



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



Este Congreso ha contado con una ayuda del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Granada obtenida en concurrencia competitiva.



UNIVERSIDAD
DE GRANADA

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C/ Gobernador, 18
28014 Madrid
www.abadaeditores.com

Imagen de portada: La cabaña primitiva, frontispicio realizado por Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen para el *Essai sur l'architecture* de Marc-Antoine Laugier, edición de 1755
Fuente: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich

Imagen de contraportada: Grabado encabezando el capítulo "Adspetus Incauti Dispendium" del libro de Theodoor Galle *Verdicus Christianus*, 1601
Fuente: Vilnius University Library

ISBN 978-84-17301-24-8
IBIC AMA
Depósito Legal M-607-2019

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II Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad
La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
Granada 23-25 enero 2019

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Una ciudad de orden: en el Ataköy de Piccinato *A City of Order: on Piccinato's Ataköy*

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Resumen

Este artículo se centra en el complejo de viviendas Ataköy, siendo uno de los ejemplos más destacados en la historia de la planificación urbana modernista en Estambul. Diseñado por el urbanista italiano Luigi Piccinato en coordinación con Real Estate Credit Bank (Emlak Kredi Bankası) y una oficina de arquitectura dirigida por Ertuğrul Menteşe, Eyüp Kömürçüoğlu y Muhteşem Giray, Ataköy jugó un gran papel en la remodelación de Estambul. Desarrollada como una ciudad satélite para una población de 60,000 y un proyecto de vivienda para personas de ingresos medios en la década de 1960, Ataköy gana importancia no solo por sus bloques de hormigón y casas cubistas, infraestructura, áreas de recreación, grandes áreas verdes y detalles corbuseanos, sino también a lo largo de su ética de creación de lugares y sostenibilidad para satisfacer las necesidades de los habitantes. Construido en 11 distritos en múltiples fases desde 1957 hasta la década de 1990, Ataköy se expande a aproximadamente 377 hectáreas de superficie con diferentes tipologías arquitectónicas y paisajes. Cada distrito tiene su propia identidad, tipología de vivienda y perfil social. Por lo tanto, en este artículo se evalúan el desarrollo y los cambios en el tejido urbano de Ataköy en el tiempo.

Palabras clave: vivienda modernista, Ataköy, İstanbul, Luigi Piccinato

Bloque temático: El proyecto doméstico como núcleo de la modernidad: casa singular y vivienda colectiva, del Movimiento Moderno al siglo XXI

Abstract

This article focuses on Ataköy housing complex, being one of most prominent examples in the history of modernist urban planning in İstanbul. Designed by Italian urbanist Luigi Piccinato in coordination with Real Estate Credit Bank (Emlak Kredi Bankası) and an architectural office directed by Ertuğrul Menteşe, Eyüp Kömürçüoğlu and Muhteşem Giray, Ataköy played a great role on the redevelopment of İstanbul. Developed as a satellite city for a population of 60,000 and a middle-income housing project in the 1960s, Ataköy gains importance not only by its cubist concrete blocks and houses, infrastructure, recreation areas, large green areas and Corbusean details, but also throughout its ethics of place making and sustainability in meeting the needs of the dwellers. Built in 11 districts in multiple phases between 1957 till the 1990s, Ataköy expands to approximately 377 hectare-area with different architectural typologies and landscape. Each district has its own identity, housing typology and social profile. Therefore, in this article the development and changes in Ataköy urban fabric within time are evaluated.

Keywords: modern housing, Ataköy, İstanbul, Luigi Piccinato

Topic: *The domestic project as the heart of modernity: the single, one-off house and collective housing, from the Modern Movement to the 21st century*

Introduction

This article focuses on Ataköy housing as one of the pioneers of unique modernist urban planning in İstanbul and postwar housing in Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s. As the first satellite city, Ataköy was developed as a middle and upper-income housing and is one of the most important architectural heritage of the modernist movement in Turkey and its iconic examples in İstanbul. Expanding to a 377 hectares-area and located partly on a historical industrial site on the southwestern part of the historical peninsula, Ataköy was developed in multiple phases between 1957 and 2006. These different phases reflect the transformation in housing policies, housing industry and socio-economical changes of the last 60 years in Turkey. Especially the first two districts of the neighbourhood (1957-1966) and the following III-IVth and Vth district patterns display a better approach of a timeless architecture with social housing patterns, while other districts display a more liberal approach and signs the beginnings of gated housing in Turkey.

After 1956, which was a “turning point in the political development of the country as well as İstanbul”, many foreign architects and consultants were invited to İstanbul, such as Hans Högg (1957-1960), and Luigi Piccinato (1960 and 1967). According to Turkey’s Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes’s vision of modern city, urban beautification and solving traffic problems, many interventions to İstanbul were made. After World War II, Levent houses designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru emerged as a successful experiment in terms of public housing planning, urban and interior space quality and material selection. Following this, the Ataköy neighborhood emerged.¹

1. Ataköy as a Postwar Housing in İstanbul in the 1950s-1960s

According to Bozdoğan, the 1950s witnessed «some of the best examples of postwar modern residential apartment blocks [...] Abandoning the early republican obsession with “national style”, Turkish architects became receptive to a wide range of international influences, ranging from the later work of Le Corbusier to the “tropical modernism” of Latin America...».² During the 1950s and 1960s Turkish architects started designing “single-family houses for the new bourgeoisie—industrialists, businessmen and professionals from outside the state sector” through architectural competitions which gained importance. Many of these architects «were inspired by the established names of modern architecture, particularly by Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Richard Neutra, whose works were published in Turkish journals» and they were «knowledgeable of the European and North American professional scene».³

At the end of World War II, the dynamics of the city started to change due to the migration of big cities such as İstanbul from the agricultural society to the industrial society. With the opening of Turkish architecture in the 1950s, the effects of modern architecture and international style and Le Corbusier modernism was observed. At that time, rationalist tendencies have come to the fore in the competitions organized by the Ministry of Public Works due to the low number of architectural schools and lack of schools providing specialized training in urbanism, landscape

¹ Hatice Ayataç, “Influence of International Planning Ideas on İstanbul’s Urban Fabric, Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges” (14th International Planning History Society (IPHS) Conference, 12-15 July 2010). Accessed 13 October 2018, <http://www.iphs2010.com/abs/297.pdf>.

² Sibel Bozdoğan, “Residential architecture and urban landscape in İstanbul since 1950”, 102.

³ Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 141.

architecture and interior design. After the proclamation of the republic, parallel to the Westernization and modernization process, Turkish architects as well as Western architects and planners were needed. In the field of urbanism, a large number of foreign experts, architects and planners were invited in the field of urbanism: Carl Christoph Lörcher (1924-1926), Henri Prost (1936-1951), Hans Högg (1956) and Italian urbanist Prof. Luigi Piccinato (1958), were invited for the design of Ankara, İstanbul and Bursa. From these planners, Piccinato was invited by the İstanbul Development Planning Office established by the order of Adnan Menderes, the Primer Minister of Turkey after the transition to the multi-party period.⁴ Piccinato was «appointed to the bank's planning section as a consultant. He first came to İstanbul in January 1957 and subsequently submitted a short report to Menderes about his overall comments on İstanbul's redevelopment. According to Piccinato, the latest redevelopment works has "awakened a sleeping city"». Piccinato «considered that although its redevelopment was difficult due to its historical character, İstanbul had three major advantages: firstly, its geographic location; secondly, its modern legislative framework; and thirdly, the prime minister's great plans for the city».⁵

Ataköy neighborhood is located on a marsh area on a formerly occupied industrial site of an 377 hectares area⁶ (4,000,000 m²), with Bakırköy Gunpowder Factory named as Baruthane (Baruthane-i Humayun) built in 1700. This facility was the largest and most modern gunpowder production facilities during the Ottoman Empire.⁷ One of the reasons for the choice of this district was due to its being location outside the city walls due to the previous factories located in the inner city and their explosion damaging its environment, as well as its closeness to a brook from the field would provide the necessary water, and the fact that it was on the sea side would provide ease of transportation.⁸ After the area has lost its function, it became a peripheral area and later was reserved for housing in Henri Prost's 1937 Master Plan for İstanbul and which was an extension of Bakırköy started in 1957 during the period of Menderes. Ataköy displays that "personal desires of the politicians" shaped the city in the 1950s. Piccinato predicted a linear development of the city along the coast, but this plan was not very effective in İstanbul planning against the rapidly growing population.^{9, 10, 11}

Piccinato's principles and his level of supervising in the project determined the «Emlak Kredi Bank, initially intended to provide low-interest, long-term credit for residential construction [...]

⁴ Doğan Hasol, *20. Yüzyıl Türkiye Mimarlığı* (İstanbul: Yem Yayın, 2017), 135.

⁵ Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul, Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), 169.

⁶ Doğan Tekeli, "Cumhuriyetin Binaları", in *TMH-Türkiye Mühendislik Haberleri*, 442-443, 2-3, 61 (website), consulted 11 July 2018, http://www.imo.org.tr/resimler/dosya_ekler/bd83df121d23b0d_ek.pdf?dergi=154.

⁷ Starting from the 5th century, a movement began in this region. Today, in the region known as "Yenimahalle", Hebdamon was the headquarters. The region began to gain importance during the 1. Justinian Byzantine period.

⁸ Today only two buildings are left today, one in the 9th District as Yunus Emre Cultural Centre and İspirtothane (Alcohol Factory in the 9th District) Mübahat, S. Kütükoğlu, "Baruthane-i Amire", in TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 05 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 96.

⁹ Hatice Ayataç, "Influence of International...", 5.

¹⁰ Hasol, *20. Yüzyıl...*, 136.

¹¹ [Piccinato's Bursa plan highlights the local and historical texture of the city, which is based on the organic city concept, unlike Menderes's policy that adopts the destructive aspect of Modernism]. (Dostoğlu, Vural, "Lörcher, Prost...", 125). Neslihan Dostoğlu, Tülin Vural, "Lörcher, Prost ve Piccinato'nun Bursa'daki Kentsel Gelişime Katkıları", *Bursa'da Yaşam, Olay Gazetesi Eki* (october 2004), consulted on 12 September 2018: 122. <https://mekanelestiri15.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/bursada-yasam1-2.pdf>.

the first phases of Ataköy constitute an architecturally successful experiment by most functional, aesthetic, and social criteria. Different housing typologies were formed from two-storey to high-rise apartments». ¹² Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası (Real Estate Credit Bank) was founded in 1926 as a state agency for “providing long-term low-interest loans to middle class families especially for housing”. The bank was closely related to the dominant political views of that time ¹³ and «between 1957 and 1980, the bank was in charge of all designs and construction of housing, and had an important all-encompassing role in the construction sector and its secondary industrial production activities». ¹⁴

In 1955, Real Estate Credit Bank as the owner of the site, demanded the design of Ataköy according to modern urban planning principles and opened a competition to design under the leadership of Italian architect and professor Luigi Piccinato, who was familiar to Turkey. Piccinato was invited for carrying out the master zoning of Istanbul during Menderes’s period, proposed the development of modern satellite cities. Ataköy as a 4-million square meter area was located between Yeşilköy housing the first airport in Turkey- opened in 1953- Bakırköy in the east, London asphalt in the north and the Marmara Sea in the south with an estimation of population for 60,000-80,000 households (12-15,000 lodgements) and including a 50-hectares area on the touristic waterfront area. The area was to be designed, zoned and vitalized according to the modern urban principles. ¹⁵

Designed a satellite city, Ataköy consisted of residential blocks, trade units, social facilities, education and recreation areas in its own urban fabric. One of the most significant housing projects of the bank became Ataköy. ¹⁶ In coordination with the bank, Ataköy was designed by a group of team of architects and urban planners led by Piccinato. For the planning, a local office was established. ¹⁷ With the directives of Piccinato, architects Ertuğrul Mentеше (chief architect), Eyüp Kömürçüoğlu and Muhteşem Giray, as well as Ümit Asutay, Yümnü Tayfun and Tuğrul Akçura as leading pioneers of modern architecture were implemented. Baruthane area was initially planned as 10 different districts ¹⁸ with 3,000 and 7,000 households separated by green strips ¹⁹ and placed according to the topographical climate, solar and wind characteristics and arranged around a bazaar and first school. ²⁰ The plan with its universal architectural language, zoning of functions, public housing schemes, the principles of grading in the transportation

¹² Sibel Bozdoğan, “Residential architecture and urban landscape in İstanbul since 1950”, 102.

¹³ [Some of the other projects led by this bank are Saracoğlu Neighborhood (Ankara, 1944-1945), Levent I-IV (Istanbul, 1949-58) and Ataköy I-II (Istanbul, 1957-62 and 1959-64)]. Nilüfer Yöney Baturayoğlu, Yıldız Salman, “Mass Housing Development by a Government Agency and The Politics of Urbanization”. 14th International Planning History Society (IPHS) Conference, 12-15 July 2010). Accessed 13 October 2018, <http://www.iphs2010.com/abs/id204.pdf>.

¹⁴ Ahsen Özsoy, Handan Dülger Türkoğlu, “After a symposium: Housing policies and applications examples from Turkey and France, 1950-2000”, *A I Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 1, n.º 1 (2004), consulted on 1 January 2018:xx. https://www.journalagent.com/itujfa/pdfs/ITUJFA-96720-DOSSIER_EDITORIAL-OZSOY.pdf.

¹⁵ “Ataköy Sahil Şehri”, *Mimarlık* 15 (1965), consulted on 12 April 2018: 16. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/313/4451.pdf>.

¹⁶ Murat Gül, *Architecture and the Turkish City: An Urban History of İstanbul since the Ottomans* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 108.

¹⁷ “Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması”, *Arkitekt*, 02, 358 (1975), consulted on 17 October 2018: 53. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/136/1597.pdf>.

¹⁸ “Ataköy Sahil Şehri”, *Mimarlık* 15 (1965), consulted on 12 April 2018: 16. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/313/4451.pdf>.

¹⁹ Ertuğrul Mentеше, “Ataköy Sitesi Hakkında Rapor”, *Arkitekt*, 02, 291 (1958), consulted 10 August 2018:xx. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/232/3211.pdf>.

²⁰ [On Koçu’s reference, the site is mentioned as a total of 9 districts]. Koçu, “Bakırköy Baruthanesi Ataköy...”, 1900.

system and dominating green bands of landscape^{21,22} between the residential and main transportation systems with primary schools between them was designed according to CIAM principles. From this perspective, Ataköy can be observed as the most successful example of applications of CIAM principles in İstanbul. However, the planning and the landscape layout of I. District were contradictory to these principles of orthogonal geometries of due to its “irregular paths and greenery”. The later housing schemes developed «both by public and private sectors have employed the high rise principle of CIAM, however, for the provision-of high density environments for speculative purposes devoid of the imageries of this school of urban design».^{23, 24, 25} Later, the neighbourhood was divided into 11 districts. The residential blocks were constructed TİMLO Company (Türkiye İnşaat ve Malzeme Limited Şirketi / Construction and Materials Company Limited of Turkey)²⁶ (Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 1: Piccinato's Ataköy plan

Source: Federico Malusardi, “Luigi Piccinato: un pianificatore cosmopolita e la sua esperienza in Turchia, 1957-1967”, in *Convegno “Architettura e architetti italiani ad Istanbul tra il XIX e il XX secolo”* (İstanbul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, 1995), 103

²¹ Elif Kısar Koramaz, “Yeşil Alan Kullanım Özelliklerine ve Tercihleri (Ataköy, Beşiktaş, Zeytinburnu Örneği)” (master’s thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 2004), 50, <http://hdl.handle.net/11527/10128>.

²² In 2000, the active green area per person is 12.7 m², which is above the limits of İstanbul in general (1,7 m²/person) and the standards determined by the Land Development Legislation (Kısar Koramaz, “Yeşil Alan Kullanım...”, 50

²³ Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Domestic Arrangements: The Maid’s Room in the Ataköy Apartment Blocks”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 66, n.°1 (december 2012), consulted 16 february 2018: 117. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10464883.2012.721313>.

²⁴ Baykan Günay, “Ataköy 7. ve 8. Mahalleler: Bir Tasarım Deneyimi”, *Mimarlık* 33, n.° 4, 264 (1995), consulted on 12 April 2018: 49. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/448/6505.pdf>.

²⁵ Baykan Günay, “History of CIAM and Team 10”, *METU JFA*, 8, n.° 1 (1988): 42.

²⁶ The bank was founded originally under the name Emlak and Eytam Bank (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) in 1926, a bank specialized in real estate development. The construction company was initially founded in 1953 under the name of Ankara İmar Ltd. Şti and in 1987, this company collaborated with TİMLO and renamed as İnşaat ve İmar A.Ş. In 1991, in collaboration of İnşaat ve İmar A.Ş. and Emlak Yapı A.Ş., Emlak Konut A.Ş. was founded Türkiye Emlak Bankası A.Ş. bağlı Ortaklığı İnşaat ve İmar A.Ş., (Emlak Konut Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı A.Ş., 2010, 177).

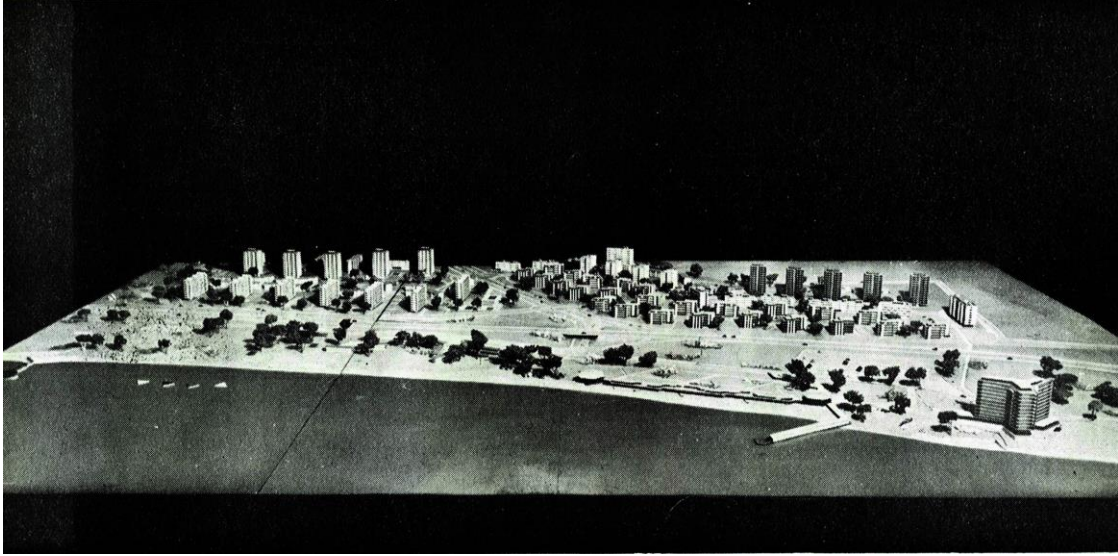


Figure 2: Ataköy site model, İstanbul
Source: "Ataköy Sahil Şehri", *Mimarlık* 15 (1965), consulted on April 12, 2018: 16.
<http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/313/4451.pdf>.

In the prospectus of the bank named as "A general look at the plan of Ataköy Site" (Ataköy Sitesi planına umumi bir bakış), Ataköy was announced as follows:

With its population of 60,000, the future Ataköy Site will be the largest of the small coastal cities extending from Yedikule to Florya. It will be connected to Istanbul's commercial center via the coastal touristic route which will be opened to the enterprise in the summer of 1958. The site will also contact every point of Istanbul with electric trains, buses and even city lines ferries.²⁷

Each district has its own identity and housing typology and social profile. In this context, Ataköy attracts attention with its open green areas where the residential areas observed in the 1950-60s period in the city's planning approach are made possible by the transitional landscape. Although this modern residential area is a mechanical planning example for a city like Istanbul, it appears as an important area where neighbourly relations still prevail with its open spaces. What are these modern and green urban models at a time when the city and its inhabitants have invaded the city in a rapid production cycle through TOKİ and other private initiatives initiated in 2006 Ataköy gains importance by the design of planning large green areas and cubist concrete blocks with free plans and sometimes on piloties, large window areas with flat roofs.

However, Baturayoğlu Yöney mentions:

Ataköy has never been a collective / social housing or Siedlung model as it was understood in Europe: Although the buildings are modern in terms of architectural form, the conceptual and theoretical approach in their realization and construction quality are based on the principles such as dimension, carrier system, material etc. created for such houses is not compatible.²⁸

²⁷ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Bakırköy Baruthanesi Ataköy Sahil Şehri", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, IV, ed. by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, Mehmed Ali Akbay (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1960), 1899-1900.

²⁸ Nilüfer Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Modern Bir Planlama Deneyimi: Ataköy", *Mimarist*, 61, n.° 1 (Winter 2018): 64.

The prices of Ataköy were high due to the luxurious and spacious flats, imported materials and relatively built on a swamp ground and its reflections on the costs.²⁹ I. District (1957-1962) was built as 3-13 storey apartment blocks on a 20-hectares area and reserved for middle and upper-middle class households.³⁰ Due to the high interest shown to these houses, II. District was built as a less dense settlement, with construction occupying 70% of land.³¹ These two districts were luxurious. III. District (1963-1966, 738 houses) and IV. District (1965-1972, 1881 houses) «are settlements in accordance with social housing standards and have lost their distinctive qualities in the period architecture except for the quality of the space obtained with the modern architectural language».³² The first four districts (1, 2, 3, 4) built in the 1960s have a “more romantic lines dominated”, and the 9th and 10th neighbourhoods, built after the 1970s, “a mechanical settlement pattern” emerged. This was due to the reflections of «changes in construction technology, the floor heights increased while more qualified buildings were constructed in these environments, but the scale of people was eliminated from both the architectural point of view and the spaces created».³³

After the 1980s, the bank produced other satellite cities throughout the city and after 1984, with the foundation of TOKİ (Housing Development Administration Administration of Turkey), prefabrication was used in construction. In the V. District (1972- 1984) (2993 houses), density of land use was increased and prefabrication was used partially in building production. Following this, IX.-X. Districts (1984-1987), VII.-VIII Districts built after 1987 and XI. Districts were built with tunnel form construction technique. As Baturayoğlu Yöney mentions, after the construction of V. District, the bank started working for different contractors and developing luxury and expensive housing.³⁴ As a result, Ataköy; "green, light, weather" met the criteria, but the urban space typologies are not clear, central-housing organic integration is weak, psycho-social system data is not evident in the environment, especially in the IXth and Xth neighborhoods by criticizing the high construction, an alternative settlement patterns have been searched for VIIth and VIIIth neighbourhoods. The evaluation of the alternative settlement pattern developed for neighbourhoods VII and VIII in relation to the general framework outlined above will be useful for urban design discussions.³⁵ After 2001, the bank was closed and housing production was handled to TOKİ. The lastly built 6th District was built (2004-2006) during this period. However, this district displays that «as a result of the rapid increase in land rent and real estate prices since 2001, it has reached an extreme point in terms of luxury housing and expensive housing production».³⁶

²⁹ ["Factors such as the economic recession after the 27 May 1960 military coup and the new real estate tax introduced in 1963 effected this increase"]. Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Modern Bir Planlama...", 64.

³⁰ Gürel, "Domestic Arrangements...", 123.

³¹ "Ataköy Sitesi 1 inci kısım inşaatı", *Arkitekt* 02, 291 (1958), consulted on 12 April 2018: 61. <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/232/3204.pdf>.

³² Nilüfer Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Modern Bir Planlama Deneyimi: Ataköy", *Mimarist*, 61, n.° 1 (Winter 2018): 66.

³³ Baykan Günay, "Ataköy 7. ve 8. Mahalleler...", 49.

³⁴ Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Modern Bir Planlama...", 66.

³⁵ Baykan Günay, "Ataköy 7. ve 8. Mahalleler...", 49.

³⁶ Baturayoğlu Yöney, "Modern Bir Planlama...", 66.

2. Towards a city of order in İstanbul

In contrast to the specialised or personalised apartment names such as a flower name or family surnames, Ataköy apartments carried no specialized names that belonged to anyone, but instead was numerical. Especially in the first four districts, a strict boundary that defines privacy levels does not exist. These boundaries are formed by soft elements of landscape or sometimes the void between the buildings.

Ataköy gains importance by the design of planning large green areas and cubist concrete blocks with free plans, piloties, large window areas, flat roofs and canopies. The boundaries between the districts are defined by green landscape. Bozdoğan mentions that these details were «used extensively in conjunction with the paradigmatic surface treatments of “tropicalized modernism” such as sunscreens made of concrete blocks or perforated bricks».³⁷ «As the interiors of the Ataköy apartments revealed the local social and economic dynamics that defined domestic life, they also exposed crosscultural influences...».³⁸ As Gürel mentions, Ataköy housing was a symbol of “modern society”, and discrete cultural and spatial dynamics of Turkish domestic life in the 1950s and 1960s, related to postwar ideal of the West; «renewal, democracy, liberation, and the notion that housing was a public good, deserved by all».³⁹

The neighbourhood planning displays the face of a modernising country under the influence of political influences and directions. However, today it is still not considered as an example of “modern architectural heritage”. The lastly built parts of Ataköy were completed in 2006, which totally has a more restricted approach. The sharp distinction gives birth to a few items to discuss the genius loci of the district. According to a report by the TMMOB City Planners (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), Ataköy as a satellite city with its urban infrastructure and landscape should be protected from deterioration along with its reinforcements and recreation areas.⁴⁰ It reflects architecture and planning approach of a period and still has the potential to meet the needs of the environment today.

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³⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, “Residential architecture and urban landscape in İstanbul since 1950”, in *Landscapes of development: The impact of modernization discourses on the physical environment of the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Panayiota Pyla (Cambridge, MA: The Aga Khan Program, 2013), 102.

³⁸ Gürel, “Domestic Arrangements...”, 122.

³⁹ Gürel, “Domestic Arrangements...”, 123-124.

⁴⁰ X. Dönem Çalışma Raporu, *TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesi, X. Dönem Çalışma Raporu 2008-2010* (website), 2010, consulted on 21 September 2018, http://www.spoist.org/dokuman/kitaplar/2008_2010_10_Donem_Calisma_Raporu.pdf.

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