

A CRITICAL PROSPECT INTO
WORKING SPACES FOR IMMATERIAL
LABOUR

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND
SCIENCE OF ABDULLAH GUL UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS

By

Nihan Muş Özmen

August 2019

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Nihan MUŞ ÖZMEN

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M.Sc. thesis titled A Critical Prospect Into Working Spaces for Immaterial Labour has been prepared in accordance with the Thesis Writing Guidelines of the Abdullah Gül University, Graduate School of Engineering & Science.

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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL PROSPECT INTO WORKING SPACES FOR IMMATERIAL LABOUR

Offices, the workplace of immaterial labour, have evolved in various ways since the early 1900s. As a result of mobility that emerged with globalization, people started to use not only offices but also various places such as cafes and airports as workspaces and the concept of office has become more flexible.

In the changing world, labour was no longer rigid, but flexible. Is architecture, which failed to fulfil its ideological mission after serving capitalism, able to respond the need of this flexible labour? Are the flexible spaces created by parametric design able to meet the need of flexible labour? Are architects going to be able to serve as ideologues of the society again through the forms they create with parametric design?

In this study, starting from the concept of belonging, firstly the importance of place is investigated to understand the concepts of sense of belonging and alienation. Then, capitalism as the basis of today's work life and its processes are argued. Afterwards, movies are investigated to visualize the evolution of office spaces in order to see the change in office spaces. Finally, today's social structure, business life and the role of architecture are discussed with the influences of Tafuri, Sennett and Schumacher and through the movies (with future prospects), the expectations of the office users and the lifestyle predictions; the recommendations are made for future office spaces.

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ÖZET

MADDİ OLMAYAN EMEĞİN ÇALIŞMA MEKANINA ELEŞTİREL BİR BAKIŞ

Maddi olmayan emeğin çalışma mekanı olan ofisler 1900lerin başından bu yana çeşitli şekillerde evrildi. Küreselleşme ile birlikte ortaya çıkan mobilitenin bir yansıması sonucu insanlar çalışma mekanı olarak yalnızca ofisleri değil, kafe, havaalanı gibi çeşitli yerleri de kullanmaya başladı, ofis kavramı esnekleşti.

Değişen dünyada emek artık rijit değil, esnek. Peki bu esnek emeğin ihtiyacı olan mekana kapitalizme hizmet etmeye başladıktan sonra ideolojik görevini yerine getiremeyen mimarlık cevap verebilir mi? Parametrik tasarımla yaratılan esnek mekanlar bu esnek emeğin ihtiyaç duyduğu mekanları yaratabilir mi? Parametrik tasarımla yaratılan formlar aracılığıyla mimarlar yine toplum ideoloğu olarak görev yapabilirler mi?

Bu çalışmada aidiyet kavramından yola çıkılarak, öncelikle mekanın önemi anlaşılmasına çalışılmış, bir yere ait olma ve yabancılaşma kavramları tartışılmıştır. Daha sonra günümüz iş hayatının temellerini oluşturan kapitalizm ve süreçlerine değinilmiştir. Sonrasında, bu süreçte ofis mekanlarında yaşanan değişimi görmek adına ofis mekanlarının evriminden bahsedilmiş ve bu evrimi görselleştirmek için filmlerden yararlanılmıştır. En son olarak ise Tafuri, Sennett ve Schumacher etkileriyle günümüz toplum yapısı, iş hayatı ve mimarlığın buradaki rolü tartışılmış, ofis kullanıcılarının beklentileri ve gelecek senaryolu filmlerdeki yaşam biçimi öngörülleri üzerinden geleceğin ofis mekanı ile ilgili öneride bulunulmuştur.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

New in, old out. The consumerism which was created by late Capitalism has been more than just purchasing. The consumption of the produced goods, the creation of new requirements through new goods has forced consumers for rapid adaptation to these new requirements. For example; we really did not feel the need for cell phones before they were produced, but now we cannot live without them. We consume everything quickly – relationships, places etc. – as a result of this rapid adaptation. Even though it is worthwhile to protect the values we inherit, it is now more valuable to ensure the fastest adaptation to new changes. The communication era, which is created by late capitalism and globalization, has also affected business life. In this global era, work life is forced to be global and outsourced because of the production processes (raw materials, supplier industry, market, know-how etc.). This leads white-collars, who carry out bureaucratic works of the companies, to be global and mobile. As the servants of consumerism, the white-collars – the workers of information era – should be flexible and have multiple abilities in order to keep up with the change of situations and to be successful in different business fields.

In today's world where everything is consumed so fast and the *old* is immediately laid aside, the sense of belonging has begun to disappear. We are in more than one environment at the same time in order to be present in all areas of life. In this case, we cannot feel attached to any of these settings like we have been feeling to a single place. Losing the sense of attachment leads us be disconnected to the place and lose the sense of belonging to the place. This also applies to work life. Rising with globalization, mobility has revealed temporary workspaces where labourers have flexible working hours and there is no sense of belonging, instead of fixed workspaces.

In this era, where immaterial¹ labour is produced much more than material labour, I worked as a white collar for seven years as a part of this immaterial labour. During my travels in that period, I had the chance to experience and observe temporary workspaces from time to time. Airports, which are mostly used for travel, and cafes (especially Starbucks), which are mostly preferred by home-office employees, are the main places for these temporary workspaces. Since people have very limited time, they arrange their works during a coffee break or between two flights. Public spaces such as airports, cafes are now places where business is carried out, meetings are held and customers are hosted. The workspace that emerged with the Industrial Revolution has been changed with the change of the nature of labour. Is this change going to be present in the future? Or is it going to stop?

The main objective of this study is to analyse and understand the spatialization of immaterial labour through the ‘white-collar’ professionals who were highlighted by globalization and neoliberalist policies especially after 80s. In today's world, there is a common opinion that immaterial labour must be flexible. When the career paths of today's white-collar workers are examined in detail, the evidences of this flexibility could be found. Richard Sennett (1998) mentions in his book *The Corrosion of Character* that in forty years of labour, an educated worker should change his/her job at least eleven times and skills at least three times. The claim of the thesis is, in order to respond the needs of these flexible immaterial labour, workspaces may also be flexible.

This thesis on the subject of **Flexible Spaces for Future Lifestyle** proposes a future space based on scenarios of how future lifestyle is going to be. In this context, first of all, in order to understand the importance of space, the existence of human being in this world and its relation with space are mentioned. After the space and sense of belonging concept, the phenomenon of alienation is discussed. Starting from the general view of lifestyle, this thesis narrows down on the workspace, which is the basis of Marx's alienation. For this reason, after the alienation, the thesis continues with capitalism and its processes. At the current stage of capitalism, workspace has changed with the change of labour, so this study focuses on the offices of white-collar workers.

¹ According to Hardt & Negri (2000, p. 290) “Since the production of services results in no material and durable good, we define the labor involved in this production as immaterial labor—that is, labor that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication”. For more information see *Empire* (2000) by Hardt & Negri.

In order to investigate the change of the workspace, the history of the office space is examined and it is analysed through movies in order to visualize this change. Finally, Sennett's flexible labour and Tafuri's mission of the architect are mentioned and to develop space proposals for the future labour, Schumacher's parametric design is stated.

In order to elaborate the content, it would be useful to examine **the thoughts of Tafuri, Sennett and Schumacher**. In *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Manfredo Tafuri (1976) discusses the socio-philosophical tangle in which architects have been struggling since the 18th century. From a neo-Marxist point of view, he extensively examines the relationship between architecture and society, architect and labour and market beyond the architectural form. He retraces the improvement of architecture from the late 18th century to the beginning of the 1970s and concludes that there is not any possibility of utopia for the architecture of the era of late capitalism. According to Tafuri, the drama of today's architecture is the obligation to return to pure architecture, a matter of form without utopia, supreme uselessness.

In the important work of art *The Corrosion of Character*, Richard Sennett (1998) mentions the concept *flexible capitalism* in his book, and explains that the work life is not rigid as it was before. Flexible capitalism forces employees to shift from one kind of work into another; therefore the long-term career on a single specialized area is a dream in today's business. Employees are supposed to be open to the change in terms of job skills and sets in a short time, to take risks and to be less dependent on regulations and formal procedures. He states that the flexibility has an impact on personal character and asks the questions about how to decide the lasting value of ourselves in an impatient society, how to pursue long-term goal in a short-term economy, how to sustain loyalties to the continually redesigning institutions.

Another important study related to the topic is Patrik Schumacher's two-volume set Parametricism manifesto, *The Autopoiesis of Architecture* (2011–2012). In this manifesto Schumacher reflects architecture's evolving patterns of communication in relation to its social task. The theory of architectural autopoiesis², which he proposes, focuses on architectural communications and observes these communications in order to

² "Autopoiesis, or 'self-production', is a concept introduced in the 1970s by the biologists Maturana and Varela to differentiate the living from the nonliving. An autopoietic system was defined as a network of inter-related component-producing processes such that the components in interaction generate the same network that produced them" (Geyer, 2001).

define the typical patterns. The aim is a comprehensive theoretical system that offers itself to architecture as in relationship to its social environment and its comprehensive self-description defining architecture from within architecture. The premiss here is that architecture is an autonomous, disciplinary discourse and it has always generated itself self-referentially. The thesis of the manifesto is that the phenomenon of architecture can be most adequately comprehended if it is analysed as autonomous network (autopoietic system) of communications. Architectural communications comprise of built works, drawings and texts and the built works of architecture serve society as communicative frames for social interaction.

There are also some theses in the field, one of them is *Esnek Kapitalizm ve Maddi Olmayan Emek Üreticileri* (2008 – Mimar Sinan University, PhD) by Yusuf Yüksel. This thesis focuses on labour, which is gradually distancing from what it is defined in industrial societies, losing its materialism and abstracting. The new labourer type, which is mentioned as neither blue-collar nor white-collar, is defined as non-standard, numerically and functionally flexible, original products or services producer, not an office user, away from the concept of shift in the classical sense, who has to adapt to changing situations.

Another study on the field is, *Mobil Mekanların İç Mekan Organizasyonu ve Örneklerle Mobil Ofis Tasarımlarının Analizi* (2014 – Hacettepe University, MSc) by Öznur Karaoğlu, which examines the people access to office buildings based on the concept of housing, through the requirements, technological developments and the process of emergence of mobile offices.

Büro İç Mekanlarının Amaca Uygun Esnek ve Değiştirilebilir Düzenlenmesi (2005 – Hacettepe University, MSc) by Ebru Yaprak investigates office interiors, which can be arranged as flexible and transformable. Last thesis to mention in the field is *Parametrisizm Manifestosu Bağlamında Parametrik Tasarım* (2015 – Karadeniz Technical University, MSc) by Selin Oktan. Within the scope of this study, the designs created with parametric design processes, which have become a current discussion area for today's architecture, are examined in the context of the Manifesto of Parametricism and it is aimed to think of the application and theory together.

In this thesis, starting from the concept of belonging, the evolution of work life and workspace is discussed with the ideas of Manfredo Tafuri and Richard Sennett and

analysed with the studies and discussions in the field. In addition, some movies have been chosen as a means to visualize the evolution of office space. Moreover, through ideas of Patrik Schumacher about parametric design, an architectural approach is developed to meet the needs of changing work life.

This study is **influenced by the idea of** Manfredo Tafuri (1976) that architecture cannot fulfil its ideological task after serving capitalism and there are no more utopias. This led to the questions that how capitalism transforms social life and how production processes change. This also led to the discussions about the emergence of the consumption society, our lives constantly on the move in the global world and the fact that people build different lives in a wide variety of virtual worlds led to this thesis. In trying to find answers to all these inquiries, each knowledge paved the way for another, starting with the relationship between capitalism and architecture, diversified with the involvement of flexible labour that emerged in the late capitalism period.

The question raised by this diversification was; should architecture maintain its rigidity in this global era in which we live and everything is flexible? With the maturation of the idea that parametric design, which is one of today's design approaches, may perhaps answer this question, this thesis was outlined.

Based on the concerns mentioned above, this thesis questions how architecture should respond to the needs of the work life in the flexible era that we are in, by interpreting the task of architecture towards society based on the perspective of Tafuri and discusses concepts starting from the question of belonging, alienation, capitalism that affected alienation, the global world emerged with late capitalism, the work life of global world and flexible labour.

The Human & Sense of Place chapter examines the question of belonging, on which this thesis is based, and sets out from Heidegger's (1958) concept of *Dasein*. This term, which means *being there*, refers to the existence in a place. Later on, Heidegger's (1971) *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* article is emphasized and the relationship between the issue of belonging and the place is mentioned. *Placelessness*, the concept produced by Edward Relph (1976), has basically taken Heidegger's approach to sense of belonging. Relph states that belonging to a place has authenticity and that places where sense of belonging is not felt, they are placeless landscapes. Similarly, Marc Augé

(1995) developed the concept *non-place* and mentioned that places where there is no sense of belonging are *non-places*.

The concept of not feeling an attachment to a place leads us to the concept of *alienation*. According to Hegel, the first name that comes to mind when alienation is mentioned, man is a being by himself first. Later, when he steps in to realize himself, he becomes self-estranged and alienated from himself. Hegel's alienation has two possibilities; objectivation and self-alienation in the world.

Jacques Lacan defines the *mirror stage* based on Hegel's alienation. According to this stage, when the infant is 6-18 months old, he sees himself on any reflective surface, he realizes that he is a separate entity from his mother and experiences the first alienation. Marx, on the other hand, follows the path of self-alienation from Hegel's alienation and interprets the process of capitalism. According to this, the worker starts to work like a machine from doing simple and monotonous work and gets alienated firstly from his work and from himself at the end.

After mentioning the alienation created by capitalism, the stages of capitalism are mentioned in the **Transformation of Production** chapter. First of all, it is explained how the trade before capitalism, the facts that prepared it and the birth of it. Later, new production models and management processes that emerged with the developing processes of capitalism and their reflections on the employees are discussed. Finally, as a result of the information era the global world in which the immaterial labour force is used extensively and production is mostly in the service sector is examined.

After analysing the transformation of the business world starting from sense of belonging, firstly the history of office space is spoken of in **The Evolution of Office Space** chapter in order to evaluate its reflection in the workplace. After that, nine movies, two episodes of the series Black Mirror and a short movie are analysed in order to visualize the transformation in detail. The first eight of these movies contain office space and show how the office space has changed from 1919 to 2015 at various time intervals. Instead of having only spatial analysis, technologies that are expected to be in the possible future scenarios (in the other movie, episodes of series and short movie that reflect fictions of the future) are examined and discussed how these technologies will take place in the workspace of future.

In the **New Era of Labour and Space** chapter, three books that inspire this thesis are investigated and argued. Firstly, Richard Sennett's (1998) book *The Corrosion of Character* is examined and in the book he tells us that it is no longer possible to work in a single, long-term job. According to him, an employee should have at least eleven different jobs and have at least three different skills in his forty years of work life. Today's working life forces employees to be flexible.

After Sennett's book *Architecture and Utopia* is analysed and what Tafuri (1976) wants to tell is mentioned in detail. According to that, with capitalism architecture has lost its ideological mission and utopia is no longer possible for architecture, new utopia is industrial design. Industrial design products and advertisements are now tools that shape cities. Architecture was left behind during the uniformity of modernism.

In the world where everything is flexible and changing, architecture seems to keep up with this change by using new technologies, but it maintains its rigidity and cannot reflect the flexibility to spaces. *Parametricism* idea of Patrik Schumacher (2011 – 2012), of which he argues that parametric design is able to direct the society and enables flexibility, is investigated in this context after examining the posture of architecture in post-modernism and flexible workforce. In his two-volume book *The Autopoiesis of Architecture* and on all platforms where he advocates the idea of *parametricism*, Schumacher mentions that architecture is a means of communication and emphasizes that societies are now complex structures with a wide variety. According to him, parametric design is the way that architecture can respond to the diversity of societies. Parametric design is a form of design that includes many variables and can produce alternatives according to variables and conditions. With this feature, the spaces that these complex societies which comprise of differences need can be realized with parametric design.

Chapter 2

Human & Sense of Place

*We, Turkish people, were born in houses, which have histories less than 35 years. Some of us grew up in some places which are abandoned now. For example, I grew up in a housing of a factory, Taksan, after the factory was sold, all the residents and workers had to leave there and the site which is as big as a village is abandoned now. The schools in which we were educated do not exist anymore, like the primary school I went to, which was demolished. The cities we live in change in decades, so that it is not the same city as we know from our adolescence. Some of our lucky ones graduated from long-established universities. We are getting education in converted buildings, for example old factories which are turned into university buildings³. We are living in five years old apartments; we work in companies which have uncertain future. Our lives go on in shopping malls, at the airports and on the motorways; sometimes our feet do not touch the earth. At the end we will go to our eternal sleep six feet under. While being swayed from side to side, do we feel to belong anywhere?**

As architects, we need to put human at the center of our work. Place only becomes meaningful with human beings, human beings give spirit to place. In the same way, human exist in place, so there is a mutual relationship between human and place. In order to comprehend this mutual relationship, the existence of human being in this world and its relation with place are mentioned in this chapter. Since our job is to create spaces for people, it is important to understand the most fundamental relationship established with place. In doing so, the concepts of sense of belonging and alienation are emphasized. In the sense of belonging section; existing in the world, attachment to a

³ See *From Industrial Site to University Campus. Sümerbank Kayseri Textile Factory* (2013) by Asiliskender, as an example.

* *A personal outpour.*

place and the concepts *placelessness* and *non-place* are scrutinized. In the alienation section, Marx's alienation and its origin are investigated.

2.1 Sense of Belonging

As some fundamental feelings, belonging is the feeling for motivation. If it is considered through Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs*⁴, the social needs – including belonging and love – come after the psychological needs (food, water, sleep, shelter etc.) and the safety needs (security, freedom of fear, employment etc.). Therefore, sense of belonging is important for people in order to survive and have motivation to live.

Sense of belonging is related to feeling right, safe and comfortable. First of all it would be good to have a look at its meaning in dictionary. *To belong* is explained in two ways; “to be in the right place or a suitable place” and “to feel happy or comfortable in a situation”.⁵ Kennedy (cited in Jones, 2007, p. 54) mentions that “being without a home is being without that place in which to be oneself, at ease, secure and at rest” and “according to Loader (2006, 25), ..., the question ‘Who am I?’ cannot be isolated from the other question ‘Where do I belong?’” (Antonsich, 2010, p. 646). As it is emphasized by Antonsich (2010) in particular, a person could only be like him/herself and exhibit his/her true existence in the place where he/she belongs to. The answer of the question *Where do I belong?*, which accompanies the question *Who am I?*, could be sometimes a place and sometimes a social environment. The person could feel the sense of belonging to the environment or place where he/she does not have to restrict his/her behaviours and who could be him/herself. Otherwise, he/she feels threatening and needs to be defensive.

When we look at the meanings of sense of belonging, there is a relationship with place. Only when there is a place, one feels comfortable and safe and can realize himself. This inevitably leads us to Heidegger's *Dasein* issue.

The word *Dasein* is used by Heidegger (1958) for self-identification, which is more related to *I am*. “‘Dasein’ means the self as the there (Da) of being (Sein), the place where an understanding of being erupts into being” (Stapleton, 2010, p. 44).

⁴ See A. H. Maslow (1943) for more information about Hierarchy of Needs pyramid.

⁵ BELONG | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/belong>

According to Heidegger, the traditional comprehension of being cannot be separated from the idea of *presence*. “Being-in, like the world, is an existentiale” (Stapleton, 2010, p. 51). With the expression *I am there*, a person explains his/her awareness through describing the situation or environment he/she exists in. Heidegger (1958) mentions that the being is something which is conveyed to us and we are affected as receptors by the objects that we are given. As the receptors, we experience the environment that we exist in through the feeling, through our senses. According to him the meaning of *Dasein* contains awareness, feeling, experience, existence, belonging and authenticity.

For Heidegger, the world belongs to the being of *Dasein*. It is the feeling of *being in the world* and *having a place*. In the *An Ontological Consideration of Place* chapter of his book *The Question of Being* (1958, p. 20) Heidegger says,

The realization realizing dwelling points to the ‘being here in this world’, for only here does man dwell in the house of Being and only here is he conscious of it, and thus of a relation to God as being above him as the heavens are above the earth. Thus the dwelling of man is the consciousness of his mortality and his dwelling on the earth.

Heidegger also makes many definitions about *place* in his book, in order to explain its importance through *being*. Place puts a person in a dimension in which the meaning of *being* is revealed. It is the shelter and the freedom of *being*. Having a place is having freedom. “To have ‘place’ ontologically and empirically is to have a house in which *being* can unfold and manifest its *being*” (Heidegger, 1958, p. 26). Thus being is only possible through being there. Place discloses the uniqueness of a person, the external borders of his/her existence, the deepness of his freedom and reality. In a place a person is aware of self-consciousness. “To be man is to have an existential ‘place’ but this ‘place’ must become the house of our *being* in which our ontological dimension, our *being* here, unfolds and finds fulfilment” (Heidegger, 1958, p. 25).

In the article *Building Dwelling Thinking* (1971), Heidegger goes further with the *being in the world* idea⁶ and says, “to be a human *being* means to be on the earth as a mortal, it means to dwell”. According to him, dwelling is the goal of building. After that, he mentions the definition of ‘to dwell’, which he explains as taking a shelter in.

⁶ Another important point Heidegger (1971) mentions in his article is the fourfold. It is the simple oneness of earth, sky, divinities, mortals and none of them could be thought without others. When the fourfold is preserved then the dwelling is proper.

Through the word 'Bauen', which means to dwell, and 'Barren' that is protect, care for and cultivate, it is clarified that building has to have the aim to protect, provide shelter and cultivate. Another Gothic word 'Wunian' is also described in the article means to be at peace which refers to be free. From this point of view Heidegger remarks "to dwell is to be at peace and thus the fundamental character of dwelling is the act of sparing-to remain at peace within the free" (Clark, 2011).

As can be seen from the explanations of *Dasein*, which means being in the world, being in a place also includes belonging to a place. It is also mentioned that a person who dwells in the world has a relationship with place. While being in a place, people perceive, feel, experience and communicate with their environment. People manifest themselves in this place where they are restricted them and feel their own existence. If we go back to statements of belonging again, people can only realize themselves where they belong to.

"To belong means to find a place where an individual can feel 'at home'" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 646). Searching for a land, house or even a hut or a grove has something in common; finding a shelter that you are involved and belong to. As Kennedy stated (cited in Jones, 2007, p. 54) "the need for a place like that is deep and urgent in all of us", since our lives start in a womb⁷ which is the most comfortable and safest place in the world, humanity has been trying to find a place that would serve as the womb.

Mankind, who has been trying to find the perfect place throughout his life, has found different shelters for ages. Caves, tents, huts, houses provide shelter and protection as the basic need. People who have moved from nomadic life to settled life begin to leave some traces (started with cave paintings) in order to adopt the place they use as shelter. These traces leave a sense of belonging to the place. As mentioned above with various examples, people behave like themselves only in a place where they feel secure and belong. For this reason, the feeling of belonging is very important in places like home and workplace where the most of the time is spent. Moretti (1988, p. 127) mentions that:

The great novelty of urban life, in fact, does not consist in having thrown the people into the street, but in having raked them up and shut them into offices

⁷ See 2.2 Alienation section, Lacan's Mirror Stage for more information.

and houses. It does not consist in having intensified the public dimension, but in having invented the private one - and especially in having transferred the meaning of individual life, and thus also the standard for evaluating what constitutes experience, into this new domain.

Nevertheless the sense of belonging has been changing. Because of changing lifestyles and the technological era, attachment to a single place is not possible as before. Today people connect with multiple places and multiple virtual environments at the same time. So many networks of relationships and mobile lives have led to a gradual decrease in attachment to a place. This brought the feeling of being split from and being without place. There are various studies on the concept of being without place, but two of them have gained a serious place in the field; *placeslessness* and *non-place*.

Edward Relph wrote his book *Place and Placelessness* (1976) to attend to the development of environmental understanding. He uses phenomenological study to describe the experiences of the lived-world and try to interest people who feel place identity, different landscapes or whose concern is the erosion of different places.

Edward Relph first explains *the concept of place*⁸. He uses Martin Heidegger's (1958, p. 19) declaration "'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bounds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality'. From this declaration, that is stated "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place" (Relph, 1976, p. 1). He also mentions that place is the complexity and deepness of the world practice of a person to which people are tied emotionally and psychologically, so that it contains both collective and individual identity.

Relph continues with the relationship between space and place, and tries to define space yet he says it could not be described and analysed directly, it is also intangible and amorphous.⁹ In The Essence of Place chapter of the book Relph explains the

⁸ After the concept of place Relph mentions geographical knowledges about place and draws (p. 5) attention to Eric Dardel's (1952) view of place: "Dardel argues that geography is initially a profound and immediate experience of the world that is filled with meaning, and as such is the very basis of human existence. While geographical science may adopt an air of detachment, Dardel maintains that "it is necessary to understand geography not as some closed system where men submit themselves to observation like insects in a laboratory, but as the means by which man realises his existence insofar as the Earth is an essential aspect of his fate".

⁹ According to Relph, space cannot be defined and analysed in a direct way because of being shapeless and intangible and he defines six spaces as primitive, perceptual, existential, architectural, cognitive and abstract. Primitive space is based on immediate needs and practises which is structured unselfconsciously during the infant period and it is relevant with the senses. Perceptual space has the human being as centre

meaning of the place according to the relationships established with place. Location is where places are located. Landscape is the physical form of the place and it can be described. Time changes the character of the place like the changes in our attitudes. Community has memory in a place, “people are their place and a place is its people” (Relph, 1976, p. 34). The experiences we have about a place, our unique situations make it a private place and we define it with specific significances. Rootedness of a place is the attachment and familiarity feeling of that place and it is safe. Home is a place where our identity is founded. He lastly defines the drudgery of a place which comes from too much satisfaction of nostalgia – the feeling that demonstrates attachment – and it is like a feeling of imprisonment and causes passion to escape.

In order to make the meaning of *placelessness* clear, Relph continues with sense of place and authenticity. It is the sense of place, which is capable of noticing place distinctions and different identities of a place. It can be both authentic and genuine or inauthentic and artificial. He notes that authentic sense of place is related to existentialism and being, that is to say *Dasein*. It is belonging to the place and being inside of it as a member of the community or as an individual. In addition, he makes a definition of authentic person (p. 64),

An authentic person is thus one who is sincere in all he does while being involved unselfconsciously in an immediate and communal relationship with the meanings of the world, or while selfconsciously facing up to the realities of his existence and making genuine decisions about how he can or cannot change his situation.

When it comes to *placelessness* Relph first speaks about inauthenticity. Inauthenticity is the everyday life behaviour which is imposed to the community and accepted by everyone, it is an object world of conjectural time and space. Inauthenticity is another order than authenticity; it is the others’ authoritarianism which is unconscious. The self-conscious inauthenticity is the common way of presence in

that is related to emotions directly “and it therefore has an excellent system of directions which change with the movement of the human body” (Relph, 1976, p. 10). Existential space is characterized by culture that creates significant forms and patterns unselfconsciously and it is continually reproduced by human activities. Existential space has two sub-spaces; sacred space and geographical space. Sacred space is the space of religion while geographical space has a place in human experience. Geographical space has its own character; it is unique with its own name. Relph notes that geographical space of countryside or town is not only an experience but also a creation space by building and he refers to Heidegger’s dwelling idea that the essence of existence is dwelling. Architectural space is an attempt to space creation and also unselfconscious spatial experiences. Cognitive space is the space identification of spatial organisation, it has dimensions, geometry and it is homogenous. Abstract space is the reflection of human imagination which is logical relations space.

industrialized and mass civilizations that is an objective and artificial world without the feeling of engagement.

While the sense of place is authentic, in inauthenticity there is no sense of place, no awareness and no significations. “Relph suggests that, in general, placelessness arises from kitsch—an uncritical acceptance of mass values, or technique—the overriding concern with efficiency as an end in itself” (Seamon & Sowers, 2008, p. 4). As Abraham Moles (cited in Relph, 1976, p. 82) defines “kitsch is a way of being, a major part of everyday life in all affluent societies where many people can afford the trivial, the showy, and the ersatz, but present in all societies to some extent”. Technique is different form of planning according to the mass value and kitsch.

“Placelessness is an attitude and an expression of that attitude which is becoming increasingly dominant, and that it is less and less possible to have a deeply felt sense of place or to create places authentically” (Relph, 1976, p. 82). It is encouraged by media which weakens the identity of places and it consists of mass communications, mass culture, big business, central authority and the economic system. “Relph claims that with the mass production, with the society which is becoming fluid and with the inauthentic (disneyfield) imitated places we are getting to live in a placeless world” (Değirmenci, 2012, p. 3).






<p>A. Other-directedness in places</p> <p>Landscape made for tourists Entertainment districts Commercial strips Disneyfield places Museumised places Futurist places</p> <p style="text-align: right;">} (Synthetic or pseudo-places)</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://followgreenliving.com/amusement-parks-going-green/</p>
<p>B. Uniformity and standardization in places</p> <p>Instant new towns and suburbs Industrial commercial developments New roads and airports, etc. International styles in design & architecture</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/18/us/atlanta-airport-blackout.html</p>
<p>C. Formlessness and lack of human scale and order in places</p> <p>Subtopias Gigantism (skyscrapers, megalopoli) Individual features unrelated to cultural or physical setting</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.timeanddate.com/holidays/fun/skyscraper-day</p>
<p>D. Place destruction (Abbau)</p> <p>Impersonal destruction in war (e.g. Hiroshima, villages in Vietnam) Destruction by excavation, burial Destruction by expropriation and redevelopment by outsiders (e.g. urban expansion)</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/bombings-hiroshima-and-nagasaki-1945</p>
<p>E. Impermanence & instability of places</p> <p>Places undergoing continuous redevelopment (e.g. many central business districts) Abandoned places</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.google.com.tr/url?sa=i&rc=t=j&q=&esrc=s&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwiJ8N6GueHjAhWRfFAKHVuFC14QjR6BAgBEAU&url=%2Furl%3Fsa%3Di%26ret%3Dj%26q%3D%26esrc%3Ds%26source%3Dimages%26cd%3D%26ved%3D%26url%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Fptole.pregames.info%252Fhow-to-find-abandoned-property-to-explore.cgi%26psig%26</p>

Table 2.1.1 Classification of placeless landscape with visual examples (Relph, 1976)

In the Table 2.1, Relph classifies the placeless landscapes according to their usage as other-directedness in places, uniformity and standardization in places, formlessness and lack of human scale and order in places, place destruction, impermanence and instability of places. In this study, there are some additions to these placeless landscapes in accordance with present and the names of these landscapes are also revised, which can be seen in the Table 2.2.

In the other-directedness class, he exemplifies unreal and temporary places. People consume these places to spend pleasant time and to be away from reality for a while. In today's world, there are new types of unreal places as virtual world, places experienced with VR and AR etc. People of this era spend most of their time, especially in the virtual world, so that this class can be renamed as *virtual places*.

The concepts uniformity and standardization in the second class and the examples of these places reference to the places which have their own rules. *Self-regulated places* definition can be used to identify these kinds of ordered and standardized places. Hotel chains, military zones etc. could be in this class. Formlessness and lack of human scale and order in places are exemplified with subtopias, skyscrapers etc. in Table 2.1. Nowadays shopping malls are similar to these places because of being giant. There is a world in every shopping center, people are tiny in these *excessive* worlds.

Place destruction and impermanence and instability of places classes can be taken as one group. Even though their contents seem different, they refer to similar places. Destroyed places are also abandoned places if they are not redeveloped. In addition, destroyed places after natural disasters can be a part of this classification under the name of *devastated places*. It is necessary to include another type of place that has been derived in recent years. As a result of increasing wars, refugee camps where a large number of refugees have been resettled, form a new class of *recovery places*. These camps, which started as a temporary shelter, are settlements that have been used for many years because of the inability of refugees to return to their countries and they have idiosyncratic features.





<p>A. Virtual places</p> <p>Virtual world Places experienced with VR Places experienced with AR</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-00894-w</p>
<p>B. Self-regulated places</p> <p>Hotels Military zones</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.mirror.co.uk/travel/europe/europe-best-all-inclusive-hotels-11894890</p>
<p>C. Excessive places</p> <p>Shopping malls</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/peoplesdaily/article-3447902/Would-dare-FIVE-STORY-tall-slide-Chinese-shopping-mall-built-giant-chute-entertain-customers.html</p>
<p>D. Devastated places</p> <p>Destruction after natural disasters</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://www.internethaber.com/75lik-buyuk-istanbul-depreminin-zamani-deprem-uzmani-ercandan-carpici-aciklama-foto-galerisi-2038358.htm</p>
<p>E. Recovery places</p> <p>Refugee camps</p>	 <p>Retrieved from https://medium.com/@koriehiggins/imagining-a-better-refugee-camp-84ae0a91c4b5</p>

Table 2.1.2 Renaming of Relph's classification in accordance with present

The explanations of Relph show that place is the experience which is achieved unconsciously, subconsciously or self-consciously. Despite the different consciousness levels, authenticity is stationary within the experience of place. The idea of *placelessness* is away from belonging and does not contain authenticity and it is a different order, it occurs with industrialization and mass communities. Considering that our daily lives take place in shopping malls, travels, and most of all in the virtual world, we experience *placelessness* evermore. For example, when we are on holiday, we go to the airport to travel and we create a temporary relationship with the environment in the airport. There are people from all over the world walking, working, drinking, shopping etc. and all the lives there intersect for a while. However, none of us feel the sense of belonging there because the airport has its own rules and we are just the guests. Then we arrive at the hotel. Although we spend much more time in the hotel compared to the airport, there are similar things. The environment is temporary, the hotel has its own rules (e.g. specific meal times), the furniture in the hotel does not belong to us and here also we intersect with different lives from all around.

Apparently, in today's life because of mostly being mobile and global, but also because of natural disasters or wars, people have to move and travel with a good or bad grace. This leads us to face lots of placeless landscapes as airports, stations, motorways, hotels, military zones, shopping malls, refugee camps etc. A different perspective on these places, which Relph called *placelessness*, comes from Marc Augé as *non-place*.

In his book *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*¹⁰ (1995), Augé speaks about supermodernity, by which he argues *non-place* is produced. Although he does not clearly mention that supermodernity is the result of late capitalism, it is understood from his emphasis about transformations in the production form. "Supermodernity is characterized by excess, a charged surplus in the three domains philosophical and, more particularly, anthropological thought has come to rely on as its cornerstones: time, space, the individual" (Buchanan, 1999, p. 393). Individuals are always and never at home, in the supermodernity world. *Non-places* make people feel at home, modern and important through anonymous space which the

¹⁰ Marc Augé (1995) uses the differentiation between *space* and *place* in order to explain *non-place*, through the differentiation of *place* and *non-place*. According to him place occurs through words, whereas space comprises of frequency of places and it is more conceptual than place, which mostly refers to an event, a myth, a history. It is similar to area, temporary expansion or a length between two points. Space is an intelligible area and things have a kind of sense in this certain area. Space is a machine to serve its observer to create a meaning.

user cannot be really attached and cannot own. It would be good to exemplify the issue of Starbucks here. As a global brand, Starbucks has more than 29.000 stores worldwide¹¹ and all of them have similar designs. The idea here is to make people feel the same aura in all shops, so that they can feel at home. During a travel, we see a Starbucks shop which seems familiar and just for a while we feel at home, but also we do not feel at home. Because it is neither a place nor a *non-place*.

“If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place” (Augé, 1995, p. 77). Augé mentions Michel de Certeau’s view, that *non-place* is the place which does not have a positive quality and which is absent from itself.

*Non-place*¹² and place are opposite, place is never erased and *non-place* is never completed. This opposition comes from the one between place and space.

Space & place and place & *non-place* interlace and *non-place* can never be without place. There are two realities which are integral but different and *non-place* entitles them: spaces related to certain ends and the connections of individuals experienced with these spaces. *Non-place* user is related to it contractually. More or less clear signs of *non-place* are the way that is to be used. “The space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations, only solitude, and similitude” (Augé, 1995, p. 103).

According to Augé *non-place* is without identity and relation. *Non-place* is real but which is transitory and mistrustful, so that it makes its use verify his identity. In the *non-places* the user is forced to prove that he is innocent by showing identity, which is the stamp of space of consumption. The individual is eased of his considerations and experiences only what a passenger, customer or driver does. He is away from the surrounding of movement temporarily. “Anthropological place is formed by individual identities, through complicities of language, local references, the unformulated rules of living know-how; *non-place* creates the shared identity of passengers, customers or Sunday drivers” (Augé, 1995, p. 101). Space of a traveller may be a first example of

¹¹ See <https://www.statista.com/statistics/218366/number-of-international-and-us-starbucks-stores/> for more information.

¹² “The non-place is the opposite of utopia: it exists, and it does contain any organic society” (Augé, 1995, pp. 111-112).

non-place. The anonymity of hotel chains, service stations, big stores and motorways make a foreigner can feel at home, this is *non-place*'s paradox. "Such generic spaces as airports, hotels, train stations and so on, are, in Augé's view, non-relational, unhistorical and unconcerned with identity" (Buchanan, 1999, p. 395). Because of being passed through, the time units measure *non-places*.

When *non-place* concept is examined, it is very similar to the concept of *placelessness*. These are the places which are temporary, anonymous, inauthentic and do not contain attachment.

2.2 Alienation

Definitions of placelessness and non-place show that place needs sense of belonging. Where there is no sense of belonging, the attachment to the place weakens and that place becomes temporary. Another situation similar to the split between human and place is the split between human and labour. The capitalist production process moves human away from his own labour. This situation emerges as *alienation*. *Alienation* is one of the most important terms of Marxist philosophy.

Before then, it would be good to have a look at alienation concepts in the literature, especially Hegel's concept of alienation, in which Marx is influenced. "By 'alienation' Hegel refers to the process by which 'finite spirit', the human self, 'doubles' itself, externalises itself, and then confronts its own other being as something separate, distinct and opposed to it" (Sayers, 2011, p. 3). Another important *alienation* concept *mirror stage*¹³ was revealed by Jacques Lacan also influenced from Hegel.

According to Lacan, the human being faces *lack* by birth; it is the feeling of the first castration of the child from the mother's body. This situation arises as *desire* which

¹³ Between 6 and 18 months the baby begins to recognize his/her image in the mirror - reflective surface- (for example the mother's face could be the mirror), with the fascination image of itself, the child, tries to control and play with it. Despite the confusion at first, the child identifies that the image has its own characteristics and it is a reflection of him/herself. The image of the child in the mirror comes out of the idea that it will be based on the identifications it will establish in the future. The reflection that the child sees in the mirror is a fiction, and this fiction conceals the child's lack of motor coordination. For the child, this image gives him/her a coherent sense of totality in which he/she can find him/her. "While the infant still feels his/her body to be in parts, as fragmented and not yet unified, it is the image that provides him/her with a sense of unification and wholeness" (Homer, 2005, p. 25).

is the need of returning to the severed body, being whole again with mother¹⁴. “What Lacan refers to as a ‘lack of being’ is this ontological gap or primary loss at the very heart of our subjectivity” (Homer, 2005, p. 31). According to Homer (2005, p. 26):

Alienation, in Lacan, is precisely this ‘lack of being’ through which the infant’s realization (in both senses of the term: forming a distinct concept in the mind and becoming real) lies in an-other place. In this sense, the subject is not alienated from something or from itself but rather alienation is constitutive of the subject – the subject is alienated in its very being.

Subsequent to the familiar *alienation* concepts in the literature, let us move on with Marx’s alienation. In his theory of *alienation*, in *The Paris Manuscript*¹⁵ (1844), Marx moves from the concept of *alienated labour*. He mentions that the proletariat is alienated and declares the production process guilty in *alienation*. According to him, wage, profit and rent, and private ownership end up with *alienation*.

Marx (1844) identifies *alienation* in four characteristics. First one is the *alienation* from the object; the worker is only a part of the object with the division of labour and specialization which brought about by the production process, therefore the worker is alienated from the object. The second is *alienation* from the act of production, because of being forced to work; the worker is alienated from the production process. The third one is the *alienation* from the species. Accordingly, people distinguish themselves from other beings by producing their own means of subsistence. The human being is alienated from the species because he is detached from the product with the production process. The final one is the *alienation* from fellow man. As the possible result, being alienated from himself, human being becomes alienated from other people.

The alienation from labour is similar to the alienation from place, which is *placelessness* or *non-place*. Just like the alienation of the worker from his labour, one becomes alienated to the place when he loses his sense of belonging to there. If the worker is alienated from himself since he is alienated to his labour, perhaps we, human become dehumanised because of being alienated to place, being placeless and detached. Is it possible that we cannot exist by not belonging to a place as Hegel mentions by *Dasein*? Is it possible that architecture, which uses the capitalist mode of production,

¹⁴ For more information please check out the sources; Tuncay Birkan, “Sözlük.” in *İdeolojinin Yüce Nesnesi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2002), 246.; Alan Sheridan, “Translator’s Note.” in *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XI The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 281.

¹⁵ See Felsefe Yazıları (Marx, 2004) for more information about *alienation*.

moves us away from our home, from the situation being in this world and ruptures us from the world? Perhaps even as in the alienation, we are becoming real aliens by being extra-terrestrial.

XCPS
GCPS

Chapter 3

Transformation of production

*Barcelona, Vienna, London, Delft, Ankara, Bolzano, Friedrichschafen, Oxford, Graz, Antakya, Salzburg, Volos, Kars, Innsbruck, Kastamonu, İzmir, Athens, Antwerp, Brügge, Amsterdam, İstanbul, Alonissos, Paris, Den Haag, Strasbourg, Constanz, Muğla, Rotterdam, Dortmund... These are the cities I visited in the last three years, which are much more than my parents visited till my age. In addition, I was almost moving to Spain two years ago because of a business offer. In the global era people and labour travel all the time. Globally influenced lives are reflected in our travels. Not only are we traveling, the devices we have come from all over the world. In addition to technology, we are virtually involved in lives around the world. We are living on different –virtual– platforms. While we are at home, with friends, we are also on Facebook or Instagram or Spotify etc. at the same time.¹⁶ Which circle of friends do I spend time with, the one at home or the one on Facebook? Do I enjoy the music while I am looking what my friends are listening on Spotify? Have I checked WhatsApp in the last five minutes? What was the last time that I checked my e-mail? Is it possible to miss any moment because of being offline?**

There is an analogy in the previous chapter between *alienation* and *placelessness* and/or *non-place*. Both alienation from labour and becoming placeless are the consequences of capitalist production system. In one of them, we are alienated according to Marxist theory, in the other we cannot exist in the context of *dasein*,

¹⁶ Zerubav (1976, p. 92) notes that “As far as schedules are concerned, an 'activity cult' has apparently evolved, with people making efforts to apply rational budgeting procedures to their dense schedules, minimizing the unaccounted- for 'empty' intervals between activities. 'Fillers' such as reading newspapers in the bathroom and signing letters on train seem to be very common, yet the culmination of the art of killing time is probably the development of techniques for learning during sleep. Furthermore, the zero-sum interdependence between durations of various activities, according to which time spent on one activity is at the expense of another, is time and again defied by a 'polychronic' handling of time.” In addition for more information see also Edward T. Hall's *The Hidden Dimension* (1966), *Monochrome and Polychrome Time* chapter.

* *A personal outpour*

because we are condemned to non-places. In this chapter, these two situations are approached in the upper scale, in a historical process and economical – political context. Since these two situations have begun with the capitalist mode of production, it is necessary to address the story of capitalism and see the stages and processes of it. Moreover, it is important to see how capitalism moves us away from ourselves and our home.

3.1 Emergence of Capitalism

In the 17th and 18th centuries, various revolutions emerged with the enlightenment process that emerged in Western Europe based on knowledge, reason and science. At the end of the 18th century, the scientific revolution that emerged as a result of the developments in the scientific field; and the French Revolution, which emerged as a result of the principles of equality, freedom, separation of powers and tolerance formed during the enlightenment period, paved the way for social changes. In addition to the effects of all these revolutions, the Industrial Revolution that emerged at the end of the 18th century as a result of technological developments has radically changed social life. The mechanization revealed factories and mass production, which led to the process of capitalist production (Turhanoglu, 2011).

Capitalism is a 20th century term that is basically a system of changing. It is, on the basis of the social relationship between wage labour and the capitalist, is a social system in which other commodities are produced systematically through commodities under market conditions which operate under certain obligations such as competition, accumulation, technological renewal and productivity increase. As Braudel (2008, p. 37) mentions, capitalism has actually increased above the market economy which is based on exchange. According to Fülberth (2008, p. 17), capitalism is the way of societies that provide the profit and the goods used to obtain this profit by purchasing and selling goods, or by supplying and selling service-based workforce. The produced products can be purchased, sold or exchanged with other products. As the main component of capitalism, profit is the money equivalent of the surplus value that is earned from the sold product. This surplus value arises by purchasing the product cheaper or purchasing the labour and product which is used to produce the product. In capitalism, production, selling and purchasing have two functions: the first is to make a profit, and the second to provide capital accumulation.

First of all, it should be mentioned that economic relations did not start with capitalism. Economic practises and activities were implicit or buried in non-economic relations –affinity, community, religious or political relations- in former societies also.

Feudalism was prevailed from the 5th to 15th centuries in the societies of Europe. It was a period of confiscation of the landless peasants' production and of the excess that they did not use. These were confiscated by landowners through the non-economic measures. The social structure of feudalism was determined by the relationship between landowner nobles and landless peasants (serfs). The peasants served to landowner's farm under supervision. Their differences from the antique age slaves were that they could not be bought. As Fülberth (2008, p. 17) mentions, the nobles who had the authority to possess guns were able to force the serfs to do drudgery works.

Ellen Meiksins Wood states in her book *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View* (2002) that feudalism as a social system was the convergence of personal and local networks with permeable or mobile boundaries. In contrast to the East, European feudalism was not characterized by strong kinship, clan and family ties. Therefore, when feudal ties weakened and disappeared, little was left before the domination of market forces. According to Wood (2002, p. 183), “many features of the Enlightenment, ..., are rooted in non-capitalist social property relations. They belong to a social form that is not just a transitional point on the way to capitalism but an alternative route out of feudalism”.

The way out of feudalism was Absolutism that contained a very different economic logic from the forms of capitalist exploitation or the laws of the capitalist movement. Even though Absolutism never completely overcame the fragmentation of feudalism, instead of producing a capitalist economy, it reproduced political and economic power at the central state level of the pre-capitalist unity (Wood, 2002).

The monarchic state functions as a means of confiscating labour, a form of acquiring property similar to the acquisition of property in the feudal principality. Nevertheless, the economic and political power is fused, but in the process of seizure of the peasant's labour, the functions of the state and the government continue in different ways: while the state and state officials continue to confiscate the surplus labour of the peasant, the landowner seizes it as rent.

Trade capitalism (pre-industrial capitalism) is the mode of a society in which free foremen, forced labourers, serfs, dependent peasants and slaves produce goods in printing and weaving workshops and organize the purchase and sale of the goods they produce and aim to provide profit and capital accumulation over the capital spent for this activity. The only capital used in this period was belonged to tradesmen and there was no common social structure. The social classification was constituted of three main classes; the nobility, the clergy and the third certainty (publication and trade bourgeoisie, serfs, peasants, wage labourers, the poor).

Max Weber mentions in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) that capitalism in the modern sense is certainly something created by Protestantism or rather Puritanism. Hence, giving importance to work in line with Protestant belief, also preventing money spend on pleasure leads to the accumulation of capital. In addition, he describes *the spirit of capitalism* and accordingly, the study itself is valuable as a purpose. The task of a person in a job (or profession) is characteristic of the social morality of capitalist culture. Moreover, trade and earnings are not only evidence of professional achievement but also indicators of personal virtue (Karkiner, 2011, p. 36).

Industrial Revolution period that aroused by the replacement of hand craft with machines and the replacement of animal and human muscles as a source of power with water and then with steam power. According to Fülberth (2008, p. 17), since the Industrial Revolution, capitalism was the mode of societies that was profit-oriented; providing the accumulation of capital invested in order to profit and for this, it appealed to production and wage labour using machines manufactured in the mining and the machinery industry. In this period the scope of trade expanded. National state, market of goods and services, market of capital and market of labour emerged and moreover, urban suburbs occurred in this period.

The explosion of the British Industrial Revolution is the development of an extraordinary national growth of the first mass production in the 18th and 19th century and later. There was no shortage of production capacities when the English villages were ejaculating; the domestic market continued to rise in spite of rising prices, foreign markets began to open one after the other. Later, the world became an effective partner of the British revolution.

The Industrial Revolution created a market society by transforming the natural and human essence of society into commodities. By commodifying humanity and nature, the Industrial Revolution initiated a revolution that completely transformed society. Industrial society is a society in which production is done in giant factories and the enterprise is separated from the family. “Up to the mid-eighteenth century, the household served as the physical center of the economy. In the countryside, families made most of the things they consumed”, however during the capitalist production process “home was separated from workplace” (Sennett, 1998). The factory is the centre of gravity of society and production and the family no longer worked together as a unit. In order to save the worker from his old bonds and prepare for the factory, the main function of the family was taken from him and given to independent institutions.

“Capitalism inherited this layering of markets that evolved over the long term. But it could only truly take form by closing off the last avenues of independent individual or (small-scale) collective production, thus raising material heteronomy to an unprecedented level” (Lordon, 2014, p. 7). Capitalism represents the maturation of very old commercial practices and their liberation from political and cultural pressures. Referring to Wood (2002, p. 38) “feudalism was dissolved and capitalism brought about by factors internal to the primary relations of feudalism itself, in the class struggles between lords and peasants”. This struggle caused the liberation of small commodity production, therefore it resulted the dissolution of feudalism and the rise of capitalism.

As can be seen from the above, capitalism did not appear suddenly, there are processes that prepared capitalism. The changes that started with the age of enlightenment led up to this process. It is important to see these processes in order to understand capitalism, because trade appeared before capitalism. However, trade has become widespread due to the mass production of capitalism and the technological developments that enable the transfer of products to other places. This also played a role in shaping labour in the capitalist production process.

3.2 Capitalism & Labour

The emergence of capitalism did not require an expansion or a simple growth of exchange, but a full transformation in the most basic human relations and practices, a break with the very old patterns of human and nature interaction. According to Wood

(2002, pp. 20-21), “capitalism was free to develop in Europe because an essentially 'acephalous' social organization (the decentralized, fragmented political order of feudalism) left various actors (notably merchants) a substantial degree of autonomy (with the help of the 'rationalism' and normative order provided by Christianity)”. Wood (2002) also states that the transition to capitalism is determined by the law of supply and demand. It is not important whether the production is urban or rural; the main difference between pre-capitalist societies and capitalism is that there are private property relations between producers and those seized¹⁷ now, whether in industry or in agriculture.

An integrated market, providing cheap goods for the survival of a growing consumer population and responding to competitive pressures, has created a new process that results with industrial capitalism. Industrial capitalism created not only the means of low-cost production determined by competition, accumulation and profit maximization of social property relations and new consumer goods, but also corresponding needs. The market¹⁸ required to increase commercial profits by lowering costs, and an ever increasing division of labour and specialization through the demands on ever-increasing production techniques.

Proletarianization,¹⁹ which means full commoditization of labour power, has created new and broader repressive forces on the market through a working class who is dependent on the market and sensitive to market rules, without alternative possibilities. As Braudel (2008, p. 87) mentions if capitalism did not benefit from slavish labour of someone else it might not improve at all. Labour can be spent by both those who have means of production and those who do not. The ones who have means of production pay the others for food, clothing and shelter, in other words they are paid to be able to work; this payment is called wage.

¹⁷ The dominant form of seizure, which is legally different from the slave, is based only on the complete expropriation of the direct producers, whose labour is now seized only by *economic* means, exists only in capitalism.

¹⁸ Wood (2002) mentions, in a capitalist society, everything is a commodity that is produced for the market. In addition, both the capital and the labour are dependent to the market in terms of most basic reproduction conditions. In capitalism, all individuals are forced to enter into market relations in order to maintain their lives. The dependence to the capitalist market arranges not only all economic processes, but also social relations. Because the commodity exchange process mediates human interrelations, social relations resemble the relations between things which can be described by the famous statement of Marx *commodity fetishism*.

¹⁹ The people whose subsistence is provided by the capital they own are involved to the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) and whose subsistence is provided by the wage they earn are involved to the working class (the proletariat).

The human labour is not only the production of objects, making them useful, and consuming them but also changing their qualities, activities and spaces consciously. In the same way, it is the satisfaction of entertainment, care and all kinds of needs of people. It is also, the organisation of human interrelations and human relations with tools and equipment.

The prominent production system of the capitalist era is Fordism that is practised in Henry Ford's motor company. It is based on Taylorism principles created by mechanical engineer, Frank Taylor, who pursued to maximise industrial efficiency. The management theory claims the separation of the labour-process have greatly increases the efficiency, however there has been so much criticism as it did not to take into consideration human and social elements and focused on ensuring employers gain maximum productivity from their workers.

Fordism is a production model, which is shaped with the piecework production, on which the workers do not require any qualification on the conveyor-belt system. It can be defined by mass production of standard products, full-time work and regular working hours, collective unionization and collective contract. It is a highly disciplinary system with centralized production and centralized control, in which unqualified workforce is used. The detailed division of labour on conveyor-belt makes the work done by the worker transformed into very simple routines that reveals unqualified labour force. With the breaking off of vertical communication between pre-production and post-production, the worker's initiative in the labour process was minimized or destroyed.

The full commodification of labour power, the proletarianization, would create new and broader repressive forces to the market by creating a working class that was totally dependent on the market and sensitive to the whole market disciplines, without intermediaries and alternative possibilities. Besides its effects on the production system, Fordism had a certain degree of consequences in social life. As reported by Yüksel (2008, p. 22), H. Ford, through experts, examined how workers live, how they spend their money, and used them in planning wages and production processes.

Nevertheless, in the post-war period, Fordism caused crisis which were asserted by Boyer (cited in Elam, 1994, p. 64):

Firstly, increased division of labour within the firm has become largely counter-productive. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s' productivity gains decreased as worker resistance to the excesses of 'scientific management' grew... Secondly, the continued expansion of mass production and the pursuit of even greater economies of scale has led to an increasing globalization of production and sales... Thirdly, Fordism has led to growing social expenditure. The logic of mass production is not applicable to areas of collective consumption like education, health and housing... Fourthly, the consumption patterns of the 'affluent worker' have gradually changed; a greater variety of use-values is demanded which cannot be satisfied by conventional means of standardized production.

As Littler (cited in Thompson & McHugh, 2009, p. 33) mentions, "Henry Ford's innovations in technical control through the flow assembly line extended Taylorist principles such as job fragmentation and allowed for a greater level of intensity of labour through speed up of the line and other measures". He also states that, Taylor's principles – high wages for high productivity – were realized by the scale of Ford's operations and his willingness to introduce the five dollar day as a means of combating labour turnover. According to Thompson & McHugh (2009, p. 32):

The theoretical separation of authority from hierarchy was an attempt to construct some level of consent in the employment relation and, with the increased productivity and wages from the system, was to be the basis for the co-operation promised in Taylor's principles.

They also mention that within a fully regulated senior and sub-management system, there is a hierarchy in the offices with regulated and continuous activity. Division of labour based on defined responsibilities, rights and duties are defined in the chain of command. In addition, Thompson & McHugh (2009) states that with the support of bureaucratic rules, Taylorism was a system that controlled the work in detail. "Of course it never was a science, but rather a control system, and has tended to be seen as a set of techniques to be countered and contested by generations of shop stewards" (Thompson & McHugh, 2009, p. 32). Moreover they refer that many arguments about Taylorism treat it as a failed theory of motivation in accordance with the discussions on the principles of it, which sees the worker as *economic man*. In addition, according to McDowell (2003, p. 105):

Growing numbers of women entered the labour market in this period, in part to support the increased costs of the rising living standards but also to meet labour shortages in both the public sector as the institutions of the welfare state expanded and in new manufacturing industries producing consumer durables... Their presence in the workforce, especially on the factory floor, led to a theoretical and empirical challenge to the assumptions about workplace cultures

and to new work uncovering the ways in which labour segmentation by gender and race is reinforced by shop and factory rituals and everyday behaviours.

3.3 Globalization

Globalization is the liberalization of trade and capital flows. It aims at the flow of capital all over the world without any social, administrative or legal restrictions. Therefore, the policies that support globalization are called neo-liberal policies. It means that the social and economic components of the world economy are articulated with each other and increasingly with world markets. “The idea of universalization was coined on the rising tide of the modern powers’ resourcefulness and the modern intellect’s ambitions” (Bauman, 1998, p. 59).

Basic characteristics of post-industrial society are the transformation in economic structure, rising new classes, increasing role of knowledge. The globalized world is a network society which is symbolized by the Internet, assumes rapid access from anywhere to anywhere, regardless of geographical distance.

According to Özmen (2017, pp. 74-75), the global world economy and its neoliberal policies, which were founded by various international trade agreements and organizations in the 70s, increased the circulation speed of capitalist fund in the world and turned the world into a continuous buy-and-sell session in different geographies. In addition, in this context, the strong economies of the world have shifted their operations such as production, distribution and sales from the center to periphery except for know-how, technological innovation and marketing strategy, because the era we are in is the era of value creating through the symbolic and the world economies make the periphery to do their drudgery works. Also Özmen (2017) states that this resulted with the expansion of the international financial network to the periphery through banks, stock exchanges and markets, the joint investment moves involving the actors of the periphery, the establishment of the logistics infrastructure for the effective distribution of goods and services, the establishment of the necessary consultancy and supervision units for the optimization and supervision of the surrounding processes.

In the 2000s, concepts such as digital society, digital economy, information economy and new economy began to be used to define the new era. “In the new informational economy, designated rather fancifully by others as ‘weightless’ or as ‘living on thin air’, work in the elite occupations has become a matter of producing a

convincing performance, rather than being based on clearly defined rules and practices” (McDowell, 2003, p. 106). Computer technology, which constitutes one of the fundamental dynamics in the post-industrial transformation process, has left its mark as an important factor in the change experienced by replacing mental labour on the one hand and expanding the framework of human mental labour on the other. On the other hand, the internet has started to change our working relations. People who work in the giant bureaucratic organizations of the past are now being replaced by people who work from the house or the cottage. The most important function of the internet, which is a tool that enables people to interact socially, politically, economically through computers, perhaps is to provide free circulation of information. Today, people have access to the information they need from all over the world. Distance no longer matters. People are able to access information easier, independent of time and space.

As a place of production and a place where workers are gathered, the factory started to disappear and production has extended beyond the borders of the factory walls. Labour has been moving away from the shape it is defined in industrial societies. Now, every field of life has started to transform into a production space. The role of the material labour of mass-production that workers create surplus-value is now replaced by immaterial labour power which is more intellectual and communicative. Immaterial labour emerges on the basis of intellectual, scientific and technical knowledge. It is more understandable with the role of computers in work and everyday life. According to Yüksel (2008, p. 55) another consequence of informatics in production and the occurrence of immaterial labour is the asserting of a real homogenization in labour processes.

Hardt and Negri (2000, p. 30) collect immaterial labour in the contemporary economy under three headings; “the communicative labour of industrial production that has newly become linked in informational networks, the interactive labour of symbolic analysis and problem solving, and the labour of the production and manipulation of affects”.

In his book *Globalization*, Zygmunt Bauman (1998, p. 121) states that “today’s existence is stretched along the hierarchy of the global and the local, with global freedom of movement signalling social promotion, advancement and success, and immobility exuding the repugnant odour of defeat, failed life and being left behind”. He

also mentions that globality and locality acquire the character of contrary values. While the life ambitions of globality are travelling, mobility, the freedom of choice and seeing the world, the life ambitions of locality are restriction, lack of change, lack of explore and enjoy (Bauman, 1998, p. 121). In reference to McDowell (2003, p. 111):

Analyses of the future of work that celebrate the relative freedoms of highly skilled 'detraditional' workers in new knowledge economies, but neglect the consequences for the growing global working class who labour under conditions of increasing exploitation, are an inadequate response to the enormous implications of the new ways of working that are emerging in the twenty-first century.

Many famous thinkers, including Habermas, claim that the information revolution increases the chances of equal communication. Thanks to the internet, the information that has been a monopoly of the elite in the past has spread to a wider audience today. As Sennett (1998) mentions:

'Who needs me?' is a question of character which suffers a radical challenge in modern capitalism. The system radiates indifference. It does so in terms of the outcomes of human striving, as in winner-take-all markets, where there is little connection between risk and reward. It radiates indifference in the organization of absence of trust, where there is no reason to be needed. And it does so through reengineering of institutions in which people are treated as disposable. Such practices obviously and brutally diminish the sense of mattering as a person, of being necessary to others.

Technical progress in the means of production that accompanies the individual action creates increasing specialization with the growing division of labour. Labour, as well as capital, has become more mobile. According to Bauman (2000) the worker can be really flexible only if the current and future employees lose their educated habits, such as daily work, daily changes, a permanent workplace and permanent colleagues.

One of the most significant features of contemporary advanced industrial economies is the predominance of employment in the service sector, and there is now a huge literature delineating the shift from manufacturing dominance, the spatial distribution of services, conditions of employment and the nature of work in different workplaces, as well as a literature about new forms of *flexible* industrial production.

In order to understand the *alienation* of capitalism in individuals, it is important to see the processes of capitalism. Capitalism and the changing world have influenced social lives and lifestyles. With developments in the late capitalist era, *consumer*

*society*²⁰ emerged in the globalizing world. In the present state of capitalism, which emerges with mass production, services are produced more than products. White collar, which is a service producing group, is now needed more than blue collar.

In the rapidly changing world, what is expected of production and service is now flexibility. In addition to being flexible, being online and reachable obliges us to work anywhere and anytime. Mobility is the reality of this era as Bauman (1998, p. 50) says “our bodies are hooked into the networks, the databases, the information highways”. Before discussing the spaces needed for this mobile and flexible labour, it would be appropriate to examine some of the workspaces that began in the process of capitalism and evolved to the present day.

²⁰ See *Late Capitalism* (1975) by Ernest Mandel for more information.

Chapter 4

The Evolution of Office Space

*As an individual who took part in working life for seven years, I spent this process by selling my labour. I worked in the open office system as a white collar. The office I worked had a window on one side and other three sides were solid walls. As employees, we shared the same space with our supervisor so that we could be supervised. There was nothing that made the place special except for a few personal belongings in this place which made it feel like a hospital because it consisted of white furniture. As a result of working in the open office, I was exposed to all the sounds of telephone, fighting, etc. While the whole place is blocking me in the place where I was expected to do a creative job, in my last year there I dragged my feet.**

In the previous chapter, the transformation of capitalism is explained at the upper scale. This section reflects this transformation in a more specific area. The historical adventure of the white collar workers' offices, which produce intangible labour in the global world, is discussed in this chapter. First section of the chapter includes the history of the office space and the second part includes movie analysis in order to examine this change in more detail.

4.1 History of Office Space

At the beginning of the capitalist era, the workspace was mostly constituted of the factories with machines and “the factory provided no workers’ housing on the grounds” (Sennett, 1998). Therefore, the workspace and the houses were separated. As a result of the change in business life, the need for blue-collars decreased and the need for white-collars increased over time, so that a new space was needed for this new type of

* *A personal outpour*

employees to work, which is called *office*. **Room 40** (Figure 4.1.1) which is known as **The Old Admiralty Office**, is the first office building built in 1726. It served for the Royal Navy for meeting and the paperworks, it was followed by **East India House** (Figure 4.1.2) in 1729 which was the headquarters of East India Trading Company ("History of Office Design: From the 1700's to Today,").

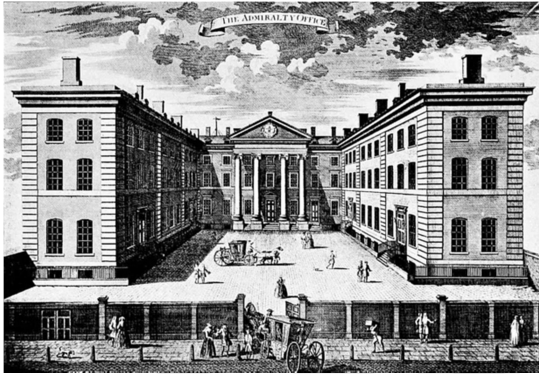


Figure 4.1.1 Room 40 - The Old Admiralty Office (<http://www.wikizeroo.net/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly91bi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvUm9vbV80MA>)

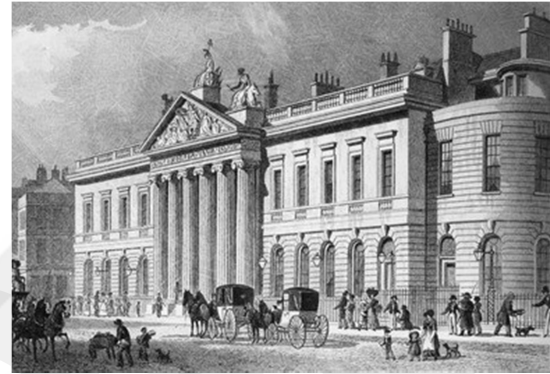


Figure 4.1.2 East India House (<https://www.museumoflondonprints.com/image/143366/thomas-hosmer-shepherd-jones-co-william-tombleson-east-india-house-leadenhall-street-1829>)

The earliest modern offices were noteworthy for their logical methodology and emphasised productivity and the reception of an inflexible, controlled office format that brought about labourers sat at unlimited columns of working areas with directors situated in enclosing workplaces where they could watch. These open plan offices which developed in since the beginning of 20th century, pursued the principles of **Taylorism** (Figure 4.1.3), the system created by mechanical engineer, Frank Taylor (Thompson & McHugh, 2009), who looked to amplify modern proficiency. Because of neglecting to think about human and social components and also concentrated only on guaranteeing extreme productivity from the workers, Taylor's methodology has got lots of criticism.



Figure 4.1.3 A Taylorist workspace
(<http://ybor.org/ybor-story/>)

In addition, **large skyscrapers** (Figure 4.1.4) began to appear in the 20th century in order to accommodate numerous companies and their staff in some parts of the USA and the UK. Air conditioning, electric, lighting systems made possible these new buildings and also by telegraph systems office building no longer had to be established beside factories. Moreover, with the creation of lift and steel frame construction office design entered a new period.



Figure 4.1.4 One of the first Skyscrapers
(https://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2009/03/26/realestate/0329-scapes-slideshow_index.html)

As large commercial buildings and skyscrapers were built up, the working environment changed to turn into an extensive space where there was a blend of private offices and **open plan offices**. **The Johnson Wax Company Office** (Figure 4.1.5), designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1939, was the most remarkable example of these open plan offices. As it is stated in *History of Office Design: From the 1700's to Today*:

This office was primarily designed to increase productivity, and as such placed over 200 sales staff on one floor, but also included completely new elements such as bright lights, warm spaces and cork ceilings, which played a major role in absorbing office acoustics.



Figure 4.1.5 The Johnson Wax Company Office
(<https://arquitecturaylibertad.wordpress.com/2015/04/07/intentando-detener-al-genio-las-polemicas-columnas-de-wright/>)

In the 1950s, the new open-plan type that is called **Bürolandschaft** (Figure 4.1.6) – **Office Landscape** in English – was emerged after the II World War and The Great Depression. Bürolandschaft ("History of Office Design: From the 1700's to Today,") paid more attention to meeting the needs of the workforce and took a less rigid approach to office settlements.

The aim of the design was to create individual based system with organic, natural and large spaces and freed from partitions. Likewise, plants in pots places in the office made an effect of a landscape (Figure 4.1.7). The design put desks together as groups

and separated them with plants instead of partitions. Employees from different levels started to sit and work together, so that this new workspace approach, which can be approved as the basis of modern office design, created more socialization and collaboration between teams.

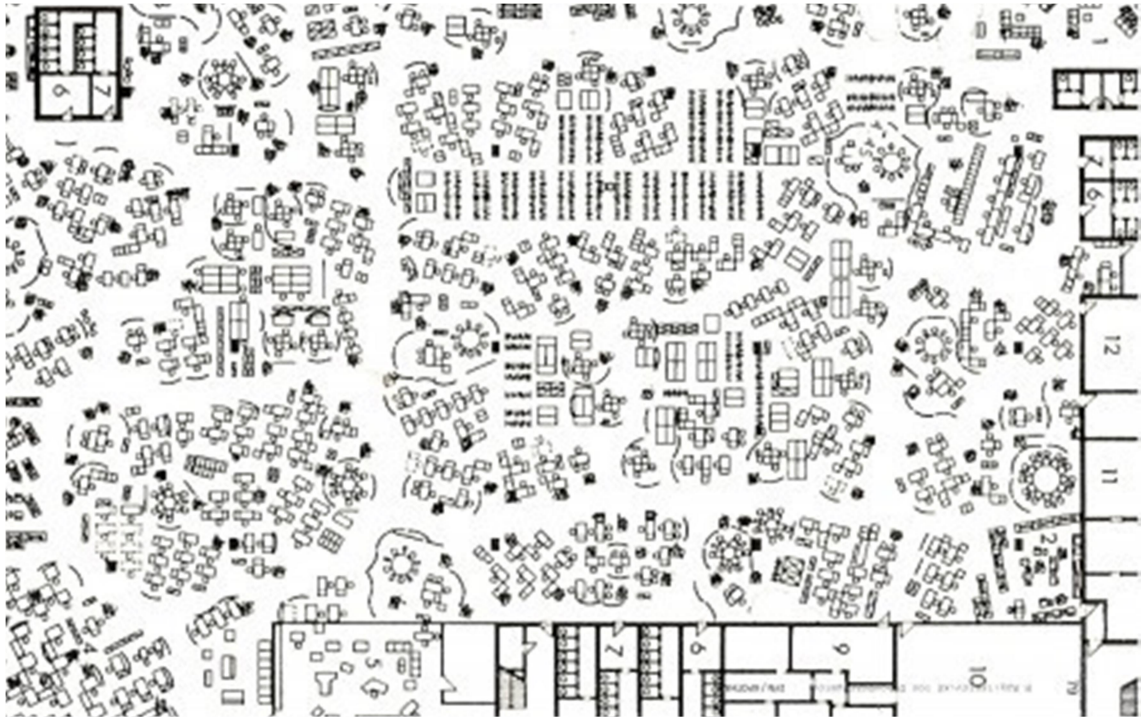


Figure 4.1.6 Bürolandschaft office plan
(<http://greatnoise.tumblr.com/post/44845601602/b%C3%BCrolandschaft>)



Figure 4.1.7 Bürolandschaft office space
(<https://www.pinterest.de/pin/113927065546493608/>)

Bürolandschaft evolved into the **Action Office** (Figure 4.1.8) which dealt with the problems of the employees. Action Office I had alternative work settings for staff providing more privacy and increased movement freedom with featured desks and varying height of workspaces. Even though the workstation became larger and more private and also the design aimed interaction between managers and employees by using same furnishings, it was expensive and not ideal for offices at large corporations. Therefore, a new office concept was emerged that allow employees to make changes according to their needs without the need of new furnishings.

In consideration of being more productive in a personalized space, Action Office II (Figure 4.1.9 – 4.1.10) was designed. The aim was to create participation to the events happening outside the personal areas, besides defining territories providing privacy. The components were easy to assemble and install, standardized and interchangeable. Moreover, they were flexible to allow the people modify their working environments according to their needs. “In 1985 the Worldwide design Congress named Action Office the 'Most Significant Design since 1960’” ("Action Office,").

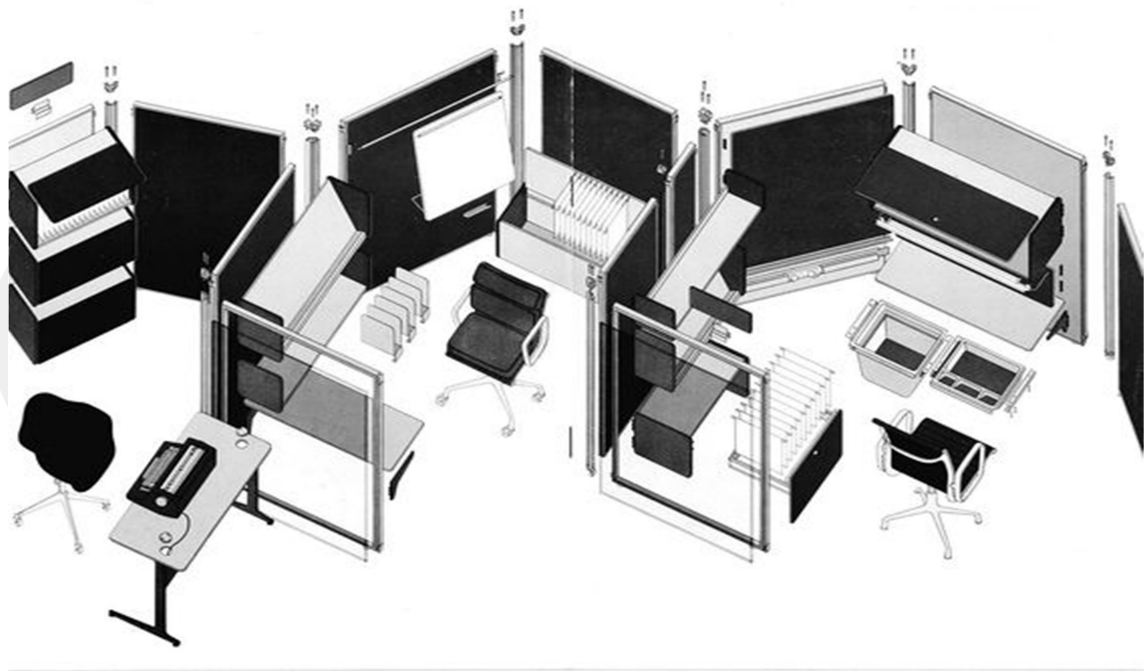


Figure 4.1.8 Action Office design
(<https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/103512491410652895/>)



Figure 4.1.9 Action Office
(<http://www.keywordhouse.com/YWN0aW9uIG9mZmljZSBpaQ/>)



Figure 4.1.10 Action Office
(<http://www.keywordhouse.com/YWN0aW9uIG9mZmljZSBpaQ/>)

In 1980s, as the continuation of Action Office, modular office concepts were improved in order to find cheap solutions. **The Cubicle Farm** (4.1.11), which is a partially enclosed office space separated from other workspaces by around 1,5 – 1,8 m tall partitions, emerged in this period. The purpose of the design was to prevent users from losing their concentration; hence the employees were isolated from the noises and view of the working area. Cubicles are made out of measured components as dividers, drawers, desks and shelving that can be arranged relying upon the client's needs.



Figure 4.1.11 The Cubicle Farm
(<https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-brief-history-of-the-dreaded-office-cubicle-1399681972>)

As the rise of technology establishments and the proliferation of **modern office systems**, new office design principles have been developed. Mobility became one of the key factors in office spaces therefore, new offices have been designed as technology can be used anywhere. In addition, these contemporary office designs create warmer areas with furnitures, kitchens, creative areas and leisure spaces (Figures 4.1.12-13-14).



Figure 4.1.12 Google Office 1
 (<https://www.networkworld.com/article/3163229/googles-crazy-cool-offices.html>)



Figure 4.1.13 Google Office 2
 (<https://www.networkworld.com/article/3163229/googles-crazy-cool-offices.html>)



Figure 4.1.14 Google Office 3
 (<https://www.networkworld.com/article/3163229/googles-crazy-cool-offices.html>)

4.2 Office Space through Movies

In this section, nine movies, two episodes of Black Mirror and a short movie are analysed to visualize the change in office space and to investigate the space. The movies are selected because of including different styles of office spaces to compare the differences between the office spaces through years and also because of including future scenarios about the lifestyle and work life. In order to show the chronological change, the stories of the first eight movies start in 1919 and end in 2015. After those eight movies (*Kafka*, *The Crowd*, *The Apartment*, *All The President's Men*, *Swimming With Sharks*, *Office Space*, *40 Days & 40 Nights*, *The Intern*), *The Fifth Element* is examined, which contain technological developments and future scenarios. *Fifteen Million Merits* and *White Christmas* episodes of Black Mirror are also analysed because of the technological developments in them. Finally, there is a short movie *Workplace of the future: How will you work in 2030?*, which shows the future workspace and the technologies that workspace contains.

The movie **Kafka (1991)** takes place in 1919, Prague. Kafka is a worker in an insurance company and he gets involved to an underground group after one of his colleagues is murdered. In accordance with the content of the thesis, the office space in the movie is examined. It can be seen from the Figure 4.2.1 that people work in a huge space which provides an easy supervision on workers. In addition, the workers watch each other. The space between the office tables allows one person movement at the same time. However, there are corridors created between the table groups in order to supervise easily and also allow the files car movement. Workers can be watched by the superiors or bosses through the glass partitions. The working space of superiors are separated from the main working area by glass panels; however the room of the boss – who needs privacy but also needs to watch the workers – is a separated area on a different level, surrounded by glass walls. Having looked at the individual areas, there is no privacy in the workspace. Moreover, there are typewriters, papers and phones on the tables but not anything personal, which makes the workspace to be without the sense of belonging (Figure 4.2.2).



Figure 4.2.1 Kafka movie – Office space



Figure 4.2.2 Kafka movie – Work life

In the movie **The Crowd (1928)**, a man loses his father when he is twelve. Years later he goes to New York City to become an important person, like his father had always believed. He gets a job in an insurance company and becomes one of many office workers. The company is in a skyscraper, which is the new architectural style of the period. Inside the building, there is a highly ordered workplace. The figure 4.2.3 shows this order without any doubt. The workspace in the movie Kafka has some round shapes and the inside of the office has its own characteristics that make the environment warmer. On the other hand, the workspace in this movie has a rectangular shape that strengthens the order and it is much bigger than the one in Kafka which makes it easier to supervise the workers. In addition, the atmosphere inside of the office is cold and there is no privacy and no personal stuff on the desks. Hence, the workers do not belong to the workplace and they leave the office as soon as possible at the end of the regular working hours.



Figure 4.2.3 The Crowd movie – Office space

There is a man in **The Apartment (1960)**, who lets his executives use his apartment for rendezvous in order to be promoted in his company. The company takes place in a skyscraper. The main workspace (Figure 4.2.4) is huge as in the previous movies, rectangular and ordered; in order to supervise the workers easily. The supervision of workers is provided through the glass walls of superiors' offices (Figure 4.2.5). The spaces between desks are one person width therefore; the workers are also supervised by each other by being close to each other's desks. It seems that it is not allowed to put personal stuff on desks, so it can be said there is no belonging.



Figure 4.2.4 The Apartment movie – Office space



Figure 4.2.5 The Apartment movie – Supervisor's office

In the movie **All The President's Men (1976)**, two reporters uncover the details of the Watergate scandal. The office space in the movie is the office of The Washington Post. Although all the employees are in one place in the previous movies, this is preferred to keep the employees under observation just as in the Taylorist approach. In the workspace in this movie also, all employees use the same space, but the main approach in this one is the open plan office. With this film, it is seen that open plan offices are becoming widespread.

In order to create some private areas there are separations between the tables, so that the employees. These separations are also used as panels to customize the space (Figure 4.2.6). As individual workspaces are customized with personal belongings,

employees feel belonging to the space, do not identify it with working hours and create flexible work hours. In this space also, which is more human-oriented compared to the spaces in the previous movies, employees are supervised by their managers. The executive room in this movie is also separated from the main workspace by a glass partition, providing a special space for the manager, while allowing employees to be supervised (Figure 4.2.7).



Figure 4.2.6 All The President's Men movie – Office space



Figure 4.2.7 All The President's Men movie – Supervisor's office

Swimming with Sharks (1994) shows an influential movie company, which hires a young writer. The main space of the movie is the office of this film company. The workspace is an open office system. Here, too, partitions are used to provide private spaces for users. However, the private areas created here are provided not only by separations placed on the desks, but by partition walls (Figure 4.2.8). Thus, each employee works in their own cubicles in a single space. In this space where we can see an example of Cubicle office planning mentioned in the previous section about the history of the office, the employees can use their cubicles as individual offices and their communication with each other is less than the space in the previous movie.



Figure 4.2.8 Swimming with Sharks movie – Individual working area

Office Space (1999) movie takes part in the office of a technology company. In this space, employees are separated from each other by using modular working areas (Figure 4.2.9). This is also an example of the cubical system, even the compartments here are higher than the previous example, and employees have to stand up or leave their space to communicate with each other. By these partitions, employees do not work with the feeling that they are under control at any time and they customize their own spaces as they wish. However, as in all the movies mentioned earlier, the executive offices are separated by a glass partition (Figure 4.2.10) to keep this single space under control, where all employees have cubicles.



Figure 4.2.9 Office Space movie – Individual working area



Figure 4.2.10 Office Space movie – Supervisor's office

40 Days & 40 Nights (2002) movie, shows a modern office converted from an old building which is the workspace of a website company. The old brick walls of the building are preserved; the interior is planned as open office plan in accordance with today's working systems and furnished with modern office furniture. The spaces where there are cubicles are not seen after 2000 instead open office systems in which everyone communicates with each other are used. Although the workspaces examined in the first movies are open office systems, the employees there are not allowed to communicate with each other and the employees are only forced to do their jobs. In order to make the employees feel more comfortable and more connected to the place, there is a kitchen (Figure 4.2.11) and gathering area and also comfortable seats inside the office. Designed to provide a dynamic atmosphere in the workspace, this place also includes bicycles to strengthen this sense of dynamism (Figure 4.2.12), and all these details are quite different from an ordinary office building.



Figure 4.2.11 40 Days & 40 Nights movie – Common space in the office



Figure 4.2.12 40 Days & 40 Nights movie – Comfort areas in the office

In the movie **The Intern (2015)**, a seventy-year-old retired executive, applies to a senior internship, in a growing e-commerce fashion company in Brooklyn. This movie takes place in a contemporary office space (Figure 4.2.13) converted from an old building as the previous one. In this office where open office system is used and there is no division between the employees, it is aimed that the employees interact and motivate each other to make more sales. The boss is cycling through the company (Figure 4.2.14) in order to use the time in the office more effectively and takes care of each of her employees individually. The meeting room and the executive room are surrounded by glass panels to preserve the transparency within the company and also create some privacy. There are armchairs for the employees to feel comfortable in the office, in addition there is a massager working in the company to make the employees happy and relaxed. The emphasis on the movie is that the employees are important to the company and that they are a team together.



Figure 4.2.13 The Intern movie – Office space



Figure 4.2.14 The Intern movie – Work life

After the movies with office spaces, it would be good to approach some movies which include future scenarios. The movie **The Fifth Element (1997)** takes place in the future. The main character of the movie is a taxi driver, therefore his house is shown. Because of being a future space it is designed different from the spaces we are used to. The house seems like a compartment, there are storages everywhere. Everything is foldable and transformable (Figure 4.2.15 – 4.2.16), what is done is removed from the usage area. According to this movie, in the future, it is expected that people will live in small spaces like capsules. They will have everything in one space to sleep, eat, clean etc.



Figure 4.2.15 The Fifth Element movie – Transformable interior 1



Figure 4.2.16 The Fifth Element movie – Transformable interior 2

In the **Fifteen Million Merits (2011)** episode of **Black Mirror**, there is a fictional world where people ride exercise bikes for gaining credits. These people live in a kind of futuristic cubical (Figure 4.2.17), which is surrounded by screens. These screens are used as alarm clocks, tv, games. At the corner of the screen people can follow their credits. This movie gives the idea that in the future people may live or work in these kinds of places. Because of the different skills and the flexible labour people may need to do different works at the same time through the screens. In addition, augmented reality or virtual reality may take place in our work lives, which would allow us work from our bed.



Figure 4.2.17 Fifteen Million Merits /Black Mirror – Futuristic cubical

White Christmas (2014) of **Black Mirror** shows a futuristic world. A man has an egg-shaped object as personal assistant. He watched this personal assistant through a glass screen (Figure 4.2.18). In another scene, we see the assistant with the control panel of the house. In order to fulfil the demands of the man, she has access to everything. Therefore, when he need a change in the house environment (light, heat etc.), she controls it through the buttons on the house plan. This idea show that in the future, we may not need computers and may only need glass screens and specialized surfaces for working.



Figure 4.2.18 White Christmas / Black Mirror – Glass screen



Figure 4.2.19 White Christmas / Black Mirror – Personal assistant

Workplace of the future: How will you work in 2030? (short Youtube movie) is the last movie to analyse. This movie contains only future office space. When the user enters the office there are some interfaces occur to give some information (Figure 4.2.20 – 4.2.21), like *lunch with Lisa at 1.00 pm?*. When we continue to the movie, the user comes to another space with private rooms. There is also information on the rooms in order to mention if the room is available or not (Figure 4.2.22). In the last part of the movie we see how the use works. There is a surface on which a keyboard occurs; it is used as computer (Figure 4.2.23). Moreover, the papers are also sent to this surface (Figure 4.2.24) and after signed it can be reloaded to the system through this surface.

This movie contains the future office scenario and gives many ideas. Especially the surface used as computer and used for the formal procedures would make it easy to work from all around the world. This really would remove the distances. In addition, the information interfaces would make people to reach the information with less time. However, in this movie, although there are many technologies, the office space remains the same as today's offices.

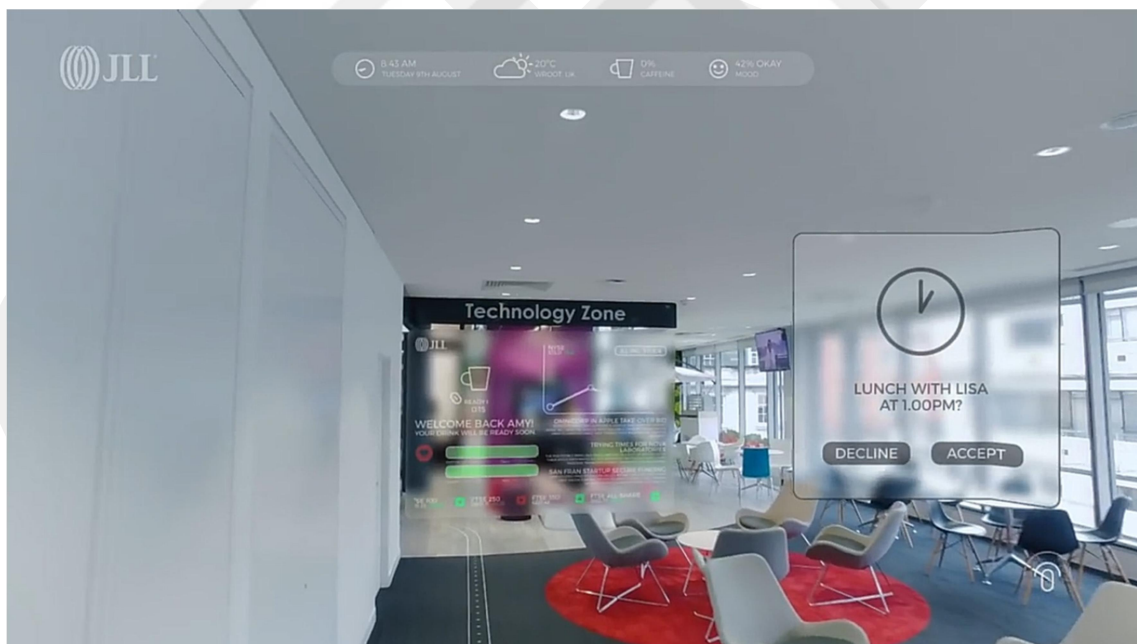


Figure 4.2.20 How will you work in 2030? – Information interfaces 1



Figure 4.2.21 How will you work in 2030? – Information interfaces 2

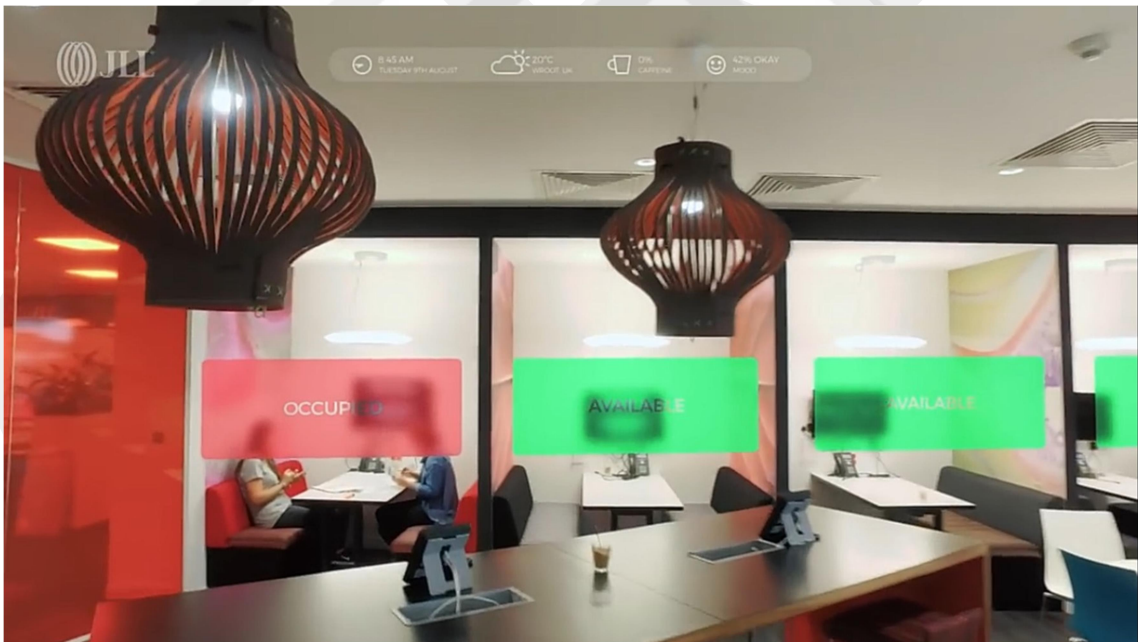


Figure 4.2.22 How will you work in 2030? – Private rooms

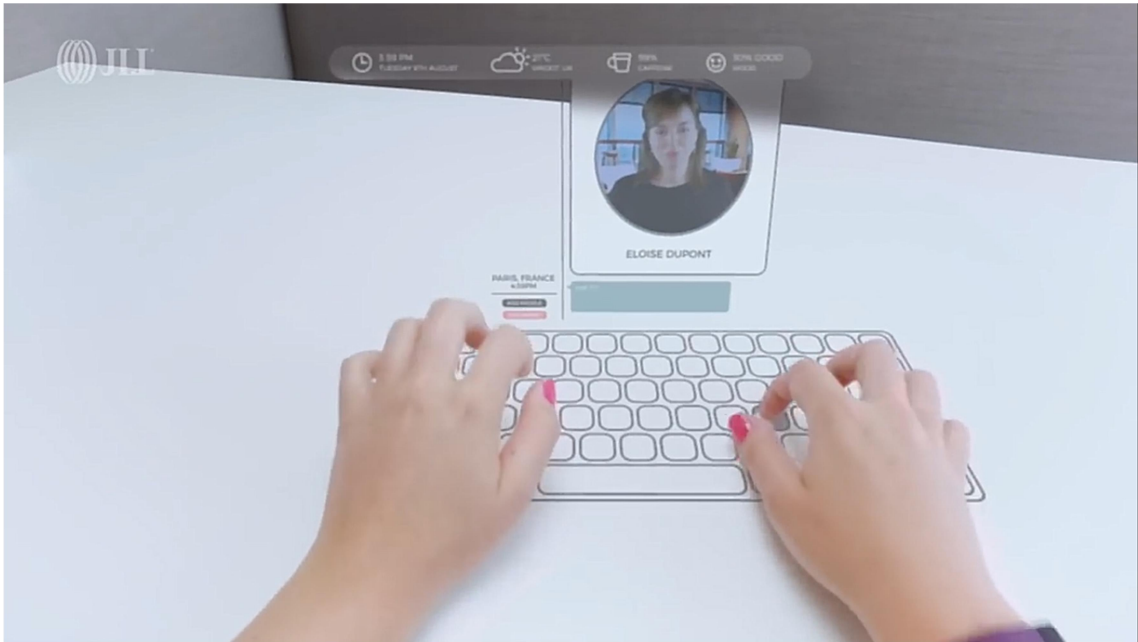


Figure 4.2.23 How will you work in 2030? – Workspace surface 1



Figure 4.2.24 How will you work in 2030? – Workspace surface 1

When we look at all movies, especially the ones from 1919 - 2015, even though the movies take place in different years, there are many similarities between them. The arrangement of all workplaces is based on considering the supervision. Because all people work together and also so close to each other, there is no privacy. People are not only watched by their superiors but also by each other.

In the movies from 1919 to 1962, in order to avoid any distraction, there is not any personal equipment allowed on the desks. As a result of these, the workers do not belong to their workspace, so that they leave it immediately at the end of the work hours, which is scheduled regularly. There is only one thing change through years. In the previous years the offices of the bosses are beside the main workspace, but separated; however, it is observed that the bosses leave the main workspace to a totally private area and leave the supervision to the administrators over years. The arrangement of the tables and regularity show that workspaces in the movies from 1919 to 1962, are organised on the basis of Taylorist management.

Since the 1970s there is a change in the offices and we see individual workspaces with the influence of Action Office. Later on, with the influence of the cubicals which were developed in the 1980s, the workspace contains cubicals and individual workspaces.

When we come to 2000s, we see that individual workspaces disappear again. These whole workspaces are also under supervision; however the idea here is to make employees influence each other. Though, this causes no privacy as the ones before 1970s. The difference in these offices, in order to show that they care their employees, the space is flexible and comfortable. There are some opportunities like kitchen, armchairs, playing areas, masseur etc. These opportunities try to make people feel at home and comfortable, that is to say make people belong to their workspace.

There is a table graph below, which shows the timetable of the office spaces in the movies in relation to the office space historical evolution.

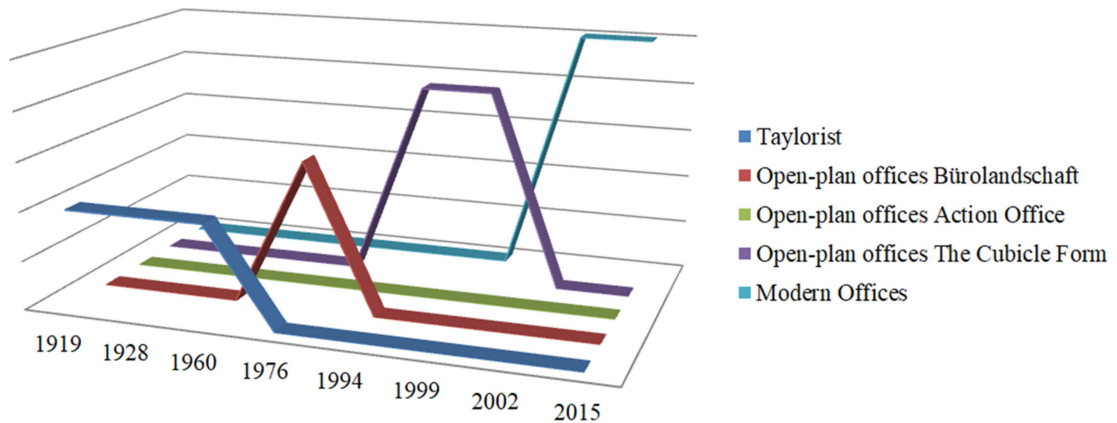


Table 4.2.1 Timetable of the movie spaces related to the office space evolution

In the real life, Google is the best example for that. There are many Google office videos on web that show us a wonderful workspace in which everybody wants to work. There are leisure areas, sleeping areas, restaurants, laundry etc. in these offices; in addition they provide cars to their employees when they need to go outside the campus. The question is here, are Google offices flexible? Or are they only with full of opportunity, funny but fixed? Do the workers really belong to the company? Or are they charmed because of those opportunities? Does Google really care about their employees? Or do they want them not to leave the campus, so the employees can work for long hours?

Chapter 5

New Era of Labour & Space

*When I was young, I used to play a game called “the Sims”. However, what I was doing was building imaginary houses, instead of playing the whole game. One day, again I was about to design another imaginary house plan, suddenly the idea appeared in my mind that “I should be an architect”. Although without knowing exactly what architecture is all about, not fully understanding my motivation here, it was attractive for me. When I got into the architectural school, I faced the philosophies, histories and the concepts behind the discipline of architecture, which provoked my first excitement.**

In this study, which is specialized on the white collar workspace based on the subject Flexible Spaces for Future Lifestyle, firstly the relationship between human and space has been emphasized. Then, in order to understand the processes of this workspace, the phases of capitalism and the evolution of the office space have been mentioned. In this section, the works that inspire this thesis are discussed and the expectations of today's employees from the workplace are emphasized.

Nowadays, Sennett says that labour is changing and should be flexible and he speaks about the change in the person with labour and how labour should be shaped. In addition, Tafuri speaks of the change in architecture along with capitalism and questions the ideological task of architecture. Schumacher states that societies are complex and diverse and the structures that will respond to them can be implemented with parametric design, which is one of the contemporary design approaches. In the light of these important ideas, how the place of labour should be and the task of the architect are questioned.

* *A personal outpour*

5.1 Flexible Labour in the Late Capitalism

Richard Sennett explores the effects of what he calls the new economy or new capitalism on the lives of workers in his studies. He shows how the work defeats and degrades the personalities of employees in the flexible production process of new capitalism and leads to *corrosion of character*. Sennett notifies that because of long-term attachments to large companies, the *corrosion of character* and ultimate breakdown of society is inevitable. In the global era, since the capital has the ability to be organized more flexible than ever before, the flexibility of production process and also the flexibility of labour changed the nature of labour. According to Sennett, the flexible working conditions that change not only the work life of the employees but also the daily life practices cause some negative consequences on the personality of the individual and *corrosion of character*.

On the other hand, the state's position as the biggest employer in the new capitalism has come to an end. Now multinational companies where new capitalism is organized on a global scale and production is geographically and spatially flexible, local companies organized around these companies and subcontractors offer employment opportunities. As Sennett mentions, the idea of being able to work for a lifetime in a single institution under new working conditions is now a dream.

Sennett stated that a new pyramid emerged unlike traditional production and management. “Specifically, this new structure performs like an MP3 player. The MP3 machine can be programmed to play only a few bands from its repertoire; similarly, the flexible organization can select and perform only a few of its many possible functions at any given time” (Sennett, 2007, pp. 47-48).

In the book *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, Richard Sennett (1998) discusses the impact of the capitalist economy on the lives of labourers. “He views each life as an ongoing story, structured by the passage of time and highlighted by significant career-related events” (Magill, 2005). Sennett briefly follows the development of the current economy and judges its effects in the lives of people, instead of criticizing the economy itself. He also asks some questions about how to create long-term purposes in a short-term society, how to

sustain durable social relations, how to develop a story of character and life history in a society made out of episodes and fragments.

Sennett (1998) defines work, which provided workers identity and security before the mid-twentieth century, as a fixed scale used to measure success. He compares this past with the current situation of American workers and uses personal examples to illustrate his points. “One administrative assistant told me, ‘Each time you start a new job, you need to fake it. The boss expects you know how things should be done and what he wants. But of course you don’t. It’s a challenge’” (Sennett, 2007, p. 50). “The mental world here is operational, process divorced from content” (Sennett, 2007, p. 118). “... this purely operational thinking requires mental superficiality” (Sennett, 2007, p. 120).

“Work is not a pos-session, nor does it have a fixed content, but becomes instead a position in a constantly changing network” (Sennett, 2007, p. 140). Sennett (1998) describes modern economy as *flexible capitalism* that is the goal of most modern companies in order to make continuous changes to fit into the market. Sennett looks at working conditions in the new flexible economy and sees many problems. “There’s no predictability, no long-term commitment, no long-term relations with co-workers and bosses, no loyalty, more confusion, etc. Most of all, the new work environment makes it more difficult to find and maintain a narrative of your work life” (Kjerulf, 2004). Sennett also tells the stories of other middle-aged American workers who face contradictions in the workplace and proves how they cope with the risks they have to take. Through these personal stories, he illuminates the ethical disadvantages of the capitalist system that has brought the American economy to power.

According to Sennett (1998), the cornerstone of modern management practice is the belief that loose networks are more open to decisive reinvention than are pyramidal hierarchies such as ruled the Fordist era. The junction between the nodes in the network is more relaxed, a part can be removed without damaging other parts. Flexible specialization is the complete antithesis of the production system embodied in Fordism (Sennett, 1998). Moreover, he addresses that the work ethic of this era is different; it is more collaborative and more forgiving. Because of collaborative work life, there are groups in the workspaces that share superficiality. People in those groups stay together

by avoiding personal and difficult questions, hence teamwork can be seen as the bonds of group conformity.

Qualified white-collar jobs are actually difficult to achieve; it requires a good education, which lasts for years. The education you receive is not unifying, it is discriminatory; your frequency of interaction with people who are not like you is reduced on the other hand, you are directed to a specific place in terms of employment opportunities. Moreover, you are pushed into a very tough race with many people including your friends to find the job of your life and so the corrosion process of your character begins, which will last throughout your working life (Özmen, 2017).

5.2 Role of Architectural Design

In his book *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Tafuri (1976) mentions that architecture is in a downfall proportional to the development of capitalism. Although this conversion is very certain in architecture, architects are in uncertainty according to him. He states that capitalist development divests architecture from its most important mission, ideology. *The shock* which is created by the large city experience rises from the contradictions of capitalism and it created alienation. According to Tafuri, bourgeoisie art and ideology struggled to close the distances between ethical morals and obligations in the world of capitalism. At the beginning of the capitalist development, the task of the architect was to operate as the ideologist of the society, to interfere city planning individually, to be effective and insistent to people with the forms he/she creates. In addition, his/her forms had to contain the questions to criticise itself about social development and its own development (Tafuri, 1976).

Tafuri continues his book that at the end of the 19th century²¹, city ideologies got into a new phase with the approach of Marxist criticism oriented to social problem and its source and occurrence of realism demonstrated delusion of the utopianism. In the 20th century, social utopianism collapsed and architecture became a form utopia. He mentions that, eventually, modern architecture was the first business to acknowledge the

²¹ In the 19th century, architecture and art had difficulty to pursue the development of the industrial city. The ones who leave the traditional perception, degraded architecture as a ring in the process of technological production of the city. Eclecticism was the expression of the uncertainty of 19th century architecture, which was trying to find a way out of uselessness. In the middle of the century, there was a turnout; impressionism chose examining the city and utopianism arose with documenting the new order.

results of commodification, therefore architects tried to integrate production, consumption and distribution order of the new capitalist city.

According to Tafuri (1976, p. 50) *ideology* became both repellent and attractive by serving capitalism.²² It was expected to create global models without social purposes and to gain a social form of consumption. Therefore, *ideology* turned into the capitalist-industrial utopia. He states that, *ideology* stayed between a special location and class service, so that creating a form did not mean controlling the society anymore and the motto ‘form follows function’ is a reflection of this reality. It is important to discourage people to look for the heaven, “salvation lies no longer in ‘revolt’, but in surrender without discretion” (Tafuri, 1976, p. 74).

In the period – defined by Tafuri as *the downfall of reason*– industrial production was the cause of annihilation of labour, which caused the shock. The people were degraded to machine parts and alienation was growing. Everything was in commercialization and commodification in the new urban ideology. Because of this, consumption ideology²³ was shown as the best usage of the city.

Tafuri emphasizes that architectural object comprehension was abandoned in 1920s and mentions Hilberseimer’s *social machine* thinking. This thinking considers that modern city has to comprise of the systematic and designed combination of cells like a machine. Within this framework, the cell occurs as an element of mass production. According to Tafuri, this claim of Hilberseimer was oriented to the redefinition of design and it was also the specification of the architect’s new task, which was reorganization of building production by rationalizing it.

²² The unproductiveness of intellectual work was the crime that weighed upon the conscience of the cultural world of the 19th century, which advanced ideologies had to overcome. To turn ideology into utopia thus became imperative. In order to survive, ideology had to negate itself as such, breaks its own crystallized forms, and throw itself entirely into the “construction of the future”.

²⁰ century movements represent the new rationality, facing-off the negative and making it the potential of the development. Tafuri thinks that, because the problem is seen as the clearing up the discrepancies in capitalist production and providing a connection between the anarchic structure of capitalism and planning strategies, the development of a utopic model is precluded by this understanding itself (Ertekin, 1980, p. 9). In addition, re-handling the ideology is an absolute and ordinary repetition. He considers the real problem is that ideology does not include its basic function at the beginning of the bourgeoisie capitalist system, although it is a utopia it is contradictory with capitalism.

²³ Industrial design was a new utopic sign although it was serving the necessities of reorganisation of production. It was the discrepancy of Bauhaus.

Building industry created new settlement types. Concerning their positions and scales, they were determined by the social democrat municipality decisions. For Ertekin (1981a), Tafuri describes these settlements as *realized social democracy* and states it is seen that the political and intellectual authorities in this period are in such a harmony with each other and it serves not only social opposition but also a compromise between the infrastructure of the existing system and the superstructures. However, his opinion is that this new utopia could not be achieved, rather than a new appearance, the familiar urban space was obtained at the end of these projects. These settlements have the property of a utopia with regard to demonstrate the public that working class organizations can propose alternative models to the city development. However, they were nothing more than a town against the large city. According to Tafuri, these anti-urban utopias are anti-capitalist, rural ideologies²⁴, but the revolt against the “inhuman metropolis” of capitalism is only nostalgic and these are reactionary utopias.

Tafuri states that within this reorganization the intellectual and the architect lost their functions as leader and ideologist of the society and had to give up creating utopias and this caused the contradictions of the architectural ideology since 1935. The depreciation period of the architecture was avoided and accommodated to the new developments. As he mentions, this ended up with a confederacy between new developed communication techniques and technological utopia which is asserted as neo-humanist. Discrepancies of the contemporary city were dissolved by neo-innovativeness in various images and formal complications. According to him, what is avant-garde now, is industrial design.

Tafuri speaks of it was understood that art has a symbolic language, informatics. The aesthetic communication also affected architecture; the developments in the visual communication industry (advertising) made the city become an advertisement area. As it is mentioned by Tafuri, the question “Why architecture?” turned into “How

²⁴ In contrast with the anti-urban utopias Le Corbusier was working on prototypes. According to Corbusier, even if architecture is in the case of undertaking a function, which is synonym with the reorganization of production, it cannot fulfill the action without affecting by distribution and consumption elements (Ertekin, 1981b, p. 9). In addition, architect must be an organiser instead of an object designer and this organization should be handled in such a way that the public can participate actively in the consumption of the architectural product. Urban structure is a physical and functional unity as it is a brand new values and should be handled in unity. Corbusier developed many studies out of these views. His last and the most important work is Obus Plan, developed for Algeria. The design is the ultimate formulation hypothesis of urban design and it is still could not be surpassed as in shape and ideologically according to Tafuri.

architecture?” The architecture, which cannot present itself as a utopia anymore, turns to its own old roles or starts fighting with itself and that causes formalism. Ultimately it puts everything away and starts working on the form and becomes an activity of an advertisement without an intellectual essence.

According to Tafuri, architecture ideology is no more a directive in the capitalist development. In the last part of his book Tafuri tries to find an answer to the question; “What can be done?” The fact that building production continues to override the architectural ideology and that the economic social forces ignore the architectural ideology about urban order rationalization, points to renewal in planning. Accordingly, in agreement with this, the function, the position and the ideology of planner and planning must be redefined. He mentions that the urban and regional efforts in accordance with the benefits of employees are needed to be at a level that they consider the complex programs, criticize them and develop consistent alternatives to them. “Now, what is expected to be designed is a flexible social values system. In this sense planning turns into a tool of hegemony” (Ertekin, 1981c, p. 14). Tafuri expresses that ideology of design is the one of the most important requirements of modern capitalism; it is a consolidation tool as Corbusier determined. What is required is to criticise the architectural ideology and add a political dimension to it. Only then the roles (designer, planner etc.) in the field will be possible to handle in the capitalist development.

As it can be seen from the summary of the book, Tafuri situates some key points about the process of architecture after capitalism. First of all it would be good to have a look at these key points. “Architecture is for Tafuri supreme among the arts simply because its Other or exterior is coeval with History and society itself, and it is susceptible therefore to the most fundamental materialist or dialectical reversal of all” (Jameson, 1982, p. 449). Therefore, he considers architect’s role as the ideologist – directing the society through the spaces he/she creates– of the society. Tafuri mentions that the capitalist development caused architectural ideology to lose its mission. “Having arrived at an undeniable impasse due to the inherent contradictions of capitalist development, architectural ideology gives up its role as stimulus to the structures of production and hides behind ambiguous slogans contesting the ‘technological civilization’” (Tafuri, 1969, p. 29). In addition, it faces being useless. “‘Artistic’ uselessness, which one can also trace in the new architecture, is subtended, in the avant-garde, by a refusal; architecture, on the other hand, attains it through the necessity that

binds the image to reality' (Scolari, 1973, p. 130). Thus, the eclecticism movement arises in order to find a way out from this uselessness.

“Trying to find a space out of the system of production in which to re-locate the work of the architect as intellectual, Tafuri realizes that the only possible place to re-locate architecture was outside the ideology” (Diaz, 2012). He thinks that architect should have a new mission and consider the city as a *social machine*. Architecture became dependent upon capitalism and the public was made to believe that the best usage of the city is consumption. In addition, architect should be an organiser instead of a designer only and invite the public to participate the consumption of the city.

Finally, Tafuri remarks industrial design has the clue of being utopic and it is the new avant-garde. It creates the city through advertisements. As Akın (2005) stated, Smithsons said that advertisements try to sell a natural accessory of a way of life packed by informatics, not a product and the advertisements of mass production objects aim to establish a whole life pattern: principles, ethics, goals, associations, standard of living. Hence, what is expected from architecture is creating flexible social values system.

There are two main arguments – urban paths– of Tafuri that ideology turned into capitalist industrial utopia and industrial design is a new utopic sign. Before the discussion it would be good to look at the definitions of ideology and utopia. Ideology is “a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy and the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual”.²⁵ Utopia is “an imagined place or state of things in which everything is perfect”.²⁶ As stated by Polat (2014):

The word of utopia was first used by Sir Thomas More. Despite of the fact that, More’s Utopia is not the earliest text on an ideal administration. Prior to Utopia, there is Plato’s The Republic⁴⁵ which is a philosophical approach to the idea of a state model, a conceptual critique by bringing Socrates in to the play to enable his irony; questioning justice, the reason of the existence of a state.

It is seen from the basic definitions that ideology is a thinking system and the utopia is a designed form of ideology, so that both of them refer to an ideal thing. According to Tafuri, because ideology was accused of being productive, in order to

²⁵ Ideology [Def. 1]. (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, Retrieved June 04, 2018, from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology>.

²⁶ Utopia [Def. 1]. (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, Retrieved June 04, 2018, from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/utopia>.

suffer from this crime ideology had to turn into utopia. As a result of the uncertainty that architecture falls in, because of capitalism, it began to serve as an integral part of mass production. So, how does architecture serve capitalism? As in every sector, the industrialization that occurred in building production created standardization. According to Tafuri, instead of suggesting methods or models, architecture consists of bringing together manufactured parts of mass production. From the ideological point of view of Tafuri, architecture no longer directs society with its forms, it becomes a means of capitalist production. The society, convinced that consumption is the most ideal way of life, symbolizes the downfall of reason by serving it.

The question here is; is it a negative situation as Tafuri sees, that architecture serving to capitalism? What did architecture serve before capitalism? Architecture, which serves capitalism as the power element of our contemporary world, served power also in the past, for example churches in the Middle Ages and Ancient Greek aristocracy. We can see that the working class in capitalism is similar to the peasant in the Middle Ages and the slaves in Ancient Greek. Moreover, in the world where slaves have no rights, some rights of the working class are protected by law. When we have a look at architecture, for example, churches were located in the center of all the cities established in the Middle Ages, and the architectural styles contained spiritual images. Even today, it is possible to read these traces as we look at the towns established in the Middle Ages. Architecture, like other disciplines, has adapted to this process in the inevitable period in which mass production, which emerged as a result of technological developments and industrial revolution became a dominant power. Architecture, which adapts to the new process, can still fulfil its ideological missions, which are also realized by the structures for the new lifestyles that it is designing. At this point, what Tafuri (1986) says is really important:

...what I was saying 15 years ago in *Architecture and Utopia* has become a fairly standard analysis: there are no more utopias, the architecture of commitment, which tried to engage us politically and socially, is finished, and what is left to pursue is empty architecture. Thus an architect today is forced to either be great or be a nonentity. I really don't see this as the "failure of Modern architecture"; we must look instead at what an architect could do when certain things were not possible, and what he could do when they were possible.

Tafuri was thinking that modern architecture was in a crisis; however this crisis was not a result of *exhaustion*. The real reason, there was a crisis in the ideologies of architecture. In other words, architecture was attached strongly to the ideology and so, it

was politicized (Aras, 2015, p. 102). After capitalism, the rapidly developing industrial design products and the advertising used to promote them became the constituents of the city. Now, the expectation from architecture setting up a system of flexible social values based on the social machine logic.

5.3 Parametric Design and Flexible Workspace

To sum up the ideas of Sennett and Tafuri, flexibility and change are at the forefront in the world of late capitalism. Work life forces employees to be flexible. Architecture, on the other hand, serves capitalism using the means of production, but cannot fulfil its ideological task. Based on the idea that parametric design, which uses variable inputs to create differentiated spaces according to these inputs, may be the method to design the spaces needed by this flexible and changing world, the studies of Patrik Schumacher are emphasized in this section.

In *The Autopoiesis of Architecture I: A New Framework for Architecture* (2011) and *The Autopoiesis of Architecture II: A New Agenda for Architecture*, Patrik Schumacher (2012) defines the contemporary architectural style as *Parametricism*. In order to spread his views on parametric design issue, he has had many publications, lectures etc. Parametricism approach is based on the idea that architecture is a communication tool. “The unique, societal function of architecture: to order and frame communicative interaction” (Schumacher, 2016b). The perception of the identity of space gives us clues about it, with the cognition; we decide how to behave in that space. Schumacher (2016a, p. 109) states that:

The social functionality of architecture resides to a large extent in its communicative capacity. The built environment orders social processes through its pattern of spatial separations and connections that in turn facilitates a desired pattern of separate and connected social events. This is social organisation via spatial organisation.

The interaction is not only between people but also between people and the built environment, the built environment also creates interaction between people. “The whole built environment must become an interface of multi-modal communication, as the ability to navigate dense and complex urban environments has become a crucial aspect of today’s overall productivity” (Schumacher, 2013b). As Kamp states, “the interaction takes place in an environment” (Kamp, Veen, & Vink, 2015). Moreover, communicating is not only about consuming space and spending time in it, but any

relationship with space is communication. “Both a designed space and the act of entering the space are communications” (Schumacher, 2015).

Even though “every design is driven by the constraints of the site, brief, environmental conditions and local planning requirements, rather than based on standard ‘typologies’ or customisable templates” (Bell & Simpkin, 2013, p. 89), architecture is innovative, theory-led and architectural knowledge and spatial organisation has gained a new approach by parametric design. It is available to create spaces that have strong characteristics.

“Parametric design is a powerful methodology to achieve a new architectural morphology, namely a morphology of continuous differentiation” (Schumacher, 2016b). Parametric design allows us to respond the needs of differentiated society. It is a rule-based differentiation and correlation system, morphology of continuous differentiation. It is an ordered complexity.²⁷ It is possible by parametric design to increase the information about the built environment.

Conceived as a network of relations or dependencies, parametric design creates relationships between the various elements of the composition. Parametric design builds up a connection between architectural geometry and performative parameters of climate, structure, material and behaviour. “The designer might choose and calibrate the adaptive correlations between the subsystems so that the different systems do indeed become ‘representations’ of each other in the sense that users navigating the urban environment can not only follow the gradients or vectors of transformation in each of the subsystems” (Schumacher, n.d.-a). This method of design has an important advantage that the detail solution and the build-up of complexity of the design can progress simultaneously with maintaining the malleability to adapt to changing requirements as new information is fed into the design process. Schumacher (2008b)

²⁷ It would be good to make a personal note here. Even though I mostly agree with Schumacher’s ideas about the complexity of the society and parametric design can respond the needs of this complex society, I disagree that parametric design is a style. I have similar thoughts with (Gage, 2016, p. 130): ‘Schumacherian Parametricism’ is neither a style nor a movement, but merely a now ubiquitous 21st-century technology coupled with a stylistic preference for topologically derived (smooth) digital surfaces – an aesthetic to which, in the interest of full disclosure, I also have affinities. Parametricism as a technology, however, inherently has no style, and can be used to support any number of ‘styles’. There is no reason that a Tuscan-style suburban house cannot be technologically parametric – in fact, because of various building information modelling (BIM) technologies, most already are. As he mentions, instead of being a style, it is a design system that is based on correlations and it can benefit from the technological improvements. In addition, any style can be brought into life with this robust system even though the circumstances change.

states that, “beyond the usual geometric object parameters, ambient parameters (variable lights) and observer parameters (variable cameras) have to be considered and integrated into the parametric system”. Also, “parametricism that allows contemporary architects to ramp up the communicative complexity of the built environment are also congenial to the agenda of optimizing architectural forms with respect to ecological performance criteria” (Schumacher, 2010a). The malleability provides advantage both for the continuous design adjustments during the design progresses, and for the option generations and diversity. Considering that architecture is responsible for the social functionality of the built environment, “this powerful enhancement of the communicative capacity of the built environment via rule-based parametric design goes to the heart of architecture’s societal function of ordering the multitude of social interaction scenarios that make up contemporary society” (Schumacher, 2016b).

“Contemporary architecture aims to construct new logics – the logic of fields – that gear up to organize and articulate the new level of dynamism and complexity of contemporary society” (Schumacher, 2008a). Architects need to analyse the sociological drive of clients’ life processes and bring their ordering capacity strategically into game. “The task is to design an information rich, dense built environment that orders and codes/reveals the manifold social interactions to be expected within its spaces” (Schumacher, 2013a). The designer devises and formulates rules or correlations much the same as the laws of nature.

Architecture is one of those great function systems of contemporary society which is functionally differentiated and architecture actively participates in the evolution of society. “The mass society that was characterised by a universal consumption standard has evolved into the heterogeneous society of the multitude, marked by a proliferation of lifestyles and extensive work-path differentiation” (Schumacher, 2008a). From the perspective that architecture should be a tool for organizing social processes, “society demands that architecture has to adapt” (Schumacher, n.d.-b). If all problems of society are communication problems, focusing on communication is a prerequisite for increasing the social effectiveness of architecture. “Form powers function. That’s the new thesis. Spatial organization sustains social organization” (Schumacher, 2010b).

Schumacher refers to the issues of sense of belonging and the relationship with space, which have been mentioned since the beginning of the study. As he mentioned,

mass society is very diverse in the global era. Each of us has the skills that we have to have for the business world and the qualities we have in order to exist in different environments in social life. We live with all these diversity and consume spaces accordingly.

Another point that Schumacher emphasizes is similar to Tafuri's architectural ideology thought. By mentioning that architecture should direct social processes, he changes the famous statement of Mies van der Rohe *form follows function* into *form powers function*. According to this, architecture, which can direct social relations with its form, can respond to the diversity of society.

Parametricism is versatile and rich, it has the associative tools to build up the complex, a variety of order contemporary society requires. "Parametricism is not only a new methodology for generating form but also a new paradigm of understanding social function" (Schumacher, 2014). Llabres & Rico (2012) states that "design is making sense (of things). It is therefore the task of the designer to understand both the target audience and the project in order to strike a balance between parameters, values and tacit forms of algorithms". Parametric design offers a new, complex order via differentiation and correlation principles and the aim is to intensify internal dependencies in architectural design, as well as external dependencies and continuity in a complex, urban context. "Aesthetically, it is the elegance of ordered complexity and the sense of seamless fluidity, akin to natural systems that constitute the hallmark of parametricism" (Schumacher, 2009). Parametric design changes the homogeneous identification of modernism and differentiates it with its capacity to adapt to local site conditions, climates, contexts etc. "Parametricism is architecture's answer to contemporary, computationally empowered civilization" (Schumacher, 2016c).

After the parametric design, which is considered as future space design tool, it would be good to have a look at office space requirements. In the last decades, the open-plan office concept has been developed in order to save costs, to promote collaboration and productivity among employees. However, the employees of these offices have had to face some problems:

Open-plan offices have been associated with a lack of privacy and increased cognitive workload (de Croon et al. cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199), increased prevalence of different symptoms (Pejtersen et al. cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199), and sickness absence (Pejtersen et al. cited in Lahtinen

et al, 2015, pp. 198-199). In addition, acoustic problems in open-plan offices have been associated with noise-related stress (Haapakangas et al. cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199), impaired concentration (Banbury and Berry cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199), decreased environmental and job satisfaction (Sundström et al. cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199), and lower self-estimated work performance (Kaarlela-Tuomaala et al. cited in Lahtinen et al, 2015, pp. 198-199).

Traditional offices were able to provide an important feature, the feeling of privacy -architectural as well as psychological- that increases job satisfaction. The main difference between traditional offices and mobile offices is dynamic character of mobile offices.²⁸ The office has become the physical appearance of an intangible corporate, where networked individuals collaborate, meet and share and improve ideas, strategies and solutions. Kamp, Veen & Vink (2015, p. 280) stated that:

With the increasing availability of wireless internet and therefore network access and the advancing technological developments it is possible to work anywhere, anytime. Not only can one work at the office or at home, but also in trains, planes, buses, cars and restaurants. In the future this might even be more so the case when internet will be commonly available in airplanes, buses and trains and with the development of autonomous driving.

“The workforce too has changed dramatically: it is increasingly mobile, collaborative and technology-enabled. Workers have greater control over their work, are more independent of ‘place’ and are driven less by traditional reward structures“ (Harris, 2016, p. 14). The expectations of the users (millennials) of today’s workspace are the independence, flexibility, agility, the control of workspace. “Millennials indicated that they would be devoted to their own careers, not to their companies with the desire for meaningful work” (Chandler, 2013, p. 23). “Workers are expecting greater control over their workstyles, such as in the growing emphasis on work–life balance and wellbeing” and “a key outcome is that the workplace must respond to workers who demand choice and flexibility” (Harris, 2016, p. 8).

To sum up the issues discussed so far, our lives are constantly changing in the information era. In this world where everything is changing and is consumed rapidly, we are moving continuously. We are traveling, trying to catch up and in a rush. While the time we spend anywhere becomes more limited, we gradually lose our sense of

²⁸ “The term mobile offices this is referring to a situation where people work – mainly typical office work, such as word processing, reading, teleconferencing – on a (electronic) mobile device while in a transportation context like a car or airplane” (Kamp et al., 2015).

belonging to all places. In order to exist in this capitalist world, we need to be flexible individuals.

While the world and us, people are so flexible and mobile, architecture remains rigid. Although it benefits from the capitalist production processes, it does not provide the flexibility required by capitalist life. As Tafuri mentioned, architecture, which was previously ideological, no longer fulfils this task and the question is here if architecture gets out of date.

Is it possible that architecture would find the answer in parametric design in order to respond this variability? Is it possible that parametric design, which uses too many inputs, produces the spaces that people requires? Is it possible that architects, who should be ideologues of the society, could lead the society through the forms they design with parametric design?

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Future Prospects

6.1 Conclusions

Starting with the question of how the role of architecture should be in the consumption era brought about by late capitalism, the workspaces, which are the most affected areas by capitalism, are discussed in this thesis. This thesis presents a perspective on how architecture can serve the society in this era, where everything is consumed and changed rapidly and also employees and lives are flexible and we all live mobile lives.

This study, which is based on the subject of Flexible Spaces for Future Lifestyle, sets out how an architectural approach may be provided to respond to mobile and flexible working conditions of the immaterial labour producers, in the capitalist world where we are all a part of it. In this context, this study investigates the office spaces of immaterial labour.

Although the area of focus is workspace, some discussions were conducted in order to understand and make sense of the space and to assimilate the history of the workspace before arriving there. In this context, the existence of human being in this world and its relation with space through sense of belonging were examined. The relationship with space and sense of belonging led this study to the phenomenon of *alienation*.

Since *alienation* of Marx is connected to capitalism, which also created the workspace of today, capitalism and its phases were also analysed. In addition, the change in the workspace were also analysed throughout the phases. This change was visualized with the help of movies. In the final phase of capitalism, which is called as

late capitalism, global era or information era etc., the labour has changed. The work life forces employees to be flexible in order to survive, which results with *corrosion of character*. While work life is in a rapid move and flexible, should architecture stay the same? Or has it already fallen behind the time as Tafuri mentioned? This study has tried to find answers to the questions. In order to do that, there were some discussions made since the beginning of the study and they are summarized below to see the whole study.

In the Human & Sense of Place chapter of the study the relationship with human being and place was evaluated. Based on Heidegger's concept of *Dasein*, the cases of belonging or not belonging to a place were discussed. Marx's concept of *alienation*, which left its mark on capitalism, was examined and it was retraced.

In the Transformation of Production chapter of the thesis, the processes until capitalism, which emerged as a result of Industrial Revolution, were investigated. Then, labour and capitalism relationship was scrutinized through the policies such as Fordism, and Taylorism. Finally, globalization processes were examined as the main ruler in the contemporary era.

The Evolution of Office Space chapter contains the evolution of workspace exploration. After the history of office space was elaborated, some movies that include office spaces were analysed to strengthen the transformation. In order to show the whole transformation process, the stories of chosen movies start from 1919 end in an imaginary future –science fictions to present future vision.

In the New Era of Labour and Space chapter, the books of Tafuri, Sennett and Schumacher were investigated and new era of labour and space were argued. The mission of architecture after capitalism was questioned through *Architecture and Utopia* and then the flexible labour of global era that we are in was examined through *The Corrosion of the Character*. Lastly, through the ideas in *The Autopoiesis of Architecture*, parametricism approach and the idea that parametric design could respond to the needs of the complex society was analysed.

6.2 Future Prospects

Since the first alienation from birth, human beings have searched for the perfect place and have created places to shelter, live and survive from the very beginning of

their existence. As Tafuri pointed out, architecture, which played an important role in this process of creation, was leading society by performing an ideological task before capitalism. According to him, architecture lost its ideological task, because it is in a downfall by serving capitalism. Large cities arose by mass production became the center of alienation. Architecture could no longer resist this situation, salvation surrendered instead of revolt.

Starting from this approach of Tafuri, the questioning of architecture and capitalism has been opened with the question of the task of architecture and where it should stand in a capitalist world. Capitalism, as the basis of the alienation created by large cities, should be looked at first.

According to Marx, alienation was the result of the capitalist process of production, division of labour and specialization. The worker, who was only a part of the production process with his work, became alienated to product in time, then to his work, and then to himself. Could people remain as human being while they are dehumanized because of the self-alienation brought by capitalism? Like the person who does not feel sense of belonging to the place. If we recall that the definition of *dasein* involves belonging, could the person who detaches the space be dehumanized or existed when he could not show an entity?

Perhaps all the places where people are in now have placelessness or they are all non-places. Because of produced by mass civilization, these places, which do not contain any attachment, authenticity or identity, are now part of our lives. Our lives go on roads, airports, shopping malls, hotels. This is what the global era brings us. By means of neoliberal policies, capital began to circulate around the world, time and space is stuck. Economies are now revolving around structures where knowledge is organized at the center, production and distribution are organized in the environment. This forces employees to travel.

We travel and work in these unidentified places during these travels. While production is so mobile and employees have to be mobile. Not only that have to be mobile, but also they have to be flexible to keep up with the changing world and economy. Flexible labour is an important issue in the world created by late capitalism, which leads to corrosion of character. Employees, who have to develop different skills in order to be present in their business life, create variations in the society with their

diversity and the current lifestyles in the global world that we are in. Everything is in a rapid change. Architecture must adapt to this rapid change and diversity.

Even though it uses capitalist means of production and serves capitalism, architecture does not seem to create the flexibility that capitalism needs. According to Schumacher, who expresses a similar situation to the social ideology that Tafuri speaks of, architecture should guide society and frame communication. He even took this one step further and said form powers function and stated that architecture that would lead the society could be implemented with parametric design.

By generating algorithms through different inputs, the parametric design, which can be shaped according to variations, may create the architecture that is more needed by the capitalist world. Architects, who use parametric design, perhaps through the forms they design, can serve as social ideologues, as Tafuri mentioned. Or, on the contrary, by adapting to the flexible world created by the capitalism that architecture serves, they can pave the way for social collapse and accelerate the process further.

If this situation is examined in the context of the workspace under consideration in this thesis, flexible workspaces, which will not change user's motivation while working, provide the comfort needed by the user and can be transformed in such a way that the user can feel belonging while using the space, can be designed in airports, cafes etc. where are the workspaces of today's mobile labourers. These designs can be made by using parametric design to respond to variables and kinetic architecture that paves the way for transformations.

Hereby, people can create special spaces while temporarily using the spaces they are part of. They may provide the transformations they need in the workspace with the contribution of kinetic architecture which will provide convertible spaces as in the future scenario films. In addition, they may be able to work in these new workspaces without the need for extra items by using some special surfaces as foreseen in the movies. In this sense, architecture should contribute to the development of new technologies and materials.

Through these contributions, perhaps architects may really serve as social ideologues. Not only do they design spaces, they may also think about how these spaces will affect people's lives. They may design spaces to serve different functions and create

spaces transformed with the advantages of kinetic architecture and that respond to variabilities with the advantages of parametric design. In this way, they may not only serve the flexible world of capitalism, but also produce spaces that live in all the time. Thus, the vitality of the street that Jane Jacobs mentions may be present in these living places.



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