

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

LEISURE AS CRITICISM IN ARCHITECTURAL TEXTS



PhD. THESIS

Berna GÖL

Department of Architecture

Architectural Design Programme

SEPTEMBER 2017

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**MİMARLIK METİNLERİNDE BİR ELEŞTİRİ ARACI OLARAK *LEISURE*
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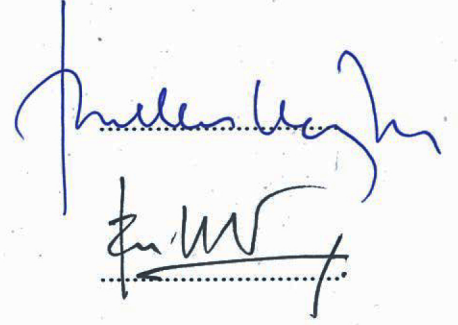
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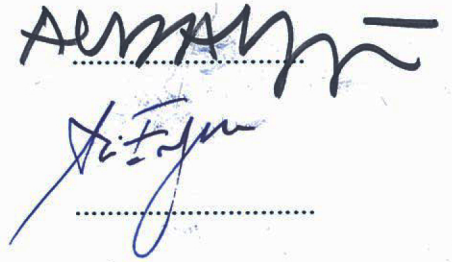


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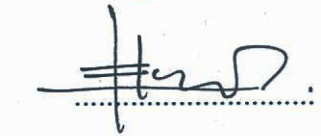
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In memory of Aytanga Dener,



FOREWORD

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September 2017

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
SUMMARY	xix
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Topic and Defining the Problem	5
1.2 Purpose of the Study.....	6
1.3 Scope of the Study.....	7
1.4 Chapter Breakdown.....	8
2. LEISURE, CRITICISM AND ARCHITECTURE.....	13
2.1 Leisure, Critical Theory and Criticism.....	21
2.1.1 The concept of leisure	21
2.1.2 Leisure in critical theory	24
2.1.3 Criticism via leisure (subsidiary concepts)	37
2.2 Criticism in Architecture.....	43
2.2.1 Defining criticism as a source of knowledge	43
2.2.2 Words, concepts, propositions	49
2.2.3 Selected writings on architecture and leisure.....	52
3. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	55
3.1 Methodology	55
3.2 Studying the Texts.....	56
3.3 Proposing a Model for Criticism	58
3.4 Limitations.....	62
4. LEISURE AND CRITICISM IN ARCHITECTURAL TEXTS	65
4.1 Leisure as Function: Classification of Spaces.....	67
4.1.1 Designing the Seaside (Fred Gray)	72
4.1.2 People's Palaces (Christoph Grafe)	76
4.1.3 Total Landscape (Miodrag Mitrasinovic)	81
4.1.4 Leisure as function: diagnostic criticism	85
4.2 Leisure as a Field of Experimentation.....	87
4.2.1 Space, Place, and Play (Liane Lefaivre)	89
4.2.2 Architecture of Immaterial Labor (Andreas Rumpfhuber)	93
4.2.3 The Pleasure of Architecture (Bernard Tschumi)	99
4.2.4 Leisure as experimentation: reflexive criticism	102
4.3 Leisure as a Field of Discourse	104
4.3.1 Pavilion Politics (Andrea Phillips).....	106
4.3.2 Money and Meaning (Reinhold Martin)	108
4.3.3 The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses (Andrzej Piotrowski)	111

4.3.4 Leisure as discourse: discursive criticism	114
4.4 A Triad of Criticism: Diagnosis, Reflexivity, and Discourse	116
5. TRIAD OF CRITICISM: PARALLELS, CONTRASTS AND MEANING THROUGH RECURRING THEMES	125
5.1 Public Space: Parallels and Similarities	127
5.1.1 Displaying order through public space.....	131
5.1.2 Public space as a context for exchange / transaction	135
5.1.3 Representational attributes of public space	138
5.2 Technology: Contrasts and Differences	142
5.2.1 Assessing change through technology	145
5.2.2 Inspiring architecture, aspiring to change	148
5.2.3 Lack of discussion on technology	150
5.3 Spectacle: Deviations	153
5.3.1 Leisure and architecture as processes of commodification	155
5.3.2 The unthinking of utopia	158
5.3.3 Architecture between autonomy and spectacle	160
5.4 A Triad of Recurring Themes.....	163
6. CONCLUSION.....	167
6.1 Architectural Literature Echoing Critical Theory on Leisure	168
6.2 The Specification of Spheres of Criticism of Leisure and Architecture	170
6.3 New Criticality In Architectural Culture Today	172
REFERENCES.....	175
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	183

ABBREVIATIONS

CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis

CIAM : Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne [Congress of Modern Architecture]





LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 4.1 : Spheres of criticism and their approaches.....	122
Table 6.1 : Critical theory on leisure and Architectural Literature on a timeline ...	169





LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 3.1 : Thesis Flow and Triads	60
Figure 4.1 : Fields of Criticism.....	66
Figure 4.2 : Excerpts from <i>Designing the Seaside</i>	74
Figure 4.3 : Page excerpts from <i>Total Landscape</i>	83
Figure 4.4 : Page excerpts from <i>Architecture of Immaterial Labor</i>	96
Figure 6.1 : The Hierarchy in Spheres of Criticism.....	173



LEISURE AS CRITICISM IN ARCHITECTURAL TEXTS

SUMMARY

Ideas around the concept of leisure, such as recreation, entertainment, education, culture, arts, happiness, and well-being are prevalent in culture today. On a planetary level, capital tends to organize and expand its course through these ideas in a continuous but changing fashion. Architectural practices operate in such contexts; they are not immune to capitalist relations. Often they work as motor forces behind capital oriented productions. This dissertation investigates different modes of criticism in architecture through the concept of leisure in the context of capitalism. I claim that (1) it is necessary to develop criticism in/of architecture constantly, since architecture continuously generates new ways of aligning with capital as power, and that (2) it is possible to attain such mission via leisure due to its rich and ever-changing connotations.

Moving from the concept's etymology, I first look at the way critical theory addresses leisure. I bring together the connotations of the word, its interpretations, and criticisms delivered through it. This provides an advanced series of problems around leisure as well as a group of critical tools (or subsidiary concepts), all of which serve to deliver a criticism based on a demystification and a reconceptualization of leisure within socio-economic relations. Demystification stands for what criticisms reveal about existing relations, while reconceptualization allows for new ways of referring to and thereby discussing contradictions that stem from architecture's ongoing relationship with capital.

With the framework of critical theory, I explore various texts from the literature of architecture that contain leisure and embody a criticism directed at architecture. I chose these texts through subsidiary concepts that critical theory on leisure presents. However, I group these texts according to the way they utilize leisure and the ideas around it (such as culture, education, recreation, entertainment, well-being). The first group renders leisure as a *function*, as a tool for classification to direct a criticism

towards the context of architectural projects. The second group takes leisure as *experimentation*, as an idea that can challenge the limits of architecture. The final group of texts takes leisure as *discourse*, and use leisure and ideas around the concept to discuss and deliver meaning through architectural projects. These three approaches to the concept generate three different kinds of criticism: diagnostic criticism, reflexive criticism, and discursive criticism. These three modes of criticism are irreducible to one another, but they exist and operate together.

It is possible to discuss the interconnectedness of the three spheres of criticism through recurring themes in these texts. These themes are *public space*, *technology* and *spectacle*, all of which provide a different modality in which spheres of criticism operate. They present the post-war conception of leisure, how this conception is used and how it is discussed in shaping criticism. Their successive discussion finalizes the pursuit of the dissertation, which is an inquiry on the concept of leisure as a tool for criticism of architectural practices. This includes detecting parallels and continuities, revealing contrasts and portraying the way architectural practices linger between becoming-spectacle and claiming autonomy, as well as taking architecture's ongoing relation with critical theory under a lens, joining other texts in the pursuit of a new quest for criticism in architecture.

MİMARLIK METİNLERİNDE BİR ELEŞTİRİ ARACI OLARAK *LEISURE*

KAVRAMI

ÖZET

Günümüz kültüründe boş zaman ve onun nasıl değerlendirileceği büyük bir yer kaplıyor. Dinlenme, eğlence, eğitim, sanat, mutluluk veya sağlıklı yaşam gibi mefhumlar boş zamanın nasıl değerlendirileceğini belirliyor. Bu düşünceler büyük ölçüde, gezegen çapında sürekli olarak gelişen ve dönüşen sermaye ilişkileri tarafından belirleniyor. Mimarlık pratikleri bu bağlamdan, kapitalist ilişkilerden muaf olamıyor. Hatta mimarlık, sermaye odaklı üretimlerin arkasındaki itici güç dahi olabiliyor.

Bu tez, kapitalizm bağlamını gözetken farklı tür mimarlık eleştirilerini *leisure* (değerlendirilebilir boş zaman) kavramını kullanarak araştırıyor ve tartışıyor. Tezin iddia ettiği ise, (1) mimarlığın güç ve sermaye ile kurduğu ilişkiyi durmadan yenilemekte olduğunu gözeterek, mimarlıkta eleştirinin sürekli geliştirilmesi gerektiği, ve (2) bu amaç doğrultusunda geniş ve değişen anlamına istinaden *leisure* kavramının bir eleştiri imkanı sunduğu. Bu doğrultuda çalışma mimarlıkta eleştiriye, mimarlık bilgisini ve teorisini şekillendiren birçok pratikten biri olarak ele alıyor. Tezin odaklandığı eleştiri türü, mimarlığı sosyo-ekonomik bağlamını gözeterek tartışan metinlere dayanıyor. Güncel mimarlık literatürü araştırıldığında, mimarlığın mesleki (özellikle tasarım kararlarıyla ilgili) ve teknik bilgisi ile içinde bulunduğu bağlamı bir arada ele alarak eleştiri üreten yeni bir eğilim görmek mümkün. Bu yeni eleştiri arayışı mimarlığın önceki dönemlerde, özellikle 1980’li yıllarda eleştirel teori ile kurmuş olduğu ilişkiyi sorgulayarak kendi geçmişiyse, önceki eleştirel pratiklerle de yüzleşiyor. Bu tez, konu üzerine mevcut literatüre *leisure* kavramını merkeze alarak katılmış oluyor. *Leisure* kelimesinin kökeninden başlayıp, eleştirel teoride nasıl tartışıldığını inceleyip, bu gözlükle mimarlık literatüründe *leisure*’ın nasıl kullanıldığını tartışıyorum.

İngilizce konuşulan dünyada sorumluluklardan uzak zaman veya aktiviteleri ifade eden *leisure* kelimesinin etimolojik kökenine bakarak aslında kavramın bazı sınırlara

işaret ettiği söylenilebilir. Öncelikle, bu sınır imasını dikkate alarak, kavramın eleştirel kuramda nasıl tartışıldığını ve nasıl bir eleştiri aracı olarak kullanıldığını anlamak mümkün. *Leisure*, Karl Marx'ın metinlerinde insanlara eşit dağıtılması gereken bir kaynakken, on yıllar içinde Thorstein Veblen'in çalışmalarında *gösterişçi tüketim* [conspicuous consumption] alışkanlıklarını besleyen ve hatta yeni bir toplumsal sınıf tanımlayan bir kavram haline geliyor. Yirminci yüzyılda ise *leisure*, tüketim toplumunun ideolojisini besleyen ve yeniden üreten aktiviteler, o aktiviteler için yaratılmış mekanlar ve ayrılmış zamanlar anlamına geliyor. Dean MacDannell'a göre gösterişçi tüketim bu yüzyılda turizm aktivitelerine dönüşüyor. Frankfurt Okulu düşünürleri ve Durumcuların teorileri, kitle kültürü ve tüketim arasındaki yakın ilişkiyi vurguluyor, ve aslında *leisure* zamanlarında bile bireylerin bu şekilde kontrol altında tutulduğuna, sürekli tüketime yönlendirildiğine ve böylelikle mevcut ekonomik düzenin güçlenerek devam ettiğine dikkat çekiyor. Fakat aynı yıllarda, savaş sonrası Avrupa'da, Johan Huizinga, insan medeniyetinin temelinde yatan *oyun* kavramı ve oyunun eğitici/öğretici yanını araştırarak, aslında *leisure*'in bireyleri geliştiren potansiyelini ortaya koyuyor. Kendisinden etkilenen Fransız düşünür Henri Lefebvre, *leisure*'in iş ve emek gibi yabancılaştırıcı olabileceğinden bahsetse de, kavramı toplumu ve sosyal hayatı değiştirebilecek, gündelik hayatın tam merkezinde bulunan bir fırsat olarak değerlendiriyor. Yüzyılın sonuna doğru, değişen teknoloji ve büyüyen iletişim ağlarının etkisiyle, Maurizio Lazzarato gibi teorisyenler *leisure* ile iş arasındaki ayrımın en baştan sorunlu olduğunu ve giderek daha da birbirinden ayrılmaz hale geldiğini belirtiyor. Böylelikle değişen emek (üretimin niteliği), iş dışında kalan zaman, aktivite ve mekanları da içermeye başlıyor. Yirmibirinci yüzyıla gelindiğinde *leisure* kelimesi neredeyse kullanılmamakla beraber, kelimenin kapsadığı bazı kavramlar, örneğin mutluluk veya sağlık, ön plana çıkıyor.

Leisure konusunda yazılmış eleştirel metinlerde bazı ikincil kavramlardan bahsetmek önemli bir yer tutuyor. Tespit ettiğim kavramlar, basitten daha karmaşığa doğru; yabancılaşma (alienation), kullanım değeri – değişim değeri – artı değer (use value – exchange value – surplus value), fetişleş(tir)me, metalaşma (commodification), cisimleştirme (reification) – nesneleştirme (objectification) – şeyleştirme (thingification), gösteri (spectacle) ve ona bağlı olarak fantazmagorya. İkincil kavramlar *leisure* ile beraber sosyo-ekonomik ilişkiler dahilinde *demistifikasyon* ve *yeniden-kavramsallaştırma* [reconceptualization] üzerinden eleştiriye mümkün

kılıyor. Demistifikasyon mevcut ilişkileri ortaya çıkarmak anlamına gelirken, yeniden-kavramsallaştırma, mimarlığın sermayeyle süregelen ilişkisindeki çelişkileri tartışmayı mümkün kılıyor. Bu ikincil kavramlar sayesinde, mimarlık literatüründeki metinlerin eleştirel yaklaşımlarını, yöntemlerini ve eleştirel pozisyonlarını tespit etmek ve karşılaştırmak mümkün.

Eleştirel kuramın sağladığı çerçeveden faydalanarak mimarlık literatüründen bazı metinleri inceliyorum. Bu metinlerin ortak yanı, *leisure* ile ilgili olmalarının yanısıra mimarlığa yönelik tanımlanabilir çeşitli eleştiriler sunmaları. Bu metinleri *leisure* kavramını ve kavram etrafındaki düşünceleri (kültür, eğitim, dinlenme, eğlence gibi) nasıl kullandıklarına göre sınıflıyorum. İlk grup, kavramı işlev ile ilişkilendirip, işlev (ve kullanım) üzerinden mimarlık ürünlerini sınıflandırarak ortaya koyduğu eleştiriye mimarlığın içinde bulunduğu sosyo-ekonomik bağlama yöneltiyor. Bu metinler arasında Fred Gray'ın kitabı *Designing The Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (Deniz Kıyısını Tasarlamak: Mimarlık, Toplum ve Doğa) (2006); Christoph Grafe'in doktora tezi "People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-war Cultural Centers" (Halkın Sarayları: Savaş Sonrası Avrupa'da İki Kültür Merkezinde Mimarlık, Kültür ve Demokrasi) (2010); ve Miodrag Mitrasinovic'in kitabı *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (Bütüncül Peyzaj, Eğlence Parkları, Kamusal Alan) (2006).

İkinci grup ise kavramı bir deney alanı olarak kullanarak mimarlığın mevcut sınırlarını aşmayı hedefleyen mimari örnekler içeriyor. Bu doğrultuda Liane Lefaivre'nin makalesi "Space, Place and Play" (Mekan, Yer ve Oyun) (2002) ile mimar Aldo Van Eyck'ın çocuk oyun bahçelerini tartıştığı metni inceliyorum. Ardından, Andreas Rumpfhuber'in kitabı *Architektur Immaterieller Arbeit*'ı (Gayrimaddi Emek Mimarisi) (2013) ve Bernard Tschumi'nin "The Pleasure of Architecture" (Mimarlığın Hazzı) (1996) ismi altında topladığı metni inceliyorum.

Üçüncü ve son grup, *leisure* kavramını kullanarak mimari projeler üzerine söylem üretiyor ve mimarlığın ürettiği anlamı tartışıyor. Bu başlık altında ise başka bir grup metin inceliyorum: Andrea Phillips'in kaleme aldığı "Pavilion Politics" (Pavyon Politikası) (2010), Reinhold Martin'in makalesi "Money and Meaning: The Case of John Portman" (Para ve Anlam: John Portman Örneği) (2009), ve Andrzej Piotrowski'nin "The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses" (Mimari Söylemlerin Gösterisi) (2008) isimli makalesi.

Yukarıdaki metinlerdeki incelemelerin gösterdiği gibi, *leisure* kavramının üç farklı kullanımı üç belirgin eleştiri türü sunuyor: tanılayıcı eleştiri (diagnostic criticism), dönüşlü eleştiri (reflexive criticism), ve söylemsel eleştiri (discursive criticism). Üç farklı eleştiri türü hem birbirine indirgenemez, hem de geçirgen kategoriler olarak işliyor. Önemli olan, üç yaklaşımın mimarlıkta *leisure* konusu dışında eleştiri üretme pratiğine dair bir sonuç sunup sunmadığı.

Kamusal alan, teknoloji ve gösteri kavramları metinlerde belirgin olarak tekrar eden üç tema olarak çalışmanın son bölümünü şekillendiriyor. *Leisure* kavramından yararlanarak eleştiri sunan mimarlık metinlerinin bu üç temadan nasıl faydalandığını karşılaştırmak, mimarlıkta eleştirinin nasıl kurulduğunu ortaya çıkarıyor. Çünkü bu temalar sayesinde, paralellikler ve devamlılıklar, ortaya çıkan karşıtlıklar ya da değişim, ve son olarak gösteri olmak ile kendi özerkliğini savunmak arasında gidip gelen mimarlığı tartışmak mümkün.

Bu çalışma mimarlıkta yeni bir eleştiri arayışını tartışarak konu ile ilgili literatüre eklenmeyi hedefliyor. *Leisure* kavramı sayesinde mimarlık literatürünün eleştirel teoriyle kurduğu ilişkiyi tartışmak, farklı eleştiri türlerinin birbirlerinden faydalanarak nasıl özelleştiğini görmek ve günümüz mimarlık kültüründeki yeni eleştiri arayışını değerlendirmek mümkün.

1. INTRODUCTION

The accelerating growth in networks and communications fundamentally determines peoples' relationships to things and to other people. A considerable amount of the world's population is becoming more dependent on new communication systems, whether for social media, shopping, being informed (about the rest of the world), as well as for work or leisure. With the increasing speed of communications, the question of time assessment and management becomes more important, yet harder to grasp and discuss for each individual. The term infotainment, a combination of information and entertainment, for instance, implies peoples' will to know and understand the world while being entertained, and without radically changing their practices. It is important to discuss the reasons behind the incentive for informing oneself and making sense of the world through the intersection of being informed and being entertained. The increasing number of online forums for discussions and exchange of ideas, online newspaper comment sections, semi-scientific documentaries, educational videogames, or non-profit conferences and social events are just some of the consequences of the rise of information technology in the face of the ever-changing circumstances that determine the everyday.

In December 2013, Benjamin Bratton gave a talk on why TED talks (the popular global non-profit conferences) cannot accomplish what they promise in terms of world changing ideas; they only serve to "bracket reality." He warned the audience that the talks are not just ineffective, but they are actually harmful, as they display placebo politics. They insist on offering "feel good" ideas, eliminating the will to look for real solutions to existing problems. He called for the necessity to transform the general understanding of the world, stressing that technology and design/innovation are not inherently good, but that they are all potentially good and bad. The more we delay discussing technology's flaws, the more these flaws are likely to be amplified exponentially, at the speed of the expansion of the system itself. Bratton's suggestion was to study contradictions "in pursuit of demystification and reconceptualization" and thereby produce new knowledge in order to face the challenges regarding technology and design (Url-1).

The criticism Bratton directs at TED might also be directed toward architectural practices, as well as to the way architects convey ideas as practitioners, academics, commentators or presenters. Architecture, from its theory to its material physicality, is a part of a general understanding of the world. It involves communicating ideas about technology and design that expand beyond architecture itself as a set of practices. If there are “flaws” in the way architecture operates, then, the more such discussions are delayed, the more they are likely to be amplified. Therefore, just like Bratton’s call to change TED talk culture, it is necessary to point out contradictions in the field of architecture through processes of demystification and reconceptualization. This may not only lead to new ways of acquiring knowledge, but also present a perspective on how to view existing literature.

I call the combination of the acts of demystification and reconceptualization directed at existing conditions, *criticism*. I claim that criticism in architecture is a major necessity in today’s architectural culture. Considering the pace of change regarding production and reproduction relations within the architectural world, I suggest that leisure – also in constant change – can serve as a key concept to deliver criticism. This is because, like architecture, leisure is a foundation of civilization and culture. Leisure, like the labyrinths of ancient cities, is old, versatile, playful, and mysterious, but also designed, planned and built.

Labyrinths are strong architectural metaphors. Thinking about the labyrinth offers many clues about architecture and its perceptions as a set of practices. Labyrinths contain many elements traditionally associated with architecture: labyrinths are planned, built, and contain some amount of wonder; they are repetitive, yet unpredictable and uncontrollable; they are also about play, but have rules and borders that restrict one’s freedom. Labyrinths are essential to human culture, define technologies, and symbolize imagination as a creative and essential tool for human civilization. They are present in the infrastructures of ancient cities, in layouts of contemporary urban systems, and in developments of information technologies, games, and fictional and non-fictional stories and representations. Labyrinths transform a place, reconfiguring it in new forms and meanings. Therefore, an old construction such as the labyrinth (both in its material and abstract sense) brings up similar concerns with leisure. They both derive and are derived from architecture in its broadest sense.

Leisure contains many ideas such as entertainment, recreation, happiness, well-being, education, culture and arts. These ideas define peoples' lives and identities more than ever. Political debates, news, documentaries, movies, novels, advertisements, everyday activities, career plans, economic choices, social lives, holidays, work days, travel and real estate investments all revolve around leisure. However, unlike during the 1960s and 1970s, leisure as a word is not often used. This shows that referring to everything associated with non-work time using a single word is not as relevant today as it was in the middle of the twentieth century. This elimination of the concept of leisure has changed the way people view everyday time, activities and spaces. What is the cost of eliminating the concept of leisure? What can an inquiry into leisure tell us about architectural culture that is otherwise difficult to grasp?

These initial questions led to an inquiry on criticism in architecture, only to find out that the existing criticism does not correspond to a particular practice of evaluation or interpretation, but rather to a set of practices, some of which contradict one another. According to one view, criticism involves evaluating architecture. This evaluation can consist of commentary on a specific project, an aesthetic interpretation, as well as a philosophical questioning of a wider set of issues through an exemplary architectural project or type. However, others formulate this in terms of criticality, which can be attributed to a product of architecture, and which means that a project can contain criticality as an autonomous end product. Some scholars strongly opposed this notion, fundamentally rejecting the idea that a project itself can be critical, since a project's context is inseparable from its content, implying the essential problem of the relationship between architecture and its autonomy. Exploring different approaches to what criticism corresponds to illustrates a map of ongoing debates in architectural spheres.

Thus, after an inquiry into present discussions in architectural criticism, I focus on the criticism that tackles issues of present-day production and reproduction relations, which position architecture and its practices within the wider context of capitalism. Even though these texts address an extensive range of topics, there are parallels in their approaches to criticism. Moreover, I argue that the last few decades have witnessed a quest for such criticism, which was not only inspired by previous texts, but also confronted their failures and inconsistencies, bringing together data that is architectural as well as contextual (or socio-economic). These texts rely on

demystifying what is often taken as given, and offer a reconceptualization that allows for a discussion on what cannot be revealed otherwise. However, for the sake of the study, I needed to set a frame to be able to articulate a discussion on criticism in architecture that would lead to a criticism of architecture. I set up this frame through a concept, which filters through the existing literature in order to pursue the matter at hand.

On the course of a few years, the dissertation has taken its form via readings of a wide range of texts that dwell on how architecture as a profession or as a set of practices channels power. My initial interest in the relationship between architecture and power, however, led me to Henri Lefebvre's prominent book *The Production of Space* ([1974] 1996). I have come across the concept of leisure first in this text, where leisure was described as something that reproduced existing production and reproduction relations. Other radical thinkers also included leisure and various ideas around it to oppose and even intend to transform the world. The Situationists' texts echoed Lefebvre's ideas. They discussed leisure in such a way that the criticism they generated directly concerned architecture. I had found out how architectural theory (or literature) discussed leisure from such a critical perspective. Thus, I engaged in a research on architectural publications and came across an article by Reinhold Martin called "Money and Meaning: The Case of John Portman" (2009). This article dwelled on Portman's architectural practice including the architect's words and discussed it through Marxist terminology such as fetish, mystification. I realized that the criticism Martin set forth used leisure as a tool. Thereby, Martin's article became a pivotal point in shaping the dissertation: critical theory included writings on leisure and architectural literature had directly or indirectly made use of these theories. I realized that if I could detect criticism in architectural writings and study the way they generated criticism, I would be able to present a unique perspective on the relation between architecture and leisure that would contribute to existing discussions on criticism in architecture.

In this dissertation, I trace a particular topic in multiple texts and contexts, comparing their approaches, gathering their tools of criticism, and thereby presenting a study which incorporates the existing discussions, and suggests a position for criticism with a set of tools that employs demystification and reconceptualization. I do not

examine a particular text or a project, but rather chose to focus on a particular concept that is leisure.

In order to pursue this quest, I chose to look at an area that appeared likely to contain answers to these questions. I looked to the field of leisure studies and how architecture contextualizes the concept in order to trace the production and reproduction processes in architecture. Whether in the contexts of professional purposes, architecture competitions, or even school projects, students, professors and professionals constantly refer to leisure, but rarely problematize the concept. In most cases, the concept's reception is not part of the discussion. Rather, the concept of leisure is taken as something given, as matter of consensus. Therefore, I base my discussion around whether a text questions leisure, or takes it as a given, and thereby investigate the consequences of such a distinction.

1.1 Topic and Defining the Problem

Leisure and ideas around it shape the built environment and architectural practices. This is evident in the physical world – whether indoors or outdoors – and in how we interpret this world, whether it is public or private. Leisure intervenes everywhere, and can be seen in the design of recreation areas, parks, playgrounds, gardens, walkways, sports facilities, touristic sites, and coastlines, as well as in shopping malls, culture centers, theaters, museums, cafes, restaurants and even of parts of schools, works spaces, offices or factories as well as houses and apartments. Since leisure is so pervasive, and yet, undertheorized, there is much to find out about practices of architecture and leisure via (1) the spaces this concept relates to, (2) the concept itself, and (3) its use.

This intervention into the uses and theorization of leisure is additionally important in contemporary society, where work and leisure are in constant transformation, and it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between the two. Therefore, this quest for a new kind of criticism through leisure is more important than ever.

The dissertation originates from a personal interest in critical thinking directed at what appears as normal and even natural. Considering the everyday use of the word leisure, which is often associated with ideas like freedom (from duties and responsibilities), I recognized that the term offers a fruitful topic for a pursuit on

architectural criticism. Further reading on leisure in critical theory and leisure studies showed me the lack of architectural literature on the topic. The existing discussions on criticism as well as on leisure appeared to be in fragments and pieces. Therefore, such an intervention with the topic required a systematic theorization that could be articulate and consistent, making the dissertation specialize in how leisure is contextualized in various cases in architecture. In order to avoid speculation, instead of personally writing about architecture, I chose to explore texts that present relevant discussions.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this dissertation is to strengthen critical thinking in debates in architectural spheres. In both academic and professional spheres, the political is often neglected, the modes of dominant economic relations are normalized, and many production relations are concealed via following what is conventionally appears as natural. Via a preliminary exploration of current literature on the topic, I recognized that there are several reasons behind the course of these debates. The fact that dominant modes of production are in constant change requires criticism to evolve in the same pace. Another factor is the parting of different approaches to criticism, of (1) criticism that is directed to architecture from outside the discipline via recognizing the socio-economic context of things and of (2) one that recognizes that architecture can have a meaning and value inherent to an object of architecture. The two approaches are irreducible to each other. However, this study claims that it is possible and necessary to recognize both approaches.

This dissertation chooses to dwell on leisure as a tool for criticism – both within architectural theory and in theory outside architecture. My main goal is to evaluate whether leisure can serve as a critical tool to enhance the knowledge and history of architecture. I aim to offer a contemporary position for criticism in architecture through the concept of leisure, one that extends beyond commentary on the objects of architecture. Instead, this criticism will provide a source of knowledge for architecture, with a motive to bring together the various ways architecture makes use of critical theory.

Studying how architectural texts contextualize leisure offers fundamental ways of different approaches to production of knowledge in architecture. With an inspiration

of references from critical theory on leisure, I recognize that there are three major ways via which architectural texts contextualize leisure. The first group mainly recognizes leisure as function and associates certain places with their uses. The second group of texts illustrates how leisure can offer a field of experimentation and challenge the limits of architecture. The final group of texts uses leisure to trace production (and transferring) of meaning in architecture. This simple difference in the use of leisure derives different types of criticism that I name as diagnostic, reflexive, and discursive. I claim that the three operate together. They rely on a number of recurring themes that such as public space, technology and the idea of spectacle.

Studying the three spheres of criticism through recurring themes offers a road map to pursue criticism in architecture.

1.3 Scope of the Study

This study explores criticism and intends to enhance the knowledge of architecture via criticism. In order to do this, I first differentiate between different kinds of criticisms in the architectural literature. My focus is on criticisms or criticality that take into consideration socio-economic relations, and that take a position on capitalism as a world system. Therefore, criticism that adopts solely an aesthetic approach, without considering socio-economic relations remains outside of the scope of the dissertation.

The uses of leisure in critical theory shed light on how to develop a criticality that can serve as a source of knowledge of architecture. Therefore, before looking at architecture itself, it is essential to examine critical theory texts that problematize and interpret leisure. Most of these texts employ the word leisure, while others contain ideas that suggest leisure. There are two important points regarding these texts: the first one is the connotations of the term leisure, and the second involves the way criticism works. The concept of leisure or the ideas around the concept do not have to be the primary focus of these texts. Their main arguments may vary, as long as the texts contain a critical treatment regarding the concept of leisure. What I take from these texts is a more general understanding of how leisure may operate as a tool for criticism.

I investigate the following: (1) connotations of leisure in critical theory and its traces in architectural references; (2) architecture's reception, contextualization, and interpretation of leisure, offering a model for discussing criticism in architecture via leisure; (3) and finally how the leisure focus can be expanded into a broader model of criticism regarding practices of architecture, which I suggest to realize via recurring themes present in the writings that I study.

1.4 Chapter Breakdown

Above, I have shown how the origin of this study grew into a dissertation at the intersection of leisure (as a concept), criticism (as a practice) and architecture (as a field between the professional and academic world). The successive chapters aim to articulate the claims above by first studying the critical theory on leisure, then looking at writings on architecture that address leisure, and finally, discussing continuities, contrasts and deviations using recurring themes within these texts. In this way, I aim to discuss the different critical approaches in architecture.

In Chapter 2, "Leisure, Criticism and Architecture," I expand upon the theoretical framework of the study. First, I situate the dissertation within current discussions on criticism in architecture (often regarding capitalism). Then, I bring together different strands of critical theory on leisure and explore ways of applying it to the field of architecture. To do this, first I discuss the roots and connotations of the term leisure; then I explore the relevant critical theory offering different positions for criticism through the concept of leisure. I refer to Hannah Arendt's and Johan Huizinga's remarks on the roots of the word. From the roots, I trace the concept's later connotations – all of which have shaped various discussions regarding the fight for time and the definition of work, which makes leisure a political issue. However, starting from Karl Marx and continuing to the end of the twentieth century, discussions around leisure extend beyond the definition of work. Thorstein Veblen and Dean MacCannell discuss leisure and leisure time, pointing at the way leisure time has other impacts on the socio-economic sphere, and how it can produce new labor relations (and reproduction). Henri Lefebvre took the notion of leisure as a part of everyday life in order to formulate his *critique*, which inspired the Situationists, while Frankfurt school scholars situated leisure as a part of an industry, reproducing mass culture and mass consumption. Maurizio Lazzarato points out that the work-

leisure distinction is diminishing due to changing modes of labor, while governments and big businesses use the idea of the happiness and well-being of individuals as a tool for social control. Leisure is also a common word used in everyday contexts. Phrases in English, such as “consumer society” and “leisure society” suggest additional meanings for the concept of leisure.

In this chapter, I also trace references to architecture in critical theory, focusing on how these texts interpret the concept. I bring together the idea of (1) purposelessness (as Arendt and Barthes formulate leisure); (2) imagining another world (as Walter Benjamin and Constant Nieuwenhuys do via leisure); and (3) architecture and the postmodern condition (as Fredric Jameson illustrates in his text on postmodern culture). To complete the theoretical framework, I suggest translating these ideas into a discussion on architecture as three uses of leisure: (1) function, (2) experimentation, and (3) discourse.

In Chapter 3, I describe my methodology. It includes an exploration of how theory serves the purpose of the study – thereby introducing the idea of theorized interpretation – as well as the connotations of words (leisure, architecture, criticism) as concepts and propositions that support my dissertation’s frame. While I distinguish between criticality and reflexivity in architectural practices, I also dwell on why and how I explore texts from the literature of architecture. The model for criticism stems from these texts, which I group according to their approaches to leisure, architecture, and criticism. I explain the trailectic approach that drives the dissertation from beginning to end. This includes a tripartite structure in terms of the scope of the study, and a triad of concepts, criticisms (fields and spheres) and recurring themes. Chapter 3 concludes with a recognition of the dissertation’s limits mainly regarding the elimination of a focus on a certain topic, a certain period or a certain geography.

Chapter 4 explores three fields of leisure criticism: leisure as function, as experiment and as discourse. These three modes are permeable, yet irreducible, and operate together. For every field, I examine three texts as examples from architectural literature that use the concept in a particular way. I take the texts as cases to examine: the way the writings discuss the architectural objects is the main concern, but not these objects themselves. Leisure as function is a category of the everyday that both architects and people outside the profession use to associate buildings with different

purposes. This association becomes a tool of classification. The three example texts are Fred Gray's book *Designing The Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (2006), Christoph Grafe's dissertation "People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-war Cultural Centers" (2010) and Miodrag Mitrasinovic's book *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (2006). After exploring leisure's reception as a function, I move on to texts that take leisure as a field of experimentation. These texts are Liane Lefaivre's article on Aldo Van Eyck's playgrounds titled "Space, Place and Play" (2002), Andreas Rumpfhuber's book *Architecture of Immaterial Labor* (2013), and Bernard Tschumi's fragments published as the article "The Pleasure of Architecture" (1996). Through imagining a different kind of leisure, these texts attempt to challenge the limits of the profession with new forms and new ways of designing. The third field includes leisure's use as discourse. This often happens through the justification of design decisions. The three texts under this rubric are Andrea Phillips' "Pavilion Politics" (2010), Reinhold Martin's article "Money and Meaning" (2009), and Andrzej Piotrowski's "The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses," (2008). Studying the differences of these three fields of how architectural texts contextualize leisure, I distinguish between the criticisms they each offer. Function, experiment and discourse become *diagnosis*, *intention* and *meaning*. The critical approach and critical tools used in these approaches together constitute the model for criticism. I conclude this chapter by comparing and contrasting the three fields of criticism. After elaborating on their approaches, I name the outcome as *spheres of criticism*, which correspond to the triad of *diagnostic*, *reflexive* and *discursive* criticisms.

Chapter 5 illustrates and examines the interconnectedness of each sphere of criticism. In order to do this, I highlight and re-examine three recurring themes within the texts I discuss Chapter 4. These themes – *public space*, *technology* and *spectacle* – reveal the parallels, contrasts, and deviations in each sphere. I recognize that these themes accompany architectural criticism concerned with leisure. Another focus of study may detect other set of recurring themes. Therefore, for the sake of an articulate discussion, I acknowledge the varying connotations and uses of each theme in these texts. The chapter subheadings reflect the themes' varying connotations. Under these subheadings, I first discuss that particular use of the theme in critical theory, then in the critical theory on leisure (that I have discussed in Chapter 2), and finally in the

literature of architecture texts. I conclude the chapter by expanding upon the demystification and the reconceptualization that these recurring themes present in the *spheres of criticism* in architecture through leisure.

Chapter 6 evaluates the study through a number of criteria. The first is architecture's inconsistent relationship with critical theory. The second is through the contributions of the study in the current debates on architectural criticism. Finally, I elaborate on the transformation that leisure is undergoing as well as the implications of this transformation in the scope of architectural practices, especially which prioritizes criticality and critical thinking. To bring the study to a close, I pursue a detailed evaluation of the points I have made through two key ideas that accompany the course of the dissertation – *demystification* and *reconceptualization* – which together serve as tools for discussing and enhancing criticism in architecture.



2. LEISURE, CRITICISM AND ARCHITECTURE

In order to set the theoretical framework of the dissertation, in this chapter I situate where this study belongs in the spectrum of the literature of architectural theory; then point at a group of texts that carry a new quest for criticism. I call this quest *new criticality* and look at the ideas, methods and conceptual tools these texts cover (on a broad level). This dissertation brings these texts together, but also suggests that *leisure* as a concept may serve as a tool that can present a unique criticism. Thus, the first section of this chapter dwells on the word's etymology, the second one looks at how critical theory has used leisure (and ideas around the concept), to be followed by an exploration of *how* leisure has served as a critical tool, all of which add up to a discussion on various architectural implications.

New criticality can be observed in a number of writings on architecture. They are after ways of engaging with critical theory recognizing that socio-economic relations are not esoteric to operations of architecture and that these relations have to be a part of the discussion on practices around the profession. This new criticality stems from confronting the limits of past examples of criticality in architecture. It steps away from what scholars around publications such as *Oppositions*, *Assemblage* or *ANY* called critical (or radical) architecture in the 1970s until the 1990s.¹ Instead, this criticality studies ideas, words and objects of architectural production that belong to different time periods, traces continuities in how architecture operates alongside capitalism. It questions the widely accepted notions of modern and postmodern, while including the socio-economic and political context of practices of architecture, whether this context is mere theory or simply a particular exemplar of a project.

¹ There were many scholars around these publications. Not all of them were advocating “critical architecture.” Some claimed that criticism can target architecture, but an architectural product cannot be named as critical, since the circumstances are likely to change within time.

Two books, *The Missed Encounter of Radical Philosophy with Architecture* and *Architecture Against the Post-political: Essays in Reclaiming the Critical Project*, both edited by Nadir Lahiji in 2014, display the criticality mentioned above. The articles in these books look at architecture's ongoing relationship with critical theory in the context of capitalism. The first one offers articles that look at works of a variety of radical philosophers to examine "the conspicuous absence of the treatment of architecture in [their] writings" (Lahiji, 2014a, 12). In the introduction to the anthology, Lahiji illustrates the way radical philosophers and a group of intellectuals (including architects) inspired by these philosophers have either failed to understand or reflect on architecture's relationship with the structures of power and the state. This paved the way to "misappropriation of the critical philosophy" within architectural discourses (Lahiji, 2014a, 13). This misappropriation, according to Lahiji, may take the shape of creating "complex architectures" that are stripped of their original content. This way, concepts and ideas borrowed from critical philosophy are deprived off from their original potential to challenge present power relations (specifically capitalism).

Architecture Against the Post-political: Essays in Reclaiming the Critical Project (Lahiji, 2014b) on the other hand, brings together articles that advocate the necessity of criticism in architecture that position (and thereby question) architecture's role within existing production relations. Lahiji observes that starting from the 1980s, liberal critic-architects announced the debunking of the *project of critique*, eliminating the *political* in the discipline of architecture. The book brings together articles that explore the idea of *politics* in architecture, and then focuses on the problematic relation between the discipline of architecture and the economic contexts it operates under. The volume openly confronts what Lahiji calls the hegemonic domination of "contemporary postmodern digital capitalism and its image industry" (2014b; 6), and thereby reclaims the idea of *critique* in architecture as a project. This critique corresponds to an opposition to the widely accepted notion of "the end of theory" or "the post-political" in various academic and/or professional spheres of architecture, mostly based in North America.

The book provides a good inspiration for this dissertation in terms of bringing together various perspectives on architecture's engagement with critical theory. It starts with articles that include a perspective of scholars outside of the area of

architecture, which look at architecture and the city space. This provides a theoretical framework for the entire book. The second part explores theories within the field of architecture; discusses how radical politics found their place within the theory of architecture. The articles in the third part combine a more recent perspective on the socio-economic order (Lahiji refers to as post-political) with the new urban context. The theoretical buildup of the book allows the discussion to develop in a loose chronological order. This helps tracing continuities and detecting discontinuities in how theory develops in architecture.

The book sets out a solid theoretical framework in which various radical philosophers' and architects' interpretations of these theories show inconsistencies. Pointing at these inconsistencies, the theoretical framework operates as a *confrontation* with past examples of cases in which architecture and critical theory came together. The important assertion of the book for the context of this dissertation is the way it elaborates on radical theory outside architecture so that it can suggest a criticism that regards the socio-economic order within architecture, looking both at theories and practices of the discipline.

Aureli, Pier Vittorio's *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (2008) is another example to the new criticality emerging in the sphere of theory of architecture, as it brings together the political with the theory of architecture through works of specific architects. It has a different path than the one this dissertation follows, as Aureli focuses specifically on Italy after the 60s. However, the book provides an extensive insight into how the politics of the *Autonomists* inspired another way of theorizing and practicing architecture.

Aureli dwells on the idea of autonomy. He first traces autonomy in terms of how Workerism² (*Operaismo*) employed the concept, later to look at how architects and historians transferred it to architecture to use it as an influence in their practices. This offers a scheme for looking at this architectural environment of Italy, which takes the political context into the center of the discussion. After focusing on Italy, Aureli shifts his focus to the impacts of the Italian architectural climate outside the country. He asserts that Italian theory and practice were partly misunderstood in the Anglo-

² Workerism is a Marxist movement emerged in Italy during the 1960s. This movement inspires many scholars including the architecture historian Manfredo Tafuri. The following pages offer more on the subject.

Saxon world, as the socio-economic context of architecture was relatively ignored once it was imported to North America. Thereby, Aureli makes a distinction between the works of the architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri or the practicing architect Aldo Rossi and how the historian Colin Rowe or the architect Peter Eisenman interpreted the Italians' works.

The book accomplishes two things: (1) it sets out the political context in which architects (such as Aldo Rossi, Archigram and Superstudio and the historian Manfredo Tafuri) were employing their work; (2) it displays how they applied and translated political ideas onto architectural and urban theory; and (3) it discusses the representations as well as the impacts of this architectural environment in the rest of the world. This perspective allows for both the relation between architecture and politics as well as between theory and practice. Aureli's intervention within a specific architectural context offers insight into an understanding of a broader context of architecture. In a similar way, but through studying a specific concept, this dissertation offers a perspective for criticism in architecture on a broader level, an outcome that can be compared to other cases and situations regarding architecture.

Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present (ed. Peggy Deamer, 2013) – which also includes an article by Aureli – is another publication that reflects the new criticality that this dissertation aspires to. The book brings together articles that look at different periods of capitalism and architecture, but somehow display a common approach in terms of bringing together histories of capitalism and architecture. Each article looks at a particular context in terms of place and time, later to reflect the outcome of these interventions into a broader perspective of architecture. Deamer brings together fragments from the history of architecture in chronological order. This allows the reader to trace the changing character of capitalism and its changing relationship to architecture. As Deamer introduces each article, she lays out the context of the capitalist development of that particular era along with the existing theory on capitalism of the day. The book openly indicates that it excludes constructions of the built environment that leaves out architects. That is to say, the book covers examples of architecture that recognize themselves as architecture. This allows a more efficient discussion on architecture (both as practice and as theory) and its relationship to capitalism. The anthology “suggests that capitalism, in different ways, in different cultures, and in different historical periods shapes those

cultural desires and, indeed, makes those desires *so* desirable that they often seem to fill natural needs” (2013: 1).

This dissertation shares a similar goal and a similar approach: here I suggest that a criticism that considers the socio-economic context of architecture is possible and *necessary*; and in order to formulate such a criticism, concentrating on examples of architecture with theoretical reflections is efficient, which results in partly excluding the built environment that leaves out architects. Even though, following Aureli and Deamer, I base my discussion on architecture and capitalism, my specific intervention is on the concept of leisure. I first look at theories on leisure outside architecture, so that I can develop the foundations of a criticism through leisure in architecture.

Nichole Marie Shippen’s *Decolonizing Time: Work, Leisure, and Freedom* (2014) is one of the main references for the theoretical background of this dissertation. The book does not include a spatial theory or any direct references to architecture. However, its point of departure is similar to this dissertation. The book explores theories on the organization of time (ranging from Marxism to Feminism), and work and leisure in order to suggest a cumulative approach that stems from these theories. Taking the idea of time (and therefore work/leisure), Shippen looks for ways to offer a more qualitative understanding of how time is colonized under existing economic conditions. According to her understanding, this would illustrate how the capitalist system hinders “the ability to think critically about the political-economic factors,” within work-leisure organization regarding all of society (2014: 13).

Shippen starts with examining Aristotle’s idea of a quest for ideal leisure time, which she refers to as “temporal autonomy,” (Shippen, 2014: 18) then talks about Marx’s introduction of the politics of time and his questioning of the exploitation of labor determined by profit making motives of capital through commodification. She follows this with a discussion of Georg Lukács’s work, where leisure is a social construct, part of a reification of time. Moving from these theories, Shippen includes discussions of Adorno and Horkheimer, and the culture industry, recognizing that leisure is mainly in the sphere of culture. She ends the book with André Gorz’s discussion around the politics of fighting for time in today’s world, where production and consumption relations in a neoliberal economic order constitute a dual economy.

The sphere of work is extending beyond itself, calling for the need to bring together and strengthen theories of Marxism and Feminism.

Shippen's book displays the framework in which the concept of leisure operates as a tool for criticism across a wide theoretical spectrum. She brings different theories together, traces their relations while considering their limitations in search of a politics of time in the context of a neoliberal socio-economic world order. My dissertation follows a similar approach in terms of taking the concept of leisure as its center. However, here the aim is to critically examine different modes of criticism vis-à-vis theories of leisure in order to generate knowledge in the field of architecture.

Two articles published less than a decade ago, one by Andrzej Piotrowski called "the Spectacle of Architectural Discourses" (2008) and the other by Reinhold Martin, "Money and Meaning: The Case of John Portman" (2009) display a new interest in criticality in the field of architecture. Both engage with specific examples of architecture, their physical existence as well as their representations. Both articles reflect on contradictions that stem from the discipline of architecture aligning with power, offering supporting narratives that eliminate questioning those power operations. Even though the two articles focus on different time periods, at different architects and at different pieces of architecture, both use concepts from critical theory as tools to enhance their criticism. Using these critical tools, they carry their arguments from the physicality of the buildings to the design decisions the architects make. Moreover, they do so by taking into account the socio-economic context of each example they explore. In these articles, the context of the architectural project (or product) is as important as the design itself.³ Therefore the criticism is more than a simple commentary on the final architectural product. They trace continuities in the production of architecture, putting the *modern* vs. *postmodern* distinction under question. The criticism on particular examples of architecture is already based on a historical perspective⁴, and is thus reflected back into the history of architecture.

Hal Foster's book *The Art-Architecture Complex* (2013) offers another parallel with the approach of this dissertation. Foster uses a particular concept to explore another

³ The distinction between the design and its context is one of the defining parameters of criticism that the dissertation argues for. I address this issue in the next chapter.

⁴ I focus on criticism and definition of criticism in the following sections.

one; in his case, art is used to explore architecture and vice versa. By drawing on two ways of engagement between the two that he refers to as encounter and connection, he compares surfaces that the objects of architecture or installations in art spaces present. Foster looks at architecture through art (as references, inspirations or even adaptations) and presents clues in terms of a theoretical exploration using one topic (in this case art) to understand a field, (in this case architecture). Foster's method of using art to expand critiques of architecture is relevant to this dissertation in that I also use critical theory (on leisure) in order to theorize a criticism on architecture. However, Foster's idea of *critique* is rather different than the one this dissertation adapts. He calls his work a book of cultural criticism somewhere between commentary and theorizing (Foster, 2013). Foster clearly holds his criticism separate from what has been called as *post-critical* (referring to the practice of architects such as Peter Eisenman) in architectural spheres. Foster's point of departure is a "general dissatisfaction with critique" and his criticism stems from a "discontent with the status quo and a desire for alternatives" (2013: 13). Finally, he situates his criticism of art and architecture in the context of world events, such as the 9/11 attacks. In that sense the book shows parallels with Martin's article in which he refers to the Vietnam War and to the Pakistani military dictator directly commissioning the architect Louis Kahn in Dhaka. These references to world events provide the opportunity to see architecture (or art) in a broader context – beyond the discipline's borders – allowing for tracing continuities in the production of meaning in architecture, while at the same time validating the criticism that these writings employ.

Foster discusses architecture through various spheres. He renders various architectural projects through his idea of surface as meaning. The surface, however, contains *visuals* as *imagery* as well as physical structures' transparencies. The idea of meaning – or the criticism Foster delivers – travels between the image in architecture as well as the physicality of the architectural product. This is yet another way he connects architecture with art, since architects are objectifying many of the architectural products with ideas taken from modernist (and minimalist) art. Foster discusses museums such as MoMA not through the pieces of art they exhibit, but by their "fetishization of substance and structure," (Foster, 2013: 189). The modernist and minimalist inspirations of MoMA as a building, he points out, initially were

meant to demystify the relation between the subject and the object. Foster explains this contradictory assertion through architecture's relation to financial markets. Image and experience is of great importance to this architecture. However, Foster concludes that "In the world of these architects [such as Herzog and de Meuron], then, perception is reduced to the visual and phenomenology is shot through with pictures" (2013: 193). In short, Foster uses art history to explore the production of surface as meaning in various examples of architecture. He does not dwell on a single piece of architecture. Instead, within a chapter, he moves from one project to another, sometimes from an architect to another as long as they enhance the concepts that Foster explores. Foster's book follows a conceptual development where examples of architecture find their place accordingly. This dissertation follows a similar path. The conceptual development (or the alignment) is the primary concern. Architectural projects remain secondary; their purpose is to enhance the discussion of the concepts and ideas.

The texts from the literature of architecture discussed above do not take *leisure* as a major concept around which to articulate their discussions. Martin and Piotrowski only refer to leisure indirectly. However, studies in architecture that take the concept of leisure as the center of their argument often concentrate on the welfare state years of Europe, referred to as *the post-war era*. Edited volumes such as *Architecture and the Welfare State* (edited by Avermaete & others, 2015), dissertations such as *People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-war Cultural Centers* (Grafe, 2010), as well as the conference titled "Architecture for Leisure in Post-war Europe" are examples that point to the interest in leisure in European architecture during the welfare state years. These studies provide extensive information on the way architecture engages with leisure, during a particular period of time, whereas this study dwells on literature that recognizes the changing patterns in leisure in a broader time span. The focus here is not defined by time and place, but rather by topic.

The study explores whether the concept of leisure may serve as a critical tool that can provide knowledge in the architectural field in relation to the socio-economic context in which it operates. Therefore, before turning to architecture and how architecture contextualizes leisure, it is first necessary to discuss the idea of criticism through the concept of leisure. The aim here is not to offer a summary of the literature on *leisure*,

but to bring together texts that interpret the concept in search of a critical position, and thereby provide a basis for the theoretical framework of this dissertation. In the context of this study, the criticality theorized refers to power relations, and economic and social relations, including their reproduction. Such a critical position aims at discussing the boundaries of architectural theory as well as the profession of architecture itself, and the concept of *leisure*.

Even though leisure is an ambiguous concept with multiple meanings, this is not necessarily a disadvantage in terms of launching the research. On the contrary, the concept provides an extensive field to explore various contradictions in the relationship of architecture to leisure, which hitherto has been underexplored. The etymology of the word clarifies its connotation for this particular study, and determines the direction of the research, as I will discuss in the next section. This will be followed by a discussion on theories on leisure in critical theory. These critical approaches to leisure are necessary in order to verify how the concept can be employed as a tool of criticism in a broad sense. Various examples of theories on leisure that introduce specific buildings (or examples of architecture) to their discussion enrich the general level of criticism. Thereby, a group of subsidiary concepts and how these concepts are employed to further the discussion will be clear. These subsidiary concepts constitute the terminology of criticism via leisure. Finally, I look at criticism in architecture through critical theory on leisure. In this section, I bring together the approaches to leisure in critical theory with criticality in theory of architecture. Subsidiary concepts help detect and discuss criticality in a text on architecture, while the architectural references in critical theory illustrate how leisure and architecture relate to each other.

2.1 Leisure, Critical Theory and Criticism

2.1.1 The concept of leisure

Leisure is defined as “freedom provided by cessation of activities; especially time free from work or duties” (Url-8). In leisure time one is free to do whatever one wants to do. It is often mentioned along with ideas such as freedom, pleasure, play, fun, entertainment, or recreation. It is generally referred to either as an activity, as a division of time to be engaged with activities outside work and without responsibilities, or as an attribute of space where these activities are to take place.

The meaning of *leisure* is slightly different than that of free time. In the context of this study leisure corresponds to *what is to fill and what has been built around the idea of free time*. Leisure time corresponds to *assessable free time*.

The word *leisure* first appeared in the fourteenth century, and comes from the Anglo-French *leisir* via the Latin *licēre* (Url-8), which means “to be permitted.” Something permitted affirms an authority other than the subject. It suggests freedom, but a rather limited one. This freedom is one that is surrounded by obligations, rules and borders. Yet, the emphasis is usually not on these limits, even though they define leisure and its means. This study explores these limits that define leisure in order to discuss how architectural production contextualizes leisure (and to acquire a critical position from which the theory of architecture will be explored). Leisure is discussed in terms of the organization of time, of activities, or of spaces, and thereby of the everyday.

While the Latin root of the word *leisure* connotes limits and borders, the Greek word for *leisure*, as Hannah Arendt points out in *Between Past and Future* (1961), has an entirely different meaning. *Scholia* is “absentation from [something],” time that can be spent for other kinds of activities outside work, in which the activity of learning can also happen (Arendt, Url-2). Thus, the Greek for leisure is closely related to *education* and *culture*. Arendt renders “leisure time” as “time to be devoted to ‘culture’”⁵ in which the masses are “free from physically exhausting labor” (Arendt, 2006:195).

On the other hand, Johan Huizinga in his famous book *Homo Ludens* (1938) uses *scholia* and leisure with a different purpose. Huizinga explores *play* phenomena to display how “[civilization] arises and unfolds in and as play, and never leaves it”

⁵ Arendt uses leisure not to question the concept itself, but instead to arrive at an understanding of how culture is regarded and how it operates. She lays out the transformation of leisure and culture that turned into mass entertainment. Yet she is not critical of mass society and its entertainment. Rather, she is critical of what she calls “philistinism” which means consumption of culture by those who try to gain status through their knowledge of culture. Recognizing that culture and debates around it are rather complex, this dissertation does not engage with the major argument that Arendt carries out. Rather, what is important here is Arendt’s way of defining leisure time in relation to culture and mass entertainment.

(1980: 173). He remarks that the Greek root of the word “school” originally meant *leisure*. However, over time *school* gained a meaning that is the opposite of *leisure*, corresponding to systematic work and training. Huizinga uses the word *leisure* as something other than free time, introducing the element of play in terms of a cultural process including an education of the mind, not as a systematic learning activity, but as an activity with a *creative* quality in the domain of culture. As will be illustrated in the following chapters, many examples of architectural practice – especially those belonging to the post-war era of the 1950s and 60s – tend to lean on this particular meaning of the word, where *leisure* is seen as a potential sphere for education and sometimes even with a creative quality. These examples adapt *leisure* as a *productive* or a *cultural* set of activities that are unconditionally desired as something by-and-for all people to achieve. According to this view *leisure* is a societal need to be fulfilled. There was an emphasis during this time on the idea of being an *individual* and the realization of this individual through learning and education. On the other hand, some argued that the experience of *work* determined active and creative human traits, not necessarily *leisure* (Rojek, 1999).

The idea of *leisure* “as a good in itself” goes back to Aristotle. Yet in time, arguably it is “replaced by an instrumental understanding of *leisure* in relation to work” (Shippen, 2011: 9). It may have even existed for as long as the duality between necessity and freedom. Different places and different times have different ideas and practices of *leisure*. Over time it has constantly changed and transformed in terms of meaning as well as practice, which makes *leisure* very hard to discuss in terms of historical progress. Yet, work and *leisure* have developed together, constantly defining each other. And *leisure* often has been defined as the contrast to work (Hunnicutt, 2006). However, the division of work and *leisure* is problematic. According to Dean MacCannell “*leisure* is constructed from cultural experiences” (1999: 34) and *leisure* may correspond not only to games, play, and amusement, but also to vacations and religious observances. This view asserts that the concept of *leisure* corresponds to another set of necessities in contrast to *leisure*’s widely accepted meaning. Moreover, other scholars render *leisure* as something that can be engineered through a total design of peoples’ experiences (Mitrasinovic, 2006). All of this is to say that the simple definition of *leisure* that corresponds to time outside

work is problematic, and paradoxically, these accounts on leisure bring it closer to the idea of work itself.

Beginning with Marx and Engels and followed by many others, critiques of capitalism including discussions of leisure have been rather indirect and broad in terms of scope. Discussions on leisure often originate from discussions on work, labor, and existing relations of production. However, critical theory includes in its discussion of leisure culture, entertainment, fun, recreation, education and everyday life.

2.1.2 Leisure in critical theory

I explore the critical theory on leisure in order to bring together different interpretations of the concept and to study how the concept may serve as a critical tool. Along with different uses of the concept, references to architecture (or to the built environment) among literature of critical theory on leisure give clues on how criticism(s) through leisure can be applied to the theory of architecture.

The critical theory this study recognizes includes but is not limited to the Frankfurt School. Critical theory can belong to any academic discipline as long as it embraces a self-reflexive and an emancipatory approach (Jannière, 2010; Borden & Rendell, 2000). According to this broader definition of critical theory, the aim is to *demystify* existing social relations (or structures) that may appear natural, and which reproduce and transform society, economy, culture and consciousness (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Mayo, 1985). The critical theory texts that I cite here include nineteenth century theorists such as Karl Marx and Thorstein Veblen, to later thinkers such as Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord, and Theodor Adorno (and others from the Frankfurt School). The work of Dean MacCannell, David Harvey and Fredric Jameson, Chris Rojek and Maurizio Lazzarato often refer to the thinkers listed above, and will play a constitutive role. However, references to the built environment (and of architecture) in the texts of Hannah Arendt, Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin, and Fredric Jameson will provide inspiration for discussing writings on architecture in Chapters 4 and 5. In short, the literature I explore vary from early Marxist to later interpretations, as well as from the politically oriented to the merely cultural. What they all have in common is that they employ criticism through the concept of leisure.

I start with discussing earlier texts that take leisure as a resource and move onto more recent ones that vary the implications of the concept.

When time is recognized as a kind of resource, its distribution (allocation) becomes a political discussion in terms of fight for time. Marx's discussions of leisure in capitalist society include issues such as (lack of) access to leisure. Access to leisure plays a key role in workers' lives, because this is how they realize their creative and productive potentials (Eker, 1991). The less leisure time the workers have, the harder it is for them to stand up against the exploitative system based on a class structure. This means that leisure is not only a resource for everyday needs, but leisure controlled by other classes is also a way to sustain or even reproduce existing socio-economic relations. Thereby, leisure's allocation is not only about workers' lives, but concerns all people, regulating the relations of all things.

One of the earliest books dealing exclusively with the concept of leisure was written a few decades after Marx's socio-economic critique of production and its relations. Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* ([1899] 2009), introduces the idea of *leisure class* along with *conspicuous consumption*. The book emphasizes the unequal distribution of access to leisure and the correlation between leisure and the type of employment people pursue. From a classical modern perspective, Veblen illustrates how the representation of leisure operates as a way of conveying status in late nineteenth century society (Rojek & others, 2006). In order to do this, Veblen studies the type of employment and the type of labor they require. He explores modern and pre-modern societies with details from the everyday. He looks at the domestic order of households and even differentiates between genders in terms of the distribution of labor and its corresponding access to leisure. The relation between *surplus of material goods* and allocation of this *surplus* is still a relevant issue in contemporary discussions on leisure (Veal 2006). This arguably constitutes a crucial part in the basis of criticism of the idea of leisure, leisure time, leisure activities or even spaces of leisure.

Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* ([1976]; 1999) moves from Veblen's theory of leisure class to the individual as a tourist. According to MacCannell, unlike nineteenth century North America (that Veblen had observed), modern (1970s) leisure is not just being distributed to the upper classes. Modern leisure is directed to the middle class (to the masses) and the work-leisure

relationship has gone through a major change. Work becomes a topic of display for the tourist (in museums or in simply in city tours). Leisure is just another thing that reestablishes the idea of work. Modernity⁶ is transforming labor into cultural productions; tourists and sightseers are now exposed to representations of their own work from which they are alienated, instead, they are confronted in their leisure time with a representation of other peoples' work presented as universal. This corresponds to what he calls *exploited leisure*. Exploited leisure, as MacCannell asserts, can extend beyond the city context to historical sites, sights in nature, or to local festivals. This continuously generates capital, further strengthening exploited leisure.

While MacCannell elaborates on leisure through tourism and touristic sites, other scholars regard leisure as an essential part of the everyday. In the second half of the twentieth century Henri Lefebvre's idea of *everyday life* achieved by leisure activities (Lefebvre, 2008: 29) became an axis of criticality in social theory. Lefebvre's texts employ Marxist terminology, including *alienation* and *fetishization* accompanied by a criticism of work, labor and the relations of production. He asserts that there are different kinds of leisure activity: leisure that involves passive attitudes (such as watching TV) in which the alienating quality of leisure is more apparent, and leisure with active attitudes, which he calls cultivated or cultural leisure.

According to Lefebvre, leisure can be just as alienating as work. Furthermore, work and leisure are inseparable from one another. This is why a critique of everyday life should be based on a *work-leisure unity*. Under modernity, the separation of work and leisure causes a historical dissociation of/in the city space. As functions are separated spatially, disparities have to be reorganized; spaces of leisure are reassembled to meet a *use value* and are shaped through *exchange value*. These spaces are full of signs and advertisements where architectural discourses also align with this kind of language. As a result, leisure spaces become what Lefebvre refers to as parodies or caricatures of festivals or of enjoyment.

Lefebvre's account of leisure diverges from other scholars' work on one fundamental point. According to him, leisure spaces are not only under control of the dominant classes (and capital). These spaces also allow an appropriation through *use* in the

⁶ In his book, MacCannell uses *modernity* interchangeably with *capitalism*. This shows that he considers the cultural and economic spheres together, implying a total system which regulates relations between people and things.

everyday life of the inhabitants (Lefebvre, 2014). Spaces of leisure are “the very epitome of contradictory space” as they bridge “the gap between traditional spaces with their monumentality and their localizations based on work and its demands, and potential spaces of enjoyment and joy” (Lefebvre, 1996: 383). Appropriation of space in Lefebvre’s work involves a systematic modification of a given model through individualization (as “the socialization of individual space and the simultaneous individualization of social space” (Stanek, 2008: 121)) through which the idea of the *making of space* is turned into an *oeuvre*. Appropriation is not only about producing things or goods, but also about producing “history and situations” (Lefebvre, 2002: 95).

Lefebvre’s Marxist interpretation of *alienation* and the fragmentation of production are not limited to the separation of work and leisure. His criticism expands to challenge the scope of established disciplines such as sociology and philosophy, as well as urban planning and architecture. He criticizes these disciplines’ isolation from rest of the processes of the production of space and thereby their inability to act against the lead of investments and of profit. However, he recognized that architecture as an imaginary discipline is different than urbanism, which he considers to have a order distant from its subject. According to Lefebvre (2014), architecture is closer to the practices of habitation (and thereby the idea of use), while urbanism operates through a different mode of imagination. The idea of appropriation of (leisure) spaces and imaginative potentials within production of space served as an inspiration for other radical (or critical) theorists such as the Situationists, particularly visible in Guy Debord’s writings.

Starting from the 1950s and into the 70s, the criticism of everyday life constituted a major part of the Situationists’ argument. Moving from points of criticism similar to Lefebvre’s, Situationists question alienation, the compartmentalization of production and the organization of people’s time. They strongly object to the idea of work imposed on people, which constantly reproduces existing socio-economic conditions. They imagine and call for another everyday outside the existing work-leisure organization. They introduce the *theory of the spectacle*, in which the criticism contains the idea of image among production and consumption relations of all kinds,

using concepts such as *reification* or *objectification* and *thingification*⁷ (Gotham&Krier, 2008). Guy Debord's (and partly other members of the Situationists group) thesis on the society of the spectacle renders leisure as a part of the spectacle. According to him, propaganda and advertising are forms of a dominant spectacle which takes the idea of work as wasted time, only there to buy time for "rest, consumption and entertainments – a daily passivity manufactured and controlled by capitalism" (Debord, 1962). The spectacle is a tool that pacifies, depoliticizes, distracts and seduces people using the mechanisms of leisure. The Situationists take leisure as a part of the spectacle, through objecting to existing socio-economic relations. They hint at other ways of engaging with the idea of leisure and thereby suggest stepping outside these dominant relations.

Around the same time, Frankfurt School theorists were focusing on "mass culture" and leisure as a part of the culture industry. According to this view, the culture industry is directed to millions (or to masses) to determine the nature of the consumption of goods that are manufactured "more or less according to plan" and "the culture industry intentionally integrates its consumers from above", as Adorno claims (Adorno, 1975: 12). In the context of mass entertainment under capitalism, cultural commodities are governed by the industry according to their value (of exchange) and to the profit motive of the industry (1975: 13). Frankfurt School criticism stems from this role of the culture industry, which hides class contradictions, legitimizes existing social inequalities, and convinces "individuals into accepting the current organization of society" (Gotham&Krier, 2008: 164).

The idea that the culture industry takes away individuals' freedom is important on two levels. Firstly, it determines the limits of free time (in terms of content and amount/or quality and quantity). Secondly, it takes away individuals' motivation to be able to question, and therefore attempt to change, the existing organization of society. Adorno's essay "Free Time" ([1969], 1991) focuses on this problem of leisure under the totality of societal conditions; as business (or work) "functionalizes, extends, and reproduces" people's need for freedom, it integrates leisure time "successfully" as business is "imposed upon them once again" (Adorno, 1991: 170).

⁷ I explore this terminology further under the title "Criticism via Leisure" in the coming pages.

The criticism Frankfurt School theorists such as Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse and others contribute to the analysis of modern capitalist society (of the post-war era) is later elaborated by scholars such as David Harvey and Fredric Jameson (Gotham&Krier, 2008). They carry these ideas beyond the 50s and the 60s, referring to the postwar consumer capitalism as the “postmodern condition”. The common ground for these critiques is their reliance on consumption. According to this approach, leisure is a part of the consumption processes that dominate consumer society. The individual is reduced to a consumer of commodities, and thereby harmed by this act of consumption. According to some theorists, this view is not adequate since the form of commodities and how they circulate in the world have been changing, relying more on communication and exchange of information (Lazzarato, 1996). This makes the separation of work and leisure even more problematic.

Tony Bennett’s article “The Exhibitionary Complex” (1988) takes leisure beyond a consumerist culture; it explores the way leisure serves as a context for *control* of the society (by the state) through the example of the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition that took place in England in the middle of the nineteenth century. With the new forms of spectacle, the operation of control extends beyond surveillance and discipline; it gains a voluntary and self-regulating nature on the side of the people visiting the exhibition. The word *complex* in the title simultaneously points at two things: the complex organization of the exhibition of Crystal Palace in terms of its new cultural technologies, and the way the exhibition creates a spectacle through what it exhibits. According to Bennett, the exhibitionary complex contains the principles of *panopticon*, as it operates through seeing and being seen. But in this case the crowd is watching over itself, making itself its own spectacle. As the panopticon operates in the sphere of leisure (that is culture ad exhibition), the exhibition with its objects, its architecture and their representations, the control takes on another level. The exhibition of exotic objects determines the way people view the world and themselves. The idea of control becomes a tool for the state to exert its power over the people. Bennett calls this a “soft approach” produced “by entertainment rather than by disciplined schooling; and by subtlety and

encouragement”⁸ (Bennett, 1988; 99). The primary theoretical reference of the article is Michel Foucault’s ideas around power and knowledge, while in order to develop his argument on spectacle, Bennett also includes references from Roland Barthes and the architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri. Although he does not openly claim to do so, Bennett’s article illustrates that a criticism can be generated through taking leisure and ideas around it at the center so that different theories can be brought together to present a perspective through the concept.

Other scholars elaborate on leisure through changing modes of labor, discussing transformations in production and consumption relations. The recognition of leisure as a concept in transformation allows for a criticism of culture and cultural production, which not only evaluate on past and present conditions, but also project possible futures. For instance, Italian sociologist/philosopher Maurizio Lazzarato (1996), in his article “Immaterial Labor” asserts that the work-leisure dichotomy is disappearing. Work is now based on *immaterial labor*, which he defines as “the labor that produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity” (Lazzarato, 1996: 133). Many activities traditionally not recognized as work now include labor, which makes it more difficult to distinguish work time from leisure time, and which also lays the necessary ground for further exploitation of labor. The immaterial labor contains people’s subjectivities, and it can be paid or unpaid. This may include labor embedded in social media as well as people working outside their office hours through mobile devices. Workers (or people selling their labor) are becoming “active subjects,” as capitalism, states Lazzarato, finds ways to include workers’ personalities and subjectivities in the processes of the production of value. Moving from Lazzarato’s statement, it is worth noting that while leisure and work become more indistinguishable in terms of the labor they contain, capitalism uses leisure (as time or as activities) to exert power through encapsulating peoples’ subjectivities.

The theory of immaterial labor receives leisure not as a tool for classifying time, rather, it recognizes that labor exists beyond factory walls. Therefore, production processes are not as visible as they would be in a factory. Moreover, as immaterial labor relies on networks and flows, its cycle of production only exists for the amount of time an individual capitalist requires for that one job; once it is completed, this

⁸ Bennett refers to Nicholas Pearson’s work on state intervention in the visual arts in Britain (1982).

cycle melts back into the network it is a part of (Lazzarato, 1996). It is thus more difficult to discuss relations of production and consumption relations as they are becoming relatively mobile and more flexible, making them more complex than ever. The consumer not only consumes commodities, but she also consumes information. The act of consuming becomes some kind of communication, and this is yet another sphere of production. Consumption “enlarges, transforms and creates the ‘ideological’ and cultural environment of the consumer” (Lazzarato, 1996: 137), so leisure as the context of consumption is both a communication and a part of “subjective processes” that constantly reproduce existing relationships. Recent studies show how happiness and well-being have become industries that direct and control individuals’ lives socially and economically in a systematic way (Davies, 2015).

A majority of the critical theory texts I have mentioned so far date back to the mid-twentieth century, also referred to as the *post-war* period. During this period, countries in Europe and North America as well as Australia witnessed policies of the welfare state in which culture and education were extensively funded by the state and leisure was a prominent idea. Both *consumer society*, and *leisure society* were terms coined in this era. From the late industrial period on, as the production processes became increasingly advanced, there was a general assumption or expectation that working hours would be reduced to allow more time for leisure activities. This was especially true in North America and Europe, where industrial advances were even more apparent. With the trend towards reduced working hours, the idea of “leisure society” or “age of leisure” were prominent in social theory as well as in spheres of production of the knowledge in architecture. Even though the idea of “leisure society” and its appearances in literature is not coherent, and even full of inaccuracies with disconnected strands of thought, many scholars, thinkers, architects and politicians often referred to it (Url-5).

The thesis of *leisure society* would assume that developments in technology (including cybernetics) would lead to automation in working conditions. It has its origins in the end of the nineteenth century, and later reemerges in the 1920s and 1930s (Rojek, 2010). Around the 1930s George Friedmann (1964) employed research on working conditions only to find out that there was no correlation between automation of work and the reduction of working hours. Nevertheless, “leisure

society” was still a prominent theme in postwar Europe and North America, which subsequently led to leisure being regarded as an area of study in its own right (Rojek, 2010).

According to Chris Rojek (1999), this new area called *Leisure Studies* basically accepts the concept *leisure* as a social construct and regards leisure activities as socially conditioned. Consequently, leisure can be positioned within existing power relations, whether it is class, gender, race, age, or state, corporations and even mass communication, all of which “operate to distribute leisure resources and regulate access” to them (Rojek, 1999: 8). Leisure Studies, in other words, explore “issues relating to the distribution of surplus” (Rojek & others, 2006). That is to say, Leisure Studies openly engage with critical theory, with roots in Marxism and feminism, borrowing methodologies, approaches or concepts from various strands of thought from various disciplines such as sociology, geography and anthropology. Much of the work in this field regards conceptions of “space” in order to formulate its arguments and research topics. It is therefore of great importance to this dissertation, which aims to examine texts of literature of architecture with a critical approach.

David Crouch addresses geography through research and critical debates on leisure, the way the concept is received, promoted, communicated as well as experienced. In the article “Geographies of Leisure,” Crouch (2006) sets an example to how Leisure Studies approach production of space. According to him, leisure contains issues of power and allocation, processes of commodification, some of which are in conflict. Crouch asserts that shaping the concept of leisure requires a recognition of the complexity beyond its production and provision, or beyond voluntarism vs. mere consumption. Leisure happens in spaces, and leisure’s distribution relates to geography in terms of economic, social, environmental and cultural components, also involving mobility apart from activities being distributed.

Existing references to space as a part of Leisure Studies mostly adopt a geography-based approach (such as the one by Crouch, above). These conceptions of space that stem from Leisure Studies remain slightly outside of the theory of architecture on two levels: firstly, because they are not directly included in the theory of architecture; and secondly, because they do not directly include a theory of architecture. However, Leisure Studies offers an extensive overview on the methodology and different approaches regarding *leisure*. Similarly, *Leisure Studies*

can offer an overview on most scholars/thinkers (such as Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, Jean Baudrillard and many others) outside of the field of architecture who refer to architecture regarding the idea of leisure. I will dwell on these texts in order to find out how they introduce architecture (or simply a building) into their discussions on leisure.

In her book *Between Past and Future*, Arendt detects a crisis in culture: mass society demands mass entertainment. This crisis is about the changing nature of culture and in order to articulate her discussion, she refers to cathedrals. According to Arendt, “their beauty transcended all needs and made them last through the centuries” (Arendt, 2006: 205). This implies that culture (and therefore art work) is beyond being *functional*. She asserts that a cathedral is more than a place for prayers, since culture cannot be explained by peoples’ needs. Furthermore, the very act of treating a cultural object as functional (as something to fulfill a particular need) is what makes culture disappear (Arendt, 2006: 205). On the other hand, she adds, while the materiality of culture displays function and culture as two opposing ideas, the fact that these cathedrals are material and that they possess a particular form allows them to transform the world. This contrasts with what the consumers’ society⁹ presents, where leisure time corresponds to consumption and entertainment and not to self-perfection or education (Arendt, 2006: 207).

Arendt uses the example of cathedrals as architectural objects that help her display the changing (and contradictory) relationship between the ideas of function and culture. Her brief mentioning of these buildings does not intend to start a discussion on how leisure and architecture exist together. However, this reference to architecture (or in this case a particular kind of building) helps her display this inconsistent relationship between function and leisure (or culture on a more general level).

Roland Barthes employs a similar approach in his short piece on the Eiffel Tower. Barthes asserts that the *uselessness* of the tower turns it into a “total monument,” to something that could live on itself. According to him, “to fulfill its great oneiric function [...] the Tower must escape reason” (Barthes, 1997: 5). However, even though the tower receives criticism for its uselessness, Gustave Eiffel acknowledged

⁹ Arendt uses the phrases “consumers’ society” or “mass society” with great suspicion.

his project as rational and as *useful*, but for other reasons. Barthes calls this a “double movement”, one that displays how architecture is “always dream and function, expression of a utopia and instrument of a convenience” (Barthes, 1997: 6). As an object, a symbol and a *glance*¹⁰, the Tower became something much more than itself. With a restaurant placed on top of it, Barthes asserts that the Tower is a *comfortable* object; that it is about a combination of *pleasures*, which in his words corresponds to “a whole meaning of leisure” (Barthes, 1997: 16). The purposelessness of the Tower provides the context for the leisurely functions, thereby strengthening the way the Tower becomes something more than itself.

Function and usefulness/uselessness are permeable concepts. In their book *Dialectic Of Enlightenment* (1944), Adorno and Horkheimer refer to this as “the purpose of purposelessness” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1989: 158). In their view, the culture industry – in other words, the market – has attributed some *purpose* to its cultural products, which in the “idealistic aesthetics” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1989: 158) are meant to be purposeless. That is to say, art that is meant to be something without a purpose had gained a new purpose that the market forces attributed to it. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the *exchange value* of cultural commodities has taken the place of *use value*, and “the consumer becomes the ideology of the pleasure industry, whose institutions he [one] cannot escape” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1989: 158). They assert that there exists a need for *escape* from work (or necessities) through leisure time, however the culture industry or the commodification of culture offers a rather deceptive leisure.

Walter Benjamin also regards leisure as an individual’s *escape* from worldly necessities. However, he parts ways with Adorno and Horkheimer as he does not associate leisure and commodification with the idea of the pacification of people, but instead regards them as concepts which may have effects that can both be controlling and liberating. Therefore, from his point of view, it appears that “the expressions of leisure and popular culture have an existence which transcends the economic base” (Rojek, 1997: 156). In fact, Benjamin’s writings adopt many architectural themes regarding leisure, arguably to extend beyond what a criticism of the economic base has to offer.

¹⁰ Barthes calls the tower as a glance, to emphasize that it is something to observe and something to be observed the rest of the city from.

In his unfinished work *The Arcades Project* (1927-?), Benjamin uses the arcade as an architectural form and turns it into a metaphor (both for the literary form he adapts and on the urban context he explores). Arcades are urban structures that connect “where private and public, the interior and exterior, crossbreed and fertilize one another” (Zaborowska, 2010: 59). Thereby, the leisure experience of the arcades is provided by *phantasmagoria* of commodities, panoramas and dioramas, which altogether stimulate the senses of people. As Susan Buck-Morss (1992) asserts, the arcades that Benjamin extensively dwells on are *precursors* to many structures that came into form later in the twentieth century such as theme parks and shopping malls, as well as the idea of touristic sites where an individual’s experience is entirely predetermined. The way Walter Benjamin refers to the arcades suggests that a built environment associated with leisure can be a laboratory for experiences, offering people an escape.

The idea of stimulating people’s senses and using leisure as a laboratory for experiences inspired artists such as Constant Nieuwenhuys, a member of the Situationist International. His project the *New Babylon* (1959-1974), which consisted of series of work of different kind of media such as architectural diagrams, models or collages that he developed through out many years imagines another world and another leisure. In this world, everybody is in leisure and it is derived by ever-changing situations that people experience. Using Huizinga’s book *Homo Ludens* as a point of origin, Constant opposes the present societal order that he refers to as “utilitarian,” prevalent in both the capitalist and the socialist state. According to him, a utilitarian society exploits peoples’ capacity to work. Instead, he calls for the opposite of utilitarianism, which he names *ludic*, where people are freed from productive work through the automation that technology would eventually offer and therefore can engage in creative activities, transferring their energies into experiencing and modifying what Constant refers to as “community life [that] takes shape within the dynamic of permanently changing situations” (Cosntant, 1974: 10). The small spaces Constant explores through his models and collages of New Babylon, unlike the towns that present utilitarian society offers, make up networked cities that consist of sectors as small elements. It is possible to bring together these spaces in order to create new entrances, blocking others, inserting stairs and ladders, all of which allow movement that the inhabitants of the ludic society desired, in a

world where there is no order, no possessions and no engagements imposed on people.

In both Benjamin's and Constant's use of architecture, leisure functions as a sphere of experimentation. However, leisure can also serve as a key idea for enhancing criticism. When Fredric Jameson discusses John Portman's architecture, he uses such a method.

Jameson uses Portman's buildings to display how late capitalism – or in his words postmodernity – constitutes a “cultural logic” which can be traced in what he calls *hyperspaces*. He discusses these new spaces of postmodernism through what they contain: movement (people), circulation, entrances, escalators/elevators, light/reflection and glass, greenhouse roof with towers, balconies etc., all of which make up a space that is not “exceptional or seemingly marginalized and leisure-specialized in the order of Disneyland,” but one that it is a “complacent and entertaining leisure-time space” (Jameson, 2008: 44). The changing mode of leisure evident in the physical object of architecture serves for Jameson as an example that illustrates the ongoing transformation in the domain of culture. His use of architecture consists of the specific projects of a particular architect for the sake of demonstrating a generic phenomenon that he calls (late) capitalism. Jameson's reference to leisure is one of many ways of how leisure can be associated with leisure.

Leisure in critical theory has a broad range of connotations. It can correspond to a resource to be distributed among classes where people can realize their creative potentials (Marx), a representation of the social status and conspicuous consumption (Veblen), surplus time and surplus of goods (Marx and Veblen), a modern phenomenon that represents ideology through representation (MacCannell), activities that realize the everyday (Lefebvre), something that defines a certain kind of space (Lefebvre), something that makes a spectacle (Guy Debord), a part of the culture industry (Adorno), a part of consumer culture (Frankfurt School), a tool of control (Bennett), time and activities through which capitalism exerts power over people's subjectivities (Lazzarato), a sphere of communication (Lazzarato), something that defines the future (as a goal or a theory of leisure society), a social construct (Rojek), purposelessness that defines the basis of culture (Arendt), a combination of pleasures (Barthes) or some escape that can both be coercive or liberating (Benjamin). These

connotations determine the basis for the criticisms that these texts deliver. Under the next title I explore the mode of these criticisms in terms of (1) the way they use leisure, (2) where they direct their criticism and (3) the terminology they use.

2.1.3 Criticism via leisure (subsidiary concepts)

The critical theory that I have explored uses leisure to refer to a certain kind of time, space, activity or even concepts. Each of these bits associates the concept with many different ideas, such as freedom, education (self-development or self-realization), pleasure, escape, distraction, communication, ideology, or they use it as an industry, a tool for control, etc. The criticisms these texts employ rely on these interpretations of leisure. These texts direct their criticism to issues such as the socio-economic system, to culture and/or to meaning transferred (or produced and reproduced) through cultural artifacts. They use a specific vocabulary, mainly with Marxist terminology, as a tool to develop their criticisms. I call these concepts subsidiary concepts in the context of this dissertation. They are essential to these critical texts and studying them allows me to detect ways of discussing how these criticisms operate. This is why I trace the way critical theory refers to leisure through these subsidiary concepts in terms of what they correspond to in critical theory, before turning to writings on architecture.

The subsidiary concepts that I will discuss are: alienation (in Marx, Lefebvre, Adorno and Horkheimer, Rojek as time for productive potentials but imposed as mechanisms of control); use value- exchange value and surplus value (the idea of value in Marx, Veblen, Rojek when leisure is rendered as time and labor); fetishization (in Marx, Benjamin, Lefebvre and partly the Situationists as escape or distraction); commodification (in Frankfurt school as a part of consumption processes); reification-objectification and thingification (in Marx, Benjamin, Frankfurt School and the Situationists as consumption); as well as the idea of spectacle (in Situationists) and phantasmagoria (in Marx and Benjamin). These concepts are often used together and therefore have co-dependent meanings. Consequently, I will begin by discussing their particularity, and move towards their affiliations with each other. The following is a brief examination of the subsidiary concepts in terms of how they are used to employ criticism and how they operate together. I start the discussion with alienation, which has direct implications in

everyday language. Furthermore, it is possible to explore the rest through their relationship with this concept.

One of the key concepts that the criticism on the relations of production – or of capitalism as a system – rely on is the concept of alienation. Alienation has several implications. It may appear in the relationship of individuals to themselves and to their work (or to their labor and to the product in which they embed their labor), but also to other people and other (adjacent) processes of work (to division of labor) as well as to relations of production (and consumption). The idea of alienation may initially be illustrated as the worker in a factory, but it also applies to other contexts and other production relations. It provides the criticism of existing organization of things, whether of their production or their circulation.

Since alienation as a word exists in everyday language and in theoretical work, it is one of the most misunderstood / misused terms in the Marxist lexicon. In Hegel's thought, the concept of alienation is central to the development of spirit and the "self". The "self" is a historical and social creation and it developed through "a process of alienation and its overcoming, self-estrangement and self-recognition, a 'fall' into division and reconciliation" (Sayers, 2011). In other words, alienation is actually the process in which the human self would double and externalize itself to confront its own other being, as if it were something separate. For Hegel, history is a progressive development, and therefore alienation is something to be overcome. Marxism inherits this with various differences. Marxism does not necessarily take alienation as something that would eventually be overcome, but instead, Marx and others who have engaged in Marxist thought have built their arguments on the conviction that modern society should be criticized (Sayers, 2011) and eventually transformed. According to this view, put in a simple way, humans' act of production is alienating and it becomes an external power that enslaves them (Axelos, 1976).

Some later renderings of the concept extend the connotations of alienation to all spheres of society. In the post-war period, Henri Lefebvre uses the concept as a central theme in *The Critique of Everyday Life* (the first volume 1947, the second 1961, and the third 1981) and further applies the theory of alienation in his later book *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1974).

In order to introduce the theory of alienation in *The Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre uses Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) to illustrate how Chaplin disorients the viewer. Suddenly, once familiar objects are no longer familiar. This strangeness posed by Chaplin serves as a tool which on another level helps the viewer see the familiar as strange; it is strangeness applied to see the familiar as strange only to show the strangeness in the existing relations. Looking at what appears as natural and normal, suggests Lefebvre's approach, is key to transforming society. Alienation is the key: it not only oppresses individuals but also triggers a criticism of the everyday.

Lefebvre's use of the concept of alienation shows parallels with the postwar Italian Workerism [Operaismo] movement. According to Workerism, unlike Hegelian (and orthodox Marxist) thought, alienation corresponds to "the relationship between human time and capitalist value," as an estrangement from capitalism (Berardi, 2009: 15). In Workerism, "the world is labor"¹¹ (Url-3; Aureli, 2008) and therefore the criticism of capitalism or the idea of alienation can reach beyond what is typically perceived as work. Later developed by other scholars such as Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, along with Maurizio Lazzarato through the theory of immaterial labor, the idea that labor is everywhere is important for this dissertation: firstly because it opposes the traditional division of work and leisure; and secondly because it adopts terminology and interprets Marxist terminology through discussing them in the context of advanced (or financial) capitalism of the late twentieth century, regarding intensifying networks of global finance and information technologies.

Using the concept of alienation can provide a ground to mark inconsistencies in how leisure is perceived and what it delivers. As in Lefebvre's writings, it is possible to dwell on the alienating aspect of leisure time and leisure activities. Alienation, thereby, contains some idea of control on the behalf of the dominant class. However, the same concept may present a way of acknowledging how what appears as natural is problematic. This potential realization may happen in/through an individual's experience. In writings that use alienation as a tool, the term can be a foundation for questioning what leisure promises and delivers to people. However, the term alienation is used along with exploitation of work, which in Marxist literature is

¹¹ These are Mario Tronti's words. He is a theorist from the 60s who developed the *Workerism* movement in Italy.

based on contradictions around the idea of value that makes up commodities and money.

Marx's classic book *Capital* (Volume I) begins with a chapter on the commodity and money, both of which are explained by differentiating between modes of value production. Different modes of value production allow for detecting contradictions inherent to the capitalist system. Commodities have a use value which is about the fulfillment of a (human) need, while their relations to other commodities set their exchange value often defined by money (or currency) (Gotham&Krier, 2008). In a capitalist system, exchange value dominates the use value of things. The market value (or the exchange value) of a commodity does not necessarily have to correspond to its use value. This tends to hide social relationships between things. While surplus value results in the increase of wealth of the capitalist and not the worker (Eker, 1991), according to a Marxist view, labor spent in the production of the commodity is embedded in the product. Surplus value stems from a difference between "the value of the product and the value of the elements consumed in the formation of the product" and it corresponds to "the means of production and the labor-power" (Marx, 1990: 317). In other words, it is the value produced that is beyond the socially necessary labor. Offering a critique of work where the central theme is the alienation of the worker and of man, Lefebvre asserts that "[the worker] is indeed working 'for the boss': he provides him with a profit. In this way the portion of the social value of his labor which does not come back to him in the form of wages is retained by the boss (surplus-value)" (Lefebvre, 1991: 167). The exploitation of workers, who produce surplus value that is extracted from them, causes them to have less free time for themselves and for their development (or self-realization). According to Marx, free time transforms people and should be enjoyable and satisfying so that "the development of the individual's creative abilities and potentials" may take place (Eker, 1991: 92-3).

The idea of surplus gains a different connotation in most discussions on leisure in the twentieth century. Just as the concept of alienation is taken by scholars to apply to other spheres of social life, surplus also may correspond to spheres outside the typical factory. It may connote everything beyond (socially) necessity and therefore it is associated with leisure. In other words, leisure relies on surplus and the way this surplus is distributed. The distribution of surplus shows parallels with the distribution

of leisure. And a discussion on surplus as leisure can be explored in the context of the everyday, beyond the spaces of production traditionally associated with labor, such as the factory.

According to Lefebvre, Marxism offers a criticism of everyday life on various levels. Lefebvre summarizes Marxism from such a point of view, illustrating the affiliations of this terminology. He starts with Marxist critique of individuality (through the organization of labor and work). The idea of individuality is key to overcoming existing relations, while the same idea can also lead to the opposite, reproducing/strengthening the very relations of production. The second is the critique of mystification that stems from individuality (or a lack of it). Mystification may correspond to individuals being separated from each other under the order of the dominant class. Mystification (as a critique) takes the private consciousness of individuals to deprive them of truth¹². The critique of money on the other hand, is about fetishism and economic alienation. According to Lefebvre, money is not a symbol of alienation, but it is the very essence of it, through making individuals devote their time to their capitalist interests, but not to living through “creative labor or leisure” (Lefebvre, 1991: 160). This leads Lefebvre to a critique of needs based around the need for money that takes place in the context of work. His critique of work concerns the alienation of the worker that takes place beyond the context of production and extends to an individual’s everyday life, as a constant and ongoing activity. Finally, Lefebvre’s critique of freedom in Marxism corresponds to search for “the development of human powers as an end in itself” (Lefebvre, 1991: 171). And as Lefebvre emphasizes, Marxism advocates “a social and rational organization of free leisure,” with the reduction of work time as “the basic requisite” (Lefebvre, 1991: 175).

The summary of Lefebvre’s positions above emphasizes how mystification and fetishism are essential for a critique of the everyday. The two are closely related since both concern the illusions created by monetary systems. Later renderings of these concepts, however, imply other things. While for Marx fetishism is a social condition, an ideology, and a process of the labor product becoming a commodity, for Habermas, fetishism is also about a mystification of the processes of production,

¹² Orthodox Marxism claims that there is an ongoing class-war and advocates that this constitutes a reality to be revealed and acknowledged, so that it can eventually be overcome.

which in the end hinders the way commodities are valued. Georg Lukács sees fetishization as a part of a bigger process that he calls as reification (Marx, 1990; Lukács, 1968). For Lukacs, reification is mainly about the perception of social structures as natural and unchangeable, thereby harder to grasp (Gotham&Krier, 2008: 163). Reification, therefore, corresponds to the way connections between things are hidden from view in capitalist society (Eagleton, 1994). Reification implies the totality that the economic system imposes on other spheres of social life including cultural and everyday activities, which contain leisure activities, leisure time and access to leisure.

Reification, fetishization and objectification (sometimes used interchangeably) constitute the foundations for terminology such as phantasmagoria and spectacle. Phantasmagoria, used by Marx and later by Benjamin, is the representation of the complex processes of commodification (that also trigger (or reflect) reification, objectification and fetishization). According to Marx, phantasmagoria is the “lived reality of the social relations” (Spencer, 2014: 87). However, in Benjamin’s writings, the same word connotes an escape or a distraction that people engage with in modern leisure forms. Susan Buck-Morss, reading Benjamin’s writings, offers that phantasmagorias are a technoaesthetics, in which “the goal is manipulation of the synaesthetic system by control of environmental stimuli,” that operates through a “flooding of the senses” (Buck-Morss, 1992: 22). Benjamin’s theorization of phantasmagoria situates the individual simultaneously as to be kept under control and free, creative and in search of an escape. In Guy Debord’s (1962) theory of the spectacle, however, the whole of the society is in crisis. According to his view, this crisis is the crisis of the consumer society that isolates people through the realm of separation and spectacle. In this society, needs are artificial (or fabricated) and direct people into passivity.

In all of the terminology I have discussed above, a common point the assumption that existing relations of things and people are not necessarily visible, but instead require further attention, so that contradictions inherent to the system (capitalism) can be discussed and be transformed in time. A criticism through leisure (and the everyday), it can be claimed, should be based on acts of demystification and defetishization of relations between things and people, which are otherwise not visible. Tracing reification allows for demystification and defetishization. These acts can be based

on contradictions in various connotations of alienation (such as alienation of the individual, as well as alienation from adjacent production processes as well as alienation from other individuals or even the very act of production itself), valorization processes (the domination of use-value over exchange value), of the circulation of things, of abstraction of the production processes (including professions regarding production of space). It is important to note that even though their connotations vary, terms such as reification, objectification and fetishization are often used interchangeably. For the context of this dissertation, the nuances do not constitute a great importance, but rather the way the terminology operates remains as the key issue, since criticism in the area of architecture uses this terminology loosely and this requires further attention. Before focusing on writings on architecture that employ criticism, therefore, it is necessary to draw a picture of what criticism means in architecture.

2.2 Criticism in Architecture

2.2.1 Defining criticism as a source of knowledge

In the context of this dissertation, criticism (and criticality) is taken as a source of knowledge in architecture. In this section, in order to offer *a contemporary position for criticism in architecture via the concept leisure*, I (1) explore the idea of criticism and criticality in architecture, (2) discuss criticism as a source of knowledge and (3) formulate the outlines of criticism through leisure paving the way towards the fourth chapter, where I focus on writings on architecture.

The idea of critique in this dissertation corresponds to a “historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them” (Foucault, 1984: 50). Two things about this statement require further emphasis. Firstly, the word “historical” does not only encapsulate a certain set of conditions or events taking place in that context, it also suggests that there are many possible perspectives, and more than one position to take in discussing those very events, conditions or simply certain subjects. This means that criticality does not work as an absolute solution to existing problems, but that it offers ways to start (and thereby advance) a discussion. This discussion should derive from the second emphasis, which is the idea of “limits” imposed on people. The affirmation that limits exist suggests the presence of a totality; that these limits are present for more

than one specific context (or subject) validates the necessity of the criticism itself. The limits this dissertation intends to challenge are around the concept of leisure¹³ and architecture.

It is possible to reclaim criticality and “critique” in architecture via a critique of contemporary capitalism. A number of recent publications focusing on architecture and its theory recognize that the engagement of architecture and radical theory may have been problematic. Architecture may have been *depoliticized* by liberal-critic architects who embrace “the grand utopia of the capitalist liberal democracy” by aligning the discourse of architecture and theory with “the postmodern management of capitalism and to conform to its institutional, discursive, and non-discursive apparatuses” (Lahiji, 2014b). Therefore, it is important to distinguish between a *political critique* and an *aesthetic critique*. Reinhold Martin (2005) describes this difference via the architecture historian Manfredo Tafuri’s approach and the architect Peter Eisenman’s works. According to Tafuri, architectural production is an “ideological agent of capitalist production and unwitting victim of capitalism’s historical closure” (Hays, 2000: XI). On the other hand, the practicing architect Peter Eisenman has taken the philosophy of deconstructivism as an inspiration, channeling radical ideas and concepts into his architecture, arguably eliminating their political connotations (Spencer, 2014).

Martin announces that a “utopian realism” – a way of thinking in a style with no form – is itself what is lacking. The idea of utopia, he asserts, does not have to be an “impossible totality,” but instead it can serve as a mirror that displays power relations. According to him, utopian realism “recognizes ‘reality’ itself as – precisely – an all-too-real dream enforced by those who prefer to accept a destructive and oppressive status quo”¹⁴ (Martin, 2005: 361).

Architectural criticism or criticism in architecture for some corresponds to critical commentary on architecture, in which architectural texts are what is critical, while according to others architectural design itself may be critical. It is possible to look for ways to identify the object of architectural criticism through its two separate roots,

¹³ The roots of the word *leisure* affirm the presence of limits, rules and borders, as I have discussed in the beginning of this chapter.

¹⁴ The destructive and oppressive status quo that Martin refers to encapsulates the corporate finance capitalism. His criticism will be explored further in the next chapter.

philosophy and aesthetic productions, or differentiating between criticism as a historical approach and one similar to that of art criticism directed to forms or singular objects (Janni re, 2010).

Criticism of architecture is very different from “critical architecture,” an expression that defines certain examples of architectural projects that take inspiration from critical theory (such as Deconstructionism). However, in the context of this study, criticality does not correspond to what is called critical architecture. There are many debates about the expression of “critical architecture.” Arie Graafland (2010) points out that “critical” may be attributed to theory and production of knowledge, but not to an object of architecture; even when architecture as a practice projects critical theory onto its design – and thereby relates the notion of the street or the street with architecture as “lived space” – it will be an example of *reflexive* architecture. Moving from this statement, I define reflexive architecture as examples in practice, which intend to challenge the borders of the discipline of architecture.

The question of whether criticality can be attributed to a project of architecture implies an ongoing discussion on architecture concerning the autonomy of the discipline. This fundamental question can be translated as to whether architectural products have an autonomous value that is independent of context, or if the context is inseparable from a particular project. Eisenman’s understanding of (and advocating for) critical architecture concentrates on architecture’s meaning and value in itself, as expressed by Martin and Graafland. This approach, however, contains reflexivity, which is about enhancing the *knowledge of architecture* within practices of architecture. Therefore, in the context of this dissertation, it is as important as criticism directed to architecture concerning the *context* of a particular project or a generic issue concerning architecture.

The second approach, which unlike Eisenman questions the autonomy of architecture as a discipline, opposes the idea of critical architecture and looks at architecture through a historical perspective. It is best represented by Tafuri’s writings from 1960 through the 1970s, especially his ideas on criticism in/of architecture, which lay a basis for later texts that displayed criticism in architecture.

Tafuri asserts in his book *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* (1987) that (modern) architecture is in constant crisis. This crisis stems from the discipline’s “ideological

function,” as a product of bourgeois culture. He claims that even examples of architecture that attempted to solve societal problems – as modern architecture is known to contain such motives and ideals – cannot deliver what they promise. Instead, the capitalist system regulating present socio-economic relations start to include and even make use of design with radical motives over time, subjugating such examples of modern architecture. The question regarding architecture’s autonomy, therefore, is mainly about modern architecture not being able to recognize its crisis, but continuously trying to overcome it through forms (as styles or as design) and discourses. Tafuri claims that once art and architecture enter the universe of contemporary systems of production, it has to compromise its experimental qualities, thereby aligning itself with existing economic relations. Criticism directed at architecture, therefore, has to include such a perspective, presenting a kind of knowledge that is based on (radical) architecture’s shifting meaning on the course of history, beyond architecture’s motives within its disciplinary borders.

Formulating his account on criticism and knowledge (in architecture), Tafuri refers to the ideas of contemporaries such as Foucault, as well as earlier philosophers such as Nietzsche. He points out that “knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting” (Tafuri, 1987: 4) and “even the language of criticism, the language that should ‘move and break up stones,’ is itself a ‘stone’” (Tafuri, 1987: 9). Moving from Tafuri’s words, we can see that there are many ways of formulating a criticism and the outcome of a criticism (in terms of knowledge) is a direct result of this. Criticality, which intends to challenge the limits of the subject matter, has to acknowledge its own positions and consider its self-imposed limits.

The two approaches to criticism I have differentiated above – one that focuses on architecture in itself and the other that discusses the discipline in terms of context – provide different kinds of knowledge. The aim here is not to favor one over the other, but rather to discuss the way they operate, with the intention of bringing together writings on architecture that take these two approaches together (even though they do not openly claim to do so).

Knowledge does not necessarily have to stem from criticality; criticality may be based on a certain kind of knowledge. For instance, according to Henri Lefebvre, Marxism “is a critical knowledge of everyday life” (Lefebvre, 1991: 148) and like all kinds of knowledge, it is relative. This knowledge is the means to a criticism

(Lefebvre, 2002: 98). On the other hand, critical discourse analysis (CDA) that investigates power relations and domination in the medium of language considers discourse “the flow of knowledge,” while knowledge can be an *apparatus* that extends beyond spoken and written material. According to this view, peoples’ lives and their acts or even “the objects they produce” are based on knowledge (Jäger, 2001).

Texts that engage with criticism perform acts of *demystification* and *reconceptualization*. According to Diana I. Agrest (1991: 1), to be critical is to oppose normative discourse, and this allows new questions to grow, opening new fields to explore. Criticism develops from questions for which there may not be immediate answers. Therefore, asserts Agrest, critical work is a “work of demystification, of deconstruction of ideological notions and texts carried out to advance knowledge on architecture” (Agrest, 1991: 1). Agrest’s words support the claim that critical work advances knowledge in architecture. However, I argue that along with the demystification of ideas and notions, an act of reconceptualization is necessary. In the context of this dissertation, I take reconceptualization as a sum of the interpretations of critical terminology, the way they are presented in a theoretical framework, and the way these are projected into a history of architecture. Reconceptualization corresponds to the theory that a text presents which can be applied to other cases and other situations, thereby enhancing ways of criticism and strengthening critical tools, proposing a possible (or alternative) position for architecture.

Two texts that I discussed earlier as examples of new criticality in the field of architecture are useful in reflecting how this dissertation renders criticism and criticality. The two articles by Piotrowski (The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses, 2008) and by Martin (Money and Meaning: The Case of John Portman, 2009) display two crucial attributes of criticism at the same time: (1) it is possible to trace demystification and reconceptualization in these texts and (2) they bring together two approaches to criticism in architecture, the one that renders architecture as an autonomous field with its own knowledge and the other one that renders architecture as part of a wider context of the socio-economic order with a historical perspective.

Martin's article on John Portman's architecture refers to demystification of how practices of architecture – in this case, built projects, ideas and words on those projects – can hinder existing relationships between architecture and power. Martin designates this power as money: profit motives create contradictions through replacing *use value* and *exchange value*, as Martin traces them in Portman's buildings as well as his words on his own architecture¹⁵. Martin is able to articulate his discussion via terminology from critical theory such as *fetish*, *use value* vs. *exchange value* as well as concepts like *utopia* and hallucinations. Martin's references to thinkers of critical theory (such as Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Jameson) enhance his processes of demystification. The reconceptualization in the article stems from these processes of demystification. This reconceptualization offers looking at architecture from a historical perspective that regards world events along with references to other architects. This includes Louis Kahn's and Oscar Niemeyer's projects. Using Portman's comments on Niemeyer's architecture, Martin is able to position Portman's architecture within a wider perspective regarding architecture as a set of practices. Martin's account of Portman's practice is not exemplary, but symptomatic.

Martin shows that the article brings together two essential approaches to criticism, looking inside architecture's own field as well as recognizing its position within a socio-economic context (or within capitalism as the dominant system). Piotrowski's article follows a similar course, referring to demystification through the Marxist terminology of fetish and commodification, as well as later ones such as spectacle. This demystification allows for a looking at architecture through its ongoing relationship with capitalism. The article is able to draw parallels between different architectures – through architects, their built products, or their representations – that belong to different centuries in order to display how they systematically ignored and even hindered the phenomenon of capitalism. Demystification here presents a reconceptualization where Piotrowski is able to trace and project his assertions in the context of a history of architecture, presenting another point of view that opposes those commonly accepted in architectural circles. The key to his approach is Piotrowski's bringing together of critical theory (both as terminology and as citation)

¹⁵ I dwell on Martin's article in Chapter 4 as an example of texts that displays criticism of architecture through leisure and ideas around it.

with architecture's reflexive discussions (such as the architectural elements within structures, the use of light in design, as well as people's vistas and their organized circulation within these interiors). Furthermore, the central argument of this article is how architects systematically leave out (and even hinder) capitalism in their work and their ideas whether through their words (as writings) or through design.

2.2.2 Words, concepts, propositions

- I recognize that *leisure* as a concept not only varies in meaning depending on its context, but that it is also under constant transformation. As I have explored in the previous chapter, leisure is what fills and what has been built around free-time. Therefore, this study defines the word as *assessable free time*. The act of assessing free time is not only about organizing, planning and making use of that time, but also about conceptualizing and ascribing meaning to it. Assessable free time contains ideas such as reproduction (as time outside work), culture, art, education, play, recreation, entertainment, well-being and happiness.

- The word *practice* (in architecture) implies the wide spectrum of production (in architecture) including ideas and words as well as designing and building. Practices of architecture, thereby, are not limited to processes within the professional world, but contain academic work as well. *Criticism* in architecture is among many practices that together make up architecture, one particular practice that the study prioritizes and intends to pursue.

- The word *architecture* here corresponds to the set of practices that often trigger each other, whether they are written, spoken or drawn. For the sake of an articulate discussion, I focus on texts and projects that recognize and define themselves as architecture, which often position themselves as a part of some tradition in the architecture world; making references to earlier texts or projects, engaging with present architectural debates or projecting future possibilities in the field. Following Peggy Deamer's account of *architecture*, I refer to it as something that leaves out some of the construction of the built environment which excludes architects in its production. I choose to talk about works that recognize themselves as dwelling on architecture (whether materialized or not). From this point of view, architecture is a discipline in itself, with its history (histories) and its literature. I consider this discipline to consist of many practices beyond designing and building.

- I take the *literature of architecture* as a broad term that contains books, articles, and interviews by architects and/or about architects on architecture. Texts from the literature of architecture often refer to other texts as well as various exemplars of projects of architecture. Some of these texts may be purely theoretical, while others may intend to link this theory with particular examples of architecture. Therefore, the literature of architecture that I recognize is beyond academic spheres, since a division between the academic and the professional is difficult to set.

- This dissertation recognizes the dominant form of architecture as the “professional model of capital-intensive, client-dependent architectural production” (Jones & Card, 2011: 228). Therefore, the criticism of architecture that is aspired to is likely to reflect on the tensions that architecture as a field inherits due to its structural relation to political economy¹⁶.

- I take architecture as a discursive practice. Referring to the architect Demetri Porphyrios’ words, I take the practice to be based on “a system of social mythification,” according to which a “given architectural discourse is but a form of representation that naturalizes certain meanings and eternalizes the present state of the world in the interests of a hegemonical power” (Porphyrios, 1985: 16). I translate Porphyrios’ account of *critical history* as processes of mystification, which can be revealed through *reconceptualization* and *demystification*. Criticism in architecture is necessary in order to be able to detect, as Porphyrios refers to it, *architectural ideology* as naturalized rhetoric.

- I set the approach of this dissertation on a differentiation between literature of architecture and critical theory. I study architectural writings, regarding them as a part of literature, while focusing on how they use critical theory¹⁷.

- There is a new quest for criticality that I call *new criticality*. In writings that show new criticality, bring critical theory and architectural perspectives together.

- *Criticism* is a practice that offers new positions for relating, perceiving and articulating ideas. I take Foucault’s account of criticism, which is about challenging

¹⁶ Paul Jones and Kenton Card draw on the relation between architecture and political economy in order to discuss the idea of social architecture as a representation. The criticism the article embodies is enlightening for the criticism aspired in this dissertation.

¹⁷ As I have mentioned in previous pages, I take critical theory to consist of many academic disciplines, containing self-reflexive and emancipatory approach.

and experimenting in order to go beyond limits that are imposed on people, through an historical analysis. Focusing on criticism(s) that recognize capitalism as the context offers a historical perspective as well as a chance to determine the scope for the study. I recognize that focusing on socio-economic relations that regulate production and reproduction of not only materials but also of words and meanings presents one position for criticism among many possible others. Criticism differs from *critique*; a critique implies a detailed evaluation of something, directed to a defined/singular thing, whereas my focus is on criticism as a tool, therefore a critique with its singular connotation is not a major concern. That is to say, I do not use the word critique because I look at criticism – through leisure in this case – in itself and as something that can be directed to multiple objects. The aim is to display how criticisms operate, not what they evaluate.

- A *critical work* is something that carries a criticism in itself. Jane Rendell renders *critical architecture* (as a kind of critical work) as “work that has an ‘other’ in mind,” (Rendell, 2007: 2) however consisting of different sets of practices beyond building and designing. According to Rendell, within an interdisciplinary context it is possible to discuss architecture and criticism through design, buildings, as well as words. On the other hand, other scholars find it problematic to classify a work of architecture as *critical*. Since a criticism that a critical work adopts may vary tremendously, referring to a work as critical becomes irrelevant; what remains important is the *criticality* that the work adopts (and displays). Referring to Arie Graafland’s account on critical architecture (2010), which asserts that a work of architecture cannot be *critical* because of the changing circumstances of the context of that very work, following Graafland’s suggestion, I use the word *reflexive* for work in architecture that contains *criticality* in terms of challenging the limits of the practice.

- Hélène Jannière dwells on criticism in architecture as an object of study. According to her, there is a duality in the contemporary discussions on criticism between its two connotations: “between criticism understood as philosophical activity and criticism in the domain of aesthetic productions (Jannière, 2010: 40). According to Jannière, philosophical one aims to examine knowledge, and the work of reflection, of evaluation” (Jannière, 2010: 42) while the aesthetic one is directed to art (or architecture) as evaluation or judgment on works. I argue that new criticality claims

both approaches and uses their tools. The texts that I study include both approaches together.

2.2.3 Selected writings on architecture and leisure

The number of writings in the intersection of criticism (that regards socio-economic relations), architecture (as a set of practices) and leisure (with its ambiguous meaning) are limited. Therefore, the dissertation does not engage with a particular context or a particular period. This means that the content of the writings vary widely. This is why I use critical theory as a guide to buttress the discussion on writings on architecture and leisure.

My exploration of the critical theory on leisure in the previous pages contains clues on how to select and explore these writings on two levels. The first is about how to understand whether a text contains criticality, and the second is about how leisure relates to this criticality. The first one determines whether a particular writing can serve as an example that displays a criticism (thereby can be worthy of mention in the context of this dissertation). The second level is about how leisure relates to an existing criticality, and determines how that particular writing can take its place in the flow of the dissertation.

This is possible through tracing subsidiary concepts (alienation, use-value, exchange-value, surplus value, fetishization, commodification, objectification, reification, phantasmagoria and spectacle) along with references to critical theory. Tracing subsidiary concepts illustrates the use of critical theory and how the criticism is projected back into a discussion in the literature of architecture. Therefore, the references to literature of architecture via subsidiary concepts are as important as references to critical theory.

Even when the same set of concepts is used the criticisms may vary. Therefore, it is more efficient to discuss these texts through their relation to leisure. Using critical theory, I recognize that there are three major ways of how writings on architecture relate to the concept. They either take leisure through how it is translated into a function associated with certain kinds of activities and places, through how it serves

as experimentation with existing conditions and finally through how leisure delivers meaning.

Among the examples of architectural references in critical theory on leisure, the idea of *function* appears frequently. Whether in Arendt, Barthes or Benjamin, the concept of leisure is associated with some kind of function; it may be about a purpose, about a source of pleasure, comfort, distraction or even escape (for the people). All these examples from critical theory first associate architecture and leisure through the idea of function. Function here corresponds to the use, purpose or to the set of activities that a space offers. It is the realm of the everyday as much as it is of architecture.

Function, as an idea to associate a space with its use offers a way of classifying the built environment. However, both Benjamin and Lefebvre recognize that leisure cannot be reduced to certain predetermined functions and that it possesses a liberating potential. Whether via the *flaneur*, through people's appropriation of spaces or through Situationists' practices, the idea of leisure may become a sphere of experimentation. Experimentations do not take the idea of leisure as given, but interpret the idea in such a way that it gains a transformative quality. This can be about a transformation of the everyday, about existing circumstances, or about architecture as a practice. When applied in the area of architecture, this quest for transformation adds a reflexive quality to the architectural design. This reflexivity intends to challenge the limits of the field of architecture through leisure. It is not a coincidence that references in architecture that regard leisure as a function consist of literature on built environments or projects where as ones that regard leisure as a laboratory with experimental references are made through imaginary spaces, places or practices.

However, in both approaches to leisure, whether leisure corresponds to functions or experimentation, leisure is part of a *discourse*. It is possible to trace meaning delivered through words and representations of architecture through leisure. Going back to Jameson's account of John Portman's architecture, it is possible to observe such approach. Through particular buildings designed by the architect Portman, Jameson uses leisure spaces and thereby looks at architecture through what it represents, what relations this representation hinders and what meanings are delivered. In a similar fashion, Barthes renders Eiffel Tower through the concept of leisure to display how the tower means more than what it is as an object; it is also a

glance and a symbol. Barthes' account on the tower is about displaying present relations of power (and meaning). He shows that a particular example of architecture can be rendered with a concept like leisure and thereby a discussion on a particular piece of architecture may show parallels with how the other cultural products transfer meaning.

The three ideas I have mentioned above – *function*, *experimentation* and *discourse* – constitute different spheres of how leisure is associated with architecture. These three spheres are three ways in which the concept of leisure translates into architecture. In the fourth chapter, I explore these three spheres in the field of architecture and explore their potential for serving as different practices of criticism in architecture.



3. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Methodology

This dissertation closely reads critical theory in order to generate new modes of criticism in architecture; it uses theory outside of architecture to enhance architectural theory. Iain Borden and Jane Rendell define this approach as a historiography of the present that uses *theorized interpretation*, which takes place at the intersection of “architectural histories and critical theories” (Borden & Rendell, 2000: 16). According to Borden and Rendell, theorized interpretation is not an approach, but rather a tendency in bringing together the two areas. Furthermore, they assert “it is the interplay between the two [critical theory and architecture] that historians can focus their interpretative efforts, using theory to reinterpret architecture and architecture to reinterpret theory” (Borden & Rendell, 2000: 17). They understand *interpretation* as an essential epistemological category which provides a history to contain both subjective and objective parts, and that is therefore different from the arts and social sciences.

Following Borden and Rendell’s account, I do not intend to offer a history of architecture, but rather use the tools of historiography in order to discuss the modes of criticism in architecture. Rendell describes typical architectural theory as interested in “form, style, physical modification and spatial typology” (Rendell, 2006: 140), and suggest that an alternative model is possible through considering production and reproduction relations along with representations of urban space, which exist in relation to one another. The critical theory I explore fulfills this mission of bringing to light these relations, while typical topics of architectural theory that Rendell lists enrich the discussion.

Criticism offers one way of discussing, enhancing and questioning theory. In this dissertation, criticism corresponds to one of the many ways of articulating theory and producing knowledge in architecture. I prefer calling this *proposing a position for*

criticality, as there may be many different ways of employing criticism, all of which would offer a different kind of knowledge in architecture.

Architecture is a broad spectrum of practices not limited to designing and building, but also containing ideas and words. This study recognizes architectural practices as nonlinear and fragmented, as recurring events. This approach allows for the structure of the dissertation to be based on ideas and themes instead of on particular subjects of study. That is to say, the topics do not follow a chronological order of exemplary architectural projects, but rather, are organized to display the dynamic and cyclic relations between different kinds of ideas that drive architectural practices.

3.2 Studying the Texts

In order to find out how leisure can serve as a tool for criticism, I first study critical theory outside of architecture and bring together how the concept is problematized on a broader level. I look for specific references to architecture and the built environment in these texts. After examining the tools, concepts, and approaches, in the theoretical texts, I discuss texts from the literature of architecture at the intersection of leisure-architecture-criticism.

I examine the texts from the literature of architecture in order to understand how they operate: their object, theoretical tools (or concepts), and methodologies are all important. These texts constitute a greater importance than the realized (built) projects they talk about, since the priority here is to find out *how* architectural knowledge is produced. In this sense, even though I do not limit my focus to a specific time period, the way I elaborate on texts is similar to Françoise Choay's approach in her book *The Rule and The Model* (1997).

Choay's book focuses on writing cities. She theorizes how what she calls *instaurational* texts that she defines as "an autonomous conceptual apparatus in order to conceive and build new and unknown forms of space" (Choay, 1997; 6) support urbanism (and partly architecture) to become an autonomous discourse on space. She not only studies these texts substantively through their centuries-long presence, but also analyzes their form. She makes a distinction between texts (how they deliver their content): architectural treatises (that consist of rules, principles and their application); and texts of utopia (that suggest models). This distinction marks two

fundamental ways builders and the built environment relate to each other. Choay, however, regards these texts as a specific category of discourse, which neither their authors nor readers may have been aware of at the time, even though they interfere with one another to restructure knowledge and put forth “a meaning that transcends their content” (Choay, 1997; 09). Choay’s account corresponds to what I call *demystification*, as I intend to reveal the discursive element within the texts and the knowledge these texts promote. Demystification leads to a reconceptualization that consists of a new set of terminology (such as her distinction between texts as realizers and texts as commentaries) as well as a unique way of evaluating (or interpreting) writings on architecture. My approach is similar to Choay’s in that I am not interested in displaying a historical sequence of events and interpretations, but rather concerned with what the texts themselves exhibit. Grouping the texts according to what they exhibit, I trace the continuities, discontinuities and deviations in these texts on leisure and architecture.

All of the texts I examine in Chapter 4 engage critically with socio-economic relations (predominantly using the word capitalism), contextualize leisure and ideas around it, and interpret architecture through leisure and criticism. Only a limited number of texts in the literature of architecture fulfill these requirements. Therefore, I try to explore a wide range of texts on architecture and leisure independent from this specific focus. Since my aim is to find out how these texts treat criticism as a source of knowledge in architecture, I group them according to the way they contextualize leisure and architecture. However, I explore each text through the same set of steps. I define this steps regarding parameters of criticism that Hélène Jannière mentions: “the actors of criticism, its theoretical tools, in specific historical and epistemological contexts” (Jannière, 2010: 54). For every example of literature, I do the following:

- Explain why I have chosen the particular text (through how it renders leisure as a concept, architecture as a practice, and/or criticism regarding the two).
- Explore how the text contextualizes leisure in order to relate to architecture with a critical tone, looking at where the criticism is directed (to the context of the project, to the design, or to the descriptions/written work about that project).

- Look at the examples of architecture discussed (whether singular examples or a generic ones), the form of the text and the visuals that are used.
- Describe the relation between the author and the examples of architecture (especially identifying cases where the author is the architect of the project)
- Detect the critical terminology (subsidiary concepts) and trace the conceptualization used to employ criticism
- Note references to critical theory and critical theorists
- Detect references to architectural theory and how the particular text takes a position within current debates or within the literature of architecture.
- Discuss if the outcome of the criticism is reflected back into a history of architecture.
- Look for an assertion of a problem in architecture and mention of any reflexivity in the design architecture.

All of the steps listed above involve a varying amount of interpretation. These steps of interpretation and reinterpretation that I employ contain concrete evidences within texts such as the author of the text or the context of the example of architecture that is the matter of discussion. I draw connections within texts referring to critical theory. Examining what the texts offer in terms of projecting their outcome into the history of architecture requires a more intense interpretation to allow for a intertextual comparison.

3.3 Proposing a Model for Criticism

General Conceptions:

Groups of keywords make up a layered mental map in this dissertation. These groups of words follow the flow of chapters. The first group is the scope of the study (leisure, architecture and criticism); the second is ideas around leisure (reproduction, culture, art, education, play, recreation, entertainment well-being, happiness); the third is subsidiary concepts which include terminology from critical theory that operates as a tool to employ criticism (fetishization, commodification, exchange value or use value, alienation, demystification, reconceptualization); the fourth is the fields of criticism (function, experiment, discourse); the fifth group is spheres of

criticism (diagnosis, reflexivity, discourse); and the final group consists of (recurring) themes of criticism (public space, technology, spectacle).

Triads and the Trialectic Approach:

The trialectic approach suggests a conceptualization of complex processes beyond dialectics. Instead of a double-poled way of linking concepts, the trialectic approach theorizes that any category within a trialectic relationship can be represented in motion and as repetitive (Lefebvre, 2004), or in other words as dynamic and cyclical. The trialectic approach is used by a number of thinkers and scholars such as Charles Sanders Peirce, Henri Lefebvre, and Edward Soja. Lefebvre's revision of dialectics formerly employed by Hegel and Marx presents numerous triads, some of which are abstractions of the production of space (Stanek, 2011; Stanek, 2008). Lefebvre triads (such as perceived-conceived-lived space) are also known to set a basis for later scholars' works such as Edward Soja's book *Thirdspace* (1996). Both Lefebvre and Soja designate the production of space as their main focus, while in this study, I look at criticism as the object of study itself. That is to say, I explore texts in critical theory and architectural literature and look at the modes of criticism put forth in these texts. Therefore, the triadic relationship I formulate does not reside in the physical environment, nor in the design of specific architectural projects. Rather, I suggest that a number of triadic relationships exist, such as between the way texts in architecture contextualize leisure, between how these texts formulate their criticisms, and between recurring themes in these texts, all of which help me portray their interconnectedness.

The dissertation studies the dynamic and cyclical relationship between concepts and ideas through a number of triads, from general to specific and back to general again. The first triad consists of leisure-architecture-criticism. The aim here is to explore each of the three subjects, while also allowing each to demonstrate something else about the other. Through an inquiry of all three in relation to each other, the dissertation opens up each subject – leisure, architecture, criticism – to discussion and further criticism, an opening that would be impossible to pursue otherwise. I argue that all three subjects shape and trigger one another.

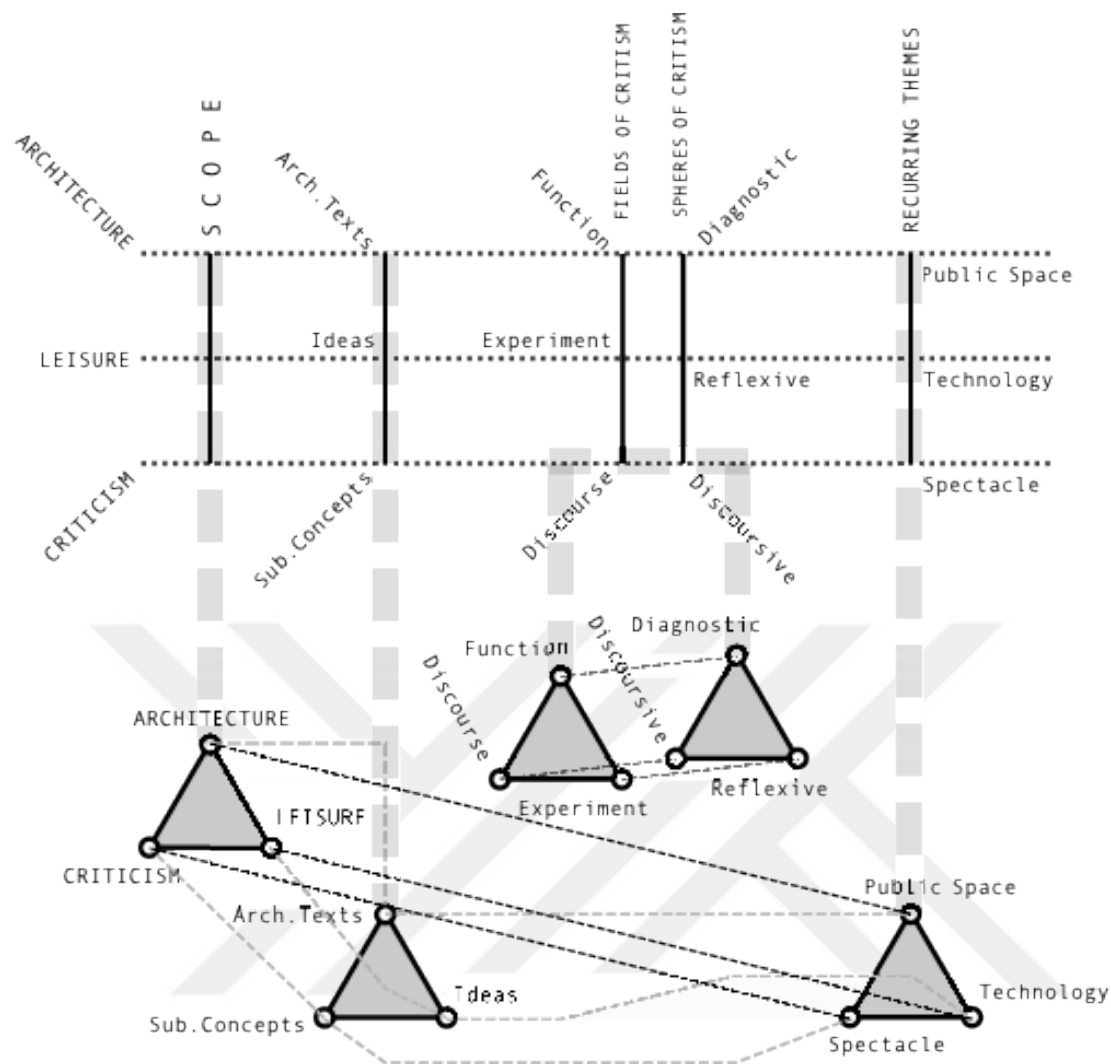


Figure 3.1 : Thesis Flow and Triads.

The second triad concerns architectural fields, and how they contextualize leisure: *function-experiment-discourse*. Each of these three fields implies a process of production within architectural practices. Each of these fields corresponds to a different conception among architectural practices, and lays the foundations of another triad that designates three *spheres* of criticism: *diagnostic-reflexive-discursive*. The texts that employ leisure as function are diagnostic criticism, while other texts that posit leisure as a field for experimentation are reflexive criticism, as they intend to challenge the limits of architecture through imagining a different world with another kind of leisure. When leisure becomes a field of discourse, then the criticism becomes discursive. These interrelated triads stem from texts that pursue criticism at the intersection of architecture and leisure. However, in order to

be able to discuss the way these three criticisms are related to each other, and thereby to finalize my argument, three recurring *themes* are helpful. This final triad of recurring themes is *public space-technology-spectacle*.

The idea of triads stems from exploring texts on leisure that embody a critical position, both in the critical theory on leisure and within the literature of architecture. Focusing on various references to architecture in critical theory in Chapter 2, I found out that there are three distinctive ways these texts contextualize leisure. The way they contextualize leisure defines the way they produce knowledge of architecture. This constitutes the basis of the model for criticism this dissertation undertakes, which is based on a trialectic approach.

The first group of texts engages with leisure as a *function* and treats the concept as a tool for classifying buildings and projects according to the purpose they are expected to fulfill. These texts direct their criticism at the context of architecture and not towards the idea of leisure. Texts that imagine another kind of leisure constitute the second group of texts under this subheading. They use leisure as a tool for *experimentation*, through which they imagine another kind of architecture, in which both the discipline/ practice of architecture and leisure are challenged. The criticism is directed at both the idea of leisure and the discipline of architecture. The third group of texts builds their arguments on ideas around how architecture contextualizes and uses leisure in order to create and transfer meaning. These texts deal with the *discursive* side of architecture as a discipline and practice. The way these texts derive knowledge through criticism shows differences. Therefore, I regard these spheres to be irreducible to each other.

In short, texts on architecture and leisure contain three ways of deriving knowledge in architecture. It may be *diagnostic* (through pointing at contradictions regarding the context of examples of architecture/ demystification), *reflexive* (suggesting new conceptualizations in the sphere of theory and ideas, challenging the limits of architecture) or *discursive* (how the concept is used in delivering meaning/ the idea of creating the spectacle in architecture) depending on the positioning of the criticism within the text.

3.4 Limitations

Within the literature of architecture, leisure as a concept is inconsistent in terms of meaning, and infrequent in terms of occurrences. In professional or academic spheres, leisure is a prominent concept, sometimes used to understand a context, sometimes to lead the design, and sometimes to evaluate and discuss architecture. However, without looking at a wide range of resources it is not possible to trace the connotations of the concept and the transformations it has gone through. That is to say, in the literature of architecture there is no particular study that dwells on leisure as a tool for criticism, extensively exploring leisure-architecture-criticism. The absence of such a study has determined the direction of this dissertation, in terms of my focus on critical theory and the literature of architecture, in order to detect relevant texts.

I elaborate on critical theory and the literature of architecture separately. Even though the two are permeable categories, this is necessary in order to articulate a consistent discussion on leisure-architecture-criticism. There are several reasons for this. First, there is no detailed or sustained discussion of leisure in the literature of architecture. In order to trace leisure's transformation as a concept, it is necessary to study the critical theory on leisure first, consequently to be able to get a perspective in looking at texts from the literature of architecture. Secondly, the way texts in literature of architecture refer to critical theory is essential in studying criticism in architecture.

This makes it necessary to explore literature without a predetermined time period or topic. Therefore, I choose texts according to how they approach leisure with the outcome of my exploration of critical theory on leisure. The texts differ from each other in terms of form. They vary in length, scope, language and authorship. They can be articles, dissertations or books. They can cover a particular example or dwell on a generic issue. Their use of language and (mostly critical) theory can be academic, professional or more philosophical. They are often written by scholars within architecture, with some exceptions where architects are writing about their own architecture. All of these differences can appear to raise difficulties in comparing and contrasting the texts. However, since the aim of the study is to bring to the fore how leisure is received and used in architectural writing, the priority is on

how these texts interpret leisure and what they illustrate about architecture. I pay close attention to the texts' approaches, but also consider the type of writing I am looking at.

As explored in Chapter 2, the relevant texts belong mostly to the context of post-World War II in Europe and parts of North American. However, there are earlier theories and architectural texts that can be regarded as precursors to the post-war literature on leisure. The post-war era, which is also referred to as the welfare state years (especially in Europe), offers a conception of leisure that can be traced in contemporary references to the concept and ideas around it.





4. LEISURE AND CRITICISM IN ARCHITECTURAL TEXTS

In this chapter, I examine texts from the literature of architecture¹⁸ that critically engage the concept of leisure. I trace different modes of criticism¹⁹ and the way these texts use criticism and what these criticisms present in terms of architectural knowledge.

As discussed in the second chapter, critical theory on leisure contains various references to architecture, including particular buildings, or certain types of buildings in the built environment. The priority in these texts is to enhance their arguments on leisure, not to problematize architecture in itself. These texts dwell on the purposelessness of leisure, as in texts by Barthes and Arendt; the fertility of leisure in terms of imagining another world, as in texts by Benjamin and Constant; as well leisure as a mirror of an ongoing transformation in the domain of culture, as in texts by Jameson. I take the critical theory on leisure as my inspiration, in order to group texts from the literature of architecture according to the way they engage with leisure. Texts in architecture render leisure in three ways:

1. function
2. experiment
3. discourse

I consider these *fields* of criticism in architecture, as each word has an extensive but a foundational connotation in architecture on a general level. *Function* in architecture often corresponds to classifying spaces according to their use, as much as deriving a form of a design for that particular use. *Experiment*, on the other hand, is ideas with an intention to challenge given norms through the design. *Discourse* corresponds to words and meanings delivered through / about a design. Since I recognize the

¹⁸ The literature of architecture corresponds to theory, documentation, or criticism of architecture. The literature consists of many formats such as a book, a periodical or a commentary.

¹⁹ I have discussed *criticality* in the previous chapters.

extensive connotations of these fields of criticism, I study the three approaches specifically in terms of the way they engage with leisure.

According to the way the texts use the concept (or sometimes just the idea of) leisure, the knowledge (as outcome of their intervention) they present show differences. I explore how leisure is used, the kind of knowledge presented, and how the texts apply their criticisms. The model of reading I propose brings together the different ways leisure is contextualized within a particular criticism in these texts. Contextualizing leisure through these three modes offers a more complete and complex picture.

These three fields can overlap, and many texts contextualize leisure in and across the three fields, depending on their specific approach. The fields often co-exist, depend on each other and operate in the architectural realm together. Leisure, when recognized as a function to be associated with certain kinds of spaces, provides the necessary ground for the concept to be utilized as a field of experimentation and discourse. Without understanding leisure as a function (or a group of functions), the concept's potential to challenge the limits of the profession of architecture cannot be fully acknowledged. And through leisure as function and leisure as experimentation, leisure becomes a part of a discourse, which feeds notions of leisure as a function and experimentation. As Figure 4.1 suggests, I render the three fields of criticisms as permeable (in terms of ideas) but separate (in terms of how they use leisure) categories.

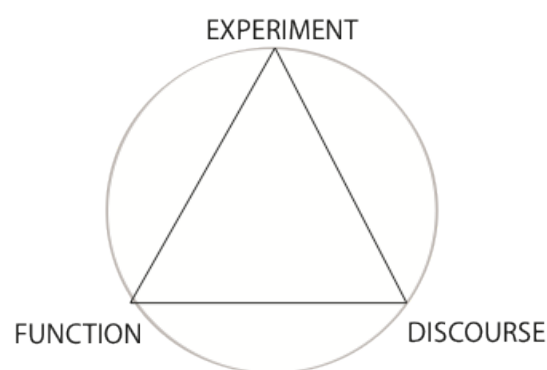


Figure 4.1 : Fields of Criticism.

To explore these texts, as I have mentioned in previous chapter on methodology, I (1) assert the way leisure is interpreted; (2) detect how the text contextualizes leisure within architecture and criticism; (3) look at examples of architecture in these texts regarding the textual and visual form; (4) consider the author's relationship to the particular architecture; (5) list critical tools (as terminology or as subsidiary concepts) to understand the conceptualization; (6) examine the relationship of the text with critical theory; (7) discuss the outcome of criticism employed; (8) examine whether the assertion of a problem in architecture is valid for other cases or situations; (9) discuss whether the text contains reflexivity that challenges the limits of architecture with an intention to overcome a certain problem inherent to the discipline; and finally (10) list the implications of leisure and architecture as continuities, contrasts and deviations within a history (regarding architecture) that the particular text recognizes.

When exploring these three approaches via different examples from the literature of architecture, one underlying question remains: do these examples *problematize* and *interpret* the concept of leisure, or do they take it as a *given*? The answer to this question will determine whether or not leisure is recognized as a (social) construct. I argue that the meaning of leisure varies widely. Many features of leisure are directly tied to work. As the definition of *work* changes over time, so do the limits and the features of leisure. Moreover, leisure may correspond to multiple meanings in a single text. In short, for every example in the literature of architecture on leisure, the following must be kept in mind: (1) multiple meanings (or connotations) of the concept of leisure; (2) modes of criticism in terms method and tools – whether through leisure or not – and (3) the knowledge presented (or the outcome of criticism projected into a historical context within architecture).

4.1 Leisure as Function: Classification of Spaces

I will use the following three texts in order to conceive of leisure as a *function*: Fred Gray's book *Designing The Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (2006), Christoph Grafe's dissertation "People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-war Cultural Centers" (2010), and Miodrag Mitrasinovic's book *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (2006). All three texts use leisure as a tool for classifying spaces as they associate buildings and their

constituent parts with certain functions. The selection of these texts required different topics and architectural cases, so that it would be easier to focus on their approaches to leisure and to criticism, rather than focusing on particular cases. These texts are comparable with each other as they all contain criticism, use subsidiary concepts, and make references to both critical theory as well as literature of architecture with an intention to generate knowledge regarding architecture beyond the particular typology of buildings they discuss. All three texts are concerned with the socio-economic context of space and place, and position architecture within that context.

The idea of function extends beyond the practice of architecture. As in critical theory, it is associated with the purpose or use of a building. The idea of use belongs to the sphere of the everyday. However, when it starts to define buildings and subsequently starts to correspond to a group of buildings, it serves as a tool to classify buildings according to their purpose.

As a practice, architecture has to understand, define and interpret the subject matter in order to operate. Typology (the classification of buildings according to their function and form) is an essential part of this complex process. Architecture has to go through various levels of operations such as abstraction, reduction and schematization of ideas in order to realize the material or symbolic production on a professional level (Rossi, 1999; Bingöl, 2007). From this perspective, in terms of its most common use in the architecture world, leisure is often conceived of as a category, as a function, or as a group of functions associated with certain *types* of spaces. Interestingly, the word *function* has its roots from the Latin “functionem,” which means “a performance, an execution” (Url- 4). This root can form words that correspond to “use” or to “enjoy,” both of which are ideas contained in the concept of leisure.

There is a relationship between the idea of *function* in architecture and knowledge production. The question is *how the concept of leisure is transformed into leisure as function(s) in the process of knowledge production*. How do the texts generate criticism through associating leisure with function and use?

The production of architectural knowledge via the idea of function goes back to the beginning of architectural knowledge. Yet the word itself was borrowed from other fields (mathematics, biology and sociology) and by the twentieth century it

corresponded to several different meanings. Adrian Forty defines function as something that “describes the result of the action of one quantity upon another” (Forty, 2000: 174). According to him, while the word related mainly to the tectonics of building, by the twentieth century it started to be used to imply that buildings were acting upon people, or social material and society in general were also active in determining the forms of buildings. In the context of this dissertation, I follow Forty’s take on function, mainly “as activities designated for a particular building or a part of a building” (Forty, 2000: 179). I take this notion of function further, in this case, specifically relating leisurely activities with certain kinds of spaces. Nevertheless, this act of associating certain activities with a kind of space embodies many contradictions, some of which I discuss in the following pages, first by briefly going back to critical theory, and then by focusing on texts from the literature of architecture.

Before exploring the texts and their criticisms, it is helpful to recognize a basic contradiction regarding this transformation: when leisure is reduced to a set of functions that define certain types of spaces, leisure is associated with rational thinking, which has the tendency to disaffirm what is not utilitarian.

Even though Michel Foucault argues in his seminal work *The Order of Things* ([1966] 2005) that it is hard to point at discontinuities in the production of knowledge in the human sciences, he describes a shift in the order of knowledge (in Western thought). From the sixteenth century onwards, resemblance, which until that point had been the fundamental order of knowledge, is displaced by comparison (with the assertion of difference through the universal means of measurement). This new configuration of order as the structure of knowledge, or in Foucault’s words, this new *episteme* is called rationalism²⁰ (Foucault, 2005). The critical aspect of Foucault’s assertion is the apparent emphasis on the universal quality of the new means of measurement. Leisure’s reception as a function is closely related to ideas around measurement as universal means and rationalism. The rational thinking that associates leisure with certain kinds of activities and certain types of spaces constitutes the limits leisure contains. Therefore, the texts that take leisure as a function direct their criticism to these limits, rather than to the concept in itself.

²⁰ “Rationalism” comes from “ration” (in French and before that from Latin), which means “proportion.”

However, functional thinking in architecture is beyond how the texts in this dissertation use the concept. Functional thinking is a foundational issue in the domain of architecture and leisure, while it is problematic on several levels.

Functional thinking (also in architecture) assumes universality and thereby tends to eliminate what may not be functional. Functionalism has deep impact in urbanism and architecture, especially in the middle of the twentieth century. It inspired many design ideas and principles, organizing cities and buildings according to their use that often in architectural spheres referred to as function²¹. This approach received oppositions, as it determined the shaping of the world, especially in the post-war Europe. Opposition to functional thinking served as a basis for the works of many philosophers, including Lefebvre.

According to Lefebvre, “functionalism eliminates critical thought” and functionalism itself “becomes a representation or even ideology” (Lefebvre, 2002: 199). He notes the “undoubted shortcomings of functionalism when it tries to create the framework and conditions for an everyday life” (Lefebvre, 2002: 199). In other words, functional thinking assumes that the planner or the architect knows what people need, and has the right to decide how to design. Lefebvre’s idea of fragmentation corresponds to the fragmented activity a technician (or an architect) is to exercise as a part of the production system she is a part of, embedding her labor. These sets of fragmented activities based on functionalism serve to create another reality. Technical reasoning, in this case relying merely on functions, becomes a “professional criterion” which helps the establishment of control over the design (Mayo, 1985).

Since the idea of function (or functionalism) itself is already an enforcement of order through the fragmentation of activities (or “everyday life” in Lefebvre’s words), it adds on a second layer of fragmentation when it is used to classify architectural projects or to study the built environment. That is to say that function, as a tool of fragmentation, is used to further fragment architecture or / and the built environment through associating spaces with leisure. The definition of the word leisure further deepens this contradiction: if leisure is defined as being free of work and duties, its

²¹ The idea of function is a foundational discussion in architecture. However, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I touch on function and functionalism as much as the discussion on leisure requires.

reception as a function leads to the opposite of what the idea of freedom implies; when leisure is received as a function, it also contains borders, rules or even regulations.

In architectural practice, leisure often takes part in a “building program” that constitutes a framework for the functions that the architectural practice has set out to answer, through the design. Architectural theory contains a vast amount of material on the relation of form and function. Discussions on “function” and “functionalism” and on the modernist approach vs. the late-modern turn on functions provide a rich ground for reflections on *leisure as function*. However, that is not the purpose of this chapter. References to the modernist approach to leisure as function as well as oppositions to this very understanding are indirect. These references are embedded in discussions around modernism in architecture, such as Grafe’s mentioning of culture centers as examples to revisions of modernism. Even in Grafe’s text, leisure being translated into functionalism is not a concern.

In the second chapter I offered critical theory texts which include references to architecture, and that discussed leisure with the idea of function. Arendt gives the example of a cathedral to show how a building can transcend being a place for its purpose, in that case one for prayers (Arendt, 2006). Concepts of function and leisure both embody contradictions within themselves; they both conceal various relationships between things and people. When leisure is received as a function, two things happen simultaneously: some daily activities are classified as leisure (dismissing some others) and these leisure activities are associated with certain types of places. However, according to David Crouch (2006), when leisure happens, when it is produced or consumed, it may happen in material places with concrete locations as well as in metaphorical and therefore imaginative spaces. Imaginative and metaphorical spaces of leisure do not only correspond to virtual spaces, but also to a rich variety of representations in visual and communication culture, often delivering narratives shaping the imagination of the consumer. Thereby, asserts Crouch, “the presentation and representation of a site has its limits on its influence over its use” (Crouch, 2006: 130). Leisure is not a solid or static phenomenon, but a situation, with a dynamic nature. Associating a place, or specifically a particular project of architecture with leisure, therefore, is problematic. The question of how a text of

literature architecture defines *function* (or enters the field of function) is fundamental in terms of evaluating the position of criticism in that very text.

There are a limited number of architectural texts, which contextualize leisure using a critical approach. Relevant examples from architectural theory are mostly of academic origin. Many academic studies on leisure in the areas of architecture and planning classify certain types of projects as spaces of/for leisure, and then investigate those very projects. They explore touristic sites, coastal areas, shopping malls and other retail sites, theme parks, theaters, cultural centers, parks, etc. These works prominently base their research on what has already been built or designed in order to gather and articulate information on production of these spaces. They look for patterns in the production of these architectures, question whether there are any transformations taking place in these patterns, and subsequently try to relate architecture's relationship with cultural, social and economic realms. In most cases, the findings of the research undertaken are questioned only if they apply to other *types* of spaces that were not a part of the initial research, or if they inspire new typologies and new design ideas. Most of these academic studies, therefore, do not *problematize* leisure as a concept. The criticism they engage with, which is why they are included in the scope of this dissertation, stems from their recognition of the capitalist mode of production and the conditions enforced on the design of public space with commercial features. The important question regarding texts under this title is how the concept of leisure *transforms* into leisure as function(s), and how criticism is delivered in this process. I discuss the texts according to the time they span through with the examples of architecture they include.

4.1.1 Designing the Seaside (Fred Gray)

Fred Gray's book *Designing the Seaside* (2006) offers an overall (but fragmentary) focus on the British seaside and its three centuries long development as sites of leisure and pleasure. I discuss the book under this title as an example that takes leisure as a function (or a group of functions) and classifies buildings according to their functions (and as uses). The purpose is to trace how Gray generates a criticism, how this criticism operates, and what it presents (in terms of knowledge, or in terms of what it projects on to architectural history/literature), considering his interpretation of leisure.

Leisure as a concept is not problematized in *Designing the Seaside*. Although an inquiry of the concept of leisure does not really exist, the book displays a number of examples illustrating the relationship between architecture and leisure. Firstly, it shows how the architecture of leisure modifies leisure: the seaside resorts (that the book studies) as a *typology* pave way for a whole new typology, such as the theme parks. Secondly, the book displays how a seaside resort is simultaneously a product and a generator of *representation* feeding from themes of (an artificial) nature enriched by Orientalist²² motives. The book's organization reveals its approach. It starts with a focus on the context of the seaside leisure in terms of holidays and explores the changing technology and changing class structures. Then the book looks at the cultural representations of these spaces. Following the study on the context (the socio-economic background), the book elaborates on architecture, first by discussing seaside architecture's role in general, then by defining specific typologies of this architecture. Gray separates these sub typologies of seaside architecture according to the way they engage with nature (if they are indoors or outdoors, or if they connect with the water or not). The book ends with an exploration of residence facilities such as hotels, villas, or seaside huts in order to illustrate how seaside architecture specifically may have effects in architecture on a broader level in the urban context. Associating certain places with each other allows for a comparison and contrasting of these spaces. In the book, the adoption of leisure as function (and as use) works as a key concept to determine which cases of architecture are the matter of discussion. However, the connotations of leisure go beyond this primary role attributed to the concept.

Gray's interpretation of leisure covers "pleasure," entertainment, as well as recreation (in terms of the pursuit of health), and control enforced by the state (and partly by private entrepreneurs) of the working/middle classes. Gray's use of the word with such range of connotations allow for the criticism to be, which is directed at the socio-economic context in which seaside architecture takes place.

²² The relationship between Orientalism and leisure (as a critical topic) is essential and the two show many parallels. Orientalism points out a difference between colony and colonial through asymmetrical power distribution. This is a asymmetry of surplus time (and leisure time), of commodities that define the leisure time. However, I recognize that there is a rooted literature on Orientalism, which remains outside the scope of this dissertation. The important point is to underline the relation between leisure and Orientalism, not to theorize Orientalism in itself.

In *Designing the Seaside*, the central argument is that there is “a distinctive architecture [that] helps define the seaside resort as an arena of leisure and [that] is a significant element in the consumption of the seaside and the seaside holiday” (Gray, 2006: 7). Gray addresses the contradictory ways in which architecture connects with nature; the profit-making that shapes architecture; the destruction of public spaces and their reinvention through amusement parks.



Figure 4.2 : Excerpts from *Designing the Seaside*.

Gray explores seaside architecture from the eighteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. The book contains countless examples displayed as “selective and fragmentary” (Gray, 2006: 13). The visuals that enrich the text consist of representations of places and buildings through postcards, illustrations, advertisements and photographs, as seen in Figure 4.2. However, Gray excludes technical (architectural) drawings. The choice of visuals shows parallels with the discussion on architecture. Gray does not dwell on particular architects and their design cases, design ideas, or their specialties. Instead, as a third person, he observes already built projects, elaborating on them as cases that illustrate a common way how seaside architecture has evolved and inspired other architecture.

The critical terminology that Gray mainly uses consists of commodification (due to consumption of seaside and of nature) and fetish (of visual senses or of individual). He partly uses the term spectacle. When Gray dwells on commodification of the seaside, he refers to Orientalism and thereby theorizes how nature is turned into a spectacle along with architecture.

The use of critical theory is mainly through how architecture becomes a part of a tourist culture in a changing but an ongoing fashion. Gray includes theories of Chris Rojek and Rob Shields (considering beach as subversive and liberating environment), John Urry (Tourist Gaze and Consuming Places), a number of historians including John MacKenzie (Orientalism), as well as George Simmel (commentary on “with its extreme intensification and fulfillment of the present form of the past,”) (Gray, 2006: 226).

References to critical theory are more visible than references to architectural theory. A technical-architectural terminology and themes that often shape architectural discussions such as modernism, functionalism or postmodernism are not in use. The outcome of Gray’s criticism is not based on a distinctive architectural point of view.

The book proposes to treat architecture beyond its physical objects (emphasizing that social theory often lacks such consideration). It traces the transformation of nineteenth century practices that shape contemporary architecture such as holiday resorts becoming permanent residences for their owners, forever changing the way people engage with nature. It presents that the transformations in the practices of holiday making show parallels with the architecture that accommodates it. Even

though Gray does not problematize leisure in itself, he is able to use the concept to illustrate a relationship between architecture and the everyday, shaping each other.

The purpose is “to piece together some elements of the making, using and representing of Western seaside architecture.” (Gray, 2006: 329). There is no closure in the book in the form of a conclusion. Rather, it presents fragmented pieces of information on the history of seaside architecture. The book does not detect a particular architectural problem and neither does it suggest a possible way of overcoming challenges within architecture. It aims to regard seaside architecture beyond its physical objects. Therefore, it can be claimed that the assertion of a problem is not about architecture in terms of a set of practices regarding design, but about the lack of studies on architecture on the subject matter.

In the context of this dissertation *Designing the Seaside* is an example that presents a number of continuities within the literature of architecture. The book illustrates the transformation of seaside architecture along with changing holiday making customs reflected onto a historical (sequential) timeline. Privately owned public spaces, such as themed amusement parks inherit the qualities of western seaside architecture that dates from the nineteenth century. Even though Gray does not question leisure in itself, which this dissertation aims to accomplish, through leisure sites, he is able to project the outcome of his criticism into a history of architecture. The book is successful in illustrating how leisure sites allow for a unique way of interpreting architecture in the course of three centuries. Christoph Grafe’s dissertation, on the other hand, focuses particularly on post-war era cultural centers in Europe, following a similar approach as I discuss under the next title.

4.1.2 People’s Palaces (Christoph Grafe)

Christoph Grafe’s dissertation “People’s Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-war Cultural Centers” (2010) is an example of academic research on architecture that associates leisure with certain kinds of places and then classifies buildings based on this association. Grafe recognizes the cultural politics of the European welfare state in the post-war era as the context of the production of state-funded culture centers. These centers are meant to attract people from all social backgrounds and provide equal access to culture and education. In that respect, the study starts with an examination of the idea of the welfare state and

its policies. Subsequently, it tries to determine the role of architecture and buildings “as a part of a larger social and political project” within the discourse of the 1950s and the 1960s (Grafe, 2010: 25). Grafe’s dissertation focuses on the idea of culture and its perceptions at the time that have contributed to the realization of these buildings, and then analyzes two cases in their particularity, London’s South Bank Buildings (art center, galleries, festival halls) and Stockholm’s Kulturhus (culture center).

Grafe does not problematize leisure in itself, but instead brings together ideas around the concept such as culture, education, and entertainment as he focuses on technocracy and cultural forms as public issues. Grafe’s text is important for this dissertation since it illustrates a criticism directed at the context of particular architectural cases, in which leisure policies (of the welfare state) play a major role. The idea of the European welfare state and its close ties with the production of *leisure spaces* appears as a major theme in theories of architecture that focus on the idea of leisure. In 2012, Grafe together with Hilde Heynen and Janina Gosseye organized the conference “Architecture for Leisure In Post-war Europe” around this theme. The conference included various studies on of parks, coastal sites and urban areas for touristic facilities, as well as sport facilities and schools, along with research on the policies of various welfare state countries that regarded education as a necessary part of leisure facilities²³ (Url-5). In the welfare state setting, the built environment – and therefore architecture – had a role in the welfare state as a political project, leisure being one of the functions this state policy advocated. Architecture not only had a prominent role in terms of innovation, but also as a promotion of consumer culture (Swenarton & others, 2015). Grafe’s study, therefore, presents a rich context for discussing the relationship between politics and architecture, allowing for a discussion regarding buildings as discourse.

In *People’s Palaces*, Gray uses leisure as culture and education, aimed to be accessible by everyone. However, leisure is also a part of consumer culture, as self-improvement, self-expression and as a medium for social critique. Even though Gray

²³ The work of Andreas Rumpfhuber, among the speakers in the conference, will be discussed in the following sections. He takes leisure as an extension of work and brings together theories of immaterial labor and various examples of architecture from the second half of the 20th century.

does not problematize the concept in itself, by bringing together the architectural cases with the present state policies, he is able to generate a criticism.

The criticism is directed at the idea of consumer culture that architecture advocates (in the context of the exemplar projects) is both contradictory and an ideal that contemporary architecture disregards: contradictory because this culture is associated with consumer culture, which dictates to the public the kind of culture they have to engage with; and an ideal as it tries to deliver culture (as education and entertainment) to the entirety of the public.

The two exemplars in the dissertation belong to the post-war context of Britain and Sweden, but to consecutive decades (1948-1950, 1958-1960 and 1968-1970). Grafe enhances his study through examining these buildings via their discourses, which according to him corresponds to taking these buildings both as architectural objects and as outcomes of *ideas*. Through defining culture centers and their general reception in Europe around the same decades, Grafe defines and positions his research. The text is in the format of a dissertation, which makes it systematic and organized. This is apparent in use of visuals that consist of photographs, illustrations and newspaper advertisements of the buildings as well as architectural drawings and diagrams of the buildings. The dissertation presents charts and diagrams that bring together historical events with the building processes in architectural cases. For instance, the text starts with a timeline in which world events and national events taking place separately within Britain and Sweden are transposed with the course of events that led to building of the two particular examples of culture centers. Whether through diagrams, drawings or photographs, the choice of the visuals reflects the author's approach to criticism in architecture, which considers both the socio-economic context of architecture and the architectural design decisions together.

Grafe writes the dissertation as a third person, observing already built projects. The author dwells on debates that took place during the initiation processes of these projects as well as ideas that shaped the culture centers. Therefore, not only the architects of the culture centers, but also state officials are regarded as important figures. Grafe traces the architectural references in these debates, while taking the urban context into consideration.

The subsidiary concepts the dissertation uses are mainly commodity (commodification) and consumer culture (consumerism), and partly alienation (of the public from culture) and fetish (as cultural). However, references of critical theory include other ideas that question power relations.

Grafe associates culture centers with what Michel Foucault describes as “other spaces” (Grafe, 2010: 543). Other spaces “... constitute a sort of counterarrangement, of effectively realized utopia, in which all real arrangements, all the other real arrangements that can be found within society are...represented, challenged and overturned...” (Grafe, 2010: 543). This assertion determines the way Grafe positions buildings as discursive apparatuses of the state and its cultural policies. Grafe defines culture referring to Theodor W. Adorno and Raymond Williams, while he problematizes the idea of what is *public* through referring to Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt (comparing public policies of the welfare state with accounts on public space); and Richard Sennett (interpreting the architecture via representation of ideas and people in the public domain). The discussion on public space is rooted in critical theory. However, the idea of *public* also shapes Grafe’s approach to architectural theory.

Grafe refers to Arie Graafland on seventeenth-eighteenth century palace gardens and parks in European cities as representations of the organization of the public in terms of power. The rooted discussion on architecture and what is public presents a view on modernism. In that regard, Grafe includes Kenneth Frampton’s account of modern architecture, Reyner Banham’s words on Brutalism (as revisions of modernism) as well as Adrian Forty’s assertion on the relation between modernism and motives to improve social life through architecture. In Grafe’s dissertation, it is possible to observe how references to critical theory and architectural theory work concurrently and effectively, allowing for a unique critical approach.

Grafe claims that “the detailed histories of the two culture centers in London and Stockholm” (Grafe, 2010: 547) shows that architectural design can be affected by different impulses, from urban decision making to ideas about what culture (and thereby leisure) can deliver (as self-improvement, self-expression or even as social critique). The dissertation affirms that a comparative analysis of buildings is possible and illuminating. In the two particular cases, architects working as a part of the state (as in the Southbank example) shows differences with architects hired by the state,

who develop their proposal from a public debate (as in the Kulturhus example). Considering Grafe's assertions, I claim that the dissertation displays how processes of designing, building and using that make up the context of an architectural project are inseparable from each other and therefore, public debates can contribute to the success of an architectural project in terms of realizing what they promise (in the case of the Kulturhus as a "social condenser" (Grafe, 2010: 555)).

Even though Grafe's dissertation presents a unique approach to criticism in architecture, the study only partly contains what I regard as reflexivity in architecture. The reflexivity in the projects' architecture (and the two sites) is not directly about challenging the limits of architecture or of leisure. However, these projects contain design ideas that are partly opposed to modernist functional thinking, which tends to eliminate peoples' demands as citizens. The Kulturhus' architect Peter Celsing's promotion of *flexibility* is an example to reflexivity opposing to functional thinking in architecture. Grafe enhances the issue through bringing Adrian Forty's account of functionalism, which points a generation of architects that through flexibility intended to overcome the determinism modernism advocated.

After a detailed elaboration on the two buildings, Grafe concludes with reflecting the findings of his research back into a history of architecture. The introduction of the dissertation reflects the place of cultural centers in the context of (revisions of) modern architecture, emphasizing how the welfare state policies are not homogeneous in the three decades of the post-war period. In this era, the 1960s witnessed both criticism towards consumer culture and radical ideas. As Grafe observes, this is also apparent in Kulturhus as well as in many architectural projects of the era, such as the Fun Palace or projects by Archigram. Thereby, the concluding chapter evaluates these revisions of modern architecture as megastructures. The context through which a project of architecture relates to its surrounding becomes a primary concern and this way a criticism of architecture becomes possible. Therefore, Grafe's dissertation is important as through dwelling on what is public it includes a discussion on architecture as megastructures²⁴. The way Grafe uses leisure

²⁴ This essential discussion on megastructures or superblocks constitutes a particular position for criticism. It is closely related to how architecture relates with people or the rest of the urban context; thereby it is an issue that directly concerns discussions around public space. The fifth chapter will further engage with this issue.

as a group of functions allow for a comparison of two architectural cases that reflect the cultural policies of the state and examine how architecture as both the products and the generators of cultural policies are a part of a bigger context. This dissertation therefore is an example to new criticality, which simultaneously considers cases in architecture as a part of a socio-economic context and regards these cases as a part of the architectural history (evaluating them from an architectural perspective). The following section examines a similar approach to criticism, but this time in the context of the United States.

4.1.3 Total Landscape (Miodrag Mitrasinovic)

While Europe went through the welfare state years in the post-war era, the United States went through what Thomas Hine (2007) refers to as the “Populuxe” period. During the 1950’s and 60’s the idea of a new consumption was introduced into American culture, along with the advent of advertising as a part of mass consumption. The first Disneyland opened in 1955, architecturally very modern and up-to-date in terms of design and technologies, and very much influenced by the avant-garde of the day, such as the Situationists International in terms of their merging with mass communication as well as transportation networks²⁵ (Mitrasinovic, 2006). Miodrag Mitrasinovic’s book *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (2006) gathers knowledge and articulates theory via studying a certain *type* of built environment associated with certain functions of leisure in such context. Mitrasinovic explores a number of theme parks in various parts of the world in detail. He sees them as complex artifacts in which it is possible to study the totalizing condition of *privately owned public spaces*. According to him, theme parks are specialized places where the engagement of political and economic power occurs, and creates a visible totalizing social realm. He tries to “understand tiny fragments of a globally emerging socio-economic system that produces and consumes specialized space”²⁶ (Mitrasinovic, 2006: 20) first by investigating the production of theme parks as material constructs, then as symbolic environments, and finally as experience factories. He then uses the theme park model to discuss how the public realm is

²⁵ Under the title ‘Leisure as a Field of Experimentation’, the relation of technology and how architecture utilizes leisure will be discussed further.

²⁶ Mitrasinovic uses ‘specialized spaces’ when he refers to a ‘themed’ environment, designed as a whole in many different levels; physically and imaginary, all of which will be explained later.

reconstructed. In short, Mitrasinovic looks at the roots, the present and the future influences of theme parks.

Mitrasinovic's book traces the effects of these total environments that started to become a part of the urban fabric. Theme parks, for example, began to include residential areas, while all parts of urban space tend to include elements of these theme parks themselves. However, even though the book's primary aim is to discuss the mode of production of theme parks, built around the concept of leisure, its problematization of leisure as a concept is not a major concern. In order to compare the study with the Gray's book and Grafe's dissertation, I will further examine the generation of criticism, starting with the use of leisure.

The scheme of *Total Landscape* presents different approaches to the concept of leisure. Mitrasinovic uses leisure as something that can be engineered and designed. On the other hand the concept can serve as an apparatus of control through spaces as total landscapes. The engineered and designed leisure can allow for a construction of the profit-driven specialized spaces of theme parks. The specialization of the theme parks as sites of leisure is not limited to the physical architecture of these spaces, but it also includes a symbolic level through which the theme park experience is further constructed in people's imaginations.

Criticism concerning architecture is based on the vast transformation in technology in terms of communication and transportation. According to Mitrasinovic, in the face of the present socio-economic system, this transformation determines the course of architecture. The successive chapters display the main argument of the book, enhancing discussions on public space through studying theme parks. The first chapter "You are Here" is an introduction to these specialized spaces, including critical theory on public space, and production of space and domination of time under capitalism. The second chapter "Themeparking" focuses on engineering leisure as part of a macro level decision making mechanism, further examining the socio-economic conditions that create these total environments. The third chapter looks at theme parks in their micro-level physicality (in terms of the environment created through the design of places, costumes, etc.). The total environment image is created with the coming together of macro and micro level organizations. The author takes the idea of total environments and traces how the same formula is applied in other spaces, such as restoration villages or open-air architectural sites. He concludes

the book by looking at “the dialectical relationship between theme parks and cities” and discusses “the ways in which the two merge into a generation of conceptual hybrids” (Mitrasinovic, 2006: 38).

Mitrasinovic discusses a number of theme parks in detailed and many others briefly. Similar to Gray’s approach, Mitrasinovic makes use of many examples, however, in a more detailed way. The book is based on Mitrasinovic’s dissertation and displays a systematic discussion in the intersection of architecture and social sciences. The visual material reflects the characteristics of the study as it includes urban maps (showing settlements and transportation), representation of theme parks through flyers and site maps for the visitors, photographs and schedules of daily events (in theme parks) as well as technical drawings. On the other hand, throughout the book, Mitrasinovic includes a subsidiary flow of information alongside the actual text. While the actual text investigates theme parks in detail, the subsidiary text brings together fragments of history on parks and gardens. It goes back to stories on the origins of leisure spaces, such as seventeenth century gardens in Paris, nineteenth century city parks and iconic architectural works such as the Crystal Palace in London. Even though these independent small texts do not seem to intervene with the actual text, they enlarge the content with historical references and with real life events. The subsidiary flow of fragments (on history of leisure sites) contains plans and early illustrations of parks and gardens, as can be seen in Figure 4.3.



Figure 4.3 : Page excerpts from *Total Landscape*.

The text is written in third person, examining already built projects, however brief references to earlier leisure sites from previous centuries are also included. In both

flow of texts, the critical terminology is visible, used more frequently than Gray's and Grafe's texts. Mitrasinovic uses commodity (and commodification), exchange value (as a contradiction in the capitalist context), consumption (used interchangeably with consumer society), objectification (mainly of public space, also referring to McDonaldization) as well as alienation, phantasmagoria, and spectacle.

The amount of critical terminology affirms Mitrasinovic's use of theory as a constituent in the generation of criticism. The book simultaneously dwells on the socio-economic context in which theme parks come into being and the theme parks in themselves as creating new circumstances that reestablish capitalistic relations. Therefore, references to critical theory appear on many levels, from individual (personal) to generic, regarding macro and micro decision making customs. In that regard, the book cites Michel Foucault on his ideas around discipline, sanitary society and the creation of a totalizing social realm (that theme parks also represent); Frankfurt School thinkers (to enhance the idea of totalization); Michel de Certeau (drawing parallels between the standardized landscapes of theme parks and De Certeau's account of military strategies that impose control on people); Lefebvre (as spatialization of political, economic and social relations); Sharon Zukin (establishment and naturalization of the economic value of cultural goods as consumer items); David Harvey and Lefebvre (the spatialization of capitalist relations); Jilly Traganou (space as distance and transportation, defined in monetary or economic terms); Lefebvre (the production of space and the triad, ludic space to understand and abstract leisure spaces); Mark Gottdiener (theme parks as total offering of goods, services and experiences controlled by entertainment corporations); Richard Sennett, Arendt and Habermas (the public realm and public space), George Ritzer (referring to his term McDonaldization for the totalization of public spaces). The references to critical theory allow for tracing of the architecture of theme parks on a historical time line. The book also draws on architectural theory and enhances the criticism it presents.

The references to architectural theory often are through how architecture has contextualized leisure. Mitrasinovic cites Colin Rowe's *Collage City* (for Rowe's account on early leisure sites), Rem Koolhaas and his book *Delirious New York* to discuss leisure spaces as templates for urban transformation. However, in order to project its criticism back into the history of architecture, the book refers to Kenneth

Frampton's account of the postmodern condition of people within culture and Kevin Lynch on urban form.

The theoretical references allow for a criticism to be built around theme parks through the theme of public space. The complex processes that make up theme parks constitute a model that has transformed other public spaces. Discussing this model through using spatial theories on public space and critical theory on production of space (especially of leisure sites) shows its impact on urban public space shaped by *public-private partnerships*.

Even though *Total Landscape* does not contain a detection of problems in architecture and proposals to overcome such problems, the criticism it presents is essential for this dissertation. Studying leisure spaces, the book detects continuities within the course of decades in terms of ideas that initiate the design of these spaces as well as other urban environments. Through the example of theme parks, Mitrasinovic observes the *themed* environment as a phenomenon that shapes all parts of the built environment. He interprets this transformation as a part of a bigger phenomenon that he calls as *public private partnership*, where a symbiosis of governmental and commercial interests plays a major role. Mitrasinovic is able to bring together the dominant socio-economic context in which architecture operates and how architecture shapes this context, and thereby presents a criticism that concerns not only leisure-related sites, but the whole of the society. The criticism operates as a diagnosis of conditions that create architecture and that architecture creates, just like in the texts by Gray and Grafe.

4.1.4 Leisure as function: diagnostic criticism

In the context of this dissertation the most important common characteristic of Gray's, Grafe's and Mitrasinovic's writings is the way they make use of leisure, specifically the way they use the concept to classify buildings (or the built environment) and direct their criticisms at the context of operations of architecture. The diagnostic characteristic of these criticisms stems from where the criticism is directed. Gray's *Designing the Seaside* explores how these leisure sites come to being in their specific socio-economic contexts, forever influencing architectural customs (both in terms of material forms and new representational experiments). Grafe's dissertation probes the cultural policies that shape the architecture of the

welfare (post-war) years in Britain and Sweden, and thereby questions architecture's role in the realization of these policies. Finally, by studying a number of theme parks, Mitrasinovic displays a model that changes cities and their public spaces with the partnership of the state and private entrepreneurs.

Other examples that take leisure as a function to classify the built environment and thereby direct their criticism at the context in which that architecture operates include works on shopping malls. These texts often follow a criticism of emerging intentions of consumerism or the consumer society, and the general intention can be said to be to problematize the concept of "public space" where all kinds of exchanges happen. Tulin Vural's dissertation, like Mitrasinovic's book, is another example of this kind of work. Her dissertation, *Değişen Üretim-Tüketim İlişkileri Bağlamında Alışveriş Merkezlerinin Anlamsal ve Mekansal Dönüşümüne Eleştirel Bir Bakış* [A Critical Perspective on the Semantic and Spatial Transformation of Shopping Malls in the Context of Changing Production-Consumption Relations] (2006), discusses shopping malls as a *type* of space that emerged in the twentieth century and discusses the concept of *leisure* only indirectly, from the perspective of new trends in commercial activities and the complete organization of time spent inside these new public spaces. In other words, the critical approach is conveyed through the idea of public space, where leisure corresponds solely to various entertainment activities offered at the shopping mall. Vural's dissertation, along with many other academic and non-academic texts, follows "postmodern spatial turn" that architectural practice has undertaken²⁷. Ian Woodward (1998) explores this hypothesis through numerous shopping mall projects, and claims that the shopping mall typology as a postmodern space is not unique and "modernist sentiments remain an integral part of architectural practice" (Woodward, 1998: 45). According to Woodward, even though these "hyperspaces" are separated from the rest of outside world in order to serve the desired clientele, the architects commonly try to achieve a sense of community through a new kind of "town square, with leisure as the main drawcard" (Woodward, 1998: 52). In this context, leisure contains the idea of entertainment and various

²⁷ Even though investigating the "postmodern spatial turn" is not a primary concern of this study, many texts on architecture and leisure that contain a critical tone often refer to this idea. This idea will be discussed further under the section "Leisure as Discourse."

commercial facilities that create a *leisurely* experience, a tool that diverts the shoppers' attention from the outside world onto to the object that is the mall itself.

Public space often is the primary framework through which the texts mentioned above discuss leisure. The diagnostic quality of the criticism generated through interpreting leisure as function depends on the theme of public space on many levels. In various examples, the state enriches the public space through leisure, while in theme parks leisure is *totalized* via a design of total experiences that transform the public life/sphere, and is therefore related to consumer culture. In other words, the criticisms embodied in these texts are based on a focus on public space and the socio-economic context, not on leisure *as a concept in and of itself*. Leisure remains as a secondary category that serves to shape the design of architectural projects. The built environment is the object of this kind of study, while the architects and the exemplary design projects are less important. These texts tend to look for the parallels in design, setting up the context for how leisure policies and leisure experience is translated into the built environment. Other texts that observe how *another kind of leisure* can be imagined, however, display reflexivity in architectural design. These kinds of texts take leisure as a field of experimentation in the sphere of architecture. The texts explore cases in which leisure is employed as such and thereby they illustrate leisure's potential to initiate change within architecture, challenging the present limits to the field.

4.2 Leisure as a Field of Experimentation

In the context of this dissertation, the word *experiment* refers to *testing, trying* or *observing* in an attempt to produce new knowledge. The old French root of this word is *esperment*, which corresponded to “practical knowledge” or “magic spell.” The idea behind the word *experiment* contains an engagement to set out another reality or to alter the existing one. In that sense, just like the words *function* and *discourse*, experiment (or experimentation) is about an interpretation of the world and about its implications.²⁸

²⁸ The Latin root of the word *function* corresponds to performance and/or execution, while *discourse* constitutes a reality on its own according to scholars of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), that I will discuss further in the coming pages.

Literature under this title includes texts that interpret the idea of leisure specifically. The fact that leisure as a concept is ambiguous becomes an opportunity to challenge its reception, while the limits of architecture as a profession are also under question, displaying a self-reflexive stance.

Leisure is closely linked with the idea of pleasure and play, both of which are employed to enhance knowledge and design possibilities in the world of architecture. In that respect, leisure, along with ideas such as pleasure and play, conveys new ways of interpreting technology. Many examples in this section hint at this relation between leisure as imagination and as advances in technology. Then again, the question remains as to whether or not this production of new possibilities or knowledge enhancement creates new contradictions, mystifying the relations of power on another level. As in the examples of seaside architecture or theme parks in the previous pages, the pursuit of new forms through imagination and technology may also inspire new industries of entertainment. However, here the focus is on the reception of leisure and the way it operates as a field of experimentation.

Festivals and carnivals are the earliest examples of spatial experimentation through leisure. For many centuries, festival architecture has generated new spatial imagination through its temporality, practicing and strengthening ideas such as *flexibility*, *mobility*, *extremity* and *excessiveness*. Festivals can offer liberating spaces in which people could hide their identity and engage in activities in which they would not otherwise engage. However, these spaces can also operate in an oppressive way, depending on the organization of these spaces and their initiators. Some view festivals and carnivals historically as a means for the ruling classes to keep lower classes under control. Whether these spaces served the ruling elite or not, the spatial experimentations through festivals constitute a central part of architecture in a more general sense (Bonnemaison & Macy, 2008). In other words, festivals and carnivals are essential to architecture. They not only allow for experimentation in architectural design, but they also present another way of interpreting the existing built environment, not to mention providing inspirations for futuristic projections.

Delirious New York (1994, [1978]), Rem Koolhaas's account on Coney Island, displays how festive ideas such as the ones above shape architecture's course of production through its changing relationship to technology. According to him, Coney Island, an early twentieth century site with amusement parks outside Manhattan,

“defines new relationships between site, program, form and technology” (Koolhaas, 1994: 62). Koolhaas looks at various facilities in Coney Island, along with what they are meant to promise people in terms of amusement and technology, and how they are combined to create a new world. Within a few years after the construction of the site, it managed to establish “an urbanism based on the new Technology of the Fantastic” which can be said to be “a permanent conspiracy against the realities of the external world” (Koolhaas, 1994: 61-2). With all the extremes practiced in Coney Island, Koolhaas asserts that the site was like a laboratory that served as a field of experimentation for strategies that subsequently helped shape Manhattan, its density, its urbanity and its immense skyscrapers.

In the context of this dissertation, Koolhaas’s words on Coney Island are relevant because they explore a direct relationship between technology and amusement, and the correlations between the exploration of technology and the development of architecture in a particular context. Koolhaas examines a leisure site and looks at development processes of Manhattan through tracing “the technology of the fantastic.” In other words, in *Delirious New York*, Koolhaas draws parallels between the idea of leisure and architecture through two simultaneous assertions: (1) a leisure site can be inspirational for architectural design and (2) a built environment presents processes and transformations for architectural production. However, Koolhaas does not engage with leisure as a concept in itself; leisure remains associated with certain activities or spaces in which these activities are to take place, whereas references to its changing meaning and an inquiry of what this organizes or produces are still secondary, if they exist at all.

4.2.1 Space, Place, and Play (Liane Lefaivre)

The parallel Koolhaas displays between technology of the fantastic (of leisure spaces) and the course of urban developments (and thereby architecture) is a prevailing one in literature of architecture. In a similar way, Liane Lefaivre draws parallels between technology and the course of architecture, between Aldo van Eyck’s architecture and cybernetic theories of the post-war Europe. Her article “Space, Place and Play” (2002) looks at the architecture of Van Eyck’s playgrounds in the Netherlands. She examines what the design and ideas around these playgrounds reflect about the context, the reflexivity of this architecture, the limits

this reflexivity challenged in the context of present architectural debates of the day, and Van Eyck's experimentations through the idea of play (and children's spaces) finding inspirations from avant-garde artists and radical philosophers.

"Space, Place and Play" as a text constitutes an example to leisure as experimentation as it discusses how problems in architecture can be challenged through imagining another kind of world with another kind of leisure. The article takes leisure as play, as a creative sphere, as time and as set of activities that can be transformed and thereby transform the everyday. Even though Lefaivre does not intend to generate a criticism directed at architecture (or at the context in which it operates), she illustrates Van Eyck's critical position that uses leisure as a field of experimentation through the example of playgrounds.

Two points about the article require attention in terms of discussing leisure's reception as experimentation. Firstly, she discusses an architect that works with leisure, who means to transform leisure through architecture, and architecture through leisure. Van Eyck sees creating city space as a critical event full of potentials, and dwelling on the idea of play, and thereby of leisure, presents a chance to realize these potentials (Lefaivre, 2002). Van Eyck is known to oppose the CIAM's assertion of an urban planning to consist of the four distinct functions of housing, work, recreation (or leisure) and traffic (Coleman, 2005). That is to say, Van Eyck uses leisure and ideas around it as a field of experimentation through objecting leisure's separation from work and through imagining another leisure that would not just be delivered to people through design, but actually would present a design ready to be transformed and appropriated according to people's use within their everyday.

Secondly, even though in her text Lefaivre does not adopt approaches and terminology of critical theory, she does not shy away from mapping Van Eyck's practice through ideas of philosophers and artists, all of whom actively engage with radical theories and hold radical positions, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Johan Huizinga and Henri Lefebvre.

Lefaivre's article simultaneously considers the physicality of the design of the playgrounds and Van Eyck's ideas. The text (and the visual material) displays a flow from the general to the particular in terms of what makes up Van Eyck's design.

Lefaivre starts with differentiating between *space* and *place*. She displays Van Eyck's approach to designing *places* through referring to other scholars' approaches to the issue. Thereby, she emphasizes the architect's opposition to top-down approaches of modernist architects (particularly to CIAM). She then enhances the discussion through discussing Van Eyck's architecture, introducing other influences on the architect's practice (such as cybernetic theories and ideas of the Situationist International). After she investigates the playgrounds, she then translates the design ideas into the urban scale and suggests that Van Eyck's approach advocates a participatory and polycentric urbanism as an alternative to practices of the post-war period.

Van Eyck designed over seven hundred playgrounds in Netherlands in the decades following the Second World War. These playgrounds replaced empty parcels of Dutch cities destroyed in the war. Lefaivre uses many of these playgrounds, however, discussed briefly. The article contains an academic tone and the argument is (partly) systematic in terms of development. The visual material consists of photographs and architectural drawings of the sites as well as diagrams that reflect the architect's design. The selection of visuals reflect Lefaivre's approach, which brings together Van Eyck's built playgrounds with the diagrams that illustrate the design idea behind them.

The author does not use critical terminology, as she does not intend to generate a criticism directed at architecture and the context in which it operates. However, she cites Van Eyck's words on *alienation*. References to critical theory include Lefebvre's theories on Ludic Space, on alienation and the everyday as Van Eyck's inspiration; Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* and the idea of play as Van Eyck's inspiration; the Cobra Group and particularly Constant's ideas,²⁹ connecting Van Eyck's practice with art; and ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre.

References to architectural theory include names such as Le Corbusier and CIAM meetings (as negatively shaping Van Eyck's design); group of Team X architects group including Alison and Peter Smithson (opposing top down approaches to architecture and urbanism that CIAM advocates); and Kevin Lynch (comparing

²⁹ I have discussed Constant and his project "The New Babylon," as an art project that uses leisure as a field of experimentation in Chapter 2.

urban density theories). It is important to point out that Lefaivre uses critical and architectural theory jointly and therefore it is better to examine two kinds of references simultaneously.

Making a distinction between the idea of space and place, Lefaivre reads Van Eyck's approach to align with Jean-Paul Sartre's ideas in *Being and Nothingness*, as both rejected authoritative systems. She also associates the architect's ideas with Henri Lefebvre's conception of space, in terms of their common approach to opposing centralization, calling for a polycentric city both materially and immaterially, in terms of design or as conceptions. According to Lefaivre, Van Eyck's idea of ground-up approach was not only about advocating polycentricity in design and planning, but contained the idea of *inbetweening* of ground-up approaches with top-down approaches, which would allow for the application of different urban strategies. She compares Van Eyck's conception of the *inbetween* with Norbert Wiener's cybernetic theory of self-regulating organisms constantly adjusting themselves in response to new inputs, learning from the changing context with feedback loops. From this perspective, Van Eyck's projects both shape and are shaped by the city and their inhabitants, regarding *changeability* and *transience*. Moreover, asserts Lefaivre:

The playgrounds arose within a semi-hierarchical, semi-anarchic, highly participatory process involving many people over many decades. It was what might be called a cybernetic process, ground-up, top-down, inter-relating a mass of agents, each playing an equally crucial role, impossible to disentangle from one another. (Lefaivre, 2002: 45)

As can be seen in the quote above, Lefaivre's reading of Van Eyck's playgrounds suggests how technological advances of the day inspire and shape experimental approaches. Lefaivre's account of the architect's theory of *inbetweening* shows parallels with theories of technology, as well as with radical thought of the time. Moving from Johan Huizinga's take on the essentiality of *play* in human civilization, she does not hold back from underlining how Van Eyck designed playgrounds which situated play as *active learning*. These playgrounds are not only about providing entertainment for children, but they also have a therapeutic effect in the context of Dutch cities partly destroyed during the Second World War. As Huizinga claimed, it is possible to overcome the *agonal* through *play* (Lefaivre, 2002: 45).

In short, the criticism in the article points out that Van Eyck's architecture has opened new windows in design through suggesting an alternative to CIAM's practices. Van Eyck advocates polycentric design that can be appropriated by its users and take shape according to people's demands. His architecture presents the possibility for such a design through imagining another version of the everyday and thereby of leisure.

The architectural problem that the article conveys is one that Van Eyck as an architect detects, but not one pointed out by the author. The problem is how design can be about creating a *place* instead of top-down approaches (as Van Eyck's assertion) and whether this is possible through imagining leisure to serve as an inspiration that challenges limits in architecture.

The article shows that Van Eyck's approach to design in terms of ideas such as flexibility, changeability, transience and polycentric city precedes other projects such as Constant's New Babylon, Yona Friedman's Mobile City, Smithson's mat structures and Shadrach Woods' Free University of Berlin. On the course of several decades in the post-war era, it is possible to observe a general tendency to challenge given norms within architecture and urbanism. A common characteristic of these projects is their inspirations that are shaped by technology. The next section also dwells on technology inspiring architecture, however this time focusing on the changing nature of labor and work, prominently transforming architecture as a set of practices. In *Architektur Immaterieller Arbeit*, unlike Lefaivre, Andreas Rumpfhuber discusses architecture through labor theories and questions the idea of leisure.

4.2.2 Architecture of Immaterial Labor (Andreas Rumpfhuber)

An example of an architectural text that problematizes leisure is Andreas Rumpfhuber's recent book *Architektur Immaterieller Arbeit* [Architecture of Immaterial Labor] (2013; Url-3). Rumpfhuber starts his book with theories on (immaterial) labor and its transformation, along with technological theories and advances during the 1950s and 60s, detailing changes in working environments. Within this framework he discusses how the idea of leisure is interpreted through various examples. Founding his argument on labor theories, he determines a critical position much like this dissertation intends to adopt. Similar to Koolhaas's take on Coney Island, Rumpfhuber reads various examples of architecture through their close

ties with technology in terms of how it is received as well as how it serves as a primary point of departure for architecture. Rumpfhuber dwells on a number of cases in architecture in order to illustrate changing modes of labor and its effects on the profession. However, as I will examine in the following pages, these cases contain examples of how leisure can be used as a field for experimentation that can challenge the limits of architecture.

The idea of immaterial labor opposes the old dichotomy of mental vs. manual labor, as it recognizes that value creation and modes of production become relatively complex in the current world where communication networks and flows, data transfers and virtuality are more prominent than ever. A crucial emphasis of this theory is that as the definition of work is changing, life is becoming inseparable from work, and it is therefore getting more difficult to distinguish leisure time from work time (Lazzarato, 1996). The theory of immaterial labor is based on the Italian Workerism (*Operaismo*) movement, which defines the essential concept of *alienation* not only as a “loss of human authenticity, but as estrangement from capitalistic interest” (Berardi, 2009). In other words, if one of the origins of the critique of traditional Marxism is work and labor happen in the workplace during work time, the critique of immaterial labor’s origin questions the borders between work and leisure, and on that account recognizes leisure as an integral part of work. As Rumphumfer (2013) notes, according to this perspective, society is operating like a factory and with the surplus production, the entire city is being integrated back into existing production relations. Henceforth, the definition of work and labor is extended to spheres traditionally regarded as non-work. The course of transformation in labor does not only affect the end product of architecture in terms of design, but it also alters the organization of architectural labor itself. Therefore, it is accurate to assert that Rumpfhuber presents a criticism using leisure on several levels: he displays parallels between transformations in the idea of leisure and practices of architecture; through investigating changing working environments, he looks at how extending working spaces take over public space and become meeting places for people; and finally, he focuses on reflexivity in architecture, which covers the intentions in design as well as its consequences in order to picture how architecture aligns with global structures derived by economic systems.

Within the theoretical framework of the book based on the theory of immaterial labor, the border within leisure and work is diminishing. Therefore, leisure as a creative and educational sphere is not separate from the sphere of work, while entertainment is not free of labor or work. However, in particular examples that Rumpfhuber dwells on such as in the Fun Palace project by John Littlewood and Cedric Price, leisure corresponds to an ideal and it must be creative, educational and should be accessible for all people. In other cases in the book, leisure can correspond to the space of the political, where the borders between public and private are diminishing. The changing connotations of the use of leisure allow for the criticism to present a continuous picture regarding architecture's relationship with labor.

The primary criticism of the book is based on the recognition of architecture's ongoing relationship with the dominant economic order. Through theorization of work and labor (thereby on leisure) in critical theory, the book questions to what extent architecture reproduces present conditions, and if it can transform these conditions through design. In other words, Rumpfhuber asks whether architects (have to) mirror existing dominant economic discourses, or if they can initiate change within the framework they operate. Based on this initial question, he organizes the book in two sections: one *Mobilisieren* [To Mobilize] and *Einrichten* [To furnish], referring to Foucault's distinction between *power over* something and *power to* something. In the first part, To Mobilize, he dwells on changing communication technologies and new office environments through bringing together cybernetic theories and new office design. He discusses the Fun Palace and Herman Hertzberger (with various projects) briefly. The second part focuses on the way architecture adapts to changing work (labor) conditions. According to the examples Rumpfhuber mentions, architecture starts to make use of the same technologies that forever change the nature of work and labor. In this part he discusses Hans Hollein's mobile office (as a performance that draws attention to the changing work habits of architects), art installations that display the blurry line between work and leisure, the political and non-political, as well as the public and private. The primary concern is the way architecture oscillates between these categories.

angesehen: „Durch seine überwältigend disziplinierte architektonische Form und in der hierarchischen Anordnung des Grundrisses ist das Larkin Building zum Standard geworden, an dem sich alle Bürohäuser des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts messen.“⁶³

Das Larkin Building war bezeichnenderweise für das weltweit erste Mail-Order-Unternehmen konzipiert worden. Im Vorläuferbetrieb der



Lichthof und Raum der Betriebsführung und der Direktion des Larkin Administration Building von Frank Lloyd Wright in Buffalo, NY, 1903-06, aus: Archiv Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society

59

⁶³ Francis Duffy: *The New Office*, Conran Octopus: London 1997, S.21, eigene Übersetzung

und Arbeitern soll sich der kontinuierliche Eventraum in einem konstanten Fluss der Veränderung den verschiedenartigsten Ereignissen anpassen und ihnen Raum bereitstellen.

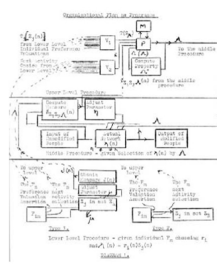


Diagramm des kybernetischen Kontrollsystems des Fun Palace von Gordon Pask, 1965, aus: Cedric Price Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Der Architekt ist hier Mitinitiator des Projekts, aber mitnichten alleiniger Autor. Cedric Price ist als Architekt Teil eines Teams von Expertinnen und Fachleuten, von Politikern und Aktivisten, die das Projekt konzipieren und zu realisieren versuchen. Initiiert von der Agit-Prop-Theatermacherin Joan Littlewood und dem Architekten Cedric Price wird der Fun Palace mit Hilfe von Kybernetikern, allen voran mit Hilfe des Psychologen Gordon Pask und des Statikers Frank Newby zwischen 1962 und 1966 konzipiert und programmiert. Ursprünglich war er, in Verlängerung von Joan Littlewoods radikaler und politisch motivierter

85

225 × Ø 120 cm

Hans Hollein: Mobiles Büro, 1969



Filmstills aus der 1:06-minütigen Performance im Rahmen des 30-minütigen Fernsehporträts über Hans Hollein, 1969, aus: Archiv Generali Foundation, Wien, Produktion: ORF

139

Figure 4.4 : Page excerpts from *Architecture of Immaterial Labor*.

The architectural cases that the author dwells on vary widely. The examples can be particular projects of architects, performances by architects, art work or art installations, discussed briefly only to deliver the point of the text. The book is divided into chapters that contain many examples of architecture enriched by critical theory and cybernetics. The visuals include technical (architectural) drawings, diagrams (especially reflecting office order and cybernetics' principles), photographs of office spaces as well as artwork and performances by architects and artists (Figure 4.4). Rumpfhuber, as a third person observing a number of cases that consist of already built architecture as well as unbuilt projects.

The subsidiary concepts Rumpfhuber uses are alienation, commodification, surplus value and spectacle. The frequent use of the terminology reflects the use of a wide range of references of critical theory. These references include Mario Tronti, Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (on labor theories and *Operismo*), Foucault (on biopolitics and power), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (on capitalism and its affects), Tiqqun (an anarchist French collective, here especially on cybernetics), Guy Debord (the theory of the spectacle), Roland Barthes, Hannah Arendt (on what is public), Maurizio Lazzarato and Paolo Virno (on the theory of immaterial labor).

References to architectural theory include Mark Wigley (his account of Constant's New Babylon project), Cedric Price (on anti-architecture and the Fun Palace), Hyungmin Pai (on architecture's changing relationship with diagrams and

representations), Rem Koolhaas (his account of New Babylon and his theories on space), Hans Hollein (about the public realm), Yona Friedman (on design and the future city), Peter Cook (architecture and experimentation), Pier Vittorio Aureli (the ongoing relationship between architecture and politics against capitalism in the post war Italy). The parallel use of critical theory and architectural theory allow for a unique criticism directed at architecture. In other words, Rumpfhuber illustrates that it is possible to discuss architecture using critical theory; theories on labor and other socio-economic references present another view on how architects translate this order into their design.

In the quest for a theory of immaterial architecture, via post-Fordist paradigms that redefined office space, Rumpfhuber offers a number of cases in architecture that reflect the changing working environment (and by extension the changing leisure environment). He uses the examples of the mobile office project of the architect Hans Hollein, showing how architecture acts in the context of changing circumstances in the global economic structure and the Dutch architect Herman Hertzberger's ideas on designing an "anti-office" landscape, which intended to transform the idea of work (and the working environment). Rumpfhuber asserts that Hertzberger's attempt ends up taking aspirational aspects of the idea of public space, implementing them within an office structure, thereby taking over what public space ideally has to offer. The author proclaims that the changing working conditions are not limited to the design of a building, but rather extend to intensified communications and relations.

Rumpfhuber discusses the Fun Palace developed in early 1960s' England by architect Cedric Price and theater director Joan Littlewood as a case that illustrates leisure as an extended field of labor (2013). The project intended to create a free time space that does not have a fixed program, so that "productive leisure" can be possible. It is widely accepted to have "challenged the very definition of architecture," as it is not really meant to be a building, but instead remains a design that merged art and technology to create an interactive machine, a complex matrix that does not really have a physical form (Matthews, 2007: 13).

In order to explain the Fun Palace project's context, Rumpfhuber explains *leisure society* through the changing processes of production and the idea of automation of work, which leads to more free time for people³⁰. The relationship between humans and machines is crucial. As a popular narrative of the postwar period, cybernetics is emerging; this involves understanding humans through machines and machines through humans (Rumpfhuber, 2014). As Price and Littlewood wanted a flexible design that could change according to peoples' demands and adapt to ever-changing activities, they referred to cybernetics along with game theory and computer technologies. These theories and technologies were meant to provide the necessary data for this indeterminate system "programmed to perform an endless variety of functions" (Matthews, 2007).

The Fun Palace constitutes an important example for this dissertation for several reasons. The project was not only developed by an architect in search of another kind of architecture to adapt to peoples' demands, but it was co-developed by Littlewood, a theater director who challenged traditional theatre and its rules. That is to say, the Fun Palace project is not just a project of leisure space, but it is an example inside the architecture world where a cultural professional is involved in the design process, which is fundamental to the interpretation of leisure time space in such an experimental way. Whether intentional or not, the architect is not the sole owner of the design, but also a cultural professional.

The Fun Palace is also important for this study since one of its primary concerns is the problematization of the concept of leisure, challenging the definition of architecture. Price and Littlewood regard the Fun Palace as both a creative and an educational outlet for leisure time, and when they have written about the Fun Palace, they refer to leisure and learning almost interchangeably. The two start to mean the same thing: a "constructive" use of free time (Matthews, 2007). According to Rumpfhuber (2014) the Fun Palace is a project that called for lifelong learning in the factory of leisure-society; and in this project, architecture itself is becoming immaterial.

³⁰ In the 1960s, England and (Western) Europe were going through the postwar period, in which welfare state policies were prominent and the idea of leisure society was present. ([Url-6](#)).

It is important to highlight that the examples Rumpfhuber tackles contain an amount of reflexivity. The common point about these examples is that they all intended to use architecture to change something about the everyday, whether through introducing public space qualities into the work environment, through changing the organization of office spaces, or through designing flexible structures via using technological advances.

This is important in the context of this dissertation as it shows how architecture tries to overcome inherent problems through design. However, this is not always successful. In many cases, the initial ideas that imagine another work-leisure environment reproduce existing relations. On the other hand, the cases Rumpfhuber discusses illustrate a parallel between challenging notions on leisure and the limits of architecture as a set of practices. Following Rumpfhuber's articulate discussion on architectural design and experimentation in architecture in the context of changing work-leisure conditions, Bernard Tschumi's text stands out as it also contains a call for experimentation around similar ideas but this time to consist of one particular position, and that is of a practicing architect.

4.2.3 The Pleasure of Architecture (Bernard Tschumi)

Bernard Tschumi is another architect who takes leisure and ideas around it as inspiration for design, has written extensively about it, and created projects and texts concerning this intersection. According to Kate Nesbitt (1996), Tschumi makes provocative assertions about architecture, declaring that architecture should avoid society's conservative expectations, and thereby should be radically useless. According to Tschumi, architecture should not (and cannot) be reduced to mere utility; therefore, it should provide spaces for *events*, irreducible to utilitarian functions, so that it can deconstruct itself according to the demand of a *critique* (Tschumi, 1996). Tschumi's use of the word *critique* corresponds to the practice of architecture being critical of itself / in itself. In the context of this dissertation, Tschumi's use of the word *critique* corresponds to *reflexivity*. Therefore, Tschumi's texts are relevant, especially as examples that take leisure as experimentation. Even though, Tschumi's fragments do not contain the word *leisure*, his writings advocate many ideas around leisure such as pleasure, uselessness and denouncing architecture being reduced to functional thinking.

Tschumi's article "The Pleasure of Architecture" (1996) displays his inspirations around pleasure and bodily experiences, as well as the concepts and ideas he borrows from philosophy. Tschumi uses the word *pleasure* in order to express the experiences or stimulations that a particular architecture evokes, as well as to emphasize that architecture is not necessarily an object of analysis: it can escape rational perspectives. The dialectical approach of *thesis*, *antithesis* and *synthesis* cannot contain all the answers to the question of what architecture is. Therefore, asserts Tschumi, another way of writing (and thinking of) architecture is possible, which can be delivered through ideas as fragments. The article continues in a number of short texts as fragments by the author, covering how pleasure can replace necessities through counting on experiences (of the people experiencing architecture as well as the reader of the text).

The fragments in Tschumi's article contain multiple references to leisure. Firstly, the idea of pleasure that serves as the point of origin for Tschumi's text, is an essential idea around leisure. Tschumi's article opens up through multiple connotations of pleasure. Secondly, gardens support Tschumi's argument, both as metaphors to architectural design (in terms of the act of taking control of the environment, shaping and changing it) and as physical places that are meant to present leisure spaces:

Built exclusively for delight, gardens are like the earliest experiments in that part of architecture that is so difficult to express with words or drawings: pleasure and eroticism. Whether romantic or classical, gardens merge the sensual pleasure of space with the pleasure of reason, in a most useless manner. (Tschumi, 1996: 535)

As the words above suggest, Tschumi uses the word *experiment* to describe gardens' place in governing architecture both conceptually and materially. Finally, Tschumi takes the concept of pleasure and manages to criticize the widely accepted notion of functional thinking in architecture. The bodily experience of architecture is beyond usefulness and functional thinking, and this strengthens Tschumi's point of being critical of functional and dialectical thinking, especially regarding architecture.

Unlike other writings, in Tschumi's fragments, there are no particular examples of architecture. The short text does not contain a systematic or academic quality and it does not use any visual material. This particular text separates from others since Tschumi is a practicing architect and talks about his ideas on architecture and design. Therefore it is possible to read the text through its indirect references to the

architect's own practice. Even though the architect does not directly refer to his own project *Parc de la Villette* (1982), his ideas are often discussed through the project by others. Parc de la Villette is Tschumi's first built architectural project, reflecting the architect's ideas on *uselessness* in architecture through what he names *folies*. The *folies* are red cubic structures located on a grid system throughout the Parc. This grid system is inspired by early twentieth century avant-garde movements, such as constructivism.

While "The Pleasure of Architecture" presents a criticism, it does not use terminology from critical theory, except for *commodity*. Tschumi associates commodity with the idea of utility, which according to him provides practical justification in "architectural matters" (Tschumi, 1996: 535). References to critical theory include Roland Barthes ("The Pleasure of the Text") and Jacques Derrida. Barthes's use of pleasure provides a basis for Tschumi's criticism, while Derrida's approach to *deconstruction* supports the architect's opposition to mere functional thinking in architecture. It is important to highlight that Derrida has written about Tschumi's architecture, specifically about *folies*. According to Jacques Derrida, Tschumi's *folies* "destabilize meaning, the meaning of meaning, the signifying ensemble of this powerful architectonics," and thereby they "put in question, dislocate, destabilize or deconstruct the edifice of this configuration" (Derrida, 2000: 574). According to Derrida, the *folies* of the Parc de la Villette are the smallest bits of a vast operation of deconstruction that Tschumi intends to realize³¹. This deconstruction is not about the buildings, but about detecting (and perhaps displaying) "inherent dilemmas" that buildings contain through strategies such as fragmentation, dislocation and discontinuity. The whole Parc project contains a tension between rigidity and flexibility. According to this assertion, the rigidity comes from the grid in the master plan and turns into flexibility that come to be *folies* as inspirational structures (Hardingham & Rattenbury, 2012). In short, Tschumi's use of critical theory as a practicing architect includes references in his practice of architecture. "The Pleasure of Architecture" appears as an extension of his

³¹ Derrida delivers his account of the impossibility of a *deconstructive architecture* in the same text. According to Derrida, Tschumi's work is about "a critique of discourses and ideologies, concepts and texts" (2000: 578).

architectural practice, in which critical theory is an inspiration not only for design, but also for writing and theorizing it.

Tschumi uses architectural references such as the Modernist movement and particularly Le Corbusier's ideas that he opposes in terms of their approach to functionalism, Abbe Laugier on designing parks and gardens as an early example of deconstruction of architecture, and Manfredo Tafuri on Piranesi and rationalism.

The outcome of the criticism Tschumi directs at architecture is an assertion of architecture's role. According to his view, as long as architecture serves pleasure of the senses, it can exceed limits set by given fantasies and go beyond being a utilitarian function. Tschumi's fragments indirectly point at the difficulty in defining architecture. However, they also advocate a reflexivity in architecture, challenging existing limits through stepping away from utilitarian functional (and rational) thinking.

Criticism directed at functionalist thinking is a common theme among other critical texts. The idea of purposelessness presents a potential, through which experimentation in architecture can be possible. The authors' approaches show fundamental differences, while their tools (as critical terminology or themes) can be parallel. The next section compares and contrasts their approaches to and the outcome of their criticisms.

4.2.4 Leisure as experimentation: reflexive criticism

Taking leisure as a field for experimentation requires reflexive criticism, as the texts above illustrate. I call this kind of criticism *reflexive* because the criticism is directed at the subject that is architecture, taking account of itself. These texts offer architectural examples that display an existing problem in architecture, and challenge that problem through imagining another kind of leisure. Lefaivre's account of Van Eyck's playgrounds, Rumpfhuber's book on immaterial labor in architecture, and Tschumi's article on pleasure architecture share a similar approach in this respect. However, before discussing reception of leisure as discourse (under the next section), I will trace the discursive criticism in these texts as a transition to the following pages.

Derrida's words on pleasure architecture and the idea of deconstruction show the extent to which Tschumi's work is related to critical theory. Tschumi writing about

his own architecture and Derrida's treatment of the *folies* to deliver his ideas reflects leisure's reception as a discourse. The reflexivity through leisure that Tschumi's texts and projects contain takes its inspiration from radical avant-garde art as well as critical theorists such as Derrida and Foucault. But the same reflexivity becomes a discourse as in this particular example. According to Gevork Hartoonian, with varying architectural practices architects such as Tschumi "...sets the theoretical premises of any criticism addressing his or her work" (Hartoonian, 2012: 82). Therefore, Tschumi's work already contains and thereby eliminates many kinds of criticism.

Tschumi's use of theory and Aldo van Eyck's approach offer different paths of experimentation in architecture. Unlike Tschumi, Aldo van Eyck, as I have discussed in previous pages, presents a theory that argues "for a shift in mentality, not a particular outcome" (Coleman, 2005:197), and this theory does not advocate a certain style or a justification of a design, but rather aims to deliver a message through words on architecture on their own, without directly putting a particular project up-front. Whereas, in Tschumi's case, the inspiration that challenges the limits of architecture simultaneously introduces new limits³².

In both cases, the Fun Palace inspiring Disneyland and Tschumi's text on pleasure architecture require further attention, as they display reflexivity in architecture entering the field of discourse. The contradictions they pose remain central to the argument of this dissertation. Reflexivity, which I associate with challenging existing limits in architecture – through leisure's reception as a field of experimentation can also become as a part of a discourse. The search for *another* way of designing presents a theory (and knowledge) but is eventually appropriated into something else. According to Lucakz Stanek's work on Henri Lefebvre's theories on space in relation to various projects of architecture and planning, even though Lefebvre criticizes spaces of leisure as they "epitomize the consumption of space," he also claims that it would be just as uncritical to dismiss spaces of leisure as a whole. Lefebvre reads these spaces "as pointing to a possibility of a different everyday life" (Stanek, 2011: 177) that could eventually lead to *differential spaces*. That is to say, in leisure as experiment, architects receive leisure as a function; they diagnose the *use*

³² I consider the fact that Van Eyck is not the author of the article. However, looking at Lefebvre's article, it is possible to trace the reflexivity prevalent in Van Eyck's design.

of certain spaces associated with certain activities. Then, they intend to challenge the limits of the profession by aiming to create a *difference* in the social life. Aiming for a difference in social life through architecture does not necessarily correspond to actualizing it. This presents many contradictions that occur in examples of architecture that aspire to be critical, yet come up against opposition from scholars and commentators claiming that these examples socially reproduce what they mean to change via architecture in the first place. These contradictions inevitably require a consideration of the discursive apparatuses of architecture. The reception of leisure as a discourse *appropriates* these contradictions, as I discuss in the following section.

4.3 Leisure as a Field of Discourse

In order to discuss leisure's use as discourse in architecture, I will dwell on three articles: Andrea Phillips's article "Pavilion Politics" (2010), Reinhold Martin's "Money and Meaning: The Case of John Portman" (2009) and Andrzej Piotrowski's "The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses" (2008). I discuss Phillips' article first, due to the emphasis on the close affiliation between experimentation and discourse in architecture, in her case through pavilion structures. The article by Martin, on the other hand, illustrates discursive practices in architecture explicitly, focusing on practices of a particular architect. I leave Piotrowski's article last, considering that the article offers a more extensive discussion on discourse. In order to determine what I aim to track within these texts, I will first frame what I mean by discourse.

The word *discourse* is defined as a "process of understanding, reasoning, thought" while its Latin root *discursus* corresponds to "a running about" or a "conversation" (Url-7). Both the contemporary meaning and the root contain motion. This is thought in motion, the flow of knowledge through communication. In terms of the production of knowledge, leisure as discourse is about *delivering* meaning. Attributing meaning to leisure provides reasoning or a justification of a design or simply of the product of architecture. On that account, several connotations of leisure under the titles of "Leisure as Function" and "Leisure as Experiment" also reappear under this title.

Discourse and discursive thinking are directly related to architecture's claims for autonomy as a discipline. If the "opening up of technical skills as to the topic to discursive mind" and the mobilization of the "artificial linkage between technical skills and rhetoric" are what lie behind Vitruvius's achievement (Madge & Peckham,

2006: 343) from the first century BC, then from very early on, the production of knowledge in architecture can be accepted to have been a discursive act. If discourse means reasoning, the constellation and delivering of a system of thoughts, the medium of this delivery becomes another area of both a production of knowledge and its manifestation.

In order to discuss architecture's engagement with discourse, or rather, to trace "discursive thinking" in architecture and examine how it contextualizes leisure, critical discourse analysis (CDA - a linguistic method) is helpful. Even though the CDA methodology is beyond the scope of this dissertation, CDA gives clues on how to interpret discourse for the sake of detecting criticism. CDA aims to investigate "social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized [...] by language use (or in discourse)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 2). It can provide a thorough perspective for a critical evaluation of the relationship between leisure and discourse in architecture, since it leans on the idea of dominance, power relations, and the naturalization of these inequalities.

According to Sigfried Jäger (2001), discourse operates via conventions, internalizations, and the regulation of consciousness, entangled with each other. But discourse, according to him, cannot be reduced to a "distorted view of reality" (Jäger, 2001: 36). Instead, discourse represents another reality of its own, as it is material in its own terms; discourses produce subjects and social realities. Therefore, discourse analysis is "about the analysis of the production of reality which is performed by discourse – conveyed by active people" (Jäger, 2001: 36). In architecture, this idea of discourse as a reality may correspond to both a physical materiality and a textual one; an architectural exploration of discourse from such an angle may be employed by going back and forth between the architectural work and the words written about that very work. The texts in this section contain varying composition of the wo. As will come up in the following pages, the texts dwell on particular cases in architecture: they either use (1) a number of structures organized by a particular institution, (2) an architect's work including his own words on his work, or (3) a constitutional architectural object in order to gather its reflections on the everyday as well as on the course of architectural history. The common ground for all three articles is the fact that in order to formulate their criticism, they use leisure and ideas around it. They direct their criticism towards how architecture adopts leisure to

deliver meaning, and thereby they reveal how architecture aligns with power (or capitalist relations).

Following the previous pages on leisure's reception as function and as experiment, it is possible to start a discussion on the way architecture adopts leisure as discourse through *pavilions*. *Pavilions* offer a discursive site for thinking leisure in architecture. Architectural pavilions distinctly present architecture's engagement with leisure, as they are exhibitory structures as well as spatial products at the intersection of art and architecture. According to Andrea Phillips, these structures have a mixed history based on a number of dialectics "of use and uselessness, temporariness and fixity, sociability and elitism" (Phillips, 2010: 107). They often include experimentation of through design, technology and materials, but employ this experimentation as an exhibitory practice, where meaning is delivered through the display of design.

4.3.1 Pavilion Politics (Andrea Phillips)

In her article "Pavilion Politics," Phillips (2010) looks at contemporary examples of architectural pavilions and traces the ways experimentation (or reflexivity) becomes discursive. Even though she does not openly claim to do so, she delivers her point through ideas around leisure. She takes architectural pavilions as discursive structures in order to question the way they bring economic, aesthetic and technical methodologies together. Ideas such as flexibility, temporality or innovative uses of technology, all of which are a part of experimentation in design, are converted into discursive components. Through the example of Serpentine pavilion series located in London, Phillips asserts that the architecture of pavilions has shifted from a medium of social experimentation to transposable structures that often serve capital directed interventions.

Phillips takes leisure as an industry. She also associated the term with certain sites (that pavilions are a part of), indirectly as a set of cultural and recreational activities. The concept of the pavilion has changed from national to transnational, at the same time developing spaces that internalize privatization using a "language of public arts policy-making, in which funding is awarded to enable democratic participation" (Phillips, 2010: 106). Even though today's pavilions appear as design experiments and public interventions, they tend to reproduce – if not strengthen – existing socio-

economic relations, normalizing private interventions, in which architecture remains within its limits, and visitors remain as viewers without a call for participation.

The examples of architecture consist of a number of cases (such as The Serpentine pavilion series) and brief references to renowned architects' pavilions (Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Archigram and Aldo van Eyck). The article is partly systematic combining critical theory and pavilions' architecture. The visual material consists photographs of pavilions, leaving out technical-architectural representations.

Phillips discusses the pavilions observing them as a third person. She is not interested in the design processes or the particular cases and their stories. However, she includes a discussion on the design of these spaces on a general level, comparing their approaches through using terminology such as commodification, consumer culture, spectacle and exchange value. The terminology allows for the article to articulate on discussions around how capitalism intervenes with design initiatives. Although Phillips openly positions the criticism in the capitalistic context and uses such terminology, references to critical theory is limited to one on Walter Benjamin on Arcades Project. She supports her point about the pavilions being examples of experimentation in architecture.

References to architectural theory include Andreas Ruby and Beatriz Colomina with their account of pavilions as open to speculation, Penelope Curtis about the relationship between art and architecture through pavilions. Phillips mentions architects such as Cedric Price, the Smithsons and Archigram, who have pursued an incentive for social experimentation in the twentieth century, which pavilions of twenty first century tend to leave out.

The outcome of Phillips' criticism can be summarized as how in the course of twentieth century, pavilions have lost their socially experimental quality and become capital serving agents. The experimentation of pavilions is reduced to technical matters. In short, the architectural problem that she points out is that experimentation in the architecture of pavilions should include a search for a new sociability and carry the experimentation beyond technical matters.

There is a historical continuity in the architecture of pavilions as they have been a part of military interventions in search of flexible and light structures. Today, they are a part of capital driven projects with a display of new forms and new materials.

The contrast, on the other hand, is the attempt in each pavilion to present a new architecture. However, Phillips observes a deviation as according to her, pavilions display how public space is “enabled, along with a narrowing of the forms of acting to which we might aspire” (Phillips, 2010: 115), and thereby public space and pavilions lose their initial purposes.

This article shows similarities with texts that receive leisure as a function, since they all mention multiple examples of a certain typology, be it theme parks, or shopping malls. It also aligns with texts that take leisure as a field of experimentation, since Phillips includes reflexivity in the design of pavilions in the article. However, the discursive pursuits in the particularity of pavilions stand out, making leisure a field in which meaning is produced, delivered and transformed. It is important to point out that the article articulates the discussion through public space and technological experimentations that present structures that show parallels with art objects in terms of the way they are exhibited.

4.3.2 Money and Meaning (Reinhold Martin)

Another text that delivers criticism through leisure (building criticism based on leisure as an idea as well as accessories associated with leisure that complete architecture) is an article by Reinhold Martin. In his article “Money and Meaning” (2009), Martin discusses the work of American architect and developer John Portman, known for his hotel designs, office buildings, and multi-functional complexes that have transformed American downtowns. Referring to Portman’s own words as well as the architect’s numerous projects, Martin focuses on the discourse Portman employs in his work.

Even though “leisure” is discussed indirectly in the article, mostly through various elements of Portman’s design, the article is essential, first because it attempts to point out contradictions in Portman’s discourse on his production of architecture, and second because the article does this via concepts such as commodification, fetishization, cultural value or exchange value. Martin uses critical theory and Marxist terminology to read Portman’s practices (both his projects and his words on these projects) within the context of world events, such as wars and international politics. Taking Fredric Jameson’s work on Portman as his point of origin, Martin further enriches his text by including other architects’ practices, such as Le Corbusier

and Louis Kahn, thereby executing a criticism that covers a wider spectrum within the literature / history of architecture.

In the article leisure corresponds to spatial attributes that make up of the total environments within Portman's architecture. These attributes can serve as agents for forgetting that there is another world. In this context, leisure is a key concept through which architecture seduces people.

The criticism is directed at multi-national corporate power reestablishing its dominance via architecture. According to Martin, Portman's work is "symptomatic, not exemplary" as it constitutes examples of "architecture that channels the power and brutality of multi-national corporations" (Martin, 2009: 37). But these spaces are often happy and pleasant with facilities in their atriums and recreation areas, sometimes even inside office buildings, all of which are closed to the outside world. In these atriums, power seems "friendly and natural" and there is the illusion that "everything is just fine" (Martin, 2009: 49).

Martin discusses numerous buildings of John Portman enriched with the architect's own words, comparing these buildings with Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia project and Louis Kahn's project in Dhaka. The text is in the form of an article, which refers to critical theory, world events and cases in history of architecture. The visuals include photographs of Portman's buildings as well as their architectural drawings including sections and plans. The choice of visuals reflect the author's approach to criticism where the built environments and Portman's words are read through ideas and references from critical theory and architectural theory. Martin observes Portman's architecture as a third person, but embellishes Jameson's perspective account of these buildings.

The terminology Martin uses are fetish, exchange value vs. cultural value, demystification (and defetishization) and commoditiy, all of which play a foundational role in the articulation of the argument. Martin refers to Portman's atriums as "fetishes" that operate by replacing something with another. In the process of commodification of urban space, he states that fetishes are "central to the work of concealing and forgetting on which the world system is built" (Martin, 2009: 48). These total environments created by Portman present harmony so extensively that they hinder any intention "to imagine how things could be different" (Martin, 2009:

50). This is how, as Martin puts it, the architect Portman displaces the cultural value of architecture with its exchange value.

Martin refers to Jameson's *The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (2008), where Jameson calls Portman's Westin Bonaventure building a "total space, a complete world, a kind of miniature city" that "does not wish to be a part of the city but rather its equivalent and replacement of substitute." (Jameson, 2008: 40). For Jameson, this building intends to create a space that is "complacent and entertaining leisure-time space" (Jameson, 2008: 44). Coming back to the idea of *discourse*, as the focus of this part of the literature review, it can be said that moving from Portman's hotels and atriums as new leisure spaces, both Martin and Jameson are in search of a theory of new economic relations and their spatiality, and both call this "postmodernism" as the condition of advanced capitalism. Martin aims to illustrate Portman's discourse as an architect as well as a wider discourse of postmodern relations, while Jameson, as someone less familiar with the architecture world, is only after the latter.

Martin enriches his account of Portman's architecture also through references to architectural theory. He refers to Sigfried Giedion (as a historian and his account of modern architecture), discusses C.I.A.M. (representing modern architecture and advocating functionalism that Portman opposes to); and most important of all, postmodern architecture as a discursive formation. Martin quotes Portman's critique of "the errors" of modernist architecture, where Portman criticizes the strict separations of functionalist zoning where architecture, according to him, cannot communicate with people. Instead, in his own work, Portman chose to design for "people," where atriums would be an essential component that constitutes what Martin calls "total environments"³³ (Martin, 2009: 46).

The outcome of the criticism in "Money and Meaning" in short is: architecture aligning with capitalism channels the power of multi-national corporations through creating total environments isolated from the rest of the city (and thereby the world). The criticism makes use of a discussion on reflexivity in architecture. Through discussing how Portman's atriums stand as a solution to what he asserts as

³³ 'Total environment' recalls Mitrasinovic's idea of 'total landscape'. The interesting point is that Mitrasinovic uses the idea of 'total landscape' to formulate his criticism of a new kind of public space and question it thoroughly, whereas Portman seems to use the idea of 'total environment' as an achievement of his design. Jameson refers to Portman's atriums as 'total spaces'.

problematic in architecture (claiming that his architecture with its enriched interiors provide total environments). Martin points at the discursive and contradictory assertion of this reflexivity.

Martin detects a continuity within the monumental aspects of modern architecture transferred into corporate architecture, both of which channel the brutality of power. The contrast is about Portman's intention to overcome modernist architecture's functionalist and monumental architecture that according to him does not serve people. The deviation that Martin detects is how Portman follows a similar course as his architecture based on similar principles with that of Kahn's architecture, allows for the commodification of urban space.

Contemporary texts exploring discourse in architecture in the context of leisure spaces may result in a criticism of the "postmodern." According to Martin, postmodernism is not something that defines certain architectural projects, but it is rather a discursive formation. Therefore, in order to investigate these discursive trends, he suggests we "decontextualize architecture with respect to existing narratives," and recognize how architectural projects can be a part of "hegemonic arrangements and reproduce their own outsides" against which they operate (Martin, 2010: XIII).

In his book *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* Martin explores architecture in the postmodern condition. According to Martin, by stepping away from the functionalism of the 1950s, architecture would presumably stay away from capital and corporations. However, as much as this "stepping away" seemed to be an intention to claim architecture's autonomy, it allowed capital and corporations to get hold of the practice even more, as it provided another kind of spectacularization through architecture's reentering the culture industry with "the attentive presence of the mass media" (Martin, 2010: xx). The *spectacularization* of architecture as a part of a culture industry is not necessarily limited to the postmodern era in architecture, as Andrzej Piotrowski suggests in the article "The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses" (2008).

4.3.3 The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses (Andrzej Piotrowski)

According to Andrzej Piotrowski, this process where architecture is being "reentered into the culture industry," in which architecture becomes another medium of

spectacularization, has its roots in the early days of industrialization during which a market full of mass commodities became available and new clients had to be found. In his article “The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses,” Piotrowski (2008) outlines how architecture has adopted consumer culture and the forces of capitalism, starting from the nineteenth century. It illustrates a criticism that traces a continuity in the formation of discourses in architecture that cannot be articulated without terminology of critical theory.

While the article brings together critical theory with architectural theory and history, it uses many ideas around leisure that make up discourses on architecture. The article does not particularly use the word leisure, but how through discussing the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition that took place in the building in 1851, it draws parallels with the idea of exhibition enriched with the architecture and numerous architects’ discourses, all of which count on providing a spectacle. It is important that the article uses a prominent example of architecture that hosts leisure facilities, experiments through leisure as it provides new ways of engaging with leisure, and defines new roles for architecture to take part in people’s lives with its technologically innovative qualities.

The criticism is directed at architecture aligning with forces of capitalism through objects of architecture and through architectural texts. Piotrowski first draws parallels between the magazine *Illustrated London News* of Victorian England and the Crystal Palace in terms of visual experimentations and the verbal discourses they adopt. The representational experimentation of the Palace and the words of the magazine were sources of information that were presented alongside illustrated advertisements, which evolved into an unquestioned narrative, resulting in commercial experimentation. The choice of visuals reflect the author’s approach that brings together the architectural aspects of the structure with the representations of this architecture delivered along with everyday contents in a magazine. Piotrowski does not observe an built project as a third person, but he dwells on various representations of this architecture.

The terminology from critical theory is foundational for the criticism that Piotrowski generates. These can be listed as spectacle, commodity, consumer (and commercial) culture and fetish. Using Guy Debord’s concept of the *spectacle* as a form of capitalist propaganda, the author is able to draw parallels between the spectacle of

the exhibition and discourses in architecture. The Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace offered an overwhelming amount of items from all around the world displayed as fetishes. This blended together with the physicality of the palace, its long indoor vistas and its transparent exteriors that allowed daylight inside. The palace, like the magazine, appeared as just another source of information. Here, the knowledge of the world with an “unquestioned narrative” was a part of a commercial experiment, thereby empowering the forces of capitalism in every way. Piotrowski also refers to Fredric Jameson’s account of postmodern culture, as well as to Tony Bennett on how Crystal Palace operated as an exhibitionary complex.

The architectural references Piotrowski makes include Charles Jencks (on postmodern architecture), John Ruskin (discussing the relation between architecture and the sublime) and Le Corbusier (on how he used representation in a similar way). Piotrowski points out that the discipline of architecture becomes another spectacle when it operates as a source of knowledge and as a position of power reaffirming itself. Architecture does not only align with power, but it internalizes capitalism’s modes of reproduction. Piotrowski traces this internalization in the architectural writings of John Ruskin, who attributes the divine to the discipline of architecture (as in differentiating between the order of God and the order of man); in the practice of Le Corbusier who used new media and experimented with visual material; and finally in the writing of Charles Jencks in the second half of the century, who “identified postmodern as an architectural style,” thereby disregarding the intellectual motive behind the rest of the postmodern theory that in other fields dealt with the “silenced aspects of history” (Piotrowski, 2009: 139). According to Piotrowski, Jencks’ take on the idea of *postmodern* provided a ground for mainstream architects to further align their commercial interests with what the market had to offer.

The criticism draws parallels between architecture in the Victorian Era and the postmodern era in terms of how architecture aligns with capital. The article does not contain discussions on reflexivity in architecture (as attempts to challenge limits in the profession). Nevertheless, it is possible to observe the physical aspects of architectural design contributing to people’s experiences, completing architectural discourses.

The continuity the article presents, as expressed above, is the connection between architects' approaches in different eras, a continuity in terms of discursive formations within architecture. The deviation the article points at is about how practices in architecture and architectural theoreticians contributed to mechanisms that make the capitalism appear as esoteric and unthinkable. The idea that architecture contributes in concealing capitalist relations is also present in Reinhold Martin's article "Money and Meaning." The unquestioned narrative that Piotrowski describes through the Great Exhibition supports his argument. Piotrowski's assertion is not uncommon, and echoes Walter Benjamin and many others in terms of the alignment of culture and space with commercial interests. Benjamin's take on World Fairs and his idea of *phantasmagoria* brings together urban space with commercial interests, and theorizes how this space may reproduce itself continuously. Andrea's Phillips' account of pavilions also included a congruent reference to Benjamin's ideas. Moreover, from an architectural point of view, Piotrowski's article extends its criticism beyond a physical manifestation of commercial interests involved in architectural production. This shows parallels with Phillips' article in which she inquires pavilions through their transformation of the idea of public space, reducing experimentation in architecture to mere objects of exhibitory structures, dismissing a motive for challenging present limits in architecture.

4.3.4 Leisure as discourse: discursive criticism

The appearance of leisure as a discourse in the literature of architecture often revolves around public space and critiques of functionalism. For this reason, leisure as discourse cannot be evaluated without engaging with a criticism of leisure's reception as function. In light of the criticism of the relation between economic relations and spatiality (or production of space) it is hard to develop a criticism of discursive formations in architectural production. However, as illustrated via the examples in the literature review, criticism of leisure's utilization as *discourse* cannot be acknowledged without recognizing leisure's role as an *experiment* in the production of architectural knowledge. What makes architecture acquire an *experimental* quality, and when does this *experimental* quality become *discursive*?

Cedric Price's Fun Palace, as I have discussed above, is a case that takes leisure as experimentation embodied in an experimental approach towards architecture. Even

though the project was not realized, despite the efforts to do so, it was influential for many architects practicing in the 60s and the 70s. The Centre Georges Pompidou, a competition project by Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, is based on similar ideas as the Fun Palace. Cedric Price's adoption of "anti-imagery" and his idea of anti-architecture, where he claims that "society would, on the whole, be better off without the obsessions of form-makers" (Curtis, 1996: 539), are compatible with ideas behind the Centre Pompidou. The architects wanted to create a center that wasn't a "palace of culture" but rather, a serviceable building that would have adaptable interiors (Curtis, 1996). This meant that the infrastructure elements were displayed on the exterior façade, while the interiors were huge spaces that would provide flexibility for the organization of space.

Despite the ideas that the architects of Centre Pompidou wanted to realize, the building received harsh criticism. One of these criticisms came from sociologist Jean Baudrillard, a theorist of postmodernity with Marxist leanings (Leach, 1997). According to Baudrillard, cultural production as an ideology is "antithetical to culture" (Baudrillard, 1982: 5) and the huge interior spaces and the flexible design that would allow culture to be experienced by the visitors are nothing but a "cultural mystification" (Baudrillard, 1982: 7) of the masses, who, according to him are the only content of Pompidou (which he refers to as Beaubourg). He asserts that as the masses crowd in tempted to see each other (as if a part of a marketing strategy), the mass becomes a part of "supermarketing of culture" in which everything is "demonstrated by means of *its own accelerated circulation* [author's emphasis]" (Baudrillard, 1982: 9) only to reproduce itself. Furthermore, the idea of randomness in this architecture that has "replaced the models of determinacy and classical causality," (Baudrillard, 1982: 12) via experimentation of leisure in terms of space and organization, is according to Baudrillard, not fundamentally different from what it claimed to replace.

Baudrillard's criticism of Centre Pompidou leaves out certain arguments relevant to this dissertation, as it does not attempt to question the project from the perspective of architecture. What he criticizes is not the architects' or the architecture's discourse, but a built project itself, which is taken as a medium that directs social life and transfers meaning. Baudrillard directs his criticism to a built project of architecture, and not to a case in architecture that remained as a project. Unlike the Centre

Pomidou, the Fun Palace, for instance, remains as a radical experimentation in architecture. This illustrates how the reflexive in architecture is closely affiliated with the discursive, and qualities of the architectural cases that criticisms dwell on determine the mode of criticism. Therefore it is necessary to discuss the spheres of criticism that I have defined, considering the attributes of the cases they examine, as I will do in the following section.

4.4 A Triad of Criticism: Diagnosis, Reflexivity, and Discourse

The texts above from architectural literature and theory display three different modes of criticism regarding architecture and leisure. These *criticisms* operate in different ways, but they exist together, if not trigger each other. Focusing on how these *criticisms* operate makes clear that although these three categories are permeable (in terms of ideas) they are irreducible to each other. This section compares their interpretations of leisure, explores their modes of criticism and identifies their critical tools, in order to conclude this chapter. Focusing on these different spheres together displays a detailed picture of criticism around leisure: criticism about leisure (under “Leisure as Function”), criticism of leisure (under “Leisure as Experimentation”), and criticism through leisure (under “Leisure as Discourse”).

Under the title “Leisure as Function,” the word leisure corresponds to certain kinds of spaces associated with leisure activities. The stress is on the cultural and educational aspects of the concept. However, leisure is seen as something that could be engineered (organization of time), as a part of a totalized reality. Leisure is something consumable and thereby can be transformed into commodities. Thus the spaces of consumption become leisurely places.

The texts under “Leisure as Experiment” take the concept of leisure as a laboratory, an unpredictable and ever-changing phenomenon. The stress here is on productive leisure, leisure that can be educational and accessible for all people. Many examples under this section come from the welfare state years’ in Europe in which leisure was educational and productive. This reception of leisure during the welfare state years set the scene for doing experiments through imagining different organizations/ideas of leisure.

Examples of literature under the title “Leisure as Discourse” take leisure as activities or facilities and spaces associated with these activities, regarding the physical elements (and qualities) of these spaces. Leisure spaces can be (a part of) total environments that would produce their own outsides. Most of these examples engage with the idea of leisure indirectly.

Under the title “Leisure as Function,” the concept of leisure is not directly a part of the criticism. Instead, leisure is associated with certain kind of spaces and this is used to classify buildings (or architecture) according to their functions or purposes. The criticism is directed at the context of these leisure spaces. The reception of leisure as a function is the result of a *diagnosis* of two things: the context (socio-economic relations where the criticism is directed) and the specific example of architecture of leisure in this context. Different projects that belong to the same category are *compared* to one another. The outcome of the comparison is questioned in order to find out whether there are similarities with other types of architectural projects. However, leisure as a concept is discussed via its various qualities; the concept may be illusionary, it may be promoting consumer culture, its design may be organized solely in terms of time management (of the users/consumers), they might be specialized spaces, where the natural and artificial blend into one another. In all of these cases, the criticism presented is *diagnostic*.

Diagnostic criticism through leisure looks at an architectural project’s context to find out how the design relates to its environment, looking for continuities and parallels between different projects. It often looks at already built projects of the same *typology*, using leisure as a tool for classification. These texts are written by third parties, often by scholars in architecture, who are not a part of the particular design processes, but look at architectural projects and the built environment designed by others. The identity of the designers or the architects is not usually part of the discussion. These texts do not deliver a criticism through a criticism of leisure. Instead, they bring together the context of the projects with the design, directing their criticism towards this relationship. To do this, the texts explore written material as well as all kinds of representations, images and architectural drawings. By comparing a number of different projects, they present a kind of knowledge that relates to past inspirations and future possibilities in design. The texts show that the production of the built environment depends on the organization of capital and investments and

thereby the organization of capital determines (and is determined by) architectural practices and the reception of leisure in a particular architectural project; architectural practices and the reception of leisure are therefore compatible. Diagnostic criticism provides the necessary ground for the spheres of *reflexive criticism* and *discursive criticism*.

Under “Leisure as Experiment,” architectural examples are given which include a criticism of the idea of leisure, through imagining how it could be different. They contain an interpretation of the concept and an interpretation of how spaces accommodate this new order. The spaces or activities of leisure become the medium for experimentation. This experimentation includes a self-reflexive tone. Through offering a criticism or an interpretation of leisure, architects (or commentators) challenge the limits of architecture as a discipline (or as a field of knowledge). In many of the examples, the drive to challenge these limits and the means to do so rely on ideas around technology, whether it is the relation of humans to machines, or the increasing mobility of people, information, and things. In this way, ideas such as flexibility and mobility in the design gain recognition. Architects or designers in this context want to create new spaces where new kinds of leisure facilities may *educate* the public. Experimentations around idea of leisure create inspirations for other projects (such as Disneyland) where the experimentation is utilized to create total environments. Therefore, experimentation through leisure answers an *intention* through design. In these texts, the priority is architecture’s reflexivity. Therefore, I call these texts to belong to the sphere of reflexive criticism.

Reflexive criticism uses the concept of leisure to challenge the limits of architecture. It is about imagining *another* kind of leisure, projecting this onto a design and simultaneously looking for ways to overcome various limitations in architecture. That is to say, reflexive criticism is concerned with ideas around design. The criticality here takes both the concept of leisure and architecture as its targets. Texts that employ reflexive criticism discuss projects of architecture that show such reflexivity in their design. Therefore, this criticism looks at all kinds of written or visual materials in order to trace these ideas on leisure, and examine how they may be combined with the practice of architecture. The examples of architecture are evaluated in their *singularity*; even though they may be compared to other projects, design ideas behind a particular project are at the center of their argument. These

projects do not necessarily have to be a part of a built environment. Therefore, how they exist in the urban context cannot be the sole critical foundation. Instead, these texts are challenging the discipline of architecture and design ideas under the lens of the criticism. This criticism builds itself through ideas such as flexibility, excessiveness³⁴ and technological adaptations in the sphere of design. These ideas become tools to dwell on contrasts in order to make a difference in and through the design. Reflexive criticism simultaneously acknowledges the contradictions, problems or limitations experimentation intends to overcome within architecture.

Texts that employ reflexive criticism trace the design ideas behind particular projects, and through detecting the reflexivity, enhance their criticism of architecture (and indirectly of leisure). Reflexive criticism contains the following: (1) an assertion of a problem of architecture (which constitutes the foundation of this criticism), (2) an interpretation of leisure to overcome this problem within architecture, (3) discusses how this is projected onto the design, (4) compares the particular example with other secondary examples of projects in these terms in order to reach a conclusion on (5) what these operations correspond to in terms of literature of architecture (or the history of architecture).

Under the “Leisure as Discourse” the concept is contextualized as a discourse on architecture (or projects of architecture) whether to justify the design decisions around the project or simply to criticize it. Public space becomes a key concept around which both the processes of justification and criticism are formulated. Similar to that of leisure as function, spaces are transformed into commodities and fetishes, where exchange value becomes dominant over cultural (or use) value of that space. Artificiality and nature are mixed together. Some people are excluded from these spaces while other specific clientele is welcomed. Unlike writings that take leisure as function, though, writings that take leisure as discourse are discussed almost independent of their “types” of buildings. Instead, diverse examples can be regarded together as long as they contain ideas and words about their production. All of these conditions are discussed through revealing contradictions as a part of an *intention* of the design, resulting in a demystification of the production of architecture. The

³⁴ The idea of *excessiveness* derives from festivals and their temporary structures. This idea inspired various architectural projects in the twentieth century such as Archigram projects or the Fun Palace. This idea corresponded to an intentional exaggeration in scale, in form, or in style. For more on this topic, go to the title “Leisure as Experimentation” in the previous chapter.

profession of architecture is rediscovered as a part of the culture industry. And while architecture and leisure are not necessarily fields of experimentation in the production of these spaces, the representation of the practice gains importance, maybe even to an experimental extent. The representation of the practice becomes a part of an architectural discourse. The representation includes the architects' own ideas and words as well as other people's account of their architecture, as long as they legitimize the design ideas and reestablish the reputation of an architect or her practice. The experimentation in the representation of architecture is one of many points that bring together what is reflexive with what is discursive.

Discursive criticism refers to the uses of leisure in order to create and deliver meaning in search of what this meaning corresponds to. This meaning may be a legitimization of a specific operation of architecture, a criticism of this legitimization, an interpretation, or a commentary on a particular example of architecture. Texts that employ such criticism, therefore, are written by scholars (as third parties), while architects' words become the object of the arguments. Discursive criticism traces these meanings and positions them in the context of ongoing discussions about an architect's project(s), or generally relates them to current debates in academic or professional architectural circles. Therefore, all kinds of written and visual material on the projects may be relevant as long as they imply how meaning is transferred through leisure. Through these operations, discursive criticism provides a perspective on how architecture becomes a *spectacle*. Thereby, this final sphere of criticism connects the model of criticism that this dissertation suggests within current debates on criticism in architecture. The criticism is projected back into the history of architecture, while the transformation in the meaning of the concept of leisure itself is detectable, especially as the elimination of the border between work and leisure. The elimination of the border between leisure and work is an ongoing (and underlying) theme in the dissertation. As I have discussed in the literature review as well as in the previous chapters, the separation of work and leisure is categorically a problematic issue. Moreover, as the theories of immaterial labor and other recent examples from critical theory imply, the existing borders are becoming more problematic and harder to detect in recent decades. This makes a criticism through leisure more necessary than ever regarding architecture, since the practice (or the profession) is one of many ways how capital reproduces itself.

It is important to transfer the present criticisms back into the history of architecture on several levels. This is one way to evaluate and study the criticisms delivered in the writings I have discussed. On the other hand, this transference allows for a discussion on how architecture relates to leisure. Considering the varying and changing connotations of leisure, it is possible to observe the transformation of criticism (and critical practices) in architecture. In order to conclude this chapter, I will summarize the tools and approaches of the different spheres of criticism.

Under “Leisure as Function,” critical tools include:

- Commodification
- Artificiality vs. nature and Representation: vs. Orient or vs. nature
- Consumerism / consumer culture; culture as consumption
- Total landscapes
- Public space / sphere and “privately owned public spaces” (the convergence of political and economic power; or convergence of the governmental and corporate interest)

Under “Leisure as Experiment,”

- Technology of the fantastic (flexibility, mobility, extremity, excessiveness)
- Cybernetics, changing labor relations; humans vs. machines
- Alienation

Under “Leisure as Discourse,”

- Commodification,
- Fetishization (Cultural value vs. exchange value)
- Total environments
- Decontextualizing (architecture) from existing narratives
- Spectacularization (of architecture and of capital through architecture)
- Mystification / demystification

Table 4.1 : Spheres of criticism and their approaches.

Leisure As:	Sphere of Criticism	Critique of...	Interpretations of Leisure	Critical Tools
Function (Academic Dominant Studies)	Diagnostic (Spaces Of Leisure)	Context of Architecture (Socio-Economic) (Already Built Environments and their Comparisons)	Spaces associated with activities Cultural Educational	Total Environments (control and org. of time) Commodification
Experiment (Architects or Scholars in Architecture)	Reflexive	Design Ideas in Architecture and Leisure (Detecting a Problem; Challenging Limits via Leisure; Looking at Ideas behind the built environment and Projects)	Spaces and activities as laboratories Productive, Creative Educational	Leisure (as a changing phenomenon, becoming immaterial) Technology Functionality Alienation
Discourse (Scholars, Academic and Interdisciplinary Studies)	Discursive	Discourse On Architecture (Via Leisure; Demystification and Reconceptualization; Looking at Built Environment, Projects and Words)	Activities and Spaces Facilities in spaces	Fetish Total environments Commodification Spectacle Representation (of architecture)

As the Table 4.1 suggests, it is possible to detect similarities within texts from a particular sphere of criticism. Texts in the diagnostic sphere (that take leisure as a function) are predominantly academic, written by third parties (mostly scholars in architecture) looking at the already built environment, bringing together similar projects to detect continuities (such as theme parks, culture centers or shopping malls). Whereas texts under the reflexive criticism section (that take leisure as experimentation), concern design and projects that are not necessarily built. They are written by scholars, but also by architects (such as Tschumi) about their own works. This relates to the discursive sphere, where the words of architects about their own projects constitute as much importance as the projects themselves, built or unbuilt. The texts in the discursive sphere, therefore, *resemble* texts under the reflexive sphere, but dwell particularly on architects' theorizing on their own projects.

Even though the three spheres of criticism have different approaches, it is possible to trace recurring themes in each sphere. The critical texts that take leisure as a function locate their arguments on the idea of public space, while the theme of *public space* also appears in the other two spheres. The idea of *technology* is another recurring theme, though more prominent in the experimentation sphere. Finally, the theme of *spectacle* constitutes the essence of the texts in the discursive sphere, while partially appearing in the other two spheres as well. In order to trace the way the three spheres operate together, I will focus on each theme: public space, technology and spectacle in the next chapter, and simultaneously ask why architectural criticism uses these themes as frequently.





5. TRIAD OF CRITICISM: PARALLELS, CONTRASTS AND MEANING THROUGH RECURRING THEMES

The three spheres of criticism, diagnostic, reflexive and discursive criticisms, at the intersection of architecture and leisure are irreducible to one another. The way each engages with leisure, architecture and critical theory reveals fundamental differences. However, the three spheres are permeable, and often operate together. They contain continuities, discontinuities and deviations regarding architectural ideas. This makes it possible to track a number of themes that appear in each of these spheres. These common themes change connotations, but they also display the interrelation of each sphere and their cyclical relation. Discussing the three approaches to leisure as a critical tool through these recurring themes bring the dissertation to a closure in terms of the way criticism in architecture contextualizes leisure.

The first recurring theme is the idea of *public space*. All three spheres of criticism refer to this theme in various ways. Diagnostic criticism is based on tracking contradictions in the context of public space. The texts that contain diagnostic criticism problematize privatization, the changing reception and representation of public space as well as the totalization (controlling) of these spaces through commercialization and leisure facilities. However, public space can also offer architects a field of experimentation through leisure. Through public space and the public realm, architecture can imagine how to connect with people and their everyday experiences. This is how the reflexive criticism operates: through envisioning and readjusting design and architecture. Once public space becomes a theme for architectural experimentation, it also becomes a field of discourse³⁵. That is to say, texts of discursive criticism found their arguments on these practices of envisioning and readjusting design and architecture, particularly through the way they are put into words to deliver meaning.

³⁵ In the context of this dissertation, I only look at texts and words in order to discuss discourse.

The second recurring theme within the three spheres of criticism is *technology*. Texts categorized as reflexive criticism use technology as an inspiration for experimentation, and challenge the limits of architecture as well as the reception of leisure. The theme of technology and the ideas around it, however, also become a field of discourse once they are put into words by architects or theorists/critics. Discursive criticism reveals contradictions in words and meanings that see technology as incontestable and self-evident. Therefore, discursive criticism relies heavily on how advances in technology have changed the context in which architecture has evolved. This also constitutes the primary concern of diagnostic criticism. Criticism through diagnosis of the context in which leisure architecture is produced illustrates how the idea of technology has led to past inspirations and future possibilities in design of architecture. In short, through examining technology first as a field of experimentation, then as a subject in discursive practices, and finally as a function in order to classify buildings, I discuss not only how the three spheres of criticism operate together, but also offer a perspective on architecture as an agent that writes history³⁶.

While public space is the context for the arguments within each sphere of criticism, *technology* points towards the way design ideas find inspiration, are put to words, and change the course of production of the built environment as well as its theory. Finally, the criticism in each sphere dwells on the idea of *spectacle*. Texts that employ discursive criticism predominantly use theories and ideas around spectacle in order to reveal contradictions in architects' words and writings regarding leisure.

Spectacle, the final recurring theme, helps bring the thesis to a conclusion. This is because the use of spectacle as a concept, present in all spheres, but dominant in discursive criticism, directly addresses architecture and its practices within a historical perspective. That is to say, through tracing the appearance of spectacle as a theme within the three spheres of criticisms in architecture and leisure, it is possible to display (1) the way leisure serves as a tool for criticism (which is the primary aim of this study); (2) the way leisure architecture and criticism trigger production

³⁶ This expression implies that there are many possible histories. I call the set of dynamics that consider the present through looking back at past practices and projecting them onto a future as *history writing*.

through one another; and (3) how leisure, architecture and criticism have transformed one another.

I trace the theme of public space through drawing parallels and similarities in between the ideas delivered in the exemplary texts discussed in Chapter 4. The second theme, technology, triggers discussions through detecting some transformation, various contrasts and particular intentions to create a *difference* in design. The final theme, spectacle, can best be mapped out through the idea of deviation. The meaning underlying deviation is one of constant *motion*, where the representation of ideas, of leisure or of architecture initiates complex processes against one another.

5.1 Public Space: Parallels and Similarities

The theme of *public space* includes various generic discussions on architecture and leisure. This can be due to the collective context that the theme suggests, or it can imply how a project (or a structure) connects with its urban context. This is why it is possible to found discussions on public space through detecting similarities and parallels between things, between different projects, between designs, or between discourses on these projects. Choosing similar objects as a matter of discussion (such as buildings that serve the same purpose, or belong to the same typology) determines the course of the argument. Through these similar objects, a text can display parallels, and thereby the outcome is expected to be applicable (or valid) in other cases. Detecting parallels and similarities is one way of generating knowledge through criticism. Tracing the uses of public space within the texts I have discussed in the previous chapters (first the critical theory texts, and then the literature of architecture), I focus at how the three spheres use the idea of similarities to construct architectural knowledge.

The theme of public space offers a context in evaluating any particular exemplar of architectural production, including the built environment or particular projects and design ideas, as well as their meaning. To begin with, public space appears as a cross-section through which architecture connects with the rest of the city and takes part in social realm. According to the texts of the three spheres of criticism that I have discussed in the previous chapter, however, public space goes beyond being a cross-section of architecture and the urban (or between practice and everyday life).

Through leisure and its surrounding ideas, the theme of public space can *designate architectural design, serve as an inspiration for it and create meaning through it*.

Public space relates to leisure in numerous ways. Even the connotation of leisure contains references to what constitutes the public. When leisure corresponds to culture, or rather, as Arendt (2006) asserts, when leisure is taken as time devoted to culture, the emphasis is on leisure's collective and public aspects. When leisure is taken as play and education, the term not only includes the creative quality in leisurely activities, but it also initiates the concept to be desired for all people, thereby being distributed to the entire public, as a matter of the public domain. On the other hand, the design of people's touristic experiences as MacCannell³⁷ discusses, connotes the changing nature of public spaces (1999). MacCannell's approach shows that leisure is associated with public space.

Moving from accounts on leisure's connotations that relate to the theme of public space above, it is easy to point out the ways in which the critical theory on leisure uses the theme of public space. Veblen's (2009) idea of *conspicuous consumption* and MacCannell's (1999) idea of *exploited leisure* both refer to public events, if not to public spaces. The theorists of Frankfurt School take leisure as a part of the culture industry, and thus as an aspect of mass consumption. Through mass consumption (or mass leisure) economic order reestablishes itself in the public domain. Lefebvre's (2008) account on leisure as something belonging to the everyday follows a same quest, while the Situationists imagine a world outside the dichotomy of public-private, where leisure is for everyone. The disappearance of the division between work and leisure also corresponds to the blurring of the division between what is public and what is private, as global communication and its networks initiate new kinds of relationships between people and things. This is not what the thesis of *leisure society* dominant in the post-war context of Europe and North America predicted for the future, but this thesis serves as a point of origin for public spaces and public buildings. The increasing mobility of the public has changed public spaces drastically, partly as projected by the thesis of leisure society.

³⁷ As I have discussed in Chapter 2, MacCannell evaluates *tourism* through various aspects including representations of work, the work environment, and labor within people's leisure time, where not only are peoples' experiences predestined, but their future projections are also shaped.

The references to architecture and the built environment in the critical theory on leisure deal predominantly with public spaces and public buildings. These include Cathedrals (which Arendt refers to in order to discuss culture and leisure); the Eiffel Tower (Barthes discusses the tower looking over the city or the public, and the city gazing back); to Arcades and World Fairs (Benjamin); imagining new worlds where spaces are no longer divided into public and private (Constant); as well as the new downtowns of corporate architecture altering the meaning of public space (Jameson writing on John Portman).

When leisure is taken as a function, the criticism is often directed towards the context (capitalist mode of production) of the exemplary architecture through the idea of public space. By comparing a number of buildings (or built environments) of a certain typology, these texts look at the way public space design is filled with commercial features, and the way it is destroyed and reclaimed through “leisure spaces” (Lefebvre, 1996: 59; Rojek, 1999: 39). These can include: theme parks inspired by seaside architecture (Gray); the changing ideas around public space (Gray and Mitrasinovic); the totalizing conditions of privately owned public spaces as a part of a global socio-economic order (Mitrasinovic); new public space that contains a complete organization of time as a part of consumer culture (Mitrasinovic and Vural).

Texts that take leisure as a field of experimentation imagine a new way of bringing people together. This corresponds to new ideas around public space, often reflected onto city parks, the temporary structures of festivals and carnivals, and architectural pavilions in international exhibitions and World’s Fairs. The early examples of festivals and carnivals (Bonnemaison & Macy) and amusement parks (Koolhaas) serve as inspirations for particular examples of architecture, such as Cedric Price’s “Fun Palace” (Rumpfhuber, Matthews) as well as Richard Rogers’ and Renzo Piano’s Centre Georges Pompidou (Matthews, Mitrasinovic). Aldo Van Eyck’s playgrounds aspire another kind of public space, while Tschumi’s Parc de la Villette searches for new expressions and forms in architecture through the organization of public space.

The existing contradictions in architectural production often stem from ideas around public space (as discussed at the end of 4.2. Leisure as Experimentation). The idea of public space, and its reception as something unconditionally desired for all people

shapes discursive practices in architecture. Discursive criticism brings together the way contradictions are appropriated and it demystifies the meaning delivered. In the particular case of ideas around public space, this appropriation (1) is based on a confusion between the public and private (Phillips); (2) it contains the idea of total environments, which convinces people to not think of anything outside the existing structure (Martin, Jameson), and furthermore (3) it creates another reality through its form and content as to what they represent (Piotrowski). This idea of public space being based on confusion around privately owned public spaces leads back to references to public space in texts that take leisure as a function. Through tracing the theme of public space, it is possible to draw connections between different spheres of criticism.

Public space is where the exchange of things and ideas takes place, and it is where people come together, see and recognize each other (Arendt, Habermas, Berman). It is the context in which the exchange of knowledge happens. But it is also the context in which knowledge is put into use. In practices of architecture, the idea of public space (as a part of the public sphere) is the context in which architecture operates (it comes into being via public space, but it is also reproduces and determines that public space). It is also the context in which it experiments with its limits and uses space as a laboratory (Vesely: 45), as well as the context in which architecture establishes its autonomy (in some cases creating a spectacle). Nevertheless, the ambiguity around the definition of public space creates contradictions in its use and understanding. It is therefore beneficial to examine texts on leisure in terms of how they refer to public space.

The common sense distinction understands public life as the opposite of private life. Public refers to the external world, whereas private is the domestic interior. However, like the dichotomy of work and leisure, public and private do not exist in isolation (Rojek, 1999). This assertion provides a ground to look at the idea of public space from a critical perspective. In order to map how public space provides a critical perspective on architecture and leisure, it is useful to enlarge the definition of public space, through its multiple connotations. I discuss the theme further, referring to the way it appears in critical theory texts, as: (1) displaying order (of a society); (2) the context of exchange, and finally (3) its representational attributes.

5.1.1 Displaying order through public space

According to Jürgen Habermas, a historical understanding of the public sphere in all its complexity allows for a systematic comprehension of society (1991). This view sees the public sphere as one of the main categories of society. Habermas defines the term public as referring to what is open to everyone. Moving from his assertion, in this section I bring together the uses of public space as displaying order. I recognize that the public sphere and the public realm have different connotations. I take public space to accommodate the public sphere and the public realm.

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, critical theory texts make references to architecture (and the built environment) in order to theorize an account on leisure. They do this through focusing on public space. Whether it is a singular building as a particular example, such as the Eiffel Tower, or a generic name for a type of building, such as a cathedral (as in Arendt's example) or arcades (as in Benjamin's writings), all references to architecture are open to the public, accommodating the *public realm*.

Barthes (1997) talks about the Eiffel Tower in order to show the purposelessness of leisure, which ironically makes the Eiffel Tower function as something beyond a tower, but more than itself, gaining a representational value. However, the context in which the Tower creates and / or transfers meaning is through public space. Public space is simultaneously used as a stage by the tower, and is interfered upon (or disrupted) by its presence. Barthes's use of public space is about displaying how meaning is created and how it is transferred.

Arendt (2006) refers to cathedrals as public spaces that contain leisure and reflect culture within society: through the idea of consumer society, she traces the changing characteristics of how culture (and thereby leisure) exists in the society. Similar to Barthes, using the irony between the purpose of the purposelessness of culture and art, she presents the dual traits of culture and leisure. Cathedrals are places that not only display religion, but also display culture and its durability. It is the space of the public realm, and referring to a public building provides Arendt with the grounds to articulate her account of culture.

Benjamin's theory of the Arcades, as structures between public and private, on the other hand, illustrates how urban structures shape an individual's senses through commodities and their display. Benjamin uses these semi-public spaces as metaphors

for a series of modern inventions and tools of art, film and photography that describe – according to him – the modern experience.

The three examples of texts from critical theory above, all use the idea of the public and evolve around concepts related to commodification, such as commercialization and consumerism / consumer culture. These concepts overlap with the concepts (subsidiary concepts) that texts from the literature of architecture in Chapter 4 use to employ their criticisms. *Designing the Seaside* discusses the commodification of the seaside, *People's Palaces* takes the context in which architecture is a part of culture policies directed at the consumer society and *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* examines intricate processes that lead to the commodification of public spaces.

Fred Gray's book *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (2006) looks at the architecture of a number of seaside resorts in Britain, taking these spaces as displaying the order of society through their public qualities. According to him, this seaside architecture not only displays a changing use of the sea and the beach, but also reveals "radical shifts in attitudes to nature, notions of decency and pleasure, gender and the family, and the public and the private" (Gray, 2006: 147). Gray asserts that this architecture plays a role in the commodification of sites through allowing places to be consumed by holidaymakers. Seaside architectures create a visual spectacle through buildings and outdoor spaces, as well as in the public imaginary through representations of these spaces with postcards, advertisements, or other images. Through their use of the public space and the publicity of these spaces, seaside architecture generates intricate processes of land commodification and thereby can be seen as a precursor to the later architectures of theme parks and holiday resorts. As the title of the book indicates, Gray does not take up the theme of public space, nor does he formulate the organization of the book around it. But he does look at spaces through their public attributes, and builds his argument around the theme. Mitrasinovic, on the other hand, takes public space as his main issue in *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space* (2006). With concepts similar to Gray's, such as commodification and commercialization, as well as artificiality vs. nature, Mitrasinovic theorizes that theme parks represent the transformation of public spaces and reflect a systematic totality.

Even though Mitrasinovic (2006) admits that it is hard to define public space, he argues that theme parks are its opposite; they are total environments in which all of

the leisure experience is engineered in the domain of privatized public spaces. He asserts that these spaces are places in which the idea of *themeing* happens; not only are entertainment facilities designed and organized, but the visitors' experiences are too, through fictive characters and stories that extend to the products for sale as well as in visitors' imaginaries. This intricate process of *themeing* not only shapes the parks and culture around them, but it also defines architecture that extends beyond mere leisure, such as themed residential areas. This implies that studying the architecture of public spaces through leisure, allows for an understanding of the ongoing transformation of socio-economic relations and their impacts.

Mitrasinovic's criticism is mainly diagnostic with the author's use of public space. The text does not question specific design decisions, but the general context in which theme parks (and themeparking or themeing) come into being. Public space, in this case, displays the order of socio-economic relations and serves as a framework through which Mitrasinovic theorizes theme parks. This theorization is applicable to other examples of architecture (as I have discussed earlier) and therefore, makes Mitrasinovic's diagnostic criticism valid for architecture literature on a broader level.

Both Gray and Mitrasinovic examine a long time period in order to trace a particular typology in architecture. Gray's book on the seaside architecture mainly portrays the second half of the nineteenth century, while Mitrasinovic's book on theme parks looks at the second half of the twentieth century. Christoph Grafe's (2010) dissertation on the culture palaces of the welfare state years, on the other hand, explores specifically the three decades of the post-war period in Western Europe. Through two buildings, he intends to portray architecture's role as a part of the cultural policies dominant in the particular context. Similar to Gray and Mitrasinovic, Grafe reads the state culture policies (and thereby production of architecture of the day) in the context of consumer society, "with an emphasis on choice and self-fulfillment" (Grafe, 2010: 28). In Grafe's book, the three examples of architecture do not only constitute public spaces, but they also target public policies. That is to say, the culture centers go beyond displaying an order through public spaces in that they also reflect the way design and architecture operate under particular circumstances. According to Grafe, culture centers as a part of a social and political project are experiments within architecture. Focusing on public space as displaying order, it can be claimed that Grafe's text illustrates the close relation between diagnostic and

reflexive criticism: in order to employ the diagnostic criticism, he refers to reflexive criticism as he discusses the projects' design decisions and their spatiality.

All three texts render leisure as a function and elaborate on a particular typology to pursue their exploration and present a diagnostic criticism directed to the context. However, as in Grafe's example, even though two buildings are compared and contrasted with each other, the text simultaneously contains reflexive and discursive criticisms. Grafe takes culture centers as experiments of the welfare-state years' cultural policies. These experiments provide a chance to trace how architecture design fulfills the demand of hegemonic power, and as Grafe asserts, these buildings also contain discourses. While they are certainly architectural objects, they are also outcomes of ideas and conceptions of the relevant policies of their time. These ideas and conceptions are evident in the production of public spaces, and in Grafe's case, in the culture centers.

Texts that openly display reflexive criticisms and which render leisure mainly as a field for experimentation refer to public space as displaying order (of society) as well. Either the authors of these texts detect a problem within the present practices of the architecture produced in the time periods they examine, or they reflect on the way a particular architect detects (and thereby challenges) such a problem. Lefaivre's (2002) text on Aldo Van Eyck's playgrounds offers an assessment of an architectural problem: the insufficiency of C.I.A.M.'s top-down approaches on urban design, and thereby public spaces. In his book *Architektur Immaterieller Arbeit*, Rumpfhuber (2013) traces several architects' ideas as responses to changing conditions in the work and leisure environments through a number of designs of public spaces: architect Hertzberger's anti-office design involves introducing public space in the working environment (thereby eliminating divisions of leisure and work spaces), while Cedric Price's and Joan Littlewood's project the Fun Palace is about designing an adjustable public space for a new understanding of leisure. Bernard Tschumi's text contains the architect's opposition to functional thinking. Praising uselessness and pleasure, Tschumi makes his point through design of parks and gardens. The designing of parks and gardens allow an assessment of architecture, a point of origin to shape design. All three texts illustrate cases in which architects engage with their design via dwelling on problematic issues they detect regarding public space. It can

be claimed that, in order to engage with reflexive criticism, the architects partly make use of diagnostic criticism.

Texts that employ discursive criticism refer to public space as a context that displays an order (of the society or of economic relations) more indirectly than other texts that employ diagnostic or reflexive criticisms. In the texts that consider leisure as discourse, public space becomes a medium through which architects express their ideas, and the authors of the texts evaluate (or discuss) particular examples of design in relation to this problematic. In Andrea Phillips' (2010) article on pavilions, the lack of pavilions' capacity to include people as participants serves as a clue to deliver her assessment of the design process of contemporary architectural pavilions. Reinhold Martin's (2009) text on John Portman's architecture, in a similar way, is based on his assertion of the contradiction between what the architect announces as "an architecture for people" (Martin, 2009: 49) and the built atriums that leave out some people, and also eliminate peoples' desire to imagine another world, through presenting a total environment. Andrzej Piotrowski pursues a similar approach to public space: his explorations on the Crystal Palace – its architecture, people and the exhibited objects – becomes material for the author to detect the order in which architecture operates, as well as the order that architecture presents. In short, public space, in these examples, serves as a measure for elaborating on architecture and delivered meaning.

In all of these texts that deliver criticism through architecture and leisure, public space is a prerequisite. Its display of an order, however, shows differences: it can be the main goal of a text, it can provide a context to detect a problem to overcome (in architecture), and it can serve as a measure for discussing meaning in architecture. In any case, this quality of the theme provides a point of origin for all three spheres of criticism, diagnostic, reflexive or discursive. For architecture, public space is not just a context in which it operates, but also what architecture creates. Therefore, public space allows for a criticism that illustrates the order in which architecture operates, the order architecture itself creates, and the order of meaning in architecture.

5.1.2 Public space as a context for exchange / transaction

In this section, I trace another iteration of public space, evident in the critical texts. This connotation concerns what *happens* in public spaces, all of which accommodate

the public realm along with the collective one³⁸. Recognizing Arendt's account that describes the public realm as the place of political debate, and moving from Marshall Berman's (1982) interpretation that considers the public realm as the place of encounters (between people of different classes), I formulate public space as the place in which all kinds of exchanges happen. The exchange is not simply money, labor or goods, but also ideas, opinions, knowledge and/or ideologies.

The criticism(s) that this dissertation formulates relies on the recognition of the socio-economic contexts of architectural practices through concepts, ideas, and meanings, as well as their permeabilities. The socio-economic criticisms in the particular texts are directly related to the circulation of all things, including material objects, capital and meaning. There is a parallel between the contradiction of exchange value vs. use value as one of the subsidiary concepts (as critical tools) in these texts, and the definition of public space as the place where all kinds of transactions and exchanges happen. As a recurring theme in these texts, public space is also the place where discussions through subsidiary concepts such as alienation, commodification or fetishization are directed.

The architectural references in critical theory directly make use of public space as a place of exchange beyond money or goods. Benjamin's arcades are semi-public spaces that not only accommodate the exchange of goods and commodities, but also contain peoples' experiences, stimulating their senses and offering them an escape from worldly things. The arcades' public quality allows Benjamin to use these spaces as metaphors (of culture and literary form). Benjamin's assertion that the arcades are laboratories for experience resembles Constant's New Babylon project where he imagines transforming a world through situations. In a world where the work and leisure division is abandoned, Constant imagines another world in which work does not exist anymore; one in which free time (and thereby leisure) is for everyone. This new leisure involves a transformation of society; it foresees such change and it wants to shape the ongoing transformation. That is to say, in New Babylon project, with the elimination of division of work and leisure as well as the idea of the private (and private property via possessions), places would be open to everyone, accessible by

³⁸ Susan Komossa (2010) differentiates between the public sphere and public space. According to her, public space contains both the public realm and the collective realm. The public sphere belongs to the public realm. She makes this assertion in order to introduce *space* into Arendt's account of the public sphere.

all, shaping the culture. The situations people would experience would be a part of the exchange wherein the public space serves as the context.

The commodification of spaces (and places) constitutes a point of origin in all three texts that render leisure as function (Gray's *Seaside Architecture*, Mirtrasinovic's *Total Landscape* and Grafe's dissertation "People's Palaces"). However, if public space is not only a commodified space but also a context for exchange and transaction, then it can be regarded as initiating the exchange of *some* things (such as certain commodities, meanings and ideas) while leaving out others. All three texts read the commodification of places (spaces and the buildings) along with ideas that initiate these processes. What these texts of diagnostic criticism leave out is the possibility of transforming the present conditions of architecture and society through intricate processes of exchange. They do not contain an alternative to existing circumstances, but instead investigate what takes place in these public spaces.

Liane Lefaivre's "Space, Place and Play" on Aldo Van Eyck's playgrounds contains such a consideration of public space, one that intends to transform the everyday. Through the playgrounds, which are open to everyone and are meant to stimulate children's imaginations as well as experiences within the public space. Lefaivre asserts that Van Eyck's approach is from the ground-up, and also claims to be "independent of imperatives of the economy" (Lefaivre, 2002: 44-5). Van Eyck designs these playgrounds accordingly with his polycentric understanding; the *ludic* quality that he associates with childhood represents his opposition against the functional thinking that C.I.A.M. advocated. Thus, playgrounds as public spaces are new opportunities for people (especially children) to engage with city space built around ideas such as changeability and transience. Lefaivre's text displays public space as a place for exchange beyond monetary relations; her text reveals Van Eyck's interpretation on designing spaces that transform conventional ways of making public spaces. The critical positioning belongs to Van Eyck, but Lefaivre presents Van Eyck's ideas through connecting his work with contemporary thought (Lefebvre, Huizinga and Sartre) and events (his opposition to top-down approaches).

In a similar way, Andreas Rumpfhuber's references to public space as a place for exchange go beyond monetary relations. As Rumpfhuber discusses, architects such as Hans Hollein intend to change the work environment through enhancing these spaces with qualities of public space, while Cedric Price and John Littlewood

imagine a new leisure and a new architecture through public space. In both examples, public space is the context to trigger a transformation in society, if not in architecture or leisure. Cedric Price's project the Fun Palace imagines a new kind of public and a public space that can make the new context possible. Also in the Fun Palace, similar ideas constitute this new leisure through public space: flexibility and changeability of the architecture according to people's movements, and thereby according to their practices.

Bernard Tschumi's text "the Pleasure of Architecture," on the other hand, carries Prices's interpretation further and advocates an architecture that should be "radically useless," stepping away from modernist approach and allow people to experience pleasure through architecture (Tschumi, 1996). Everything Tschumi discusses concerns public spaces – what these spaces contain and what they offer people. It is possible to trace how Tschumi's text, as he writes about his ideas on architecture, recognizes leisure as a function, associates it with an inherent problem of architecture (in his case with inefficiency of reasonable thinking) to overcome and finally use it to deliver meaning through architecture. The same is true of Lefaivre's account of Aldo Van Eyck's work, who, according to her, recognized playgrounds as necessary, and imagined another way of making them so that a new context for exchange could take place, one in which new meanings would be delivered through these spaces. The use of public space as a context for experimentation also becomes a matter of discourse. This is how reflexive criticism also contains discursive criticism and vice versa. The role of public space as a context for exchange enhances all three spheres of criticisms, diagnostic, reflexive and discursive.

5.1.3 Representational attributes of public space

It is possible to read architectural design through the dichotomy of public and private. Alan Colquhoun (1983) considers what is public as representational, through which architecture creates meaning in the urban context. That is to say, the ways different bits of architecture come together create public space and thereby define the city; the public realm – of this public space – does not only contain public activities, but it also symbolizes them. Colquhoun's definition deepens the production of meaning in architecture. The public space becomes both the means and ends for architecture. Both statements are valid for architecture and public space: the way

architecture contributes to public space defines that particular architecture, and public space is the context in which architecture transfers its meaning.

References to architecture in the texts of critical theory on leisure also reflect the representational attributes of public space. Especially Roland Barthes' piece on the Eiffel Tower illustrates this aspect of the theme (Barthes, 1997). When Barthes renders Eiffel Tower as an object beyond itself, it becomes "[a] glance, [an] object and [a] symbol" (Barthes, 1997: 5). The design of the tower, its presence and its use completes the representational attributes of public space, in which it does not only represent itself, but as Barthes asserts, it represents the intricate ways through which architecture delivers (or produces) meaning.

Fredric Jameson's account of John Portman's architecture reflects similar ideas as Barthes' words on the Eiffel Tower. The representational attributes of the theme public space constitute the basis in which production of meaning is realized in Portman's atriums. Jameson discusses these spaces in order to display the order (or the ongoing transformation) in the domain of culture. But Jameson simultaneously dwells on how meaning is produced in Portman's atriums. He asserts that Portman's buildings (whether it is Westin Bonaventure Hotel, the Hyatt Regency Hotels, The Peachtree Center in Atlanta or the Renaissance Center in Detroit) claim to respect the American city fabric through allegedly avoiding a utopian modernist style and through imitating the city. However, according to Jameson, these buildings do become a part of the city, but instead appear to replace it by creating total spaces that are mini-cities within themselves.

Reinhold Martin enhances Jameson's account of Portman through looking closely at Portman's spaces alongside with other architects' works and words, as well as paying attention to the architecture of these buildings. Martin employs his criticism through representing the qualities of public space, which correspond to the atriums that constitute an essential part of Portman's architecture. Martin does not openly use the theme of public space, but the ideas through which he discusses atriums display the representational qualities of public space that in this case revolve around Portman's atriums. As Portman himself claims, these spaces are total environments and are meant to contain anything that a city space intends to contain. Atriums, with their leisurely elements allowing long vistas within the building's interiors, are the gathering places for people. However, they are not mere imitations of public spaces;

they also allow the architecture to be represented. Portman's words, as Martin mentions, prove this statement; Portman sees atriums as "the heart and soul" (Martin, 2009: 46) of what he called as total environments.

The way Martin builds upon Jameson's discussion of Portman's atriums can be read alongside Andrea Phillips' "Pavilion Politics" (2010). When Phillips looks at the transformation of pavilions, she bases her discussion on the commodification of these spaces through the confusion around the theme of public space. She asserts that these small experiments of architecture, as they are privately funded, "conform to the conditions of earthworks or large-scale public sculpture rather than social experimentation" carried out earlier in the twentieth century (2010: 106). In addition, Phillips remarks that pavilions leave the viewer as the viewer, which strengthens her point on the problematic nature of these new spaces. However, when leisure is taken as discourse, as in Phillips' article when the focus of discussion is around the meaning delivered, the representational attributes of public space appear as imperative. Without pavilions' allegedly public reception, the criticism Phillips intends to deliver cannot be employed.

In his article "The Spectacle of Architectural Discourses" Andrzej Piotrowski (2008) enhances the representational attribute of public space beyond the physical built environment, in the case of the article, beyond the Crystal Palace. Piotrowski, as I have discussed in Chapter 4, simultaneously looks at the physical environment of the palace and its representations in the publications of the time. Both sources of information give the author materials to discuss how architecture operates through the production of meaning not only in the physical environment and written media, but also in the imaginations of people through exhibitions and the world presented in this environment. As Piotrowski aims to illustrate the way architecture tends to align with capitalist mode of operation, which according to him is an ongoing phenomenon still valid today, the representational attributes of public space provide the basis for such an argument. Piotrowski uses the concept of the *spectacle* in pursuit of the criticism he directs at the intricate mechanisms of representations, all of which take place in and through the public space (or the public sphere)³⁹.

³⁹ I discuss the relation between the theme of public space and spectacle further in the coming pages, under the title "Spectacle: Deviations."

The texts above all refer to the representational attributes of public space through ideas around producing / delivering meaning. These texts, as I have discussed in the previous chapter, display discursive criticism. However, it is possible to glean references to the theme of public space in the other spheres of criticism (diagnostic and reflexive) as well. Following the representation of the theme in the exemplary texts from the literature of architecture, it can be assessed that when criticism is directed to the context, the representational attributes of public space become the target of discussion. Looking at Gray's account on seaside architecture, Grafe's on culture centers or Mitrasinovic's on theme parks, the way these scholars employ their diagnostic criticism is via representations of public space. In *Seaside Architecture*, it is about the postcards, newspaper advertisements, and commentaries that reflect the initiators' motives as much as the physically built environment; while in culture centers, representation corresponds to culture and education as well as of the state and new cultural policies; and in theme parks, the impact of representation extends beyond publications and includes the fictive worlds created through the engineering of the parks. The representational attributes do not only extend beyond the physical places to people's imaginations, but these fictive worlds reciprocally start to shape the architecture of particular places.

In texts that employ reflexive criticism the representational attributes engage with similar ideas. In Lefaivre's article on Vay Eyck's playgrounds, the representational attributes of public space allow her to develop her argument, which is about the impact of the playgrounds both in peoples' everyday lives or their imagination, as well as in other architects' practices as an inspiration. According to this perspective, the representational attributes of public space are not limited to the everyday (of the people) but they include the professional practices in architecture. These attributes of public space offer a chance for architecture to transform its practices. This is apparent in Rumphuber's account on the Fun Palace, in which the architect Cedric Price is determined to challenge the limits of architecture through new ways of building public space. The representational attributes of public space allow Price to pursue architecture as such. If there is a public (or a society) that can move freely within an architecture that would adjust to people's practices, then that architecture would not be beholden to pre-given conceptions, especially in terms of functions. In a similar, if indirect way, Tschumi's text on architecture utilizes the theme of public

space through its representational attributes: the architect / scholar directly formulates his point around the design of parks and gardens. This is partially connected to the idea of *pleasure* in architecture that the architect advocates. For Tschumi, pleasure is not so much about representation as it is about bodily pleasure, which according to him is the key to discuss *deconstruction* in architecture. Tschumi's advocacy of deconstructing architecture, however, is beyond a simple reference to public space. It contains the idea of representation beyond the context of the theme; it is also about an intention to create difference through technology (of designing if not representing architecture) and about discussing architecture through spectacle, distorting (derivating) meaning(s) regarding architecture.

All of the texts I have examined in Chapter 4 contain the theme of public space. It is possible to observe that diagnostic criticism directly makes use of the theme, while reflexive and discursive criticism offer arguments that stem from the assertions of diagnostic criticism. The knowledge that diagnostic criticism puts forth mobilizes the other two spheres of criticism.

5.2 Technology: Contrasts and Differences

The texts I have discussed in the fourth chapter, all of which contain a criticism regarding the socio-economic contexts (of leisure and architecture) often position technology as an essential theme that shapes architecture, leisure, and the ideas around them. The way these texts contextualize this theme, however, often involves: an assessment of changes in the course of *technology* itself (on a general level, relating to the rest of the world beyond architecture); an urge to create a *difference* in architecture through ideas around technology; and in various cases a representation of technology delivering meaning. It is possible to discuss technology through contrasts and differences: through the way technology is associated with constant change that initiates *contrasting* circumstances, or through the way it is rendered as a tool to create *difference* in design, especially within architecture. These can be traced in the meaning of the word leisure, in the critical theory on leisure, as well as in texts on architecture and leisure I have discussed in Chapter 4.

The dissertation takes leisure as “what is built around free time.” This definition contains the theme of technology in itself as it corresponds to a wide range of practices that construct what leisure is. According to this assertion, technology

determines leisure time, leisure activities, and spaces of leisure. But the theme also inspires new forms of leisure. Furthermore, technology designates the way leisure and architecture are discussed. Many past references, present assertions, or future computations in design that contain leisure often frame their discussions around technology as a fundamental theme.

Looking at how critical theory discusses leisure, it is possible to detect a number of references to technology. When leisure is associated with play and education, as well as with learning and creative time (as Huizinga formulates it), it can be argued that the concept transforms technology, as much as it is determined by it. The numerous accounts on leisure that define the concept through its relationship with the idea of work show the correlation between conceptions of technology and leisure as well as ideas around the two. According to other approaches that draw on the blurring of the division between work and leisure, leisure is another industry, one in which relations resemble conditions of work, where technological conditions are equally prominent. According to all of these perspectives, technology changes (or has changed) leisure itself through changing modes of consumption. Observing these changes, Walter Benjamin theorizes culture (and thereby indirectly leisure) through technological advances such as the camera (along with the moving image, and reproducible objects of art) or through iron as a material that forever changed the architecture of the city. Benjamin's account involves looking at the architecture of the built environment through a technical / technological perspective. Changing technological conditions shape leisure through increasingly dense communications systems and economic networks that come into being through technological possibilities. Even the idea that leisure activities and leisure places operate as tools of control depends on technological advances; the panopticon-like system of the Crystal Palace that Tony Bennett (1988) depicts depends on the (then-new) technological possibilities of designing an interior space with such qualities that allow long vistas and natural light to alter these vistas, and through which technology is a mystifying element in itself. According to this perspective, technology is not only a theme that provides such a context, but technology itself is also on display, reproducing meaning through the exhibited objects as well as through the architecture of the building in question. Mobility is another factor that connects technology to leisure, changing modes of consumption forever. All of these changes resulted in new future projections, such as

post-war thinkers who use technology as an inspiration to imagine new futures. The thesis of *leisure society*, dominant during the same post-war context, is directly based on predictions regarding increased free time in people's lives as a result of eventual technological developments. Considering the impact of the thesis of leisure society⁴⁰, it can be claimed that the very conception of leisure is based on the theme of technology.

The theme's prominence can also be seen in the architectural references in critical theory on leisure. The Eiffel Tower that Barthes dwells on is a symbol of technology in the form of architecture in the nineteenth century as much as the Crystal Palace is in a parallel way. Both structures reflect technological potentials manifested in physical structures. However, their relationship to technology cannot be reduced to the innovative use of technical skills, but must also consider the mode of leisure these structures provide. Other references, such as Benjamin's Arcades project and the World Fairs offer additional parallels, while Jameson's work on John Portman's architecture carries these ideas to a more contemporary context, as I discuss in this section.

In short, technology is a major reference in critical theory on leisure. Examples include: "new cultural technologies" such as exhibitions and spectacle in Crystal Palace (Bennett, 1988); cybernetics and new labor theories to lead to leisure society (Rojek, 2010); new information technologies to change the work-leisure relationship (Lazzarato, 1996). The texts in the literature of architecture reflect similar ideas and approaches.

When leisure is considered as a function and a tool for classifying architecture according to its use, the theme of technology enhances the texts in the following ways: (1) as an agent for changing class structures and thereby cultural representations of spaces (Gray); (2) as a generic framework for post-war welfare state policies on culture and education (Grafe); (3) as an inspiration merging mass communication and transportation networks (Mitrasinovic); thereby (4) shaping the way architecture engages with leisure (Gray, Mitrasinovic).

⁴⁰ As I have mentioned in the second chapter, the academic field of Leisure Studies was established in the post-war period in which the thesis of leisure society was prominent.

When the idea of leisure is employed to imagine another kind of world, both architecture and the concept of leisure itself are taken under consideration. These texts rely heavily on ideas around technology. Technological advances serve as inspirations for the present (of the exemplary projects) as well as for imagining a possible future. When leisure is theorized as a field of experimentation, technology: (1) allows new relations to develop between site, program and form in design (Koolhaas); (2) presents theories such as cybernetics not only to transform the working environment but also to inspire architectural design (Lefaivre and Rumpfhuber); (3) provides flexible, mobile and playful structures (Tschumi). With the help of all of these technological benefits, architects and designers intend to challenge the limits and practice of architecture.

The discursive sphere of criticism uses the concept of leisure and ideas around it (such as play, entertainment, art, culture, well-being) either as part of a legitimization of an architectural design (or a project) or to demystify existing contradictions in the production cycles. In this context, technology: (1) becomes a reference that promotes a progressive vision, which hinders existing production relations through ideas like flexibility, temporality, and the innovative uses of technology (Phillips); (2) adds value to the design thereby strengthening the presence of the practice of architecture (Piotrowski and Phillips).

Above, I have summarized the references to technology in the literature on leisure and architecture. It is possible to regroup these references according to how they make use of technology. They use it: (1) to assess a change through technology (and thereby present a point of view on architecture and leisure); (2) to initiate change, taking the theme as an inspiration for imagination of new design; and (3) to discuss architecture and leisure in terms of meaning transferred.

5.2.1 Assessing change through technology

The theme of technology in itself is very broad and it is rarely discussed in the realm of architectural criticism. Texts referring to technology in architecture and leisure often do so in order to diagnose a present condition in which a certain kind of production of architecture takes place. In other words, texts that use technology as a tool for setting the context often do not problematize the theme itself, and just like

the texts on leisure, take the concept as a given, and thereby only use it to diagnose the conditions of a particular example or a certain type of architecture.

In his well-known essay “The Question Concerning Technology” (1977 [1954]) Martin Heidegger describes technology as “a way of revealing,” not as “mere means” (Heidegger, 1977: 12). He distinguishes between the word technology and its essence; between what technology is and the way technology pursues its course. According to Heidegger, the word technology does not only imply tools, machines, and equipment, but its essence also contains human activities. The way these “contrivances” (Heidegger, 1977: 4) are put into use, he asserts, is another contrivance in itself. This account on technology highlights the intricacy of initiating a discussion through the theme. The texts that refer to technology as an agent of change mainly follow this assertion. Even though these texts do not take the theme as their major topic of interest, it provides them a ground to develop their arguments.

Benjamin’s use of the arcades, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, is about detecting a change via drawing a parallel between architecture of the arcades as spaces of phantasmagoria. The technical advances in architecture, steel and glass allowing for realization of the arcades, according to Benjamin, showed parallels with the transformation of art and culture. Benjamin’s use of the arcades, simultaneously as material objects and as metaphors (Zabarowska, 2010), offers a perspective on assessing change through technology, forming the basis of a critical approach. The architectural texts using diagnostic criticism follow a similar course: technological change provides these texts a context through which they evaluate the cases they discuss. This is visible in all three texts that use leisure as function.

Gray, in his book on seaside architecture simultaneously traces two threads through ongoing technological transformations: seaside architecture in England and how this seaside architecture has affected the course of architecture as a field. These transformations are not limited to advances in building systems; they also include the mobility of people, and changes in the communication and financial systems. The diagnostic criticism is directed at this context of change, but not to particular examples of architecture and not to the concept of leisure in itself.

Grafe’s dissertation on the two culture centers of the welfare state years of Europe follows a similar course. The dissertation formulates transformations in technology

as agents that create new forms of communication as well as new economic systems (Grafe, 2010: 55). He combines this assertion with the cultural policies of the states that initiated the building of the two culture centers. Technology as a theme allows Grafe to be able to discuss what technological transformations bring as well as how technology is used to shape culture (and thereby leisure). Grafe goes so far as to label the policies of the state as *technocratic*, along with rejections to work and leisure division from groups such as the Situationists and Archigram. In order to understand the particular examples of architecture, Grafe chooses to contextualize the buildings as a part of a larger project that is the welfare state. Technology, in this case, becomes the engine of change: assessing transformations in technology reveals the transformation in architecture. According to Grafe, this era corresponds to the era of revisions in modernism, and includes Brutalism as an architectural style.

Mitrasinovic's book covers a longer range of time through the examples of theme parks. Unlike Grafe's dissertation, which looks at state sponsored projects, his book dwells on the collaboration of the state and the private sector, who together initiate theme park projects first in North America, to be followed by the rest of the world. Apart from the ideas that Grafe associates with the theme, Mitrasinovic introduces the technology of surveillance as a part of the total landscape created in within theme parks. The introduction of digital technologies completes Mitrasinovic's argument. Even though it does not openly claim to do so, the book does not regard technology as a phenomenon on its own, but rather describes the intricate processes of the production of theme parks as a technology in and of themselves. Mitrasinovic calls these processes *themeing*, whereby theme parks are created to present people with a total environment for their leisure time, but other kinds of spaces are also created with similar ideas. Considering Heidegger's account of *technology*, it can be claimed that Mitrasinovic's use of the word *themeing* corresponds to a course of change within technology and its essence.

The texts that dominantly contain reflexive criticism refer to the idea of technology more. However, they make use of assertions that show parallels with the diagnostic criticism that Gray, Grafe and Mitrasinovic deliver. Lefaivre's article on Van Eyck's playgrounds contains such clues. As Lefaivre offers, Van Eyck's opposition to the *technocratic* top-down approach that C.I.A.M. advocates is an essential idea behind the architect's reflexivity. The assessment of change through technology becomes the

foundation of the criticism. Technology as a theme provides the authors a ground to contextualize examples of architecture and thereby disseminate knowledge. While diagnostic criticism aims primarily to illustrate such change, the reflexive criticism concentrates on how architects use technological advances to challenge the pre-given norms that make up the discipline.

5.2.2 Inspiring architecture, aspiring to change

Technology is closely affiliated with the idea of transformation, and is often attributed to an ongoing phenomenon that concerns all societies. In some cases, however, the focus is not only on detecting an ongoing change, as expressed above, but about using technology to inspire architecture and to solve to an existing problem in architecture. I will discuss how these texts use technology as an agent of change. In some of the texts, authors use the theme in such a way, as an agent to interpret particular examples of architecture, while other texts reflect how architects utilize the theme as such (in which the authors only describe this fact).

Constant's project *The New Babylon* that contains an imagination of another world illustrates how an artist can be inspired by technological transformation to create another architecture. In his case, technological advances offer (in a possible future) a world in which work does not exist and the labor is automated. The *New Babylon* offers a utopia that is opposing to the utilitarian thinking and advocating another world in which it is collectivism is possible. According to the artist, "Technology is the indispensable tool for realizing an experimental collectivism" (Nieuwenhuys, 1974: 13). In other words, in Constant's work, technology serves as an inspiration for another world that requires another architecture. Whether architecture can initiate change in the world is another question that occupies a major concern in architectural spheres.

The idea that architecture can (and should) transform the world occurs both on the professional and academic levels. As the aim here is to discuss technology as a recurring theme that brings together different spheres of criticism in architecture through leisure, it should be noted that reflexivity in architecture and the criticism present in the texts are (partly) about transforming the world. This is visible in Lefaivre's article, in Rumpfhuber's book, and partly in Tschumi's fragments.

Marxism is also based on assessing a change and using this as a basis to theorize, or construct a perspective to transform present conditions (in that case of labor relations). This is an inspiration for Lefebvre's thesis, which asserts that "space is socially produced" (Stanek, 2008). Van Eyck's architecture, inspired by Lefebvre's theories, contains this motivation to transform the world. On her article on Aldo Van Eyck's playgrounds, Lefaivre reads his architecture using cybernetic theories of the era. According to her, Van Eyck's playgrounds' opposition to the top-down approaches of C.I.A.M. resembles Norbert Weiner's theories in which people are organisms learning from feedback loops, and constantly readjusting themselves according to inputs (Lefaivre, 2002: 27). In this text, the theme of technology as an inspiration for change is a combination of two things: reflexivity in the architect's practice and the author's selective writing.

Technology is a major issue in Andreas Rumpfhuber's book. Unlike Lefaivre in terms of focusing on one architect's practice, Rumpfhuber explores many cases by many architects, illustrating architecture's course through changing labor relations, thereby transforming technology. He emphasizes the thesis of leisure society shaping the practices of architects such as Hans Hollein and Cedric Price. Rumpfhuber discusses Hans Hollein's video on his mobile office, in which the architect is in the middle of a field, working with portable machines and gadgets in order to present a new way of working through technological advances. While Hollein intends to redefine the circumstances in which an architect works, Price's Fun Palace project is based on cybernetic theories, through which the buildings adjust to peoples' behaviors, and would be formless. In other words, the Fun Palace is mainly based on technological advances.

Both Lefaivre's article and Rumpfhuber's book reflect on experimentation in architecture through cybernetic theories. The common point about the reflexivity in the architectural cases they discuss is a search for flexibility in architecture. This idea is also present in Constant's New Babylon project. Flexible and (partly) formless structures, according to architects (in this case Van Eyck, Hollein and Price) are key in imagining another world through another leisure. The flexible and undefined architectural design, it can be claimed that, is possible through the ambiguous meaning/connotations of leisure. The changing technology calls for new leisure, and

only a formless architecture that can be modified can allow for this new leisure to be realized.

Bernard Tschumi's fragments call for pleasure of the senses to shape architecture, which also corresponds to an architecture that chooses to step away from utilitarian thinking. However, Tschumi's text of fragments differs from Lefaivre's and Rumpfhuber's texts, as his reference to the theme of technology is not as visible. His indirect reference to technology becomes the deconstruction of architecture that he advocates in these fragments. It shows a lack of discussion on the theme. Especially in Tschumi's text, the reflexive criticism is closely permeable with discursive criticism, as the architect opposes to contemporary ways of designing and theorizing architecture, but does this as a practicing architect himself.

5.2.3 Lack of discussion on technology

Dalibor Vesely, in his article "Architecture and the Question of Technology" (1994), argues that the discussions on the relations between science, art and technology are insufficient, due to our limited understanding and lack of ability to discuss technological problems from a non-instrumental point of view; discussions often concern technical efficiency and aesthetics. Moving from Vesely's assessment of the homogenization of the "multitudinous traditional ways of making and creativity" (Vesely, 1994: 30) including architecture, I claim that this very lack of discussion around technology and the idea of change and transformation is the main reason why texts that employ criticism refer to the theme as frequently. Just like the ambiguity around the term *public space*, there is an ambiguity around *technology*, which leads to many contradictions in all of their complexity, woven around architecture and leisure. The lack of discussion gives way to widely accepted notions that technology and technological advances are inherently good, where the idea of innovation shapes the design thinking in architects' practices. The same lack of discussion (indirectly) shapes Jameson's account of Portman's architecture to read the postmodern culture. The leisure specialized buildings with total spaces in Portman's architecture are based on a "technological alienation" (Jameson, 2008: 45). Jameson asserts that postmodern spaces differ from modernist ones as they do not "represent motion, but which can only be represented in motion," making it harder to generate a criticism (Jameson, 2008: 45).

Andrea Phillips' article on pavilions draws attention to this lack of discussion on technology. These temporary structures appear as experiments at the intersection of art and architecture, bringing together innovative uses of technology along with economic and aesthetic methodologies. However, as Phillips asserts, these structures only partly serve what they promise. The lack of discussion on technology this article points at is the elimination of imagining of new sociabilities. As Phillips illustrates, many examples from the 1960s – such as Aldo Van Eyck's, the Smithson's or Van Eyck's pavilions – contained such ideas, while in contemporary examples – such as the Serpentine Pavilions – technology becomes a mask through which the existing socio-economic relations are normalized and reproduced. She illustrates the case of pavilions where technology is one of the inputs that hinder existing relationships of architecture and capital. The technical innovation the pavilions present fulfills the public-private initiators and results in elimination of a search for a new sociability.

Reinhold Martin expresses a similar concern through his work on John Portman's architecture. As mentioned earlier, Martin reads Portman's interior spaces as total environments, made possible through large atriums with transparent facades that are isolated from the rest of the city, but intend to contain all elements of a public space. Martin does not make a direct reference to technology, and this lack is apparent. This is due to Portman's own words, claiming that his architecture is the "for people but not for things" (Martin, 2009: 47). As Martin discusses, the architect's words oppose to the functional thinking of Modernist architecture. Considering the relationship of Modernism and Modernists' belief in technology, Portman's words appear as a call for an inquiry on this relationship. However, via using the term fetish, Martin is able to "defetishize" and "demystify" Portman's architecture. According to Martin, Portman's atriums are "an object with special powers, designed magically to bring [deindustrialized American cities'] ghost towns back to life" via commodification of urban spaces with leisure accessories (Martin, 2009: 47). Following Martin's article on Portman's architecture, it is possible to draw a parallel between the lack discussion on technology and a lack of discussion on architecture as a discursive set of practices. Jameson's remark on the technological alienation of the postmodern spaces, arguably, can be read as a result of this parallel.

Piotrowski's article displays the lack of discussion on the theme technology more directly compared to Phillips' and Martin's texts. Piotrowski discusses how the

display of technology in the Crystal Palace completed the spectacle of this architecture on several levels: the building itself as a product of a “celebration of modern industrial technology” (Piotrowski, 2008: 133); the phantasmagoria created by the new visual technologies (for viewing the exhibited commodities); the technological advances reassuring commercial interests through the selection of the commodities exhibited; disseminating the belief that “transcendental values are immune to the forces of capitalism” (Piotrowski, 2008: 33) via the support of written press such as the *London Illustrated News*. The discursive criticism Piotrowski directs at architecture contains such uses of technology. These experimental uses of the theme recall reflexivity in architecture. However, the priority is to point out the ongoing relationship between capital and architecture. For this purpose, Piotrowski regards the discursive attributes of architecture as technology as well.

Referring to Hilde Heynen’s (1999) take on Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos (on their use of technical skills as what made their work be rendered as essential in literature of architecture) and Madge and Peckham’s remark on Vitruvius’s practice as “the opening of technical skills to discursive mind” (2006: 343), it is possible to ensure the close relation between reflexivity and discourse, and thereby the themes technology and spectacle. Both of these references relate different practices in architecture (that is not only designing but theorizing it, representing it etc.) and the themes technology and spectacle. The lack of discussion on technology, and the recurring theme spectacle are closely affiliated.

All three texts that contain discursive criticism, as I have discussed above, refer to technology as a discursive agent (if not a tool). Considering Adorno and Horkheimer’s (1989) account on technology as serving the powerful, offering a rationale of domination, it can be claimed that Phillips’ article on pavilions illustrate this relationship between architecture and capital via technology. Piotrowski’s article presents a more detailed perspective on the relationship between architecture and capital. His account recalls Pier Vittorio Aureli’s quoting Franco Fortini on technology as “responsible for hiding how capital was far more deeply embedded into the cultural management of everyday life than was assumed” (Aureli, 2013: 132-3). According to Fortini, the idea of progressiveness via technology allowed for a systematic “cultural self-deception,” as the way of “capitalist affirmation” (Aureli, 2013: 133).

It is possible to observe that references to technology include a concern to contrast to existing circumstances regarding architecture and the context in which it operates. The theme connotes change on many levels, whether a change in technology itself, or a will to create change through technology. On the other hand, I discuss *spectacle* with the idea of deviation within architecture's ongoing relationship with capital, as well as architecture's ongoing fight for its autonomy. Deviation here implies the twist in meaning attributed to architecture. Criticism using the theme spectacle is after revealing such deviations in meaning.

5.3 Spectacle: Deviations

It is possible to discuss the recurring theme spectacle through the idea of deviation. I use deviation to refer to the gap between the reflexive practices and their discursive positions. The theme spectacle (and spectacularization) points at a systematic deviation in architectural practices, observable through a historical perspective.

The writings that employ criticism in architecture frequently refer to this theme, which according to Sadler corresponds to a phenomenon where “capital is condensed into an image mediating social relations and disguising structural inequality” (2013: 191). This act of disguising, the “unthinking of utopia” in Reinhold Martin's words (2010), feeds from existing contradictions, which can be revealed through processes of *demystification* and *reconceptualization*. While these processes aim at observing *deviations* that the texts intend to display in the particular examples they mention, simultaneously, I aim to bring together assessments of these criticisms in order to articulate the course of architecture in relation to critical theory, in relation to leisure and in relation to its itself (or simply its reflexivity).

The idea of deviation also implies architecture's lingering between becoming a spectacle and claiming its autonomy. That is to say, through employing criticism through leisure, revealing contradictions within architecture simultaneously targets architecture as a practice. The *demystified* contradictions not only contain socio-economic relations, but are also about practices of architecture, which reproduce these relations, challenge them and deliver meaning through them.

According to the definition of leisure this dissertation recognizes that is “accessible free time,” or “what is built around free time,” are both directed by *spectacle*. In the

first glance, it appears that spectacle takes place in leisure time, in leisure spaces or through leisure activities. However, spectacle is also what organizes and shapes leisure, may it be through consumer culture or through complexities in production and circulation of things, of people and of meaning.

In critical theory, the theme of spectacle appears indirectly in most cases in texts that relate to leisure. Marx's conception of leisure involved a fight for time, not only about valorization of labor, but also about allocation of free time in which workers would realize their potentials in terms of creative and productive leisure, and possibly could stand against the existing class structure (Eker, 1991). This assertion constitutes foundations for later theorization of the theme of spectacle. For instance, Arendt (2006) renders leisure as time devoted to culture and time free from physically exhausting labor, she simultaneously points at the labor embedded in leisure; this is the *constructed* realm of leisure. On the other hand, leisure's reception as a cultural, educational and creative phenomenon causes leisure to be regarded as something unconditionally desired for everyone. This shapes people's everyday, constitutes the ground for leisure to be a spectacle. The post-war era, during which such rendering of leisure was in its hiatus, was also a time in which critical thinkers theorized the theme of spectacle to look at culture industry, mass consumption and mass leisure.

Veblen's account on leisure through *conspicuous consumption* constitutes a direct reference to the theme of spectacle, even though the word does not appear in the book *The Theory of Leisure Class* (2009). Through this idea, Veblen not only looked at leisure practices, but also elaborated on representations of leisure to discuss how they reproduced present class structure in the society. Guy Debord's (1962) theory of the spectacle carries the idea of representation further; it displays the systematic pacification that through leisure consumer culture imposed on people and thereby simultaneously called for other ways of engaging with leisure.

Barthes' piece on the Eiffel Tower points at the spectacle that the tower creates. This spectacle produces meaning on technology and architecture as the tower corresponds to something beyond its physical object. On architectural writings I have examined, it is possible to detect how criticisms rely on spectacle through how architecture (especially as buildings) becomes something beyond its material presence.

When leisure is taken as a function to classify existing built environment, the theme of spectacle appears as commodification, if not broadly a part of the consumer culture. Gray's book points at the topic through seaside architecture, Grafe through the culture centers, and Mitrasinovic through the theme parks. These writings illustrate the spectacle that architecture contributes to, mostly via including the representations of the materiality of architecture on people's imaginaries.

When leisure is experimentation, architecture questions the idea of spectacle, just like it intends to create another public space through another kind of leisure and architecture, with the help of advances in technology. However, rendering technology and innovation as progressive and unconditionally desired causes deep contradictions that this dissertation addresses. That is to say, reception of technology as something unconditionally aspired enhances processes of spectacularization in architecture (creating and becoming the spectacle). The writings by Lefaivre, Rumpfhuber and Tschumi contain how the reflexivity also includes discourse.

Spectacle is the main theme in texts that render leisure as discourse. In these texts, the idea of spectacle helps trace the way (1) architecture engages with capital through leisure and culture and its late example of stepping away from functionalism (Martin); (2) this process of spectacularization can be traced in the past through ideas around leisure (Piotrowski); (3) the experimentation in architecture can also become discursive (Curtis, Baudrillard); (4) it is related to the question of autonomy in architecture (Tafuri). I will discuss spectacle as a deviation through three attributes of the term, going from more basic to more articulate. I will first dwell on spectacle as a part of commodification, then focus on how spectacle operates (as the unthinking of utopia); and finally as the question of architecture lingering between autonomy and spectacle in architecture.

5.3.1 Leisure and architecture as processes of commodification

A criticism that regards socio-economic relations frequently dwells on the concept of commodification. I bring together criticisms that rely on commodification before discussing the theme spectacle, since spectacle and spectacularization appear as a more articulate way of theorizing processes of commodification. Before discussing spectacle as unthinking of utopia and the spectacularization of architecture as a

discipline, it is helpful to view how writings with different spheres of criticism construe commodification.

As I have discussed in the second chapter, processes of commodification appear as foundational in the course of generation of criticism in architecture. However, the commodification that the writings elaborate on varies. The writings with diagnostic criticism focus on commodification of nature via architecture (Gray), cultural policies shaping architecture while promoting consumerism (Grafe), and a systematic commodification of public space through the themed environments that architecture creates (Mitrasinovic). The writings with reflexive criticism vary in a similar way. They reflect on architects' position against commodification of the urban through design decisions (Lefaivre on Van Eyck), (indirectly) promotion of formless architecture (Rumhuber on Cedric Price and partly Hans Hollein), and advocating purposelessness against utilitarian thinking in architecture (Tshcumi). The writings with discursive criticism discuss commodification of public space and architecture via private-public partnerships (Phillips on pavilions), commodification of the urban via architecture (Martin on Portman's architecture), and the continuity in discourses in architecture aligning with capital and commodification processes (Piotrowski).

The writings from critical theory describe commodification in architecture through two processes happening simultaneously. These are the exhibition of commodities and the exhibition of architecture. For instance, Benjamin's account of world fairs and the arcades draw a link between new forms in architecture and the technology of the display of commodities. Referring to Benjamin, Bennett (1988) also points out how the idea of commodification through architecture is based on the displaying of commodities that architecture allows for. In the prominent example of the Crystal Palace, this exhibition is also a medium for the exhibition of architecture. The architectural writings I have studied pursue a similar approach. The criticism directed at commodification of things, of nature, of public space, or simply leisure activities are regarded as parallel with commodification of architecture itself. However, it is important to emphasize a difference in nuances due to the cases the writings tackle.

The architectural writings that employ diagnostic criticism found their arguments on the complex processes that play part in commodification of architecture. In Gray's book on seaside architecture (2006), the commodification covers the interference with nature. However, Gray also dwells on representations of the seaside (through

postcards, advertisements and illustrations), thereby discussing how the seaside is turned into a spectacle with the help of architectural design.

Grafe's dissertation on cultural centers points at a more intricate and embedded relation between commodification of architecture and the idea of spectacle (2010). Grafe, unlike Gray, takes cultural policies into account. Therefore, the representation of architecture includes the ideas that shape to the design of the culture centers. In the dissertation, the commodification processes (that lead to the idea of spectacle) contain the consumer society, the welfare state policies that promoted consumerism, and within this context buildings contributing to or realizing these ideals.

Mitrasinovic, in a similar way, considers the state policies, as a part the commodification of public spaces through the examples of theme parks (2006). The representation of this architecture completes the commodification of the theme parks, as in Gray's *Seaside Architecture* and partly in Grafe's dissertation. However, Mitrasinovic makes two important remarks: the first one is his emphasis on how the themed environments and its fictive world expand onto people's imaginaries, thereby strengthening the scope of the spectacle created via theme park architecture. The second important point is Mitrasinovic's emphasis on the public-private partnership that foundationally transforms the meaning of public space. Through leisure facilities, architecture based on a themed environment extends onto other urban contexts, shaping cities with housing complexes or new work environments.

The processes of commodification in architecture, as the examples above illustrate, are discussed through public space, whether as a concept or as a physical environment. The commodification of public space and the spectacle that is presented via architecture constitutes the ground through which other writings generate criticism. It is impossible to read writings with reflexive criticism without the commodification of public space. Whether it is Van Eyck's playgrounds (as Lefavre reflects on), Rumpfhuber's mentioning of changing work-leisure environments, or Tschumi's advocacy of pleasure (and purposelessness) in architecture, public space (and public buildings) are the media in which architecture contributes to commodification while itself becoming a spectacle. This is evident in Phillips' article on pavilions as well.

Phillips observes a parallel transformation between the pavilions and the qualities of the spaces they offer. However, if looked closer, it appears that she points at a deviation in the course of production of these pavilions: the idea of public space is present in the current debates, yet what this idea corresponds to is altered. This is the area of discourse, and that is why the particular article constitutes an example to *discursive criticism*. Here, the idea of commodification contains the public-private collaboration in funding of the pavilions; the lack of participation for the visitors, which leaves them as mere visitors; and thereby the commodification of leisure and architecture, since these structures are used for prestige, sometimes even normalizing the intervention of architecture as a practice.

Martin and Piotrowski's articles follow a similar course, using public spaces as they generate criticism. However, both articles discuss how buildings (and architecture) present total environments through leisure accessories and leisure activities. The idea of total environments is present in Mitrasinovic's book on theme parks. The idea of total environments is key to eliminating any need to question existing architecture and the environments it presents. The title "Unthinking of Utopia" stems from this attribute of the spectacle architecture creates.

5.3.2 The unthinking of utopia

The idea of spectacle in architecture operates simultaneously through the physical environments it creates and the imagery of architecture as a profession. William S. Saunders positions spectacle as "the primary manifestation of the commodification of design," which according to him aims to descude consumers, through "quickly experienced gratification" (Saunders, 2005: viii). He asserts that "spectacle discourages independent thought" (Saunders, 2005: viii). It is possible to read Saunder's remark as an echo of the Situationists' theories, along with others such as Benjamin or the Frankfurt School thinkers. For instance, Georg Lukács refers to this aspect of commodification as *reification*. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, according to him, through reification, social structures appear as natural and thereby unchangeable (Gotham&Krier, 2008). However, I borrow the expression from Martin (2010: xiv), who through these words refers particularly to architecture. The utopian thinking in this context corresponds to an active engagement of architectural

thought in “a decisive role in the analysis, interpretation, and critique of power” (Martin, 2010: xiii).

In the architectural writings I have discussed, the way spectacle eliminates critical thought is evident but on different levels. It is expressed through the expression of *total environments* in Mitrasinovic’s and Martin’s writings. Total environments, in Mitrasinovic’s book correspond to the fully planned controlled environment of the theme parks, in which the visitors’ time and activities are preplanned, over-commercialized through architecture of the built environment as well as the fictive characters and their representations on a physical and imaginative level. Dwelling on Mitrasinovic’s use of the phrase *total environments* helps display Martin’s take on the word, which is relatively more complex. Martin’s use of total environment comes from words by John Portman, who renders it not through controlling of people’s time and activities, but through offering them everything that a city should. Portman aimed to create such spaces for everyone through the atrium designs that were “the heart and soul” of architecture.

The phrase *total environment* is also used by Susan Buck-Morss to enhance her account on Walter Benjamin’s use of phantasmagoria. Moving from Marx’s definition of phantasmagoria as the world of commodities, Buck-Morss addresses that “Benjamin documents the spread of phantasmagoric forms to public space,” (Buck-Morss, 1992: 22); the shopping arcades of Paris as well as the World Fairs drew viewers into total environments through the display of commodities, with the panoramas and dioramas. In a similar way, Martin associates Portman’s atriums with hallucinative drugs, as the spectacle of the architecture overwhelms people’s senses. In Martin’s article, the hallucinatory effect of architecture is manifested in the physical form of the atriums, actually points at how modernist ancestors of this architecture also made use of (such as Louis Kahn). Through the example of Portman, Martin points at a rooted contradiction inherent in architecture aligning with power (as capital). The description of how Portman’s architecture seduces people works as a metaphor for architecture on a broader level. This makes Piotrowski’s article relevant, which in a similar way, moves from a detailed description of how “the overwhelming and hallucinatory experience” of the Great Exhibition is an early example to how architecture itself becomes a spectacle (Piotrowski, 2008: 134). Phillips’ article also contains this aspect of

spectacularization in architecture, through the example of pavilions. The publicly funded-privately sponsored pavilions stage “a branded and unique commodity,” proposing “a psychological and physical form of spatialization...[that is] disinterested in [viewers] form of inhabitation” (Phillips, 2010: 135). In the next section, I will discuss the different spheres of criticism through architecture’s spectacularization.

5.3.3 Architecture between autonomy and spectacle

The production of architecture contains defining the practice, challenging its limits as well as delivering meaning through it. In between all these spheres of production, architecture’s autonomy vs. its *spectacularization* constitutes a fundamental streak of criticism. I refer to autonomy as architecture’s efforts to sustain its course as a discipline. The question of autonomy in architecture separates two essential positions for criticism in architecture. The first one regards architectural end products to have an inherent value, due to their tectonic qualities or design ideas. The second one, on the other hand, claims that criticism in architecture has to include a historical analysis; an architectural production can only be discussed according to its context⁴¹. The writings I have studied in Chapter 4 have varying positions regarding this distinction. A discussion of different criticisms they contain will present a conclusion on the rooted debate on architecture’s autonomy, spectacle and criticism.

From diagnostic criticism to the reflexive, and from there on to the discursive, it is possible to follow the theme of *spectacle* being associated with examples of a multitudinous (or general) nature to ones in their particularity. The texts that trace multitudinous examples take leisure as function. In these texts spectacle corresponds to what the built environment presents. Just as the theme of public space can *display the order of the society*, spectacle does the same in terms of revealing processes of commodification. However, when the criticisms in these texts are directed towards particularity of examples, and thereby reflexivity and discourses in architecture enter into the discussion, the theme of spectacle starts to correspond to the course architecture takes to the fight for its own autonomy.

⁴¹ This view opposes the idea that an *criticality* can be attributed to architecture. In Chapter 2, I have discussed opposing views on the issue, as this study also refrains from referring to examples of architecture as critical.

The writings with diagnostic criticism take architecture as a part of a commodification processes, being a part of the spectacle. This is evident in Gray's and Mitrasinovic's books, as well as in Grafe's dissertation on culture centers. It is possible to claim that these writings view architecture from outside the field, and are not interested in dwelling on architectural debates regarding its autonomy. While leisure's reception as function (and use) allows the authors to classify buildings with their uses, the idea of spectacle remains to be associated with that building typology on a general level. In Mitrasinovic's and Gray's books, architects as builders are left outside the content. In Grafe's dissertation, even though the architects as figures are a part of the discussion, the priority is how the welfare state policies shape and are shaped by architecture, which limits the connotations of the theme spectacle.

The writings with reflexive criticism partly show parallels with the ones of diagnostic criticism, but also contain ideas on the spectacularization of architecture. These writings include indirect references to how architects try to step away from present limits of architecture of their day. Lefaivre's article on Van Eyck's playgrounds reflect the architects efforts to create environments for everyone via opposing the top-down architectural approaches, while Rumpfhuber mentions Cedric Price's Fun Palace as an example to "anti-building" (Matthews, 2007: 73), as means to present another way of creating architecture. Tschumi's fragments that advocate the idea of pleasure in architectural design employ a similar approach. It is possible to trace spectacularization of architecture in these texts only indirectly. This is due to the tone of the authors, who deliver their account of architectural cases via an interest in architects' practices. The present emphasis on reflexivity in architecture is accompanied by a belief in the potential of architects' practices. Therefore, the idea of spectacle, or spectacularization is designated as a societal problem to be overcome by design. These writings are not interested in whether or not the end result is successful to deliver what it promises. For instance when Lefaivre discusses Lefebvre's playgrounds, she focuses on Van Eyck's critical position against common ways of practicing architecture. The criticism directed at architecture via leisure belongs to the architect and is not articulated by Lefaivre. Even though she includes the implications of Van Eyck's playgrounds on people and children, she does not intend to reveal a contradictory case about the architect's practice.

Tschumi's fragments that contain reflexive criticism via leisure references, however, also hint at architecture becoming a spectacle. This is due to architect's theorizing architectural practice. That is to say, even though Tschumi's text clearly presents a reflexive criticism, it is possible get clues on how architecture itself becomes a spectacle when considering the author's role in the architectural world. While leisure inspires Tschumi's ideas on design, his practice contributes in spectacularization. This spectacle in architecture affirms Hartoonian's account of the architect's practice. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, Hartoonian (2012) reads Tschumi's practice to eliminate a chance of criticism that could be addressing his architecture via theorizing it himself. Tschumi's criticism directed at mere rational thinking in architecture becomes discursive, arguably as a part of justification of his own design ideas.

Similar to Tschumi's case, writings with discursive criticism illustrate how architecture becomes a spectacle. Phillips discusses the spectacle in architecture on a broader level. She moves from particular examples (such as the Serpentine Pavilions) to many others thereby observing a transformation in architecture on a general level. Her article partly includes the design ideas, making the discursive reading stronger in her approach. She prioritizes how architecture is funded, and how architecture is shaped via the changing monetary relations. In a similar way, Martin discusses Portman's architecture through Portman's role as an architect and how his architecture is derived by his favoring exchange value over the cultural value (of his own architecture). Through focusing on one architect, however, Martin is able to portray architecture's continuous-but-changing course with capital. Piotrowski follows a similar path; in his article moving from the particular example of a single building (the Crystal Palace), he is able to trace the transforming relationship of how architecture aligns with power and capital through spectacle that it becomes. All three writings with discursive criticism include some clues on reflexivity in architecture in terms of design ideas and other references to literature of architecture. These writings are able to translate what appears as architectural to the language of critical theory. The criticism is based on the contradictions they detect through taking into consideration both approaches, bringing together what is often taken as esoteric to architecture (such as monetary relations) with architectural literature or reflexivity (as design ideas and prominent references to architectural theory). The writings with

discursive criticism discuss architecture as spectacle not through disregarding the autonomy of the discipline, but on the contrary, through reclaiming criticism in architecture.

I associate the way writings with discursive criticism use spectacle with the idea of deviation for a number of reasons. Deviation covers several things all together: the deviations that the theme spectacle causes (such as the spectacle of commodities that alter viewer's perception of the world and of things); the deviations that architecture detects as a general problem with the practice and overcome those problems (or simply challenge the limits of the practice); and finally the deviations regarding the discursive in architecture that is based on a claim of the discipline's autonomy, nevertheless partly becoming a spectacle in itself. As I have discussed above, the text with discursive criticism reveal contradictions and inconsistencies in architectural practices. Contradictions and inconsistencies require a certain amount of continuity within a history (or literature). Demystification as an essential aspect of criticism is possible when continuity is present, yet is in constant change. The deviation not only points at a contradictions, but also questions the intention behind the change. Since the criticism that this dissertation studies is mainly around socio-economic relations and capitalism, the deviation is initiated due to capitalist relations.

The emphasis above is compatible with the Italian radical group Operaists' approach to capitalism. As Pierre Vittorio Aureli (2008) cites, bringing their ideas and their impacts on radical architecture of 1960s Italy, "what made capitalist development strong was not its continuity, but its discontinuity" (2008:49). This statement requires considering the changing meanings and uses of leisure together with their projections in criticism in architecture. Thus, it is possible to claim that the changing connotations of leisure allow for the concept to serve as a tool for criticism. The three spheres of criticism exist due to the rich connotations of the concept.

5.4 A Triad of Recurring Themes

The three spheres of architectural criticism through the concept of leisure, as I have defined earlier, are permeable but irreducible to each other. In this section, based on the previous pages on the recurring themes, I argue that the way the spheres of criticism operate together allows for a new way of thinking and discussing existing architectural debates beyond the intersection of architecture-criticism-leisure. While

studying criticism in architecture and leisure through different spheres corresponds to the *demystification* this dissertation aims to deliver, discussing how they operate together presents the *reconceptualization*. The contribution of this study to literature is based on these two related acts. The triad of recurring themes allows for latter to be realized. In order to complete this chapter, I will compare the triad of recurring themes and the triad of spheres with how thinkers theorize triads in terms of qualities attributed to each component.

Charles Sanders Peirce, a late nineteenth century-early twentieth century philosopher, known for his contributions in semiotics, describes his conception of the triad as “...an elementary idea of something which should be such as it were relatively to two others in different ways, but regardless of any fourth,” (1994: 292). Especially “genuine triads,” as he classifies them, contain triadic relations all of which involve meaning. He proposes that *meaning* holds a triadic relationship in order to exist, them being a *sign*, an *object*, and an *interpretant*. This triadic relationship is about representation being represented and being received. Peirce’s explanation of this triad is relevant as it encourages to think different from dialectic relations that often appear as opposing views. Thus, by separating the three categories from one another, it illustrates how they work as a whole.

Another prominent thinker that is known for his work on triads, as I have discussed in Chapter 3, is Henri Lefebvre. His well known triads on space (where productive activities take place) include conceived-perceived-lived and on production of space as representation of space-representational space-spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1996; Stanek, 2011; Mitrasinovic, 2006: 24). Yet, since this dissertation is mainly interested in triadic approach in terms of thinking, Lefebvre’s later work on *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and Everyday Life* (2004) is more relevant. In this book, Lefebvre questions the rhythmic quality to space and time, dominated by commodities and market relations. For instance, in order to explain the rhythmic in the everyday, he uses a trinity of activity-repose-entertainment, that repeats itself in daily cycles. By speaking of many triads, Lefebvre points at the how repetition and movement exist, cyclically or linearly, within production of things, making up the everyday. As in Peirce’s definition of triads, Lefebvre’s emphasis on repetition and movement stems from how each element depends on the other two. I argue that the

different spheres of criticism I have identified, in a similar way, depend on each other, which is visible through the recurring themes within the writings I have studied.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the triad of spheres stems from different uses of leisure in architectural writings. The first sphere of diagnostic criticism appears as more basic, directed at the context in which architecture and leisure exist. However, the second sphere of reflexive criticism consists of architectural writings that detect a criticism within the context in which architecture operates and intend to overcome a problem through architecture. In other words, writings with reflexive criticism already contain diagnostic qualities. And finally the discursive criticism contains both a diagnostic criticism and a reflexive criticism; the discursive that the writings suggest stems from a recognition of architects' efforts to critically engage with the context in which they design and how they design. This makes the discursive criticism relatively harder to theorize and discuss. If the diagnostic criticism can be compared to *sign* in Peirce's triad of meaning, than the *object* it implies can be compared to how architecture can become reflexive, thereby presenting a reflexive criticism. The *interpretant* can as well be compared to the discursive that the writings illustrate in architects' practices.

Considering the different qualities of the spheres of criticism, it is not a coincidence that the theme public space is the most common among the other themes. The varying references of the architectural texts consider public space as a central theme, through which they offer their arguments. The varying connotations of the theme, as seen in the examples, allow for situating architecture with the rest of the world, both materially and immaterially. This act of situating is best illustrated in texts that majorly employ diagnostic criticism. Public space appears as a prominent theme through which diagnostic criticism is made possible. Both the reflexive and the discursive criticisms use public space (and public architecture in some cases) to articulate their discussions. On the other hand, technology appears less frequently than public space does. Technology mostly sets the premises of reflexive criticism, as an inspiration for design ideas in architecture. And finally, the fact that spectacle is the theme least likely to appear in these texts affirms the complexity of discursive criticism. However, without acknowledging how discursive criticism operates, it is not possible to connect the contribution of this dissertation to existing debates on

criticism in architecture in terms of becoming a spectacle and the fight for its autonomy, which O will explain further in the final chapter.



6. CONCLUSION

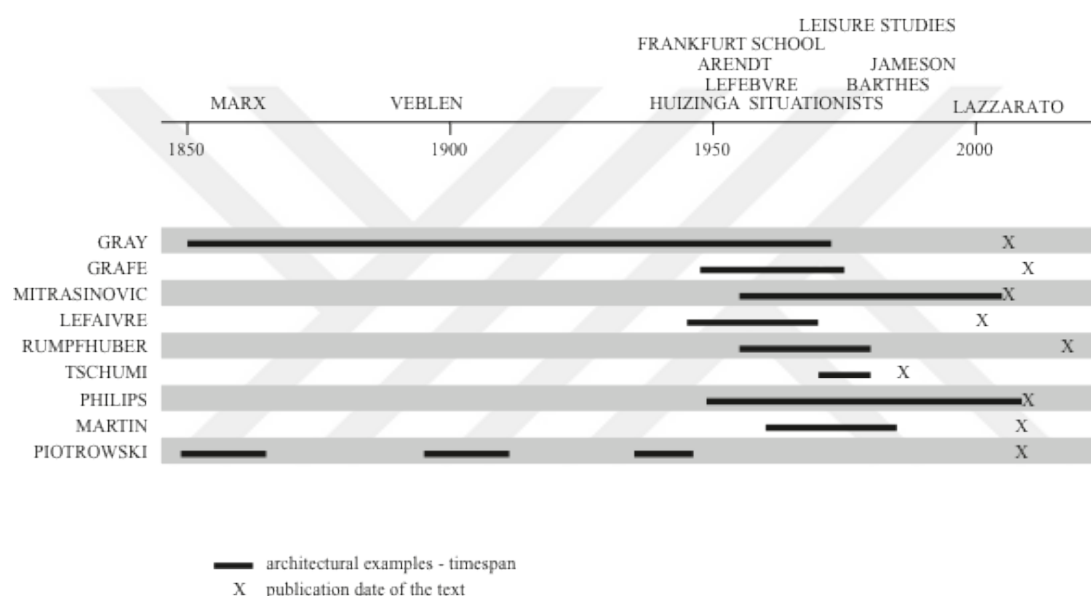
Since the primary aim of this study is to find out if leisure can serve as a critical tool to explore the production of knowledge in architecture, I first discussed leisure and criticality in critical theory. The way critical theory employs criticism through leisure and a number of references to architecture together provided a perspective on the literature of architecture, hinting at how architecture contextualizes the concept. However, I found that the number of academic and non-academic texts that discuss leisure from a critical perspective to be limited. Furthermore, these texts intend to discuss the reception of leisure in particular, whether in the professional sphere or in the sphere of academia. This limitation resulted in the study remaining on a *general* level, in which a specific project, a specific geography or a certain time period would not be pursued in detail. On the other hand, the same matter also provided some advantages: a chance to discuss texts and exemplary projects together that otherwise would not be possible. These texts triggered a particular discussion of ideas around leisure and architecture. That is to say, even though the scope of the study appears to be boundless, it is actually the opposite in terms of concepts, ideas and themes, as the study traces their continuous or fragmented presence within multitude texts.

The fact that texts on leisure and architecture that engage with criticality are limited has various implications. First of all, it affirms the motives behind the dissertation, which explores the relation of architecture (as the production of knowledge through criticism) to the concept of leisure. Secondly, it suggests that studies with similar approach, but with a different range of examples, may and should be pursued. The initial question that led to this study was *what can an inquiry into leisure reveal about architectural culture that is otherwise difficult to grasp*. I will answer this question in three parts: the parallels critical theory on leisure have with architectural literature, the specialized spheres of criticism and recurring themes, and new criticality in architecture.

6.1 Architectural Literature Echoing Critical Theory on Leisure

It is possible to observe that the critical theory on leisure and leisure's contextualization in architectural literature are coherent. Table 6.1 illustrates this coherence through taking a number of essential qualifications of the texts: the date the texts were (first) published, the time span of the architectural cases they dwell on, both of which are aligned with the discussions on leisure in critical theory.

Table 6.1 : Critical theory on leisure and Architectural Literature on a timeline.



As the table shows, the post-war period dominates the discussions on leisure, both in the critical theory and architectural literature. As discussed in Chapter 2, the critical theory on leisure starts with Marx, with his emphasis on how leisure as a resource and fight for time is an essential issue to overcome the exploitation of people's labor. The following prominent work on leisure is by Veblen in (1899) who studies leisure as designating social classes via what he calls conspicuous consumption. Until the post-war period, literature on leisure has been limited. This is also affirmed by Anthony James Veal (2006), who focuses on economics of leisure, as a part of Leisure Studies. However, since this dissertation is also interested in connotations of the concept, I have also included theories of Huizinga, Frankfurt School Theorists, Lefebvre, as well as work of later scholars' such as Arendt, Barthes, Jameson and Lazzarato. Regardless of the broader scope I have covered in critical theory on

leisure, it is possible to detect the concentration of leisure in theory around the 1960s. This echoes in architectural literature, not only in terms of timing, but also in terms of how leisure is received.

It is possible to talk about a trajectory in the concept's transformation: leisure changes from being a (uniform) resource to be distributed among the social classes as part of a political struggle, to its emphasis in the welfare state years following World War II, where leisure was culture and education for everyone; and later gains its more contemporary connotation in which it is not used as a word, but becomes about happiness and well-being.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, starting with Lefebvre but also apparent in Italian Operaist movement, there is an increasing amount of opposition to division of work and leisure. While Lefebvre emphasizes how leisure can also be, where spaces, activities or time can be appropriated and changed accordingly with people's practices (as a potential to transform the everyday on their behalf), Lazzarato concentrates on changing modes in labor and work with communication technologies that lead to the occupation of labor to all parts of people's lives. The architectural writings I have examined indirectly reflect a similar transformation in their interpretation of leisure, according to the dates of the architectural cases they discuss as well as the date they were written. For instance, when Gray discusses the seaside architecture of previous centuries, he focuses on newly emerging holiday practices, that have then started to become available for different classes in the British society. Whereas in Grafe's dissertation, leisure corresponds to state policies (that shape architecture) of the post war years (1960s), in which it was meant to educate people. When Mitrasinovic covers a later period that is the second part of the twentieth century, he enhances the connotations of leisure from people's free time (as a resource) to how leisure facilities are a part of the consumer culture that controls their imaginaries. Phillips covers the same time period (through pavilions) with similar interpretations of leisure. The important emphasis is on the writings that explore architectural cases towards the end of the twentieth century. These examples reflect how leisure's reception as a resource for everyone as the state policies lay the basis for manipulation of these initial ideas, resulting in elimination of public space and contributing to architecture's spectacularization. In other words, the contemporary discursive use of the concept stems from connotations of the word

during the welfare state years, where it implied something unconditionally aspired for by everyone and for everyone. The dominant idea of *leisure desired by and for all* peaked during these years, eliminating a need to question discourses on leisure. During the welfare state years, the everyday was restructured and redesigned. The privatization of today's public space follows 1970s leisure policies. However, today, the contradictions are both more diagnosable and less visible.

A critical view of welfare state years' take of the concept can also be used by a criticism of the dominant discourse on technology. Welfare state years' leisure policies stem from regarding technology and its advances as unconditionally good for everyone. The projected technological advances served as inspirations to most ideas about leisure. In Chapter 5, I have discussed technology, which is always associated with change, as a recurring theme in the architectural writings. However, using public space or technology as a part of cultural discourses have fundamentally transformed architecture and leisure, and contributed in creation of cultural spectacle. In the next section, moving from the recurring themes, I want to argue the relation between the three spheres of criticism this study defines. I aim to question whether the relationship between these spheres reveals other things about production of knowledge in architecture through criticism.

6.2 The Specification of Spheres of Criticism of Leisure and Architecture

All three spheres of criticism (through leisure in architecture) bring theory and design⁴² together. The quest for acquiring knowledge causes a quest for detecting parallels, contrasts and deviations within (1) practices and (2) the history of architecture. This implies that even if it is based on criticism, the outcome has to be applicable to other examples and/or contexts. However, the ways in which the spheres generate criticism show fundamental differences. The first sphere, diagnostic criticism is mainly based on drawing parallels; the second sphere brings together efforts in creating a difference (or simply searching) and contrasts with an intention to transform the world; while the third one, discursive criticism, detects deviations in

⁴² I use theory and design instead of theory and practice, because I take theory production as another practice.

these processes. As I have mentioned at the end of Chapter 5, this makes the first sphere easiest and the last the hardest to grasp and theorize.

Drawing parallels appears as the most common way to acquire knowledge. This is apparent in writings I have studied, as they refer to structures and buildings that belong to the same typology, and articulate their discussion via comparing their similarities. Since public space (and its commodification) appear as the most common recurring theme among these texts, it is possible to argue that this is how commentators, architects or scholars evaluate architecture mainly through public space. This statement, though arguably, can be affirmed in today's architectural spheres. For instance, in competition projects, in academic studios, as well as in commercial practices, how the private is related to what is public is the main issue, just like professional or academic practitioners often do research according to the typology of the buildings they are assigned to design.

Public space also appears as the context in which contrasts and differences are staged and experimented. Therefore, it is correct to assume that discussions on public space include discussions regarding intentions to create contrasts as well as cause deviations in discourses. In attempts to create a contrast, or initiate change (within architecture, or within the world), therefore, is based on an initial conception of public space. In other words, reflexive criticism in architecture stems from diagnostic criticism that architects are able to transfer onto their works. And the discursive criticism has to include both the diagnostic and discursive criticisms, and therefore is less likely to be realized (Figure 6.1).

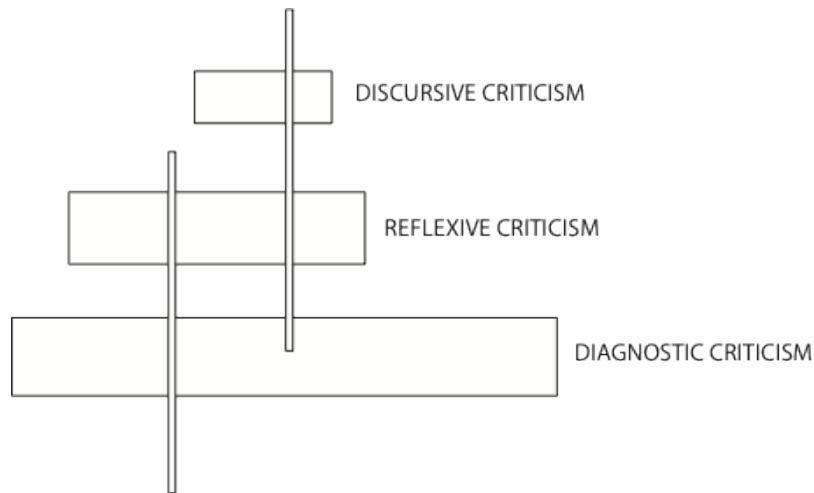


Figure 6.1 : The Hierarchy in Spheres of Criticism.

The idea of deviation requires a course of change in an already existing continuous thing. Therefore, detecting a deviation includes recognizing a continuity. This may be how the discursive in architectural criticism contains diagnostic and reflexive criticisms. Discursive criticism, as a way of revealing contradictions within architecture, illustrating how architecture not only contributes to today's culture of spectacle, but becomes a spectacle itself. The new quest for criticism in architecture that I refer to as the new criticality, therefore uses the theme of spectacle, making use of diagnostic and reflexive attributes of architectural cases. I regard some of the writings that I have examined in this dissertation to exemplify this new approach.

6.3 New Criticality In Architectural Culture Today

In terms of the dates that the architectural writings I have studied, show how the last two decades have witnessed a major tendency in literature of architecture to generate criticism about or through leisure. This recent interest has striking parallels with the new criticality that this dissertation recognizes. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, this new criticality simultaneously considers cases in architecture as a part of a socio-economic context and regards these cases as a part of the architectural history (evaluating them from an architectural perspective). This dissertations joins this literature, but through focusing on leisure as a tool for criticism.

New criticality brings together theory and practice; academic and professional spheres; diagnostic ,reflexive and discursive criticisms. It refers to concepts and tools of critical theory, however also questioning prior references in architecture to critical theory, reclaiming the original incentives of critical theory. Among the writings I have studied, especially Rumpfhuber's book, as well as Martin's and Piotrowski's articles reflect this kind of criticality.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, Rumpfhuber's book evaluates on design ideas in architecture through changing labor relations. He includes architecture's technical production into his argument of immaterial labor that shapes architecture. An excerpt from the book appears as an article in Peggy Deamer's edited volume *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design* (2015). In this particular article as well as some others in the same volume, taking architecture's relationship to critical theory and recognizing past misinterpretations is one the main issues.

Martin's and Piotrowski's articles, in a similar way, simultaneously discuss architectural design with critical theory. The two edited volumes by Lahiji that I have discussed in Chapter 2, *The Missed Encounter of Radical Philosophy with Architecture* (2014a) and *Architecture Against the Post-political: Essays in Reclaiming the Critical Project* (2014b) contain articles that reflect similar positions in criticism. Hartoonian's book *Architecture and Spectacle: A Critique* (2012) and Aureli's *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (2008) can be regarded as part of current architectural literature that questions and confronts past examples of how architecture used critical theory. None of these books, not even the two particular articles I have studied in this dissertation, extensively dwell on leisure. This dissertation partly steps away from these examples as it concentrates on criticism based on a particular concept. Nevertheless, since architecture uses the ambiguity around leisure (both as a word and as a concept) in its discursive operations and the same ambiguity has also enriched the scope of this dissertation, this dissertation joins this literature on aiming to demystify and thus reconceptualize relations of production around architecture. The confusion around leisure and the lack of discussion with regards to what leisure corresponds to hinder processes of (discursive) production, otherwise referred to as the spectacle in architecture.



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