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DESIGNING URBAN DESIGN

TOWARDS A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

METUDSYMP2016

PROCEEDINGS

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THE ATROPHY OF PLACE

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1. INTRODUCTION

The paper is questioning the lack of place as a problem of urban place design within man and environment relationship. The lack of place encompasses the concepts of Non-Place (Webber et al. 1964; Augé, 1995), Loss of Place (Norberg-Schulz, 1979) and, Placelessness (Relph, 1976). The authors bemoan the loss of urban place/design. But, there are conceptual deficiencies and discrepancies. Furthermore, what they indicated as a symptom of lack would become the urban places of us. In this respect, the main aim of this research is to develop a new phenomenological framework for the lack of place. For this reason, this paper presents the initial stage of a phenomenographic[1] research corresponding the results of a qualitative comparative literature analyses, analytical urban historical analyses and field observations.

The urban phenomenon is an ongoing lived-in experience. This paper presents the results of comparatively discussed different phenomenologic explanation about the place. Therefore, the identity of place will be re-conceptualized. The lack of place is going to be researched with the proposed framework about the identity of place. In the end, the paper is going to present a new phenomenological framework for the concepts of the lack of place by the term: Atrophy.

2. THE IDENTITY OF PLACE: The Identity, Self and The Environment

This part provides a new conceptual framework to identify the place by criticizing the contemporary explanations with qualitative comparative analyses from literature. In general, the identity of place has been defined by two or three sets of concepts.

At first, the place is identified with two concepts as structure and meaning by Norberg-Schulz (1979). Structure *"denotes the formal properties of a system of relationships."* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 166). The meaning consists of its relationships to other objects, that is, it consists in what the object 'gathers' as a psychic function from subjects (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 166). The totality of structure and meaning pro vide a character in a spatiotemporal environment. The structural familiarity in the character of spaces produces places. The identity lays under the character of a place. In fact, the character is a context given by environmental settings.

After than, Canter (1977), Relph (1976) used triads to identify places. The identity of place is composed of physical attributes, activities, and conceptions (Canter, 1977: 158). Physical attributes and conceptions are more or less same with structure and meaning. According to Canter, the place is an amalgam of conceptions derived from the physical form and activities that take place (1977). Congruently, Relph stated three components as the static physical settings, the activities, and the meanings. He emphasizes the identity has a static character. According to Relph, meanings are defined as the ephemeral component of place. They *"shift in the symbolic and significant properties of places."* (Relph, 1976: 61).

However, the place and the lack of place could not be reduced to the loss of one component of identity. Indeed, the identity of place may change over time. It may either expand, enriched with components or; it may lose or disintegrated. In other words, there is a tension between the self and the environment. This is the tension between the conscious and unconscious world of individual(s). It creates an ongoing transformation within built environment. This tension is manifested as a place or the desire of place. When one's conscious world fits with the unconscious world, the place is identified. What if it is not fitted, it will force to be rationalized by oneself to identify a place. The place is always under compulsion to transform and reproduce the identity by generations. So, the place is inbuilt between oneself and the environment.

In brief, there were three main critiques could be developed:

i) Context (Space-Time): The place could not be identified as a static entity. The physical settings have been transforming in time. It produces history. Moreover, time is an irreversible phenomenon. So, the phe-

nomenon of place is also irreversible in history. Irreversible phenomenon increases the entropy of the system - i.e. environment- (Pak, 2015). The entropy of human and environmental relations is getting increasing because the system has an irreversible component of time. So, space and time should not be understood as separate components. They should have to be handled as the context.

ii) Meaning: The meaning is detachable, degradable albeit the temporality of identity may be manifested in various components in different ways. The temporality of meaning is indifferent. So, the lack of place is dependent on the symbolic depth and levels of signs in meaning.

iii) Experience: The place is an experience rather than activity. The activity is an odd definition for understanding the place. It often refers to a function, land-use or the behavior in that place but, the place is more than just activities. It is a conscious and also, an unconscious experience. It may be direct (face-to-face), or indirect. Moreover, the attributes of place may change according to the dimensions of experiences. Somewhere would be more place, somewhere would be less depending on the dimension of experiences.

Finally, the identity of place is formed with the context (space-time), meaning, and experience. (See: Figure 1.) The place is where the meaningful experience takes place in the context of space-time. If there is a lack of place, it would be identified with the lack of any components in identity. However, the loss of a component in identity may not be enough creating a complete framework of the lack of place. A component of identity may change its manifestation throughout the time. In other words, (the format of) place identity may be manifested in various ways. This is identified as neither a loss nor place-making. This process should better to be described in the different phenomenological framework (The atrophy of place).

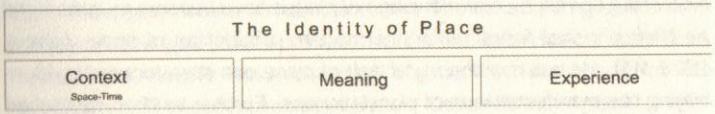

Figure 1. The Identity of Place (Source: Personal Rendering)

3. THE CONCEPTS AND DEFICIENCIES

The Non-Place

The Non-Place refers to space where it had once an identity. In the course of literature, the Non-Place concept has been interpreted two times by Melvin Webber (1964) and then by Marc Augé (1995). Regarding the Webber's approach, the place is where human interaction is fruitful. On the other hand, every urban place needs a non-urban environment to feed itself that is called regional territory or hinterland. The built environment where the interaction is not fruitful was identified as Non-places. *"Spatial distribution is not crucial determinant of membership in these professional societies, but interaction is"* (Webber, 1964: 110). Therefore, the spatial distribution of land uses by disregarding the interaction, territorial separation creates a lack of places in the urban realm. He identified this as the placeless environment.

Augé[2] (1995) inspired from Webber's (1964) concept of non-place probably. He reinterpreted the non-place in a more pragmatic way to identify the diseases of super-modernity. Although Webber's non-place was not formulated explicitly, Augé gave exact manifestations. According to him, shopping malls, motorways, airport lounges, hotels, in front of Tv's and computers are the Non-places. Augé defined the non-places as anthropozemic (non-human) environment. Unlike Webber, Augé's anthropological approach clarify the distinction between places and non-places distinctively. So that, *"super modernity (which stems simultaneously from the three figures of excess: overabundance of events, spatial overabundance and the individualization of references) naturally finds its full expression in non-places."* (Augé, 1995: 109).

In brief, Webber's contribution to the theory is not only the term but also, he emphasized that non-place is a product of settlement history. He stated that non-places were getting increasing by the modern urbanism. Furthermore, half a century later, Augé introduced somehow the same conceptual framework to criticize the places of super-modernity. Webber's conceptualization would seem to be more sophisticated. On the other hand, Augé's conceptualization would be more practical. Unfortunately, both concepts are insufficient to clarify the whole phenomenon. However, Why? First, although, Webber and Augé used the same word, it would be objectionable to indicate non-places are not suddenly emerging phenomenon as a result of modern urbanism or super modernity. Secondly, the concept has a superficial dictation of definition, a place could either a place or a non-place. However, as it was stated before, somewhere may be less, somewhere may be more place. A place would be a place for someone or a non-place for some others. The non-place conceptualization misses clarifying the phenomenon of lack. So, this paper prefers to benefit from the non-place to define a lack of space component in place identity.

The Loss of Place

The loss of place refers to the loss in the context of place identity. In the 1970s, Norberg-Schulz discusses the loss of designers' communicative role in contemporary urban landscape with the 'international style' after The Second World War (1979: 189).

Norberg-Schulz's genuine contribution was handling the problem from the side of human and environment relations. According to him; the lack of place is an 'environmental crises' (1979: 190). Hence, his term is not only capturing the Non-places but also, rendering the historicity. That is why he describe places has their own genius. The essence of place lay in preserving the genius of the location; called Stabilitas Loci. The Genius Loci is a dynamic concept that has a Stabilitas Loci. The Stabilitas Loci is getting rich day by day after each and every generation experienced the place. According to Norberg-Schulz:

"The genius loci always requires new interpretations in order to be able to survive. It cannot be 'fozen', but must be understood in relation to present requirements. Such a dynamic concept for the term "place" is the sole foundation for creative adaptation to an existing setting" (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 3)

The loss of place means the loss of Stabilitas Loci. Norberg-Schulz has grouped the indications of the concept into two: a loss in the identification of human and, loss of orientation in the built environment. *"Alienation is in our opinion first of all due to man's loss of identification with the natural and man-made things which constitute his environment."* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 168). At second, the loss of place is a loss of orientation in the built environment. *"In the city a clear distinction between private and public domains is necessary."* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 194). Otherwise, urban form is going to be devaluated (Norberg-Schulz, 1979). In Lynch's terms, urban form is going to be illegible. Moreover, stereotypic places provide a monotonous environment. *"Lack of character implies poverty of stimuli."* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 190). The urban places lost their meaningful composition inside the geography, to the earth, land, and sky. One exists nowhere in that built environment.

Nevertheless, Norberg-Schulz's concept has a contextual sophistication, he stated that the loss of place has started to be seen after The Second World War. Whereas, any phenomenological aspect related to human and environment relations should not be expressed in such a quick manner. So, this paper is going to benefit from its contextual references.

Placelessness

Placelessness is one of the foremost description about the lack of place introduced by Edward Relph (1976). The term refers to the loss of meaning in place identity. It comprises the concepts of Non-place and the Loss of place. According to Relph, the inauthentic attitude on placemaking is the main source of the placeless environment. Placelessness is simply a different order in the built environment. It has a new consciousness of place bringing its own ontology. This ontology produces its own manifestations and, a new praxis of space.

The inauthentic attitude on urban place creates *"no awareness of the deep and symbolic significance of places"* and *"no appreciation of their identities"* (Relph, 1976: 82). There are two main reasons behind the inauthentic attitude on place making. These are an unselfconscious inauthentic attitude (Kitsch) and selfconscious inauthentic attitude (Technique). In kitsch, *"places treated as things"* (Relph, 1976: 83). Places are mass produced, created in a stereotypic manner to be consumed by the public. In technique attitude, *"places treated as (uniform) spaces"* (Relph, 1976: 87). Places are planned with uniform rules according to their functions and land-uses. The production of place is manipulated by mass produced public interest. According to Relph, both kitsch and technique attitude interwoven to each other on placeless urban geographies.

Relph tried to find out the manifestations of placelessness. First, the manifestation of placelessness due to the Kitsch are the Nohn-places, other-directed places, and uniform places. The urban geography reduced and homogenized to a certain land-use (Relph, 1976: 93). The advanced form of homogenization is observed in pseudo-places: disneyification, museumisation, futurization and, subutopias. In those synthetic places, man-made symbols went beyond the natural ones. At second, the manifestation of placelessness due to the Technique are formlessness, place destruction and finally, impermanence. Big businesses produce formless geographies. Giant urban formations such as skyscrapers, mega-structures, industrials estates/parks are exploiting the urban geographies. Furthermore, giant constructions need giant destructions. Lewis Mumford has a term for that kind of destruction: 'abbau' (1961). It means unbuilding, anti-place.

According to Relph, *"the meanings of places have become as ephemeral as their physical forms"* with the modern production of space (place) (1976: 144). He put the theory of lack of place one step forward by identifying the manifestations of placelessness. Further to that, he stated the inevitability of placelessness. Although the answer of the inevitability of placelessness was unclear in his texts, he conceptualized both place and placelessness as an essential part of our modern urban context. *"Placelessness is not merely in the context of the present-day landscapes- it is an essential part of them and a product of them"* (Relph, 1976: 139). Contrary to his detailed urban analyses, Relph's theory suffers from a lack of conceptual sophistication.

In some way, Relph missed that manifestations of placelessness have also a place attributes. They may be neither place nor placeless. Relph

is also unable to answer the question how placelessness started and transformed throughout the urban history. For this reason, this research is going to benefit placelessness just as identifying the loss of meaning in place identity.

4. THE LACK OF PLACE: CRITIQUES

The lack of place is a generic term. It means a lack of any component/s of place identity. The lack of place opened up a research field in the theory of place by investigating the opposite state of Da sein. This branch interested in the essence of place with criticizing the ontology of urban place. As Arefi stated that the theory of the lack of place *"can provide planners and designers with new insight to better capture the essence of place"* (1999: 179). In fact, the lack of place is the main reasoning about the problems in urban design and planning.

However, also, there would be deficiencies and critics about the concepts. They are grouped into two main headings: lack of contextual depth and conceptual sophistication. At first, there is a lack of contextual depth in the concepts. For instance, Webber's Non-place results from modern urbanism after the 1960s while, Augé's Non-Place results from super modernity after the 1980s. Norberg-Schulz blamed 'the international style' after the Second World War. Relph's placelessness has tried to comprehend a limited period in history starting from the Industrial Revolution. Whereas, if the lack of place is a result of human and environment relationship. It should have been there before the modernism or industrial revolution.

Furthermore, the explanations of the lack of place composed of an eclectic array of empirical concepts defined on distinct built settings. This approach is putting the empirical information in a generic format. For instance: Non-Places are shopping malls, motorways, highway roads, airport lounges, hotels, virtual platforms. The reason why the loss of place is stereotypic places produced under the influence of modernism. Furthermore, Relph's manifestations of placelessness based on the classification of those stereotypic places. Other-directed places, museumisation, disneyfication, futurization, gigantism, sub-utopias are some of them. Whereas, those places may not be manifested as a placeless environment for some others. They could be the places of new generation throughout the historical context.

The second main concern of the critics was the 'lack of conceptual sophistication' (Seamon and Sowers, 2008: 48). The theories are proposing dialectic opposites such that: a place or Non-place, distinctiveness or sameness, insideness or outsideness, place or placeless, authentic or inauthentic. Whereas, the distinction between the place and Non-place/placelessness would not be clear that much. While concepts of lack of place have been helpful for understanding empirical urban problems, none of the above would propose a comprehensive conceptual framework for understanding the phenomenon of the lack.

Despite the critiques, Mayer Spivack is one of the first authors who discovered the lack of place is a part of archetypal place (1974). He identified that the lack of place is a deprivation of environmental settings. The lack of place is The lack of place is an environmental deprivation. *"Deprivation results when behaviors at the critical confluence are blocked–because environments are archetypally inadequate"* (Spivack, 1974: 33). According to him:

"The theory of Archetypal Place perhaps should be called the theory of whole environments. It is an attempt to identify the meaningful parts of the human environment. When this environment does not provide all settings necessary... may be impaired
... Such a population exists in a state of setting deprivation.
Our existence as city building and city dwelling men is marked by a tragic paradox. While we aspire to build a world which is the realization of our dreams, we grope to escape from the physical tangle and social wreckage of our urban nightmare..." (Spivack, 1974:33,34).

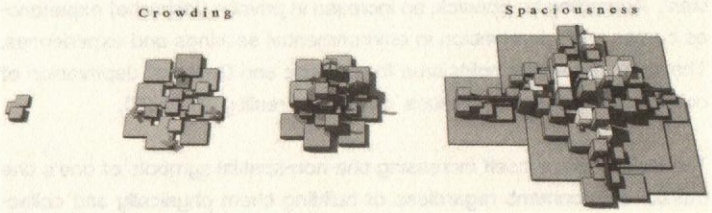

Figure 2. Paradox of place making (Source: Adapted from Tuan, 1977)

Regarding the critiques developed here, the research should propose a new framework for the phenomenon of place and the lack of place. Rather than trying to invent a new literature, the author tries to develop a complementary approach to the phenomenon. Hence, the theories of the lack of place should have to be reinterpreted and re-conceptualized according to the revised framework on the identity of place.

5. REINTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPTS

The research is going to reinterpret the concepts rather than expressing their original conceptual definitions. It is going to be benefited from their prominent contributions to the theory of lack. In this sense, each concept is defining the lack of place on different manifestations of the place identity. (See: Figure 3.) The Non-Place is describing a lack of space

(physical attributes). The Loss of place the lack of context. Placelessness is the lack of meaning. But, the experience component of place identity left missing. Furthermore, there would be no conceptualization found in the literature to identify the whole phenomenon of lack. In this sense, the paper recommends the term, the Atrophy of Place.

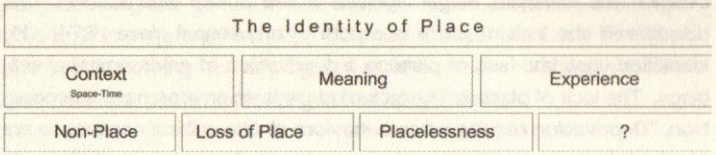

Figure 3. Reinterpretation of the concepts (Source: Adapted from Webber et al. 1964; Augé, 1995; Norberg-Schulz, 1979; Relph, 1976)

6. THE ATROPHY OF PLACE: THE ESSENCE OF LACK

The lack of place is a lack of any component in place identity; but also, *"lack is a counter effect of desire"* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984: 28). The essence of lack is phenomenological. It is somewhere in between the psychological and experiential world. The word 'Lack' come from the French word 'Manque'. It means *"both lack and need in a psychological sense, as well as want or privation or scarcity"* in a sense (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984: 29). Mayer Spivack (1974) named that sense as 'deprivation'. According to Spivack, an increase in private (intimate) experiences comes with deprivation in environmental settings and experiences. The same argument holds true for Deleuze and Guattari; deprivation of collective experiences creates 'doubles of reality' (1984: 27).

The lack of place itself increasing the non-spatial symbols of one's the mental environment regardless of building them physically and collectively within the urban environment. It triggers fantasies and dreams instead of symbolizing existence with physical settings. It creates more latency in affordance of the environment. Hence, it is a dangerous sickness of mankind. And hence, this sickness is increasing by self-stimulating itself. It creates a loss of reality in function. It is the inverse relation of place-making (rationalization[3]). This inverse relation is explained in Freudian terms by neurosis and psychosis.

Deleuze and Guattari (1984) define the terms as follow: *"Neurosis: the ego obeys the requirements of the reality and stands ready to repress the drives of the id. Psychosis: the ego is under the sway of id, ready to break the reality. The inverse relationship: In neurosis, the object function of reality is preserved, but on the condition that the casual complex be repressed; in psychosis, the complex invades consciousness and becomes its object, at the price of a "repression" that now bears on reality or the function of real."* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984: 133).

"The built environment might lose its meaningful symbolism" in the inverse relationship (Barlas, 2006: 47). "Since the form of the built environment is accepted as a composition of the signs of a series of archetypal symbols, a deviation from meaningful forms would result in a meaninglessness of the built environment, albeit it might not result in neurosis." (Barlas, 2006: 47). This inverse relation creates placeless, non-spatial symbols. This is the essence of lack. In short, the essence of lack is due to the loss of richness of signs and symbols with respect to the inverse relationship. Built signs fragmented into symbols. Symbols loose much of their power within the temporariness of the environment and the ephemeralness of mankind. This is called the 'atrophy of place'.

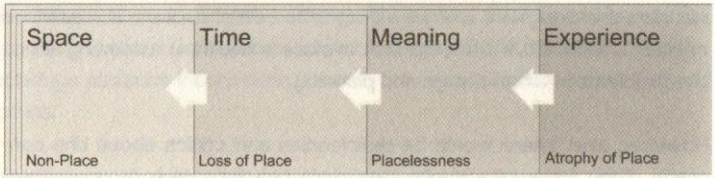

Figure 4. The Atrophy of Place

The term Atrophy of Place would not contradicting the contemporary author's definitions but also encompasses them. (See: Figure 4.) The Atrophy of Place is an entropic phenomenon. Because it has an irreversible time component. Non-places, The Loss of Place and The Placelessness is identifying the result of different manifestations of the atrophic process. Furthermore, The Atrophy of Place represents the loss of lived-in (collective) experiences. The manifestations would be either on the ruins of urban field or in history.

There is no doubt that the conceptual framework set in here is subject to be tested with the analytic urban historical research and field observations. The following questions, in this regard, are considered critical for further studies on the issue: Could the lack (atrophy) of place be eliminated with design? If yes, then what would be the tolls and methods utilized for that aim?

NOTES:

[1] Phenomenography is a research approach and methodology based on making ontological categorization and building new epistemological conceptions about a phenomenon. It investigates (collective) experiences within the human and environment relationship. See: Marton F. (1981, 1986).

[2] Even Webber's work was earlier than that of the Augé's, there would not be any references given to Melvin Webber in the texts of Augé (1992).

[3] Rationalization refers to Jungian notion of individuation. The main difference between individuation and rationalization is that individuation is an individual act, whereas rationalization can be both an individual and a collective experience.

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