlements in the form of gated garden villa groups or tower blocks called 'residences' (a transliteration that gained popularity due to the words 'foreignness') were constructed in the centre and the periphery depending on the value of the land. What marked this effort was an enormous marketing expense and organized marketing practices within which we question the architect's role as part of the overall dynamics of consumption.

In the fast scramble for land that followed in the 1990s, developers secured considerable stretches of prime real estate at relative proximity to Istanbul. To cash in on their investments, most developers opted for luxury housing and communities. The forests that surround Istanbul emerged as a perfect location for luxury communities, situated at a spatial and social distance to the city. From the very beginning of the construction effort, distance from the city is advertised as the guarantee for the new communities' safe and exclusive nature.

Housing cooperatives, TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration), municipal organizations supported by TOKİ (such as Istanbul's Kiptaş), private developers, and Emlak Bank can be listed as the five main developers for gated communities in Turkey.[7] Usually TOKİ, Emlak Bank and municipal organizations hire contractors after they bring in capital and land. The private developers, however, are both construction and real estate investment firms, and there is no clear distinction between their roles as developer, investor or constructor.

Istanbul's new gated communities and their marketing bring forward intertwined global and local issues that center around privacy, security and exclusive life styles. The growing elite sector of society wants to spatially remove itself from an overwhelming metropolis, and simultaneously

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[5] Veblen, T. (1994)p:43 (Veblen, T. [1899] The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions. London: Allen and Unwin)
[6] Bourdieu, P. (1984) p:156.
[7] Özüekren, Ş. (2000).

distinguish itself by means of material possessions. This duplicates current global patterns. In addition to securing a luxurious lifestyle, the new projects promise salvation from the fears of the masses and the streets, and an escape from the pollution, density, political tension and noise of Istanbul. Conceived for the well-travelled and globalized elite of Istanbul, these projects are localized version of global models.

Developers market different 'community' lives for different budgets. Therefore most of the middle and lower middle classes flee to 'site's where they can enjoy a community life and a 'clean' environment. Figure 1 presents the range of regions they prefer to live in Istanbul.

Figure 1: Residential Areas of İstanbul (By Region)
(Source :DTZ Pamir & Soyuer, Turkey Residential Market Overview 2006 summary)

According to the study 'Spatial Segregation's Process' by J.F.Perouse[8], by the end of 2003s, approximately 400 gated communities were established in Istanbul and approximately 60-70 thousand people lived in these communities. Perouse mentions that people who live in gated communities, are usually of national reknown from media, sport and finance sectors or international firms[9]. This new trend in housing developed in the last 10 years, in the peripheries of the central business district on both sides of the Bosphorus. For instance the construction of the TEM (Transit European Motorway) and the consequent development of the metro system which now reaches its neighbouring region Halkalı, increased development pressures on Bahçeşehir. Development began in Bahçeşehir in the 1990s, and at the time the development conceived there was a total of 16,000 residential units on 4,700,000 m² of land.[10]

The number of gated communities in the city was estimated to be around 650 at the end of 2005 and construction of more than 150 new gated developments started in the same year.[11] There is no reliable source on the population housed in gated communities, but the demand is so high that the units are sold even before construction. These residential areas display considerable variation in terms of location, size, design and the amenities they offer. Despite the differences, however, they are all compound units offering a favourable infrastructure and a variety of private services for a socially and economically homogeneous clientèle, mixing the characteristics of the prestige and lifestyle communities found in the US.[12] A typological classification of high-end gated communities in Istanbul can be given as follows:

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[8] Perouse, J.F. (2003).
[9] Perouse, J.F (2003).
[10] Ergin, M. (2008).
[11] Danış, D. and Pérouse, J. F.. (2005), p:92-123.
[12] Blakely, E. J. and Snyder, M. G.(1997).

Typology of high-end gated communities in Istanbul	
Type	**Features**
High-rise condominium (vertical gated communities)	Located in the city centre, particularly in the prestige areas; high-technology security; private management, smart building, consumption and service facilities.
Exclusive villa	Located along the Marmara coastline, Bosphorus and forestry areas; small in size and highly exclusive in price; high-technology security coupled with small number of private security personnel; top-notch communication, sport and service facilities, limited social services; private management.
Gated town (Horizontal gated communities)	Located at the fringes of the city on rural land and near the lakes and forests; large in size and a variety of housing types; high-technology security and large private security personnel; infrastructure and sport facilities; large variety of social services; private government

Gated communities in Istanbul may look like those in the United States, but their functions are different. In contrast to the United States, (where Blakely and Snyder differentiate between lifestyle, prestige and security zone communities) most gated communities in Istanbul show a mixture of the three types. Resulting from the socio–economic and cultural background, security always seems to be the basis for such developments. However, with the growth of upper middle classes, prestige and lifestyle become more and more important, and are also used for marketing.

Figure 2: Gated Communities of Istanbul in the post-1990s by region
(Source: Maison Francaise Emlak + Yaşam özel sayısı, Kış 2008-2008, 2007/01:148,1)

We should add that today Turkish development firms are founded and operate just like the ones in Europe and the US. The state helps the real estate sector and works closely with international banks, mortgage institutions, architect firms to develop new ideas and projects. Furthermore, utilising transnational expertise and capital has not been limited to large developers. Istanbul Metropolitan City Administration has been cooperating with architects of global reknown such as Zaha Hadid and global capital for its large scale projects as well.

Figure 3: Residential Areas of İstanbul
(Source : Colliers International Turkey, 2007 Turkey Real Estate Review, p:7)

The demand for this increase in marketing expense is directly linked to an important increase in real estate capital investment by private firms, the size of which are now unprecedented in scale. These firms find a good marketing strategy indispensable for housing sales, and the representation of a distinct way of life through architectural media has proven the most effective to do this.

As a result, housing provision takes up a new scale and nature where the role of developers is not simply to build houses as empty shells to be filled, but spaces already filled with lifestyles equipped with privately provisioned services and governed communities. Aestheticisation accompanies this privatisation, and provides the symbolic imagery that renders these places appropriate for upper-class consumption. Şerife Geniş argues that 'developers, planners and architects codify built environments with local symbols, while marketers fashion a discourse that interprets these symbols as prerequisites of modern urban lifestyles, high culture, elite values and identities which are contrasted to the images of a culturally and physically decaying city'.[13] Both in the construction and representation of these new gated communities, discourses of community, autonomy and livability are reorganized by market forces and packed as commodities for Istanbul's elite consumption. These strategies are essential in translating this global urban form into local tastes and the socio-cultural sensibilities of Istanbul's elites.

The Case Study:

The gated communities selected in the paper are located on the most preferred locations for new housing in Istanbul such as; Bahçeşehir, Beylikdüzü-Büyükçekmece, Göktürk- Kemerburgaz, Halkalı-Esenyurt, Kilyos-Zekeriyaköy and Silivri on the European side, and Ataşehir, Ümraniye-Çekmeköy, Samandıra-Ömerli, Kurtköy-Tepeören, Beykoz and Riva-Şile on the Asian Side. According to urban location these settlements offer advantages such as proximity to main highways (access to TEM, E5, Atatürk Airport, railroads), and to office complexes of nearby large companies. The unit prices of the selected projects, range between USD 0,730/sqm – USD 2,067/sqm. Case identification was based on the advertising frequency of the project, their high popularity rate, the value of the project, the distinction that the project seems to offer, and construction dates (years 2000-2005).

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[13] Geniş, Ş. (2007) p: 771–798.

During the case study period we analyzed the marketing media and interviewed the marketing branches of eight construction firms that sold high-end housing. The interview consisted of both multiple choice and open-ended questions. A questionnaire was prepared in order to analyze the underlying motives/desires of the new urban way of life constructed by the marketing agencies that designed the media. It addressed the type of marketing strategies, the types of media used in their marketing processes, the key issues that factor into the development of their advertising messages, the importance of marketing research, the cost of the marketing process, how they see the status of their company within the housing sector and the characteristics of the housing development. We also analysed print media, such as publicity brochures, community bulletins, collections of advertisements published in various papers and magazines, and in some cases research reports prepared by the management.

After the data was collected, a number of key themes emerged which determined the classification of the analytical study. These key themes which factor into the marketing of the ideal life style' were the 'Marketing of 'Fear', the 'Marketing of 'Nostalgia', the 'Marketing of 'Nature', the 'Marketing of 'Originality, Technology and Simplicity of Design', the 'Marketing of 'Belonging', and the 'Marketing of 'Gender'.

- *'Are You Safe?'*: **The Marketing of 'Fear':** Fear is sine qua non to the marketing process. In overt textual references and pictures, advertisements employ specific subtexts that address fears, anxieties, concerns and demands specific to security and safety of living in Istanbul.

Figure 4: *'To Be Safe!'*An ad from Uphill Court Project of Varyap Teknik Yapı, emphasizing the ground analysis of Universities of İTU and Bosphorus.(Source: From the website of UpHill Court, www.uphillcourt.com, 2007)

- **Marketing of 'Originality, Technology and Simplicity of Design:** Writing on technology and simplicity of design in the advertisement texts and images in computer renderings point to the possibility of a better life based on the assumption that new technologies make life simpler and reduces the amount of time allocated to house chores. An emphasis on information technology and luxury appliances for which new configurations of domestic space are needed dominate the ads.

Figure 5: A Magazine ad from Taşyapı.
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, March,2008)

- **'*So Close Yet So Far:* The Marketing of 'The Alternative: Isolation from the City and Closer to Nature':** A frequently reiterated issue that is expressed almost in an identical phrase is *'So close yet so far,'* meaning that these settlements can in fact provide all that a city can for comfort and yet they are also far away from its turmoil. This signifies an alternative city life which proposes an exclusive environment keeping the wicked conditions of the city center at arm's length.

Figure 6: The picturesque surroundings of Sinpaş Marenegro Houses depicted in a photomontage that shows the houses with a commanding the view of the – forest and the lake (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Marenegro, www.sinpasgyo.com, April,2008)

• **'*The Good Old Days:* Marketing of 'Nostalgia':** Another dominant marketing strategy or the means of constructing the myth of 'ideal home' as an ultimate and legitimate form of 'a distinct life style' is the use of socalled 'traditional' or 'authentic' elements of architectural culture. Marketing preys on the idea that nostalgia for a given period or periods is quite attractive for the new buyers. For instance the ad for Bosphorus City makes clever use of this nostalgia:

Figure 7. The computer rendering from Sinpaş Bosphorus City in Halkalı indicating opposing ideas, styles and conditions brought together.(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

Figures 8 & 9 : Computer renderings from Sinpaş's Bosphorus City.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

• **'*Where are you from? I'm from Kemer Country: The* Marketing of 'Belonging:**
One remarkable marketing strategy is the creation of a desire for or an illusion of belonging.

Figures 10: & 11: An ad emphasizing marketing theme of 'belonging to' indicating elite neighbourthat live in Selenium Twins like ex-prime ministers of Tansu Çiller, Mesut Yılmaz, tycoon Rahmi Koç, and the presentation of ex-president Bill Clinton a flat free of charge as part of the firms' marketing strategy. (Source: From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.ascioglu.com.tr, 2009)

Marketing delineates *an ideal community* and a kind of identity, both celebrated with the settlement itself. By doing so, the consumer can be easily convinced of his/her privileged position and social status, as she or he becomes a part of this very special environment.

• **Marketing of 'Gender':** The meaning of home is generally perceived as gender specific and as such constructed differently for women and men. One very significant feature of much of the media reviews is the gendered nature of both the articles and images contained in them.

Figure 12 Sinpaş Avangarden ads depict a feminine view of life to Avangarden Project. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Avangarden Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2007)

The 'Marketing of a New Life'

When we analyse the marketing strategies and advertising rhetoric employed in the selling of gated communities in İstanbul, we can easily assert that the messages of these advertisements demand a socially and historically grounded interpretation. Such an approach does not only yield a context-sensitive understanding of the changing housing aspirations and appeals of gated-living in Istanbul but also sheds light on the broader dynamics of urban social and cultural transformation in Turkey.

Figure 13: 'With your trust we added more to our strength. Thank you…' A newspaper ad from Aşçıoğlu Construction featuring well known names of Istanbul's elite society about their buyers.(Source: Aşçıoğlu website, www.ascioglu.com, June 2008)

In Istanbul, representations of 'a distinct life' are packaged, sold and consumed by residents of gated communities who appropriate these signs as 'symbolic capital' that bestow upon their owners 'a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honour.'[14] Such representations of the distinct life draw explicitly on a repertoire of ideas, depicting an idealized residential landscape which reflects and reinforces the exclusivist middle-class housing aspirations and private visions of gated communities. What mainly characterizes such distinction is, of course, the social and spatial separation from the rest of the society. Developers create a sense of 'admiration' by associating their housing developments with the extravagant lifestyles of the elite via the advertisement industry's seductive renderings. However the so-called 'distinct life' in gated communities is usually marketed via recurrent themes, rhetoric and symbols that are hardly beyond clichés. Often seen in these housing advertisements is the spatial 'imagineering' of foreign (usually 'Western') suburban lifestyles, or Istanbul's urban elites living in 'Western' mansions, and even sometimes the elites themselves supposedly living in the advertised communities. (Figure 13)

It is important to acknowledge that print media is only one of a number of media through which home-related popular taste is conveyed and reinforced. Since the late 1990s, for example, home and gardening television programmes have proliferated and have been an important source of ideas about house and garden design, services and products. In Istanbul, at least, magazines and other print media have played an important role for a very long time, and other media (television and the internet in the present) are supplements to printed media It is apparent that the lifestyles portrayed in these media have arisen within a global framework and the products and ideas highlighted in Istanbul could be discussed with reference to many different places with comparative ease.

Figure 14: *'What's Obama got to do with Ottomanors?':* An ad from Sinpaş GYO that takes its provocative edge from the unprecedented election of a black American president, claiming that the provided housing development is as unprecedented as this election.(Source:Sinpaş's website, www.sinpasgyo.com, May 2009)

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[14] Bourdiue, P. (1984) p:185.

According to Mark Gottdiener, while millions of people shifted to a high consumption lifestyle, the advertising industry followed by shifting into high gear as the general purveyor of consumer fantasies and themes. In order to cover some of the channels through which marketing concepts entered the profession of architecture in Turkey, we have to map out the role of advertisements in the post-1990 period. In comparison to the pre-1990s the number of printed media focusing on architecture increased highly in number. This media presence reflects the marketing activity of development firms and the architectural firms' interest in more publicity via diverse channels like the internet and television. We can also note the growing use of consultancy firms by architects and development firms for marketing policy and public relations. It would not be an aberration to say that the marketing of architecture has almost equalled the marketing of other consumer products.

As production lost its privileged status in culture, and consumption became the means through which individuals define their self-images marketing rose to become the primary agent that defined identity formation.

Figure 15: Images depicting the lifestyle marketed via Selenium Twins by Aşçıoğlu.
(Source: From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.selenium.com.tr,May 2008)

Advertisers take a hegemonic role in the representational process of 'home.' Baudrillard suggests that we purchase objects because we are swayed by the sense that advertisers are taking an interest in us, that they exude some warmth and that this personalizes the objects for sale. Gottdiener confirms Baudrillard and adds that 'advertising has heightened the extent to which commodities of all types are fetishised and made to symbolise attributes that are craved.[15] Products are fetishised because they are bought in the belief that they can enhance the purchasers' abilities for success, notoriety, uniqueness, identity or a sense of self, privileged social status, and personal power.[16] There is no end to the prolific creativity of marketing. Marketing

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15 Gottdiener, M. (2000) p: 4.
16 Corrigan, P. (1997).

firms keep on inventing new strategies to create spectacles during the launch of new developments. They invite celebrities for concerts and give them free apartments, give free SUVs to homebuyers and aim to demonstrate that these celebrities do share the lifestyle that you are buying together with your home.

Figure 16. Sinpaş Bosphorus City was launched by Julio Iglesias's concert, and and the campaign was kept alive with the concerts of Ferhat Göçer & Michael Bolton, and Gloria Estefan that followed Iglesias. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş GYO,www.sinpasgyo.com, July2009)

The 'Marketing of Social Segregation'?

The increasing concentration of gated communities inside or in the peripheries of urban centers is not a new phenomenon. Scholars in the fields of sociology, urban planning, and architecture as well as developers themselves have discussed the spatial characteristics, architectural similarities, and social divisions they create in several metropolises of the world. Hovever, the relationship of marketing to these housing developments have remained largely untouched.

Particularly aiming to fill this void, we analyzed the relations between marketing media and housing production; especially focusing on how high-end housing has been marketed in 8 case studies constructed or to be constructed after the year 2000 in Istanbul. The study showed that marketing activities of construction firms have built-in social categorization which in turn affects the formation of social, individual and cultural identity. Going back to Bourdieu and Baudrillard; we should remember that even the 'images and signs' of products may play a crucial role in the social judgement of individuals.[17] In consumer society, individuals are led to believe that they may gain social prestige and status with respect to their consumption preferences and housing in this regard is an indispensable part of daily lives.

We know that in Turkey, migration from rural to urban areas has been the main driving force behind rapid urban population growth. One of the fundamental results of this transformation as it has taken place elsewhere has been social segregation and its complicated reflections on urban space. The 1980s has been a crucial turning point in the urbanization practices and process of the country.[18] The change in Istanbul's economic and urban structure has led to growing socioeconomic inequalities and concentration of wealth among high-income groups.[19] This new wealth and increasing socioeconomic polarisation are among the main reasons that account for the

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[17] Bourdieu, P. (1984) p:114.
   Baudrillard, J. (1992) p: 152–154.
[18] Bilgin, İ. (1998): 255-272.
[19] Aksoy, A.(1996).

emergence of gated communities in Istanbul[20]. These sharp inequalities, however, do not automatically translate into a particular urban form or residential segregation. They are mediated through certain actors, institutions and processes, as well as discourses. Therefore changes in the housing habits of social groups do not only reflect a transformation in social status and cultural values, but demonstrate the results of how the real estate sector is manipulated by means of state intervention and private actors.[21]

Urban residential communities have been affected by two ongoing and interwoven trends: first, a more self-conscious, clearly defined segmenting of spatial communities in the form of gentrified and gated communities; and second, a greater use of life-style and what might be called consumer identity as the basis for the formation of a community. In both cases, capital plays the major role. Households are defined by what they buy in order to create their lifestyles; specialized spaces have then been constructed to serve these new consumer groupings.

On one side, there is a remarkable increase in the development of gated communities in the form of villas in parks, marketed with the theme of 'safety, being in nature, far from city's crowds and noise in regions like Kemerburgaz, Bahçeşehir, Kilyos, Ümraniye, and on the other, located highrise complexes in the city centre or very near, that are marketed via the theme of 'so close yet so far', ease, comfort, unification with and detachment from the center.

Housing choices in Turkey today are deeply embedded in the larger socio-cultural and spatial reconfiguration of Turkish society. The new urban middle class has developed specific ideas about their living environment and life-style. They aspire to have green space, better air quality and spaciousness among other physical characteristics, but also privacy and exclusivity in their new places of residence. Studies show that residential compounds have become the basis for identity and lifestyle formation, crucial in the process of social differentiation, which in turn underline and reinforce growing disparities in Turkish society. Over and above the outcome of economic restructuring and political decision making, residential differentiation in Turkey today is a social practice that marks urbanite social status and supports their new identities.

Marketing has become a major player in the construction of consumer society. The marketing activities of the construction firms of these proposed environments mobilize a repertoire of symbols, values and rhetoric of the good life. Besides, marketing styles pre-empt both the 'house's architectural features and its position in the city. Most of the time, if not found valuable enough to be incorporated into the marketing process, project architects are not even mentioned. What is more emphasized is the building complex which supports the carefully chosen marketing slogan, in addition to being socially homogenous and serving an elite reserve of customers granting a certain social status. Hygiene, comfort and technology stand in the forefront with services that range from recreational areas to supermarket, fitness halls, swimming pools, coiffeur, dry cleaning, hi-speed internet, cafés to reinforce this image.

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[20] Aksoy, A.and Robins, K. (1994) p: 57-74.
   Öncü, A. (1997) p:.56-72.
[21] Harvey, D.(1985).
   Knox, P. L.(199) p::1-34.
   Zukin, S.(1991).

Figure 17: 'The new field of attraction for elite lives' Lifestyle images depicted in Selenium Twins marketing campaign.(Source:From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.selenium.com.tr,May 2008)

Figure 18: An ad from Dumankaya focusing on the architects of the Project that 'The architects of Dumankaya Ikon tell about their Project!' (Source:From the website of Dumankaya,www.dumankaya.com, December,2009)

What this study aims to contribute to the burgeoning literature on gated communities by examining the territorial effects and cultural politics of exclusion in contemporary Istanbul is the implicit role of marketing in this process. We argue that the territoriality of gated communities is not only maintained through the construction of physical barriers, but also operates at a more subtle and ideological level through the mobilization of a repertoire of symbols, values and rhetoric of the good life. Social segregation and its territorial consequences is embedded into the marketing process at the very start of housing development.

Central to the study are themes relating to the concepts of distinctiveness, identity, and status. Reinforced by marketing practices Istanbul's gated communities, serve as important repositories of group symbols, social practices and the vehicle through which identity and cultural practices are performed and how privileged groups mark their territory via practices of exclusion.

Another significant issue highlighted in this study is the role of actors that shape and strengthen residential demand across the country during Turkey's recent economic growth and rising consumer affluence. The role of TOKİ is quite controversial in this process. As a major player in the housing market and in encouraging the development of high-end housing projects TOKİ, inadvertently or not, reinforces social barriers by diverting surplus value created by high-end housing to low income housing disregarding mixed-income options altogether.

In the planning process of gated communities in Istanbul, generally samples of gated communities from the United States receive attention for both their architectural contents and administrative styles. These high-end housing settlements are given semi-Turkish, semi- English, Latin, or Italian names. 8 of the 8 firms preferred to base their designs on American precedents and 6 of them preferred names like, 'Mashattan, Pelican Hill, Uphill Court, Trend, Plus, Minimal, Trump Towers, Novus Residence, Bosphorus City, Lagun, Marenegro, Avangarden, Selenium Twins, etc.

Figures 19 & 20: Mashattan, Istanbul (www.tasyapi.com, 2007) | Manhattan, New York, (www.google.com)

With the increasing affluence of the upper middle classes in Turkey, prestige and lifestyle become the dominant issues. 8 of the 8 firms have released prestige and lifestyle as their primary concern in the marketing of their development projects. Therefore the outcomes of the case study, clearly illustrate that compared to the so-called chaos of the inner city, a more socially and economically homogeneous community in a safe and sterile suburban environment are the main social and cultural factors that drive the marketing campaigns.

In the marketing of these settlements home appliance brand selections play a major role. For instance, Selenium Twins are sold with imported white goods and construction material (Villeroy Boch ceramics, Gaggenau, Grohe etc). Saros seems to prefer a lower grade customer profile since they have preferred Simtel, a national brand in contrast to the above mentioned imports. Such preferences also reinforce stereotypes such as the unreliability of national products and the elite's preference for higher quality eliminated by means of a global selection.

Figure 21: The campaign intrigued customers by 11 different household appliances.(Source: Website of Saros, www.saros.com, February 2008)

Figure 22: An interesting marketing campaign was introduced by Saros İnşaat. The campaign intrigued customers by offering a free jeep, and 11 different household appliances. The campaign made headlines on TV and newspapers bulletins achieving its publicity objectives. (Source: Website of Saros, February 2008,www.saros.com.tr)

Big scale construction firms prefer to work with professional public relations and marketing agencies in collaboration with their own departments. This preference is largely conditioned by the amount of investment involved and the expected returns of the firm, hence the size of the firm. Smaller firms prefer to deal with the marketing process by their own departments.

Figures 23 & 24: There is a remarkable increase in the marketing activity of development firms. Tempus, 4D4 and Marka are the three examples of marketing firms. Taşyapı worked with Tempus in Mashattan Project. Sinpaş GYO worked with 4D4 and Marka for Lagün. (Source. Tempus 2008, www.tempus.com.tr/ 4D4 2008, www.4d4.com.tr/ Marka 2008, www.marka.com.tr)

Figures 25: Marka, one of the leading marketing agencies, worked with Sinpaş GYO for the Lagün Project. (Source: Marka Advertising Agency 2008, www.marka.com.tr)

8 of the 8 firms have expanding client databases- which they activate in order to inform prospective buyers about their future campaigns. This database also includes a number of celebrities which are invited or paid to be actively involved in these campaigns.

Instead of using phone marketing via cellular or home phones, especially big scaled firms prefer magazines of specific circulation, daily newspapers and real estate inserts in their marketing process. 8 of the 8 firms mentioned the same newspaper in their preferences of marketing.

Interestingly, the owner of the construction firm occupies the top of the hierarchy in developing the marketing slogan. The idea usually takes its shape by the active involvement of the owner. The marketing theme almost always revolves around the generation of a distinguished 'lifestyle'.

Almost in all of these campaigns production relations are either abstracted or totally erased where the disconnection of the resident from his/her 'real' daily surroundings come to fore. In the images, a *'real virtual community,'* is projected to the prospective buyer. For instance, it is almost always young couples with one or two children that are depicted, while aging and its related problems are almost totally absent.

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Figure 26: Images of 'happy, ideal family with single child' from Eston. (Source: From the website of Eston Deniz, www.eston.com.tr, 2007)

Figure 27 : Images of ' happy, ideal family' from Sinpaş.(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Aquacity 2010 Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2009)

Most of the firms prefer to market their projects in English, which implies that a clientele of global tastes are targeted. Having a good command of English distinguishes the customer from the very moment that he/she is introduced these ads. The feeling of distinction is promised via access to language.

Conclusion

Unanimously, the marketing campaigns are directed to create a sense of illusion in creating easy reach to cultural and social capital. In trying to enhance their social status middle and high-income groups incline towards the accumulation and consumption of luxury goods. In so doing, they strive to

collect, borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's phrase, 'symbolic capital' which functions via the codes and symbols of social distinction.[22] The presence of the desired symbolic capital in marketing media guarantees its availability via the production of the built environment.

Marketing has enormous impact on people whose worlds are more and more dominated by visual and textual media circulated by diverse forms of information gadgetry. Not only does it address a need, it creates the feeling of a need. The association of symbolic values with artificially created status then gives a chance to the advertisement industry to create different modes of desire in the individual consumer. The production of desire is the dynamo of consumer culture. Individuals search for difference in the consumption object as the advertisement industry responds to these desires of diversification through creating collective identity samples, a vicious circle. Marketing companies use largely western or globalized models, discourses, and images to promote new projects.

Figure 28 : A newspaper ad from Levent Loft Project. *'It happens in NewYork'.*
(Source: Hurriyet Newspaper,22.November. 2009)

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[22] Harvey, D. (1987/1994) p: 375.
  Chaney, D. (1996) p: 56-70.
  Bourdieu, P., (1984).

Finally, what about architecture? According to the interviews conducted with the marketing agencies/ departments of the selected firms, there is an enormous difference between the marketing budget and the architectural design budget and the fundamental conclusion is that marketing stands far above in the hierarchy in comparison to architecture.

In terms of their consumption patterns, as David Chaney mentions, the selected projects are the perfect physical forms for citizens of mass consumerism.[23] Living in villas, investing into decoration and luxury cars, a high level of spending in recreational and leisure activities are major upper middle class preferences for a life-style of distinction, as this is how they display their economic, cultural and social capital according to Pierre Bourdieu. Therefore marketing is the first level that this display starts. Marketing is display before possession, or the illusion that the desired display will be possible after marketing achieves its objectives.

This study can open a niche for future studies about the relationship between architectural offices and marketing firms. In order to understand the relationship that exists between these two important actors researchers can explore how the architectural design process is affected in due course. The analysis of marketing media in this context provides an interesting glimpse at the process by which similar architectural imagery are localized. Despite the claim for originality, imagery that circulates in other markets might easily make a stop in your neighbourhood in the name of high-flying lifestyles, sometimes shamelessly copied and remarketed. What is of value for the marketer is the quick translation of the image into currency, as 'originality' is a simple, powerful but ephemeral catalyst in marketing. In this dazzling speed of global image circulation, originality expires the fastest, while the upper middle classes consume one 'distinct' lifestyle after another.

Figure 29: The picture on the left is-The Jewels from Dubai Marina, RMJM Group. Thepicture on the right is Royal Towers by Dumankaya depicting a life in Dragos, Istanbul. (Source: From the website of Arkitera Forum, www.arkitera.com, 2009)

This study might offer a few speculations on how marketing strategies affect the product, space that is socially and architecturally constructed. Marketing does not only create the pretence of a full representation of the architecture (housing units, landscaping, comfort etc.), simultaneously reflecting the classificatory process that lurks behind. The a priori classification of the possible body of clients is integral to the formulation of the built environment. It consequently affects the architectural design of the high-end housing settlements. Therefore we argue that social segregation is built in to marketing, which is seemingly an indirect component and result of the economics of this process. In other words social segregation does not only emerge from the walls, gates or fences of these gated communities, and is not something that is post-facto and physical. The walls are already built in the beginning of the marketing process.

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[23] Chaney, D.(1996) p: 56-70.

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Examination of Urban Image Constitution Forms of Public Buildings in Isparta by Lynch's Urban Analysis

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1. Introduction: Concepts of Urban Image and Public Building

Image can be described as "mental reproduction of a sensation produced by physical perception". Beyond being an indicator-sign, the image is a general concept keeping together the World and "information figures" and developing with special similarities. Images permeate by changing in time and space and go through various transformations in this process (Mitchell, 2005).

Image is a vision of a perceived object reflected on human mind. It may emerge in the conscious without any stimulant. In other words, image is a mental design which is not restricted with a certain period of time or an object. It is an accumulation of design in time. The determination of Ludwig Wittgenstein concerning that "Image is a phenomenon" also points out this fact. Additionally, image refers to the perception desired (Tuncer, 2005).

City is a structure occupying a space like an architectural piece. The only difference is that it has a bigger scale and can be completely perceived in a long period of time. City is an image indicator, a visual experience place. People know cities with their visibility. For this reason, cities must have the "imageability" (Robbins, 1999). Each individual living in the city has a long-term relationship with certain parts of the city. Thus emerges an impression of that person relating to the city, a meaningful "city image" in other words (Lynch, 1960). At the same time urban image is a dynamic and dual concept. For (Nalkaya, 2006); in all historical periods, each social structure built in a city somehow reflected physical formation of that city.

Kevin Lynch classified city image under five titles: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Paths are channels which direct persons and where persons can observe the environment in motion. Edges are barriers separating one district from another or connection points linking these two districts at various points. Districts are parts of cities making the observer feel that he is in. Nodes are symbols present in all images of the observer related to the city. Landmarks, on the other hand, are elements constituting reference points where the observers cannot go inside (Lynch, 1960).

Public buildings are structures aimed for public services, consisted of different functions depending on the purpose of use as an element of urban whole. We occasionally come across with these structures in the city center, zenith of the city, as a structure or a group of structure in an urban part or as a renovated form of a historical structure (Aydın, 2007).

Public structures are service buildings located each and every place where there is social organization since these buildings serve to the public. Since public services are provided by non-

governmental organizations along with the state due to social structure and economic conditions in our country, there emerged miscellaneous public services such as education, health and transportation etc. and various public structures as a consequence. Public structures are positioned at a critical location in terms of their function, aesthetic and identity due to high number of their types and scopes (Özdemir and Başkaya, 2005). Public buildings create an urban image by presenting themselves in physical form with their functional features, social and extravert structures, symbolic meanings, locations, urban environment and public areas they are in and their style of being connected with public spaces.

This study is aimed to examine the urban image constitution styles of Isparta public buildings according to urban analysis method of Kevin Lynch. In this study, the concept of landmark which is among the urban image elements in the urban image theory developed by Kevin Lynch is analyzed from the perspective of Isparta public buildings.

2. Material and Method

Landmarks are reference points which allow the space to be described and remembered facilitate finding directions and contribute to the creation of urban image. The landmark may be a building as well as a signboard or monument (Lynch, 1960). Public buildings which are of great significance in urban life are also among the landmarks creating urban image.

In this work, the public buildings which are important in the city identity of Isparta, the area of work, have been examined and classified into three periods which are pre-1960, 1960-1980 and post-1980 period. Then urban image constitution styles of Isparta public buildings have been illustrated through a survey with users and cognitive maps.

Work environment includes Isparta city center. The work was commenced in 2009. Therefore, 2008 population data was taken as basis in the calculation of the sampling. According to 2008 data of register system based on address, the population of Isparta city center is 175.815. Sampling size has been determined as 246 persons with 95% reliability and 0,05% margin of error by using sampling formula with a certain environment. The application was initiated based on this data. The survey was made on 312 persons above the expected number under the scope of the work. The survey was conducted by interviewing persons selected randomly according to simple random sampling method.

The survey participants were asked 7 questions in total in two parts. In the first part, questions about age, sex, education status, occupation and living period in Isparta were asked to the participants in order to determine their demographic features. In the second part, the participants were asked to draw a sketch of the city center and mark the public buildings they remember on this sketch in order to show their perceptions related to public buildings and city center with respect to the concept of creating an urban image. In the survey, it is aimed to exhibit the perceptions of the participants about the public buildings and city center through cognitive maps within the context of creating urban image. Then the reasons for remembering the public buildings shown on the cognitive maps drawn have been inquired by using 5 degree Likert scale (5=Strongly Effective, 1=Strongly Ineffective). The content of this question is based on the definitions of Kevin Lynch about the landmark which is one of the urban image elements indicated in his book called "The Image of the City".

Statistical Package Program SPSS 15.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) has been used in the evaluation of the data obtained from survey. The information obtained from survey forms has been coded and transferred to computer environment; the data pertaining to each question has been separately reviewed through SPSS program. The results collected have been transformed into charts and graphics and then evaluated. The survey results, charts and graphics have been given according to the order in the survey form. At the end, the data collected from survey results have been shown on the tables systematically.

3. Isparta Public Buildings and Their Features

Isparta, the work area, is located in the center of Region of Lakes in the Mediterranean Region (Map1). First settlements in Isparta, the history of which goes back to Hittites, were around Isparta (Belönü) Streamlet flowing in the direction of east and west. In Isparta seeming like a small Anatolian town at the time of Ottomans, Belönü Streamlet with Dalboyunoğlu and Bey Turkish baths and Mimar Sinan Mosque on the north, Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar on the axes of the mosque and open public spaces around made up a new center. New settlement areas have developed around this new center organically.

Isparta, which was a small Ottoman city where agricultural production was intensive until the declaration of the Republic, began to develop generally since the Early Republic Period. After the declaration of the Republic, works to modernize Isparta began; Government Office, Town Hall, Terminal Building, İş Bank and People's House Building together with Isparta Grand Park was built in the city center due to the public improvements intensifying particularly between 1923-1940. Thus, it is observed that the city center assumes a function symbolizing the power of the Republic newly established (Çelebi, 2011).

Map 1 Location of Isparta Province in Turkey and Region of Lakes (http://www.loadtr.com)

From the end of 1950s and 1960s until 1980s, Isparta was a city where modernism prevailed. Modernism movement was influential in the architectural activities in Isparta during the years between 1960-1980. Many public buildings and dwellings were built up with the impact of modernism in the city. When we look at the city identity of the buildings in terms of period characteristics, pre-1960, 1960-1980 and post-1980 period contemporary architecture can be observed as breakpoints. The components making up the identity of Isparta are covered bazaars and mosques reflecting Ottoman architecture, Early Republic Period structures, modernist structures built up in between 1960 and 1980, civil architecture structures covering Turkish, Rum and Persian houses and urban squares.

3.1. Pre-1960 Period Public Buildings

Quests for local architecture are common in the public buildings built up in pre-1960 period in Isparta. The structures were built up with masonry construction technique by using "Basmakçı bricks" and timber as well as local stone "kövke". Symmetric plan scheme was generally adopted in relation to the construction technique and accessible materials (Figure 1). Structures took shape according to climate conditions. Structures of this period have usually massive volumes and prismatic rectangle shapes (Figure 2). Roofs are slightly oblique, have timber carcass and covered with tiles. Triangular pediments are seen above the entrance doors (Çelebi, 2011).

Figure 1 Government Office
(Ülkü Çelebi's archive)

Figure 2 Terminal Building
(Ülkü Çelebi's archive)

The efforts made in the transition period from the First National Architecture Period architectural style in which Ottoman revival manner was adopted to the Early Republic Period as well as the efforts to create local architecture are clearly observed on all public buildings pertaining to the period.

3.2. 1960–1980 Period Public Buildings

The public buildings constructed during the period between 1960-1980 in Isparta are designated according to the architectural movement of the period. For this reason, they exhibit a modern style bearing the signs of Western movements such as Brutalism and rationalism. Public buildings of this period formed with the impact of modernism are consisted of rectangular rational masses or architectural compositions made up of these masses (Figure 3-4). An asymmetric balance is dominant in these architectural compositions. Human scale is taken basis in the designs and massive forms of the previous period are softened with small forms.

In this period, certain changes emerged in material and building techniques in addition to the understanding of design. Use of local materials lessened, reinforced concrete construction system was adopted instead of masonry construction technique. Height of the public buildings began to increase with the opportunities brought by the concrete construction system. Roof style is flat roof or slightly oblique hipped roof hidden behind the concrete ridgepole to give the impression of flat roof (Çelebi, 2011).

Figure 3 Officer's Club
(Ülkü Çelebi's archive)

Figure 4 Halil Hamit Paşa Library
(Ülkü Çelebi's archive)

3.3. Post-1980 Period Public Buildings

Public buildings constructed after 1980 in Isparta exhibit a pluralistic approach between Ottoman-Seljuk revival style and modern architecture. General features of modern period such as rational forms, linear window order, concrete door frames on façades and flat roof continue to be seen in the design of the public structures; on the other hand, there are also typical projects which exhibit the eclectic influences of Ottoman-Seljuk architecture with their portals, clock towers, round and arched windows and arcades. It is noted in these types of projects that human scale is avoided and efforts are made to reach an overwhelming monumental scale. It can also be said that simple curvilinear forms are tried on the public structures (Çelebi, 2011) (Figure 5-6).

Figure 5 Police Department Building
(Ülkü Çelebi's archive)

Figure 6 Court House
(Ülkü Çelebi archive)

4. Examination of Urban Image Constitution Styles of Isparta Public Buildings according to Cognitive Mapping Method and Lynch's Landmark Analysis

4.1. Section 1: Profiles of Survey Participants

Age

Average age of the respondents is between 15-25 with a rate of 37,5%. This age group is followed by 25-32 years with the rate of 26,5%, 35-45 years with 18,3% and 45-55 years with the rate of 12,2% respectively. The lowest participation rate belongs to the group of above 55 years of age with 5,8% rate (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Distribution of Respondents as per Age

64,4% of the survey respondents are men while 35,6% is consisted of women (Figure 8). At the end of the survey, it is noted that there is a difference of 90 persons in the number of women and men participants and men respondents are more willing to answer the questions as compared to women.

Figure 8 Distribution of Respondents as per Sex

Age group-sex factor pertaining to 312 respondents are given in Chart 1. Accordingly, 66,7% of the respondents within 15-25 age group, 54,9% of the respondents in 25-35 age group, 59,6% of the respondents in 35-45 age group, 73,7% of the respondents in 45-55 age group and 88,9% of the respondents above the age of 55 is men.

Chart 1 Crosstab analysis showing age group vs. sex comparison

Age		Sex		Total
		Women	**Men**	
15-25	Number (n)	39	78	117
	Percent (%)	33,3	66,7	100,0
25-35	Number (n)	37	45	82
	Percent (%)	45,1	54,9	100,0
35-45	Number (n)	23	34	57
	Percent (%)	40,4	59,6	100,0
45-55	Number (n)	10	28	38
	Percent (%)	26,3	73,7	100,0
Over the age of 55	Number (n)	2	16	18
	Percent (%)	11,1	88,9	100,0
Total	**Number (n)**	**111**	**201**	**312**
	Percent (%)	**35,6**	**64,4**	**100,0**

Education Level

From the education levels of the respondents, it is noted that the highest participation is from undergraduates and graduates with 84,6%, which is followed by high school and corresponding school graduates with 14,4% and then comes primary school graduates with 1,0%. Only literate persons and elementary school graduates are missing among the respondents (Figure 9).

Figure 9 Distribution of respondents as per education levels

Occupation

It has been determined that 38,1% of 312 respondents is civil servant, 35,9% is student, 15,7% is self-employed, 8,3% is retired and 1,9% is unemployed. It is noted that most of the respondents are civil servants and students with close averages (Figure 10).

Figure 10 Distribution of respondents as per occupation

Settlement Span in Isparta

When the replies to the question of "How long have you been living in Isparta" asked to 312 respondents are reviewed, it is seen that 38,8% of the respondents live in Isparta for 1-5 years and 37,5% of the respondents live in Isparta for 20 years and more; these two groups have the largest share in the distribution. These groups are followed by 12,2% for 10-20 years, 9,0% for 5-10 years and 2,6% for less than 1 year (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Distribution of respondents as per their settlement span in Isparta

4.2. Section 2: Cognitive Mapping

Since meaningless maps are produced or the maps drawn do not include public buildings in 97 out of 312 survey forms, these 97 maps have been excluded from the scope of the evaluation. Therefore, this section of the survey work was evaluated on 215 draft maps.

Public buildings on the maps drawn are counted and which public buildings are located on the maps and how many times these buildings are marked is determined. The data collected is recorded on the city center map and the cognitive map where public buildings creating image in Isparta are shown is prepared (Figure 12).

The public building which is remembered the most on the cognitive maps drawn by the participants is the Government Office with a rate of 73,4% in 158 maps out of 215. This element is followed by Town Hall and Isparta Hotel with a rate of 41,8%, PTT building with 33,0%, Police Department Building with 30,2%, National Education Provincial Directorate Building with 29,3%, the Municipality Office Block with 25,1%, Süleyman Demirel University with 23,2% and Court House with 20,9%. Despite not being a public building, Atatürk Parkı, which has been shown on 16 maps, is determined as note. Another node is Prof. Dr. Hasan Gürbüz Park which was marked in 4 maps and is located in the northeast of Town Hall and Halı Palace.

Figure 12 Public buildings creating image in Isparta accounting to cognitive maps

Figure 13 Samples from cognitive maps which show public buildings and are drawn with a different technique

The reasons for remembering the public buildings shown on the cognitive maps drawn have been inquired by using 5 degree Likert scale (5=Strongly Effective, 1=Strongly Ineffective). According to the survey results, 54,4% of 215 respondents drawing maps think that they remember these places since these places help in giving directions while 52,1% think that they remember these places since these places are in central location. Other factors that the respondents think effective are their frequent use in daily life with 47,4%, accessibility with 46,0%, easily being differentiated from the environment with 38,6%, being used as a meeting place with 34,9%, historical and cultural value with 33,5% and differentiation in terms of architectural components with 32,6% (Chart 2).

One sample test, which is t-Test, has been applied on the data to determine the average of the elements allowing the respondents drawing the cognitive map to remember public structures. According to the results of t-Test, all averages are above the neutral value of 3. Furthermore, the fact that Sig. (2-tailed) values of elements are lower than 0.05 which is the level of meaningfulness points out that all elements are effective for the respondents drawing cognitive maps in remembering public buildings.

Chart 2 Distributions of respondents drawing cognitive map per elements in remembering public structures

Element	Strongly Effective Number (n) Percent (%)	Effective Number (n) Percent (%)	Neutral Number (n) Percent (%)	Ineffective Number (n) Percent (%)	Strongly Ineffective Number (n) Percent (%)	Total Number (n) Percent (%)
Helpful in giving directions	117 54,4	89 41,4	7 3,3	0 0,0	2 0,9	215 100,0
Being in central location	112 52,1	87 40,5	13 6,0	3 1,4	0 0,0	215 100,0
Accessibility	97 45,1	99 46,0	13 6,0	6 2,8	0 0,0	215 100,0
Easily being differentiated from the environment	59 27,4	83 38,6	47 21,9	21 9,8	5 2,3	215 100,0
Differentiation in terms of architectural components	42 19,5	70 32,6	60 27,9	22 10,2	21 9,8	215 100,0
Historical and cultural value	46 21,4	72 33,5	53 24,7	25 11,6	19 8,8	215 100,0
Frequent use in daily life	66 30,7	102 47,4	26 12,1	16 7,4	5 2,3	215 100,0
Being used as a meeting place	62 28,8	75 34,9	40 18,6	25 11,6	13 6,0	215 100,0

Chart 3 Analysis results of one sample test, t-Test, related to the elements effective for respondents drawing cognitive maps in remembering public buildings

Element	Number (n)	Mean	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Helpful in giving directions	215	4,48	100,438	0,00
Being in central location	215	4,43	96,651	0,00
Accessibility	215	4,33	88,701	0,00
Easily being differentiated from the environment	215	3,79	54,137	0,00
Differentiation in terms of architectural components	215	3,42	41,897	0,00
Historical and cultural value	215	3,47	42,302	0,00
Frequent use in daily life	215	3,97	60,060	0,00
Being used as a meeting place	215	3,69	45,821	0,00

5. Findings

Findings obtained at the end of the analyses are summarized in Chart 4.

Chart 4 Urban image constitution styles in Isparta public buildings

	Pre-1960 Period		1960-1980 Period		Post-1980 Period
	Currently available	Currently not available	Currently available	Currently not available	
Cognitive map numerical evaluation	Government Office, the most perceived structure (158 maps) belongs to this period. 15 out of 73 different public buildings shown on maps belong to this period.	Not included in cognitive maps.	Town Hall, Isparta Hotel (90 maps) and PTT Building (71 maps) which are shown the most on the maps after Government Office are among the structure of this period. 31 out of 73 different public buildings shown on the map belong to this period.	Not included in cognitive maps.	Most of the structures shown on the cognitive maps belong to this period. 27 out of 73 different public buildings shown on the maps belong to this period.
cognitive map visual evaluation	Government Office — National Education Provincial Directorate Building — Mimar Sinan Mosque		Town Hall — Isparta Hotel — PTT Building		Police Department Building — Municipality Stores — Süleyman Demirel — Court House

cognitive map expressive evaluation	Government Office has been the landmark remembered the most on the cognitive maps. The result reinforces the image of the Government Office in being a determinant in the city identity.	There are no public buildings pertaining to this period and shown on the cognitive maps. This situation proves that the public buildings which cannot survive today are completely erased from the memory of the city.	Landmarks such as Town Hall, Isparta Hotel (90 maps) and PTT Building (71 maps) which are shown the most on the maps after Government Office draw attention since they are located in the city center and have a predominant mass.	There are no public buildings pertaining to this period and shown on the cognitive maps. This situation proves that the public buildings which cannot survive today are completely erased from the memory of the city.	The fact that Police Department Building and Court House completed in 2007 and 2008 are among the most remembered landmarks indicates that these structures have gained recognition in a short period of time.

According to the cognitive maps drawn, the public buildings perceived mostly by the participants in Isparta are Government Office, Town Hall, Isparta Hotel, PTT Building, Police Department Building, National Education Provincial Directorate Building, Municipality Office Block, Süleyman Demirel University and Court House Building respectively. These buildings create strong images and are known by many people and draw attention as landmarks in the perception of the city.

Government Office, the public building firstly remembered in Isparta, has been the landmark remembered the most on the cognitive maps. The result reinforces the image of the Government Office in being a determinant in the city identity. The fact that Police Department Building and Court House completed in 2007 and 2008 are among the landmarks indicates that these structures have gained recognition in a short period of time.

It has been observed that the Culture and Tourism Provincial Directorate Building continue to be constructed in the land of the demolished Tekel Building is located in 17 cognitive maps. The reason for remembering a structure which has not been finished yet may be related with its central location and its being located on the main transportation axle.

15 out of 73 buildings shown on the cognitive maps drawn belong to pre-1960 period, 31 of them belong to 1960-1980 period and 27 of them belong to post-1980 period. The buildings pertaining to post-1980 and 1960-1980 period have been the public structures remembered the most due to their central locations, which help giving directions since they are located on the main transportation axles. When 73 structures shown on the cognitive maps are reviewed with respect to their typology, it is seen that mostly administrative structure are indicated on the maps. According to the subsequent order of marking, the structures used for purposes of education, social, religious, public quarters, shopping, health and tourism facilities are determined to be shown on the cognitive map. Finally, 2 parks located in the city center have been marked on the maps although they are not public buildings.

The cognitive maps do not exhibit any public structures which were constructed before 1960 or during 1960-1980, but did not survive today. These structures are not covered in the maps even drawn by the respondents residing in Isparta for more than 20 years. This situation proves that the public buildings which cannot survive today are completely erased from the memory of the city.

Given the cognitive maps, it is noted that city center is generally perceived as a whole; on the other hand, some participants drew Eğirdir road and Çünür entrances as the city center. For this reason, cognitive maps include public structures such as TEİAŞ Building, Parks and Gardens Administration, Highways Branch Office, Provincial Gendarmerie Department and Police Department Additional Service Building which are distant from the city center, but can be easily

perceived from the main roads. It is considered that this situation may arise from the daily living spaces and practices of the participants.

From the review of the reasons for reminding public structures shown on the cognitive maps drawn, it has been determined that the most strongly effective element was their being helpful in giving directions. This element is followed by being in central location, accessibility, frequent use in daily life, easily being differentiated from the environment, being used as a meeting place, having historical and cultural value and differentiation in terms of architectural components. It has been determined that Isparta city's public buildings have gained their features of creating an image and being a landmark due to their locations, accessibility and frequent use in daily life as compared to their design and architectural characteristics.

As the settlement period in Isparta increases, an increase is noted in the number of public buildings shown on the cognitive maps. It has been concluded that those residing in Isparta for a long time know the city more and pay more attention to the public structures of the city such as public quarters and education buildings in neighborhoods which are not remembered by the others.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Visual impact of a public building affects not only those who use these structures, but also those passing nearby (MIQCP, 2009). Public structures have been known and remembered for only their functions from past to present. On the contrary, the determinations about the urban image constitution of the public buildings should be efficient as much as the functionality of the building. The image concept which must be inquired for the cities under the scope of the work has been considered within the context of Isparta's public buildings.

Based on the findings collected at the end of the analyses, it has been stated that the users perceive the public buildings in the city, which shows that public buildings of Isparta are engaged in a close relationship with urban places they are located in. According to the results of the work, Isparta city's public buildings have gained their features of creating an image and being a landmark due to their locations, accessibility and frequent use in daily life as compared to their design and architectural characteristics. Public buildings have always been significant structures which assume a complementary role in the perception of the city and creation of the urban image through their historical characteristics.

At the end of the survey, it has been noted that the structures which belong to pre-1960 and 1960-1980 periods and could not survive until today do not leave a mark on the public memory and are not shown on their maps. A secondary point is that the public buildings are not recalled for their architectural identities, but for functional and social reasons, which point out that the public does not have sufficient awareness about the architecture. These determinations delineate how much importance the public structures which have vanished due to natural disasters or human activities and are erased from the memory of the city carry for the identity of the city. Survey results also emphasize that deficiencies emerge in issues such as architectural sensibility, selective perception and image creation due to the failure in maintaining continuity of the period architecture characteristics in the city identity. In this context, the public buildings which reflect period architecture relating to the urban settlement and identity and exhibit socio-cultural and economic structure of the society must be protected and contributions must be made to create architectural awareness while enriching architectural identity.

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Current Trends in Developing Urban Tourism

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1. Introduction

The period that began with the globalization, affects urban development in terms of economic, political and cultural levels and has led to new structures built. The individualization of society living in urban areas, increasing the tendency towards a mixed society needs more social mobility and entertainment and cultural activities. These factors results in new transformations in urban areas. In this context, while distinctive features in tourism sector are being eliminated by the dedifferentiation of urban spaces, the concept of "travel to see different places" has begun to loose its meaning. Now, with the slogan of "being different", the cities are working to produce various formulas to make them privileged. On the one hand new urban designs and innovative projects are for creating investment and shooting centers, on the other hand the projected new images seem to be as the new tourism objects reveal differences in the cities.

Besides, being an important market, the process and the factors of re-creation of the cities by the social and cultural contribution of tourism should be evaluated wisely. While advanced countries are planning their future, on the other hand they enhance the quality of the cities and realize diversifies. Works of composing new identities to the cities, allowing the participation of citizens helps to strengthen the sense of belonging.

Firstly, tourism development after 1980's is discussed shortly. Then sampled works mentioned briefly above and done towards the development of tourism are examined in more detail. In addition to this urban, economic, cultural and social movement axes and the conducting ways of these studies will be questioned in a holistic sense.

2. Development of Tourism Sector in Turkey After 1980

The period of quantitative grew in tourism begins with 1983 because of the transition to Neo-liberal system and the deeds set out . Especially with Tourism Incentive Law No. 2634 came into force in 1892, the government fallowed a policy of encouraging the private sector to grow. In addition, related to Mediterranean and Aegean investments, the private sector opened many hotels, bed capacities have been increased rapidly in this liberal-dominated economy period. Beside these regions in which 3s: sea-sand-sun concept is featured and mass tourism is dominated, in İstanbul, being one of the most important cities of global capital, it is seen to be organized different sizes (congress tourism, shopping tourism, health tourism) in tourism sector. Due to numerical data of "number of tourists" and "costs of income", it is seen to have a significant quantitative progress. However, depending on rapid and uncontrolled growth of tourism sector, it is possible to mention these problems. The most important reasons can be summarized as the destruction of coastal areas as a result of insensitive approaches to cultural and natural values of the physical environment, unplanned and uncontrolled building production.

Furthermore, the data of "Overnight Stays" and "Tourist Expenditure Per Capita" are the important indicators for the sector. Despite a steady increase in the number of foreign tourists who came to Istanbul, average length of stay of foreign visitors has fallen. "It is while in 1993 was 4 nights, it is 2.4 nights in 2004 and reduced to 2.3 in 2009 as the half of number 16 years before. On the other hand, the average length of stay of foreign tourists in facilities operating certificates in Turkey is 4.2 nights in 2009".[1]

Such numerical data about the average length of stay show that İstanbul is preferred on short-term visits. "It can be accepted as a transition point for the tourists who choose different regions and continue their destinations by staying 1-2 nights."[2]

If we observe the capacity of the sector and the amount of spending per person, in terms of tourism revenues, consequently it is possible to talk over the following data. "According to this, Turkey's total tourism revenue in 2009 is approximately 21.250 million dollars and the amount of average expenditure per person is $ 664."[3]

Briefly dealt with above numeric data of inadequate "Overnight Stays" and "Average Per Capita Expenditure" amounts constitutes two main topics focused in order to be developed in our country. The mainstay of this paper is about to save significant progress in tourism sector in terms of both number of short visits & overnight stays and the diversification of tourism activities depending on increase of "Urban Tourism Activities".

This paper aims to consider examples of "Urban Tourism Activities" globally and bring about the clues of these activities.

3. Worldwide Urban Tourism Activities and Their Effects to Tourism Sector

While generating differences in the morphological sense with the formal and functional arrangements in line with new trends of urban tourism research agenda, the sociological and cultural context consists of a large work area. A research investigating rapid changes of tourism trends from twelve major tourism journals shows Tourist/Visitor Studies, Marketing and Special Events showed the greatest growth during the 11-year period.[4]

The synergy of architecture and other disciplines in studies of developing tourism are essential in terms of continuity of past and future. Now architects and urban designers are working in collaboration with social sciences disciplines in the field of urban tourism. Some examples of cultural, artistic and social activities can be listed as:

- *Urban renewal projects*

  - re-transformation of port districts and coastal regulations
  - opening new museums
  - the new additions to the fabric of the historic city
  - theme parks
  - re-use of historic buildings
  - architectural competitions organized by central and local authorities
  - prestigious landscapes
  - producing metropolitan centers

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[1] Enlil, Dinçer, Evren, Seçkin, 2011, p.44.
[2] Enlil, Dinçer, Evren, Seçkin, 2011, p.45.
[3] Enlil, Dinçer, Evren, Seçkin, 2011, p.91.
[4] Ballantyne, Packer, Axelsen, 2009, p.150.

- ***Innovative Approaches***

  - innovative approaches to accommodation services (hotels with different concepts)
  - innovative, technological and ecological approaches in architecture

- ***Cultural Organizations***

  - festivals
  - design and fashion weeks, fairs
  - guided tours, city walks
  - local meetings, lectures
  - courses in art education
  - concerts
  - the cultural capitals

- ***Sport Events***

  - Olympics
  - world cups
  - tournaments
  - local races

Urban Renewal Projects

- *Re-transformation of port districts*

"Euro-Mediterranean Project" conducted in Marseille-France is one of the projects carried out for re-transformation of port districts (Figure 1). This project within the framework of the Barcelona protocol located in "Development Area" accepted by the European Union is one of the the most important renovation work conducted in urban scale to make a shot to center in France. This project being broad and comprehensive, began in 1996 and organized by a public agency (EPA-Establishment Public d'aménagement) will be completed in 2012.[5]

Figure 1. The Project Regions in Marseille[6]

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[5] Akbulut, Ekşi Akbulut, 2006, p. 42.
[6] http://www.euromediterranee.fr/fileadmin/templates/plan-du-perimetre.pdf [Accessed 8 June 2012]

The project partners are central and local authorities, as well as local and regional chambers of commerce, Regional Trade and Industry Chamber, the Mediterranean Region Chambers of Commerce, economic and financial centers and institutes located.[7]

While trying to ease the center accessibility by means of projects being carried out in different regions (Train Station and the surrounding area of this region completely renewed and offices, hotels, shopping malls and housing construction is planned in conjunction with a new attraction), on the other hand there are ongoing efforts to increase the qualifications of buildings around the harbor. By the green areas, squares, car parks and new structures with high standards of comprehensive restructuring such as school buildings etc. it is being tried to increase the attractiveness of the center.

Figure 2. Place Victor Hugo and the Saint-Charles TGV Station Terminal[8]

Within the scope of the work which includes the organization of Marseilles port district, public and private arrangements adapted to international standards are expected. Particularly, the area surrounding the castle of Saint-Jean is a new challenge with the embodiment of the inner harbor and the creation of cultural activities: (The Mediterranean and the European Museum of Civilization (MUCEM), Sea Center). Furthermore, the other goals can be listed as;[9]

● to strengthen the attractiveness of the environment by means of aquarium, shopping areas, food and beverage activities,

● to transform hangars and terraces into commercial galleries for transit passengers or tourists in the harbor in Joliette region and in front of dockyard,

● to form a new neighborhood full of with residential and green areas in the North of Arenc region.

● to transform silo structure into performance center.

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[7] http://www.euromediterranee.fr/who-are-we/public-partners.html?L=1 [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[8] http://www.euromediterranee.fr/fileadmin/downloads/32pagesanglais.pdf [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[9] Akbulut, Ekşi Akbulut, 2006, p. 46.

Figure 3. The city, the port and the Mediterranean project[10]

Euro-Mediterranean Project not only targets tourism but also is a good example of multi-dimensional projects in a holistic approach (Figure 3). On the one hand, it is aimed to strengthen the economic development with this project, while the life quality of neighborhood is being tried to healed and upgrade the city's urban and architectural quality by public and private projects on the other.

- *opening new museums*

The Guggenheim-Bilbao Museum is one of the major focal points of the redevelopment program and architectural movement in Bilbao (Figure 4). This attraction depends on not only art performances and quality of exhibitions but also the prestige building designed by Frank Gehry. After the museum opened its doors to the public on 16 October 1997, total number of Spanish and foreign incoming travelers began to increase. According to a survey of Tourist Accommodating Establishments made by EUROSTAT, 2.5-fold increase is observed in the number of Incoming travelers to the Basque Country from January 1995 to August 1998[11].

Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao which is designed by Frank O. Gehry in 1997 is a very good example of how to change the image of a city. Also it has a great contribution to create the concept of "Bilbao effect" in the architectural theory. The "Bilbao effect" concept within the framework of urban scale (cultural life: art, theater and social life: night life, eating, drinking) can be regarded as conceptual meaning of fast metamorphism.[12]

Figure 4. View from the old city and entrance of the Guggenheim museum

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[10] http://www.euromediterranee.fr/fileadmin/downloads/32pagesanglais.pdf [Accessed 8 June 2012]

[11] Plaza, 1999, p.599.
[12] Akbulut, Ekşi Akbulut, 2008.

Struggling with the economic crisis and the high rate of unemployment, Bilbao has managed to attract the attention of the world tourism with Guggenheim Museum. Actually a more comprehensive policy of urban renewal is effective before the realization of the museum.
Planning with different aspects of the city allows tourists affected by Guggenheim to find an environment with adequate infrastructure.

Figure 5. Metro Bilbao – Norman Foster (left), Zubizuri Bridge – Santiago Calatrava (right)

Since the opening of the museum, the number of visitors and overnight stays related to visits has continued to increase. The annual data titled "Number of Visitors to Guggenheim Museum Bilbao" from 1997 to 2006 shows striking increase in 1998 & 1999, after 2000 the museum had a slight loss of attractiveness, but in 2006 it accomplished to gain attractiveness. Consequently, total number of visitors has 3.3-fold increase in 10-year period. Also, due to the survey of INE (Instituto National de Estadistica) titled 4-hold increase is observed in "Overnight Stays of Foreign Visitors in the Biscay Province"[13].

- *the new additions to the fabric of the historic city*

London Eye is the world's largest cantilevered observation wheel (Figure 6). It was conceived and designed by Marks Barfield Architects and was launched in 2000.

Figure 6. A view from London eye[14]

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[13] Plaza, 1999, p.599.
[14] http://www.londoneye.com/ExploreTheLondonEye/eCards/Default.aspx# [Accessed 8 June 2012]

"Since opening in 2000, an average of 3.75 million visitors have experienced London's favorite attraction each year, proving it more popular than renowned historical landmarks such as St Paul's Cathedral (2 million per year) and even some of the internationally celebrated seven wonders of the world. The London Eye receives more visitors annually than the Taj Mahal (2.4 million per year), Stonehenge (850,000 per year) and even the Great Pyramids of Giza (3 million per year)." [15]

● *theme park*

The best example for the theme parks is Disneyland, which is located 35 minutes from Paris.

Figure 7. A view from Disneyland Paris[16]

"With 15.6 million visits in 2011, Disneyland Paris is the most visited tourist destination in Europe and as the top tour operator in France in terms of number of clients (Figure 7). It is stated that; 49% of the guests were from France, 13% from the UK, 12% from Benelux (Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg), 9% from Spain, 4% from Italy, 2% from Germany and 11% from the rest of the world in 2011."[17]

● *architectural competitions organized by central and local authority*

The program known as "Grands Projects" by French President François Mitterrand, aimed to gain architectural works for Paris between the years 1981-1998 in order to highlight the role of Paris in economy, art and politics. This program includes Louvre Pyramid, Musee d'Orsay, Parc de la Villette, Arab World Institute, Opéra Bastille, Grande Arche de La Défense, Ministry of Finance and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Musee d'Orsay, La Defense Arch, and La Villette. Built with a budget of 15.7 billion Frank, its contribution to number and profile of visitors of France & Paris is inevitable.

● *re-use of historic buildings*

Re-use of historic buildings with a new function is one fairly common approach. Musée d'Orsay in Paris and the Tate Modern (Figure 8) in London, are the most successful examples of this issue. Tate Modern is a modern art gallery in London and it is based in the former Bankside Power Station was built in two phases between 1947 and 1963. The building was converted by architects Herzog & de Meuron into the art gallery.

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[15] http://www.londoneye.com/NewsAndEvents/News/30million/Default.aspx) [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[16] http://www.tripadvisor.com.tr/Tourism-g226865-Marne_la_Vallee_Seine_et_Marne_Ile_de_France-Vacations.html [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[17] http://corporate.disneylandparis.com/about-our-company/the-narrative-of-numbers/index.xhtml [Accessed 8 June 2012]

Figure 8. A view from Tate Modern in London[18]

"More than 40 million people have visited Tate Modern since its opening in May 2000. It is one of the UK's top three tourist attractions and generates an estimated £100 million in economic benefits to London annually."[19]

- *prestigious landscapes*

One of the best examples of the prestigious landscapes is Parc de la Villette in Paris (Figure 9). Parc de la Villette built from 1984 to 1987, was selected over 470 international competitors, and designed by Bernard Tschumi. With Tschumi's words, it proposes a social and cultural park with activities that include workshops, gymnasium and bath facilities, playgrounds, exhibitions, concerts, science experiments, games and competitions, in addition to the Museum of Science and Technology and the City of Music on the site. During the summer, the broad playing fields become an open-air movie theater for 3,000 spectators at night. The park currently accommodates around eight million visitors for a year.[20]

Figure 9. Bernard Tschumi, Parc de la Villette [21]

- *producing metropolitan centers*

The agricultural society changed into first industrial and then information-based by the economic development process began with globalization. This transformations cause rural population decline and an increase in the population living in cities.

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[18] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:TateModern.JPG [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[19] http://www.tate.org.uk/about/who-we-are/history-of-tate [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[20] http://www.tschumi.com/projects/3/# [Accessed 8 June 2012]
[21] http://unamaquinalectoradecontexto.wordpress.com/2011/09/16/paris/ [Accessed 8 June 2012]
http://www.phan-ngoc.com/fred/paris/html/parcvillette.html [Accessed 8 June 2012]

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"The Global City Index, first released in 2008 and again in 2010, is unique in that it measures global engagement of cities across five dimensions: business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and political experience (Table 1). Macro forces continue to have impact on the global influence of cities. Political power is rotating back from West to East. While New York, London, Paris and Tokyo still rank among today's top cities, it appears that Beijing and Shanghai may become significant rivals in the next 10 to 20 years."[22]

Table.1 Ranking of 10 cities in Global Cities Index[23]

Source: 2012 Global Cities Index and Emerging Market Outlook study by A.T. Kearney and The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

It is an inevitable reality that metropolitan centers caused by globalization have turned into centers of attraction in terms of tourism (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Views from the city center of Seoul

Innovative approaches

Berlin, having a promotion as a metropolitan center of Europe, has been to a great extent based on innovative architecture and urban design combined with large-scale interventions. "Especially after the demolition of the wall in 1989, the nomination of Berlin as the capital of Germany was followed by a large number of international urban design competitions concerning the redevelopment of Berlin's declining areas close to the wall: Potzdamerplatz, Leipzigerplatz, Friedrichstrasse and Alexanderplatz (Kapitzki, 1996). Design innovations were used as the main driving force for the transformation of declining areas into new prestigious entrepreneurial centers."[24]

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[22] 2012 Global Cities Index and Emerging Cities Outlook, AT Kearney and The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, p.2
[23] 2012 Global Cities Index and Emerging Cities Outlook, AT Kearney and The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, p.3
[24] Gospodini, 2002, p.63

Cultural Organizations

- *film festivals*

Cannes Film Festival and The Venice Film Festival are the oldest international film festivals in the world. These organizations ensure contribution of film industry to cities' tourism by means of festivals. "Cannes population consists of about 70,000 inhabitants. Cannes tourism which is announced in 2002, the economic impact was 83,847 Fr on the Cannes Area. Over 900 screenings at the Palais, over 30,000 professionals, and over 200,000 persons came to Cannes for the Film Festival in 2001." [25] (Table 2).

An international film festival is one of the most representative events of cultural event and tourism. "Cannes and Venice Film Festivals show the value and potentiality of the film market and how much these cities can benefit from tourism during film festivals."[26]

Table 2 Cannes Market and Media Statistics[27]

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Number of companies	970	1001	1420	1493	1564	1863
Participants	1951	3105	4466	4660	4941	6065
Number of participating countries	36	35	37	40	38	44
Number of films shown	423	443	481	520	511	620

(Festival International du Cannes: http://www.festival-cannes.com/lefestival/marche.php?langue=6002, 2002)

	1966	1973	1984	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Journalists	700	1154	2762	2990	2972	3020	3183	3325	3365	3340	3279	3411
Technicians			555	753	706	498	542	564	558	614	654
Total	700	1154	2762	3545	3725	3726	3681	3867	3929	3898	3893	4065

(Festival International du Cannes: http://www.festival-cannes.com/dwnld.php?id=2, 2002)

- *fairs, design and fashion weeks*

Fairs, design and fashion weeks are major organizations in terms of tourism revenues. Paris is one of the leading cities in this regard. The major cities for number of exhibitors and the visitors can be listed as Canton, Las Vegas, Shanghai, Paris, Frankfurt, Tokyo, Moscow, Hong Kong, Dusseldorf, Munich, Beijing, Nuremberg, Hanover, New York, Orlando, and Milan, Berlin (Table 3).

Table 3 Exhibitors and visits to International Trade Shows in World Cities[28]

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[25] Hyun, 2002, p:21.
[26] Hyun, 2002, p:23.
[27] Hyun, 2002, p:21-22.
[28] Tourism in Paris - Key Figures, Paris Office du Tourism et des Congres, parisinfo.com. p:33.

"384 trade shows (207 professional, 177 open to the public) were organized in 15 exhibition main centers of Paris in 2009. These trade shows hired a gross exhibition surface area amounting to 5.3 million m² (pavilions only), hosted 87,000 exhibiting companies and 9.2 million visitors. 384 trade shows which took place at the exhibition centers in the Paris region taking part in the study generated a total spending on the part of participants (exhibiting companies or visitors) evaluated at 3.17 billion Euros in 2009."[29]

Table.4 Economic Effects Trade Shows in the Ile-De-France region in 2007, 2008 and 2009[30]

● *European capitals of culture*

"Each year, cities chosen as European Capitals of Culture provide living proof of the richness and diversity of European cultures. Started in 1985, the initiative has become one of the most prestigious and high-profile cultural events in Europe." [31]

"Studies have shown that the European Capital of Culture event has an impact to regenerate cities, raise their international profile and enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants, give new vitality to their cultural life raise their international profile, boost tourism and enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants." [32]

In case of managing the process wisely, it is important for increasing the number of visitors and tourism revenues.

In 2010, Essen for the Ruhr (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey), in 2011 Turku (Finland) and Tallinn (Estonia), in 2012 Guimarães (Portugal) and Maribor (Slovenia), in 2013 Marseille (France) and Kosice (Slovakia), in 2014 Umeå (Sweden) and Riga (Latvia) are the European Capitals of Culture.

Sport Events

Barcelona Olympic Games held in 1992, is one of the best examples of sports organizations contributing ad a total of 118 hotels, between them providing 10.265 rooms and a total of 18.569 beds. Two years later, by late 1992, the number of hotels had risen to 148, with 13,352 rooms and a total of 25.055 beds. These figures represent a rise of 35% in the number of hotel tourism.

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[29] Tourism in Paris - Key Figures, Paris Office du Tourism et des Congres, parisinfo.com. p:33.

[30] Tourism in Paris - Key Figures, Paris Office du Tourism et des Congres, parisinfo.com. p:32

[31] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_en.htm [Accessed 8 June 2012]

[32] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_en.htm [Accessed 8 June 2012]

Number of hotel beds, is a significant indicator of a city's tourism potential. "In 1990, Barcelona h eds available. Room occupation rates in the same period had risen from 71% to 84%."[33] (Table 5)

Table.5 Between the years of 1990-2002 the number of hotels, number of rooms, and the occupancy rate statistics for Barcelona[34]

Hotel accommodation					
	1990	**1992**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002 ***
Number of hotels	118	148	187	203	223
Rooms	10,265	13,352	16,561	18,141	19,628
Beds	18,569	25,055	31,338	34,303	36,901
* projections					
Hotel occupation rate	**1990**	**1992**	**1998**	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**
(% of rooms)	71%	64%	81.2%	80.6%	84%	79%

There are positive effects of large-scale sporting organizations like Olympic Games to different fields' companion to tourism. After the Barcelona Olympics, statistics showed a constantly increase in the number of hotel rooms and beds. Also Olympics had a significant impact in professional work and the cruiser's tourism sector too (Table 6 & 7).

Table.6 Between 1990-2001 the number of meetings and delegates for Barcelona[35]

Number of meetings and delegates				
	1990	**1992**	**2000**	**2001**
Meetings	373	310	1,380	1,345
Delegates	105,424	108,464	269,508	255,433

Table.7 Between 1990-2001 the number of cruiser and passengers for Barcelona[36]

Number of cruiser and passengers				
	1990	**1992**	**2000**	**2001**
Number of ships	207	220	495	544
Number of passengers	115,137	132,807	572,571	654,806

Conclusion

Samples mentioned above which intended to differentiate and feature the cities are the most important problematic of conducting and planning ways of projects. The success of all projects carried out on an urban scale (in terms of the economic, social, tourism sector) is necessary for multi-dimensional perspective, "cooperation" and conducting "clearly" but unfortunately, some of the projects being submitted to the public are fully unknown by the executors of the central government until the last moment in Turkey. The details are set out and developed only by the team carrying out the project. Informing, sharing, adopting the scopes, objectives, partners and strategies of the projects to developed "Urban Tourism Activities" (brought to the agenda of the country at different scales) are of great importance in achieving the goal. The necessity of modern and democratic governance needs to inform citizens before and after projects, to share data of knowledge. By all means, each project has a professional process of production. However, the topics of deciding which projects to invest , subjects to be saved, would be the prior project have to be discussed with the related experts and variety of social platforms (all residents, civil society organizations, neighborhood organizations, associations, universities) in order to contribute to the

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[33] Duran, 2002, p.6.
[34] Duran, 2002, p.6.
[35] Duran, 2002, p.9.
[36] Duran, 2002, p.11.

process. As in every field studies, the practices for the development of the tourism industry, carried out on an urban scale shouldn't be top-down and in a local scale, on the contrary the outcomes have to receive by broad participation and holistic studies. Development of the tourism sector shouldn't be separated from overall development of the country or region. Also interaction and the interleaved bonds between the sectors should not be ignored. On the one hand important contributions are made to the urban fabric and urban life with the success of the projects, on the other hand these contributions are considered as a tourism object and the input of financial investments in the city are ensured through tourism incomes.

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A Comparative Study of the Pattern of Urban Sprawl at Various Periods of Balıkesir City, Turkey

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1. INTRODUCTON

Landscape is a home for people both as a visual experience and an emotional experience, where biological processes take place (Longatti, Dalang, 2007, p.37). Its whole character is the result of the action and interaction of natural/ or human factors. Regarding this interaction, Landscape change is an inevitable fact, so is urban development. The population continues to increase in the world. Especially in recent years, the dispersion of commercial and residential land uses from inner urban areas to outer urban ring is common due to demand for higher quality of life. Urbanization causes profound changes in the ecological functioning of the landscape and gradually results in a changing spatial architecture. The advancement in remote sensing and satellite technologies make possible the understanding of changing spatial patters of these areas with relation to their environments. Forman describes (Forman, 1997, p. 424) the change as the dynamics of alteration in spatial patterns/structure and functioning over time. Since ancient times, not only have the natural forces caused changes in the landscape, but also the change has been created by mankind in any increasing way (Antrop, 2000, p.21). Change can occur either slowly or fast paced leading to large differences in the significance we attach to these changes (Meffe, Carrol, 1994, p. 98). Usually habitats adapt themselves to changes generated by natural forces, but transformation generated by human factor such as urbanization can be beyond the limits of resiliency.

Change can occur in the ecological functioning of the landscape and spatial structure. Ecology of landscape is introduced by Higuchi. The basic elements of landscape such as landmarks, boundaries, paths and nodes describe spatial patterns on natural and cultural landscapes (Higuchi, 1988, p. 18).

Spatial pattern refers to the holistic concept of structure in the landscape (Naveh, Lieberman, 1984, p. 96), which allows people to move along the landscape to piece together a reliable mental map of their surroundings beginning with major structural elements and filling in successively finer detail.

Providing the landscape ecology can advance landscape architecture by a holistic and dynamic framework that contributes towards an alternative landscape design and by establishing the scientific knowledge (e.g. landscape heterogeneity, biological and ecological diversity) that can inform the design process at the local and regional levels. Scientific base offers three main advantages. Firstly, the designer moves away from the viewpoint of the landscape that is dominated by visual attributes towards a more dynamic and comprehensive perception. For this reason, the priority is given to the protection of ecosystems and ecological understanding such as ensuring environmental sustainability and conserving eco diversity. Secondly, landscape ecology is a specific context whose design solutions are developed from an understanding and appreciation of the historical idiosyncrasies of a specific site/region. Thirdly, landscape ecology has the potential to contribute to region to landscape architecture implies a school of design. The aim of the regional landscape is to be aware of the natural, social and cultural factors. This awareness of the regional landscape will generate sustainable environment of the future. (Makhzoumi, Pungetti, 1999,

p.115). Many international studies have described the effect of urbanization on agricultural areas (Antrop, 2000, p. 25, Lopez, Bocco, Mendoza, Duhau, 2001, p.274). A substantial amount of research on the effects of urbanization in different parts of Turkey also exists (Maktav, Erberk, Akgun, 2002, s. 68, Tağıl, 2006, s. 29). The aim of the study is to use theory and methodology from geography and landscape ecology to analyze land use dynamics in selected area. The results of this analysis will illustrate changes on spatial pattern in a local landscape. The case study learned from the Balikesir City will have practical implications in other developing countries.

1.1 Urbanization in Turkey

Urbanization is defined as a process of population concentration as a demographic approach. Urbanization when expressed as the proportion of people living in urban places (Vink, 1982, p. 91) has shown exponential growth since the end of 19th century (Antrop, 2004, p. 15). Population estimates draw attention to the increasing rate of urbanization at the beginning of the 19th century. This was estimated to fluctuate between 4% and 7% in the mid-19th century (Antrop, 2004,p.17).

Migration from rural areas to cities is the main factor urban flammation in Turkey. In Turkey, especially in recent years, at the beginning of 1950s, deficient social, economical and infrastructural conditions of rural life caused to migration from rural areas to urban areas. The situation led to considerable decline on urban sprawl and to agricultural production. (Keleş, 2004, s.86). Turkey's urbanization percentage was 21.3 % in 1950 and 65.8% in 2000 (Figure1).

Figure 1. Urbanization percentage of Turkey between 1950 and 2000

Urbanization rate was 2.25% between 1950–2000 years, and it was predicted to be 0.53% between 2000–2030 years in Turkey. (DIE, 2000). In the case of developing countries, the level of urbanization is relatively lower; however, the speed of urbanization is five times faster than that of the developed countries. (Lopez, Bocco, Mendoza, Duhau, 2001, p.280).

Because of the effect of immigration in the metropolitan cities, legal housing construction couldn't handle to meet the housing needs as a result of the population growth. Especially in recent years, the informal settlements have been built by immigrant population and then these illegal houses transformed to the neighbors due to demand for higher quality of life. It was seen that the dispersion of commercial and residential land use took place from the urban areas to outer urban rings. As a result of the immigration, it emerged the population accumulation to outer urban area.

The demographic movements between the years of 1950 and 1980 were effective on the urbanization period of Turkey. Urban population was 18.7% in 1950. It increased to 25.9% in 1960, and 45.4% in 1980 (Keleş, 1982, s.97).

As mentioned above, the housing problem and the slum problem have been the major research fields since the 1960s in Turkey. The housing problem as a public service is a social problem which can only be solved with understanding of housing and through state intervention (Tekeli,

1996, s. 84). The development related to urbanization includes a five- year development plan continuing since the early 1960s. The first half of 1960's was a period of searching for solutions to housing problems. A Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP) was an important medium for debates regarding the housing question. The logical solution was to produce a lot of house units with limited sources and to implement housing standards, which was essential for optimization of housing construction.

In the second half of the 1960s, political mobilization period (1960–1980) more than 70% of housing investments were provided by private sectors, that was in the high levels of the throughout the country the period(Keleş, 2004, s.91). It was understood that radical urban politics had been emerged in the 1970s. To create the livable cities and to answer the needs of urbanization were the main principals in the urban plans. As a result of economic recovery in the 1980's, the mass housing production actually fell into the hands of land speculators.

The secondary housing projects took place along satellite settlements (Maktav, Erberk, Akgün, 2002, s.31). Spatial structure and ecologic function of the overall landscape were altered. From an ecological stand-point, increasing horizontal and vertical differences of the landscape structure were an inevitable result. Varying functions were the signals of change in the near future. Marmara Region is a dense populated region where large cities are located close to each other. Istanbul metropolitan areas and rings of chains are Adapazari, Bursa, Balikesir, Corlu, Tekirdag and Inegol. Those may be considered as the continuation of this area.In this study area, town of Balikesir exhibit similar outcomes as urban grown pattern.

2. STUDY AREA

The study area, Balıkesir lies between latitudes 39º 36'N-39º 41'N and longitude 27º 50'E-27º 56'E. It is well connected and accessible through highways. It is also located close to Bursa and Izmir. A linear settlement is planned. The climate is characterized by terrestrial and dry season. The annual rainfall is between 1120-1500 mm with the mean annual temperature of 29.8 ºC.

2.1 Pattern of urban sprawl in Balıkesir

The fringe areas of the town of the Balıkesir area characterized by fragmented urban growth. Discontinuous urban growth is also posing the problem of land speculation (Tağıl, 2006, s.35).

The direction of expansion has been observed to tend towards the Izmir-Bursa road in a ribbon spread pattern. Land adjacent to the road is developed without direct access in the rural uses. Remote sensing has been used to monitor this urban development, similar research have been carried out elsewhere by Esbah, Maktav, Atanır and Erberk (2005, s.127), Fung and LeDew (1987, p.1652), Li and Yeh (1998, p.172) and various techniques have been developed for land growth detection efficiency.

The city, in an area of traditional urban settlement is limited a center. Alternative sub-centers uncreated. In recent years, the commercial centers structured as sub-centers mostly. This practice has led to the concentration of the city center. Therefore, for modern and secondary housings, new building islands were proposed. The first one is the south land.The first one is the south land of city around Adnan Menderes and Kuvai Milliye Street. The second one is the north and north-east land, Yenimahalle and Değirmenköy around that is arable lands.

1990s, the south land's of the Balıkesir converted building development called Adnan Menderes and Kuvay-i Milliye Settlement, but urban growth and land loss has been limited in there. The southern lands of the region is not suitable for agriculture, urban growth did not result in the loss of agricultural land. However, north and northwest lands of the city around Değirmenköy and Yenimahalle are the arable lands, and the urban growth in this region has led to a serious loss of land. The implementation of urban growth on the arable land is noteworthy. Urban sprawl in the northern part of the city will be handled as the basic inputs of urban sprawl.

2.2 Objectives of the study

Objectives of this study are to:

- Investigate the pattern of urban sprawl.
- Analyze the pattern of urban sprawl using GIS.

2.3 Data sets and methodology

For this purposes, more investigation on sprawl development in a developing country, The Balıkesir city was selected as the most important economical city as agricultural in West part of Turkey.

Balıkesir has a moderate climate with four regular seasons. Balıkesir contains a considerable number of gardens, agricultural land.

The official census of Balıkesir was carried out in 1975 and declared that the increase in land occurred on the area of less dense forest, bare lands and stone up surface was seen between 1975-1987 years. There was a decrease between 1987-2000 years. A reduction in land surface was observed in the number of units of dense forest ares between 1975-1987 periods. In the number of units of bushes, grassland and cultivated land-sewn, a decrease was identified. The unit losses occurred in these land surfaces with the effect of fragmentation. For this reason, between 1975-1987 years occurred the increase in the agricultural lands and between 1987-2000 years occurred the decrease in the land surface because of opening up agricultural land for settlement.

The following procedure has been employed for land use classification over the 3 decades. Data acquisition, in this step satellite images and digital topographic maps of study area have been collected from internal achieves.

Topographic maps of various dates (1975–1990) (LANDSAT ETM +Satallite images) dated 2006 were the main of the source. Necessary data was provided by Balikesir Municipality. It has been understood that majority of the projects has been carried out by Balikesir Municipality. These projects are either under construction or have recently been completed. The boundary of the town and the point location of the districts were scanned from paper maps and were superposed on the satellite imageries. 1/5000 scale black and white aerial photographs and high resolution IKONOS 2002 image of the study area were also used for visual interpretations. ERDAS 8.7 software was used for the digital processing along with ArcGIS 8.3. Population information was obtained from the State Institute of Statistics to permit a closer evaluation of land use change as a function of population change. Existing literature on different aspects of urbanization and the instituonal enironmet in Turkey also used (Keleş, 1982, s.92, Tekeli, 1996, s.76, and Kılınç, Gülersoy, 2007, 70).The result of the study indicates the land use that it has changed several times during 1975-2000.

Figure 2. Land use and land cover (1975–1987 and 1987–2000 periods) 1- Water surface, 2- Forest density, 3- Less dense forests, 4- Bush areas, 5- Grassland areas, 6- Primary settlement areas, 7- Secondary settlement areas, 8-Industrial areas 9- Agricultural lands, 10- Bare Stone surfaces.

To create more correspondence between produced maps, the classification has been done only with considering of ten main classes: water surface,forest density, less dense forest, bush areas, grassland areas, primary settlement areas, secondary settlement areas, industrial areas, agricultural lands, bare stone surfaces (Figure 3). After producing complete land use maps, the total coverage of different classes have been measured, this information and population censuses of Balıkesir for time of acquisition is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 3. The direction of change in nonurbanized land use and land cover standardized values of sprawl for Balikesir from 1975 to 2005

To assess the pattern of urban sprawl in the study area, a landscape-scale analysis was performed based on existing ecosystems and land use. Census data obtained from DIE, between 1975 and 2000 years was used to determine the density of new urbanization, loss of agricultural land, and loss of natural habitat.

Two analytical approaches were pursued: (1) time-series analysis and (2) land use analysis. The first approach included site visits, visual interpretation of the aerials and satellite images and its comparison with official statistics such as population census (DIE, 2000,s.169), and information from previous studies on the same area. This phase generated reference information for further land use analysis. The second phase aimed to detect the land use change automatically by utilizing satellite data acquisition.

3. RESULTS

With comparison of Balıkesir total built-up area and population growth it is found that both have the same growth during 3 decades, that is equal to 87% but the vegetation coverage has been increased only around 45%.

Also with detail study of censuses it was found that a main phase in Balıkesir built-up and population growth has been occurred between 1975-2000, the causes of this expansion were rural migration to city and merging of near villages to city during its development.

With respect to generated maps it found that the new urban growth was mostly concentrated in North western direction. It is because of geographical position and morphological emplacement of Balıkesir plain. The city is limited to the North by industrial settlement.

The region north of the industrial settlement is quite fertile as land resources for agricultural productivity in recent years, so it is the best places for new constructions.

Table 1- Constructed and Vegetation Coverage, Population, Vegetation, and Built-Up Area Per Capita in Studied Years

Year	1975	1987	2000
Built-up Area(km²)	45.56	98.68	130.43
Vegatation area (km²)	22.13	29.41	32.34
Population	639.255	920.274	1.200.347
Vegetation per Capita (m²/person)	75.23	41.16	35.63
Built-up per Capita (m²/person)	110.52	109.78	113.31

According to the (Lavres and Haines-Young, 1993, p. 59); large units maintain more species. When the largest unit index of landscape coverage was examined, it was seen that the decrease approximately from 15% to 10% between 1975 and 2000 as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 4. The direction of change of landscape units between 1975 and 2000.

Scrub-health was 14128 hectares that was the area of the largest unit of landscape coverage in 1975. The planted agricultural area was 10554 ha in 1987, the bare soil-stone surfaces was 14905 hectares in 2000 (Figure 6).

Figure 5. The change is in unit loss between 1975–1987periods

The residential area ratio converted from agricultural area into residential area was not so much in 1975. This proportion reached 70% between the years 1987 and 2000. These areas are identified axis of the city's development in a subsequent period.

The vegetation coverage was also used for industrial purposes in the period of 1987-2000(Antrop, 2004, s.24) as land policy.

When the surface of stone and earth were examined, approximately 23% of these areas between 1975 -1987 period and 16% of these areas between 1987 and 2000 were opened as the residential area. A small proportion of agricultural land was used for agricultural purposes.

This showed that the growth was in the land and stone units, when the reduction was in the grassland and scrub-health units. This study showed that during the past 3 decades the size of vegetation coverage growth was not proportional to built-up and population growth.

Figure 6. Built-up(upper) and vegetation(lower) growth during 1975-2000

Figure 7. Change in built-up (upper) and vegetation (lower) per capita during 1975-2000

As shown in Figure 7 since the middle of 70's to early years of 90's, despite of greater rate of built-up growth, the gentle rate of vegetation growth was also available, but after that until 2000 the rate of construction became slower, this was by two causes, first start of a period of stagnancy in urban construction and economical problems and second change in construction pattern from horizontal to vertical construction, which means most of the new buildings were multi storey. From the start of 2000 as a result of socio economic reasons and high public interest and injection of great values of financial resources into real estate market, the rate of construction increased dramatically and unfortunately in some pars displaced vegetation cover.

Fragmentation was one of the major reson for loss of species and subsequent loss of habitat values In Figure 4, fragmentation of the landscape matrix is obvious increasingly. By 2000, urban patches had grown in size and developed its own sub-centers.

Figure 8. Residential areas allocated to residential area

According to figure 9, we can draw some important conclusions for the urban growth analyses of Balikesir. Balikesir which is surrounded by the Marmara Region shows rapid urban expansion in the north and north-west directions. This urban growth pattern is a "concentrated urban form" from 1975 to 1987 and becomes semi-linear from 1987 to 2000 primarily due to natural environment characteristics and multicentered development proposed by the various Master Plans.

The decentralization of the industry in urban development of Balikesir caused to increase the number of priority regions. During the study period, a decrease in the size of agricultural lands has occurred. These remnant agricultural patches were removed for housing or industrial use. Spatial structures had also changed toward urbanization and re continuing to change in this direction. Each of this spatial transformation significantly affected the structure of the landscape by changing the ecological functioning and the social structure of the landscape.

This process launched a process of conversion of agricultural land planning areas. The planning zone illustrated in Figure 9–10 is a result of this planning approach. The local government made efforts to create   Bursa's and Izmir's small samples. For this purpose, it was aimed to create new residential areas.

Figure 9. Single and multi-storey residental areas in planning zone in Balikesir

This research also showed that despite of correspondence growth of population and built-up area, but Figure 8 showed that during 25 yeras the true story is a little different.

4. CONCLUSIONS

All of the governors or even residents of Balıkesir believe that, since long time ago, a large amount of vegetation cover destroyed and converted to built-up area. This study showed that land use conversion mostly was from vegetation to built-up area. Only in recent years, this problem truly observed. But, the rate of built-up area will increase dramatically n more parts displayed vegetation cover. As discussed, the total rate of city and population growth since 1975 to 2000 was equal 87%. The growth of Balıkesir was not possible to assign as an exact example of sprawl growth, but if the studied time divided to smaller periods, the environmental diseaster of Balıkesir has come out that is destruction of huge amount of vegetation.

Actually, the main problem was lack of comprehensive and applicable program for planning and management for protection and development of vegetation parallel to population growth.

Dynamics of urban development at the fringe areas have been effective in changing the spatial structure settlements. This influence has begun with the change in legal, administrative and planning system. Decentralization started on the north side of the city at the beginning. The aim was to find place for industrial and residential developments. Yenimahalle residential area was formed. These developments have influenced the settlements such as Toki and Değirmenköy settlement. Then the development scattered to north and north-west direction by leaping. Commonly preferred by the high income households developments have occurred. On the north side, rapid transformation processes in medium and big-sized municipalities with independent planning authorities due to the Balikesir Municipality

The changes and new developments in the settlements have produced different results for the current texture. Development process in new and organized developments (eg. social housing areas, organized housing areas) provided with the services and existing rural settlements (the villages) are different. In settlements such as Değirmendere and Yenimahalle environments (especially preferred by the high income groups) there are obvious differences by infrastructure and land prices).

In the case study of Balikesir, we have attempted to measure urban growth using GIS technology which also characterizes urban sprawl. According to the sprawl measurement through this method, urban expansion with low density development towards to the periphery has dominated urban spatial development until 1995, but its difference from sprawl in the south is that there can be density increase in various neighborhoods. Importantly, neighborhoods are already sprawling have turned into compact patterns due to increasing density and\or emerging new subcenters. This urban development pattern is subject to an increase in fractal dimension. In contrast, with the extension of Urban Service Areas which causes semi-linear development in the Balikesir Case, a decrease in fractal dimension is observed.

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The University Campuses of Istanbul: Generators of Knowledge and Transformation

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Introduction

"The university's importance and high cultural standing ought by definition to be immediately apparent. Education is a public matter, demonstrably so (ostentatio), and all the elements needed in the educational process should visibly relate to each other – in the sense of compranda eruditio."[1]

Istanbul is a melting pot that has always connected civilisations and continents; it is a city which has been capable of combining different people, cultures and knowledge in a unique way for thousands of years; it is a city which contains urban artefacts that are capable of transforming not only their own structural characteristics but also of continuously enriching their surroundings and the image of this complex city. The complexity that Istanbul has had since its origins may be perceived also in the process of construction of the city's contemporary universities. All the components of the city that subsist today in Istanbul have roots that reach back to different historical periods, and have undergone several changes and superimpositions over time. The educational buildings, which have also experienced these changes, are the significant components of such a fascinating city as Istanbul. In order to understand the role of the current university buildings in relation to their surrounding context and the city as a whole, it is important to take a look at the transformation process of the city structure at specific moments of its history.

Hence, here come the questions: which are the significant moments for the evolution of schooling in Istanbul? If we consider that the educational institutions and the city structure have undergone significant transformations, are these transformations related to each other? If yesterday's schools were important elements of the *Külliyes*[2], which were the backbones of the city structure, what is the role of today's university campuses with regard to contemporary Istanbul?

Hereby, the research follows a top-down historical methodology, evaluating separate segments of history, which are identified as the turning points with regard to the historical development of education in Istanbul. Therefore, to better understand the present, it is worth to take a look at the past, as Walter Benjamin stated:

"History is the object of a construction whose place is not homogeneous and empty time, but a time full of 'contemporarity'. Hence, for [Maximilien] *Robespierre, ancient Rome was a past time loaded with contemporarity, which he brought out from the continuity of history".*[3]

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[1] Oechslin, 2007, p. 171.

[2] Külliyes are complexes consisting of a mosque, religious colleges or madrasas, a bath, a hospice, a soup kitchen, a hospital and other buildings for various benevolent services for the community.

[3] Benjamin, 2012, pp. 19-20. Translated by Gyler Mydyti from the Italian language: "La storia è oggetto di una costruzione il cui luogo non è il tempo omogeneo e vuoto, ma quello pieno di 'attualità'. Cosi per Robespierre, la Roma antica era un passato carico di attualità, che egli faceva schizzare dalla continuità della storia."

Although today it is quite risky to discuss about or refer to the urban history of Istanbul, it should be emphasized that Istanbul still owes a part of its individuality and its glorious image to its immortal history. "[The] *metamorphosis* [of Istanbul] *from 'Roma Nova' to the 'sacred city of Islam' produced unparalleled configurations in its urban form*."[4] Furthermore, the megalopolis "*a hundred times larger than its historical quarters*"[5] has continuously established an intertwined relationship between its geography, politics and culture. These three components have been absolutely decisive for the overall transformations of the city throughout its process of becoming a megalopolis.

If we observe the structure of the city from the point of view of the history of educational institutions, it is possible to define the historical segments that have generated interrelated influence between the city and the educational buildings. Considering that Istanbul's contemporary universities have their roots in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (October 29th, 1923), the evolution of higher education in Istanbul with regard to the city structure developments might be analysed through two general phases: before and after the establishment of the Republic. Before the establishment of the Republic, the significant periods for the founding and the transformation process of the higher educational system in Istanbul are the following: the Byzantine period, the early Ottoman period and the late Ottoman period.

1. Before the Establishment of Turkish Republic

1.1 The Byzantine Period: Before the Great Transformations

When we take a look at the higher education institutions before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, it is difficult to talk about higher education during the Byzantine Period; the Byzantine schools were not comparable to the Western universities of the Middle Ages. From the organizational point of view, the schools of the Byzantine Empire have been associated with the academies of the ancient world. Even though the imperial decrees could sometimes finance and influence their functioning, private foundations mainly established the schools of the Byzantine period. However, the private associations and the erudites' schools were important in Emperor Constantine's capital but not fundamental for its development. These schools had a limited lifetime and depended directly – as some contemporary private universities do – from their founder. Nevertheless, during the 12th century a considerable number of schools dependent on imperial donations have been discovered. Whereas it is observed that 1204 was the year – during the Byzantine period – after which no report has been recorded on the educational institutions.[6] As it is difficult to say something about the higher education in this period, it is also difficult to comment on the city developments with regard to these institutions' architectural structure.

1.2 The early Ottoman period: Growth and Progress

When it comes to the early Ottoman period (15th-16th century) it is important first of all to take a look at what the Ottoman City has inherited from the Byzantine one; secondly, which are the characteristics of the urban tissue that made Istanbul become an Islamic city; and lastly, what kind of role the educational institutions played within the city. It has been observed that the pre-Ottoman city is characterized by a dispersed urban configuration, where the back streets create an irregular and dense pattern, and the large main arteries connect the scattered great public squares. It is also noted that Constantinople's urban form was extremely different from the form of Rome.[7] Nevertheless, Giovanni Vavassore's plan, dating back to the beginning of the 16th century, shows that the Byzantine structure was not immediately cancelled, but, in fact, it maintained the main

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[4] Çelik, 1993, p. 10.
[5] See introduction of: Kuban, 2010, p. xi.
[6] Schreiner, 2007, pp. 135-138.
[7] Çelik, 1993, pp. 10-19.

arteries leading to the public squares.[8] Actually the period beginning with the conquest of Istanbul by Sultan Mehmet II[9], on May 30th 1453, is the most important turning point in the history of the city and its educational institutions. With his desire to transform Istanbul into an economic, cultural and religious centre of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmet II opened up a new era of building activity. Public works, institutional and religious buildings created complex and sophisticated networks in the city. This kind of initiatives contributed in changing the street fabric of the Byzantine city in a significant way. Mehmet II's city was developing around self-contained districts (*nahiyes*) and their subunits, neighbourhoods (*mahalles*). Originating from a central node, the interweaving of each district and its subunits created a functional molecular structure of the city. Therefore, the new districts were mainly developing around the newly built *Külliye*s, the nuclei of the molecular city structure. The *Külliye* as a "*religious complex was the model of the ideal city in the miniature form. It was the social core of its neighbourhood* [...], *the spiritual and intellectual centre of the whole city.*"[10] Meanwhile, the new developments of the city structure were not based on a-priori organizational principles but on the city's functional components, which were sequentially related to each other. Their relationship was based on a hierarchy, in the following top-down order: religion, state, trade and housing. This hierarchy, beside the intermolecular relationship between the various elements, was also reflected in the building materials of each component of the city structure.[11] For example, the dense, wooden residential fabric of Istanbul made the city vulnerable to fires. And, just as in Byzantine times, fires could often destroy entire neighbourhoods. The *Külliye*s, the beating heart of these molecules of city structure, in several cases, due to their function and materials became outstanding monuments of the city. With their geometrical and axial schemes they succeeded to break up the irregular fabric of the city. At the same time, they were also considered as the symbols of the introversion of Ottoman urbanism.[12] As soon as Mehmet II conquered the city, he decided to replace Constantine's church[13] with a mosque dedicated to him. Consequently, on the fourth hill of the city he established his *Külliye*. The construction of this complex, which included eight madrasas, was completed in 1471. This type of intervention meant a lot not only to the Ottoman Empire, but also represented the beginning of a new era of education in the history of Islam. Mehmet II's complex acted as a magnet around which residential neighbourhoods developed. It was the first in a succession of imperial *Külliye*s that contributed in determining the monumental character of the skyline of Ottoman Istanbul. With its location, physical characteristics, architectural features, provided financial incentives and curriculum, this complex was considered as a great institution of higher education and research.[14] The Madrasas, one of the constituent element of *Külliye*s, from the foundation of Islam in Anatolia until the late Ottoman period, were the institutions where religion and science were taught. Some scholars state that the role of madrasas was comparable to that of the first Western Universities, such as those of Bologna and Paris.[15] Istanbul, as an Ottoman capital, was the city that offered the highest level of religious and scientific education. State authorities such as sultans, their wives, the viziers and other benevolent people founded and supported the madrasas to ensure their continuity.[16] The development of the Ottoman Empire's educational system is related to the most progressive period of great building activities in Istanbul: "*During the long reign of Süleyman (1520-66), Istanbul was endowed with many monuments, and it was in the work of the great architect Sinan (1490-1588) that classical Ottoman architecture reached its pinnacle.*"[17] The *Süleymaniye Külliyesi* designed by Sinan was not only an exceptional Islamic and Ottoman contribution to Istanbul's urban form and skyline, but a symbol of great progress of the Ottoman Empire in the field of natural sciences. This huge socio-religious complex is made up of a mosque with an adjacent courtyard in the centre, five madrasas, a

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[8] *ibid,* pp. 23-25.
[9] Mehmet II's Reign: 1451-1481
[10] Erzen, 1987, p. 95.
[11] Cerasi, 1987, pp. 52-53.
[12] Çelik, 1993, p.27.
[13] Church of the Holy Apostles.
[14] İşpirli, 2008, pp. 9-25.
[15] See: Öztürk, 2009, pp. 20-28.
[16] Ahunbay, 2011, pp. 76-78.
[17] Çelik, 1993, p.26.

hospital, a medical school, a public kitchen, a caravansary, mausoleums, shops and fountains[18] (Illustration_01, Figure_01). Sinan's buildings were in perfect harmony with their sites. His contribution to the city's urban developments was fundamental; he always sought to refer to the existing architecture and to the culture and assets that Istanbul had inherited from the past ages. Thus, Sinan, with his genius and exceptional vision, managed to find innovative solutions for the necessities of the city and its society.

Figure_01 Collage for the electrification and public transportation of Istanbul.

Illustration_01 Collage for the electrification and public transportation of Istanbul.

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[18] *ibid,* p. 27.

1.3 The late Ottoman period: Westernization and Industrialization

In this period, due to the gradual decline of the economic power of the Ottoman Empire, the scale of the building activity was by no means comparable to that of the period previously mentioned. The late Ottoman period (18th-19th century) was characterized by the huge effort of the Sultans to make reforms that could modernize the empire. This was the period during which fundamental changes were undertaken through constant reference to European architecture and urban planning. Therefore, this might be considered as the period in which the city began the transformation, which led to the current situation. The architectural and urban developments of Europe and of the Ottoman Empire have been compared by Doğan Kuban as follows: "*The 18th century is the century of enlightenment for the Ottoman administration, not in the sense of the Age of Enlightenment, but in the sense of an apprehension of the existence, and perhaps superiority of the European world. This led to the unceasing efforts to reform, with ups and downs.*"[19] At the beginning of the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire also felt the necessity to found an institution which could educate engineers who could revolutionize the stagnating and declining empire. Thus, the establishment of a printing house, the reform and improvement of fighting equipment, and the founding of technical education were, among others, significant goals to fight the military defeats of the empire. These initiatives, which led to no results, were undertaken by Sultan Ahmed III[20] in 1727 and carried on by Sultan Mahmud I.[21] Furthermore, important results were achieved during the reign of Sultan Mustafa III.[22] When the Russian fleet annihilated the Ottoman one in 1770, Admiral Hasan Pasha of Algiers[23] (1714-1790), realised that the existing institutions of higher education, the madrasas, were in no position to improve the situation. Following his inspiration and with the help of François Baron de Tott (1733-1793) the Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Hümâyûn (Imperial School of Naval Engineering) was established in 1773. According to Baron de Tott "*This School, principally intended to promote maritime Knowledge, was established at the Arsenal; but none could be admitted except persons old enough to serve those views of present Advantage with which it was undertaken.*"[24] This school was mentioned as "*Accademia di Nautica, detta Muhendis Khanè all'Arsenale*"[25] (Naval Academy, known as Muhendis Khanè by the Arsenal) by Italian writer Giambatista Toderini (1728-1799) in his book *Letteratura Turchesca dell'Abate,* which was written after his stay in Istanbul in the years 1781-1786. The engineering school, which was located in the shipyards of the Golden Horn, was continuously upgrading itself by giving more importance to naval knowledge; building ships and designing naval maps became the fundamental concentrations of the school. Moreover, during the reign of Sultan Selim III[26], many attempts were undertaken to modernize the Empire. Due to the Sultan's reformist approach, strenuous efforts were made to achieve an education based on engineering and science. Thus in 1795 he established the Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn (Imperial School of Civil Engineering) and issued an imperial decree to improve the engineering school. Given the situation of the weakening Ottoman Empire, the main goal of this school was to train technical military staff in order to modernize the Ottoman army. It might be observed that the abovementioned decree contains requirements comparable to those of modern Turkish universities. An important aspect of this decree is that it shows how the Empire was taking its first steps to secularize its educational institutions. One of the paragraphs of Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn's 1210/1795 decree states that: "*The appointed four teachers, other than the aforementioned four deputy teachers, should teach all the necessary natural sciences and the necessary languages to all the teachers and students of Mühendishâne-i Berrî; they should be chosen by scholars and skilful people, and not according to their social class and religion, subsequently their social classes and religious beliefs*

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[19] Kuban, 2010, p. 433.
[20] Ahmed III's Reign: 1703-1730.
[21] Mahmud I's Reign: 1730-1757.
[22] Mustafa III's Reign: 1757-1774.
[23] Hasan Pasha, during 1770-1790, was a statesman who dealt with the management, security and water problems of Istanbul. See: Sakaoğlu, 1994, p. 565.
[24] Baron de Tott, 1786, p.176.
[25] Toderini, 1787, p.127.
[26] Selim III's Reign: 1789-1807.

should not be registered."[27] The educational reforms were fundamental for the organisation of a modern state. Leaving the school issue aside and taking a look at the developments at city level, it might be observed that in the first scientific map of the city, prepared and drafted by François Kauffer in 1786[28] (Illustration_02), *Külliye*s are emphasized, not incidentally, as the nodes of the molecular structure of the city.

Illustration_02 Madrasas of Süleymaniye. Illustration by Kani Kuzucular.

This map, which served as base for Barbié De Bocage's more detailed 1819 map, became one of the most important testimonies showing the urban tissue of Istanbul and the settlements along the Bosphorus.[29] The developments which took place during the reign of Sultan Selim III, with the completion of the first map and the evolution of the Mühendishâne, illustrate the tight relations between the Ottoman and French governments. In fact, these developments show the influence of French engineering and architectural culture in Istanbul. Moreover, with the development of the shipyards and the Mühendishâne, many industries were established near the Arsenal along the Golden Horn, which was considered the city's industrial area par excellence. In this phase the educational institutions became the centres of industrial development. As we have seen before, up to 1839 the westernization of Ottoman Empire was limited to the improvement of the military forces. This is why the Empire made significant investments in the fields of technology, science and education. The unconfessed secularism of the educational institutions became evident after the proclamation of the Tanzimat Charter[30] in 1839. The economic and socio-political transformations made between 1838 and 1908 aimed at a profound modernization of the old system.[31] Many transformations were made in the Mühendishâne from 1847 until 1909, when it became fully independent from military control. With the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1838 and the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 fundamental changes took place, which might be

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[27] Çeçen, Şengör, 1988, p. 30. Translated by Gyler Mydyti from the Turkish language: *"Bahsi geçen dört hoca yardımcısından başka diğer dört hocanın atanmasında, bu hocaların Mühendishâne-i Berriye'nin bütün hoca ve öğrencilerine gerekli fen bilimlerini ve gerekli dilleri öğretmek üzere bilgi ve beceri sahibi kimselerden seçilmesi ve ait bulunduğu sosyal sınıf ve inançlarına bakılmayarak bu sosyal sınıf ve inançların kaydedilmemesi gerekmektedir."*
[28] Kubilay, 2010, p. 116.
[29] Kuban, 1994, p. 492.
[30] The definition made by Enciclopaedia Britannica: *"Tanzimat, (Turkish: "Reorganization"), series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876 under the reigns of the sultans Abdülmecid I and Abdülaziz. These reforms, heavily influenced by European ideas, were intended to effectuate a fundamental change of the empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern state."* See: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/582884/Tanzimat
[31] Çelik, 1993,

considered as turning points in the history of the empire. Moreover, the uncontrolled growth of the industrial areas on both sides of the Golden Horn during the 19th century transformed the city's traditional image (Figure_02_03).

Figure_02 View of Silahtarağa Power Plant's Engine House and Boiler House.

Figure_03 View of Istanbul's skyline from the ITU Ayazağa campus.

At the beginning of the 20th century the high chimneys of the industrial city began to compete with the minarets of the historical city.[32] The residential areas developed around the factories. In 1911, after a Tender announcement in the previous year, The Silahtarağa Power Plant was established at the upper end of the Golden Horn, at the point where the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu district meet (Illustrations_03_04). The electrification of the city, which was introduced in 1914, was one of the most important achievements that the Ottoman Empire has ever made. The Silahtarağa Power Plant was built on an area of 118,000 sqm, with a construction time period of 40 years, from about 1910 to 1950[33] (Figures_04_05).

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[32] Kuban, 2010, p. 457
[33] Aksoy, Açıkbaş, Akman, 2009, pp. 1-2.

Illustration_03 François Kauffer's Map of Istanbul.

Illustration_04 Cover of Ameli Electric Magazine, January 1926.

Figure_04 Skyscrapers in front of the ITU Ayazağa campus.

Figure_05 The Süleyman Demirel Cultural Centre in the ITU Ayazağa campus.

2. After the Establishment of the Turkish Republic

Immediately after the establishment of the Republic, due to the effort of the government to make Ankara the capital city of Turkey, Istanbul was somehow neglected. The redevelopment of Istanbul began after World War II, when Turkey became a multi-party republic and promoted capitalistic economy. In the pre-war period many attempts were made to regularize the city's urban structure. Various foreign urban planners were invited by the government to plan the city's urban development, but no significant result was obtained. After the war, the city became more and more like a motorised American city with high-rise buildings.[34] Thus Istanbul, after being a city of minarets, and later of chimneys, started to become a city of skyscrapers. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes has been considered as the personality who sought to address the speculation on behalf of controlling the incredibly rapid growth of Istanbul (Figure_06).

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[34] Kuban, 2010, p. 509.

Figure_06 View of the main north-south axis of the ITU Ayazağa Campus.

During his mandate (1950-1960), vast transformations were carried out by opening new roads, which heavily influenced the city's urban image: "*The new image has nothing to do with Istanbul. It is the image of all the developing Turkish cities, created by the unassimilated and ugly interpretation of the modern world. A cliché at its worst.*"[35] The metamorphosis of the classical Ottoman urban image into a more cosmopolitan one was achieved by utilizing forms and elements derived from the Western cities. Therefore, the Americanization of the educational institutions' vision was inevitable. After 1950 new greenfield campuses[36] based on the American model were built in the outskirts of Istanbul, while the inner-city universities continued to function. The construction of the new campuses was due to the growing number of university students and workers, fostered by university-industry cooperation and by the further developments of education and research activities. The Mühendishâne, after a long period of transformations, finally became the Istanbul Technical University in 1944.[37] It became a State University, which was continuously expanding and becoming more important both nationally and internationally. At the beginning of the 1960s, the inner city campuses (Gümüşsuyu, Maçka, Taşkışla) of the Istanbul Technical University were becoming inadequate to fulfil the necessities of the growing institution. Thus, in 1966 through a protocol between the university and the Municipality of Istanbul was decided to build a new campus in the outskirts of the city, an area not yet densely urbanized between Maslak and Hisarüstü.[38] Resting on a 247 hectare area, the Ayazağa Campus of ITU is located in the Maslak district (Figure_07), which has now become one of Istanbul's main business and trade centres. After the unsuccessful result of the first competition, due to some changes in property issues, the senate of the university decided to give the task of designing the preliminary project of the Ayazağa Campus to Prof. Dr. Kemal Ahmet Aru (Illustration_05).

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[35] *ibid*, p. 548.
[36] Hoeger, 2007, p. 13.
[37] Çeçen, 1990, p. 40.
[38] Aka, 2005, p. 2.

Figure_07 View of the library in the Santralistanbul Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University.

Illustration_05 Prof. Dr. Kemal Ahmet Aru's plan for the establishment of the ITU Ayazaga Campus.

The design and programming process of the new campus, that was planned to host about 12,000 students, was completed between 1970-1971. The construction of the campus, which started in 1973, was never finished.[39] The master plan of the campus has continuously been revised and many buildings, which were not foreseen in Aru's plan, are now being built (Figure_08). According to a statement of Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu[40], current dean of the Faculty of Architecture of ITU, the incompletion of Aru's plan has depended on several reasons, such as:

1.   incompatibility with the topography of the site;
2.   insufficiency of financial sources;
3.   1996 master plan adjustments due to the Metro excavations;
4.   Aru's inadequate design approach to respond to present and future growth of the campus;
5.   changing administrative influences; and changing architectural visions in Turkey.

Figure_08 View of the contemporary art centre in the Santralistanbul Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University.

In the meanwhile, the Silahtarağa Power Plant located on the Golden Horn was closed in 1983 and then abandoned for about 20 years.[41] During and after the 1950s, when Istanbul's reconstruction was developing very rapidly, dense residential areas were developed on the hills of the Golden Horn. As the valley of the Golden Horn was intensively industrialized, many people settled around the factories in which they were working or were trying to be employed in. These developments were made up of shanty houses called *Gecekondu*s. Not only the Silahtarağa Power Plant, but also other Golden Horn based industries began to cease activity in the 1980s. Therefore it became a totally abandoned area, not only because of the empty factories but also because of the pollution left behind by the industries. In the last two decades many efforts have been made to redevelop and reclaim the area. Thanks to the numerous recent transformation projects, the Golden Horn

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[39] Aka, 2005, 2-7.
[40] A conversation with Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu on May 7th 2012, at the Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul.
[41] Aksoy, Açıkbaş, Akman, 2009, pp. 3-11.

valley, which was an abandoned and polluted industrial area, is turning into a public and cultural centre. In 2004, the purpose of converting the Silahtarağa Power Plant into a cultural-educational institution was accomplished. Another very important purpose of this transformation was to restore the industrial heritage of the city.[42] The project of transformation undertaken by the Istanbul Bilgi University is called "santralistanbul" (Figure_10_11). It is a project by well-known Istanbul based architects Emre Arolat, Ihsan Bilgin, Nevzat Sayın and Han Tümertekin, which was developed between the years 2004-2007.[43] Furthermore, in the book *Campus and the City*[44], it is stated that: "*the Santral site is being transformed from an industrial wasteland into a thriving academic and cultural park, reactivating the area and fostering direct exchange with the surrounding neighbourhoods.*" Actually, up to now, no significant exchange with the surrounding neighbourhoods may be perceived, but the hope for better results in the future never dies.

Conclusion

Despite the numerous attempts made by the city's administrative authorities to regularize the urban structure, the city has continued its spontaneous and rapid growth. Istanbul is transforming from the *City of Minarets* into the *City of Skyscrapers*. Although today the city appears to be very chaotic, it still maintains the molecular structure inherited from the Ottoman period. Istanbul has remained a compound made up of different "molecules", each containing and representing different activities of the city.

If in the past the *Külliye*s were the nuclei around which the residences developed chaotically, today the university campuses together with the commercial centres play a similar role.

Just as the *Külliye*s, the contemporary university campuses may be considered as symbols of introversion. Their introversion is not related to the architectural language as the introversion of *Külliye*s was, but it is related to their "impermeability". Today, Istanbul's university campuses are becoming institutions in which only "perfect people" chosen by "perfect authorities" have access. This kind of approach is creating a social class diversification.

The campuses of Istanbul, despite their location, have neither a totally Anglo-Saxon attitude nor a European one, because their references are never entirely clear. In both the city and the university buildings, Western influences are still recognizable. These influences consist in borrowing forms from foreign cultures, as happened during the late Ottoman period and during Menderes' time. From observing the historical experience of the early Ottoman period, it is possible that satisfactory results could be achieved if the solutions of the problems were sought in the city's own culture and landscape, and according to the needs of its citizens.

The two contemporary case studies, Istanbul Technical University (Ayazağa Campus) and Istanbul Bilgi University (Santralistanbul campus), even though located in totally different contexts and considered as antonyms of each other, from the point of view of permeability, show more or less the same result. Both universities do not serve ordinary citizens, but only the students who pass the admission tests and the employees who work there. Bilgi University, as a private institution, mostly serves students belonging to the higher classes of society. In this campus, there are no strict entrance controls as happens in other universities. It offers more public and cultural activities than the other Istanbul universities, but it is difficult to see citizens from the surrounding neighbourhoods who take advantage of the campus, as often happens in European university campuses. On one hand, the fact that both universities are surrounded by highways and informal settlements may be considered as a common problem, but on the other hand both seem to possess the potentials to become important catalysts for the surrounding neighbourhoods.

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[42] *ibid,* p. 53.

[43] For more information see: Arolat, E., Bilgin, I., Sayın, N., Tümertekin, H., "santralistanbul", Yapı, 313, December 2007, pp. 52-70.

[44] Hoeger, Christiaanse, 2007, p. 221.

Captions

Figure_01: Collage for the electrification and public transportation of Istanbul. İ.E.T.T. Otobüs ve havagazı işletmeleri umum müdür dergisi: 1956-1957. Archives of Atatürk Kitaplığı.

Figure_02: View of Silahtarağa Power Plant's Engine House and Boiler House. İ.E.T.T. Otobüs ve havagazı işletmeleri umum müdür dergisi: 1956-1957. Archives of Atatürk Kitaplığı.

Figure_03: View of Istanbul's skyline from the ITU Ayazağa campus. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, April 2012.

Figure_04: Skyscrapers in front of the ITU Ayazağa campus. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, April 2012.

Figure_05: The Süleyman Demirel Cultural Centre in the ITU Ayazağa campus. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, April 2012.

Figure_06: View of the main north-south axis of the ITU Ayazağa Campus. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, April 2012.

Figure_07: View of the library in the Santralistanbul Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, May 2011.

Figure_08: View of the contemporary art centre in the Santralistanbul Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University. Photo taken by Gyler Mydyti, May 2011.

Illustration_01: Map of urbanized areas of Istanbul in different periods of time and the localization map of the Madrasas of Süleymaniye, the ITU's Maslak Campus and the IBU's Santrailstanbul Campus.

Illustration _02: Madrasas of Süleymaniye. Illustration by Kani Kuzucular.

Illustration_03: François Kauffer's Map of Istanbul. Denizler Kitabevi.

Illustration_04: Cover of Ameli Electric Magazine, January 1926. Archives of Atatürk Kitaplığı.

Illustration_05: Prof. Dr. Kemal Ahmet Aru's plan for the establishment of the ITU Ayazaga Campus. Archives of Istanbul Technical University.

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Planning a New Railway Transport System in the United Arab Emirates to Upgrade the Making of the Metropolis

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In the United Arab Emirate, urban development has followed the construction of a dense road network built to ensure economic development and better connectivity across the territory. As a result, congestion, car accident fatalities and atmospheric pollution has become main issues for the sustainable development of metropolis, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah. These cities have grown being loci of highest investments of benefits from oil and gas economy. In cities within cities urbanism which has appeared being the norm, daily mobility is highly dependent on private and independent mode of transport. Few mass transit systems which could be alternatives to private vehicles dependency have been introduced till the Metro of Dubai and the project of a Rail Sea Link.

Given the resonance of the global financial crisis on the real estate development of Emirati metropolis, the renewal of transport infrastructure will give another trend in urban growth. This rail network which would be linking major metropolises of the United Arab Emirates is one of the most promising projects in the country. Aiming at giving new travel time scale between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, it could be the backbone of the remaking of a renewed urbanism, especially regarding potential for transit oriented development around train stations.

The main question will be where renewal potentials of the existing urban fabric according to the new location of the rail transport station? It will be under qualitative interviews, quantitative surveys and field investigations that we'll collect data, analyze results and discuss on remodeling potential of Emirati cities around the main rail stations.

In this article, the two authors will explain the potential of the rail stations in the remaking of the urban fabric. It aims at remaking local urban fabric in a more sustainable and perennial trend in specific cases studies around potential stations, giving the image branding impact of a relatively high speed rail.

INTRODUCTION – CONTEXT

Urban development has occurred in the metropolitan area along the Gulf at a very high speed in particular since early 2000. Most of the observant of the urbanization of the Emirati large cities observe that a dense road network has been developed to follow up the tendency.

The Cities of the Gulf have been changing at a very fast pace that are reflected by the "*glass, steel and concrete towers give the UAE's cities the appearance of transplanted Houston rising above the flat sands of the Gulf*". While "*the virtual absence of any physical structure more than10 years of fifteen years old in Abu Dhabi reflects the extraordinary pace of change; only a few old building survive in Dubai and Sharjah* (Peck, 1986: 66). This incredible fast developments have occurred with a focus given to "*road engineering*" with its "*traffic rules, like high speed curbs and road that are unnecessarily wide*" (John Elliott during a conversation with Todd Reisz in AMO, 2007). This urban planning prone to extend the road network has lead to a very efficient mobility when it is not rush hours.

Very soon, large discontents have been expressed by the inhabitants who had to cope with traffic congestion and trip growing duration length. As comments posted mentioned *"I recently spent the months of April and May in UAE. I suffered a lot and wasted lot of time in traffic jams.* […]*Whenever we reach near our residence I started praying 'Allah humma barek lana be rahmatika' nearest parking. It's really a growing anxiety of all inhabitants.* " This resident of Dubai is originally from Pakistan and works as an executive manager, conclude with *"the government of UAE must sit together with internationally renowned roads and construction experts to find a solution to this issue. Even visitors not used to it are fed up and this will affect the tourism industry".*[1]

In the United Arab Emirate, urban development has followed the construction of a dense road network built to ensure economic development and better connectivity across the territory. Here, to date, *"the UAE government has continuously given high priority to the development of the country's infrastructure and has invested over 25% of its GDP annually in recent years to build the present modern system of seaports, roads and telecommunication services. This in turn has paid back handsomely enabling the once oil dependant state to now actively promote its non-oil sectors and draw in income from a myriad of sources thereby enabling the country to further reduce its dependence on oil reserves*", (Al Sharhan International consultancy, 2000 : 61 quoted page 137 in AMO, 2007).

As a result, congestion and atmospheric pollution has become two main issues for the sustainable development of the cities of Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah. While these cities have grown being loci of highest investments of benefits from production and export of oil and gas, local bodies have paid little attention to public transport systems which could be alternatives to the utilization of private vehicles. Given the resonance of the global financial crisis on the real estate development of Emirati metropolis, the renewal of transport infrastructure will give another trend in urban growth. Indeed the infrastructure has always gathered the major investment effort from the Emirati governmentAs a consequence, the extension of the road network in Emirati cities was not sufficient to ensure a smooth traffic flow while it was responding at a fast speed to the growing demand for daily mobility. Indeed as others majors authors have proved in the past, the "*addition of new road links means that more traffic will be generated, making the environment more polluted and increasing the mobility problems for those without access to a car.*" However the objectives are rather *"to maintain town centre viability and to reduce the impact that the car has on the use of resources and atmospheric pollution".* This objective will be obtained *"through a combination of strategies"* to […] *progress* […] *towards sustainable development objectives"* (Banister, 1995:2).

Indeed transport investments have changed their focused to explore another mode of transit which is the rail. Indeed, it is well known that *"transport investment in urban rail infrastructure is seen as a major instrument in shaping city structure and in promoting economic development"* (Banister, 1995:2).

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[1] http://www.gulftalent.com/home/Dubai-Overtakes-Cairo-in-Traffic-Congestion-Article-23.html

2005, at a Middle East and North Africa conference, the project of building a rail infrastructure between the Syrian Border to the Oman sea shores have been presented to the public.[2] As a part of the Common Goal of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arabian Rail will connect the existing Saudi rail network. In the United Arab Emirates, this rail network could be linking major cities and it is one of the most innovative projects in the country. Aiming at giving new travel time scale between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, it could become a new backbone of a different urban development, especially regarding transit oriented development opportunities in the vicinity of the train stations. Few train stations have been decided to ensure a fast transit between Dubai and Abu Dhabi but it appears that still discussions and debates occurred among the main institutional and political actors to locate precisely the stations. Another parameter is to consider that this rail infrastructure is planned for being a fret line only.

In the context of the United Arab Emirates, a little is known about the institutional context of the decision making process in urban development. As it is such a strategic project, the rail infrastructure is yet not been finalized. In this article, we cannot discuss of the opportunity of redevelopment around the stations since they are not yet finalized in the urban area. Though it is a capital issue for the assessment ex ante and post hoc of the rail infrastructure impact, it is not yet possible to make assumptions as consulting studies and institutions decision are still under process.

That's why this paper aims as focusing on the Arabian Rail's stakes that are formulated by the main institutional. The rail infrastructure needs specific condition to be able to help the redevelopment of the urban fabric in specific point, as the political and public institution explicit will to impact the fabric and the quality of life.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has very soon implemented some plans designed at first a large rail network (please refer to figure

Figure 1: Rail infrastructure in Saudi Arabia

The current rail on-going project of the United Arab Emirates as it is proposed in 2011 is to be connecting Doha with Damman and the Saudi network (please refer to figure 2).

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[2] http://www.ameinfo.com/73953.html

Figure 2: Rail Infrastructure Project in the United Arab Emirates

METHODOLOGY

Because of uncertainty of the possible exact location of the future station in the UAE, we propose hereby an overview on how the idea of the project has emerged and what are its relation to the urban impact of the new rail infrastructure with describing closely how decision making have been processed and what are opinions of different actors on this question.

For the position of most of institutional actors, the questions will go around the new rail infrastructure and its integration in discourses, policies and projects as an important backbone of a new strategic urban development? According to the main actors, what are the challenges of the new railway infrastructure? How is the strategic and regional planning included/ apprehended in local policy and planning regulation? How is foreseen the urban impact of the new rail infrastructure development?

Few interviews have been asked to key stakeholders, who are mostly official involved for the different agencies in the Arabian Rail project. The option of disclosing some of the results of the consulting report have been rejected since it is still only forecast on which it is not possible to build a scientific and unquestionable demonstration.

We assume that the multilayered and multi-scale division of the decision making process might lead to an interference in the implementation of an urban redevelopment program of the portion of the cities concerned with the rail routes. The aim of the article is to give an analysis on the challenges and objectives of the Arabian Rails. We have conducted two kinds of inquiries in different timescale. The a priori urban impacts of the modernisation of local rail infrastructure have been assessed by different actors and their view on the attended impacts converged.

At first, we have consulted in the process of our research on the question of transport in the city-making of Gulf Metropolis, most of the urban and transport policy documents published by the government of Abu Dhabi Emirate, which are the Surface Transport Master Plan (2009) and the Abu Dhabi Urban Framework (2007).

In a second stage, as official in Etihad Rail, we have analysed the proposals made by consultants (that we won't disclose as it is not yet officially approved) and started designing the main brakes to the rail infrastructure projects. In a closer look to federal, emirate, city documents and in the concerned institutions we'll try to understand their view of the urban development, stakes and problems, opportunities and threats, with placing clearly the planning process of the rail infrastructure development, a global sense will appear from this study. The deconstruction of the chain of commands in the Abu Dhabi Emirate through important and very short inquiry to key

stakeholders as what is the rationale of the urban development around the UAE and the GCC railways to measure the integrated development across the major urban centres. Another important question was focusing on the coordination between the institutional actors to frame the institutional and organization chart of the decision-making process. At last another major point was focused on the major assets of the new planned infrastructure for the development of Abu Dhabi.

To the question, what was the rationale of the rail infrastructure, two respondents called a mix of different set of arguments, but all of them agreed on the potential for redesign and retrofitting the urban sprawl pattern in most of the metropolitan area in United Arab Emirates.

For Etihad officials, the question of giving a potential for transit oriented development around a new rail infrastructure does not involve only technical issues as the rail alignment, the expected freight traffic or the potential passenger's traffic but also carried out the question of the implementation of the planning vision, the coordination of different entities and the conditions of land acquisition.

DEVELOPMENT VISIONS AND PLANNING INSTITUTIONS

One of the major arguments of the rail infrastructure is given in the national and emirates policies. This particular project aims at introducing freight and passengers between Gulf Cooperation Council countries to help in connecting all major hubs and remotes but productive areas.

Key words for transport in Abu Dhabi 2030

The major drivers of the Plan Abu Dhabi 2030 are the diversification of national economy, some new tools for urban planning in the document prepared by Urban Planning Council and the desire for a change in the trend of development. The vision is given in the Master Plan 2030 Abu Dhabi and integrated quite fully in the Surface Transport Master Plan 2030. On the transportation axe, it is asked to "*complete a city-wide comprehensive transportation plan as soon as possible for multiple nodes, full arrangements for goods movement, and roads with a finely distributed patterns of streets and automobile access*" (*op.cit*: 5). Objectives are mostly to "*reduce the dependency on the use of private car*s", to increase the modal share of public transport, to improve "*the integration within the transport system"*, to "*reduce the carbon emissions",* to "*promote non-motorized movements"* and "*to enhance the integration of land use and transport planning/developmen*t" (*op.cit*:6).

The STMP policies are framed around the question of sustainability, connectivity and transportation. Their first assumption is that "*the best transport plan is a good land use plan*" (*op.cit*:4). The connectivity stakes aims at redrawing Abu Dhabi from being entirely dependent on private car. The solution proposed is "*a multilayered transport network to connect the downtown core with new growth nodes and the developed islands*" (*op.cit*: 4). The transportation stake of the STMP policy framework, it is clear that a "*multi-layered transport network" will "significantly reduce the numbers of cars on the road*" thus "*creating a better experience for those who continued to drive*". The STMP insist on the need to "*include high-speed rail to distant destinations, a local metro railway, a freight rail*" among others modes such as "*a surface network of buses, streetcars and light rail, and a fine grain of interconnected streets*".

Department of Transport, official status and transit choices

The Surface Transport Master Plan has been prepared in 2008-2009, under the guidelines set up by the Abu Dhabi 2030 Vision by the Department of Transport. The Department of Transport in Abu Dhabi Emirate has been established under the Law 4/2006 and its responsibilities have been expanded under the Law 5/2008 to the highway network, the road transport and public transport. "*DoT will be regulator, developer, manager and, where appropriate operator*" (Surface Transport Master Plan Abu Dhabi, 2009:2).

After several sessions of participative workshops and a collection of civil society feedbacks, experts have been also asked to give their own opinion on the Surface Transport Master Plan. One of the highlighted opinion states that "*land use planning will have the single biggest impact on transportation system performance. This is unusually enlightened view which provides a very strong foundation assuming that land use planning is closely coordinated with rail planning as quickly as possible*" (*op.cit*. :10). The actual transit oriented development orientation will be one of the key stakes of the implementation of the plan. For which, specific coordination have been planned among the DoT, the Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council, the Abu Dhabi Municipality and developers (Aldar, Emaar...). This objective was to be followed up with given clear authority to UPC being the major stake holder. Also, "*the current approach to traffic impact assessment will be overhauled and extended to become a multi-modal transport impact assessment*". The lack of preparation of the transit land use is one of the causes that make the Etihad Rail project even more ambitious: "*today, some policy makers wish that transit and rail transports had already been thought of and at least reserved corridors for future transport plans, at least for intercity train connections, metros, trams, etc.*"(M-Etihad-01).

The regional rail projects that is pursued by the Department of Transport is a "*high-speed intercity trains from Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Al Ain and Al Gharbia, with potential extensions to Oman, Saudi Arabia and Qatar*" (STMP, 2009:64). Besides an intra-urban metro, "*suburban trains will provide services to key suburbs or town within the Emirate, including Shahama, Khalifa Port Industrial Zone, Mirfa and Ruwais*".

An example of other structure in the United Arab Emirates

In Dubai, the vision is given by the Dubai Executive Council which is the leading governmental institution. Every chairman of the major institutions is represented, such as the police, the Dubai Municipality, the environment agency, the Economic Development and Tourism Department, the Health care Department. This Council is chaired by the ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Maktum. Dubai Executive Council gives also a major vision that is implemented into projects by Road and Transport Authority. The city of Dubai has faced major traffic issues during the real estate boom of Dubai. The solution that are carried out by Dubai city institution are to decrease the traffic by 25% by introducing the metro and an efficient reliable bus system to expand the metro into new areas and to induce a new rail culture in mobility (metro and tram), notwithstanding the mobility of tourists. One of the major demands of Dubai city institutions are centered on the design of the train station that must be big, iconic and representative of Dubai dynamism. With the new rail transport offer for inter-cities mobility, it is supposed that the congestion that was due to an "*amazing development* […] *that no one expected*" (M-Etihad-01) will decrease.

Political, Technical and Planning Institutions as Stake Holders

A whole coordination program is set up among the stake holders. These policies not only give a vision but also a primary solution to organize the implementation. They have mentioned in their answers different set of issues that the new infrastructure can cope. Indeed given the structure of the Federal Government, the processes of implementation of federal projects are ambitious and prove the good coordination.

The organization of planning authorities, land granting institution and the land registry holder is quite complex in the context of a federation of seven independent emirates. Indeed as table 1 is showing that cooperation among several stake holders is the key of planning the development of the Arabian Rail project. In Abu Dhabi Emirates, there are five stake holders that shares most of the planning, land granting and land registry. It gives therefore a clear visibility for Etihad which is the responsible enterprise for federating all conditions around the implementation of the projects.

For instance, both the design of alignment and land acquisition the in the whole United Arab Emirates territory is being Etihad Rail "*in conjunction with*" other major stake holders in the UAE,

such as the "*Planning Authority, the Land Granting Institution, Land Registry Holder*" according to one of the interviewee (M-Etihad-02).

In both Dubai and Abu Dhabi, planning rights have been redrawn from the municipality, while in all 4 others emirates (Ajman is not included since it is not concerned by the rail infrastructure project), local urban body still control the spatial and physical planning. Abu Dhabi Municipality and Dubai Municipality still control via the registration in Land Department the allocation of the land. The transport planning is taking out of the scope of the Municipality (Sharjah, Dubai and Abu Dhabi) and is concentrated since 2006 in the Transport and/or Planning agencies.

Table 1: Distribution of the qualifications in the completion of the Arabian Rail project

	Abu Dhabi	Dubai	Sharjah	Ras Al Khaimah (RAK)	Fujairah	Umm Al Quwain (UAQ)
Planning Authority	UPC	RTA	Sharjah Town Planning and Survey Dirctorate	RAK Municipality	Fujairah Municipality	UAQ Municipality
Land Granting Institution	CPC	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Land Registry Holder	ADM, AAM and WRM	Dubai Municipality (?)	Sharjah Municipality (?)	RAK Municipality (?)	Fujairah Municipality (?)	UAQ Municipality (?)

Multiple stake holders have contributed to different interpretation of the vision given in the planning documents. Indeed, only in the Abu Dhabi Emirates, the Department of Transportation carried out the objectives of having a high speed rail infrastructure and a passenger service for the regional level, while Etihad estimated that only a medium speed and a freight service would be sufficient for the first decade of implementation.

Specific process of land acquisition

Land acquisition for Etihad is a central part of the decision about the construction of the rail infrastructure but also the location of the railway station that is to be in the current case designed in a medium speed and freight traffic orientation but that could evolved in the very near future.

In the Middle East, especially in the Emirates, traditions have been preserved. As the importance given to this specific kind of democracy, where nationals were welcomed to the Diwan of the ruler, as during the time of Sheikh Zayed bin Al Nahyan in Abu Dhabi. In the Diwan, the ruler sits and meets people for soving problems, tension and also allowing land to be given. In the case of the construction of a rail infrastructure, the responsible companies has to make the demand to the Diwan for obtaining the land ownership. One of the interviewee tell us that "*Etihad officials go to Diwan, in Sharjah, in Dubai and in Abu Dhabi, to have land given to build the infrastructure*", for the "*Diwan asks the Municipality to issue the land paper*s" (M-Etihad-04).

Etihad, a leading role in the rail infrastructure project

Etihad is a public owned company that is representing one of the two main actors in transportation planning at the Federal Level, along with the other main institution, National Transport Authority. A Federal Law in 2009 has created Etihad to pursue the completion to be responsible for the building and the construction of the Arabian Rail. The executive committee of Etihad is composed with a balanced number of representatives of major institutions and all the Emirates.

Etihad is responsible for the planning. The members of Etihad Board are here to co-operate and support the Rail Project, please refer to table 2. Etihad is an enterprise, precisely organized with a security committee and a government relation committee, which is directed by the General Manager of UPC. Etihad has for mission to manage the public work and to supervise the technical work. As Etihad is responsible, "i*t means that every ruler should accept the network plan prepared by Etihad*" (M-Etihad-04).

The complex program of a such a large scale infrastructure, not only has to cross state boundaries and even emirates borders but also to cross different metropolitan area with the major question of the location of the train station. This has led us to asking question on the coordination of the major institutional actor to another official in Etihad Rail. He is ensuring that regular meeting on a weekly and monthly basis. According to him, "*meetings and close coordination is managed between major stakeholders in order to use less time and achieve the milestones ahead"* (M-Etihad-02).

Table 2: Composition of the executive committee of Etihad Rail

Represented Emirates	Origin of the represent and Function	Total
Fujairah	Fujairah Ruler's Office	1
Sharjah	Chairman of Sharjah Traasportation Corporation	1
Dubai	Chairman of RTA Vice President of Dubai World (managing Port and Logistic) Executive director in the DOT	3
Abu Dhabi	General Manager of UPC Chairman of Eithad, chairman of Abu Dhabi Economic Council	2
Federal	Ministry of Public Works Managing director in the Ministry Managing Director of National Transport Authority	2

The network will be "*a large one once it is built*". The rail infrastructure will be "*100% governm*ent owned, shared among federal and Abu Dhabi Emirate". Meanwhile, the rail operations may be "*a joint venture with top international operators for the time being"* (M-Etihad-01). Emirate and Federal budgets are used to build the intercity and inter-emirate train.

POTENTIALS OF THE NEW RAIL INFRASTRUCTURE

In all the interviewees discourses collected manually out of a couple of face to face interviews with some key officials in Etihad, in spite of point at the possible difficulties which were constantly diminished or softened, the potential of the rail infrastructure are strengthened. Thus, there are not only an urban development potential but also will impact the urban and rural economy, and a necessary modification of the mobility behavior.

The Rail to Develop Economy

One of the issues mentioned is the linking with some "*remote areas*" where the rail will "*boost the economy*" (M-Etihad-01). A specific type of economic development induced by linkage between different regions for the first time at a reliable speed and convenient manners is expected in the vicinity of the station. The will to connect major urban areas with remotes places is supposed to encourage the goods mobility and trade activity.

The Rail to Change Behavior and Mobility Culture

Another stake of the rail infrastructure is to modify the mobility behavior. It is one of the major assets of the rail infrastructure dedicated to the passenger carriage but it is yet not been included in the current implemented plan. In the coming decades, investments increased in rail

infrastructure development might occur in the passenger traffic but for the moment it has not yet been an option for Etihad.

As carried out by the Abu Dhabi Vision of 2030 and in the Dubai Master plan of 2008-2012, the investment in metro and tram infrastructure are there to induce a new type of daily mobility routine. The investment in Rail infrastructure will help in developing the "*culture of transport in this region to use public transport*", thus it will also serve the "[increasing] *efficiency of bulk movement*" (M-Etihad-03).

The global aim in investing in the rail infrastructure seems not only to help better connectivity across the Gulf and its major urban areas but also to help mobility on rail. According to one of the interviewee, "*the demand of mobility between Oman, especially Muscat to Abu Dhabi and Dubai justify the conception of a rail infrastructure that can serve passenger transport*" (M-Etihad-02). For another interviewee, the "*the distances are quite ideal, both domestically between Dubai & Sharjah and Abu Dhabi, and also to Muscat and Qatar, which makes the demand to develop a rail transport mode a necessity*" (M-Etihad-01). For him, it seems possible that DoT's plans to build a "*high speed line*" carrying passengers *connecting Abu Dhabi, Dubai & Sharjah*" will be "*one day*" implemented (M-Etihad-01).

New Rail to Increase Urban Development Potentials

The objectives of urban development along the railway line are structured around a main ration that is to "*create or/and enhance development around the nodes of the railway*" according to an Etihad official (M-Etihad-03). This vision is centered on the belief that the transit infrastructure will generate automatically circulation that will gather in definite nodes that are to be the train stations. Indeed it has occurred in many occasions that specific interchange nodes had set up a dynamic rate of urban development, although it is not always the cases. This potential while being the most often mentioned during the interviews by the Etihad officials can happen only when the land planning allows densifications around the train stations that could also be limited because of the industrial risk management. Indeed the train stations are supposed to host mostly at first freight traffic that is linked either with the Jebel Ali Free Zone, the Mussafah Industrial Port or the Khalifa Port Industrial Zone.

The other respondent praised the public transportation network to help building denser urban agglomeration that turns useless the "*six-lane roads*" and the "*huge parking areas*". Meanwhile, "*the rail connections can also expand the commuting radius […]*" (M-Etihad-01). This argument seems to enhance most of the discourses from the institutions. On the contrary, another element of the discourse of one of the interviewee goes beyond the densification and the retrofitting tool by assuming that the railway station may "*[…] create new agglomerations*". Indeed, the same respondent go with the information that the railway will induce the development of "*new communities or with enough time even cities*". According to him, "*the cities in the UAE, mainly Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah have reached and already surpassed the critical size where transport purely based on cars can be handled sustainably*" (M-Etihad-01). Thus the railway nodes may occur of new era in the urban development in the United Arab Emirates.

CONCLUSION

According to an official interviewed from Etihad Rail Enterprise, the rail infrastructure is almost complete in the Emirates of Abu Dhabi to be linking the Western Region to Al Liwa Oasis.

In the context of the Economic Plan for 2030, a new infrastructure to support and conduct the development of agricultural, touristic and trade activities is needed, indeed, "*he physical infrastructure*" helps "*for diversificatio*n" (Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council, 2007:137). Without this rail infrastructure, it seems that UAE's plans for industrialization and the development of the agricultural, commercial, and tourist sectors would have remained unattainable.

Afterwards the study of official planning documentation of 2 main institutions in Abu Dhabi, it seems clear that while the rail infrastructure project is of primary importance. Although the responsible agency has carried out only a freight service, it appears that its officials are aware of the potentials and the opportunities given by a passenger service among the major metropolitan hubs. Unexpectedly the interviewees have even estimated possible to use the railway infrastructure to plan new settlements and even "*new towns*" around the stations. While all these projects are still on paper, it seems interesting –let's say even- fascinating to wait and see how the urban framework will evolve in the context of a transformation of transit offer.

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Towards a Conceptual Framework for Transforming Historical City-Centers into Sustainable Resources Case Study: Ano Poli of Thessaloniki Greece

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1. Introduction – definition of "place marketing"

1.1   Marketing

Marketing aims at satisfying customer needs. It is the process of creation, promotion and pricing products, services and ideas for making good trading relations with customers in a dynamic environment (Kotler, Keller, 2006). According to marketing rules achieving the objectives of a business or/and an organization depends on the identification of needs and desires of target markets, in a combination with efficient and effective supply of the desired satisfactions (Kotler, Armstrong, Saunders, Wong, 2001). Marketing strategy first of all aims at identification and analysis of a market and then at developing a marketing mix, that satisfies the market's needs. (Pride, Ferrell, 2000). According to Kotler a marketing mix includes the following procedures, known as 4P, although the latest years are considered to be 5: Product, Place, Promotion, Price και Personnel.

A marketing communication system may include: advertising, public relations, personal selling, sales promotion, direct marketing, sponsorships, website – online advertising, viral marketing. It is common, nevertheless, in order to develop an appropriate (efficient and effective) strategy and marketing for the project to carry a SWOT Analysis, i.e. an analysis of strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the business / organization. However, it is important also to deliberate and analyze the external environment - PEST(EL) Analysis: Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Ecological, Legal).

1.2 City marketing – place marketing

Place is considered to be a state, a geographic region, a city location with specific cultural and historical boundaries, a market with identifiable boundaries. Place marketing industry is a huge multi – billion dollar industry, where places are considered to be "good for consumption" and are aggressively sold. More and more areas are trying to build their own image or to replace their negative image by applying respective strategies.

According to professors Kotler, Hamlin, Rein, και Haider place marketing is "the design of a market in order to meet the market's targets in which it is addressed. This can be accomplished when citizens and businesses are satisfied with their own community and all the visitors and investors' expectations are satisfied". Essentially it is a local strategy for creating a new image of the place based on a realistic vision to rebuild its economy.

Place marketing aims in promoting the values and image of the place so that potential users are aware of the distinct advantages of it (Kotler et al, 1993) and therefore are able to distinguish that place among the others.

This process is not simple, where the city or/and the place is not treated as a tangible product, but as a company that takes risks, promotes initiatives and innovation. Additionally, "city marketing" is not just promoting the city (Seisdedos, 2006). For this reason it is not easy to quantify the results of the marketing application and in many cases has led to an erroneous marketing application of the cities. In recent years due to the improvement of infrastructure, transport, communication and information technology, more and more cities have turned their interest to the direction of place marketing in order to improve their image. The limited use, i.e. simple using logos, and not adopting of a long – term marketing strategy, has resulted in the failure of the method in many cases.

This superficial response is mainly due to many reasons as non-coheretion with the strategic growth of the city, lack of political interest to take seriously and to maintain long – term strategies, lack of investment in communications media, public awareness of what the target audience is, knowledge of perception of the quality of each joint and coordination among participants (Limburg, 1998)

Various locations, places and cities, are always in competition to attract "customers", investors and residents. This makes inevitable that intervention aimed at influencing the "parts" of these market, which is either deliberate, systematic and coherent, or can be done randomly or accidentally (Ashworth, 2004). In competitive situations for effective performance urban management should be strategic, market oriented and able to respond to trends of increasing competition Deffner, Liouris 2005).

Cities must become more attractive considering the following factors – requirements of places:

o   Residence

o   Locations for new companies / business

o   Investment areas

o   Places for hosting visitors (Van den Berg, Braun, 1999).

The main reasons for using marketing strategies by the cities are:

o   Attracting investment and tourism

o   Development of industrial and business activity

o   Attracting new residents and at the same time change the spread of the population

o   Influence the local community – internal marketing – which promotes local development and a key factor in how residents perceive their quality of life in their own city.

City marketing includes four main activities:

1. design services and define of characteristics of the city

2. identify incentives for potential "customers" of the provided products and services

3. efficient distribution of products

4. promotion of the image and the values of the city (Deffner, Liouris, 2005).

1.3 City Marketing Strategies

Among the most common marketing strategies of the cities are: ***city branding***, creating impressive structures – buildings, hospitality, organizing major events and virtual reality techniques (Deffner, Liouris, 2005). Furthermore, these strategies are the focus of attention on the natural environment and attractions as well as the marketing people (i.e. famous people or institutions of the region)

City branding is the adoption of trademarks of the cities (logos, motto). The positive promotion of the "brand name" helps developing the economy of attracting investments, business, visitors and residents. The image of the city must be: 1. invalid, 2. credible, 3. simple, 4. appealing, 5. distinctive (Langer, 2000). Using brand names, is already widespread because of the competition between cities, aiming at the recognition of the "product" and motivating people to learn more about the place and visit it. Despite the complexity of the procedure for a successful logo should be selected some of the existing social and cultural symbols of the city, that should also be simple, understandable and as original as possible, to avoid the risk of a cliché, have an obvious connection to the city / place (relevance, coherence), while reflecting and promoting the authenticity of the clear spirit of the place (genius loci).

Large – scale projects, i.e. impressive structures, play a functional role while they shape the image, the identity and the city marketing. Organizing large events pursue opportunities for regional, national and international promotion with low cost and high tourism development. Virtual reality techniques are commonly used to attract businesses looking for installation sites and are related to improved presentation representation of the space (model). Finally, it is worth noting that apart from these strategies should also be used the method of comparative evaluation (benchmarking) in relation with / to other cities / places in order to explore and to become an effective and competitive advantage of the place.

1.4 Traditional areas as attractive elements of the place

Architectural heritage is not only consisted of individual monuments, but also of their traditional areas, whose main characteristic is that they are living areas, in the meaning that a society is established in them, usually tied with the main primary production. The traditional village / area apart from the particular architectural style, includes the local community that lives, works, changes, evolves and creates a peculiar and unique set, monitoring and assisting in the local socioeconomic and cultural developments.

For this reason the protection of traditional villages and areas are beyond preservation and maintenance, a dynamic, energetic development, with upper view to their current reality, nowadays and ensure their sustainability in the future

Tourism, according to the Charta of ICOMOS for cultural tourism (Brussels, 1976) is a social, human, economic, cultural and not reversible event, which is adopted as a development strategy for the traditional areas / villages, forming a unique pattern of development, alternative and sustainable tourism. This pattern does not follow the widely used tourism development model, which is resulted in adverse consequences not only for the natural environment but also for the tourist resources. Rather than, this pattern promotes and develops a model that respects, promotes, protects and develops factors such as environment and local culture, combining in harmony development and protection.

In this effort, the steps are often followed to achieve the succession of the project is first of all the design of the tourist model with environmental criteria to determine the carrying capacity of the site in conjunction with the region (local and regional level), the evaluation and selection of the best alternative forms of tourism that can be developed and integration programs to promote protection and enhancement of cultural heritage while, in the same time, inform, educate and raise the awareness of the local community and the stakeholders.

2. Case Study: Upper (old) City (Ano Poli) Thessaloniki

2.1 Presentation of the Case Area

As Upper City is described and characterized part of the city bounded by Olympia Street and contour of the walls of the city (see map). The area of the Upper City, the northernmost and highest part of the old urban core of Thessaloniki, preserves important elements of its historic character. The urban environment reflects the social, historical and economic conditions that led to the area and the urban landscape in the form presented today. Although, the fire of 1917 destroyed much of the lower city, did not alter the urban structure of the upper region. From the time of building the wall (Roman - Byzantine) there are no settlements listed on the site. The position of the wall was placed there for defensive purposes and not apparently to include the existing settlement. Despite the fact that not preserved settlements have been located in this area since the Byzantine period, there should not be excluded residential entities around the monuments and Byzantine churches (i.e. Monastery of Vlatades or Vlatos). The area inhabited mainly by 17th century with the establishment of the Turks, who came from massive resettlements, as refugees or immigrants. During 18th and 19th century the area was sparsely populated. After 1922 the area settled mainly by refugees, who came to the city after the Disaster of Mikra Asia in 1922. After this period the form of folk architecture (morphology and typology) of the Upper City was changed substantially and actually it was a refugee settlement. The districts of the Upper City were purely residential areas without major commercial centers, because of the fact that the area was inaccessible and at some distance from the port, where the trade was developed. Trade was the main business of the Europeans, the Israelites and the Greeks.

Upper City has little effect on the voltage and neoclassical style of the interwar period, which was developed mainly in the lower city. The Upper City was "left" in the folk architecture. Even the motion of the method of conveyance upon valuable consideration of the decades 1950 and 1960 did not affect the area significantly. Morphology and topography of the area, the difficulties of accessibility, the small size of the property, the lack of property titles stemmed every effort for urban development. The forecast of the layout of 1930 for big roads restricted the type of building reconstructions through the method of valuable consideration.

The earthquakes of 1978 affected the development of the city of Thessaloniki and especially the area of Upper City. The fact that the buildings of the Upper City were not affected led to the change of street planning and maintaining the traditional form of the settlement.

2.2 Current Situation – PESTEL, SWOT analysis

PESTEL analysis (external environment analysis)

Political Level: The government of Greece is a parliamentary republic. The broader institutional framework, laws, large investments are decided by the parliament and the government. However, the Constitution itself guarantees the self-governed of local authorities. Through this, local elected stakeholders have the power to decide on local issues, but always within the limits set by state laws. There is a state control only as far as the types - procedures that are followed and not concerning the content of the acts - decisions.

The political situation is characterized by a general sense of favoritism, corruption and institutional relaxation. Especially this period the political and economic decisions will be formed within a narrow framework established by supervising the Greek economy organizations (European Commission, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund).

Economical Level: The municipality may decide to allocate their financial resources, but always with procedures provided by state laws. The revenues of the municipality derived primarily from municipal taxes, municipal fees and grants from the Ministry of Interior.

The wider economic situation in the external environment characterized by intense economic crisis, the decline in gross domestic product, reducing the resources available for public and private investment, reduction of subsidies of the Ministry of Interior to the municipalities and the implementation of strict austerity program (state cuts expenditures, increase state revenues, reducing wages, increasing taxes).

Social Level: Due to the economic situation, the unemployment rates are rising, there are growing social discontent in the state, growing crime rates and a high risk of further relaxation of social cohesion.

Technological Level: The country's overall industrialization and lack of funds for research in conjunction with the provided education has the result of continuous loss of competitiveness of the Greek economy and the deterioration of living conditions.

Ecological Level: Despite the existing of legislation that protects the environment, the lack of environmental awareness and consciousness of citizens, investors and entrepreneurs, coupled with poor implementation and monitoring of the legislation have led to the phenomenon where human activity is continuous and often intense degradation of the environment.

Legal Level: The general legal framework is characterized by legislative complexity, complexity and emphasis on bureaucracy. It enables local authorities to determine certain matters relating to the regulatory decisions issued by municipal councils.

Porter Model

Power of Clients: The power of entrepreneurs and investors is high as the city faces an unemployment problem. However, the power of population is much smaller and fragmented.

Power of Suppliers: Suppliers (consulting companies, design and construction companies, etc.) have little power, because due to the economic recession there is a great need to find customers.

Risk of Substitutes: Because of poor living conditions and working demand in Thessaloniki substitute forms such as small towns and even villages, are particularly competitive for many low-paid workers. Especially if these forms are accompanied by employment opportunities, it is a valuable option. On an operational level small cities with better infrastructure or even workable institutional framework (other countries) may elicit part of the business.

Risk of new competitors: European integration, economic globalization and the continuing evolution of transport, continually reduce the barriers and distances between cities making it increasingly easy for many residents and business to migrate to another city.

SWOT Analysis (internal environment analysis)

Strengths:

➢ historical heritage (monuments, architectural heritage, museums)

➢ Cultural Activities

➢ Human Resources

➢ Education – Innovation

➢ Environment and Environmental Awareness

➢ Technology

➢ Quality of Life – Living conditions, entertainment, night life

➢ Infrastructures (transport, information and communication, services)

➢ Social Cohesion

➢ Market

➢ Health Care Services

➢ geopolitical, geostrategic, geoeconomic position

➢ special morphology and topography

➢ preferences of specific groups of tourists (researchers, students, scientists, naturalists)

➢ attractions - the rest of the city actions:

➢ active players (Upper City Residents Associations) and NGOs

Weaknesses:

➤ insufficient information to potential visitors about the value of the area

➤ arbitrary architectures, modernist interventions in traditional shells

➤ lack of investment character (reduced tourism investment and lack of funds from private and public side, weaknesses in attracting major investments) and visibility (weaknesses in efforts to improve and better presentation of the destination image)

➤ humidity climate combined with air pollution creates an unpleasant atmosphere in the city

➤ population density and therefore density of vehicles

➤ lack of parking encourage illegal parking, coupled with inadequate control and driving education

➤ lack of green space

➤ inadequate cycle routes

➤ Non-liquid cleaning element (sea)

➤ problematic waste collection service

➤ lack of enforcement - increased crime

➤ pervasive sense of insecurity

➤ demonstrations - strikes

➤ inadequate road network

➤ lack of alternative public transport

➤ infrequent ferry transportation

➤ social arbitrariness

➤ exploitation and illegal occupation of free public spaces

➤ festive decoration of buildings

➤ lack of sidewalks

➤ dense layout

➤ agencies with related activities

➤ not sufficiently effective administration

A key element of weakening the attractiveness of the city is mainly the quality of infrastructure. The city's marketing strategy should include improvements in urban planning, infrastructure and basic services. There are, of course, other factors such as potential investment opportunities and professional activity, or even any kind of opportunities such as cultural, entertainment, etc. It is a fact however that in any case problematic elements of any kind leads to underestimation of the urban environment.

Opportunities:

➢ Utilization of national programs and Community Initiatives

➢ shift consumption patterns and new tourist profile

➢ trends of returning to tradition and cultural activities

Threats:

➢ economic crisis

➢ competition by neighbor hooding countries and cheaper destinations

➢ image deterioration (negative marketing)

➢ Unemployment: decreased employment in the tourism sector

3. Improving the Attractiveness Suggestions

3.1 Strategy Configuration

The factors that should be taken into account whilst planning marketing strategy are (Deffner, Liouris, 2005):

➢ establish the vision of the city

➢ determination of development objectives

➢ marketing research and segmentation

➢ planning of adequate strategy, tactics and alternative actions

➢ planning of feedback process and development of efficient communication strategy.

Every improvement action that is implemented aims at the following groups:

✓ Residents

✓ Businesses and Professionals

✓ Investments

✓ Short-term visitors

✓ Tourists

✓ Students

✓ Minorities

✓ Forced visitors

Every segment has common but also different needs, which have to be identified in order to develop the proper and adequate strategy that integrates and fulfills them (or at least most of them according to the Pareto principle). The most important target group is considered that of permanent residents and then follows the group of investors. Last is taken into account the group of the tourists regarding that it contains as well the group of short-term visitors.

The objectives of the strategy are specialized in:

-        Short-term: development of inner-marketing and infrastructure with natural and cultural motives, full exploitation of human resources and possibilities that presents the region as a tourist attraction

-        Mid-term: increase of overnight stays, annual income from arrivals and per capita expenses

-        Long-term: stabilization of demand on levels proportional to or/and higher than those of competitors and upgrade of the quality of customers – attracting tourists of high income

Configuration of Strategy

Thessaloniki is a modern European Metropolis, where residents, workers and businesses are satisfied from living conditions and the expectations of visitors, new investors and businesses are fulfilled.

Strategy objectives include:

-    Reduction of atmospheric pollution

-    Increase of public spaces

-    Upgrade of parks

-    Reduction of traffic

-    Resolve the problem of parking spaces

-    Enlargement of bicycle network

-    Creation of more pedestrian streets

-    Organization of means of transportation

-    Improvement of quality of sea element

-    Improvement of the aesthetics of the city

-    Reduction of construction density

-    Increase of cultural activity

-    Reduction of unemployment

-    Reduction of criminality

-    Confrontation of the "International Fair of Thessaloniki" matter

-    Increase of city – identity, city branding abroad

-    Increase of tourist arrivals

-    Accessible prices in means of transportation that arrive at Thessaloniki

-    Better exploitation of monuments – accessibility and presentation

-    Reformation of traditional markets

Marketing Mix

A marketing mix consists of 5 elements (5 Ps):

1.   Product: The product that is offered is the settlement of Ano Poli, the services and conditions that are provided, its environmental and cultural resources and the experiences that the latter create. Effort is required for the improvement of the product by planning, programming, organizing and implementing the suitable actions through a product strategy that will focus on further growth of alternative experiences with the creation of cultural clusters. As far as the hospitality is concerned, basic elements are architectural attractiveness of destination and culinary quality (traditional products, Mediterranean diet).

2.   Place: Place of consumption of the tourist product is the place itself, however its promotion as a four-season destination requires the recovery of suitable organizers, that specialize in organized culture, ecology tours aiming at maximizing channels of distribution. The target here is the selected international tourist agents (tour operators), big national tourist agencies and smaller collaborators of specialized form (tourist offices). In order to attract them, their attendance in specialized sector-based fairs in Greece and abroad should be considered and a concrete procurement policy should be carried out (bonus policy, co-advertising).

3.   Promotion: Promotional actions will focus mainly on advertising, publicity and public relations as well as sales promotion. Publication of activities in magazines and websites related to tourism (especially cultural and symposium, environmental and ecological) as well as contracts with tourist agents and collaboration with organized lodgings of neighboring settlements are proposed. Organization of presentations (congresses, seminars) and cultural events, communication campaigns, creation of logo and incorporation of virtual reality techniques in promotion techniques.

4.   Price: The price of the product is determined by social and political data, as well as by the cost of infrastructures and services. The initial determination of the price will be based in the logic of covering the cost and not the creation of profit. The study suggests the adoption of strategies of further infiltration in the market and of confrontation of competition. Thus, the prices will be determined in base of the price levels of competitive destinations, with parallel promotion of discount offers. For the determination of pricing policy intersectional attendance and common acceptance from national-local public institutions and local professional unions are considered necessary.

5.   Personnel: The tourist product involves interpersonal contact and the benefit of tourist services is provided through individuals that come in direct contact with the consumers - visitors. Thus, the need of training and right briefing of these individuals (interior marketing) is basic. In the case of Ano Poli are involved the local society, the employees of tourist enterprises, the local institutions and organisms, the visitors - tourists. The development activities of individuals ought to focus on the education of local businessmen and employees, on the cultivation of residents' tourist culture and the promotion of environmental conscience of visitors.

Marketing Tools

-     Commercial fairs

-     Conferences, Seminars (professional, educational)

-     Sponsorship and organization of cultural and sport events

-     Communicational campaigns

- Websites

- Social, Environmental, Health campaigns

- Creation of motto, city brand name

3.2 Interventions for Improvement and Communication (Promotion, Cooperation)

The dominant strategic goal for Ano Poli, as a tourism destination, has to be:

"The creation of a branded tourism product, with specific characteristics, that matches its particularities, respects and utilizes future national and international trends and offers the necessary conditions for differentiating comparing to the competitive areas".

Developing this branded tourism product requires interventions and actions to many directions:

Improvement Interventions

1. Necessary technical character infrastructure concerning:

- access and development of basic infrastructure (transportation, communication, new technologies).

- regeneration of the settlement and networking with other traditional settlements of the broader area of Central Macedonia.

- residential rehabilitation and preservation of the traditional architecture and character of the settlement.

2. Development of cultural tourism:

- reception of departments of European wide organizations active in culture and tourism

- emphasizing on traditional character, setting consolidation and further tourism development

- care and protection of the natural and man-made environment,

- development of cultural activities related to the area and its tradition (e.g. festivals, congresses, seminars etc)

- delimitation and protection of the settlement, preservation and promotion of traditional architecture and street planning

4. Development of an Ano Poli "Open City":

- development of residential units in cooperation with all the settlements reviving in the area and creation of a network, emphasizing on the specific aspects of each settlement (Ladadika, commercial uses – Ano Poli, residence, etc)

- establishment of tourism zones for locating tourism units and enterprises of special forms

- formulation of the main developmental model taking as a core the settlement of Ano Poli and satellite settlements – sums (Ladadika, Vlali - Vatikioti Market, Historical Center of Thessaloniki)

Communication Interventions (Promotion, Cooperation)

Designing provided services and improving city features

- A series of studies must be made to cope with nuisances:

• transportation – public transport means, parking, bicycle and pedestrian areas

• urban planning / architectural – preservation of traditional building character, bioclimatic design, revision of town plan for improving accessibility, obtaining shared communal spaces and green areas

• environmental – tackling air pollution, encouraging the use of renewable energy, recycling

- Reforming the current strategy for managing tourism promotion depending on the selective and differentiated approach of the significant target – markets, adaptation to the specificities of each target – visitor, concerning the content of the promotion as well as the selection of the means.

- Restricting the individual promotion actions, which are usually convulsive, small – scaled and of extremely limited effect and replacing them with joint campaigns aiming at promoting directly the area's features and indirectly the enterprises

- Development of focused research among tourists, aiming at advertising and providing specialized information for Ano Poli at specific target - groups of potential visitors,

- Further organizing of workshops and development of training programs aiming at the domestic tourism for formulating tourism awareness

- Establishment of cultural information centers and a useful guide – tool (calendar) of activities localized in time and place, using a chromatic code so as the visitor can create a prolonged plan during his visit

- Creation and promotion of uniform tourism packages in combination with other cultural attractions in the city of Thessaloniki

- Taking advantage of Community Programs for promoting transnational tourism marketing plans

- clustering of the professionals of tourism

- The combination of all mentioned above must become the core of the branded tourism product of Ano Poli, be appropriately promoted and supported, as it constitutes it's competitive advantage and differentiation factor comparing to the ever – increasing competition.

Specifying motives for potential "clients" of products and services
In recent years Europe has witnessed a flourishing in urban tourism (City Breaks with more than 35 million trips per year. Many cities that have developed this type of tourism have experienced an average annual growth rate of over 5% in the last fifteen years. The socio-economic profile of these tourists is quite high. The main activity of **City Break** is visiting attractions, something at which Thessaloniki has many comparative advantages that can be exploited for several months a year: the city of Thessaloniki and the surrounding areas, the history and culture of Thessaloniki, the sports tourism, congress tourism, resort tourism, religion tourism and pilgrimage due to its proximity to Mount Athos, alternative tourism activities at the delta of Axios river, are only some of the alternatives that the visitor of Thessaloniki can have.

One of the main motives for visiting the city, apart from its excellent infrastructures and alternative forms of entertainment, is the reduction of transport costs achieved through attracting low – cost airlines.

Promoting the image and values of the city
Strategies that can be adopted in the context of promoting the city's image and values are city branding, hosting – organizing large scale events and virtual reality techniques.

The **e-marketing strategy** is another method contributing to the city's broader recognition as the internet is global and widespread. Therefore it can support the city's promotion and advertising at the lowest possible cost.

Hosting – Organizing Large Scale Events could in some cases be implemented even at candidate level. Such candidacies could be that of "Europe's Cultural Capital" or "Europe's Tech Capital". Initiatives could also be created for hosting scientific congresses (as already happens) or modern art and architecture biennales. Apart from that, low cost events could also be promoted, such as sports and cultural events (as "Demetria" have already been established). Due to the adverse economic conditions negative reactions, concerning the hosting of events by the city, may arise within the citizens. These could perhaps be through the appropriate communication strategy emphasizing the positive effects of such actions (improving infrastructure, upgrading the city in favor of the residents, promotion of the city, increased tourism for the benefit of professionals). At this stage the proclamation of Thessaloniki as "European Youth Capital 2014", an event that includes several cultural actions, constitutes a significant opportunity for promoting the city's image.

Regarding city branding, the selection of a new, contemporary emblem and logo is imperative. The emblem and logo could be generated through an international open competition where both ordinary citizens and organized office could participate. Several alternatives could be created or even one that will appeal to Greek and one international.

Moreover, the city could participate or organize actions – campaigns aiming for example at enhancing the traditional settlement of Ano Poli as the cleanest part of the city or the part of the city with the least energy loss (adapting energy certifications, and making efforts for minimization of energy consumption) or even campaigns of social – charity character. Such initiatives lead to positive advertising for the city, thus adding additional status, due to the social and environmental awareness and leading to improvement (eg cleaning). In this way, residents themselves have the opportunity to participate in the process for increasing the city's recognition.

The basic requirement for successful implementation is that the design and execution of the above be solely based upon the optimization of goals without engaging in any brinkmanship feasibility issues, issues of personal promotion of public figures or personal short term benefit prevailing over the medium to long term social benefit.

And of course acceptance or active participation of citizens in any action is necessary to be secured and can be achieved through proper information, communication and cooperation strategies between the institutions of the city.

4. Conclusions

Nowadays it is commonly accepted that the environment and cultural resources of an area can motivate the local development through appropriate planning, that relies in the promotion of flexible and innovative measures, the choice of a sustainable development model based on alternative forms of tourism. Based on the above it is considered in order to develop and promote the image of Ano Poli, to promote the optimal use of traditional elements the development of the area, after determining the true cultural value. Convergence of all efforts and ultimate goal is to underline,

highlight and promote a new, integrated quality tourism product capable of a dynamic regional development. Priority is given to a strong tourism identity, visibility and development of tourism marketing, infrastructure completion that will attract new investment and active involvement of agencies and tourism professionals. Advertising and promotion must follow the development of integrated tourist product. The area has to develop sufficient tourism marketing, introducing the area as a total tourism product while consolidating and strengthening the "branding" of local products. Through all these actions, the area should gain visibility and promotion of the optimal development of alternative sustainable tourism.

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Urban Development of Komotini: Mapping of Multiculturalism and Social Segregation of the Urban Area

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1.   Introduction

1.1.   Multiculturalism

The term of multiculturalism states that different social groups with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds coexist in a society and that these groups manage to live together. The first time this term is used in the U.S.A, Australia, England and Canada. Unfortunately, in all the heated discussion around the term no clear definition of the concept has yet emerged. Rosado (1996) states that: "Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society".

In European countries, the phenomenon of multiculturalism was developed long before Greece, our country as an immigrant country proudly declared the homogeneity and the Orthodox Christian identity by the great majority of the population. But in the case of Thrace, it seems that those not correspond fully with reality. An important starting point of the concept of multiculturalism in Greece is considered the establishment of a "fairness" and "egalitarianism" in the minority in Thrace in 1991 by the then government[1].

1.2.   Social segregation

In this paper the term of segregation refers where the members of a minority group are not evenly distributed entirely to the rest of population in the living space. Also, the concept of segregation is an institutionalized form of social distance, which translates into a spatial removal. Thus, the segregation is defined as "an isolated social group or an individual's racial, religious, cultural, social (gender discrimination) or other reasons[2]."

Finally, we can talk about segregation by extension each group is isolated. Therefore, the segregation involves the concept of exclusion, as a cause, but also its direct effect[3].

These concepts were analyzed enable us to understand the criteria for selection of housing sites from various social groups. The desire of the members of the minority group to maintain their collective identity or lifestyle is an important cause of spatial concentration.

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[1] Ntonti, 2007, Chousein, 2005, p:120
[2]Saputzi, 2008
[3] Saputzi, 2008

1.3. Minority

The diversity in every human society is a fact. In almost every community is identified a variety of ideologies - national, political, religious - many languages, multiple cultures and cultural trends. This situation creates de facto "majorities" and minorities.

The lack of definition for the term 'minority' has been a problem in international relations for a long time. There have been different definitions for this term. In the interwar era, the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) in its advisory opinion for the issue related with the emigration of Greco-Bulgarian communities defined the term minority as:

"...a group of persons living in a given country or locality having a race, religion, language, and tradition in a sentiment of solidarity, with a view to preserving their traditions, maintaining their form of worship, ensuring the instruction and upbringing of their children in accordance with the spirit and traditions of their race and mutually assisting one another".

Later, for the definition of minority was an attempt by the UN Subcommittee, which held that the term minority *"includes only those non-dominant groups of population who have and want to maintain ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics distinct from those of other population".* Moreover, *"these minorities should be formed by several people to develop such characteristics and to show respect to the laws of the State whose are citizens"*[4].

However, the subcommittee's definition seemed more stringent as it introduces the criterion of a non- dominant position of the group and the number of its members, which should be such as to enable them to develop specific characteristics.

After the proposals were received negative reviews from the Commission on Human Rights, Professor Capotorti suggests in his report to the UN subcommittee for minorities be considered as a minority: *"A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members -being nationals of the State- possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language"*[5].

Taking account of the fluidity of the concept of minority, Capotorti's definition appears acceptable.

Also, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in 1993, made an effort to define the term of minority. Thus, was executed an Additional Protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. According to this Additional Protocol, national minority is defined as a group of persons in a state residing on the territory of that state and being citizens of that state. They maintain longstanding, firm and lasting ties with that state. They display different ethnic, religious, cultural or linguistic characteristics. They are smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state but they are sufficiently representative. They are determined to preserve together which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion or their language.[6]

2. Demographics of the study area

The city of Komotini is the capital of the prefecture of Rrodope and seat of the Eastern Macedonia and Thrace and the seat of the Democritus University of Thrace. After the liberation of Thrace, the Municipality of Komotini there is by the Ottoman regime division. At this point, was considered that an analysis of the evolution of population of the city it necessary to do.

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[4] Chousein, 2005
[5] Chousein, 2005
[6] Prentoulis, 2010

In this analysis used information from 1920, which Komotini was incorporated in the State of Greece until the last census in 2001 by the Hellenic Statistical Authority.

Table 1: The Evolution of Population of the Municipal District of Komotini in 1920 - 2001

	1920	1928	1940	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Population of the census by Hellenic Statistical Authority.									
The Municipal District of Komotini	21.294	31.551	33.224	31.893	31.845	32.219	37.487	39.927	46.586
Years		1920 - 1928	1928- 1940	1940- 1951	1951- 1961	1961- 1971	1971- 1981	1981- 1991	1991- 2001
Change of Population	-	48,17%	18,85	24,9	-0,15	1,17	6,11	15,36	5,99

Source: Koutsoukos, 2000, Hellenic Statistical Authority

Regarding the Municipal district of Komotini, the data of population includes the settlements of Ifante, Ifestos, Paradimi, Mesohori, Mikro and Megalo Kranobounio. In the census of 1920 the residents in the Municipal district of Komotini comprises 21.244 as in the census of 1991 the residents numbered 40.522. The population growth in decades of 1920-1928, 1928-1940, 1961-1971, 1971-1981, 1981-1991 and 1991-2001 can be characterized ascending, the decades of 1940-51 descending and the decades of 1951-61 the population is static (Table 1).

The increase of the population of the city in the interwar period is caused to the influx of refugees and their installation. It is observed that the population of the city has soared in the period 1920-1928, as the number of appeals before 1922 amounted at 808 people and after 1922 to 9.937 people.

Furthermore, this increase is due to the establishment of populations which were displaced by the Bulgarian lands to Thrace and a part of them were settled in Komotini in decades of 1908-1913 and 1913-1919[7].

In the period of 1928 – 1940 there was a smooth demographic transition and progress. As for the period 1940 – 1951 the population decline is due to the Bulgarian and German occupation but also in removal of the Israeli Community of Komotini with 819 members. The decade of 1951 -1961 was characterized from a demographic stability with minimal reduction. Finally, in 1991-2001 observes a significant increase in population of the city, which is due to the removal and installation of the population of rural settlements in the area.

2.1. Population synthesis

In this part is presented the population synthesis of the Muslim Minority of Western Thrace. Specifically, as population we referred the population which resides in Rrodope and in the Municipality of Komotini. In Rrodope is appeared that there most Muslims inhabitant compared with the others prefectures of Thrace (Table 2). In the city of Komotini, the population of Muslim's (55%) is about 10% more than the Christian population (45%), this is due to higher rates of natural increase that Christians. Almost the half of population belongs to this, there is no legitimate census after the 1951 (the minority numbered 105,092 members) because of the political factors of the Greek government.

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[7] Koutsoukos,2000

So, in the following tables showed the data of population of the minority at prefecture level which provided by various research tasks.

Table 2: Population Synthesis of Minority of Western Thrace in 1923

Ethnic groups	Prefecture of Rrodope	Prefecture of Ksanthi	Prefecture of Evros	Thrace
Turks	**50.000**	30.328	10.571	90.899
Pomaks	**8.000**	14.824	675	23.499
Roma	**1.500**	500	505	2.505
Total	**59.500**	45.652	11.751	116.903

Source: Kottakis, 2000

Also, beyond the Muslim minority in Komotini such as was mentioned before there were whole neighborhoods of Jews and Armenians were inhabited by Jewish and Armenian population. These data were presented by the Turkish side to the Conference of Lausanne, in 1922-1923(Table 3).

The Muslim minority of Western Thrace constitutes as mentioned before, a racially and linguistically mixed population layer. The racial composition is basically a triple origin. In particular, in the prefecture of Rrodope as presented the population of Turkish is higher than other ethnic groups because the Turks and Greeks are locals of the district, as regards the population of Pomaks in Rhodope is sediment population from the mountains of Bulgaria.

3. The multicultural character of Komotini through the historical evolution

It is important to be mentioned the peculiarity that it makes the city of Komotini interesting and dynamic. The population of Komotini constitutes a society of unique complexity and specificity. This is due to the particular historical evolution of the area. This factor combined with the location of the city, the proximity to other countries, the multiple historical layers and the deliberate policies or even spontaneous developments have created a social - political - religious mixture of Turkish, Christians, Muslims, Pomaks, Gypsies. They are the most significant cultural groups that live and reside in Komotini.

But there are other groups: These are the groups of the Jews and Armenians, who even in small number, they continue to be residents of Komotini for many years. Following this work takes ethnic and multicultural analysis of these groups.

Table 3: The Population of Western Thrace Presented by Ismet Inönü in the Lausanne Conference

Spatial Unit	Armenians	Turks	Greeks	Jews	Bulgarians
Komotini	360	59.967	8.834	1.007	9.997
Ksanthi	114	42.671	8.728	114	552
Aleksandroupoli	449	11.744	4.800	253	10.227
Sufli	-	14.736	11.542	-	5.490

Source: Osmanlı Belgelerinde Batı Trakya, 2009

3.1. Policies toward the Muslim Minority of Western Thrace

The Muslim Minority of Western Thrace is the only minority within Greek territory that the Greek State recognizes officially.

The presentation of the current Muslim minority of Thrace is the result of the rules of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 which established the compulsory exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, with the exception of Muslim Turks of Western Thrace and Greek Christians of Istanbul. The criterion of population exchange was religion and the definition of exchangeable population as non-minority was done with religious terms.

The minority of Western Thrace was defined as Muslim independently of race which belong or the language they speak for its members. The majority of the population belongs to the religion of Islam, the use of Islamism has been a key feature and ensured the particularities of this society. Concerning, the population of minority of Thrace living in Komotini, Turkish was formed to 57.60%, Pomaks 26.0% and Gypsies 16.05%. In the Rhodope prefecture and the city of Komotini was settled the most of the Muslim minority population8.

The total population of the minority of Muslim of Western Thrace is about 103.000, the population coexists over 87 years in peace with the Christians of Greek Thrace. After the Treaty of Lausanne from 1923 to 1950 according to the researchers, Greece maintained with dignity the terms of contract to protect the minority, but after 1955 the conditions for the minority had changed, from then governments started to implement restrictive policies on minority and for about 50 years, the members of the minority were in bad condition because of the changes and violations of human rights, had completely changed their way of life9.

The main problem that it caused tension was the state policy was implemented which provided for the removal of Greek nationality by members of the minority of Muslim. The removal was in accordance with No. 19 of Law 3370/1955, and was aimed at people with Greek nationality with non Greek ethnic origin, as a result, they left from Greece with the intention of not coming back again. This provision has caused fury and reactions to a large extent in the Muslim population. From 1955 to 1998, removal of citizenship number reached 46,638[10].

The minority is not only facing identity problems. In the daily life, they encountered many obstacles. The citizens of the minority-who the most of them were farmers-, they could not to obtain licenses in order to use tractors for agricultural purposes, could not get hunting license and could not to be employed in the public sector (excepting the teachers of minority).In addition, the few graduates of the higher faculties from the universities of Greece or Turkey, they met many bureaucratic problems in order to make a work permit[11].

According to rights to acquire the real estate, the minority encountered many bureaucratic obstacles. The law 1366/1938 posed restrictions to the population of minority about the land purchases. For example, they could not to building new structures or rebuilding the old houses and mosques. One more basic problem was the government's exercise of eminent domain to acquire the property of minority, mainly bought lands of the agricultural productivity[12].

However in 90s, after many attempts and mass mobilizations of Muslim Turks, in the era of globalization, the political position of the Greek government differs against the Muslim minority. Of course, until this change, those of the minority members participated in demonstrations and defended their rights were punished by the state. Some of them were imprisoned and some were deported from Greece for many years.

The new policy for the minority is more objective and democratic for all Thracians. This approach is now the reference point for the progress of the Muslim minority. Today, in the decade of 2000 the minority is moving "freely", growing secular, socially, the members are increasingly educated, studying, graduating from Universities and trying to enforce the same positions with fellow Christians.

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[8] Chousein, 2005
[9] Chousein,2005 , Salim Gökçen
[10] Lalenis et al., 2010
[11] Chousein, 2005
[12] Chousein, 2005

4. Urban area in Komotini

Today, the city of Komotini presents economic development, characterized by an image of urban modernization and meets the highest construction activity on Greek territory. The image of the city center and in most districts has changed very rapidly. The specific political of reorganization and gentrification as well as the private initiative in sector reconstruction influenced the image of urban area. Despite all the above changes, the city continues to present strong peculiarity due to the social geography, also the configuration of the residential development based on the diversity of its residents. At this point it is appropriate to analyze the urban characteristics.

4.1. The multicultural residents and districts of Komotini

Muslim Turks

For Muslims in plain of Rrodope there is no doubt that the population is left over from the exchange of populations according to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Also, is considered that the population migrated during the Turkish occupation and in the period of Asian destruction which the area was in the possession or under the influence of the Bulgarians. The poor Muslim Turks resorted in the fertile plains of Rrodope and became employees of aghas (ağa), who abounded in the region.

So these populations by passing the years were settlers and built entire villages or strengthened other smaller settlements. As mentioned before, this ethnic group consist the largest segment of the population of the minority of Western Thrace and especially the prefecture of Rrodope. The years of living in Western Thrace is estimated to be over 500 years.

The natives of Muslim Turks of Gkioumoultzina (Komotini) in the years of Ottoman occupation with the least Christian population lived in the city center and get involved in trade and agriculture. The first urban concentration of this population is in the city center, at Serdar district (Serdar Mahallesi) and Tabakhane district (Tabakhane Mahallesi). These districts were the basic locations for Muslim Turks during the Ottoman Empire. With the passing of time the new population moves to north and east of the center because the administrative offices and the Christian population settled in the area. After the decade of 1967, one part of the population of Turkish districts left the area and migrated to Turkey. Now, the former Muslim neighborhoods are inhabited by a few locals of Turks and many of Orthodox Christians.

Moreover, this ethnic group lived in characteristic neighborhoods that the houses with high walls and narrow streets prove the existence of Muslims (Yeni Mahallesi, Yenice Mahellesi) which are north and around of the town center (Figure 1).The population which lived in the northern districts (Mastanli and Kir Mahallesi) of the city - especially those who came and were settled from Bulgaria - mostly were occupied with agricultural crops (e.g cotton, tobacco) and farming. These districts mainly consist from illegal buildings because of unplanned construction, also, the public open spaces are absent in neighborhoods.

Figure 1: Mapping of multicultural districts of Komotini

Pomaks

Pomaks constitutes a community who language is a Bulgarian dialect, consisting of Greek, Turkish and Slavic words. Regarding to national identification there are three different theories about it. Their origin is disputed by Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey. The Pomaks are different from those of Turks in national terms, Islam is the only common denominator. Specifically, the Pomaks are the descendants of the indigenous community of Thracians who latterly were hellenised and converted to Christians, and eventually were converted to Islam violently under the Ottoman Empire[13].

In reference to the traditional, rural and pious religious character, occupy a marginal position than Turks. Traditionally, Pomaks followed a very isolated way of life which is modeled on the Islamic faith. Their main economic activity is agriculture (tobacco). The conservative society and cognate solidarity are some of the characteristics of this target group, and nowadays, it is almost impossible to encounter a society like this. But, in a Greek society so strict religious faith, lifestyle, combined with the low level of education have made the Pomaks until today to remain isolated and uneducated. The Pomaks of Komotini are people who came after 1970 from the mountain villages of the Rhodope and Evros and were settled in the north eastern suburbs. The district of Pomaks is located eastern of city. It is the region with a strong trend towards illegal building. The district is "cut off" from other Muslim neighborhoods due to the breed and different way of life of its inhabitants. The houses do not differ from those of Turkish and, because of illegal building there are not the adequate infrastructures, specifically, the educational units, open spaces and places of worship are still missing from this Muslim district.

Roma (Gypsies)

Roma there are in Thrace from the 11th century. The features of their language and religious traditions, suggest that after settled in Thrace embraced to Christianity and were under the influence of Greek language and culture. Today, the Roma in Thrace are Muslims, unlike those living in other places of Greece. It is one of the minority groups who encountered extreme expressions of economic and cultural exclusion. Theirs oral and musical culture is stronger and more consistent form of cultural self-expression and empowerment because of nomadism, poverty and low educational level.

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[13] Chasapis, 2007

The community of Gypsies is the poorest ethnic group, they often survive through begging or commerce. Their communities are usually located on the outskirts of large cities or in small, remote villages. The biggest part of the population of Gypsy in Komotini resides in the settlement of Ifaistos, while a small part of them resides southeast in the city of Komotini, in an illegally area. Their houses are made of sheets and wood, have recently started to build houses from concrete material[14].

Greeks from the formerly Soviet Union

Greeks from the formerly Soviet Union have the same nationality as the Greeks living in Greece, but we have a different Greek Culture because were influenced from their previous habitant places. The Greek state adopted for these people the word of Greek-Pontians resettlers, meaning who were repatriated or returning back to their country of nostalgia[15].

Most of the immigrants from the former Soviet Union arrived in Greece during the period from 1990 to 1993. They mostly come from Georgia, Kazakhstan, Russia, Armenia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and in smaller numbers from other countries. Only 15,000 Greek-Pontians resettlers registered from the Greek Rehabilitation Institute of Homogeneous Greek, which is resided them in the housing clusters in Thrace. The members of this ethnic group come from Georgia, Kazakhstan, Russia and they encountered great difficulties because non-use of Greek language and low level of education. The bulk of this population lives in refugee region of EKTENEPOL, few of them live in central locations. The district is located in the northwest of the city, it is an area for six thousand houses and occupies an area of 1,400 acres. The houses consist of two-or three-storey with similar architecture to each other. The area is characterized by high quality urban and architectural environment, with full technical and social infrastructure. The individual residential complexes are connected by web walkways, which is the backbone of the region. In the area there are many public open spaces.

Jews of Komotini

The presentation of Jews was randomly in Komotini. Due to lack of evidence for the existence of Jews in Thrace before the 16th century did not know if there was a Jewish community in Byzantine times. The first appearance of Jews in the city of Komotini is just after the conquest by the Ottoman Empire around 1483. Jews fleeing from Iberia took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, so settled in many cities, the one of these was the Komotini. They were formed in a Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jewish community[16].

Komotini, due to geographical localization consisted major commercial and transportation hub at the time, it played an important role in the establishment of the Jewish population, the Ottomans would benefit from the activities which undertaken by the Jews. They were involved on the sector of textiles as apparel suppliers in the Ottoman troops. The Jews in the 17th century continued their activities in the sector of textiles, both wool and silk, but the interest of some of them gradually moved to the sector of tobacco, since that was allowed the free consumption of it then began to be imported in bulk and legally in the Empire. The Jews were renowned as tobacco merchants in Komotini.

This district, known as "evraigia" presents an introvert in spatial organization. Main features of this area are the defensive layout of housing, sheltered and controlled access to the inside and uncleanliness, which conducive poverty and lack of space. The two Jewish neighborhoods while abutting were considerably different. The outside area from the castle was the residential area of higher income classes while the area in the castle was inhabited of traditional and low income classes.

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[14] Zaimakis, 2005, Kaprani, 2005
[15] Chasapis, 2007
[16] Papastratis, 2010

After 1920, once Thrace was included in the trunk of Greek Jews who lived in Komotini were consisted officially the Jewish community of Komotini, until 1941 just before the city was occupied by German troops, the concerns began for the Jewish community. With the entrance of the Bulgarian army in Komotini, began to run the plans of German which had planned the end of the Jews. Many of the Jews of Komotini not escaped the arrest and people who escaped from this, they were hidden or did not in the town on that fateful night. Officially, the Jewish community of Komotini disbanded in 958 and had remained only 22 people[17].

Armenians of Komotini

Firstly, the Armenians were appeared during the decade of 1881 - 1893 in Thrace.[18] The presentation of Armenians in Komotini is in mid 18th century. Armenians who were settled in the Ottoman Empire were classified as "natives" of the Armenian community. Others, who came between the era of the Balkan Wars until the end of World War II in 1918, they were established as the first Armenian refugees, and they marked "giampatzides" (foreigners). After 1945 members of the Armenian community migrated to the then Soviet Republic of Armenia and Armenians in Komotini many were abandoned the city after the tragic decade of 1940-1949 searching for a better life in other cities – countries.[19]

Figure 2: Map of land uses and multicultural districts of Komotini

Their houses are built with one storey and two-storey, some of them had courtyards which were lapped by high walls. With the installation of Armenian refugees in the district a cultural life in this region is flourished. All houses of refugee are organized in the period 1928 -1930 and then the city for a first time confronted with the idea of planned structuring. The area is developed with modern structures; the large number of public spaces in the area shows the planned structuring of the region.

4.2. Land uses

Regarding the land use prevailing in the city, the habitation collects a larger proportion of total use. Other uses are Trade (wholesale - warehouses), services (offices - management - banks), tourism - entertainment, manufacturing, public areas, education and sport. In the center, which is the historic commercial center, also, around the main square there are commercial activities, recreation and services. In addition, we move away from the center, we meet mixed uses of

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[17] Papastratis, 2007
[18] Chatzopoulos, 2009
[19] Chatzopoulos, 2009

commercial and residential while in neighborhoods we have a pure residential with scattered shops mainly commodity (dairies, bread shops, grocery stores) (Figure 2). There are few open spaces in the center with little or no in neighborhoods, exactly where needed. At the northeast districts which inhabited by the Muslim Turks, be observed that public areas and green spaces (playgrounds, parks, squares) absent because of out of city plan construction.

West of the city center in EKTENEPOL, which is the Greek – Pontians neighborhood there is a shopping mall Kosmopolis park that was built to from 2003. Its presentation in the district was an important factor for the upgrade and development of the region.

In most cities, like in Komotini the construction activity, is observed at the entrances and exits. The industry and manufacturing is concentrated along the entrances to the city of Xanthi and Alexandroupolis. Isolated from the town, two major functions are sited few kilometers of the city. These functions are the industrial area and campus. The organic connection with the city is a major problem. The Industrial Area of Komotini is located near the road Komotini - Alexanroupolis, southeast of Komotini is about 12 kilometers from the city center. However, the industrial area has absorbed the industry, the result that there are not the disturbing uses within the city.

4.3. The city center - the "old market" in Komotini

In the center of Komotini concentrated all commercial activities as like happens in most Greek cities. Since the Ottoman occupation in the city center attracts the management services and use of trade. In the central part point the banks of river were erected the first shops - inns, along with outdoor bazaars and several tanneries. In the following years, to be continued to grow in the same area on one side of the river. The shops had their back side to the river because the river had begun to be a source of pollution due to uncontrollable rupture of waste of the entire city. Along the road

there were scattered shops from one side of the river were only the Christian shops and the other mixed of Muslim, Jewish and Christian.

In 1867 the big fire burns about half of Gkioumoultzina, it opens major wounds to shop owners at the time. Apart from the shopping center burned and several homes in the near neighborhoods. The damaged neighborhoods are redesigned. In this way appears in the irregular town of Komotini a rectangular area with perfect regularity[20].

From 1920 and then the market continues to be at the same point of the center. The area is taking place and the administrative, economic and cultural services of the city, as they moved into existing buildings in the center. Also the political authorities make opening new roads while the old roads are covered by asphalt, so that connect the exits with the center of the city, thus facilitating the movement and the development of trade.

During the decades of 1968 – 1969 for one more time the fires are manifested from the city center. One part of the old market is destroyed in a fire. Today, the city center including the historic commercial center, which is located in the same place, near to Eski Mosque, it is changed and evolved from to 1200. The pedestrian area Venizelos where is located Imaret, this area is the most cosmopolitan market of Komotini, as most shops are consisted of brands and operated by Christian merchants.

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[20] Koutsoukos, 2000

Figure 3: The historical commercial center

The modern Komotini maintains its particular multicultural character with strong references from the past. The small commercial properties in the historic center are climaxed in the urban area in the traditional pedestrian Ermou Street (Figure 3). In a small area amid the narrow streets small single-storey shops are springing up in area. The traditional cobblestones of Gkioumoultzina are still in this area. Previously the best known shoppers accommodated there, now these little shops are used as coffee shops, tailors, shoes corrections and as cafes.

5.   Multiculturalism and Social Segregation in the Urban Area of Komotini

The coexistence of different cultures

In the city of Komotini be encountered the different cultures, which describe it, as a multicultural society. The coexistence of different cultures - ethnic - religious - groups in the urban area of the city and the development of partnerships, cohabitation, solidarity affect smoothly the social needs of these groups. . The freedom of expression, equality and tolerance help the coexistence of these cultural groups within the same society on equal terms.

These five different cultural groups with different cultures, mentalities and different customs shape the cultural character of Komotini. In particular, the development of different cultural and social activities in each region is mainly done with the participation of members of the same group. One example is the organization of local cultural events and festivals in the city which are organized from the population of minority, of course, always with the support of local authorities. Could the organization be made by particular groups does not exclude the participation of others. The groups of Greek-Pontians resettlers, Muslim Turks and Orthodox Christians are the most active groups of the society which organize many social and cultural events. The ability and the right to create cultural and educational institutions in each group contribute to the existence of the element of multiculturalism in the city.

Results

Follows from the analysis was able to define the phenomenon of social segregation is a phenomenon due to the existence of the element of multicultural population of Komotini. Each ethnic group concentrated in a particular part of town. The fact that every ethnic group is inhabited in a specific area in the city, creates separate neighborhoods-areas that the each of these groups lives and develops. The first item is concluded from the research and was found the first time is that the social segregation is a real phenomenon which is a part of the special identity of Komotini.

So starting the research was observed the concentration of services and administration in the city center. Orthodox Christians and Muslims of Turks have the direct contact with the center of the city. Therefore, we conclude that the Gypsies, Pomaks and Greek –Pontians resettlers are cut off from the central services of the city mainly because of the decisions of local authorities and the policies which pursued. Thus, the similar services were not created in the other districts. Beyond the administrative services the social groups have not to access to recreation and entertainment center as well as these uses are missing from the districts. So the effect of spatial segregation was felt, as far as the central services, administration and entertainment. The configuration of neighborhoods features the culture, mentality, lifestyle and financial situation of social groups. As observed the districts of Muslims (of Turks and Pomaks) are quite different from the other districts. The functions between districts differ than the other social groups. In the minority group of Roma observed very strong segregation of residence. The significant particularities of behavior, cultural norms, living and working conditions differ from other groups in society. These differences help to create a negative climate towards this group and make them undesirable within the remaining residential units, but also the same group members choose to live together in a spatial entity. Also, the minority groups (of Turks, Pomaks, Gypsies) show significant internal differences as to lifestyle, culture and degree of religiosity. They form distinct communities that for an outside observer may be looked as a part of the same community. Among these minority groups is seemed to distinguish the group of Turks, with many social activities which they include and organize.

The phenomenon of social segregation enhances the competition among ethnic groups. The Christian group as the dominant ethnic group since 1920 and as a holder of the central power, constitutes important factor for determining the distribution of groups in the area of the city. This group encourages or discourages the taking of the symbolic, important and central areas of the city. Also, they determine directly and indirectly the organizational structure of the urban fabric.

The occupation of major sites (from a symbolic point of view) of the urban fabric of the city gives prominence to the segregation. In 1960 at Rrodope, the conquest of the lands which belongs to the minority affected the relations between these groups and the distribution of housing in the urban fabric. One act that shows the competition is the priority of inclusion of arbitrary regions, where the city plan aims to integrate retrospectively, the existing areas. The case of integration of district of Greek – Pontians resettlers against to the old districts of Muslims shows the existence of segregation.

6. Conclusion

Summing up all political, economic, social and historical factors we conclude the phenomenon of social segregation perceived from the past even minimally the following forms in the urban fabric of Komotini. The implementation of restrictive policies which made in the past mainly against the minority groups contributed to the first indication of segregation in the city. Specifically, the violation of human rights of the minority, the bureaucratic obstacles for the purchase of land, work and building permits were as main factors to stimulate the segregation in the area.

As for urban issues, the expropriation of minority property, violation of land of minority from the military authorities, the reparation of Muslim and Jewish cemeteries, and the closure of minority institutions, the city plan estimates openings primarily in residential areas of minority, these facts characterize the spatial variations that occur in the urban area of Komotini.

Today, the multicultural population of Komotini is still able to choose as a residential area, the districts with the same group members. But, as to the degree of concentration in particular neighborhoods is changing, because that the young population of ethnic groups seem to be unaffected by historical events and select places of residence with criteria to the economic and social environment and quality of life.

Now, in the city was observed the habitation of members of different ethnic groups in the same areas even in the same housing complexes, the fact that the segregation in the urban area of the city was increased.

Finally, it should be pointed out that for reducing these factors in the urban fabric of the city, there should be a contribution of the relevant principles and policies will be followed by creating the right conditions to forestall any social and spatial segregation.

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The Villa as Bios:
Gated Communities as a Crystallized Anti-Urban Society

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Methodology:

The paper is proposing the pattern language and a system of activities as fundamental tools of measurement, exploring " lake view" - as a case study –which is a gated community located at New Cairo & defining the interaction between villas and harmony of spaces, refereeing to defensible spaces design rules.

It is expected through paper to investigate the success of the elite residential design (the Villa) within the gated community to its very main target as an expression of bios for values of democracy liberty and secure, in order to discover the system of activities expected.

These expected or non- expected activities are a fundamental part of design process, as well as investigating the negative and anti – urban society aspects on city shape and social order, as part of bios held within establishing a community within community.

Introduction

The search for the features of private villa in the Egyptian society, as an integrated model and complex to the extent of carrying the compounded model's features of human being, and as the villa is an architectural product with distinctive privacy features, we have witnessed its evolution through the past ages in Old Cairo, Khedivian Cairo and Helmeyyet El Zaitoon district in Cairo. Consequently, we always find that the villa has a unique expression in terms of architectural aspects with a primary objective to reflect the values that characterize and signifies the unique class of which its occupants belong to. As well as it-the villa- embodies the inhabitants' ambitions and vision for an integrated system of behaviors that reflects their social, recreational and economic patterns.

Location ... Street ninetieth, New Cairo City, south east of Historic Cairo, and in search for the features of those arrangements/patterns, firstly, one must consider the urban environment as urban design inputs are the guidance and the entry to recognize personalities/characters of the public sphere, also, the relationship between spaces and masses is about integration as space is the carrier of values emanating from activities and practices made and carried out by the place's inhabitants. Secondly, architecturally wise, as masses and its vocabularies/elements are a language of communication that implicitly carries values and meanings, and accordingly features of individuals, an unlimited number of neighborhood of luxurious residential villas, and pockets/plots with a tentative appearance of middle or low-income classes, just terata with architectural configuration and isolated islands.

Time went by ... First decade of the twenty-first century, after hundreds of years of occupation, the implications of modernity, the superficial transition of values, the violent breaking of value's and historical cues, the unconditional submission to assessments carried by the western models as well as to unconditional ratification of the grandeur of history, and also many factors, including social mobility after 1952's revolution and openness, prompted media carrying untested/untrue messages, visual and readable media stenographer of culture, privatization, isolation of the poor from housing policy and real estate market. All these factors, have led to the occurrence of chaos and confusion, and sometimes the denial of ourselves as we are, with all of our structures.

Time and place do a resulting grey-alike features of urban environment, a non-specific model of planning that does not have a coordinated environmental or economic values but for it's considered a place to escape for people who are financially capable, outside the framework of environmental/cultural pollution of Cairo city. On the other hand, the exclusion process of the least richer classes through housing policy, appears clearly at the local level of new cities, through the exclusion of medium/low class housing units in urban communities of their own with incomplete services or construction works. In addition, these unfairly dealt with units/urban communities, suffer from the lack of economic, cultural services and other needed services in general, and is also suffering from neglect and poverty in their architectural expression, also these gatherings are considered to be few in size and number among the rapid urban growth which has allocated most of the territory for the developments projects those are profitable and allocated for the financially capable social segments as closed/gated communities.

This isolation, which Eric Dennis dealt with through analysis, to try to link this desired isolation of the upper class, and between the security value as a primary desired goal of this exclusion, and possibly the social discrimination.

However, the insulation is a tool to install the bias features and desires of the upper class, also, to accommodate with its insistence on the separation from society, and this raises the questions:

Have gated communities succeeded in achieving its goal of escaping from the responsibility to communicate with the community in the form of urban bias surrounded by a fence, announcing its own rules as a city within a city? What are the values that underlie cities in the first place?

Where does the villa stand from that bias? The villa is a mean of bias, so that to pay off the controversial separation of identity - the villa has become a metaphor for economic patterns of certain sphere of individuals so that they can be included in a cultural group representing a group of owners of villas with different appearances for cultural backgrounds with their goals and values. This group may be divided into smaller groups depending on features of political, economic or social distinctiveness under the same umbrella. The bias in this context is a selective bias taken from the desire in the value of security as a pretext to escape from the core issue which is controversial expression of identity and understanding of the self's features, unconsciously to ignore the responsibility of belonging to a society and thus it's to be denied that the villa is an architectural product that reflects a certain society class with all its vectors of cultural patterns including basic features, dreams, hopes, ambitions and values of which this society believes in. Such bias against the community has taken the idea of isolation as a strict framework as closed/gated societies, expressing a form lacking the characteristics of urban and social values.

And to find out the answer to these questions, it's possible to trace the value of security in closed societies through the study of stereochemistry spaces adjacent to the villa and its surroundings, using analysis elements by which to measure the basic concepts those shaping a society with a certain degree of harmony and security, despite the lack of clarity of its core cultural features, in an effort and search for these features by experience and interaction with the built environment and spaces, whilst selecting what is desired among them and expressing dreams of one's self.

1.0. Bias

Bias in the language is to own, and bias means having a specific choice of which individuals tend to take in accordance with their unique concepts/life views and their interpretation of the surrounding phenomena, also, in accordance with their awareness of the reality being experienced[1].

1.1. Bias as a Language and Sunnah

The origin of the arabic word of Bias as Hawaz, which includes only three arabic letters as (H, W and Z) as in   , reflects three meanings where cited by most dictionaries, linguistic and Qur'anic commentaries[2], either together or separately, as sum/add (assembly), the bound (the united), and stepping down[3]. Messiri sees that curriculums, forms of knowledge, and means of research:

"are not completely neutral "[4].

But:

"they reflect a set of values that define the field of vision and the research path, also they decide many of the results in advance"[5].

And this, says Missiri,

"what we call the term bias"[6].

When further explaining this, it's noticed that the curriculum/model hold within its core certain cognitive dimension, and a dimension of value, which means that methods and models tend to take sides and make connections with certain elements, this is what Messiri called to be values or standards.

The presence of these criteria and these values - as already we have identified - are "closely approach Obalnmazj, and terminology, and behaviors, and clothing ...] to the extent of being hard to get rid of them, is the so-called Messiri's "bias term".

1.2. The emergence of the city in Ibn Khaldun's view:

It is necessary to place the definition of the city of the possibility of connecting the closed community in New Cairo with the cities' emergence system and their relationship to the state/city emergence evolution stages in order to understand the reasons for its appearance in theory. Since city is in Ibn Khaldun view is considered as "the very goal of urbanism," which is the same as "the very goal of possession", and once urban environment reaches its utmost extent, then this very extent is a sign for the beginning of its corruption and resources waste era. In light of that, the state and possession are the image for creation and urban environment, and made from all as consisting of parishes, cities and other conditions, however, he -Tarek Wali- believes that regions those form places of possession, do self-ruin by the ruin and derogation of the state, assuredly, this urban presence whether was a place for possession or not: If succeeded in reaching its supreme purpose, it turns to corruption[7].

(Badran, 1992)[1]
(Haroun, 1990)[2]
(Manzor, 1988)[3]
(Badran, 1992, p. 10)[4]
[5] Ibid
[6] Ibid
(Wali, 1996, p. 101)[7]

According to the above, regarding the example of New Cairo, it can be noticed that the situation starting from the political decision till the emergence of gated communities, is an expression of class differentiation and bias those are made by means of separation, which also includes the isolation of middle class and poor housing away from the housing policy, this can be explained by Ibn Khaldun as follows:

"The origin of the disparity between city population is prestige and power not money because material medium of exchange; is belonging and derived from immaterial elements, the social status of the individuals in the city were not dynamically renewed for what they possessed as they rarely had possessions, but were rather determined by prestige, wealth and influence they had. Thus, urbanization didn't not occur gradually, but was suddenly taking place with a certain kind of an evolution in relation with a political change of society. The state in this case is the form that determines the level of development of this society and the state is also responsible for the appropriate conditions for the growth of social life in the city whilst securing the conditions of production/construction within the entities of the city"[8].

In this context, the state or the ruling elite gathers funds of the parish and spend it within the same system and those who are responsible for the system, only then, their money expands with their prestige, mostly more than its breadth with money itself. However, Ibn Khaldun condemns this civilization, and he says it is the extent of urbanization and the end of its era; also it is a sign for its decay and corruption. The corruption of which Ibn Khaldun refers to here, is noticed in two types: one is the corruption of urbanization in terms of its image and the other is in terms of its substance, yet, the materialistic corruption here means the venality of which affects individuals those are the substance of built environment. In addition, the civilization criticized by Ibn Khaldun is the civilization of consumption without the planning nor production, a civilization of those who are unable to work and defend themselves to persist the returns of their own indulgence, it is a life of parasitic group on the surface of the city, living, consuming and waste at the expense of all parish whilst seizing their funds and their values of work[9].

2.0. Values Which Form the City's Urban Structure

Ibn Khaldun talks about bringing benefits and avoiding harmful activities/settings, whilst applied on all inhabitants of the city and not just part of it, so, when dealing with the theory of Ibn Khaldun, it is to be taken into consideration to be applied on several levels. This is due to the change of several concepts, some are related to the well-being, prosperity, benefit and convenience (bringing benefits), and the other is related to achieving stability, security and peace of mind (avoiding harmful activities/settings) because the definition of both slit components is different from one social group to another, and in fact, these values are not necessarily applicable for all segments of society. Also, the insistence on turning the notion of achieving security, stability or peace of mind into an advertising and promotional goal for closed/gated communities implies the absence of the goal's presence outside these communities and therefore, the idea of bias grows at the level of value. Considering for example that achieving the value of peace of mind for example is closely linked to the high economic standard which is necessarily related to power/degree of influence (as demonstrated in the media, and explained by Ibn Khaldun), However, these promoted notions are not offered necessarily in closed societies, as demonstrated later.

As for the values of equality through justice, their absence is a scourge foreseeing the collapse of the city,

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(Wali, 1996)[8]
(Wali, 1996) [9]

"Injustice indicates the ruin of urban environment, whether such injustice is a result of cumbersome fiscal policy or bringing other types of abuse on the population and going beyond the state's legitimate policy, because there's no dignity for the state without individuals and there's no power for men without money, and there's no way nor route or access for money without the architecture, whilst there is no way to architecture without justice"[10].

Among the most prominent types of justice for Ibn Khaldun is the economic Justice, as injustice as a sign for the ruin of urbanization is beyond the tax injustice to include the domination of trade by taking people's money through a penalty policy.

It's clear here that the problem of social and urban exclusion is a bias not only to the lifestyle of entertainment, but this entertaining appearance is necessarily linked to higher classes of the community. whilst scourge appears when bias is in value of which being promoted in the media as primary objective of closed societies, showing an expression of bias on several levels starting from bringing benefits and avoiding harmful activities/settings, to being totally isolated away from responsibility. In light of that, the differences between the circumstances/time of the emergence of this theory and the present time, is that there is no evident features for values expressed by the class of which desires achieving stability and security while expressing its activities, homogeneity and dreams.

Given that security is the primary objective of this isolation, it can be measured by studying spaces as defensible spaces, as well, pattern language is considered a mean of measuring urban and architectural problems.

Creation/urban environment as a mean of forming communities in its material composition, is a tool of expression and measurement for the behavior of individuals, considering that activities practiced by individuals are one of the tools to recognize their own cultural characteristics, since spaces contain the carried out activities, also it represents and regulates their -individuals- effectiveness with themselves and others, also, the very same space, receives and evolve with different streams and patterns of activities being carried out within, causing a value transfer from immaterial form – psychological form- to a material form – space, this value transformation allows the space to reform, and re-correspond to new variables , showing a reciprocal relationship and always in the case of the formation.

2.1. The Concept of Pattern Language

Pattern language is one of the frameworks to understand the effects of urban design and architecture on social, political aspects. It's possible through this framework to achieve several advantages in design (or in solving the problems of existing urban environments) as in linking between the social aspects and used spaces. This pattern language can also be used at the level of urban planning with an access to architectural details, in order to achieve the required flexibility in design. In addition, it is a way to link the main objective which is a sustainable design and the limitations imposed by the social and economic conditions and geographical location.

2.2. The concept of defensive spaces

It's obvious that defensible spaces concept is to be addressed for the possibility of monitoring its elements in closed societies, agree most of the literature agree on the fact that defensible spaces is a system through which design standards/elements for housing, parks, pathways and residential neighborhoods can be utilized to prevent crime through the realization of the needs and requirements of security and safety. Also, all patterns of defensible systems share a general objective to provide a structured urban environment that enables its inhabitants to control spaces around their homes, where that includes surrounding streets, corridors and spaces of transition, in

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(Wali, 1996)[10]

order to ensure that they -the inhabitants- can observe and control these spaces in accordance with their living requirements[11].

Correspondingly, defensible spaces self-depend to provide the required security without relying on the help of professional or governmental authorities, instead, it depends on the behavior of residents and their interaction to reducing crime rate. Also, it attracts people from all different social strata for housing whilst achieving a kind of social homogeneity, as these residents can become acquainted with many behaviors those would improve the neighborhood concepts/definitions and add to their humanitarian and urban expertise, which accordingly gives them hope and ambition to work on natural social mobility through the acquisition of required virtues and therefore pursuing them.

It is also noted that according to defensible spaces studies that the one's sense of responsibility for the space and property is less when greater number of families participate in the ownership or use of a certain place. and thus, when less numbers of families those are involved in taking responsibility for the use of public property, whether they were interior paths, especially among residential units, or between green areas, this allows a relatively easier informal understanding between these families regarding the specifics of private usage of space and mutual acceptance. On the other hand, when more families share this mutual usage of spaces, it could be difficult to reach such a concept and the usage of space becomes limited as a place for having walk, since it is difficult for the occupants to consider the surrounding places as one of their belongings, as well as it becomes harder to feel that they have entitlement to control, change or to identify activities being practiced in these spaces, so it becomes easier for anyone to sneak into them.

There are many studies dealing with: crime prevention through urban design of the surrounding environment: Crime Preventing Through Environmental Design (CPTED). As the basic principles of which this approach depends on are about the possibility for adaptation of the built environment and to be changed to control the behavior of individuals in order to reduce the fear of crime. these behaviors can be achieved by reducing the contribution of the physical environment in the existence of criminal behavior and thus improving standards of living, thus, it can be defined as: It is the right and effective design for the built environment that could lead to reducing the fear of crime and improve the quality of life to achieve security"[12], this definition assumes that whenever our management of human and natural resources for the built environment was more effective, the more it is our chance to take advantage of benefitting from spaces, as benefit in urban communities means the protection of property.[13]

The definitions of the design word includes the physical, social and administrative aspects where they all aim for positively influencing the behavior of individuals whilst their interaction with the surrounding environment. The aim of the program is to prevent some of the crimes in an environment with specific features and characteristics, by providing alternatives associated with the nature of space and activity. It also includes the design of the materialistic space by knowing the user's social, physical and psychological needs, also, by knowing the expected and desirable usage for the space, whilst taking three axes of the design in consideration: Controlling entrances and natural surveillance (without the use of technology), and enhancing protection.

In addition, the control of entrances and surveillance is one of the previously known and clearly distinctive elements in the field of security achieving. Also, through environmental design, some solutions meet axis I and II while others focus on one of them.

(Newman, 1996, p. 9)[11]
(Newman, 1996)[12]
(Newman, 1996)[13]

2.2.1 Control approach is a concept of design which aims to minimize the chances of a crime occurrence and it is classified to have a systemic feature aiming to prevent access to desired targets through the creation of possible risks for intruders.[14]

2.2.2. Natural surveillance[15] is a design concept that depends on bringing the intruder under surveillance, so the primary goal of surveillance plans is to facilitate the its existence and application inside the place/space, these two axis integrate to keeping intruders outside the space for their sense of high surveillance presence.

One of success factors of defensible systems is being viable by users as they are more knowledgeable of activities taking place inside spaces whilst having a genuine desire to carry out these activities in the optimum way, as professionals such as architects or landscape architects or security experts and others do not to hold all the responsibility of establishing the sense of security[16], considering that human spaces have certain design goals specified by its users. All these human spaces have a definition which includes social, cultural, and legal dimensions describing the expected behavior for the users' performed and desired activity. As well, all spaces are designed to support and control desired behaviors.[17]

2.3. Evaluating Spaces:

Based on the previous basics, spaces can be evaluated through answering to the following questions[18]:

2.3.1. Design process:

What is the design objective of the space? What is the main purpose of which spaces were designed for? What the extent of space absorption of current desired usage? Are there conflicts between current use and the target use of which space was primarily designed?

2.3.2. Definition:

How do you define space? Do spaces show who possess them, clearly? What are the space limits? Are there any cultural or social definitions that describe how to use the space? Have regulations and laws been applied clearly regarding the operation of the space? Are there guideposts? Is there any conflict or lack of clarity between the definition of the space and its usage?

2.3.3. Design as concept:

How to support the physical design to use? How to define a vacuum support the desired behaviors? Is contrary to the physical design with effective use of space and human activity is required? Is there confusion or conflict in his handling of the control design in a vacuum? Do you design provides the means for ordinary users to enable them to exercise control and surveillance activities natural?

It was necessary to address some of the void defense literature, to be able to understand the philosophy of security within the urban space, in addition to the possibility of exposure when measured for the analysis of the closed spaces in assembly language using the Lake View pattern.[19]

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[14] Ibid

[15] Ibid

[16] Ibid

(Newman, 1996)[17]

(Newman, 1996)[18]

[19] Ibid

3.0. The Lake View Pattern

3.1. Introduction: Hierarchy of Entrances

Figure 1.Location and accessibility of Lake View

The hierarchy in the transition from space to another within the city is one of the vocabularies that gives character to the city and reflects what civilization/state gives to populations. In addition, entrances in Lake View as a spatial transition from outside to the inside of the city, or as a spatial transition from the main street of neighborhoods housing to smaller ones, do have non-specific features and they even disappear sometimes.

3.2. The achievement of standards for outdoor defensible spaces in closed societies – Lake View Community:

 Problem: the defensible spaces system do succeed when the process of implementation starts from the urban design of cities and ending with the level of residential unit, which is the villa in this case study, through the hierarchy across six basic levels of which an application of control over standards those bringing security and settlement, do take place. Through the observations derived from site visits to New Cairo and the study area, an important question arises, to what extent do closed/fenced community achieves security? Because the standards of security are not only achieved by building walls but they extend to include the residents' own monitoring behavior, also, the transition from space to another should not depend solely on the signs, but also through the urban design whilst taking into account the creation of a transitional spaces.

3.2.1. The first level of entries:

The entrance to the city: The planning of New Cairo's entrances does not include a clear determination for a space transition *Figure 1*, where individuals pass through to it would feel as an announcement for entering a new city that represents the future, or representing a different life pattern with a clear urban and architectural vision. Also, the disappearance of a gate or a spatial transition across a square or a distinctive landscaping element which is different than the outside highway gives a non-specificity feeling and a gray impression of city features. In addition to this, the sudden jump into the city in its most important streets from the outside highway, gives the

impression it's totally unsafe, since the ease of access to the city reduces the sense of security, stability and privacy, in the pictures below show the entry point *Figure*.

| One of New Cairo's entrances | One of New Cairo's entrances |

Figure 2. Entrances of New Cairo

3.2.2. Level second: Entrance to the closed society:

The transition to the interior space of the closed society is quite specific with a high wall, giving a clear and direct impression of separation and isolation, it also reflects the concept of achieving security through clear gates, but it does not make clear impression of urban or architectural character for only through buildings those appear behind the fences and trees with a recreational nature/look. However, outside the walls, pavement and lighting poles give impression of a more stringent and aversion, and walls are solid to keep away the stalking behavior, but it also carries an isolation message against the surrounding urban environment. Adding to this, activities in the pedestrian walkways, spaces within a certain neighborhood cluster are separated from activities taking place in adjacent clusters, thus, this closed community is turned into a city within a city, by separations made of architectural, societal and synergies elements *Figure 2*.

Figure 2. *Lake View Master Plan and Entrances to Closed Society*

3.2.3. Level third of the entrances:

Entrance to the residential groups: Clustered villas form housing groups along the road, separated by green spaces and trails movement, while the entrance of each residential group is not specified at all. Urbanely, there is no catalyst to separate these residential groups by gates, as the compound is considered a one neighborhood. In spite of that, processing residential entrances without gated separations, would be achieving more of the concept of privacy and security as in entering from the main gate would allow free roaming within the resort without being questioned. Also, a lot of pedestrian's paths cannot be monitored all the time, and that definitely helps reducing the sense of safety since there're no joint activities among the population in those scattered parks.

3.2.4. The fourth and fifth levels of the entrances

are included within the framework of intimate space adjacent to the villa, so it will be studied through the open spaces later.

3.3. General location of Lake View Compound

The general location shows the absence of hierarchy in the transition from the outside to the inside, as the main entrance is a point of entry control, in addition to the presence of the fence separator defining the limits of compound, but also it cutting off communication between the urban spaces of the city. The idea of bias appears at the level of resolution of security through isolation of which is shown clearly, **Figure** because in addition to the high walls, the interaction between external environment and internal compound disappears, which is required as a design goal, but it is also one of the main reasons that security disappears, as secured spaces as previously mentioned, depend on clarifying the type of activities and preventing intruders without the use of fencing element. In addition, the need for social aristocracy for insulation is a call in the first place for the idea of bias to achieve the values of stability and tranquility. It is also difficult to identify this

community from the outside, and its nature seems closer to touristic hotel facility rather than a distinctive and intimate residential community.

| Entrance separates between the club and the closed compound | Closed compound's main entrance |

Figure 4. Types of Closed Community Entrances

In addition, to reduce the severity of the fence, it is possible to resort to other solutions which enable the achievement of privacy factor, rather than applying bias using the insulation, such as adding transitional spaces around the urban settlement so that it can represent a natural psychological separation for the residential area, and in the same time representing a space with distinctive and clear types of activities so as to avoid bringing danger to the residential compound, with a possible use of non-solid fences.There are many styles associated with and complementary to this pattern, such as positive external spaces, green spaces, small squares, network paths, roads, green tracks.

3.4. Positive external spaces within the assembly Positive Outdoor Spaces inside Lake View

The outdoors inside Lake View are places to practice various activities that express the recreational lifestyle for residents, associated with other smaller activities, like: open spaces hierarchy, paths form, paths and endings, plant walls, the density of pavement usage also these outdoors are linked to greater pattern which is to recognizing residential neighborhoods and entrances' hierarchy.

Figure 3. Aireal View Showing Lake View's self-sustained Internal Network

Indicating the impact of bias concept to achieve security and stability values:

Control of entrances: the fourth level of control: movement through pedestrian paths around the villas *Figure 3*: The villa's entrances are near to the street, but a lot of pavements have small width, those are not designed for walking usage nor encouraging the perambulation, also there are no green spaces in front of the entrances to give residents an opportunity to move or practice any activity. In addition, the proximity of the villas gives opportunity for social interactions and residents can see the parking places beside the villa. Also, windows near the street are relatively small on the facades, while windows in the back is relatively big for seeing the greenery spaces and background parks, but in the same time it reveals the inside of the villa easily. And the surrounding fences almost can't hide the view. In addition, the entrances are far to provide the privacy, but they don't give opportunity to exchange dialogue nor social interactions, which could occur in backyards *Figur*.

Large Back Windows	Small Front Windows
There're no playgrounds or othe types of spaces to carry out activities	Path Ways in Front of Villas
Minor Collective Square for Villas	Layout of a Residential Sub-Compound

Figure 6. Spaces hierarchy, Activities and Paths and architectural design elements

3.4.1 Access to the villa's private garden:

Some types have a prominent entrance in front but most of them have submersible entrance in front with a shading structure forming a semi open space to express the movement into the villa, and the fences surrounding plots vary between steel fences and short stone fences , which don't form a visual barrier or obscures the vision of the villas, instead, they clearly determine the private and public ownership. These short fences which could be just plant fence, do make a psychological barrier, determining the limitation of private ownership. The public ownership here is not generally a part of the city, instead, it's public for the compound residents, thus the backyards look like they have no determinants, and easy to penetrated somehow, with a variety of path/movement types ***Figure***.

Uniformity of Villas Main Entrances	Villa's Backyard Entrance and paths connecting between villas

Figure 7*. Villas Entrances*

3.4.2. Monitoring the outdoor spaces of villas

The form of space: we can observe from the case study's general plan, that outdoor spaces which the villas congregate around it, don't have an obvious geometric or organic shape, because it's a repulsive space, not centric, since villas don't form to create a central space, for one of its properties is to create a space for positive interaction between partners/individuals sharing the same space. On contrary, the non-specific form is hard to be defined also difficult to be observed effectively.

3.5. The objective of space:

Outdoor spaces between the villas aim to provide a special place representing the quietness while bringing peace and serenity, with spaces for light sports activities such as walking or running or riding a bike, through the landscape elements as greenery, water features and paths.

3.6. The usage of space:

No interaction has been monitored with the outdoor space, although there is an existing place populated by families and more than 40 units have been delivered in the first phase, which is considered completely implemented. Showing that human activity is absolutely non-existent, whilst considering outdoor space is abandoned although it's fully equipped. In addition, despite the simplicity of activity types of which expected to be practiced within these spaces, they never existed, as expected activity can be defined through the landscape features. In addition to this, there are no seating areas or places for chairs, those may be added in another phase, as well as the existing paths are narrow and barely accommodating two persons walking side by side and there is no separation between pedestrian paths and cycling corridor.

There is also no special character for the space, the aim is to include a water feature to be as a natural scene for residents, this reflects the idea that spaces were generated as natural sight scenery purposes more than as a place to practice social and recreational interactions. This is confirmed by the lack of any activities such as playing basketball or football or seating areas those would create opportunities for social interaction, raising the question about the primary goal of a residential community if the goal is not social interactions *Figure 4*.

Figure 4. *Exterior Spaces don't have Certain Geometrical Shape, Instead, They do have the Generated and Resulted Spaces due to Villas Arrangment*

The lack of clarity in the form of space and boundaries whilst not answering questions determining the use of space, reflect an important result which is the lack of a sense of responsibility towards the users of spaces, consequently, the lake of ability to participate in the formulation and landscaping of this space. Considering that one of designing duties is to know what users really need regarding activities, so, supposing there are existing playgrounds somewhere far inside the cluster, this does not necessarily eliminate the need for the existence of playgrounds and spaces made for specific activities near the villas *Figure*.

Intimate spaces of the villa are mostly similar, in terms of the distribution of key elements as swimming pool and the entrance to open spaces behind the villas, and similar also at the fence in terms of shape and height, while there're no special design features that distinct the intimate space for each villa. However, all intimate spaces do share in small area feature as when compared to the size of the villa and the outside open spaces. Thus, the question here is related to the non-specific use or the possibly specified use of spaces due to the limited options of leisure purposes since it is being exposed to nearby villas' backyards and open spaces, considering in the same time the cultural traditions those put more determination to apply privacy. And this is where the contradiction in bias appear, because how can it be called bias while in the same time bias characteristics inside intimate spaces, are not fully achieved and do not allow maximum freedom even if isolated from outer community outside the closed community gates? Is it basically a cultural issue rather than a physical controlled variable? *Figure*

Lake as an overlook for all exterior spaces - a distinctive element for spaces, in addition to pergolas, however, with no seatings, even it might not be used by the population due to the lack of familiar activity around or near the lake	Intimate space of the villa - the pool is essential element, in addition to a fence that was added by the resident, of which is covered with vegetation, and also near the swimming pool exists an umbrella for drinks
Pedestrian paths that link all elements with each other, are narrow with no possibility of holding individuals with cyclists	Each villa overlooks the lake and a large garden of which forms the neighborhood's shape
Rows of villas also seem as a wall	Seats to sit in spaces of distinctive areas

Figure 9. Spaces, Connections and Activities

Public spaces of the garden also leisure and intimate space, in many cases are not separated by any transitional pre-spaces for the private space. As well as the access of the park is possible through the corridors that connect all the parks	landscaping elements stand for touristic and elite housing, rather than just normal residential units
Spaces without activities or seating areas	One of the villas showing communication with the an adjacent exterior space, thereby reducing the privacy of the intimate space of the villa
One of the interior fence models showing the diversity in creating a more private intimate space	Most of villas exchanged the metal fence with solid fence, using maximum allowed height to block out vision from the villa's interior intimate space

Figure 10. Spaces and Separations

4.0. Conclusion of the Visual Barrier, Oblivious Spaces and Villas

Has safety been achieved?

Has stability conditions been provided by isolation which reflect the bias discrimination?

Has fenced community achieved the dream of stable social life which is based on clear principles, positive and effective practices of life, to be an experience about a society expressing itself, or it's just a hotel accommodation to a class of which couldn't correct its own defection of appearance and its continuity?

The most simplest basic principle for any community is preventing/pushing away harm, has not been achieved, since the previous analysis reveal an imbalance in the meaning of proposed safety in the urban design for open spaces of this urban community type, as one of the most important regulation in the defensible space is to identify the activities which will be take place inside the space, an addition, to determine behaviors which will be used to carry out these desired activities and practices inside the space. In addition, the hypothesis that activity is not defined or non-existent raises a controversial argument that if these spaces are just being placed for beautifulization and bounding law factors more than being as a space for activity practicing, which weaken its role in being a defensive space with a property to prevent and detect intrusions.

In addition, the study area consists of a group of villas overlooking the main entrance over the street, and the back is overlooking the green spaces, which creates a kind of imbalance in understanding the language in which villas were compounded, as the design around a space has an aim of creating a special central space, where joint activities can be practiced, which enable families to make friendships and mutual relations, as well, back space is overlooked by other villas from nearby residential groups, so the neighbors who will have the opportunity to meet each other, they are in fact residents of the nearby neighboring groups, while the formed space resulted of villas does not have a specific character or form because it is the result of an assembled groups of houses next to each other.

And because the outdoor spaces don't achieve the concept of positivity, which firstly means clarity of space shape and boundaries, and secondly the existence of a specific activity which is agreed on by the users of the space, with the presence of compacted villas as a concrete firewall surrounding emptiness/space without any architectural treatments to create an interaction between mass and void. From the previously mentioned points, it's noticed that security as a target of isolation as a mean embodied in the presence of barrier expressing of bias or social class, is an untested goal with weak chances of success, but only with using aids such as policemen or means of control mechanism.

And it seems that the presence of this barrier is not real, not for its physical presence, but for its functionality absence. So that when internal security disappears, the wall as a part of security system becomes itself not effective.

But for the villa, despite the sale of all units in the Lake View closed community, it's noticed that when comparing the architecture of the villa al and its spatial qualities, with Halima or Historic Cairo's villas, it's noticed that two main qualities do exist in the villa's intimate space within this closed compound, the first one is that the space has a specific use, second quality is about the small size of the space compared to the villa's area and also the limited activities to be exercised in.

In addition, it is deplorable to build a city without foundations to bring security, stability and prosperity near of Historic Cairo of which survives since hundreds of years, in spite of the diversity of political, economic and social conditions.

"The knowledgeable makes state as a precedent value for the community, there is no civilian community without the state and when all forces in community fail, the state becomes the only living organism in theory, which plans, designs, builds industry, prepares development plans and controls the chaos of society. and when it cannot achieve all that, this is explained as a deficiency in the application and planning, and when this is failure is criticized, it is not to its hegemony, but because state did not speed up the modernization of society, as in tightening control over it "[20].

State here became a thinker who formulates and architectural and urban environment selecting the most viable from the society, a moral and material entity that is known for its absence and presence, yet stronger than the practices of citizens, and their urban and professional activities, due to the lack of relationship of influencing and being influenced. In addition, closed society is also a resulting political and economic decision those are not made in absence from the state's global strategy, which is also a product of the last stage in the evolution of cities as a model of luxury and well-being whilst being a model for consumption in total contradiction with the urban pockets of the poor.

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[20] (Wali, 1996, p. 142)

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Re-Planning Athens in the Context of Crisis: The New Challenges

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Preamble: the background of the Athens master planning

Since the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1828[1], numerous attempts have been made to draft and implement spatial plans for the city and the wider area of Athens. Yet, plans were only partially implemented with delays and usually after various degrees of confrontation.

The first attempts for the planning of the city were made as early as 1833 when the first plan was carried out by St. Kleanthes and E. Schaubert. Due to reactions raised by land owners, and to economic hardship it was not possible to implement this plan. Instead an amendment elaborated in 1834 by Leo von Klenze was realized (Biris K., 1966, ed 1999: 26-39 Travlos, 1993).

Since then, there have been numerous attempts to make plans for the city though mostly targeting specific sites such as opening of roads and planning of squares. Biris K. (1966) and Philippidis (1984) mention dozens of plans and proposals in the first half of the 20th century. The lack of funds and occasionally the resistance of private interests have resulted only into a series of limited changes in the city (cf. Sarigiannis, 2012). As stated in Skayannis and Kanarelis (2012) for the first half of the 20th century, *there was a little and late efficacy of interventions, while some sort of competition between the Ministry of Communications (the Town Planning Office being subject to it) and the Municipality of Athens*. WW2 found the city already amidst a series of problems such as the giving up of various public spaces and with no major city plan under implementation.

Skayannis and Kanarelis (2012) argue that *the period immediately after WW2 was a period rehabilitation and of reconstruction of the heavily damaged building stock. Yet, it was also a lost opportunity for the planning and redesign of Athens*. Yet, none of these was implemented. Instead, a timid town planning practice and the choice of cheap and quick solutions immediately after the war became dominant and no important interventions in public space or the creation of new spaces such as squares were achieved. Still, the main concern, as the private car was taking the lead, was the opening and widening of roads. These adverse developments of the urbanization of the capital, once again demanded new planning efforts. In this context, the Doxiadis Office in 1972 was entrusted with the Town Planning of Athens which resulted in the Athens 2000 Master Plan by the Ministry for Urbanism Housing and Environment, a final agreement plan reconciling 5 different proposals, including those of the team of Ministry of Public Works (headed by P.Vasileiadis) which divided Athens into nine large districts. This plan, known also as the Manos Regulatory Plan, according to Sarigiannis, proved rather inapplicable for that period, as it was of the "old style of regulation of land uses on a series of maps" and was not facing the required legal complications (Sarigiannis, 2000; Sarigiannis, 2012). As it was never realized, it would be reasonable to argue that throughout 1960-80 there was still no comprehensive planning. Showcase projects in public

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[1] As the starting point of the new state is here considered the beginning of the Kapodistrias Government on January 18, 1828.

spaces made their appearance instead, such as pedestrian zones and public playgrounds (Philippidis, 1984: 330)[2].

The scenery in terms of regulatory master planning changed with the first (to be legislated) regulatory master plan of Athens (1985), a serious attempt for change with which the next part of this paper deals.

From the 1985 regulatory master plan to the Olympic Games

The latest regulatory master plan of the city was carried out in 1985 (Law 1515, 1985) when A.Tritsis was the minister of Planning Housing and Environment (the later YPEXODE) of the PASOK[3] government. With the same Law, the Organization for the Regulatory (Master)Plan and the Environmental Protection of Athens/Attiki (ORSA) was founded and was assigned the responsibility to monitor the implementation of the plan and to advice for all planning issues related to its area of competence. That regulatory master plan had a lot of positive elements for the period. It reflected optimism, as if predicting the positive role of Athens and Greece in the forthcoming years. Behind planning, there was an optimism regarding Greece's accession to the European Union, but with yet unclear the benefits that this might entail.

Among its basic targets, in a period succeeding the rampant urbanization of the post war era, were the reduction of the population in Athens and the general restructuring of the economy in favour of the peripheral regions of the country which were still considerably lagging behind. As a result of this plan, the expansion of the city was gradually intercepted but the pressures persisted and no provision for organized expansion was foreseen. Consequently, arbitrary and unauthorised building in the outskirts never stopped. In this sense, the provisions of that plan were still conservative, not saying much about the future major restructuring of the city. It is worth noting that this plan faced a major contradiction, as also did much of the succeeding legislation of the governments thereafter. The contradiction is that between planning and implementation chances, frequently constrained by lack of funds, and often revealing the inadequacy of the state machinery to deal with the realization of complex plans. This does not only apply for the plans per se but also for the various political decisions and announcements.

It is indicative that though the metro of Athens was on the agenda, the PASOK government changed the agenda announcing the construction of a tram, instead, as they were unsure whether financing would be available for the metro. Possibly for the same reasons, the 1985 regulatory master plan did not include detailed provisions for forthcoming projects such as roads and trains. The physical planning of that period was more or less not comprehensive and to a certain extent arbitrary.

It has to be stressed here that, as implied above, physical planning in Greece had for years been detached from economic development planning. The Greek planning system had a) on the one hand the traditional physical town planning documents (structured at various scales and degrees of detail ranging from Strategic City Plans to implementation acts at the level of neighbourhood) (see Figure [1]), and b) the 4 or 5-year economic development plans for the whole of the country that at some point were enriched with regional economic development plans. These two different approaches to spatial planning, one coming from the socio-economic sphere and having a very general spatial dimension, and the other coming from the traditional town planning stream having a more physical-technical dimension, have established an embedded difficulty in the Greek planning system and have also reflected the antagonism between two ministries (Planning and Economy)

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[2] For the same period, see also Sarigiannis, 2000.
[3] PASOK: PanHellenic Socialist Movement: a social democratic party founded in 1974 by Andreas Papandreou. It won the 1981 elections under his leadership.

as well as the lack of political will to give a solution. Moreover, they led to alienation from the real problems that planning was supposed to solve.

National Level

National Framework of Physical Planning and Sustainable Development (NFPP&SD)
→Special Framework of Physical Planning and Sustainable Development (e.g. of Renewable Energy Resources)

Regional Level

(NFPP&SD)→ Regional Framework of Physical Planning and Sustainable Development (RFPP&SD)→ Regulatory Plans of Major Cities (RPoMC)

Local Level (Municipal etc.)

(RPoMC)→ Strategic City Plan or Open City Spatial Organization Plan → City Plan→ Implementation Act

In Addition: Integrated Urban Intervention Plans (for Special Cases of Cities or Parts of them)

Figure [1]: Physical spatial planning levels in Greece

The 1985 Athens regulatory master plan was an intervention to subdue economic planning under the umbrella of physical planning at the level of a major city. However, the lack of funds prohibited the full implementation of the plan.

In the coming years, as the accession to the EEC/EU started to yield the first results, the first financial possibilities were realized by the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes and later by the four consecutive Community Support (and National Strategic Reference) Frameworks (CSF)[4].

The accession to the EEC/EU did not only entail changes in the financial possibilities but also changes in the style of programming. The traditional 5-year economic development plans, on the one hand vague and general as policy statements and declarations, and on the other – at the concrete level - a sum of various local or administrational demands, i.e. incoherent not sufficiently interlinked lists of projects, were (or were meant to be) gradually replaced by more coherent planning. Thus, lists were - generally speaking – replaced by programmes, divided into axes, measures, actions, etc., all these with time schedules and restrictions, budget lines regulated by financing guidelines, regulations (Skayannis, 1994), etc. This process was mainly a succession of the 5-year economic development plans yet with specific spatial references something that brought it closer to physical planning. Yet, the Greek planning system and state was not ready to support and follow right away such a strict course, but it gradually started to adapt, though this proved to be a very slow process. The question still remains whether this has been completed.

The question of planning adaptation, brought about by the EEC/EU, was also a question of an attempt to shift the paradigm of planning. That is, from the two different perspectives, of the economists (at the best of development economists) and of the architects (with a culture in 'urbanism'), to a merged planning exercise whereby economists and architects (to state it in the sense of prototypes) would have to collaborate. This however, was not followed by an equally drastic change in the comprehension of *modus operandi* by the administration. So the ministry of Planning and the ministry of Economics remained there, separate and competing with each other, producing a chaotic situation regarding the priorities and the philosophy.

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[4] The CFS periods have been 1986–1993, 1994–1999, 2000–2006 and 2007-2013 (NSRF).

In addition to the above, two major developments characterized the eighties and the early nineties: on the one hand, the Greek construction capital (Koutsoyannis, 1984) that had been very active in the Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East due to a variety of reasons was "returning" and seeking for investment opportunities within the country and in the Balkans that were just undergoing the first stages of their transformation from centrally planned to free economies. On the other hand, the prospect of the 2004 Olympic Games provided such an opportunity. It has to be stressed that construction activity in Greece has been the locomotive of the Greek economy since WWII. This is by and large because Greece suffered most from the German occupation (1941-1945), and its entire infrastructure was practically destroyed. Just the destroyed buildings in the whole of the country accounted for 23.3% of the entire building stock (Haikalis et al, 2002: 51). Construction developed along two lines gradually comprising two fractions of capital: one of housing to cover the vast new needs and one of 'contractors' (often being small and lacking the means) to undertake public works, as the vicious circle of urbanisation started to feed infrastructure. The big construction activity was conducted via centrally controlled projects and combined many aims at the same time (e.g. civil, military). In the absence of significant manufacturing growth, the new post civil-war regime of accumulation was infrastructure biased (Skayannis, 1990). It is in this sense that construction of both relatively big projects and extensive housing seriously affected and marked spatial planning and became tightly related to it.

Thus, the return of construction capital and the prospect of the Olympic Games started a series of expectations for new projects which in fact were planned and materialized, due to the special circumstances, over and above existing planning (in the sense of the master plan of the city). Special laws, such as Law 2730/1999 "Planning, Integrated Development and Materialisation of the Olympic Works and other provisions", were passed in order to accelerate and legitimize pre-decided projects.

This "official" by-passing of the law (of the existing regulatory master plan) was coupled by the traditional common practice of arbitrary/unauthorized construction of housing (by and large of building on own property without permission, more rarely on public property, and very commonly by provocatively violating planning regulations). It has to be mentioned that it was not merely the lower income classes that sought refuge to such a practice due to the higher expenses of legal construction, but the upper classes as well including- allegedly - high rank politicians, even ministers.

This top-down and bottom-up by-passing and overlooking of pre-existing planning legislation (that has been opposed only as far as its environmental dimension is concerned by the fifth department of the Council of the State which is "in charge" of the environment) was left to survive due to the fact that construction has been one of the major locomotives of the Greek economy, able to speed up or slow down the pace of the economy (Skayannis, 1990). This was coupled by a planning governance that on the one hand would collect the opinions of formal stakeholders but on the other would disregard the opinions of ordinary people and their organizations, in essence a political choice of non-participatory planning of any sort that obviously faced the problem of applicability.

In this sense, the major planning achievements of the Olympic games in Athens (parts of the "Olympic" programme, or triggered, or accelerated by it) from the wider public sphere were the construction of a series of transport projects (Athens International Airport, Ring Road of Athens, two new Athens metro lines, the tram lines, improvement of some parts of the road network), the construction of athletic installations including the Olympic Village and the press centre, and other minor projects. Most of these were not included in the existing master planning of the city or the wider area and were decided and imposed top-down over and above any different opinions of the residents. In certain cases, some court decisions accepted the cases against the state, such as the case of the peripheral road of mount Hymettus (part of the Athens Ring Road) that was raised by the American College in Athens, and the state had to modify the plans. In other cases the local communities manage to negotiate for free spaces with the contractors thus increasing the prestige of certain mayors. Yet, at the field of environmental concerns, this sort of fast track planning did not

leave much space for effective public consultation. Skayannis and Kaparos (2010) note that though there is a legal provision for inspection of the environmental assessment studies for the big projects, the time provided is limited, the volume of the studies very big and the knowledge required very specialized. Therefore the objective conditions are not that favourable for raising objections from the part of interested parties let alone the chance for a substantial debate that ends up being carried out through the media and frequently becomes a caricature.

From the Olympic Games to the current crisis

During the post-Olympic Games period (2004-2010) Athens did not take full advantage of the Olympic projects and what is more of the Olympic experience. The new government of the New Democracy party[5] (as of March 2007) seemed in the beginning insecure to proceed with public works, let alone planning. Yet at a later stage it seemed to catch up with the Olympic momentum and to start the procurement of new mega transport projects, once more not in alignment with the up to then master planning of the city. There was a point when re-planning the strategy for Athens was becoming an inescapable requirement.

In this conjuncture, in April 2009 a new regulatory master plan prepared under the supervision of ORSA was presented by the minister of YPEXODE G.Souflias (2009). According to this plan, the main goals were a) sustainable spatial development from the environmental and cultural point of view, b) balanced economic development, competitiveness and strengthening of the international role of Athens, and c) Improvement of the quality of life in a cohesive and friendly city.

As in most master plans, such general goals are widely accepted but the "devil is hidden in the details". In this sense, various confrontations started. The plan was accused of incorporating into the city an area of more than 200 mill sq. m., while on the other hand was advocating for the concept of compact city. Even the ministry of Agriculture thought that this plan was not environmentally sound (Hadjigeorgiou, 2009). As new elections appeared in the horizon, the law draft was never produced for vote in the parliament[6]. In October 2009 new elections were held and the government of the New Democracy party was replaced by a new one from the PASOK party.

In between, a basic change was the slow continuation of some of the post-Olympic projects (e.g. the extension of the metro lines). This situation eventually accentuated. As the economic crisis approached, projects were gradually abandoned (Thessaloniki submerged tunnel) or held back (Athens metro extensions). During this period, the city and especially the centre started to undergo an unprecedented crisis, as the main economic crisis deteriorated. Post 2010, this crisis has brought about changes in the social structure of the centre with multifaceted consequences.

According to Economou, Skayannis, Deffner, Giannakourou, Dounia, et al (2012), the problems of the centre of Athens have their origin in the early '90s or earlier (e.g. lack of comprehensive city planning, high-density building, green space deficit, old building stock, low quality of public spaces, lack of the necessary urban infrastructure, urban sprawl and suburbanisation). Other problems are more recent (e.g. increasing criminality, drug trade and prostitution, illicit trade, closed shops, abandoned buildings, increase in the number of homeless on the streets and impoverishment of a significant number of the population). The latter have been caused either by heavy migrant inflows in the city of Athens or/and by the effects of the current financial crisis on urban population. These problems pose manifold risks, primarily to public health and safety but also to entrepreneurship and property and to the quality of life as well.

As a consequence, over the last years, the inner city of Athens (the historic and commercial centre) has been changing in a rapid and hostile way, suffering from an increasing decline. Rising

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[5] New Democracy: a liberal democratic conservative party founded in 1974 by Konstantinos Karamanlis.
[6] Regulatory (Master)Plans of Cities in Greece are voted as Laws in the Parliament.

crime and lawlessness have reached "crisis proportions" in downtown areas, while the concentration of legal and illegal immigrants in some neighbourhoods has led to concern about the creation of ghettos in the heart of the city. At the same time, the economic crisis has led hundreds of stores to close down, to the increase of unemployment, and to the breakdown of social services and the degradation of the quality-of-life standards in many traditional middle-class neighbourhoods (Economou, Skayannis, Deffner, Giannakourou, et al, 2012), as well as allegedly to serious land speculation activity in view of a possible future gentrification process. This situation has triggered the activation of groups of the extreme right something which has increased the fragility of the social tissue.

Given the above, there is a question whether the problems of the city –in crisis- would be reasonable to be faced with tools from the sphere of physical planning, especially of urban design, or from those of socio-economic development planning.

The 2009 plan was elaborated while Law 2742 on "Physical spatial planning and sustainable development" was already in place since 1999. This means that there have to be "Regional frameworks of physical planning and sustainable development" following the national one and the special ones (if applicable). It also means that these plans fall under the responsibility of the Ministry of Planning and that especially for Athens and Thessaloniki they have to be accepted by the respective Organizations for the Regulatory (Master)Plans and Environmental Protection. This further means that taking into account this Law, economic development planning is subdued to spatial physical planning. On the other hand, the targets for the development of the country and the regions are still set by the Community Support (or National Strategic Reference) Frameworks (that have succeeded the traditional national 5-year plans). The question is how these plans are synchronized, in the sense of priority setting. This is related to the relevant consultation that normally is expected to take place. Yet the prevalent *modus operandi* is that major decisions are made by the government after negotiation with major players and planning at this level is limited to the expression of requirements and minor proposals by the local communities which however are expected to have made local development operational plans.

This contradiction was unavoidably transferred to the next plan for Athens that was to be elaborated quite soon.

The new Regulatory Master Plan of Athens-Attiki 2021 (RPA-2021)

The new government (from October 2009 onwards), as all governments do, changed the key members of the executive committee of ORSA[7]. The new committee set out to prepare a new regulatory master plan which was ready in 2011.

While maintaining the same goals as the previous plan though highly emphasizing the concept of the compact city, the new plan included different, some new, specialized goals which were: the promotion of the image of Athens as a Mediterranean capital with emphasis on civilization, policies for social cohesion, reconstruction of the production structure, restriction of unauthorized building, strengthening and redistribution of development resources, establishment of green belts and ecological corridors, urban regeneration with recycling of land and housing stock, vivification of centrality, strengthening of sustainable mobility, valorisation of the sea front, and improvement of the system of spatial planning and governance (ORSA /YPEKA, 2011).

Some of these goals were certainly less conventional than those present in previous plans, while the procedure for the preparation of the RPA 2021 plan included extensive consultation with various social actors and stakeholders. However it did not include an effective system of public

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[7] Out of the seven members of the executive committee of ORSA, (four are appointed by the Government and three by the local authorities (municipalities, etc.).

consultation with individual citizens. Despite the fact that all such proposals at some point the latest when they become drafts of legal documents have to be publicized in the internet and that there is a provision for the general public to electronically submit their opinions, this never happened with this plan, as the ministry proved indecisive to proceed with it due to contradicting pressures from the various stakeholders.

The plan faced three sets of contrapositions. The first was by several planners, the second by the municipalities involved, and the third by various stakeholders.

Regarding the first set of differing opinions these were mainly related to the size of the document in relation with the detail that a regulatory plan should go into, given that the planning system in Greece foresees strategic city plans that go into more detailed planning and are guided by the regulatory master plans (see Figure [1]). In this sense, a detailed regulatory master plan becomes mandatory and pre-empts the subordinate planning levels (which is not supposed to do) at a level which would have required extensive spatial analysis and more detailed proposals, as well as extensive time consuming new legislation. Consequently, a second domain of concern for the planners were several proposals of a fairly detailed level such as the pedestrianization of central city corridors, or the question of how the plan dealt with the extension of the city in relation with a new Law on unauthorized building (Law 4014/2011), as well as the conception of gentrification apparent in the proposals of the plan for the rehabilitation of the city centre.

The second set of differing opinions came from the local authorities. According to their views (e.g. municipalities of Athens and of Piraeus) the plan went into much detail in issues that they wanted to have the discretion of planning themselves, or they had already differently planned, using as tools the subordinate planning levels and other by-Law regulations.

Finally, the third set of counterarguments originated from the various stakeholders. For example, the association of Industries argued that RPA 2021, posing restrictions, did not leave enough room for the private entrepreneurs to move as freely as they should in the city, in terms of foreseen land uses. A more serious issue however was raised regarding those urban motorways that were not proposed in RPA 2021. As opposed to the previous plan which proposed a set of urban motorways (with the obvious intention to vivify the construction sector)[8], RPA 2021 kept only one of those proposals (a north-south short motorway linking the Athens to Thessaloniki motorway with the Athens to Corinth motorway, bypassing Athens from the west) and opted for more sustainable transport solutions. For example, in the case of linking the old airport area with the new international airport, the RPA 2021 proposed the improvement of the existing highway and/or the introduction of a bus rapid transit system, while the previous plan proposed a motorway including a tunnel under mount Hymettus, right at the centre of the axis of the mountain leading almost directly into the centre of the city, something which was judged by RPA 2021 environmentally unsustainable.

Under these pressures, RPA 2021 was not forwarded by the ministry for approval in the parliament with the additional argument that because of the then forthcoming May 2012 elections it should be the new government the one to decide for its future. Given these circumstances, the president of ORSA and the rest of the state appointed members (i.e. 3 out of 7) of the executive committee of ORSA resigned on March 13, 2012 (one member had previously resigned for different reasons and the 3 remaining members are representatives of the local authorities and had no reason to resign). One of the arguments for their resignation was the delays of the ministry regarding the procedures for the RPA 2021 and the fragmentary interventions often of outmost importance, made by the ministry disregarding the provisions of the regulatory plans. The most important of those interventions, according to the letter of the resigned ORSA members was the ministerial proposals for the area of the old airport.

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[8] http://www.dealnews.gr/epixeiriseis/item/43236 (accessible 04/04/2012).

Other Proposals, especially for the centre of the city

Though RPA 2021 is an important tool for the planning of Athens (in principle the most important), other tools are also being employed and a series of actors are carrying out plans and submit proposals for the city. These proposals are not on the spatial scale of RPA 2021 and generally belong to two different trends, reflecting the two different planning traditions mentioned so far: the spatial physical planning, and the socio-economic developmental tradition. Further on, these proposals reflect the interests or the specializations of the various actors and differ in the degree of social, economic or spatial elements they include, and in the corresponding rationale. Yet most of them have certain things in common: they acknowledge that the Athens centre is undergoing an unprecedented crisis (as referred to above) and are intending to face it.

The most important of the proposals that have been submitted are the following:

a) the ministry of environment energy and climate change (YPEKA[9]) which is forwarding proposals for the pedestrianization of a major corridor in the centre of the city (Panepistimiou avenue), the refurbishment of certain squares, a regeneration scheme for a set of blocks (Gerani area), and other interventions.

b) the programme of the ex vice president of the government Th.Pangalos. This programme mainly focusses on the establishment of law and order in the city centre assuming that a healthier environment for economic activity will prevail as a result.

c) the proposals of various actors and stakeholders reflecting economic interests. For example the Athens - Attiki Hotel Association has made proposals for a set of regulations that would revitalize the centre, as their business faces severe problems.[10]

d) plans of committees for special areas, such as for the area of Goudi (plan that is a result of ORSA work), for the area of Elaionas (Municipality of Athens with the sports club Panathinaikos), which foresees: i) the construction of a new stadium for the football team, of shopping centres, and of other facilities and ii) the simultaneous demolition of the old stadium and the creation of a park in its place. However, the most important plan is the one for the exploitation of the area of the old airport of Hellinikon (8,500,000 sq. meters). In fact there have been several plans for this area (Technical University of Athens, neighbouring municipalities, architectural competition for ideas), as well as several proposals (Simitis period proposals, Manos' proposals, Polalis'[11] proposals, etc.). During the last period (2011), the PASOK government that established Hellinikon SA asked them to launch an international tender for the exploitation of the area. The terms foresee an area of green, and cultural and entrepreneurial activity. The perennial debate about this area has mainly concentrated on the percentage of green area and the kinds of land uses.

e) proposals of private investors for certain parts of the city that frequently require changing of land uses coming in conflict with existing planning regulations. These are divided into the ones that require point changes and to those that require greater interventions and a set of changes. In both cases such interventions have to come to terms with the fact of the necessity for the revision of the strategic city plan of Athens.

f) proposals (or objections to proposals) from various local, neighbourhood etc. communities of the city, and from political or municipal parties. These are normally focussing on partial issues of the related interested parties.

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[9] YPEKA is the new name of YPEXODE after the 2010 elections.

[10] See for instance the press release of the 42nd General assembly of AHA (November 30, 2011) where the dramatic dimensions of the problem are exposed.

[11] Konstantinos Simitis: ex prime-minister of Greece during the nineties (PASOK party), Stephanos Manos: ex minister of YPEXODE (New Democracy party), Spyridon Polalis: Prof. at Harvard, President of Hellinikon S.A.

g) proposals from the city planning department of the municipality of Athens ordered by the municipal council, or the mayor, regarding special areas for which interventions are sought, or redesign is required.

As becomes evident, the proposals for the city vary and several planners have raised the objection that the proposals are partial and many are more of an urban design nature rather than of a planning one (esp. those of the ministry YPEKA !!!), at a time when the city needs deep structural interventions. Undoubtedly, several of these proposals are worth serious consideration. They reflect genuine interest from several parties or entrepreneurial pursuits, but have an obvious common denominator that they are not comprehensive. Thus, except of a part of the RPA-2021, and even more recently of an initiative of the mayor of Athens (Economou, Skayannis, Deffner, Giannakourou, Dounia, et al, 2012) no new provisions for comprehensive planning have been made.

In parallel, several of the plans are formally discussed at the neighbourhood level under a procedure that is foreseen by the law. Yet, the problem is not to discuss a plan that comes top down and to reject it or accept it, or in the best case make changes. The question is how the plan, at least the local interventions, is carried out with an essential participation of the community it concerns, or the more general plans (e.g. for the whole of the city) with a considerable and meaningful public debate with all stakeholder concerned as well as with individual citizens. In such a debate, the planners are not supposed to have finalised their opinion and try to sell the plan but are expected to be receptive of the valuable knowledge articulated in the consultations.

Instead of this, public debate has acquired two faces: a) interested parties are invited to express their opinion about an intervention or a plan. Frequently, this becomes a formality. There is never enough time to study a proposal or a plan, and the interested parties often have no expertise or the resources to deal with it. In a recent study concerning the mega projects in Greece, as mentioned before, was stated that there is never enough time to read the hundreds of pages long environmental impact assessments of the projects, thus local communities practically never have a scientifically based opinion on the subject (Skayannis and Kaparos, 2010). b) In other cases of a more localized nature, local communities do have and express an opinion, which up to a certain extend is taken into account. Most of the times these opinions concern local demands, and frequently these demands are related to electioneering purposes and aims of local politicians (Skayannis and Kaparos, 2010). c) Frequently, special entrepreneurial interests are expressed and exercise pressures for measures and regulations, yet these are not harmoniously linking to the more general approach of a plan.

Yet in all cases planning is by and large top down. In this top-down context, planners usually ask the opinions of stakeholders during the planning process and selectively utilize it, but in most cases one could reasonably argue that there is no substantial collaborative or participatory planning.

Conclusion

I the unprecedented absence of funds and of political will, the situation for the moment seems precarious and the future uncertain.

The course that planning has taken in Athens, has revealed a series of problems and contradictions:

a) The contradiction between the traditional 5-year socio-economic development plans succeeded by the various Community Support (and National Strategic Reference) Frameworks [NSRF] and the spatial physical plans coming from the tradition of 'urbanism'.

Even today, the relation between development programming and spatial planning as adopted in RPA 2021, even though the latter comprises itself the Regional Physical and Sustainable

Development Plan of Athens/Attiki, is the reverse from what it should be, with physical spatial planning predominating over socio-economic development programming, or preempting such a programme and plan, with unclear connection to NSRF. In this context, the plan foresees (article 50) a super-role of ORSA   which will be entitled to pronounce opinions on the legislative or normative framework for the investment programme of the region, etc.

b) the contradiction between the comprehensive planning approach and what one would probably name the urban design architectural approach. This is related to the understanding of the nature of the problems of the city and what is the appropriate methodology to face them in relation with the possible tools. Planners think that architects are naïve when trying to solve major structural problems with spatial interventions sometimes at the micro scale, while architects argue that the form of space leads to behaviours and uses that make a difference and lead to change.

c) the contradiction between the planning approach in general and the project oriented interventions *ad hoc* planning (similar to the previous era). This is a double facet phenomenon. First, big projects have been proposed contrary to the draft of the regulatory master plan as well as underlying pressures from various municipalities for more expansive development. Second, top down interventions for change of land uses regarding specific buildings, and for change of land uses and planning regulations for specific areas (e.g. switching from manufacturing to services land uses).

Most of these contradictions are not 'methodologically' resolved, in the sense that besides from what falls under specific law provisions (for which cases law gaps are sought in order to justify interventions stemming from political pressure), other things are dealt with on a more or less *ad hoc* basis. Yet a common denominator is the lack of an organised public debate leaving space for both stakeholders and citizens to express their opinions. The 'Open Government' internet based consultation system established in 2010 by the G.Papandreou Government, is by all means an immense progress towards this direction, yet insufficient as deadlines are short and several issues are not discussed since only drafts of Laws reach the system. The limited public debate hence transparency, leads to the challenge whether planning is needed at all.

In the context of the contemporary neoclassical economies, as economic planning is not considered to be needed in the economy per se, the necessity of spatial planning is contested. Indeed, economy society and planning are interlinked.

New production modes based on tertiarisation and flexibility with a parallel switch to smaller enterprise scales make firms more footloose. As argued in Skayannis 1998, "Central authorities, cannot plan the way they did before, as the economic space has become fluid. In addition, under the new wave of neo-liberalism that has been sweeping Europe since the mid-eighties the values of planning have been put under question as planning was accused of limiting the scope and frontiers of entrepreneurs. In this sense, indicative or non-planning practices have prevailed" (p.3). Faludi has argued that in the disjointed - incrementalist mode, *the programmes considered by any one planning agency are limited to a few which deliberately do not exhaust the available action space, and ... action space is itself ill-defined.* The disjointed - incrementalist mode of planning represents an atomistic image of society (A.Faludi, 1973: 155-6).

Is this part of what we are facing in contemporary Athens? And if this were the case, then what would it take to secure that planning is there to regulate the built environment so that public interest is secured and the weaker parts of society are secure? Do citizens have a say for developments regarding their own city or this should be left to the pressures of contradicting economic interests? To what extend the good old recipe of democracy (nowadays enriched with transparency) could be helpful to achieve better planning results.

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Sustainable Urban Shape (Compact City)
(Sustainable Urban Projects in UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait and Case Study)

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1.0. Introduction

Cities are growing faster than ever before, as Lois Sweet notes '' with the advent of the 21ˢᵗ century, for the first time in human history , half the world population of six billion will be living in cities, especially those in the developing world, which leads to the growth beyond the city boundaries, resulting in the need for the sustainable compact urban developments".

The literature that deals with sustainable urban shape and the compact city as a model combines many types of urban forms in one city, and since the nineties some still believe that compact forms are the most sustainable, and it should be noted, that those proposals have implicitly addressed some of the characteristics of the compact shapes or sustainable cities, in order to achieve urban sustainability without going into detail or identification which clarifies the scope of this research and the research problem.

Research methodology:

- Define the most important approaches of sustainable urban shapes and,

- Build a framework for the dimensions and principles of the sustainable urban shape.

- Test the research hypothesis on a number of urban projects designed according to the principles of sustainability.

- To reach a set of conclusions.

2.0. Urban sustainability

Urban sustainability stresses balanced geographical distribution and the distribution of other opportunities, social and economic developments, maintenance of the natural diversity, with the use of sustainability in all its components as an essential aspect for the continuation of human life to give a better chance for future generations[1]. It is a movement aiming to achieve a homogeneous environment compatible with nature and interested in the quality of human life within the ecosystem[2] it also means the balanced use of energy and materials in the urban area with what can be offered for the region through natural processes, as the application of these principles highly reduces the consumption of energy in the urban centers[3].

Blassingame attributes the difficulty of defining "sustainable city" to the inability to adopt a standard model, as different places have different climatic, physical and human characteristics, and people

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[1] un- habitat annual report 2010, p10
[2] Moughtin,2005, P.157
[3] Ryn,Vander&Calthorp,1986, p 286

have different economic and social wishes, so the sustainable cities mean different origins, and remain within the number of elements, the first is the term of eco-city, the second is the different buildings, because of the harmony with nature or the inclusion of nature in human works, the third and fourth elements are the social and cultural beliefs[4].

A lot of literature have expanded the understanding of the importance of sustainable planning through identifying a set of planning and designing strategies and programs, defined by the Arab Institute for Urban Development as a set of action plans for cities balanced growth prepared and maintained by participating entities to improve the quality of life for all citizens[5].

Accordingly, the urban sustainability is concerned with the integration of natural and physical subjective systems within the economic, social, and cultural planning policies etc., to achieve adapted urban fabric with the surrounding ecosystem , widely reduce the consumption of energy by urban settlement, and to ensure the continuation of human life and give a better chance for future generations; it also emphasizes the place privacy especial treatment of each environment, as it is not a recipe which can be applied in every time and place.

In order to achieve the research aims, a number of literatures have been covered, and classified according to their main ideas and approaches and their relation to the research problem into; general literatures, planning and urban design literatures and the Ecocity literatures, as follows:

2.1. General literatures:

They includes literature that deals with the urban sustainable development, including (Peter Newman and Isabella Jennings 2008), (Moughtin/1996-2006), (Rogers/2002)

2.1.1. Peter Newman and Isabella Jennings, 2008

The authers explain how to pursure a path of urban sustaibale development and regeneration, as cities are defining ecological phenomenon of twenty–first century, from a minor part to global economy for the last one hundered years.

The city grew in population and the tendecy is to expand in land area, cosume important natural ecosystem and agricaltural land, the transformation of our cities offers hope for achieving sustaibality, and for cities to be positive force for the ecological regenaration of their region, there is a critical need to envision human settelments of their regions.

The writers suggest ten Melbourne principles to achieve urban sustaibainable development primciples[6], these principles confirm the vision on sustainability in terms of achieving ecological integration, on one hand, and achieving social integration and interaction, on the other, by depending on the environmental design.

The ecosystem view point is an inclusive one that sees humans as a part of local socioecological systems, in which the focus is on relation and processes that support life in its myriad forms.

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[4] Findlay,1996,P.10
[5] Arab Urban Development Institute,2012
[6] these principles are a set of aspiration developed at an international charette held in Melbourne in 2002, and were endorsed by participating governments at the Johanesburg Earth Summit later that year.

2.1.2. Moughtin, 2006.

Moughtin defines sustainability as development that meets the needs of the present and increases the ability of next generations to meet their needs; this includes various areas of life like politics, management, law, technology, architecture and economy[7].

Moughtin also points out how to reach a lower consumption of power during the establishment and occupancy of buildings, by reducing the surface area of the building, and by homogenous design with the environment, especially with the local climate, he considers the traditional architecture the best example of this[8], as the organic fabric of the traditional compact city places them in the classification of sustainable architecture, as urban designers can take advantage of them to reach an urban environment based on subjective systems with the use of smart designs to help the building to adapt to its environment[9].

The study confirms the principle of the compact city and its relationship with the powerful concepts of ecology, urban areas, as traditional organic compact assembling harmonizes with the ecological principles, and diversity in the contents of this assembling maintains the balance between input and output energy, and has global view of the city as a part of nature. [10]

2-1-3. Richard Rogers and Richard Burdett, 2002

The study regards the urban sprawl of cities into the suburbs as a negative development solutions affecting negatively the surrounding environment because of poor services and interaction due to lack of cohesion in the urban parts .The low densities do not create any sense of continuity or community. In east Manchester, for example, the density has dropped tenfold in the space of just one generation and the area has become derelict.

The study confirms the need for re-development of city centers through the principle of increasing density. Density has little to do with overcrowding or town cramming. It has everything with design of environment: the balance of massing, light and space. By controlling the way building are arranged around public spaces, , it is possible to create attractive living environment, and to develop more attractive communities having what is called the ''habit of association'', they have the potential to be ecologically sustainable and economically strong and socially inclusive[11].

This literature indicates a set of requirements are needed to achieve the sustainable development, they are as follows:

- Human and services requirements.

- Aesthetic, architectural requirements that support the spirit of the place and a sense of it.

- Creativity and the response to the requirements of structural transformations.

- The ecological balance between the open and closed spaces (private and public sides).

- Easy access to and the improvement in social interaction and the continuous meeting between the population members.

- Global integration of urban structure with maximum urban and social development.

- Overlap between the functions and multi-space that enhances the spatial belonging.

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[7] Moughtin,2006, P.2
[8] Moughtin,2006, P.29
[9] Moughtin,2006, P.52
[10] Moughtin,2006, P.70-76
[11] Richard Rogers and Richard Burdett, p. 9-12

2.2. Planning and urban design literatures.

Includes literatures point out the sustainable Planning and urban design including; (Amman Institute for Urban Development / 2011), (Depp and Muhanna / 2009), (Al Zubaidy literature/2006).

2.2.1. Depp and Muhanna / 2009.

The study indicates that sustainable urban planning needs, in particular, to understand a set of important relevant things, which include all of the following concepts[12]:

-        The scale: In spite of the efforts of planners to achieve sustainable urban development at the region level and the level of the city, this is achieved only at the level of residential projects and individual buildings. Several issues should be considered like size, location, nature, architectural style, density , buildings orientation and coordinate the location, climate and energy.

-        The organizational diagram: which must express clearly the policies derived from the development planning strategy, contains a scenario for the development.

-        The importance of the local climate: The relationship between buildings and local climate.

-   Open spaces: organizing an integrated green areas within the city, suitable for the type of performed function.

-        Transport: in terms of use of eco-friendly public transport, and secure and safe pedestrian and bicycles paths.

-        Design of the building and use of construction materials, in terms of maintaining the environment, energy conservation and selection of eco-friendly building materials.

-        The design, shape and direction: in terms of multiple uses for development planning that lead to the integration of various activities.

-        Coordination of the site and external features: The use of appropriate landscape elements, like trees, bushes and walls to prevent wind or sun light and to shade the building over the seasons.

2.2.2. Al Zubaidy literature / 2006

This literature refers to the planning of sustainable neighborhood, as a method of achieving housing sustainability in Iraq , particularly environmental sustainability.

The literature also points out that the use of the courtyard as a central space round which most of the rooms and solid walls are located helps to create traditional compact housing , according to various aggregations to achieve flexibility in formation and planning and frees the designer from the problem of both sides openings and defections, that will reduce the efficiency of environmental performance by reducing the exposed external surfaces, and increase the shading while maintaining the social privacy[13].

The literature suggests several strategies to achieve the principles of sustainable design as the study of these strategies leads to a deeper understanding of the interaction of architecture with the environment, which in turn leads to the analysis of specific techniques that help the architect to reduce the negative impact on the environment, and consumption of natural resources[14], The literature addresses the principle of rationalization of materials through several strategies, including:

1. The strategy of conserving energy; which is achieved through:

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[12] Depp and Muhanna,2009, p. 505-514
[13] Al Zubaidy,2006, p.202
[14] Al Zubaidy,2006, p.80

- Compatible site layout with the environment: From designing the building as a single unite, to its relationship with other buildings and the urban fabric as a whole.

- Self-energy: adopting the concept of self-cooling, by the protection from solar radiation, throw compactness and shading.

- Thermal insulation: The orientation of solutions and treatments (environmental / architectural), which includes employment of site topography, compact buildings, and compact urban fabric, and the relationship between the indoor-outdoor spaces etc.

 2. **The strategy to maintaining the materials**; which is achieved by the compact planning as one of the most planning trends that contribute to the rational use of materials [15].

The literature also mentions the strategy of urban design and site layout to achieve human design, and maximum benefits from the natural resources (solar and wind energy) ,the means related to the strategy of urban design and site layout achieve sustainability on a wider range of building or housing sustainable design, where the neighbors , communities and geographic regions can benefit from the compact planning to provide a more beautiful urban environment, pollution-free and compatible with nature[16].

2.2.3. Amman Institute for Urban Development (planning towards more sustainable cities)[17].

The literature points out the principles of planning towards more sustainable cities, which is represented by:

- Mixed uses.

- Compact urban Design through building intensification and environmental reconstruction.

- Enhance the reconstruction and development toward main growth areas.

- Find a range of choices and housing opportunities that suit all the social and economic groups.

- Provide a variety of options and means of transportation.

- Encourage distinct and attractive neighborhoods friendly to pedestrians, with a distinctive sense of place.

- Maintain the natural heritage.

- Adopt predictable and cost-effective fair development decisions.

- Encourage the cooperation between the community and relevant authorities in the development decision-making.

2.3. Eco-City literature;

Includes literatures that defined sustainable urban form throw the concept of ECOCITY.

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[15] Al Zubaidy,2006, p.90-91
[16] Al Zubaidy,2006, p.193
[17] This literature is provided within the intensive training course for planning more sustainable cities, in cooperation with the United Nations Program for Human Settlements (Habitat - HABITAT)

2.3.1 Jeffrey Kenworthy, 2006.

The study deals with the changing of urban development from its present unsustainable forms and patterns as a very challenging process, and making existing cities and new urban development more ecologically based and livable is an urgent priority in the global push for sustainability.

The paper discussed a ten critical responses to this issue and summarizes them in a simple conceptual model that places the nexus between transport and urban form at the heart of developing an eco-city, which involves compact, mixed-use urban form, well-defined higher-density, human-oriented centers. P.68

The paper discussed many examples of cities that have adopted the "urban commons" approach and have become greener cities, including Zurich, Stockholm, Helsinki and Freiburg. Through compact planning, they have provided for urban agriculture, forests and community gardens, as well as excellent public transport systems and high levels of walking and cycling. Environmental technologies such as renewable energy and localized management of water are also helping to "green" these cities.p.71

The finding of this paper suggests that sustainable urban form and transport are at the core of developing an eco-city. These factors form the shell or framework in which everything else is embedded and must operate.p.84

2.3.2 Franz Skala, 2005.

The basic tenet of the literature[18] is that urban design and the resulting spatial pattern constitute an essential element of plans to achieve sustainability, and to develop settlement patterns that imply higher quality of life and reduced consumption of resources.

The research also introduced the concept of ECOCITY with a special emphasis on "walking" and the key features that make them truly "pedestrian" and oriented on public transport for medium and long distance coverage. In addition the master plans for some of the case study areas have been discussed, which offered interesting and diverse solutions within the paradigm developed.

The research summarized the most important characteristics of an ECOCITY as follows:

An ECOCITY is composed of compact, pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use quarters or neighborhoods, which are integrated into a polycentric urban system in public transport-oriented locations and mainly composed of solar-oriented buildings. In combination with attractively designed public spaces, that integrates green areas and objects of cultural heritage to create varied surroundings. Such sustainable and livable structures contribute to the health, safety and well-being of the inhabitants and their identification with the ECOCITY.

The research point out what make a settlement attractive for pedestrians:

First: A compact city of short distances, achieved by:

- An appropriate/qualified urban density given by attractive multi-storied buildings

- Mixed land use, characterized by a well balanced ratio of residential and business.

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[18] This literature is part of the **ECOCITY project**: The ECOCITY project carried out in the context of the 5th framework program (City of Tomorrow) consisted of essentially 2 parts :
• development a planning theoretical concept for the creation of new urban quarters on the basis of a "sustainable urban development " postulate.
• the design of master plans following this concept.

- Limitation of the total area for a quarter.

Second: Attractive public space characterized by:

- A net of streets and squares with buildings showing varied facades as well as open Space elements and architecture in a high aesthetic quality.

- Limitation of automobile traffic to only absolutely indispensable trips within the quarter

- Seamless weather protection for pedestrians (arcades, etc.), particularly in the central area.

2.3.3 Jaroslav Coplák, 2003.

The paper contains essential information on the methodology, organizing structures, and scientific objectives of the research project ECOCITY. Though the project follows holistic[19] approach to sustainability, special emphasis is given to issues of sustainable transport.

The overall goal of the project is to develop settlement patterns for sustainable cities, clamors for compact, space-saving settlement structure interrelated with an environmentally compatible transport system.

Coplák, point out that ECOCITY is the result of the integration between sustainable city form, and the compact development (reduced land- and energy consumption, lower emissions, preservation of the surrounding landscape) and other dimensions of sustainability - economic and socio-cultural ones.

The research defined the most important concepts of sustainable city shape as follows:

1- The concept of "organic" city; as the planning principles of an ECOCITY form branch from the same philosophical tree as Geddes, Mumford and McHarg. And architectural principles stem from Wright .

2- The concept of small and livable, spatially limited area.

3- the concepts of a compact city and a pedestrian-friendly city as an appreciative source of ideas.

4- the concept of *City of short distances* and concentration of activities and subsequent increasing of density. This concept is operational zed by the so called proximity planning.

5- *City of minimized land consumption*, and at the same time promoting infill development, and more effective utilizing abandoned and under-utilized land within the urban core.

6- *City with new balance of concentration and decentralization* and *City of qualified density*.

The research also mentioned between many ECOCITY Principles the followings: p.20

1. Lines of new urban structure should be derived from the existing urban and regional environment to back up continuity.

2. Local culture and historical heritage should be protected and further cultivated .

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[19] holistic approach:is to integrate the ecological, social and economic aspects of sustainability in all sectors and to consider multiple cross-sectoral interrelations in the definition of solutions.

3. Streets and squares should respect the human scale.

From the literature review it is clear that urban sustainability may be achieved by dealing with an overlapping number of things, principles or strategies, as a result of variation in the theoretical approaches adopted in each literature, but there is a general agreement on the following aspects:

-       Adoption of compact planning or design as a model of the sustainable urban shape.

-       Adoption public transport as the basis for achieving urban sustainability through multiple properties.

-       Encourage mixed uses.

-       Encourage pedestrian movement, throw short distance form.

-       Take into account local characteristics, Local culture and historical heritage and the privacy of the place.

The research confirms the achievement of urban sustainability and sustainable urban development through the adoption of the compact shape, thus the following theoretical frame will be build to conclude more principles and dimensions of the compact shape (compact city).

3. Sustainable compact shape (compact city).

This paragraph addresses the language and the conventional definition of compact:

3.1. The linguistic definition

The Arabic word for Compact which is derived from the Arabic verb (Annex) that is *to join one thing to another* and (compact) people are joined to each other[20].

In English the word compact means the following[21]:

-        Having parts or units closely packed or joined occupying a small volume by reason of efficient use of space.

-       To knit or draw together.

-       To make up by connecting or combining.

In conventional definition: **Compact as used in politics may refer broadly to a pact or treaty; in more specific cases it may refer to: Compact government, or Compact of Free Association.**

Within mathematics, <u>Compact elements are</u> those elements of a partially ordered set that cannot be subsumed by a supermom of any directed set that does not already contain them, Compact may also refer to: <u>Compact car</u>, a classification of automobile size, <u>Compact (newspaper)</u>, a broadsheet-quality newspaper printed in a tabloid format, etc[22].

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[20] Alsahah,1983, p 384
[21] Webster, p.226
[22] www.en.wikipedia.org

Thus compact indicates, in general, the interdependence, type of assembly, agreement and merger between many different parts sharing common characteristics within a certain size or small space to achieve the total composition and structure.

3.2. Compact city (assembling, shape).

The concept of compact city was inspired to a large extent by the high-density developing patterns of many European cities. Much of the planning literature from 1990 onwards focuses on the compact city: a concept designed to implement sustainable development within the urban environment and to counteract the perceived negative impacts of urban sprawl[23].

While compact represents one of the concepts that influence the urban environment of the traditional Arab city, where the continuity and extension of urban space include the whole city, as one continuous space, one connected body by live dynamic system is difficult to evaluate internally because of the difficulty of separating its interrelated parts from each other, as function and shape linked dialectically and organically.

3.2.1. Contemporary trends in the compact city

The (European Commission) defines the compact city as a center of production, cultural consumption, communications and numerous activities and social dynamics center, required to minimize the distance of movement and use of local sources, It is believed that a compact pattern can protect urban open space, reduce energy-consumption and land-waste, and create a diversified, vibrant life[24], While (Burton / 2000) defines the compact city as a city of multi-purpose system based on efficient public transport, space dimensions, encouraging the pedestrians and bicycles, with a relatively high density[25]. (Burton,2000, p.1970)

According to (Lock, 1995) and (Naess, 1993), the compact city is an approach which supports the best use of urban land and as an alternative to sprawl[26].

Arbury defines the compact city as a high- complexity concept related not only to increase in density, but also to link to the diversity of the densities at the level of urban spaces, all to achieve the desired benefits. Through these forms, it is possible to provide each dwelling with its own front door onto a public street, and to provide gardens for all family dwellings[27].

According to Hongjie& Ming, compact city is not an established form of towns, but a guiding ideology of city construction. Compact city may be taken as an urban pattern and settlement development[28].

3.2.2 Traditional trends in the compact city.

Compact cities have evolved through history for various reasons, like social consolidation, protection from enemies, farmland protection, economic efficiency and adaptation to the climate[29].

The traditional compact pattern has been adopted in many cities, especially in traditional Arab cities, and cities in the hot dry regions, (Al-Kaisi/1983) points out that the compact concept in the traditional urban fabric has led to a reduced thermal load in summer, where the largest area of the building elevations overlook the shaded alley. Traditional environment is adapted to the microclimate factors, through the formation of a single dwelling or traditional compact fabric, as

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[23] Arbury,2008, p.44
[24] Hongjie&Ming, 2009, p.2
[25] Burton,2000, p.1970
[26] Lock,1995, p.175& Naess,1993, p.309
[27] Arbury,2008, p. 48
[28] Hongjie& Ming,2009, p.3
[29] Steemer, 2003,P.39

shaded alley led to the creation of local cold wind as a result of the pressure imbalance between the solid and void[30].

Pearlmutter, 2001 confirms the sustainability of dealing with the traditional architecture and urban design within development plans, traditional urban communities represent an occlusion of the society and its culture, and a direct reflection of the considerations of climate impact on the development process[31].

Thus the compact shape of the city is a model based on the ecological assembling of traditional city, which relies on local, social eco-systems to achieve the ideal application of the concept of sustainability at the level of the city as a whole.

3.3. The compact city: Principles and dimensions

In general, the principles of compact city are adopted mainly to limit the use of private cars and reduce the loss of green areas in the surrounding agricultural areas, those who call for the establishment of compact cities seek beyond the environmental benefits, as most intense settlements can be socially more sustainable due the services and local events continuity[32]. According to the European scholars (H.Harasawa, 2002; S. Rueda, 2000), compact city has a certain population density, properly gathering urban functions. It gives a limit to the expansion of the city. The development of city is confined to existing urban built-up area as far as possible, urban land re-developing and the revitalization of city centers is to be promoted. Meanwhile, the energy consumption and air pollution can be greatly cut down[33].

Compact settlement: In Hongjie & Ming, 2009[34], Divjak, 2001[35] view is mainly manifested in three aspects:

- Compact function: Mixed land use is advocated to improve the vitality and the efficiency of the land for public facilities, even small scale logistics distribution industries are likely to become the choice of the settlement, which is also in line with the principle of compact settlement living close to employment.

- Distance and time: Compact scale-settlement' location approach covers the city center or the mature area as close as possible. It must not be located in a place lacking municipal and public services. So we can enhance residential density suitably in central area and the suburb, development intensity should be set at lowest limit;

- Compact structure: Settlement structure in the forms of multi-center group, connecting each group center with highly environmental protection transport system (walking, bicycle or other).

The European Commission also reveals other benefits from the compact city as shown below[36]:

- Adoption of the concept of site homogeneity with the nature by using materials that confirm the accumulated physical and sensual relations.

- Reducing energy consumption, transport and radiation (the environmental problems), as a basis for compact shape underlying properties that appear in the synthetic structures of the form.

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[30] Al-Kaisi, 1983, P.1079
[31] Pearlmutter, 2001,P.21
[32] Williams, 1999, p.168
[33] Hongjie& Ming,2009, p.2
[34] Hongjie& Ming,2009, p.2-4
[35] Divjak,2001,p.123
[36] Hongjie& Ming,2009, p.3-4

On social – cultural level the compact city theory provides a new perspective of urban settlement in a sustainable development. That is compact settlement: On the premise of keeping the quality of life, we can appropriately enhance residential density, concentrate on setting of municipal services, and promote pleasant environment and consummate function, harmless to the environment.

The compact city offers a new perspective of the urban society in sustainable development, and at the ecological, environmental, social / cultural and economic levels, the traditional compact assembling enhances natural resources and minimizes damages, through the ecological and technical approaches to urban planning and architectural design.

3.4. Challenges facing the compact city.

There are still some arguments about compact city theory, as Michael Breheny admits: compact city is in short of adequate accurate evidence to justify its superiority, and it lacks flexible response at economical, technical as well as political levels[37].

The compact city model leads to the provision of infrastructure system and contributes to stopping the widespread growth of cities, there is always a social risk caused by over population. With the return to parts of inner cities and the intensification of their use after they have been left out without developing causing a decrease in the level of housing and high crime rates, this may lead to the failure of this approach socially due to the increase in crowding and loss of privacy[38].

The, return to the application of compact model and centralization after decentralized model improved after World War II, as the economic model may seem difficult or impossible in some cities[39].

Many of these challenges are related to the complexity of the compact city concept, and how difficult it is to accurately define. Internationally, urban compact has been implemented in many different ways, Not only is this variety a reflection of the vagueness of the compact city hypothesis, but it also shows how each country has adapted the concept to best suit local conditions and make the best contribution to urban sustainability in a way that is both acceptable and feasible in their local environments[40].

From the total of the above, sustainable urban shape can be defined as: the urban compact based on the principles and foundations of the compact city, harmonization with the ecological principles, on the one hand, and the traditional city model, on the other.

Accordingly, the compact may be considered as a guidelines methodology or ideology for planning and urban design to achieve sustainable development.

The principles of compact of compact city includes all of the compact scale, compact function, and compact structure, as well as supporting urban ecology, the spirit of the place and a sense of it as shown in Table (1), The dimensions of compact city includes environmental, ecological, social and cultural, economic, technological and physical dimensions, as described in Table (2).

4. Case study

Research hypothesis has been tested in three of the contemporary urban projects designed according to the principles of sustainability.

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[37] Hongjie& Ming,2009, p.2
[38] Arbury,2008, p.55-56
[39] Breheny,1997,p.212
[40] Arbury,2008, p.63-64

4.1. The analytical process

T-test, Adopted in processing the results of analysis as the projects were analyzed according to the form variables (note Appendix -1, Table 1 and Table 2), According to the steps of analysis, and data processing in Excel to prepare charts and graphs, as follows:

4.2. Variables measurement and the relationship between them.

The research adopted a descriptive analytical method based on the technique of observation and comparison of the principles and dimensions of sustainability in the selected projects in the light of the approved texts and explanations. The election of shapes and images that illustrate the project design concept, as the basis of the analytical unit, consistent with the elected vocabulary, as follows:

4.2.1. Msheireb Master plan, Doha, Qatar [41].

Doha's city center regeneration covers a 35-hectare site and involves creating a modern and revitalized heart for the capital, rooted in Arabic and Islamic traditions. The objective is to create an urban and sophisticated city core attractive to the Qatari citizens.

The project included the physical transformation of the historic center urban form into a network of interconnected sustainable buildings, public spaces and streets, in order to find a modern city within the main city, and to make this part of the city government center.

The project concept based on the idea of achieving the five pillars of Qatar architecture: heritage and culture, innovation, sustainability, enrichment, and the environment, and the characteristics of country architecture: the proportion, simplicity, space, light, layering, ornamentation, and the response to the weather.

By adopted a combination of heritage, contemporary and sustainability, the project emphasis on the intensification of uses, especially public uses which were gathered in 226 building, reaches a height to 30 floors, Providing area for open and green spaces, saving energy by taking advantage of the characteristics of local climate through the buildings orientation in accordance with local wind direction, the use of public transport, and reduce the private cars movement through the high permeability system of pedestrian alleys, to achieve an urban project environmentally friendly.

The project encourage social interaction and a sense of place through safe urban spaces, and high diversity of environmental and mass treatments of the pedestrian alleys and corridors. The concept also has confirmed the sense of place and belonging by allowing the occupants to add their touches to their homes through the details of the interior and elevations design. Figure (1)

Table 1. The Principles of the Sustainable Shapes/ set out by the Researcher

Main vocabulary	Secondary vocabulary	Subparagraphs	
⊢⊂⊚⍉⊏⊂⊍–⊏ Compact scale		Best use of urban land	Develop the green area

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[41] www.aecom.com

			Activate the city center
		The adoption of an efficient transportation	Public transportation
			Encourage the pedestrian and public transportation
			Live close to the work
		Urban planning and design	Green architecture
			Architecture-friendly environment
			others
	Compact function	high densities	Constructional
			Residential
		Diversity in densities	high
			medium
			low
		The right Collection of urban functions	
		Concentration of public and municipal services	
	Compact shape	Urban layout which combines regular and irregular engineering systems	Urban mixed use
			The form of multi-center space
			Organic distribution of open spaces
			Efficient use of the levels / underground
			Efficient use of the levels / Upper levels
	Support the meanings of urban ecology	Natural	compatible site Layout with the nature
		Physical	
		Maintain the open spaces	
		Find (create) a variety and vitality in life	
	Support the spirit and the sense of the place	Use local land sources	
		Design with local climate conditions	
		Respect for architectural and urban history	environmental scale
			Cultural values
			Social factors
			Psychological aspects
			The open courtyard
			shading
			Solid walls
			Thermal insulation

Table 2. The Dimensions of Sustainable Shape / set out by the Researcher

Main vocabulary	Secondary vocabulary	Subparagraphs
The d	**Environmental**	Reduction of pollution

	Dimensions	Minimize the loss of agricultural and green land	
		Protect the natural diversity which enriches the style of building	
		Reduce the negative impact on the environment.	
	Ecological Dimensions	Protection of green area and food- producing area	
		Achievement of ecological factors at the level of urban planning and architectural design	
		Maintain the natural heritage	
		Homogeneity of the site with Nature	
		Protect biodiversity	
	Cultural & Social Dimensions	Find an active and more culture cities	
		Create healthy, open and more alive cities,	
		Encourage distinct and attractive neighborhood with a distinctive sense of place	
		Maintain the cultural heritage	
		Building harmonious and intimate relations between Communities.	
		Encourage positive and continues social interaction.	
	Economical Dimensions	Reducing energy consumption, Development of recycling economy.	
		Reduce operating and maintenance costs,	
		Development of recycling economy,	
		Reduce transport costs.	
		Saving traveling time.	
		Reduced public and municipal services..	
		Less spent per capita on infrastructure and utilities.	
		Adopt predictable and cost- effective fair development decisons	
	Technological Dimensions	The use of clean energy & renewable energy.	
		The use of green design & green architecture.	
		The use of clean and environment friendly building material.	
		The use of recycling techniques	
		The use of clean and environment friendly means of transportation,	
	Physical Dimensions Urban planning and design	Balanced mix - use	At the level of neighborhoods
			At the municipal or regional level
		Space- saving settlement structure	
		Promoting the viability of attractive infrastructures facilities.	
		Attractive livable public space	
		Enhance the reconstruction and development toward main growth area	
		Find a range of choices and housing opportunities that suit all the social and economic groups	
		Create residential neighborhoods friendly to pedestrian	
		Provide a variety of options and means of transportation	
		Encourage the cooperation between the community and relevant authorities in the development decision- making.	

4.2.2. Abu Dhabi Vision 2030, Capital District [42]

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[42] Abu Dhabi urban planning council, http://www.upc.gov.ae

Plan Abu Dhabi 2030 has created an ambitious vision for the Capitals District aimed at increasing Abu Dhabi's global reputation. The Capital District will become the seat of power and government for the whole of the UAE. It will accommodate federal ministries, and foreign embassies reinforcing the cultural diversity of the UAE.

The new capital will set a new benchmark for the design of a sustainable capital city. The new Capital District will be planned and designed around the 4 pillars of sustainability: the natural environment, economic development, cultural heritage and social cohesion. This will ensure that Abu Dhabi remains a sustainable and viable capital for future generations. New transport options such as trains and trams and shaded walkways (boulevard) to encourage pedestrians will reduce the impact of cars. The Capital District will also become an educational hub, the home of international think tanks and leading universities and schools. The Capital District will also provide employment opportunities surrounded by low density residential neighborhoods, mosques, schools, parks and shops to ensure a high quality of life for all but in particular for local Emiratis so placing them at the heart of the nation. Fig (2)

4.2.3. Madinat al-Hareer, "City of Silk", Kuwait[43]

Madinat al-Hareer, is a proposed 250 km^2 planned urban area in Subiya, Kuwait, an area just opposite Kuwait City, this city is planned to accommodate nearly 700,000 people and create nearly 430,000 new jobs. Upon construction, it would include the Burj Mubarak al-Kabir, a natural desert reservation of (2 square kilometres), a duty free area which will be beside a new airport, in addition to a large business center, conference areas, environmental areas, athletic areas, and areas that concentrate on media, health, education, and industry.

Philosophy of the project: 1300 years ago a Golden Age of scholarship, commerce, science, and faith began. For 400 years, the Middle East was the centre of learning, prosperity, well-being, and trade that reached from China to Spain, Russia to Africa. The great silk routes linked these nations together with trade on land and sea, and people from around the world came to Mesopotamia to learn, share, and explore the great ideas of antiquity. In the House of Wisdom, people of different faiths, nationalities, ethnicities and values met to exchange ideas and hopes of all civilizations.

The concept: City of ligancy, city of prophesy, Inspired by the promise of a new civic lifestyle on the Arabian Gulf, Madinat Al Hareer brings all the environmental, commercial, cultural, leisure and civic aspirations to a new location in the Arab World.

Three nixed use hearts and a centre piece — business, culture, leisure, surrounding a new National Park and Wildlife Reserve, all affronting the Bay, River and Gulf. Connected to Kuwait City by a new Bay-Bridge, joining with the new Arabian Bay Port. An emerald necklace of lakes and parks, like ribbons of silk, intertwine and weave each of the 25 neighborhoods together into one cohesive city.

Ecological City: the centre of the city is situated a grand Wildlife Sanctuary and Nature Reserve. Over 45 square kilometers in size, this new international park will form part of the protected areas for migratory birds yearly flying from the African Continent to Central Asia. It will be protected and enhanced with new nesting and spawning ranges, fresh water ponds, feeding grounds, and wildlife habitats. A new Ecological Research Centre will combine scientific study in the flora and fauna of the region with an extended part of a new University Network. An Eco-Resort will accommodate visitors from around the world, eager to experience the tranquility and contemplative nature of the desert life, participating in the rich educational experiences offered by the Research Academies.

Environmental city center: As a centre of science, research, ecology and the natural environment, this fourth City Centre will become the heart of the new national wild life Sanctuary and national

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[43] http://www.bonah.org/news-extend-article-754.htm

park. It will welcome scientists and researchers from around the world who will be part of reclaiming the desert as a robust habitat for all living creatures.

Housing: Expanded housing plots, diversity of housing types, compelling family amenities, easy access to health care & education, self-sustaining neighborhoods and an extensive park system will make these residential communities the most coveted resort and hospitality planned housing developments in the Arabian Gulf.

Mubarak Al Kabir Tower – Tallest buildings in the world: Towering over 200 stories, this twisting, tapering tower will create a vertical community made up of 7 neighborhoods stacked atop one another.

Figure 1: Msheireb Masterplan, Doha, Qatar/ (www.aecom.com**)**

Figure 2: Abu Dhabi Vision 2030, Capital District / www.upc.gov.ae)

Figure 3. Madinat al-Hareer "City of Silk", Kuwait /www.bonah.org/news-extend-article-754.html

Results and conclusions

5.1. Case study results

According to the steps of analysis, and data processing in Excel to prepare charts and graphs see Appendix (1, Table 3), the analysis results show the most effected principles of sustainable shape in contemporary projects as in table 3, is the (X1: Compact scale Best use of urban land), and the (X3: The compact shape :the mixed land use and the organic distribution of urban spaces). While the variable of supporting the meaning of ecology (X4), was very clear in "City of Silk" , due to the site properties and program, see also fig 4.

For the dimensions of sustainable shape as in table 4, the most effected is (Y6:Physical Dimensions : Urban planning and design: enhance the reconstruction and development toward main growth area, and create residential neighborhoods friendly to pedestrian), and the (Y3: Cultural & social dimensions: Find an active and more culture cities, encourage distinct and attractive neighborhood with a distinctive sense of place, and maintain the cultural heritage), there is some weakness in the (Y4: Economical Dimensions :Development of recycling economy), as fig 5 shows.

Table 3. the frequency of variables measurement for selected projects

variables	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5
Msheireb Master plan Doha, Qatar	4	2	3	0	2
Capital District, Abu Dhabi	7	5	8	2	4
Madinat al-Hareer, "City of Silk", Kuwait	2	2	1	2	1
total	13	9	12	4	7

Table 4. the frequency of variables measurement for selected projects
(the dimensions of sustainable shape)

variables	y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6
Msheireb Master plan Doha, Qatar	6	4		1	3	11
Capital District, Abu Dhabi	6	4		5	3	11
Madinat al-Hareer, "City of Silk", Kuwait	4	8		1	3	7
total	16	16		7	9	29
Degree of activity	0.52	0.52	0.	0.23	0.29	0.94

Figure 4. The frequency of The principles of sustainability

Figure 5. The frequency of The Dimensions of sustainability Shape The principle of the sustainable shapes

1.2. Conclusions

- The compact city represented by principles and multi-dimensions of compactness.

- The sustainable urban shape principles and multiple dimensions considered the basis for the design of the ideal and environmentally friendly future cities, which contribute to the problems faced today cities.

- The principles of urban sustainability represented in all of the support of the meanings of urban ecology, support the traditional compact configuration, and support the spirit of the place and a sense of it.

- The importance of the integration between the dimensions and principles of urban sustainability to achieve sustainable urban shape, as it cannot achieve urban sustainability on the basis of the compact (in particular those associated with the movement of pedestrians, and the diversity of events, and high density, with social- cultural dimensions) unless they realized where the properties of environmental and social dimensions - sensory and will enhance urban sustainability in general.

- The need to find special sustainable systems for each urban environment carries within their strategies emanating from the heart of the environmental situation of the problems of these areas down to the best design and planning solutions, link them to the principles of sustainability to suit the requirements of the times.

- Compact settlement has its own limitations and a lot of potential crises: when the density is achieved to a certain extent, and it is not suitable for all cities However, in the background of rapid urbanization, *compact settlement* may be a choice that can solve problems such as *City Sprawl*.

- General analysis for selected urban projects designed on sustainable basis showed that urban sustainability development achieved in terms of both the multiple dimensions and principles.

- The selected projects that have been presented in this paper achieve all dimensions of urban sustainability, with a clear focus on the environmental dimension, is also dependent the principles of multiple sustainability in terms of compact scale, on the one hand, and the mixed land use, on the other, with a clear focus on supporting the traditional compact configuration.

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Table 1: The principle of the sustainable shapes codes

X	Dimensions of the compact city/			
X1	Environmental dimension			
X1-1	Protection of green area			
X1-2	Protect the natural diversity which enriches the style of			
X1-3	clean energy and green architecture			
X1-4	Achievement of ecological factors at the level of urban planning and architectural design			
X1-5	Reduction of pollution			
X1-6	Minimize the loss of agricultural and green land			
X1-7	Homogeneity of the site with Nature			

Table 2: The Dimensions of Sustainable Shape codes

Main vocabulary	Secondary vocabulary		Subparagraphs		
X The principle of the sustainable shapes	**X1** Compact scale	X1-1	Best use of urban land	Develop the green	
				Activate the city	
		X1-2	The adoption of an efficient transportation	Public transportation	
				Encourage the pedestrian and public	
				Live close to the	
		X1-3	Urban planning and design	Green architecture	
				Architecture-friendly	
				others	
	X2 Compact function	X2-1	high densities	Constructional	
				Residential	
		X2-2	Diversity in densities	high	
				medium	
				low	
		X2-3	The right Collection of urban functions		
		X2-4	Concentration of public and municipal services		
	X3 Compact shape	X3-1	Urban mixed use		
		X3-2	The form of multi-center space		
		X3-3	Organic distribution of open spaces		
		X3-4	Efficient use of the levels	underground	
				Upper levels	
	X4 Support the meanings of urban ecology	X4-1	compatible site Layout with the nature	Natural	
				Physical	
		X4-2	Maintain the open spaces		
		X4-3	Find (create) a variety and vitality in life		
	X5 Support the spirit and the sense of the place	X5-1	Use local land sources		
		X5-2	Design with local climate conditions		
		X5-3	Respect for architectural and urban history	environmental scale	
				Cultural values	
				Social factors	
				Psychological aspects	
				The open courtyard	
				shading	
				Solid walls	
				Thermal insulation	

Table 3: An example of the analytic process for the environmental dimension/ Msheireb Master plan,   Doha, Qatar

Main vocabulary	Secondary vocabulary		Subparagraphs		
The dimension of sustainable shape Y	**Y1**	**Environmental Dimensions**	Y1-1	Reduction of pollution	
			Y1-2	Minimize the loss of agricultural and green land	
			Y1-3	Protect the natural diversity which enriches the style of building	
			Y1-4	Reduce the negative impact on the environment.	
	Y2	**Ecological Dimensions**	Y2-1	Protection of green area and food- producing area	
			Y2-2	Achievement of ecological factors at the level of urban planning and architectural design	
			Y2-3	Maintain the natural heritage	
			Y2-4	Homogeneity of the site with Nature	
			Y2-5	Protect biodiversity	
	Y3	**Cultural & Social Dimensions**	Y3-1	Find an active and more culture cities	
			Y3-2	Create healthy, open and more alive cities,	
			Y3-3	Encourage distinct and attractive neighborhood with a distinctive sense of place	
			Y3-4	Maintain the cultural heritage	
			Y3-5	Building harmonious and intimate relations between Communities.	
			Y3-5	Encourage positive and continues social interaction.	
	Y4	**Economical Dimensions**	Y4-1	Reducing energy consumption, Development of recycling economy.	
			Y4-2	Reduce operating and maintenance costs.	
			Y4-3	Development of recycling economy.	
			Y4-4	Reduce transport costs.	
			Y4-5	Saving traveling time.	
			Y4-6	Reduced public and municipal services.	
			Y4-7	Less spent per capita on infrastructure and utilities.	
			Y4-8	Adopt predictable and cost- effective fair development decisons	
	Y5	**Technological Dimensions**	Y5-1	The use of clean energy & renewable energy.	
			Y5-2	The use of green design & green architecture.	
			Y5-3	The use of and environment friendly building material.	
			Y5-4	The use of recycling techniques	
			Y5-5	The use of clean and environment friendly means of transportation,	
	Y6	**Physical Dimensions**	Y6-1	Balanced mix - use	At the level of neighborhoods
					At the municipal or regional level
			Y6-2	Space- saving settlement structure	
			Y6-3	Promoting the viability of attractive infrastructures facilities.	
			Y6-4	Attractive livable public space	
			Y6-5	Enhance the reconstruction and development toward main growth area	
			Y6-6	Find a range of choices and housing opportunities that suit all the social and economic groups	
			Y6-7	Create residential neighborhoods friendly to pedestrian	
			Y6-8	Provide a variety of options and means of transportation	
			Y6-9	Encourage the cooperation between the community and relevant authorities in the development decision- making	

Towards a Political Urbanism. Doha Beyond the Conflict

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Keywords: Doha, Urbanism, Architecture, Politics

Cities are built in a material way, but also according to emotional, symbolic or metaphorical ideas. History has seen how city plans and projects have been designed under totalitarian ideologies that intended to build urban space as their direct consequence. Ideal cities have been imagined based on intellectual constructions, pure and abstract ideas of what the perfect city should be. However, perfection will never be reached. As Witold Gombrowicz advised, many times these pure, intellectual forms have provoked the dehumanization of human life.

After the last century's ideological crisis, the dominant trend at present claims to overcome the struggles between antagonistic political stances in what has been called the post-political era. Nevertheless, in reality this supposed lack of theory has exerted a global hegemonic influence, more universal than ever. The hegemony of neoliberalism has filled in the emptiness of the political discourse; individualism and the idea of universal consensus have substituted the polarized world. In Žižek words, "what has happened in the latest stage of post-1968 'postmodern' capitalism is that economy itself (the logic of the market and competition) has been elevated to the rank of the hegemonic ideology."[1]

How have neoliberalism and global capitalism impacted contemporary cities? Why has urbanism become powerless before the leadership of the market, allowing itself to be seduced by the phenomena of iconography? Both economic and political power have been crucial in the configuration of new urban development's based on free-market logic, at the same time that metropolises worldwide have experienced an uncontrollable growth and have extended their boundaries beyond any attempts at planning. This situation has been accepted with resignation to the point of declaring the death of urbanism.[1] However, if we still aim to take part collectively in performing contemporary urban culture, we cannot renounce urbanism as an inevitable failure; rather we must redefine its broader context as well as its ultimate goals.

To understand the present situation we should look at the dynamics that have driven urban policies and urban transformations in recent decades, in which the "remaking of urban built environments – infrastructural or residential, recreational or environmental redevelopment", as well as processes of urbanization and investments in the real-estate market, "have all come to play a more central role in the global economy"[1]

As Neil Smith has shown, important urban operations have been defined by the movement of capital, in many cases affecting both their image and configuration:

"The crash this time round exposed the unprecedented extent to which city building has become integrated into the sphere of financial capital, and vice versa. None of these developments is entirely new of course: industrial zones predated 1970s and property capital has always been linked to finance capital. What is new today is the intensification and consequent density of these connections and their coming together in a larger project of city building"[3].

In the context of the global economy, cities have also become global and transactions have taken the place of politics; or rather transactions have come to determine politics. "As nations become more firmly tied to one another by trade and investment flows, they increasingly manage those

flows through their key international center."[2] In the past decade Europe and Asia have seen their cities rise in the worldwide ranking of global operations and this has had repercussions on the urban landscape. Architecture, which is naturally subject to the structures of power and is always comfortable in the shadow of a dominant ideology, has followed orders in carrying out the task of representation. It has built the physical setting for and provided the image of the intangible, transforming it into urban reality. Global Neoliberalism has impacted contemporary urban scenarios, transforming them into a sort of competition based on the production of marketable symbolism. Uniqueness and originality are the qualities that have made contemporary architecture so special and so tradable. As David Harvey points out, "the struggle to accumulate marks of distinction and collective symbolic capital in a highly competitive world is on. But this entrains in its wake all of the localized questions about whose collective memory, whose aesthetic, and who benefits."[2] A new hegemonic shape has been set out and has been modelling new urban identities by creating banal and self-referent architecture.

This kind of architecture has sought out its own self-affirmation over and above its relationship with others. Its visual impact has become a priority more important than the experience of its use or how it adapts to its programs. Program, not aesthetics, is the determining force in how architecture and the city are experienced. Structural and typological work has been replaced by the most superficial of formalities. All decisions have become subordinate to the attainment of a powerful, unique image: all response to urban context has been reduced to something schematic, mimetic, or simplistic.

In this logic of particularities and non-replicable values, transient identities emerge and drop in the global cities top list like values on a stock exchange. What matters is not the production of urban content but to be the first and the only one. But that status doesn't last forever: in a few years the tallest building in the world –built or not, in this case it doesn't matter that much- moved from Taipei to Dubai to Kuwait to Jeddah in a nonsense race to reach the top step of the podium. The great contradiction of the global cities' league is that the more unique architecture is being built, the less original it becomes. The ubiquity of iconic architecture has turned distinction into generic. Brand architects and engineering corporations have been spreading their rhetorical singularity worldwide, but what is being replicated in many cases is nothing more than simple images: banal aesthetic premises characterized by a complete lack of urban or cultural content; autistic and meaningless buildings—pure and simple formality bowing down before the almighty image. They are a representation of what architecture could be, but have forgotten its primary condition and also its potential. Sail-shaped buildings and turning towers are breeding all over both Europe and Asia. The metaphorical repertoire seems to have no end: dunes, mountains and peaks, as well as palms, cucumbers and octopuses are the inspiration of the new geniuses. The same tower can be found in Barcelona and Doha: it is enough to replace its skin and adapt it to each local culture by using folkloric decorative elements. The image, the icon, the gesture—what can easily gather symbolic capital—prevails over anything else. Architecture is afflicted by self-adoration. Arata Isozaki exemplified it quite clearly when talking about how the Qatar National Library was conceived.

"The Emir looked in my book and pointed at a project. 'I like it. I want something like this'.

[…] I said, 'No, no, this is my student-time project.' The Emir said, 'it doesn't matter'.

It became the National Library. I didn't mind developing an idea for a seemingly mismatching condition."[2]

Many examples can be found in emerging Middle East cities where impudent designs are taking on the image of far existing identities to imitate their supposed success. Cities like Dubai "are rising as platforms for investment in their regions and often boast stronger legal systems, as well as more stable regimes and better overall business and living conditions, than powerful megacities in Latin America, India and China."[1] What is the ideology behind Abu Dhabi or Dubai? Even when it seems

that there isn't any, aren't they looking for the aesthetics of exclusivity? Money and power have to be flaunted, and that requires the configuration of fake western models. The new developments on the outskirts of Doha are close to becoming the empire of fiction, where representations out of the capitalist urban imaginary are being reproduced without any critical edge. The urbanity of the old town has been lost between condominiums, suburban villas and international resorts. Urban space no longer exists. What remains in between gated communities and walled villas is the absolute emptiness of the desert. The downtown is nothing more than an accumulation of towers creating a beautiful picture, but nothing relates this absence with the collective use of both public and private space in Manhattan. Just like in the suburban American model, the gathering place is the temple of consumerism: Villaggio--a mall where the most exclusive fashion brands are combined with a Venetian canal, an ice rink and a funfair, -is the cathedral as well as the most successful leisure centre. Malls, skyscrapers and isolated compounds based on a car-dependent lifestyle are the new communities being built in Doha.

Thus, Doha has become a paradigm of the post-political city. Sometimes even it seems not to be a city, a place where the city becomes nothing, just mobile units going from one place to another, from outside to inside, where all kinds of relations, filters and layers have been overcome. As contradictory as many others, maybe a little bit more. Everything goes fast, but in the end, everything happens slowly. A permanent, change that invades whatever you see. This is not a post-democratic society because it has never been under a democratic regime, but a post-political in the sense that the political has no place in the configuration of the new city and the present society.

Using Chantal Mouffe definition, we should distinguish between "the political" and "politics". By "the political" she refers to the dimension of antagonism that is inherent in all human society, antagonism that, can take many different forms and can emerge in diverse social relations. "Politics," on the other side, refers to the ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions, which seek to establish a certain order and to organize human co-existence in conditions that are always potentially conflictual, because they are affected by the dimension of "the political."

This is the profound contradiction of a society that wants to build the city of the future without a past, and where the present is not taken into account. The urban experience is reduced to a train journey in which you can see the landscape through the window and stop in different realities that have no physical connection to one another. You can visit a hypermarket, a museum surrounded by the sea, an exclusive private beach, a luxurious hotel. You can get off at the office, at home, at a friend's...but any territorial depth has been erased, any friction with the exterior is avoided.

Whereas proposals like those made by the Smithsons in the 1960s worked with the ideas of structure, identity, community and the "scale (of complexity) of association,"[3] in the post-political city this hierarchy has been reduced to zero. There are only two levels of depth: inside and outside. But the thematization of the city and the decrease of the scales of association do not only occur in leisure spaces. Residential complexes are also being laid out, more and more often, according to thematic representations and that is precisely where their value lies; it is how they are portrayed and how they are marketed. Developers' criteria come before design criteria; the principle is marketing the city.

As explained by the director of The Pearl in Qatar, a residential project made up of 10 thematic districts, publicity serves as a means toward garnering prestige for the architecture:

"Initially we were treated with skepticism, people did not know much about the country. But the uniqueness of the concept, the massive campaigns to promote the project globally through commercials, advertisements, billboards, exhibitions, road shows etc. helped garner interest. Luxury outlets were initially skeptical of coming to the region, not just Qatar. We were selling based on plans. But now you can see all the brands that are here at the Pearl."[3]

The fact that political and economic agents use marketing strategies in order to promote cities as brands is nothing new, but when large-scale capital investment operations are involved, there is no doubt that the question at hand is making a profit. Architecture as an instrument for social change disappears, in this case, and it is turned into just one more tool of business harnessed in the interest of capital. It becomes nothing more than a part of the marketing strategy, as is evident from this presentation of the complex:

"The ingenious design of Porto Arabia re-creates the glamorous character of the French Riviera. With its striking Islamic features - elegant horseshoe arches, filigreed walls and Islamic artwork, Porto Arabia offers one of the most comfortable living experiences in the Middle East all inspired by traditional Mediterranean architecture, with a subtle taste of French, Spanish and Italian architectural influence. Here, the ambiance is similar to that found in the South of France, where the essence of Old World grace and craftsmanship have been marvelously melded with all the advantages of what modern living offers."[3]

We find the same type of rhetoric in the descriptions of The World project in Dubai:

"There is nothing after The World. Not everybody wants to buy a lot of land, but everybody dreams of buying an island. That's what we're doing here.

[…] the rest of the products, even as they get denser, will be incredibly luxurious. What's exciting about this is, once you live out there, you've got all of these islands, and each of them has something to offer. One night you can get on a boat to go to a restaurant, the next time you go to see a movie. Everything you do regularly you can do it here in an exclusive way, by boat, as a community."[9]

What is referenced here is not a social community, but an exclusive community: a small minority with access to privileged resources who live segregated inside an ideal world. In the context of the reductionism that the privatization of the city and the negation of conflict impose on urban experience, gated communities emerge as the ultimate level of the construction of an urban simulacrum. In between the walls of these residential and business condominiums, an idealized life seems to be possible to the point that they can be commercialized as a Real Estate brand. Of course this is not a local phenomenon, but increasingly spread worldwide. Alphaville developments commercials in Brazil are a paradigmatic example in advertising: "Alphaville is a world of quality, of safety, of trust, of certainties. Alphaville is a world of happiness. A world made of dreams."[3] What started as a response to violent situations in Sao Paulo in order to provide security for those who could afford to live in private towns, is now being reproduced in terms of exclusivity and luxury in many other places, even in countries with a very low crime rate like in the Middle East. The image of a perfectly reconciled society is sold with no concern for what remains shut out. Conflict is kept outside the system. "The them/us discrimination that any construction of a collective identity entails"[11] is physically translated into the urban environment by defining the boundaries of what a community is where its limits lie. Fences and gates are recurrent architectural elements used in the construction of the new urban built environment.

In this context, politics or, more precisely, the political has been officially excluded from both the theory and praxis of the urban Establishment. The political as a confrontation of different or even antagonistic ideas has been replaced by the fiction of a rationalistic agreement. As Chantal Mouffe argued, this post-political idea of a global consensus is opposed to democratic objectives and reveals a "complete lack of understanding of what is at stake in democratic politics and of the dynamics of constitution of political identities."[4] In the same way, conceptually pure shapes in architecture are pretending to build a city beyond antagonism. Whereas, what democracy urgently needs in order to consolidate and extend its principles is a healthy confrontation that can grasp the contradictions inherent in any society.

This evasion of the political not only implies an impoverishment of cohabitation in the city, it is also fraught with the dangers of exclusion. How can we create a space in which pluralist democracy is possible? How can we integrate the creation of political and social collective identities into urban realities? At a time when all kinds of mediation are being questioned, social participation and democratic confrontation should be a preliminary stage in design. Political discourse should be brought back into the centre of the discussion on urbanity. In order to avoid spaces of privilege and to promote a democratic urbanism based on equality and principles of individual autonomy, democratic politics should create the conditions for conflict to find its expression in agonistic terms. Because to deny the dimension of the inevitable antagonism that exists in every society, "does not make it disappear, it only leads to impotence in recognizing its different manifestations and in dealing with them. This is why a democratic approach needs to come to terms with the ineradicable character of antagonism. One of its main tasks is to envisage how it is possible to defuse the tendencies to exclusion, which are present in all construction of collective identities."[13]

Man should understand that imperfection is his nature, as well as that of his creations. And that cities and democracy share a fundamental condition: both are evolving structures in a never-ending process to explore how social communities and collective identities can be articulated. A political urbanism should work with the pluralistic dimension of every society, it should understand that difference is a value and forget about universal models. Difference should be celebrated as the basis upon which every reality is built, as well as uniformity should no longer be a democratic policy or an urban tool. An urbanism committed to the objectives of a radical democracy should prefer diversity to homogeneity, promiscuity to repetition, accessibility to exclusivity; it should be based on a variety of architectures, like society is based on a diversity of individuals. Because the political has no size or scale, no image or form, it is only related to the way in which the complexity of reality is articulated.

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The City in the Mall: The New Urban Experience

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Introduction

In 1996, the first mall was opened in the UAE, the Deira City Centre in Dubai. Before that, only a few shopping centres existed in Abu Dhabi and Dubai that do not rise to the level of a comprehensive mall as we know them today. Twelve years later, by 2008, there were 35 malls in Dubai alone, with 3,500 stores and covering an area of 14 million square meters of leasable space as per Esam Adam, the head of the Dubai Shopping Malls Group (DSMG)[1]. Despite the high number of malls, every new mall opens and quickly establishes itself as a commercial success. This does not seem affect the older malls significantly as they seem to remain successful. Until now Dubai did not appear to reach a saturation point in malls.

Today, malls are often favoured over more conventional or healthier options, especially if such options include open spaces. In the UAE, as well as in many other parts of the world, malls are no longer limited to convenient shopping under one roof. Malls today provide many other services as well as entertainment and socialising options. In the UAE, malls include within their confines services such as doctors' offices, pharmacies, professional photographers' studios, wedding halls, airline offices and booking services, maintenance services for a variety of products, bill payment for utilities and telecommunications, branch offices for banks and financial services, government offices that provide public services such as attestation of legal documents and notary public services, post office services and others. The residents of Abu Dhabi and Dubai prefer to finish their errands at malls rather than other locations and spend much of their free time in malls. This new mall culture warrants scrutiny as it has far reaching effects on the city and its inhabitants.

The objective of this paper is to study the phenomenon of malls in the UAE in general focusing on Abu Dhabi and Dubai. It looks at the mall culture that has invaded the lives of the residents and attempts to analyse and understand the causes and consequences of this new trend. A qualitative method that depends on the analysis of theory and previous studies and research work is utilised. An interpretation of the data is attempted in order to theorise the issue and give possible inferences. It first analyses the reasons behind the appeal of malls in a general sense, then, it looks at studies of malls in the UAE in order to create a schema of factors that contribute to this appeal. Finally, the consequences of the mall culture are examined. It concludes with the possible long term effects of the mall culture.

The paper is organised in three main parts. The first part explores malls on a general and international level and reviews relevant literature to create a framework for the second part. The second part applies the framework to malls in the UAE and the final part examines the consequences on the experience on the city.

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The City, the Society and the Mall

People have always liked shopping. Many studies have shown that shopping is not merely a task, but a social activity[2]. The first public spaces were first and foremost a market – the agora, town square, local and sessional Arab markets…etc. were markets where other activities were performed. However, the consumerist culture that we perceive today did not really emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century, with the development of the European arcade and the department store[3]. As such, it would not be possible to understand the mall without appreciating the social factors that make it so appealing.

Basic concept of the mall

The early prototypes of the modern mall were built in the pre WWII period and a few in the early post-war period. These prototypes depended basically on an anchor store – usually a large department store, and an open air mall lined with shops. The father of the twentieth century mall, however, is considered to be Victor Gruen, who built the Southdale shopping centre at Edna, MN. The original vision of Gruen defined the mall's aim and source of legitimacy as "the fulfilment of the needs and desires of suburban shoppers". Gruen believed that the basic need of suburbanites was a "conveniently accessible, amply stocked shopping area with plentiful free parking" and a "subconscious but urgent need for the amenities of urban living"[4]. As such, his intention was to create a focused and coherent centre within a sprawling and anonymous landscape[5]. Thus the first malls were basically looked at as utilitarian, catering for the shopping needs of the residents of suburbia but also intending to provide a piece of 'downtown' to those distant middle class residents.

The success of Gruen's creations and his subsequent book – 'Shopping Towns USA' in 1960, was followed by a mass construction of malls all over the suburban USA. By the 1970s, shopping centres were being built in Europe as well, mostly carefully following the Gruen principals laid out in his book. By 1992, there were 38,966 malls in the US alone, of which 1,835 were large regional malls[6] and with many malls in urban cores. Despite that in some regions in the USA there has been a phenomenon of mall saturation in the 1990s, large regional malls were still being built and the mall culture was still alive[7]. So what exactly are the factors that make the mall so successful? Why do people prefer malls to other shopping alternatives?

Factors contributing to mall attractiveness

Kenneth Jackson[8] believes that it was the private car that contributed to rise of malls. He asserts that without government subsidisation of the automobile in the US, malls would not have dominated the American shopping landscape[9]. He sees that subsidisation in the form of huge expenditure on building roads and highways and low gasoline prices, gave rise to the automobile and consequently malls would be more of a necessity for suburbia than a choice[10]. Private car usage requires parking spaces not available in other shopping alternatives and provision of large parking lots and garages has always been an important design aspect of malls. In the UAE, it seems similarly important as despite the shy introduction of public transportation, the use of the automobile is still the most important means of transportation.

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[2] See for example Woodruffe-Burton et al, 2002
[3] Crawford, 1992; Jackson, 1996; Jewell, 2001; Woodruffe-Burton et al, 2002
[4] Csaba & Askegaard, 1999, p.37
[5] Jewell, 2001, p. 319
[6] Jackson, 1996, p. 1111
[7] Ibid, p 1120
[8] 1996
[9] Jackson 1996, p. 1116
[10] Ibid

Government subsidisation of automobiles or not, the middle classes nonetheless seem to prefer suburban living where public transportation is either non-existent or not efficient. Having the main purchasing power compared to other classes may be the reason behind the building of the first malls in suburbia; it may also be why Gruen's vision included the provision of 'plentiful free parking'.

The contribution of Gruen's prototype was not only limited to parking. Since Edna had only 126 days of fair weather per year[11], Gruen wanted to achieve complete climate control to allow people to shop at any day in the year. He achieved that by applying one of the two main principals he laid out in his Southdale prototype: fully enclosing the mall. Indeed, Madichie and Blythe claim that the most successful and large malls in the world (e.g. Canada, Southern China, and the Philippines) are built in regions where it is either too hot or too cold to shop normally[12]. Whether we agree with this account or not, we must acknowledge that climate control is generally one of the preferences of shoppers for choosing their destination, in fact El-Adly, in his survey on mall attractiveness in the UAE, found that controlled indoor temperature was one of the reasons for choice of malls[13].

After Southdale it became apparent that climate control was not the only benefit of full enclosure; the other benefit was to keep a 'captive audience'. In the sheltered and pleasant environment, people were put at ease and persuaded to stay longer to enjoy the place; hence shopping became a leisure time activity[14]. The captive audience allows malls to manipulate shoppers into staying longer, changing their buying trends from objective and utilitarian to impulsive and leisurely. The change of global economy from a production based to a consumer based one in the twentieth century means that producers have changed their strategy from controlling the producing workforce to controlling the consuming society. Malls provide an advantage to producers as the design of malls in general give way to much control.

Margret Crawford describes the stimulation of malls through the design. She contends that the shopping experience starts before even entering the mall, with the flux of advertisement the average shopper arrives at the mall with a "confused set of wants"[15]. Upon entering, he is deluged with a carefully designed mixture of commodities and spaces that prolong the time of "just looking", the prelude to buying. She argues that malls provide a mix of activities and commodities that are calculated to organise a disorienting flux of attributes and needs. This double-action establishes what she believes is the mall's fundamental contradiction: the provision of nebulous stimulation to encourage specific purchases. She also sees that the physical design of the mall mirrors this contradiction: the familiar mall tricks related to locations of doors and stairs, anchor stores and paths, are all intended to lead the flow of consumers to corridors of shops. At the same time, contradicting spaces– halls, atriums, skylights, water features...etc. provide places for contemplation. She believes that those strategies are effective and that every mallgoer has experienced their power[16].

Likewise, Mark Gottdiener claims that the "commercial power of the mall is almost irresistible"[17]. He sees that the motif of the mall serves as a code that mixes the particular consumer fantasy with the overall mall image to disguise the true instrumental nature of the mall: the relationship between the consumer and the producer, which in the capitalist society is more to the benefit of the producer. He sees the motif of the mall – the fantasy overall design – as the most important dimension in the design aspect of the mall. He too sees that the particular design elements, the "engineering of space within the mall"[18] have a role in manipulating the consumer. This engineering is

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[11] Csaba & Askegaard, 1999
[12] Madichie and Blythe, 2011, p. 596
[13] El Adly, 2007
[14] Csaba & Askegaard, 1999
[15] Crawford, 1992, p. 12
[16] Ibid
[17] Gottdiener 2003, p. 128
[18] Ibid, p. 132

instrumental in controlling the crowds to facilitate consumption. He argues that there are four main features in mall design that contribute to this: the unattractive exteriors of malls and parking to facilitate fast movement from the car to the mall; the welcoming entrance areas with some form of special attraction; and the instrumental sign systems which can be found in the mall. The signs are meant to signal a certain social status or lifestyle that has been linked to the sign through various marketing techniques. The fourth and final feature is the engineering of pedestrian paths between anchor stores as the business volume in smaller stores depends on this flow of pedestrians. These paths are engineered in a way to allow for browsing and impulse buying through the zigzagging of store layouts and the breaking of paths by obstacles and other methods[19]. In the UAE, these mall tricks work as they do in any other place in the world: moving consumers between shops with attractive displays is interrupted by halls providing tranquil seating.

Conversely, John Urry sees malls as a social community of consumers, and in order to be part of it one must be recognised as a citizen of contemporary cities: a consumer. However, he notes that one should not understand this as being simply victims of consumerism or 'credit card junkies', but also as being able to assert their independence from mall developers. He notes that malls are also frequently visited by the unemployed with little intention to buy[20]. This only strengthens the view that malls are designed to capture the consumer even before he has the ability to consume. Those unemployed and unable to consume visit malls in order to establish their status as middle or upper class people that have a right to be present. Thus, the environment of the mall also plays on the class and status tune. It coerces the pretentious and stuck-up disposition of the middle classes and creates a sensation that the place is exclusive. In the UAE, as in other places in the world, malls are known to be the place where the lower working class are not present unless they are part of the mall staff.

Urry also believes the signs in the mall have an important role. He relates the attraction of the mall to the 'Tourist Gaze', and contends that the attraction of the mall "has only been possible because of the pervasiveness of tourist signs, of rapid circulation of photographic images."[21]. He believes that it is the exchange of signs which makes possible the construction of the pastiche of themes, each of which seems more real than the original, particularly because of the way that shopping malls in general emphasize newness and cleanliness. He contends that shopping is only part of the appeal of the mall, which is as much concerned with leisure and tourism. He claims that within a few minutes' walk, one can consume a range of tourist themes, can stroll gazing and being gazed upon as though 'on holiday', and can experience an enormous range of entertainment services[22].

An important part of the attractiveness of malls is the availability of entertainment and leisure activities. At an early stage, malls began to provide leisure activities such as dining facilities, movies, video-game arcades and even mini-theme parks. As Crawford[23] and Ooi and Sim[24] assert, the larger the mall the greater the simulation and hence the attraction. Woodruffe-Burton, Eccles and Richard note that shopping is viewed by many as a hedonic recreational activity and that many people have impulsive shopping urges. They also contend that large enclosed shopping malls are arguably the most common sites for recreational or hedonic consumption[25]. Tourist and entertainment attractions are very common in UAE malls, these attractions range from the small scale mini-theme parks for children to large scale entertainment facilities such as a ski facility in the Mall of the Emirates and the Kidzania children's game park in Dubai Mall. Cinema complexes and food courts are a must in every mall.

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[19] Ibid
[20] Urry, 2002, p. 135
[21] Ibid, p. 132
[22] Ibid, page 132
[23] 1992
[24] 2007
[25] Woodruffe-Burton et al, 2002, p. 259

The growth of malls in suburbia first was also due to the lack of a viable alternative as it was far from the city centre where shopping took place. Later on, malls were built in the cores of cities, but the lack of a viable alternative remained a valid reason for the preference of malls. As downtown shopping areas became neglected, infested with crime and homelessness and more congested, malls seemed like the best alternative. Malls may have not triggered the decline of city centres, and may not have initially been designed for downtowns, but it seems that the more the city centres deteriorate, the more malls thrive.

The deterioration of city centres was not limited to shopping areas; it included public spaces in general, whether they were markets, parks, squares or any other form. Public space, where public life is conducted and which is separated from the private realm is important for the health of the city as well as the society within in[26]. Many authors believe that there is a social need for public space – a need for informal interaction with strangers. Many also seem to agree that there is indeed a social need to go shopping. The need to socialise, the need to be entertained and hedonic shopping impulses of the consumer society draw people to malls. Mark Gottdiener, for example, contends that people appear at the mall because they are driven by a need to seek sociability, the promise of "personal liberation which years of conditioning have firmly established in their mind"[27]. Likewise, Sharon Zukin contends that for many people, lacking the intensity and immediacy of a public culture, the shopping experience is a means of overcoming alienation, of connecting action with dreams, of choosing and producing an identity[28].

El Hedhli, Chebat and Sirgy maintain that shopping in malls contribute positively to peoples' quality of life. They distinguish between the negative compulsive shopping and normal shopping and other activities in the mall. They assert that shopping in malls contributes to quality of life through four key life domains: consumer life, social life, leisure life and community life. They maintain that the mall's features (functionality, convenience, safety, leisure, atmospherics and self-identification) all contribute to shopping wellbeing by impacting shoppers' wellbeing in the aforementioned four key life domains[29]. This view is by no means an isolated one; both proponents and opponents to malls agree that the above are some of the main reasons of the success of malls. Coming closer to home, Arsalan, Sezer and Isigicok have found that young Turkish population (including high-school, university students and white collar workers) generally preferred shopping malls in order to socialize with their friends and families due to the leisure activities and socializing spaces. Physical factors, like bigness, accessibility, comfort conditions; social factors, safety and socializing; retail factors, like diversity of uses and leisure environment are important for their mall choice[30].

Many believe that safety and security in a mall is one of the factors that increase its appeal[31]. El Hedhli , Chebat and Sirgy assert that in general, safety in a shopping mall is a perception that shoppers are not likely to experience fire, theft, harassment, assault or any form of violence with the confines of the mall[32], Woodruffe-Burton, Eccles, and Elliot note that people gravitate to a setting offering perceived freedom from safety concerns[33] and Arsalan, Sezar, Sinkal and Isigicok state that Turkish youth prefer malls to socialise because they offer pedestrian safety[34]. Thus safety is both perceived and real, with congestion and the dominance of the automobile, worries of pedestrian safety seem to be legitimate; contrariwise, safety concerns with regards to crime may very well be social perceptions based on attitudes of discrimination and exclusion. Indeed, Voyce links safety to new social practices, he asserts that the middle class identity is linked with new practices of "social purification" in which middle class ideals of purity and safety claim precedence

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[26] Madanipour, 2003, p149

[27] Gottdiener, 2003, p. 135

[28] Zukin, 1995, p.187

[29] El Hedhli et al, 2011

[30] Arsalan et al, 2010, p. 185

[31] For example, Arsalan et al, 2010; El Hedhli et al, 2011, Voyce, 2007; Woodruffe-Burton et al, 2002 and others

[32] El Hedhli et al 2011

[33] Woodruffe-Burton et al, 2002

[34] Arsalan et al, 2010

over the needs of the working class and the poor[35]. This trend is one of the issues that critics of malls condemn.

From literature we find eight distinct reasons for the attractiveness of malls: availability of parking spaces; climate control; spread of consumerism that requires manipulation and control of consumers; signs of social status that the mall provides and enhances; availability of entertainment facilities; lack of viable shopping alternatives; lack of viable public spaces in the city; and the need for safety and security. These factors seem to be global, as they are shared by many nations and literature implies that they are common in most malls.

Consequences of malls

Malls have had their fair share of critics during the past decades; critics of malls basically focus on socio-cultural issues but even design and architectural issues have been criticised. The most important issues that have been discussed are the role of malls in: securitisation; erosion of true public spaces; social exclusion; deterioration of city centre shopping; uneven fabric of cities; and fragmentation of cities.

Mike Davis talks of the 'fortification' of public space. He links securitisation to the erosion of public space and uses examples in Los Angeles to make his argument. He believes that the "American city is being systematically turned inward. The 'public' spaces of the new megastructures and supermalls have supplanted traditional streets and disciplined their spontaneity"[36]. He argues that public activities are sorted into strictly functional compartments inside malls and office centres and under the eye of private police. He asserts that in Los Angeles, the ghetto is defined by the fact that it is not plugged into any electronic security system, as opposed to the affluent and middle class highly securitised areas[37]. Michael Sorkin on the other hand, describes this phenomenon as an "obsession with security"[38] and according to Pospěch[39] strangers in public spaces can be perceived as threatening.

This increased securitisation does not generally lead to a safer environment, but a more hostile one as the excluded comes to feel the weight of exclusion. Another consequence of increased security is increased control of behaviour in malls, where activities are highly regulated by private police and security forces, not only are demonstration or political activities banned, but also mundane activities such as sitting on the ground or shouting.

Of the major criticisms of malls is its role in the erosion of true public spaces in the city. The main premise is that malls are a private property, owned and managed by a private agent and all decisions taken in the management of the mall tend to favour the benefit of the shareholders. However, malls are also in some sense public – sometimes referred to as quasi-public spaces as they are accessed by large numbers the public. Many authors and critics of malls consider them extreme examples of the erosion of public space[40]. The dominance of the mall in cities, Aurigi & Graham contend, has led many to doubt whether public space still exists in cities[41].
The success of malls as a shopping and entertainment establishment has led to an exodus from traditional shopping areas, especially in the cores of cities. Security, cleanness, maintenance and the general atmosphere of luxury and exclusivity lures the middle class and elite shoppers away from the small businesses and high street establishments. Jackson[42] claims that even the major department stores that have been operating in stand-alone buildings in the United States are moving their main facilities to malls where the most important of their customers are.

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[35] Voyce, 2007, p. 2060

[36] Davis, 1992, p. 155

[37] Ibid

[38] Sorkin, 1992, p. xiii

[39] 2010

[40] For example, Aurigi & Graham, 1997; Crawford, 1992; Pospěch, 2010; Sorkin, 1992a; Zukin, 2003 and others

[41] Aurigi & Graham 1997

[42] 1996

Fillion and Hammond state that downtown retailing fails to compete with suburban malls[43]. The reasons are variable, but most notably is the automobile use that is facilitated in suburbia, the availability of the main consumers: the middle class, and the construction of the mega-malls in suburbia that cannot be built in the tight settings of downtown areas. This, of course coupled with the fact that for most major cities, downtown retailing areas had little maintenance, were infested with the modern ills of society such as crimes, homelessness and traffic congestion, and were already abandoned by the middle class for the benefit of suburbia.

In addition to the economic and social consequences of the decline of traditional retail shopping, there is a spatial dimension. Unlike traditional enclosed Islamic markets (Bazaars) or nineteenth century Gallerias of Europe that both followed and strengthened the fabric of the city[44], the modern enclosed mall tends to stand out as a concrete mega-structure in the midst of the fine fabric of the city. It requires extensive road and highway networks to link it to the city and tends to create an isolated island that spatially fragments and disrupts the city centre.

The field of critical theory includes much about malls, especially in the last two decades. The above was a brief introduction focusing on the major issues. It must be noted, however, that some of the factors contributing to the rise of the mall culture are also highly criticised, such as the consumer culture and the snobbery of the middle classes. The above, however, sheds some light on the consequences of the mall cultures.

The Rise of Malls in the UAE

Some commentators believe that factors such as economic prosperity, cultural differences, ethnic mix, and lifestyle changes in the UAE, in addition to hot weather and humidity, have changed the UAE consumers' shopping patterns from traditional marketplace "Souk" to the shopping centre[45]. Traditional markets in the Middle East in general have always been climate controlled one way or the other, traditional seasonal markets were always held in the months when the climate was fine while permanent ones were known historically for their variety in passive heat control through the use of vernacular architecture. Hence climate control seems to be a viable reason for the preference of malls to other alternatives in the region in general and in the UAE in particular. However, other socio-cultural factors may need more scrutiny.

The use of the automobile in the UAE remains the main mode of transportation, especially for the middle and upper classes. While some forms of public transportation are being implemented, they remain insufficient and undermanaged with very little exceptions. Moreover, the road networks, whether within the cities or inter-city networks are of high quality and provide strong connections between areas and even cities. In the UAE, it is a normal occurrence to visit another city for a few hours in order to visit the malls there. The increased use of private cars causes substantial parking problems in the centres of cities, especially as the cities grow in population and hence in car usage. The reign of the private car not only allows, but necessitates provision of ample parking for shopping areas as well as other public places. As downtown shopping becomes more congested, the availability of parking in malls gives a strong incentive to favour them.

El-Adly determines that there are six factors that contribute to the appeal of malls to the residents of the UAE, they are: comfort, entertainment, diversity, mall essence, convenience and luxury. Comfort includes safety, availability of parking, availability of seating, cleanness and an overall comfortable interior design. Entertainment includes promotional campaigns, prospect of entertainment programmes, existence of children's fun spaces and youth entertainment, and availability of loyalty programmes. Diversity includes: plurality and variety of restaurants; availability of international store branches; existence of large food court; and presence of cinemas in the mall. Mall essence includes products quality, level of prices, plurality and variety of stores and availability of after sale services. Convenience includes existence of supermarket, ease of

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[43] Fillion and Hammond, 2008
[44] Crawford, 1992
[45] El Adly, 2007; Madichi and Blythe, 2011

reaching, and late working hours in the mall. Finally, luxury includes external appearance and the popularity of the mall[46].

He states that these factors are what draw shoppers to a certain mall; he does not question why people shop at malls in the first place as opposed to other shopping alternatives such as traditional downtowns or commercial streets with strip shopping opportunities. His findings nonetheless are valuable when we take a closer look. Upon examining his work, we notice that his findings only strengthen earlier convictions: climate control and parking spaces seem to remain of the most important factors; entertainment focuses mainly on family entertainment options and luxury points to the pretentiousness and exclusive snobbish behaviour of the middle classes.

Madichie and Blythe, on the other hand, believe that the core product of the mall is actually entertainment and not shopping, and the shopping activities taking place in the mall remain hedonic. They seem to imply that what attracts people to malls in the UAE is this hedonic value as well as factors relating to mall advertisement. They review a myriad of slogans or 'catch phrases' that mall managers and developers in the UAE use to attract shoppers such as "the world's most luxurious shopping destination" (Burjuman Centre, Dubai), "everyone's talking about it" (Dubai Marina Mall), "it's a lifestyle" (Abu Dhabi Mall), and "shopping is just the beginning" (Mall of the Emirates, Dubai)[47]. While it may seem a little patronising that slogans are what cause people to shop at malls, it nevertheless points to an important issue: the social and class value of the mall.

Soraya Assad maintains that the consumerism has overcome Arab countries, starting in the Gulf countries and spreading from there. She asserts that it is agreed among scholars that Gulf countries are consumer societies. She attributes that to both global and local factors, but stresses globalisation and imitation of western societies as well as the effect of advertising and exposure to television. In her view, advertising has changed people's tastes and preferences, and contributed extensively to the change of the culture. She notes how shopping malls have become the new spaces of consumption, including the consumption of entertainment[48]. As the culture of consumption penetrates our lives, the commodified space of the mall becomes more and more an authentic reflection of our civilisation. We become drawn to it by nature.

An issue not discussed a lot in literature is the effect of the unique demographic composition in the UAE with regards to mall culture. The UAE has a population of 8.264 million, of which 7.316 million are expatriates, of those, 5.682 million are male expatriates[49]. The majority of the male population is actually working class labour from the Indian Subcontinent and South Asia. This population is single, as their spouses and children, if they have any, reside in their home countries while the men come to work alone in the UAE for a variety of reasons. This actually poses social and cultural issues; on the one hand, the Muslim population in general and the local UAE population in particular are not comfortable with bachelors, they prefer to segregate public spaces into spaces for families and spaces for men. True public spaces do not allow for such segregation as public spaces, by definition, are for the use of all members of the society regardless of their marital status. On the other hand, as those people are working class labourers, there generally tends to be another layer of discrimination: the rest of the population are mostly either middle class or of higher economic classes that would like to set themselves apart from the working class. While in the region there has been a long tradition of accepting different classes in the same community, the trend changed during the twentieth century with globalisation, westernisation, and the increase in the divide between the classes, as well as the mix with other ethnicities that condone such discrimination. Moreover, the consumer culture of Late Capitalism reinforces such discrimination. In this case, the mall would seem like the perfect option as a highly privatised and commodified public space that not only condones such behaviour, but favours it.

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[46] El Adly, 2007
[47] Madichie and Blythe, 2011
[48] Assad, 2007
[49] Emirates 24/7, 2011

A third issue is the increase of the expatriate society in the UAE. These expatriates have limited social interaction as they are far from their friends and families, and the society around them is a fusion of cultures, religions, ethnicities, languages, customs and general behaviour patterns, which allows for limited social association between them. This causes the need to socialise, albeit superficially, in the mall.

Thus, it can be construed that the rise of the mall in the UAE was due to both global and local factors. The global factors include westernisation, the spread of consumerism, and the changing ethos of the middle class. The local factors include the hot and humid climate, dependence on automobiles, lack of viable public spaces, lack of more convenient options for entertainment, the deterioration of the traditional shopping markets and the unique demographic composition. Most of the local factors are shared by many other nations; nonetheless, the last one is quite exceptional. While the paper does not claim that this factor has had a significant effect on the rise of the mall culture, nonetheless it argues that it has some contribution. As a matter of fact, not a single factor could have caused the rise of the mall on its own; the combination of all factors is what lead to its unprecedented success in replacing the city centres – even though the replacement is actually not as effective for the overall health of the city.

Figure 1: Factors contributing to the rise of the mall in the UAE

These factors are by no means simple, nor do they all contribute equally. Figure 1 above shows those factors, their weights and the complex relationships between them. The total number of factors is seventeen, ten of which are direct while the other seven contribute indirectly to the appeal of the mall. Of the ten direct factors, three have the heaviest impact; they are the rise of consumerism in the Middle East; the hot and humid climate and the need for parking facilities due to the dominance of the automobile in the UAE. Another three contribute significantly although they do not have the same weight of impact; they are the effect of advertising, the lack of other family entertainment options and the snobbish ethos of the middle classes.

This seems to point to a reality that we see today: the culture of the mall has established itself through complex social, economic and physical dynamics that make it difficult to change without a similarly complex intervention, if we assumed that there is indeed a need or an aspiration for such an intervention.

Conclusion

Some factors are out of the hands of planners and cannot be controlled. As an example, the fact that the climate of the UAE is hot and humid is not something that is likely to be reduced in the foreseen future, if anything, global warming will make it worse. As such, this will probably always remain a valid factor.

Other factors are actually solvable. Lack of other family entertainment options and the deterioration of city centre shopping can be managed through conscious urban planning policies and plans. However, there remains the issue of the lack of viable public spaces. This issue has been highly discussed in literature[50] and is linked with wider issues. The deterioration of city centres and lack of entertainment is actually linked with this in some ways. Accordingly, it may seem that this will remain an issue for a long time. The problem of the erosion of public spaces is also a consequence of the rise of the mall culture[51], hence we find ourselves in a circular situation.

The rise of the automobile is a complex issue also. While the automobile is a fact of life, and consequently the need for parking and the real safety concerns; there are in fact many trends in planning that aim at minimising the impact. This of course remains a local issue and increased city densities might make public transportation a solution. For large regional malls, parking will probably remain a factor but this may change for smaller downtown malls.

What remains is the global culture of consumerism, another subject highly discussed in literature[52]. Unlike the other issues, it is neither physical nor based on any need; it is a new culture, which makes any changes unlikely as it is controlled by another set of complex factors. As with the erosion of public space, the spread of consumer culture is both a factor contributing to and the result of the rise of the mall culture. As Margret Crawford explains:

The spread of malls around the world has accustomed large numbers of people to behaviour patterns that inextricably link shopping with diversion and pleasure. The transformation of shopping into an experience that can occur in any setting has led to the next stage in mall development "spontaneous malling," a process by which urban spaces are transformed into malls without new buildings or developers[53].

What this means that places that were never intended to be malls begin to imitate malls in their design and overall feeling. It also means that activities in those places shall also include consumer activities such as shopping and entertainment. This can be seen in Abu Dhabi and Dubai where spaces such as hospitals, museums, governmental buildings, office complexes and even open spaces such as waterfronts and zoos are being designed in ways that provide mall-like spaces and services. That would include controlled climates, abundant parking, major corridors interrupted by large sky-lit atriums and providing food establishments and shops.

Thus, the city becomes a mall: public, quasi-public and semi-public spaces turn into malls. The city is experienced through a network of major roads and highways linking the malls and cutting through anonymous landscapes of residences. The mall, on the other hand, becomes the city for a large and important segment of the society – within its walls they find their needs and desires, and

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[50] For example, see Amin, 2008; Davis, 1992; Kurby, 2008; Harvey, 2006; Pospěch, 2010 and others
[51] For example, see Aurigi & Graham 1997, Pospěch, 2010, Sorkin, 1992a; Zukin, 2003 and others
[52] For example, see Harvey, 1991, 2006; Zukin 1992, 1995 and others
[53] Crawford 1992, p. 28.

towards it they build their dreams and aspirations. Within the confines of the exceedingly commodified spaces of the mall, the middle class perceive city life. The mall begins to provide everything short of open air beaches and live stock trading. The young generations will no longer yearn for the traditional vibrant cities that used to be, they will no longer even have a memory of them.

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The Production of Urban Qualities in the Emerging City of Doha: Urban Space Diversity as a Case for Investigating the 'Lived Space'

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Introduction: Contemporary Urbanism in the Gulf

Modern urbanisation in the Gulf began in the middle of the 20th century and was instigated by the oil production. The first settlements were built under the rulers' attempt to share the new oil wealth with the population of the newly born Gulf States and to initiate industrial development. The large-scale immigration of expatriate workers enabled the construction of modern infrastructure and the establishment of the first oil and gas related industries. Due to their geopolitical location cities along the Gulf understood their role as trading hubs and invested in large harbours and airports (Scholz, 1999, p. 82). Because of their limited oil resources the Kingdom of Bahrain and the Emirate of Dubai were the first to explore alternative economic sectors such as banking and trading (Sassen, 1997, p. 44). After major investments in harbours and an international airport during the 1970s, Dubai experienced a high growth rate of companies when it introduced its first free trade zone in Jebel Ali in 1985 (Schmid, 2009, p. 63). At the end of the millennium Dubai was again first to liberalise its local real-estate market, accompanied by major diversification strategies to attract knowledge economies including finance and high-tech sectors (Pacione, 2005, p. 260).

The initial success of Dubai's development model for establishing a regional hub by liberalising local markets during the 1990s had a huge impact on the entire region. It introduced a fast track process to diversify Gulf economies and enter global networks. One of Dubai's current competitors is Qatar and its capital Doha, the rulers of which were keen to diversify economy and services by building on a limited but key number of elements in contrast to Dubai's less discriminating approach. While Dubai has pursued development in almost all its economic sectors in parallel, Doha is currently focusing on specialising in its main sectors only and developing its future economic role in the global network gradually. In this respect, exclusivity defines its economic development strategy rather than undefined expansion (Adham, 2008, p.248).

Although Doha's real-estate market has never been as liberalised as in Dubai and freehold developments have remained restricted to certain areas, real estate projects have become the predominant factor in the recent economic diversification process. One of the most prominent examples is the 400-hectare reclaimed island known as 'The Pearl', which offers freehold properties on leasing contracts of 99 years (*Colliers International*, 2008, p. 1). While residential developments have been located mainly in the north of the city, the new West Bay District at the Corniche has become the centre of commercial developments with its high-rise towers (Figure 1). The evolving skyline expresses an attempt of decision makers to establish the image of Doha as an emerging international service hub. Over the past few years, more and more real estate projects were launched in various scales and at differing locations with an obvious tendency towards the waterfront along the northern shoreline.

Current extensive development of the city Doha is characterized by a fast track urbanization process, resulting in the creation of new urban nodes that are used by different groups for different purposes. While this unprecedented urban growth of the city continues to be a subject of discussion, little attention has been paid to other growth aspects, including the understanding of the resulting inhabitants' spatial experience, their attitudes toward emerging urbanized spaces, and whether these emerging spaces are diverse enough to accommodate the multicultural society the city enjoys.

Figure 1. The global skyline of the West Bay in the city of Doha. (Source: Authors).

In this paper, a framework is introduced referring to the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's work on space production in cities. This framework attempts to integrate the necessary aspects and factors shaping urban environments including the role of inhabitants. The impact of inhabitants in diversifying urban environments is often ignored in contemporary urban discussions and in particular in the case of emerging cities, such as Doha. The paper investigates this aspect by analysing eight key spaces that were selected based on parameters that include density, commercial activity, and public accessibility. Spaces are examined from the perspective of Doha's inhabitants using an attitude survey. Results of implementing the survey tools corroborate the assumption that urban spaces are experienced differently by different groups based on their gender, age, and cultural backgrounds. In essence, this suggests a more inclusive approach to the design of the city's urban spaces.

A Framework for Investigating the Production of Urban Environments

Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production can be utilized as basis for a framework that combines analyses of factors that impact urban development. Lefebvre expressed his idea of the production of space using a triad consisting of conceived, perceived and lived space. Firstly, he defined 'conceived space' as the space conceptualised by scientists, planners, social engineers, etc., also known as 'representations of space'. These representations are abstract as they are rooted in the principles, beliefs and visions held by such practitioners, decision makers and others who are in a position to impose their personal notion of 'order' on the concrete world and so create a practical impact on space within social and political practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 41). 'Perceived space' is the space of 'spatial practice', which Lefebvre defined as the space where movement and interaction take place, where networks develop and materialise. Thus, it includes both daily routines on an individual level and urban realities such as the networks that link places designated for work, leisure and 'private' life (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Lastly, 'lived space' is comprehended as the unconscious, non-verbal direct relation between humans and space. Also known as 'representational space', it is directly lived through associated images and symbols (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

Based on Lefebvre's ideas, the production of urban space can be analysed by investigating each factor in this process using the perceived-conceived-lived triad. Thus, all the factors that affect the nature and structure of the urban fabric in the production of space in emerging cities such as Doha can be sought for and examined with a special focus on understanding the role of inhabitants and their impact (Figure 2).

In most urban studies the influence of lived space on the production of urban space has been neglected due to the difficulty of measuring its role scientifically. Lived space is assumed to be the subjective personal relationship between inhabitants and the urban environment. Such a relationship affects their active involvement in urban spaces. It is expressed in images, symbols and associations and has a major impact on the coherence and continuity of a society and thus on urban development. While in cities with long urban histories lived space is often neglected as a major factor in spatial development due to the implicitness of its existence, in the case of emerging cities a lack of lived space is expressed in the form of an intense struggle for identity and a relatively low degree of influence by inhabitants on development decisions. One consequence of this vacuum in cities that are built from scratch is branding with certain images in order to attract investment. The image of a city is influenced by conscious planning. Yet, it is also affected by spatial practice as well as the image of a city held by its inhabitants has an impact on planning. Analysing lived space thus uncovers how inhabitants relate to the city and its images.

Figure 2: Framework for investigating the production of urban environments based on Henri Lefebvre. (Source: Authors).

Lived space is produced by the individual identification of inhabitants with space and expressed by their use and behaviour in space. In this respect, the reasons for a close intimacy between inhabitants and urban environments are best described in images – the image of liveability, the image of success and the image of cultural values. The image of liveability is enhanced if an urban environment creates the impression of being a healthy and comfortable place. In turn, the image of success is increased if the surrounding developments suggest perspectives for individual growth and prosperity. The third image of cultural values is mainly expressed by the aesthetics of the built environment, which can cause inhabitants to identify with their space if it coheres with their idealised and familiar values. These three images cooperatively create the identification of a

society with its surroundings, which is the basis for developing urban qualities. These urban qualities are strongest if all the members of an urban society are part of this identification process. Urban qualities needed for sustainable urban structures are thus produced by a coalescing society identifying with its surrounding environment.

The Production of Urban Space Diversity

The quality of urban space diversity is a result of all factors within the production of urban environments. One of its main preconditions is the active participation of a society based on an emerging identification with the surrounding physical and non-physical conditions. Investigating the existing lived space in cities is thus essential in order to understand the potentials to develop urban space diversity. Urban space diversity is one of the most important urban qualities, since it is needed to attract economic growth, to establish balance between social groups and to contribute to ecological developments. Thus, the production of urban space diversity is a complex interaction of decision-making, spatial practice of users and the identification process of inhabitants.

A successful urban space is primarily the timeless space, where activities run throughout the days and years without losing their boost and action. Lang argues that, "*the more multi-purpose the public realms… many more actors are involved. The more open and diverse a society, the more intricate and involved is the debates over ends and means and the more diverse the opinions about the results achieved* (Lang, 2005, p.22)." In essence, in order to create a vital urban space, diversity would be a determining factor. Diversity involves mixed activities and various environments for a wide range of users. Traditional cities or urban spaces have witnessed several layers of activities and add-ons through time, which built up the liveliness and variedness of experiences as important parameters of diversity (Salama and Ghraib, 2012).

In recent rhetoric, diversity denotes, in generic terms, a mosaic of people who bring a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values and beliefs as assets to the groups and organizations with which they interact. However, in urban discourse diversity has been addressed as having multiple meanings that include mixing building types, mixing physical forms, and mixing people of different social classes, racial and ethnic backgrounds. While the concept has been discussed heavily in the urban literature (Fainstein, 2004; Gummer, 1995; Jacobs, 1961; Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987; Jones et al, 2007; Lovatt and O'Connor 1995; Talen, 2006; Tiesdell *et al,* 1996), this overview places emphasis on those writings that delineate the multi-dimensional aspect of urban space diversity.

Jacobs (1961) asserts that public places should rely on a mixture of uses that need an enormous diversity of ingredients, stretching from the daily functions, enterprises, markets, and entertaining magnets. In order to generate diversity within the built environment, Jacobs introduced a number of essential conditions. First, the public places or even a series of interconnected urban spaces should offer multi-functions to ensure that user groups are present and benefit from several choices. Second, the physical setting of the public place should be designed to serve walking users, allowing diversity of views and perceptions. The physical architectural context is also an important condition that should offer diversity of styles and sizes in order to engage different tastes and economic enterprises. Finally, there should be a high density of people with different backgrounds, cultures, as well as different social strata. This later condition primarily serves the concept of 'see and be seen' by allowing people to socialize and interact.

While local distinctiveness and the physical or tangible dimension of an urban space will eventually construct a unique 'sense of place,' there are other dimensions that contribute to diversity. The social and emotional perception is as valuable as it ensures that users and visitors will invest their efforts, time, and emotions; it is important to satisfy their needs, freedom, and most important the sense of 'individuality within collectiveness'. The increase of satisfaction with and attachment to urban space will increase the presence of people to turn spaces into places, making them vibrant, and living organisms within the city while creating a sense of civic responsibility. Lovatt and

O'Connor (1995, p.128) state, "… *however superficial and spatially circumscribed … the emphasis on play, strolling and idle socializing could have wider effects."* In essence, backgrounds of social groups are an important aspect without which urban space would not have the quality of diversity.

Social and physical dimensions are complementary and contribute together toward the achievement of diversity. The size and surrounding enclosures need to be distinguished appropriately; buildings should be distributed in an adequate manner to correspond the different activities. Jacobs and Appleyard (1987, p.106) argue that, "*buildings should be arranged in such a way as to define and even enclose public space, rather than sit in space."* Good urban design is to create places, enhancing the public place via people-friendly vision to serve the physical and the social composition (Tiesdell *et al,* 1996).

Diversity essentially creates a wide variety of uses to generate vital places. Gummer (1995) pointed out that, "*Mixed-use development should increasingly become the norm rather than the exception…We will be expecting developers to think imaginatively in future as to how proposals can incorporate mixed land uses, to produce lively and successful developments over both the short and long term, and provide a positive contribution to the quality of our towns and cities."* The objective is to make places generated under economic foundation; this requires adequate distribution of uses in the urban space while achieving a responsive integration with the existing functions. Diversity in terms of mixed use and mixed communities (social, tenure) also extends to the temporal use of space, – both built and open: e.g., markets, parks/squares, festivals, public art/animation, through the evening economy, 'leisure shopping' and 'mixed-use streets' (Jones et al., 2007).

The preceding overview suggests that urban space diversity involves a number of dimensions toward the creation of vital urban places while offering functional and behavioural opportunities for different socio-economic groups. It implicates three major dimensions. The first is physical tangible dimension that pertains to the qualities of the material context. The second is investigating lived space and thus the social and emotional intangible dimension that pertains to the way in which the material dimension impacts users of different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. The third is a dimension that concerns itself with types of activities and the nature of use. Investigating the three dimensions would result in a comprehensive insight into the understanding of urban space diversity.

Methodology for Investigating Urban Space Diversity in the City of Doha

The methodology adopted is multi layered and involves two procedural investigations. The first is an analytical description of eight key spaces within the city that are believed to represent different urban and spatial qualities catered to different groups (Figures 3 & 4). The second procedure establishes and implements an attitude survey questionnaire, which aims at exploring ways in which the identified key urban spaces are perceived and experienced. Using the metaphor of 'city centre' and 'city peripheries' two major questions were conceived: a) how does the city's population perceive the identified key spaces as centre(s) or peripheries, and b) how are centre(s) and peripheries experienced based on the population's gender, age, and cultural background? The term 'centre' is introduced as an urban node that is visited most by the inhabitants, while the term 'periphery' is introduced as an urban area that is rarely visited by the inhabitants (Salama, 2011).

Figure 3: Eight key urban nodes selected to explore centre (s) and peripheries in the city of Doha as perceived by a sample of its inhabitants. (Source: Authors).

The two questions were translated into a questionnaire that involves a) basic information about the participants including education, age, cultural background, and status in the city, b) whether participants believe that the city has one or multiple centres or peripheries and whether they are able to name those spaces representing centres or peripheries, c) their reactions to images that may represent the centre and those that represent the city, d) identifying places that are visited most, how often they are visited, with whom, for what purpose, and the frequency of visits, e) issues that pertain to accessibility to space, parking availability, and other visual and environmental preferences queries. As shown in Figures (4) and (5), the spaces identified reflect different spatial qualities: 1) Aspire/Villagio Mall, 2) Al-Sadd Commercial Strip, 3) Musheireb Intersection, 4) Ramada Junction, 5) Water Front a: Near Sheraton Hotel, 6) Water Front b: Near Main Restaurant, 7) Water Front c: Near Museum of Islamic Art, and 8) Souq Waqif (traditional marketplace).

Discussion of Selected Findings

The descriptive typological analysis of the eight spaces reveals that each space enjoys specific spatial typology with relative similarities and differences across the eight spaces. It indicates that the profile of users of each space varies according to the nature and type of activities introduced. The analysis delineates that there are different degrees of accessibility, traffic congestion associating the spaces, and availability of parking.

490 valid responses to the questionnaire were received out of 560. They were analysed at the level of the overall sample utilizing a frequency procedure. However, by performing a cross tabulation procedure relationships between age, gender, cultural background as dependent variables and the key spaces representing centre(s) or peripheries as independent variables, were elucidated.

Respondents represent the spectrum of population in the city. This is evident in their overall profile, where 260 males and 230 females representing 53% and 47% of the total number of responses respectively. It is also apparent that age groups are well represented where 12% represent age group (15-20), 47% represent age group (20-30), 21% represent age group (30-45), and 18% represent age group (45-60). Considering that the population of the city is young, the over-60 age group also reflects the actual population of the city and represents only 2% of the total number of respondents. For the purpose of categorizing different cultural backgrounds, cultural groups were generically classified as Africans, Americans, Arabs, Asians, Europeans, and Qataris. Representation of these groups reflects the figures currently estimated for the city's population. They include 37% Qataris, 28% Arabs, 14% Asians, 11% Africans, 5% Europeans, and 5% Americans. However, it should be noted that the percent of Qataris in relation to the overall population of the city does not exceed 20%.

Diversity in Perceiving the Key Urban Nodes

Across the total responses Souq Waqif appears to be the most important urban space representing the centre of Doha since it has received 57% of the responses that identify it as a centre, while only 8% identify it as a periphery. Nevertheless, it has received 39% of the responses as the most visited place. In essence, this can be attributed to the historical significance of the Souq and the diversity of activities including arts and crafts galleries and ethnic restaurants. The Aspire/Villagio comes as the second most important space that represents the centre of the city since it is identified by 39% of the respondents as a centre and by 61% as most visited. While the space addresses middle and high-income groups, the large scale of the mall and the magnitude of diverse shops together with the nearby sport facilities appear to be determining factors in making the space attractive and favoured by the majority of these groups.

While Al-Sadd urban space is identified by 39% of the respondents as a centre, only 16% identify it as most visited and as representing the city since it caters to specific segments of society and the lower income population. The two water front spaces near Sheraton hotel and near the restaurant seem to be favoured by a considerable portion of the respondents since they were identified as centres by 37% and 31% respectively and as most visited spaces by 22% and 29% respectively. The fact that these two water front spaces involve sufficient recreational space along the 7 kilometre water front promenade, with either green space, pedestrian walkways, or support services make them relatively attractive while witnessing a strong presence of diverse groups. The water front space near the museum does not seem to be favoured by the majority of respondents since it is identified by 22% of the responses as a centre and by 16% as most visited (Table 1). This can be attributed to the difficulty in accessing the space while lacking amenities or support services unlike the other two water front spaces.

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Figure 4: The spatial qualities of the eight key urban nodes. (Source: Authors).

Table 1: Identification of spaces by the city inhabitants
as centres, peripheries, representing the city and most visited.

Key Spaces	Identified as Centre	Identified as Periphery	Identified as representing the city	Identified as most visited
Aspire/Villagio Mall	39%	16%	31%	61%
Al-Sadd Commercial Strip	39%	18%	16%	16%
Musheireb Intersection	33%	39%	22%	10%
Ramada Junction	25%	31%	18%	25%
WF a/ Sheraton Hotel	37%	10%	20%	22%
WF b/ Restaurant	31%	14%	16%	29%
WF c/ Museum of Islamic Art	22%	20%	16%	16%
Souq Waqif	57%	8%	49%	39%

The preceding discussion and the participants' reactions suggest that Souq Waqif and Aspire/Villagio urban spaces appear to be perceived by many of the respondents as spaces representing the city of Doha. Souq Waqif is identified by 49% of the respondents as a space that represents the city and its culture, while Aspire/Villagio is identified as a space that represents the city by 31% of the respondents. This is due to the unique qualities that each space enjoys whether physical or social or activity related. No major differences were found in all other spaces in terms of representing the city. This can be attributed to the absence of distinctive and unique qualities that make such spaces as significant within the overall city.

Diversity in Visiting Patterns

Urban spaces identified as most visited by the respondents seem to be having frequent visiting patterns. Approximately 70% of the respondents visit the space identified either once a week or several times a week. While 25% of the respondents visit the space once a month, only 8% mentioned that they visit it few times a year. Times of visits to spaces that are most visited seem to correspond to the work styles of the respondents and the hours of work in the city. 82% mentioned that that they visit the space either in the evenings or late afternoons. On the other hand, only 11% mentioned they visit the space in the mornings or middays (Table 2).

As shown in Table (2), the most visited spaces appear to be visited by groups rather than individuals. 74% of the respondents mentioned that they visit the space with family members (43%) or with family and friends (31%). On the other hand, only 16% mentioned that they visit the space on their own. It should be noted that a wide spectrum of activities take place in the most visited spaces where 24% of the respondents mentioned that they visit the spaces for a combination of reasons including walking and shopping, relaxing and sitting, dining, and playing. However, over 50% of the respondents mentioned that they either visit for exclusively walking and shopping (30%) or for exclusively relaxing and sitting (21%). On the other hand, only 16% mentioned that they visit the space for the purpose of dining and 3% for the purpose of playing and outdoor exercising.

Table 2:Visiting and activity patterns in most visited spaces.

Nature of Use	Most Visited Spaces					
Frequency of Visits	Several times/week		Weekly	Monthly	Few times/year	
	33%		34%	25%	8%	
Times of Visits	Evening	Late afternoon		Midday	Morning	No difference
	42%	40%		5%	6%	7%
Profile of Users	Family & Friends		Family	Friends	On their own	
	31%		43%	20%	16%	
Activity Patterns	Walking/ Shopping	Relaxing/ Sitting	Dining	Playing	Combination	Other
	30%	21%	16%	3%	24%	6%

The results suggest that the most visited spaces enjoy a number of qualities that while they are frequently visited, they do not seem to offer enough diversity of uses (Figures 5, 6, & 7). Since Aspire/Villagio is the most visited urban space across the total respondents (61%) it is evident that the dominant activity of the space is walking and shopping despite having nearby sport facilities. The dominant activity of Souq Waqif as the second most visited space (39%) appears to be dining due to the wide variety of ethnic restaurants and cafes. The dominant activities of the water front space b/near restaurant (29%) are a combination of playing and outdoor exercising, and relaxing and sitting. This can be attributed to the strong presence of a pedestrian spine that penetrates the open tiled space and also due to the availability of walking areas. While the space enjoys the presence of a restaurant and an outdoor café, dining does not seem to be a reason for visiting, especially that the restaurant caters to high and middle-income groups.

Figure 5: Aspire/Villagio, the most visited space. (Source: Authors).

Figure 6: Souq Waqif, the second most visited space. (Source: Authors).

Figure 7: Waterfront Space b-near restaurant, the third most visited space. (Source:Authors).

Gender, cultural background, and age group differences in reacting to central and peripheral urban spaces

Preliminary findings on the gender, cultural background, and age group are analysed and discerned. Across the respondents, major differences between males and females are found. For example, while 35% of males believe that the city has one centre, only 8% of the females believe the same. There appears to be an agreement between males and females on perceiving peripheries, where 64% of males and 69% of females believe that the city has several peripheries. No major differences are found in the reactions to the spaces that represent the centre.

Clearly, similarities are found in male (19%) and female (22%) respondents in perceiving Aspire/Villagio as a centre and in perceiving Souq Waqif as a centre. 38% of male respondents and 35% of female respondents believe that Souq Waqif represents the centre. Differences are found in the responses to the spaces that represent peripheries. While 35% of female respondents identify Ramada Junction as a periphery, only 10% of male respondents identify it as a periphery (Figure 8). Strikingly, while 10% of male respondents identify each of the water front spaces near Sheraton hotel and near restaurant is identified as a periphery, none of the female respondents identify them as peripheral spaces (Figure 10). This is due to the openness, scenery views, and the green and tiled areas available in these spaces while offering multiple opportunities for activities including walking, jogging, biking, sitting and enjoying the scenic view of Doha's Skyline, and photographing.

Dramatic differences across the responses of different age groups are evident. Souq Waqif, as perceived as a centre of the city, has received 65% of the responses of the age group (20-30), while it has received 100% of the responses of the age groups (30-45), (40-60), and over 60. On the other hand, the Musheireb public space, as perceived as a periphery, has received 83% of the responses of the age group (15-20), only 26% of the responses of the age group (20-30), and 33% for each of the groups, (30-45) and (45-60). Notably, the two spaces are geographically in the same vicinity.

Across the respondents from different backgrounds differences exist. While 73% of Arabs, 75% of Qataris, and 85% of Asians believe that the city has more than one centre, less than 40% of each of those of American and European background believes the same. Strikingly, despite these differences in perceiving centres, similarities in perceiving peripheries are found, where 54% of Arabs, 50% of Americans, and 50% of Europeans believe that the city has several peripheries.

Figure 8: Ramada Junction. (Source: Authors).

Figure 9: Waterfront Space a-near Sheraton Hotel. (Source: Authors).

The majority of Qataris identifies Souq Waqif as a centre since it has received 69% of the responses received from participants of Qatari background. This can be attributed to the historical significance of the Souq while establishing association with the past in a rapidly growing city. All the respondents of American background and the majority of respondents from Asian (67%) and African (60%) backgrounds identify Aspire/Villagio urban space as a centre. This can be attributed to the dominance of the mall culture in areas representing these backgrounds while at the same time due to the availability of sport facilities. On the other hand, respondents from Arab and Asian backgrounds identify Al Sadd Commercial Strip and Ramada Junction as centres. This reflects the tendency to favour dense urban areas, which are similar to the physical environment they are coming from. Despite their geographical location, the majority of respondents from European and American backgrounds identify Waterfront spaces as centres. This is due to tendency to favour open spaces and the association with natural settings rather than with dense urban fabric (Table 3).

Table 3: Cultural background differences in reacting to central and peripheral urban spaces.

Key Spaces	Cultural Background					
	Qatari	Asian	European	Arab	African	American
Aspire/Villagio Mall	31%	67%	00	36%	60%	100%
Al-Sadd Commercial Strip	31%	50%	00	82%	00	00
Musheireb Intersection	38%	17%	00	36%	20%	00
Ramada Junction	25%	67%	00	18%	00	50%
WF a/ Sheraton Hotel	44%	67%	50%	18%	20%	50%
WF b/ Restaurant	31%	33%	50%	18%	20%	100%
WF c/ Museum of Islamic Art	19%	33%	00	9%	20%	100%
Souq Waqif	69%	33%	00	46%	60%	50%

Conclusion

Urban spaces mean different things to different communities within the city of Doha and thus are used differently. The juxtaposition of the results with the understanding of urban space diversity delineates the fact that urban spaces within the city of Doha lack one or more of the three important conditions that contribute to the achievement of diversity. The results reflect the dynamic nature of urban spaces identified as centres, invigorating the assumption that urban spaces in the centre are not necessarily standing as unique entities. Results, however, indicate that urban spaces on the peripheries are emerging to compete with those in the centre. The understanding of

what constitutes centres and peripheries in the minds of the city's inhabitants contributes to the understanding of their spatial experience and their attitudes toward what is perceived as centre, or as periphery or as emerging centre. The perceptual and the spatial experience of inhabitants reflect the needs and wants of different groups according to their gender, age, and cultural background that in the context of Doha varies dramatically.

Referring to the introduced framework based on Henri Lefebvre's work on space production it can be argued that Doha's urban environment is primarily a result of investment and deregulation strategies to establish a global hub and subsequent real estate speculations. This has led to fragmented patchwork patterns and an evident lack of integration with important elements missing from its public open spaces. The missing participation of inhabitants in producing urban spaces in Doha is reflected in low urban space diversity in most cases. Inhabitants are left to use prefabricated structures for consumption and production with limited means to appropriate these structures according to their needs and desired form. Analyses of contemporary urbanism in Doha need to address this reality by integrating the response of inhabitants to spaces by interviewing and observing them. This work can be seen as a first step in this research direction and introduces a study within a larger framework in order to integrate this important perspective.

While future development plans of the city may seem to address specific groups and cater to specific age groups or cultural backgrounds, a more responsive approach to the design of urban spaces needs to be in place. Urban design as a discipline and a profession focuses on creating built environments that promote opportunities and experiences for all city inhabitants. Therefore, it is crucial that most of the urban space actions and activities are accepted and enjoyed by the majority of the city's population. The urban development process of the city needs to consider the development of spaces based on the perception and understanding of different groups. This needs to be adopted as one of the key factors in developing successful inclusive urban spaces that involve a wide spectrum of urban and spatial qualities relevant to the diversity characterizing the city of Doha.

Acknowledgement

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The Institution of Private Urbanization in Greece

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1. DEFINITION AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF PRIVATE URBANIZATION IN GREECE

The organized urban development as a process of housing estate creation originates in the principles of Modern Movement. It is defined as a system of urbanization according to which large scale residential units are constructed in big estates, based on integrated planning and equipped with work of infrastructure, public spaces and installations.[1]

Advantages of this system such as standardisation, decreased cost, high quality and time savings in construction led several industrially developed European Countries to select it at the post-war period for the production of many residential settlements[2]. The New Cities that were developed according to the principles of Modernism had often problems to integrate the inhabitants in their new housing environment. The residents faced difficulties to establish community relations and to satisfy their needs[3]. Thus, in many of the New Cities, problems of degradation arose, and regeneration programmes had soon to be implemented.

In Greece, integrated – organized urban development as a way of housing production constitutes the exception, the rule being the separate constructions of individual properties. Traditionally, in Greece, housing production is restricted to an individual, small scale basis[4], where the involved actors are the petit-land owner and the developer. Housing estates, in a scale larger than the individual constructions, and according to a local plan officially approved, was implemented, until recently, almost exclusively by public housing organizations.

The urbanization which is implemented by the public sector is restricted to set the institutional limits of a new urban area and to construct the minimum of the infrastructure facilities. Furthermore, except for a few cases, does not include the housing and other buildings production.

Historically, the first attempt of the state to provide legal framework for the private initiative in spatial planning was made with the L.D. of 1923. According to it, a big parcel of land could be divided to small plots, constituting new urban space, with no obligation of the new properties to provide open spaces or social infrastructure. Through this mechanism, the first "garden suburbs" in Athens were developed (Ekali 1923, Psychico 1923, Helioupolis 1925, Filothei 1931), resorts and settlements of holiday houses were built in areas with natural beauty (Chalkidiki, Porto Carras, Hydra Beach Village) and settlements were constructed to provide residences for workers of neighbouring industrial compounds. In the late 70's period, planning by private sector was not mentioned at all. Instead, two "related" types of planning were implemented, the "active urban

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[1] Aravantinos, 1997 – 2000, p. 405 – 445
[2] Madouvalou and Mavridou, 1993, p. 77 - 108
[3] Morris, 1997
[4] Christophilopoulos, 1997, p.176

planning" and the "planning by housing cooperatives". The first was focusing at the output of planning, meant to be the "organized" production of residences, while the other at the initiators, investors and users. The first, which had limited implementations, could be used by public or private sector, while the second by private groups of citizens. The first legal framework related to planning by private sector, consisted of Laws 47/1991 (article 9), 2052/1992, and 2160/1993. These laws were different than the one for housing cooperatives, in that the objectives of housing cooperatives were to cover housing needs of the specific group involved in the process, while planning by private sector targeted to profit made of sales of the produced houses[5].

A change in the national planning legislation in 1997, redefined the roles of public and private sectors in the production of residential stock, by introducing the notion of private urbanization in areas that have been characterised as Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization which broaden the context of private sector participation in urban planning.

The change is referred to Law 2508/1997 "Sustainable urban development of cities and settlements of the country " which is the legal framework of urban, and small scale regional planning in Greece and complements Law 1337/83 "Urban planning extension". Specifically, article 24 of Law 2508/97 introduces the notion of Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization, replaces the older relevant laws and embodies, by setting specific criteria, the areas whose development was based on the older institutional framework.

The definition of an Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization refers to land which is located outside the town plan boundaries, owned by one or more legal persons of private or public law and is included within the limits of approved urban development plans such as General Urban Plans, Urban Development Control Zones, Spatial Plans and Residential Organisation of Open Cities. The establishment of an area as an Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization is also possible before the approval of the above mentioned urban development plans. Necessary condition is the approval of general guidelines plans at the prefecture level, from the Minister of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change Ministry of Greece.

An Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization must cover a minimum area of five (5) ha (or 12,35 ac) which should not be interrupted by any national, provincial or municipal roads. In this min. area, rivers, streams, and any other type of areas incompatible to residential uses (especially forest areas, archaeological sites and biotopes) are not included. As it concerns land uses in the Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization, all types of them are legally permissible, by the exception of industry and manufacture, environmentally encumbering.

The production process of a settlement via the institution of private urbanization is presented at figure 1. According to the current Law 2508/1997 the prerequisite for the development of a private urbanization settlement is the characterization of the area as an Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization through an official urban development plan or a general guideline plan.

The next important procedural stages, according to the current legislation, are the acquisition of a certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law 2508/1997 (former certificate of residential appropriateness), the approval of the settlement's master plan and the issuance of the certificate for the completion of infrastructure facilities of the settlements from the competent Minister. Also, the law stipulates contributions in money equal to 10% of the value of the area.

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[5] Lalenis, 2008, p.32

Characterization of the area as an Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization

via

General Urban Plans, Urban Development Control Zones, Spatial Plans and Residential Organisation of Open Cities,

Certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law (older Certificate of Residential Appropriateness)

Approval of Settlement

Master Plan

Certification of implementation of Infrastructure Facilities

Figure 1: Production Process via the Institution of Private Urbanization

The procedure described above is a further improvement of the mechanism of private urbanization as it ensures the compulsory completion of infrastructure facilities prior to commercial exploitation of the land.

One of the positive elements of Law 2508/1997 is the regulation of private urbanization through spatial planning, a provision which did not exist in the previous legal frameworks. Also, the initiative of urbanization of this type officially lies with the individuals, while the state continues to have a confirmatory role, as it always had[6]. The institution of private urbanization in Greece is considered as a useful tool, capable of improving the quality of urban environment because the building regulations and standards in the Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization, may guarantee a built environment, much better organized than both, the one consisting of individual constructions of petit-land owners, and –obviously- the urban sprawl[7].

Specifically, open spaces and green areas, according to a jurisprudence of the State Council of Greece, must be at least 50% of the total surface of an Area of Specially Regulated Urbanization, while the average building ratio must not exceed 0.6 and 0.4 for main residences and holiday houses respectively. Comparatively, in settlements with the traditional way of building on individual properties, the areas of open and green spaces are much less, and the existing building ration has an upper limit of 0,8, which, in most cases, is violated.

According the above, the institution of private urbanization, although it does not replace the traditional way of individual construction by a petit-land owner that encourages land segmentation, it introduces new financing methods and new standards in housing production which lead to the improvement of urban environment, the restriction of urban sprawl, and it contributes in making up for the traditional inefficiencies of public sector in housing policies and implementations.

2. THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The research took place under the auspices of the Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change of Greece which is the administrative sector responsible for management,

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[6] Oikonomou, 1997, p.113-121
[7] Oikonomou and Petrakos, 1999, p. 413 – 446

and implementation of the institution of private urbanization. It lasted nineteen (19) months, as it began on 01 June 2009 and finished on 31 January 2011.

The aim of the research was the preparation of a census of the settlements which have been developed or approved for development, by private urbanization, both before and after the enactment of Law 2508/1997. The main data sources were the approved introductory plans in eleven (11) prefectures (Etolia & Akarnania, Magnissia, Fthiotida, Preveza, Rodopi, Rethymno, Evia, Chania, Iraklio, Argolida, and Lassithi), the approved Urban Development Plans, and the official documents, studies and maps of the Ministry. Here it should be noted that prior to this research, there was no clear picture about the private urbanization settlements in Greece, so the evaluation of the institution was impossible.

Data collected concerned the number, the geographical distribution and the urban typology of the settlements which were developed or approved for development, through private urbanization. Furthermore, time periods required for obtaining the necessary official approvals, were recorded for every settlement.

The collected data was registered in a database and was statistically analysed and elaborated for enabling evaluation of the institution of private urbanization in Greece.

One of the main problems that were detected during the research was that the Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change of Greece had not developed a Monitoring System for the characteristics and function of the private urbanization settlements. Thus, significant information for the settlements such as their number, the stage and progress of their administrative procedures, the typology of their architectural characteristics, and the timetable for the acquisition of the necessary official approvals, was not available at any geographical level. In order to overcome these insufficiencies, data was collected separately for each settlement, by examination of the approved Master Plans, the related official documents and correspondence, relative studies and maps of the Ministry, and through interviews with the responsible employees.

Another significant problem that was detected during the research was the lack of cooperation between Central and Local Authorities. Before the enactment of Law 2508/97, the Prefectural Departments of Technical Services were responsible for issuing the certificates for the infrastructure facilities of the settlements and supervise the progress of works. In turn, they were supposed to inform or send the related files to the equivalent departments of the Ministry. This, though, was never done and the Ministry, after the approval of the master plan, had no information about the stage of completion of the settlements.

In short, critical managerial problems were detected during the research, which created severe bureaucratic impediments to the proper implementation of the Institution of Private Urbanization.

The results of the statistical analysis of the data collected through the census of the private urbanization settlements are presented below.

3.   RESULTS FROM THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

3.1. Geographical Distribution and Classification of Private Urbanization Settlements

The geographical distribution of the settlements is presented in Table 1 and is illustrated in Map 1. The results show an increased interest of individuals in the production of settlements through the mechanism of private urbanization. Specifically, according to the outcomes, three hundred and nine (309) cases were registered all over the country, in a total area of 19.135,68 ha, for a foreseen population of approximately 655,000 inhabitants.
The majority of settlements were registered in the Regions of Attica (90 cases) and Crete (47 cases), in the prefectures of Evia (50 cases) and Fthiotida (13 cases) of Central Greece, in the

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prefecture of Chalkidiki (16 cases) of Northern Greece and in the prefecture of Argolida (21 cases) in the Region of Peloponnese (Map 1).

At the same time the strong interest of individuals to develop settlements through the mechanism of private urbanization is reflected by the increased number of applications submitted, for inclusion of new areas into the institution.

Table 1/ Map 1: *Geographical Distribution of Private Urbanization Settlements in Greece*

Prefecture/ Department	Number	Area (acres)	Population
ETOLIA & AKARNANIA	8	1.550,75	5.581
ARGOLIDA	21	12.893,33	45.790
ATTIKI (REGION)	90	68.016,50	238.641
ACHAIA	1	167,00	501
DODEKANISSOS	12	650,07	3.027
EVROS	1	72,84	360
EVIA	50	39.478,67	119.722
IRAKLIO	19	3.804,00	12.449
THESSALONIKI	9	799,70	2.799
IOANNINA	1	46,00	161
KAVALA	1	-	-
KORINTHIA*	10	248,00	744
LARISSA	1	78,40	732
LASSITHI	4	2.007,96	6.176
MAGNISSIA	4	349,00	1.222
MESSINIA	1	53,70	220
THESPROTIA	1	250,00	875
RETHYMNO	6	1.032,38	3.613
TRIKALA	1	166,00	581
PELLA	1	170,00	595
PIERIA	6	315,00	945
PREVEZA	8	1.420,02	6.141
RODOPI	6	310,00	1.048
FTHIOTIDA	13	8.136,00	29.238
CHALKIDIKI	16	46.547,45	162.916
CHANIA	18	2.794,03	10.842
TOTAL	**309**	**191.356,80**	**654.920**

LEGEND

Number of registered Settlements of Private

0 cases

01 – 09 cases

21- 90 cases

10 – 20 cases

0   50   100 km
0   50   100 ml

* In the prefecture of Korinthia there was a lack of data for the covered areas of the recorded settlements.

In table 2 the categorization of the registered, by the census, Private Urbanization Settlements is presented, according to the institutional context of their development. A significant proportion of them (32,28%, 109 settlements) fulfil the criteria of the Law 2508/1997 and constitute Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization while the majority of them (60,19%, 189 settlements) constitute settlements of older building co-operatives.

Table 2 / Chart 1: Categorization of the registered, by the census, Private Urbanization Settlements according to the Institutional context of their development

Categorization of Settlements	Number of Settlements	Percentages (%)
Building Cooperatives (before Law 2508/1997)	186	60,19
Older Private Urbanization Settlements (before Law 2508/1997)	14	4,53

An important discovery of the research is that for a high percentage of about 40.45% of the registered settlements (125 cases), mostly located in the Region of Attica and in the Prefectures of Chalkidiki, Evia, Fthiotida, Corinthia and Argolida, the urbanization was prohibited, because their land was characterised as forests or areas for reforestation. These settlements of building cooperatives, constitute a major problem in the sector of private urbanization, because they have been inactive for long periods, in some cases over 35 years, while their members have been paying annual and lump sum contributions without yet obtaining the building plots to which they were supposed to have rights. Furthermore, no legal measures have been taken from the State, such as land exchange, in order to protect the interests of the thousands of members of these housing cooperatives, and consequently many of them have followed the judicial process. The problem is further enhanced by the fact that in Greece, land property and forest cadastres have not been completed yet, something that prevents clarity on the issue of applicability of areas for private planning.

3.2 Urban Typology of Private Urbanization Settlements

The urban typology of the settlements which were developed or approved for development through private urbanization was examined by the analysis of their approved master plans. In this frame, the urban structure was examined in all the 108 settlements which had obtained an official approval for their master plans.

Table 3: *Type of private urbanization settlements*

According to the analysis (table 3) the overwhelming majority (79,63%) of them are settlements of vacation and holiday homes, and the rest 22 settlements (20.37%) constitute main residential areas.

Type	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)
Second and Holiday Home	86	79,63
Main Residential Areas	22	20,37
Total	**108**	**100**

It is interesting that no settlement was recorded with any other land use (except residential) although this is permitted from the current legal framework. The land uses of the examined settlements are presented in table 4.

Table 4: Land Uses of Private Urbanization Settlements

Land Use	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)	Land Use	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)
Recreation- Kindergarten	75	69.44	Health	8	7.41
Recreation - Squares	64	59.26	Education	31	28.70
Recreation - Refreshments	41	37.96	Parking Places	81	75.00
Recreation- Theatres	14	12.96	Pumping Station	5	4.63
Tourism – Hotels / Hostels	15	13.89	Refuelling Services	4	3.70
Sports	79	73.15	Public Transportation Installations	5	4.63
Retail - Trade	80	74.07	Storage Tank	16	14.81
Cultural Services	69	63.89	Religious Places	44	40.74
Offices	26	24.07	Sewage Treatment Plants	50	46.30
Welfare – Infant Schools	40	37.04			

As it was expected, the land uses are oriented mainly to serve the needs of holiday houses. Thus, the main land uses[8], complementary to the residential ones, which compose the structure of the majority of the settlements, are areas for recreation activities such as kindergartens, free spaces, open air theatres, sports facilities, cultural centres, retail zones and parking spaces. A smaller but significant part is covered by land uses of welfare, education, offices, and sewage treatment plants.

In table 5, the range of areas of private urbanization settlements is presented. Almost half of the settlements cover an area of 10 to 30 ha while a significant proportion of them (14%) extend to an area larger than 50 ha. Only 27 settlements have an area of less than 10 ha. The analysis of the range of areas shows that **the scale of the settlements may guarantee organized residential areas of high quality standards.**

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[8] Lalenis, Kousidonis, Oikonomou, 2005, p. 1-23

Table 5 / Chart 2: *The extent of private urbanization settlements (acres)*

Extent (hectares)	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)
0,9-9,9	27	25.00
10-30	55	50.93
30-50	11	10.19
50-100	7	6.48
>100	8	7.41
Total	**108**	**100**

ΕΚΤΑΣΗ ΟΙΚΙΣΜΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΔΟΜΗΣΗΣ

Legend: 9-99 | 100-299 | 300-499 | 500-999 | >1000

The building standards in private urbanization settlements, as shown in table 6, are considered as friendly to the environment. Thus, for the majority of the settlements (67%, 72 cases) the values of the average building ratio and site coverage do not exceed 0.4 and 40% respectively while open spaces cover at least 50% of the total area. The settlements where building standards are more construction intensive, belong to the older housing co-operatives for which their master plans were not approved through the new mechanism of private urbanization but by the previous legislation.

Table 6: *Development control standards of private urbanization settlements*

Site Coverage	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)	Plot –Ratio	No of Settlements	Percentage (%)
20% - 40%	72	66,67	**0,2 - 0,4**	72	66,67
45% - 50%	28	25,93	**0,5-0,6**	21	19,44
>50%	8	7,41	**0,7-0,8**	15	13,89
Σύνολο	**108**	**100**	Σύνολο	**108**	**100**

In total, the above building codes and standards in conjunction with the high proportion of open spaces and green areas, contribute to the creation of settlements with attractive and high quality living environment.

3.3 Time required for obtaining the necessary official approvals

A significant factor that affects the effective implementation of the mechanism of private urbanization in Greece, is the time required for obtaining the necessary official approvals.

For the examination of the required time periods, the following dates of official approvals were collected and registered in the database, for every settlement:

▪ Date of acquisition of the certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law 2508/1997 (former certificate of "residential appropriateness"),

▪   Date of the approval of the master plan of the settlement and of the related publication in the Official Journal of the Government, *and the*

▪   Date of issuance of the certificate for the completion of the settlement infrastructure

The data collected about the time needed from the stage of issuing of the certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law 2508/1997, until the publication of the approved master plan of the settlement in the Official Journal of the Government, are presented in Chart 3.

In Chart 3 one can detect the existence of severe procedural and bureaucratic inefficiencies during the implementation of the institution of private urbanization. These inefficiencies were caused by the excessive delays in obtaining the necessary official approvals.

Απαιτούμενοι χρόνοι έκδοσης εγκρίσεων / αδειοδοτήσεων ανά έτος

Time periods required for obtaining the necessary official approvals per year

Chart 3: *Time periods required for obtaining the necessary official approvals per year*
(From the certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law 2508 /1997 until
the publication of the settlement's master plan in the   Official Journal of the Government)

According to the statistical analysis, the average time period mentioned above is 1976,51 days (5,4 years). Also, the range of this time period (minimum and maximum values) extends from 142 days (4,7 months, min value) to 5.419 days (14,9 years, max value).

Furthermore, in Chart 3 a period from 07/04/2000 to 29/08/2003 is observed during which the institution of private urbanization was inactive because no official approval was issued. It is interesting to note that during this period General Guidelines Plans were conducted for eleven (11) prefectures, so that the Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization would be defined. Until the completion of the plans, the production process via the mechanism of private urbanization had been stopped for almost all the settlements, except one. Applications submitted before the introduction of Law 2508/97 were examined according to the previous legal framework, for a period of four years after the introduction of the law (until 2001).

In other words, the harmonization of the State with the new institutional framework was done through a very slow and long process, that lasted about three and a half years (3,5 years). This caused enormous bureaucratic obstacles and delays in the operation of the mechanism of private urbanization.

Apart from the above transitional phase, during the period 1988 – 2000 the average time from the acquisition of the certification of fulfilment of the criteria of the Law 2508/1997, until the publication of the related master plan in the Official Journal of the Government for each settlement, was

1303,59 days (3,6 years), while during the period (2003 - 2009) the equivalent average time, although improved, it continued to be excessive and was approximately one year (358 days).

The examination of the average time period from the publication of a master plan in the Official Journal of the Government, until the issuance of the certification of the completion of infrastructure facilities, revealed that until the end of the research, the Ministry had issued only three (3) certificates of completion of infrastructure works. These settlements are located in the prefectures of East Attica, Evia and Rethymno and required three (3), four (4) and nine (9) years respectively. The small number of completed settlements indicates an extremely low production degree of private urbanization settlements.

For the older settlements of Building Cooperatives, there was no available information in the Ministry, concerning their completion degree. The lack of such significant information indicates the ineffective cooperation between Central and Local Administration, since the latter was responsible for issuing the relevant certificate before the enactment of law 2508/97.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study focuses on the evaluation of the institution of private urbanization, by analysing the outcomes of a census of the settlements which have been produced through planning by private sector. The census took place under the auspices of the Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change of Greece which is the administrative sector responsible for management and implementation of the institution of private urbanization. Data collected through the census was statistically elaborated and used for the analysis of the specified housing production process and the accrued problems, procedural inefficiencies (i.e. the excessive time periods and the bureaucratic impediments concerning the necessary official approvals), the number, the geographical distribution and the urban typology of the settlements.

In Greece, the integrated - organized urban development as a way of housing production is the exception rather than the rule, which are the separate constructions in individual properties. Traditionally, in Greece, housing production is restricted to an individual, small scale basis[9], where the involved actors are the petit-land owner and the developer. A change in the national planning legislation in 1997 (Law 2508/1997), redefined the roles of public and private sectors in the production of residential stock, by introducing the notion of private urbanization in areas that have been characterised as Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization which broaden the context of private sector participation in urban planning.

The main positive elements of Law 2508/1997 are that a. private urbanization is regulated through spatial planning, something that was missing from the previous institutional framework, and b. private sector may have the initiative of this type of urbanization, while the state continues to have its traditional confirmatory role[10].

The institution of private urbanization in Greece introduces new financing methods in residential production and is considered as a useful tool capable of improving the quality of urban environment since building regulations in the Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization, usually

ensure a much better organized built environment than the one consisting of individual constructions in individual land properties, and may counter effectively urban sprawl[11].

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[9] Christophilopoulos, 1997, p.176

[10] Oikonomou and Petrakos, 1999, p. 413 - 446

[11] Oikonomou and Petrakos, 1999, p. 413 - 446

The main conclusions derived from the research, which illustrate the current situation of the implementation of the institution of private urbanization in Greece, are presented below.

❖ **Increased interest of individuals in the production of settlements through the mechanism of private urbanization**

The research shows an increased interest of individuals in the production of settlements through the mechanism of private urbanization. Three hundred and nine (309) cases were registered all over the country, covering a total area of 19.135,68 hectares and having an expected (foreseen) population of approximately 655,000 people. The majority of the settlements were registered in the Regions of Attica, Crete, Peloponnese Central and Northern Greece. A significant proportion of them (32,28%, 109 settlements) fulfil the criteria of the Law 2508/1997 and constitute Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization while the majority of them (60,19%, 189 settlements) constitute older building co-operatives.

At the same time the strong interest of individuals to develop settlements through the mechanism of private urbanization is reflected by the increased number of submitted applications for inclusion in the institution.

❖ **Crucial Inabilities of the Responsible Administrative Authorities to Monitor, Manage and Implement the Institution of Private Urbanization**

One of the main problems that have been detected during the research was the absence of **a Monitoring System of the private urbanization settlements**. Thus, significant information was not available in any geographical level and the data had to be retrieved separately for each settlement, from separate sources.

Another crucial problem was the ineffective cooperation between Central and Local Authorities. Before the enactment of Law 2508/97 the Prefectural Departments of Technical Services were responsible for issuing the certificates for the implementation of infrastructure facilities in each settlement. These departments did not inform the related departments of the Ministry about the progress of the infrastructure works, even after the issuing of the certificates. Thus, the Ministry, after the approval of the master plan of each settlement, had no information about their progress of implementation.

Furthermore, the results of the research show the existence of huge delays and excessively long time periods during the audit process for obtaining the necessary official approvals. According to the statistical analysis, the average time period from the acquisition of the certification that the area fulfils the criteria of the Law 2508/1997, until the publication of the master plan of the settlement in the Official Journal of the Government, is 1976,51 days (5,4 years). The range of this time period (minimum and maximum values) extends from 142 days (4,7 months, min value) to 5.419 days (14,9 years, max value).

Furthermore, apart from the transitional phase 2000 - 2003, when the institution of private urbanization was almost inactive, the average time, although improved, it continued to be excessive and was approximately one year (358 days).

In other words, the study shows that the harmonization of the State with the new institutional framework was done through a very long process of three and a half years (3,5 years), something that caused enormous bureaucratic obstacles and delays in the functioning of the mechanism of private urbanization.

❖ **Significant number of inactive settlements, for long periods, because of the characterization of their land as forest or area for reforestation.**

According to the research, a significant proportion of settlements (40.45%, 125 cases) was registered in areas where urbanization is prohibited, because their land was characterised as forest or area for reforestation. These settlements were located mainly in the Region of Attica and in the Prefectures of Chalkidiki, Evia, Fthiotida, Corinthia and Argolida. The accruing problem is severe, since these settlements have been inactive for long time periods -in some cases over 35 years- while their members have been paying annual and lump sum contributions in vain. For these cases, no legal measures have been taken by the State to resolve the problem -such as land exchanges- and many members of these cooperatives have resorted to judicial process. The problem is further enhanced by the fact that in Greece, land property and forest cadastres have not yet been completed and there are no precise boundaries of the areas of various categories.

❖ **Low completion degree of private urbanization settlements.**

The census shows an extremely low completion degree of settlements through private urbanization. Specifically, until the end of the research, the Ministry had issued only three (3) certificates of completion of infrastructure projects. These settlements are located in the prefectures of East Attica, Evia and Rethymno and required three (3), four (4) and nine (9) years respectively.

In this way, large areas with approved master plans, remain inactive and undeveloped while central and local administration are incapable to monitor the settlements and to accelerate the process.

The research indicates that the institution of private urbanization might function as a valuable mechanism regulated through spatial planning, and might encourage participation of private sector in residential production by the introduction of new processes and financing methods. It can also be a valuable tool, capable of improving the quality of urban environment because of the relatively "mild" building regulations in the Areas of Specially Regulated Urbanization. Finally, significant inefficiencies of the administration were detected, related to the management and implementation of the institution, like the absence of a monitoring system for the settlements, lack of cooperation between the involved public departments, delays and excessive time periods during the audit process and other bureaucratic impediments which discourage the investors and do not allow the proper function of the Mechanism of Private Urbanization.

Thus, important factors for the improvement of the implementation of Private Urbanization in Greece are: the horizontal cooperation between involved departments, the development of a Monitoring System, and the acceleration of the bureaucratic procedures for official approvals and issuing of certificates. The above factors, combined with the completion of the land property and forest cadastres might increase the effectiveness in the implementation of the institution of private urbanization, and through this, significantly improve housing policy on a national level.

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Spaces for Temporary Urbanization
Urbanization for the People

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Introduction

In its essence, the term 'urbanization' deals with the trilogy of human, space and time. In this venture, one can argue that urbanization is mainly occupied with the presence of human- related activities at a specific time in a certain space whether this space is a city (civic urbanization), a countryside community (rural urbanization) or even a vacant land (for example deserts, water surfaces or seashores).

Temporary urbanization is a special condition where the main concern is the time-limited yet useful exploitation of spaces. Temporary urbanization can virtually develop anywhere. Needless to say, the nature of each space implicates certain parameters and considerations when it comes to temporarily urbanizing this space. However, this does not negate the fact that a wide variety of spaces with different characteristics are subtle for temporary urbanization developments.

A space by definition can be seen as the unlimited expanse in which things are located. It could also be an empty area, usually having some sort of boundary. An area reserved for some particular purpose is also a space. A space also deals with the factor of time. The interval between two specific time points is called a space. 'Sites', ' pieces of land', 'parcels' and 'plots' are all related to the concept of space.

On another hand, a place could be defined as a location in space. Geographically speaking, a location is a position or a point -in physical space- that something occupies on the Earths' surface. The identity of a place manifests the significance and meanings that particular places have for their inhabitants and users. The sense of place is a phenomenon through which people strongly identify with a particular geographical area or location.

Accordingly, a place can be defined as a certain portion of a space where various factors interact to give that portion of space a particular identity; whether these factors are the boundaries of the space , its physical characteristics or the nature of activity held in that space (amidst many other factors).

In relating temporary urbanization to spaces, it is argued that temporary urbanization is quite connected to the concept of places. This comes within the notion of applying temporary urbanization strategies to spaces in order to turn them into places of meaning or ' idealized spaces'.

The term 'idealized space' is synonymously coherent to the idea of a place. Idealized spaces do not change or invert their own rules. However, time is a crucial factor in changing the nature of an idealized space. The marks of time are not those of material against environment. Time in 'idealized' spaces can be about the 'loosening' of control. This is when the 'idealized space' becomes much related to the concept of empowering people over their context. This is attributed

to the loosening of control against the sovereign ' rule' of regulations and laws while giving people (users) more freedom to choose, create and express their desires, hopes and aspirations as well as fulfill their direct materialistic needs and requirements. Such a loosening of control does not necessarily imply chaos or 'loss' of control. Temporary urbanization advocates the notions that a space can alter with time as the space continues to change while giving people and users of the space the right of free expression, choice and collaboration in decision making.

The discussions made in this paper target the study of the different types of spaces that are subtle to temporary urbanization. The paper handles the various aspects of the temporary (time-limited) exploitation of such spaces while elaborating on their spatial characteristics and while relating to their role in enhancing the contribution and control of users over their context against the omnipotence of governments and architects. The main target behind this is to formulate a better vision concerning the process of creating places – or in more precise terms- the art of placemaking with an eye on democratic architecture and a better quality of architectural solutions. The discussions are elaborated on a multidisciplinary base and the focus of discussion keeps on oscillating between temporary urbanization, spaces and their characteristics and the notions of a higher quality contextual solutions.

1. Spaces for temporary urbanization

Temporary urbanization can help generate benefits from the low quality spaces which are subject to negligence in contemporary cities. Similarly, temporary urbanization constitutes an integral and crucial part of contemporary disaster management disciplines. For instance, temporary settlements (as an example of temporary architectural solutions) constitute a crucial part of the 'recovery phase' of disaster management. As a humanitarian need, this 'recovery phase' aims to enable the people affected by the disaster to resume their normal life. Temporary settlements help in doing so by providing a high quality residency for a limited-period of time until the final (permanent) housing solutions are available.

In relation to this discussion, it should be also made clear that temporary urbanization practices do not only represent a solution to a problem (as in the case of fragmented cities) or a response to a humanitarian need (as in the case of disaster management). Temporary urbanization practices can be also applied to high quality urban spaces. In this situation, temporary urbanization practices represent a means of generating more benefits from these urban spaces which already have their own benefits and active potentials. Through this, temporary urbanization practices also add a sense of variability to the overall urban context rendering it joyfully alive. Examples of such approaches are vivid when high quality urban spaces (such as plazas in cities) host public festivities (a form of temporary urbanization). Such temporary urbanization practices (in their general terms) are considered by the paper as a positive approach.

On a similar front, temporary urbanization practices can be applied as a means of making benefit of an existing asset. For example, temporary touristic villages can be deployed in spaces of natural beauty (seashores, mountains, etc.) in a trial to positively exploit these spaces. Temporary urbanization practices can be also implemented in the form of markets that are hosted in public spaces on a daily, weekly or monthly basis.

The discussion of all of these situations which justify the need for temporary urbanization in the contemporary world can be a very wide domain of study. Nevertheless, in order to shed more light on the subject, the paper profoundly investigates the concept of temporary urbanization when it represents a solution to a problem as well as when it constitutes a response to a humanitarian need.

The discussion of low quality spaces in fragmented cities sets an example about how temporary urbanization can present itself as a solution to problems and short comings that are found in many contemporary urban contexts. This is in fact a reflection of the argument that the challenges

attributed to fragmented cities can play an immensely important role in orientating the contemporary urban development policies towards the notions of temporary urbanization.

The discussion strives to investigate how the low-quality urban spaces of fragmented cities generate temporary urbanization practices (which in turn can involve the implementation of temporary architectural solutions that empower people over their context).

1.1. Fragmented cities

In contemporary times, several cities suffer from a clear fragmentation in the integrity of their urban fabric.

This fragmentation is synonymous to the exclusion of various kinds of spaces from the urban development programs and masterplans. Such spaces include abandoned industrial zones (brownfields), marchlands (Figure1), former traffic nodes (such as railways and harbours), etc. With the passage of time, such spaces become redundant and low quality parts of the cities.

Spaces become detached from the overall urban fabric of contemporary cities for a variety of reasons which extend on many levels (economic, cultural, social, national, etc.). Such reasons include:

- war time destruction ,

- destruction caused by natural and man-made catastrophes (earthquake, fire, etc.),

- change of political system,

- socio- cultural and economic changes on the public as well as the individual levels (Such as the transformation of agricultural communities into industrial communities),

- economic crises (lack of financial capabilities to sustain developments projects),

- change of technologies and modes of production (de-industrialization, modernization of infrastructure, etc.),

- loss of population,

- political decisions related to new land use patterns,

- defects in urban land use planning,

- etc.

In the context of this discussion, the fragmentation of many contemporary cities (especially central European ones) can be widely attributed to the Second World War. In fact, it is customary to refer to the post-second World War urban spaces (urban contexts) as fragmented. In such spaces, entirely divergent functions and modes of use emerge beside each other while drawing a peculiar case of informality.

The following discussions concerning the types of spaces common in fragmented cities aim to shed light on the whole matter.

Residual spaces

Residual spaces refer to the areas which are left over after a process of social, cultural or economic transformation on the governmental, public or individual levels [1]

The reasons behind these transformations are countless. Examples include economic crisis or social transformations of agricultural communities into industrial communities.

In contemporary urban contexts, lots of spaces have become derelict (neglected by the users, owners or government) or frozen between long-term uses. The term 'frozen' describes a certain situation in which the urban spaces have no contemporary use because they are waiting for a future development plan (that might not even be devised yet). Other spaces are vacant because the buildings on them are demolished to make way for futuristic developments.

For example, according to the British Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE); abandoned industrial or commercial sites (brownfields) in England summoned up to about 62,000 hectares in 2006, with just over half of that classed as derelict or vacant (: //www.cabe.org.uk/files/land-in-limbo.pdf) (accessed 15/5/2012).

The use of the term 'vacant' is appropriate in relation to the subject of residual spaces. The term indicates that the spaces have no contemporary functions. Nevertheless, residual spaces can have a function (use) at the present time. They could have had a function in the past. It might be also planned that the residual spaces will have a function in the future. Residual spaces might also be raw (left in their natural/ original status).

Other residual spaces become wastelands. Wastelands are degraded lands which lose their potentials due to neglect. For example, an agricultural land that is left unattended becomes infertile (barren)[2].

Residual spaces are encouraged to be viewed as a wasted opportunity. Optimally, temporary urbanization aims to exploit residual spaces in an environmentally friendly way whilst yielding economic revenue and at the same time creating new socio-cultural dimensions.

Figure 1 Abandoned marchlands can develop spontaneous (unplanned) functions. They commonly become dumpsters. Such spaces are a prime candidate temporary exploitation (: //www.geograph. org.uk).

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[1] Carmona et al, 2010, P.11

[2] Wall et al, 2010, P.35

Indeterminate spaces

In urban communities, especially cities, some social groups are excluded from the regular and identified norms of living (such as housing, working, etc).

Whatever the reason of the exclusion is, this phenomenon has its spatial manifestations. The excluded (dropout) groups occupy excluded spaces where they can deviate away from the norms.

Not falling under the planning authorities' jurisdictions, these excluded spaces are often referred to and known as spaces of 'indeterminacy'. These spaces have no assigned functions but many informal uses which are usually unofficial and illegal. They are mostly occupied by marginalized groups.

Indeterminate spaces can be vacant (with no function at the present time). They might also have a function (use) at the present time although such functions are commonly informal or illegal. Some residual spaces had a function in the past. Others plan to have a function in the future. Indeterminate spaces might also be raw (left in their natural/ original status).

Indeterminate spaces could be a space under a bridge, a 'gap' between two tower blocks or simply a street corner. They might be large or small spaces.

Indeterminate spaces usually have unclear ownership rights and problematic physical characteristics (difficulty of access, irregularity of shape, etc). This renders them into difficult 'heterotopias' to utilize through the common norms of architecture and urban planning.

Philosophically speaking, 'heterotopias' is a concept elaborated by the scholar Michel Foucault to describe spaces that function outside the regular norms of architectural and urban planning.

The term can be used to describe spaces that contain undesirable, marginalized or outcast entities in order to make a real utopian space possible and recognizable. In such a case, heterotopias are the contradiction of the urbanization based on norms and rules[3].

Indeterminate spaces are the negative reflection of planned urbanization. Indeterminate spaces may be identified as a by-product of the subdivision of urban fabrics, executed in accordance to modern planning practices. This could consequently create 'edge spaces' also known as 'gaps' or 'interstitial urban places'[4].

The trial to quantify indeterminate spaces is a tiresome process because of the inherent heterogeneity of these spaces. Their location, physical characteristics, use and users can be identified. However, a solid definition of such spaces seems unachievable. Indeterminate spaces are difficult to map as they undergo constant changes, making them unreadable or chartable on maps. Indeterminate spaces maintain a particular kind of relationship with their urban context. A positive way of thinking is to consider that relation symbiotic and not parasitic. This encourages the strategies of rehabilitating the indeterminate spaces instead of erasing them from the urban fabric (spatial rehabilitation instead of urban regeneration) [5].

Indeterminate spaces can be void of activities at certain times of the day while thriving at other times. When indeterminate spaces are 'alive', there is the argument that they are usually filled with activity and full of memories. However, there is also the counter-argument that this is true only for the users of the indeterminate spaces. Rem Koolhaas uses the adjective 'dead' to describe spaces when they are void of activities. Accordingly, temporality (change between the dead and alive status) is a key aspect of such spaces[6].

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[3] Dephaene et al, 2008
[4] Vyzoviti, 2005
[5] Foucault, 1997, P.352
[6] Koolhas and Mau, 1995

It could be argued that the lifetime of indeterminate spaces is limited. In other words, they are in a continuous transient condition between existence and non existence. It is common for indeterminate spaces to disappear with time whilst others are being formed.

This phenomenon of appearance/disappearance is the very essence of the temporality of indeterminate spaces. They are hard to pin down because they keep on changing and evolving. But this change or evolution makes the indeterminate spaces prime candidates for temporary exploitation.

The heterogeneous nature of indeterminate spaces induces various sorts of naming. They can be called 'free spaces', as they do not abide to the norms and they encourage a limitations-free identity. In his book, 'The Language of Space', Brian Lawson argues that "Indeterminacy is freedom". Lawson comments that the users of indeterminate spaces usually have a more direct relationship with the space than the dominant cultures inhabiting the norms-abiding zones[7].

There is this positive notion that indeterminate spaces are alive, filled with activity and full of memories. However, it is also arguable whether this is a general notion or not especially for the users of these spaces.

In an increasingly controlled world, indeterminate spaces are spaces for the excluded and the marginalized. If indeterminate spaces are accepted as an inevitable part of the urban legacy, then the key questions would revolve around the nature of the acceptable reuse of such spaces.

Fragmented city spaces and architecture of the people

In his book language of spaces, Brian Lawson is continuously arguing that architects use buildings to manipulate perception[8] . Accordingly, in forming the built environment, architects are placed in a position of considerable power and omnipotence in some extents where the architect is the only decision maker. In this scenario, architecture cannot escape the setting of relationships and rules or the power implications produced by such a position.

If the human behavior is accepted itself to be indeterminate, then architectural solutions can afford to become independent and can strive to achieve their own goals and settings. This induces questions about how much power is latent within the architectural solution. It thus follows that architects have limited control since the formation of the built environment becomes dependent on others like clients or individual and institutional entities for example.

Post disaster housing schemes are full of examples that illustrate what happens when users are not too keen about the architecture they inhabit, when bureaucracy is distracted by larger projects and when ownership is questionable.

"If there is to be a 'new urbanism' it will not be based on the twin fantastic of order and omnipotence; it will be the staging of uncertainty"[9] .

Accordingly, indeterminacy of spaces is not a nuisance, which can be overcome through the applications of rigid rules. Indeterminate spaces can present themselves as prime candidates for creative reuse. Such spaces lose their indeterminacy at their moment of use and become an integral part of the urban fabric. According to Rem Koolhaas: *"....it is a tragedy that planners only plan and architects only design more architecture. ....Only through a revolutionary process of erasure and establishment of 'liberty zones', conceptual Nevadas where all laws of architecture are suspended, will some of the inherent tortures of urban life - friction between program and containment - be suspended."* [10]

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[7] Lawson, 2001

[8] ibid

[9] Koolhas and Mau, 1995, P.962

[10] ibid

From one point of view, temporary urbanization can constitute a successful remedy to the problems of fragmented cities with the possibility of offering solutions that give people more control over their built environment.

In the contemporary world, it is quite arguable that the ideas and values of dominant (hegemonic) social groups establish a wide dominance on the development strategies of urban space. Hegemonic groups have similar economic conditions as well as similar ethic, legal and aesthetic understandings.

In contrast to these hegemonic groups, marginalized and subordinate groups are in a continuous transformation and have diverse social structures and interests. In indeterminate spaces, marginalized and subordinate groups are given the liberty to establish their social relations and practice their own popular culture in opposition to the prevalent cultural orientations of the whole society. People interpret and modify indeterminate spaces in their everyday lives. Marginalized and subordinate groups find the opportunity in indeterminate spaces to spread their tastes, values and ideologies.

This relates to the very particular phenomenon of 'popular culture'. This phenomenon commonly manifests itself clearly in indeterminate spaces and can take many forms. In most of the cases, people act with the motivation of improving their life quality (housing, businesses, etc.). Economic, socio-cultural and political issues urge people to find ways of rephrasing the indeterminate spaces in way that reflects their own identity and culture (and hence the concept of 'popular culture').

For instance, it is quite common that shanty towns (informal houses) and informal commercial activities develop in indeterminate spaces. The fact that the living practices are informal does not negate the fact that people commonly engage in a deliberate trial to project their sense of identity and culture on the indeterminate spaces. For instance, some people decorate the windows of their houses or shops. Others paint and draw on walls using heterogonous colours and materials in the process of clearly 'marking territory'. Similarly, street vendors and shop owners search for new ways to be recognized. Frequently, they tend to use the spaces around their shops as well as parts of the adjacent pavement.

From all of this discussion, the paper is sustaining the argument that the concept of popular culture represents an integral part of the essence of indeterminate spaces.

Figure 2 The use of heterogeneous materials and colours in shanty towns in search for the sense of identity (: //www.aszozo.com/files/designshare/from-a-lost-city-by-6.jpg).

Figure 3 The development of informal commercial activities mixed with popular culture in indeterminate spaces (: //www.az.itu.edu.tr/downloads/papers/vol03-12/pdf/08dener-03n1 2.pdf).

In order to shed more light on the relationship between spaces for temporary urbanization and architecture of the people, city edges are considered. City edges are spaces of no formal settings located at the outskirts of populated areas. City edges are commonly characterized by standing midway between rural and civic contexts as they often contain basic infrastructural facilities (street networks, electricity, water supply, etc) yet in a rudimentary form. In order to exploit city edges and protect them from turning into media of crime and informal settlements that pose heavy weighs on the built (as well as the social) contexts, temporary urbanization practices can prove to be successful. This is evident when City edges are used to incubate new temporary settlements after a disaster. This is particular for dense urban contexts where the limitation in the available space decreases the possibility of the construction of new settlements within the boundaries of cities.

In this case, the temporary settlement makes advantage of the hesitant nature of landscapes located at the city edges. In other words, because city edged don't have a dominant character, they are easily receptive to new settlements. The development of houses settlements on the edges of cities after a disaster resembles suburban growth in normal situations and thus appears to be a normal extension of the city. Temporary settlements can integrate successfully with the transient nature of the landscapes located at city edges. Landscape components of houses can themselves be temporary and have a low impact on the surrounding context.

Temporary urbanization can also offer local communities a role in the development of the urban context. This, typically speaking, is a desirable target which can be achieved through encouraging the public involvement in the decision-making, implementation and usage phases relating to the implemented temporary use.

In this realm, an interesting example is the temporary urbanization initiative conducted in the city of Belo Horizonte at the southeast of Brazil in 2005. The details of the initiative are available on the official internet website of the 'holcim foundation' (a Non Governmental Organization working in the field of sustainable developments) (: //www.holcimfoundation.org/ Portals/1/docs/F07/WK-Inf/F07-WK-Inf-ganz02.pdf).

The city of Belo Horizonte was founded in 1897. In 2005, the population of the city was estimated be around 2.400.000 inhabitants with 700.000 private properties, of which 10% (70.000) are empty lots (without uses or future plans that are approved by the city municipality). As a response to this

large number of empty lots, a temporary urbanization initiative was developed in order to clarify how the temporary uses of empty lots can turn them in integral high quality places.

The implemented temporary urbanization initiative was based on the time-limited exploitation of empty privately owned lots. The main objective is to turn these empty lots into communal spaces of quality. The design initiative harnesses the notion that empty lots are potential places for urban breathing. The empty lots of Belo Horizonte manifested positive qualities such as presence of vegetation, less exposition to vehicular noise, proximity to neighbors, accessibility and infiltration in the urban tissue.

The project was conducted by a collective team of artists and architects. The team scanned the city in search for empty lots and then negotiated the time-limited lease of the lots with their owners. The empty lots ranged from green areas to sites of demolished or abandoned buildings. In the dense downtown of the city, the empty lots were found to be used as parking lots. In peripheral areas, the empty lots were used by the neighbors for cultivation.

The team devised various programs of temporary urbanization (Figure 4). This was achieved while taking into consideration the relationship with the local urban context and with the local population. This catalyzed the whole process of public participation as the locals became involved in many different ways.

Some of the temporary urbanization practices involved cultivation as well and organizing social activities. The community became active in settling the earth for planting as well as in preparing barbecues and swimming pool day. Other spaces were turned into sitting areas. Some of these spaces had their topography remade creating undulations with the earth in order to offer the locals a space to lie down, read and watch the panoramic view. The seating areas were created by simply extending plastic mattresses over the earth. Moreover, a lunch for the community was organized. The locals participated in preparing the food and creating the area for dining. A 22 meters long dining table was assembled for the occasion. This had a very strong effect on the locals because after that they decided to use the lot for other communitarian parties.

Figure 4 The different activities taking place through the temporary urbanization inititaive
(://www. holcimfoundation.org/ Portals/ 1/ docs/F07/WK-Inf/F07-WK-Inf-ganz02.pdf).

Discussions

From the discussion of the various kinds of redundant (low quality) urban spaces in fragmented cities, it is deducible that these spaces constitute a problem. Some of these redundant spaces commonly transform into wastelands (degraded lands) which lose their potentials due to neglect. For example, an agricultural land that is left unattended becomes infertile (barren). Besides, redundant spaces are usually associated with unplanned (spontaneous) functions. For instance, redundant spaces commonly evolve into dumpsters or develop informal or illegal activities. Moreover, these spaces can become a breeding-ground for social initiatives outside the usual urban programs. Marginalized and subordinate (poor, homeless, etc.) sectors of societies find a hospitable environment in such spaces that are forgotten by the urban development programs.

In coherence to this whole discussion, redundant urban spaces commonly present themselves as development opportunities. This is because such spaces are commonly characterized by their low real estate values (selling price) as well as high potential land rents (expected rental value). This combination of low real estate values with high potential land rents is argued to have turned the redundant spaces into important candidates of permanent urban development. For instance, redundant spaces near waterfronts attract investments and encourage new permanent housing and commercial exploitations.

There are though exceptions; some areas remain derelict, frozen or indeterminate for years. Implementing permanent urban developments in these redundant spaces is often economically and/or politically difficult. There are numerous reasons for why such fragmented spaces are excluded from urban development programs and masterplans for long periods of time. One reason is the weak demand in the local estate market. Similarly, the delay in political decision making and planning processes constitutes an influential reason for the exclusion of these low quality spaces from urban development programs. Other reasons include unclear ownership and exceptionally high construction costs (typically caused by soil contamination and massive old infrastructures).

Under such conditions, these areas constitute potential spaces for temporary urbanization since no permanent uses are assigned to them through masterplans or urban development programs. Through temporary urbanization, the redundant spaces of fragmented cities can foster extremely dynamic and mixed uses (including art, culture, education, leisure, sports, residences, production, commerce, etc.) and attract heterogeneous user groups (locals, companies, migrants, marginalized groups, associations, etc.). Temporary urbanization can also present itself as a nucleus for new permanent development programs in redundant spaces (given that such permanent development programs are needed). Optimally, temporary urbanization aims to use the redundant spaces in an environmentally friendly way while elevating the quality of the whole urban context.

In the context of discussing the temporary urbanization of redundant urban spaces, indeterminate spaces manifest a certain particularity. Indeterminate spaces are characterized by an unclear relationship with the urban fabric. A positive way of thinking is to consider this relationship to be symbiotic and not parasitic. Symbiotic relationships are based on the exchange of benefits between entities while parasitic relationships are based on one entity consuming the resources of another one without return. Considering indeterminate spaces to be in a symbiotic relationship with the city encourages the strategies of developing these indeterminate spaces in order to generate benefits from them for the whole city. Otherwise, the option would be erasing the indeterminate spaces from the urban fabric of the city. In reference to this discussion, the paper sustains the argument that the development of indeterminate spaces ideally takes into consideration the essence of popular culture that is commonly identifiable in indeterminate spaces. This is because indeterminate spaces manifest themselves as places where people have the opportunity to practice the freedom of expression on an architectural level.

Reflections and highlights

In order to elaborate on the use of temporary spaces as a tool of empowering public dominance; the evolution of the temporary houses into permanent ones is discussed. is Temporary houses in their various forms are a common architectural exhibits in spaces for temporary urbanization. Redundant and neglected urban spaces are a prime candidate for temporary settlements used for emergency relief, Temporary houses come in this equation as the intermediate tool for providing housing and shelter before the provision of a permanent housing solution.

The factors governing the evolution of temporary houses into permanent ones can help reveal might help people shift from temporality to permanency (which is a basic human need). This, in the writer's view, constitutes a clear way of depicting how redundant and low quality spaces can drive their users to search for a better quality of life. This kind of transformation sheds light on the role of spaces for temporary urbanization in empowering people's dominance over their built environment.

Different factors intervene to control to influence the evolution of temporary houses into permanent ones and hence the process of empowering people of their built environment. Following is a critical review of a number of such factors. This study is intended to set guidelines for the successful transition of temporary houses into permanent ones; the thing which can result in better coordination and understanding between the parties of the decision making process (the public, architects and the government) while aiming for coherent and non-intrusive architectural solutions.

Enforcement of legislations and laws

Portable homes units (a common guest in of for temporary urbanization) were till recently seen as a less expensive option to apartments or site-built houses. However, new owners often discover that their homes depreciated rapidly. This made it far more difficult to think of them as a successful investment or to use them as a traditional home could be used. Moreover, the loan terms of portable homes were usually limited to far less periods of time typical to the general market of permanent houses. In addition, interest rates were markedly higher.

These issues, combined, actually made mobile home similar to vehicles in terms of loans, home mortgages and taxes. For a long time, portable homes were taxed as vehicles instead of real property. Accordingly, owners paid very low property tax rates. In response to that, various local governments decided to reclassify portable houses as real property in order that portable homeowners would pay their share of housing taxes.

The implementation of restrictive taxes regulations (treatment of portable houses as permanent ones) as well as the application of zoning regulations can contribute to the significant evolvement of portable houses into today's manufactured homes Manufactured homes are those which are assembled in a factory and are transported to the site. In other words, the portability of the houses was not intended mainly to allow the houses to be change location from one place to the other. The house portability changed to become a means of transportation of the house form the factory to its new permanent location. Newer manufactured homes meet much higher standards than their predecessors. They meet required building codes, leading to a reduction in the traditional depreciation.

With respect to safety precautions, portable homes that are turned into manufactured permanent units are legally obliged to be rehabilitated to meet contemporary safety standards. Measures applied include the installation of a proper smoke detector. Also of importance is the protection of walls, floors and ceilings against fire risks (through applying fire retardant and resistant materials). The provision of an exterior door or window for the various spaces inside the unit is also considered vital in the case of fire. In addition, electrical and gas systems need to be tested and modified, if necessary, to meet current safety codes

With regards to land owner ship, manufactured home parks (where portable houses used to park whilst being on the move between different locations) are fading into history. This is caused by more restrictive zoning over the years. More parks have come to resemble traditional subdivisions. More homes are owned, rather than rented. New manufactured houses are built from materials similar to site-built homes – which they even resemble in size and structure. Enterprising manufacturers have added luxurious amenities. The contemporary manufactured home buyer has quite an appealing choice to pick from. Contemporary prototypes meet plenty of features. Combined with the growing acceptance in the marketplace, manufactured housing is becoming a worthwhile investment.

Restrictive zoning regulations and taxes resulted into the evolution of the portable house into the manufactured house which is mainly intended to be permanent on its site.

Qualitative aspects of temporary house units

Another important factor affecting the evolution of temporary house into permanent residences is the quality of such houses. Qualitative aspects are diverse and related to different variables like the physical characteristics of the houses and their location with respect amidst many other variables.

In general, qualitative aspects of the houses (that would be turned into permanent residence) target the optimization of the following aspects:

- Physical characteristics of the new settlement (temperature degree of the air, topography, wind speed, altitude, relative humidity….etc)

- Location with respect to vital services like education, health and work

- Distance between the new settlements and the old destructed settlements

- Ease of accessibility of the temporary houses settlement

- Vulnerability to futuristic disasters (ex. hurricane zone, flood area, volcanic nature)

- Social, educational, cultural and financial standards of the occupants of the settlement

- Physical qualities of houses (ex. areas, orientation with respect to climate, temperature degree inside the house, humidity level inside the house)

- Psychological conditions inside the houses(ex. degree of privacy, noise level)

- Exterior and interior aesthetics of the house (ex. finishing materials, proportions)

- Compatibility with the life style of occupants (ex. the need of additional or special spaces)

- Ability of prototype designs to adapt to families with extended numbers of individuals

Impact on the image of the city

The decisions concerning the type and location of temporary houses can change the physical structure of the city and accordingly its image.

The impact of the new settlement on the image of the city has to be considered with respect to the changes that would occur to the existent built mass of the city. This includes the study of a multiplicity of the characteristics of the built mass which include: the increase in the built mass width, skyline (profile), proportions of the built mass, the arrangement (order) of buildings, proportions of solid to void (wall to hatches) and the materials and texture used.

	Skyline (profile)
	The increase in the built mass width
	Proportions of the built mass
→	The arrangement (order) of buildings
	Proportions of solid to void (wall to hatches)
	materials and texture used.

Figure 5 Developed by the writer *Clustering of units*

From one point of view, the evolution of temporary houses into permanent residences has a serious relation with design considerations of clustering the units. For instance, in the habitat project (which was not intended to be houses units) , architect Moshe Safadie pursued a cellular concrete building system that allowed more informal private layouts at higher densities The stacking of the blocks in this fashion makes the complex something of a mega structure that strives for intimacy. (://www.thecityreview.com/arcnow.html).

The blocks being made of prefabricated concrete partitions hold resemblance to the construction techniques of houses from the prefabrication and standardization point of view. Moreover, the stacking of the units like (an Italian hill town) gives way to successful environmental control approaches. The shadows thrown by the units on each other help to decrease the thermal gain if the cluster is sited in hot areas. In addition, the voids made into the building structure increase aeration and again reduce the thermal gain. No doubt that the clustering of the units in such a manner demanded high financial supply, time and effort. Hence, the decision to apply such various considerations on the layout of houses is a question of balancing the factors of time, money and effort with respect to the decision of making the clustering permanent.

Figure 6 "Habitat" housing complex at the Montreal Expo, 1967, by Moshe Safdie
(://www.thecityreview. com/arcnow.html)

Economic conditions

Another factor that contributes to the decision of turning the temporary houses cluster into a permanent one is the economic conditions of the areas that people use of resettlement after the disaster. The movement of the people in and out of the villages in Indonesia right after the tsunami disaster is due to economic condition in the area. For instance, in the resettled area of Datar Luas (Krueng Sabee Sub-District), the increase in population is due to favorable economic condition. In other words, people from Patek, Woyla and Pearibu villages come to re-settle in this particular area due its favourable economic conditions. People moving to the new areas were urged to design and build their houses not as temporary houses but as new permanent houses on new lands (www.sciencedirect.com).

.However, the subject holds more complications. For instance, the average food stock (particularly rice) for the families in areas not destroyed by tsunami was almost half of those who live in tsunami-affected areas. The big difference between tsunami-destroyed and non-tsunami destroyed areas was primarily due to the food aid distribution. In addition, the price of rice showed more stability in totally-destroyed areas compared to non-destroyed areas. The stability of the price of rice n the tsunami affected areas can also be attributed to the supply of rice provided by different organizations. This surely convinced more people to return back to their homes and leave the houses they have built in the new areas as permanent ones. Even if the new constructed houses were of low cost and could be dismantled, the problem of changing place and the sense of identity adds to the difficulty of the problem.

Accordingly, the decision to resettle and build a permanent house in a new area after a disaster (due to its economic prospects) has to be considered against the repairs and reforms that would be applied to the areas abandoned after being affected by the disaster. Otherwise, the result would be lost effort, finances and time used to reconstruct a new society that will be shortly abandoned itself.

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Re-Explorıng Late Ottoman Buıldıngs in Today's Istanbul

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The late-Ottoman early Republican period had delineated a unique, heterogeneous stage in the course of Istanbul's transformation into a modern city. The city at the turn of the 19th century exhibited a setting shaped under influence of various factors related to political, ideological, historical, cultural and social issues. The active and long settlement history and the imperial heritage the city housed, the urban texture, cosmopolitan social structure, metropolitan growth, westernization, nationalism, demands of the contemporary city life, the modern codes getting integrated with the existent local were among them.

The city had absorbed and reflected a heritage of multiple identities, cultural traces, urban and architectural features coming from the long history of settlements in the region. The dissolving power of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, growing dominance of the European capital in economy, demand for reforms and a new regime were all parts of the setting. Almost throughout its whole history, Istanbul has housed citizens of different origins -a population composed of Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Europeans, Levantines, Persians and Arabs- keeping the city culturally and economically related to the outer world, mostly to the European culture, and therefore reserved a potential for variety and continuous change in means of socio-cultural life and physical environment [1]. Groups of different ethnicity, religion, nationality forming the population did not display regular correspondence with the social structure in means of distribution of wealth and social status however these groups commonly preferred to settle in certain districts of the city. Istanbul has always been a harbor city within a trade network, having ties with other continents and cities. The urban development in Istanbul, reforms and efforts implemented in this area, resulted in population growth (between 1840-1900), new distribution patterns and physical growth of the city. Influence of westernization in social life and physical environment that had emerged in the 18th century became more distinct. Reforms of 1839 and 1908 had been important moves and the 19th century is accepted to define a border. Besides westernization, Turkish nationalism was another current issue. The wars and loss of land, the weakening political status of the empire evoked rising of nationalism, and nostalgia for the glorious past.

In this context, building the contemporary architecture in Istanbul had gone through various routes and styles. There had been conscious, canonical approaches as well as more spontaneous developments. Starting from the late 19th century, architecture produced, covered a wide range of styles including revivalist, eclectic, oriental, Seldjuk, Ottoman-Turkish features, vernacular and classical references, and a rational, functional architecture rooted in western modernism. It included works of numerous architects with varying backgrounds and tendencies, however their work may be considered on the common basis of search for a modern / contemporary and contextual architecture in harmony with the demands of the period.

Western influence, reforms, and Islamic ideals were all experienced together in the late 19th century Ottoman world. Foreigners and minority groups of the community, held dominant roles in economical and cultural activities including architecture. Architecture was mostly produced by foreign professionals invited to the country, and locals of different origins, some of whom were not architects but master builders. In the schools of architecture, mostly foreign tutors taught. 19th

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[1] Tanyeli 2004, p:13

century was not the first time traces of European styles and eclectic mixes were seen in the architecture of Ottoman Istanbul, they went back as far as the 17th and 18th centuries. In this period besides traditional architecture they were also seen in buildings holding new functions as the output of social and economical life, as the requirements of a modernizing society. New functions and new technologies were brought together with the western styles[2]. Architecture of districts shaped in this period, displayed new materials and technologies together with features of revivalist, eclectic, oriental, and Art Nouveau styles. Specific buildings constructed between 1890-1910 by certain architects reflected a common attitude in architecture. These architects among whom Jasmund, Cuna & Ritter, Vallauri, D'Aronco are reckoned, shared common features in their lives and practice. They had European origins and were trained in Europe, therefore they were used to the design traditions of Beaux Arts and neo-classicist and eclectic understanding in architecture. In their designs for Istanbul, they combined these with the local, architectural motifs, integrating Ottoman / Islamic references and formed an eclectic, oriental style. They had made interpretations of the local and traditional cultural context in their own way and the common theme in their work had been 'concern for local identity'.

Meanwhile, a nationalistic approach, a form of 'Ottoman Revivalism' (Bozdogan) often called the 'First National Style', exposed itself in the work of especially two leading architects; Kemaleddin and Vedat Tek. Kemalettin, during his education, had been a student of Jasmund and Vedat Tek was trained in the Beaux Arts school of Paris. They had numerous followers. Between 1910s and 1930s, the style created buildings combining traditional Ottoman-Turkish architectural features with principles of classicism particularly in facade compositions. The preceding period of pluralism in architecture, hybrid, eclectic compositions of western styles had caused discomfort and fear of corruption and therefore 'a national contemporary architecture' became the new aim. It was a period that included the foundation years of a new nation-state out of a disintegrating Empire, war and struggle years.[3]

Republican Turkey was established in 1923 and Ankara became the new capital the following year. To emphasize the continuity of the nation, and evoke the power and the glory of the past, was important. In such a context, the style had born. Forms and elements from the Ottoman and Seldjuk heritage were researched and combined with the classical orders and contemporary techniques. The First National Style had its applications in almost all cities of Republican Turkey. With official support, the style was collectively used in public administrative and service buildings and also in some of the residential buildings. The intention was "to reflect nationalistic senses" through 'classical Ottoman' elements[4]. Although often criticized for the contrary, the style is considered to have caused modernizing influence on Turkish architecture[5]. Later in the Republican period, it was abandoned in favor of a western-oriented 'modern' architecture. A rational, functional architecture open to international modernism superseded the former, in parallel to the newly established culture policies.

In both approaches; in the architecture of 'the First National Style' and the preceding architecture of 1890s produced by the foreign architects, architectural and decorative elements derived from the repertoire of the past, had been utilized. Besides housing, in public buildings with modern functions, contemporary techniques and materials were used together with implications and reinterpretations of the past styles. Certain architects' work and specific districts in the city had been prominent in means of revealing these architectural approaches and the contemporary public life modes of late-Ottoman Istanbul.

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[2] Celik 1998, p:101
[3] Bozdogan 2002, p: 22
[4] Aslanoglu 2001, p: 31
[5] Yildirim 2009, p:89

In this study, selected buildings constructed within a duration of thirty years (1890s-1920s) in Istanbul, that reflected the architectural and urban developments of their period, will be explored within two time frames: the first one belongs to when they were originally built, and the second belongs today. These buildings, namely Sirkeci (1890) and Haydarpaşa (1909) train stations, Casa Botter (1900), Cite de Pera (1876), Cercle d'Orient (1884), Majik Cinema, Public Debts Building (1897), Ottoman Bank Headquarters (1892), 4th Vakif Han (1911-26), Central Post Office (1909), Liman Han (1912), when they were built, held significance in terms of function, form/style, construction technology and urban features, represented leading architects' work and specific architectural approaches, and marked strategic locations in the city. Among them, Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa train stations, Casa Botter, Cite de Pera, Cercle d'Orient, Majik Cinema, Public Debts Building, Ottoman Bank Headquarters, had been designed by foreign architects as an output of the 'late-Ottoman' Istanbul life, while the 4thVakif Han, Central Post Office, Liman Han are considered as examples for architecture of the Turkish nationalistic approach efficient in early decades of the 20th century.

Today, almost a century had passed since these buildings were constructed and they have gone through a series of changes. A re-exploration of these buildings in their latest condition, as expressed by their physical change, functional use, status within latest physical and social context and projects in progress concerning their future, seems essential. Each building subject to this study, will be investigated within its original setting and with its recent properties. Exploration of the building's first phase will be based on related sources by architectural historians, while for the second phase, visual observations and media arguments will be used.

Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa Train Stations

The two main train stations of the Ottoman capital, were built in 1890 and 1909, following the construction of railway routes that connected the city to Europe and Anatolia. Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa terminals are located on the European and Asian sides of the Bosphorus, both near the shore. Sirkeci stood at the intersection of other transportation routes, provided easy access to tram and boat spots, while Haydarpasa stood on a small peninsula with a ferry terminal in front of it, a Vedat Tek design, built in 1917-18.

Sirkeci Station on the European side, a steel constructed building housing modern installation systems e.g. gas lighting and heating, was originally opened as 'the terminus of the Orient Express'. Its architecture reflected the duality of the local and western values that had by that time been a characteristic of Istanbul. The designer was August Jasmund, a German architect. Through his design, he had combined the Beaux-Arts design principles and a new version of "local" Islamic tradition, that actually included a mixture of elements from different sources, Islamic, Mughal, Andalucian, Gothic, Ottoman.[6] These decorative elements had symbolized the style of "the Orient" as a whole to the designer. On the longitudinal facades, elements -high arches of varying shapes, rose windows, gothic lines, eight cornered stars, walls composed of bricks and stone- covered an image dictionary from Ottoman, Arab, Indian to Far East motifs, North African origins. Despite of the Orientalism, the building reflects the classical design principles like order, symmetry, axiality, clarity. The roof element marking the entrance, creating a central, dominant, gathering effect within the linearity of the railway building, is a lead covered monumental vault that stands for a dome, recreating the image of a mosque together with the identical towers on the sides. Jasmund probably had two aims: creating an appropriate symbol for the final destination of the Orient express and conforming to the classical Ottoman image of the city. The result was a contribution to the architectural pluralism of Istanbul.[7]

Haydarpaşa Terminal on the Asian side, was built as a gift from the German Empire, as a part of the economical and military collaboration with the Ottoman Empire. A spectacular, imposing neoclassical style and an eclectic mixture of styles and motifs had been used by the German

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[6] Celik 1998, p:116
[7] Celik 1998, p:116 and 83

designers Cuna and Ritter. The building as a whole resembled a massive castle. The main facade overlooking the sea, is divided horizontally into three sections. The gables and corner towers with conical roofs are clear impressions of 19th century western architecture.

Through their architecture, these buildings conveyed messages about the image of the city: Sirkeci, on the European side, would welcome the travelers coming from Europe, introducing an "eastern" atmosphere, while Haydarpasa on the Asian side, would reflect and show the European face of the city to the travelers coming from Asia.[8]

These two buildings were efficient transportation buildings significant in urban scale, besides being historic, cultural landmarks. Recently, due to decisions taken by the municipal council and the government, they are subject to change. At the end of 2009, a development project for a land of about one million sqm. including Haydarpasa and surroundings had been approved; a 'world trade center' project for Istanbul. The tender date would be 2010 and the complex would include hotel, office, congress, residence, marina and retail facilities, with the terminal marked as an area of tourism, culture and accomodation. Before action was taken on progress of the project which still continues to evoke opposition, on November 28, 2010 Haydarpasa was severely damaged by a fire, and stopped functioning as a railroad station.

The fire destroyed the roof and most of the upper levels of the building, that were repaired temporarily to protect the interior from winter conditions. In November 2011, another stage of the project was approved[9].

Sirkeci Station since November 2011, awaits an extensive 2-3 year lasting restoration project following the presentation to the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board for approval. Beginning from February 2011, train tours are being decreased gradually[10].

Casa Botter

By the 19th century, there had been a remarkable contrast between the two sides of 'the Golden Horn' of Istanbul. Pera and Galata regions had become important centers of modern life. Pera housed the embassy buildings and most of the European, Levantine population of the city. Life was cosmopolitan and westernized there. The district had developed into a center of social, cultural activity, entertainment and retail functions. Rows of richly ornamented facades in neoclassical and Art Nouveau styles first appeared on 'Grande Rue de Pera', the cultural and commercial axis of Pera. Art Nouveau, as a new western style, was reflected especially on surface decorations, window details and iron railings of Pera buildings. Istanbul concurrent with the European cities became one of the major centers of Art Nouveau.

The most important and the oldest known Art Nouveau building of Istanbul is located on 'Grande Rue de Pera', today Istiklal Avenue of Beyoglu. Casa Botter (1900) is a distinguished work of the Italian architect Raimondo D'Aronco. It had been built as a large family house, a workshop and retail space at low level, for Jean Botter, the Dutch chief tailor of the palace. It stood for a new multifunctional residential type. A fashion house was built in the fashion style of the period[11]. The design of the seven storey building, with its narrow front facade, interior courtyard, elliptical stair hall, curved stairs and landings, was distinctive. With its medalions, fluoral plantlike motifs, mascarades, plasters, turrets, tendrils on balcony railings, its facade brought novelty to the facades of Pera. Arrangement of the facade reflects both classical and Art Nouveau understanding; neo-baroque forms are combined with floral motifs of the Vienna Sezession.

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[8] Celik 1998, p:116 and 83
[9] http://www.radikal.com.tr/ Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3 (accessed 8 June 2012)
[10] http://hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid...n=sirkeci-station... (accessed 8 June 2012)
[11] Batur 1994, p:313

The building for a while in 1960s, had housed bank offices when all its Art Nouveau interior decoration was lost. The upper floors were deserted long before the retail space on the ground level. It served as a music instrument shop until the beginning of 2000s. It is known that the building is owned by a large corporation and 2009 dated news is that, following renovation, it would be converted into a hotel[12]. No action had been taken for years until October 2012 when it was observed that the building had been closed to access due to renovation works.

Cite de Pera (1876) located on 'Grande Rue de Pera' / Istiklal Avenue, had been designed as a combination of shopping arcade, apartments, and offices by the Greek Ottoman architect Cleanthe Zannos. The owner was banker Hristaki Zografos.

The multifunctional complex with its arcade had set an Istanbulian example for the common building type of the 19th century European cities. In this period, numerous shopping arcades creating alternative circulation routes, had emerged in the Pera region. The L-shaped internal street of Cite de Pera, integrated into the multi-storey complex, connects the main avenue to secondary streets –Nevizade and Sahne streets- and ends with a vaulted glazed roof with a dome at the junction of the two wings. The internal four-storey facades of the arcade are decorated with pilasters, friezes, French windows and balconies. The ground floor housed a mezzanine with arched windows. Second Empire style is recognized on the building's main facade, defined by the projecting gables, bay-windows, curved corners and balconies[13].

At the end of 1970s, the building had collapsed out of neglect and was rebuilt in 1988. Following the restoration, the passage that used to house shops of various kinds together with pubs and winehouses, was reopened as a galleria of pubs and restaurants. Today it survives with the same function. The shop interiors and facades have lost some of their original architectural features. The gallery opening at roof level is covered with a simple, unembellished skylight. The upper floors that used to serve as residence and office space still preserve the same functions however they are not impressive places for wealthy users anymore. Inspite of the changes, Cite de Pera today, preserves its main spatial structure, integration with its surroundings, circulation routes, its significance and activeness as a public space.

Cercle d'Orient (1884) by Alexandre Vallauri, is a large building of masonry that used to house a new function when it was constructed; a social club whose members were Levantines and minorities.

Shops were located at the ground level above which a low level of rooms used from inside the passage and two upper floors housing the club rooms, took place. The building's wide front facade of 45 meter length, is composed of a central part emphasizing a passage entrance and five units on both sides, while the Yesilcam Street facade is divided into three units. The facades are arranged symmetrically and treated with eclectic decoration. The building is known to have survived two fires, the second in 1970s had destroyed the upper floors partially.[14]

Vallauri's building since 1930s, shares the same block with Melek and Isketinj apartments, Ipek (Opera between 1924-32, Ipek between 1932-55, later Ruya) and Emek movie theaters.

The upper floors of the building had been deserted for a long time, while the low levels including the arcade, housed shops, offices and the movie theater space. Among all buildings, Vallauri's Cercle d'Orient is listed as a historically significant 'group I' building and the others are considered as included in the secondary group. Emek Cinema –named 'Melek' when constructed in 1924- with its hall for 875, baroque and rococo ornamentations, is listed in DOCOMOMO (Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement) as an element of historical heritage in terms of its cultural, industrial, technological significance.

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[12] http://www.arkitera.com/h41978-saray-terzisinin-evi-hip-otel-olacak.html (accessed 6 June 2012)
[13] Celik 1998, p: 109
[14] Can1994, p: 409

In spite of all the preservation regulations, the whole building block was proclaimed to become subject to 'development' in 2006. Then in 2009, a preliminary project had been approved by the authorities in charge. The proposal included a shopping mall construction on the spot, with additional top and basement floors and moving the Emek Cinema to a high level in this complex.

This project was met with public opposition, especially regarding the demolition and displacement of the historic cinema space. Chamber of Architects brought the matter before court in 2010.[15]

Recently in September 2009, Emek and in May 2010, Ruya movie theaters were closed down. Only five of the shops including Inci Patisserie on Istiklal Avenue still functions. Today Cercle d'Orient complex as a whole, awaits its destiny, there are unpredictable aspects regarding its future. It seems Vallauri's building will be restored in order to serve as a large component of the planned complex.

Majik Cinema

Located on Siraselviler Avenue, in Beyoglu, the building had been designed as an early purpose-built movie theater by Giulio Mongeri and constructed in 1910s. Previously, films used to be shown either in private mansions or public places like beer houses, accompanied by other shows. Majik had been a special hall for 2 000 spectators, with its elaborate interior design, private lodges, orchestra pit, and installations. It was distinctive on Sıraselviler by its wide entrance facade, the only part of the building that had survived unchanged untill 2012.

 Majik in 1930s, had functioned as a movie theater under different names, and then in 70s and 80s housed the state theater untill 3-4 years ago.

Recently a property company applied for planning permission to build a multi-storey hotel and office block on the site occupied by the cinema and a music hall space no longer in use and carpark behind it. Plans for the new development were approved. It has been proclaimed that the planned high-density complex includes the cinema function. Today the building is under construction.

Public Debts Building / Duyun-u Umumiye (1899) in Eminonu region, by Alexandre Vallauri, was originally built as the headquarters of the European institution, formed to follow debts and control economical resources of the bankrupt Ottoman government. It used to function as a control center of the foreign capital[16], therefore this building is not only important with its architecture but also with its political and historical weight. It stands as a linear, massive edifice with its monumental entrance, spacious front and back yards. Vallauri's approach was creating a kind of neo-Ottoman style for this extensive building. He had used a combination of classicism and motifs taken from local architecture. Wide eaves, bay-windows, timber grills, window details are from residential Turkish architecture. Material use, high doors and window patterns repeat themes of the monumental Ottoman architecture. Corridors lit by skylights, glass blocks in the floor and the fanlights of the high doors reflect use of contemporary materials in his architecture. Vallauri had also designed a central dome with glazed coffers over the interior marble staircase, that contributed to the magnificence of the interior, however it is not seen from outside. The building is considered as one of the buildings that define the passage to the nationalistic style.[17]

During the early-Republican period in 1932, upon Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's demand, Istanbul Highschool had moved into the Public Debts Building. Today the building still houses the school. In 1984 an additional dormitory building, and in 1996 a new building for the newly opened primary school had been constructed within the complex borders. The building is preserved in good condition, except for today's problems of approach and access to a populated school located in a busy environment with heavy vehicle and pedestrian traffic.

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[15] http://www.mimarist.org/application/uploads/assets/files/emek_sinemasi.pdf (accessed 6 June 2012)
[16] Celik 1998, p:116
[17] Batur 1994, p:112

Imperial Ottoman Bank Headquarters (1892), at the commercial center Bankalar Avenue in Karakoy, is another office building designed by Vallauri. It used to house the most powerful bank of the period. It was supposed to be the first modern bank building in the district, and with its magnitude and architectural style, one of the most spectacular looking buildings in the city in 1890s. It is considered that duality of east and west was reflected on its architecture through style features. The facade looking towards Beyoğlu is neoclassical -a highly ornate neo-Renaissance facade- and the facade of the old city on Halic side, recalls Orientalism.

The building today is owned by Garanti Bank. Its renovation has recently been completed and since 2011 it houses SALT, a cultural institution funded by the bank. Exhibition and conference halls, offices, a library and archives for public use, take place in the building.

4th Vakif Han

The most distinguished one of a series of office buildings by Kemalettin, is the 4th Vakif Han (1911-26), a large, seven-storey office block located in the business district Sirkeci. The building had been constructed in steel skeleton system and the facades were covered with cut-stone. Shops had been designed at the ground and mezzanine levels, and offices, at the top floors. The facade with its coloured tiles, variety of windows -different form and arrangement for each floor- the ordering and proportioning lines and articulation, demonstrates the style's principles. Towers are emphasized at the corners, that end with domes at the top.[18] Corner domes besides finalizing the roof and marking the corners, accentuated the offices and they were being used as additional office space.

The building, following a period of neglect, had been restored between 2005-2009 and it is being used as a luxury hotel today. The shops at low levels still serve as retail space.

18 The building's exterior and facades are preserved in accordance with the original except for the roof, while the interior was changed and adapted according to the needs of the hotel.

Central Post Office Building

The Central Post Office Building (1909), a major work of Vedat Tek, is a massive building, its architecture featured with Ottoman architectural elements such as pointed arches, tiles, overhanging eaves mostly as decoration, together with western motifs like mouldings, pilasters with Corinthian capitals, in a classical symmetrical facade composition. A 15m high glazed central court introduces light to the interior. On both sides of the raised, arcaded main entrance, protruding, domed parts of the building serve as identical entrances to administrative spaces. Today the building still serves as the main post office building of Istanbul and houses a museum of post, telegraph and telephone.

Liman Han / Mesadet Han (1912) by Vedat Tek, is a five storey office building with reinforced concrete structure, located in Eminonu region. A row of shops with a mezzanine floor took place at the ground level, while office space associated with sea transportation used to be located in the upper floors. The main façade on Yalikosku Avenue bears style characteristics of the nationalistic architecture period. The arched entrance with ornamented, tiled columns on both sides is not placed symmetrically however it is emphasized above with the cylindrical protrusion of the façade. Plasters on the sides, end as modest turrets at the roof level. Tiles in blue tones as a distinctive element in facade ornamentation continue above and between the windows. Windows at each level reveal differences in terms of form, size and ornamentation. Narrow eaves at the shops' ceiling level and the roof level follow the wide main façade. The spacious entrance is defined by a stair hall in marble, lined with colored tiles on the walls, and a cast iron, ornamented elevator case.

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[18] Yildirim 2009, p: 91

Liman Han office floors had gone through certain adaptations and been used as office space for various purposes untill the beginning of 2000s. According to 2006 dated news, Liman Han and neighboring two buildings Gunes Han and Nuh I Han would be united in a new complex of hotel and congress center. The building was evacuated completely in 2007 due to its insecure conditions. The building has declined three degrees in the sea –north- direction which reveals risks of serious structural damage and collapsing.[19]

Discussion

The data above reveal the buildings subject to this study, in terms of physical and functional change, status within physical and social context and projects in progress –or speculative projects- concerning their future (Table 1). Their original features when constructed and their current properties are compared in order to interpret the ongoing urban transformation they represent.

Table 1. The Features of the Studied Buildings

Name of Building	Architect	Compl. in	Location	Original Function	Current Status	Physical Change	Project for future
Sirkeci Train Station	August Jachmund	1890	Sirkeci/ (Eminonu*) Fatih	Train Station	Partially functions	-	Restoration Project in progress
Haydarpasa Train Station	Otto Ritter& Helmut Cuna	1909	Haydarpasa/ Kadikoy	Train Station	Abandoned	Damaged by fire	Project in progress for hotel
Casa Botter	Raimondo D'Aronco	1900	Istiklal Avenue/ Beyoglu	Retail and Residence Building	Abandoned / under construction lately (Oct 2012)	Damaged due to time	Unknown function (probable Hotel)
Cite de Pera	Cleanthe Zannos	1876	Istiklal Avenue/ Beyoglu	Retail and Residence Building	Retail and Restaurants	Damaged by fire and restorated	-
Cercle d'Orient	Alexandre Vallauri	1884	Istiklal Avenue/ Beyoglu	Retail and Club Building	Abandoned	Damaged due to time	Development including surroundings
Majik Cinema	Giulio Mongeri	1910	Beyoglu	Entertainment	Abandoned / under construction	Damaged due to time	Hotel,Office, Cinema Complex
Public Debts Building	Alexandre Vallauri	1899	Cagaloğlu/ (Eminonu) Fatih	Building for Public Debts	Culture/ Education	-	-
Imperial Ottoman Headquarter	Alexandre Vallauri	1892	Karakoy/ Beyoglu	Bank Headquarter	Exhibition and Conference Center	Restored	-
4.Vakif Han	Mimar Kemalettin	1926	Sirkeci/ (Eminonu) Fatih	Office Building	Hotel	Restored	-
Istanbul Central Post Office	Vedat Tek	1909	Sirkeci/ (Eminonu) Fatih	Post Office	Post Office / Post Museum	Restored	-
Liman Han	Vedat Tek	1912	Sirkeci/ (Eminonu) Fatih	Office and Retail Building	Abandoned	Damaged due to time	probable Hotel

Haydarpasa train station, Casa Botter, Cercle d'Orient and Liman Han, in their recent and current conditions, are abandoned public buildings –Casa Botter used to house both public and private functions originally. They seem to have been left to deteriorate due to time and neglect. Liman Han today is threatened by demolition due to neglect and structural damage. Haydarpasa Station following the fire of 2010, is in a similar state.

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[19] http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/liman-han-projesi-icin-ced-raporu-yayinlandi/7827 (accessed 7 June 2012)

Sirkeci station building functions partially today, its future is related with Haydarpasa and the whole railway system of the city. It seems that Sirkeci and Haydarpasa are not planned to function as train stations anymore. As can be followed in the media, future plans for all these buildings involve commercial functions and large, extended complexes. Projects concerning their future are not reliable and clear in terms of duration and function.

Majik Cinema, following a period of 3-4 year neglect is under construction today, in scope of a similar project. Today, Cercle d'Orient and Majik in Beyoglu region, both are involved in projects in which distinguished cinema halls of historic, architectural and cultural significance, are lost. The new proposals include chain cinema halls as minor parts of large hotel and mall complexes.

*In March 2008 Eminönü Municipality was bound to Fatih Municipality

Pera/Beyoglu buildings Casa Botter, Cercle d'Orient, Cite de Pera reserve their physical context without much change as far as the main axis Istiklal Avenue, connected streets and the building blocks of rowhouse order are considered. Regarding the social change in the area, they have lost their property of representing an elite and elegant life mode of the late Ottoman Istanbul. Pedestrianization of the Istiklal axis has increased public interaction. The region today is still a cosmopolitan and busy center of Istanbul with its characteristic functions of entertainment and shopping. Restaurants and cafes, residences, offices, embassies, schools and religious buildings are still part of the physical environment; numerous buildings being renovated are part of today's Beyoglu scenes.

Among all buildings studied, the Ottoman Bank Headquarters and the Public Debts buildings stand as the only examples that are preserved in good condition and prestigious status in terms of physical and social context, while housing new functions. It has been remarkable to have buildings of commercial function being converted into culture facilities, an arts center and a school.

4th Vakif Han, the office building with retail units, following a period of neglect, had been converted into a hotel. Additional facilities at roof level and alterations made inside had caused inconveniency.

While Cite de Pera reserves similar retail and restaurant spaces with its earlier properties and function, Central Post Office is the only building that survives with its original function and physical properties after a century has passed.

Conclusion

These buildings had been constructed as representatives of "contemporary" Istanbul, faces of the encounter with the modern during the late nineteenth, early twentieth century. Almost a century has passed since they had been built. Re-exploring them today, in their current condition, as expressed by physical and functional change, status within physical and social context and projects in progress concerning their future, reveal that they all are considered as buildings of historic, architectural and cultural significance and protected by regulations, however about 50% of the buildings are in abandoned state. They are not being used today, they have not been used for a considerable while. Mostly they have undergone changes due to time and neglect; they have been kept in inappropriate conditions, without conservation, restoration and proper maintenance.

The study reveals that after a century has passed, very few of the buildings with different functions –mostly public functions- constructed in late Ottoman Istanbul, were able to keep their original functions, and their architectural and physical properties. Some functioning buildings have survived the century in good state.

In the last decade, there is a tendency to transform buildings of historic significance in central locations and utilize them as a part of large building complexes of especially commercial and retail

use. Among the studied buildings, the buildings that seem deserted are declared to be under engagement of similar projects. Their value seems to be related with their prestigeous, central locations. While most of the extended capacity of the site, as proposed in these projects, is used for commercial purposes, there is scarce potential for cultural facilities. Projects in progress concerning Cercle d'Orient and Majik, with the loss of original cinema halls of the region, seem to involve probable damaging alterations and imply an impact on the local, cultural and architectural character of Beyoglu.

It is possible to consider the Istanbul case represented by the above examples within and as part of the global scene, and the new development projects as a consequence, a new and alternative expression of rant oriented architecture driven by global agencies of the 21st century.

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Media's Reversed Provision: De-Growth of Beirut post-2005

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For the past several decades, hundreds of thousands of Arabs have been staging protests and occupying streets and squares in their respective capitals and cities. The most prominent of these revolts, however, began against the occupying Syrian forces in Lebanon with the cataclysmic explosion that killed former Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri in 2005. Almost contagiously, the Arab word began witnessing an unprecedented wave of civil uprisings (many of which are still ongoing), resulting in a series of separate revolutions - collectively termed as the "Arab Spring." These demonstrators, protestors, and revolutionaries have flocked en masse to overrun streets and squares in their respective capitals and cities (much to the horror of their authoritarian leaders), seeking to bring down these regimes through powerful rhetoric, and oftentimes violence, demanding new political systems and parties, and governments. For example, the civil uprising in Syria has plunged the country into what now appears to be a long and bloody civil war

The media, especially through television, is playing an important and essential role in covering this revolutionary wave. As many would agree, television is an effective tool, which communicates information and opinions. In 1987, John Fiske wrote that the media is the world's new hegemony, which is articulating our culture.[1] A few years later, Jean Baudrillard wrote that the media is not only articulating our knowledge, it is effectively building illusions, which we are beginning to accept as our reality.

"We are hostages of media intoxication," Baudrillard wrote, "[w]e are already all strategic hostages *in situ*, our site is the screen on which we are virtually bombarded day by day, even while serving as exchange value,"[2] he continued. In such consensus, our wars are dead[3] and we are stagnant. All recent acclaimed wars did not happen, and will not happen.[4] But how far this can be true to revolutions? Are revolutions also dead events? Are the Arab uprising stagnant revolutions where revolutionists and protestors did not actually flow in the streets of the cities? Are they rather "hostages of media?"

To look closely at the issue, one can start by admitting that media has the power to either strengthen or weaken the legitimacy of these revolutions. In some instances, the media chooses to highlight and inflate the number of revolutionaries or demonstrators, and in other instances, decides to understate the numbers. My intention, however, is not to explicitly look at how the media chooses to broadcast these revolutions to their viewers, rather, my focus is on recognizing the space of flow of these masses and how perhaps this actuality is taken hostage by the media. Accordingly, I question whether the media's broadcasting techniques can magnify or understate an urban space. If this hypothesis holds water, then, in the case of the Arab world, how are the public spaces of a city ultimately recognized or possibly even redefined. And are significances such as those of the history of public areas part of such recognition and redefinition?

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[1] Fiske, 1987.
[2] Baudrillard, 1991, 25.
[3] Ibid, 24.
[4] Ibid.

In order to study changes in a city's recognition and spatial definition and formation, I will argue that protestors exist and experience flow in two spaces: one is in the real space of the city, and the other is in the hyper-real space of the media. The experience is a procession between the real and tangible dimensions of the city and the intangible non-dimensional image broadcast on the television screen. While protestors circulate in the locality of the city's streets and squares, they circulate within the globality of the image. While their bodies move in the space of the city, they, and the city itself, are a stagnant and frozen mass and space - a simple moving and depthless image.

The objective of this work is to theoretically propose possible discourses that can outline a reconsideration of the media's effect on the space of flow. By reviewing the network coverage material of the demonstrations in Beirut in 2005, I will suggest a dual reading of the axis of flow of the masses: the first reading relates to the actual physical premises of the city of Beirut, and the second relates to hyper-real premises of television.

This work will not attempt to present any empirical studies to support its argument even though such references would be essential in verifying the possibility of the duality of space realities. Instead, the work will proposition theoretical terms for interpreting how the media reconfigures real urban spaces. Three different proposition/scenarios are presented as follows:

The first will be concerned with the embodiment of the mass in the space of the city, believing that, and due to the media's presence, there is a fragmented interrelation between both (i.e. between the local and global, discrete individual and defined space, and body and context). This will be mainly referred to the Space Syntax Theory, as postulated by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (*The Social Logic of Space*).[5] In their argument, Hillier and Hanson suggest that the definition of space is set by a dichotomy: the genotype and the phenotype (one is the underlying mental principle of the occupation of space; the other is the actual occupation). The discussion here will focus on the double flow experience as a fragmentation of this dichotomy.

The second scenario will suggest that the double flow presents a duality in the movement and trajectory of the protestors' flow: whereby, in one instance, the trajectory of the mass is observed in motion, and in another, it is seen as a stagnate projectile. The mass, hence, moves in between what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, call striated space and smooth space.[6] In the striated space, trajectories are dimensional and can be measured, elsewhere the smooth space trajectories have no dimensions and consequently the flow is stagnant.

The third, and final, scenario of our subject will attempt to draw on a techno-political approach. The argument will turn to Jean Baudrillard's provisions on the media's power and capabilities to reshape realities and reverse forms. Accordingly, everything portrayed—the city, the mass— actually becomes material that can be retreated and reversed into ground zero, flat image, no-time, and no-space entity and being. I will conclude that this conjecture is particularly significant to Beirut. The retreat of Beirut to ground zero is a de-conciliation of the city. Precisely, it is a mystification of the area in which the demonstrations are taking place: a retreat of the memory of the place—or what was known as the demarcation lines during the civil war.

Based on the scenarios outlined above, I will conclude that these fragmentations, stagnations, and retreatment are modes of revolutions against the city itself. The demonstrators' rebellion is not only political. Rather it is also spatial. As they circuit and flow in the double realities of the city (the physical reality and the representation), they remove the city from linear logic (i.e. the logic by which things progress and grow in space and time). Accordingly, the Arab city is overwhelmed by yet another logic: a reversed logic—reversed to its linearity and growth. I, nevertheless, believe that this reversed logic is for the benefit of the city.

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[5] Hillier, Hanson, 1983, 33.
[6] Deleuze, Guattari, 1987, 528.

Virtual Circuits

The duality of procession in the city is a duality of proceeding between the city's profane being and its sacred being (reality/illusion). The task is then to maintain flow in actual spaces while articulating a mental flow along sacred axes. The procession, hence, seeks destinies that are not articulated by the city but by the secrecy of the procession ritual. New depths in both nature and form are then distinctly created from those of the city. The measurability of the space (dimensions), the temporality of the movement, and the intension of the flow are reset, in such duality, into other criteria.

One essential aspect, which shapes these processions, has to do with the attained destiny. The sacred destiny can be a mythical/religious place whence the mass of procession flow in axes or circuits redefining the city's space forms and reconfiguring it in order to meet with the sacred ritual paths. The city of Banaras, for example, is an ancient Indian metropolitan, which is built on the banks of the river Ganges, according to Mahesh Senagala in *Circuits, Death and Sacred Fiction: The City of Banaras*. The river divides the city into two parts. The first part is the real city, and the second part is the mythological sacred city where pilgrims go "to die—die happily."[7] Pilgrims, hence, flow between the real city and the virtual one in circuits: "The city is shaped like an onion: circuits within circuits, leading to the center where the great temple of Lord Shiva resides. The form of the city is created, recreated and reasserted as people trace the circuits in the footsteps of their elders."[8] Senagala adds:

The city is defined by neither the fort walls nor the boundaries, but by the *circuits of sacred circumambulation*. Instead of a map, these circuits around the city and its countless temples form a mandala in the minds of the devoted pilgrims, as they follow the routes chanting and reciting the myths and stories of the places that they come across. In this way, the pilgrims meditate the city and establish a correspondence between the city of the mind and the city of the material world. Ultimately, what people carry with them is the city of the mind, not the material city.[9]

Banaras' spaces are re-defined constantly by the routes of the ritual and not by the streets of the city. The city experiences constant reconfiguration through stories, mental maps, and recitations of those who cross the actual being of Banaras over the river into the mythological land of the city. Spaces, hence, become the spaces of the pilgrimage, the destiny (death), and not of the real city. Consequently, the metric city is erased, and the dimensions of the city are set into the mythical city whose dimension, time, and space belong to that of the gods.

People flow into distinct cities and into distinct geographies, temporalities, and localities. During this flow, the masses, like the pilgrims of Banaras, proceed from the realities of the cities to the mythological destiny, shuffling between real dimensions with illusionary ones. Yet with the world increasingly embracing the digital/electronic age, the mythological destiny is in turn becoming more closely related to media/electronics. For instance, due to the communications revolution, many have argued how our perceptions and experiences of architectural spaces and urban spaces are becoming less metric. Accordingly, our itineraries and journeys into the city proceed along paths and through points that do not link realistic spaces and time. For Holger Schnädelbach et al., in *Mixed Reality Architecture: A Dynamic Architectural Topology,* technology, in general, and telecommunication, in particular, have de-set the interactions and transportations of people into new space limits and speeds:

Telecommunication technologies allow certain activities to be pushed out to the periphery... The new architectural form enabled by communication but also rapid transportation technologies then affords near instant access to non adjacent parts and, as Virilio points out, the distinction between

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[7]Senagala, 1999.
[8]Ibid.
[9]Senagal, 1999.

near and far becomes irrelevant here: the spaces 'travelled across' are lost and become invisible (Virilio, 1997); social interaction become effectively de-spatialised. This can result in the reduction of chance encounters, which form an essential part of the economic function of physical architecture (Hillier and Penn, 1992) and of its capacity to foster innovation (Penn, Desyllas et al. 1999). In this sense, although new technologies have had an effect of a compression of space, there appears to be a concomitant elimination of chance interactions and their unpredictable outcomes.[10]

Arab cities illustrate a similar situation of the "compressions of space." As the flow of mass moves into the metric space of the city, defining its depth through walking, telecommunication, and covering the event "live", it is hyper-realizing these spaces and depths, and projecting the axis of procession into a hyper-axis. I believe that the essential point here is that the mass of protestors are aware that they are ritualizing for the media coverage. They journey in fragmented spaces in order to reach their destiny, which is being covered by the media. They draw mental maps of how to move along streets, stagnant parts, diminish others, and retreat some. They aim at an ultimate destiny: their image—or to become hostages of the media.

My purpose, at this point, is to theoretically trace how spaces can be hyper-realized and ritualized for the sake of the media's image. By viewing some extracts of the live coverage of demonstrations that took place after the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri, I will suggest how the space of the flow of   protestors has been captivated into the depthlessness of the image. They, along with the media, deprived the city from its locality/body, linearity/progression, and power/politics. I propose to show that in Beirut, the mass aimed to pass through the actual locations that retain memories of the civil war. They chose Beirut as the image - a city with a fragmented and reversed history.

Duality of Streets

On February 14, 2005, former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri was assassinated. Lebanon, at that time, was still in the process of recovering from a devastating civil war that had ended 15 years earlier. The assassination of such a prominent and respected figure sparked fury across the country. Although Lebanon was still susceptible to political struggles and instabilities, members of various political parties took to the streets in protest. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese traveled from across the country to meet at the main squares of Beirut (mainly Riad el-Solh Square on March 8 and Martyrs' Square on March 14). Demonstrators occupied all the streets and roads leading to the heart of Beirut. A series of similar demonstrations followed over the next several months and years, transforming the main squares and arteries of Beirut into spaces for protestation.

The mass of protestors comprises of individuals. Each is a discrete individual who left home and locality to join other individuals in protest. The mass is formed by an accumulation of small groups of individuals who infiltrated the streets of Beirut. This mass of pedestrians moved as a homogeneous body to finally fill the targeted square where they expressed a political coalition by collectively occupying spaces in Beirut.

Hillier and Hanson believe that the accumulation of the individual into a coherent body doubles the existence of the individual: "[d]iscrete systems, composed of nothing but mobile individuals, can quite easily form themselves into global systems whose existence as objective realities need to be doubled."[11]This global system is what the media has established (as audience). Consequently, and as protestors try to address their other double existence, they flow for the camera: they walk in metric streets and, at the same time, for the camera frames.

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[10]Schnädelback et al, 2007.
[11]Hillier, Hanson, 1984, 33.

Moreover, the re-allocation of the mobile individuals into the global system is in reality a compromization of the continuity and depth of their movement. These are fragmented by thesnapshots anddistinct framesof the camera (the global system tool), which move from one street to another and from one square to another, transporting individuals into other dimensions. Their locality and sense of place is compromised for the sake of the far-reaching TV image, the global network.

Stephen Read expressed the loss and fragmentation of the reality of the city:

I have already begun to intimate how 'networks' of places and the 'equipment' they situate may distribute not just material and money bits and bytes around the globe, but also our actions and intentions *into* it. Our networks may become 'technological' in the way André Leroi-Gourhan has already theorized, as part of the means by which we 'exteriorize' our bodies and actions. We may live *through* networks as networks create the conditions *and distribute the potentials* for such living. And we may not just connect over distance through networks, we may also *situate* ourselves and the things we connect to through networks: here 'coherency' and the networks which enable the work we put into making things work and making fragmented things coherent, suddenly come to the fore. The question about the local we started out with – about how the local becomes fragmented – is suddenly turned around, and what is interesting and the thing to be explained is precisely how it manages to become *coherent*. We find ourselves imagining not a landscape of fragmented things, but rather a 'suspension' of imaginers (people who may therefore become realizers – or actors and agents) in higher-scaled connective webs that enable their non-local actions, but who exist at the same time in particular local contexts which concretely and practically facilitate their actions and give them intelligibility and *sense*.[12]

Essentially, then, the loss of sense of the real space is overlapped by a sense of belongingness to the place of the global connected network. The body is "exteriorized" from one axis to be adhered to by another axis or, more accurately, to the grid of the media's network. The locality of the individual and mass is suspended into the locality of media. Further, what also gets suspended is the locality of space and its configuration.

Mechanism for Spatial Re-configuration

The reallocation of the body of the flowing individual from one system (that of the city) into the network of the media is a reconfiguration of the space of flow. The realization and recognition of the flow and hyper-flow is actually marked by how protestors re-define the city's space (streets and squares). The procession, in this sense, draws lines of configuration that follow mental decisions of the individuals leading to a "dialectic between mental model and spatio-temporal reality."[13] Yet what is the mechanism of this dialectic?

Hillier and Hanson explains that the dialectic of the individual's mental status and the city's reality is subjected to the "different physical circumstances" as in the game "hide-and-seek." They added that the:

structure will be modified to a greater or lesser extent in different physical circumstances, but always within limits which can themselves be specified. There is, in effect, a *genotype* to the game of hide-and-seek, one whose presence can always be described as the underlying organizing principle of the *phenotype* of the game, that is, the actual realization of the game in the different physical milieu.[14]

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[12] Read, 2007.
[13] Hillier, Hanson, 1984, 39.
[14] Ibid, 38.

Hence, what underlies realistic occupation of a space (phenotype), other then the realistic formation of a space, is a mental principle (genotype), which guide the flow and movement of the individual.

Yet in some instances, the mechanism of genotype-phenotype works in an inverted way. In such instances, the realistic configuration of a space and the way individuals flow inflict and transmit information, which guide the mental conception of the individual (genotype) to conceive the occupation and movement within a space. Hillier and Hanson wrote:

Thus in this sense also a genotype-phenotype mechanism is inverted. The consistency in human activity at the social level is not the product of a biological genotype but of an artefactual genotype: one that is retrieved as a description from reality itself which has already been constructed by the activity of man.[15]

The protestors' activity is an activity dictated by this inverted mechanism. The phenotype or the realization of the spatial occupation mass is mental decision made by inflicted information. The biological genotype, which in principle initiates the realization of the flow, is now replaced by the artefactual genotype initiated by an outside system such as "the activity of man."

In the case of the demonstrators, and what I am suggesting here, is that this outside system (the activity of man) is rather the global network, the media. The global network transmits information, which imposes a particular flow of the individuals in the space inverting the mechanism of the genotype-phenotype.

The meaningful implementation of such mechanism, and again if we are looking at the protestors flow, is, when the activity of those is a projection of how media expects and draws the activity of protestors. Media expects that the flow is "massive." Media expects that the mass is coherent, one solid image, it moves like "sea waves," and it occupies the whole space-spread. The mass leaps form one point to another, cutting distances. Actually distance, which is about how close the mass is and how far away it is, is irrelevant. Since distance and media is concerned with how much the camera can zoom-in and zoom-out.

These expectations are the artefactual genotypes, the information, that are projected on the mental activity of the protestors while moving: they recognize themselves and consequently re-articulate the city's space, as a mass, their only concern is not to walk the distance but to appear in the zoom-in shot and in the zoom-out view as a "sea waves." The city and its streets and squares, hence, become captivated in the inverted mechanism of the artefactual genotype-phenotype (information and human mental activity), and in the flat "sea waves" image. In such mechanism, the mass is detached and fragmented from the reality of Beirut and the ritual leaps into the reality of TV and its depthlessness. The whole cause of Al-Hariri's assassination and Beirut are then driven by the inverted mechanism.

Discrete Spaces and Stagnant Events:

The duality of the (mental) activities of the demonstrators proceeds in a duality of spaces, which are defined by such elements as points and lines. These, in turn, formulate the movement in space and the happenings of the events: points present stops, individuals, or places; elsewhere, lines stand for the trajectories of movements and their direction. Deleuze and Guattari identified two distinct spaces formulated by distinct interrelations of points, lines, trajectories and directions. These are striated space and smooth space:

In striated space, lines or trajectories tend to be subordinated to points: one goes from point to another. In the smooth, it is the opposite: the points are subordinated to the trajectory…there are

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[15]Hillier, 1984, 44.

stops and trajectories in both the smooth and the striated. But in smooth space, the stop follows from the trajectory; once again, the interval takes all, the interval is substance (forming the basis for rhythmic values).

In smooth space, the line is therefore a vector, a direction and not a dimension or metric determination. It is a space constructed by local operations involving changes in direction. These changes in direction may be due to the nature of the journey itself…but it more likely to be due to the variability of the goal or point to be attained…Smooth space is filled by events or haecceities, far more than by formed and perceived things.[16]

Deleuze and Guattari added:

The smooth and the striated are distinguished first of all by an inverse relation between the point and the line (in case of the striated, the line is between two points, while in the smooth, the point is between two lines); and second, by the nature of the line (smooth-directional, open intervals; dimensional-striated, closed intervals).[17]

The 2005 events took place in two such spaces. The journeys of the demonstrations circuited in striated space. The trajectories of their paths were defined by metric points and directional axes. Individuals, as a mass, moved from one point of the city to another marking with their footsteps points and configuring with the trajectories (which link the points) not only the space of flow but also the event itself and the spatial actualization of the happening.

The mass has demonstrated the smooth space model as well. In an "inversed relation," the trajectories of the events and happenings proceeded the step-by-step, point-by-point procession of the mass. What modulated and established this "inversed relation" is the global system's (media) inverted genotype-phenotype mechanism. The infliction of the global network's information, influencing the mental perception and re-configuring spaces, pre-defined the trajectories and lines of flow. The media draws on the overall outline and scenario: covering the event, setting the spaces and places, allocating cameras, frames, zoom-ins and –outs, interviews and instances; the whole phenomological stage.

The mass was subordinated later to this stage setting and spatialization of the scenario. Its activity was seen then not in its natural metric flow but in fragmented spheres presenting the coverage various set scenarios. One sphere showing this street fully occupied, another projecting affiliations, coherence, consistence, persistence, strength or power. Individuals and masses flow within these spheres manifesting their power and persistence by occupying the space of the camera frame (the whole zoom-in and –out view).

The mass is like a moving still-life image, points moving within a stagnant picture frame:

There are not *only strange voyages* in the city but voyages in place…We can say of the nomads, following Toynbee's suggestion: *they do no move*. They are nomads by dint of not moving, not migrating, of holding a smooth space that they refuse to leave, that they leave only in order to conquer and die. Voyage in place: that is the name of all intensities, even if they also develop in extension.[18]

The individuals, therefore, voyage in the smooth space. "[T]hey do not move" but circuit between one camera and another and in between one story and another, they are "points in-between the lines of trajectories," events happening just for the sake of TV happening. Moreover, individuals, within the framed image and fragmented space, are instances subjected to the time conditions of media. Time, in media, is a hyper time. It is not linear and not defined by points and limits. It is not

[16]Deleuze, Guattari, 1987, 528.
[17]Ibid, 530.
[18]Deleuze, Guattari, 1987, 532.

the time of striated space where one moves in intervals from point to point. The media's time is the time of smooth space. It is the time that, as Paul Virilio believes, can be controlled, retreated, progressed, rewind.[19] It has open intervals and progress in all directions. The mass, accordingly, is an entity, which is voyaging, in unlimited time intervals, in the stagnant TV image.

The smooth space city is "the place" of this voyage where its people "do not move." But they might move and leave "in order to conquer and die." If so, then thiswill mark the death of the place, the city and the cause, because these are the points that come after and for the no-moving mass so if they move the places, destinies and causes vanish. But did the mass of demonstrators moved outside the smooth space, and outside the striated one? Did they freeze in place and frame the city (of Beirut)?Left to die, but for what? Or to conquer, and again conquer what? In any case, the city is not the same city and Beirut is no longer old Beirut.

Evil ….Revolution

Perhaps Beirutis do not want it to be the same Beirut. All Beirutis really remember of the city's recent history is the bloody civil war. Most of the demonstrations seem to take place at the former demarcation lines between East and West Beirut. These demarcation lines are located mostly around the wider vicinity of Downtown Beirut, namely, Martyr's Square and Riad al-Solh Square. These are the exact areas were the world witnessed the post-2005 demonstrations, and where only a few decades earlier, the warring factions spilled blood during the civil war. When the civil war ended, following the Taif Agreement, or the Document of National Accord, which was signed by the warring factions in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1989, the downtown district and its neighboring areas witnessed a wave of reconstruction, revitalization, and rehabilitation. Solidere, a Lebanese company, became the main player in the development and reconstruction of Beirut city, transforming the once devastated area into a new Beirut: the Beirut of the future.[20]

The downtown area is actually a compilation and layering of memories: post-civil war Beirut (known in its heyday as the Switzerland of the East), the city of civil war (death and destruction), post-1990 (resurrection. Beirut recaptures its crown and former glory, international recognition, and a revived interest in downtown Beirut), and then in 2005, a Beirut in a new wave or turmoil (assassination of Al-Hariri, political uprising,). It is through and across these memories and layers of prosperity, war defeat, destruction, and revolution that the mass of protestors flow. The mass does not only flow to construct a stagnant event and an impressive TV image, doubling existence, but also flow to do evil; defeat the city and its memories and history. They flow to reverse time and the form of Beirut.

They do evil to defeat reality and its objective: "Evil has no objective reality." They do evil to demystify violence and celebrate "reversibility of forms," as Baudrillard cut it in *The Intelligence of Evil: Or the Lucidity Pact*:

The evil you can will, the evil you can do and which, most of the time, merges with violence, suffering and death, has nothing to do with this reversible form of evil. We might even say that those who deliberately practice evil certainly has no insight into it, since their act supposes the intentionality of a subject, whereas this reversibility of evil is the reversibility of a form.[21]

With the flow of demonstrators into the linear metric city and non-linear fragmented stagnant city, they dismantle space, time, memories, and form because the hyper-reality of the media cannot claim any history. The slit, capture, and discrimination of the camera cuts out any hint of history from the frame. The layering of Beirut's revolution is flattened into the one layer on the screen. Old memories are taken as "hostages of the media."

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[19] Virilio, 2000, 2.
[20] Makdisi, 1997.
[21]Ibid.

History is being intoxicated and possibly reedited to fit within the context of the media's scenario. The protestors, however, sense this editing process. They willingly choose to pursue their political attestations, they also willingly choose, by accepting to be an image, to fragment history, reverse the city, and bury any reminiscence of form of the city. The route the protestors take, hence, has an evil spirit and its destiny is not to riot, but to spiral the city downward into ground zero.

Conclusion

Revolutions are circuits and projectiles that proceed in dual reversed circumstances. In real circumstances (metric cities, real people) are powerless because their will is the will of the media, and their flow is limited by the metric and time intervals of the city. In the un-real circumstances, revolutions are powerful as they speak the language of the evil global network and travel in the limitless flat realm of the image.

Significantly, Beirut, as in other cities of the Arab world, presents substantial material of how the media created another reality of the city. The intensity of the events and protestors on the streets of the Arab world provided concrete models of the changing realities, perceptions, and experiences of their cities.

Arab cities further provide a model of cities under siege by their own populations. At one point, I suggested that the uprisings are an attempt to reverse the logic of the city and deprive it from any subjectivity and objectivity (space depth, political causes). It is, therefore, an evil revolution bringing the city to its end or… death.

Yet, I believe that the reversibility is the new spirit, which is capable of setting the city into another inverted act and, consequently, returning it to its reality:

For it is not possible for any act whatever or any kind of talk not to have two sides to it; not to have a reverse side, and hence a dual existence.And this contrary to any finality or objective determination.[22]

As Baudrillard wrote.

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[22]Baudrillard, 2005, 160.

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"A Study on the Effect of Transportation Systems to the Evolution of the City Image: The Case of Istanbul"

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Transportation is one of the most significant dynamics that effect the urban sprawl and the image of Istanbul. From a perspective that focuses on the transformation of transportation phenomenon in Istanbul, it is possible to interpret the formal change and sprawl of the city. In this regard, the urban sprawl of the city which was parallel to the seashore first, expanded through the railway and highway axises. Later on, with the rapid, illegal and unplanned urban sprawl process, the city started to grow disorderly and has lost its identity as a seashore settlement and started to grew in fringes. So that the city had an organic character in the shape of an "oil stain" as Mübeccel Kıray stated[1].

Having analyzed the thresholds/breaking points in terms of the transformation in Istanbul the first part of the inquiry will aim at describing the variations of different transportation systems in time that the people of Istanbul use in their daily lifes. In this manner, how the transformation systems effect, feed and support each other in a city that enables an extensive range of transportation alternatives will be investigated. The transformation/transition of the city image will also be discussed in the context of the evolution of the transportation systems.

The methodology of the paper is visualising/mapping the transportation system network which is one of the most major triggers of the transformation of Istanbul. Using these maps, the paper also intends to make synchronous/asynchronous readings about the economical and political breaking points that effect the transportation decisions which transform the morphology of Istanbul.

"A Study On The Effect Of Transportation Systems To The Evolution Of The City Image: The Case Of Istanbul"

Prologue

The phenomenon of transportation is a significant dynamic that has an effect on the macro development, configuration, and urban image of Istanbul. Transformations within time have sometimes been in accordance with the morphological structure; sometimes they have made it fit themselves. As indicated by Bilgin and Karaören, when urban sprawl is examined, it is seen that in the beginning, it developed parallel to the sea but in the following periods, it developed in strips with the improvement of railways and highways, centering on their axes (Bilgin, Karaören, 1993, 36). However, after 1970's, the city started to expand in every direction together with the boom of fast and unplanned urbanization, drifting apart from its identity as a city of waterfronts that it preserved for years and taking the identity of a city inland (Yenen and etc., 1993). With the unplanned sprawl of urban macroform, there occurred an organic character which Mübeccel Kıray likened to "oil stains" (Kıray, 1998). Thus, transportation infrastructure and new transportation vehicles which are produced to facilitate the transportation of inhabitants in these routes supported and empowered each other. As a result, an extremely chaotic and concurrent web of transportation and an urban morphology in connection with this emerged. Therefore, it can be said that these systems (infrastructure and means of transportation) and urban form have mutually evolved.

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[1] Kıray, M. (2007), Toplu Eserleri 2 Kentleşme Yazıları, Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul
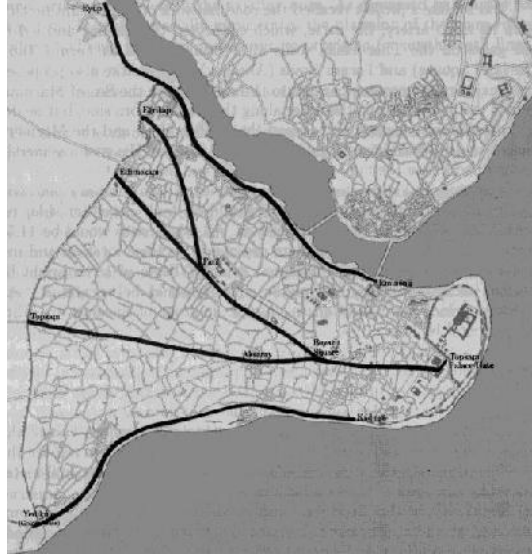
In this study, transformations experienced within different transportation systems that inhabitants of Istanbul use in their daily lives are examined through socio-economic and political thresholds; how types of transportation affect and support one another is searched; and the alteration/transformation of urban image in terms of transportation is discussed. As the method of this study, webs of transportation which are one of the most important enhancers of Istanbul's transformation are mapped; moreover, data gathered from these maps are studied synchronically/diachronically on the changes/transformations of the morphological structure of the city.

Within the scope of the study, first of all, a table based on the momentous alterations about transportation and urban macroform of Istanbul was formed. Then, the local and universal thresholds that caused these alterations were searched. In this respect, after the Industrial Revolution, which transformed the world in the technological and urban sense, changes caused by the Edict of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı), that can be regarded as a significant step in the modernization of the Ottoman Empire, are the first; proclamation of the Republic and the reflections of Ankara's becoming the capital on Istanbul are the second; passing on to multi-party period after World War II and its effects on the city are the third threshold to be considered. As the fourth one, the changes within liberalization politics associated with the Prime Minister Turgut Özal in 1980's are discussed; having been the mayor of Istanbul in 1990's and then becoming the prime minister in the following years, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's alterations made in the city in 2000's with neo-liberal politics are determined as the final threshold. Having five main axes, this study focuses on certain urban politics, socio-cultural and economic relations, examines the developments in transportation technology and criticizes the alterations/transformations in the urban image. Table 1

1. Threshold: The Effects of Imperial Edict of Gulhane and Modernism Under the Thumb of Industrial Revolution on the City

Being signed in 1839, the modernizing effect of the Edict of Gulhane on the individual and the city is important for both Istanbul and its inhabitants. The years between the Edict of Gulhane and the official disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 can be considered as a passing period with several socio-political transformations (Faroqhi, 2008, 296). Together with the edict, concepts of equality, liberty, and human rights gained importance for the first time in the empire. Furthermore, until this time the Western science had been benefited from only in technology, science, education, and especially military forces. However, with the Tanzimat reforms, intellectual structure was imported and therefore, major changes started (Çelik, 1998, p.28). The idea of making Istanbul a modern capital and a universal city that suits itself to new conditions is one of the most remarkable features of the Tanzimat Reform era (Batur, 2006, 57). Most of the reforms realized by the edict of Gulhane were effective on the pattern of the city and therefore the image of Ottoman/Islamic city was broken by European effects, coming to a more cosmopolitan state (Çelik, 1998, 41).

From the 19th century on to the proclamation of the Second Constitutionalist Period (1908), three major urban design projects had been improved for the purpose of modernizing the web of transportation built by foreign architects and engineers and supporting the image of the city with the fundamentals of Western technology and culture. These are the projects which were suggested by Helmuth von Moltke, F.Arnodin and Joseph Antoine Bouvard. As Arnodin's and Bouvard's projects were not applied, Von Moltke's some works were implemented. The significance of Von Moltke's projects is the idea of thinking the city as a whole which had been considered in partial sections before. He worked to solve urban problems, relieve transportation and transform the image of the city to a European one. Accordingly, he designed streets, docks, and coasts aiming to establish a modern image on the city with solutions like forming new squares and removing cul de sacs. Studies done by basically three planners summarize the urban planning approach of the Ottoman capital in the 19th century: connecting the disjointed sections of the city with bridges and transportation projects and presenting a unitary and major urban image (Çelik, 1998, 99).

Figure 1: Von Moltke Plan of Istanbul (Çelik, Z., 1993, p.85)

When the forms of transportation before the Industrial Revolution are considered in Istanbul, which holds the character of the only unrivalled metropolis of the Ottoman Empire, it is observed that most of the urban travel was on foot, with boats, or horse carts until the second half of the 19th century (Tekeli, 2010a, 22). Sea access was the most preferred form of transportation in that period because it was faster than road transportation system, it was more easily provided, and most of the occupancy districts were on the coast sides (Çelik, 1998, 68; Aybet, 1993, 132).

Figure 2: Boats as a major form of transportation in Ottoman Era (Işın, E., 2006, p.40)

When the improvements in transportation forms and vehicles are considered in the Tanzimat era, it is seen that the systems are modernized also by the impact of Industrial revolution. With the increase of settlements on the Bosphorus, ferries started service and then, Şirketi-i Hayriye was established as the first urban public transportation system. With the operation of its ferries, in 1854, the settlements on the Bosphorus were sprawled to coastal lines (Tekeli, 2010a, 23). İdare-i Mahsusa (1870s) and Haliç Vapur Şirketi (1913) are the other two enterprises founded to provide sea transportation. Developments in urban ferry routes not only facilitated transportation but also promoted the sprawl of the city along coastal lines (Tekeli, 2010a, 26). Owing to these improvements in sea transportation, communication between the two continents enhanced, relations among urban areas were facilitated and also the ferries got their position in the image of the Bosphorus with sandals and other transportation vehicles.

Figure 3: Galata Bridge and its vicinity, 1913 (Çelik, Z., 1993, p.98)

As the second form of public transportation of the Ottoman Empire, horsecar systems (trams pulled by horses) were developed in order to eliminate the shortcomings of land transportation and to provide connection between settlements from the land. In this respect, Dersaadet Tramvay Şirketi was established and horsecars made a modernizing impression, adding a European image to the streets of the city (Çelik, 1998, 74; Türel, 1998, 165).

Figure 4: Horsecars and horse carts in the city transportation system (Işın, E., 2006, p.95)

In the district of Galata, since commercial activities gradually increased and the district's having better transportation conditions gained importance, the Istanbul Tunnel was opened as the second public rail transportation system of the city (Çelik, 1998, 79). On the other hand, the third rail system in the urban transportation, railways were built in 1870's and suburban trains started to operate. With this system that affected the formation of the city, suburbs developed among the railway line (Tekeli, 2010a, 30).

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Figure 5: Tram and Tunnel Routes (1864-1869-1881-1907 applications)
(Çelik, Z., 1993, p.78)

Horse carts which started to be produced after 1860's in the Ottoman Empire had an impact on the urban structure and image as an important part of the westernization movement. Since the streets which were shaped according to pedestrian movements were not suitable for horse carts to pass through, the streets were widened within the renovations in the city after the frequent large-scale fires (Tekeli, 2010a, 20). Having been formed according to pedestrian scale until the mid-19th century, the city started to be reformed with the effect of transportation vehicles and to gain a new image. With ports, tram stations, parks roamed with horse carts, and widened roads, ferries in sea access, horsecars in rail transport and horse carts completely changed the image of the city, leading to a more modern look with a Western approach.

2. Threshold: The Period of Transformation Starting with the Proclamation of the Republic

As a consequence of the Great Depression, economic crisis, brought by the First World War, urban sources degraded and the increasing population of Istanbul decreased (Tekeli, 2009, 193). In addition, the city had to face significant problems followed by the economic crisis (1929). After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 and Ankara being the capital, substantial changes occurred in Istanbul, which had had dominance countrywide until that time (Bilsel, 2010a, 101). For the first time, a status deprivation started in the city as a center of modernism against Ankara and the ongoing pretentious period ended (Tanyeli, 2004, 21).

In these years, despite the decrease in its population, Istanbul continued to grow in fringes, central business areas and residential areas enlarged towards periphery areas and this situation caused significant transportation problems (Bilsel, 2010b, 55). The phenomenon of automobile, which began to become a common issue at the beginning of the 20th century, increased in the years that followed the First World War and started to be frequently used in urban transportation. As busses were involved in the urban transportation system and became widespread, horse carts lost their importance in time. That the urban transportation, mostly realized by rail systems and sea transportation, provided urban development to take place on the coast and through the railways (Tekeli, 2010a, 23; Türel, 1998, 165). Under these circumstances, the image of the city was transformed by the effects of the developments of the period.

"Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul"

As a continuation of the tradition that demanded the help of Western experts to modernize Istanbul in the period after the Tanzimat reforms, in 1930s, proposals of planners such as Alfred Agache, Herman Elgötz, H. Lamber and Martin Wagner were received. However, Henri Prost, who was one of the leading urban planners of the period, was then commissioned to form the structural plan of the city (Çelik, 1998, 129). In his studies, Prost generally aimed to protect the unique texture of the city and its architectural monuments together with building the modern infrastructure, relieving transportation, and planning recreation areas (Tanman, Bilsel, 2010, 9). Remaining in office between 1936 and 1950, Prost worked on the Istanbul European Side Master Plan (Avrupa Ciheti Nazım Planı) (1937), Master Plan of the Asian Side (Anadolu Ciheti Nazım Planı) (1939), the planning of the two coasts of the Bosphorus (Boğaziçi Kıyıları Planlaması) (1939-1948) and 1943-1953 Ten-Year-Plan.

Figure 6: Examples of Prost's Applications (Tanman, M.B., Bilsel, C., 2010)

Other than these plans, Prost made several detailed urban projects such as parks, promenades, squares, ports and construction of new avenues. His works had a significant role in the spatial transformation of the city. By offering solutions to strategic locations, Prost also aimed to build a modern highway system which would enable the city center to reach from one end to the other without any stops (Bilsel, 2010a). Although the French planner indicated that the silhouette of the historical city needed to be protected, he maintained that in terms of transportation, *building roads was an economic and social necessity.* According to Bilsel, while urban density in Prost's works, geometrical planning in land subdivision, street design and the operating of transportation plans showed the desire to transform the city into a modern European city; his *interfering* approach is in accordance with *the ideal of the Republican government to create a contemporary city to support the modern life of the society* (Bilsel, 2010b, 61). Prost conducted the planning operations of Istanbul for fifteen years in the single-party period of CHP. However, problems arose between him and the government in 1946 since the political equilibrium changed in the country due to the new multi-party system (Bilsel, 2010a, 148); and his projects were postponed after İsmet İnönü was overthrown (Tanman, Bilsel, 2010, 9). In this context, the works of Prost could be read as a major dynamic which influenced the characteristics of the urban development and also the image of the city critically.

Figure 7: Uskudar Square in 1940s
(http://www.eskiistanbul.net/cumhuriyet/cumhuriyet3/uskudariskelemeydani.jpg)

3. Threshold: Menderes' City Developments after World War II

The end of World War II, like in many other counties outside the center of the war, was a crossroad in Turkey as well. After the war, a fast migration movement started in the country with the modernization of agriculture and highways. Becoming an important migration focus, Istanbul experienced a fast urbanization movement in this period (Yücesoy, Güvenç, 2010, 12). With the overvoting of the 1950 elections, the Democratic Party (DP) government implemented more liberal economic and populist politics nationwide. Moreover, with the Prime Ministry of Adnan Menderes, Istanbul entered a fast phase of transformation. Due to migration, areas of squatter settlements called *gecekondu* areas were formed; in addition, with the shortcoming of public transportation systems to provide urban travel, the concept of *dolmuş* (collective taxi) emerged. They became an important vehicle to connect rural settlements to cities and a means to meet the deficiency in public (Tekeli, Okyay, 1980, 23)*. As Yücesoy and Güvenç indicate, *losing almost all its green areas, the city was disguised to the character of an "oversized industrial city" with gecekondu, dolmuş, and handseller (işporta) phenomenons, all of which form a texture without any empty spaces in this period* (Yücesoy, Güvenç, 2010, 13).

With the impact of the automobile sector which is a significant element of fordism experienced after World War II, the rapid increase in the number of motor vehicles caused a shift from railway transportation to motor vehicles; *thus, life styles and consumption patterns shaped by the American hegemony started to dominate the city*. With the impact of rapid urbanization, many new roads were built and this road construction was useful for gecekondu districts as well (Tekeli, 2010a, 50; Keyder, 2006, 209). Due to the effects of problems in public transport and unplanned urbanization, minibuses emerged in transportation, becoming powerful together with dolmuş by connecting business areas to gecekondu and outskirts. Coming to 1960's, motor vehicle traffic overtook sea transportation and the demand of vehicles to pass the Bosphorus increased with the addition of inequality in the distribution of offices and residences. Hence, a bridge project to connect continents appeared on the agenda (Tekeli, 2010a).

"Change of the city image during Menderes Period (1956-1960)"

The city development agenda of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, which *himself conducted as a political legitimacy and public relations project between the years 1956 and 1960, consists of major urban interventions.* This operation process is one of the significant thresholds in the urban development/transformation of Istanbul (Bozdoğan, 2010, 143). In this period when dense urban texture grew in the shape of an oil stain, major traffic problems started to rise because private car ownership increased in the country. With the Haussmann-wise reconstructions of Menderes, who wanted to use this as a political investment during a democratic period, the destructive power of modernism appeared for the first time (Tekeli, 2010b, 169).

Leaving his mark on the city with his antipathy towards public transport and his interest in automobiles and wide avenues, Menderes realized major destructions in historical districts. *By cancelling the tram which had been the symbol of neighborhood life and habitable urban scale*, he accelerated the integration of the city with automobiles (Keyder, 2006, 208). Menderes conducted a huge construction movement by discourses as presenting a new countenance to the city and making it a modern city. With the desire to modernize rapidly the discourse of "Traffic flowing like water" became a repeating issue. For this reason, new road webs were constructed. In that period unplanned transformations were experienced because of the reconstruction movements starting in every corner of the city all at once. While Prost tried to create a generally Western city image, the Menderes government tried to emphasize Ottoman works (Akpınar, 2010).

Figure 8: Barbaros Boulevard and its affects on the changing image of the city
(http://www.degisti.com/index.php/archives/278)

Many important axes such as Sahil Yolu, Vatan and Millet Streets and Barbaros Boulevard were opened in this period. With Londra Asfaltı and roads opening in the direction of Haydarpaşa-Pendik, the city expanded in eastern and western directions; with Barbaros Boulevard and Büyükdere Street, it expanded through the north. Meanwhile, irregular parceling of the land outside the borders of the municipality gained speed (Boysan, 2010, 91). Menderes's reconstruction operation had to solidly slow down with the military intervention in 1960 (Tapan, 1998, 82).

Menderes's works of reconstruction had a great impact on the countenance change of Istanbul in that period. The urban image that changed with the modernization attempts in the axis of public transport in the previous periods was constructed again over automobiles and highways this time.

Figure 9: Galata Bridge in 1960s (http://www.eskiistanbul.net/cumhuriyet/cumhuriyet4/kopru7.jpg)

"The Boğaziçi Bridge"

Both the traffic caused by the increase in the number of motor vehicles and the disequilibria in the office-residence distribution on the two sides of the city caused an increase in the demand to pass the Bosphorus; hence, the topic of constructing the Boğaziçi Bridge gained importance (Türel, 1998, 159; Tekeli, 2010a, 65). Despite the debates in public opinion, it was opened in 1973, *changing the time-distance matrix in Istanbul and determining the development dynamics of the metropolitan area* as stated by Mete Tapan (Tapan, 1998, 85).

Figure 10: Boğaziçi Bridge opening day, 1973
(http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=12604)

Due to the opening of the bridge, 1.Bypass became important in urban transport and the spatial structure of the city started to change accordingly. Parallel to these, new residential and industrial areas started to grow in eastern and western directions, causing a rapid change in the population balance between the two sides. Therefore, the travelling time of the distances between different points of the city was altered and new inclinations emerged in terms of urban growth and spatial formation. With the Bridge and bypasses, the city started to widen on the European side in the direction of the highways (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 218).

Accordingly being one of the remarkable focuses that affect the formation of the city and having a pivotal role in the presentation of Istanbul, the Boğaziçi Bridge has had an impact on the urban silhouette and the image of the city both with its own existence and the alterations it caused on the urban macroform since 1973.

4. Threshold: Politics of Liberalisation and Turgut Özal (Prime Ministry) Period (1983-1989)

Türkiye started to adopt an outward-oriented politics after the 1980's. A development was aimed that would be executed by integrating and competing with the West instead of avoiding the West (Tekeli, 2010b, 171)*.* A rapid transformation started in Turkey, which opened herself to universal affluxes; Istanbul was the spot that the density of the human, finance, merchandise, and symbol affluxes were mostly felt (Keyder, 2006, 220). The concept of planning in the studies related to Istanbul was ignored due to a fluctuating liberalization period in the country. In this period, the city became a rent-creating mechanism with major rights entitled to local authorities in decisions regarding public improvements (Tapan, 1998, 87). New areas of prestige were formed with skyscrapers and with the founding of Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ), the formation process of the urban form differed (Tekeli, 2009, 132). During the years with Özal, there was a construction boom that suddenly changed the image of the city. Supermarkets and huge shopping malls started to replace small-scale enterprises; five-star hotels, business centers, and high-rise office blocks increased; many skyscrapers and high-rise blocks started to emerge within the silhouette of the city (Bozdoğan, 2010, 149). As central business areas reached Maslak, skyscrapers arose along both sides of this axe. During the ANAP government, the silhouette of the Bosphorus changed with the construction of villa sites, the big green areas rapidly turned in to a full concrete look (Sönmez, 2010, 98). After 1980's, there was a rapid increase in mass housing production. While these house settlements consisting of homogeneous, multi-storey apartment blocks mostly produced along highways were spreading to the peripheries, gated communities designed for high class started to be produced in this period. These homogeneous images received a significant place in the urban macroform (Enlil, 2011, 18).

"Bedrettin Dalan as the Mayor of Istanbul (1984-1989)"

In the Prime Ministry period of Turgut Özal, the projects of the İstanbul mayor Bedrettin Dalan also had significant impacts on the formation and transportation of the city. Under the direction of Dalan, very significant parts of the city metamorphosed by his projects.

Tarlabaşı Boulevard, the Causeway on the Bosphorus, and Kadıköy- Maltepe Coastline are among his outstanding urban projects (Haber3Group, 2007). Moreover, the basis of Taksim Pedestrianization Project, which has been causing controversy these days, also dates back to this period (Aksu, F., 2012). The most important project held by Dalan is the redevelopments of the Golden Horn, which had been a major industrial area during 1950's and 1960's, under the name of "cleaning". Within the scope of the project, a significant section of the industrial heritage of the city was destroyed (Enlil, 2011, 17). Dalan, portrayed as "Supermayor" in the press, made headlines when he declared after his election in 1984 that the color of the waters of the Golden Horn "will be as blue as my eyes". Consequently, he razed hundreds of warehouses, factories, slums and shipyards along the 4,5-mile waterway and created a green belt with playgrounds and parks. He also planned an underwater tunnel linking Europe to Asia and initiated a land fill project along the Sea of Marmara for parks and sports grounds for children. To ease transportation problems in the sprawling city, Dalan reached an agreement to built a 14-mile tram system with a daily capacity of half a million passengers. As the major of Istanbul, he initiated many other projects to turn the city into a touristic, cultural and trade center. He moved tanneries out of the city center and relocated more than 50.000 manufacturers and factories (Erdamar, 1986). In some instances he ignored or circumvented the court orders against his cleaning projects to restore the past glory and beauty of the Golden Horn that flows into the Bosphorus Strait dividing Europe and Asia and gave a face lift to the Bosporus Strait. Dalan's effort has drawn praise from many, but also criticism too (Erdamar, 1985).

Figure 11: Regeneration of Golden Horn
(http://ars.els-cdn.com/content/image/1-s2.0-S0264275111001090-gr4.jpg)

With the mass housing applications, urban infrastructure operations, investments on communication and transportation services, a new urban district started to grow around the metropolitan area of the city in this preiod. It rapidly expanded to the north with connections of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge, TEM and E-5; as a consequence, the social topography of the coasts of the Golden Horn, Bosphorus and Marmara completely changed (Yücesoy, Güvenç, 2010, 13). In this period, Dalan worked in accordance with Özal; however, as their relations deteriorated, Dalan's political dominance disappeared.

In the city which continued its development along highways during 1980's, despite all the debates, feasibility studies started for the second bridge. According to Murat and Şahin, in the period after 1985, the reality that the city's current transportation problems could not be solved with policies that increased private car use was revealed; the rail systems that had been cancelled were operated again by making them faster and more effective; and the transportation problems of the city were tried to be solved (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 218). Due to the transportation problem becoming critical in a city that became gradually complex and faced decentralization, the Municipality of Istanbul turned to railways as a solution. In this respect, İstanbul Ulaşım A.Ş. was founded in 1988 to operate metro, light metro, street tram, funicular system and cable car. First, the light metro line which currently serves between Aksaray and Havalimanı (Atatürk Airport) was activated. Then, Zeytinburnu-Kabataş tram line was constructed. While Maçka-Taşkışla cable car line was put into service in 1993 to reduce the difficulties of road and pedestrian transportation in this area (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 220) the nostalgic tram between Taksim and Tünel started to operate again in the end of 1990 (http://www.iett.gov.tr/metin.php?no=45)

"The Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge"

New industrial and residential areas were defined in the city that expanded through the north with the effect of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge opened in 1988. The outskirts of the city also expanded with the increase of unplanned urbanization and automobile ownership. In that respect, the 3rd Bridge project, which is another project related to Bosphorus passing, was first pronounced also by Bedrettin Dalan in the end of 1980's (Uysal, 2006, 77).

Figure 12: FSM Bridge
(http://img01.imgfotokritik.com/fk_new/lowres/4/0/7/407954/2634393-fatih-sultan-mehmet-koprusu.jpg)

Figure 13: FSM Bridge and the European Side of Istanbul
(http://www.flickr.com/photos/58317219@N00/6838290586/lightbox/, Photo taken by: Can Gürel)

Constructions of roads, crossings, and bridges that present short-term solutions to urban transportation problems promoted private car ownership in the long term. Furthermore, with the opening of the bridge, significant changes occurred in the urban structure; urban sprawl on the north of the city accelerated and new business centers such as Maslak and sub-centers were formed on bypass connections. Mass housing areas such as Ataşehir, Halkalı, and Bahçeşehir were formed in the north of E-5 Highway. Besides, apartmanlaşma (building apartment blocks) period in unofficial zoning was enhanced with zoning remissions. Mid-high and high income groups started to settle on gated community areas that started to form before 1980. On the other hand, industrial enterprises decentralized in the directions of Kocaeli, Adapazarı, and Trachea (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 220).

With the constant increase of private car ownership, daily life of the city and the settlement structure changed. Gradually moving away from urban life, people became more individualistic and a social system emerged where social differences increased. As car ownership increased, a settlement structure enabling the exploitation of this situation emerged. While the housing areas were spread around the city, shopping malls, industrial parks, research areas were also founded. Since space was now organized according to car ownership, automobiles became a functional need (Tekeli, 2010a, 110). So, as the first bridge this bridge also had an outstanding impact on both the urban macroform and the transportation practices of the city.

5. Threshold: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Prime Ministry) Period (2003-...) and Neo-Liberal Politics

After the 2001 crisis, which was one of the most critical crises of the Republican history, Turkey ran into a fast and radical economic-political transformation phase, with AKP becoming to power alone in the elections held one year after the crisis. The rights of local authorities were enhanced with many laws that were quickly approved in the Parliament; being reconstructed, TOKİ was connected to the Prime Ministry and became an actor that took important decisions country-wide. In many areas of the city, mass housing projects, shopping malls, hotels were continued to be built, forest areas were zoned for construction and the plans of the third bridge project were set out (Kuyucu, 2010, 122). In the direction of the concept of making Istanbul "a global city", which started in mid-1980's and accelerated in 1990's, real estate investments continued to intensify and the concretion of the city tended to continue in 2000's. The city has expanded to the west of Büyük Çekmece on the European Side and to the east of Sabiha Gökçen Airport on the Anatolian Side. These places include new centers of attraction and areas of development, which lead to a significant spatial transformation. Several transportation projects have been planned to support and complement this transformation (Sönmez, 2010, 98).

Figure 14: Canal Project as the "Crazy Project"
(http://www.turkishny.com/english-news/5-english-news/53144-turkish-pm-unveils-his-qcrazy-projectq-canal-istanbul)

With studies to privatize public land and "urban transformation projects" (KDP), the government adopted a policy that ignored infrastructural, socio-economic, and environmental effects. Renewal projects which also included "protection areas" started with urban transformation projects actualized in several historical surroundings of Istanbul. Moreover, "mega projects" are planned in several districts of the city and new areas of investment are formed for major construction companies with projects related to areas that were considered to have lost their forest status, known as 2-B areas (Kuyucu, 2010, 122). Another project of the government is the transformation of areas that carry natural disaster risk. In this respect, if the law draft is approved, thousands of buildings will be demolished and replaced by new ones in a 20-year time span.

These projects not only created differences in urban image but also affected the concept of transportation. Due to traffic jam which is experienced almost every hour of the day and long traveling hours, new methods have been searched in public transportation and attempts have been taken to provide the integration of different transportation vehicles.

As a significant improvement in road transport, Metrobus system has been established. In order to reduce the traffic in the main arteries of Istanbul, to provide fast and comfortable transport, and decrease traveling time, the system first started to operate on the European side in 2007 and then reached to Söğütlüçeşme, connecting the two sides of Istanbul in the shortest possible way. Being integrated with different transportation systems like the suburban lines, light metro, tram and metro, the system became popular in a short time [1]. Due to metrobus roads which were formed by taking lanes from highways, the number of lanes used by other vehicles reduced, which had a negative effect on the traffic. Metrobus stops and overpasses made the image of the city even more complex and planning could not prevent passengers from waiting in crowded groups.

Figure 15: People waiting in the metrobus stops, Metrobus and traffic
http://www.haberler.com/haber-resimleri/808/fsm-ye-metrobus-geliyor-3343907_o.jpg

Figure 16: Metrobus System in city traffic
http://www.enguzelresimler.net/resim-proje-resimleri-6-istanbul-metrobus-projesi-62.htm

Taksim-Kabataş funicular system; modern tram; Taksim-4.Levent metro, which was opened in 2009; Kadıköy-Kartal metro, that is planned to fill the void in transportation on the Anatolian side and to release the increasing traffic problem; and light metro planned to be completed in a couple of years are the important developments of this period in rail transportation systems (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 223).

Furthermore, Marmaray Rail Tube Tunnel Project, which has been developed to connect the two continents underground, and Eurasia Tunnel Project are also among the outstanding projects of the AKP government. With the Marmaray Project that started in 2004, the existing railways between the two continents will be connected by a tube tunnel under the Bosphorus. Thus, high capacity mass transportation, reduced travel time, and reduced traffic on the bridges are targeted (Murat, Şahin, 2010, 229). With the Eurasia Tunnel (Istanbul Strait Railroad Passing Project), a tunnel/tube is being constructed only for motor vehicles (Uysal, 2006, 78). As Erdoğan proudly highlights these projects in his speechs frequently, there are lots of critism about the disposition and traffic problem affects that will be caused.

Figure 17: Marmaray Constructions in Üsküdar
(http://i.emlaktasondakika.com/Files/NewsImages/900/466x255/4d9dc1ad-7bf6-42e9-a888-717169eb068a.jpg)

Figure 18: Presentation of Marmaray as a solution to traffic(http://medya.zaman.com.tr/2007/03/24/marmaray-info_b.jpg)

Figure 19: Map showing the routes of Marmaray and Eurasia Tunnel Project
(http://i.milliyet.com.tr/YeniAnaResim/2011/02/26/fft99_mf1170035.Jpeg)

In this context we may signify that one of the different approaches of AKP government from others is that they noticed the vote potential of transportation projects and exploit this more than others. For instance, Prime Minister Erdoğan mentioned the Channel Istanbul Project, which was put forward in 2011 for the election, to be "the crazy project" and transportation projects practiced during AKP government were brought forward to the public in the electoral period. Since the developments of this period are also planned on the main axes like the previous ones, they are considered to be unsuccessful in solving the current traffic problem. Today, unless the reduction of automobile use is encouraged, solutions offered to relieve traffic will be temporary. In this respect, public transportation not only should serve through the main axes but also should reach the side streets in order to avoid the users make too many transfers for reaching one destination to other.

Both urban transformation projects and transportation-centered projects that the government ambitiously and speedily launched are changing the urban image of Istanbul within years in the direction of the government's understanding. The most frantic work ever done in the city until now is being constructed in this period and worksites continue in several different districts of the city. That these large-scale projects prized by the government, especially carried out in Istanbul, may be approached as a part of the visual image of the city. Plus according to the Istanbul's statue of being the leading city of the country they may also serve as one of the fundamental elements of the country image worldwide.

We should also put an emphasis on the concordant relations between the mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş, who is from the same party, and Prime Minister Erdoğan. This point may give us a perspective to understand the development and the application process of the projects which are being rapidly carried out.

Epilogue

The urban transformation and change that Istanbul went through along history can be considered from many political, socio-cultural or economic axes. Changes are observed in urban image by means of the threshold points on these axes. Since changes in urban spaces and concepts of transportation have the quality to complement one another, developments in transportation systems and vehicles have been a significant part of urban image throughout history.

With the significant developments in technology experienced in line with the Industrial Revolution, starting from the 19th century, developments in transportation vehicles and forms both connected the disjoint centers of cities and created a tendency to form along transportation axes in time. In this period, transportation vehicles that affected the formation of the city as a symbol of modernization are overrated as a sign of westernization. With the sprawling of the city towards the peripheries, at the points where public transport could not reach the urban development, new transportation vehicles and forms became enrolled. After these took their place in the system, urban form continued to take shape in different axises. With the proliferation of automobiles in transportation, traffic problems arose as urban borders expanded, continuing to urban sprawl uncontrollably with the bridges that were opened respectively. Everything started to change much more speedily with the automobile and overhauling other forms of transportation, highway system started to dominate the city.

When the public transportation system in Istanbul is compared to metropolises with similar dimensions, as Gerçek, who indicates that the network is insufficient; approaches suggested for transportation problems have a micro and partial structure. Lack of an integrated and central approach triggers the problem. The integration of types of transportation and facilitation of public transportation transfers with suitable transfer stations (Gerçek, 2006, 64) can be a step towards facilitating the daily life of the inhabitants. Thereby, in the recent periods there has been an attempt to integrate the systems by offering different transportation systems and vehicles to provide comfortable transport between two points by using public transport in the city. In this respect, political decisions have generally been under the exploitation of elections and populist discourses

have pivoted on transportation mechanism. While the government and local authorities having the same political approach enhanced the mutually suggested projects, the lack of a critical and questioning mechanism occasionally may lead to false decisions taken.

According to the inquiry, we may point out that applications of the transportation systems have a significant effect on the evolution of the city image in the case of Istanbul besides its affects on the urban development and transformation. Consequently, the transportation decisions should be considered not only as a solution for the traffic or as a service for the urban problems but also as a part of the city image.

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TABLES

Table 1: Table of the evolution process of transportation systems in Istanbul and affecting thresholds

| EVOLUTION OF THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS | | | THRESHOLDS | |
RAIL TRANSPORTATION	HIGHWAY SYSTEM	SEA TRANSPORTATION		
	HORSEBACK	BOAT	INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AFFECTS	
	HORSE CART (ONLY SULTANS)		FRENCH REVOLUTION	1789
				1800
	HAYRETİYE BRIDGE	SHIPS IN BOSPHORUS		**1839**
	HORSE CARTS (COMMONPLACE)		EDICT OF GÜLHANE	
	ESKİ BRIDGE	ŞİRKET-İ HAYRİYE	HELMUT VON MOLTKE APPLICATIONS / ARNODIN AND BOUVARD	1850
	YAHUDİ BRIDGE			1860
DERSAADET TRAM HORSECAR **RAILWAYS LOCAL RAILWAYS** TAKSIM TUNNEL		İDARE-İ MAHSUSA		1870
				1880
				1900
ELECTRIFICATION OF THE TRAMS	CAR	HALİÇ VAPUR ŞİRKETİ		1914
			WORLD WAR 1	1918
			PROCLAMATION OF REPUBLIC	**1923**
	BUS		GREAT DEPRESSION	1929 / 1930
	CAR OWNERSHIP STARTS TI INCREASE RAPIDLY			**1936** / 1939
		MERGE OF THE COMPANIES	PROST'S PLANNING / WORLD WAR 2	1945
	DOLMUŞ (COL. TAXI) SHUTTLE	PUBLIC FERRY MOTOR	ADNAN MENDERES (PRIME MINISTER) PERIOD	**1950**
ELIMINATION OF THE RAILWAYS	MINIBUS			**1960**
ELECTRIFICATION OF THE LOCAL RAILWAYS	**BOĞAZİÇİ BRIDGE**	FERRYBOAT		1973
		SEABUS	TURGUT ÖZAL (PRIME MINISTER) + B. DALAN (MAYOR)	**1983**
ISTANBUL ULAŞIM A.Ş. **RAILWAYS IN THE SYSTEM AGAIN**	**FSM BRIDGE**			1988 / **1989**
LIGHT METRO NOSTALGIC TRAM TAKSİM CABLECAR TRAM				1990
				2000
MODA TRAM FUNICULAR SYSTEM MODERN TRAM TAKSİM-4 LEVENT METRO KABATAŞ TRAM	7 TUNNELS FOR 7 HILLS METROBUS SYSTEM		R. TAYYİP ERDOĞAN (PRIME MINISTER) + K.TOPBAŞ (MAYOR) PERIOD	**2003** / 2005
MARMARAY PROJECT *KADIKÖY METRO PROJECT*	*TAKSİMİ AS A PEDESTRIAN ZONE PROJECT* CANAL PROJECT *EURASIA TUNNEL PROJECT*	*CANAL PROJECT*		2012

Places of Global Flows: The Case of Dubai

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Keywords: Global Flows, Dubai, World City

We live in the era of globalization which features what David Harvey refers to as time-space compression (Harvey, 1990). The revolution in communication and transportation technologies has contributed to the acceleration of the experience of time and the shrinkage of the significance of distances. This has facilitated the integration of economic, cultural, political, and social systems across the globe or what we call "globalization." The movements of capital, people, information and knowledge currently feature unprecedented rates and magnitudes (see Held & McGrew, 2002). These movements are referred to as global flows. These flows have increased long distance connectedness, economic interdependence and cultural integration. Besides, they caused the restructuring of spaces and urban forms of cities (see Held, 1995; Hannerz, 1996).

Billions of dollars are flowing across the globe every second. In 2010, nearly 940 million international tourist arrivals were recorded around the world generating one trillion dollars of revenues.[1] Information, knowledge, and ideas are exchanged with the speed of light. All these dramatic changes in the ways people interact and communicate have significantly impacted trends of urban development. It poses challenges to local identities and cultures. However, it also offers opportunities to developing cities through the unprecedented access to global capital and knowledge.

The intense exposure to global flows has triggered the emergence of new urban landscapes or what Arjun Appadurai refers to as "scapes of flows" (Appadurai, 1990). According to him, five types of scapes emerge in response to globalization.

1) E*thnoscapes* which are created by the interaction of diverse cultures and ethnics activated by the revolution in transportation technology. Tourists, immigrants, travelers and refugees moving from one place to another contribute to the production of these landscapes.

2) *Mediascapes* which are triggered by the expanding role of media as a result of the revolution in information technology. Today, internet and TV channels are major sources of information and knowledge.

3) *Finanscapes* or the landscapes created by flows of capital that are triggered by currency markets, stock exchanges, and transnational corporations.

4) *Technoscapes* which reflect the influence of advanced technologies of communication and networking on contemporary life.

5) *Ideascapes* or the ideologies and counter-ideologies that are spreading in unprecedented rates because of the revolution in modes of communication (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai describes these "scapes" as the critical players that shape social practices in the era of globalization.

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[1] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

The five scapes discussed by Appadurai (1990) are becoming features of "world cities." They reflect the intensity of flows to an urban context. The emergence of these scapes in top world cities such as New York and London was associated with the production of places that have the capacity of serving global flows. World class business centers, international airports and immigrants enclaves are examples of these places. In this paper I argue that Dubai is actually reversing the process experienced by top world cities. In the case of global cities, certain urban typologies have actually emerged in response to global flows. In other words, these places were shaped *by* global flows. In the case of a globalizing city such as Dubai, urban change is shaped *for* global flows. Dubai has actually been investing in creating places that have the capacity of attracting global flows to its local context. In the following section I explain the concept of places of flows and its role in the process of Dubai's globalization.

Places of Flows

Places of flows are urban nodes that attract and host agglomeration of global flows. In order for capital, people and information to move to a city, there must be places that transfer them to the local context. Although global flows, as noted by Castells (1996), are capable of penetrating national and local boundaries, they still need places to host their interaction with the locale (see Castells, 1996). In the era of globalization, certain places can play a significant role in attracting global flows. It is worth noting that the three types of places of flows I discuss in this paper might overlap, or in other words, the same place can host multiple forms of flows.

A- Places of Capital Flows:

Places of capital flows are hubs that attract flows of capital to a local context. International banks, stock markets, financial corporations and trading firms are all examples of these places. The revolution in information technology has facilitated transnational trade and communication between sites of production and those of consumption. It allowed the relocation of corporate offices far from manufacturing sites and the development on new urban concentrations or what Saskia Sassen calls "production complexes" (Sassen, 1995). Corporate headquarters, international banks and transnational enterprises preferring to locate close to service firms such as lawyers, accountants, designers and brokers are forming new nodes of agglomeration. Besides, they seek places that can offer an exquisite lifestyle for their top executives and intellectuals elites.

Business headquarters hosting major multinational corporations became an essential urban typology in any top world city. Cities that are seeking to upgrade their world city status tend to establish these headquarters in spectacular forms in order to attract the attention of multinational corporations. Although capital can be transferred from one place to another through cyber space, there is a continuous need to establish business centers at both poles of these transactions. The flow of capital to a city is triggered by economic activities which are designed and managed by both governments and corporations in the place. Places of capital flows are essential for any city aiming to become a major player in the global economy. The quality and quantity of these places indicate the scale of capital flows to the city and its role in the global economy.

Places of Capital Flows in Dubai:

Since the beginning of the 20th century Dubai has been growing as a business hub. However, it was not until the late 70s that city started to become one of the major trade centers in the region. The opening of Jebel Ali Free Zone in 1979 has jump started urban development in the city. It has triggered massive flows of capital and goods to and from Dubai. The free zone hosts 37% of the city non-oil trade. It was supported by a series of other places of capital flows such as Dubai International Financial Center (DIFC) which is described by the government of Dubai as "the newest global financial hub, bridging the geographical and time gaps between the major capital

markets of New York and London in the West and Hong Kong in the East."[2] Around 848 companies were registered at DIFC by the end of 2011. In their mission statement, the DIFC describes itself as "the world's fastest growing international financial centre. It aims to develop the same stature as New York, London and Hong Kong."[3] DFIC hosts Dubai International Financial Exchange (DIFX) which was renamed as NASDAQ Dubai. NASDAQ OMX acquired a one-third stake in NASDAQ Dubai in February 2008. The other two-thirds are owned by Borse Dubai the holding company for Dubai Financial Market (DFM). DIFC allows 100% foreign ownership and offers 0% tax rate on income and profits.

Tourist hubs are another examples of places of capital flows in Dubai. The city received nearly 10 million tourists in 2010 and is expecting to receive 15 million in 2015. Dubai managed to create an attractive urban environment in order to compete with major tourist destinations in the region such as Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey. The city has simply relied on contemporary spectacular architecture in order to attract tourism. Places such as Burj Al Arab, the most luxuries hotel in the world; Atlantis The Palm, a $1.5 billion replica of Atlantis Bahamas; and the new Giorgio Armani Hotel, the first of its kind in the world have managed to attract millions of tourists to the city every year. In 1988, the number of hotels in Dubai was estimated by 48 hotel. In 2010, this number reached 382 offering 51,115 rooms.[4]

Tourism in Dubai has generated nearly $4.8 Billion of revenues in 2010. Foreigners constitute 94% of hotel guests which emphasizes their contribution to capital flows to the city. Hotels in Dubai not only bring capital to the city in the form of revenues, but also act as nodes of agglomeration of domestic and foreign investments. Most of the city's extravagant hotels are partially funded by international corporations such as Kerzner International which invests in Atlantis The Palm, and Donald Trump the developer of the Trump International Hotel and Tower.

Spectacular mega real estate developments are another form of places of capital flows in Dubai. These projects have the capacity of attracting global capital to the city. The new residential and commercial developments in Dubai mainly target foreign consumers. The number of supplied units in the real estate market exceeds the demands of the local population. Besides, the majority of foreign residents in the city cannot afford the luxurious residential units in the market. These projects are mainly sold to regional and international rich elites. For example, and as noted by Mohamed Alabbar, the developer of Burj Khalifa, the project has sold 85% of its units, worth $1.1 billion in two nights.[5] Customers are from all around the world including Russia, Iran, Europe, and the Arab Gulf. Projects as the Palm and World Islands have attracted many of the world rich elites such as the Irish investor John Dolan and celebrities such as David Beckham. The first 4,000 condos and homes sold on Palm Jumeirah went to citizens of the United Arab Emirates and other Persian Gulf countries, 25% went to British customers and rest was purchased by 75 different nationalities.[6]

According to Khaleej Times, a leading newspaper in Dubai, "two out of three of all new freehold properties in the UAE are bought by foreign corporations or individuals who live outside the country."[7] Mohamed Nimer, CEO of MAG Group Property Development, notes that final home owners currently account for 30% of the market and only 5% of them are UAE nationals.[8] These figures reflect the scale of capital brought to the city by real estate development. The construction sector actually comes second after financial intermediation and insurance in attracting flows of

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[2] Government of Dubai official website:
http://www.dubai.ae/en.portal?businesses,biz_market,1,&_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=topic

[3] Dubai International Financial Centre official website: http://www.difc.ae/index.html

[4] Dubai Statistics Centre.

[5] CBS- 60 minutes: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/60minutes/main3361753.shtml

[6] James Calderwood, Residents of Dubai's manmade palm isle enjoy pricey digs, USA Today, 6/23/2007

[7] Foreign buyers dominate freehold market, 27 May 2008.

[8] Foreign buyers dominate freehold market, 27 May 2008.

capital. Dubai is currently the largest recipient of foreign investments in the Middle East. DIFC aims to host 20% of the world's investment funds.[9] The city has benefited of flows of Arab capital from the West post to 9/11. It managed to attract a significant portion of these investments. As noted by Mike Davis (2005):

Since 9/11 many Middle Eastern investors, fearing possible lawsuits or sanctions, have pulled up stakes in the West. According to Salman bin Dasmal of Dubai Holdings, the Saudis alone have repatriated one third of their trillion-dollar overseas portfolio. The sheikhs are bringing it back home, and last year the Saudis were believed to have ploughed at least $7 billion into Dubai's sand castles (Davis, 2005).

Dubai managed to attract these flows of capital by offering huge opportunities and incentives mainly in the real estate sector. The extravagant urban projects in the city absorbed billions of the dollars that were withdrawn from western banks. Dubai offered a safe haven for Arab billionaires who feared the confiscation of their accounts in Western banks. The city currently has construction projects worth hundreds of billions of dollars. As described by Steve Kroft, Dubai is:

One project, called by some the 'largest construction site on earth,' was just desert several years ago. The site employs half a million laborers, working 12 hour shifts on a reported $300 billion worth of projects, building Sheikh Mohammed's dream of a modern, efficient and tolerant Arab city with fine restaurants, a vibrant nightlife, that is both the playground and business capital of a new Middle East.[10]

Whole sale and retail trade receives 20.5% of direct foreign investments in the city. Free zones facilitate trade between the city and the global domain. For direct trade, imports of Dubai are estimated by $120 billion in 2011. However, nearly 30% of the imports value is re-exported again. The value of trade in free zones such as Jebel Ali reached nearly 101 billion dollars in the same year.

Places of capital flows managed to bring huge foreign investments to Dubai. These places encouraged investors to pour billions of dollars in the market. The financial city, free zones, business headquarters and mega projects have all contributed to the huge scale of flows to the city. The production of these places has triggered massive capital flows to the city.

B- Places of People Flows:

As argued by Smith and Timberlake (1995), "the world system is constituted, on one level, by a vast network of locales that are tied together by multitude of direct and indirect exchanges" (Smith & Timberlake, 1995). For global flows of people, these ties include modes of transportation that facilitate people movement and hubs that host them. The revolution in modes of transportation, especially air travel has facilitated the movement of people across the globe. According to the International Air Transport Association, 2.8 billion passengers have traveled by air in 2011.[11]

Human flows from one place to another require both modes of transportation and nodes of agglomeration. Places such as airports, seaports, highways and train stations facilitate mobility. They contribute to what Donald Janelle (1969) describes as "space-time convergence" or the diminishing time needed to connect two places due to the advances in transportation technologies (Janelle, 1969). Hotels, resort areas, tourist attractions, immigrants and foreign labor enclaves, universities and convention centers are all examples of nodes of agglomeration that attract people and trigger their movement from one place to another. These places are important indicators of the scale of human flows to a city.

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[9] "Omniyat Holdings Announces the Establishment of Omniyat Investment Management" DIFC Press Centre 30 March
[10] CBS- 60 minutes: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/60minutes/main3361753.shtml
[11]The International Air Transport Association 2012 Annual Review: http://www.iata.org/about/Documents/annual-review-2012.pdf

Flows of people take different forms such as tourism, business travel, and labor immigration and migration. Although modes of transportation of these different forms flows are similar, the nodes of agglomeration are significantly different. Tourists arrive to their destinations through places as airports, seaports, train and bus stations or border check points. Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams (2004) note that:

The direct distance between potential points of origin and destination no longer matters. Instead, scapes [modes of mobility] create inequalities in tourist and related flows as they bypass some areas, while connecting others with channels enriched with transport and tourism facilities (Shaw and Williams, 2004).

Places of tourists' agglomeration such as hotels, resorts, museums and other attractions are another indicator of the scale of human flows to a city. No doubt that information technology has created what John Urry (2001) calls "virtual and imaginative travel" through internet, radio and TV (Urry, 2001). However, "there is no evidence that virtual and imaginative travel is replacing corporeal travel" (Urry, 2001). Today, tourism is one of the largest sectors of the global economy. Cities that don't have natural or urban attractions tend to create artificial ones in order to draw part of global tourism. These invented places are becoming commodities that generate wealth for their cities.

Migration is another form of human flows in the era of globalization. In 2010, the number of people living outside their countries of birth was estimated to be 215 million, up from 82 million in 1970.[12] Nearly 75% of all international migrants are in 12% of all countries.[13] Migrants usually use the same modes of mobility as tourists. However, their nodes of agglomeration are different. Depending on their race, culture and number, some immigrant groups might create enclaves or little communities within the city they live in. Others prefer to assimilate into the local culture. However, there are always places that reflect the presence of immigrants such as religious and cultural centers, and ethnic restaurants and schools.

Places created for or by immigrants feature multiple forms of interaction between the local and the global. They expose local cultures to foreign influences and accordingly create hybrid environments. These places are another indicator of the scale of human flows to a city. Most of the major world cities as London, New York, and Los Angeles have these nodes of agglomeration. As observed by Laguerre (1999), "a global city is any urban environment housing a multiplicity and diversity of transnational niches" (Laguerre, 1999, p. 19). These niches or enclaves as described by Featherstone and Lash (1995) are "global creation of locality" (Featherstone & Lash, 1995). Mark Abrahamson describes these enclaves as any named locale that hosts a subculture and features some sort of attachment between its residents (Abrahamson, 1995). They are either constructed little cities within the city such as Chinatowns and Koreatowns in many American cities, or less defined agglomerations that feature some distinct qualities such as Muslims' neighborhoods in London. The presence of these enclaves triggers more immigrants' flows to the city. They provide haven for new comers who don't master the local language nor are familiar with the new lifestyle. In these enclaves immigrants can find "middleman minorities" who can help them settle and find a job (see Cobas, 1987).

Immigrants' enclaves are important indicator of people flows to a city. They are part of the urban fabric of most of the top world cities. These enclaves might not appear in a well-defined form. They could be in the form of networks of services and places of agglomeration across the urban fabric of the city. These places could be traced by reading the urban text. They produce symbols and signifiers that distinguish them within the local urban structure.

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[12] International Organization for Migration: http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/global-estimates-and-trends
[13] United Nations' Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2003 Revision.

In many cases, places of flows of people are also nodes of global capital agglomeration. In 2010, inward remittance flows are estimated by $325 billion.[14] In the same year, international tourism has generated nearly one trillion dollars.[15] These flows of capital are associated with flows of people who in turn trigger flows of ideas and information. In this sense, some places as immigrants' urban settings for example, act as nodes of intense agglomeration of multiple types of flows.

Places of People Flows in Dubai:

Dubai, as most of the Arab Gulf cities, relies heavily on foreign labor mainly from the Middle and Far East. According to Dubai Statistics Centre, foreigners make nearly 85% of the population of the city. This makes Dubai a major hub of flows of labor in the region. Adding to this, the city is becoming one of the top tourist destinations in the Middle East. The production of a series of places of people flows has contributed significantly to the increasing number of tourists to the city. Dubai has invested billions of dollars in extravagant hotels such as Burj Al Arab which actually jump started iconic architecture in the city. This luxuries hotel is one of a kind. The lowest room rate is nearly $2000. It opened in 2000 as part of the city's new millennium celebrations. It was followed by a series of luxury hotels run by global chains as Hilton, Intercontinental and Hyatt. In 2008, Atlantis The Palm, a replica of the one in Bahamas, has opened in Dubai. The cost of the opening ceremony is estimated by $20 million.[16] The hotel was built on the man-made island of Palm Jumeirah. The hotel offers under water suites surrounded by tanks of fish and dolphins. The Armani is another extravagant hotel in Burj Khalifa. It is the first of a new chain of Giorgio Armani Hotels. The hotel and 144 residential units in the same tower are exclusively designed by Armani Designers.

Attracting tourists to Dubai mainly relies on the idea of creating spectacles. Hotels, an example of places of people flows in the city, usually have a theme. This makes most of the major hotels in the city destinations rather than places that host tourists coming to the Dubai. People go to the city in order to see Burj Al Arab Hotel. They even pay a fee to enter its reception. Same phenomenon could be observed in Atlantis The Palm which attracts much more visitors than guests.

Dubai invested in constructing one of the largest international airports in the world. In 2011, Dubai International airport served 51 million passengers on 326,341 flights making it the fourth busiest airport in the world in terms of international passengers. The airport current capacity is 62 million passengers.[i] Over 150 airlines operate out of Dubai International Airport.[ii] The airport capacity is expected to reach 90 million in 2018 and will be expanded again to serve 98.5 million passengers in 2020.[iii] Once fully completed, it will be the largest airport in the world with a passenger's capacity of 120 million. This huge number of passengers compared to the small population of the city reflects the intense degree of people flows to and from the city. The airport plays a significant role in accelerating the rate of these movements considering the absence of other modes of regional transportation except vehicles.

Mega shopping malls are another example of places of flows in the city. Dubai has invested intensely in creating mega malls, the largest, not only in the region but the whole world. Dubai Mall a 9,000,000 ft² of shopping retail space that is designed to host 1200 stores is one of the largest malls in the world. It marked the largest mall opening in history with 600 retailers. The mall is located in Burj Khalifa, the tallest building on earth. The mall hosted 37 million visitors in its first year. It includes a 10,000,000 liters aquarium with 33,000 marine animals on display.[17]

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[14] Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011:
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/Factbook2011-Ebook.pdf
[15] World Tourism Organization
[16] Gulf News: Atlantis opens doors to rich and famous, By Kevin Scott, Staff Reporter
Published: November 21, 2008. http://archive.gulfnews.com/indepth/altantisparty/more_stories/10261692.html
[17] Dubai Mall Media Centre: http://www.thedubaimall.com/en/news/media-centre/news-section/dubai-aquarium-guinness-worlds-largest-acrylic-panel.html

As most of the major developments in Dubai, malls are designed to look spectacular. Ibn Batutta Mall for example, is named after the medieval traveler and explorer Ibn Battuta. The mall has six main sections; each replicates the architecture of the regions visited by Ibn Battuta. The mall has Chinese, Egyptian, Persian, Tunisian, Andalusian and Indian themed courts. The mall is a major destination for both locals and visitors of the city. It is one of the major hubs of people flows in Dubai. The mall was developed by Nakheel Company, one of the largest real estate developers in Dubai and the owner of the famous man-made Palm Islands. Again, this company is partially owned by the ruling family and the government of Dubai. Mercato Mall is another example of themed malls in Dubai. The place replicates Tuscan and Venetian architecture. The developer states with pride that Mercato Mall is the first themed mall in the Middle East.[18]

All these places managed to attract millions of people to Dubai. The city became a major tourism hub in the Middle East. Besides, it became one of the most appealing locations for transnational corporations and their talented experts and professionals. In less than a decade, Dubai succeeded in transforming itself to become a major global hub for people flows.

C- Places of Information and Knowledge Flows:

Unlike people, ideas can flow from one place to another in enormous speed. Through the internet, satellite channels or any other digital form, ideas can penetrate local boundaries and territories. In the context of this study, I am mainly concerned with places that receive these flows and transmit them to the local context. The internet and TV channels are modes of connection between the local and the global. Homes, internet cafes, ICT headquarters, libraries and universities are examples of the hubs or nodes of agglomeration of these flows.

According to Castells, information is the raw material of the new technological paradigm that shape contemporary life (Castells 1996). It could be argued that flows of information, knowledge and ideas have reached places that other forms of flows could not reach. Flows of knowledge and ideas that featured early phases of globalization occurred to a great extent, spontaneously or on individualistic level through new modes as internet and satellite channels. Today, flows of knowledge is more institutionalized and managed by organizations and institutions. The concepts of the knowledge economy and the production and management of knowledge are becoming crucial in discussions on globalization and cities. Knowledge management is defined as "the systematic process of identifying, capturing, and transferring information and knowledge people can use to create, compete, and improve."[19]

Global flows of knowledge require nodes of agglomeration that transmit them to the locale or what Kris Olds calls "global knowledge-based hubs" (see Olds, 2007). Educational facilities are examples of places that have the capacity of hosting agglomerations of information and knowledge flows. Many of the cities seeking an upgrade of their world city status are focusing on the internationalization of their education to maximize their exposure to global flows of knowledge and information. According to Olds (2007), internationalization of education occurs in four different modes: 1) Cross-border supply such as on-line distance education; 2) Consumption abroad of education services by sending students to study in other countries; 3) Commercial presence in the form of establishing foreign campuses in the city; and 4) Presence of faculty teaching in another country or bringing foreign faculty (Olds 2007). The new emerging transnational educational institutions also include schools, libraries and training centers. Partnership between local and foreign educational institutions is currently a common trend in many globalizing cities. These institutions are becoming places of flows of knowledge and information.

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[18] Mercato Mall Official Website: http://mt.mercatotowncentre.com/default.php
[19] The American Productivity and Quality Center (APQC)

Although contemporary modes of information and knowledge flows such internet, phones and satellite channels offer alternatives to face-to-face communication, they also contribute to the emergence of what Howard Rheingold (2006) describes as the "smart mobs" (Rheingold 2002). He means by smart mobs, groups of people who manage to use communications technology to activate and organize social actions and events in the real world (Rheingold 2002). These flows of information agglomerate in places such as plazas, squares, and streets. They initiate events, protests and political activities. In this sense, public places become a core hub for flows of information and knowledge.

Places of Information Flows in Dubai:

Since the beginning of its transformation to become a world city, Dubai has focused on constructing the most advanced communication networks in the region. The state of Dubai has invested intensively in ICT infrastructure and offered very attractive incentives to transnational information technology giants to come to the city. In 2000, the city launched Dubai internet city (DIC), a huge information technology hub that was able to bring major world corporations like Microsoft, Cisco Systems, IBM, HP, Dell, Siemens, Sun Microsystems, Computer Associates, PeopleSoft, and Sony Ericsson to Dubai. In its mission statement, there is a clear emphasis on the notion of connecting the local to the global.

"The mission of Dubai Internet City is to create an infrastructure, environment and attitude that will enable Information and Communications Technology (ICT) enterprises to operate locally, regionally and globally, from Dubai, with significant competitive advantage."[20] In its early years, DIC offered major global enterprises very attractive deals to open branches in Dubai including subsidized office spaces. Enterprises in DIC pay no taxes since the whole project is a free zone.

Dubai Internet City was followed by a series of information technology hubs such as Dubai Media City (DMC), a place that offers world class services for the media industry. The project is owned by the state and as mentioned in their mission statement "reflects the vision of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, UAE Vice President, Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai to transform Dubai into a knowledge-based society and economy."[21] DMC with the newly established Dubai International Media Production Zone and Dubai Studio City tend to attract international media production companies to Dubai. They offer all types of media services and enjoy the same free zone regulations as Dubai Internet City. Many private international and domestic media production enterprises as CNN, Reuters, Showtime Arabia, CNBC Arabiya, and the Pakistani Ary Digital Network broadcast from Dubai Media City.

The determination of the state of Dubai to invest in places of information and knowledge flows not only served its interest in becoming a major media hub, but also contributed to the quality of education in the city. Dubai Knowledge Village launched in 2003, is a huge international educational center with a kilometer long building that is designed to host any knowledge based activities. Dubai International Academic City is another hub of flows of information and knowledge. It focuses on international higher education and is owned by the state.

International education in another form of activities that trigger flows of ideas and information. Dubai hosts many international schools and universities that act as hubs of flows to and from the city. The American School of Dubai, Dubai British School, American University of Dubai, and British University in Dubai are examples of these hubs. These places serve both foreigners and locals who seek foreign education.

Events and conventions are other forms of activities that trigger flows of information and ideas. Dubai has relied heavily on spectacular events in order to promote itself globally. Concerts, fashion

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[20] Dubai Internet City Official Website: http://www.dmc.ae/
[21] Dubai Media City Website: http://www.dmc.ae/

shows, expos, and international athletic tournaments introduce to locals new ideals and lifestyles. In 2010, Dubai International Convention and Exhibition Centre drew 1.4 million visitors from over 155 countries with 32,781 exhibiting companies from over 85 countries.[22] Cars, fashion, jewelry, yachts, construction and real estate expos in Dubai attract major international corporations and experts.

Conclusion:

During the last decade, Dubai managed to transform itself to become an influential player in the new world order. The city relied on constructing a series of places which have the capacity of attracting and hosting agglomerations of global flows of capital, people, and information. These places have triggered enormous flows to Dubai. Billions of dollars moved to the city through places such as Jebel Ali Free Zone, Dubai International Financial Centre and many mega real estate projects such as The Palm and The World artificial Islands. Mega shopping malls such as Dubai Mall and Ibn Battuta Mall, and spectacular places such as Burj Khalifa, Atlantic The Palm and Burj Al Arab managed to attract millions of tourists to Dubai. The city became a major tourism hub in the Middle East that competes with other destinations such as Egypt and Turkey. For information and knowledge, Dubai has developed a series of places such as Dubai Media City, Dubai Internet City, and the Knowledge Village which have intensified flows of knowledge and information to the city.

By these three types of places of flows, Dubai managed to upgrade its world city status. In ten years, the city was able to transform itself from a peripheral world city to become one of the emerging global cities in the world today. It was all about the production of places of flows which triggered global flows of capital, people, and information to the city.

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[22] Dubai International Convention and Exhibition Centre.
http://www.dwtc.com/en/Tenants/Latest+News+%26+Features/4-2011/Massive+14+per+cent+Growth+in+Footfall+at+Region%E2%80%99s+Largest+Venue

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Notes:

[i] Dubai International Airport official website:
http://www.dubaiairport.com/DIA/English/TopMenu/About+DIA/New+Projects/
Dubai Statistics Center: http://www.dsc.gov.ae/Reports/DSC_SYB_2011_11_02.pdf
[ii] http://www.dubaiairports.ae/en/media-centre/Documents/Oxford%20Economics_Explaining%20Dubai's%20Aviation%20Model_June%202011.pdf
[iii] http://www.dubaiairport.com/en/media-centre/Documents/Dubai%20Airports%27%20Yearbook%202010-2011.pdf

"HOW SUSTAINABLE ARE INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS? A STUDY IN GOLDEN HORN DISTRICT"

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Before industrial revolution architectural cities and structures developed within the framework of the needs and often exhibited an attitude that seemed to repeat itself. But after the industrial revolution, as in all areas, cities and buildings are also faced with a rapidly changing renewal.

Because of in some areas of the city not utilizing various developments, the changing within social structure by immigration and population growth, with bad living conditions and environmental degradation, urban fabric begins to tear. Therefore subject of "re-evaluation and transformation" of industrial buildings which come up with their specific properties especially in old / historical urban areas should be analyzed in terms of physical and social sustainability. In this context, the causes and effects on the change and transformation of three industrial buildings which have been chosen from Golden Horn district with sustainability criterion will be analyzed.

The reason of choosing Golden Horn and the old industrial buildings as a working area is in spite of losing its value as being a city center through the ages and becoming outmoded during 20th century; Golden Horn has potentials about getting back the old value of its own with lots of new projects.

Nowadays because of the effect of globalization, developing industries through technological advancements and new, modern lifestyles, the concept of sustainability become a necessity in all sectors such as construction, architecture and urbanism. Because of this reason it is also wanted to provide economical, social and environment sustainability in the conservation of the industrial areas.

In this paper, it is aimed to evaluate the reflections of environmental, social and economical values -which are three fundamental steps of sustainability- to the architecture. In the light of sustainability criteria formed by combining the findings from this evaluation and findings from comprehensive literature research, the aim of the study is to examine how sustainable is the conversion of old industrial buildings located in the Golden Horn.

1. Introduction

With change and transformation, industrial buildings that are located in industrial areas face some regeneration actions. In regard of these actions, whether these buildings considered within sustainability concept constitutes the main problem of this study.

It is aimed to inspect the selected buildings that have certain characteristics in the phase of re-evaluation and transformation with the context of economical, social and ecological attributes of sustainability. It is also aimed that complete evaluation of selected buildings in the context of sustainability.

In this study that evaluates how much sustainable are regenerated industrial buildings in the end of regeneration period; Golden Horn is chosen as one of the old, lost its functions and having high regeneration potential areas of country. Three completed projects selected in order to evaluate end results. Another reason that all three buildings are selected from Golden Horn area is that the ability to observe if any different approaches made during regeneration despite the fact that they are all located at the same area.

Comprehensive literature study has been made about sustainability before the evaluation of how much these selected buildings are sustainable after regeneration work. With this literature study, it is aimed to reveal what are the social, economic and ecologic indicators of sustainability. After the literature study that helped to specify certain criterion about sustainability, a case study has been conducted on Santral Istanbul, Rahmi Koç Museum, Kadir Has University.

The reason of using a case study in the content of this study is; case study method based on inspecting one individual, group, example or incident deeply in order to understand basic principles under cause and effect relationships. Case study is an appropriate strategy to answer research inquiries such as 'how' and 'why' (Robson, 1993; Yin, 1998). In general, case study is a method that preferred when questions 'why' and 'how' emerged and also the researcher have very little control over events (Yin, 2002).

With the help of case study, literature knowledge that is discussed during this study will be questioned in the context of example buildings, thus sustainability concept in industrial buildings will be presented.

2. The Changes and Transformations of Industrial Buildings

Building with its environment gains more importance and becomes a big part of a whole (Kuban, 2007). Before the industrial revolution, architectures and cities were developed only in the framework of the needs, then they were faced with a quick regeneration and after the Second World War, changes became more visible. Therefore, in certain buildings, loss of function because of technological backwardness, economical wears, finally, functional changes had happened. These situations also caused undamaged urban fabrics, negative living conditions, regional wears and architectural decrepit.

Industrial buildings among these buildings were developed by the Industrial Revolution but industrial buildings began to get older and dysfunctional because of these beloved mentioned reasons in the last century -especially after the Second World War-:

- Resource shortages/ need for displacement;
- Technological backwardness;
- Physical attrition, wear and tear (they faced negative effects of production process such as high temperature, harmful gases, extreme pollution throughout the years); Hence, these abundant and vacant industrial areas with their structures became the problems of the urban life, which needed urgent solutions.

Because of these reasons; turning these re-functioned sediment buildings and their entourage more viable and livable must be the most important objective. Preserve social fabric, integration of old buildings and areas to new regions are required and urban life must be sustained in old/new areas (Baytin (Polatoğlu), 2003, -December-). In the name of sustainability, researches on these buildings solely could be realized by "Social, Physical and Economic Recovery".

When these areas were built, they were the facilities with technological and physical equipment satisfying needs of the age, in the course of time; these areas were abandoned because of the functional changes or dysfunction and industrial heritage was imperiled.

However, industrial areas and buildings with their mechanical equipment associated with the structures in which they are included are the important indicators of the socio-economic past of a country. Generally, only these buildings which are designed to satisfy functional objectives are transformed because of their symbolic existence and their representativeness (Cengizkan, 2006).

3. Sustainability and Sustainable Development

Projects include many different phases from exploration through design, construction, operation and decommissioning. Project activities are result in a very wide range of direct and indirect environmental, social and economic impacts (Keeble et. al, 2003). Because of this reason, a project is sustainable when the project improves in all three sustainable development dimensions, i.e. environmental respect, social integration and social economy, maintaining cost, time, quality and performance, at an acceptable range (Fernández-Sánchez and Rodríguez-López, 2010).

Sustainability is a world view that fulfills economic, environmental and social needs without harming living conditions of posterity. In the context of sustainability, sustainable construction differentiates itself from traditional construction by adding cost, quality and time objectives along with minimizing resource consumption, minimizing environmental degradation and creating healthy built-up environment (Kibert, 1994).

Kibert's definition can be considered as the inception of sustainable construction. It identifies the central objectives of sustainable construction, which provides a high building performance for the occupiers. However, it does not establish its relationship with social and economic environment (Zhou and Lowe, 2003).

Hill and Bowen (1997) divided Kibert's principles in four 'pillars': social, economic, biophysical and technical.

- **Social sustainability** highlights improvements in the quality of human life, and human living environment, which include culture, health, education, and intergenerational equity.
- **Economic sustainability** includes the use of full-cost accounting methods and real-cost pricing to set prices and tariffs for goods and services and achieve more efficient use of resource.
- **Biological sustainability** includes the motion that sustainable construction needs to protect the natural environment rather than pollute, encourages the use renewable resource and reduce the use of water, energy, materials and land in each stage of a project.
- **Technical sustainability** requires high performance, durability, quality and mixed use of a building.

In the concept of sustainability; the economic, social and environmental aspects, which are inextricably linked, remain the three fundamental pillars that must always be appropriately addressed (Ekundayo et. al., 2011). Getting these primary aspects of sustainability –economic, environmental and social– in relation to the architectural works; four key questions relating to economic, social, environmental and natural resources use can lead us:

- **Economic:** Will the project generate prosperity and enhance the affected economies?

- **Social:** Will the project be implemented in a socially responsible manner and benefit the affected communities in a fair and equitable way?

- **Environmental quality:** Will the project cause long term damage to the environment?

- **Use of natural resources:** Will the project protect and enhance natural capital? (Keeble et. Al, 2003).

By the turn of the 20th century, due to fast industrialization and rapid urbanization, the natural and the built environment have been facing several environmental, economic and social problems. These problems are mostly environmental oriented in the developed countries, whereas they are more concerned with economic and social issues in the developing ones. To overcome these current problems and to ensure future progress in the improvement of economic, social and environmental conditions in human settlements, the concept of "sustainable development" has emerged as a challenge to realize economic and social development, and environmental protection, which are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development- the framework for our efforts (Hoşkara and Sey, 2008).

In this respect, dealing with the concept of sustainable development "economical, social and environmental" values should be added to the research of sustainability and architecture relationship.

To achieve sustainable development; sustainable construction which can be defined as a holistic process aimed to promote economic justice and human dignity while building settlements and re-achieve and maintain harmony between the natural and built environment (CIB and UNEP-IETC, 2002) appears to be an important criterion.

In the global perspective sustainable construction -that can be defined as a socio-economic environmental approach- at the same time has national, regional and local visions (CRISP, 2004).

Old / historical urban areas are considered the most important documents because of transmitting the social lives, economic, technological conditions and cultures of societies to future generations. Due to this property they become one of the most important components that make up the social environment.
Especially when old urban areas are examined, it is monitored that industrial buildings stand out due to some reasons peculiar; therefore, the "re-evaluation and transformation" works with the concept of sustainability is thought to provide important contributions for architecture.

In this context there is going to be a discussion about three basic sustainability dimensions; the social, environmental and economical impacts on the industrial buildings which are effected by transformation and conservation in Golden Horn.

3.1 Sustainability criteria

In this study three industrial buildings are going to be examined with the primary sustainability criteria (economical, social and environmental) because the information about technical criteria such as conflict, quality, management, application, etc. (Işık, et. al., 2012) are not accessible by the researchers. Thus the relation to architectural work and technical sustainability is not going to be presented by the study. Before discussing the social, environmental and economical impacts on the three chosen industrial buildings; determined sustainable indicator depending on the comprehensive literature survey shown in Table1.

Table1. Sustainable indicators (Işık, et. al., 2012)

Economical
Cost   **Time**   **Technical Requirements**   **Bureaucracy**   **Types of contracts**   **Strategical Decisions**   **Bidding competition**   **Management of Financial Risk**   **Economic flows (related to the life cycle)**   **Innovation**   **Economic performance**   **Potential financial benefits**   **Trading opportunities**   **Employment**

Social
Culture   - Historic Environment   - Cultural Heritage   - Built Heritage   - Built environment   - Protection to landscape and historical sites and culture   **Public Accessibility**   **Participation of all Actors Security**   **Public Utility**   **Social Integration**   **Responsibility**   **Social Infrastructure**   - Local demographics   - Local education   - Local health & safety & security   - Local development   - Provision of ancillary amenities to local economic activities   - Pressure on public transport services   - Access to regulatory and public services   **Communication and Management**   **Product features**   - Quality of Building as a Place to Live and Work   - Building Related Effects on Health and Safety of Users   - Access to Services Needed by Users of a Building   - User Satisfaction   - Land Use and Its Influence on the Public   - Project Function   - Organizational Objectives)   **Satisfaction**

Table1. Sustainable indicators (Işık, et. al., 2012) (Continued)

Environmental
Soil   **Water**   **Atmosphere / Air**   **Biodiversity Landscape**   **Land use**   **Resources**   **Waste**   **Energy**   **Transport**   **Effects on Neighbors**   **Material Use Indoor environmental quality**   **Project Environmental Management**   **Legal**   **Health and comfort**   **Conservation of old building stock and physical assets (Physical Sustainability)**

4. Case Studies in Golden Horn District

Being the center of İstanbul with the prime location for centuries, Golden Horn whose industrial and historical heritage's of great importance, has started to fall from grace and become old since the beginning of 20th century until its re-discovery in recent years. For this reason, the region with potentially quite accumulation has taken place in the process of urban transformation with many projects.

In this chapter, three big scaled industrial buildings which are effected by transformation and conservation in Golden Horn are analyzed by using three basic sustainability dimensions; the social, environmental and economical impacts.

4.1. Silahtarağa Power Plant >>> Santral İstanbul (2007), İstanbul

Picture 1. Santral İstanbul [1]

It's the project of Silahtarağa Power Plant, a typical modern industrial setting formed in the beginning of the 20th century, to be transformed into a museum, recreational and educational center [2].

Analysis:

Environmental:

*Location: Established at the end of the Golden Horn, at the mouth of Kağıthane and Alibeyköy rivers.

*Old function: The land spread over in total 118 000 square meters with machine rooms where the turbine generator sets, boiler rooms, warehouses, administrative buildings, workers' housing, and large areas of coal. They have changed functionally because of being unable to meet the functional needs with the increase of population, technological backwardness, physical wears [3].

*New function: The plant provided electricity to Istanbul from 1914 until 1952 and put an end to the electricity production in 1983. Today, the complex whose project was completed and opened in 2007, hosts university educational units, a contemporary art museum, energy museum, food and beverage and entertainment venues, recreation areas [3].

*Buildings: Internal spatial arrangements of old buildings regulated mostly preserving their original state. There are existing protected machinery spaces, turbine generating sets, control room and a new energy playground in the Energy Museum.

As a result of conversion of workshop and storage buildings of the former power plants, Tamirane and Otto Santral, Krek Theatre / performance space (as dining, refreshment and entertainment venues) has emerged [3].

A new structure Main Gallery, a 5-storey building skeleton that composed of reinforced concrete surrounded by a porous metal shell, (with ground floor) is a contemporary art museum. Educational units of Bilgi University are also new buildings.

*Layout: Complex is positive in terms of the overall settlement layout and routing. Because of its point on the Golden Horn, the complex can be easily detected from the environment from different scales and functions structures.

*Transportation: Taksim AKM – Santralİst service bus + Private transportation (parking) + Public transport (sea + road) are available. In addition, the project has contributed to the strengthening of the regional transportation network.

Social:

*Silahtarağa Power Plant is the Ottoman Empire's first urban-scale power plant.

*The Energy Museum which came about with the conversion of the power plant's original turbine rooms and meticulous preservation of its contents is Turkey's first industrial archaeology museum [3].

*The Main Gallery building is a contemporary art museum of contemporary art exhibitions and cultural activities, got the prize of "International Architecture Awards 2010" [3].

*The campus is an urban center of attraction due to being a training center and a cultural platform for the public.

*It's an important part of "Golden Horn Cultural Valley" project. But the project is disconnected with other project points from place to place (transportation, events, etc...).

Economical:

*It couldn't meet the needs of the building due to increases of maintenance costs attended economic damage in the late '70s. For this reason, the economic life of the finished production was stopped in 1983.

*Today, due to hosting many cultural and artistic activities, it is connected to its own structure and institutions as well as contribute to economic rather.

4.2. Cibali Tobacco Factory >>> Kadir Has University (2002), İstanbul

Picture 2. Kadir Has University [4]

It was established that changes in the industrial structure of the region socially and economically, today the "Golden Horn Cultural Valley" project turned into a university campus by installing educational function.

Analysis:

Environmental:

*Location: Located on the coast of the Golden Horn (Cibali side), next to the Unkapanı bridge.

*Old function: Cibali Tobacco Factory was established in 1884, tobacco processing and cigarette production. Factory operated by the French until 1925, with the establishment of the Republic, state enterprise has passed. The building lost its original function in 1995 and remained empty until 1997 (Alper M., 2004). Because of entering service in private enterprise cigarette factories with their advanced production technology it has undergone a functional change.

New function: When restoration work lasted in 1998 until 2002 by Kadir Has Foundation, the building re-opened as a form of a higher education institution as Kadir Has University.

Under the Faculty of Fine Arts building, there are also remains of a bath with a parking lot, the 16th century Byzantine cistern which were included in the protection.

*Buildings: 35 000 m² area, preserving its original form a connected by courtyards and passageways. It has been transformed into a courtyard net spaces (Alper M., 2004).

*Layout: The complex can be easily detected from the environment from different scales and functions structures.

*Transportation: Transportation can be done by a private car or by public transport (road and maritime transport). There isn't enough car park because of the building layout. So drivers has to leave cars on paths between in the neighborhoods surrounding the building.

Social:

* Close to the time it was built around, it was an important structure that changes the socio - economic characteristics.

* Today, the technology of the factory transfers the task in the other factories. Large-scale structures in the center of the city's main transport axes (Unkapanı Bridge - The Golden Horn coast road) is located on the conversion of an important and valuable because it has become necessary to remain within the region.

* The Project got an award of European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage / Europa Nostra Awards (Oral, 2006).

* Because of being an university campus, students' increasing dormitory and the regional housing needs have little effect for residential areas.

* Closer integration with the environment is weak due to inward-looking layout.

* The Project is an educational part of "Golden Horn Cultural Valley" a very important project in urban scale. But with the other project points is still disconnected.

Economical:

*University campus, job opportunities created by itself, outside the inner circle could not be economically significant effect.

*There has been an increasing on using the port sides.

4.3. Lengerhane[1] Building and Hasköy Shipyard >>> Rahmi Koç Museum (1994 and 2001), İstanbul

Picture 3. Rahmi Koç Museum [5]

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[1] Chains and the anchors that used for to anchore ships were called as "Lenger", the place where these chains and anchors were done was called as "Lengerhane" by Ottomans [5].

Lengerhane Building and Hasköy Shipyard near the Golden Horn was purchased by the Rahmi M. Koç Museum and Cultural Foundation and was converted to a first industrial museum [6].

Analysis:

Environmental:

*Location: Near the Golden Horn on the side of shipyards, nearby the Golden Horn Bridge (E5).

*Old & New Function: In 1991, Foundation purchased the Lengerhane Building which was constructed during the Ahmet III as a shipyard and then it was used as a ethyl alcohol storage for Monopoly-Cibali Tobacco Factory. After the 2,5 years of restoration, the Museum is opened in 1994. Also, Ottoman Maritime Company (Şirket-I Hayriye)'s smallest dockyard Hasköy which was put into service in 1861, was purchased in 1996, it was renewed in 2001 and was incorporated to the museum [6].

*Buildings & Layout: Museum includes original Lengerhane structure and additional underground exhibition places, shipyard, café-restaurants and open exhibition-activity places.

*Transportation: Transportation can be done by a private car or by public transport (road and maritime transport). Museum has a car park.

Social:

* Two important buildings which lost their functions are crucial as being the first Turkish industrial museum.

* Like other transformation projects, it remains as a punctual visiting center, has not a network with other centers of attractions in the region.

*Open exhibition places, café and restaurants are contributed to the city- coast relationship.

* It has a weak direct social-cultural interaction with its location.

* It has positive effects as a cultural center of attraction for public by enriching the city.

Economical:

* After the abundance of these important industrial buildings to their fate, these were purchased by the Rahmi M. Koç Museum and Cultural Foundation, transformed and operated by this foundation.

5. Evaluation of Selected Industrial Buildings with the Sustainability Criteria

The results of change and transformation activities within industrial buildings that are located in Golden Horn area can be summarized:

5. Silahtarağa Power Plant >>> Santral İstanbul

In the context of building and urban area integration; the relationship of open-area and access, the relationship of old building stocks and physical assets, creating environmental perception, the contributions of building to the urban and immediate surroundings and also being an urban image are the positive impacts of this change and transformation activities.

Also in the context of building and local area integration; transforming building as a campus and educational center had provide some contributions such as local education and development. Also

with providing a stronger transportation network, public accessibility had increased. Santral İstanbul building as a public cultural platform creates a center of attraction and increases social integration.

Conservation of old building stocks placed special emphasis on that physical sustainability had been implemented in the process of restoration.

6. Cibali Tobacco Factory >>> Kadir Has University

In the context of building and urban area integration; the relationship of open-area and access, the relationship of old building stocks and physical assets, creating environmental perception, the contributions of building to the urban and immediate surroundings and also being an urban image are the positive impacts of this change and transformation activities.

Also in the context of building and local area integration; from a factory building to an university, building gets another identity. Using building as an education building; necessitate to use housing zones potentials more efficiently and that provides some ancillary amenities to local economic activities. This transformation also increased the usage of Golden Horn ferry quays and also creates an urbanal benefit. But having a weak integration with the immediate surroundings makes social integration lower. It is accessible with public and private transportation so public accessibility is very high.

7. Lengerhane Building and Hasköy Shipyard >>> Rahmi Koç Museum

In the context of building and urban area integration; the relationship of open-area and access, the relationship of old building stocks and physical assets, creating environmental perception, the contributions of building to the urban and immediate surroundings and also being an urban image are the positive impacts of this change and transformation activities.

It is accessible with public and private transportation so public accessibility is very high. Unlike the other urban transformation projects in Golden Horn, this building has a characteristic of being disconnected from the other transformation areas. It also has a weak social and cultural interactive relation with the place it has positioned. This situation also creates weak integration.

In this context, Table 2 focuses on evaluation of selected industrial buildings with the sustainable criteria that outlined in Table 1.

Table 2. Evaluation of selected industrial buildings with the sustainability criteria

	Silahtarağa Power Plant **Santral İstanbul**	**Cibali Tobacco Factory** **Kadir Has University**	**Lengerhane Building and Hasköy Shipyard** **Rahmi Koç Museum**
Economical Aspects	* **Potential financial benefits** (+) * **Trading opportunities** (+) * **Innovation** (+) * **Economic performance** (+) * **Employment** (+) * Time (+) * **Strategical Decisions** (+) * Management of Financial Risk (+)	* **Potential financial benefits** (+) * **Employment** (+) * **Innovation** (+) * **Economic performance** (+) (-) * **Time** (+) * **Strategical Decisions** (+) * **Management of Financial Risk** (+)	* **Potential financial benefits** (+) * **Trading opportunities** (+) * **Innovation** (+) * **Economic performance** (+) * **Employment** (+) * **Time** (+) * **Strategical Decisions** (+) * Management of Financial Risk (+)

Social Aspects	* **Public Accessibility** (+)
	* **Social Integration** (-)
	* **Public Utility** (+)
	* **Responsibility** (+)
	* **Historic Environment:**
	  Cultural Heritage (+)
	  Built Heritage (+)
	  Built Environment (+)
	  Protection to landscape and historical sites and culture (+)
	  Protection of historical building (+)
	* **Social Infrastructure:**
	  Local education (o)
	  Local development (+)
	  Local demographics (o)
	  Local health & safety & security (+)
	  Provision of ancillary amenities to local economic activities (+)
	  Pressure on public transport services (-)
	  Access to regulatory and public services (+)
	* **Communication and Management** (+)
	* **Product features :**
	  Land Use's Influence on the Public (+)
	  Project Function (+)
	  Organizational Objectives (+)
		* **Public Accessibility** (+)
		* **Social Integration** (-)
		* **Public Utility** (+)
		* **Responsibility** (+)
		* **Historic Environment:**
		  Cultural Heritage (+)
		  Built Heritage (+)
		  Built Environment (+)
		  Protection to landscape and historical sites and culture (+)
		  Protection of historical building (+)
		* **Social Infrastructure:**
		  Local education (+)
		  Local development (+)
		  Local demographics (+)
		  Local health & safety & security (+)
		  Provision of ancillary amenities to local economic activities (+)
		  Pressure on public transport services (-)
		  Access to regulatory and public services (+)
		* **Communication and Management** (o)
		* **Product features:**
		  Land Use and Its Influence on the Public (+)
		  Project Function (+)
		  Organizational Objectives (+)
			* **Public Accessibility** (+)
			* **Social Integration** (+)
			* **Public Utility** (+)
			* **Responsibility** (+)
			* **Historic Environment:**
			  Cultural Heritage (+)
			  Built Heritage (+)
			  Built Environment (+)
			  Protection to landscape and historical sites and culture (+)
			  Protection of historical building (+)
			* **Social Infrastructure:**
			  Local education (o)
			  Local development (+)
			  Local demographics (o)
			  Local health & safety & security (+)
			  Provision of ancillary amenities to local economic activities (+)
			  Pressure on public transport services (-)
			  Access to regulatory and public services (+)
			* **Communication and Management** (+)
			* **Product features:**
			  Land Use's Influence on the Public (+)
			  Project Function (+)
			  Organizational Objectives (+)

Environmental Aspects	* **Landscape / Landuse** (+)
	* **Conservation of old building stock and physical assets (Physical Sustainability)** (+)
	* **New buildings / addition** (+)
	* **Conservation of indoor**
	  Furnishing (+)
	  material use (+)
	* **Effects on Neighbors** (+)
	* **Project Environmental Management** (+)
		* **Landscape / Landuse** (+)
		* **Conservation of old building stock and physical assets (Physical Sustainability)** (+)
		* **New buildings / additions** (+)
		* **Conservation of indoor**
		  Furnishing (+) (-)
		  material use (+)
		* **Effects on Neighbors** (o)
		* **Project Environmental Management** (+)(-)
			* **Landscape / Landuse** (+)
			* **Conservation of old building stock and physical assets (Physical Sustainability)** (+)
			* **New buildings / additions** (+)
			* **Conservation of indoor**
			  Furnishing (+)
			  material use (+)
			* **Effects on Neighbors** (+)
			* **Project Environmental Management** (+)

User manual for this table; *(+) is used for positive effects, (-) is used for negative effects, (o) is used for ineffective/neuter effects*			

6. Conclusion

In this study, in terms of sustainability criteria the changes and developments of the large-scale industrial buildings / areas located in the Golden Horn -which is an important area in the city- have been examined.

Positive aspects of sustainability provided by the conversion of industrial buildings can be discussed under three main headings:

Environmental benefits of sustainability:

- Having an unique architectural language,

- Because of being durable, it is more easier to protect and support these cultural buildings than the other structures.

Social benefits of sustainability:

- Public utility,

- Create awareness of social and historical values ,

- The property of being documents of technological development,

- Aesthetic features.

Economical benefits of sustainability:

- As being cultural properties they create an existing building stock,

- Provide economic vitality,

- As being potential centers, they provide contribution to tourism (Kıraç, 2001).

As a result of inspections that have done; it is thought that all three buildings transformed into new and correct functional forms. These three buildings that are examined in the study -beside maintaining physical existence- they became living places in terms of social and economic aspects and became attraction points in the city in accordance with their new functions.

Therefore, all three examples that have examined under this study (generally) provides economic, social and physical sustainability criteria which are presented in Table 1 as main criteria of sustainability -even if these buildings can't comprise all the entries under main topics.

In Turkey, projects about transforming of industrial building are generally handled as structural transformation projects or urban design projects (Oral, 2006). Instead of this kind of approaches to provide sustainability it has to be planned in accordance with a common vision with a holistic approach. Also, it is thought that all these kind of projects need to be planned considering past, accepting today and thinking the future.

Industrial buildings -with even only their assets- allow the urban places they are located to contribute social and physical revitalizations. But generating a design and planning strategy between these potentials areas and the other parts of the city is much more important.

As a result, to ensure the sustainability of industrial buildings, it is necessary to create relationships with the surrounding areas and similar projects, increase work and production facilities within the place they are located, develop these industrial buildings as social and cultural centers and regenerate this areas with recreation areas and tourism facilities, also solutions shouldn't be unaware of each other for this kind of valuable areas of the city.

With the acceptance of changes and transformations as a sustainable action, implementation of these recommendations during mentioned processes; to provide much more economic, social and environmental benefits in the three basic steps of sustainability is more likely.

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Creating Healthy University Criteria for Environmental Sustainability

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Globalization is influenced by a number of driving and constraining forces: technological developments, political influences, economic pressures, changing ideas, and increasing social and environmental concerns."[1] Globalization defined heath policies based on institutions, economic, social-cultural and environmental concepts.

Problems related to environmental health is an issue that seeks solutions by both governments of local and global scales. For these problems collaborative studies have been conducted between local and global actors. Healthy City studies in the context of Local Agenda 21 are local projects with global aims. "The large number of Healthy City and Local Agenda 21 initiatives provides a rich pool of experience, and a potentially strong and articulate voice for sustainable development and public health."[2] Concepts such as sustainability, healthy cities, and healthy universities are included in environmental health issue. Sustainable planning combines these concepts with planning issues like constructing university campus areas.

Sustainable planning is the main idea for creating environmentally friendly and participatory city characteristics. There are some important land uses which can be defined as the vision and identity of the cities. These are financial centers, university campus areas, cultural areas, transportation areas, health and tourism centers. When these areas have been designed by some sustainable planning objectives, life quality of the cities can be improved effectively.

"The universities have expanded because of the increased desire and readiness to pay for higher education and the new prestige for scientific research. The universities have been forced to consider their relations with their districts, their immediate neighbors, the municipal governments of which they are constituents and the major forces of the metropolitan region from which they expect support."[3] Therefore designing the university campus areas for different objectives, like cultural development, spatial transformation or sustainable development can be a guideline for the city vision.

The concept of 'healthy university' is an innovative research area for sustainable planning and quality of life studies. "The concept of the health-promoting university means much more than conducting health education and health promotion for students and staff. It means integrating health into the culture, processes and policies of the university, it means understanding and dealing with health in a different way and developing an action framework that blends such factors as empowerment, dialogue, choice and participation with goals for equity, sustainability and health conducive living, working and learning environments."[4]

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[1] Woodward, et.al., 2001, p.876.
[2] Dooris, 1999, p.372.
[3] Parsons and Davis, 1971, p.361.
[4] Tsouros et al., 1998, p.11.

"Research on the connections between the built environment and health has largely focused on housing, transportation and neighborhood characteristics."[5] Creating a healthy residential area of the university will be required to measure certain criteria. These criteria established by assistance from the literature and research findings are qualities of sport activities, social activities, social clubs, health related training, psychological counseling, dormitory conditions and catering, sport and art areas, restaurants and cafes, green areas per capita, transportation, design for disabled people, disaster management, infrastructure, noise control, security, infirmary conditions, clean water resources, controlling environmental pollution, recycling of wastes and building conditions.

As a result of measuring these criteria, a corporate health policy and strategy will be developed for high quality healthy university campus areas. Quality of life is an interdisciplinary study for finding the suitable conditions for human well being in a settlement. So this research is a kind of quality of life study by the evaluation criteria. "Quality of life is a broad multidimensional concept that usually includes subjective evaluations of both positive and negative aspects of life. Health related quality of life is a broad multidimensional concept that usually includes self-reported measures of physical and mental health."[6] Corporate health policy which belongs to the university campus areas will be set a good example for the construction of healthy cities. Istanbul is an important metropolis with its history, culture, location, population, historical and modern buildings and economic sector. Therefore, Istanbul can be presented as a university city in Turkey with its forty-seven universities in 2012. In this research, health criteria for a university campus area will be analyzed with an example. By this aim, healthy university evaluation sheet has been prepared. Then one of the university campus area in Istanbul has been scored by this healthy university evaluation sheet.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY FOR THE CITIES

Environmental sustainability for the cities is depending on sustainable urbanism. "Sustainable urbanism, appears as a sound framework that draws attention to the immense opportunity to redesign the built environment in a manner that supports a higher quality of life and human health."[7] According to a study by Oktay, the essential aspects for sustainable urbanism are; "context-sensitive compactness and de-fragmentation, completeness (good mixed-use), connectedness (integrated transportation), ecological sensitivity, a focus on place and public spaces, social-cultural sustainability and cohesive neighborhood and sustainable life style."[8] In this way sustainable urbanism is related with sustainable design process in the city. Thereby for Carmona, sustainable design principles are "stewardship, resource efficiency, diversity and choice, human needs, resilience, pollution reduction, distinctiveness, biotic support and self sufficiency."[9]

The city is a physical system with social context thus the decisions for the cities are also political. The concept of sustainability has both ecological and political visions. Therefore "urban sustainability planning needs an explicit political component that demands clear articulation of social goals as well as ecological ones."[10] Nowadays, the sensibility for conservation of the natural environment has been gathered hence the multidisciplinary studies focused in this area. This process improved the world view of the inhabitants from different countries. "Natural environment and world view are closely related: world view is necessarily constructed out of the salient elements of a people's social and physical setting. Like means of livelihood, world view reflects the rhythms and constraints of the natural environment."[11] This collective local awareness provides global decisions for environmental sustainability.

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[5] Srinivason et al., 2003, p.1447.
[6] http://www.cdc.gov/hrqol/
[7] Oktay, 2012, p.17.
[8] Oktay, 2012, p.27.
[9] Carmona et.al. 2003, p.46-47.
[10] Spinak and Casalegno, 2012, p.39.
[11] Tuan, 1974, p.79.

"The concept of 'sustainability' in its modern sense emerged in the early 1970s in response to dramatic growth in understanding that modern development practices were leaving to worldwide environmental and social crises."[12] "The major challenge for cities is in their ability to respond to peak oil, climate change and ecological decline of bio-region"[13] "From the point of the ecosystem view, sustainable development requires the implementation of appropriate environmentally friendly technologies which are both efficient and adapted to local conditions"[14] "The terms sustainability and sustainable development have obviously soared to prominence because of the adverse effects on the environment, which are caused by human activities."[15] Achieving sustainable urban development is the main research area for urban planners. According to Kaplan sustainable urban development criteria are "transportation, open and green spaces, renewable resources, urban and regional planning and land use planning"[16] "Sustainable development is the biggest challenge to universities in the twenty-first century. As many different definitions and interpretations of the concept exist, it is not surprising that the strategies of the universities that are beginning to strive for sustainability show some differences. Various universities have already become engaged in the process of integrating sustainable development in their activities."[17] Therefore environmental sustainability and quality of life studies have developed the healthy city approaches and the concept of healthy university.

2.1. Healthy City Approaches

"Healthy City" is a concept that is expressed in different ways according to culture of each society, traditions and values. According to economists; healthy city is to renew important values in the city and create new spaces. According to urban planners; healthy city is to create good physical characters at urban transport, residential areas and the new green areas. According to inhabitants; healthy city is possibility of legislative provision, protection of the family, to meet with colleagues, to provide food and beverage needs and to perform acts of life in secure and freely."[18]

Healthy city concept that is embedded in the different definitions, not only all cities in the world has health agenda globally but also aims to support public health at the local level. Because "the quality of urban life is fundamental to human health. Health, both local and global level, directly linked our environment."[19]

"A healthy, active city recognizes the value of active living, physical activity and sport. It provides opportunities for physical activity and active living for all. The built and social environments are key focal points. The built environment includes land-use patterns, transport systems, urban design, green spaces and all buildings and spaces that are created by people including schools, homes, workplaces and recreation areas. Elements in the social environment that influence participation in physical activity include income, equity, culture and social support."[20]

Healthy city concept not only is a result, but also is a method. So, certain criteria are needed to perform this method. Although there are several approaches, World Health Organization European Healthy Cities Network has developed some of the key findings. These findings are listed below:

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[12] Okay, 2012, p.18.
[13] Yalçıner-Ercoşkun, 2012, p.3.
[14] Knoflacher and Ocalir, 2012, p.158.
[15] Bostancı, 2012, p.313.
[16] Kaplan, 2012, p. 238.
[17] Weenen, 2000, p. 20.
[18] Başaran, 2007, p.213.
[19] Başaran, 2007, p.210.
[20] Edwards; Tsuorus, 2006, p.4.

- Most member cities viewed active living as an important issue for urban planning, such as improving visual appeal, enhancing social cohesion, creating a more sustainable transport system and reducing inequality in public health.

- Most member cities reported action initiated to promote active living, with an emphasis on actions targeting the built and social environment to promote walking and cycling.

- Many efforts to promote active living are nested in programmes to prevent obesity among adults and children.

- The health care sector was clearly involved in several actions, predominantly as an arena to identify and reach sedentary individuals and to initiate disease prevention programmes.

- Frequently mentioned barriers to promoting active living included lack of funding and lack of commitment from decision-makers.

- Better evaluation methods are needed to improve the evidence base on which actions are effective to promote different types of active living among different groups, since evaluation strategies appeared to be insufficient.

- Future challenges include establishing integrated policy specific for active living, introducing a larger range of actions and increasing funding and capacity to make a difference at the population level.[21]

2.2. The Concept of Healthy University

"Health for all and sustainable development can only be achieved through institutional changes at all levels. Integrating health (in its broadest sense) into the university culture and creating horizontal cooperation and decision-making processes is a long-term process."[22] Implemented strategies which is edited a healthy city can be used as a reference framework for creating concept of a healthy university. "Universities can potentially develop into model health-promoting settings. They have the intellectual capacities, the skills, the authority and the credibility for this purpose. Universities are also a valuable resource for urbanization. Investing in the health promoting university is above all an investment in the future."[23]

Looking at the literature, we see that many strategies to follow for creating the concept of a healthy university. According to a study carried out by Tsouros et. al. **"**healthy and sustainable policies and planning throughout the university" are demonstrated with "corporate health policy and strategy are developed and healthy policies and strategies are adopted in key policy areas such as transport, mental health, recruitment smoking and equal opportunities." At the same study "healthy and supportive social environments" are demonstrated with "new facilities or increased access to facilities for relaxation, fitness, the arts, catering etc." Another criteria is "healthy and sustainable physical environments" that are demonstrated with "incentives for travelling via public transport, cycling and walking, hanging university purchasing to more ethical and environmental products and more local services and comprehensive scheme to minimize waste and promote recycling."[24]

According to a study carried out by Dooris the aims of the Health Promoting University Project should be:

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[21] Edwards; Tsuorus, 2006, p.6.
[22] Tsouros et al., 1998, p.14.
[23] Tsouros et al., 1998, p.11.
[24] Tsouros et.al., 1998, p.136.

- to integrate within the University's structures, processes and culture a commitment to health and to developing its health-promoting potential and

- to promote the health and wellbeing of staff, students and the wider community.

Within these overall aims, six objectives were set – related to priority focus areas forming an agenda for action:

- to integrate a commitment to and vision of health within the University's plans and policies,

- to develop the University as a supportive and healthy workplace,

- to support the healthy social and personal development of students,

- to create health-promoting and sustainable physical environments,

- to increase understanding, knowledge and commitment to multidisciplinary health promotion across all university faculties and departments and

- to support the promotion of sustainable health within the wider community.[25]

"Universities that become involved in health-promoting university projects may obtain several benefits, including improving their public image, the profile of the university, the welfare of students and staff and working and living conditions."[26]

"Defining the concept of the health-promoting university and the process by which it can be developed is not an academic exercise. It is a strategic exercise that should combine visionary thinking with pragmatism and clear principles with tangible outcome."[27]

Healthy university also can contribute environmental sustainability in different ways. For example organic building materials can be used in the manufacturing university buildings. "Organic building materials are those based on carbon compounds. They include sawn timber, reconstituted and engineered wood products and plastics."[28] Further, the energy needs in university campus areas can be supplied by renewable energy sources. "The term renewable energy includes all energy sources which are not of a finite stock, but which are continually available. This would include solar and wind energy and hydroelectric systems, as well as others, such as geothermal or tidal energy, biomass and methane generation."[29]

However, universities can contribute to environmental sustainability in other ways. Transportation is one of them. "Universities impact neighboring communities many ways, such as parking, traffic, service access and off-campus housing."[30] For example bicycling as a transportation facility is often seen as the 'poor step-child' of other alternative modes. However, bicycling and walking have evolved from being the 'forgotten modes' to emblems of high quality of life. Regarding bicycling, many college campuses lack proper and adequate bicycle facilities, including bicycle paths and lanes, intersection treatments, signage and parking... Because bicycles are not considered as 'design vehicles', in many of the cases engineers and campus planners have not considered the

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[25] Tsouros et.al., 1998, p. 106.
[26] Tsouros et.al., 1998, p.123.
[27] Tsouros et.al.,, 1998, p. 12.
[28] Lawson, 1996, p.21.
[29] Szokolay, 2008, p.203.
[30] Balsas, 2003, p.36.

special needs of bicyclist on their precincts.[31] Increasing applications in campus area, such as areas with bike paths, is very important both for environmental sustainability and transportation.

In addition to these subjects, projects in areas of the university campus are being implemented to green certificate systems like Breeam and Leed. One of the examples for this process is Ball State University: "In new building construction, the university is moving to accommodate green building practices by including recycled content materials, low-flow plumbing fixtures, high-efficiency lighting, and protection of existing ornamental trees and landscape features. The university is also considering the adoption of a standing policy mandating Leed registration/certification of all new buildings that are to be added to the campus inventory. At this time, two new buildings under construction in the heart of campus have been registered with the U.S. Green Building Council and designated for Leed certification; these include a new academic building and a new residence hall for students."[32]

3. METHODOLOGY

This study is a research about finding the suitable criteria for developing a healthy university model for cities. The methodology of this paper based on literature review. For testing the suitability of the healthy university criteria a campus area which is located in a green natural area of Istanbul has been chosen. In order to this aim, the measurable evaluation sheet for healthy university criteria has been prepared. Then the evaluation sheet has been applied to Istanbul-Okan University campus area.

3.1. Evaluation of Healthy University Criteria

There are two steps in evaluation process of healthy university criteria. The first step is creating the concepts for healthy university criteria which can be seen in Table 1. Healthy university criteria firstly divided into two groups and these are physiological and physical health criteria. Physiological health criteria can be grouped into two categories as social activities and social facilities. Physical health criteria can be grouped into two categories as physical conditions and health conditions. Correspondingly there are some subtitles which are analyzed in this study.

Second step is generating an evaluation sheet for measuring the healthy university qualities of the campus areas. This evaluation sheet has a score system which can be calculated by survey. The evaluation sheet can be seen in *Table 2*.

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[31] Balsas, 2003, p.38
[32] Koester, et.al, 2006, p.774.

Table 1. *Healthy university criteria*

Table 2. *Healthy university social activities evaluation sheet.*

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	Measuring Qualities	The Scoring		
Sport Activities	Variety of sport facilities which can be performed in the campus.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
	Variety of sport teams in the university.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
Social Activities	Variety of free-time activities which can be done except sports.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
Social Clubs	Variety of academic clubs.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
	Variety of sport clubs.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
	Variety of culture and art clubs.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**

Health Related Training	Percentage of registered academic and administrative staff at sports clubs.	Less than %5 **(0)**	Between %5-10 **(1)**	More than %10 **(2)**
	Percentage of registered students at sports clubs.	Less than %5 **(0)**	Between %5-10 **(1)**	More than %10 **(2)**

Table 3. *Healthy university social facilities evaluation sheet.*

SOCIAL FACILITIES	Measuring Qualities	The Scoring		
Psychological Counseling	Existence of psychological counseling in campus.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Percentage of benefits that provided psychological counseling.	Less than %50 **(0)**	Between %50-70 **(1)**	More than %70 **(2)**
	Frequency of benefiting the psychological counseling for one year if needed.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
Dormitory Conditions and Catering	Closeness of the dormitory to campus area.	Far away **(0)**	In the same district **(1)**	In the campus **(2)**
	Occupancy rate of the dormitory.	Less than %40 **(0)**	Between %40-70 **(1)**	More than %70 **(2)**
	Survey of students' satisfaction about catering.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Sport and Art Areas	Number of open and indoor sports areas in the campus.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
	Number of art galleries and auditorium in the campus.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
Restaurants and Cafes	Number of restaurant and cafes in the campus.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-10 **(1)**	More than 10 **(2)**
	Variety of restaurant and cafes in the campus.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-5 **(1)**	More than 5 **(2)**

Table 4. *Healthy university physical conditions evaluation sheet.*

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS	Measuring Qualities	The Scoring		
Green Areas Per-Capita	Percentage of green spaces in the campus area.	Less than %10 **(0)**	Between %10-50 **(1)**	More than %50 **(2)**
	Percentage of green areas per-capita.	Less than %5 **(0)**	Between %5-10 **(1)**	More than %10 **(2)**
Transportation	Variety of transportation facilities.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-5 **(1)**	More than 5 **(2)**
	Frequency of ring services in the campus.	More than 2 hour **(0)**	Between 1-2 hour **(1)**	Less than 1 hour **(2)**
Design for Disabled People	Existence of the ramp next to stairs.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Suitability of transition areas for wheelchair.	not suitable **(0)**	suitable **(1)**	
	Special elevator for the disabled people.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Sports and arts facilities for the disabled students.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Disaster Management	Suitability of the campus buildings according to earthquake law.	not suitable **(0)**	suitable **(1)**	
	Existence of Disaster Management Plan in the campus.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Existence of Disaster Management Education in the campus.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Infrastructure	Existence of generator.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Existence of natural gas.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Existence of sewage treatment plant.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Noise Control	Closeness to crowded places in whole year.	Close **(0)**	Far Away **(1)**	
Security	Existence of private security.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	

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Table 5. Healthy university health conditions evaluation sheet.

HEALTH CONDITIONS				
	Measuring Qualities	**The Scoring**		
Infirmary Conditions	Adequate infirmary space (More than 10 m2).	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	24-hour service in the infirmary.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Clean Water Resources	Analyzing of water resources in campus area.	Rarely **(0)**	Twice a month **(1)**	Every week **(2)**
Controlling Air Pollution	Air pollution measurements at the location of the campus area.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Controlling Environmental Pollution	Frequency of the general environmental cleanliness at campus on a week.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-4 **(1)**	More than 5 **(2)**
	Social responsibility projects about keeping clean the environment.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Building Conditions	Thermal insulation of the campus building.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Existence of sign-posts at the campus building.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Use of saving bulb at the campus building.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
Recycling of Wastes	Recycling bins at the campus.	Absent **(0)**	Present **(1)**	
	Recycling related projects.	Less than 2 **(0)**	Between 2-4 **(1)**	More than 5 **(2)**

According to the evaluation criteria shown in *Table 2-3-4-5*, formula related to psychological and physical health conditions are as follows:

$$\sum HUC = \frac{100(a+b)}{n} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$$

HUC represents the value of healthy university criteria.
a = the score on psychological health quality
b = the score on physical health quality
n = maximum number of points that can be taken of the criteria

Depending on the data, assessments were made as a result, the intervals shown below:
0-20 = conditions that are inappropriate,

21-40 = conditions that are less appropriate,
41-60 = standard conditions,
61-80 = suitable conditions,
81-100 = high suitable conditions for the quality of life.

4. CASE STUDY: ISTANBUL-OKAN UNIVERSITY CAMPUS AREA

Okan University was founded in 1999 and began its academic life in 2003-2004. The university campus area which has been located in Tuzla has founded in 2006 and still some of the buildings and landscape developed. Campus is close proximity to Sabiha Gökçen Airport and the F1 Race Track.[33]

There is a new system called HappyLife in Okan University and the aim of this project is to encourage the students to take part in social cultural and sportive activities. HappyLife consist of social, sporting, artistic, cultural activities and student work groups. For graduation students have to attend these activities and these are evaluated like a course score.[34] Some examples of current student clubs are dance club, photography club, aikido club, motor sports club and social responsibility club. Regular trips to historical sites and touristic regions are organized by the tourism club. Okan Spring Festival is organized every year by student organizations. The location of the university campus area can be seen in *Figure 1 and 2*.

Figure 1. Map of location of Okan University campus area (Reference: Google Earth)[35]

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[33] www.okan.edu.tr
[34] http://www.okan.edu.tr/haberim&sid=3223
[35] www.google.com/earth/

Figure 2. *Okan University campus area. (Reference: Google Earth)* [36]

The general image of the university can be seen in *Figure 3-4-5 and 6*. From the photographic view the campus area looks green. The landscape of the university and the surrounding area has a variety of trees and flora. The artificial pond and water roads have a peaceful vista.

Figure 3. *The dormitories of the university.*

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[36] www.google.com/earth/

Figure 4. *Art Gallery in the university.*

Figure 5. *The faculties and pond in the university.*

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Figure 6. *The landscape and green areas of the university.*

Okan University takes environmental wisdom as one of the university mission, "To concentrate on educational and research activities directed at meeting the needs of society by making social responsibility and environmental consciousness universities priority."[37] University is located in a green area and being far away to mass hosing and polluted areas the campus area broadly has a clean air.

4.1 Evaluating the Healthy University Criteria for Istanbul-Okan University

Istanbul-Okan University has a variety of social activities. Swimming, water polo, basketball, volleyball, tennis, dance, fitness, ping pong, handball, American football, judo and futsal can be performed in the campus area. In the university there are fifteen sports team. These are men's swimming team, men's water polo team, muay thai, wrestling, boxing, football, ski, men's tennis team, women's basketball team, men's basketball team, futsal, dance, handball, judo and archery teams. Leisure activities can be done other than sports are library, billiards, internet, cinema, hairdresser, card room, shopping centre, social centre and student club rooms. There are fifteen academic clubs and nine sport clubs. The number of culture and art clubs is thirteen. %40 of the academic and administrative staff registered at sport club. And %15 of the students registered at sport club. This information is shown in *Table 6*.

Table 6. *Okan University evaluation sheet for social activities.*

CRITERIA	THE SOCRING
Sport Activities	4
Social Activities	1
Social Clubs	5
Health Related Training	4
Total Score	14

Psychological counseling services are provided by OPDEM. Approximately 150 students apply to psychological counseling. Then these students can visit there 10 times in a year. 760 students are staying in the dormitory so %84 of the dormitory is full in 2012. The dormitories are in the campus area. Satisfaction surveys are applied to students for dormitory conditions and catering. The results of these surveys are stored by dormitory management. Indoor sports hall, futsal hall, indoor

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[37] www.okan.edu.tr

swimming pool, two tennis court, two basketball courts, two volleyball courts and running surface are located in the campus. There is an art gallery in faculty of fine art and there are a total of six auditoriums in all faculties. There are five cafes, three refectory and three restaurants in the campus. This information is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Okan University evaluation sheet for social facilities.

CRITERIA	THE SOCRING
Psychological Counseling	4
Dormitory Conditions and Catering	5
Sport and Art Areas	3
Restaurants and Cafes	4
Total Score	16

This information about the campus area has been collected from the interviews, the official web side of the university, the promotional publications of the university and the area observation. These data have been adapted to healthy university evaluation sheet which can be seen in Table 2 and 3 for psychological health measurement. The score is 30 for Okan University and the maximum score is 34 for this part of the measurements. So the psychological health quality is found %88.

Table 8. Okan University evaluation sheet for physical conditions.

CRITERIA	THE SOCRING
Green Areas Per-Capita	4
Transportation	3
Design for Disabled People	4
Disaster Management	3
Infrastructure	3
Noise Control	1
Security	1
Total Score	19

The evaluation sheets which can be seen in Table 8 and 9 are about physical health measurements. Istanbul-Okan University Tuzla campus has a 131.000 m2 area and %69 of this is green area. The green space per capita is %15. The transportation facilities are bus, services and private cars. In semester periods, ring services are moved every half an hour to different routes in Istanbul. There are ramps next to stairs for disabled people and the transition areas are suitable for wheelchair. There are special elevators for disabled people in all campus buildings. Sports and art activities are organized for disabled students by the 'Dean of Students'. The university buildings were built after 1999 so the buildings are suitable for earthquake law. The disaster management plan has been made for campus area. Sometimes educations are performed for disaster management in the campus. There is a generator and the natural gas system and sewage treatment plant in the campus. The campus area is near the F1 Race Track. But the activity of this area has a limited time and the campus is located far away from the other settlements. So generally there is not a noise problem. There is private security for 24 hours.

The 24 hour infirmary service in dormitory has a 25 m2 area. Also there is another infirmary in the sports and health centre. The water resources in the campus are rarely analyzed. The general environmental cleanliness has done more than 5 times on a week. There are some social responsibility projects which are about keeping the environment clean. "New Life Project" is one of them which is created by "Healthy Life Student Club". The project is about the recycling of wastes in the campus. The campus buildings have thermal insulation and sign posts. Saving bulbs are

used in the campus buildings. There are also recycling bins. Some of the faculties like faculty of fine arts which made recycling related projects with the students.

Table 9. Okan University evaluation sheet for health conditions.

CRITERIA	THE SOCRING
Infirmary Conditions	2
Clean Water Resources	0
Controlling Air Pollution	0
Controlling Environmental Pollution	3
Building Conditions	3
Recycling of Wastes	1
Total Score	9

The score from physical health measurement is 28 and the maximum score is 34. Then the physical health quality is found %82. By using the equation of this study the average healthy university quality of Okan University found as %85 which located in the most suitable range of values. The summary chart of evaluation sheet for Okan University Campus area can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10. Evaluation sheet of Okan University – Summary Chart

Criteria	Maximum Score	Score of Okan University	Percentage of Okan University
Psychological Health Criteria Social Activities :16 Social Facilities : 18	34	30	%88
Physical Health Criteria Physical Conditions : 20 Health Conditions : 14	34	28	%82

5. CONCLUSION

The literature research for healthy cities and healthy universities located in key areas of environmental sustainability have been identified in a wide range of content from environmentally conscious enterprises, green space projects to green certifications systems, environmental cleanup and recycling. There are many approaches about healthy cities. However, study on healthy universities is new area.

In Turkey the number of university campus areas increases. This increase is challenging in different areas especially between state and foundation universities in Istanbul. Usually, at this comparison that is constructed on the quality of education. Also creating a healthy environment with a high quality of life can be added to this comparison. Increased efforts for healthy environment on university campuses affected the environmental sustainability of the cities.

As a result of the synthesis of different research and applications, the criteria of psychological and physical needs have been improved for the healthy university. By the way, the main issues for the evaluation of campus areas have been identified and accordingly the scores have been found. As a result, when designing and developing the university campus areas more comprehensive approaches for creating a healthy environment have to be achieved. If the university students have been educated in a healthy environment and physiological suitable conditions they could gain environmentally-conscious and self confident. With vibrant education and high quality of campus life these individuals become beneficial to their countries.

In addition to these, if university has received the legal building permissions and is located in green areas near forest areas for the residential area then university should make campus plan without disturbing the texture of green areas and current trees. The establishment of the university in a green area away from the city increases the health factor for students and staff. As well as, sustainability of current green texture is under the responsibility of the university administrator.

In further studies, university campus areas of Istanbul can be grouped in categories. These categories can be composed by decision making in locations for example dispersed settlement, central city settlements, settlements located in peripheries. By the established healthy university criteria these university campuses can be compared.

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SUSTAINABLE PLANNING OF URBAN PARKSTHE CASE OF BALIKESIR, TURKEY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the past century, the Turkey's population had been rapidly congregating in urban areas. The urban population in the Turkey was approxiamately 60 million in 1995 number that is expected to duplicate at about the year.

The spatial extent of urban development in Turkey has undergone tremendous change in the last 35 years. Many urban areas in Turkey have expanded mostly on (over) agr376icultural land in recent decades. The changes in land use patterns certainly provide many social and economic benefits but they also affect the natural environment negatively (Kurucu & Küçükyılmaz, 2008, s.293). The decline of nature during the twentieth century increased public awareness to the necessity of introducing natural assets and components in urban context led to the creation and development of the urban park movement.

Urban parks are of a strategic importance for the quality of life of our increasingly urbanized society and provide significant ecosystem services, as environmentally, aesthetically, recreationally, psychologically and economically. The presence of natural assets such as urban parks and forests, green belts and components (i.e. trees, water) in urban contexts contributes to the quality of life in many ways.

The movement started in Turkey creating public city parks like the Gilhane Park and Yıldız Park which are the historical urban park in the Istanbul, Turkey. They are one of the oldest and the most expansive — public parks in Istanbul.

Figure 1-Gülhane Park-İstanbul

Figure 2-A section of the outer garden was planned as a park by the municipality and opened to the public in 1912.

Figure 3-Yıldız Park

 In the 19th century with massive urbanization, thr continued explosive growth of urban areas and the decline of nature throughout the 20th century, the alienation between people and the nature was increased. Urban parks, open space and related human health issues are a critical component of any state, regional, and local infrastructure plan for livable, just communities. Urban parks promote the core values at stake in building public infrastructure: providing children the simple joys of playing in the park; improving health and recreation; equal access to public resources; democratic participation in deciding the future of the community; economic vitality for all with increased property values, local jobs, small business contracts, and affordable housing; spiritual values in protecting people and the earth; the environmental benefits of clean air, water, and ground; and sustainable regional planning.

Urban Parks and green spaces are vital places for us to learn, play, grow, and connect with both nature and our neighbours and communities in modern and urbanised society. They replenish our air and water; they protect or provide safe havens in cities. They define what a civil society is, they define what a liveable city is. The emergence of the leading urban parks and green spaces in the Turkey during the past decade reflects the growing professionalism and commitment of the management agencies and their leaders to the parks and green spaces agenda.

The last years we have seen local authorities aimed to create an environment-friendly urban setting through a planned landscape development in urban areas involving the use of "naturalistic"styles. Professional interest in 'naturalistic' landscapes has certainly been very strong

across northern Europe for the last few decades and a fashion among landscape professionals towards the production of more natural landscapes within the urban fabric has been popular (Flint, 1985,p.37, Emery, 1986, p.127, Goode and Smart, 1986, p.156, Kendle and Forbes, 1997,p.223,and Dunnet and Hitchmough, 2004,p.47]).

Recently, however, the importance of open space and green space in cities has been strongly supported by landscape ecologist due to its ecological function. The ecological function of open space was initially advocated by (MacHarg, 1964, p.47), followed by (Laurie, 1979, p.89) and (Hough, 1984, p.123). They suggested that land use allocation should be determined by pattern of natural resources and individual ecological elements. Nature not only represents the material basis of all human life but also provides man with optimum living conditions.

In the beginning of the urban park movement designers had as objective the representation of rural landscapes like in the central park in Turkey, but without any attemp to re-establish ecological functions.

Later Park Yumurtalık Lagun evolutes in a mode to adapt ecological functions as wetland ecosystem and afterwards, urban park design adopted the formal design principles taking into consideration ecological criteria (Park İğneada Longoz Ormanları)

Figure 4-Tekirova/Antalya-Kemer Eko Park

Figure 5- Park İğneada Longoz Forest

In Turkey, according to 2010 data, there are total 40 National Park. (Dağdaş, Kırış, Ateş, 2006, s.44).Some of them are shown in below:

Kuşcenneti National Park,	Balıkesir	1959	1195 ha
Uludağ National Park	Bursa	1961	12677 ha
Yedigöller National Park	Bolu	1965	2019 ha
Nemrut Mountain National Park	Adıyaman	1988	13850 ha
Beyşehir Lake National Park	Konya	1993	88750 ha
Dilek Peninsula	Aydın	1994	27675 ha
Gala Lake National Park	Edirne	2005	6090ha
İğneada Longoz Mountains	Kırklareli	2007	3155ha
Tek Tek Mountains National Park	Şanlıurfa	2007	19335ha
Yumurtalık Lagünü National Park	Adana	2008	16430ha

Presently, the movement adopted the environmental education function like it is presented in the Tekirova/Antalya-Kemer Eko Park. This principle is considered very important, once the development of proactive education and training policies not only on children but on any park user can play an essential role in the sustainability of the city strengthening the importance of urban parks and other natural areas of the contemporary city.

Urban parks and open green spaces are of a strategic importance for the quality of life of our increasingly urbanized society (Beer, 1994, p.131). Besides ecological functions, natural areas provide social and psychological services, which are of crucial significance for the livability of modern cities and the well-being of urban dwellers. The future social implications of new lifestyles, values, attitudes to nature and sustainability will lead to higher demands for urban parks (Thompson, 1994, 239).

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology was developed for the" Balıkesir Province" area, located in South Marmara region. Figure 1 shows the methodology diagram that is based in the holistic concept of landscape as a resource.

Primary data (literature review and desk research) have been gathered. The most popular parks of Balıkesir created in recent years (The Turkey) have been collected as secondary data.

Figure 1- Methodology diagram

In the first phrase it was studied the origin of urban parks, analysed the evolution of urban park design- by analysing significant urban parks and described the expected future of the movement.

In the second phrase was collected and analysed information about the different components of the landscape "public parks" and "recreation areas"often mentioned factors to make the city liveable, pleasant and attractive for its citizens.

The visual quality and opportunities and treats of the study area synthesized to evaluate the scenic value, cultural character and the landscape capacity to absorb change of visual absorption capacity of open spaces rich in natural and visual landscape resources. "Visual absorption capacity" is defined as the landscape's ability to absorb physical changes without transformation in its visual character and quality. (Amir, Gidalizon, 1990, p.258).

High quality landscapes usually present more sensitivity and low visual absorption capability (Panagopulos, Vargues, 2006, p.282). From the above information was created that the Atatürk Park as an attractive and multifunctional space that promotes sustainable development.

3. URBAN PARKS ANALYSED IN THE CONCEPTION OF VISUAL QUALITY

Before analysing the case study of Atatürk Park, it will be performed a short description of some urban parks that marked the urban park movementin their construction period and that influenced its conception- The Şehitler Park, The Park Barrier-Free Life and The Environmental Education Park

3.1 The Şehitler Park

The Şehitler Park (figure 2) is located in Balıkesir and has an area of approximately 74 hectares. This area is composed by 53 hectares of lawns and meadows.

The park contains roughly 375 trees, 3086 bush and 18200 plant groundcovers. With this structure it intend to barrier to the exterior and to the buildings. This vegatiation represent biophysical characteristics of the area, renewal potential of vegetation and the visual exposure of the area to observers. These rural and natural sceneries and its organic forms play an important role in the Dynamics of the Park. Open and closed spaces can help improve the quality of life in urban areas, provide to the visitors of the park a variety of places turning the space into a varied and multifunctional space by increasing the attractiveness of the places in which people live and work.

Figure 2- Şehitler Park - green areas and circulation

3.2 The Environmental Education Park

Environmental Education Park (figure 3) is located in Balıkesir. The park with an area of 9 hectares was designed the Department of Balıkesir Municipality.

The park is composed by 5.5 hectares of trees and bushes; 950 square meters of open spaces; 1400 square meters of roads, ways and parking lots and 1150 squaremeters for other different uses.

The green stucture of The Environmental Education Park is quite complex, reason why the plantation plan was very ambitious, not only in dimension, but also in schedule.

Figure 3- Environmental Education Park- green areas and circulation

3.3 The Park Barrier-Free Life

The Park Barrier-Free Life (figure 4) is located in Balıkesir. The park has an area of 4350 square meters.

Figure 4- The Park Barrier-Free Life- green areas and circulation

The park contains 800 trees, bushes and plant groundcovers. On the contrary of The Environmental Education Park, the created structure does not intend to represent the natural sceneries and its organic forms, but to create a connection witth the city center.

4. THE NEW ATATURK PARK CASE STUDY

The park is located in Balıkesir, which is a characterized terrestrial anf Mediterranean climate and beatiful landscape. Balıkesir is the west region of Turkey with a 45% of land occupied by forest and 32%by uncultivated land. In Balıkesir the main spacies are larch, red pine, beech, hornbeam, oak, willow, tamarisk, and sycamore and olive trees.

The population is characterized by scattered distribution in the center areas and concentrated in coastal zones. Tourism is the main activity especially in coastal zones and farmer population is continuously aging. Balıkesir boasts a rich and diversified natural heritage. Throughout the

province of Balikesir, many mounds, cave and even residential areas emerged in the period between 8000-3000 BC. Agiros (Achiraus) is the first city that is said in this region **(**Hacıoğlu, Bozok, 1997, s.10). Karesi principality was established in the region after the collapse of the Anatolian Seljuk State, and then the region was conquered by the Ottoman Empire (Akşit, Sanır, 1981, s.790).

The Atatürk Park represents an exceptional opportunity to establish a best practice example of sustainable urban development. The objective of the urban park Project was to create an economically sustainable Project that will take into consideration the environment and cultural heritage, and the spirit of the place (*genius loci*)(Galofaro, 20007, p.122, Schulz, 1997, p.96, Spirn, 1998, p.121, Tilley, 1994, p.63).

Thus, it was created interest points that attract and servet he population; was used different plants and urban equipment and materials adapted to the surrounding landscape; was asked the people satisfaction of user what they expect to see in that place.

In order to identify the views of users in this research, social value was measured by indicators using surveys before and after the project.

The research involved a range of questionnaires for all ages. Separate questionnaires were developed for teenagers and adults and 400 personal interviews conducted with users aged 12 and over. Examples of indicators used in social survey were the following:

-the percentage of people who feel there is good community spirit where they live,
-the percentage of people who are proud of their city,
-the percentage of people who indicate that fresh air is the main reason of using Atatürk Park
-the percentage of people who indicate that visit the park for the greenery and natural view,
-the percentage of people who consider the parks to be an urban oasis of greenery, where they are able to escape for a while from the burdens of life in the concrete urban desert,
-the percentage of people who indicate that Shade and Seclusion are the main reason of using The Atatürk Park,
-the decrease in the number of people suffering from mental health problems,

This survey aimed to discover respondent's imagination, favourite, least favourite things and their associations of urban parks. According to the survey results, respondents indicate that The Atatürk Park was identified relate to naturalness and recreation activity; was appreciated urban parks not only for passive and active pursuits such as "walking "Children's play area, "Sport", "recreation facility", "cultural events","see animal" "Leisure time", "Picnic", but also for human contact activities, such as meeting people.

As a result the design and Project concept assent in the idea of "Urban Nature Symbiosis".The Atatürk Park responded to the needs ecological and social benefits to exist. The idea of symbiosis was based in the fact that the urban park movement was cerated as a solution environmental problems, which was represented as "calm", "open space" , "beautification", "cleanliness", "safety", "life ", largeness" "and the "free".

Urban parks provide great opportunities for contact with nature for residents. "Parks can be an awe-inspiring contrast to the every day technological word. They can give urban dwellers contact with the plant and animal world, which is missed in towns, but is deeply satisfying" (Turner, 1992, p. 369).

The principal formation of the Project is the tree roots represent the cycling network, trails and walkways. Purpose of the structures was also to give access and to connect the functional areas like the constructed elements and vegetation.

Figure 5-The aerial photograph of The Ataturk Park

The development of this approach was based the fact that if a design is not based social and environmental ideals and if designers do not have substantial efforts what problems they are solving and what goals they intent to achieve, sustainable program and form become extremely banal. It was based in this idea that the design team started to develop long-range plans for the delivery of recreation and parks services.

Although the analysis phrase was developed mutually, in order to develop leisure participation, citizen expectations, recreation as a promoter of community and individual health, and trends in park design and development.

In this sense, the development plan of Ataturk park was based in three different system, developed independent, which after designed were superimposed: (1) circulation; (2) green structure, and; (3) functional areas.

This idea applied to development plan was the first step in realising the long-term vision for the park.

Well-managed public open spaces are linked to improving the attractiveness of urban areas, promoting healthier lifestyles, benefiting wildlife and the environment and acting as an important educational tool. They are also seen as vital to enhancing the quality of urban environments and the quality of life in urban area (Dunnett, Swanwick, Woolley, 2002, p.29). The objective was to establish functional connections with the surroundinf area in away to facilitate access to the park by different means (foot or bicycle) and connect it in a coherent mode to the city. In this way the strategy allowed the creation of the best design possible to each one of the three systems that include concerns about ease of moving around safely within them, including design of surfaces.

In terms of structure and form we opted to use naturalized lines. New formal and aesthetic qualities including organic forms both in terms of landscape and architectural forms are proven to be more connected with the natural environment than rectilinear ones in terms of their relationship to city

around them. The objective was to integrate the proposed landscape in the existing one, reason why organic forms were the most appropriate ones.

Figure 6- Circulation form

The circulation plan constitutes the principal structure which systematizes the whole park and "creating its skeleton"(figure 6).

There are three main forms of circulation within parks:

1. Vehicular

2. Pedestrian

3. Maintenance

Atatürk Park's structure is composed by Pedestrian Circulation concerning cycle and walk ways. The main forms of pedestrian circulation within parks are:

Walks: These are utilitarian support routes and provide access to main areas throughout the park (figure 7).

Figure 7- This walk provides main access to many shops and buildings.

Paths: These are considered a compromise between walks and trails, and are informal in design (figure 8-9).

Figure 8- Walking track and trails in the Atatürk Park

Figure 9-This path is less formal than a walk, yet it still provides access to main areas.

Those ways have five meters width (enabling both the use by cyclists and walkers). The exclusively walkable structure is allows its connection with the inner spaces of the park.

Access to city parks has always been an important and ongoing topic for planners, landscape architects, and city officials. In the early days, urban parks were only found in upper-class neighborhoods, as those individuals realized the potential for city parks and had the means to create these spaces as well. Parks have since become a representation of equality, where everyone is allowed to share and enjoy the same space. Balikesir city center's residential population is approximately 300 thousand. Green area per capita is less than 2m^2. There isn't a

significant recreation area in city center except of The Atatürk Park. This percentage is similar in many provinces.

Access to City Park can affect a person's capacity to communicate, interact with others, learn or move about independently. Accessibility was analysed during the circulation plan development and is a very important issue because high quality public spaces should be utilized by each and everyone.

The status between residential spaces and The Atatürk Park's prevents the congestion of green spaces, and its optimal location endowments the visitors' requirements, ensures a correct distribution of the natural and leisure services between different green spaces. For this reason, The Atatürk Park creates important stage in territorial sustainable planning as to accessibility to urban park.

Purpose of the park is to assist people with mobility and vision to strengthen their communities in these broader ways. This initiative is a wide-ranging effort to improve the quality of urban parks and the vitality of cities.

In functional terms the park can offer multiple functions of spaces many of which equipped for urban dwellers such as area for active and passive recreations, social communications, and contact for natural environments. The different functional areas were strategically located to obtain a symbiosis between form and function. Existing constrains, the proposed objectives and, other design components were located tpgether to enable superimposition strategy.

Figure 10- Functional areas

Urban parks are defined as active green public spaces which provide opportunities for recreations, and family gathering. Public spaces in The Atatürk Park can be considered as multi-purpose areas. In addition, park is regarded as an important venue to fulfill resident's leisure times they are known

as important destinations for residents. For this reason, to create a multifunctional space we intruduced three distinct typologies for functional areas: leisure, education and ecology. Each one these were carafully located to connect people with natural environments, and to enhance mental and physical health both according to the community needs and desires as it is the case of pleasent vistas.

Another objective was to preserve the natural environment enhance biodiversity and protect ecosystems. Urban parks can play an important role in the conservation of biodiversity, especially in a strongly urbanised region.

Figure 11- Green structure

To determine habitat diversity in a time-efficient way, we developed a plant list with 6 possible plant units that can be found in suburbanparks in The Atatürk Park for example coniferous tree, leaved trees and shrubs, bushes, groundcovers, aquatic plants and ivy plants.

The plant species, densities and diversity created different experiences inside the park, enhancing and celebrating the merge between ecology, leisure and recreation.

For the green structure, leaved trees and shrubs was chosen because they are well adapted to the region and provide a continental and Mediterranean image to the space which permits better adjustment with the surrounding landscape. Furthermore with the objective to create promoting diversity, activity an deven casual walks in the park green space played an important role.

Finally, the vision was to create vibrant, diverse and multi-functional community such as leisure, living, communication, sport, recreation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the context of this study, the role of urban parks as provider of social services and their importance for city sustainability has been addressed. Some results have been presented of a survey aimed at exploring the motives and perceptions of visitors of a Balikesir urban park.

Although the results do not reflect universal, some conclusive remarks can be made, due to the small size of the sample analysed and the limited statistics performed.

First of all, urban nature fulfils many social functions and psychological needs of citizens, which make urban nature a valuable municipal resource, and a key ingredient for city sustainability. Secondly, different users have different motives to visit the park and different activities they are going to undertake. Therefore, should take into account recreational requirements of all target groups.

This study was held to identify the users' preferences for park usability in urban park in Balikesir, Turkey. The results declared that park's visitors highly prefer to involve with natural settingsFor example, they favor observing landscape views, and being close to trees and shaded areas. Urban dwellers in Balikesir face with wide range of mental and physical pressures. Physical planning of park creates positive impact on users' mental and physical restoration. Compared with other parks in Balıkesir, such as The Şehitler Park, The Environmental Education Park and The Park Barrier-Free Life, The Atatürk Park is more conceptual and multifunctional, and it tries to struggle the fact that work is still the dominant fact of human life.

In term of environmental education aspect, Environmental Education Park should include learning community in which student life and learning processes beyond leisure and different activities. As the strategy, park should be progressively a centre for education and training, receiving students from all schools and universities of the region. For example, park amenity planners can increase people's knowledge about natural plants.

They should provide biographic information on signboards for different species. In addition, park designers should allocate some place in the park for exhibition of outdoor and indoor plants. Municipalities can occasionally provide free plants for visitors. Moreover, park amenity planners can consider another particular space for visitors to engage with gardening and planting which gives direct involvement with nature. Landscape designers should re-consider role of The Environmental Education Park.

The Urban Park of Ataturk is planned at the city and neighbourhood levels in order to reduce tensions, stress, and pressure among the residents, but also the needs of people for green space and recreation. Park serves the diverse interests of different users in a balanced system that includes places for physical activity to improve health, active recreation, passive recreation, and wilderness areas. Ataturk Park should be re-considered as taking into more comprehensive ecological principles. . This study discussed about park's contribution to improve social and environmental aspects of the city. However, parks' role should be re-considered ecologically to improve quality of life and finally city sustainability, such as habitat diversity.

Furthermore, park should include more comprehensive plants which provide great shade. Landscape architects should suggest plants which can mitigate intensity of sounds. Therefore, urban parks can bring back tranquility and calmness to the dwellers' life and this phenomenon augment spontaneously sustainability of environment and city.

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An Approach for the transformation of Al-Azhar Park to an Ecological Park

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Introduction

Urban parks have a great impact on cities as they can be the future green engines of a self-sufficient urban environment. These green engines become a productive space that merges nature, with a resource-efficient space and a platform for ecological awareness and education. They can be a self-sustainable space by implementation of renewable energies, natural water purification and waste management. No one could imagine a city without an urban park but during the early times, this was not the case as parks beyond town squares existed only in the tales of great European cites. This has changed during the middle of the 19th century[1] with the emergence of the municipal park movement that spread across the United States.

The important role of urban parks has emerged as one of the major public spaces in cities all over the world especially after their decline during the 1980s[2] specifically in the USA, municipal parks started again to gain strength and be the forefront of planning. And again cites have returned to begin again to build new spaces putting in their consideration that urban parks are a major element in of its urban fabric.

What is an Ecological Park

The Ecological Park is a place where wildlife habitat is introduced to the city so that it is able to be self maintaining according to ecological principles as shown in figure 1. (e.g. diversity of species, ecological soundness, sustainability, etc)[3].

The idea of Ecological Park or Eco-industrial Park originated to the eco-industrial development[4] defining the idea describing it as:

"A community of manufacturing and service businesses seeking enhanced environmental and economic performance through collaboration in managing

environmental and resource issues including energy, water, materials............ the

community of business seeks a collective benefit that is greater than the sum of the individuals benefits each company would realize if it optimized its individual performance. "

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[1] Tate, 2001, 12.
[2] Cranz, 1982, 55.
[3] Parks & Landscape Office Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2001).
[4] Lowe, Warren, 1996, 36.

The US President's Council on Sustainable Development produced another precisely used definition similar to the definition mentioned before, but also indicating the local community to be central in both collaborating and benefiting from The Ecological Park[5].

Figure 1: A photos displaying an Example of Ecological Parks: Ulsan Ecological Grand Park, Korea (Source: Ulsan Grand Park, 2006)

With the rise of the environmental issues due to the expansion and development of cities, in addition to the consequent change in value systems in concern with man- made environments, realizing the importance of ecology has grown and increased along with the need to reduce the maintenance expenses of conventional parks[6].The Ecological Park is envisioned to include a range of sustainable and restorative uses related to organic agriculture, biotechnology and aquaculture. As a result of this the Ecological Park has emerged as a new type of a park.

Creation Theory of Ecological Parks

There are four main theories that The Ecological Park depends on which are:

- B iological Diversity: This refers to the diversity of genetic factors, species, and biotopes. Biological diversity varies proportionally with ecological stability[7].

- E c ological Soundness: This can be secured by means of maintenance of independent procreativity within an ecosystem and allows viable ongoing exploitation of biological stability[6].

- Sustainability: Ecological perpetuity can be maintained by means of continuous preservation and reproduction of biological resources[3].

- Minimal Energy Supply: Artificial energy supply can be minimized as a result of s circulatory system of nature forming.

[6] Cranz , Boland M.,2004,60.

[7] Editors of msn Encarta,2008.

Public Awareness

Public Awareness is one of the most significant features, objective & benefit of

Ecological Park. It can be in various ways such as shown below in figures 2 and 3:

- **Nature Facility Study:** This is a facility created so that students can have the opportunity that is not available at home or school which is to come into direct contact with and understand

[5] PSCD, 1996, 58.
[6] Steele, 2005,78.

ecology or artificially created ecology [3] as shown in figure 2; to learn the virtues of order, cooperation and to exercise their minds and bodies through living and training a group.

- **Eco-Tour:** is an educational tour in which an appointed number of tourists can appreciate the importance of ecology through an appointed program conducted by a professional in an ecological site having high ecological value as shown in figure 3.

- **Nature Observation Facility:** This is a facility created so that visitors can have an easy access to observe nature

- **Theme Gardens:** Theses are theme parks created so that visitors can view specific species of wildlife and are intended to maximize display of effectiveness by means of reproduction of those species[3].

Left, **Figure 2**: The Ecological Park of Birmingham offers national curriculum linked environmental education activities to schools through their environmental education. (Source: www.Birmingham Eco-Park\FramePage.htm)

Right, **Figure 3**: Washington state Park offers naturalist-guided nature trail walk which is probably their most popular activity. Students will explore the park for various natural features, and will become acquainted with some basic ecological concepts and conservation issues. (Source: Washington Crossing State Park Nature, Centre group programlisting, 2006)

Significance of Ecological Park Creation

The four main important reasons for The Ecological Park Creation which are as follows:

- **Minimal Energy Supply:** Park and landscape maintenance costs should be able to be kept to a minimum, as energy expenses should be significantly lower than those for existing artificially created parks[7].

- **Educational Significance:** Parks should be created without disturbing natural environments[9] so that they may serve as effective and ongoing tools for environmental study and education.

- **Preservation of Nature:** Destruction of nature and environmental pollution can be decreased[3] and the beauty and value of land can be improved by restoring impaired areas at minimal cost.

- **Restoration of Nature:** Natural elements are introduced into cities which have become estranged from nature and opportunities for citizens to come into direct contact with nature are increased [3].

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[7] Lowe,2001,28.

Sustainability Indicators in Ecological Parks

Sustainability indicators play an effective role in Ecological Parks to evaluate the impacts of its actions over time to achieve an ecologically, socially and economically balanced environment as they provide a base line of data about Ecological Parks to truly monitor the efficiency of the park knowing whether a positive change has occurred[8]. In order to achieve environmental, social and economic objectives, indicators have been specifically developed upon policy by policy basis. Indicators are being developed according to the nature of each project and its mandate.

The Selection of Case Studies Methodology

The selection was guided by a simple methodology which is the Park Concept. For example Xochimilco Ecological Park its concept was Ecological repair and Cultural Preservation which when comparing it to AL-Azhar Park which has renewed and upgraded the whole area of El-Darb El Ahmar. Whereas the concept of Birmingham Ecological Park is demonstrating the principles of sustainability which will help to safe guard the environment which is an excellent example in practice of this new park ideology which is the approach the researcher want to lead in transforming Al-Azhar Park to an Ecological Park.

Analysis of the Case Studies

The analyzed examples assemble a summary of matrix of sustainable indicators which consists of Environmental, Social and Economic indicators. Sustainable indicators play an important and effective role in allowing Ecological Parks to evaluate the impacts of its actions overtime to achieve an ecologically, socially and economically balanced environment.

Presentation of the Measurement of the Efficiency Using Sustainable Indicators

The design and programming of each park is going to be measured against a subjective 4-tired scale for each indicator. In order to make comparisons of these measurements across parks easier, indicators were given grades. Indicators were graded 'Fulfill', 'Semi-fulfill', 'Not fulfill' and finally those were graded 'Not Applicable.' A sum of the points is calculated for each indicator to measure its efficiency. The grades are according to the data that have been explored and found researcher's point of view.

International Examples of Ecological Parks 1st Example: Xochimilco Ecological Park At Mexico City, Mexico. (Park Concept: Ecological Repair & Cultural Preservation)
Xochimilco Ecological Park which is a dramatic example that presents the preservation of the historical landscape and the restoration of the hydrological system of water; both factors are main concerns of the provisions of the park program. The exploration of the study aims to define what an Ecological park is and how can it affect cities.

Xochimilco Ecological Park is considered to be the "poster child" of the Ecological park movement due to several reasons[11]. It is considered by Ecological Park Proponents Galen Cranz and Michael Boland as a demonstrable example of through which it can be learned from as it has won several urban design and park planning awards such as 1994 ASLA Merit Award.

The Historical and Present context of the site

There is a maze of floating islands or what is called The Chinampas (agriculture island system) resulting to the presence of fertile soil dredged from the water's bottom[12]. As time is going on over centuries, the ecology of landscape has matured resulting in these floating islands to grow to be fixed in a place through the roots of trees and shrubs leading to the emersion of an ecosystem

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[8] Sustainability Policies& Indicators: A Framework for Downs view Park, 2003,78.

that is completely tied to water in this altiplano of the Mexican dessert. Lake Xochimilco was one of series of ancient lakes that are located within the valley where the water was still, in other words there was no outflow of water occurring superficially as shown in figure 4.

Figure 4: A Rendered Photo showing the Aztec Capital, in Lake Texcoco. (Source: Power,2006)

As urbanization of communities has increased over time a conflict has occurred between the historical, cultural values and the ecologies of landscape[12] .On the other hand there was an increased demand for water supply for the areas around Xochimilco leading to the production of great amounts of untreated sewage, storm runoff, salts and heavy metals resulting in the failure of the productive capacity and ecological value of the remaining lake system[11].

Today, Xochimilco is nearly about 127 square kilometers, 79 square kilometers of them are dedicated for agriculture and forest land, 12 square kilometers are full of canals and lagoons and 36 square kilometers are urbanized [12].

The need for a cleanup campaign

Lake Xochimilco has a great impact on Mexico City residents and has a particularly strong place in the minds and hearts of the citizens[9]. Its historical and cultural importance has lead to Xochimilco be a prime target for a cleanup campaign[13].

During 1987, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have declared that Xochimilco is "World inheritance site" and "universal historic and cultural organization"[10]. The rehabilitant project to rescue the area was called "Ecological rescue of Xochimilco"[14].

Xochimilco Ecological Park as a Focal point of the treatment project

The focal point for the entire project of ecological rescue is the Ecological Park that encompasses 3,000 hectares, 300 hectares of them are the Ecological Park as shown in figure 5 in A and a 660-arce of them is at the corner of the site that is readily accessible to the road[13].

It is a place that creates a livig, breathing, ecologically functioning museum that provides leisure and recreation to the visitors but in a way that makes a connection between the visitors and the land beyond the traditional sense of recreation[11].

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9 Breen, Rigby,1996,128.
10 Wirth, 2003,175.

Figure 5: Photos showing the colorful boats lining the shore take the visitors onto Lago Xochilita and into restored ancient farming areas. (Source: Breen and Rigby, 1996)

The Ecological Park consists of five main areas which are the Natural area, a Didactic area, a Botanical Garden, a Recreational area and the Paseo de las Flores which is known as Flower Walk as shown in figure 6.

Figure6: Schematic plan for Xochimilco Ecological Park,
Zone 1 highlights Ecology Zone,
Zone 2 allows for active Recreation and
Zone 3 displays Flower market.(Source:Power,2006)

All these areas are integrated with the lagoons, embarcaderos which establish a connection with extended lake system[13].A striking cobalt blue educational and visitor information is the main architectural feature of the ecological with its distinguished color it attracts people[13] as shown in figure 7.

Figure 7: The educational & visitor Information Center and its integration with the constructed lake in the foreground are the dominant structure in Xochimilco Ecological Park.(Source: Breen and Rigby, 1996).

Site Hydrological System

The lakes were created and designed to collect and percolate seasonal rainfall in to underlying aquifer in addition to other uses such as being used for visual pleasure, recreational amenity and a water habitat[11] .The only source of water input into these created lakes was rainfall, but surface outputs channel this water throughout the park and goes in to the Chinampas.

An attention was given to repair the water cycle loop between pulling for drinking water and groundwater recharge[12]. The purpose was no-net loss policy for the aquifer. The collection of rain water that would otherwise flooded into surrounding areas. Also the return of the treated wastewater in to the new treatment plants in to the Chinampas was important element in the design. Recycling water is being injected through the water treatment plants into the lake system. Returning of this water flows in to three architectural fountains that discharge into the lagoons[11]as shown in figüre 8.

Figure 8: The pumping system that maintains the water quality is housed in structures that jut into lagoon by Aqua ducts that carry water into the lakes. (Source:Schjentan,2006)

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[11] Schjentan,2006,26

Application of the Framework of Ecological Analysis of Xochimilco Ecological Park:

Table (1) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Environmental Indicators analysis of Xochimilco Ecological Park

Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Environmental Indicators	Score	Habitat Protection		Native Vegetation	Sustainable Energy Use	Site Fitness	Hydrological System	Waste Water treatment
		Water	Land					
	fulfill	●	●			●	●	●
	Semi-fulfill			◗	◗			
	Not fulfill							
	N.A							

Environmental Indicators Results: Fulfill: 5/8 - Semi fulfill: 2/8 - Not Fulfill: 0/8 - N.A:0/8

KEY: Fulfill: ● *- Semi fulfill:* ◗ *- Not fulfill:* ○ *- N.A:* ◉

Table (2) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Social Indicators analysis of Xochimilco Ecological Park

Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Social Indicators	Score	Pedagogy	Environmental Stewardship	Heritage Preservation	Park Enjoyment
	fulfill	●	●	●	●
	Semi-fulfill				
	Not fulfill				
	N.A				

Social Indicators Results: Fulfill: 4/4 - Semi fulfill: 0/4 - Not Fulfill: 0/4 - N.A:0/4

Table (3) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Economic Indicators analysis of Xochimilco Ecological Park

	Score	Economic Indicators		
		Develop the capital base for funding	Operation &Maintenance	Economic Sustainability
Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Economic Indicators	Fulfill	●	●	●
	Semi-Fulfill			
	Not Fulfill			
	N.A			

Economic Indicators Results: Fulfill: 3/3 - Semi fulfill: 0/3 - Not Fulfill: 0/3 - N.A:0/3

Park Analysis Outcomes

- Repairing the broken hydrological cycle between the park zone, the Chinampas Zone and their relation to Mexico City.

- Creating a winter habitat for migratory birds.

- Expansion of the park activities to include a more functional and dynamic relationship within the city. The park act as a main lung to the city as a whole.

- Creating a strong connection and a relationship between historical preservation and natural resource connection.

- Developing the park program to enhance both the natural and cultural ecologies of landscape.

Serves as an awareness catalyst to the ecological consciousness that is connected to the Chinampas region.

2nd Example: Birmingham Ecological Park, Birmingham, England. (Park Concept: Is a demonstration of the principles of sustainability which will help to safeguard the environment into the 21st Century.)

The Park is designed to provide a stimulating and educational environment[12] as shown in figure 9 .The master plan of the Ecological Park at present date accommodates a flexible arrangement of Eco-technologies which include composting, recycling, reuse of demolition materials and biological treatment. There is a path to take the visitor beside ponds, through woodland, flowering meadow and health land, with places for rest and reflection. The Park is also designed to be a safe and enjoyable place to work. The demonstration Wildlife and Perma-culture Gardens show how people can help their own garden. The wind and solar power and water recycling systems installed in the park are suitable for larger gardens. These installed renewable systems works as a showcase. The demonstration woodland and ponds have a profusion of wildflowers.

Figure 9: Photo showing The Permaculture Garden which is the garden of the future. (Source:The Wildlife Trusts, 2007).

Ecological Park's Wind and Solar Production

Sustainability in all its forms was the guiding principal of the Ecological Park plan and so it contains different and exciting demonstrations of sustainability, as wind and solar power generation which are the future and due to weather conditions of England, it's rich with a wealth of renewable energy sources that are waiting to be stored and well used[16].

For example there is a wind and solar powered energy generator including a Rutland wind turbine as shown in figure 10.It was built at one third the size of a conventional wind turbine was built as an example of a working wind turbine[16]. It was designed to allow local people to see one working, and to prove that it would not be detrimental, either to the park or to the local community, by causing noise pollution for example.

Figure 10: Photo showing the demonstrations of wind turbine & solar collectors at The Ecological Park (Source: The UKEarth Centre Network, 2007).

Site Hydrological System

The attention that was given to the water cycle was one of the main concerns of the design of this park[16]. The lakes were created and designed to collect rainfall .In addition to other uses such as being used for visual pleasure, recreational amenity and a water habitat. The only source of water input into these created lakes was rainfall, but surface outputs channel this water throughout the park and goes in to the Reed-Bed system for treatment as shown in figure 11.

Figure 11: Photos showing the signage demonstrating the usage of Reed Beds in water treatment and Water Recycling system used in the Ecological Park. (Source: The Wildlife Trusts, 2007).

Table (5) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Social Indicators analysis of Birmingham Ecological Park

	Score	Social Indicators			
		Pedagogy	Environmental Stewardship	Heritage Preservation	Park Enjoyment
Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Social Indicators	Fulfill	●	●	●	●
	Semi-fulfill				
	Not fulfill				
	N.A				

<u>Social Indicators Results:</u> Fulfill: 3/4 - Semi fulfill: 1/4 - Not Fulfill: 0/4 - N.A:0/4

Table (6) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Economic Indicators analysis of Birmingham Ecological Park

	Score	Economic Indicators		
		Develop the capital base for funding	Operation &Maintenance	Economic Sustainability
Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Economic Indicators	Fulfill		●	●
	Semi-fulfill	◒		
	Not Fulfill			
	N.A			

Economic Indicators Results: Fulfill: 2/3 - Semi fulfill: 1/3 - Not Fulfill: 0/3 - N.A:0/3

KEY: Fulfill: ● - **Semi fulfill:** ◒ - **Not fulfill:** ○ - **N.A:** ◉

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Park Analysis Outcomes

- Th e Ecological Park aims to support the call to restore the UK's battered ecosystems, for wildlife across the UK where applying the principles and practice of sustainable living are being shared with people in the wider community.

- S ustainability in all its forms was the guiding principal of the Ecological Park plan and so sustainability was built into as many of the park features as possible through demonstrations for example as wind and solar energy demonstrations. to safeguard the environment into the 21st century.

- Creating a habitat for all kinds of wildlife and plants for growing and living within this area.

- Wi de and varied activities are available in exciting surroundings with a wide range of habitats and demonstrations of sustainability

- D eveloping the park program to enhance sustainable procurement practice that includes: reduce waste, reduce impact on environment and climate, zero habitat destruction and zero soil degradation.
- S erves as an awareness catalyst by being an educational open classroom for the community to the ecological consciousness that is connected to the environmental problems facing the globe through its natural features.

After analyzing both International Ecological Park examples through the framework of the indicators, a comparative analysis between the two parks and Al-Azhar Park was held to evaluate how each park managed to cope itself with its site conditions, priorities and criteria.

Local Case study Assessment: an Approach towards Transforming Al-Azhar Park to an Ecological Park

Al-Azhar Park is one of the largest urban parks that were developed in Cairo in March 2005 by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture[1]. The origins of Al-Azhar Park project date to 1984, when the Aga Khan Award for Architecture organised a conference on the subject of *The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo.* During this time the city was confronted by contemporary development challenges (ADKN, 2007) such as population pressures, a decline in the quality of housing and other problems that are related to the previous two. During that conference His Highness the Aga Khan announced his decision to finance the creation of a park for the citizens of the Egyptian capital.

The park is considered by local authorities, the developers and the planning and the design team to be a catalyst for the urban renewal for one of the most congested cities of the world (ADKN, 2007).It offers better chances for social, economic, and cultural sustainability for the residents of the El-Darb el Ahmar[2].

The Specific Choice of Al Azhar Park As A Local Case Study

Among all these different parks in Cairo and Alexandria, El Azhar Park was specifically chosen for several reasons; first the project is regarded as a catalyst for social economic and cultural sustainability and renewal and improvement. It is believed to have far reaching consequences for the El Darb el Ahmar district [17].It is the largest green spot that can be depicted in Cairo as shown in figure 12. Second, it has a well reputation world wide as the project was and still celebrated in the media and has revived a considerable coverage in over hundred publications including local news paper, tourist information packages and specialized international and regional architectural trade magazines[18].

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[1] ADKN, 2007
[2] Salama, A., 2008,36

Figure 12: A Map andphotos depicting the lack of green spaces in this historic area

Historical and Present Context Of Al-Azhar Park

Al-Azhar Park which is named after the Great Al-Azhar Mosque has a central location on top of the Darassa Hills. It is surrounded with the most significant historic landmarks of Cairo for example to the west the Fatimid city and El-Darb al Ahmar with their wealth of mosques and to the south is the Sultan Hassan Mosque and Ayyubid Citadel and finally to the east is the 15th Century Mamluk "City of the Dead". The green lung park is a main new resource for visitors and citizens of Cairo offering new panoramic views of historic monuments of the magnificent area

Finally the site was converted from a derelict wasteland site into an urban park as shown in the timeline in figure 13.

Figure 13: Photos depicting the transformation of the site through different years from a wasteland to an urban park that offers panoramic views of historic Cairo monuments.
(Source: ADKN 2008)

The Park's Present Context and Site Features

The characteristics of the park are based on the traditional use of public areas in the Islamic framework. This is manifested in areas in the park that have been prepared in the traditional garden style and the shaded seats model (El Takhtabouch) or the covered passages, (Elbawaki)

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arcades of the Fatimide style, such as the three modern buildings: the restaurant, the coffee shop and the entrance of the park. The park's design include a main spine with palm colonnade as shown in figure 14, formal garden, hilltop lookout kiosk, hilltop restaurants, children's structured play area; children's amphitheater and stage ; lookout plaza; water cascade and stream lake.

The Southern water tank with the shaded trees and water

Sunken Gardens leading to the Lakeside Cafe

The Main e Sp in e w i t h c e n t rai water channel flanked by royal

The lower canopy trees behind the main spine with secondary

Figure 14: Ariel view of Al-Azhar Park showing the parks features..
(Source: PPS, 2009)

Al- Azhar Park As A Focal Point Of the Cleanup Campaign

At the beginning it started as a project to design and construct a park, the project included additional elements such as excavation and extensive restoration of the 12th century Ayyubid wall & the neighbouring Historic city[17]. As shown in figure 15 in A. The project's scope had to encompass the cultural monuments in the neighbourhood as shown in figure 15 in B These approaches took the form of an integrated urban area development plan containing a series of pilot interventions aimed not only at the restoration of landmark buildings, but at wide-based socioeconomic development [3].

In addition the park is used as a tool for improving the aesthetic and overall safety and comfort of the neighbourhood was conceived with the idea that the removal of the former rubble dump and its metamorphosis into a park would have a catalytic effect on the general improvement of the district through extensive social development programme for the poor overpopulated neighbourhood[20]; that includes housing rehabilitation to restore dwellings, micro credit and healthcare facilities and employment and training[4].

Figure 15: Photos showing the restoration of the Ayyubid Wall with Darb Shoughlan School which serves as a Community Center in A and B. examples of renovated houses in the neighboring EL Darb EL Ahmar District. (Source: ADKN, 2008)

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[3]AKTC, 2005,56
[4] AKTC, 2004,108

Sustainable Energy Use

There is no attention being paid to practice any energy savings through the park. There is no usage of renewable sources of energy through the park (Stino, M., 2010).

Site Hydrological System

The water design at the park was designed to be with minimum and economic usage of water .The water conservation was according to its design and purpose. The water budget was not to consume more than 1800 cubic meter per day (Stino, M., 2010).

Application of the Framework of Ecological Analysis on the present condition of Al-Azhar Park:

The framework of the Ecological analysis was graded according to the interview with the Professor Maher Stino.

Table (7) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Environmental Indicators analysis

	Score	Habitat Protection		Native Vegetation	Sustainable Energy Use	Site Fitness	Hydrological System	Waste Water treatment
		Water	Land					
	fulfill	●	●	●		●	●	
	Semi-fulfill							
	Not fulfill				○			○
	N.A							

Column 1 header (vertical): Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Environmental Indicators; spanning column 2 header: Environmental Indicators

Environmental Indicators Results: Fulfill: 5/8 - Semi fulfill: 0/8 - Not Fulfill: 2/8 - N.A:0/8

Table (8) Demonstrative table display the summary matrix of the Social Indicators analysis

	Score	Social Indicators			
Ability of the Park to promote Ecological function according to Social Indicators		Pedagogy	Environmental Stewardship	Heritage Preservation	Park Enjoyment
	fulfill		●	●	●
	Semi-fulfill	◗			
	Not fulfill				
	N.A				

<u>Social Indicators Results:</u> *Fulfill: 3/4 - Semi fulfill: 1/4 - Not Fulfill: 0/4 - N.A:0/4*

Park Analysis Outcomes

- Al - Azhar Park is considered as a sustainable urban development project that proves its success from the user's perspective (Salama, A., 2008).

- The park has resulted in launching a combined physical and social rehabilitation process in the surrounding area of the park The Darb-El Ahmar district[5].

  The park has low Environmental and Ecological performance in means of sustainable energy use [22].

- Lack of parks education programs in addition to lack of visitors awareness with global environmental problems regarding the importance of environment protection [22]

- Lack of a park program to enhance sustainable procurement practice that includes: reduce waste, reduce impact on environment and climate, zero habitat destruction and zero soil degradation [2]

According to the comparative analysis, the two international Ecological parks score consistently higher than Al-Azhar Park in their reflection and embodiment of ecological strategies. Therefore an approach of transformation of Al-Azhar Park to an Ecological Park is being proposed in the next part of the paper.

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[5] Stino, M., 2010

The Approach of Transformation

The approach of transformation is divided into:

I. **Vision of the Ecological transformation Approach:** *Al-Azhar Park is a* regionally recognized and is considered respected leader and a prototype in cultural resource management. The vision aims to transform the park to a global unique urban recreational space developed according to the principles of the environmental, economic and social sustainability. The park is supposed to reflect Cairo's past, present and future. The vision aims to fulfill the three aspirations as shown in figure 16:
- The park district is an active Prototype for conservation organizations.
- The park district is an engaged and respected community partner recognized as a strong culture of stewardship, community service and environmental education.

- The park district is a safe and accessible urban oasis of green connection, abundant wildlife, clean air and water, recreational and educational opportunities and healthy habitats for generations to come.

Figure 16: Displays the steps of the Transformation Approach

II. **The Legacy:** To upgrade the park to a self-sustaining park through a number of environmentally sustainable elements. In addition to being a role model in sustainability and to have the right indicators to asses and evaluate it.

III. **Mission of the Ecological transformation Approach:** To acquire, conserve and manage natural resources and to provide the public with safe, outdoor recreational and educational opportunities through a system of regional, natural area park. The users can live the highest quality of lifewith the lowest environmental footprint through a global response to the future of energy and climate change in areas such as

1.**Renewable and sustainable energy**
2.**Effiecnt use of non renewable.**
3.**Conservation**
4.**Energy Policy**
5. **Community andpublic awareness**
6.**Social &Cultural Interaction** as shown in figure 17.

Figure 17: Photos showing different aspects that the transformation approach wants to handle.
(Source: Masdar Initiative, 2009)

Applying Ecological Park Concept on Al-Azhar Park

The approach of transformation starts by applying The Ecological Park Concept which aims to change the situation by encouraging urban plans to transform urban parks and vacant land to Ecological Parks, that brings a range of environmental, social and economic benefits to local community and optimizing the sustainable use of resources to safe guard the environment for future generation.

Different renewable energy sources are used within the Ecological Parks to create energy as shown in figure 18 that shows the processes within the Ecological Park.

Figure 18: Diagram showing input and output factors of Ecological Park. (After: Elnokaly, A., ElSeragy, A., Gamal, M., 2007).

As well as figure 19 displaying the Ecological Park Concept which focuses on the previous areas in the mission of the transformation.

Applying Strategies of Ecological Parks on Al-Azhar Park

The approach of Ecological transformation continues by applying the ten strategies as shown in figure 20.

Figure 20: Shows the strategies of Ecological Parks that support the vision of transformation

Î.Intesration into Natural systems:

Minimize local environmental impacts by integrating the Al-Azhar Park into the local landscape, hydrologic setting, and ecosystems. For example the usage of Galala marble in the park furniture as it is a local material[22]. As for El-Darb Al-Ahmar

project encouraged the use of original building materials like lime stone, tiles, and wooden mashrabias In addition to many of the old stones and timber were re-used as well in the re-building process .

2.Energy Efficiency systems:

Incorporating a number of green design elements results that Al-Azhar Park will be a prime example for the next generation of parks in Egypt .The abundance of wind and sun at the park site can be harnessed for energy. Large windmills are a possibility, as well as smaller ones. In addition to Solar power has even greater potential, and solar panels can be placed on the existing buildings or in remote areas. A variety of panels can be used as mono crystalline , polycrystalline. Photovoltaic power can provide a large proportion of the total energy provided.

Figure 21 shows the location of solar panels which can be located through the park .As for the windmills they are located on the eastern side where topography is given to gentle slopes and there are no neighbouring residential areas, their best location is behind the hilltop restaurant as its the highest area in the park to catch the wind in addition to, it will not affect the architectural character of the park as it will not be very obvious. Therefore, the windmill fans are directed towards the prevailing wind. The solar panels cover the topography of the hills and on top of them the windmills are located to take profit of wind energy Therefore, anytime the sun is shining and the wind is blowing the park is generating clean, green electricity. This reliable, zero- emission electricity will offset park demand for fossil fuel generated power.

Solar panels could be installed in various parts in the park for example on the hilly topography and on fountains and lighting

Wind turbines located on the hilly topography behind The Hill Top Restaurant to catch wind and convert it to electricity.

Wind Turbines are used to convert wind to electrical power for exporting to electrical grid to powering the park facilities resulting in zero emmission electricity

PREVILING WIND
WIND ENERGY

SOLAR ENERGY

Solar Panels are oriented towards sun to harvest its energy and convert it to electricy to be used within parks's facilities inadditon to the illumination of the site at night

Figure 21: Schematic Plan and section through the park showing the location of windmills and solar panels

3.Flow of Materials & waste management for the whole site.

Increasing the usage of recycled materials, particularly in buildings and hard landscapes in the park, where possible and appropriate as shown in figure 23. Park furniture made of recycled materials and El Galala marble which is a local material in addition the recycle bins are also made of recycled plastic components that also encourage visitors to recycle their wastes by throwing them in the right bin.

Figure 23: Photos showing proposed site furniture made of recycled materials.(Source: www.superlat. com)

Figure 24: Photos showing different ways of conservation of water as using recycled water municipal water use as in water features and toilets in the park.

4.Water Efficiency treatments: Increasing water efficiency in building services and for water consideration in the overall built environment, for example using grey water recycled for uses such as toilet flushing and fountains in the park as shown in figure 24.

5.Pollution Reduction: Ensuring that all sources of pollution in the park are kept at minimum levels for a healthy park environment and reducing them to the minimum to ensure not polluting the environment surrounding the park.

6.Elimination ofPesticides Usage : The purpose is to implement the usage of viable peat free alternatives and investigate alternative methods for plant production using peat-free growing mediums

7.Environmental Management: Implementation and usage of a formal environmental management systems such as are the European Commission's Eco- Management and Audit System (EMAS), and EN/ISO 14001 [6].Implementing such systems can improve the environmental management of the park.

8.Low Emission Machinery and Alternative Fuels To reduce the environmental impact of the transportation and machinery used within park to ensure that the air quality is efficient for park users.

9.Educate people through the Ecological Park (Public & Visitors Awareness): *Al*-Azhar Park is considered to be a living classroom providing programs to educate the public about the site's rich history and estuarine environment as shown in figure 25. This is a schematic section through the park across the lake showing students interacting in the park as an open classroom.

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[6] The Civic Trust,2007

ENVIROMENTAL SCORE BOARD   MONITORING STATION

Figure 25: A section through the park showing the open classroom that could be implemented across the lake for environmental education.

10. Recycling through the Ecological Park :

The establishment of a recycling centre in the park encourages recycling and provide an opportunity to educate park users about benefits of recycling as shown in figure 26.Recycling should be done for the waste of plants and users.

Figure 26: Photo showing the recycling centers and recycling bins. (Source: Photos by the researcher)

Figure 27: Photo showing the savings that the Ecological Park can takeplace in.

(Source :U.S GreenBuilding Council)

Conclusions

If urban parks can evolve from their current, primarily recreational role, into a new role as a catalyst for community development and enhancement therefore Ecological Parks will be an essential component in transforming and enhancing our lives and cities. Those green engines have certain goals to fulfil which are restoration of natural ecosystem and utilization of ecological potentials by using renewable sources of energy such as solar energy, wind energy, hydropower and geothermal energy.

After the investigation and analysis of this research, it was found out that, there was no such international model for Ecological Parks ,each one of them manage to cope itself with its site's conditions, priorities and criteria. And it is the task of Egyptian Architects and Urban Planner to find the optimum Ecological Park solution that perfectly suits our environment, heritage and culture.

The transformation approach of Al-Azhar Park in to an Ecological Park is intended to be a demonstration of the principles of sustainability which will help to safeguard the environment in to 21st century. The mission of the transformation is to provide Al- Azhar Park visitors with a stimulating and educational environment by serving as an open classroom for the community that aims at raising the global awareness through for example an educational park programs , Eco-tours that could take place and educational seminars to aware people of the serious problem of global warming and climate change and how they can contribute as active members of the society in reducing the consequences of those environmental problems that we have created with our own hands.

Reaching to a conclusion that Ecological Park is a combination of cost-effective, renewable and applied energy saving and sustainable principles that could be applied on daily basis.

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Learning and Environmental Design: Softer Learning Spaces

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Key Words: Learning, environment, behavior, soft classroom Introduction
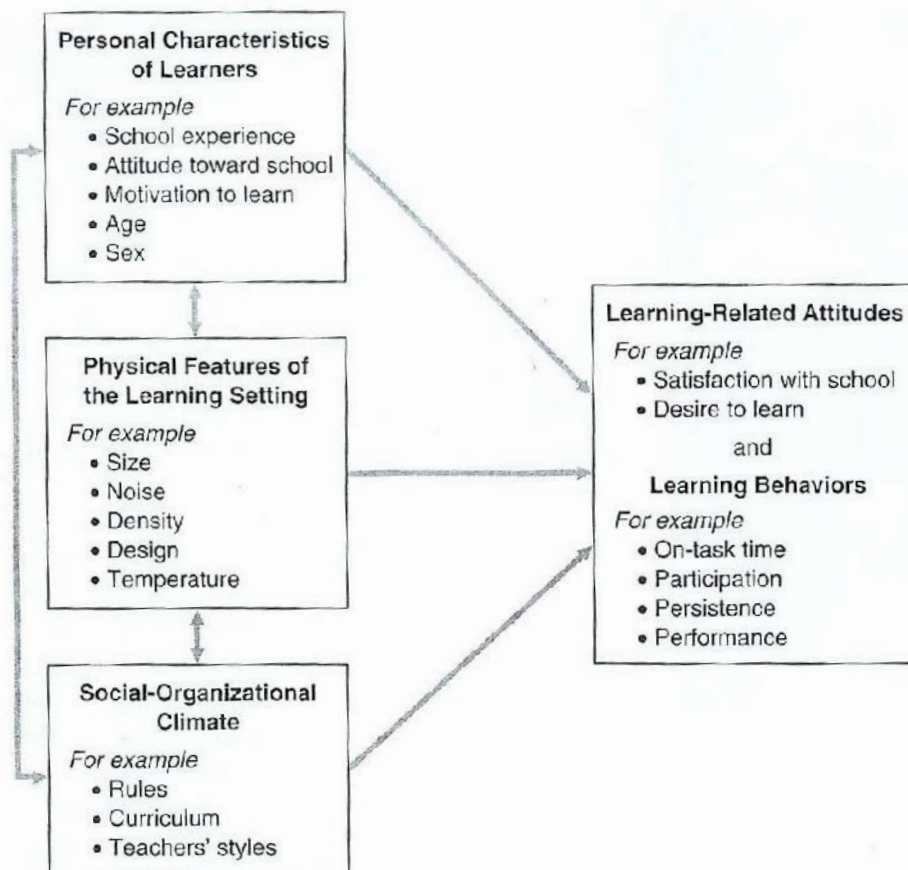
The new millenium is apparently a new phase regarding the development of all aspects of architecture and the built environment that stages everyday life. Learning is a central part of life which is often associated with school and classrooms. For many people, the public image of higher education is the classroom:faculty talking with students listening and taking notes. Students' progress toward a degree is measured by time spent in classrooms. The daily pulse of a college or university is largely dictated by the classroom schedule. Many educators, however, increasingly argue that such classrooms are largely ineffective as learning environments and they should not continue to be built (Schank, 1997; Van Note Chism, 2002). But, what should take their place? In considering the future of the learning space, this paper is an attempt to discuss (1) a few of the reasons why traditional classrooms are inadequate and need to change, (2) some ideas that break with these traditions, and (3) suggesting areas for future learning spaces that are pioneering than imitative.

Students spend thousands of hours in classrooms and therefore classrooms are automatically are among the most important physical structures in the academic arena. Although much has been written about classroom environments in the sense of organizational structure or social environment, much less has been written about the physical environment of the classroom (Douglas & Gifford, 2001).

The traditional classroom can be transformed through an appreciation of differing approaches to teaching and learning, application of effective physical design and adoption of instructional technology. From a student-centered perspective, learning is an active, participatory, experiential and cooperative process whereby student and teacher co-create the learning experience (Neill & Etheridge, 2008). While recent marketing education research recognizes the value of student-centered learning (Hernandez, 2002; Laverie, 2006) and providing a range of learning experiences (Karns, 2006), our understanding of the role of physical space in enabling teaching and learning is limited. As the paradigm in education shifts from teacher to student and from passive to active learning (Chism &Bickword.2002), there is renewed interest in the effect of space on learning behaviors and instruction (Betoret & Artiga, 2004). The traditional classroom with its fixed arrangement constrains teaching and learning to one-way, linear flows. To adress this connection between space and learning, one of the earlier attempts was initiated by Robert Sommer & Helge Olsen. They redesigned a plain 30 seat college classroom at the Davis campus of the University of California. With a very small budget they changed it into a soft classroom with semicircular, cushion-covered bench seating, adjustable lighting, a small carpet and some mobiles. Compared to traditional classrooms of similar size, student participation increased markedly in the soft classroom (Gifford,1997).

Learning is a central part of everyone's life. It occurs everywhere even when people do not think of themselves as learning. We can learn while walking on the beach or when we talk over events of the day. Learning is usually associated with school although much learning occurs before we reach school age. Learning occurs in places where the designated purpose of setting is not education and in places where learning is incidental not to the primary purpose of the setting.

Learning is a function of both the biology and the ecology of the individual. Learning produces development and the classroom is a critical and costly component of this ecology. Vast amounts of money is spent on educating individuals of all ages. Environmental psychologists believe that educational settings can and should make education both more efficient and more enjoyable. The physical setting may not make or break education on its own but it can interact with nonenvironmental factors either to promote or to hinder learning process (Gifford, 1997). The general framework of the intruduction is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. A framework for conceptualizing person-environment relations in learning settings.

About three decades ago, Edgar Dale described what he called the "experience cone" which orders different modes of learning according to their power (Figure2). Retention is worst with the modes at the top of this cone and best with those at the bottom. More recently, authentic learning has been a topic in the teacher-preparation debate, with future teachers being urged to use student-centered, constructivist, depth versus breadth approaches in their classes, yet finding

themselves being taught by traditional teacing approaches. "Don't do as I do, but do as I say" turns out to be a particularly ineffective model for long term behavior (Long and Ehrmann, 2005).

Figure 2. The "Experience Cone" Adapted from Edgar Dale, Audivisiual Methods in Teaching, 3rd.ed. New York. Dryden Press, 1969.

A modern pioneer in educational environmental psychology, Carol Weinstein (1981) has summarized four assumptions made by environmental psychologists who study learning and the physical environment.

1. Although the setting usually does not teach directly, it can either facilitate or hinder learning, both directly and symbolically. Loud noise for example, may directly interfere with the transmission of information from teacher to learner. In addition, a drab, untidy classroom may symbolize to learners that the school and teacher care little about their progress.

2. The effects of the physical setting on learning are not universal but are moderated by the social and instructional context. For example, open plan schools work poorly when educators merely import their teaching methods from traditional schools with separate clasrooms but often work better when teaching methods suited to open space are used.

3. There is no single best learning setting. The best physical settings are those congruent with the type of material being learned, the goals of the class and the characteristics of the learners.

4. Learning is maximized when the physical setting is considered as carefully as are other aspects of the learning situation, such as the curriculum, the teachers' verbal ability and other teaching aids. Unfortunately, most educational programs still pay little attention to the physical setting.

The path from design research to environmental action is full of obstacles. Introducing a new physical form requires people to change established patterns of behavior. Within an academic institution, it is easier to plan a settlement on the moon than to change a single classroom. Early

evidence suggests that inexpensive changes to make classrooms more pleasent have tangible benefits for education.

The task of environmental psychologists who study learning is to identify conditions under which physical and nonphysical elements of the setting combine to result in improved learning.

Where does academic learning really take place? This paper focuses on the rooms where instructors and students interact. The paper is concerned with the role of the physical environment in learning, including factors as architecture, furniture arrangement, ligthing and room design.

Methodology

During the delivery of "People and Environment Course" to Level III in 2011-2012 Fall Term, Interior Design students of Faculty of Architecture and Design at Bahçeşehir University were asked "What kind of classroom designs might be better at supporting learning in the university?". Four ideas proposed by the students can be summarized as useful in imagining their impressions of an ideal classroom:

1. "Learning by doing" matters.

2. "Context" matters.

3. "Interaction" matters.

4. **"Location of learning"** matters.

Classrooms should support the activities of effective learning. What should such spaces look like? Do any such space yet exist? Once students arrive in the classroom, the faculty member can help students deal with difficult ideas and nuances and then can prepare and motivate students for the next round of work. What kind of classroom space is most effective and efficient for this? Ideally, such learning spaces should support several key activities.

1. Students need to be able to hear what the faculty member and other students say and see what other people show, even if objects are small.

2. Students need to be able to replay this material, perhaps instantly

3. Students need to be able to try something someone suggests, then and there.

4. Students need to be able to work for short times in small groups, observing and critiquing one another's work

5. Students need to be able to respond to questions, from their peers as well as from the instructor.

6. The lecturer needs to be able to display student response patterns and use them to provoke further disscussion

After all the above information was driven from class discussions, "People and Environment" course students were given a Final Assignment of "Redesigning a Classroom of their choice into a Soft Classroom" in the premises of Bahçeşehir University Campus.

All classrooms on Bahçeşehir University Campus have chairs in straight rows facing towards the board whereas smaller classrooms have portable chairs. Based on seven years of experience of teaching People and Environment course and lecturing on an alternative classroom design, a strong demand among students impended for a softer, warmer and more intimate instructional space. The author's previous studies revealed that little classroom participation actually took place during the courses. Even in a small seminar, student comments occupied an average of 10 minutes out of an hour. The rest of the time was taken up by the lecturer. In larger classes, the student initiated discussion proved to be even less, about 3.5 minutes, much of it being about administrative matters. When a class had a large amount of participation such as "People and Environment" course 2011-2012 Fall Term (87 students), this meant discussion between the instructor and individual students. There was considerable whispering among those in adjacent seats, but there was little or no attempt to initiate a discussion between the students. The straight row arrangement conveyed the message that only the instructor was capable of responding to students' inquiry.

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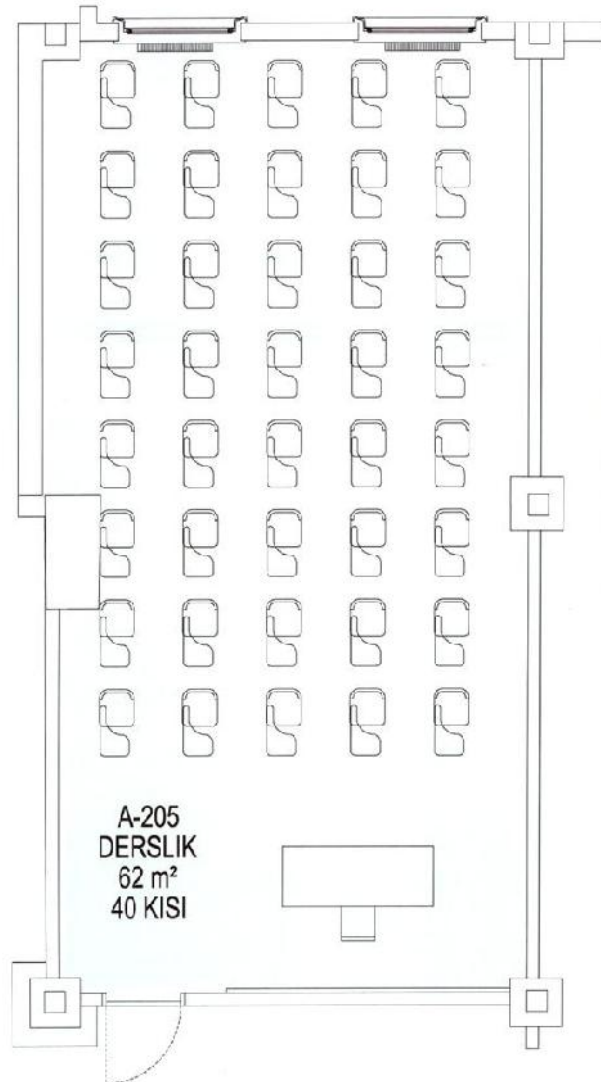
A 205 classroom (Figure 3) in the A Block of Bahçeşehir Campus was chosen as a case study by a group of 7 students. The definition of as is condition of the A 205 classroom by the students was:

The classroom number 205 in the A Block is 62 sqm. It consists of seating for approximately 40 students. The individual seats for students are in grey and maroon. The flooring is wood-like linoleum. There is the speaker's corner in the classroom and the screen serves for the projector. The windows are at the rear. The walls are all white with no notice boards but clothes hanging equipment. Illumination is provided by means of a suspended ceiling with square shaped flourescent lighting fixtures installed in it.

The definition of the Soft Classroom Design proposal (Figure 4) of the students was:

The main consideration of the design proposal is to make it more dynamic and flexible. While trying to establish this, the consideration of transforming the class to a warmer environment for the students is kept as the main goal. Turning the corners curvilinear is the starting point. As for the aspect of dynamism, all the classroom walls being used for poster hangings by magnets. The class is divided into two areas, first being designed for 2D learning. The instructor can use the board and 2D projector at the same time. The second area is the 3D learning area. This place is formed by a canvas system. It opens and makes space for 3D. When the system is open, it provides space for walking around the projector and when closed hallstand function area appears.The new chair is designed so as to be easy moving with the reels under its legs. With these reels the chair can easily move between two areas while the user is seated. For a more specialized chair design and making it more appealing for the students a shelf is created just above the reels for the students to keep their belongings. What is more, when the lights are down sudents can use the LED light fixture installed in the chairs writing table to take down notes. As for

the colors used all over the classroom, the new surrounding walls are ice blue while seats are in peach. The floor which used to be white is now beige linoleum.white is a traditional color but it undermines the purpose of the classroom. White reflects the light and may cause glare.The walls are in ice blue to provide a sense of water and sea to give the students a feeling of relaxation. According to research, peach and rose are used in schools because they are prefered over bolder colors. Bold colors may create distraction. As for the soft classroom lighting, one attractive option is the installation of fluorescent cove lighting around the perimeter of the room. This makes the room look much brighter. The strip lighting itself is not expensive but it requires detailing that effects the construction budget. Perception of an all round high level of illumination, rather than lighting that focuses on seating, can be a psychological plus for students. Flexibility is always important in standard classroom lighting design. Some areas of the classroom still opt for a multilevel switching system as a simple and cost-effective solution. Multilevel switching that works with three series of lamps to create low, medium and high levels of illumination is designed. The cost for fluorescent dimming systems that provide the integration of daylight and artificial lighting is more affordable.

Figure 3. A 205 in its current design

Figure 4. Students' Soft Classroom Design Proposal

Conclusions

The students' ability to imagine a new classroom is shaped by changes in their own beliefs about learning spaces. We live in a fast and continuously changing world, so university, faculty, staff and students should keep on asking the following questions about learning spaces:

- What are we as a course and as an academic community doing with our current spaces?

- How can we utilize these spaces for more effective teaching and learning?

- How can we improve our learning spaces so that we can organize our teaching and learning better?

What can be recommended by the end of this paper might be an advise such as:

- Education should move its focus from formal to emphasizing learning in both formal and nonformal settings

- University level education should no more be seen as listening, reading and taking down notes but as seeing learning as being situated in action, collaboration, coaching and reflection

- Students and faculty should not be seen as the users of learning spaces designed by specialists that cannot be changed after completion, but people whose impressions of better teaching and learning shapes pioneering new learning spaces.

As a final statement it can be said that, this research had little impact on the faculty administration, as scarcity of space is one of the main problems all over the campus. But, there is always hope for better teaching and learning environments.

Acknowledgement

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New Interpretative Model for Regional Designs

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Introduction

After a long period of colonial exploitation, Arab architects are rediscovering their own identity, the Arab people are beginning a new phase in their long history. The period after World War I witnessed the early formation of national states in Egypt and Turkey, but also the further colonization of territories formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire, for example, today's states of Iraq, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Syria in the form of British and French mandates. In the mandates, this political transformation significantly influenced the design of cities, especially those that changed from being provincial to mandatory and later national capitals.

With the rise of the nation-state in the Middle East, local governments became more active in both planning and effecting city transformations.

From the late 1960's on the disarray became conspicuous, to the determinant of cities and their inhabitants, an economic opening enhanced by the oil boom in the Middle East and later by global transition in the world economy[1].

The recognition that regional settings are linked inextricably to cultural process strikes at the heart of much vernacular studies today, just as the desire persevere distinctive ways of life-past and present-is part of the emerging cultural consideration movement. Increasingly, programs in historic preservation are recognizing that both relatively intact historic settings and reconstituted cultural traditions which need to be addressed. Addressing the issue of regional identity through an inquiry into the dynamic processes that generate vernacular or regional aspects of design.

In another way, the process of globalization is profoundly altering the social and economic forces as well as cultural values which have a great influence on architecture. The authenticity of place is now tempered by globalization and any architect has to function within this sphere where several transformations have occurred.

Vernacularism, Regionalism and Critical Regionalism

The term vernacular, regional, indigenous and traditional is often used interchangeably but they have to be dealt with a degree of care, particularly in the current era of globalization.

Indeed in today's world, vernacular tradition can no longer be thought of as the static legacy of the past that is handed down from one generation to another. Instead it is and must be always understood as a dynamic project for interpretation through a certain culture in light of the needs of a current present and a future considering and recognizing transformation of values that have

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[1] Mosaad, 2005

accumulated over centuries incorporating those that did not exist before and which might be a desirable goal[2].

Today, there are many vernacular forms that are not indigenous to a particular region or even place bound, as the region is defined as at the best a hazy notion. It may refer to the distribution of racial or ethnic groups, common geographical or climatic features, the political boundaries limiting a tribe or some other federation. Arboleda explained vernacular architecture as "structures made by empirical builders representing their culture, without the intervention of professional architects".

Clearly, the grass root idea of the culture is useful so long as it forces attention upon basic patterns in the traditional architecture of the region, climate or landscape, or to the ways of handling materials. There are also vernacular forms that emerge in the crucible of specific building traditions[3].

Also, Amos Rapoport, in his book "House Form and Culture" defined vernacular architecture as predominant architecture of the built environment in contrast to the 'genius', universal and rare design approaches found throughout history of architecture and most often associated with known conversion.

In addition, Suha Ozkan defines vernacularism as a "building tradition that has excelled over countries, a tradition that has been recently recognized by the architectural community as a design approach within the architecture realm according to a certain region".

The regionalist approach recognises the vernacular modes of building. In almost all countries regionalism has dominated architecture at sometime during the past two centuries and a half. By the way of general definition, it can be said that it upholds the individual and local architecture features against more universal and abstract ones. Regionalism in architecture is a concept of architectural design with approach that attempted to understand buildings using the contextual forces that surround their production based on determinants such as culture, climate and resources of a particular place. When these regional contents are incorporated appropriately, it provides the architecture of the region[4].

Thus, regionalism is more than a stylistic category. It is an attitude towards design that endeavours to bring about positive change through the introduction of appropriate technologies, or it strives to sustain and refine successful design strategies that are culturally embedded within a region, that emanate from the landscape and that speak to values, customs and needs of its inhabitants, or it chooses to be differential[2].

Regionalism is committed to finding unique responses to particular places, cultures, mood gathering momentum which rejects the glib reproduction on international formulae and which seeks out continuities with local traditions. At its worst, it may degenerate into a skin-deep instant history. At its best, it penetrates the generating principles and symbolic substructures of the past and then transforms these into forms that are right of changing social order of the present.

In another way, tradition in regionalist architecture uses the vernacular in a modified manner for the purpose of raising the stales and value of tradition.

Meanwhile, geographical region defines many aspects of a society both culturally and the environmentally modes of expression. Natural environment includes climate and topography. A region, when properly defined, represents all of these in a very amalgamate modernism, through its sub theme of internationalism proclaimed universality and worldwide applicability of certain

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[2] El Sayad, 2009
[3] Petruccioli, Attilio, 2002
[4] Ozkan, 1885, S.9

values of architecture and over the past sixty years, almost totally, discarded all the regional building activity.

Regionalism then is not a marginal phenomenon. In fact, it is a bang in the middle of present cultural transformations in the third world and it's going to become more but only if the whole thing is approached on a sound philosophical basis.

Differently, with the emerge of modernism and new technologies, transformation of regionalism into critical regionalism which is an attempt to synthesize the rooted aspects of a region, including physical and cultural characteristics, with appropriate current technology. It is the search for an architecture that is meaningful within its context and at the same time participates in the more universal aspects of a contemporary mobile society.

Certainly, critical regionalism has its limitations. The upheaval of the populist movement a more developed form of regionalism has brought to light these weak points. No new architecture can emerge without a new kind of relations between designer and user and without new programmes. Despite these limitations critical regionalism is a bridge over which any humanistic architecture of the future must pass.

As Frampton defined critical regionalism, it is not intended to denote the vernacular as this was once spontaneously produced by the combined interaction of climate, culture, myth and craft but rather to identify those recent regional schools whose primary aim was to reflect and serve the limited constituencies in which they are grounded. Among other factors contributing to the emergence of regionalism of this order is not only certain prosperity but also some kind of anti-centrist consensus-an aspiration at least to some form of cultural, economic and political independence.

Finally, critical regionalism is how to become modern and return to the sources, how to revive an old dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization[5].

Regionalism in the Arab World

Arab countries are changing with speed and turbulence due to the process of globalization. In a subsequent attempt to catalogue regionalism, the taxonomy conceived is within the frame work of history and classifies various approaches as historically derivative or transformational. Derivative approaches are those that build upon vernacular architecture and, by definition, historical precedent, all the norms, technologies, and patterns of spatial organization have their origins in historical architecture. Design efforts aim to distinguish between historical forms that are still valid and those that have new and become obsolete. The interpretative version of vernacularism is referred to here as neo-vernacularism which has emerged as an approach to bring a new life to vernacular heritage for new and contemporary architecture.

As the use of earlier styles in architecture such as Neo Classicism, Art Nouveau, Art Deco which needed modernism became the common language of the architectural profession.

Derivative regionalism, or in simpler terms, vernacularism had the work of Hassan Fathy (1900-1989) as its inspiration. As the most defining element of a specific, unique and regional tradition is its cultural heritage achieved by earlier generations and creatively created into new architecture. Fathy, fought for decades to reintroduce and enable traditional mud-brick building technique for rural and urban housing.

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[5] Frampton, 1985,S.79-89

Thus, the most important contributor to conservative vernacularism is Hassan Fathy. He devoted more than half a century of his professional life to bring back the vernacular mode and building traditional endangered by extinction due to the massive Post World War II building activity. The architecture employed in this activity was different to the community and its inherited traditional technology.Fathy espoused a return to local traditions in building, including forms, materials and methods of construction. His architecture which was aimed at improving the lot of indigenous Egyptian population while forging a new identity based on qualities arising from the Egyptian culture relied on environmentally sensitive load-bearing masonry structures which featured, noticeably, vaults and domes set above simple masonry square or rectangular walls. Today, Fathy's followers build huge palaces and mansion for the Gulf rich, in the Texas Desert and large tourist center for international clubs subsequently. The experiment of building for the poor become a pure manipulation of geometric shapes and the preduction of geometric folkloric style to be consumed by the rich. Despite, its aesthetic characteristics, this school failed to solve the actual problems facing human communities in Arab cities today.Among those who shared Hassan Fathy's goals was the Egyptian architect Ramses Wissa Wassef (1911-1974) who adopted several designs from Coptic architecture inspired from his culture in a very good sense of traditional building types and materials at El Haranaya. The Haranya Complex dominates the environment and construction giving a regional revival to a lost tradition. Wissa Wassef was the first person who tried to find a traditional niche with social aspiration. He believed in the return to traditional building construction is a way of life not just architecture giving a revival to Egypt's heritage through civilizations and adapted in regional context. Previous ideas of both Fathy and Ramses echoed all over the world as a viable alternative solution for the action groups like Adaua, development workshop criteria employed their solutions.

Many other Arab architects now practicing in different parts of the world and demonstrably within the tradition created by Fathy, the Egyptian brothers Hani El Miniawy who moved to Algeria in 1961 and became involved in the establishment of several of the socialist villages that were being promoted by the Algerian government at that time. They became pioneers in the development of low-income housing which are characterized by a harmonious relation to the local environment. They employed materials in their work representing regionalism in another country6.

The widest area of regionalism as an approach is obviously the architecture for tourism and culture. During the short term experience when tourists take their vacation the regional vernacular becomes an integral part of the anticipated ambience. Therefore, tourist developments become the pioneering example of neo-vernacularism or regionalism seen through works of Adel Mokhtar in Sonesta resort in Sharm El Sheikh.

Regionalism with Modernism

As a new interpretation of modernism, reinforced by globalization, post modernism have been seen and replaced historical and valuable sectors of traditional and regional designs in most of the Arab cities with the so-called modern and post modern buildings. New Western trends occur as a symbol of progress and modernity. As a result, the richness of the vernacular folk and traditional is disappearing. Modernism demands a respect for inherent qualities of building materials, expressiveness of structure and functional justifications for forms that constitute buildings.

The classic view on the linkage between regionalism and modernism was recently related by William R.Cuvtis as, "its best regionalism penetrates to the generating principles and symbolic substructures of the past then transforms those into forms that are right for changing social order of the present." This is fundamentally a cultural definition and carries with it an implicit investigation of the typologies within a historical context.

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[6] Kultermann, 1999, s. 28

Modern building is now so universally conditioned by optimized technology that the possibility of creating significant urban form has become extremely limited leading to "the victory of universal civilization over locally inflected culture".

With all the obliterating spread of Modernism, the efforts which were made to highlight regional and local concerns were left without enough support to survive. Alvar Aatto, found a medium to exercise his own kind of regionalism allowing it to exist within the parameters of modernism, but one can find few references to regionalism until the early seventies, where there are notable exceptions for example the works of Jane Drew, Maxwell Frey[7].

On the other context, Suha Ozkan defines modern regionalism in very broad terms which can be handled by employing two categories of reference: concrete and abstract concrete regionalism accommodates all approaches to regional expressions which copy features fragments or entire buildings in the region when these buildings are loaded with spiritual values of symbolic relevance, they became much more acceptable in their new form, owing to the values attached to the original. It brings a comfortable defence in support of the new, backed by the qualities of the old. This is further acknowledged by the use of contemporary materials and construction techniques. However, the forms and spaces usually belong to the distant past[4].

The best within modernism can be profoundly rooted in tradition and the best tradition is to do with dynamic spaces or rethinking certain Central Kernal ideas. Therefore, the problem of continuing a tradition is not one of fossilized reintroduction of old forms. It is on the contrary, a question penetrating the underlying, generating principles of the past, realizing where they are relevant and irrelevant and then transforming them into present circumstances.

Two areas familiar to all practicing architects (and often neglected by academics) were selected for focus: local technology practice and local regulatory.

On one hand, local regulatory culture is the composite milieu which impacts on the form of buildings in particular geographic area through the combining effects of building and zoning codes, planning regulations of all types and political constraints.

On the other hand, local technology practice is the unique and geographically bounded influence of a building construction material, technology technique or custom of a nature that for all but the largest or most well funded of projects, it must be considered a design constraint. Knowledge of local technology practice is not recorded systematically or necessarily broadly known by design professionals outside its immediate impact area. Several contributions were made by architects reflecting regionalism with modernism.

Architects' Contributions

In 1980, the hype and the noise of post-modernism had subsided serious thinking about relating the built environment to cultural context began to emerge. This focus on regionalism turned into a search for architectural identity within a given cultural, historical and climatic context. Regionalism was not conceived as an approach to challenge modernism, but as contemporary discourse that the internationalist vein of modernism did not address. Noted architects such as Charles Correa, Balkrishna Doshi, Geoffery Bawa among many, declared the importance of context over time.

Different projects have been influenced by their local culture such as the projects applied by Rifat Chadiriji. His architecture has been his attempt to reconcile contemporary social needs with new technology (Fig. 1).

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[7] Canizaro, 2007

Fig. 1: Rifaat Chadirji (Tobaco Monopoly Offices and Stores-Baghdad, Iraq) Reference: Kultermann, Udo, (Unknown)

This crystallization of the two determinant poles. He expresses their use for concrete in a modern manner, marking the style of most of the Arabian region that were experiencing unprecedented rapid Iraq's contemporary identity spurred on by their oil revenues. He therefore, challenged a basic axiom of modernism-expression of function. Instead, he preferred the plan (function) and elevation (the expression) of plan could be considered separately, since the most important aspect was the appropriateness of any building to its context. This approach, consciously or subconsciously, was perceived as a call to Islamicize buildings. The widespread use of clip-on islamicizing features found theoretical justification, as well as a measure of validity, under the auspice of post modernism.Rifat Chadirji generated an articulate facadism which refers back to architectural heritage in Iraq.Also, Mohamed Makiya is another eminent Iraqi, especially in his earlier buildings, searched for sublime regional expressions for modern buildings, searching for sublime regional expressions for modern building. Seded El Dem has coupled a continuous search into sources of traditional architecture with a modern practice. Rasem Badran, Doruk Pamir, charles Boccara and many others, have elevated the quality of the contemporary architectural environment by employing the regional idiom, regional inputs and environmental determinants.

Also, Abdel Wahid El Wakil amplified his mentor's thesis of space, overlaying it with a concerned attempt at unravelling the geometric puzzle of Islamic detailing in elements such as the muqarnas, or stalactite modules used in the qibla nich mosque (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Abdel Wahed El Wakil (Al Huwais Mosque-Jeddah)Reference: Kultermann, Udo, (1999)

El Wakil began by implementing what Fathy had perfected. The courtyard, or frequently a double courtyard to induce convective cooling more funding for the research and development that followed El Wakil's move to Jeddah to pursue his interest in geometry and to explore the theory behind its application in Islamic architecture. The need for familiar privacy and a concerted effort to update the historical Jeddah House, a relatively small walled enclosure that existed until the mid 1940's which had evolved to adapt to humid climate with stratified ocean breezes led to Suliman Palace of 1976. Inside this linear revision of historical form, El Wakil has implemented Fathy's language in the unlikely juxtaposition of architectural elements used by wealthy merchants in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century in Cairo. He believes that the architecture of the Hijaz, has throughout history, been characterized by the importation of the very best examples of architecture brought by its successive rulers, especially the Mamluks and the Ottomans. In his contemporary works, El Wakil thus, strives to reinterpret components of seminal historical buildings and strongly opposes the widespread attempts to islamicize buildings by the superficial application of slapped on pastiche. Instead, he employs the authentic technologies and buildings processes that are intrinsic in the historical building to which he looks for inspiration. His mosques on the cornice of Jeddah are noted for their sensitive design and are among the outstanding examples of classicist buildings of recent years implementing regionalism with a modern manner.

Another architect is Rasem Badran whose work refers to the Najdi architectural heritage and uses the traditional forms and colours of the region (Fig. 3).

His achievements are comparable to what Alver Alto achieved in Finland and Luis Bar-Ragan in Mexico. Their architecture employs modernism but at the same time is profoundly embedded in the cultural milieus where their buildings are located.

Both Badran and El Wakil are the most prominent of the first generation of Fathy's followers, they have been faithful to Fathy's principles, if not all of his methods, and have perpetuated his search for appropriate
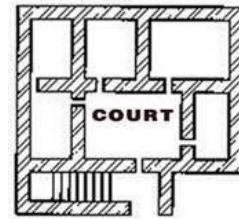
technologies that preserve meaningful traditions (Fig. 4 and 5).

Fig. 3: Rasem Badran (Housing in Sanaa-Yemen)
Reference: Kultermann, Udo, (1999)

Fig. 4: Hassan Fathy (External webs of the vaults)
Reference: Steele, James, (1997)

Fig. 5: Courtyard in Hassan Fathy's designs
Reference: Mosaad, Gihan, (2002)

Fig. 6: Ramy el Dahan and Soheir Farid (Al Azhar Park restaurant-Cairo)
Reference: http://www.flickr.com

Different contributions for architects' projects between regionalism and regionalism with modernism give new interpretations for critical regionalism.

For the architects Ramy El Dahan and Soheir Farid represent a continuing working relationship that began when the two worked with the late Hassan Fathy. Emerging from their work with Ramy El Dahan and Farid, connected their formal practice seen in the Hill top Restaurant (Fig. 6). Dahan and Farid design for El Azhar Park recalls historic elements from cairene architecture. The architects are adamant that the project avoids the traps of replication or historicism. "It is not an imitation of anything else", they assert. Instead he has employed elements from history, adapting "old techniques for new needs and functions", intentionally, employing familiar architectural elements like a vocabulary, but changing them according to contemporary usage and requirements[8].Also, Abdel Halim Ibrahim in his most significant project involves planning a new campus in New Cairo working collaboratively with a Sasaki Associates. The campus is designed around a series of courtyards one leading to another that announces an environmentally conscious approach giving very compact scale to the structures helping to minimizesun exposure (Fig.7).

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[8] Ivy, 2004

Fig. 7: Abdel Halim Ibrahim (American University Campus-New Cairo)Reference: http://www.travelthe midleeast.com

The approach to design addresses the rising desire for identity affirmation in the Middle East. To produce the design they studied the social conditions, the history literature, arts of the people of the area. Thus, this approach to design was holistic having learned from many Islamic examples of architecture considering the organization of spaces as the body of architecture and the design of surfaces, both exterior and interior, as the "soul" of architecture. They designed the spaces to respond to the functional program and the way of life of the users. They designed the exterior and interior surfaces to recall the arts of the region and to provide a modern rendition of it for recalling the cherished ideas and aspirations of the people[9].

In Egypt, there are also other examples for some architects representating regionalism through copying and pasting from the past seen in Khan Al Azizia project. Its features are such superficial copying of ancient designs that are completely at odds with both function and context (Fig.8).

Fig. 8: Khan Al Azizia Reference: http://www.archnet.org

Such practices representations by different architects have been recognized as part of their cultural heritage. This heritage is transmitted from generation to generation reacted by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity.

Interpretative Model for Assessing Regionalism and Modern Regionalism

1. It is possible for long-standing regional elements to maintain their vibrancy, amidst an influx of new cultural influences.

2. Are such regional characteristics equally authentic to new arrivals that bring different priorities and preferences with them from elsewhere?

3. As these old and new traditions interface in built form, is this old and new vernacular just as authentic?

4. Might we see such hybridized forms resulting from such encounters between local and outside forces offering a different dimension of regional identity?[10]

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[9] Asfour, 2000, S. 60
[10] Heath, 2009, S. 14

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Interpretative Model for Regional Identity

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            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │ Historical Derivative│
            └─────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │    Revitalization    │
            └─────────────────────┘
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Fixed ideological region	Climate	Material	Topography	Cultural memory	Character values	Resources of a particular place

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            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │ New interpretation for│
            │   vernacular form    │
            └─────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │     Regionalism      │
            └─────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │  Modern Regionalism  │
            └─────────────────────┘
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Fig. 9: A diagram for regional model

Reference: Adapted after Frampton, Kenneth (2002)

Critical Regionalism in the Arab World

According to Frampton critical regionalism is the architecture of resistance seeking to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place. While Mumford's, regionalism becomes a constant process of negotiation between the local and the global on the many different issues that traditionally made-up regionalism. This is Mumford's profound originality. It stems from his radically critical rethinking of traditional definitions of regionalism. Also, Mumford's regionalism is critical, since the Renaissance it has always been critical of an outside power wishing to impose an international, globalizing, universalising architecture against the particular local identity, whether the identity is architectural, urban or related to landscape.

Critical regionalism is another position that attempts to read the history and extract its essence while adapting it to suit the spirit of the times. It is also a way to show cultural, economic al and political independence.

This is seen through Renzo piano work which is shaped not just by function and technology but also by the place and its traditions and by an argument to settle into integration with the surrounding nature. His efforts are combined with other constant intentions, such as finding new potentials in materials and pushing forward the frontiers of technology as well as of being involved in the very physical nature of prototyping and construction traditions of the place and the potential to the latest technology seen through Piano's cultural achievements in Tjibaou cultural centre in new Caledonia (Fig. 10)**,** which is too much influenced by the konac civilization blending modern materials with those found on the island in particular local timber iroko[11].
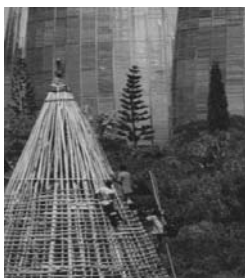
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5 Frampton, 1985
[11] Oliver, 2003, S.9

Similarly, by analyzing different projects in Arab countries such as Utzon's Kuwait National Assembly (Fig. 11) rests upon archetypes of its local society and translates these into buildings that are of its time if fuses new and old regional and universal and extends both modern movement and middle-eastern traditions.

Another project is the Hajj Terminal Project in Jeddah is a thriving read seaport of Saudi Arabia. Travellers who arrive by air as most people do are struck by the sight of huge tents, 210 tents to be precise. These forms of the roof of the famous Hajj Terminal built by the American firm "Skidmore Owings and Merill". The Hajj terminal structure has pushed known building technology beyond its established limits while demonstrating that such a massive structure can still be light and airy (Fig. 12). A twentieth century echo of the traditional tent structure that has worked so well in desert climate. Its main function is to provide the traditional nomadic hospitality for the travellers need of shade, water, food and sanitation. The large tents made of Teflon coated fibre glass are suspended by steel cables from concrete girders. A formidable technical achievement, the roof reflects and leaves the air circulate keeping an even temperature of 80F while the thermometer outside soars to 130F. The light, airy structure of the Hajj Terminal echoes in gigantic form the traditional tent. The tent structure is an important contribution to the development of architecture relevant to the Arab world reflecting critical regionalism.

Another attempt for critical regionalism is reading the history of Cairo and extract its essence while adapting it to suit the spirit of the times. It is a way to show cultural, economic and political independence.

Fig. 10: Renzo Piano (Tijibaou Cultural Center-New Caledonia)Reference: Oliver, Paul, (2003)

Fig. 11: Utzon (Kuwait National Assembly-Kuwait)
Reference: http://www.galinsky.com

Fig. 12: Skidmore Owing and Merill (The Hajj Terminal-Jeddah)
Reference: http://farm2.static.flickr.com

Art Gallery, is an example of critical regionalism, a conscious attempt at reinterpreting the heritage of Cairo. Halim Ibrahim considers pre-modern heritage in a building that serves a modern function. His concern was to connect the current art movement in Egypt with the Islamic and Arabic cultural heritage. The project is a thoughtful effort aimed at the development of a contemporary cultural identity (Fig. 13).

Also, the works of Gamal Bakry's are based on profound interpretations of history and culture. In his deign for the commercial and tourist center near the Pyramids, he reflected the cultural richness of Egypt, with a yellowish façade that references the nearby desert. Hierarchal masses are used to simulate the idea of a pyramid. Openings are designed with motifs that reflect the Egyptian culture and a conscious attempt is made to link the building with the pyramid platform using it as a panoramic view[12].

There are several examples of historical revivalism using architectural ideology of a certain period. For example, the supreme court of Egypt (Fig. 14) designed by Ahmed Mito, employs features of pharonic architecture but with different proportion with new materials and new technologies. Differently, the Oriental Weaves Headquarters (Fig. 15), Farouk El Gohary incorporates arches

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[12] Salama, Unknown, S.14

and an inner courtyard and openings covered with stucco screens an attempt to produce new critical regionalism image in Cairo[13].

Fig. 13: Halim Ibrahim (Nile Art Gallery-Cairo)
Reference:
http://www.nilewavetravel.woodpress.com

Fig. 14: Ahmed Mito (The Supreme Court of Egypt-Cairo)
Reference:
http://www.archnet.org

Fig. 15: Farouk El Gohary (Oriental Weaves Headquarters-Cairo)
Reference:
http://www.archnet.org

Critical Regionalism and Sustainable Architecture

Sustainable regionalism seeks to create, revitalize, and restore the ecological region in metropolitan areas through the physical design and planning. Kenneth Frampton's nation of critical regionalism and sustainable development paradigm adapted to contemporary, social, cultural, political and environmental forces.

The breadth of scope of ongoing sequence of United Nations initiatives indicates the extent to which the responsibility of design professionals has changed, making it necessary for architects and planners to become more cognizant of and involved in socio-economic and geopolitical issues. It also, explains the importance of sustainability as a phenomenon. The Earth Summit in Rio (1992) as well as Beijing Declaration (1995) and Habitat II in Istanbul (1996), also brought home to all of those involved in the design professions, in both practice and academia, that traditional cultures and indigenous architecture were being reprioritized to be considered as important repositories of knowledge about the environment. This has transformed attitudes to vernacular architecture.

In either an active or passive mode, sustainable architecture tries to make connections to local typologies that can't be identified as climatically and culturally effective overtime, to regional microclimatically and materials or to global supplies if necessary in the implications that some material choices have for non-renewable resource depletion and for the possibility of technological transfer. This particular aspect for global transfer is especially important, since, rather than having blind faith in biotechnology to solve all the design problems related to the environment and waiting for them to be cost effective enough to implement. There is now more of a willingness to accept what Tom Wishton at Sussex University has referred to as "hybrid technologies which utilize advanced technology and traditional systems". This new tendency to learn from an existing store of traditional knowledge worldwide, rather than making costly mistakes by trying to invent new solutions to old problems[14].

Critical regionalism designated a form of architectural practice that embraces modern architecture critically for its universal unifying qualities while simultaneously responding to social, cultural and climatic contexts of the region in which it is built.

Le Faivre and Tzonis (2003), in their latest book, Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World, reconsider critical regionalism and demonstrate the global viability of one of the most visible trends

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[13] Kassman, 2008
[14] Steel, 1997, S.234-239

in contemporary architecture. In critical regionalism, two prominent architectural critics argue for a truce between the seemingly antithetical philosophies of critical regionalism and globalization. The authors trace the genesis of critical regionalism.

With this construct in mind, it is possible to articulate a theoretical basis for sustainable architecture. This serves as a potentially important model for a contemporary architecture that adopts strategies of sustainability related to local climate and geographical conditions, cultural practices and more, but that also participates in a broader critical discourse by engaging sustainability not only as a technique or method but as a cultural paradigm.

One example, would be recent research on wind towers at the University of Arizona, in which height, width and threat dimensions were derived using precedents of Egyptian malkafs (windcatch), but cellulose filters similar to those used in cigarettes were used as a substitute for the wet reed mats used in the original model to keep out dust, with a fin jet spray added for cooling.

This current reification of historical prototypes that have proved to be environmentally friendly effective overtime has reinforced the study of traditional architecture increasing responding to many cultures.

Another example which may promote the sustainability concept is the National Commercial Bank of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, designed by the American Architectural Firm SOM and completed in the early 80s. It reflects the adaptation of the courtyard concept from traditional techniques. The dominant feature of the building is the triangular courtyard in the centre, taking its cues from the Arab courtyard houses. The courtyard extends vertically through the building providing both ventilation and relief of heat build-up. The stacked courtyards, connected with the windowless exterior reduce the energy load and allow diffused daylight into the building.

Clearly, architects were sustained over centuries providing different environmtal treatments. Sustainability challenges that ability, as it encompasses ethics, economics, sociology, ecology, history and biology for a start.
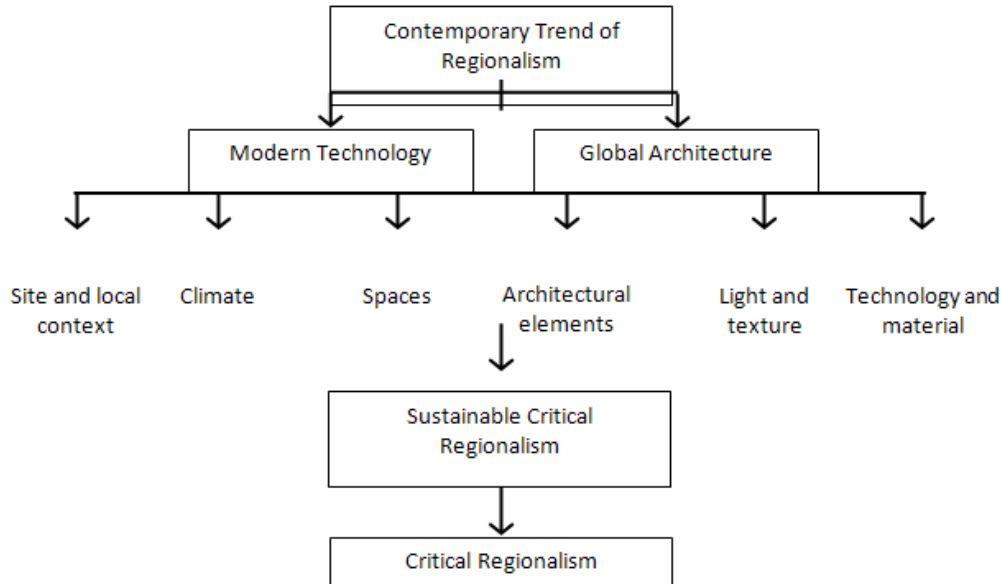
Finally, it is a very sophisticated and deliberate kind of iconography not only to combine elements with complex connotations that are regional but also to transcend local tradition making a connection with the formation of the architectural heritage in a technological manner which in turn images some aspects of sustainable architecture.

Interpretative Model for Assessing Critical Regionalism

1. Is it important to analyze critical regionalism with respect to site and the region (context) i.e. shape, orientation, natural features, topography, view and the context?

2. Does critical regionalism signifies the importance of the regional climate, the form and the planning of the building with respect to the climate along with architectural elements and materials?

3. Does critical regionalism consider light as the primary agent that reveals the volume and techtonic value of work and the infection of different materials, texture with respect to their corresponding spaces?

4. Is it important to analyze the technology adopted and the material used in the built form and with the surrounding interpretative version of vernacularism?

Interpretative Model for Critical Regionalism

On reviving the selected projects, it is evident that architects' inspiration was coming from historic practices with different projects in disguise filtering through modern images (Fig.16).

Fig. 16: A diagram for critical regionalism model
Reference: Adapted from Frampton essay

Concluding Remarks

Discussions about regional identity turn quickly to terms and phrases like authenticity, a sense of place, or genius loci place. However, is more than a geographically definable entity accentuated by historical and visual landmarks and heritage is not the aesthetic replication of selected past.

No culture is monolithic and such a construct as presented above assumes constancy. The articulation of this dialogue goes well back in the history of architecture. It is a dialogue that frequently has been influenced by attaching sophisticated and social implications to the concept of regionalist architecture.

- The primary claim of this study is that an appropriate regional architecture can be created by merging local architectural tradition through the region with universal realities reducing the tension between 'spirit of place and spirit of time'.

- Architects projects represent different architectural examples using regional design tools and maintaining site's sense of place by relating to the local environment. Some projects utilize a combination of the best of today's technological advances and scientific knowledge. Other projects are sensitive to the site and are engaged with the topography, climate and culture playing an important role in the sustainable design using locally sourced materials and building forms.

- From the previous analysis the following distinctions are motivated by desire to assess the regional dimension of landscape, building or object. Some resources will respond little to pronounced regional dynamics within their own setting except in minor ways that are inevitable and will maintain the original set of ideas that governered them prior to their entering the region.

- Heritage is there to accept, to reject, or to engage in a dialogue by understanding its concept and idioms and by building upon it.

- A new proposal regional may be applied to interpret regional design in global era.

- In order to conserve the cultural values of vernacular expression, governments, responsible authorities, groups and organizations must place emphasis on the following regional networks on vernacular architecture to exchange expertise and experience.

- Critical regionalism designated a form of architectural practice that embraces modern architecture critically for its universal unifying qualities while simultaneously responding to social, cultural and climatic context.
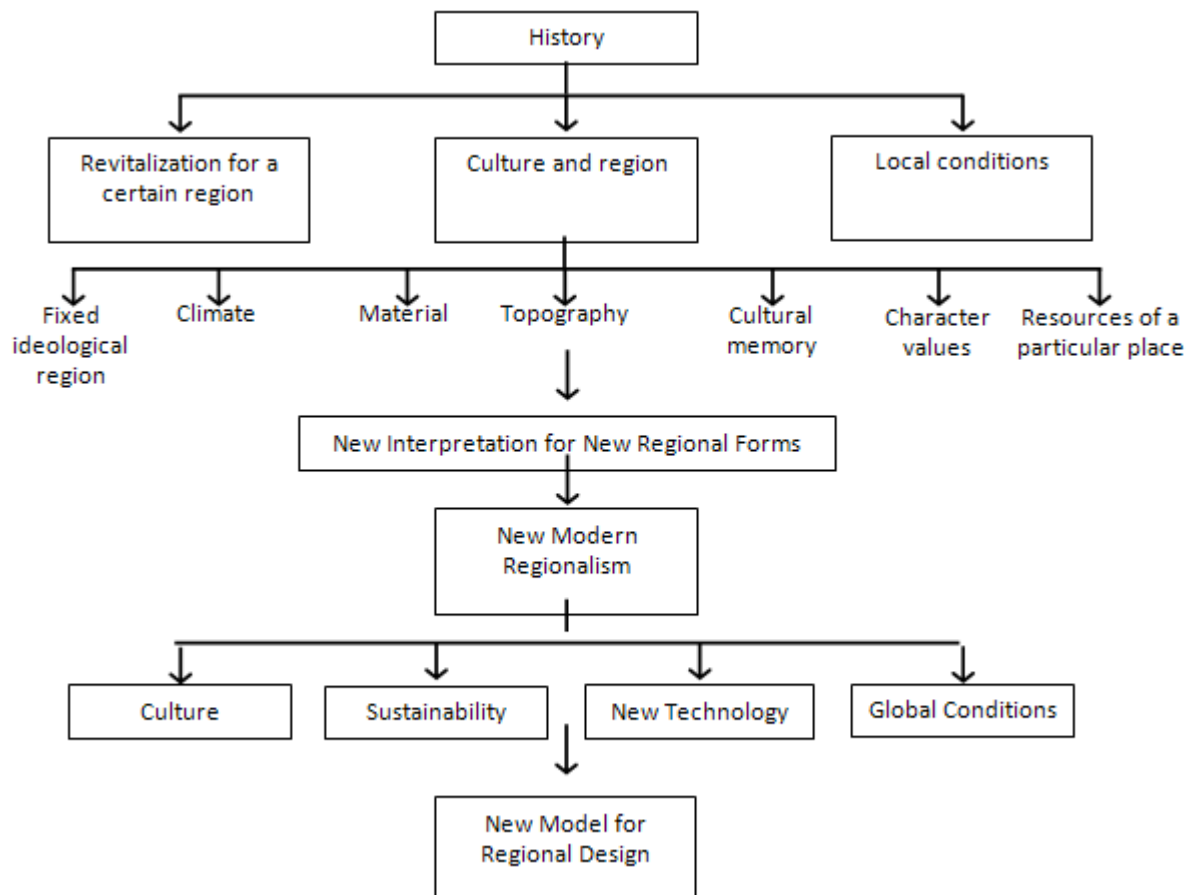
New Model for Global Regional Design

Fig. 17: Global Regional Model Reference: By the author

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MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT

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Key words: Mediterranean, modern, vernacular, bioclimatic, context.

1. The Mediterranean as a basis for development of remarkable authentic architecture

The area of the Mediterranean is part of the world that has marked the history of human existence as a space of some of the greatest civilizations. Layering of the Mediterranean is multidimensional and is reflected through: geographical distribution and specificity of three continents, natural and climatic conditions, intensive cultural and historical events and their impact on the entire human civilization, invaluable cultural and historical heritage, religious and social diversity. There is a space which was a cradle of the birth and from where were spread the impact of civilization of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, Byzantine, Moorish, Norman and the Ottoman Empire, the Renaissance, to modern times. This series of civilizing development on the shores of the Mediterranean has its continuity in a period of more than 5200 years. Each culture was created under the influence of previous and at the same time leaving a strong impact on the future of following culture.

Figure 1: satellite image Mediterranean; source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/

"It is a crossroads, a border zone, a trade route, a pleasure ground. It is a great cradle of culture and the birthplace of Western architecture. But the Mediterranean is also a place of intense and profound cross-pollination with the vibrant influences of myriad past cultures..." [1]

Layering of deposited traditions is one of the main features of the Mediterranean, which in association with natural resources such as the fascinating scenery and pleasant climate have a strong, spiritual, almost poetic associability for many people. Climate with long, hot, dry summers and short and wet winters, site and availability of materials from the immediate environment were influencing to indigenous architecture of this part of the world according to centuries-old tradition.

The architecture of the Mediterranean plays a major role in creating a strong impression. Such a diverse and geographically large area is not homogenic, but an area with a wide range of contextual determinants and impacts on architectural design. Just to mention some specific areas such as Fez in Morocco, Granada, Cordoba, Toledo, Barcelona in Spain, Aix en Provence in France, Tuscany, Rome, Sicily in Italy, Dubrovnik in Croatia, Mostar in Bosnia, Athens, Rhodes and Crete in Greece, Istanbul and Effes in Turkey, Cairo in Egypt ... The architecture and atmosphere of these cities is determined by cultural, historical, socio-political, religious and traditional considerations on one side and natural conditions on the other side. Despite the obvious differences of context from the perspective of contemporary and modern architecture, there are a number of common parameters that will influence the shaping of the recent, especially modern architecture. The modern movement was inspired by Mediterranean architecture and its characteristics even before the period of Le Corbusier travel all around the south of Europe and Asia Minor, or through the creation of "Athens Charter" on the cruise the Mediterranean. Whitewashed walls with little or no decoration, natural embodiment, play of light and shadow, outer and inner intertwining, clear and simple design are just some of the downloaded elements.

2. Essential characteristics of traditional houses in the Mediterranean

Dense agglomerations of houses sprung from the natural environment of the Mediterranean always have been part of the landscape. Compact settlements were looking for better organization, there are more complex, with public spaces and facilities for various purposes: public, religious, political and trade. The living trading activity, the form of fairs, religious and traditional events takes place in. In this way, regardless of size, receive strong elements of urbanity. Such settlements are easier to defend, there are climatically suitable for creating shadows and protection from strong winds with release of the surrounding valuable agricultural land. Cities are characterized by an internal organization that has elements of uncontrolled conditioning, but also strict orderliness.

„Mediterranean cities as Cairo, Capri, Venice, and Tunis, where harmonious order is interwoven with apparent disorder, what results is a set of unique irreducible characteristics, where the personality of every neighbourhood is distinct, but at the same time is part of the polyphonic chorus of the place." [2]

Climatic conditions have allowed staying outdoors during all year, which determined the organization of the settlement, and drafted the house courtyards, terraces and gardens as integral parts of residential units. Great attention was paid to building an intimate, family part of the house. Status of women in Islam has determined the organization of living space in the Arab and Ottoman cities. In this tradition there is no strict division between the outer and inner space, but it is very clear division between male and female, private and public part of the house. Houses with internal courtyards are taken from Mesopotamia, evaluating in the form of the Roman domus, extensively applied in the Muslim tradition, and continued existence in a later version and variations in

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[1]   Bradbury, Dominic, (2006), *Mediterranean Modern*, Thames & Hudson Ltd, London; p.6
[2]   Petruccioli, Atilio (2007), *„After amnesia – learning from the Islamic Mediterranean Urban Fabric"* - DICA, Politecnico di Bari; Bari; p.17

European Mediterranean cities. Patio is the essence of family life. The openness to the sky, to the sun and the moon gives it a cosmic dimension. It permeates the external and internal grading from the shiny and hot outside to shaded and pleasant interior, established by pergola, arcade and atrium. The patio creates a pleasant microclimate often tuned with masterly use of water. Patio is often associated with a garden that is depending of the culture, protected from outside view. The garden present spiritual need of depicting and personification of Heaven in Islam. The spiritual dimension of the garden reaches the top aesthetic achievements, and has an economic role. Houses in the Mediterranean are usually of solid construction, 40% ground floor houses, 33% were with ground floor and first floor, while 20% are with 2, 3 and more floors above ground floor. 2/3 houses are with regular layout and due to the topographic characteristics of 1/3 of houses has an irregular plan. The angle is almost the rule; the curvature is a rare and archaic domain.[3]

The spatial organization is a noticeable difference in treatment of entering in the building: the transparent entrance directly from the street to the house with a courtyard, which later evolved into the house with the public and private courtyard. Yard can be set on center or linear along the street or like the combination of these two models. In the linear model in one side is the street, and garden is on the other side. The internal spaces are characterized by polyvalent and changeable disposition depending to the culture. The position of the chimney determined plan in the rest of the building. Basement is very rare and exists in about 15% of houses and it is the result of a slope, so it is usually partially buried. Basement always had an economic service or function to accommodate storage for tools, food, water or a barn. The house takes from 50-300m2 of land[4], depending on whether in the village or town. Size of the villas is not dependent on wealth and status of the owner, which is especially the case in Arab towns - Medinas. Status differences between the owners were more notable in typological determinants. Houses in the Mediterranean have a summer and winter part upper level used in the summer and ground floor with fireplace in the winter. Kitchen is extensively used for the winter, while the terraces and outdoor spaces assigned to stay during the day in shady areas or to sleep at night. For summer use they built villas and country houses surrounded by greenery.

In addition to residence, house meets other functions. According to the structure of activities in the Mediterranean and the fact that most of activities were agricultural production, around ¼ of trades and trading houses have storage spaces for produced food and accommodation for animals that are normally separated from other spaces. Due to pleasant climatic conditions, terraces and patios are an integral part of the house and used for the room for dwelling, socialization or enjoying a nice view, but also to dried fruits, collect rainwater, etc. The house often had a defensive function, and is made in the shape of the tower, like a house with a tower, or is designed to benefit the morphology of the terrain. In compact house ground floor is often used for business and upper floor serve for residential. The complex houses have particular, ancillary facilities for economic activity.

For the construction of houses the traditional architecture generally use local and readily available materials, and fully use them for intervention on the ground, retaining walls, dry stone walls, etc. To build the walls mostly used materials are stone, brick and slightly less brick, wood ...Lining the walls are present in 75% of built homes, of which 2/3 plaster and painted, the rest are covered with clay, stone and ceramics.[5] Besides the usually white facade, is often used ocher, yellow, gray, blue, etc. For covering flat, one or more slope roofs are used tables of stone, tile, clay, ceramics. In all areas of the region are found vaults, and domes, but more common in northern Africa. The architectural concept, design and structural solutions are simple and until the 19th

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[3] Data taken from MEDA, EUROMED HERITAGE (2002), *Arquitectura tradicional Mediterranea*, Col.legi d Aparelladors i Arquitectes Tecnics de Barcelona

[4] Datas taken from MEDA, EUROMED HERITAGE (2002), *Arquitectura tradicional Mediterranea*, Col.legi d Aparelladors i Arquitectes Tecnics de Barcelona
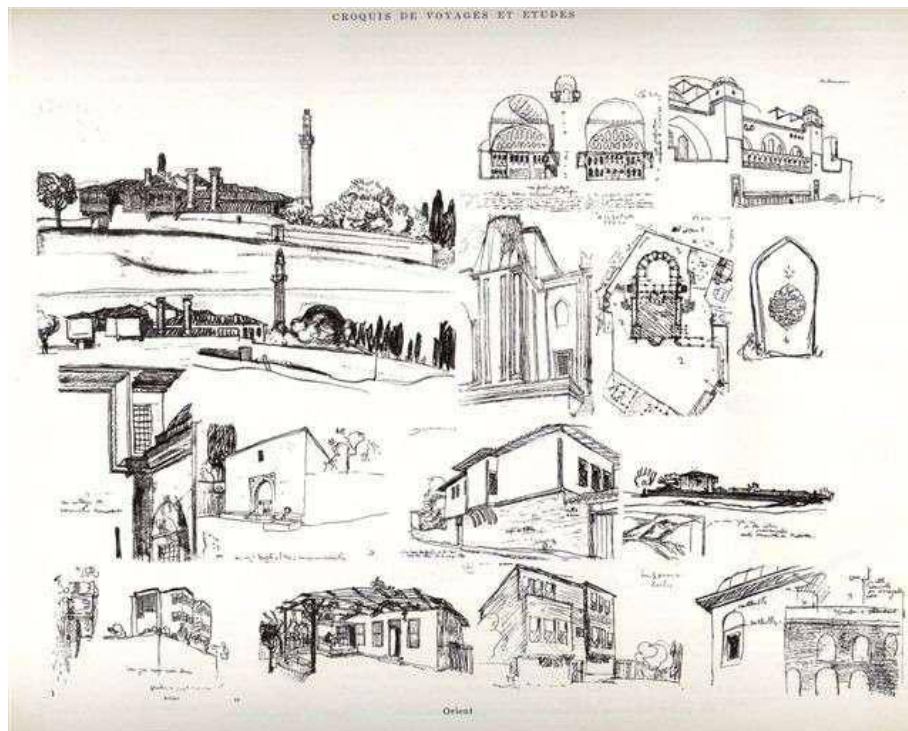
[5] Data taken from MEDA, EUROMED HERITAGE (2002), *Arquitectura tradicional Mediterranea*, Col.legi d Aparelladors i Arquitectes Tecnics de Barcelona

century without ornaments and decorations when was appeared in an eclectic form in Greece, Spain and Portugal. Geometric and floral decorations or artistically sophisticated built-inscriptions of Quran verses had an important role in the architectural expression with in Islamic architecture.Traditional architecture reflects the spirit of local people, their culture and history; it has no national affiliation, but is determined by the regional specifics.

3. Vernacular geometry and defining of modernism

His youthful curiosity and desire to study a new and unknown Le Corbusier was underpowered in travels through Italy, 1907, and then the Western Balkans, Turkey and Greece 1911, and later Spain... When he met authentic architecture of these regions gain impressions and insights that will leave a powerful impact on his creativity and understanding of modern architecture. His interest for vernacular architecture take a significant place in the creation of a new direction, at same level, frequently stated and used enthusiasm for industrialization and machine. Having come to this part of Europe, Le Corbusier reveals the simple and pure forms of houses of ordinary people which do not tend to monumentality or unnecessary decoration. There are existing to satisfy needs close to the rational interpretation of modernist architecture.

Figure 2: Le Corbusier, sketch of "Travels in the East"; source: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media

The visual simplicity, purified, primary forms, order, rationalism and whitewashed walls have been recognized as an ideal which should be directed at defining the new architecture. Le Corbusier would argue that whiteness represent the intellectual clarity and strengthens.[6] He recognizes that the white house represents an expression of authentic Mediterranean architecture. Everywhere in the Mediterranean in the traditional architecture Le Corbusier found harmonized arranged geometric shapes which in the same time serve for their primary purpose - to enable a man and his hiding place of residence. His enthusiasm about primary forms he explained architecture of the magazine "L'Esprit Nouveau" 1920 where clearly systematize the basic geometric shapes which are modified by historical cultural heritage as a secondary sense can be used to create a purist and "sublime" of architecture.

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[6] Le Corbusier (1987), *„The Decorative Art of Today"*, Architectural press, London, p.XXVI; primarily published as L'Art decoratif d'aujurd'hui (1925), Edition cres, Paris

"... Le Corbusier and Saugnier, not to mention most modern architects, thought they were adopting a purist language, developed a rational and scientific approach. This appeal to reason, function, evolution or all of those things that Le Corbusier was briefly called the "exigencies laws", gave their work a certain seriousness and value of moral imperatives, which he otherwise would not have in case that was "just a matter of taste, fashion "etc. - in short, the fruit of what the two were attacked"[7]

Declarative commitment for scientifically based rationalism supported by the traditional determination of vernacular architecture, primarily on Mediterranean, had to ensure a departure from the trendy and the current upsurge of some new style. Other important pioneers of modern take on such an interpretation of Le Corbusier and on Mediterranean cruises held a IV congress of CIAM and among other things, they bring these conclusions:„The coastline of Greece and the Greek Islands share an architectural style with the Balearic Island of Ibiza and Minorca: the walls of their villages whitewashed with lime, the flat or arched roofs of their houses. The spirit of this architecture is essentially modern, the continuation of the same shapes that have repeated themselves over the centuries in so many corners of the Mediterranean."[8]

Figure 3: Santorini; source: http://pielkeclimatesci.wordpress.com/2009/08/11/comment-on-a-news-article-on-green-urban-roofs/

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[7] Jencks, Charles (1988), *Moderni pokreti u arhitekturi,* Građevinska knjiga, Beograd, p.170
[8] *A.C.* "El IV Congreso del C.I.R.P.A.C.", nº 11, Año Tercero, Tercer Trimestre, 1933.

Figure 4: Ibiza; source: http://www.easyvoyage.co.uk/spain/ibiza-1015

This observation is true, and indeed in the architecture of the Mediterranean there is the formal link based on the latent, geometric purity with obvious regional, cultural and traditional particularities that exist in this large area. Symmetry in the Mediterranean vernacular architecture exists, but never quite strict, tasks and predisposed. Its formation is the result of intuitive and emotional, when rigid rationalism got the charm. The proportion and geometry are important features of the Mediterranean, particularly in Islamic religious architecture. As stated, fundamental determinants are easily observable to analyze individual objects or ambient-preserved architectural whole.

Figure 5: Počitelj, BiH; source: http://www.hercegovina.ba/

2. The context of contemporary home in the Mediterranean

In creating process of modern residential house should be considered natural and built environment, climatic conditions, environmental aspects, the needs of today's man and then, that often conflicting facts and set in mutually balanced relationship. A comprehensive approach to the design based on consideration of the current, previous, present a basic idea of architecture in context. Bioclimatic architecture provides a response based on clear premises of harmonizing architecture and natural conditions in order to respect the environment, as opposed to the imposition, ignoring and dominance.

As already noted tradition is a strong feature of space based on cultural-historical, religious and ethnographic specifics. The Mediterranean is a vast treasury of world heritage because of the size, number, value, diversity and influence of civilizations that have emerged, lasting and exchanged on this area. These layers of architecture are manifested through the existence of different styles, their permeation, architectural innovation and use of typical materials. Here are all of these stylistic expressions are taken as authentic, with certain variations as a result of natural, cultural or religious requirements. In addition to these achievements of civilization, there is something in the "ordinary" vernacular, people architecture and experience in this area:

"The traditonal notion of Mediterannean living is suffused with simplicity, an openness to ladscape and the sea, and with that particular erosion of divisions between indoor and outdoor space, as well as an emphasis on texture, organic and sea-blown colours, and solid, natural materials." [9]

Proper study of tradition includes reinterpretation, not copying, involves understanding the essence and philosophy of indigenous, traditional construction, as opposed to the application of historical stylistic elements.Access to architecture and building customized by nature and location has a strong foundation in history when man was directly dependent on climatic and environmental factors and resources from the immediate environment. During the twentieth century due to the strong technological progress leads to alienation from nature, it becomes markedly that we lost need to preserve the environment and available resources. Growth of world population, enormous consumption of natural resources, production of waste materials and their improper disposal, deforestation, less fertile land and greenhouse gases are just some of the events that destroy the planet on which we live. Such an arrogant attitude to the environment have resulted with a numerous environmental problems, and culminated with more intense and noticeable climate changes. Human civilization cannot survive without a radical change and a strong shift towards environmentally sustainable systems. Such an approach to architecture will inevitably return us to the search for solutions known in the past from which we benefit from the experiences, methods and materials of the ancient builders and reinterpret them through use of scientific knowledge and technological achievements, adapting them to the needs of modern man and fully harmonized with nature. The context in architecture has received a comprehensive expression that will not only be treated the built environment, but will take in account number of factors of importance for the wider community by rediscovery of the principles of bioclimatic architecture. The ecological approaches to the design aim to reduce the environmental impact and will seek to reduce energy and water consumption. Energy production from renewable sources will take a significant share.Authentic architecture of the Mediterranean was created in the spirit of adaptation to climate and environmental conditions of the area. Materialized with easily available material, in a way that could allow the pleasure of staying in different weather conditions and seasons. Vernacular architecture is often created from stone material that is extracted from the surrounding land, in order to obtain more agricultural land. It essentially arises from the space on which is build, used by their builders and owners, and finally, decaying back to that same area.

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[9] Bradbury, Dominic, (2006), *Mediterranean Modern*, Thames & Hudson Ltd, London, p.6

Figure 6: Vice on the island Brač, Croatia, source: http://natch.blog.hr/

According to Filip Šrajer authentic Mediterranean house is biodegradable and recyclable, and emerges and disappears through eight distinct phases:

"Biodegradable and recyclable house:

- Site selection, clearing of vegetation

- Site preparation and construction materials

- Masonry walls and swallow

- Making the roof

- Use of the house - smoke and soot impregnate the wood against pests, rot and fire

- Cancelation of the use of home (lighting of fire) - the parasites inhabit the wooden beams

- Shortly after the man die the house decays: the roof collapses, the vegetation begins to destroy walls

- Biodegradation and recycling: the remains of houses are slowly disappearing under vegetation and weather, and because the soft binder, quality stones and parts of cover that can easily be reused."[10]

Ecological, green, sustainable ... architecture are just some of the terms that describe the course of action based on ecological principles. In systemizing the principles of ecologically sustainable design in the Mediterranean it is necessary to take account of the most important:

– position, orientation and spatial organization of object,

– size of the object – according to real needs,

– thermal performance of building envelope – costumed to hot summers, many sunny days, and rainy and windy winters,

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[10] Šrajer, Filip (2008), "*Mediteranska kamena kuća-tehnike gradnje i obnove",* Institut za turizam, Zagreb, p.6,7

– energy - great possibilities of using solar and wind energy,

– water management - the use of rainwater and rational consumption of drinking water,

– technological improvements - aimed to reducing consumption and to increasing energy efficiency,

– use of greens - used for centuries as a shade and protection from the wind.

Ecological approach to the design complies with these principles is imperative in contemporary architectural practice.

The diversity of socio-political, cultural, traditional, religious and ethnic represent richness and complexity of the Mediterranean. Contextual thinking aims to examine all aspects of the existing impacts for the rising of a successful architecture. Man as a social being and in accordance with their own needs, interests and habits must be treated as a member of the community where he lives, embedded in its life. On such premises he builds his house. Although the needs of modern man can be subsumed under a number of similar requests, its traditional, cultural and religious reminiscences will form the basis of significantly different design for the home of man in Tunisia, Provence or Greece. It can be argued that the northern, European, part of the Mediterranean is more or less compact area with similar socio-political context, and that has a similar cultural and historical background, while other parts are somewhat different social environment.

3. Modern interpretation of vernacular Mediterranean and bioclimatic architecture

End of 20th and the beginning of 21st century have brought to architecture major challenges related to issues of environmental sustainability. Environmentally, green and naturally has become a trend in various areas of human life. Solving pressing problems has become the most important global priority. In architecture there are two models which attempt to find solutions to reduce harmful effects, and increase energy efficiency and sustainability. The first is model which involves the use of technologically advanced solutions in the spirit of "hi tech" philosophy and second model prefer return to the traditional building concepts that were more aligned with nature, and less arrogant and self-sufficient. It is important to understand that these two concepts are not mutually exclude but should be supplemented in accordance with the times in which we live. Affirmative studies of vernacular architecture in the Mediterranean have taken by some of the greatest modern architects in order to find the source of their purist architecture. Beside the rationalism in design and concept of space, modern brings understanding of the importance of harmony with natural laws and the need to respect them. Achieving of high aesthetic values should not load with pretentious elitism of any kind.

Figures 7 and 8: the house on Mykonos, Terzoupolos, architect Javier Barba, source: http://www.bcarquitectos.com/

"Its disposition, construction and materialization it just illustrates how human and natural environment in which there is, absent the messages of any kind, so its usefulness transcends in the rationality and the true beauty"[11]

Rational use of the materials taken from the immediate surroundings, adapted to the site, to climate conditions, and man own needs become the goals that define the new modernism of the Mediterranean. Reflections based on the consistent and comprehensive contextualization of architecture that understands and recognizes the tradition, the immediate environment, nature and environmental responsibility are the basis of bioclimatic architecture.

„Modern mediterranean homes are born of respect for the enviroment and the landscape, as well as the fashionable yet vital issue of sustainability" [12]

Courtyards, gardens, terraces, pools with a logical and easy connections to the internal space is not only the conceptual content, but bioclimatic solutions taken from traditional ways of living in the Mediterranean. Stay in the open is possible in large part of the year increased quality of life and reduce overheating of the internal space during the summer. The proper combination of benefits from the use of winter sunlight and protection from sun in summer are not uncommon for traditional builders, and should be an integral part of modern design. Pergolas, shutters, eaves, verdant roof, green, and the materialization of the white stone facades are just some of the elements of vernacular architecture stemming from the need to adapt to climate and location, which are used in contemporary modern architecture.

„"Mediterranean modernism" –modern architecture that responds to program with cues derived from vernacular buildings so as to infuse spatial and material concerns with context and culture."[13]

The Mediterranean Modernism is determinate by numerous of modern architects, primarily in Portugal and Spain, but also in other Mediterranean countries: France, Croatia, Turkey, Italy, etc. Referred to work of Alvaro Siza, Eduardo Souto de Moura, Carlos Ferrater, Alberta Campo Baeza, Rudy Riccotti and a series of younger architects we can recognize a clear idea of the original modernism situated in a Mediterranean context, and actually grew out of it. In the history of art and architecture often was the case that the prefix "neo" in front of the name of an artistic direction marked decadence in relation to the original idea. However, it can be argued that pursuits of the new modern is progressive approach, not decadent, based on respect of specific natural givens, principles of environmentally sustainable architecture and social environment, with highly aesthetic and scrubbed design of modern elegance. Accompanied by bioclimatic reflection and contextual guidelines represent an evolutionary step forward in the development of modern architecture.

„The best of Mediterranean architecture takes account of context, landscape, and sustainability, drawing on local traditions and vernecular styles,while still creating highly original building"[14]

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[11] Hadrović, Ahmet (2008), "Bioklimatska arhitektura", Arhitektonski fakultet, Sarajevo, p.41

[12] Bradbury, Dominic, (2006), „Mediterranean Modern", Thames & Hudson Ltd, London, p.17

[13] Lejeune, Jean-Francois, and Sabatino, Michelangelo, (2010)," Modern architecture and the Mediterranean", Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, New York, p.6

[14]Bradbury, Dominic, (2006), *Mediterranean Modern*, Thames & Hudson Ltd, London, p.17

Figure 9: architect Javier Barba: Tsirigakis house, Mykonos, Greece; source: http://www.architecture-page.com/go/projects/tsirigakis-house

Catalan architect Javier Barba insisting on bioclimatic architecture and he explains the methodology of work and says there are two key elements that stimulate creativity and concept: the first is contact and getting to know the owner, his habits, expectations and desires, and the second is understanding of site: topography, vegetation, climate, solar orientation, views, color, texture and local materials.

Figure 10: arch.Studio K.O. D. Villa, Marrakech, Morocco; source: http://www.facebook.com/

French architects Karl Fournier and Olivier Marty (Studio KO) believe that there is no conflict between the old and new it is possible to find many elements of modernity in the past. They argue that earthen architecture in Morocco is ecological, that emerges from the landscape, while horizontal lines echo of the surrounding natural forms. [15]

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[15] Bradbury, Dominic, (2006), *Mediterranean Modern*, Thames & Hudson Ltd, London, p.9

Figures 11 and 12: arch.Carlos Ferrater: House of Photography, Tarragona, Spain; source: http://www.miesarch.com/

Carlos Ferrater talks about his efforts to realize the connection to the immediate environment and context, the understanding of cultural traditions, historical roots and heritage, and the distant, endless context manifested by infinite sea horizons and specific Mediterranean light.

The direction in which Alvaro Siza developed as an architect has marked by cooperation with Fernando Tavora, Portuguese modernist architect who was interested in Portuguese and Mediterranean vernacular architecture. Tavora in vernacularism has seen a constant value as result of the human needs and conditions, completely independent from the settings of current style that have replaced throughout history. In vernacular rationalism he recognized base of the functionalist architecture, so close to the positions of prominent modernists of the early twentieth century. Purely geometric design devoid of decorations, whitewashed walls, rational composition, open plan, fluid penetration of open and closed areas represent the basic elements of vernacular architecture of the Mediterranean, often literally introduced into modern architecture. On these principles and models is based architecture of one of the greatest architects of our time. The intellectual elegance and clarity of pure form in architecture of Alvaro Siza arising from the sensual, spiritual and practical sense and do not represent the current tendency towards satisfying the aesthetic or fashion trends.

„Simplicity and simplism are known to be opposites, just as unity and diversity are not. Simplicity results from the control of complexity and the contradictions of any programe"[16]

Siza refuses to be categorized in one direction or style, he built in accordance with the location and context, without any particular mannerist pretensions. From this attitude stems the closeness with rationalism of vernacular architecture, although it was not predisposed. Premise based on his artistic expression and recognition. With no false lamentations about the "higher" goals, Siza say that the whiteness is result of climate conditions, not a trend, such as a wall is necessity to create closed space, but not just a design element.

„My architecture does not have a pre-established language nor does it establish a language. It is a response to a concrete problem, a situation in transformation in which I participate… In architecture, we have already passed the phase during which we thought

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[16] http://alvarosizavieira.com/category/siza-philosophy/thoughts-siza-philosophy

that the unity of language would resolve everything. A pre-established language, pure, beautiful, does not interest me."[17]

His Mediterranean modernism is deeply intuitive and honest, rooted in the experience and tradition, while at the same time rational and free from the dictates of current styles, which gives a dose of timeless. He successfully reconciles Le Corbusier concept of primary and secondary emotions. Siza apply the elements of ecological and bioclimatic architecture, realizing as a fundamental need, and not as a trendy addition to the house. Minimalistic architecture of Alvaro Siza, although guided by the strict logic of external and internal relations, essentially modernist and so close to the concept - less is more. With an emotional, almost poetic reminiscent of Mediterranean landscapes arising from the rich traditions of this region. Tradition is reflected in the spatial conceptualization, design, proportions, and composition of material, and above all an atmosphere that creates the unmistakable impression, always new and modern, but the architecture associated to the context.

Figure 13: Alvaro Siza; house in Mallorca, source: http://www.coolboom.net/architecture/house-in-mallorca-by-alvaro-siza/

From this perspective it becomes clear that the architecture cannot be a reflection of trends and fashion, but deeply rooted in context, function, comfort room and aesthetic experience. Therefore, efforts to contextualize contemporary home in the Mediterranean based on modern principles cannot be superficial stylistic classification, but it has a deeper significance based on the philosophy and aesthetics of the modern that respects context and fits into it.

Han Tümertekin won Aga Khan Award for House B2 that brought proper understanding of the vernacular architecture of the Mediterranean part of Turkey and excellent interpretation of traditional values in modern architecture. The relatively small holiday house built in concrete and local stone stacked in the manner of builders in this area, with a sense of place and distinct reminiscences to the tradition. This building has a simple constructive and spatial concept that emerged from the surrounding area and is well accepted by the local population. Led by similar principles of bioclimatic and context adapted architecture Tümertekin design another vacation house near Istanbul. With its materialization gable roof and walls of the building are integrated with the landscape providing a great physical characteristics layer in summer and winter period. With its elongated plan object respects field in slope and the concept of the Mediterranean stone

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[17] Alvaro Siza in Testa, Peter (1978) „*The Architecture of Alvaro Siza",* Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, Oporto, Portugal

houses, and at the same time taking advantage of the elevated position of the location and use open vistas to sunny Mediterranean landscape.

Figures 14, 15: SM House and House B2, architect Han Tümertekin; source: http://www.mimoa.eu/, http://www.tileplaza.co.kr/

Through these examples is notable the basic trends in contemporary architecture in the Mediterranean and beyond. Bioclimatic and vernacular architecture based on ecological premises becoming a frame for modern design and features of this architecture are harmoniously linked to the aesthetics of modernism. Such harmony is a distinct, possible and desirable in the area of a Mediterranean context, probably more than anywhere else.

Conclusion

Our civilization is faced with many challenges which directed us toward finding ways to oriented architecture to sustainable, natural and social context. Through respecting the natural features, it returns what it takes according to the "input-output" principle. Creating humane spaces, which do not act aggressively, but harmonious and adjusted to their environment represents one of the basic prerequisites for sustainable development of human society. In the spirit of these considerations it is important to recognize the specificity of spiritual meaning what possess every place, itself.

Mediterranean space, which is taken as an example of the architectural context of this research inspires with its history, culture, tradition, natural beauty and pleasant climate. With huge, inspiring capacity Mediterranean influenced the architecture development until recent times. Residential architecture in its historical development long tied it to the typology of Mediterranean house - megaron and patio house that has arrived to the Mediterranean from Mesopotamia where developed their own indigenous forms. Clearly visible and often proclaimed, was the link of modern architects who took for his model and inspiration primarily classical, than Mediterranean vernacular architecture. Analyzing some of the thoughts and actions is possible to establish and explain such a tendency. From this position it is possible to confirm the hypothesis that the correct interpretation of the Mediterranean context, and its translation into architecture lead to understanding of design, aesthetics and philosophy of modern, and to understand it as a logical step in the evolution of the architecture in this area. This theory about modern architecture cannot be understand as the current line style and trend in architecture according to fact that ideas of modern movement lasts more than a hundred years, and after suffered a massive and indiscriminate criticism in the second half of the 20th century. Modern has become a tradition and there are established classics among the examples of modern architecture.

Modern architecture can actually be inextricably linked with the principles of ecological construction using high quality of design and technological solutions. That an architecture is created in accordance with the bioclimatic guidelines of the place where rise with respect to the traditional and cultural specificities gives us the right to conclude that properly understand of some

context is not the same as blindly copy something from the past or from the immediate environment, but interpret and adapt the space to man and space with understanding the essence of location and tradition.

New Mediterranean modernity which is reflected in the work of a large number of modern architects seeking for these solutions and provides answers for many conflicting issues related to the context, sustainability, functionality and aesthetics. Successful examples of a comprehensive understanding of the contextualization of contemporary Mediterranean home stand against bad and irreversible mistakes devastation, massive construction, environmental degradation, ecological, cultural and aesthetic pollution. These bad examples of materialist arrogance are visible almost throughout the Mediterranean and represent a different picture of this part of the world.

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Architecture, Beyond drawing: Beyond reality

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Introduction

'From this detached imagination attached imagination derives.'

Ibn 'Arabi who has introduced imagination as the creative source of manifestation, the very cause of our existence and keeping in contact with the Infinite and the Absolute; explains that our power of imagining things that is our ability to conceive of their forms abstracted from their sensible bodies, belongs to 'Attached imagination' (Khayal Muttasil). It is the imagining faculty functioning within a human psychological framework. It is referred to as 'Attached' because it is an imagination conjoined to the imagining subject and inseparable from him. 'Detached imagination' (Khayal Munfasil) is Divine Imagination, God imagining the world and is the presence of the world in the divine Mind whereas 'attached imagination' is human imagination and the forms conceived by it are extracted by the senses from natural forms which are part of the cosmic forms, which embody cosmic realities, man imagining the forms of existents brought into existence by the creative power of Divine imagination. Since human imagination has the power of participating in the world of potential existence, it is capable of composing an infinite number of various types of images.

That brings us to a question that is overwhelming the imagination of most artists and architects, Is it possible for us to think and form images of objects which in principle are impossible to construct?The concept of impossible in the world of Architecture is specifically derived from the forces of gravity, an essential limit for architecture that rises up in a relationship of tension with the earth. This fact has always been motivating the architects to seek for approaches to be freed from this limitation and have repeatedly dreamed of flying buildings; the tendency which was commonly popular in the era of the French and Russian revolutions. Now architects who claim to be designers of Cyber-Architecture proclaim their freedom to design in a digital network space of zero gravity free from the constraints of gravity. As cyber-space evolves to replace the actual space as a target for capital investment, it appears to be heading the direction where the meaning of the word Architecture is expanding to include the conformation of virtual space in computer displays and the architecture in practice has crossed the boundaries of Art and Science.

However the virtual is not a new born concept per se and its principle has been evolving within the imaginations of architects to composition of a Trans-Architecture which is originally built on the invisible scaffolding of information and mathematical data.

Conventionally the two dimensional nature of drawings has often been an issue in architecture; As Robin Evans pinpointed so bluntly: Architects do not build, they draw. Hence the translation from drawing to building structure happens to be enigmatic under conditions of innovation.

Considering Architecture as rather a design discipline and apart from the physical act of building, Architecture is constituted on the basis of drawing; it emerges and separates itself by having drawing as its medium and domain of skill, as distinct from the material processes of construction.

Historically the first touches of drawing in ancient Persian Architecture appeared to be elevating the levels of standardization, precision and consistent reproduction with an increase in level of complexity and across a wide domain. It was the magic of drawing that made the typological diversity of Persian architecture conceivable and expandable.

Islamic architecture as well benefited from this but also took advantage of the capacity of invention that drawing as a medium can afford.

Since old ages of history of architecture this analytical attribute of drawing has been collecting momentum, but then it was in early twentieth century that the economical trial and error mechanism and an effortless plane of innovation was discovered which has accelerated evolution of experimental architecture.

Ever since modern architecture is engaged in the revolution within the visual arts that has shed the difficulties for representation. Modern architecture was successfully built on the legacy of abstract art with the triumph of the concept of the virtual which previously used to be an unimaginable colony of constructive freedom, the possibility and challenge of free creation brought up by complex abstraction; in a patent graphic act, what allows for design to earn enough fluidity and freedom to move is avoiding to interpret entities just as a spatial representation and instead by giving way for exploitation of drawing as a medium of invention.

The interest in Cyberspace can be traced to the modernist abstract art where magnetism, gravity, radio waves and other invisible forces were associated with pulses in world of objectless paintings the same lines along which floating structures away from their foundations were imagined, forms that were built over nothing. From then imagination was pursued through afterimages and advanced mechanisms of sight; A monumental breakthrough with far-reaching consequences for the entire modern civilization.

The radicalization of modernity that has been triggered by the computer has made it increasingly difficult to fall back on traditions: more than ever, we must reflect on what future has to bring.

However, This process is the pursuit of an unachievable object in reality since it is not possible to alter the three dimensions of the actual physical space and spatial curvature is not open to any arbitrary changes. Although there's a possibility of a turning point in momentary appearance of an imaginary hybrid space that can happen through objects in motion and collection of afterimages and by means of a series of stereoscopic effects; A cession station in transition of drawing to Architecture. An ambiguous space tenaciously perpetuated between the dimensional dichotomy of 2D and 3D forming this "cession station" as a sub-zone of indescribable material. An indefinite material, a paradox in nature, composed of light and movement from relationships of multiple abstract elements within the realm of electronic media.

Hence the liquid Architecture of Cyberspace can be defined by this indefinite materialization of architecture rather than the conventional limited concepts of a form in light and other absolute aspects of the natural world.

Obviously this stage of play and proliferation has to go through a tenacious process of selection and interpretation. For some projects conditions allow for building; but some will go only as far as 'paper projects' which can be translated in the form of other projects and become the basis of major contributions to the history of architecture.

Architecture and media in extreme measures

It is evident that the evolution of reality towards fantasy has resulted in a revolution in distinction between possible and impossible architecture never the less the actual "reality" as the basis of architectural practice is still maintaining the dividing line between possible and impossible without change. Meanwhile most of activities around the existing buildings are covered by the virtual world of architecture which are impossible and don't physically exist! And those activities are the dreams of visionary architects and are pierced to the architectural history and empowered by the booming emergence of the mass media through advanced photography techniques and computerized visual reproduction technologies. Introducing a system of proliferation of representational media and design processes, and the attendant theoretical reflection on those media and processes is a significant feature of the architectural avant-garde of the era.

As an example, in order to clarify her concepts of a new architecture Zaha Hadid produced them in her graphic drawings while they seemed no more than visuals to most critics, the method of visualization in her graphic drawings articulated another style of architecture to become possible. A design strategy in which the hierarchical order that entitle the constructed building to a privileged status is lost and replaced by a complex relationship between the conceptual design, the reproductions of the building and the building itself.

Conquering the hierarchical order has developed a situation in her buildings to actualize the spaces of her drawings.

According to Patrik Schumacher a partner in Zaha Hadid Architects, one of Hadid's most audacious moves was to translate the dynamism and fluidity of her calligraphic hand directly into equally fluid tectonic systems. Another was the move from isometric and perspectival axonometry to the explosion of space into fragments, from the meltdown of space into fragments, from the superimposition of fish-eye perspectives to the bending and illogical, akin to the workings of surrealist art. The level of experimentation is taken to a point where the distinction between form and content within these drawings and paintings is no longer fixed, and the question of which graphic features pertain to the mode of representation is left unanswered. Is the architecture itself twisting, bending, fragmenting and interpenetrating, or are these feature simply aspects of the multiple perspectives?

The answer is that over an extended process and a long chain of projects, these graphic features began to slowly transfigure into realizable spatial features. Within Hadid's studio this uncertainty was productively developed through a slow process of interpretation into further drawings, projects and finally buildings.

These strange moves that seemed so alien and 'crazy'- a term once taken seriously within the context of developing an architectural project- turn out to be powerful compositional options when faced with the task of articulating complex programs. The dynamic streams of movement within a complex structure can now be read as the most fluid regions within the structure. What once was an outrageous violation of logic has become part of a strategically deployed repertoire of nuanced spatial organization and articulation.

Hadid's works has spanned so many media not only because she was a propagandist for a trans-architecture but also because the liquid nature of her concept of design could solely be expressed by using different mediums of visualization and computerized reproduction systems while no single one of these mediums alone are able to express the concept within her architecture.

Massive buildings are now built from what is depicted in the architectural drawings, although the process of construction from what is depicted in the architectural drawings is no longer remarkable nor astonishing, Therefore the question is raised that Are these Architectural drawings works of art?

The answer might be thought as yes at first but technically no!

Architectural drawings are objects with far more vague and unstable qualities especially because of their bond to the requirements and specifications which the realm of art can not satisfy. However art plays a key role in how drawings are translated to developed situations as spaces and eventually to building. The reason is that architecture can truly be realized within the amorphous boundaries of inter-media not simply from its form of built work or type of drawings.

Virtual Architecture in Tangible reality

One creative way to add to formal diversity of the design is by stressing the expression within the freedom that cyberspace offers with regards to the real space. As a result of that many illustrations produced through this method are literally a liquid architecture, Molded into an extraordinary expressionistic formality.

If virtual architecture can afford this kind of design then the originality of it will tend to be lost by tending to appear same as some existing objects or resemble them closely, then it would fall into the range of prediction.

Therefore for one way to keep the virtual authenticity is to avoid mistaking objective experimentation with a subjective playfulness. The process of arbitrary freedom in design should not be aimlessly played with but to be exhausted and used up in such a way to diminish all of its possibilities; what could also be interpreted as a search for lack of freedom in ultimate freedom. The idea of virtual architecture is not merely a computer and network presentation for achieving an interface similar to the real world but it strikes as violence toward existing mindsets in architecture with holes it punches in the realm of reality.

Just as photography changed the face of architecture in the history virtuality will is revolving the principles of the new architecture. However mentally accepted this virtual architecture triggers a hint for differentiation and as a foreign body as opposed to the natural is suspected to be resisted by human body for the discordance between human natural and the hybrid spatial compositions of computer interfaces in substantial contrast with the typical architecture of easy to understand and easy to use places.

Computer and electronic media in general also have a tactile dimension as their contact with the skin can be felt in the body. The examples of this virtually tactile function has done marvels to the movies and motion pictures industry of the age by utilizing body sensor tools attached to every part of the body and stimulators connected to the internet on the other side.

Far from being an intellectual machine the computer is a parasite that is able to grab us in its claws, enticing and perverse. We walk around clutching our personal notebook computers and move around chained by the comfort and unprecedented pleasure that this "parasitic other" offers. As it appears nowadays our daily activities are already molded by and encompassed within a cyberspace. Our bodies are getting in closer tactile contact with the surrounding cyberspace than the actual architectural spaces and cities. At some point we seem to have already been enclosed within the virtual world and living inside its womb waiting for it to unravel in its fast track of progression; Maybe similar to fantasies in cyberpunk novels, where cyberspace is commonly pictured as one half of a pair, the other half being a lawless outermost location in the city.

The growth and proliferation of the virtual architecture and its ground breaking concepts are in decline and degeneration of the basis of former conventional urban structures and architecture of the cities by definition. In this respect architects in search of "the New and the Next" may give in to naïve formalism trying to clothe virtual architecture in the suppressive cloak of reality, while the actual reality by the meaning it is currently understood has started to collapse.

This collapse and the revolutionary changes on our lives as an impact of our close relationship with the electronic media are normally not highlighted in most discussions of virtual architecture and cause a wrong portray of this concept as a formalistic pursuit of visual images and last a superficial impression of it on minds.

Visual architecture should not be thought of as a design problem to which architects can allege any individual speculative solution. But it is our living condition of 21st century through the physical, sensual and erotic encounter with the computer system. Most probably virtual architecture will be a threatening and tortuous concept for architecture and architects to give comment on, although it fundamentally rises from the human nature's desire for power to violate the thought and imagination of the age for a change in the world of existence.

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AS AN EXAMPLE OF URBAN SPACE SQUARE: INVESTIGATION OF ISPARTA KAYMAKKAPI SQUARE AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE STRUCTURES

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyze the one of the most important focal points of Isparta, Kaymakkapı Square's historical, architectural and urban development, to identify the problems and to bring solutions to these problems. Additionally, Kaymakkapı Square's inner circle, surrounded by Isparta' s important historical and architectural heritage buildings, will be investigated within architectural conservation.

The methods used in this study are respectively, literature research by screening of the thesis and publications in the library and the archives, to document archival and contemporary photographs, detecting on-site and to analyze urban conservation.

Conservation decisions have been given with the help of methods such as user surveys, studies of determining on-site and planning on the maps and etc.

2. ISPARTA

The city of Isparta is located in the center of the Lakes District in the Mediterranean Region, Isparta (fig 1). The city is surrounded by Konya on the east, by Antalya on the south, by Burdur on the southwest and by Afyon on the west and north. The city, founded on a mountainous area, is surrounded by Davraz Mountain, a branch of Taurus Mountains, on the east, by Kundaklıbeli, Sidre and Karatepe on the south, by Hisar and Gölcük Hills on the west and by Kayı and Çünür Hills on the north. For this reason, it has a continental climate.

Figure 1.Location of Isparta in Turkey and Location of City Center in Isparta

2.1. Historical Development

The date of establishment begins with the Upper Paleolithic, a period before written history. The city of Isparta, the residential area of Luwian, Arzava communities in 2000 BC, was ruled by Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, the Pergamon Kingdom, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks, the Principality of Hamidoğulları and Ottomans during the reign of Beyazıd I. in 1390 (Türk Ansiklopedisi, (1971), s. 475), (Türk Diyanet Vakfı, Türkiye 1923-1973 Ansiklopedisi).

During the Ottoman reign, the city became a county of the Anatolian province, whose capital is Kütahya, and it became the center of the Hamid County by uniting with Konya province in 19th century. For this reason, once it was referred as Hamidabad as well. After the declaration of the Republic, it took the name of Isparta and became a city (Gunyol, 1982).

2.2. The Historical City Center

Today, Isparta is considered to be established in the District of Sülübey, near Belönü Creek. Throughout the history, it has been observed that the urban development of Isparta has continued to be in the both banks of the Belönü Creed towards east and west. In the Republican Period, Isparta has developed towards south and east, respectively (Türk, Özkaya and Çelebi, 2007).

Today, the districts of Isparta which have a dense historical texture are as follows: Yenice, Doğancı, Turan, Kurtuluş, İskender, Çelebiler, Kutlubey, Gazi Kemal, Kepeci, Karaağaç, Halife Sultan, Hisar, Gülcü, Sülübey, Emre, Keçeci (Leblebici) and Dere.

The modern city center of Isparta constitutes the historical texture of the city. Today, along with its mosques, covered bazaar, bazaar and Turkish baths, the urban center of Isparta, the district between Belönü Creed and the streets of Aksu, Hastane and Fevzi Paşa, represents the "Çarşı", the city center of a traditional Turkish city. This historical texture on 14.10.1977 has been recognized protected area as "Second and third degree protected site" (Türk, Özkaya and Çelebi, 2007).

Isparta is affected by urbanization movements after the Republic which is seen across the country. The province of Isparta had been a trade center of this region, which is the inconvenient in terms of transport, for a long time; afterwards it has been connected to railway system with branch office on the Republican Period.

Development of the city initiated with the making of regular highways and the increasing of commercial activities at the 1950s. Although in those years the city had 20.000 populations, today it has become a city with the population of 450.000. The process of modernization accelerated after 1950s and just a part of historic pattern of developed city is conserved. While some buildings were exposed to the improper restoration applications during the renovation, some buildings were demolished and new structures had been constructed instead of demolished buildings (Kayalı, 2005).

In historic city center, which has an important place in the urban silhouette, the majority of breathing urban spaces is occupied and "protected site" notion is restricted to the scale of a single structure or building - block.

2.3. Urban Conservation Works in Isparta

In Isparta, conservation works were started for historical city center in 1973 and end up in 1977. Forty hectares area was admitted "protected area". In this protected area, monumental and architectural featured structures were protected and registered (Tola, 1984).

The lack of construction supervision with the control mechanism and excessive construction demands at the centrum and limited construction opportunities caused to the unauthorized construction in protected site.

Arrangement works of urban protected sites initiated in 1977 and end off in 1979. Conservation plan, which was made after 1979, preserved the protected site as a whole, hardly to until 1984 (fig 2). In 1984, this plan and decisions abolished by The Ministry of Culture and Tourism Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board decision and today conservation applications, which are continued, are started. Area designated as a historic site has been very restricted and this application, for protecting to scale of a single structure in different areas, ruined to the historic pattern in the course of time (fig 3) (Sargın, 2005).

In city center with many edifice buildings, cultural assets are respectively, 58 houses (4 to all had a fire), 5 official building, 5 mosque, 2 churches, 1 covered bazaar, 2 Turkish bath, 4 fountains, 2 tomb, 1 lodge and 1 martyrdom.

"Protected Area" can be determined with Tabakhane Street, Henden Street and Doğan Cul-de-sac, İrfan Street, Mühürcü Street, Damgaci Street and Üzüm Bazaar, in the city center (Sargın, 2005).

Figure 2.Isparta city first development plan prepared by Prof. Ölsner and Kemal AhmetAruin1938-1943 (Source: IspartaValiliği, 2001)

Figure 3. Isparta urban layout plan and urban protected area
(Source: Isparta Municipality Archive)

3.   AS AN EXAMPLE OF URBAN SPACE: URBAN SQUARES

3.1. Urban Squares

Spaces, which identified as urban squares, bring people together and increase the interaction of between the community and individuals. Main elements, symbolized of the city and reflected of the culture are squares and streets. The most effective role, in planned and orderly formation of urban silhouette, belongs to the squares (Özer and Ayten, 2005).

Urban places are under the economic rationality pressure of design and in the past, faceless and unqualified spaces are emerging by discarding to Anatolian cities' urban image (the elements of defining the city as a square, street, yard etc.) and urban culture (the consciousness of being a part of the urban, experienced in the city values, traditions, customs, etc). For these reasons, urban squares, which are revealing the identity and personality of our cities, are important focus of urban life throughout the history. However, today these spaces lose them original values by usage as a transportation square or parking area (Özer and Ayten, 2005).

According to Erdönmez and Akı (2005), a building's relationship with the outer space is its development and complementary to assets. When architectural form occurs at the intersection of mass and space, it is necessary to aware of not only just mass and space covered by mass, but also space take in the form and main spatial. Therefore, the balance of fullness and emptiness (duty scale) must be well-adjusted for awareness of spatial gap in urban scale (Erdönmez and Akı, 2005).

According to T. Demirel, square; space, which provides the communication to people from common and different cultures, is allows to different activities. Also this space is broad, horizontal, open space, surrounded by buildings and shows the central feature of area (Demirel, 2008).

3.2. Isparta' s Urban Squares

The areas, which can be evaluated as Isparta's urban squares, are Talimhane (Government) Square and Kaymakkapı Square. While, Government Square has preserved to feature of the urban space, which brings together people and develops to interaction between community and individuals, urban space, Kaymakkapı Square has lost most of this feature (Kayalı, 2005).

The squares, which are in the development plan report of Isparta prepared by Prof. Ölsner and Architect Kemal Ahmet Aru:

-In the past but not today, a monumental arcade had been located at the *Station Square.*

- In the past but not same today, parades had been organized approximately for 5000 people, at the *Government Square.*

- In the past but not today, at the front of the community center building and close to the bazaar or market place, there was *Community-center Square.*

- In the past but not today, at the front of the Rose-oil Factory and on the way of Afyon, arranged as a park with the quarter buildings, *Kışla Square.*

- In the past but not today, *Tabakhane Square* that had been allocated for foremen and workers which were working in tabakhane (tannery) district.

In this report,   besides the main square, the little squares have been planned around the square (Isparta Valiliği, 2009, s.153).

Today, there are small squares used as a bazaar at the city's different districts as Yedişehitler, Davraz and Modernevler Neighborhoods.

Furthermore, a new alternative square has been made to the city. This square has been located between the Government Building and Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar. A new clock-tower is constructed to this space fringe without architectural identity consideration.

Although Isparta is a city center, it has preserved to old area and general form for a while after the announcement of Republican. In Isparta urbanization movements initiated in 1970, after Turkey' s general urbanization movements in 1950s. In this term, near Belönü River, carpet washing factories, dye houses, yarn workshops, which use river water, were established, public works and dense housing (construction activities) has been accelerated (Kayalı, 2005).

Also public service buildings formation and the urban development began. So, in the city center, many alterations were seen.

The central grew in time and began to take on new functions and new buildings. Especially by 2000s about Kaymakkapı, Government and Samanpazarı, Kerimpaşa, Nalbantoğlu, Antalyalıoğlu, Hatipoğlu, Alaybeyoğlu, Kereste historic commercial buildings and Sadiye, Şakirzade, Harabizade, Hasan Efendi, Müftü Efendi, Mehdioğlu madrasahs were removed. New buildings are being constructed in accordance with social needs (Demirel, 2008).

In 17th and 18th centuries, Isparta historic city center is the area of between the religious buildings (İplikçi Mosque, Kutlubey Mosque and Mimar Sinan Mosque). Also this region involves Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar and Turkish Baths. Kaymakkapı Square is an important urban space in this term. However, in 19th century, this center has developed east-west direction, on İstasyon and Hastane Streets. Public and education buildings have come to the forefront with the increase of government buildings in the east. Because of that, 19th century city center was a region which contains İstasyon and Hastane Streets with the public, education and historic buildings (Böcüzade, 1982).
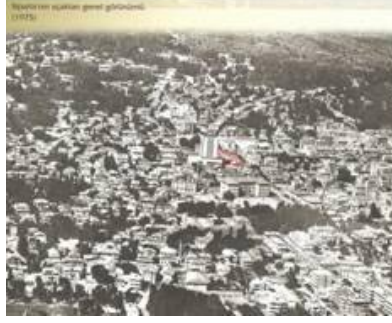
4. KAYMAKKAPI SQUARE PAST AND PRESENT SITUATION

Kaymakkapı Square, Isparta's one of the most important spaces, due to constitutes to city center and the main arteries' binding node, is significant.

The area, which has the public and private (community) buildings, has a special important as a cultural heritage of Isparta due to being a part of the urban protected area.

Increasing of economic, technological,   socio-cultural, spatial etc. needs, structuring with the temporary and unthought-of solutions for meeting these needs and directing traffic flow cause to lose identification and so, this has led to the development of a negative.

Thus the roads were straitened at this urban space, historic buildings had been disregarded and so, new, huge, exaggerated, faceless, incompatible with high gauges and facades structures had been constructed to around of the these historic buildings. Furthermore,   demolished of the cultural valuable buildings and different buildings had been constructed to instead of these buildings have been determined.

Most of the buildings associated with Kaymakkapı Square belong to second part of 20th century. Generally, there are many examples of demolished historic buildings for alteration and new building had been constructed instead of it (fig 4).

Figure 4. Location of Kaymakkapı Square in Isparta 1975 (Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

Today, Kaymakkapı Square's borders can be described with Üzüm Bazaar, Mimar Sinan Street and İstasyon Street at the north; at the west Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center / Belediye İşhanı), Culture Cinema (Kültür Movie Theatre) with adjoining row-shops and Cumhuriyet Street; on the south Community Policing Branch Office (Çarşı Police Station), The Building of Special Provincial Administration, Kavaklı Mosque, Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi), Isparta Hotel; on the east Hasan Fehmi Street and Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar. Even though Kaymakkapı Square was urban focal point throughout history, it had showed an alteration like a boulevard in first part of 21st century. Finally, today, it becomes transportation square (fig 5) (tab 1).

Figure 5. The Borders of Kaymakkapı Square (Source: Google Earth)

Table 1. The Buildings around of Kaymakkapı Square and information of these buildings.
(Source: Isparta Municipality)

BUILDING NAME	CONST. DATE	FUNCTION	STRUCTURE	ADA/PAF./P AR. NO
Municipality Office Building	11.03.1997 (modification)	Also it had been constructed instead of the cemetery and a row of small abandoned structures	Reinforced-Concrete	366/120/
Culture Cinema	10.09.1998	It has been constructed instead of the Community Cinema.	Reinforced-Concrete	356/11
Community Policing Branch Office (Çarşı Police Station) and the Apartment	21.01.1977 (construction date) / 27.09.1988 (modification)		Masonry	329/321/
The Apartment of Nur Patisserie and Ulker Shop	08.06.1977 (construction date) / 07.12.1979 (modification)		Masonry	330/12/
The Building of Special Provincial Administration	17.03.1970	Today, is taken a decision of demolish about this building	Reinforced-Concrete	440/93/
Kavaklı Mosque	1782		Stone Masonry	1254/82
Haberdashery Stores Building	30.12.1986	It has been constructed instead of Province Printing House.	Reinforced-Concrete	441/46
Notary and Driving Courses Buildings	6-numbered construciton date of parcel 23.07.1957 additional floor 06.04.1959	It had been built up to instead of the parcel of the residential area and Province Printing House area	Masonry	441/6-9
Isparta Hotel	31.07.1962		Reinforced-Concrete	379/12
Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar	1561		Stone Masonry	
Üzüm Bazaar	1945	Reconstructed (with different materials)	Reinforced-Concrete	397/11
Underground Bazaar	28.11.1997		Reinforced-Concrete	398/2

In question study area is connected with Hastane Street on the south and İstasyon Street on the north. Even tough, this area has been known as Hastane Street, actually it is Kaymakkapı Square. Today, it has been separated to two parts with refuge arrangement. There is another important component that is Turkey's 9th President of Republic, Süleyman Demirel's Sculpture at the north of this refuge. This sculpture gives an identity to this square.

The road on the front of Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi) provides traffic flow to Hasan Fehmi Street and the road on the front of Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center) provides traffic flow to İsmet Paşa Street.

The common feature of the buildings, surrounded space, are commercial building. Buildings, as Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center), Culture Cinema (Kültür Movie Theatre), Covered Bazaar, Üzüm Bazaar, has comprised of trade center. Community' s the most important shopping center has been this square until constructing of Isparta' s today, existed shopping centers. Thus, this situation has provides to prefer to this square as a social rendezvous (meeting) point for meeting a need by each person and so this reaction ensured to the most intensive of average of the persons per square meter of point.

The structures of Kaymakkapı Space described as historic and new buildings (fig 6).

Figure 6. Green = Historical Buildings (before 1970),
Orange= New Buildings (after 1970), (Source: Google Earth)

4.1. Historic Buildings

There are many historic buildings. These are Kavaklı Mosque (1782), Üzüm Bazaar (1945), Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar (1561), Isparta Hotel (1962), The Building of Special Provincial Administration (1970), Notary and Driving Courses Buildings (1957-1959).

Kavaklı Mosque

1782 dated, known as "Çinili (Tiled) Mosque" or "Peygamber (Prophet) Mosque", Kavaklı Mosque has been constructed instead of Kadı Small Mosque. Also it had been undergone many restorations in 1831-1832, 1878, 1886-1887, 1914 and 1950 (fig 7) (fig 8) (Isparta 1880-1980, 2001).

Figure 7. Kavaklı Mosque 1950 - 2012 (Source: IspartaValiliği, 2001)

Figure 8. KavaklıMosque
(Source: Isparta Valiliği, İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, Isparta Kültür Envanteri, cilt: 1, s: 153)

Üzüm Bazaar (Grape Market)

The Grape Market is considered as a histrocial area and is under protection. The stores, where grapes and salt were sold in the past, are currently functioning as various clothing stores. The Greeks had sold these shops to the Turks during the emigration. Its construction date is not known definitely. However, as the nearby buildings are from the Ottoman Period, it is believed that the Grape Market also was built in the Ottoman Period and the first buildings of it were constructed in this era. According to Tola, the area of the Grape Market was subject to rearrangement work in 1945 as per item 18 of the Construction Law. Before this work, there were only two stone buildings in the Grape Market and the others were made of timber. However, with the practice of item 18 all of the wooden buildings were pulled down, the construction zones were changed and two or three-story concrete stores were built in the new land parcel order. The side streets of the buildings on this island were covered with a plastic-based material by Aybatılı in 1996. In 1996 the frontals of the stores to the streets and to the Kaymakkapı Square and the streets were covered with a plastic-based material from the ground level between the first and second floors (fig 9) (Tola, 1998).

Figure 9.Üzüm Bazaar and its tiled façade type

Isparta Hotel

Isparta Hotel had been constructed in 1962. It is totally 9-story with 7-story rooms' block on the two- story service block. When its first architectural character reflected Republican Period Architecture, today, the air conditioners and various metal elements cause to deteriorations on the Hotel's façades (fig 10) (fig 11).

Figure 10. Isparta Hotel 1964 - 2012 (Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

Figure 11. Isparta Hotel Construction 1960 (Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar

Historical Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar, Isparta' s traditional covered bazaar sample, one of the surrounding buildings. It had constructed in 1561 by Isparta Governor Firdevs Bey. The 16-shops covered bazaar, which are made by indigenous material named as "kövke". It has been registered in 1977. It had been decided to continuation of registration, a decision taken in 1990 (fig 12).

Figure 12. Firdevs Bey Covered Bazaar (Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

The Building of Special Provincial Administration

This Structure, has been constructed in 1970s, is 5-story with the ground floor. Before 1970s, there were a green area and Konak Hotel at the close quarters. Today, is taken a decision of demolish about this building (fig 13) (fig 14).

Figure 13. The Building of Special Provincial Administration
1968 - 2012 (Source: IspartaValiliği, 2001)

Figure 14. The Building of Special Provincial Administration a cartpostal from 1970's

Notary and Driving Courses Buildings

This masonry building block, was constructed in 1957, had been renovated with extra floor in 1959. Until today, it had been undergone many restorations for many times. It had been built up to instead of the parcel of the residential area and Province Printing House area. This block is formed from the three or four floors. Moreover, the other entrance of the underground bazaar is located at the front of this building block. The discord of the character of façade and incompatible number of floors are clearly seen. İt exhibits to miserable view with the buildings at the back of this block (fig 15).

Figure 15. Notary and Driving Courses Building-Block (1980-2012)

4.2. New Buildings (After 1970s)

After 1970, many new buildings were constructed. These are Municipality Office Building (1997), Culture Cinema and Row-shops (Kültür Movie Theatre) (1998), Community Policing Branch Office (Çarşı Police Station) and the Apartment, Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi), The Apartment of Nur Patisserie and Ülker Shop, Underground Bazaar.

Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center)

Formally, this structure, named as "20 October Office Building", has been constructed in 1997. It is a six-story with ground floor and concrete structure. Also it had been constructed instead of the cemetery and a row of small abandoned structures. There are merely renovation or alteration projects and documents in Isparta Municipality archives. Today, mobile phone sales offices and political parties' offices are taken in this building (fig 16) (fig 17).

There are municipality's bus stations at the front of this structure. Additionally, underground bazaar's one of the entrances is located on the space which is between the Municipality Office Building and Culture Cinema (Kültür Movie Theatre).

Figure 16. Municipality Office Building (20 October Office Building) 1950 - 2012
(Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

Figure 17. Municipality Office Building area, Üzüm Bazaar and Isparta Hotel area - 1955
(Source: IspartaValiliği, 2001)

Culture Cinema and Row-shops (Kültür Movie Theatre)

This structure has been constructed to instead of the existed "L" planned Community Cinema in 1998. Today cinema building is rectangle planned and two-story with ground floor (fig 18). There are many two-story shops, which are attached to cinema building of south-east façade and north-east façade. The most of these shops are meat doner-shop or fast food (fig 19).

Figure 18. Community Cinema and had been constructed in 1998, new Culture Cinema 1965 - 2012 (Source: Isparta Valiliği, 2001)

Figure 19. The adjoining shops to Culture Cinema on the north and east façades

Community Policing Branch Office (Çarşı Police Station) and the Apartment

1977 dated, this masonry structure had been renovated in 1988.Also this building had been undergone in many restorations (fig 20).

Figure 20. Community Policing Branch Office (Çarşı Police Station), Apartment and the circular junction

The Apartment of Nur Patisserie and Ülker Shop

1977 dated, this masonry structure had been renovated in 1979 (fig 21).

Figure 21. The Apartment of Nur Patisserie and Ülker Shop

Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi)

Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi) oppress to Kavaklı Mosque with height and structural clumsiness in appearance. This structure has been constructed instead of Province Printing House and obsolete areas of near the Printing House in 1986. It comprised of two parts: commercial and residential. Commercial part is 5-story; in the meanwhile residential part is built up on the commercial part and 5-story. Today, there are many dower sales office and tailors in commercial part. Many municipality bus stations and taxi stands are taken at the front of the building (fig 22).

Figure 22. Province Printing House and Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi) 1930 - 2012 (Source: IspartaValiliği, 2001)

Underground Bazaar

Underground bazaar, which is given a condominium, is constructed in 1997 (fig 23).

Figure 23. Underground Bazaar
(near the Municipality Office Building – front of the Haberdashery Stores Building)

Today, the only part of Kaymakkapı Square, which evokes to notion of "square" is the area located at the south of Culture Cinema and Municipality Office Building. There are many elements as stalls, bookstalls, buffets, sitting places, ticket offices, pools and fountain. But, even this place cannot meet criteria's of being of square. This place, which is necessary to be used of square, has filled up with row doner (fast food) shops' equipments. This circumstance has compelled this area's circulation. In this place, removable and immovable equipment and materials must be removed. Isparta's public transportation center is this point.

All of the buses, which are scattered to the whole of districts, pass to on this square. The one of the important bus stations is located on the front of the Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center), the other one of the bus stations is located on the front of the Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi). These public transportation stations have been connected with underground bazaar in 2000. Underground bazaar's entrance has been fixed on the pedestrian ways at the front of the building block and Haberdashery Stores Building (The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi). Thus, this bazaar provides to transition to the area that is between Municipality Office Building (Municipality Business Center) and Culture Cinema block.

5. KAYMAKKAPI SQUARE' S PROBLEMS AND OFFERS

The current protection problems of the historical Kaymakkapı Square that is always used as the most intensive artery of Isparta could be approached under the titles urban protection, urban transformation and physical development.

5.1. Problems of the Kaymakkapı Square in terms of Urban Protection and Suggestions

The Kaymakkapı Square is a significant historical area of Isparta with its buildings, roads and urban yards and while it needs to be preserved as a protected area, unfortunately it is under protection only in one construction scale.

An investigation about its urban protection displays that the most important problem of the Kaymakkapı Square is that the historical buildings in nearby centres giving value to this square are intervened too much and new buildings that are maladjusted in terms of material, size & gabarite and color are built next to and near these historical buildings.

The Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi has a ground area and height to run over the Kavaklı Mosque right next to it. With its huge mass, solid appearance and material, it has closed the Kavaklı Mosque completely from the east façade and caused the mosque not to be perceived.

The Isparta Hotel has a very different façade character today from its authentic status. The hotel is a Republic era building and its layers and yards have been intervened with too much and the façades of the building have lost their characteristics. On the other hand, there are photographs of the Isparta Hotel from the construction period showing its authentic characteristics. As these are good photographs, the hotel can be transformed to its authentic façades. In order for the hotel to change to a Republic Era character again, urgent transformation practices for the authentic façade character should be carried out.

According to the information from the Isparta Municipality, the Isparta Hotel and the Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi were built in 1957. However, they do not reflect an authentic and characteristic façade order. They were built arbitrarily and they are incompatible with each other. Therefore, they make the Square look unfavorable and complicated. Also, the building façades have been covered with various signs, electricity wiring and billboards. It would be appropriate to demolish these buildings and to consider the land as a public area which this square needs desperately.

The Municipality Business Center has an awkward mass that is inharmonious with the historic fabric it is in. The historical buildings in the square can be taken as the basis instead of the Municipality Business Center and a few buildings with a more modest mass and gabarite or one single building comprised of a few masses can be built.

The Grape Market area and its concrete buildings can be considered as Republican Era buildings. Therefore, it can be said that it is of historic value. However, the place and the characteristic of the plastic material covering the streets and the frontals to the square have a very disagreeable appearance. Therefore, the canopies at the frontals towards the square should be removed completely, the shades over the streets should be elevated to the roof level of the buildings and a better quality and aesthetic material should be used for the canopies. Also making the exits and entries to the streets clear and writing the name of the street will provide a comfort for visual perception of the visitors at the Grape Market.

Figure 24. Vakıflar Business Center (1977, postcard), Isparta Hotel (a postcard from the 1970s), Special Provincial Administration (2012)

A decision for pulling down the Special Provincial Building has been taken currently. However, the building in question carries the traces of the Ottoman Period Architecture. Besides, it has a similar façade characteristic the Isparta Hotel and the Vakıflar Business Center of the same period. Therefore, it is believed that a better decision would be to convey the building to the next generations with a strengthening project (fig24).

5.2. Problems of the Kaymakkapı Square in terms of Urban Transformation and Suggestions

Besides the urban protection problems of the Kaymakkapı Square, the urban transformation practices have made this area more problematic and caused the area to cease to be a square.

According to T. Demirel (2008), the criteria for a square are connection facilities, property, intensiveness of the public transportation vehicles, intensiveness of the private cars nearby, the size of the land, the width of the field of vision, the diversity of the field of vision, the environmental quality of the area, the usage and intensiveness of the areas in the close environment, connection and proximity to the green areas, connection and proximity to urban equipment and commerce areas, the the spatial integrity of the selected place (Demirel, 2008).

It may seem that the size of the area is sufficient, however, it has been narrowed with the traffic islands and stops for the public transportation and it has become a road. Currently it is called the Hastane Road and distribution to the roads connected to this center has been provided with two junctions. In the 1930s the Kaymakkapı Square was used as a square for ceremonies, but today it does not provide any opportunities for the pedestrians for comfortable strolling and meeting besides the crosswalks.

Figure 25. Kaymakkapı Square 1963 – 2012 (Source: Isparta Governorship, 2001, Google Earth)

In the 1960s the buildings were less high and therefore, the square had a form to breathe. There was a spatial integrity. As the transportation technology developed in that period, vehicles started to occupy the yard gradually (fig25). However, today, due to the intensiveness of the public transportation and private vehicles, and also to the jam of the stops, the traffic has become problematic. Rather than a meeting corner for the pedestrians, it has become a square for the vehicles and this area and the buildings around it were impacted negatively.

Connection possibilities and circulation are strong, however, there are problems with these due to negative factors. The problems of transport to the square and the flow providing the distribution from the square are caused by double line parking, the increase in the number of vehicles and stops, kiosques with ill looks and the area being occupied by sales stands.

The width of the field of vision is more restricted compared to the 1950s due to high buildings. The high-rise Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi and the Isparta Hotel have hindered the easy view of the historical fabric in the close south.

Figure 26.KaymakkapıSquare 1930 - 2012 (Source: Isparta Governorship, 2001, Google Earth)

The environmental quality of the field of vision makes a negative impact with defective parking solutions, bad quality architectural examples and inharmonious façade characters of the buildings. Besides, another problem is that the high rise buildings give a suppressing appearance over the historical buildings. The height of the Kavaklı Mosque is less than the height of the Complex (fig26).

Figure 27. Buildings that should be pulled down and included in the public area (yellow) and the crosswalks (purple)

A significant urban transformation problem is the change in the functions of the buildings and the decrease in the building usage. The particularity of the Tuhafiyeciler Sitesi being a shopping center has ended. Many business places in the building such as tailors or haberdasheries have closed and moved to other districts of the city. This building is also inharmonious in terms of gabarite and should be pulled down not only in the scope of protection but also due to lack of function and demand (fig 27).

The Kültür Movie Theatre is not preferred due to the cinemas opened in various places of the city. The entry of the movie theatre should be opened to the square and its use should be increased.

The trade function of the Municipality Business Center has diminished. Here there are storeys of Political Parties. There are shops that sell and repair telephones. Pulling it down and including this place in the public area will provide ease for the square (fig 27).

All extensions such as the kiosques with ill looks next to the Kültür Movie Theatre, the sales stands of the line stores that prevent pedestrians flow and the circulation should be removed and these places should be included in the square. Including the entry of the Kültür Movie Theatre in this area will strengthen the impact of the square.

In addition, the restoration of the traditional houses of the historical fabric forming the traditional streets of the square and the gentrification of these streets will provide a scheme of flow making the square circulation and connections easier.

Moving the bus and taxi stops to other places in the city is a necessary practice for the functional integrity of the square and ease for perception. Pulling down the Kültür Site in figure 27, the functionality of which has decreased today, would be a good suggestion for the bus stops of this area (fig 27).

Figure 28. The transport scheme of the buses (red), bus stops (purple), restriction for the pedestrians (yellow).

Moving the bus lines outside this area will make the pedestrian and private car transport easier. As transport line, the buses drive to 3 main axes of the city. These are Hızırbey, Halıkent and Anadolu Districts. Instead of driving through this square each time during this transport, following the transport line in Fig. 28 may make the square easier for transportation (fig 28).

Transportation for the pedestrians will be provided underground and the road along the Hastane and İstasyon Roads will be covered with rails.

Underground parking solutions should be found for the parking problem, which is becoming a significant issue in many places in the city.

Care should be taken that the new buildings should not suppress the historical buildings in this area and that they are in harmony with the others. New designs can be made that take into account the heights of the storeys and the façade characteristics and that have current traces. The quality of the material and the conveyor system in the new designs should be at least as good as the local material and the traditional conveyor systems.

5.3. Problems of the Kaymakkapı Square in terms of Physical Development and Suggestions

Kaymakkapı Square has many physical problems. These are:

-Environmental Pollution

-Noise Pollution

-Air Pollution

-Insufficient Green Areas

As no meeting point at the Kaymakkapı Square could be provided until today, from time to time this area, which is the most vital point of the city, is closed because of city festivals. Festivals and similar activities both cause a transportation problem in this area as there is no other chance for transport and also environmental pollution through the intensive festival program.

In addition, as there is no recycling promotional work for the city in general, controlling normal wastes in this area has been more difficult due to lack of a sufficient number of waste bins. Paper, glass and plastic wastes of the users are spread around in large quantities. This square is cleaned by the municipality cleaners every day, but this is getting more and more difficult.

Usage of natural gas started in Suleyman Demirel University. After the university, in city, Anadolu quarter and Toki started to use of natural gas in 2009 but it only started in 2012 in this area of the city. During this process, due to the inclination in the city air pollution intensifies in the low city center. Besides, as filter control is inadequate, the fumes from the car exhausts are another factor causing air pollution.

Figure 29. KaymakkapıSquare 1968 – 2012 (Source: Isparta Governorship, 2001)

Connection and proximity to green areas is another criterion for a square. The distance of the square to parks, gardens and even forests should be taken into account. It is necessary that the open and half-open areas constituting the square and used as spaces are interbedded with green. As settlement increased with modernization, green decreased rapidly in this area with the same pace. (fig 29).

Figure 30. Kaymakkapı Square 1960 - 2012 (Source: Isparta Governorship,2001, Google Earth)

In spite of all the negative interventions, green areas have increased with vitalization work. There are green areas at the traffic islands and in the east façade of the Kültür Movie Theater. There are various trees in the square (fig 30). Extending the square will be beneficial for afforestation in the square.

5.4. Proofs

The construction plans after 1950s in our country did not attach any importance to the concept of protection. The law no. 2863 passed in 1983 brought the concept of "construction plan with an aim of protection" and in this way, made a claim to the houses in the traditional areas, which were pulled down and rebuilt by the construction plans until then.

As demands for new construction increase, the plans and policies focusing on new buildings, neglecting protection spoil the traditional fabric.

The **socio-economical** dimensions of protection are also important in the city. Examples for this issue might be that people leave their family-inherited house sover time or the economical powers of the people living in these houses are not sufficient for costly jobs such as restoration (Madran and Özgönül, 2005, s. 55-57).

Among the public buildings, there are many, the registry of which has been cleared or which have been pulled down without any registration. Some examples are the Tekel building in Isparta and the demolishing of the Former prison and the Former Special Provincial Administration building.

-Pulling down a construction group, some part of these or the buildings impacting the protection area,

-Constructing new buildings,

-Works requiring significant changes destroying the characteristics of registered buildings or protected areas and constituting relevant Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Boards were brought forward with the Cultural and Natural Heritages Law no. 2863 and the problems were solved (Madran and Özgönül, 2005, s. 84).

The neo-liberal policies that started in the 1970s were actualized in Turkey with the January 24 event. A more comfortable and luxurious architecture started under the term urban transformation. The city fabric was spoiled and instead of an architecture in harmony with the city fabric, a different silhouette appeared (Mukul, 2009, s.19).

In 1975 the Kayseri master plan was made by Yavuz Taşçı. In this master plan it was planned in linear form and as a single-center city. The city center was approached in an intensive form with multiple storeys (Kocatürk, 2009, s.51). In Argıncık, which is one of the districts included in the Kayseri Municipality zone, unlicensed construction grew until 1993 and squatting increased. Although many problems such as property and infrastructure were solved in the reform master plan made after 1993, the building intensity increased. The city protected area specified in Yavuz Taşçı's period was scaled down due to demolishing and lack of care (Kocatürk, 2009, s.54).

Countries such as Austria (Salzburg), Italy (Florence) and Venice, where there are successful samples of urban criteria, offered their historical cities to tourism (Ahunbay, 2007, s.132). In Zeynep Ahunbay's (2007) book there are recommendations about protection of the Historical Areas and their Contemporary Roles given at the meeting of in Nairobi on November 30, 1976. In the protection recommendations there are the following issues in the general principles related to measures for establishing a system for protecting historical areas, provision of the necessary plans and documents;

In items 10 and 11 the department to issue permission for demolishing, new constructions and repairs within the zone of the protected area has been defined. Also the conditions related to how and where the new buildings should be constructed in these areas were specified and relevant decisions were taken (Ahunbay, 2007, s.157 -159).

In item 15, it is stated that while planning the subdivisions, the house and public constructions supported with subdivisions should be approached in such a way as to facilitate the improvement of the old buildings or to reform them. It has also been put forward that the demolishing should only be related to the buildings with no historical and architectural value and the subdivisions should be supervised carefully (Ahunbay, 2007, s.160).

In item 24, it is stated that in places with a protection plan the demolishing of buildings with no architectural or historical value or ruinous buildings, new development or reconstruction programs covering the removal of extensions or valueless superstructures and even the new buildings

spoiling the integrity of the square can only be permitted if they are in line with the plan (Ahunbay, 2007, s.161).

According to the Law Malraux that is the subject of the book (Okyay I. 2001) about Protection of Urban Protected Areas in France, in the preparation of the Protection Plan in France Urban Morphology Analysis is carried out at the Working Stages. The structuring stages are being determined. Some ruinous buildings are demolished and reconstruction suggestions are made or a new function for the parcel in question is stipulated.

In addition to these urban morphology analyses the façades not in harmony with the historical fabric are specified. Recommendations are made to convert the necessary façades into their authentic conditions.

In the stage of analysis of the urban functions the distribution of many functions is carried out and the capacities and sufficiency are determined. The analyses of the urban reinforcement (hospitals, schools, movies…) and the development of the urban functionality (functions such as quality of transportation, researching the public transportation opportunities, cultural tourism that the protected area can take over in the future) are important steps in the Protection Plan preparation (Okyay I. 2001, s. 55 - 59).

The analyses in the protection plan in single-building criterion are usually for;

-monumental buildings,

-registered buildings, the pulling down or façade change of which are forbidden,

-the buildings, the existing process of which is determined with the decision in the plan,

-buildings that are private property or that belong to private, public or legal institutions, the partial or complete demolishing and façade or gabaret change will be made during the implementation.

The decisions to be taken for these building/s are relieving suggestions for the construction island. These are considered for demolishing the complete unhistorical buildings built later or their extra storeys, which make it difficult for the place to be perceived in too crowded construction islands (Okyay I. 2001, s. 60).

These are buildings that have been added to the registered construction later, additions that are not in harmony with the registered building (ensued) and those that are within their own parcel and not in harmony with the environment. This situation of a building is decided upon by the territorial department of the Ministry of Culture (ABF) and it is processed according to the plan. Three options have been specified for such buildings:

-It will be demolished on the condition that it will not be rebuilt. In such a case, the decision for new construction activities not being covered in the plan is taken by scanning in the graphic display. The right for preemption is executed for demolishing the building.

-The demolished building will only be rebuilt in line with the plan and legislations

-The building will be harmonized with new architectural elements and arrangements. Restoration permission for infrastructure or providing comfort is not given for such a building (Okyay I. 2001, s.69).

In Europe at the end of the 19th century cleaning became a popular approach in the areas taken under protection. An example might be Haussmann's plan, where not only the roads were widened, but also the surroundings of the Notre Dame Cathedral was cleaned from useless buildings (Orbaşlı, 2008, s.17).

A different example would be the Royal Palace in Berlin on the Avenue Unter der Linden, which was demolished and rebuilt to harmonize it with the historical city fabric (Orbaşlı, 2008, s.204).

Rotterdam in the Netherlands that was selected as the European Cultural City in 2001 was rearranged for future heritage. The new buildings to be constructed in the historical areas in and around the city will be in harmony with the existing fabric with their character (Orbaşlı, 2008, s.197).

In Article 6 of the Venice Charter it is stated that the conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale.

Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and color must be allowed. (Venice Charter Article 6).

 Erdal Köktürk and Erol Köktürk (2007), examined the Urban Transformation activities in Germany at their work "Urban Transformation in Turkey and the Germany Experience" at the 11th Turkish Cartography Scientific and Technical Congress. The urban transformation projects in the German cities take place in 4 different regions (Köktürk, 2007, s.11-12). These are protection, reconstruction, re-development and demolishing regions. The demolishing of the buildings has been adopted as an instrument for urban transformation.

6. CONCLUSION

As the square in question is close to the trade center, it caused the increase in the demand for construction and also the increase in the pressure on the square itself. It was subject to serious interventions. Besides, as the people and the public institutions do not have sufficient protection awareness, the historical cultural buildings are damaged or are even destroyed.

Due to these reasons, the protection and restoration works related to the square should not only be carried out in architectural scale, but also in urban scales.

This study has provided the specification of the interventions and problems when the Kaymakkapı Square, an important city square of Isparta, is researched within the protection scope and at a functional level.

In this context this study is important in the aspects that it examines the changes in the city and draws attention to the harmful interventions made to the historical buildings in the city center and also it emphasizes the significance of the Kaymakkapı Square. It also provides a base for the studies that are made to provide the conveyance of the square with its authenticity damaged at the minimum.

The Kaymakkapı Square has not undergone any work within the scope of protection yet. In this study its problems of urban protection, urban transformation and problems in terms of physical aspects have been approached and recommendations have been provided. This study will help the urban work of the Isparta local administration and it will also shed light on bringing forth the historical city centers.

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Transfer of the Property and Development Rights in Immovable Property on Which Development Plans Has Been Implemented

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1. Introduction

Urban conservation, renewal and regeneration methods are improving in many countries such as USA, England, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Malaysia, Hindistan, etc.

1.1. The Transfer of Development Rights (TDR)

The transfer of development rights (TDR) literature reports different histories, especially in the United States.[1] Since TDR can be used as a market-driven technique to preserve land from development while guaranteeing the rights of property owners.[2] Also there were some examples in Europe.[3] However, command-and-control regulation has been preferred in land preservation to market-based solutions in Europe,[4] so that there are problems in implementing TDR programs.

U.S. laws and regulations for land use are often explained through references to the U.S. Constitution or to economic efficiency. Indeed, it is sometimes argued that these two are opposite sides of the same coin: private property ownership, capitalism, and freedom are all interwoven.[5] There are implemented by many Transfer Development Rights (TDR) programs in U.S.A.

Italy is experiencing tentative practices under regional laws, introduced by an equalizing approach since the '90. Italy has achieved some remarkable results in public land acquisition, "perequazione" (means TDR) should be granted by a national law, in order to avoid legal disputes, as well as supported by an explicit exaction policy[6], in order to reduce discretion in the negotiating process. Planning by agreement[7] is then a consequence and yet a tool to face the responsibilities of local financial autonomy.

Land use in Japan is important and the instrument of transferable development rights plays a role in many cases. Paul[8] in Tokyo writes about one of them as an example of "The redevelopment of the Marunounchi Area" which is a case study about an Conservation; Protection, upgrade of existing land use.

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[1] Machemer and Kaplowitz, 2002; Bredin, 2000; Voget, 1999; Johnston and Madison, 1997.
[2] Tavares, 2003.
[3] Micelli, 2002; Renard, 1999.
[4] Weale, 1999; Feitelson and Lindsey, 2001.
[5] Epstein, 1985.
[6] Curti, 2006.
[7] Urbani, 2000.
[8] Chorus, 2007.

Tokyo Station which is a National Heritage site, is another example of reallocation: compensation for non-development. In this way Tokyo Station as a historical building can be preserved while at the same time the unprofitable land use can be made profitable elsewhere by selling the development rights. [9]

Heritage bodies make grants and give loans for work on heritage items. In New South Wales, the government has set up a fund for this purpose, derived in part from the proceeds of the sale and transfer of development rights over significant State government owned heritage items in Sydney's central business district.

1.2. The Definiton of Problem: The Existing Situation about Property & Development Rights and TDR in Türkiye

In spite of everything, TDR can also be used in Türkiye with some regulation proposed in this study. This paper explores the difficulties in previous urban conservation (and also urban renewal/renovation, urban regeneration) plans/programs, many of the arguments for the use of TDR programs, and discusses expropriation tools in Türkiye.

There are transfer development rights and detailed development applications which were legislated into the jurisprudence in Turkish law, in 2004. The subject of this paper is to develop proposals for a new transfer development rights program (tool) for conservation planning (and also urban regeneration before in with/without disaster by revised models [10] later), determined firstly by "Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets", [11] but that Law is not clear enough in different aspects of its application.

In order for conservation of registered historical, cultural and natural assets in utilization of individual and corporate ownership, a conservation development plan needs to implemented by limiting private and corporate property and development rights of certain development restricts, and by limiting the development rights of partially development restricts, and it should go hand in hand with a proposed framework (BTM) developed through the help of legal counsel sound proposals in line with the legislation in Türkiye.

2. The Goal of the Study: The TDR Implementation for The Conservation in Türkiye

Fistly, the development plans' and some discussions about property and development rights with theory of the development plan [15] in the following chapter. Then, BTM is explained with details.

This paper concerns the realization of granting of ownership and "building"-development rights limited by implementation of (especially conservation) development plans for assets under utilization of individual and corporate ownership, in order to enable conservation of cultural and natural assets in the national level. [12]

At the same time, this proposed model can be implemented with all development plans for the various purposes. [13] [14] [15] It should go hand in hand with a Basic Transfer Model (BTM) (three phases) developed with the help of proposals in line with the legislation. Especially, a before paper was about for the first phase. [16]

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[9] *Chorus*, 2007.

[10] Kocalar, 2011b.

[11] The Law No. 2863, article 17, c[th] sub-section.

[12] Kocalar, 2010b.

[13] Kocalar, 2010c.

[14] Kocalar, 2011b.

[15] Kocalar, 2011a.

[16] Kocalar, 2010a.

Now, this paper also looks at new methods which are set out with several enriched and detailed approaches for these types of application or possible programs. In fact, methods are related to seven different professional fields or enriched approaches; city planning, jurisprudence, management, finance, education, public relations and information theory. For the further information about social subjects about urban conservation and urban regeneration, another proceeding work has been presented in a congree on June. [17]

In the proposed model is clarified by a basic model called BTM or framework, and explained as three different phases. These phases are related also to functional detailed approaches to implementation. Besides the transfer development rights programs a development application tools are put into practice which also purposely includes expropriation tools in this study, because BTM is a more complex detailed optional structure than expropriation as in Figure-1 later (5.Chapter)

3. The Development Plans' Necessity in New Dimensions and the Limited Rights

In our country and around the world, within the framework of the changing economic and social conditions in many fields, or born again, changing, developing new insights;
• Macro-level strategic projections of the state show a need to know or re-design in all areas.
• It must be ensure with accountability and also planning predictability, efficiency, monitoring, evaluation and audit qualifications by boosting in the long-term solutions to problems.
• The need for a holistic approach to planning general felt more than ever.
• During this period of globalization to be effective in all areas,
the opportunities and risks which are arising from the competition based on the rapid changes occurring in multi-dimensional come together.
• Society expects solutions in line with macro-level objectives, must be coordinated in the country's development plans, the regional plans, the development plans
• However, the economic, social and cultural transformations of the fields, has emerged to be realized with a planning process which is carried out the basic policies for the purposes of a country

3.1. The Transferring of Limited Rights Model (TLRM) with the highest priority in the Theory of Development Plans [18]

The building-development rights are homogeneous to the immovable property rights in our country. Because of this situation, in principle, an independent property right should be considered as legal norms.[19] Although the right of building has been included into the legislation of conservation through the law [20] in 2004, these rights must be demanded insistently by the community informed on this issue. However, the architects, town planners, engineers and lawyers also are expected to be leading to this demand. The immovable property is not a single right by itself. It also covers the rights of building-development. Besides, within the scope of this right there are also the rights of city, the environment and the living.

In a sense, all of them must be also taken into consideration. However, these potential rights must be also demanded by owners. Nevertheless, it has been late to the creation of this awareness in the public. [21] The assessments in the dealings of real estate between public and private should need to be done by committees at the national level with the same principles, criteria and methods. Besides, these processes with all the qualities and quantities should be realized by keeping

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[17] Kocalar, 2012c.
[18] Kocalar, 2012b.
[19] Kocalar, 2011a.
[20] Law No. 2863.
[21] Kocalar, 2010a.

placement, housing, housing, environmental issues and rights of life in mind and then, equivalents of these must be reimbursed to owners by governments.

In addition, the following topics should be the most priority of subject: [22]
- Cultural, historical, urban, archaeological and natural site assets;
- Coasts, forests, pastures, meadows, grasslands, scrubs, and national parks;
- For the protection of catchment's basins such as dams, under ground and surface water basins, swamps;
- With the precautions taken against the possible natural disasters, forest fires, floods, avalanche blasts, before earthquakes and then,
- For the benefit of public service and order in the urban and the regional-level conservations, renewals and regeneration projects, are the most important issues.

In the means of implementation of development plans, together with the expropriation and changes, the rights of transfer in a contemporary approach, should be based on the realization of the principles of a social state of law. [23] In all over the world, new approaches have been needed to integrate into the theories of planning during recent years. One of these is allocation of the areas of the limited real rights reserves. Even though overdue in this subject, the joining urgent seems mandatory. Because this has been ignored so far, immediate actions on this issue seem necessary.

4. The Transfer Periods after the Historical Past in Türkiye

Both the conservation development plan that transfer is based on and other development plans for protection of coasts, forests, meadows, national parks and water basins are under the title of special-purpose plans. TRANSFER is to be used instead of problem creating and outdated character of binding expropriation, which is an instrument of development plan implementation based on sanctions and one-sided will.

Transfer is a right that requires participation of all parties by taking responsibility and authorization. It is a right that creates rulling through a legal-administrative concept and action and it is supposed to provide solution of problems. Transfer in implementation of development plans, stems from the necessity for utilization of unilaterally limited property and building- development rights for public interest and for public service in other areas. Since transfer is based on right to shelter, settlement and housing as well as the demand for creation of all lost values in other areas, it should be implemented before and instead of all expropriations. [24]

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[22] Kocalar, 2011a.
[23] Kocalar, 2010b.
[24] Kocalar, 2011a.

4.1. The Legalisation in Last Decades with Case Studies

Table 1. Some legal aspects in decades to related with property & development rights

No	Year/ Month	Law # (old law)	Section #	Law Name	Situation	Institution	Subject, Content	New or important terms
1	**2001/ 8**	**4706**	**6**	**Land of Trust**	**New law**	**Trust, Ministry of Finance**	**Evaluation, trust lands**	**Sit Certificate, Lost rights**
2	**2003/ 7**	**4916 (4706)**	**5**	**//**	**Changed**	**//**	**//**	**"Approved" Conservation Development Plan**
3	2004/ 3	5104	All sections	North ANKARA	New law	Ankara Municipality	North ANKARA	Urban regeneration prj
4	**2004/ 5**	**5177 (2863)**	**53**	**Conservation of the Culture & Natural Assets**	**Changed**	**Ministry of Culture & Tourism**	**Coordination**	**Natural parks, Mineral deposits**
5	**2004/ 7**	**5226 (2863)**	**(17/c)**	**//**	**Changed**	**//**	**Culture & Natural Assests**	**Transfer of Property &Development rights**
6	**2004/ 12**	**2273**		**MassHousing Administration**	**New law**	**TOKİ ***	**Authorization, Renewal**	**Mass housing, squatter**
7	2005/7	5393	53	Municipality	New law	Municipalities	New Authorization	Earthquake
8	**2005/ 6**	**5366**	All sections	**Renewal, Conservation, Use, Livebility**	**New law**	Municipalities	**Renewal, Conservation, Use, Livebility**	**(new) Renewal areas, Conciliation management**
9	2005/ 7	5403		Ground protection & Land use			Agriculture	
10	2010/ 6	5998 (5393)	(73)	**Renewal**	**Changed**	**//**	**New Authorizations, Renewal**	**(non- Historical areas) Urban regeneration& development areas**
11	04.07.2011	644		Legislative Decree	**New decisions**	**Council of Ministers**	**Nes Ministers & new authorities into the centre**	**All**
12	17.08.2011	648		**//**	**Changed**	**//**	**//**	**All**
13	26/4/2012	6292	14 sect. (15 pages)	Supporting Development of Forest Villagers	**New law**	**Ministry of Forests and Water + others**	Places from out of limits forest, Treasury of agricultural lands for sale	
14	16/5/2012	6306	25 sect. (12 pages)	Law on Transformation of Disaster Risk Areas	**New law (like frame)**	**Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanization**	**Disaster & Regeneration**	**All**

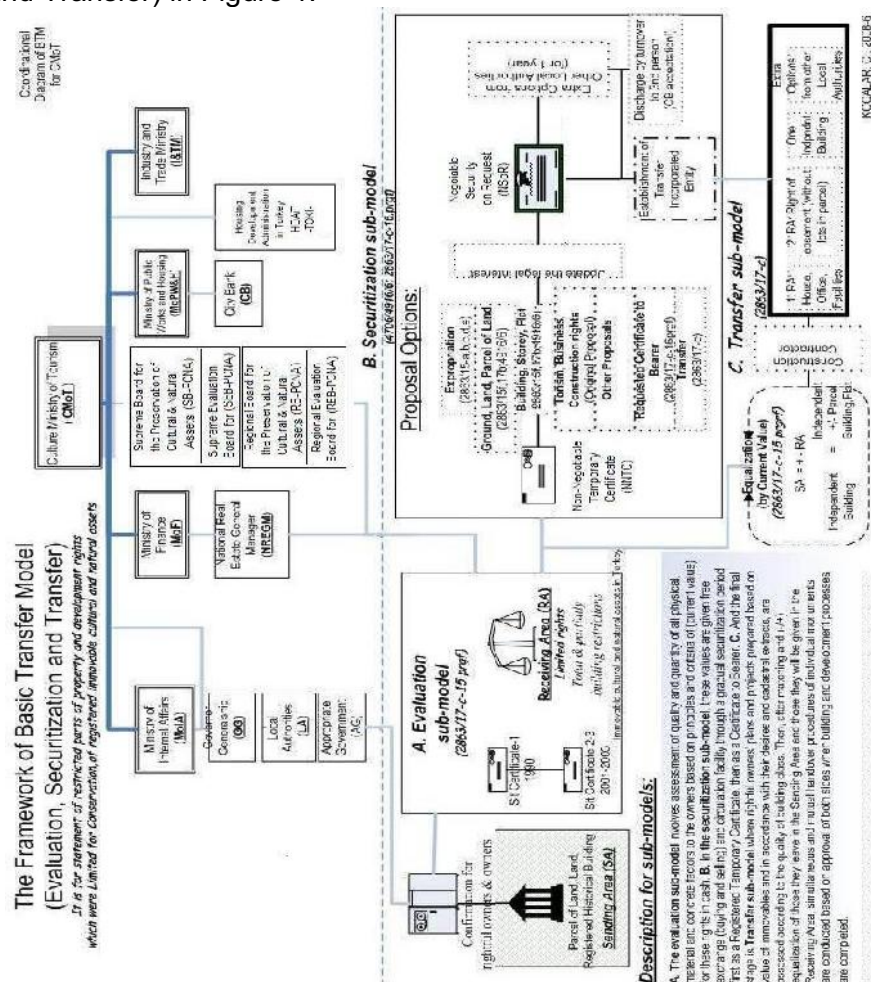*** TOKİ: Mass Housing Administration**

4.2. The Necessary Transfer Regulation

The current Law [25] namely the "Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets", (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu-KTVKK) was amended by the another law [26] of 14th of July, 2004. In the last c[th] paragraph of article [27]

"Transfer regulation should be made as soon as possible."

The meaning and functions in the conservation development plans as well as its conditions have been briefly talked about in the Law without more detailed descriptions of the new terms. Under this framework, not only an option for expropriation, but also an opportunity of transfer development rights is provided for properties that are site certified and without allotment as in Figure-1.[28]

Transfer is a process, which is planned in a very detailed ways, consisting of three stages that are handled in a comprehensive manner within the framework of Basic Transfer Model. (Evaluation, Securitization and Transfer) in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The Basic Transfer Model (BTM) with 3 sub-models (ESM, SSM, TSM) (Kocalar, A.C., 2009)

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[25] The Law No. 2863.
[26] The Law No. 5226.
[27] The Law No. 2863, Article/Sub-section No. 17/c.
[28] Kocalar, 2009.

5. The Basic Transfer Model (The Framework of the BTM) Processes

This research anticipates that 25-year-old unsolved problems on protection of Registered Immovable Cultural and Natural Monuments in Türkiye can be addressed through implementation of Basic Transfer Model involving sequential and comprehensive applications of Evaluation, Securitization and Transfer sub-models as in Figure-1 in a transition period of 5 years on average.

The implementation programs to be realized under Basic Transfer Model and three related sub-models, designed as an alternative development plan implementation to expropriation will not provide only short term solution to complicated problems but also it is anticipated that this improvement process should be supported by some middle and long term developments.

It also covers on coordination between all organizational units for Ministry of Culture and Tourism with other Ministries in Figure-1. This framework is detailed with a complex structure which proposes new options for owners, speculators and market-regulation partners for setting up a new free real property market which also needs to work for a long time.
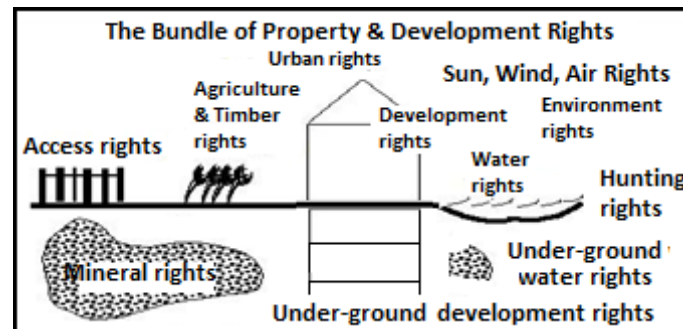
5.1. The First Step in BTM: Evaluation Sub-Model (ESM) Process

The evaluation sub-model involves assessment of quality and quantity of all physical, material and concrete factors to the owners based on principles and criteria of (current value) for statement of restricted parts of property building-development rights, which were limited for conservation, of Registered Immovable Cultural and Natural Monuments in cash. [16]

Evaluation steps starts firstly with property rights, then comes their development rights. In this study, if owners want, their development rights can be separated by their property without allotment.

5.1.1. The Bundle of Property Rights

The bundle of rights that comes with a piece of property has some details which can be showed by the following Figure 2. All these rights will be used by the evaluation sub-model.

Figure 2. The bundle of property rights (physical and legally enforceable rights)

Some physical rights, depicted in Figure 1, include the rights to build, exploit natural resources, and restrict access and farm. Other legally rights include the right to sell the land, subdivide it, rent it out or grant easements across it.[29] Evaluation process for property and development rights is a first and difficult step in this study.

5.1.2. Property Rights for Proposed Model (ESM)

Three related tables (with first rows) for definition in property rights created by Ph. D. dissertation, are explained as follows.[30]

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[29] Marquitz, 2004.
[30] Kocalar, 2009, s. 409-412

Table 1. A list for immovable property samples (IPS) [1.list for property]

Property samples — Kocalar, C., 2007/6
1 Building (please look at the Table 2)
2 Land
3 Ground
4 Land of Cultural and Natural Assets
5 Garden bed, vineyards and orchards
6 Agricultural land
7 Normal – Natural land
8 Forest land, Woodland
9 Steppe
10 Pasture, Summer pasture, Meadow, Grassland
11 Tourist foundation land
12 Plant land or ground
13 Industry land area or land ground
14 Commercial land or land ground
15 Trading land or land ground
16 Other immovable property or real estate

Firstly, a list for immovable property samples (IPS) defined [as a 1. list for property] in the Table 1. Then secondly, property rights for a structure (PRS) (building) [as a 2.list for property] defined in the Table 2. Lastly, a position list for immovable property rights (IPR) [as a 3.list for property] defined in the Table 3. Samples of Property Rights for a Structure (building). The first rows in every tables supply relational connection for transition between tables. Then, three forms created by the dissertation are to fill during the process in according to these tables. After all, evaluation criterions for immovables created as a 1st (form) format in six pages, it is named by immovable evaluation criterions format (IECF) (DSAF in Turkish).[31] It is filled by every transfer application for the Regional Evaluation Board for the Preservation of Cultural & Natural Assets (REB-PoC&NA) which will be evaluated by it.

Table 3. A position list for immovable property rights (IPR) [3.list for property]

Samples of position for Property Rights
1. Lot of ownership
2.   Ownership with sharing (Partnership for
3. Ownership divided into shares
4. Ownership for one possessor
5. Pure ownership right
6. Servitudes
6a. For development
6b. For the other cases
6c. Profiting right
6d. Sitting right
6e. Upper part right
7. Spring water right
8. Immovable task (or responsibility)
9. Immovable security (pledge)
10. Immovable mortgage
11. Other property rights
KOCALAR, A.C., 2008

IECF: Immovable Evaluation Criterions Format (IECF) – (DSAF: TAŞINMAZ DEĞERLEME ÖLÇÜTLERİ BİLGİ VE BELGE DEĞERLENDİRME SONUÇLARI ANA FORMATI in Turkish)
This board (or commission) evaluates by this transfer request and is filled another 2nd form which is named by immovable evaluation format (IEF) (TDF in Turkish) for transferring right. [32]

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[31] Kocalar, 2009, s. 413-418.
[32] Kocalar, 2009, s. 419.

IEF: Immovable Evaluation Format – (TDF: AKTARILACAK HAKKIN TAŞINMAZINI DEĞERLENDİRME FORMATI in Turkish)

Lastly, board calculates transferred last value by 3rd form which is named by Evaluation Result Format (ERF) (DSF in Turkish).[33]

ERF: Evaluation Result Format - (DSF: DEĞERLENDİRME SONUÇLARI FORMATI in Turkish)
All this complicated process will be realized by an Evaluation Board of Conservation Area which is proposed by this dissertation firstly to be depended by Ministry of Culture and Tourism. [34]

Evaluation sub-model details can be showed by the following sub-Figure 1. related part with ESM. Other details can be found by that paper [35] and that dissertation. [36]

All exchange actions for immovables that take place between public and private owners are evaluated based on the same principles, criteria and methods, and the process would benefit grately from the results of this. Urbanization, environmental, human and living rights can be given by different values in this model where the parties involved agree mutually acceptable points (items to be conceded and advantaged to be received. The agreement concerning real property immovables can be evaluated by the same method (-/+ counterbalanced).

The Kocalar's paper has been proposed to serve these needs again. [37] Besides practical and innovative integrated solutions to many problems about evaluation are mentioned in the conclusion of this research.

5.2. The Ecological Approach in the Development Plans and BTM

Cultural and natural values are not only the inhabitant of the place but also the nation, and even international and actually the whole humanity's common wealth. Humanity's socioeconomic, political, cultural and in sum vital steps that stage solidly the interdisciplinary vital development state. In short, for contributing to humanity, the cultural and natural values have to be preserved as a vital step.

The national regulations that will be applied for the to be preserved values are rules and regulations about culture and nature wealth, shore, environment, underground waters, River, Forest, National park, protected areas, historical sites, and also Bosporus, Industry, Technological development, Tourism encouragement, Private Environment protection regions.

Thanks to the fact that the concept ecosystem, which presented holistic approach to the ecology, has become very important in the last century, increasing sensitivity within the framework of protection of architectural heritage is observed among the countries. This framework exceeds beyond the limits of historical, archaeological, artistic and scientific limits and even covers social and technical aspects.

Under the present circumstances where abstract rights are expected to be under discussion, methods regarding the transfer of development rights which is suggested with a systematic point of view and brought up with an approach of heightened applicability with the provison that interacting coordination between actors is provided, is becoming increasingly important. Because the comprehensiveness of this method based on a holistic approach, as well as the variety of its field

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[33] Kocalar, 2009, s. 420.
[34] Kocalar, 2009, s. 257.
[35] Kocalar, 2010a.
[36] Kocalar, 2009
[37] Kocalar, 2010a.

of applications is becoming a suggestion for a solution which can overcome administrative gaps and conflicts occurring as a result of trending away from holism due to an authority chaos in the prevailing national legislation.

The decisions regarding the preservation, which are taken according to the legislations in this matter and preservation plans should also be presented in each private property schemes. Accordingly, each right that is a subject of private property should be evaluated and gathered under a certain systematic and these should classified in relation to their subject and thereby transformed to other fields. The very process mentioned above formulates the main theme of the notice.

Thereby within Basic Transfer Model, which forms a base for Evaluation, Securitization, and Transfer, there is a possibility to transfer these rights to another field.

5.3. The Security Sub-model (SSM) Process after Evaluation Phase

My research proposes a new process for securitization phase after evaluation phase.

5.3.1. Legal Aspects or Basis

Some recent application approaches in the conservation and renewal fields with the legal aspects in Turkey has been explained with Table 1 in that announcement.[38] The 16th paragraph of article 17th of the law [39] also covers securitization of the rights of the owners in return for their old site certificates.

"of property and building rights limited ... are transformed into stocks and bonds written to the bearer"

But this regulation is not enough in point of view realities of our country now that some new regulations added for this aim in securitization sub-model in this research.

The old Site Certificate [40] should have been changed with new certificate "name written" or "non-negotiable temporary certificate" (nNTC) and then "negotiable security on request" (NSoR) in which the securitization sub-model's details can be showed by sub-Figure 1 related part with SSM.

This certificates should be written in ther name of the possessor, to be used by them directly for three years. This period is limited to three years, and must be allowed to be used for the necessary compensation with their Local Authorities, because this local solution is especially limited but also more secure in order to keep up possessors' rights so that they do not lose their certificates in the process of exchange.

This process is realized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, who similarly supply authorization simultainously in advance to those organizations; other Ministiries, local governments and land owners and possessors, İller Bankası . These details can be found with figures in the different application senarios In the last announcement. [41]

After three years, if possessors prefer to liquidate their certificates realize them with other Local Government bodies, they are allowed to exchange their Certificate for a NSoR, which means they gain a second one year period.

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[38] Kocalar, 2010b.
[39] The Law No. 2863.
[40] The Law No.4706/29.8.2001 amended as Law No.4916/3.7.2003.
[41] Kocalar, 2010b.

5.4. The Transfer Sub-model (TSM) Process after Securitization Phase

5.4.1. The Position and Meaning of Transfer in the Law (Law No. 2863/17-c) with Comparison

Governorship and Local Government authorized for that result in spite of using 10 times transfer without any definition in the 17th article [42] which is amended by the another law [43] at the 14th of July, 2004.

This changing between the statements of in the 17th article [44] and its changing reasons at the 2nd of July, 2004 in the law [45] contains contradiction.
"transfer is not being only single-changed owners in a land-building land, a contemporary tool which shall be using of principles and criteria actually providing a balance between the public interest and individual and corporate ownership.."
In this case, transfer like confiscating opportunity is bring to mind from expropriation. In view of transformation a tool as risky that is applied with the public power as partly. Because of this, transfer has been made describing with its principles, methods and outcomes in the following three sub-sections.

Expropriation is being known for making criticism in community by everybody. Nonetheless it is starting "public" word namely in Turkish in its Law, Expropriation also "for the benefit of individually (truth person)" or application of (purchasing or bartering) methods retroactive expropriation had been possible in the course of time. [46]

After finished these steps, it has been constituted for agreeing more with respecting to urban, environmental, human and living rights where using for conditions of accommodation, housing, sheltering, building, development, life and human rights. At this point, historical process in these rights had been arrived at transfer because of using with necessities. The principles and methods of transfer are more stable and democratic, but all these tasks will be realized timely in these acceptable conditions by partners in market. In this sense, there are some important properties of transfer which should not be ever forgotten in the detailed transfer development application programs in following:

-Transfer is based on participations and approvals of both sides,
-Through taking of task, authorization and responsibility, and deciding together, made not bringing any problem in past.
-But Local Governments haven't been completed and approved with Conservation Development Plan which is also mandatory with high priority as the first step of transfer for twenty-one (21) years totally yet, other than realized of transfer in the Law. Because of this, after twenty-one (21) years, it has been necessity for the extra four (4) years more, for fear that solved and made plan.
-Local Governments are the joint owner of the fields (1st, 2nd) at most generally in all process. It is also required to manage every important relational works from beginning to end in this locally conditions, by establishing reciprocal easement. Local Governments will establish a simple partnership (Transfer Incorporated Entity-TIE) with private owners, leadership (as most have a share) will carry out this scheme. Hence transfer, the participation of all other owners, according to a program that will be realized and thus the legal requirements will be fulfilled.

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[42] The Law No. 2863, Article/Sub-section No. 17/c.
[43] The Law No. 5226.
[44] The Law No. 2863, Article/Sub-section No. 17/c.
[45] The Law No. 5226.
[46] The Law No. 2942, at 4th of November, 1983, The Expropriation Law-EL, Article No. 1/2, 5/c and also Articles No. 8, 26. (The Main Law No. 2942 was amended by another Law-No. 4650 at the 24th of April, 2001.)

These causes and reasons, the transfer across the country a comprehensive editing, top centre duties, powers, responsibilities, control and coordination functions under the leadership of Culture and Tourism Ministry by three Ministries, three Headquarters with all the municipalities and the Governor also will join a large program organization. That organization can solve big problems with the above mentioned. Here it is! The basic transfer model which is the product of an integrated approach (Evaluation sub-model, Securitization[47] sub-model, and Transfer sub-model) has been provided for these purposes.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Some Proposals for Transfer Regulation

The current law (act) with the number of 2863, namely the "Conservation Act of Cultural and Natural Assets-CACNA", (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu-KTVKK) was changed by the another law [48] [49] in the current law-2863's last paragraph of 17th item;

"Transfer regulation should be made as soon as possible."

The author's dissertation contains also proposals which are about regulations consists of;

-50 sub-proposals in 28 pages, also 21 units of important terms or concepts with proposed descriptions.

-73 units of concepts are also proposed by the dictionary of the author's dissertation separately.

Its meaning and functions in the conservation development plans as well as its conditions have been shortly talked about in the Act without more detailed descriptions for new terms so that the Kocalar's dissertation [50] has been proposed to serve this need. The dissertation also covers another appendix in which some changes proposed to be written arguments in the Protection Law. [51]

6.2. The most important reasons for the implementation of the transfer:

• Plan on the property due to the limited real estate and construction-development rights transfer with the necessity of concrete and abstract elements.

• Reasons for the limitation of rights on real estate,

• Conservation for natural and cultural heritage protection works:

(Green Fields: Forest, pasture and rangeland, shrub heaths, pasture, National parks, etc)

(Water basins: the dam, marsh, coastal, ground and surface waters, etc.)

(Sites: Historical, Urban, Archaeological, Natural, Agricultural, etc.)
• Urban conservation and renewal or

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[47] Securitization means; "real estate securities to make"

[48] The Law No. 5226.

[49] (An important point for this item: The Main Act was changed by another Act #: 5226 at the 14th of July, 2004) (The Main Act was changed two times:1987, 2004)

[50] Kocalar, 2009.

[51] The Law No. 2863, 17th article.

•Urban regeneration purpose of planning studies,

• Natural disaster (bushfire, flood, earthquake, avalanche) (pre- or later) development plan for prevention aimed applications,

• Transfer of all rows 8-24 in Table 1 (Special purpose physical plans) can be applied, as

• In addition, on the practices of all local, regional and urban regeneration development plan,

Transfer of limited rights for public aimed can be used with all the details.

6.3. Shortly;

In order for Conservation of Registered Cultural and Natural Monuments in utilization of individual and corporate ownership, a Conservation Development Plan needs to implemented by limiting private and corporate property and development rights of certain development restricts, and by limiting the development rights of partially development restricts, and it should go hand in hand with a Basic Transfer Model developed through the help of legal counsel sound proposals in line with the legislation. Transfer is a process consisting of three stages that are handled in a comprehensive manner within the framework of BTM.

The first stage, namely Evaluation sub-model, involves statement of Registered Immovable Cultural and Natural Monuments in cash, through assessment of quality and quantity of all physical, material and concrete factors that restricted parts of property and building-development rights, which were limited for conservation, provides to its owners, based on principles and criteria of current value.

In the securitization sub-model, these values are given free exchange (buying and selling) and the facility of circulation through a gradual securitization period, first as a "name written" or "non-negotiable" temporary certificate (nNTC), then as a negotiable security on request(NSoR).

And the final stage is Transfer sub-model where rightful owners' plans and projects prepared based on value of immovables and in accordance with their desires and cadastral extracts, is assessed according to the quality of building class.

Then, after matching and (-/+) equalization of those they leave in the Sending Area and those they will be given in the Receiving Area, simultaneous and mutual handover procedures of individual monuments are conducted based on approval of both sides when building and development processes are completed.

6.4. Timing and Future with new Case Studies

6.4.1. Short Comparative Innovations for BTM that Meet Expropriation

The subjects which are before in with/without disaster by revised models[52], urban regeneration[53], conservation and renewal are in scope of basic transfer model (BTM). It also constitute the reasons of expropriation since these subjects are based on public interest.

However the choice between the compensation offered by the Evaluation Board of Conservation Area and the option corresponding to their situation according to the Expropriation Law [54] that has

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[52] Kocalar, 2011b.
[53] Kocalar, 2012d.
[54] The Law No. 2863, The Expropriation Act, Item #: 8, 26

also been added "purchase procedure" to compensation and barter concepts; is left to the owner of the rights by Basic Transfer Model (BTM).

It is clearly observed that expropriation of the immovable property is the last resort after trying to purchase or barter procedures according to the Expropriation Act. As a result, according to this model, public institutes can buy the immovable properties of the possessors who prefer the option to expropriate, or they can propose barter for other properties.

In Basic Transfer Model, an extra period of one year is granted for those who prefer barter or expropriation with Foreign Local Managements after the three years granted for barter or expropriation with Local Managements before the transfer. However for all the options it is anticipated that the final value is taken as a basis by the Evaluation Board of Conservation Area.

The reasons for the expropriation, the principles, criteria and methodologies of the applied transfer are very different. While expropriation can be carried out on behalf of individuals as specified by the Expropriation Act (Expropriation Act, Item #: 5/c and 6/h paragraphs), it is done in an equal manner between all of the owners and possessors according to the transfer sub-model.

However, in the future, public institutions and organizations may assume an assuring and conciliatory coordinating role in transfers done between individuals. It is assumed and planned that basic transfer model will create the same life opportunities in the new transfer domains as if the real properties were transferred. In doing this, concrete as well as abstract human rights such as sheltering, habitation, healthy environment, settling, urbanization are taken into consideration in terms of all aspects such as quality and quantity.

6.4.2. The research in future should be focusing on…

Some milestones which are regulation and bulletins of transfer development rights should be approved during the short-term. A draft regulation was proposed with Ph.D. thesis in the beginning of the last year. Also bulletins for İller Bankası, Local Authorities should be exposed by themselves to be related regulations about transfer.

Transfer should be subject of an independent law code in the middle-term. This law should be given functionality by stating precisely the definition, content, principles and procedures of transfer; and by making by-laws, regulations and rules based on concepts and fundamentals of building, development as well as evaluation and securitization of Immovable Cultural and Natural Monuments.

Furthermore, in the long run concerned awareness of community should be increased in a way to comprehend that the concept of transfer is based on accommodation, housing, sheltering, building, development, life and human rights; and building-development and transfer concepts and rights should be included independently in the constitution while being regulated under different laws. Since this model enables Transfer to be used as a contemporary mechanism not only for Implementation of Development Plans for Conservation but also for all applications of conservation and development plans with urban regeneration[55], especially for before disaster[56], sometimes this research anticipates its organization in this way.

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[55] Kocalar, 2012d.
[56] Kocalar, 2012a.

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Appropriating the urban spatial structure of the great cities future plans and the local heritage
An analytical comparative study based on variant cases

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Keywords: Urban, spatial structure, Great Cities, Future plans, Local heritage.

1 Introduction:

Appropriating between the requirements of the growing economical demands as a global change affected the great cities and the local heritage, it has been one of the prior problems for the urban specialists and the local governments, this issue is more clear in the cases of the great cities enjoying a unique historical local heritage with exist historical districts and landmark buildings.

The new millennium has came with a global image of the contemporary and the future great cities, this image is manly related to the common current economical concepts which became prevalent, the today urban successful great cities are those cities which considered as global cities and at the same time still has its unique local heritage, cities like Paris, Istanbul represent the concept of today global cities with its own identical urban heritage.

Exist historical districts with its monumental classic character buildings and its local urban character is the time gift for these cities, and the main urban component gives their cities a unique image gathering the advantages of the future and past times.

The research problem: Great cities with unique identical heritage are facing current and future challenges to preserve their local heritage against the global changes which affected the urban spatial structures of today historical cities over the last decades as an indirect result of the global economic system, the image of the global city as mentioned before was spread and its effects were clear in the world great cities urban spatial structure.

These global urban changes may be not considered as an urban problem for those cities which Emerged and flourished in the modern Eras, however it's considered as a major urban dilemma for the historical cities especially those which still having a unique identical heritage like Istanbul, Cairo for instance.

The research problem is how to Appropriate between the urban spatial structure of the great cities future plans and its local heritage, considering the impact of the growing global economical functions and the related land uses demands, and so on.

According to the explained previously, the problem could be re-formulation as to find a suitable spatial organization for the functional zones of the great cities in which the urban features of the "CBD" is not affected the historical heart of the city visually and functionally.

The study hypothesis: that there is an urban conflict between the meeting of the new spatial organization of today and future great cities and there local heritage, because that the great cities future plans will related to a common urban spatial structure with functional zones having a specified land uses which connected to each other by a spatial organization in which it can implement its urban functions efficiently, this mentioned urban spatial structure mean that the great

cities will respond to the global market demands as a part of the globalization process, which ignored the concepts of local heritage and lead to the concept of global cities lacking the local identity and having a common repeated image.

So there is a need for more studies to set criteria and norms help the urban designers and decision makers to set future plans for great cities with unique local heritage appropriating between the urban spatial structure and the local heritage.
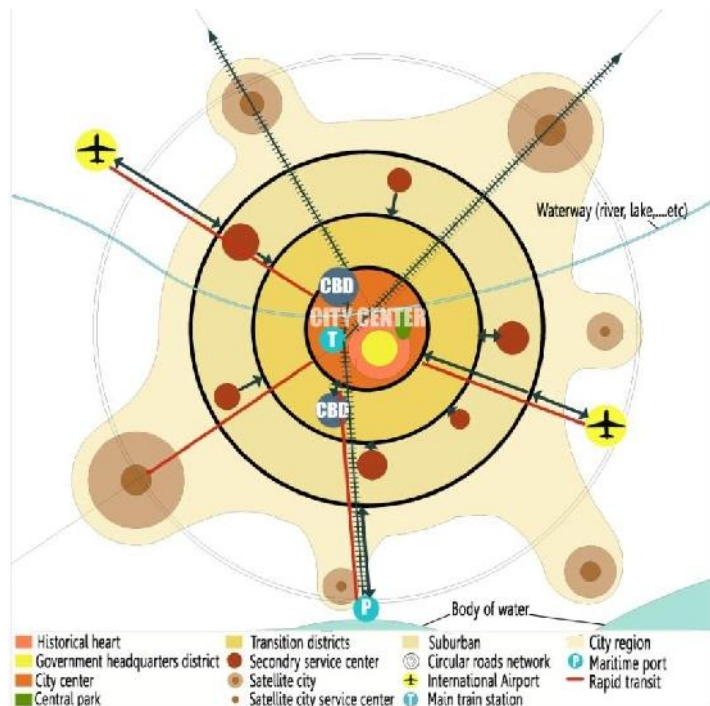
The main aim is to present urban lessons of real actual cases for Appropriating between the urban spatial structures of the global great cities and on the other hand the conserving of its local heritage.

These urban lessons would be as a guideline for the urban designers and the municipal principles who are involved in the process of preparing, making the decisions of the future plans of their great cities.

The methodology of the study In order to understand how to appropriate the urban spatial structure of the great cities future plans and the local heritage three cases of great cities enjoying a unique remarkable local heritage were chosen Cairo, Istanbul, London * as three variant great cities study cases, an analytical comparative study were applied on the study cases, including

Figure 1: the globalization in the last few decades lead the great cities of the world to be reformed into a common repeated urban spatial structure[1]

making a comparison between the following characteristics: basic data about area, population, density, the current urban spatial structure, the nature of the sites (geography) and its impact on the local heritage , and the urban image (cityscape, skyline) of these cities as a direct indicator showing how far each city managed to appropriate between the needs of the urban spatial structure and the respecting of the local heritage.

An analytical study was done based on the results of the comparison study, the comparison of the urban image (skyline, cityscape) was used as a visual evidence showing clearly the differences between the three chosen cases.

The results were formed as actual urban lessons to be used in the process of preparing the future plans by appropriating between the urban spatial structure needs and the local heritage.

2 The relationship between the globalization and the urban spatial structure of the great cities

The globalization effects on the urban spatial structure of great cities had begun early in the middle of the last century as the image of the great city was related to the united states major cities notably New York, which was a great city with strong economy hosted in the "CBD" the economical heart of the city, and soon the concept of the "CBD", was spread and became now a main urban component of the great cities as a hub for its economic financial activities, these activities besides the usual common urban activities in great cities were effected widely with the globalization especially in the last few decades as a result of the global economy system, the continuous progress in the communication technologies, global transportation, construction technologies, lead the urban structure of world great cities to be reformed into a common repeated urban spatial structure with functional zones connected together by an advance roads network and the whole great city connected to surrounding local regions and the world at the same time [1] (see figure 1).

The economic restructuring on a global level have their impact on local situations and developments1

Now successful great cities are cities which are well connected and responding to the global system and at the same time still having their local identity inspired by their heritage, those cities are attractive destinations to the visitors from all over the world, those cities are the "Global cities"[2]

2.1 How the needs of a successful great city urban spatial structure could affect the

Figure 2: The image of the global cities with the absence of the local heritage, left image Singapore, right image Dubai.

Local heritage in bad way?

The economic function in the great cities is linked with the other functions of today great cities, on the other hand the economic effects is related to the global system which is basically could be considered as an economic system, the conversion of this global economy system into the urban language appeared in the great cities as the new urban spatial structure, this new urban spatial structure with its urban components and features is necessary for the today economy successful great cities and is not considered as an urban problem for the cities of new world or the cities which established and flourished in the modern eras, these cities don't have historical districts, buildings, aren't facing any challenge between their local heritage and the globalization, they have the image of the global cities with the absence of the local heritage (see figure 2), and they trying to emphasize the exits of their local heritage in their urban context, for example, Dubai, Singapore.

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[2]P. Marcuse and R. Van Kem, (2000) Globalizing Cities, A new spatial order, London Blackwell publishers; P.5.
[3]P. Marcuse and R. Van Kem, Previous reference, P.46.

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However the needs and requirements of the new urban spatial structure could be harmful for historical cities and their unique local heritage, the rabid grow of the economical functions need more spaces and has an urban character featured by the high rise office buildings, at the same time these economic functions attract the immigrants from the city region and the surrounding regions, which mean more pressure on the housing, services, roads networks1, the character of these growing functional districts zones is always not matching with the historical districts zone, and some time they destroy the urban value of the original skyline

Figure 3: pyramids area in Giza (west of Greater Cairo)

of the historical districts, and the appearance of the historical landmarks, a clear example of these bad effects of the needs of a great city urban spatial structure is what happened to the pyramids area in Greater Cairo by the continuous urban grow according to the economic changes (see figure 3).

[1] P. Marcuse and R. Van Kem, (2000) "Globalizing Cities, A new spatial order", In: William W. Goldsmith, **From the Metropolis to Globalization: The Dialectics of Race and Urban form**, London, Blackwell publishers; P. 37-49.

3 A comparison study on three variant great cities cases in order to recognize the different urban solutions that could be used to appropriate the urban spatial structure of the great cities future plans and the local heritage

The actual real-experiments in the urban studies field always represent applicable ideas and concepts, the time factor is initial to judge an urban experiment, the results of applying a master scheme for a great city couldn't be completely realized even on the target time, sometimes the final results could be realized and the results are being embodied successfully after Period of time greater than expected.

That's what emphasizes the feasibility of making a comparison study on realistic case studies showing the results of accumulate consecutive master plans, and giving a chance to evaluate and assess the urban experiences in the issue of dealing with future plans of the great cities with historical districts overlapping and coherent with the contemporary modern districts.

The analytical criticism of these urban experiments would offer some suitable urban lessons and applicable at the same time, notably in the urban problem of how to appropriate the urban spatial structure of the great cities future plans and the local heritage, there are many different concepts, visions, about that urban problem, and it's hard for the urban experts to make decisions to satisfy all those associated to the problem.

3.1 The Criteria in which the study cases were chosen

There were three study cases chosen to make the comparison study, Cairo, Istanbul, London*, these cities have experienced the challenge of globalization and its threats on the local heritage

The choice of the study cases was based on the following criteria:

- All the selected cities are historical cities, still enjoying historical urban context, with remarkable monuments, vistas, landmarks.
- The four cases are well-known great cities, they represent the idea of the global city enjoying local heritage and facing challenges to appropriate between their local heritage and the globalization effects.
- All the cases are global cities with a current urban spatial structure responded to the globalization effects.
- The three cases were showing different solutions of dealing with the historical districts and buildings for extended periods.
- The local conditions differences between the three cases in topography, geography, economy, culture and social life, and the civilization differences represent the idea of a global urban spatial structure and different local heritages.

3.2   Determining the criteria of the comparison

The comparison study was depended on studying the results of the urban decisions which forming the current image of the case study cities, which mean studying the image of the city, and the urban development policies, not studying laws and regulations of each case, but making comparative analyze for the urban product to reach the suitable visions and policies which should be respected during the process of making great cities future plans.

The comparison between the selected cases was based on the determining of the main aim of the comparison which was to recognize and experience the variant actual urban real-experiments in dealing with how to appropriate between the future requirements of the urban spatial structure of a great city and the conservation of the local heritage of the historical context.

I debated that the current urban spatial structure is a clear tool to measure the dealing with the historical districts and its spatial relation with the other urban components of the temporary great cities; on the other hand the image of the city is a direct embodiment of the results of the long term urban policies, based on the foregoing the criteria of the comparison were:

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* The three cases were arranged according to the alphabetical order.

1 The current urban spatial structure and the appropriate between global demands and the conservation of the local heritage

This examination criterion includes the following points:

- Description of the current urban mass.

- Urban description of the historical heart.

- Spatial position of the historical heart and the "CBD's".

- The main roads network, int. airports, and the historical heart.

2 The geographical characteristics of the site and its effect on the historical core

3 The main urban policies of the Last decades master plans and the dealing with the future spatial structure and the local heritage

4 The current visual image of the city

Compared the physical aspects of the city, this comparison depended on how far the city has an Image-ability, which mean the ability of the city to have a legible image, comparison was focusing on the studying of the cityscape and the skyline as tools to measure how far each city succeeded to appropriate between the urban spatial structure related to global economy needs and local heritage by its visual image.

3.3 The comparison between the great three cities of Cairo, Istanbul, London

A brief about the study cases: The aim of this brief was to give some basic information about the three cases as follows:

Cairo: the capital of Egypt and the largest city in the Arab world and Africa, and the 16th largest metropolitan area in the world Located near the Nile Delta, Cairo has long been a centre of the region's political and cultural life.

Istanbul: The largest city in Turkey, forming the country's economic, cultural, and historical heart, the city is the second-largest urban area in Europe.

London: Is the capital city of England and the United Kingdom, the largest metropolitan area in the United Kingdom, and the largest urban zone in the European Union by most measures1.
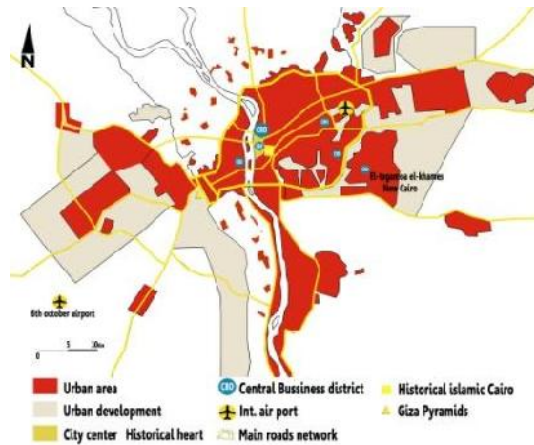
3.3.1 The current urban spatial structure and the appropriate between global demands and the conservation of the local heritage

How far the current urban spatial structure has responded to the global demands?
And what was the impact on the conservation of the local heritage?

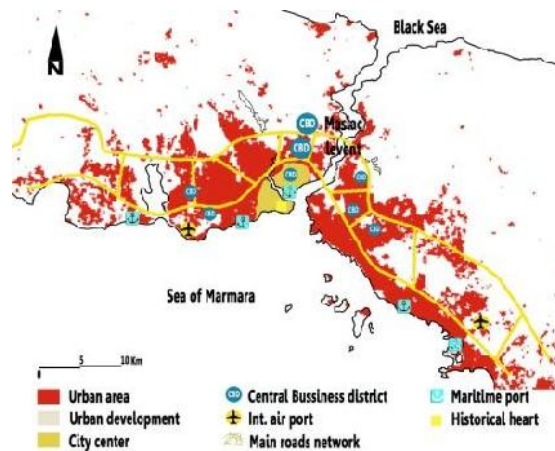### 3.3.1. A the description of the current urban mass:

Cairo the city shape is consists of several contiguous urban masses with irregular and geometrical shapes so the description of the current growing urban mass is a main urban mass growing in irregular ring shape around the city center, in addition to a southern longitudinal extension, the

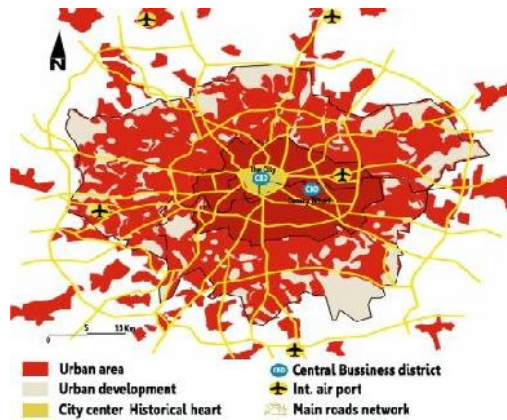current population is 17,816,000 the city area is 1,709 km2, the density is 10,400 /km2, see figure 4-a.

Figure4-a Cairo current urban mass

The main urban mass of **Istanbul** is a linear urban developed for more than sixty kilometers along the Marmara shores, divided almost equally between the two sides of the city, Europe and Asia, the city center is at the same time the historical heart of the city located on a natural peninsula to the south of the golden Horn (west of Bosphorus) in an almost central distance between the Aisha part and the Europe side part, the current population is 17,816,000 the city area is 1,709 km2, the density is 10,400/km2, see figure 4-b.

Figure4-b Istanbul current urban mass

London current urban mass has a ring shape; city center is at the center of gravity of the city urban mass, the historical heart is located at the city center which is the pole of the city growth, the current population is 13,576,000 the city area is 1,399 km2, the density is 9,700 /km2, , see figure 4-c.

Figure4-c London current urban mass

However the urban mass shapes were different but the three cases have the same urban spatial structure

3.3.1. B the urban description of the historical heart

Cairo is a special case; it has two adjacent historical districts forming a historical hub, (see figure no. 5). The Islamic Cairo, still having the urban character of the medieval Islamic cities, the other district is the current city center, and it is an example of the 19th century Europe classical cities, called the "khedivial Cairo" with radio-centric squares planning.

Figure 5: Islamic Cairo (left), city center, "Khedivial Cairo" (right)

In addition Cairo has a unique historical site in the west of the city, the famous Pyramids of Giza.

Istanbul the urban characteristics of the historical heart is which makes Istanbul distinctive among the world cities, the old city still characterized by its cultural, historical, and architectural monuments of Roman, Byzantine and much of the Ottoman architectural heritage, In addition of extensive pedestrian walks and open spaces, However the Peninsula also hosts a high density of population and small businesses.

Figure 6: The historical peninsula of Istanbul

London the City and Westminster are forming London's economical and historical heart at the same time, The urban character derives from there long history and role as a major International financial centre, These factors have resulted in a townscape of great complexity and diversity, It's an embodiment of the conflict between the global economy needs and the local heritage, there is no exist of a dominate urban character (see figure no. 7)

Figure 7: there is no existing of dominate urban

3.3.1. C spatial position of the historical heart and the "CBD" centers

Cairo the districts of the historical heart are located in central position of the whole city mass, surrounding on four sides by several "CBD's", however the west side of the "Khedivial Cairo" is bounded by a natural limit the Nile river, however this natural advantage is threatened by the spreading of central business land-uses on the river banks.[1]
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_urban_areas_by_population

There is no exist of a main "CBD", but the developed corridor along the Nile east bank adjacent to the current city center is planned to be the future main "CBD", the advantage of this position that it's not interfere visually with the skyline of the historical heart[1]

Istanbul the historical heart enjoying natural boundaries as it's located in a peninsula , the water bodies offering a natural urban protection for the historical heart, notably that the peninsula is located in an almost central position of the other urban components of the city, facing the main "CBD" centers in the north urban development corridor "Levent" and "Maslac" characterized by high rise buildings and showing a clear example of the globalization urban effects and the growing economic urban needs, another "CBD" in the quarter of "Kozyatağı" on the Asian side[2].

London As the city is London's financial and commercial centre, so it's considered as the main "CBD" of London, which mean that both the economic, financial land-use are existing at the same district with the historical, landmarks, vistas land-use.

In addition of another "CBD" "Canary wharf" located in the east of the city, out of the historical heart of London[3]

3.3.1. D The main roads network, int. airports, and the historical heart

Cairo the traffic system depends on a main ring road surrounding the main urban mass of the city, see figure1, as well there is a southern corridor connecting the southern longitudinal extension with the main ring road.

The historical heart is located in an internal central position of the main ring road, the city has one main international airport at the east of the city, it's now inside the city urban mass, about 12 km of the historical heart, there is another airport located to the west of the outer-skirt of the city in the south of 6th October city, it's considered to be the second international airport in Cairo future plans[1]

Istanbul the main roads network depends on both ring and arterial roads; the "O-1" is the inner ring road connecting the European and Asian sides through the Bosphorus Bridge.

The O-1 is better suited for local traffic. The historical heart is, from north to south, spanned by the Haliç Bridge (which carries the O-1), the Atatürk Bridge, and the Galata Bridge. Istanbul is also traversed by a number of arterial avenues that do not follow an apparent systematic layout [2]

There are two int. air ports; the main is Atatürk air port west of the historical heart.

London the main roads network is depended in the concept of ring roads which is suitable to the ring growth of the city, London city center where the historical heart exist is surrounded by the inner ring road, In 2003, a congestion charge was introduced to reduce traffic volumes in the city centre, Over the course of several years, the average number of cars entering the centre of London on a weekday was reduced from 195,000 to 125,000[3].

There are 8 air ports in London, London Heathrow Airport, in Hillingdon, West London, is the busiest airport in the world for international traffic.

3.3.2 The geographical characteristics of the site and its effect on the historical core

Cairo the most important about the geographical site is the site location on the head of the Nile delta, the Nile is crossing the urban mass separated the historical heart on the east bank from the rest of the city in the west side, in addition there is two high plateaus, "El-mokattam" at the east of the Islamic Cairo with a panoramic view on the Islamic Cairo and the historical center of the city, and the Giza Pyramids plateau at the west of the city.

Istanbul very few cities have such a compartmentalized geography, situated on two narrow peninsulas separated by the Bosporus, the northern shores of either landmass are covered by ecologically sensitive forests, water catchments, as well the city has a unique geography the site has a unique topography too, allows for unexpected vistas of the Bosporus, Golden Horn and the Marmara Sea.

Steep hills, valleys, and the sinuous curves of the Bosporus dramatically shape the city's urban pattern, these geographical characteristics adding more identity to the local heritage of Istanbul[4].

London the most important geographical feature of London is the river of Thames, which is a navigable river which crosses the city from the south-west to the east, as any water body the Thames offering the possibility of the visibility of the city skyline, which showing the irregular skyline of the city.

3.3.3 The main urban policies of the Last decades master plans and the dealing with the future spatial structure and the local heritage

Cairo the consecutive master plans of Greater Cairo at the last decades beginning of 1984 master plan till the Cairo 2050 master plan (not formally adopted) hadn't considered the local heritage as a prior issue, the urban problems of the rapid sprawl, the growth of slums, the improvement of transportation, and the establishing of new satellite cities had the priority[1].

The policy of establishing satellite cities was considered by many local urban specialists as good solution to reduce the pressure on the historical heart of the city, and as an indirect tool for protecting the historical districts.

However the government recently established a new authority called the National organization for urban harmony, responsible of the issues of the conservation of the historical urban character and historical buildings, the authority vision still not clear.

Istanbul the Greater Municipality of Istanbul developed a master plan in 1995 with a timetable of completion by 2010; it has a visible impact on the current urban spatial structure, and was a beginning of consecutive master plans till the 2009 approved master plan, with consideration of the impact of the 1999 earth quake on the next master plans.

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[1] http://www.housing-utility.gov.eg/mainpage.asp

[2] http://www.easts.info/2003proceedings/papers/1639.pdf

[3] Georgina, et al, "London Congestion Charging/Comments." Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs.15287084 (2008): 177–234.

[4] Omer Kanlpak, Deciphering Istanbul, 2009, published paper:
http://lsecities.net/media/objects/articles/deciphering-istanbul

"The 1995 plan aims to develop Istanbul as the leading economic and cultural center in Turkey and to position it as a city with a rich historic and cultural identity.

One of the major themes throughout the plan involves establishing a balance between conservation and development for Istanbul is intended that Istanbul will unite with the economic structure of the world and the region; it will also use regional opportunities well and assume a pioneering role, emphasizing history, culture, science, arts, politics, trade and services. The history of Istanbul is to be embraced so that the status of world-renowned city will be held today as it was in the past and Istanbul can achieve its place among the ranks of world metropolitan cities while contributing to the world's economic development." [2]

The main urban policies of 1995 master plan about dealing with the future spatial structure and the local heritage were the follows:

- While embracing the history, cultural and natural characteristics, Istanbul is attributed the status of world-known city.
- Istanbul is to be a center where governing and decision making mechanisms insures economic relations with the world and the region.
- Growth and development of the metropolitan area is to coincide with national and regional progress in social, economic, and culture so as to increase its influence and achieve the status of world metropolitan cities.
- The plan intends to reduce the pressure of development on the old settlement centers by arranging and improving the existing areas within the urban structure[1].

London the Plan of 1994 (UDP) Unitary Development plan was an extent for the previous plans in 1989 and supplementary guidance for London on the protection of strategic views in 1991, has a duty consider whether it should designate conservation areas, which are defined as "areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character of which it is designed to preserve or enhance". The City also has a duty to review the boundaries of its conservation.

Therefore there were policies for protecting London skyline specially the landmark historical buildings, this required the protection of long-distance views that crossed boroughs' boundaries, there were an identifying of conservation areas and protected views as inappropriate locations for tall buildings and the rest of the City as being sensitive to their impact. It also included more detailed criteria for considering proposals within the sensitive areas[3].

These policies of protecting areas of special architectural or historic interest continued in the next plans of the new millennium after the established of The Greater London Authority (GLA) in 2000, however the 2004 plan didn't show interest about the challenges facing the local heritage according to the globalization[1], in 2009 plan The Mayor's vision and objectives includes the follows:

Over the years to 2031 – and beyond, London should Ensuring:

- An internationally competitive and successful city with a strong and diverse economy and an entrepreneurial spirit; a city which is at the leading edge of innovation and research and which is comfortable with – and makes the most of– its rich heritage and cultural resources.
- A city that delights the senses and takes care over its buildings and streets, having the best of modern architecture while also making the most of London's built heritage and which

makes the most of and extends its wealth of open and green spaces and waterways, realizing its potential for improving Londoners'

- Supporting a high quality urban living space – including protection of London's heritage, air and noise pollution, protection and enhancement of open and natural environments and of the Blue Ribbon Network of waterways[3].

3.3.4 The current visual image of the city (cityscape and skyline)

Cairo the current urban spatial structure of the Greater Cairo city has played a main role in preventing the local heritage of the city.

The local urban character in both the historical Islamic Cairo, or Khedivial Cairo (The current city center) were supported by the functional, physical defining of Cairo districts, the several "CBD's" were away enough of the historical heart to have a negative effect on the skyline of the historical districts.

However the violations of urban laws; such as the maximum heights surrounding a historical landmark is making a serious threat for the future of urban local heritage.

Cairo current cityscape is variant and different according to the function of districts as follows:

Figure 8: (top) Historical Islamic Cairo skyline (middle) Khedivial Cairo (down) Cairo new "CBD"

- The Historical Islamic Cairo skyline, see figure
- The New classical European architectural style, and urban character of the Khedivial (city center) skyline, see figure
- The global skyline of financial centers, the Cairo new "CBD" along the Nile, north of current city center, (see figure no. 8).

Istanbul is globally famous for its unique remarkable cityscape, and skyline differs according to the urban function and character as follows:

- Remarkable Historical cityscape, skyline of the old city in the historical peninsula, the Ottoman mosques with

  its famous architectural style minarets strongly controlled the skyline.

- A skyline of a global economic great city which remarked with the high rise building accommodates international financial firms.

Figure 9: (top) skyline of the historical peninsula (down) Skyline of the "CBD's" on the other side of the Golden horn

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1 http://www.London.gov.uk/thelondonplan/londonplan08.pdf, previous reference.
2 http://www.eurometrex.org/Docs/Activities/Istanbul/Timucin-kurt-METREX.pdf
3 http://www.London.gov.uk/shaping-London/London-plan.pdf

Istanbul still presents an integrated example of the global city with a unique urban character gives the city its local heritage among the great global cities of the world, (see figure no. 9)

London has many architectural landmarks with an impact on its skyline, these landmarks belongs to different eras, architectural styles, its common to see a historical building adjacent to an ultra post modern building, see figure   , however there is some exceptions like the sky line of the Canary Wharf "CBD" These are all tall office buildings and form a distinct grouping

The main elements within the skyline can be described as:

- A skyline of a global economic great city with group of tall high rise buildings in "Canary wharf"

- St Paul's Cathedral. Policies to protect views of the Cathedral have ensured that it has remained a dominant element in the skyline of the western part of the City.

- Isolated high rise buildings and loose groupings elsewhere in the City, mainly in the north and east (see figure no. 10).

Figure 10: (top) skyline of "Canary wharf" "CBD" (middle) StPaul's Cathedral dome in the left of the image (down) Isolated high rise buildings and loose groups elsewhere in the City.

3.4 Analyzing the results of the comparison

The examination criteria elements showed that each case has its local heritage identity however they share the same urban spatial characteristics and have the same challenges of the global changes threats and its impact on the future plans.

3.4.1 The current urban spatial structure and the appropriate between global demands and the conservation of the local heritage

Cairo the case has a common temporary urban spatial structure of a global city, the dual historical hard with two adjacent districts, with a clear function and urban characteristics for the city districts is an advantage point to help the appropriation between global demands and the conservation of the local heritage, but there are some remarks:

- The need of supporting the new main "CBD" in the north of the city center as a tool to protect the current urban character of the city center by accommodate the high rise office buildings.

Figure 11-a: Analyzing the current spatial structure of Cairo (the author)

- The current ring road is not enough to reduce the high crossing traffic in the historical heart; there is a need for inner ring road.

- Only one int. air port at the east of the city is not enough at least the balance of the airport location to the current urban mass is a logic reason for another air port at the other side of the city, and far enough of the historical heart.
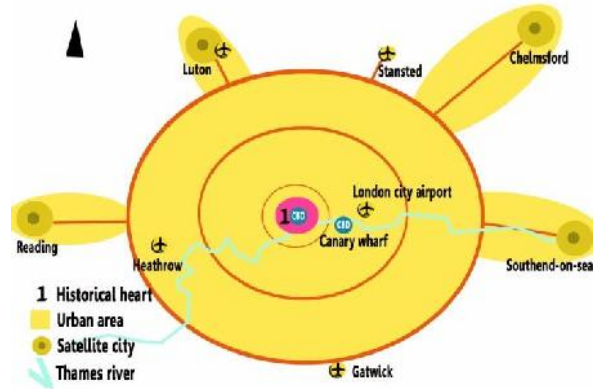
Istanbul the case is considered as an important center of the global finance, the urban spatial structure is showing the common urban components of a great global city, the growing of the economy has affected the urban spatial structure, the city has several "CBD's", the main "CBD's" in the north urban development corridor "Levent" and "Maslac" are located on the other side of the "golden horn" where the old historical city is located, the only threat is the continuous grow of the financial land-use and the spread of the high rise buildings, which begin to appeared in the back ground of the unique skyline of the Ottoman city from some view direction, (see figure no. 13)

Figure 11-b: Analyzing the current spatial structure of Istanbul (the author)

London the case is a main center of the global financial system, the economic functions affected the urban spatial structure of the city, the city and Canary wharf are featured by the high rise office buildings, however the city is considered as the historical heart at the same time, which makes a real challenge to appropriate between the local heritage and the global needs.

The Canary wharf "CBD" could be effective in reducing the global pressure on the historical heart by offering an urban space for the new high rise building in London.The current urban spatial structure is a clear example of the global great city.

Figure 11-c: Analyzing the current spatial structure of London (the author)

3.4.2 The geographical characteristics of the site and its effect on the appropriating between the urban spatial structure and the local heritage

Cairo the Nile River as a crossing water body of the urban mass helps to act as a natural boundary of the west side of the historical heart helps to protect its urban character.

Istanbul the unique geographical characteristics of Istanbul site is a basic component of the local heritage of the city, on the other hand it helps to prevent the historical heart as it is located in an peninsula, the natural site offering natural zones for the old city and its local heritage and the new city at the other side of the golden horn as an urban space for the globalization effects.

London Exists of the historical heart and the main financial center at the same site makes exists of the Thames River not effective on the preventing of the local heritage; however there is no doubt the Thames is a part itself of the city local heritage.

3.4.3 The main urban policies of the Last decades master plans and the dealing with the future spatial structure and the local heritage

Cairo the urban problems related to the economic situation, the rapid rates of population growing, rapid urbanization...etc, led to neglect the issues of the conservation of the local heritage in the city plans, however the establishing of the new authority of National organization for urban harmony a few years ago showed the growing of the awareness of the importance of the local heritage not only as it has historical value but also as a national resource as it attracts more tourists.

Figure 12: the Violation of the urban laws of protecting the local heritage sites

The current main threat is the Violation of the urban laws of protecting the local heritage sites (see figure no. 12), which could be controlled by encourages the popular participation.

Istanbul the Turkish government realized the importance of the local heritage, this was clear in the urban policies of the master plans of Istanbul, since 1994 plan there was a direction towards the conservation of the historical sites by innovation programs aimed not to conserve the historic building but to revive the whole context, the historic peninsula is a good example, at the other hand, the plans opened the way to establish new modern districts, the "CBD" centers of "Levent", "Maslac" are good examples.

Figure 13: the rapid spread of the high rise buildings on the other side of the Golden horn may cause a future threat for the unique sky line of the old city from some directions

However the rapid spread of the high rise buildings on the other side of the Golden horn may cause a future threat for the unique sky line of the old city from some directions (see figure no. 13)

London the fact that the historical heart is the city main financial center and considered as a "CBD" was a real challenge to appropriate between them, the urban policies directed to determine the heritage sites and particular buildings to be prevented, making restrictions on the tall buildings, to protect the long-distance views. London managed to make the image of an ultra post modern city, the high-tech buildings could be seen adjacent to historical building (see figure no. 14), as mentioned in the latest plan: internationally competitive and successful city with a strong and diverse economy.

Figure 14: the high-tech buildings could be seen adjacent to historical building

3.4.4 The current visual image of the city (cityscape and skyline)

Cairo historical heart still enjoying a cityscape and a skyline represent the local heritage; however the global economic changes, the rapid urbanization, beside and the Violation of the urban laws are making a real threat of the local heritage future.

Istanbul has an impressive local heritage; it's clear and visible by its cityscape and skyline of the historical peninsula which could be related to the previous urban policies, the new modern extensions with its skyscrapers is similar to many global cities and showing the global effects.

London has an iconic skyline; however this skyline is not only related to the local heritage but also the idea of the great global city.

4   Conclusion, the urban lessons

The three great cities urban experiments has provided actual urban applications, clarified how the urban plans of each city responded to the impact of the globalization and specially the economic impact.

The current urban spatial structure of these cities was formed as a result of the applied urban policies through the last decades, and showed unique urban experiments which could be evaluated, concluded to understand the advantages and the disadvantages of these experiments, however the three cases were sharing the same urban spatial structure as an direct impact of the global economic changes.

In Cairo the urban policies through the last decades has ignored the challenges of the global economic changes and its impact on the local heritage, however the city is consisted of variant different urban patterns which has formed through the 20th century and the last decade of the 21st century; this urban spatial structure has helped to preserve the historical heart and the Islamic Cairo away of the post modern districts and the impact of the globalization.

But the real future challenge will be how to keep the unique local urban heritage of the Islamic city, the continuous economic reform mean that the city will need more urban spaces for the economical functions, the historical heart is surrounded with transformed districts which will change to be a part of the city center and the new "CBD".

The urban experiment of Istanbul has presented a good answer of how to appropriate between the urban spatial structure of a great city and the local heritage; however the case study has showed at the same time the current and the future threats caused by the growing economy as a part of the global changes, the negative effects of these changes could affect the unique urban local heritage of Istanbul in the near future.

The future vision of the historical great cities should be planned as fast as the increasing impact of the global changes, the future urban spatial structure of these cities should be planned to absorb the growing urban demands of the globalization, and at the same time to keep and retained the urban local heritage.

Although London is a great city with a clear local urban heritage but there is no specified districts which could be considered as historical districts, the applied urban policies has allowed the skyscrapers to find place in the historical heart with some restrictions to respect the view of the historical sites.

This urban solution may be suitable to London case but in many other cases it will be not suitable especially for those cities with historical districts like in Istanbul and Cairo.

The question is; what about the future of the historical great cities? Would they keep the same urban spatial structure which considered as a result of the global economic functions, or review the current urban policies to be stricter in order to preserve the local heritage, and what will be the alternatives to compensate the needs of the globalization?

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The Sustainability of Synthetic Properties in Developing The Historical City Centers Samarra, the old city , a Case study

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Introduction

Hillier defines the city as a physical and functional combination product , it physically represents spatially interconnected buildings by urban spaces and infrastructures, Functionally it supports a range of social, economic , cultural and environmental processes, the city reflects a set of goals and means, through physical defect in the city urban structure comes from lack of understanding of the relationship nature between means and goals, That is, between the city's physical structure and function[1].

Rapid urbanization brings great pressure on today's peaceful environment, which generates continuous negative impact on the future growth and cities expansion, on the one hand and the full dependence on the private car that generates social isolation, on the other. To highlight the importance of sustainable development in urban planning and design, urban development should sustain social and economic structures, with the development of the aesthetics of built environment[2].

Research Methodology:

Building a theoretical framework for the urban sustainability in general and the properties pedestrian walkways that achieve urban sustainability , in particular, in order to defined the most important synthetic properties of urban sustainability.

Test the research hypothesis.

 Reach to a set of conclusions.

Urban sustainability

A lot of the theoretical literature addresses cities sustainable urban planning through a range of planning and designing strategies and programs which are defined by the Arab Institute for Urban Development as a set of action plans for cities balanced growth prepared and maintained by participating to improve the citizens quality[3].

Rogers and Burdett, 2002, regard cities as economical ecosystems achieved in the of environmental, social and economic form, including the development of residential and commercial uses and designing safe walkways, streets and better public transportation, and the preservation of

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[1] Hillier,1996, pp. 149-152
[2] Moughtin,2005,p.4
[3] Arab Institute for Urban Development

open spaces and parks, policies to improve the environment can also improve the people social life, as social and environmental solutions encourage healthy and more vibrant open spaces[4].

When **Adrich,2005,** focuses on particular sustainability planning, urban land use and transportation, pointing to the limited Arabic literatures on the issue of sources of sustainability and environmental renewal. **Adrich** identifies a set of policies that achieve urban planning sustainability, those policies include the following: [5]

Reduce the urban dispersion through the cities stimulation and reduce crowding in cities, increase the attractiveness of the city houses, and the density of the city suburbs and small countries.

Increasing local production to meet local needs, local employment and local skills to reduce the distance between home and work, depending on mixed development policies and increase housing in the large employment centers, and increase development in small towns to reduce reliance on the big cities as well as creating balanced new communities.

Seeking to find an attractive economic public transport by the emphasis on mixed uses in the centers and interchanges in public transport, and improving the service frequency and reliability, and increase densities to complement improved public transport.

Minimize road traffic as the new development will reduce the demand for flights, with providing more places for pedestrians walkways.

These literatures have focused on the planning sustainability, through the call for the adoption of mixed uses, public transport, and provision for pedestrians walkways to limit the expansion and dispersion in today's cities.

The above literatures seek to achieve urban and planning sustainability, whether environmental, social or economical in dealing with group of principles or strategies, overlapping with each other as a result of variation in the theoretical approaches adopted in each thesis. But it shows the general agreement on the adoption of walkways and pedestrian movement as the basis for achieving urban sustainability through multiple properties.

The research defined the study o walkways properties as research **private problem**, which required to build the a theoretical frame to define the most important properties that achieve urban sustainability on the synthetic properties, the literature organized as general literature that deals with the pedestrian walkways properties, and space syntax literature that point out the more specific synthetic properties.

The sustainability of Pedestrian walkways.

3-1 General literature

In order to define the importance of Pedestrian walkways the research will review the following literatures.

3-1-1 Calthorpe , 1993; "The Next American Metropolis "

Calthorpe puts in this study a series of social studies on urban structure that achieve ecological integration and efficiency in reducing energy consumption, based on the concept of **Pedestrian Pocket.**

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[4] Rogers and Burdett, 2002.
[5] Adrich , 2005, p.42

These studies focus on the idea of sustainable city as a reaction against the city imbalanced urban structure by achieving the modern social requirements, Calthorpe compares the pedestrian walkways properties in the urban structure of European cities with U.S. cities, he explains that the European cities, particularly the Italian are affected by the climate of Mediterranean which enhances pedestrian, and proposes solutions that have supported and provided shade as well as patterns of multiple events along the movement walkways, This is archived by global integration with the urban environment and the adoption of a correlated spatial movement system which achieves inhabitants territoriality in urban space[6].

Through the solar energy principles Calthorpe literature shows that the streets direction as well as services is critical in the spatial system which causes the dispersion of urban infrastructure and energy waste, as the balanced ecosystem requires a re-integration in the urban structure between social and services spaces, as a mechanism to achieve the goals point out here, Calthorpe presents the concept of pedestrian pocket, in which he proposes several options for housing and transportation, within walking distance not to exceed five minutes, he explains that this concept is to achieve social approximation between multiple patterns of social groups[7].

Thus, these literatures have focused on sustainability in terms of ecological integration, on the one hand, and integration and social interaction, on the other, based on the concept of <u>pedestrian pocket</u>, to achieve territoriality and spatial multiple options for mobility, as well as to create multiple patterns of events on the movement path.

3-1-2 Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council; "Abu Dhabi Vision 2030"

The Urban Planning Council produces plans and development regulations that govern Abu Dhabi's physical environment. In alignment with the clear targets identified by Economic Vision 2030, great neighborhood fabric is built to stand the 'test of time' by responding to its context and climate. It is made up of a range of elements with a fine walkways and pedestrian-friendly streets through out to enhance connectivity and encourage walking and cycling. It is easy to navigate and contains open spaces for meeting, relaxing and playing. It contains high-quality, sustainable homes that contribute to the identity of the neighborhood. Throughout, facilities are thoughtfully located to meet the needs of the residents. This combination works to create a dynamic, vibrant and cohesive atmosphere[8].

Sustainability principles, as well as natural/environmental, economic, and social systems are achieved as follows[9]:

There will be an increase in walking, bicycling, and transit use to steadily reduce per

capita carbon emissions from transport.

There will be an increase in efficiency of the transport network through a decrease in vehicle kilometers traveled to reduce Abu Dhabi's carbon footprint and protect natural resources.

There will be a reduction in irrigation requirements and in the use of groundwater and desalinated water along streets until only treated wastewater and other sustainable sources are used.

There will be provision for shade in the public realm to reduce ambient temperatures.

Good street design and improved public health will lead to a decrease in obesity, heart disease, and diabetes.

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[6] Gosling, 2003, p. 145-146.
[7] Gosling, 2003, p. 146.
[8] Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council, Neighborhood Planning. p.2
[9] Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council, Abu Dhabi Urban Street Design Manual. p.5

Streets in its grand ceremonial boulevards.

Design will emphasize privacy and security for women and the creation of family-oriented neighborhoods.

The public realm will preserve and express local traditions.

Street infrastructure will be maintained to the highest international standards, consistent with the image of a modern, high amenity Arab city.

3-1-3 Michel Maffesoli,1989 10, "Post Modern And Mega polis "

According to Maffesoli literatures, human existence and presence are achieved by social interaction, sense of place, spatial belonging and territoriality, Maffesoli defines city global properties from inhabitant daily movement, the daily movement consists of local special places (walkways), which reflect different social territorialities, interrelated and overlapped globally movement axes, the pattern of overlap between the territorialities are different with the social requirements.

Maffesoli supports his idea by the analyzing a set of buildings in the villages of Central and South Paris, achieving mass proximity and harmonization in connecting the blocks and spaces as well as the proximity between social groups.

 He explains this convergence when analyzing the root of the word (proximity), (Proxene) means the closest that makes a person close. It is here that the hidden properties of urban structure have to make the strange sense of security and belonging to that urban part.

3-1-3 Arthur E. Stamps, 2010 11, "Effects of Permeability on Perceived Enclosure and Spaciousness"

This article suggests that the ranges through which people can see through or move through environments are extremely important. The label corresponding to this theory is permeability theory. Hypotheses are generated from permeability theory using two responses (perceived enclosure and perceived spaciousness) and four properties of the physical environment (permeability of boundary, amount of light, horizontal area within a boundary, and boundary depth). Empirical data from 4 experiments, 54 environments, and 130 participants indicate that permeability theory correctly predicted a priori hypotheses and also correctly predicted that the remaining hypotheses would have effective sizes too small to detect. The main determinants of judged enclosure or spaciousness are visual permeability of the boundary, amount of light, and horizontal area. Numerical guidance is provided to assist future research.

Literatures have focused on the properties of pedestrian walkways in deferent approaches, and their role in achieving urban sustainability through reliance on traditional treatments and elements with contemporary style, on the one hand, and the safe pedestrians movement and public transport, on the other.

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[10] Maffesoli 1989/p.35
[11] Arthur E. Stamps, 2010

Space Syntax Literatures

Space Syntax Literatures address the importance of city urban synthetic properties, and the explanation of individual's relationship to the environment and its response to the influences and design properties in various research directions, the most important of these literatures are the following:

3-2-1 Hillier, 1984,1996, 1999, " The Social Logic of Space ", " Space is The Machine", "The hidden geometry of deformed grids: or, why space syntax works, when it looks as though it shouldn't"

Hiller and Hanson 1984 literatures come as a reaction to the city failure to achieve its function as an organization of time, space, meaning and communication, and their directions in the design of the city. The literatures address the morphological view in explaining the synthetic relations of the urban structure in order to reach the urban spatial rules and laws that govern it, its arguments are based on the basic premise that indicates a relationship between the urban communities generation of forms and social forces, defined by the space syntax theory, Hiller defines architecture according to this perspective, as a means of defining spatial relations using the architectural elements which are represented by the space boundaries that distinguish the indoor spaces from outdoor at the local scale, and strangers and inhabitants spaces at the global scale. The nature and position of the joints change according to social and cultural variables[12].

Thus the literatures focus on understanding the relationship between the space structure and the social structure in the morphological language by using diodes as in natural language, and emphasis on the existence of two types of generators of the patterns of space defined by Hillier as genotypes (deep structures) which produces an unspecified number of phenomena (surface structures), to serve various human purposes[13].

Hillier presents a model for analyzing urban structure as two types of relationships[14]:

The relations between the inhabitants, defined by the local properties that direct the residents movement threw the urban structure and contain their social activities.

The relations between the inhabitants and strangers, which are defined by the global properties that governing the intersection between inhabitants and strangers, and direct the strangers between the parts of the urban environment.

The importance of spatial integration between global and local properties, against some of recent studies that emphasize the local or small social organizations, which led to the loss of urban global organization, and create isolated local spaces.

Hillier points out the importance of intelligibility in determining the pedestrians movement and explains the urban structure as a system which consists of a set of facts which inhabitants move between and near , understand and learn to live through, the experience intervenes as a key factor in the process of sensitization, structures ranging between being confused and clear according to their order, and the structure intelligibility.

Hillier proved threw his analytical study of an English city center that the organic order, which represents a model of compact cities have an internal system (Hidden dimensions) to achieve inhabitant's intelligibility and orientation. Accordingly, the general organic outline of a city can

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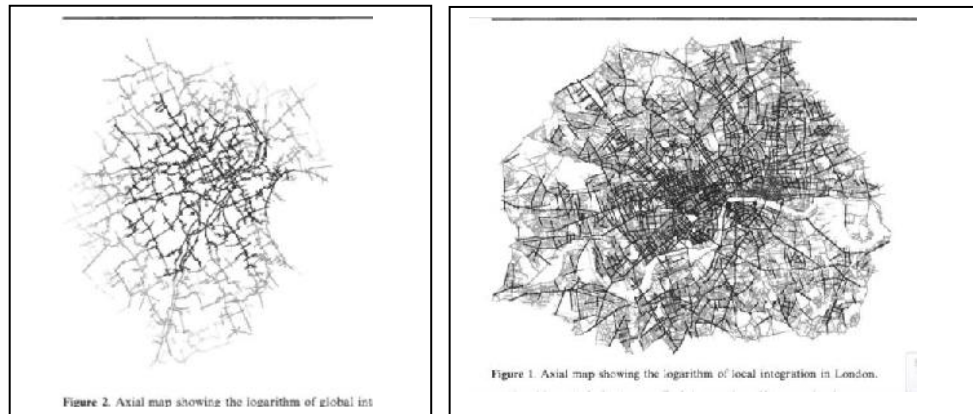
[12] Hillier& Hanson,1984,p.89
[13] Hillier,1996,p.83
[14] Hillier,1996,p. 257

produce an effective sense and meaning for inhabitants, when the very regular order may be un readable to the inhabitants. See figures No. (1) and (2)

The literatures identify a set of indicators and structural compositional properties:

The intelligibility: Compatibility between local and global structural properties; the possibility of realizing their global properties from local one.

Orientation: That the urban structure has a global and local directions (the principle of the two lines), that gives a clear beginning and end.

Fig No.1
Synthetic analysis of Hamedan plan - Iran Hillier, 1999

3-2-2 Al-Hinkawi literatures 1993,2005, "the effect of spatial organization properties of the social interaction", "The effect of thought trends on urban structure"

Al-Hankawi addresses in the study titled (The effect of spatial organization properties on the social interaction -1993), the relationship between the urban structural properties and social interaction by analyzing two kinds of space orders; the traditional compact, represented by the urban fabric of the area surrounding Al-Kadimiya Shrine, Baghdad, which includes the most important pedestrian Bazar centers in Iraq, and a new residential urban fabric. The study shows the concentration of pedestrian in the most integrated spaces on a global level, and the most control spaces on the local level, due to the fact that spaces with most strategic properties reinforce the sense of belonging and territoriality, The study shows that the most control spaces are the most attractive for pedestrian and that the traditional organic compact order achieves a high degree of diversity and choice for the inhabitants[15].
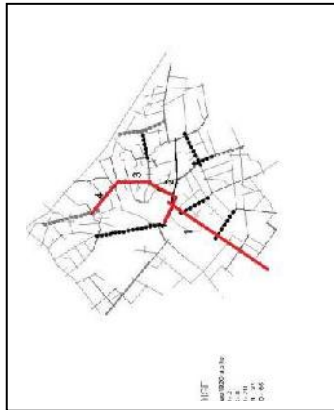
Al-Hankawi, 2005 study has analyzed the syntax properties of the area surrounding Abu Hanifa shrine - Adhamiyah –Baghdad, the study has focus on pedestrian walkways, in the most integrated spaces at the global level and the most control spaces at the local level, organic and traditional compact orders achieve a high degree of inhabitants orientations[16], Figure (3) and (4).

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[15] Al-Hinkawi ,2003, p.i
[16] Al-Hinkawi ,2005, p.i

Fig No.3 Aerial photo of the urban fabric of the traditional compact shrine of Ima Abu Hanifa / Al-Hankawi, 2005

Fig No.4 Global integration in the urban fabric and permeability of movement axes and extension between parts of the fabric / Al-Hankawi, 2005

From the above, sustainability on the synthetic level can be defined as; urban place-special relationship that determines the synthetic spatial properties related to achieving each of intelligibility and permeability, at the city, urban fabric and pedestrian walkways level, with social - sensory dimensions, which promote urban sustainability. The synthetic level consists of a three compositional vocabulary as follows:

The intelligibility: Compatibility between the local and global structural properties, the possibility of realizing their global properties from local one.

Permeability : That the urban structure has a global and local distribution that improve social dimensions as shown in Table (1).

Case study

Sammara old city center is chosen for the case study and for the hypotheses test, as an example of traditional Iraqi cities witnessing unsustainable development according to global thinking**.**

The research uses the space syntax method in analyzing synthetic properties of urban structure. The two main syntax variables used in relation to the pedestrian walkways are:

Permeability: which will be assessed by the value of integration where global integration refers to the global permeability and the local integration refers to the local permeability.

Intelligibility: will be calculated mathematically by the correlation between global and local properties , where global intelligibility(the correlation between global integration and connectivity) , local intelligibility (the correlation between local integration and connectivity).

Space syntax [17]:

Space syntax is a non-discursive theory of architecture which originated some twenty years ago in the work of Hillier and Hanson (1984) and has been developed at the Space Syntax Laboratory at University College London, and at its various affiliates throughout the world. Space syntax is based

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[17] Ratti, 2004

on the use of computer techniques to analyze urban configuration. In the words of Hillier et al (1987, page 363):

``Space syntax ... is a set of techniques for the representation, quantification, and interpretation of spatial configuration in buildings and settlements. Configuration is defined in general as, at least, the relation between two spaces taking into account a third, and, at most, as the relations among spaces in a complex taking into account all other spaces in the complex. Spatial configuration is thus a more complex idea than spatial relation, which need invoke no more than a pair of related spaces."

4-2 Programs used

The space syntax analysis was made by using the Arch. View program version 3.1, with the Axwomen extension.

4-3 Sammara-old city center [18]:

Sammara stands on the east bank of the Tigris in the Salah ad-Din Governorate, 125 kilometers (78 mi) north of Baghdad and, in 2003, had an estimated population of 348,700. Medieval Islamic writers believed that the name "Samarra" is derived from the Arabic phrase "Surra man ra'a" (Arabic:), which translates to "A joy for all who see".

The capital of the Caliphate was moved from Baghdad to the new city of Samarra by Caliph Al-Mu'tasim. During this time the original pre-Islamic settlement was replaced with a new city established in 833.

Samara remained the capital of the Muslim world until 892 when it was returned to Baghdad by al-Mu'tamid. Al-Mu'tasim's successor, al-Wathiq, developed Samara into a commercial city, and it was further developed under Caliph al-Mutawakkil. The latter sponsored the construction of the Great Mosque of Samarra with its spiral minaret (malwiyah).

Under the rule of al-Mu'tadid, the Abbassid capital was shifted back to Baghdad and Samarra entered a prolonged decline(which was accelerated after the 13th century when the course of the Tigris shifted).

The city is also home to the al-Askari Mosque, containing the mausoleums of the 'Ali al-Hadi and Hasan al-Askari, During the 20th century, Samarra gained new importance when a permanent lake (Lake Tharthar) was created near the town by the Samarra Dam in order to end the frequent flooding of Baghdad downstream. Many local people were displaced by the dam, resulting in a big increase in Samarra's population.

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[18] www.en.wikipedia.org

Table No. (1)

The vocabulary of synthetic urban sustainability

Main Vocabulary	Secondary vocabulary		
Synthetic properties of intelligibility	The level of the urban fabric	The nature of the parts	Local parts with a variety of functionally
			high distinction Parts
		Relations between parts	correlations
			Interference - the overlap
	The level of movement axis	Urban space Hierarchy	
		Orientation	
	The level of urban spaces	Centralized	
		Space strategy	
		Proximity	
		Enclosure	
Synthetic properties of permeability	The level of urban fabric and movement axis	Global integrations	
		Axial connectivity	
		Visual connectivity	
Achieved social dimensions	Sense of spatial belonging		
	Sense of identity		
	Sense of security		
	Sense of territoriality		
	The continuity of occupants		
	Sense of orientations		

4-4 The spatial properties

The main city axis (the organic pedestrian spaces) grew between two main variables (the river in the east, and the historical center in the west), As a result of the natural growth and expansion, and the increased religious tourism , there is urgent need to develop the city, including urban and provision of easy access to the shrine, So four cross streets were opened to link the outskirts of the city and the shrine regardless of the organic spatial organization properties, or the local pedestrian orientation, permeability and intelligibility as shown in figure (5).

Fig No. 5 The spatial system of the city current situation

4-5 Discussion and conclusions The research analyzes the current city structure , as well as the analysis of   the sustainable proposed development according to old city movement system(organic).

4-5-1 Current situation

The syntax analysis of the current situation proves the effect of the four perpendicular axes on the spatial organization of the city, as shown in figure (6), the most integrated spaces are gathered round the shire, which lead to urban fragmentation and isolation of the local parts, the current development has a global thinking making the shrine the center of the city regardless the deep isolated local fabric, at the global scale the development strategy has lost the local coherence, where inhabitants move and spend the daily live, see figure (7).
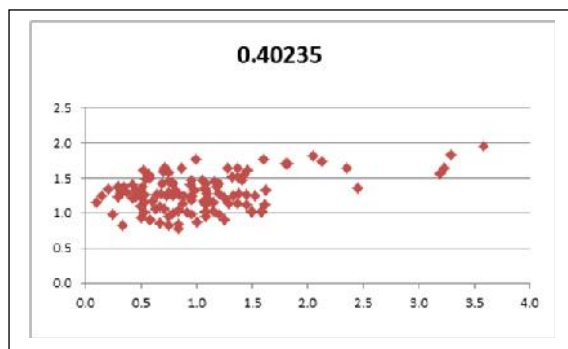

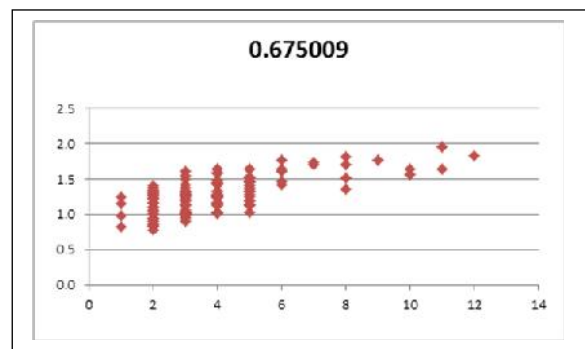**Fig No. 6** Global integration- global permeability - current situation

Fig No.7 Control value- local permeability - current situation

The compatible properties between local and global lead also to the loss global intelligibility, as shown in figures (8), when local intelligibility shoes high properties at local scale,see figures (9), proving that the organic fabric still has its own special properties.

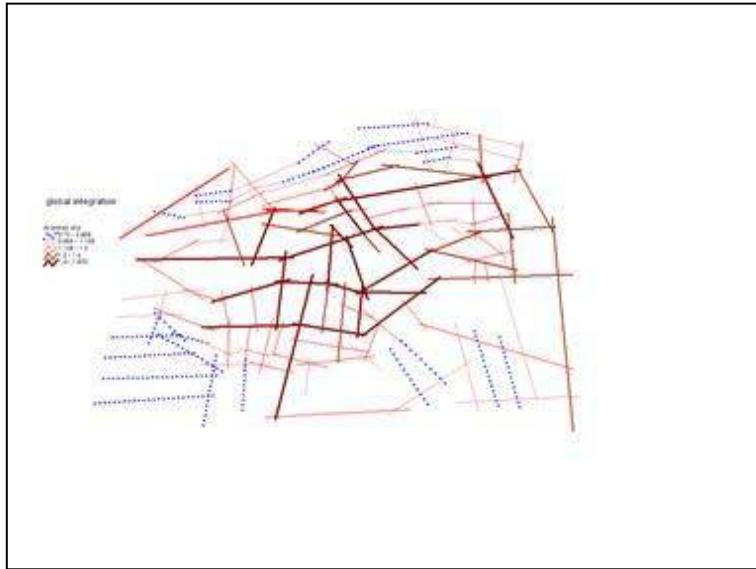**Fig 8**
Global intelligibility
current situation= 0 403

Fig 9
Local intelligibility
current situation= 0.675

4-5-2 Sustainable proposal

The sustainable proposal for the inhabitant movement depends on the concept of re- integration of the organic spatial properties by re-designing the main axis regarding the pedestrian walkways from the river toward the historical centers through the existing passages to increase the local permeability.
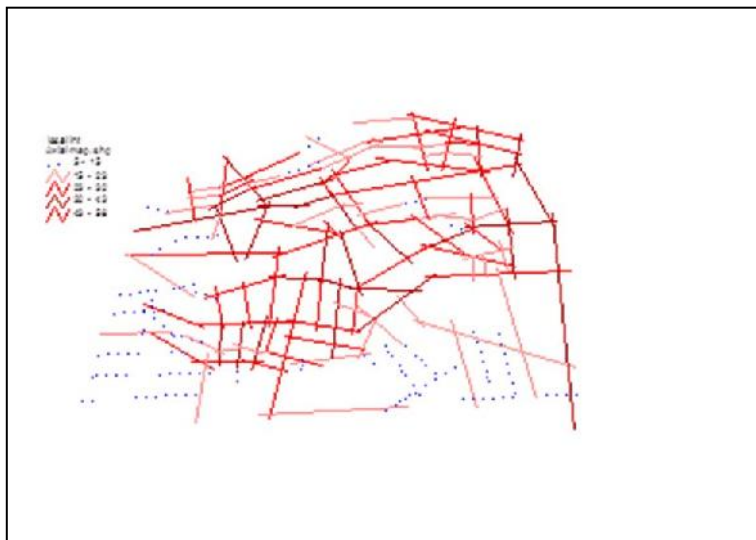
The syntax analysis shows the effect of the linear axis in the re- integration of the local properties at the global and local permeability and reducing the isolated area within the system, figures (10) and (11).
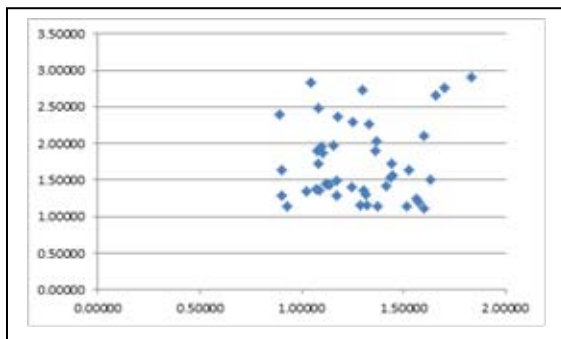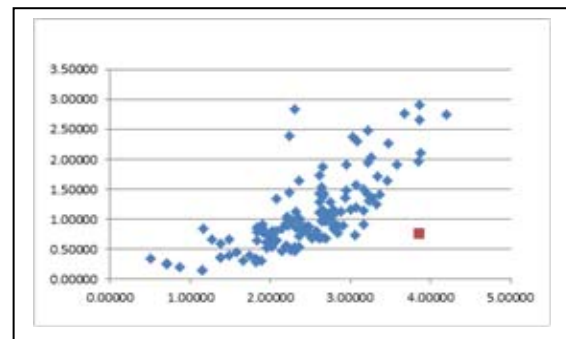
586

Fig. 10

Global integration

Fig. 11

Local integration

The compatible properties between local and global(intelligibility) are also increased , as shown in figures (12) and (13), when it is still high at the local scale, the organic fabric shows high correlation between local and global properties.

Fig.12 Global intelligibility

Fig.13 Local intelligibility

0.75347

Table (2) shows the effect of the proposed sustainable urban developmestructuralproperties, which depends on characteristics of organic fabric that has emerged to meet the requirements of inhabitant movement as long as that is achieved by traditional cities.

Table No. 2

	Current situation	Sustainable development
No. of axis	130	142
Global integration	1.28	1.187
local integration	2.2	2.4
Control	1	1.103
Global intelligibility	0.4	0.38
local intelligibility	0.7	0.75

5-5-3 Conclusions

City Formed from both sides formal and structural, formal aspect of urban shape represents the structural relations of space - spatial aspects, these levels are essential in achieving urban sustainability.

Legibility and permeability with their sensory social dimensions represents structural level of cities urban sustainability in general. and historic city centers in particular.

The sustainable development is one of the important approaches in contemporary urban development, that calls for the integration between all city parts.

Cities expansion and extension regardless the urban structural properties, lead to a loss of city cohesion and the isolation of the urban parts from the global system.

The current development of Sammara old city center depends on global properties regardless the pedestrian walkways, lead to the local isolation.

To achieve an integrated pedestrian walkways and urban spaces, the urban sustainable development calls for the re-integration of spatial organization prosperities –permeability _ within the existing urban fabrics to improve global and local intelligibility.

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URBAN REHABILITATION: REINVENTING A PRODUCTIVE LANDSCAPE: ISTANBUL, GOLDEN HORN CASE STUDY

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Introduction

The research program GreenEngines, developed by the office Studiomeb (architecture, planning and landscape), was created in 2009, inside a collaborative network between Universities, practitioners and local governments. Since 2009, the program GreenEngines has counted with the permanent support and cooperation of Istanbul Kültür University and Yildiz Technical University. GreenEngines is a platform for action research in the field of sustainable landscape planning and sustainable food planning design. It aims to explore the potentialities of productive landscapes to generate a sustainable territory that is respectful to the existing local environment and its multifunctional character, community involvement, heritage and cultural identity. GreenEngines develops as a pedagogic tool in the education of multidisciplinary teams, involving students of architecture, geography, landscape architecture, design, urban planning and environmental studies among others. Through education, students can understand the complexity involved in strategic landscape planning for the preservation, creation or re-invention of productive landscapes, with the objective to reach a sustainable equilibrium between economy, society, culture, the environment, and food production.

We state that a productive landscape is any natural, rural, coastal or urban environment used and exploited for agricultural, industrial, business or touristic activities. In the case of the rural territory, the shift, in recent years, towards the ecological technologies (solar, wind, power plants), together with the production of industrial agriculture for bio-fuels, bio-mass, and economies of scale, has transformed many rural landscapes into technological and productive ecological deserts, expelling society from their environment, and destroying the equilibrium of their cultural landscape. In the case of the urban context, urban conurbations are also productive landscapes that aim to attract business, industry and tourism. Cities suffer processes of development that are temporal and discontinuous based on intermittent economical global interests, provoking processes of decay inside the urban tissue. A process of economical growth, and urban development, implies the de-urbanization of other areas of the city, or even the degradation of complete urban regions, the particularly those ones based on local economy. Cities with a high rate of unemployment and few work opportunities start suffering processes of forced shrinkage due to migration and population loss. The moving of industries offshore, due to differences in wage costs, affects cities in

developed countries. Only cities that are the home to the players of globalization enjoy the privilege of having stable growth and urban development.[1] To avoid inequality, poverty and migration, a sustainable urban territory is needed. Sustainability, based on a local economy is necessary for the economic survival of cities, mainly those ones that run outside the global network. Our research is guided by the following main question: which new planning strategies and transformative processes could guide changes and improve self-sustained productive local geographies?

We state that any productive landscape entitled to be called sustainable should accomplish the following: First, it belongs to a cultural construction, which adapts to the cultural landscape and the local environment, with a clear strategy of preservation and maintenance of the cultural values and the identity of the territory, including the revitalization of the palimpsest of traditions, heritage (built and natural) and collective memory. Second, the landscape is multifunctional with different actors involved in the same space (energy and food production, industry, tourism, education, leisure, culture, nature, health, housing, commerce). Third, it takes into account social participation, involving the self-maintenance and self-organization of the space. It encourages individuals to interact with their close environment through participatory processes and a close physical experience. Fourth, it values the phenomenological qualities of the space. The territory is acknowledged by sensory experiences within the parameters of space and time. It is experienced by emotions, memories, and mental bonds. The phenomenal richness of the landscape is present in the social imaginary, the collective memory, the desires, the sensorial and the poetic experience of the inhabitants. Fifth, it considers new models of mobility thinking in alternatives to the car, and betting for intermodal ways of transportation (pedestrian, bike, bus, train).

International cooperation and three case studies

Since 2009, GreenEngines has developed research on three different case studies, in three different countries. It uses the format of an international summer workshop, which always takes place in the country where the case study is chosen and with a close collaboration with educators, and researchers of the host University, expertises in different fields (geographers, designers, artists, art historians, town planners, architects, landscape architects) and local governments. The first summer workshop took place in the Faculty of Architecture of Barcelona, University Polytechnic of Catalonia, on July 2009, with the topic "Barcelona Tres Turons Park, a case study". Studiomeb coordinated the event and it counted with the relevant collaboration of Istanbul Kültür University , and Yildiz Technical University, and the participation of Delft Technical University (The Netherlands), University Autonomous of Barcelona (Spain), Polytechnic University of Barcelona (Spain), Elisava School of Design Barcelona (Spain), Consultancy and Engineering DHV, Department of Environment and Transportation, Eindhoven (The Netherlands), and the Department of Urban Planning from Barcelona City Council. The case study was chosen to test the implementation of a self-sustainable urban agro-ecosystem for the area of "Tres Turons" in Barcelona. The objective of the workshop was to elaborate a strategic plan considering the main catalyst processes for the creation of a self-sustained green space for the city, with a community self-organized productive landscape, where urban agriculture integrates inside a location with a heterogeneous character, embracing different historical sites.[2]

The second international summer workshop took place in Covilhã, Portugal, on July 2010, with the topic "Covilhã, landscape of change. A prototype for a new integrated rural-urban growth model". It was developed with the collaboration of the University of Beira Interior (UBI, Portugal), Department of Civil Engineering and Architecture, and the close colaboration and participation of Istanbul Kültür University , Yildiz Technical University. Invited guests participated with us from University of Beira Interior, the Wool manufacturing Museum of Covilhã, the Association of Rural Development of Serra da Estrela, and Brighton University (England). Our aim, in the second edition of GreenEngines, was to discover how to regenerate a peri-urban territory, with a rural character,

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[1] Müller, 2006, pp.122-152.
[2] Moya, Türkyilmaz, Canbay Türkyilmaz, Eliziário, 2009, p. 911

achieving a new rural-urban model of sustainable development, creating a multifunctional landscape with the development of new housing areas and facilities, together with the integration of knowledge and education, culture and heritage, industry, infrastructure, the natural and the rural environment.

GreenEngines, in its third. edition, chose the theme "Golden Horn Urban Rehabilitation, Reinventing a Productive Landscape". The international workshop was hosted at the Faculty of Architecture of Istanbul Kültür Univesity (IKU), and it was organized by Studiomeb, Istanbul Kültür University, Instituto Superior Manuel Teixeira Gomes (ISMAT, Grupo Lusófona, Portugal), and Yildiz Technical University (YTU). We counted with experts and invited guests from ISMAT, IKU, YTU and Sabanci University. The workshop took place during eight days work, from Monday 4th of July to Monday 11th, 2011. From Tuesday to Sunday, the groups took their decisions as a team on a specific strategic rehabilitation plan for the area, developing tactics and actions for their strategic proposal. On 11th of July 2011, each group presented their work to jury of expertises at IKU.

Fig.1 Istanbul case study, "Urban Rehabilitation, reinventing a productive landscape in Golden Horn".

The themes of our workshops are all interconnected under the umbrella of the same main question: which new planning strategies and transformative processes could guide changes and improve self-sustained productive local geographies? In Barcelona case study, we studied the potentiality of "urban parks" to become spaces of opportunity in consolidated urban areas, in order to generate processes of community involvement, in which urban agriculture can be the catalyst of a new urban culture that activates a sustainable urban conscience. In Covilhã, we studied how a small city, surrounded by a rich agricultural territory, can benefit from the synergies produced in the interchange of activities between the rural and the urban environment. In our third case study, in Istanbul, we were searching to discover solutions in the urban rehabilitation of an obsolete productive industrial landscape in a consolidated urban area with a rich architectural heritage.

Educative Methodology

In the teaching of strategic landscape planning we apply a work methodology that integrates the practice of Landscape Urbanism (processes over time, scenario thinking, new operative techniques, and the social imaginary) and Landscape Planning (scenario-based analysis), with sustainable food planning systems. We establish a methodology of work, taking into consideration disciplines such us landscape urbanism, landscape planning, and environmental planning. Landscape urbanism is a hybrid practice that emerged in North America and Europe in the late 90's as a new design discipline to respond to the conditions of sprawl under the phenomena of post-industrialization of the urban territories. That is when landscape emerged as a model for contemporary urbanism, especially in the context of complex natural and urban environments. The reference theoretical work of Charles Waldheim (2006), James Corner (2006) or Dean Almy (2007) is relevant in our work. Landscape planning also helps us to rethink the variables for a dynamic sustainable territory, in which economic growth supports social progress and respects the environment. Our theoretical and practical backgorund in this discipline is the work headed by Prof. Carl Steinitz, in the department of Landscape Architecture and Planning at Harvard University, which has provided, since the 1990's, a modelling strategy for planning assessment. The model, of an analysis scenario-based study for alternative futures, considers which are the actors and issues responsive to policy and planning decisions. In the work 'Alternative futures for changing landscapes' (2003), propose an approach that follows the typical decision-making processes and choices that shape the future of a region.[3]

Our work methodology integrates the four themes involved in the practice of Landscape Urbanism.[4] First, it considers urban processes over time, second anticipates strategic scenarios and operational logics through a wide range of scales, third reconsiders representational and operative techniques, and fourth takes into account the phenomenal richness of physical life (social imaginary, collective memory, desires, the tactile and the poetic). The planning of a sustainable strategy contemplates the research by design at different scales. In each scale level (large, medium, and detail), it is possible to discover different phenomena, processes and relationships affecting the planning and design solution. We give priority to scenario thinking, actors involved, and processes over time, which relate with changes and re-adaptation reflecting a particular view of society and the groups that compose it. In our work it is included social analysis specific to each case-study. Any planning strategy should consider ecology and community. It is the social involvement with the close environment and the understanding of potential self-organized processes of the community that can generate designed interventions that trigger processes of change evolving over time.[5] In this respect, we take into consideration principles of environmental planning, being aware that any alteration of the nature of the landscape, no matter how small, has deep implications for the ecological processes of the immediate area and the larger region. It also involves the respect for the heritage, the cultural identity and the historic context. The international workshops are always divided into five stages : analysis, strategy, tactics, actions, and evaluation. All these stages move from the large scale of the territory, to the medium scale of the neighbourhood, up to the detail scale of the design of the public space.

Istanbul, Golden Horn, a case study

Although the effect of globalization began to be felt since 1980´s, the idea that it is necessary to provide a new urban identity for the city of Istanbul, in relation with the new global dynamics, gained importance at the beginning of the 21st century. Industry retreated from the water fronts, and it left behind a passive social environment, with buildings that were no longer used and empty areas. Therefore, using these areas and creating new business opportunities are in Istanbul´s agenda today. Reforming the relation between the inhabitants and the waterfront through public

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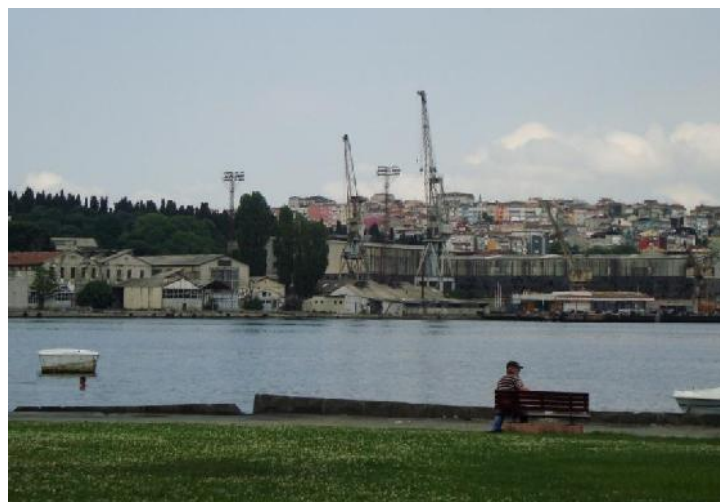
[3] Steinitz, Arias, Shearer, 2003
[4] Corner, 2006, pp.28-33.
[5] Moya, Türkyilmaz, Canbay Türkyilmaz, Eliziário, 2010, P.56

domain is one of the most important objectives planned to be implemented. Golden Horn has a great potential in order to become a new sustainable productive landscape that can give solutions for the needs of people in Istanbul.

The Golden Horn, estuary on the European side of Istanbul, has a relevant historical past. It was a natural harbour during the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire, as well as a trade centre of the Mediterranean and the Near East throughout the 10th and 11th centuries. Along the centuries it gained an Islamic identity, with the construction of religious centres, public buildings and mosques. In the 18th century the waterfronts became a famous residential and recreational area for the city. Old Galata Bridge, built in 1836, connected, for the first time, both shores. Also steamships started being used as public transportation. With the foundation of the Republic in 1923, Istanbul was a city of recessing economy and population. Higher income groups were emigrating to new housing areas in the periphery. In 1937, the Master Plan of the European side of Istanbul, by the French urban planner Henry Prost, aimed to modernize the city and to sustain the economic development. As a consequence, the Golden Horn was transformed into an industrial zone. The increase number of factories and commercial areas in the 1950´s had a serious impact on the physical relation between the city and the water, and on the environmental quality and socio-cultural structure of the Golden Horn and its surroundings. The housing areas lost their prestige and became worker neighbourhoods. On the other hand, slums appeared as a result of the immigration from rural areas. The Golden Horn, which used to be one of the main recreation areas of the city, became an unrecognizable industrial productive landscape, with a damaged relation between the city and the waterfront. In the 1980s, during the administration of Bedrettin Dalan, Mayor of Istanbul, an urban renewal effort was initiated to solve the main problems of rapid urbanization in the metropolis, such us traffic congestion, noxious factories and air pollution, lack of services, amenities, open and green spaces. As a result, the Golden Horn experienced a process of "greening". However, urban renewal was concentrated on a major cleansing effort and the beautification of the estuary rather than dealing with its environmental ecology or historic character. Buildings were demolished, residents displaced, and the estuary banks were replaced with parks. The cleaning-up of Golden Horn meant the demolitions of factories, illegal slaughterhouses, and historical buildings, without taking into account the cultural and historical character and identity of the buildings, the economical survival and the life of its inhabitants. The basic question is how to preserve and protect the multicultural and multifunctional character of Golden Horn, evaluating its built and socio-cultural heritage. The actual state of deterioration of its architectural heritage, the lack of public facilities, transportation, services, and local economic activities have transformed Golden Horn into an unsustainable area in its socio-economic structure. In order to propose a strategy for urban regeneration of Golden Horn, it is also necessary to reinvent a new productive landscape.
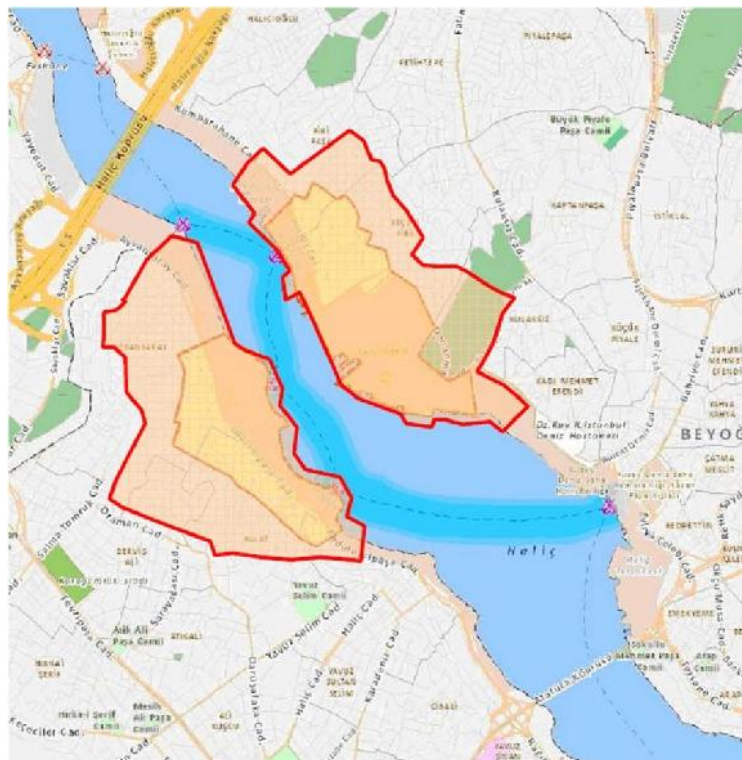

Fig.2 Golden Horn, view of the Waterfront of Hasköy and its arsenal, shipyard and warehouses.

GreenEngines, in its third. edition, "Golden Horn Urban Rehabilitation, Reinventing a Productive Landscape", aims to develop a new sustainable planning alternative for urban rehabilitation. It reconsiders those spaces that once were industrial, inserted in the urban tissue of the city, generating an economical, social, cultural and architectonic synergy. Once these industrial areas, and therefore productive landscapes, are abandoned and dismantled, urban voids become wastelands or in the case of Golden Horn in Istanbul, green areas and urban parks that do not take into consideration the rich socio-cultural structure surrounding them. Therefore, to achieve a sustainable strategy of urban regeneration of an obsolete urban area, in a process of decay, it is necessary to integrate heritage and culture, energy and food production, industry, tourism and education, leisure, nature and open spaces, housing, commerce and new means of transportation. Regarding local food production, parks and green urban networks can integrate food gardens as an ecological lung and source for local food production, self-organized activities and ecological education. Despite the fact that urban agriculture will never be self-sufficient to sustain the food needs of a city, and its ecological footprint, it allows social interaction within the local environment helping to educate new generations, introducing new sustainable habits.

Three different realities: Balat, Fener and Hasköy

The study area is located between Haliç Bridge (Golden Horn Bridge) and Unkapanı Bridge. It includes the Northern and Southern shores of the estuary of Beyoğlu and Fatih district, which at the present do not have a common planning and development strategy. The case study area is located in the area that corresponds with the ferry stops of Fener and Hasköy, and the former ferry stop of Balat.
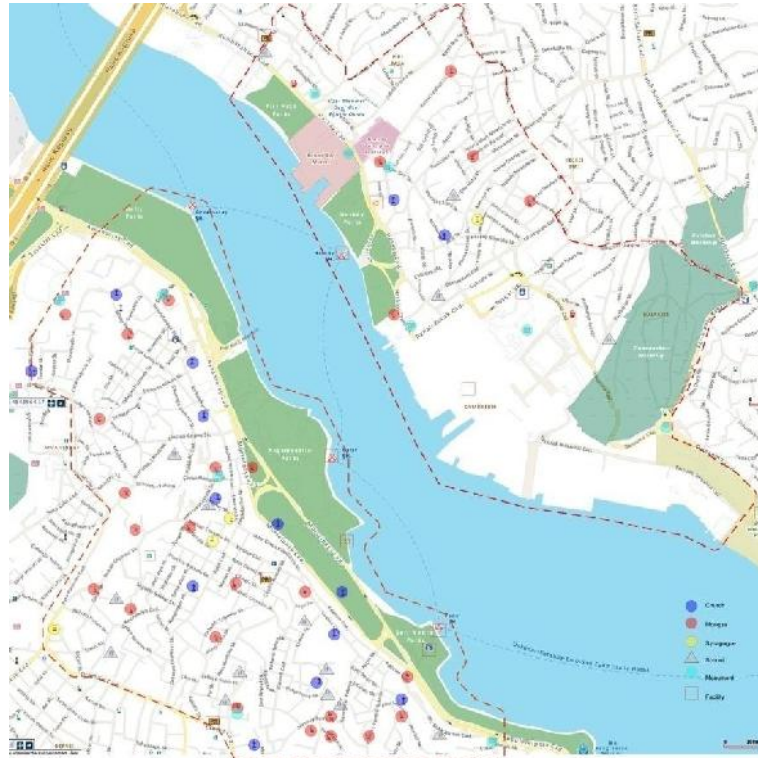

Fig.3 The location of case study area. The dark blue coloured area in Figure 1 shows the water transportation line. Dark pink parts indicate waterfronts in Golden Horn. The red line delimits our case study area.

Balat, today belongs to Fatih's district, in the southern shore of Golden Horn, with once grand but now narrow impoverished streets. It is believed that the name Balat is probably derived from Greek word palation (palace). It was formerly a centre of Istanbul's Jewish population. Following the earthquake of 1894 and a series of fires that affected not only the neighbourhood but the entire city

of Istanbul, the social structure of Balat underwent significant changes: The wealthiest section of the inhabitants left the district and moved to Galata. Emigration continued and one fourth of the population of Balat left for Israel after its establishment. After this period, the Jewish population was reduced to a minority, and a new wave of immigrants arrived from the towns of the Northern Anatolian region, especially from Kastamonu. After the 1960s, Balat suffered a transformation of the urban structure due to the heavy influx of newcomers, especially a further group of working class people who were attracted by job prospects of the industry and the rather low rent. Not only Sephardi Jews, but also Greeks and Muslims lived together in Balat for years. Although Jewish and Greeks still live there, their population is quite few compared with Muslim population. All neighbourhoods are listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Sites. Ahrida and Yanbol Synagogues, Ferruh Kethüda Mosque, Balatkapı Taksiarhes Church are some examples of Balat's architectural heritage. After the beginning of negotiation between Turkey and EU, unfortunately some houses in Balat were sold to EU citizens mostly from England and Germany. As a consequence, the price of houses increased suddenly and the local people began to leave their neighbourhood.

Fener is situated near Balat. Its name is derived from the Greek word "phanar", fanari. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is located here. It was formerly one of the major centres of Istanbul's Greek population, known as Phanariotes. The settlement structure changed in the 19th century. Prominent Greek families of Fener left the neighbourhood and moved to villages along the Bosphorus, such as Tarabya, Kuruçeşme and Arnavutköy. Until the 1960s, Fener preserved its identity as a Greek neighbourhood. At the end of the 19th century, the population structure started to change radically with the first wave of inhabitants immigrating to the bourgeois neighbourhoods of Istanbul (the Prince's Islands, Kadıköy and Şişli). In the 1960s, a second emigration wave occurred, when the Greeks left Istanbul in large numbers. The deterioration of the characteristic waterfront as a result of industrialization had an impact on Fener as well. Following the 1960s, new inhabitants arriving from the Black Sea region started to settle in the area in large numbers. Today, mostly low-income families are living in here. Bulgarian Iron (St. Stephan) Church, Church of St. Mary of the Mongols and Fener Greek Orthodox College are among Fener's architectural heritage.

Today, Fener and Balat are squeezed between city walls dating from the Byzantine period and hills surrounding the region in the other directions. Both quarters are not attractive because of the low visibility seen from the transit road and a lack of parking facilities. Fener and Balat are designed according to a unique road plan where a continuing array of streets intersect one another at perpendicular angles. The urban structure of the district is rather peculiar and can be traced to the division of plots following the fires that damaged the districts. The architectural uniqueness of the districts can be traced from the religious buildings and the facades projecting a harmonious view because of the bow windows. The height of buildings in the district varies between one and four storeys. Over half of the buildings date to the pre-1930 period and give the area its characteristic atmosphere. Following these buildings in the order of importance, are those built between 1930 and 1950, which continue this architectural characteristic but at the same time reflect the interesting features of the time period.

Fig.4 Detail of the case study area of Balat, Fener and Hasköy with information about the nature of its intercultural character (churches, mosques, synagogues, schools, monuments and different public facilities).

Hasköy, is a neighbourhood on the northern side of the Golden Horn in Beyoğlu district. The word Has-köy means "imperial village". In the late 15th century, Sephardi Jews also settled in this quarter. The neighbourhood at one time also had many Armenian and Greek residents. Hasköy was a trading center for ages with dockyards and warehouses. The first Armenian theater company in Istanbul was opened there in 1858. Today, Taşkızak Dockyard is located in Hasköy and many local people work here. Although it is an important place for Istanbul's history, dwellers of Istanbul know very little about this neighbourhood. Aynalıkavak Palace, Rahmi M. Koç Museum, Istanbul Naval Hospital are among some of the important architectural heritage of Hasköy. There are cemeteries in Hasköy that belongs to Muslims, Jewish, Greeks and Armenians.

While Hasköy and Fener have their own ferry pier connecting both shores, in Balat the former ferry pier is removed. Each opposite shore has similarities but also different characteristics. Although the southern shore is more residential compared with the northern shore, it is hardly possible to differentiate what is residential and what industrial. Especially in Hasköy there is mix-usage in many buildings. In Fener and Balat, we see many unique examples of residential architecture, however, only few of them are in good condition. One of the most common characteristics of each opposite shore is a high population density. The low-education and low-income level of the inhabitants have bad side-effects on the social participation and social commitment in the preservation and maintenance of the quarters.

Research objectives for Golden Horn

It was expected from the participants in the third edition of the workshop in Istanbul to find appropriate solutions to the following problems: Transportation (inadequate vehicle network, reorganization of ferry lines, insufficient pedestrian ways), Green public spaces and new uses (insufficient and new usage of green areas, disconnection between city and waterfronts), Cultural identity (insufficient usage of local resources, failure of social recognition, deterioration), Bottom-up synergies (social insecurity, deficiency in social participation and social commitment, Illegal

settlements). Through the analysis the participants could evaluate the qualities, potentials and problems of the site cultural built patterns, urban and architectonic identity, built heritage, housing typologies, transportation and road systems, food systems, diversity of green areas and public spaces, industry and commerce, leisure and tourism, multicultural synergies, diversification of the use of the space, public participation, self-organized activities, boundaries, conflict zones, wastelands, sacred spaces, historical settings, established community habits and traditions). In this phase, participants were guided by experts with a visit to the site and parallel lectures about Istanbul context and the specific case study.

The different groups were asked to draw a urban planning, and landscape planning strategy, which could identify different approaches in the time implementation of an urban rehabilitation project for the area of Balat, Fener and Hasköy. The main goal was the reinvention of a productive landscape considering the multicultural and multifunctional character of Golden Horn, and taking into account its built and socio-cultural heritage. The students worked in the creation of scenarios and actors involved mapping processes of change,re-adaptation and preservetion. Based on the strategy, different proposed tactics were studied. The working groups answered the following question: How do we reinvent a space that already has its own synergies, cultural patterns and multi cultural social identity? How do we integrate different programs to achieve a multifunctional space? How do we bring together food, leisure, tourism , housing and industry?
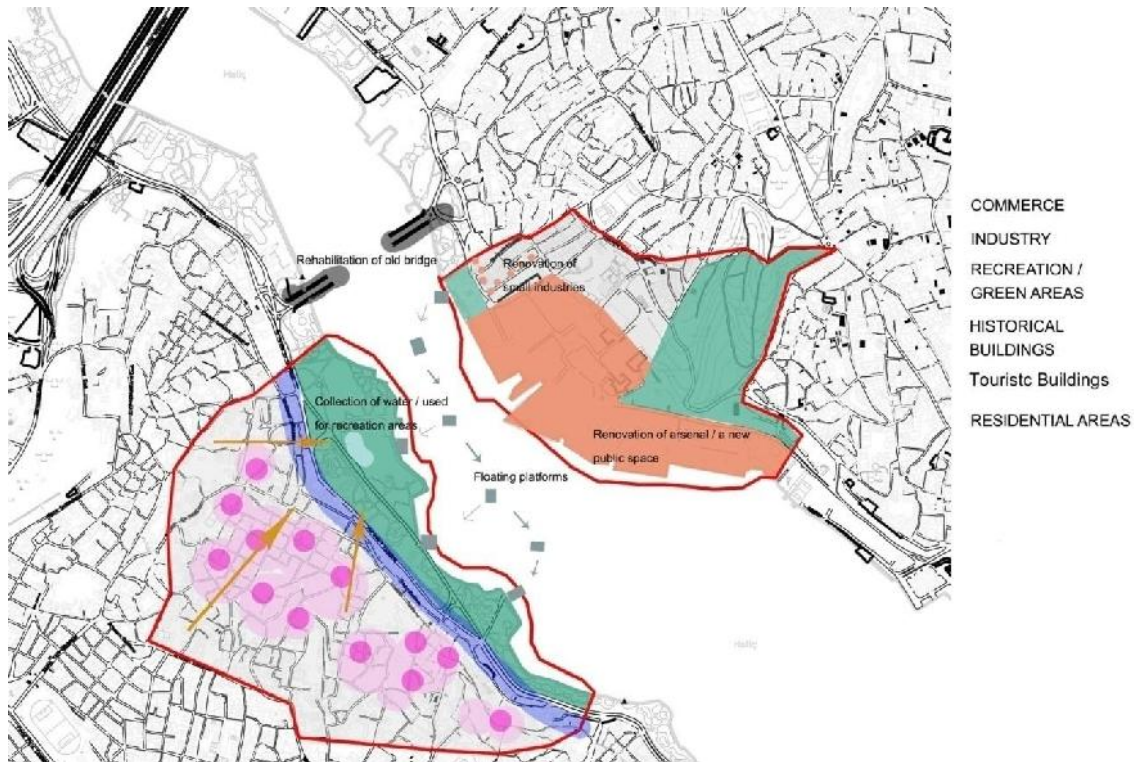
Based on the tactics, different design actions are developed. It involves the small scale design decisions and it answers the question WHAT? What type of urban landscape we will have as a result? What type of street-life, housing areas and neighbourhood facility programs we will achieve? What type of parks, green areas and public spaces do we need? The evaluation will help to draw the conclusions about the results and value their strengths and weaknesses.

Workshop outcomes

Sense of water in public spaces: planning a sustainable future for tourism, heritage and environment.

Group 1, M. Albano (Technical University Lisbon), D. Karadeniz (Yildiz Technical University) and E. Özkiliç and B. Özirişen (Istanbul Kültür University), consider that the water of the estuary has a leisure and cultural character that may help to connect physically and psychologically both shores, and also to improve the social integration between the different cultural groups and the citizens of Istanbul. They develop a rehabilitation plan based on four strategic decisions. First, they consider the rehabilitation of the old bridge for pedestrians, along with platforms on the water for cultural activities, sports and recreation. Second, Fener and Balat are neighbourhoods located in a hill, with steep streets downwards the estuary. The selection of specific axial main arteries to guide the rain water downwards the park at the waterfront is relevant. These platforms contain sculptures and follies, which give identity to the park and the water can be used for irrigation. The park contains also kiosks, to be used as libraries or bookstores, in order to encourage the dissemination of culture and self-development and attract visitors and residents to Golden Horn.

Fig.5 Strategic plan of rehabilitation for the case study on Golden Horn under the theme "Sense of Water in Public Spaces".© Albano, Karadeniz, Özkiliç and Özirişen.

Third, they give a new use to some of the historical residential buildings in Balat and Fener. The rehabilitation of existing housing blocks as touristic apartments has a positive effect in the dynamization of the life in the streets and its public space. Their last and fourth strategy is to rethink a new use for the arsenal and the shipyards in Hasköy. They propose a new program of an open museum and a public park that can be visited by the citizens of Istanbul and tourists.
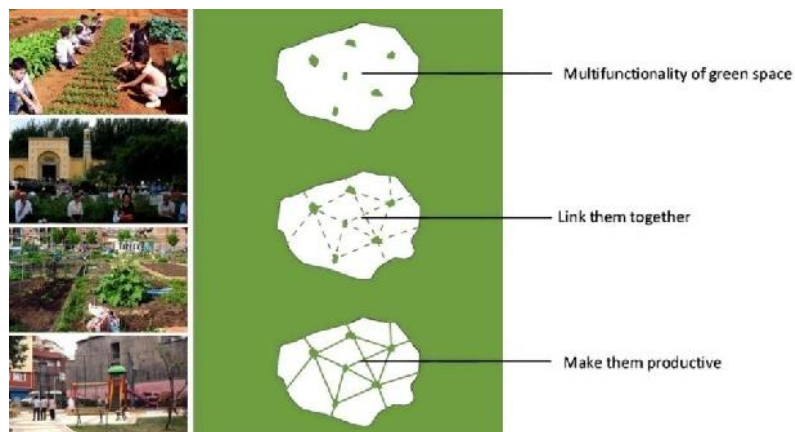
Green dynamic, rethinking the dynamics of the sea

Group 2, M. Reis (Instituto Superior Manuel Teixeira Gomes), E. Firinciogullari (Yildiz Technical University) and S. Killiç, A. Boztepe (Istanbul Kültür University), make a comprehensive SWOT analysis on the case study area. According to their analysis, they outline the most important strategic points of both shores of the estuary establishing strong visual connections towards the water. Using these strategic points, they propose a dynamic circuit for the area. On this dynamic circuit, they create follies inspired in "Parc de la Villette" to encourage cultural activities. To connect both shores, they suggest two new pedestrian bridges and around them new public spaces are defined. They restructure all the road system to improve the traffic connection inside the districts. To preserve the identity of the area, they propose new industrial and commercial areas. In the habitational areas they create new green spaces using the urban voids, which include community parks and urban agriculture. What is important in their strategic proposal is the dynamic connectivity of the space, in which pedestrians, bicycles and cars are segregated, and when they meet together, there is always a priority for the pedestrian. The pedestrian bridges also contain greenery, and spaces for commercial exchange such as street markets. The objective is to allow the neighbours to move freely between the neighbourhoods, in an enclosed circuit.

Fig.6 Strategic plan of rehabilitation, dynamic connectivity of pedestrians, green areas and road traffic. Visualization of examples of pedestrian bridges and folies at night © , M. Reis, E. Firinciogullari S. Killiç, A. Boztepe.

Green network, continuous productive urban landscape

Group 3, C. Cardoso (Technical University Lisbon), A. Çaynak (Yildiz Technical University) and H. Savli (Istanbul Kültür University), develop in their strategic planning the concept of continuity of productive landscapes. The analysis help them to understand the multicultural nature of this urban area in which different social and cultural groups do not cohabit, instead they live isolated. They also observe that there is a lack of pedestrian accessibility and pedestrian continuity. One of the aims of their rehabilitation plan is to create a sense of social belonging and proximity among the community.
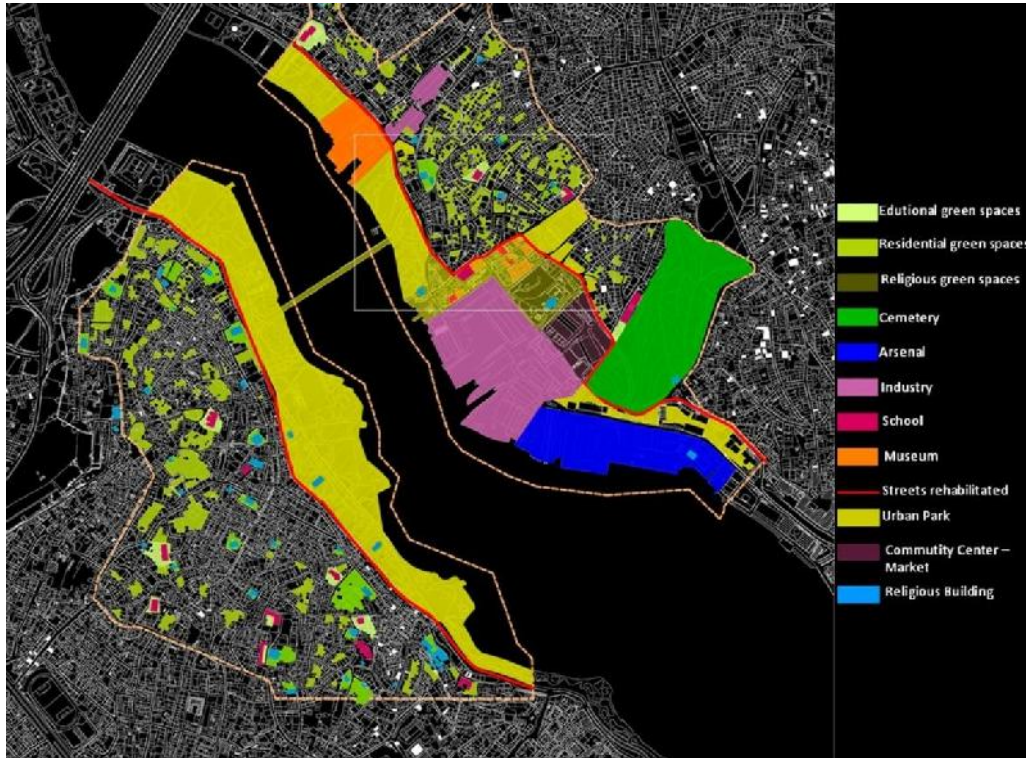

Fig.7 Strategy to create a network system of open green spaces. It is created four multifunctional green spaces, spaces for public use, educative spaces, spaces of exchange and productive spaces (food gardens). © C. Cardoso (TUL), A. Çaynak (YTU) and H. Savli (IKU).

Their first strategy is to promote the mixture of uses and programs and the requalification of the public space. It is important the rehabilitation of housing areas, with the participation of the same community and providing identity by means of a new market and a new bridge. The bridge is a space of exchange of the communities for street commerce. It is also important the rehabilitation of the old arsenal, as a big market place for the whole city, creating a new centrality. The second

strategy is to create a network system of open green spaces. They also suggest new walking paths and a touristic route, giving priority to the pedestrians. All the different green areas are interconnected. They characterize four categories of green spaces which include food gardens (residential, educational, religious, and urban parks). These green spaces create a network that stimulates the social participation and a sense of belonging.

Fig.8 Strategic plan with the location of the green network and food gardens. © C. Cardoso (TUL), A. Çaynak (YTU) and H. Savli (IKU).

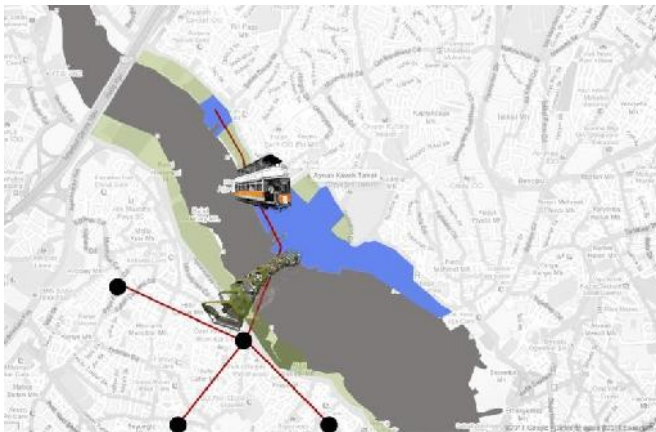### Fragile, improving physical and social networks

Group 4, A. Soler (Politechnic University of Catalonia), M. Süleyman, O. Özbudak, E. Meva Tokmak (Istanbul Kültür University), analyze the negative and positive aspects of the case study area. Among the most important issues that they stress is the disconnection of these neighbourhoods of Golden Horn from the rest of the city. It is difficult to find landmarks or meeting points except from the skyline of the arsenal and the shipyard in Hasköy. Another important topic that they detect is that women in these areas do not move far away from their homes. They come from families in the Black Sea, with few resources, poor education and strict traditional rules.

Their first strategy is to improve the road system, by changing the section of the existing avenue, in order to make disappear the limit of the traffic road. By hiding the cars, it is possible to have views of the waterfront and bring closer the water to the neighbourhoods. Their second strategy is to connect both sides of the Golden Horn, by a new bridge, in front of the arsenal, and a new public transportation system by tram, with stops in Balat, Fener and Hasköy. A third strategy is to improve the social life of women living in these neighbourhoods. With new public spaces and public facilities it is possible to improve the quality of life of the women collective.

Fig.9 Women in Balat, Fener and Hasköy move close distances and they are dependent on their home duties.© GreenEngines

They create a social and cultural centre for women in Balat, well linked by the new tram, and in front of the new pedestrian bridge. This new social building has a semi-public courtyard where social relations with the community take place. The building offers workspaces for women where they can socialize. Their last strategy is to create a landmark by means of giving new functions to the old arsenal area. It contains a program of restaurants, exhibitions, concerts, workshops, a library, and a space for cultural activities. It would be a meeting point of the local people and the inhabitants of Istanbul. In this way, the new program adapts to the scale of the neighbourhood and the scale of the city.

Fig.10 Strategic plan of rehabilitation, Social women center in fron of a pedestrian bridge and a network of public transportation by tram. The blue area is the new Center of Arts of the arsenal and shipyards. © , M. Reis, E. Firinciogullari S. Killiç, A. Boztepe.

Conclusions

Any strategic plan for a sustainable urban rehabilitation that aims to activate an economic productive urban landscape should take in account the society and the community needs. In our case, all the strategic plans proposed by the students show a sensibility, and a deep analysis, of the heterogeneous and multicultural character of the communities living in the area. They also present a concern for the critical poor and isolated conditions of the inhabitants. All the proposals aim to strengthen, through strategic urban tactics, a sense of belonging and social cohesion. In this sense, the waterfront and the green spaces are the two main elements of cohesion for all the proposals. All of them see as a priority the reconstruction or the rehabilitation of a pedestrian bridge that links both shores. In two of the proposals a new bridge is built connecting Fener with the Arsenal area. All the proposals give priority to the pedestrians versus the car, trying to solve networks of connectivity by foot, and the construction of a public tram line. Identity is one of the themes that is repeated along the strategic proposals, which has two scales, the scale of the neighbourhood, and the scale of the city. For the local scale, there is a concern for the women and the need of public space for social interaction; together with a special care for the connection of public buildings and playgrounds with green spaces for education and urban agriculture. In all the strategic proposals, there is an urge to rethink different ways to restore and rehabilitate the traditional housing areas, in a state of decay. All the groups decide that the best way to do it is by microsurgery and processes of community self-organization. The area of study needs a new identity also at the macro scale of the city of Istanbul, therefore, the arsenal and the shipyard is transformed into an important cultural centre. In a megacity like Istanbul, a neighbourhood is an island that if it is not attractive, if it does not offer a public space and public services for the city, it extinguishes and decays relentlessly, creating a ghetto or a void in the city. In our case we opted to create a new area of centrality, with its multicultural richness and a rich program for educational, entertainment, nature and the attractiveness of community self-organized ecologic food gardens.

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Urban space transformation in old city of Baghdad
-Integration and management-

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Introduction

Like all historical sites in Mesopotamia emerged to serve the Humanity all over the world, Baghdad stands on the top of cities giving an excellent example of the dramatic development through decades. The city which stands on the river Tigris and not far away from Babylon faced multi-faceted transformation procedures in the physical and cultural environment due to natural and political issues. Baghdad city has a lot of urban features which belong to different historical periods. The transformation from a circular fortification city to organic pattern reflects the local contents of physical and socio-economic characteristics. The city kept its compact structure till the beginning of British colonial period in 1917. The inner shape and urban components started to change until we reach a very critical situation nowadays. Today this city faces urban decay and segregation due to the uncontrolled planning policies and started to lose its bright heritage architecture and urban fabric in severe way especially after three grinding wars.

The absence of development strategies to protect the urban heritage of Baghdad allowed the modern structure to reach the peripheries of the old part and destroyed the inner part where historical monuments and quarters exist. The approach was to enhance modernism in the 1970s and 1980s trough new architecture and technical facilities. The strong interference in the historical structure accompanied with strong market power extension caused a real damage in spaces that have spiritual and historical influence and the sever interference caused more devastation of the existing urban places and created also more vacant lands and not defined space. The spatial configuration of the whole city was modified and the city structure was mixed. Conflicts in urban structure and urban space accompanied with socio-economic problems were the result. The old city was divided into several parts and created spaces which are not a meeting points but segregation borders for each part. What made the situation worse was the absence of regulation which controlled any urban development procedure accompanied with a monster of corruption which allowed more destruction for more traditional buildings and sites.

The transformation of urban space

1-From a geometric circular city to an organic pattern

The round city of Baghdad took four years for construction (762-766 AD). The city had symmetric streets surrounded by geometrical residential blocks and three walls. The city considered as revolutionary aspect in urban planning[1]. The round city had circular and concentric shape surrounded by three walls and four gates (Fig1). The third inner wall separated between public and private space. The wall usually separates the private houses from the public courtyard which

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[1] Al-Ashab, 1974,s.134, 135.

includes the governmental buildings surrounded by the two main public buildings, the palace and the mosque[2].

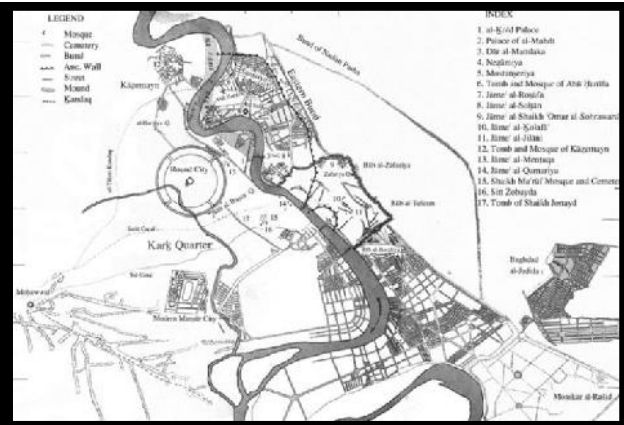The round city had no recreation spaces, gardens, statues, and gymnasium and public monuments. The impressive buildings inside the round city were only the Royal palace and the mosque with its market which occupied the four radial streets.

Fig 1:- The round city of Baghdad, Le strange s. 15

Fig 2:- Baghdad morphology till the end of Abbasid Empire, Private collection

The area of the round city became limited and there was no sufficient space to adapt more facilities or to cope with the increasing population. The city started to expand beyond its wall as a result of increased numbers of immigrants and emerged to the new capital. The urban area sprawled around the walls in a complex of urban elements. Each one has its own market, mosque and institutions. Later the market became the vital part of the city rather than the palace that gave a dynamic power to enhance the city to grow[3]. A big quarter was built in the eastern part from the round. The Mosque was the first monument built in the area and the palace was built after. The new city was circumscribed by wall and moat and was connected to the round city by a bridge[4]. The city center was moved again and a new palace was built. The main new public center was surrounded by half circular wall. A new expansion took place again and a new wall was built around for more protection from the external powers (Fig 2). The city kept its structure and wall till the end of 19 Century[5] . The city was defeated and occupied by the Mongolians and from that time up to the 20th century the city has been occupied several times from different groups.

2-Baghdad under the Ottoman period

A sketched map of the 17th century a drawn map shows that Baghdad had a quadrilateral wall with a 4th gate on Tigris River, called the water gate (Fig 3). In the 18th century a detailed and scaled map based on survey was drawn for the first time. The map documented the city wall with its four gates, Kulwatha Gate or Eastern Gate, Muatham Gate, Wistani Gate and Talsam Gate (Fig4). It was mentioned that there were 20 big mosques, 22 Khans and many public like baths in this period.

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[2] Le strange, 1900,s.14.
[3] Allawi, 1988,s.70.
[4] Al-Hiti, 1979 ,s.15.
[5] AL-Silq,2008,s.60.

Figure 3:- Baghdad in 17th Century,Susa 1952   **Figure 4:-** Baghdad in 18th Century, Susa 1952

In the 19th century the urban components were highly ordered and integrated. Its regulation created a kind of homogeneity in an ordered hierarchical relationship and connection. The space of the old city was more organized, according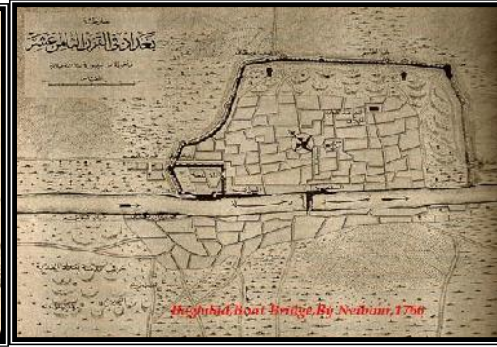 to the geometrical shape of the city. In the second half of the 19th century the city's isolation was reduced due to technical facilities like steamboats, railways … etc. The street pattern was narrow and bended. The housing units consisted of two stories with protruding wooden windows covering the streets. These windows created an atmosphere like street tunnels between the buildings. The commercial streets (Suq) were covered to have more protection from rain in winter and heat and dusty storms in summer. The Suq was located near the citadel which was the main administrative center. The houses adjacent to citadel and Suq were occupied by different ethnic groups like Christians, Jewish and Muslims.

The Industrialization in the 19th century had a massive destructive influence on the Muslim city and society, transmitted by the colonization process in 20th century. The Ottoman started to line the first street/axis in Baghdad and tried to transmit the Westernization in the urban development style.

3- Baghdad in 20th century

The plan of Baghdad had changed little in 1912 despite the population was doubled since 1853. The map, drawn by German army indicated that some parts of the western wall were removed. It also shows the first car street, the AL-Rasheed Street, in eastern part and the new German rail station in western part. After World War I urbanism in Baghdad was newly structured due to the colonial strategies of the British mandate and later the establishment of the higher council for reconstruction in 1950 which set the modern planning concept for the city.

At the time of the British mandate which was followed by the foundation of the Iraqi Kingdom, a new axis was build to connect the main points of city[6]. In the early 20th century four types of land use was found: religious, governmental, residential and commercial. Those types were mixed and not separated considering the main characteristics of Middle East cities[7]. In the beginning of 20th century the religious land use had many mosques, churches, synagogues and cemeteries, located near the Tigris River and on the peripheries of Old city. The change of governmental land use was related to the change in government itself. A dyke was constructed to ensure a safe extension of the governmental land use and the whole city. Because of the dykes, the city grew in two directions: the first towards the Northwest and the other towards the Southeast. The growth changed the city in long and narrow shape. As result the governmental land use extended in two directions: the first adjacent to the old citadel and the other to outskirts[9]. One of the most important reasons for country development in Iraq is the prevalence of state-owned land. This allowed a large-scale-expansion in governmental buildings and projects sponsored by the state, like the palace of the Hashemite royal family which was built in 1920 in north part of city. Unfortunately the

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[6] Pieri, 2008.s.267.
[7] Gulick, 1967,s. 248,250.

urban development programs neglected the urban legacy concerning restoration and conservation of the old heritage sites. Some projects were done inside the heritage city, in spite there were many expensive and undeveloped areas around it[8] . Clear layouts with streets were founded accompanied by balconied houses which started to change the idea of family privacy. That was the end of the traditional house model. After the regime changed, the governmental center moved to more south of old city across the river. A new campus was also built in the same area to control the volatile students. Between World War I and II, three main streets were penetrated the old fabric parallel to the river. A new western middle class style started outside the old city with detached houses built in the corner and walled garden depending on the plot size. New neighborhoods appeared outside the old city and were not reflecting the traditional houses which belong originally to Sumerian. The city expanded horizontally about 20 km from the old city center in all directions. Plots with 300 to 600m2 were granted to people who were affiliated in different ministries and organizations. The urban fabric expanded in the Northwest towards Adhamiya and in the Southeast towards Diyala. In 1956 Spencely and P. W. Macfarlane proposed a road system connecting the old urban core with new river bridges and the outlined zones. In 1958 The Iraqi Government assigned Dioxides to prepare a master plan to the fast expanding city of Baghdad with other projects regarding rural and urban housing. They supposed a rectangular area along southeast and northwest axis of the Tigris River. They suggested a bulk of new roads in addition to the existing roads to subdivide the rectangular area. A grid system was proposed to accommodate the residential sectors and subsectors with a little modification in the middle of the city to adapt the commercial center which located in the old city center and o in its edges. The industrial zones were located at the edges of the rectangular form[9]. A comprehensive development plan was authorized for Baghdad in 1970 by Polservice. This plan set the administrative boundaries for the city and the development strategies till 2000[10]. The new master plan took a great attention to develop the suburban as part of the concept of "Greater Baghdad" of the city beyond its existed boundaries. It is suggested to create new counter –magnets in the north and south to reduce the pressure on the city centre meanwhile the city center should play a big role to participate in serving the Greater Baghdad. Polservice proposed to change the functional character of the old quarters with preservation as many as possible of the traditional historic sites and urban fabric. Large open spaces were used for monumental projects since 1980[11]. Anew conservation planning concept was proposed in 1982. The strategy was to create a buffer zone around the heritage center by enhancing the development of CBD around. The project was partly achieved due to first gulf war. Due to unstable political situation since 1990 till now the conservation and the urban development projects were not ambitious like in eighties and the city focused more to have proposals rather than the achievements of conservation and restoration works.

4-Baghdad in 21th century: Urban secure spaces after war 2003

Cities historically initiated with the need to be safe and have experienced many changes to have more protection from violence. Fortifications walls were one of the basics to have more security. The behavior in criminal urban areas is ranged from skip the places, to changing the places and have more protection inside the spaces. Newman believes that restructuring the space elements and zones by clear definition of public, semi public, semi private and private spaces could limit the effect of criminality[12].

After the war in Iraq 2003 the old city center of Baghdad was a theater for military operations and terrorisms attack. The space configuration, accessibility and functions have changed dramatically. Concrete barriers hindered the accessibility for the main public spaces and isolated the city core from the surrounding expansion area. The result was two separated cities attached to each other.

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[8] Alhaidary, 2009.s51.
[9] Pyla, 2008.s.8.
10 Polservice,1973.s.18.
[11] Nooraaddin , 2004.s.79.
[12] Neumann,1972.

Concrete barriers worked as cordons around main public buildings, main commercial streets and residential areas. They dominated the whole urban scene. This was the only possible way to secure the users and residents in such compact urban form like in Baghdad.

The integration between the old part and the whole city was broken and the central business district CBD was scattered and spread overall the city. The concrete barriers have isolated in many parts the main commercial and public streets which are penetrating the old city core from their walkways sides with special cordons around the main public buildings. Isolated and protected spaces in pedestrian walk ways were connected to each other in both main streets through the central market in between. They look like built spaces inside wider space and have the shape of open tunnels (Fig 5).

 AL-Rasheed Street for example was blocked totally for the vehicular movement and was divided into two sectors, the first one started from the south up to the isolated central bank area, which located approximately in the middle and then connected to the other sector through the main central market by narrow walkways isolated by concrete barriers. The second sector of AL-Rasheed Street continued up to Maidan and was blocked at the end, where the ministry of defense (old castle) was also an isolated cordon. On the other hand AL-Kulafa Street walkways on both sides were isolated by barriers creating new commercial spaces on both sides connected with each other by small holes in the barriers and connected to AL-Rasheed Street through the main market area (Fig 9). The space configuration of the whole area was changed and shaped by three meter concrete barriers instead of geometrical buildings. Gentrification problems increased and the residential areas were isolated in several zones, which have their own facilities.

In spite of the collapsed space system, the isolated spaces reflected the necessity to have such pedestrian zones and stopped the vehicular movements in some parts inside the old city like the AL-Rasheed Street and revitalized the traditional compact system in some parts. One good example to what happened in the tradition books markets, after it was destroyed by a bombing car in 2006 and rehabilitated by integrating wide walkway instead of vehicular street (Fig 7,8). The number of visitor was significantly increased and it is doubtless the only space now which is freely accessible. The new urban protected method in Baghdad starts to explain the idea of secure spaces. The hierarchy of spaces is getting back one step by introducing semi public spaces instead of having real public spaces. Unfortunately there were not enough references to cover the situation in old city after war and here efforts were briefly done to explain it within space, idea and form. The concrete barriers are going to be removed partially after the improvement in security situation and the feelings to get back free open spaces was urgently needed. The residents started to express their willing to have a vital urban life and they tried to convert the solid concrete in such nice portraits (Fig 6).

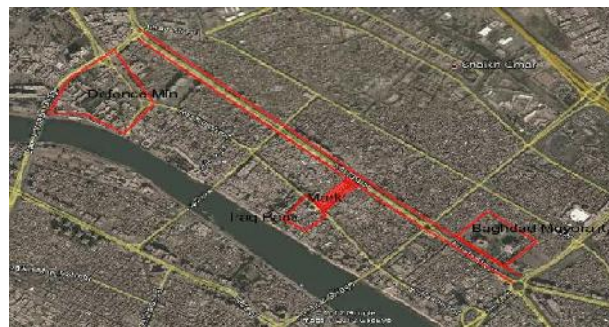**Figure 5**: Commercial spaces behind barriers

Fig 6: Integrating the concrete barriers within city

Figure 7:Traditional books markets

Figure 8: Traditional books markets
after destruction

Figure 9: Concrete Barriers distribution in old city

Transform analysis of Old Baghdad urban space

Radical urban space transformation could be experienced in Baghdad during the last decades. It was affecting the homogeneity of the existing urban fabric while Patterns of new urban forms and modernism movements in living were taking place and were affecting the homogeneity of the existing urban fabric. That affects often varied between damage, reconfiguration and remove and were creating new urban typologies with the existing traditional one. The self-organized urban form was interrupted by a planned and planted one. The result was two different space languages competing against each other. Those new added urban elements have created an interrupted urban pattern, which were so far from having continuity, coherence and integrity with the surroundings. The quality, use and nature of the urban space in Baghdad based on different spatial concepts, urban patterns and building typologies. Baghdad started with a circular geometric shape (round city) between 767 and 912 AD, with clearly defined spaces and separations among different levels of spaces. The public spaces were well controlled because of the defensive nature of the city. That was the main reason why the city expanded outside the wall. New more spaces organized from private to public were created, which had more flexibility and accessibility and could adapt the population growth. The new expanded areas, which con now the existing city core, have been created vital and valuable spaces since many decades. Shifting the power of creating spaces from designated places like in the round city to natural development, done by inhabitance, has established a clear transition approved by all users from their private life to their public activities. The public and administrative buildings and their attached spaces were located as longitudinal ordered strips along the river frontage. They had high connectivity to other urban components because of the graduation in movement among different spaces. Specified Markets along with public buildings and the river frontage have established well defined and active public spaces. The city kept its harmonized spaces and urban form until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the following one. Since the modern colonial pattern was implanted in the 20th

century the mutual relations and hierarchies among spaces, have been altered and the power to create their spaces has been extracted from users again. The new geometrical spaces were enforced and new wide streets barriers established multi semi closed cordons. The new elements have created more than one district isolated from the others. The expansion of the city has increased the pressure on old Baghdad city's core economically, socially and physically. The rapid transformation in use, from private housing to commercial one, has affected the meaning and the type of spaces. The hierarchies of spaces have been changed since the privacy started to disappear and converted to publicity. The resulted public spaces are still searching for their identity and arrangement. They are looking as fragmented spaces without clear references (Fig 10).

Figure 10: Urban space Transformation in

Space classifications and typologies

The development and design of urban open space is based on hierarchies and typologies and is related to the information that could be gained and collected from the surroundings. Many typologies and hierarchies have been developed by grouping categories of spaces as a tool of planning. Krier based his urban space typologies on basic geometrical shapes (square, circle and triangle) found in the ground plan accompanied with space scale[13].He believed that external and internal spaces both committed with function and form. The privacy belongs to the internal space which is covered and protected from external physical and natural environment while publicity belongs to external spaces which are accessible and have freely movement to semi public and private areas[14] .The internal space was categorized by the corridor and room while external one is categorized by square and street. Both categories shared the geometrical characteristics and were distinguished by dimension, function and circulation. Krier mentioned that public space organization has a great affect on private spaces. Lynch went far from the basics of geometrical shape of space and moved to the overlapped unique images of the city which composed by residents[14]. The city is a composition and an integration of many spaces reflects the mental realization and continuity. The visual and functional hierarchies in urban space compose the main structure of the city image. Lynch set some dimensions in urban space to have good spatial form like vitality, sense, accessibility, control, fitting the behavioral actions and efficiency[15]. The urban space is affected by social classes, population characteristics and neighborhood functions. Hillier believed that the space configuration helps to create the relation between people and their living

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[13] Krier 1979, s.15,16,22.
[14] Lynch, 1960,s. 46.
[15] Lynch, 1981.s.118.

space[16]. Typologies of the urban space, provided by Lynch, based on hard landscape like squares, plazas, linear parks, playgrounds wasteland and parks[17]. Others were using hierarchical approach to classify the urban space and their use depending on planning levels like local district and metropolitan or either on regional levels. The recent trend suggested the classification of space into domestic, neighborhood and civic. The city of Baghdad has a large number of civic and public spaces with valuable historical character. The city core has also an economical importance as part of the main central business districts (CBD). It is also characterized socially by meeting points for the whole community in regional, local and neighborhood levels. In combining the ideas above of grouping and classifying urban spaces typologies and according to the variation of spaces emerged from the transformation process through many decades, the current urban spaces in Baghdad could be classified into two main typologies and transformational categories based on the current arrangement of urban components, accessibility and the relationship between privacy and publicity after the transformation process. The two typologies are Traditional-survived spaces and modern-emerged spaces which divided into Hybrid urban spaces and complete modern urban spaces.

1- Traditional-survived spaces

The Traditional survived spaces preserved its coherent urban components and the identity of the Islamic walled city. Currently, those parts scattered overall city core and look like spots which are not connected to each other (Fig11). The traditional living habits and values are still presented in these parts of the old core, in spite of urban decay and deterioration that has occurred in their physical characteristics. The hierarchies in urban spaces still keep a softer transition character among urban components, accompanied by a regulated relationship, started from the private courtyard house. Neighborhood quarter spaces are cond by an organic pattern with traditional street network like in any Islamic cities. They located normally far from the river front area and are attached to common places which include the secondary local market spines, small mosques and local services. The markets are the main public space at the end of space chain located in the heart of city and cond as central and continuous spines. The main central markets have direct connections with the main public buildings, historical monuments and riverfront areas. The old city is part of the central business district in Baghdad. In 1984 survey it was estimated that the old core occupied about 25% from the CBD[18] . The specialist markets have been well connected to each other since they considered the main carrier to the whole parts of the city. Most markets are covered and have narrow width with small shops with maximum 3 m elevation width. Many monumental buildings scattered along the urban fabric. They are divided into mosques, churches, tombs, schools and Palace. The public spaces inside the traditional urban fabric are a result of connecting those monuments together.

2- Modern -emerged spaces

2.1 Hybrid urban space represents the penetration of public spaces and facilities inside the private space. The change in the character of space has modified the hierarchy of space inside the city. More transformation of private spaces into public ones has occurred. This type of space character was cond as a result of the partly invasion of modern urban pattern inside the historic one. After new building typologies and streets have interrupted the old traditional one, different topologies with variation in shape, nature and use were established. This normally can be seen in the modern shopping center inside the traditional Shorja suq and in the edges between high rise buildings and traditional fabric, where three commercial streets (AL-Kifah Street, AL-Kulafa street and Sheik Omar Street) penetrated the traditional fabric (Fig12).Another kind of hybrid spaces composed by the alteration of function and spatial context of the traditional urban spaces like Maidan. It is like plazas which considered larger than squares. Its importance belongs to the location, function and
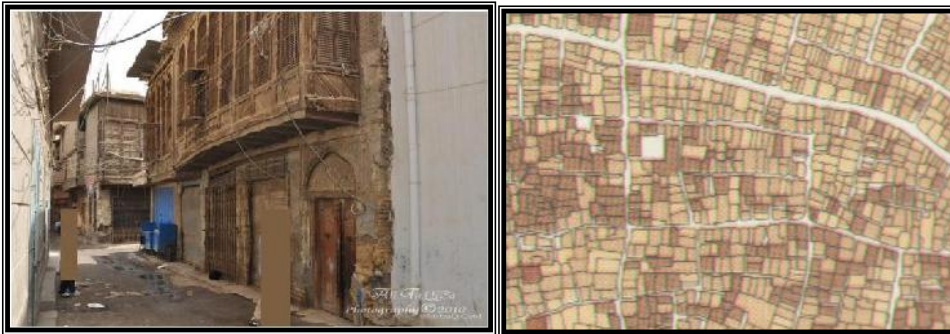

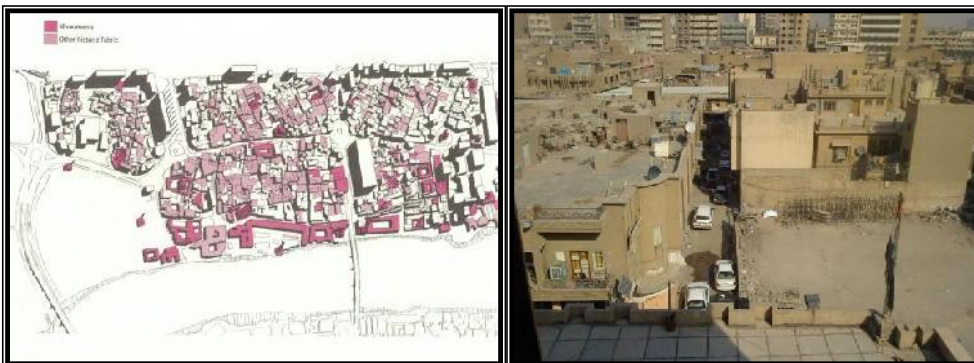[16] Hielier, 1996,s.22.
[17] Woolley, 2003, s. 73.
[18] JCP,1984.s10.

the spatial context. In Baghdad city there was a big plaza called Maidan which considered the main public civic center located near the citadel. Maidan is a ground space attached to the north gate of Old Baghdad and used of multi purposes. It was a public space where people connected to the administrative public buildings, although a new urban project converted Maidan to a main bus station; it remains the large space inside the traditional area. As a result of modernization and the invasion of new structures many loss spaces emerged. The loss spaces had no private or public uses and spread overall the city core.

2.2 Modern urban spaces were founded through the complete destruction of wide parts of the old structure, substituted by planted big campuses like the central bank of Iraq Campus and mayoralty of Baghdad Campus. The segregation is obvious between those spaces and their surroundings. This type encourages the surrounding traditional area to transform in the same form and morphology of the new campuses as well as increasing the production of hybrid spaces in their edges (Fig13). Modern Urban Planning from 1924 until 1970 converted urban spaces to high speed perpendicular pathways connected by multipurpose squares. The pathways were converted gradually into modern commercial alleys. The results were different urban space form inside the old urban fabric. The central districts were moved on the roadsides and more central cores are created. The old districts loss it's potential after converting the spatial fabric in several segregated districts.

Figure 11: Traditional organic spaces

Figure 12: Hybrid Urban space in edges between traditional urban fabric and new planted buildings

Figure 13: Modern Geometrical Urban spaces Baghdad Mayoralty Campus

Urban space revitalization strategies based on space hierarchy

Diversity in urban space structure is one of the important factors in Old Baghdad. In the current urban morphology of the city there is neither a defined integration method nor a layout to connect the old part with the surrounding. As a result relationships among urban components are missing. Proliferating urban decay has affected the urban form through a long process of urban transformation leading to more segregation. The old town will not achieve the goal of preservation without managing the integration process between urban morphology and recent contemporary need. The policies of spatial management have to be merged with social processes through urban space revitalization strategies. Urban space is important because of its mutual affect on human behavior in one side and on urban quality on the other. Urban space could overcome the human need and demand as a successful tool in integration between various urban patterns. The urban spatial structure in Baghdad shows an interrupted configuration in different historical periods, the destruction and change in urban structure was the result of a modern planning concept and the loss of the clear definition of urban space. These destruction processes stopped the spontaneous organic development and altered the space hierarchy of the city finding new urban space configurations and functions.

Thus there are a lot of criteria playing a big role to form the space, including historical evolution, geometry and urban morphology, urban form and socio-economic change[19]. The concept of urban space is renewable changing with time and place and can be considered as the best tool of integration between different urban structures because of its role of interaction among different users and its role of hierarchy. Urban spaces define and explore the sociality, economic and politic of different periods. The clash between different urban patterns could be solved with redefining the space between them, finding a better way to use that space between different users and variable functions.

The blurring between privacy and publicity is obvious in the city core and the city edges of Baghdad and the interlaced problem between the privacy and publicity of urban space still increases the segregation in different urban components. The space lies in edges between old and new structures are suffered from the unstable urban change. The result was far away from the initial spatial concept in both urban patterns. In this case the configuration of place will not be definable because normally it follows the urban pattern characteristics. An Urban hybrid space is the result of the missing achievement of privacy and publicity in the old city. Those hybrid places have the characteristic of increasing the publicity with a severe decrease in privatization.

The use of both clashed urban patterns has to be defined and the spaces in between have to be connected to the neighborhoods and to the surrounding in certain chain through a clear definable order of circulation. This chain will start from the central places in the top of ladder moving gradually to the peripheral. The accessibility will move gradually from the high level to the lower one finding out a filtering function and access relation. With increasing the filtering methods by creating a threshold more privacy and more control between enclosure and connectivity we can get.

Between the privacy and publicity there is an irritated process of given access and giving access accompanied with orientation and filtering relation .Resetting the hierarchy according to urban space use and demand will increase the rhythm in circulation and reorganize the space activities between the different urban patterns (Fig14).The neighborhood spaces should be created again and connected to the publicity through a clear common space which stands in middle between public and private. The common space should have more publicity and may include some local services to avoid shock during the movement to the public space. The neighborhood space should

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[19] Madnipour, 1996,s.31.

work as filter and buffer zone for privacy. The only way for Integration is to keep the balance in space configuration.

Figure 14: Integration by space

Conclusion

The previous analysis for the urban transformation in Baghdad showed that the urban traditional form was based on urban space hierarchy accompanied with the surrounded physical elements. The integration between different urban patterns should keep this fundamental key to limit the conflicts through the transformation process, which is self-organized and continuous. Space and form can keep their development with time change if relationship of privacy and publicity is well organized. Plots and their buildings combined with the media of urban space, creating the smallest cell of urban form, which develops according to the different period of social and economical conditions. The integration of different cells typologies can be achieved by rearrange the cells in one sector and unit and restructuring the urban components of different pattern according to space hierarchy, land use, building rules and enhancing the human activities. Accordingly the social and economical factors will be redistributed and organized. To recognize the urban space structure, the old base traditional urban form may be considered in some cases in Baghdad as basis for integration. The integrated urban space methods will help also to redefine and recycle the urban wasted voids inside the urban fabric. The relationship with city complex, especially the nodes and network is always changing the understanding of space hierarchy. The solution starts with determine the space function and use within the city of Baghdad. The function will be the first step to allocate the user groups which can benefit from the available spaces. Baghdad needs to redefine the spaces according to the historical background, urban structure, policies and regulations, adaptive reuse and new functions. Establishment of balance between economic and residential factor will be the key to reorganize the spaces inside the old city core. The second step is to ensure accessibility for those spaces, which mean creating a transition zone and ensure continuity. The old and new structure determined by space chain and degrees. Control the accessibility by space hierarchy is a success method to organize the relationship between multi spaces and with their surrounding area.

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Wakfs in Kavala, Greece: a legal, political and architectural heritage issue

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1. Introduction - Historical framework

Wakf is the granting or dedication of property in trust for a pious purpose, that is, to some object that tends to the good of mankind, as to support a mosque or caravansary, to provide for support of one's family, kin, or neighbors, to benefit some particular person or persons and afterward the poor, etc.; also, the trust so created, or the property in trust. The official document defining its function ("vakfiye") is drafted in the presence of a "cadi" (Turkish judge), and it prescribes the objectives of the *wakf*, its financial sources, and the ways of utilization, preservation, and increase of its revenue[1]. Until the beginning of the 20th century, wakfs were also established in favour of Christian monasteries and churches, and they were named "*ecclesiastic wakfs".* These wakfs consisted of real estate owned by the Greek Orthodox Church and managed by parishes and church organizations according to Law 2508/1920 of the Greek State.

Wakfs can be distinguished in two categories: a. the ones which by nature fulfill the noble and charitable scope for which they were established, such as buildings used for schools, mosques, hospitals etc. and b. the profitable endowments, whose income was used to support the equivalent charitable foundations. This latter category, in turn, can be distinguished in three other sub categories: 1. Real estate which was seized for a certain period to the charitable organizations for which wakfs were established, to be given on lease, 2. Land parcels on which specific land uses were vested for an annual amount of money, given to the charitable organization, and 3. Wakf land property, conveyed by lease to users.

Historically, in Ottoman Empire wakfs could be established either by the Sultan or by private individuals. According to the Koran prescripts, they were established as a means of the upper social classes to support the poor. In parallel, though, noblemen also secured their interests, their properties and the unimpeded transfer of their properties to their descendents through wakfs. This was achieved because wakfs, in order to ensure their viability and cover their operation expenses, were endowed with property in public land and/or revenues from public land, in addition to parts of private property of the individual who established them. The State, on the other hand, was encouraging this system, since through this, big part of the expenses for public works was covered, and at the same time, high incomes accruing to the state administrators could be checked[2]. Wakfs were administered by a special ministry in Istanbul, named *Evkaf Nazareti.*

Wakfs contributed significantly in the economic prosperity of a city, since, by means of their official function, they participated in the construction of vital urban infrastructure, created new jobs, provided low interest loans and affordable settlements to business of various types, assisted in improving conditions of public health and safety, and absorbed part of the local production, assisting, thus, in the redistribution of wealth in local societies. For many cities, wakfs also

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[1] Inalcik, 1978.
[2] Stefanidou, 1987, p. 203-265.

constituted an important factor for urban renewal and development. In short, they were a crucial factor for the quality of life in a city and for the improvement of its competitiveness[3], depending on their scale and activities. The most important way, in which wakfs supported urban life through urban renewal, was the planned construction of külliyes carried out within the framework of the wakf system. The külliye was a complex of institutions consisting of kitchens distributing food to the poor (imaret), a mosque, schools of learning (medrese), a hospital, a library and a traveler's hostel, mostly situated at the center of the city[4]. The core area of the center was also the commercial zone consisting of bedesten, caravanserais and shops where all kinds of trade and transactions were carried out. These buildings belonged to wakfs and provided the larger part of the urban commercial facilities. Thus, the wakf system was directly related to urban economic activity[5]. The construction of külliye represented the measures taken by the Ottoman state to protect and promote the development of cities, since the buildings described above, were frequently established with the desire to renovate the urban environment. Indeed, the economic and commercial growth of such cities as Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa and Konya was planned around the külliyes. Urban expansion was also carried out in a centralized fashion through the building of külliyes, which were also considered as landmarks of Ottoman architecture. Following the conquest of the Balkans, mosques and other buildings in the külliye complex were built in each city to give them an Ottoman character.

2. Wakfs in Greece – Institutions, laws, policies

After the independence of Greece, wakfs in areas of Greek administration were devolved to the Greek government according to London Protocol of 4/16 June 1830. The ones in territories in a transition stage from Ottoman to Greek administration, and being in reversion by Ottoman citizens, could be sold by them with no restrictions. According to article 12 of the Greek – Turkish Treaty of Athens 1913, all wakfs in "new territories"[6] would continue being managed by the Turkish communities of Northern Greece. This status quo is still standing, it mainly concerns wakfs of Turkish minority in Western Thrace, and the equivalent wakfs are called "Muslim wakfs" in distinction to the "exchangeable wakfs", which were characterized as such by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 (concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations) and included all the rest of wakfs in Greece.

2.1. "Muslim" wakfs

This category consists of wakfs in Western Thrace and in particular in the prefectures of Xanthi and Komotini. Any kind of control of these foundations was granted to the Western Thracian Minority first by the 1913 Athens Treaty, and later by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty. It enabled their administration by the Muslim population living in Thrace, which would be overseen by the Muftis[7]. Before the Greek junta came to power in 1967, the directors of the wakfs were elected by the community. The junta, however, altered this practice by taking over the power to nominate the directors. More recently, according to legislation passed in 1980 (Law 1091) and in 1991 (Presidential Decree 1)[8], the administration of the wakf is carried out by a board of five administrators, members of the Minority but having to be appointed by the Governor of the Region. The Governor of the Region is also empowered to approve the wakf budget. So, the ongoing dispute between the administration of the Region and the Minority is whether the wakf administrators should be appointed or elected. The new legislation also provides that the schools of the Muslim community will receive funding not from the wakf as was hitherto the case, but from

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[3] Lycourinos, 2005.
[4] Acun, 2002.
[5] The role of wakfs in the development of cities is described in Hayashi, "Turkey", 211-213, reference in Acun F. (2002).
[6]Territories annexed to Greece after the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 were characterized as "New Territories".
[7] Bahcheli, 1987.
[8] Chousein 2005, 91-93.

the Greek Ministry of Education. This is also a matter of dispute between the administration and the Minority, with the Minority claiming that in this way the wakfs are stripped from their traditional role of social, cultural, and educational character, while the administration argues that it is a constitutional provision that all public schools in the country should be financed by the Ministry of Education, which is also responsible for their curricula.

2.2. "Exchangeable" wakfs

Wakfs in the rest of Greece –with the exception of Muslim wakfs in Western Thrace described above- were characterized as "exchangeable", which were to be managed by the National Bank of Greece. With Law 1909/39, which assigned the Greek State as the "exclusive heir" of National Bank in all its rights and obligations, exchangeable wakfs were transferred to the state, becoming, thus, public property. Property of this type, consisting of real estate of all kinds, is ruled by special legislation and is under the pertinence of the Directorate of Exchangeable Muslim Estates in the Ministry of Finance, which was later renamed as Directorate of Exchangeable Properties[9].

Official registration of exchangeable wakfs started at 1916 by the Directorate of Urban Regeneration and under the auspices of the Ministry of Transport. Nevertheless, since then and until early '80s, a remarkable number of wakf establishments (külliyes etc.) were either destroyed, or given various uses different than the original ones (and often inappropriate to their religious, cultural, and educational character -a notable example being the Hamzar Bei Tzami or Alkazar in Salonica which until the beginning of the 80s was operating as a porno movie theatre), or abandoned in decay, or even converted to Christian churches[10]. As Stefanidou states,[11] this was not accidental, since the new Greek State, in its quest for national identity, turned against its Ottoman inheritance seeking to eliminate all symbols of Ottoman occupation. Thus, religious and educational establishments, such as wakfs, were the most prominent targets, many of them being of remarkable architectural and cultural value. This was further worsened during the military junta which ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974, but ceased after its collapse. Since early '80s, wakf establishments such as külliyes (more than 400 all over Greece) are protected as part of cultural heritage, restored, and given uses of mainly cultural nature (museums, art galleries etc.).

3. Wakfs in Kavala, Greece

Kavala is the second largest city in northern Greece, and the principal seaport of Eastern Macedonia. It is situated on the bay of Kavala, across from the island of Thasos. Its population size (80.000 people) classifies it as a middle sized city. Kavala is the major tourist center in North Eastern Greece, a transportation node where seaways, air transport, the Egnatia international motorway, and rail transport meet.

Kavala was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1387 to 1912 and it was known by its current name from the end of the 15th century, being an important station on the Via Egnatia. Kavala was the birthplace, in 1769, of the founder of the last Egyptian dynasty, Muhammad Ali. He lived in the city for many years and his home is now a museum, standing at the top of a hill in the quarter of Panagia, close to the church of the same name. In 1799 Muhammad Ali was sent to Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan to drive out Napoleon's forces. He would go on to be known as the "founder of modern Egypt," establishing a dynasty that would rule Egypt and Sudan from 1805 to 1952. Muhammad Ali was a great benefactor to the city, founding the Kavala wakf and endowing it with the "*Imaret*" building complex. Imaret was constructed from 1817 to 1821, and it was a remarkable example of Islamic architecture which functioned as a shelter for poor people, as a religious school and as a boarding school. At the same time the city was enjoying great economic prosperity as a

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[9] Doris, 1980.
[10] Myrilla D., article in Newspaper Kathimerini, 19/12/2010, section Epta (7).
[11] Stefanidou E., 1987

major centre for tobacco cultivation, elaboration, and exportation, throughout the whole of south-eastern Europe.

3.1. Historical reference

The Kavala wakf was established on 26th of June 1813 and according to the establishing document, it was devoted to the city of Kavala. With the same document it was prescribed that the management of the wakf would remain to Muhammad Ali and to his descendants. In fact, the authority of protecting the wakfs stems from the status of the wakf manager, since managers are responsible for the preservation, technical interventions, leasing of the wakf real estate as well as the legal representation of it, whenever and wherever needed. During the first period of its operation, the Kavala wakf was managed by relatives and friends of Muhammad Ali, represented by some employees. Within the framework of their pertinence, the managers of the wakf also bought some land parcels in Kavala and in the island of Thasos, in the name of the wakf and with funds coming from the wakf property. The purchased lands, according to the Ottoman Code of Land Property, became also wakfs (part of the original) of a special category ("*tahsistat*") for which only the rights of use and trusteeship ("*hakk-i tasarruf*") belonged to the wakf and not the property of the land parcels, which remained public property[12].

The first expression of interest for the wakf from the part of the Egyptian administration was recorded around the middle of 19th century, after the establishment of the Central Directorate of Wakfs in Egypt (1851). In 1854, a special envoy (mudir) was sent from Egypt to serve as Commander of the island of Thasos, and manager of the Kavala wakf [13]. From then on, commanders were appointed, guided, and controlled by the Central Directorate of Wakfs. The directorate was issuing its decisions and/or guidelines with special firmans, and whenever there was need, they would also send a special envoy to provide solutions to more complex situations. Officially, managers of the wakf were the successive kings of Egypt, until 1952, when the latest one, king Farouk, was deposed by Gamal Abdel Nasser. The new regime appropriated the property of the Kavala wakf by appointing the Egyptian Minister of Wakfs as manager.

3.2. The legal issue

The legal status of wakfs –which, in their majority, were either Ottoman or belonging to Christian monasteries and churches (as described above)- was determined by the Athens Treaty of 1913, and the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. The Kavala wakf had a more complex legal status, mainly due to the transition of its "ownership" from Ottoman to Egyptian administration, as it will be described below.

The Kavala wakf, as mentioned above, acquired by purchase certain real estate in the city of Kavala and in the island of Thasos, which was characterized as public land. The ownership ("*rekabe*") of the purchased property remained public, while the beneficial interest (reversion, "*tasarruf*") was part of the wakf property[14]. Since public land, at that period belonged to the Ottoman State, with the establishment of the Greek State in these territories at 1913, the property of public land was transferred to the Greek Administration. Nevertheless, the property rights of the Greek Administration had no valid status in cases of already acquired property rights on land, officially registered in a land cadastre (tapu), and this is where Egyptian claims for property rights on land property of the Kavala wakf were based.

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[12] Tsegelidou, 1988: According to article 4 of the Ottoman Code of Land Property, this type of wakfs constitute the category of "undue" wakfs, which in turn are divided to three further subcategories, mainly according to the division of rights between the wakfs and the State, p.134-151.
[13] Stefanidou, 1987, p.203-265.
[14] Tsegelidou, 1988, p.134-151.

Egypt, which was a province of the Ottoman Empire, declared its independence at 1866, retaining, though, a typical rather than essential subjection to the Ottoman rule. Due to this, it had neither legal status on the international level, nor a diplomatic representation of its own, being accommodated by the Ottoman Embassies and Consulates, when needed. Thus, when the Treaty of Athens was signed in 1913, Egypt was considered as subordinate to the Ottoman Empire, and as such, subject to the provisions of the treaty[15]. Nevertheless, on March 15th, 1922 the Commander of Egypt Fouad I declared the full independence of Egypt and proclaimed himself as the first king of Egypt. Consequently, the Kavala wakf became Egyptian property, and as such, it was exempted from the lists and regulations concerning properties and property rights mentioned in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923[16].

Disagreement for the legitimacy of the above process was expressed by certain legal experts. According to them, the Kavala wakf belonged to the "undue" oblations whose property consisted of public land, of which, in turn, the property rights belonged to the State, and the beneficial interests, to the wakf [17]. The "State" mentioned above was initially the Ottoman State which was succeeded by the Greek State, and thus, the real estate of the specific wakf should have been included in the exchangeable immobile property[18]. The beneficial interests of the Egyptians, on the other hand, were integral to the operation of the wakf, and they would vanish if the wakf ceased existing as a legal entity. Furthermore, according to a document related to the Egyptian wakfs[19], the Muslim community of Kavala at the exchange of populations (1923) had declared the Kavala wakf as exchangeable, because the revenues of the wakf were devoted to the Muslim community there.

Despite the above, the consideration of the Kavala wakf as Egyptian property was greatly due to political pressure to the Greek government, from the -flourishing then- Greek community in Egypt, which considered it as an opportunity for exchange for privileges that they could gain from the Egyptian administration. From then on, the Egyptian State considering the wakf as property of the king of Egypt, seized the wakf property after the deposition of king Faruk I (1952), and assigned its management to the Egyptian Ministry of Wakfs (see par. 2.1). This legal status is kept until today.

3.3. Record of the Kavala wakf property

According to the Record of Wakf Properties in Kavala and in Thasos, which was co-signed by Greece and Egypt in Athens (August 1st, 1984), the record of properties is as shown below:

1. Mohamed Ali's house, in Panagia quarter in Kavala: area 2079 sq. m., property of Egypt.
2. The centre of social services Imaret, also in Panagia quarter, Theodorou Poulidou Street: area 4167 sq. m., property of Egypt.
3. A land parcel with an old house in it, in Panagia square, Ioustinianou Street: area 400 sq. m., property of Egypt.
4. Part of the garden in Mohamed Ali's house (see 1): area 655 sq. m., property of Greece.
5. The Mausoleum of Mohamed Ali's father in Kavala, Venizelou Street: area 920 sq. m., property of Greece.

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[15] Tsegelidou, 1988, p.134-151.

[16] Indeed, according to articles 9 and 11 of the convention, an independent committee was formed, which was responsible for the estimation of the mobile and immobile property of the populations in exchange, supposed to be cleared.

[17] Tsegelidou, 1988, p.134-151

[18] Tsouderos, 1927

[19] The document had protocol no 363/71, and was dated January 30th, 1957.

4. Monument in focus: Imaret of Kavala

4.1. History and function of Imarets

Ottoman *imaret*s or public kitchens were established as property of wakfs. They are usually described as one of a complex of buildings centered on a mosque and including other institutions like schools, the founder's tomb, a caravanserai, or a bath. They were built throughout the empire, mostly in towns, in higher numbers in Anatolia and the Balkans than in the Arab provinces. The majority was built before the year 1600, and some continued to function for decades and even centuries[20]. All imarets prepared meals to distribute at no charge to a mixed clientele of mosque employees, medrese teachers and students, sufis, government officials on the move, travelers of other types, and local indigents. In some places, non-Muslims received food as well, a fact mentioned in both Muslim Ottoman sources and in the accounts of non-Muslims. Although food was distributed to different types of people, there were regulations which defined who ate, what they ate, how many portions they ate, and in what order.

Imarets were not invented by the Ottomans but developed under them as highly structured groups of buildings. Nonetheless, imarets indicate an appreciation of Muslim religious teachings about charity found in the Koran. They were icons of charitable donations as well as imperial power. Each institution was named after the founder; these places could not maintain the connection between those who provided charity and those who received it, as established in private homes. The imarets and the imperial household created connections to the Ottoman dynasty as a whole and the legitimacy of the empire. The public kitchen illustrated how the Ottoman Empire was able to provide benefits for different sectors of people within the empire.

Whether appreciated for their practical benefits or as reflections of the value placed by Muslims on charitable endeavors, the endowments may also have played a role in attracting people to convert to Islam[21]. Lowry counted 149 imarets altogether in the Ottoman Balkans, mostly dating from the first 200 years of Ottoman rule. Broken down according to contemporary national boundaries, they include: Greece 65, Bulgaria 42, Albania 9, countries of the former Yugoslavia 29, Romania 2, and Hungary 2. Alongside the imarets, there were over 250 zaviyes in northern and central Greece, such that institutions offering food and shelter, even if modest, must have been ubiquitous in the early Ottoman period[22].

By the late nineteenth century, however, the reform initiatives of Tanzimat, begun under Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and continued by his successors, had altered – to a greater or lesser extent – the nature and institutions of Ottoman administration, including those providing social and welfare services. Modern government offices were created to undertake the functions once provided through the private endowments. Moreover, notions of entitlement and cultural practices were changing. All these changes affected the public kitchens as well[23].

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[20] Singer, 2010
[21] Singer, 2009
[22] Lowry, 2008   p. 16–64, 70–74, 79, 93.
[23] Singer , 2009.

4.2. History of Imaret in Kavala

The Imaret of Muhammad Ali[24] appeared to be the latest new imaret established in the empire.

Figure 1:Imaret at the beginning of the 20th century
Source: Municipal Museum of Kavala

It was built between 1817 and 1821, as part of an impressive mosque – "*medrese"* complex. It is one of the last built in this particular period and the only one survived almost intact. It is located in Panagia peninsula of Kavala, in a location with view of the whole Kavala bay. Its location in a comparatively small –for that period- town, as part of a complex that contained a "*medrese"*, suggests that it may have resembled earlier endowments, planned to serve a varied clientele, including a community of scholars. Muhammad Ali's imaret may also have been intended to fill a void created by the lapsed functioning of the nearby imaret founded by Grand Vizier "Makbul" İbrahim Pasha (died 1536) as part of his complex, some 300 meters north of the new one[25].

Egyptians showed a vivid interest in Kavala which lasted for almost a century. It is characteristic that with their initiative, city plans and hydro network were planned for Panagia quarter at the beginning of the 20th century which were not, though, implemented[26]. The Kavala wakf officially stopped operating in June 1924. The Egyptian presence in Kavala, though, did not cease. Egyptians went on buying real estate in the area, with money coming from the wakf property, many of which, were later sold again by the Ministry of Wakfs of Egypt to private buyers[27]. Since 1922, the Imaret spaces were used to house refugees. In 1931, in order for the adjacent street to be widened, a part of Imaret was demolished. In 1967, when the military junta seized power in Greece, the residents (mostly refugees) of Imaret were ordered to leave and the monument was sealed. For almost thirty years Imaret remained completely deserted. Then, after an unofficial settlement of property issues, a part of it operated as bar and restaurant while other parts were used as warehouses. In most parts, though, the decay was severe. Part of its roof fell down, some patios were destroyed, and many walls were ruined. The process of complete disaster seemed

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[24] Toledano, 2003, p. 423-431; Stefanidou, 1987, p. 203-265; Bruni, 2003; Kiel, 1996, p.145-158 ; Haluk, 1976, p. 65-69.
[25] Singer, 2010.
[26] Lykourinos, 2005.
[27] 18 related transactions of houses and stores were recorded during the period 1965-1976.

irreversible. At the same time, several efforts of the Municipality of Kavala to reach to an agreement with the Egyptian government for the restoration of Imaret were fruitless, due to legal and mostly financial problems. There was speculation that the main reason for the failure of the negotiations was that the proposals of the municipality always aimed at the transfer of property rights of Imaret from the Egyptian government to the Greek State or to the Municipality of Kavala, something that the Egyptians were unwilling to accept. In 2001, though, there was a full reverse of the decay process. After significant efforts, a local entrepreneur managed to arrange for a 50 years lease of Imaret. Consequently, the complex was restored and converted into a luxurious and elegant hotel, which maintains something of the ambience of its era[28].

4.3. Structural and functional elements

The Imaret complex included a public kitchen, two Islamic schools ("*medrese*"), an elementary school ("*megteb*") a private mosque and administrative offices[29]. In its area of 4167 sq. m. it contained tens of dormitories, a "meskit" (mosque without a minaret) where teaching was taking place, kitchens, storage facilities, Turkish baths and secret patios. The cost of Imaret reached 15000 English pounds, a mythical amount for that period. It was a great and strong intervention in the urban fabric of Kavala, probably the most significant in the 19th century.

Muhammad Ali's kulliye was constructed during the transition period, when the traditional religious system of education started being questioned, and Muslim society was divided between the East, representing traditions, and the West, representing modernity. Thus, the construction of such a great institution of religious nature vivified the religious feelings of the local society and strengthened its conservative reflexes. Despite the generally beneficial presence of the Egyptians in Kavala, the activities of the students (*"softa"*) of the religious schools, very often had controversial effects on the local society. The number of these people was occasionally higher than 600, which made them a social group remarkable in size and very influential for the local politics. Their diverse origins from all over the Ottoman Empire, the long period of their studies (often reaching the decade), their devotion to religious tradition, and their antithesis to every modernization in social developments consolidated their conservatism. Thus, in periods of tensions between ethnic and religious groups in Kavala (often due to tensions between Greece and Turkey), *softas* were at the forefront of the conflicts[30].

The operation of the two *mendreses* lasted until July 1902, and it was interrupted due to administrative changes in Kavala and in Thasos. Provision of food went on until 1923.

4.4. Architectural elements

The Imaret complex was better perceived at its totality integrated in the structure of the old city, when seen from a distance. It followed the traditional introvert internal spatial arrangement and was adapted to the physical environment. Since different parts of it were constructed in different periods, there were variations in the architectural and structural style between these parts. Nevertheless, the geometric and axial arrangement of "*kulliye*" was clearly distinguishable from the irregular structure of the rest of the city. The monumental pattern once more emphasized the prominent element of the Ottoman city, its introversion[31]. The dominant elements in its architectural style were the successive curves, the arched gates, numerous chimneys, and more than 100 lead domes, visible from most parts of the city.

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[28] Municipality of Kavala, 2009.
[29] Stefanidou, 1987.
[30] Lykourinos, 2005.
[31] Stefanidou, 1991; Celik,1986, p.27.

Fıgure 2: Imaret at mid 1950s
Source: Municipal Museum of Kavala

Kulliye consisted of four parts positioned in a row, and each part was organized around four patios. Starting from the north side, the first structure was Imaret with the *mekteb* in its northeast corner. Then, there was the one of *mendreses* with the main *dershane* in its southeast corner, and next was the second *mendrese* with the second *dershane* in its northeast corner and the "wet" spaces in its south side. At the south end, there were the offices of the administration of the wakf. Each one of the four parts had a relative autonomy in its organization and all spaces were focusing on the patios, which were the characteristic element of all constructions hosting collective ways of living. To the contrary, the structural and operational characteristics of all four parts were in a parallel deployment, without any of them standing out of the rest. A comparatively higher emphasis was given in highlighting the units of *dershane* and *mekteb*, which, in any case, were internal elements, integrated in the separate parts. Special attention was given to the domes above the main entrances and the points where corners were formed, at the top of which, *alems*[32] were crested, made of marble or bronze. All domes were covered by sheets of lead, overlapping at their sides for better insulation, and forming groins very characteristic for Ottoman architecture. The variety of structural elements, the different types and sizes of domes and chimneys constituted a rather unruly whole, quite provocative in attracting the attention of the viewer.

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[32] Unsal, 1959 : "Alem" means flag but also signifies the symbols at the top of big domes of mosques or minarets, such as crescents, stars etc., made of bronze or gold.

Fıgure 3: Domes and chimneys of Imaret
Source: Photographic archive of Th. Papadopoulos

The walls of Imaret were of 0,90 – 1,00 m. width, made of roughly carved stones and scattered bricks, with no specific order. This manner of construction was kept until the points where arcs and domes started being formed. From then on, construction was made exclusively by bricks, in a way quite typical for ottoman architecture, that is, without wooden frames. The distinguishing element between the initial, main construction and the later built additions (such as the second *dershane*) is interesting, since the first one was characterized by a very solid and compact construction, while the second was much lighter, with a strong resemblance to the houses of traditional architectural style of this area and era.

Fıgure 4: Imaret in Panagia, Source: Photographic archive of Th. Papadopoulos

In general, the Imaret complex was distinguished for its simplicity in its structural geometric elements, and in the decoration of external and internal facets. The most exciting architectural elements were the internal patios and the continuous succession of closed, semi-hypaethral, and open air spaces, with the equivalent gradual shadings. Despite the above, the autonomy of each one of the internal spaces with the few windows usually fenced by iron bars is not distracted, serving, thus, its original objective, the religious internal concentration.

4.5. Imaret today - restoration and current operation

As mentioned in par. 3.2 above, Imaret was abandoned from 1967 to early 1990s. The decay process was reversed due to the efforts of Anna Misirian, a local entrepreneur who managed to arrange for a 50 years lease of Imaret from the Egyptian government. The negotiations with the Egyptians lasted some seven years and the lease was signed in 2001. In 2004, after a 22 month restoration, Imaret reemerged as the first boutique hotel in Greece to be housed in a historic building. The cost of restoration reached to 7 million Euros and the restoration managed to revive the initial image of the monument, from the colors in the walls to the fabric of the armchairs. The 30 luxuriously appointed rooms resemble Byzantine chapels, with Egyptian chandeliers, and antique kilims on the stone floors. The main *dershane* was converted to a library and the old cistern of the primary school, to an internal pool. The hotel is further equipped by an external pool decorated with mosaic design, a Turkish bath, fireplaces, and a restaurant with view to the golf of Kavala.

Besides its operation as a hotel, Imaret has also significant contribution to the cultural life of the city, being the host of an N.G.O. named I.M.A.R.E.T. (Institute of Mohamed Ali for the Research of the Eastern Tradition). Among the general objectives of I.M.A.R.E.T. are the cultural cooperation between Greece and Egypt, and more specifically, between Kavala and Alexandria. Its objectives also include the research on manuscripts of the library of Alexandria, related to the Egyptian presence in Kavala and the operation of Imaret, and the organization of conferences, exhibitions, concerts, etc., initiated by the Cairo Opera Symphony Orchestra at 2006.

Figure 5, 6, 7: Patios after the renovation, lotzia at night, and cistern
Sources: 5: Photographic archive of Th. Papadopoulos, 6,7: www.imaret.com

5. Conclusions

Wakfs were a significant means for the implementation of social policy in the Ottoman Empire and they were very important for their hosting urban communities. The undisputed positive role of wakfs in the development of Ottoman cities is supported by historical documentation, and has been continued in contemporary cities, either of the Muslim world, or in non Muslim cities of an Ottoman past.

The significant contribution of wakfs in the economic prosperity of the hosting cities was shown in various studies.[33] By means of their official function, they participate in the construction of vital urban infrastructure, create new jobs, provide low interest loans and affordable settlements to business of various types, assist in improving conditions of public health and safety, and provide social services. For many cities, wakfs also constituted an important factor for urban renewal and development. Their main elements, külliyes, and the commercial buildings which supported them, contributed to the revival of city centres as well as to dynamic expansions of cities. Furthermore,

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[33] Nefissa 2001, Yahya 2008, Karababa 2012

wakfs granted to hosting cities and communities a specific urban physiognomy, desired by their founders. This was notable in most Balkan cities, where, after their conquest, wakfs were established and külliye complexes were built to give them an Ottoman character. In general, wakfs constituted an important positive factor for both the architecture and the social and economic life of their hosting cities, and they became their most prominent branding element.

In contemporary Greece, the various ways in which wakfs were handled, were greatly influenced by their dynamic social and economic characteristics, but even more, by the image which they transpired on a symbolic level, in interaction with the predominant political climate of the equivalent historic periods. As it was mentioned in par. 2.2, the Greek State after the Ottoman occupation was in quest for national identity. Thus, it turned against its Ottoman inheritance and mainly against its most prominent symbols, these being usually wakf monuments. This went on for most of the 20th century, in a political reaction influenced by the polemic climate of this period (wars, and later the Cyprus issue and the military junta), and taking various forms, related to the different category of wakfs ("exchangeable", Muslim, or Egyptian –as is the case of the Kavala wakf).

The last part of the 20th century was characterized by Internationalization and Europeanization of policies in Greece, and the improvement in the relationships between Greece and Turkey. This was also reflected on the way that wakfs were managed. New approaches included their recognition as part of cultural inheritance and subsequent restoration and protection, or a process of rationalization and consultation in the case of management of Muslim wakfs of Western Thrace. The Egyptian wakf in Kavala was also affected positively, through the flexibility of the concurrent to the new conditions private initiatives which managed to achieve the restoration of Imaret and its current use as a boutique hotel.

The Kavala wakfs are focused upon, since they are related to the complex system of land property, supported by legal and administrative structures -the historic evolution of which is very interesting- and being subject to external affairs and the relations between Greece and Egypt.

It is worth noting that since mid '80s the efforts of the Municipality of Kavala to reach to an agreement with the Egyptian government for the restoration of Imaret were fruitless. On the other hand, it was only the private sector who managed to arrange for some uses in the Imaret, either at early 90's, or in 2001 –the latter being much more organized and ambitious. A quick conclusion could be that this constituted another proof that in Greece, the private sector was more efficient in negotiating than the public sector. Nevertheless, one should look deeper in the way that the Imaret issue was handled by the Greek and Egyptian administrations during all these years. In periods of nationalism, such as the years of military junta in Greece, Imaret was intentionally left in decay – since, due to its "foreign" property status, it could not be demolished. At that time, efforts for having it restored were not supported by the Greek Ministry of External Affairs while at the same time, the Egyptian government was unwilling to spend money for any restoration work in a monument for which Egyptian property rights were not guaranteed by the local hosts. The deadlock was tided over with the initiative of the Greek entrepreneur who started negotiations with the Egyptians at 2001, and seven years later she managed to sign a 50 years' lease of Imaret.

Figure 8: View from the port: Imaret and the old city.
Source: www.imaret.com.

The restoration of Imaret is considered as one of the finest examples of its kind. It has been awarded twice with European awards, and most significantly, it became part of the contemporary movement concerning the recognition of the significance of cultural heritage. There is a norm of ideas and principles, based on the above movement, which introduces the global dimension of the cultural heritage and underlines the obligation of humanity to preserve it. At the same time, codes of ethics are developed which affect the attitude of social and scientific organizations, as well as the attitude of the public towards historic places and monuments as Imaret[34]. This spirit has been fully adopted in Imaret, which also presents a rich cultural activity (see par. 3.5.) with international dimensions, extending cultural cooperation between Greece and Egypt.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR DISABLED PEOPLE

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I.   INTRODUCTION: DIVERSITY, DIFFERENCE AND EQUALITY

This paper aims to question the living conditions of disabled people in the 21st century from the framework of social justice, with respect to the present situation in Turkey. The concept of "social justice" has a long history, influenced by the works of numerous writers1 and by recent debates on inequality, diversity, segregation, exclusion, and discrimination. When the vast literature on these issues in the fields of psychology, sociology, politics and economics are analyzed, it is seen that the debates on segregation, exclusion and discrimination are generally focused on inequalities in terms of economic, ethnic and gender dimensions, with very little reference to unequal opportunities of disabled people. On the other hand, the diversity issue is generally discussed with respect to ethnic and cultural elements, again with very little concern for the rights of disabled people. In the last decades, there is a growing interest in all these fields for expanding and refining the perspective of dealing with inequality and diversity, including all the groups who are faced with excessive discrimination due to their special disadvantageous conditions in accessing societal resources in fulfilling their needs.

In order to perceive the reasons of such "exclusion" of disabled people even from the conceptualizations in different fields of research, various discussion points have been put forward. For example the findings of research in the field of contemporary psychology show that most people categorize or distinguish individuals basically by using ethnicity and sex rather than age or disability. It is argued that age and disability reminds difficulty and even death which people try not to remember or think about (Myers, 2001). In addition, in standard sociological texts (Giddens, 2001), generally the topics of gender, race and sexuality are explored without any concern on disability. There is also huge literature on urban transformation and regeneration in the field of geography and planning but the inclusion of children, aged and disabled people is rarely taken into consideration. Dealing with these topics seems as if it is the responsibility of some other fields of study, separate from these general discussions on societal issues.

Despite these negative aspects in approaching disability, there is a growing concern for distinguishing the concepts of *difference* and *diversity*, which are usually conflated and used in place of each other. Some writers argue that the concept of difference requires a reference point, which usually refers to what is accepted to be "normal" by the powerful dominant groups in society. Therefore, this "ideology of superiority" and power relationships leads the societies to be structured around the demands of the powerful groups and the subordinate groups perceive these demands and following measures as natural and inevitable. As a result, the minority groups which are assumed to be different and exceptional are expected to get adapted to the physical and social environment organized by the majority of the society. On the other hand, the concept of diversity does not have a reference point and it requires the inclusion of an *equality* perspective. In this frame of thought, "real equality" means ensuring that people with special needs and demands have equal opportunity of fulfilling them (Reeves, 2003, 2005). For this reason, it is claimed that there

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1 See Rawls (1971), Miller (1999), Reeves (2005), Fainstein (2009), Marcuse (2009) and Harvey (1992, 2009)

must be a complete shift in existing power relationships as well as ideological and social perceptions related to disability so as to create a favorable atmosphere in valuing diversity and including disabled people in the daily routines of life. In this respect, equality and diversity are expected to be complementary issues in providing people "equal capabilities" to attain "real equality of opportunities". As Sen (1992: 1) states,

> *"The assessment of the claims of equality has to come to terms with the existence of pervasive human diversity. The powerful rhetoric of 'equality of man' often tends to deflect attention from these differences. Even though such rhetoric (e.g. 'all man are born equal') is typically taken to be part and parcel of egalitarianism, the effect of ignoring the interpersonal variations can, in fact, be deeply in egalitarian, in hiding the fact that equal consideration for all may demand very unequal treatment in favor of the disadvantaged."*

Therefore, according to Sen (1992), the capability to achieve can be defined as the ability to prevent bad living conditions which all people would try to refrain from, such as hunger, bad health, ignorance, and poor shelter conditions. In this respect, **poverty** is defined as being devoid of such capability of achievement. In this context, for disabled people, in addition to equal rights, particular support mechanisms, which take into account the special needs of those people, become crucial in order to enable them to get integrated into societal life as equal citizens. Another problem in the field of politics is the displacement of the concept of difference with the concept of equality (Philips, 1999). It is argued that it is easier to claim for equality in political rights rather than equality in economic conditions in liberal democracies and this creates an opportunity to distract attention from growing inequalities in the era of neoliberal globalization.

Another challenge to inadequate approaches to disability comes from writers who criticize the general implementation of welfare policies after 1950s. It is argued that in western industrial societies, an image of "normal" life course rests on non-disabled, white, heterosexual, male adult has been highly predominant in defining the boundaries of legitimate welfare claims depending on taking part in the labor force. In comparison to this culturally constructed ideal, the lives of children, elders and disabled people have been devalued. It is known that throughout the history modernity and capitalism, mothers, children, elder people and disabled people of all ages have been exempted from labor force and considered to be impotent and dependent. For example, adult disabled people are not seen to be normal individuals who can work and raise children, which are the basic indicators of being an adult (Priestley, 2000). On the other hand, these assumptions started to be questioned after 1970s parallel to the globalization of production in crisis conditions, use of new technologies, an increase in different types of service employment, leading to an increase in female employment, an increase in unemployment levels and the introduction of a variety of new employment processes, which includes part-time work and home-working. These restructuring efforts in especially western societies also tend to challenge the idealized non-disabled male employment, resulting in a search for diverse measures so as to recover the profitability and the efficiency of the system.

Although these developments in the world economy creates opportunities in questioning the dominant assumptions, there has also been a dense debate on increasing poverty throughout the world parallel to industrial and financial globalization. Within the scope of primary distribution relations in this era, there is an effort in decreasing the wage levels, leading to increasing poverty and inequality in income distribution. It is observed that inequality in income distribution is usually measured in general categories without distinguishing the excessive exclusion and discrimination tendencies towards the most disadvantaged segments of population, including disabled people. On the other hand, the secondary distribution relations refers to the nature and quality of basic public services, such as education, health, social security and the extent of accessibility to such services. As can be expected, the problems with disabled people become more apparent in the secondary distribution relations and, in turn, also affect the primary distribution relations in the inability to get integrated into the workforce and to have an access to income. In the era of neoliberal globalization, it is also known that there is a retreat from welfare policies. Contrary to welfare state

policies of full employment and poverty eradication, today social policies are being put forward to prevent social risks and the concept of "risk management" has been widely used. It is believed that especially in serious unemployment conditions and crisis periods when people are pessimistic about their children's or their own destiny, the ongoing system itself is put into danger. Therefore, in this neoliberal globalization era, instead of redistribution policies of the welfare state, risk management methods are being used by giving financial or basic material aids for urgent basic needs (Yalman, 2007). This situation creates obstacles for the adoption of social policies on the basis of human rights.

The misconception on difference and diversity, which leads to some false expectations of equality, is also reflected in the laws and regulations against discrimination in different countries. Providing "equal citizenship rights" in the face of laws **(formal equality)** is assumed to bring about equal opportunities for everybody without considering that "equal rights" does not mean to be "equal capabilities" for achieving the desired improvements in living conditions. **Formal equality** approach rests on the assumption that all people are equal and contents with maintaining the present state unless apparent discrimination is made against various people or groups. According to this understanding of equality, discrimination is accepted to be an exception and structural inequalities are ignored. The measure of equality is accepted to be the equal protection of laws and regulations; therefore, the responsibility of preventing or eliminating inequalities among people and groups is not considered or only some special temporary measures are "allowed". Therefore, in this approach people or groups are forced to fit into the structures and rules which are established according to the characteristics of dominant groups (Gül and Karan, 2011a). This approach appears to be the basic philosophy behind almost all international human rights documents and the law system of individual countries. In fact, even the debates on poverty is focused basically on providing "equal citizenship rights" in the face of laws without considering that "equal rights" does not mean to be "equal capabilities" for achieving the desired improvements in living conditions (Sen, 1992).

On the other hand, this understanding of equality is criticized by many writers and making "positive discrimination" by means of various institutional measures is considered to be crucial in providing people with equal opportunities. Therefore, from the framework of **material equality**, "equality" does not mean "sameness"; it is claimed that in order to achieve equality, differences among people and groups should positively be taken into consideration without assuming that they are "equal" and "same" (Buğra, 2007). This approach to equality brings about two kinds of obligations for the state; the first one is **negative obligation**, which is related to refraining from discrimination. The other one is **positive obligation** and it gives the state the responsibility of taking temporary or permanent measures to improve the conditions of the disadvantaged and to prevent inequality by removing the effects of discrimination made in the past. This approach is usually identified with "positive discrimination" measures (Gül and Karan, 2011b).

In this context **inclusion** becomes a key word against discrimination and the vicious circle of increasing inequality among different disadvantaged people and groups, including the people with disabilities. The term "disabling city" is used to denote the urban settings that restrict, ignore and exclude people with disabilities from regular participation in social, cultural, economic and recreational activities. For Young (1990), the ideal of city life represents an urban population and environment that regard social differentiation of groups positively without leading to any kind of exclusion. In this environment, individual and group differences should be accepted as a natural reality and, in turn, a diversity of activities and uses of public spaces should be supported. To promote social justice in the city, this politics of diversity "lays down institutional and ideological means for recognizing and affirming diverse social groups by giving political representation to these groups, and celebrating their distinctive characteristics" (Young 1990: 240). Therefore, as noted above, the philosophy of inclusion should have a high regard for diversity, rather than sameness.

Ignatieff (1986:28) offers a similar vision on inclusion that would be realized by accepting diversity. He argues that in our urban societies of strangers, people should "feel common belonging and mutual responsibility to each other" based on human difference. As social beings, "our obligations to each other are always based on difference" and "it is difference which defines responsibilities and obligations in specific times and places". Therefore, "inclusive city" is the one "where difference has a home thus enabling the development of a sense of common belonging" (Ignatieff, 1986: 131). And in order to achieve these ideals, an inclusive city should be accessible, multi-functional, equal, partial and universal. Jones and Payne (1997: 134) also share the same views and claim that the cities should be physical spaces for people with disabilities. Therefore accessibility is the crucial factor in enabling interaction; in this respect, urban environments should be organized so as to prevent discrimination against disabled people related to lack of mobility and access to infrastructure and services.

In this paper, we will first try to explain the mutual interactions among disability, poverty and exclusion from societal life, leading to a vicious circle that is hard to break unless substantial interventions are made. Then we will put forward major models adopted in different countries to solve the problems faced by disabled people and evaluate whether they are capable of providing adequate solutions. Then the developments in the laws and regulations will be evaluated within a historical perspective, including the ones which have been put into force in Turkey. Since *the UN Charter of 1945* and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948*, there has been a considerable effort in combating discrimination. On the other hand, the inclusion of specifically the rights of the disabled in the laws has been a more recent phenomenon; in fact, the (American) Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was the first civil rights law guaranteeing equal opportunity for people with disabilities. After 1970s, many laws have been passed to eliminate discrimination against people with disabilities; however, it is observed that there are still many problems with respect to inadequate implementation practices, especially in developing countries, including Turkey. In the final part of the paper, the data from different sources of information in Turkey will be analyzed so as to shed light on the conditions of disabled people with reference to the situation in other developed and developing countries. This evaluation will be made from the framework of social justice and with respect to particular rights, such as accessibility to necessary services at different scales, participation in the work force and accessibility to job opportunities as well as their participation in decision making mechanisms of local and central governments together with or within NGO's.

II.   VICIOUS CIRCLE IN THE MUTUAL INTERACTIONS AMONG DISABILITY, POVERTY AND EXCLUSION FROM SOCIETAL LIFE

According to the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) developed by WHO, "disability is an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions" (WHO, 2001: 213). According to this classification, "impairments" are defined as problems in body function or structure, such as a significant deviation or loss, related to diseases, health disorders, injuries, and other health related conditions. "Activity" is the execution of a task or an action by an individual and "activity limitations" are difficulties an individual may face in executing his/her activities. "Participation" is defined as involvement in a life situation and "participation restrictions" defined as problems an individual may experience in getting involved in different life situations. "Environmental factors" constitute the physical, social and attitudinal environment in which people live and conduct their lives; and "personal factors" are the particular background of an individual's life and living, including gender, race, and age (WHO, 2001: 213).

According to World Disability Union (WDU) (2011) "persons with disabilities" are identified as persons who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which, in interaction with various barriers, may hinder their full and effective participation in society in equal terms with other people. "Disability" also includes many ways in which people with perceived impairments are excluded from full participation in society due to social, economic, legal, political and environmental barriers (WDU, 2011: 36). As can be seen from these definitions, various
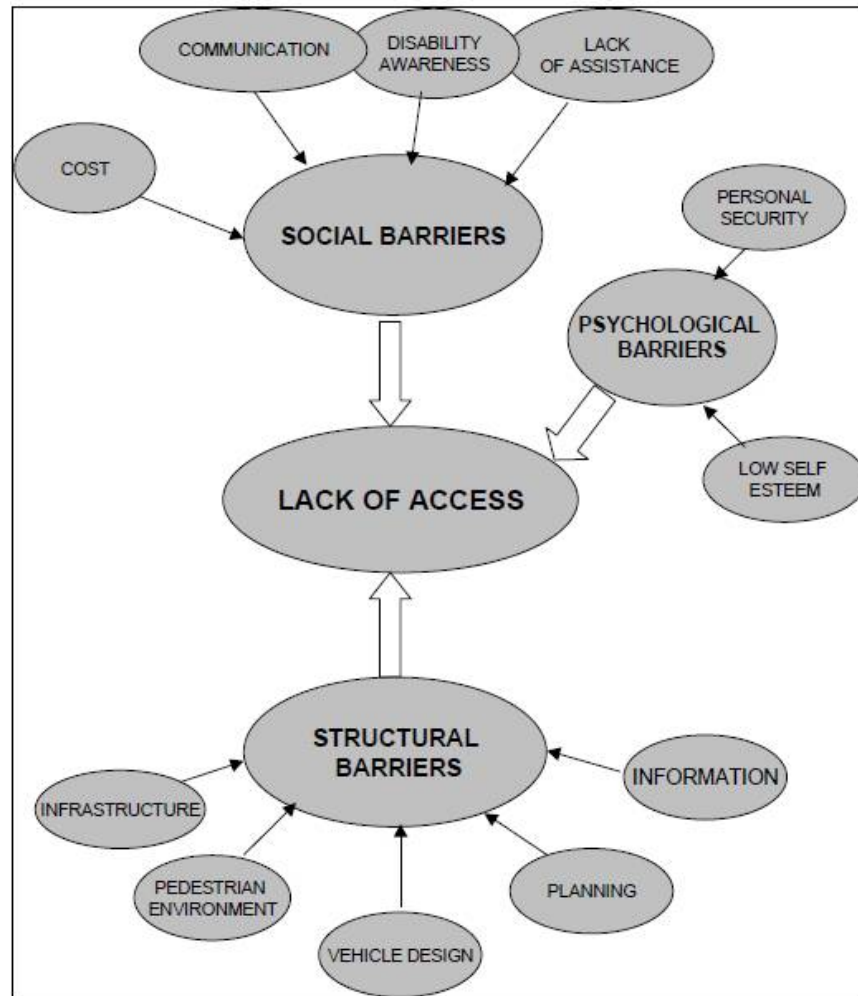
barriers to the accessibility of disabled people are considered to be responsible for exclusion from full participation in different societal activities.

According to Venter, et. al (2002), the majority of people with disabilities experience difficulties in mobility because of significant barriers. Three types of barriers can be identified; these are social barriers, psychological barriers, and structural barriers to mobility. The mobility of disabled people differs depending on the type of disability as well as their financial and family resources. When the type of disability is concerned, it is observed that people with hearing disabilities appear to be the most mobile; on the other hand people with vision impairments generally use specific modes to travel between familiar places. It is easier for people with walking difficulties to access smaller vehicles; however, wheelchair users are almost completely excluded from most of the public transportation means and sometimes they are even incapable of being a part of street environment related to inappropriate infrastructure.
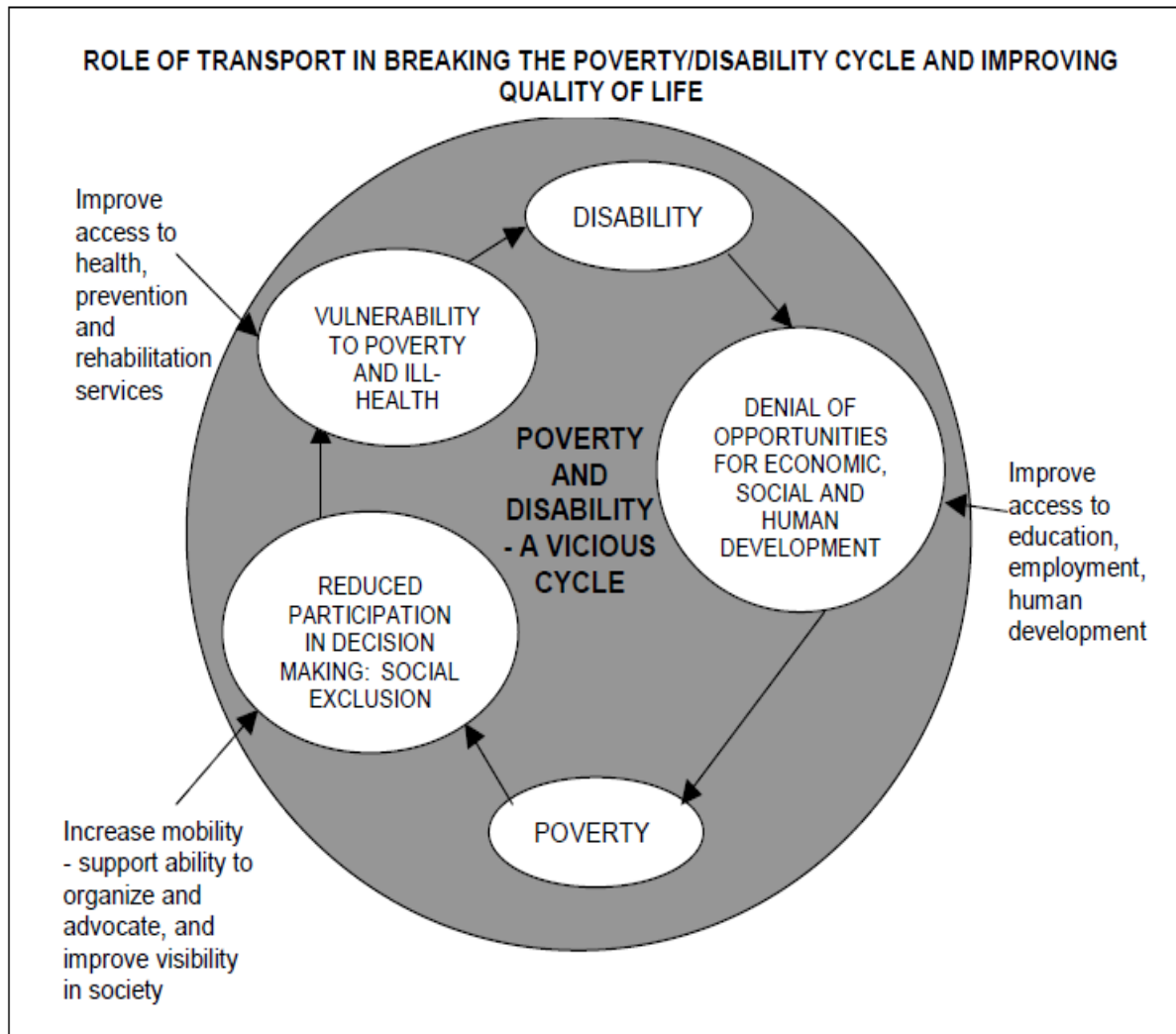
As for social barriers, research findings show that there is a lack of disability awareness in society, which is reflected in not giving assistance to disabled people in public transportation means or in the streets. In addition, the unsympathetic attitudes of the staff or other people create problems. These problems are not only related to communication problems but also lack of empathy and the blasé attitude of especially urban dwellers, as Simmel (…) pointed out. In addition, the high cost of accessing and maintaining the mobility devices, such as canes, wheelchairs and crutches as well as the cost of public or private transportation appears to the most important barriers to accessibility. In many countries the transportation means available for disabled people are frequently limited and more expensive. Therefore, the financial resources and family support for disabled people becomes important in increasing mobility. We can also talk about psychological factors in decreasing mobility; disabled people often express their fears related to personal security in public spaces. Especially women are afraid of being cheated or being disturbed by men. In addition, low self esteem prevents them from getting into interaction with other people in various settings even if they have the opportunity (Venter, et. al, 2002).

When we consider the structural barriers to accessibility, it is seen inadequate information systems, vehicle designs inappropriate for disabled people, such as narrow door openings, narrow aisles and seat spacing, inadequate infrastructure in train stations or bus stops as well as inadequate pedestrian roads appear to be the major problems. For example road works left open without any warning or protection, vehicles parked on pedestrian roads, kiosks and other structures blocking the ways or inappropriate ranks are some examples of structural barriers in streets (Venter, et. al, 2002). On the other hand, the entrance of the buildings and the interior designs 'disable' people to have an access to education and health services or any kind of cultural or entertainment facilities.

Figure 1: Barriers to accessibility (Venter, et.al, 2002: 8)

Therefore, it can be asserted that measures taken to get rid of those social, psychological and structural barriers in accessibility will certainly make it easier to access education services, employment opportunities and social services, which, in turn, help to decrease poverty. The problems in transportation are more easily solved but it is harder to improve the conditions of buildings and the environmental conditions. Although numerous laws and regulations are put into force for the purpose of improving the structural conditions for the disabled in different countries, serious problems are still being faced at the implementation stage. Especially without the ability to travel, people with disabilities cannot benefit from improvements in the health care, education or socio-economic services adequately. Therefore improvement in transportation is accepted to be one of the most important factors in enabling the realization of the strategies to fight poverty and social exclusion (Mitra, et. al, 2011).

ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN BREAKING THE POVERTY/DISABILITY CYCLE AND IMPROVING QUALITY OF LIFE

Figure 2: The disability-poverty cycle and the role of transport
(Adapted from "Disability, poverty and development", DFID, 2000, p.4 cited in Mitra, et. al, 2011: 9).

The close relationship between disability and poverty

When the share of disabled people in different country groups are analyzed, it is observed that especially in developing countries, poor socio-economic conditions seem to be responsible for high levels of disability. According to United Nations figures, poor nutrition, dangerous working and living conditions (including road accidents), limited access to vaccination programmes and to health and maternity care, poor hygiene, bad sanitation, inadequate information about the causes of impairments, war and conflict, and natural disasters all increase the chances of becoming disabled (Venter, et. al, 2002:4). According to the United Nations estimates, between 6% and 10% of people in developing countries are disabled. In addition, World Bank estimates show that one in five people are disabled in the world's poorest countries (DFID, 2000). For example as the working conditions in the mines and civil war has increased the number of disabled in Mozambique, the struggle for emancipation has left a mark on especially the black people of South Africa. The problem of adequate transportation in using the health care services becomes especially important for people with HIV/AIDS and other diseases in Africa and it is observed that the insufficiencies in this respect leads to early mortality or disability. In addition, the statistics show that the proportion of disabled people among the poorest segments of population is higher. For example in South Africa, the proportion of the disabled in the poorest segments is more than double the proportion at other income levels mostly due to inadequate access to medical care and protection (Venter, et.al, 2002).

On the other hand, sociologists and economists emphasize the close relationship between access to education and employment, which seems to define an individual's socio-economic status or class in society. It is claimed that not being able to have an access to paid work leads to poverty and, in turn, exclusion from society. Statistics show that disabled people without paid employment are the most vulnerable in this respect; for example, in Canada, 70% of disabled women of working age are unemployed, although the national average is around 9% (Chouinard, 1999:150, cited in Reeves, 2005). The situation is worse in countries where social welfare systems are less developed and protective and the people with disabilities tend to be extremely poor. For example in India, 50% of the disabled people have never been to school; only 5% have had proper education. On the other hand, the share of disabled employees in the biggest companies is only 0,4% and only 5% of the disabled people have an access to particular therapies and devices to ease their mobility. In Mozambique the same relationship is observed between disability and lack of access to education and employment opportunities. 95% of Mozambicans with disabilities are illiterate, as compared to 60% in the overall population (Venter, et. al, 2002).

These figures clearly reflect that poverty among people with disabilities increases because of their lack of access to education, health care and employment opportunities. Therefore we can talk about a vicious circle in the relationship between disability and poverty; disability appears to be the cause and the consequence of poverty. Disability usually leads to lower standards of living and poverty, which negatively impacts education and employment opportunities and earnings as well as the ability to afford increased expenditures related to disability. On the other hand, poverty may increase the risk of disability related to poor health. Poverty may also increase the possibility that a health condition may result in disability due to lack financial resources for proper treatment. Moreover, limited financial resources in the community or society also have a negative impact on the investments that must be made to improve the physical environment for the disabled. Therefore, as noted above, in developing countries, where social welfare systems are less developed and protective, extreme poverty among people with disabilities is more apparent. If there is an attitude of isolating and excluding people with disabilities from mainstream society, people with disabilities who cannot get proper education are unable to find employment, leading to severe poverty conditions (Venter, et. al, 2002; Mitra, et. al, 2011). These conditions make it difficult it for an individual with a disability to get integrated in the community in those countries. That's why it is harder to meet disabled people in the streets and public spaces of developing countries when compared to the situation in more developed countries.

Different approaches to disability: medical model and social model

We can talk about two approaches to disability, namely the **medical model** and the **social model**. In **the medical model**, disability is defined to be caused by a disease, an injury or other health conditions and it is considered intrinsic to the individual. Under this model, addressing disability requires medical treatment and rehabilitation and an individual with any impairment is considered disabled, regardless of whether the person experiences limitations in his or her life activities due to this impairment or various structural barriers in the environment. In this model, it is believed that this impairment reduces the individual's quality of life and leads to disadvantages for the individual. Parallel to this understanding, curing or at least managing illness or disability by trained healthcare providers gain importance because disability is seen to be a kind of "illness" or a "personal anomaly". Therefore, this model concentrates on the adaptation of the disabled people themselves to the environment by changing their own behavior. The medical model also rests on the idea that a "just society" invests resources in health care and related services in order to cure disabilities medically to allow disabled persons a more "normal" life. Therefore the medical profession's responsibility is considered to have central importance (T.C. CUMHURBAŞKANLIĞI Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2009).

As can be expected, the social policies of the welfare state of the 1950s tended to favor the medical model as the social responsibility of the state and the laws were generally shaped in accordance with this point of view. This was coupled with the dictates of modernism, which is

generally based on absolute/ universal truths and normative dualities, such as "normal" vs "abnormal" or "right" vs "wrong". Therefore, in this model, it is accepted that providing separate institutions and facilities for disabled people, such as such as nursing homes, separate workshops, and special education schools would be more beneficial for the disabled in fulfilling their special needs (Waddington 1994, cited in Heyer, 2007). It also gave the opportunity of minimizing the efforts and decreasing the costs of solving the problems faced by disabled people.

On the other hand, *the social model* of disability analysis draws attention to the importance of the physical and structural conditions in the built environment, attitudes of citizens, and the actions of policy makers in considering the difficulties disabled people face in living, working, playing, studying and getting integrated into the city in general. In fact, disability started to be seen as a social construct, rather than an individual "abnormality" and people with disabilities is considered as a minority group, similar to other minority groups based on race and ethnicity (Heyer, 2007). Because disability is not an easily identifiable feature such as gender, ethnicity or age, but a complex, dynamic interaction between a person's health condition and the physical and social environment, it is very difficult to measure. The measures of disability have changed over time as the conceptual approach towards disability has changed. In time, the definition of disability has changed from an exclusively medical phenomenon measured by impairments toward a concept that consists of the interaction between an individual's health condition and her/his environment. Therefore, the efforts to improve the living conditions of people with disabilities have started to be focused on measures that prevent activity limitations and participation restrictions rather than sole medical treatment (Mitra, et. al, 2011:5).

In this model, it is believed that functional insufficiency or impairment does not automatically lead to disability and disability is seen as the result of complex conditions created mainly by the social and physical environment of the individual. Therefore, the solution of these problems requires social practice by giving the responsibility to the whole society to make necessary improvements in the environment to make disabled people realize full participation in all areas of societal life (Seyyar, 2009, ICF, 2004: 21). This model explains the disadvantageous position of disabled people as "a product of negative attitudes and systemic discrimination that result in system-wide barriers to information, communication, and the physical environment". In this respect, the social model concentrates on making social and physical environments accessible, reforming social institutions and trying to remove the stereotypes in the minds of people so as to include people with disabilities in society in equal terms (Heyer, 2007).

The approach behind this model appears to be the civil rights/ human rights movements of the 1960s. According to the UK organization, Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) (1975), "…it is the society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society." In 1983, the disabled academician Oliver used the term "social model of disability" in reference to these developments in the conceptual framework. Oliver focused on the idea of a social model rather than the medical model by taking into consideration the distinction made between impairment and disability by UPIAS. In time, the "social model" was developed by academicians and activists in the UK, USA and other countries, and it has been extended to include all disabled people, including those who have learning difficulties/ disabilities, the mentally handicapped or people with emotional, mental health or behavioral problems. In this model, "oppositional consciousness" has become an important strategy for fighting with the stigma related to living with a disability. This requires a complete shift in the dominant assumption that disability is "tragic" and sometimes "not worth living". In this frame of thought, disabled people are encouraged to consider their disability positively and feel pride in it rather than denying it (Mansbridge and Morris, 2001, cited in Heyer, 2007).

III.   LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AND IN THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

The first changes in the laws and regulations about the rights of disabled people are seen in the framework of human rights and discrimination in general. The first legal developments were *UN Charter of 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948.* The United Nations Organization was founded basically to fight with discrimination throughout the world. Before 1945, minority treaties were the only means of prohibiting discrimination. After the adoption of the UN Charter in 1945, a non-discrimination clause entered the international law. UN Charter was expected to establish an effective system for the protection of human rights and this was claimed to be the major mission of UN. The Charter clearly states that the UN aims to "develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and "promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The Charter also imposed some vague obligations to "promote universal respect for, and the observance of, human rights" and to take "joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization" to achieve this purpose.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 elaborates on the UN Charter's equal rights principles within thirty articles. The following four articles reflect the general principles of the Declaration clearly:

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

The movements directly concerning the rights of people with disabilities began in the USA in 1960's. *The (American) Rehabilitation Act* in 1973 was the first civil rights law guaranteeing "equal opportunity" for people with disabilities. Primary regulations were generally based on the principle of "formal equality" and also constituted the basis of the medical model which was dependent on the provision of basically health services. On the other hand, the regulations according to the principles of "material equality" which is also expressed in "social model approach" were reflected in *The World Plan of Action (WPA) in 1982, in The Revised European Social Charter (RESC) in 1996, and United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in 2006. Nevertheless*, the progressive changes in laws cannot be observed in real life practices especially in underdeveloped countries.

III.1. Legal Developments against Discrimination

After the development of the framework against discrimination by UN, we can also talk about two international covenants, namely *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) and *The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR) in 1966. Turkey approved ICCPR in 2003, and additional protocol in 2006 but was chary of Article 27 about ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. Turkey also approved ICESCR in 2003, but didn't sign and approve the additional protocol. She was also chary of Article 13, paragraph 3 and 4, which was about education. The scope of choices in education according to parental preferences on beliefs and religion was restricted with state schools. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of*

Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 was again a specific convention on the right of women. Turkey signed CEDAW in 1985 and approved additional protocol in 2002.

Parallel to these international developments in the legal system, there were also developments in this respect especially in the USA and Europe. *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) in 1950 was followed by *The European Social Charter* (ESC) in 1961 by the Council of Europe. Turkey signed the ECHR in 1950 and approved in 1954. They both included non-discrimination clauses emphasizing the promotion of human rights. This Charter was revised in 1996 and accepted to be the basic legal framework for human rights. *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (CERD) was accepted by EU in 1965. CERD is one of the first major conventions, which elaborated on the non-discrimination principles of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Turkey signed CERD in 1972 and approved two declarations and one chary. In the USA, the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR) was adopted in 1969. The purpose of the ACHR is "to consolidate in this hemisphere, within the framework of democratic institutions, a system of personal liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/disability_rights_movement)

III.2. Legal Developments in the Rights of People with Disabilities

United Kingdom is commonly considered to have initiated the social model of disability by the Union of the Physically Impaired against Segregation (UPIAS) during the 1970s. In the United States, disability studies became more apparent after the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990, which is considered to be the first comprehensive antidiscrimination law for people with disabilities in the world. With this law, there was aradical shift in approaching disability, which started to be seen as a social construct rather than an individual deficit; this persepective shift was reflected the adoption of a social model in approaching disability (Heyer, 2007).

When we go through development of the legal framework in favor of disabled people, it is observed that this consciousness started with the Disability Rights Movement in USA in the 1960s. This movement aimed to secure equal opportunities and equal rights for people with disabilities and it was basically influenced by the African-American civil rights and women's rights movements. The specific goals and demands of the movement are accessibility and safety in transportation, improvements in architecture and physical environment, equal opportunities in independent living, employment, education, housing, prevention of abuse, neglect and violations of patients' rights. Effective civil rights legislation was also put forward to secure these opportunities and rights. For the first time, a cross-disability focus was adopted and people with different kinds of disabilities (physical and mental disabilities as well as visual and hearing impairments) and different needs and demands came together to fight for a common purpose.

After this movement, *the (American) Rehabilitation Act* was put into force in 1973. This was the first civil rights law guaranteeing equal opportunity for people with disabilities. *American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities* in 1977 was another important turning point in fighting for the rights of disabled people. There was a nationwide sit-in in 1977 and led to the release of various regulations related to improvements in public transport. This was followed by *Americans Disabled for Accessible Public Transit* (ADAPT) in 1978. In this movement, city's transit system was protested because it was completely inaccessible for especially the physically disabled people in Denver. These civil disobedience demonstrations that lasted for a year and finally the Denver Transit Authority bought buses equipped with wheelchair lifts. In 1983, ADAPT organized another civil disobedience campaign also in Denver that lasted seven years together with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). As can be followed, there was a prevalent public opinion on the rights of disabled, which was reflected in civil disobedience demonstrations in the USA.

World Programme of Action (WPA) adopted by the General Assembly in December 1982 was a major outcome of the International Year of Disabled Persons. The WPA was a global strategy to encourage disability prevention, rehabilitation and equalization of opportunities, which would lead to full participation of persons with disabilities in social life and national development. Human rights perspective was prevalent in WPA and it was accepted that people with disabilities should be treated within the context of normal community services without isolating them.

The 1990 *Americans with Disabilities Act* (ADA) constituted the most comprehensive and encompassing civil rights protection for disabled people in work places and public places. The ADA defines disability discrimination from the framework of civil rights and identifies people with disabilities as a protected minority. In fact, this act represented the radical shift in the perception about disability by claiming that exclusion of people with disabilities from the public sphere was not the result of personal shortcomings or defects but a direct result of inaccessible social environments (Heyer, 2007). Therefore, this act brought many obligations for public institutions and private establishments. For example, employers with more than 15 employees were obliged to make "**reasonable accommodations**" for workers with disabilities and not to discriminate against qualified workers because of their disabilities. In addition, public places such as restaurants, stores and public buildings should not discriminate against people with disabilities and by making "**reasonable modifications**" to enable access for disabled people. The act also enforced adequate access in public transportation, communication, and in other areas of public life.

In the United Kingdom, after extensive activism of disabled people over several decades, the *Disability Discrimination Act* (DDA) was passed in 1995. As a result, it became unlawful in the United Kingdom to discriminate against people with disabilities in relation to employment, the provision of goods and services, education and transport. One of the most important legal developments in Europe came with *the Revised European Social Charter* (RESC) in 1996, which was put forward by revising *The European Social Charter* of 1961. All EU member states that are also members of the Council of Europe have ratified the European Social Charter. According to Article 30 of the Charter, all citizens have the right to be protected against poverty and social exclusion. *The Revised European Social Charter* (RESC) includes articles concerning **fundamental rights in the field of social policy** (health, social security, welfare) and specifically **in the fields of employment and industrial relations** (the rights to work, just conditions of work, fair remuneration and the rights to organize and bargain collectively as well as minimum income support and life-long education support for improving skills). In addition, the charter enforced various measures to prevent gender inequality and to resolve the problems concerning ethnic minorities and migrant workers as well as ***measures for people with special needs, such as the disabled*** and fulfillment of housing needs and improvements in low quality housing. This was the first international treaty recognizing the right to strike. States that ratify the Charter had to accept at least five of the seven core articles of the Charter, such as the rights to work, organize, bargain collectively, social security, social and medical assistance, rights of the family to social, legal and medical protection and the protection of migrant workers. Turkey approved European Social Charter in 1989. While approving RESC, Turkey was chary of Article 5 (right of organization), Article 6 (right of labor agreement), Article 2, paragraph 4 (minimum annual leave) and Article 4, paragraph 1 (wage and adequate level of living).

The final convention that will be mentioned here is *The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in 2006.* The CRPD was the first treaty of the United Nations which comprehensively addresses every aspect of discrimination related to disability, such as education, employment, self-determination and privacy. In Article 1, the definition of disability was made; according to this definition, people with disabilities are "those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others." It is stated that "everyone is likely to experience disability at some point during his/ her lifetime because of illness, accident, or aging."

In Article 2, discrimination is also defined as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction on the basis of disability which has the purpose or effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis with other, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." In the same Article, the countries that have signed the convention are obliged to make "**reasonable accommodations**" and take regulative measures **("reasonable improvements"**) in order to enable equal utilization of human rights and basic freedom opportunities on the behalf of disabled people. The responsibilities of the countries having approved CRPD are defined in Article 4; according to this, the governments are responsible for not allowing discrimination, for providing equality, providing accessibility, enabling integration into political and social life, preventing exploitation, violence and abuse, proving education, health and rehabilitation services and providing social protection. Turkey signed CRPD in 2007 and approved in 2009. Turkey has also signed the protocol concerning individual complaint; however hasn't approved it yet.

III.3. Legal Developments in the Rights of People with Disability in Turkey

Various institutional regulations have been made in favor of people with disabilities in Turkey starting from the Ottoman era. It is known that there have been serious attempts in providing facilities for rehabilitation and medical treatment so as to integrate the disabled people into society. For example, during the Ottoman era, various health units ("bimarhane") were constructed adjacent to mosques to provide nursing homes as well as medical treatment and rehabilitation facilities for disabled people (Gül, 2006: 276-7). Being located at central locations of urban areas, these facilities could be better utilized by disabled people. In addition, the foundations ("vakıf") in those years served the function of protecting people with disabilities (CDDK, 2009: 5-6). In early 20th century, various institutions ("Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyet-i") were established to protect and give medical treatment to poor, sick children as well as orphans. This institution had relationships with similar institutions in other countries. After the closure of this institution in 1923, a similar public institution, Child Protection Agency, was founded in Ankara for orphans or children with no parental protection. The agency had opened 25 branches in different cities of Turkey until 1945. This agency managed to get organized in 67 provinces and 450 districts in the form of daycare centers, nursery schools, medical centers, and soup kitchens until 1976 (CDDK, 2009: 6). Although this agency was not established for disabled people, it is important because it had the function of serving sick and unprotected children.

Although there were some attempts to improve the living conditions of disabled people, it is observed that they were mostly directed to providing education facilities in separate institutions or curing and rehabilitating them in public health care centers. We can certainly claim that the current situation in Turkey is far from being adequate in enabling the inclusion of disabled people in society in equal terms. It is hard to understand the indifference to the problems of disabled people in a society that showed such public sensitivity for all living creatures, reflected in the protection of injured storks in winter or construction of bird houses within public buildings. In 1950s, the foundation of a civil society organization for people with sight impairments (Altı Nokta Körler Derneği) and another one for disabled people in general (Türkiye Sakatlar Derneği) started to make the problem visible in society (Yılmaz, 2012). The efforts to improve the conditions of disabled people have gained pace after 1980s as can be observed in other countries. The rights of disabled people entered in the Constitution of 1982 as "equal citizenship rights" and prohibition of discrimination against disabled people. Until 1996, there wasn't a specific law for disabled people and the prohibitions were vaguely defined. The issues related to these people took place in international laws and the national laws on social services and supports, health, education, employment and local governments. The first comprehensive effort with respect to disabled people was the enactment of the law no. 4216 in 1996, which enforced the government to establish Administration for Disabled People and make changes in various laws on the behalf of disabled people. In 1997, an article was added to the Zoning and Construction Law (Law no. 3194) and it became compulsory to make improvements in urban, social and technical infrastructures as well as buildings according to the standards set by the Turkish Institute of Standards.

In addition, in the seventh Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000), it is aimed to give the necessary training support to families for the care of aged and disabled people (CDDK, 2009:57). In the eighth Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005), more comprehensive measures took place, such as coordination between families and related institutions, establishment of an institution to give the necessary social services and supports to the risk groups, including children, aged and disabled people as well as poor people and the ones in need of special attention. In addition, in the plan, it is aimed to improve urban transportation services by considering the special needs of disabled people. In the ninth Five Year Development Plan (2006-2010), the necessity of improving the social and physical environmental conditions to increase the integration of disabled people in economic and social life.

We have to note that in Turkey, a new period have started for disabled people by the enactment of the Law 5378 on *Disabled People and Some Changes Made in Certain Laws and Decree-Laws* in 2005. The shift to "social model" in approaching disabled people was reflected the law. Article 13 forbids discrimination in choosing a profession, having an access to vocational education and training. Article 14 forbids discrimination in employment and Article 15 forbids discrimination in education. This law forbids discrimination but does not define what is meant by discrimination clearly. However, it enforces the government to make "reasonable accommodations" and take regulative measures ("reasonable modifications"), especially in enabling access to education and employment opportunities by considering the special needs of individuals. For this reason, some special measures are put forward in the law, such as giving higher minimum wage, giving education support to families with disabled children without considering whether they have social security or not, permitting disabled people to make modifications in their houses and making tax exemptions in various activities.

In the law, a special emphasis has been made on accessibility, which is defined as having an access from one place to another or to knowledge to fulfill various needs without any obstacles. Therefore, Article 3, which is related to modifications in public transportation, enforces the Greater Municipalities and other district municipalities to modify public transportation facilities on the behalf of disabled people. According to the law, Turkey must make "improvements on the behalf of disabled people in all public buildings, all vehicle and pedestrian roads, pedestrian crossings, open green areas, sports areas, and other social and cultural areas in seven years after this law is put into force". The dead line for improvements is the year 2012; but due to the inability of making the necessary modifications, the dead line has been recently extended until 2015. There are still serious problems in accessibility. Other than this law, by approving CRPD in 2009, Turkey is now responsible for making the necessary improvements, which are cited in this law. In addition, according to the change made in the Constitution in 2010, it is accepted that the measures taken to establish equality for women, aged and disabled people as well as widows and orphans would not constitute a violation of the principle of equality. However, this change does not directly enable "positive discrimination".

We can state that until the Law on Disabled People was enacted in 2005, the approach towards disability was basically dependent on the medical model, which considers disability as a problem intrinsic to the individual as a kind of "*illness*" or a "*personal anomaly*", which should be cured or rehabilitated. Therefore, until that date, the laws and related institutions were basically shaped according to the requirements of this perception. However, in the social model, social environment of the individual is considered to be responsible for creating disability; as a result, the central and local governments are obliged to make reasonable accommodations and modifications in order to improve the conditions of disabled people without isolating them in separate institutions and spaces.

IV. CONDITIONS OF DISABLED PEOPLE IN TURKEY

In this part of the paper, the conditions of disabled people in Turkey will be analyzed by using the available database. Until recently, there has been scarce information about disabled people; however, the efforts to collect detailed information about the current conditions of disabled people have increased in recent years. Information about disabled population has been taken from General Population Census of 1985 and 2000 in Turkey. Yet, it has been observed that information in population censuses is insufficient due to the limited information obtained. To overcome those limitations, the first "Turkey Disability Survey" (SIS, 2002) was carried out in December 2002 by The State Institute of Statistics together with the Administration for Disabled People. In this survey, it has been targeted to measure the number of disabled people, share of disabled people, their socio-economic characteristics, their problems in social life and expectations as well as the types of disability (including chronic illnesses), causes of disability and regional differences. The other source of information has been obtained from "2002 Turkey Disability Survey - Secondary Analysis Report"(Tufan and Arun, 2006), which was supported by the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey. This secondary analysis was an evaluation of 2002 Survey and gives information about the services given to people with disabilities, the extent of using these services, and their socio-economic conditions, including education, labor force status, social protection, and income.

The most recent information on disabled people has been obtained from a report prepared by the Turkish Republic Presidential Auditing Board in 2009. The report was prepared in order to audit all the activities based on increasing the awareness on the conditions of disabled people, their families and in society in general and to identify the measures to continue with these activities in efficiently.
(CDDK, 2009: http://www.tccb.gov.tr/ddk/ddk30.pdf)

IV.1. The Findings of the Surveys on Disabled People

According to the results of the first "Turkey Disability Survey" (SIS, 2002), there were 8.4 million disabled people in Turkey, with a ratio of 12,3% within the total population in 2002. Among the disabled people, 79,2% had chronic illnesses, 10,2% was physically impaired, 3,9% was mentally impaired, 3,1% had language and speech problems, and 3% was hearing and 0,5% visually impaired.

The findings show that disabled people in more developed regions in the western part of the country mostly live in rural areas; however, in the less developed regions in the eastern part of the country, they generally live in urban areas (Table 2 and Figure 3). In more developed regions, especially rural areas close to urban centers offer better living conditions compared to crowded and large urban areas. The extended family structure still prevalent in rural areas and closer social relationships reduce the hardships the families face in assisting the disabled people. Therefore, it is observed that rural areas around big urban centers are preferred more by families with disabled members. On the other hand, in less developed regions, only urban areas can provide the necessary services, such as health and schooling facilities. Therefore people prefer living in urban areas in those regions, where traditional relationships still exist. This type of mutual help is harder to find in the crowded urban areas of more developed regions.

Table 2: Urban and Rural Distribution of Disabled People by Regions in Turkey

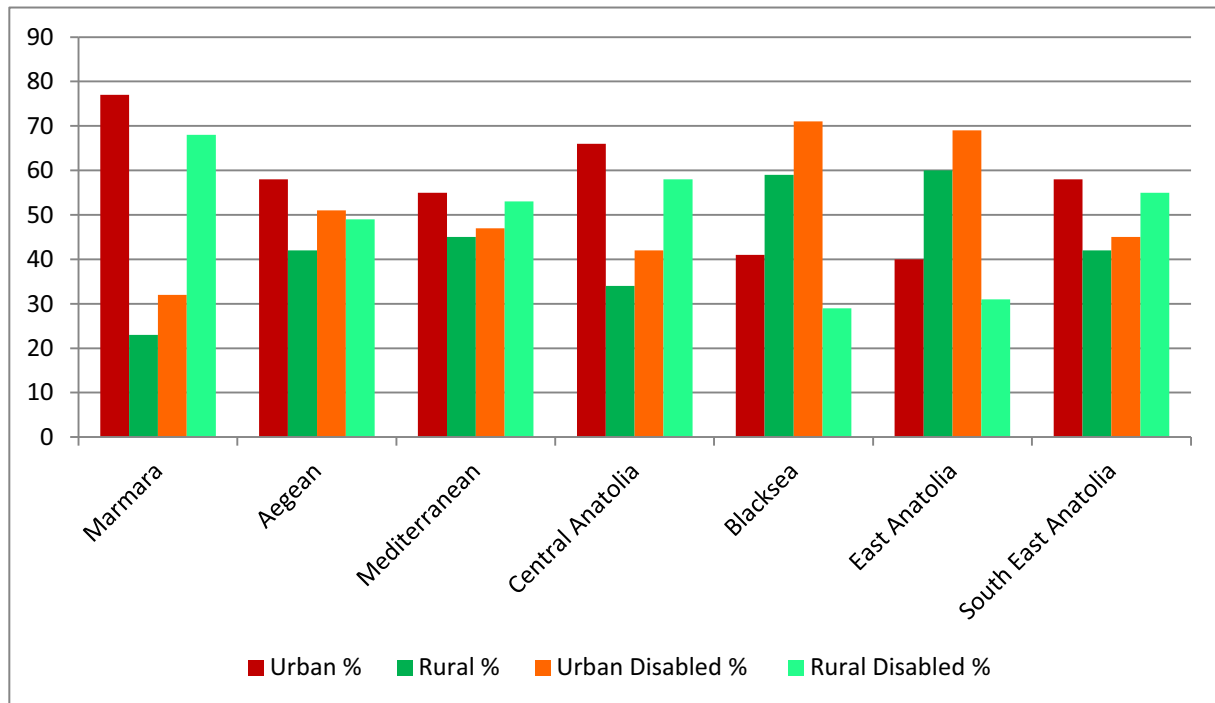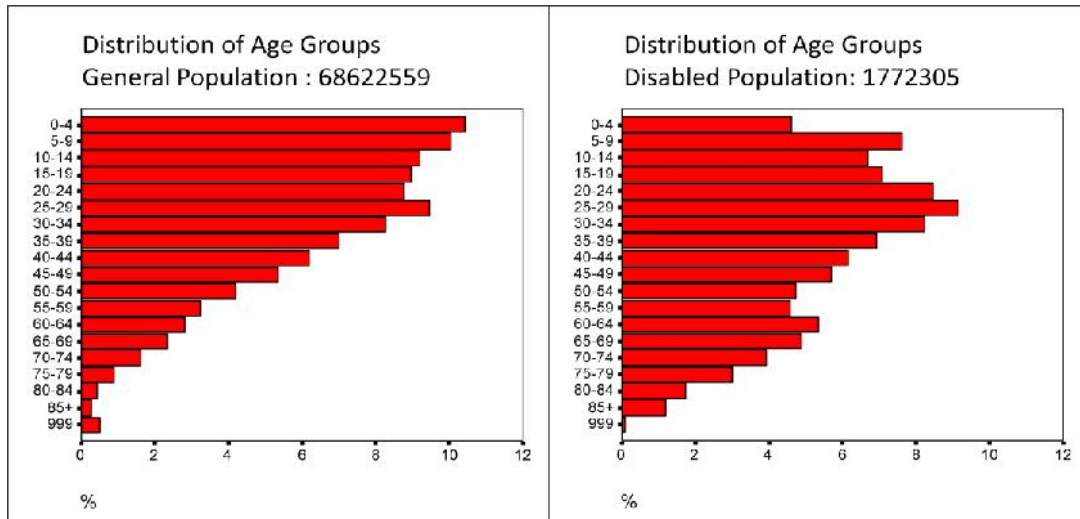| Population by Regions	General Population		Disabled Population	
	Urban %	Rural %	Urban Disabled %	Rural Disabled %
Total	**60**	**40**	**49**	**51**
Marmara	**77**	23	32	**68**
Aegean	58	42	51	49
Mediterranean	55	45	47	53
Central Anatolia	66	34	42	58
Blacksea	41	59	**71**	29
East Anatolia	40	60	**69**	31
South East Anatolia	58	42	45	55

Figure 3. Urban and Rural Distribution of Disabled People by Regions in Turkey
SIS, 2002.

Age and Gender Distribution of People with Disabilities in Turkey

Figure 5 indicates that the ratio of people with disabilities is low in childhood, while the ratio gets higher in adulthood. This is compatible with the findings that the highest share of disability is related to chronic illnesses. The recent population censuses show that there is a continuous decrease in the number of births. This also points to a threat of increasing hardships related to the increasing share of people over the age of 65, which is expected to reach three times the current population in 2050 (III. Özürlüler Şûrası: 42). Therefore, it is most probable that Turkey will also have to cope with the problem of disability based on chronic illnesses and ageing more in the future, similar to case encountered in Europe (CDDK, 2009:202)

Figure 4. Distribution of Age Groups in General and in Disabled Population
(Tufan & Arun. 2006)

Another finding is that the share of disabled in *male* population (59%) is *higher* than that in *female* population (%41). When we analyze the distribution of disability types by gender, it is seen that especially in mental and speech impairments, the *ratio is higher* in male population (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of Disability Types by Gender (Tufan and Arun, 2006)

Types of Disabilities	Male		Female	
	%	Number	%	Number
Physical	58,7	503553	41,3	354079
Visual	57,8	238304	42,2	174008
Hearing	54,6	138534	45,4	114275
Speech	62,7	164939	37,3	98068
Mental	60,1	199027	39,9	132215

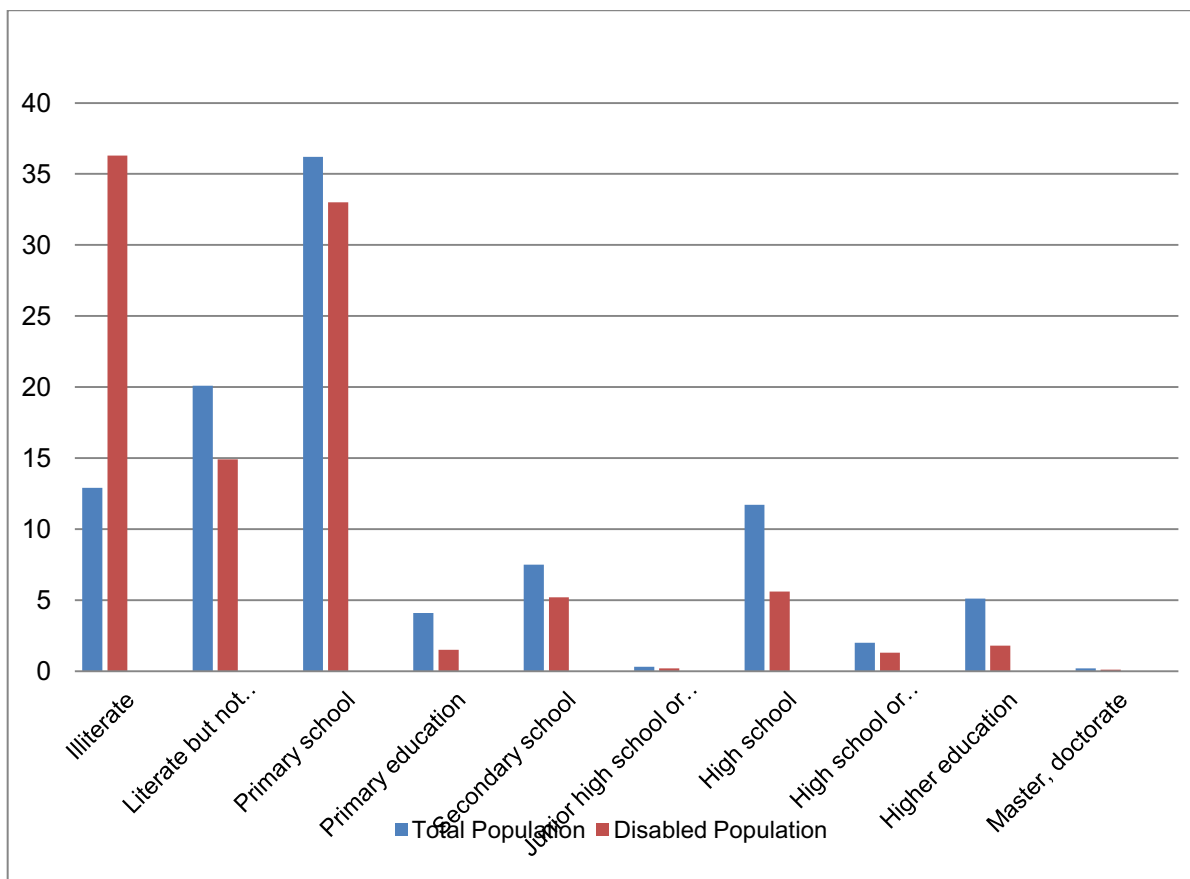## *Accessibility to Basic Services: Education*

According to Article 42 of the Constitution of 1982, "nobody can be left devoid of the right to education" and the state is responsible for giving eight-year compulsory primary education to children both for both sexes. In the same article, it is stated that the state supports the people with limited financial means by giving scholarships to successful students or use other support mechanisms. It is also the obligation of the state to take measures for the individuals who require special education or training facilities. For these individuals, Decree-law no 573 on Special Education was enacted in 1997.

According to Article 15 of the Law on Disabled People, the disabled people cannot be devoid of the right to education and disabled children, young people and adults are provided with equal opportunities of education by considering their special needs in **integrated environments**, where they get education together with other people. Separate schools for heavy mentally handicapped persons are accepted to be reasonable, but it is not proper for all disabled groups. In terms of human dignity and equality, separating people who have visual, physical and hearing impairments from normal life and keeping them together with those with physical is not acceptable. This application is also accepted to be discriminatory according to the United Nations Convention on Disability; the method **"inclusive education"** in mainstream schools is recommended for disabled students (CDDK, 2009: 185). However it should be noted that if the conditions in mainstream

schools (access to schools, provision of special training tools and materials, specially trained teachers and attitude of non-disabled students and their families) are not improved, it is not possible to mention about inclusive education in mainstream schools (Şenyurt, et.al. 2010: 31).

In Turkey, there are three types of special educational institutions; namely special schools for people with mental, hearing, sight, physical and autistic impairments; private special schools; and special Education and Rehabilitation Centers (CDDK, 2009: 85). According to the data in web site of the Ministry of Education, there are only 36.599 disabled students in public schools although it is known that the number of disabled people at the education age are much more than a hundred thousand (Şenyurt, et.al. 2010: 32). As can be expected, these inadequacies are reflected in the figures showing the education levels of the disabled. The education levels in 2002 Disability Survey show that accessibility to the education services seems to be very poor for the total population, but the conditions for people with disabilities are even worse. Figure 8 shows that approximately 36% of people with disabilities are illiterate, about 15% of them are literate but not completed school, and about 33% of them have primary education.

The right to have education is one of the basic human rights; however, and as the figures reflect, people with disabilities couldn't not have adequate access to education services in Turkey. The disadvantageous situation of disabled people depends on inadequate transportation services as well the lack of adequate modifications in buildings and the environmental conditions. Despite the obligations based on the laws, it is known that the Ministry of Education does not fulfill the task of free transportation to school and provision of lunch for students with disabilities. In addition, there are no pre-schooling facilities for children, 0-6 years of age and no schools for autistic children (CDDK, 2009: 185). In addition, necessary modifications to remove the barriers for Higher Education students could not be completed.

Figure 5. Education levels in total population and in the population with disabilities

Accessibility to Basic Services: Health and Social Security

In Turkey, accessibility to health services cheaply depends on having social security; it is known that about half of the national population do not have any social protection and the situation of disabled people is worse. Figure 9 shows the share of people with social security in total population and in the disabled population by regions in Turkey. People with disabilities with no social security have the lowest chance of accessing health services. Especially in the East and South East Region, more than 80% of the people with disabilities don't have any social security; this ratio is between 40% and 60% in Mediterranean, Aegean and Black Sea Regions. For the total population the figures are almost the same, in the East and South East Regions around 70% of the population don't have any social security, this ratio is between 30% and 50% for other regions. Therefore, the share of disabled people who have dependent social security is also very low. Based on these figures, we can say that people with disabilities couldn't secure adequate accessibility to health services. But if we compare the accessibilities of education and health, we could say that health services are more accessible. It indicates that in Turkey, medical model is used more effectively than the social model.
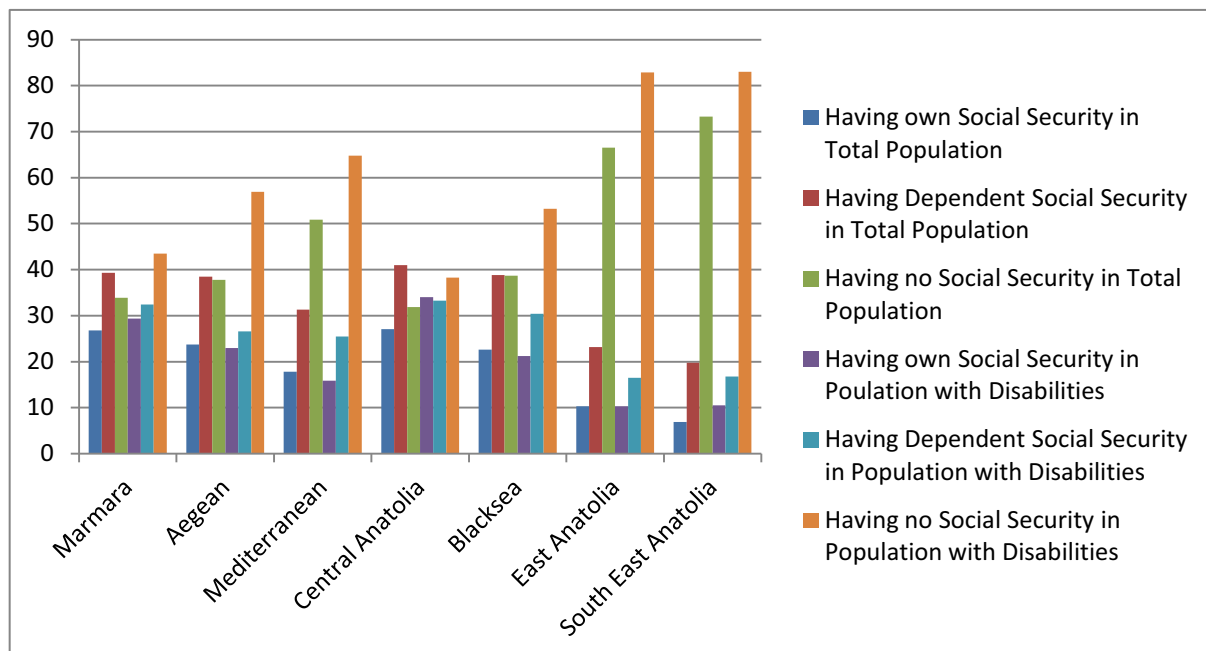

Figure 6. The Social Security Situation by Regions in Turkey

According to the Constitution, "right to health "is a right that cannot be postponed. On equal terms with other individuals, people with disabilities have to benefit from the health services; even in some special cases there is a need to give priority to people with disabilities. Circular No. 2006/113 of Ministry of Health is in that direction. In order to establish the "Right to Health", social security system should also be accessible by everyone. According to the Monitoring Report on Disability Discrimination in Turkey, there are serious physical accessibility problems in big university hospitals in Istanbul especially for the ones with orthopedic disabilities in getting transferred to backboards, hospital beds and imaging devices. It was identified that untrained caregivers didn't know how to carry patients; therefore the necessary professional services could not be given to the patients. In the same report, it is claimed that ignoring the special needs of persons with disabilities, which are identified in 2010-2014 Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Health, points to a clear discrimination of people with disabilities (Şenyurt, et.al. 2010: 39).

Implementing measures to minimize some of the negative effects of disability is possible. When an effective treatment is absent or sensory tools and equipments cannot be utilized to overcome the

effects of a disorder (seeing/ hearing impairments), training and rehabilitation of disabled people becomes important in dealing with difficulties caused by impairments. In this kind of situation, training and rehabilitation is very important not only for disabled people but also for their families, friends and managers at work. Unfortunately in Turkey, there is a tendency to give more importance to curative treatments rather than preventive and remedial measures. Diagnosis and the measures in question naturally have a high cost; however, trying to escape from these costs leads to higher costs in care, treatment, and provision of devices. In addition, inability to access education and employment opportunities bring about additional social, economic and psychological costs (CDDK, 2009: 201).

Employment of the Disabled

According to the law, the share of disabled people employed in public institutions must be 3%; this share is accepted to be 4% in workplaces connected to public institutions (with 50 or more employees) and 3% in workplaces in the private sector (CDDK 2009:216-217). For the system of quota and quota-punishment to be successful, public institutions must fulfill their liabilities and should act as a role model for the private sector. In Turkey both public and private sectors are rather reluctant to hire disabled individuals. This attitude towards disabled individuals may have some legitimate reasons. The most important one is the inadequate vocational education. The other significant difficulties of employing disabled individuals are improper working conditions and insufficient communication between vocational training establishments and employers (CDDK, 2009: 187-188).

According to the data of the year 2008, the level of disability for the 75% of disabled individuals employed in workplaces is around 40%. It is seen that 31% of those employees finished primary school, 43% finished secondary school and 25% of them graduated from university. There is no data about their professions and employment cadres (www.dpb.gov.tr). In order to increase the participation of disabled into labor force, it argued that vocational rehabilitation centers should be opened in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Turkish Labor Institution. In addition, models such as selective placement, supported employment and protected workplace should be developed and implemented. The participatory and coordinated work of Ministry of Education, Presidency of State Personnel, Turkish Labor Institution, employers, local governments and civil society organizations is crucial in successful implementations.

Accessibility to People with Disabilities

Practices on this issue are generally limited to the needs of individuals with physical/ orthopedic disabilities and other disabled groups are ignored. The other important condition of accessibility is "information". Information includes some writings, symbols, auditory /visual warnings in essential spots enable access to the destination in a short, safe and comfortable way, both as pedestrians and as travelers in a vehicle. Access to information is an important problem for all disabled groups. However, especially mentally handicapped and then the other three groups, with speech, visual and hearing impairments face more difficulties in accessing information compared to physically impaired people. The use of appropriate technology seems to be the most effective way in eliminating this problem.

Article 15 of Law no. 5378 is about developing a sign language; however, it hasn't been implemented yet. The Ministry of Education still retains the curriculum banning the use of sign language. Turkish Language Institution (Türk Dil Kurumu) has just generated the Turkish sign language alphabet; but the main problem in this respect is enabling the practical use of this language and forming an expert staff to give training. Experts claim that it would take at least ten years to use the sign language with the current method. There are still no regulations suitable for the special needs of individuals with hearing problems and the access to some auxiliary sources and materials is almost impossible it is almost impossible (Şenyurt, et.al. 2010: 32).

Telephone is usually the most suitable tool to access information for disabled individuals. Mobile phone, on the other hand, facilitates their access to information; therefore there must be more economical tariff for the people with speech and hearing impairments. As noted above, a very significant law was put into force for disabled individuals in 2005, but in practice, especially the state of physical conditions is far from the level dictated by those legal regulations. The reason for this is the institutions' and establishments' reluctance in fulfilling their responsibilities. In order to eliminate the deficiencies in terms of accessibility, related institutions should complete their tasks given by the law. Otherwise, sanction should be applied (CDDK, 2009: 192). Moreover, instead of separate parks, bus stops, or meeting places for disabled people, public places should be arranged considering the access and utilization by disabled individuals. Another problem in adequate access is related to the right to voting in general elections; therefore, it is important that measures are taken to enable disabled people to access voting areas (CDDK, 2009: 194).

IV.   CONCLUSION: "OUR EXAM ON DIVERSITY"

People who are not disabled or not a relative and friend of disabled people have a low perception and empathy about disabled people and this perception is usually limited to the moment of encounter with those people. They only recognize the difficulty experienced by the disabled person at that moment but do not realize the enormous problems they experience in daily life, starting from their homes. These problems may be related to the conditions in their living spaces, such as bathrooms, kitchens or the design of steps, elevators, ramps, signs in their buildings. Even if they manage to make the necessary modifications in those private spaces to ease their lives, the difficulties start to be experienced as they step into the street due to inappropriate pedestrian roads, crossings, public open spaces, public buildings and transportation means. Because of these difficulties, disabled people are continuously faced with discrimination and exclusion from school, work, and public places as well as from social relationships in daily life (CDDK, 2009: 4).

As a result of this deprivation, disabled people are faced with multidimensional poverty, which proceeds in a vicious circle as can be exemplified in different cases throughout the world. In countries where social security systems and institutional set-up are less developed and protective, the conditions of disabled people are worse, reflected in higher poverty levels. This poverty is magnified due to higher spending on health care. On the other hand, the statistics also show that the share of disabled people is usually higher in developing countries although the visibility of disabled people is higher in the streets and public spaces in developed countries. Therefore, it can be argued that the higher number of disabled people in the streets, directly reflects the governments' concern for the disability issue and the sincere efforts to prevent discrimination and exclusion against those people. Today, the quality, scope and kind of services for disadvantaged groups, including people with disabilities are accepted to be the indicators of the development level of countries (CDDK, 2009:3-4).

In Turkey, there are discriminatory practices against people with disabilities particularly in education, employment, and access to goods and services in many areas. Individuals with disabilities are deprived of participating freely and fully in the activities of normal daily life. In our country, the social and spatial living environment is designed and organized without considering disabled people; as a result, people with disabilities become vulnerable, dependent and lead a prisoner's life in a very restricted environment (CDDK, 2009). In addition, the attitude of non-disabled people towards the people with disabilities is usually marked with pity, rather than empathy. A survey conducted in Turkey by the *Platform of Preventing and Fighting with Discrimination against Disabled People* reflects people's perception and attitude towards disabled people very apparently. According the findings of this survey, 67,5% of the people do not support separate housing areas for disabled people because they think they should not be separated from society. On the other hand, 70% of them do not want a physically impaired neighbor. These contradictory opinions show that people make discrimination against disabled people usually without recognizing it. It is argued that people are worried that mentally impaired people may hurt

them or make a lot of noise. They also want to refrain from additional costs of necessary modifications for disabled people within buildings (Radikal, 03.07.2012).

Another finding of the survey is that 80,4% of the people think disabled people should work from home. Akbulut, the coordinator of the Platform, claims that work is not only income but also a social relationship. Therefore, despite the advantages of working from home for some disabled people, limiting the employment of disabled people to their houses may create discrimination and lead to the isolation of these people from society. The survey also reflects the opinions of disabled people themselves; it is seen that 60,1% of the disabled people support working from home, reflecting their reflexive attitude of isolating themselves from society. Other striking finding is the high proportion of disabled people who do not work (70%); moreover, it is seen that majority of those people live with their families and 46,3% spend their holidays at home, mostly watching television. Their basic complaints related to mobility are the lack of information systems at bus stops or metro stations and difficulties in getting on these transportation means (Radikal, 03.07.2012).

Although we cannot claim there is social justice for disabled people in Turkey, the awareness on this phenomenon has started to increase in recent years, parallel to the changes in international and national laws and successful practices in more developed countries. It is argued that the countries that successfully integrate the disabled people within society in the fields of education, employment, care and social life have been able to minimize the amount of public costs (CDDK, 2009:3-4). In our country, especially after 2005, the radical mental transition from "aid-based" to the "rights-based" approach in social policies appears to be reflected in the legislation. Significant progress has been achieved about the disability rights and significant improvements have been made in the services and aids provided by the State. This is reflected in the increase in budget share of the necessary investments for disabled people, although it is still far from being sufficient (CDK, 2009:5).

By signing *The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (CRPD) in 2006 and by the enactment of the Law 5378 on *Disabled People and Some Changes Made in Certain Laws and Decree-Laws* in 2005, Turkey has made a substantial progress in terms of the legal background supporting the necessary accommodations and modifications on the behalf of people with disabilities. The shift to a "social model" in approaching disabled people must be seen as a positive step in integrating these people in all fields of social life by appraising diversity among people. Although the law no. 5378 gave the state the responsibility of accomplishing all these modifications in the social and physical environments until the end of 2012, very little progress could be made due to inadequate awareness on the problems of disabled people and lack of coordination among various public and private actors, such as special schools, rehabilitation centers, NGO's, and educational technology producers as well as the Administration for Disabled People, Ministries of National Education, Health, and Labor and Social Security.

With the extension of the deadline of these modifications by three years, it is hoped that this period is used fruitfully to increase the awareness on disability among people and various institutions so as to built "accessible public environments" for the full participation of people with disabilities in social life. It must be noted that disability increases with age and we have to remember that indifference to diverse needs of people at all ages as well as the special needs of disadvantaged segments of population is doomed to turn back on all of us as a boomerang. The way we deal with disability may be "read as an important component of our exam on diversity, which has put a mark on our recent history in Turkey." (Yılmaz, 2012)

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Global Impacts and Local Challenges

Since the beginning of the new millennium, it was apparent that a new phase influencing the development of architecture and urbanism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East had begun, when rulers, decision makers, and top government officials developed stronger interest in architecture and development. With such a sturdy interest many cities in this region are experiencing rapid growth coupled with fast track urbanization processes, and marked by large scale work, learning and residential environments, and mixed use developments. This is witnessed from Istanbul's intensive urbanization process to Abu-Dhabi's Saadiyat Island Development to Bahrain Financial Harbor, and from Kuwait's City of Silk to the future city of Qatar, Lusail. Notably, some cities have acquired a geo-strategic importance. Through the shift of global economic forces, they have developed to central hubs between old economies of Western Europe and the rising economies of Asia. In the context of international competition between cities new challenges are emerging.

Architecture and urbanism in the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions are viewed as a crucial catalyst for cities to sustain their position in the milieu of a global knowledge intensive economy that is identified as the key driver for spatial-urban development, which includes international services, high tech industries, and trans-cultural higher education institutions. While a city like Dubai has come to set the stage as an exemplar of a global city, other cities are inspired, aspired, and are now competing through their architecture and urbanism where new cities and large scale urban regeneration projects are being constructed or in their completion phases. Coupled with these developments we are now encountered with the complex task of translating the so called Global Sustainable Culture into a responsive local environment. Global warming and climate change imperatives, evidence based planning and design, health and the built environment are some of the issues that are spread worldwide, seeking adequate responses from architects and planners.