

APARTMENT BLOCK AS THE OBJECT OF THE GENERIC CITY: ANKARA

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## **ABSTRACT**

APARTMENT BLOCK AS THE OBJECT OF THE GENERIC CITY; ANKARA

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Ankara has experienced a radical physical transformation after 1950s, in which the “identity” of the highly planned capital has been erased, emphasizing “homogenization”, “blankness” and “similarity.” The Apartment Block was the “object” of this condition and the “subject” of the transformation in the “urban identity,” both with its physical existence and with the mind-set it has radiated to the whole levels of the society. It has stripped out the identity of the city with its “endless reproduction.”

This transformation has led the Apartment Block to be accused of transforming Turkish cities to deformed agglomerations, deprived of aesthetics. In this sense, architectural discipline has been criticized for its “impotence” to respond the

economical, social and cultural conditions that traverse the urban setting. This criticism has questioned the “generative role” of architecture in the Early Republican period as a “social engineering” and discouraged any relation between architecture and the city, which has manifested the reduction of the architecture to a formal discipline. Ankara, with its dazzling transformation within few decades proposed its own urbanism and its own architecture, with the mutation of the Apartment Block first to a “resilient frame” than to a “multi programmed infrastructure.”

This study will consider this transformation as ‘another’ manifestation of a “new” kind of urbanism that was mainly declared by Rem Koolhaas and OMA, claiming that the “resilient” and “neutral” objects are the dominant and extensive forms of the contemporary urbanism. Hence, the study presents a cross reading of the urban development of Ankara together with Rem Koolhaas’ book *Delirious New York* and his essay “The Generic City” in *SMLXL*. The utmost goal is to explore a possible “reciprocal relation” between architecture and the city and to explore the limits of architectural intervention in the particular case of Ankara. Such an objective inevitably requires extending the limits of architectural thinking to the city scale. Thus, Ankara goes beyond a case study in an inquiry that aims to understand the mechanisms of the building production in the contemporary urbanism.

Keywords: Apartment Block, identity, generic, architectural program, resilient frame, infrastructure, architectural intervention, functional transformation, bigness and scale.

## ÖZ

### JENERİK KENTİN NESNESİ OLARAK APARTMAN BLOĞU; ANKARA

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Ankara, 1950'lerden sonra, planlı başkent in “kimliğinin,” “homojenleşmeyi,” “boşluğu” ve “benzerliği” vurgulayarak tamamen silindiği, radikal bir dönüşüm yaşamıştır. Apartman Bloğu, hem fiziksel mevcudiyeti hem de toplumun tüm katmanlarına nüfuz eden bir düşünme şekli olarak, bu kondisyonun “nesnesi” ve kentsel kimliğin dönüşümünün “öznesidir.” Bu Bloğun sonsuz defa yeniden üretilmesiyle kentin kimliği yok edilmiştir.

Bu dönüşüm, Apartman Bloğunun Türk kentlerini estetikten yoksun, deforme yerleşkelere dönüştürmekle eleştirilmesine neden olmuştur. Bu anlamda mimarlık disiplini, kente hakim olan ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel koşullara

cevap vermekteki “yetisizliđi” yüzünden eleřtirilmiřtir. Bu eleřtiri erken Cumhuriyet dnemi mimarlıđının bir “sosyal mhendislik” olarak “temel üretici rolünü” sorgulamıř, mimarlık ve kent arasındaki olası herhangi bir iliřkiyi reddederek mimarlıđın formal bir disipline indirgenmesini ilan etmiřtir. Ankara, Apartman Blođunun tamamen mimarlık eleřtirisinin dıřında kalarak, nce “szsüz bir çerçeveye” sonra da “çok programlı bir altyapıya” “mutasyonu” sonucunda birkaç on yılda kendi kentleřmesini ve kendi mimarlıđını üretmiřtir.

Bu alıřma, yařanan bu dnüşümü Rem Koolhaas ve OMA tarafından ilan edilen, “szsüz” ve “ntr” nesnerin baskın ve yaygın olduđu “yeni” kentleřmenin bařka bir rneđi olarak kabul eder. Bu noktadan hareketle, bu alıřma, Ankara’nın kentsel geliřiminin Rem Koolhaas’ın *Delirious New York* kitabı ve *SMLXL* kitabındaki “The Generic City” makalesiyle beraber okunmasını sunar. Ama, mimarlık ve kent arasındaki olası “karřılıklı iliřkiyi” ve mimarlıđın kent iindeki mdahale limitlerini arařtırmaktır. Byle bir ama, kaınılmaz olarak mimarlık dřüncesinin kent leđine geniřletilmesini gerektirir. Sonu olarak, ađdař kentleřmedeki inřa mekanizmalarını anlamayı amalayan byle bir alıřmada, Ankara sadece rnek bir alan olmanın tesine geer.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Apartman Blođu, kimlik, jenerik, mimari program, szsüz çereve, altyap, mimari mdahale, iřlevsel dnüşüm, büyüklük ve lek.

To My Parents, Fisun and Savaş Ürger



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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study presents a critical reading on the urban development of Ankara, and its effective object: The Apartment Block. The ultimate goal is to consider the relationship between architecture and the city by decoding the aggressive manifestation of The Apartment Block in the urbanization process of Ankara. Despite the architectural criticism of Modern Architecture during 1970's that questions the strong relation and declares the 'rupture' of architect from the city, the aim of this study is to explore the potential of extending limits of architectural thinking to the city scale. Thus, I believe it is still possible to investigate the promises of their interaction and find possible operational positions for architecture.

Ankara presents a full range of evidences for the scope of this study with its dazzling transformation from the representative capital of the Modern Republic with its public buildings to a city that proposes an endless "reproduction" of the same single unit: The Apartment Block. Today, Ankara represents an urbanization, which is consisting of a vast number of apparently unconnected Apartment Blocks, allocated into the pre-defined "frames" of the urban terrain.

The study considers this transformation as ‘another’ manifestation of a “new” kind of urbanism, which is mainly declared by Rem Koolhaas and OMA<sup>1</sup>, on the bases of their analysis on “metropolitan condition.” Hence, it starts with an assumption that today, with the current phase of capitalism, with the effects of globalization and with the advanced network systems of communication, the metropolitan conditions might be traced “anywhere” in the world at a different rate, even in Ankara. Hence, I believe it is possible to criticize the urban development of Ankara within the terminology developed by the recent debates on “metropolitan conditions.” Thus, Rem Koolhaas’ over-read book *Delirious New York*<sup>2</sup> and his provocative essay “The Generic City,”<sup>3</sup> will be used as pretexts for the study.

The following chapter of the study will present an inquiry on the urban development of Ankara in the 20<sup>th</sup> century considering its operational object-subject, the Apartment Block. The aim is to investigate certain mechanisms of the space production in current urban development and its reflections on the architectural discourse, which have paved the way for the “re-definition” of the relation between architecture and the city. Furthermore, the new architectural “strategies” that have been developed within this “re-defined” relation will be discussed through re-considering the reasons of the success of the Apartment Block, as a residential building, and recently as a “multi-programmed infrastructure.”

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<sup>1</sup> OMA, Office for Metropolitan Architecture, founded in London in 1975, by two architect/painter couples: Rem Koolhaas, Madelon Vriesendorp, Elias and Zoé Zenghelis is a Rotterdam based international firm.

<sup>2</sup> Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York, a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994.) First published in 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Rem Koolhaas, “The Generic City” *S, M, L, XL*, (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995).



**Figure 1. 1** The scheme of the Apartment Block. Koz Apartmanı. Mucip Ürger, Ali Özer, İsmail Baytan. 2004. Plan, photoshop

The term “Apartment Block” conventionally denotes the buildings that are composed of more than one dwelling unit, and generally designed for domestic purposes. It has been developed as an alternative of individual dwelling. The logic of the plan is very simple. It is based on a strict symmetry to achieve to distribute equal amount of space, that is, to achieve to supply equal number of floor and facade area, and room for each flat. Hence, generally the Apartment Block has a rectangular plan to ease this equal distribution. The vertical circulation, toilets, shafts and public and private corridors are collected in a compact central core to leave the surrounding perimeter for residential space and thus, to accomplish maximum light for the living spaces. There is no definite decision for the direction.



The Apartment Block offers neither the single family dwelling advantages, nor the advantages of the housing projects of the commune life. Moreover, it is far away from satisfying neither the traditional living habits nor the newly emerged modern living forms. However, it has a much advantageous aspect that makes it unavoidable: the property of maximizing the profit, while resolving housing demands of the city. Hence, it is promoted as a solution for the problems of the unstable explosion of the population, physical products, urbanization and economic development of the city. Consequently, the Apartment Block gained an inevitable legitimacy and transformed Ankara with its 'endless reproduction'.

This legitimacy also gave rise to an internal transformation in the block itself. The transformation has been epitomized with the introduction of functions, other than dwelling. The newly empowering service sector started to invade the Apartment Block. Thus, the Apartment Block went beyond its original intention as a residential building and modified 'slightly' to support the demands of the new architectural programs. This was not a disguise at first instance but a shift in the meaning. It is due to this shift that the Apartment Block has been mutated to a "multi programmed infrastructure" that many architectural programs can be inserted "independently", "isolated" and "detached", ensuring the opportunity of functional transformation, which is the never lasting demand of the modern city. There is nothing fortuitous or indeterminate in the design process of the Apartment Block. In fact, what is fascinating about the Apartment Block is its potential to accommodate the "unstable programs" of the city with its extremely "defined structure" and "ill-defined" infrastructure.

Recently, the Apartment Block has been criticized harshly not only by professionals such as architects, city planners and engineers but also by the

layman for its overall composition, lack of aesthetic and identity. It has always been seen as a 'profit machine' to multiply the original ground area as to sell it over and over again. It is accepted as the outcome of the economical forces and rejected to be considered as architectural. Indeed, the deficiencies it has caused and its unfit character for the architectural programs that it accommodates are clear. However, setting aside the disparaging view, analyzing the reasons of its “endless repetition” and its transformation to a “multi-programmed infrastructure” would provide satisfactory evidence to re-conceptualize architecture, the city and the contemporary urbanism *par excellence*. This approach would lead us not only to discuss the issues that touch upon the so-called “crisis” of architecture practicing at the city scale, but also to identify certain mechanisms of the building production in the city.

Finally, at the last chapter, as a framework of conclusive remarks, the study will re-introduce the project: “The Epidemic Transformation of the Urban Junkyard,”<sup>4</sup> which was realized in METU, for the 4<sup>th</sup> year architectural design studio in the fall semester 2000. The aim of the project is not to offer solutions for the used properties of the Apartment Block but rather to ‘re-program’ an urban observation on the desire of programmatic expansion and its patterns in the city. Hence, the objective of the project is “the simple interests in what happens,” which Koolhaas defines as “program.” It is an attempt to re-structure the position of the architect and to explore the limits of his/her capability to act upon the building production processes of the city.

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<sup>4</sup> This project was realized in METU, ARCH 401, Architectural Design 5, Fall 2000 offered by Türel Saranlı, Ayşen Savaş, Güven Arif Sargın, Kerem Yazgan,

## CHAPTER 2

### THE APARTMENT BLOCK AS THE OBJECT OF ARCHITECTURE

Recently, the Apartment Blocks are commonly accused of transforming Turkish cities to deformed agglomerations, deprived of aesthetics. In this sense, architectural discipline has been criticized for its “impotence” to respond the economical, social and cultural conditions that traverse the urban setting. This criticism has led to the questioning of architecture as a “generative force,” as a “social engineering” and discouraged any relation between architecture and the city, which has manifested the reduction of the architectural discipline to an “institutionalization of styles.” Thus, I suggest that the optimistic Modernist manner of the Early Republican period has been substituted by a great disbelief in the discipline.

This criticism has been mainly echoed as a result of the radical physical transformation of Ankara after 1950s. The “identity” of the highly planned capital has been transformed to a “generic”, which I shall define as counter of identity, condition, emphasizing “homogenization”, “blankness” and “similarity” rather than difference.<sup>5</sup> The Apartment Block was the “object” of this condition and the

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<sup>5</sup> Rem Koolhaas defines the term “generic” as “What is left after identity is stripped.” Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1248.

“subject” of the transformation in the “urban identity,” both with its physical existence and with the mind-set it has radiated to the whole levels of the society. It has stripped out the identity of the city by its “endless reproduction” and by disjointing the artifacts, which were the materialization of the Republican Modern “identity,” like an archipelago.

The “social role” -to direct the society- of Early Republican Period and its widespread belief in architecture to be the “generative force” of the urban production were highly problematic under these conditions. The sudden increase in the amount of the commodities and as a result, the enlargement of the scale after 1950s was not a simple problem of “quantity” to be resolved within architecture’s internal mechanisms. The structural transformation and the “spontaneous” development of the city, due to this explosion, could only be handled with the knowledge of “repetition” and “quantity” rather than the knowledge of “specific” and “special.” However, although the problematic of quantity was realized, this “new” development form of the city was not considered as to be architectural.

Being accused of deforming the city, the Apartment Block was seen “infernal” and considered as the building of the city, “outside” architecture. However, such an acceptance inevitably marked the “rupture” between architecture and the city.<sup>6</sup> Without a theory or a criticism, the “determinacy” of the Early Republican

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<sup>6</sup> Mario Gandelonas, in his essay “The City as the Object of Architecture,” *Assemblage*, 37, 1998, 129-144, dates the roots of this separation to Leon Battista Alberti’s (1404-1472) theory, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1988,) in which Alberti doubles the act of building as “urban building” and “architectural building.” For Alberti, the building, as a part of the city is “outside” architecture and only “beauty” and “ornament” can transform it to an architectural building. Thus, for Gandelonas during the Renaissance, the establishment of the architectural discipline as an “intellectual act” and the shift of the architectural production from construction site to representational field, differentiated two actors of the city: the architect and the builder. He claims that, this separation requires an inevitable rupture of the architect from the “reality of the

period architecture, was terminated with a “unit” or a “frame”, as I prefer to call it: The Apartment Block. Being extensive and dominant, the Apartment Block has verified the success of the “generic” forms of the 20<sup>th</sup> century urbanization. The “endless reproduction” of this same “unit” eliminated the objective of the Early Republican period for a Modern city. Furthermore, it has ridiculed the illusionary “urban fantasy” of this period for “control,”<sup>7</sup> and any attempt for architectural “specificity.”<sup>8</sup> In Ankara, the success of the Apartment Block was

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construction process” and the building itself. He argues that in this context architecture has called into being related to the city as its "other" on the bases of their "shared" object, building.  
<sup>7</sup> Gandelsonas in his essay "The City as the Object of Architecture," op. cit., 130, argues that the loss of the physical reality of the building due to the separation of the architect and the builder caused a gap, which is filled by the architectural "urban fantasy: architecture's desire to domesticate the wild economic and political forces that traverse the urban body to impose an order." This fantasy operates through the 'shared' object of architecture and the city, the building, and considers the city as the "largest building." Establishing such an analogy assists architecture to conceal the fact that the building is "outside architecture" with the illusionary fantasy of controlling the city itself as a building. However, this same analogy also causes architecture to establish a self-referential relation with the city, leaving the other mechanisms of the city aside. This stance of the architecture has drawn the general perspective of the intended unilateral, yet impossible, relation between architecture and the city in the historical setting. For further discussion on historical development of the relation between architecture and the city see Emre Altürk, *Metropolis as the Object of Architecture*, Master Thesis, (METU, Ankara, 2004) for further discussions.

<sup>8</sup> Diana I. Agrest, in “Design versus Non-Design,” *Architecture From Without, Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice*, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991,) 33 explains specificity as a mechanism through which architecture relates itself to other cultural systems. For Agrest, architecture, through design, constitutes a “permeable boundary,” which distinguishes it from other cultural practices and “produces a kind of *closure* that acts to preserve and separate the ideological identity of design.” However, this boundary, with its permeability, also relates design to other cultural systems outside itself, and controlled and regulated by architecture’s own individual dynamics. In this boundary, the notions from other cultural systems are crystallized and reduced to preserve the identity of design. Agrest claims, if culture is a system of “social codes” that “permits information to enter the public domain by means of appropriate signs,” than “the relationship between design and culture is a mode, by which design is articulated as one cultural system in relation to other cultural systems at the level of codes,” which is maintained through specificity of these codes. Thus the articulation between design and other cultural systems is achieved through the specificity of the codes. She classifies three types of codes in decreasing specificity: codes which may be seen “exclusive” to design, codes which are “shared” by various cultural systems and codes crucial to one cultural system and “participate” in another. While “the most specific codes remain within the system of architecture,” the less specific codes link design with other systems “through the opening” and “closing” of its limits.” Ibid., 35. In this sense, specificity maintains the limits of architecture. For Agrest architecture makes substitutions, reducing meanings of codes, to maintain its limits in relation to other systems, to translate the new meanings into figures for the new architectural ideology. Ibid., 39.

the materialized evidence for the impossibility of “ordering” a city with the internal mechanisms of a single discipline.<sup>9</sup>

If there is to be a possible “reciprocal” relation between architecture and the city, it can only be established by re-introducing the issues related to the “generic” objects, such as the Apartment Block into the architectural discourse. Such an attempt may also lead one to decode the conditions under which architecture is practiced. In this sense, Ankara goes beyond a case study in an inquiry that aims to understand the mechanisms of the urban spatial production mechanisms.

Exploring the discourses of the plans that have been developed for Ankara provides sufficient evidence for the scope of the study, as they represent the shifting ambitions of the ideology for the city and in each period. The first plan, Jansen Plan, was the deposition of the Modern ideology of the Early Republican period, whereas the second plan, Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel Plan was “compiled” in 1950s under the strain of what I prefer to call the objective of urbanization at any price. After 1970s, the urbanization ambition is substituted with the metropolitan objective, which finds its reflection in the plans prepared by *Ankara Nazım Bürosu*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Diana Agrest in her book, *Architecture From Without*, op. cit., 3, argues that, architect’s desire to look at the city as a “product”, as a building and the confusion between the “real object” and the “theoretical object” caused architectural discipline to fail to theorize the relationship between the urban form and architecture.

<sup>10</sup> See Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı* (İstanbul: Anahtar Yayınları, 1993,)

## 2.1 An "Urban Fantasy": Ankara (1923-1950)

The establishment of the Turkish Republic was an absolute attempt for the formation of a “modern” society. The utmost objective of the new ideology was a total modernization, backed up with the constitution of the national identity within modern capitalist economy. Thus, Modernity was both the objective and the strategy. Such an intention obviously required a new start to prepare the infrastructure of the transformation. Hence, one of the early decisions of the new ideology was the announcement of Ankara as the new capital of the Republic. Ankara will be a “clean sheet” for the formation of Modernity and its radiation to whole country.<sup>11</sup>

Sibel Bozdoğan in her essay, “Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey,” claims that, it is commonly observed that the necessary initial stage of nation building is an *assertion of identity*.<sup>12</sup> However, for Bozdoğan, in Turkey “rendering the issue of identity is extremely problematic, precarious and paradoxical”, as “the whole *raison d’être* of Turkish nationhood was based on a radical rejection of the country’s own imperial past with all its cultural, institutional and religious associations.”<sup>13</sup> Hence, Turkish Republic utilized the principles of the Modernism for both as a means of “organized forgetting” and as the generative force of the creation of the national

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<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, “Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey,” paper presented to *Kunstlerischer Austausch/ Artistic Exchange*, 28<sup>th</sup> international congress of History of Art, Berlin, July 1992, 437. Author’s italics.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 438.

identity. In any case the Modern City was vital for the establishment of the nation-state.<sup>14</sup>

It is common that in the countries that are deprived of the necessary infrastructure of Modernity, the injection of the national identity is achieved through “the governing elite” and with a ‘social engineering’ mechanism cooperating with the commercial bourgeoisie.<sup>15</sup> However, governing elite should develop strategies to diffuse the established national identity in political sense, into the social level. Hence, Güven Arif Sargın argues that, the construction of the nation-state identity finds its utmost deposition in urban space. The governor social group will try to share its “legitimate” memory with the ordinary mass through the artifacts and to obtain a space organization, in which the projected social-utopia is represented. Obviously, Ankara, being the capital city, was the utmost space for the identity politics. Thus, Gönül Tankut argues that, building of Ankara is not only a technical process that prepares the infra and super structures of the city, but first of all a political preference, in which the continuity of the process is dependent on the political decisions.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.1.1 The Jansen Plan<sup>17</sup>

Building Ankara, as a model Modern City, was considered as the major presentation of the newly established Republic’s success. Hence, planning of

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<sup>14</sup> See Güven A. Sargın, “Kamu Adına Örtülü Unutma ve Yeniden Anımsama,” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 11/2002, 47-50.

<sup>15</sup> See Bozdoğan, “Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey,” op. cit., 437. Author’s italics.

<sup>16</sup> Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı* op. cit., 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ali Cengizkan in his recently published book, *Ankara’nın ilk Planı/1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Arkadaş Kitapevi, 2004) presents that the first plan of Ankara is the Löcher Plan and it has been very effective on the urban development of the city and on Jansen Plan. However, this study will consider the Jansen Plan as the beginning date for the planned period of the early Republican period.



the new capital will be the main objective of the state. In 1927, a competition with limited invitation was announced and in 1928 with the law #1351 "Directorate of Urban Development of Ankara" (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*) was established. The main concern of the competition was to deliver the best plan to represent the "identity" of the Modern Republic. Furthermore, the desired plan should deal with the housing shortage and the land speculation<sup>18</sup> arose as a result of the exceptional population growth of Ankara.<sup>19</sup> Herman Jansen was announced as the winner of the competition in 1929. The application plan was prepared in 3 years and in 1932 Jansen Plan was put into effect.<sup>20</sup>

Bozdoğan argues that the building of the capital was due to an "official program" rather than a social transformation as "the material conditions within which Western modernity flourished, i. e. the industrialized metropolis, the autonomous bourgeoisie subject and of course a full-fledged capitalist economy did not exist in Turkey."<sup>21</sup> Building of the city has started with the self-confidence of the euphoria of the "utopic" period as a "blue print" planning, which has taken shape on the drawing table.<sup>22</sup> There was a strong belief in the architects and the planners as "cultural leaders" and "creative subjects" to inject the modern living forms to the society." If Ankara was the "urban fantasy" of the Republic to "order" the space of Modern living forms, then Jansen's plan has transformed this "fantasy" into recognizable architectural and urban forms.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Tankut makes a pragmatic definition for the speculation: the speculative profit happens when the value of a property is increased without any improvement but just in time. Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* op. cit., 257.

<sup>19</sup> See Ali Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, Ph. D Theses, (Ankara: METU, 2000.)

<sup>20</sup> Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* op. cit., 17.

<sup>21</sup> Bozdoğan, "Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey," op. cit. 441.

<sup>22</sup> Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* op. cit., 15.

<sup>23</sup> Gandelonas argues that the "urban fantasy" not only defines the relation of architecture with the city, but also proposes a "creative subject," who tries to radiate architectural fantasies by locating himself/herself to the focal point of the production scene. By reducing the dynamism of

The planned urban development was backed up with the Modern artifacts of the foreign architects and sculptors, who were invited to the country to enhance the identity policy.

Jansen plan, says Cengizkan, was in accordance with the concepts of the theory of Camillo Sitte and the Garden City Movement.<sup>24</sup> He was an apprentice of Camillo Sitte, who was influential on German planners in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, it is possible to trace the effects of Sitte's urban theory that gives a priority importance to urban aesthetics,<sup>25</sup> with emphases "on public health through the sanitation in the urban domain"<sup>26</sup> in Jansen Plan. Jansen determined the physical image of the plan with reference to The Garden City Movement, which has come forth as a response to the problems emerged with the effects of the industrialization in the European cities. However, Turkey had no similar experience for industrialization yet. Thus, Jansen's choice was rather physical one, giving priority to urban aesthetics, disregarding the conditions that can produce such a setting.

Ebenezer Howard's (1850-1928) Garden City movement, stands on the two bases, first one rooted to Owen's ideal city, -tradition of utopias of the first part on the 19<sup>th</sup> century - perfect and self-sufficient community, a synthesis of town and country. Second, the concept of single family house set amid greenery with the emphasis on privacy, "releasing the family life from the crowding and

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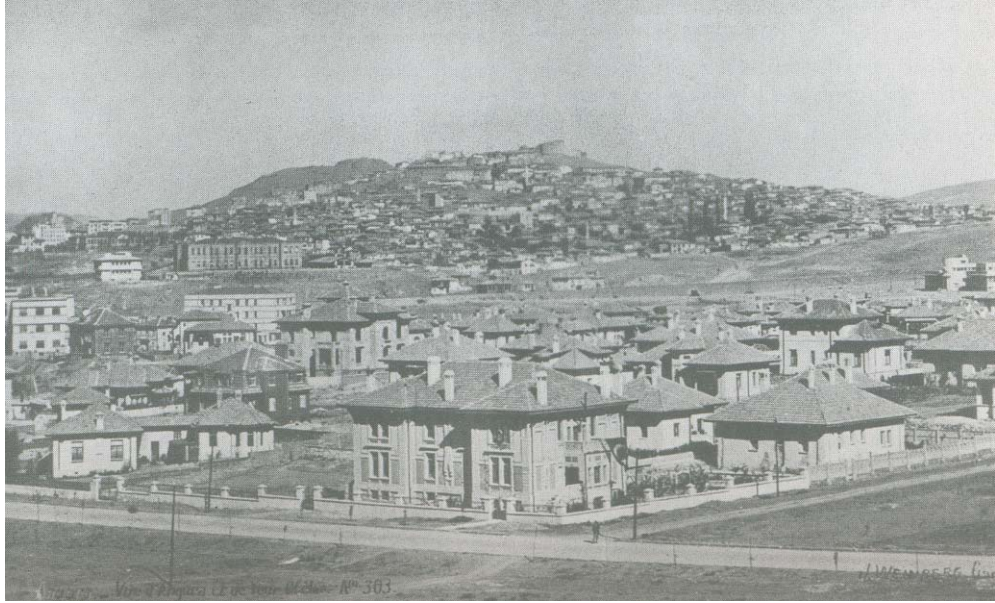
the city to the status of the "object," this "creative subject" operates by establishing an urban architecture on the bases of architecture's own internal mechanisms, through architectural filters. Gandelsonas, "The City as the Object of Architecture," op. cit., 131.

<sup>24</sup> See Ali Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op.cit., 54.

<sup>25</sup> Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı* op. cit., 67.

<sup>26</sup> See Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 54.

disorder of the metropolis."<sup>27</sup> However, the Garden City was planned to support a limited number of inhabitants. Thus, under the strain of population increase, it considerably deprived of the original intentions.<sup>28</sup> In any case, the difficulties to apply Garden City notions to a capital city will be soon realized.



**Figure 2.1.1.1** Yenışehir, Old Ankara. 1931.

The main plan decisions of Jansen were functional zoning, separation of the pedestrian and automobile traffic, protection of the castle and the old city and construction of new sections through the southern parts of the city.<sup>29</sup> He was proposing non-build areas such as parks, sports fields, playgrounds, and green areas, to support the public health. A low-density urbanization with low-rise houses within gardens was considered as the future urban development. The

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<sup>27</sup> Benevolo, *The History of the City*, trans. Geoffrey Culverwell, op. cit., 351.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>29</sup> See Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı Ankara: 1929-1939*, op. cit., 79-80, for the main plan decisions of the Jansen Plan.

castle will dominate the horizon of the city, and from here the green bands will radiate through the city to unite and integrate the parts of the city.<sup>30</sup>

Even in late 1930s, the criticism of the plan for disregarding the economical and application problems and for considering only the aesthetic and physical appearance of the city has come forth.<sup>31</sup> In any case, it was obvious that Jansen Plan was the materialization of the state's and planner's objective to derive an absolute deposition of a nation-state identity, that concentrates on the public entrepreneur rather than planning a metropolitan that will be developed with the dynamics of the market economy.<sup>32</sup>

Up to the end of 1920s, governments did not face with a considerable problem in the application of the plan, as there were no considerable gap between the expected and the actual increase of population.<sup>33</sup> However, between 1927 and 1932 the population has escalated from 74.000 to 100.000.<sup>34</sup> In early 1940s it was clear that the Garden City scheme could not be applied to a city, with 6% population growth and with intensive pressure of the land speculation that has been already emerged.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 54.

<sup>31</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması," 75 *Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998,) 111.

<sup>32</sup> İhsan Bilgin, "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı", ed. Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996,) 261.

<sup>33</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," Ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, Trans: Nurettin Elhüseyni, *Türkiye'de Modernleşme Ve Ulusal Kimlik*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 146

<sup>34</sup> See Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, op. cit., 53 and 179.

<sup>35</sup> Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması," 75 *Yılda Değişen...* op. cit., 78.

Thus, Jansen plan was totally terminated, especially after 1939 with the resign of Jansen from counselor charge.<sup>36</sup> Although, the major settlement decisions had been effective on the future development of the city, Jansen Plan has failed to achieve the intended physical setting. Gönül Tankut claims that, the reason of the “failure” of the plan was its inflexibility to adopt the changing urban conditions.<sup>37</sup>

Despite, the objective of the state for a Modern city and Jansen plan’s good intentions led an obvious improvement in the urban vision, the impossibility to “order” the city, which is the superimposition of many cultural systems and the sum of many orders, through the codes of a single cultural system, architecture in our case was clear.<sup>38</sup> Despite ambition of the state to order the capital as a “whole”, especially after 1950s the Apartment Block terminated the intended order and replaced it by “orderlessness”. The major obstacle for architecture to order is the city’s resistance to the status of the building and the “notion of whole.”<sup>39</sup>

One of the most important results of the Jansen Plan was the introduction of the open-ended lot parcel order with a grid-iron systematic as a planning strategy in

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<sup>36</sup> Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, op. cit., 203.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 269.

<sup>38</sup> See Diana I. Agrest, “City as the Place of Representation,” *Architecture From Without, Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice*, op. cit., 109. And also Diana I. Agrest, “Design versus Non-Design,” op. cit., 31-65.

<sup>39</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia, Design and Capitalist Development*. Trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1976. 16 argues that architecture that wants to be in its own boundaries and to effect/order the city, via the association of building, inevitably leads to a struggle between architecture that desires to “order” and the city demands an “orderlessness” and characterizes the development of theories about the city and architecture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Ankara, which has been largely influential on the urban development of the country, beginning from 1930s.<sup>40</sup>

## **2.2 Shift in the Urbanization Strategy (1950-1960)**

After 1950s, the objective of the Republic for building the capital city with a “radical modernization” has been replaced by a new ideology for urbanization based on “popular modernism.”<sup>41</sup> Ali Cengizkan states the important transformations of this period as: changing foreign policies, acquisition of foreign loans into the economy, arrival of foreign capital investment into industry, mechanization of the agricultural activities, opening of the internal market to international trading, priority to land ownership, public services and private sector.<sup>42</sup> Considering such shifts, transformation in the socio-cultural, organizational and economic structure of the society was inevitable. From 1950s onwards, these transformations have drastically effected the urban condition, as it was impossible to separate it from the social dynamics of the city.

The removal of the state control and empowering of the private sector after 1950s gave rise to important consequences, as they propose different strategies for urban development. İhsan Bilgin underlines the differences as: the public investments are generally realized as a greater part of an overall projection, based on directing the social development to an intended direction, whereas the private investment is an outcome of the daily reflexes, which are

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<sup>40</sup> Bilgin, “Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet’in İmarı,” op. cit., 260.

<sup>41</sup> Tekeli, “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması,” op.cit., 148.

<sup>42</sup> See Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 30-31.

generally directed by the market. However, it is problematic that this dual mechanism, which manipulates the urban development in a mutual relation in industrialized European countries, does not exist simultaneously in the periphery countries.<sup>43</sup> In this sense, after 1950s Turkish urbanization was deprived of the state regulation, which has a vital role in urban policies to organize the urban development.

The main objectives of the state, the modernization of the agriculture, urbanization and industrialization have together triggered the flow of the rural population to the city. The dissolution of the rural population was the foreteller of the immense changes for the cities. The first and the most effective result was the great increase in the land speculation, which will traverse the urbanization process of the country up to the present day. As the industrialization was an unfinished project, speculation came out as the main generative force of the economic development. Hence, the dissolved rural population migrated to the city not only as a result of industrialization but mainly to take part in the rental distribution of the urban land. A new urbanism began to take shape in Ankara, in which financial aspects will be the major detriment of the urban development.

### **2.3 Mass / The Issue of Quantity**

The demographical shift after 1950s, particularly between 1950 and 1960 was beyond any previous projection. Between 1950 and 1960 the population of Ankara has escalated from 288.536 to 783.851 and the increase rate was 134

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<sup>43</sup> Bilgin, “Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet’in İmarı,” op. cit., 258.

% during the 15 years, after the Jansen Plan in 1928.<sup>44</sup> The urban population rate, which was 20.1 % between 1940 and 1950, was increased to 80.2 % between 1950 and 1960.<sup>45</sup>

Exposed such a leap, the urban condition has been modified beyond recognition. Together with industrialization, the urban population leap led to a drastic increase in the diversity and amount of goods and services. Between 1950-1957, the capacity of the gas plant has been doubled, water supply tripled and the bus services capacity quadrupled in Ankara.<sup>46</sup> Due to the impossibility to provide enough dwelling area for such a population, about 1954, 60% of the population had begun to live in squatter settlements realized haphazardly allotted public or state land.”<sup>47</sup>

Ankara has started to experience the strains of population increase, population intensification and transformation of the commercial and industrial organization. Modernity as a state project gained certain dynamism, and penetrated into depths of the society. This transformation was mainly due to the integration and homogenization of the national market, which has started in the preceding period and achieved via the developments in the transportation of people and goods.<sup>48</sup> Conditions of production, circulation, and consumption altered radically. A new economical system was established on the bases of the

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<sup>44</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 34-35.

<sup>45</sup> Ruşen Keleş, “Konut Sorunları ve Politikası,” *Şehircilik*, (Ankara: AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınlar, 1978,) 26. Cited from Yıldız Sey “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,” 75 yıl..., op. cit., 285.

<sup>46</sup> Talat Özişik, “Ankara’da İmar Hareketleri,” *Ankara Belediyesi Dergisi*, n:18, April, May, June 1958, 8-10. Cited from Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations ...*, op. cit., 49 .

<sup>47</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 42.

<sup>48</sup> İhsan Bilgin, “Housing and Settlement in Anatolia in the process of Modernization,” *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia. A Historical Perspective*, ed. Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996,) 483.



maximization of the profit and dynamism of the continual need for development and expansion. Thus, Sibel Bozdoğan claims that, the infrastructure of the modernity has been established within this period.<sup>49</sup>

	Ankara/City	City Area	Density	Turkey Total
22.10.1950	288.536	29.634km <sup>2</sup>	28	20.947.188
23.10.1955	451.241	32.394km <sup>2</sup>	34	24.064.763
23.10.1960	783.314	32.314km <sup>2</sup>	35	27.754.820

**TABLE 2.3.1:** Population Figures of Ankara

Growth Rates of	Total Population %	Urban Population %
1940-1945	1.1	1.3
1945-1950	2.2	2.6
1950-1955	2.8	7.4
1955-1960	2.9	6.3
1960-1965	2.5	6.7

**TABLE 2.3.2:** Total and Urban Population Increase Rates

Housing shortage was the major problem in Ankara as a result of these transformations. There was neither sufficient house stock nor enough the build-land, or any mechanisms that can satisfy demand in a short period time. Thus, the land prices increased so drastically that, land speculation became the most beneficial instrument for personal investment. This has led to a shift in the course of the space production and the planning. The pressure of the speculator on the municipality to gain more rent from the land and the ambition to maximize his/her profit from the space production led to a new urbanism, which has been mainly effective on the future plans of Ankara.

<sup>49</sup> See Bozdoğan, “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış,” *Türkiye’de Modernleşme Ve Ulusal Kimlik*, op. cit. 126.

As a result of the effects of this new economical system, spatial formations were re-evaluated under the influence of the economical rationality including the spatial formations. Quantitative evaluation, to maximize the profit, lead to the consideration of the space as an “object,” which is re-arranged continually with the transformational demands of the economic structure. The individual developer that constructs his/her own building for defined and stable programs substituted by the private entrepreneur constructing for “undefined” and “unstable” programs for unknown customers. Hence, this new spatial construction course further complicated the questions of the role of architecture in the city.<sup>50</sup> The build-and-sell strategy emerged as a new urbanization mechanism, in which “standardization” and “repetition” is vital to maximize the profit.

## **2.4 End of the "Fantasy" (1950-1980)**

In 1953, a new competition was announced to acquire a new plan for Ankara. In April 1955, Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel were announced as the winners of the competition. The plan comprised an area of 11.000 ha, for the population of 451.241 in 1957 to the expected figure of 750.000-800.000, in the targeted year 1985. However, at 1965 this population had already gone beyond this projection.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995). For further articulation of the spatial formations due to the changes in 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>51</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 44.

The second plan, apart from its good intentions, was insufficient, not only due to the inappropriate projections about the city, but mainly as a result of the shifting ambitions of the state: urbanization at any price. Thus, from the very beginning, the plan has been considered as a legitimization document for the achievements realized despite Jansen Plan. Uybadin / Yücel Plan marks a shift in planning, in which modifications and “plan notes” are the new planning strategies. Ali Cengizkan names this as “degeneration of the plan,” which I prefer to call “corruption” as a design strategy.<sup>52</sup> In Ankara, corruption almost became another form of planning, as a necessary device to negotiate the contradiction between rules and ambitions under the pressure of such a speed.

#### 2.4.1 “Corruption” as a New Design Strategy

The short period between the announcement of the winner in 1955 and validation of the plan in 1957 designates clearly the magnitude of the effect of speculation on urban development and the new course of the urbanization.

Ali Cengizkan writes:

The impact made by the resolution no: 650 “About Regulating Building Heights” (*Bina İrtifalarının Tespiti Kararnamesi*) prepared by Ali Talip Güran as a member of the Board, was confirmed by the board on 17.6.1955, when only the results of the competition was confirmed by the jury on 16.4.1955. This was foretelling the “unfortunate” coming of the “Temporary Building Regulations” (*Ankara Muvakkat Yapı Talimatnamesi*) to be confirmed by the Municipality on 03.03.1956, as an accomplished fact. The authors of the new plan were trying to acquire the 1/5000 maps to develop the plans, and the so called “temporary” regulation which was put into effect mentioning the “delay” for a rapidly growing city as excuse,

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<sup>52</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, “Pearl River Delta, Harvard Project on the City,” *Mutations*, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi Armelle Lavalou, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000,) 320 for the further illustration of the “corruption as a design strategy.”

“had a hazardous effect” on the urban quality of the city, with unavoidable repercussions.<sup>53</sup>

By confirming realized accomplishments as facts, the plan obviously became the legalization of the illegal construction activities during last 2 years. Thus, Ali Cengizkan argues that, “the plan from the start, has turned out to be a document, registering and confirming the already accomplished plan.”<sup>54</sup> The so-called temporary regulations lead to permanent effects by setting rules for the height of the buildings for each district and loaded the city with new densities. This was the beginning of a new period, in which “plan amendments” and “plan notes” are legitimized as planning strategies, which foretells the elimination of the planning from the urban scene.

Cengizkan claims that, these modifications represent the small-scale municipality tradition with the habit of declaring decrees for “Building Heights,” “Building Depths,” “Number of Floors,” “Lightwells of Hotels.” However in the metropolitan scale they only underline the “degeneration” of the plan.<sup>55</sup> Controlling the urban development on parcel scale was possible in 1930s, and mostly achieved with “Municipal Code for Buildings and Roads” in 1933. It was consistent with the objectives of the Early Republican period to order the development of the capital up to the building scale. However, when the scale of the city is beyond a certain magnitude, it is impossible to set rules for each little parcel of the city. The continuity in the parcel focused planning notion was not due to the unawareness of this fact, but rather developed as a result of the

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<sup>53</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 47.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 44

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 47

policy that considers the ‘property division’ vital for guaranteeing the continual urban and economical development. In this respect, the planing turned out to be a document of the property distribution in the parcel scale, deprived of any projection or vision for the city.

Thus, planning has lost its effect and persuasiveness. The urbanization process of the city has turned to be the construction of the “boxes” in predefined dimensions, on predefined places. Ironically, it signals a conflict that Koolhaas explains as a paradox that urbanism, as a profession, has disappeared this has happened when the magnitude of urbanization has reached to a point that has not been experienced before.<sup>56</sup>

#### 2.4.2 A Case Modification: Resolution No: 33

Resolution no: 33 was an example of the “corruption” as a design strategy *par excellence*, which had also deeply effected the course of the Apartment Block and Ankara’s urbanization process. The parcel regulation was already defining the three dimensional parameters of the building so strictly that it was even a design project in itself. Ali Cengizkan defines the modification by the Board Resolution No: 33, dated 19.6.1953 as a “minute detail” regarding the Municipal “Law for Roads and Buildings” #2290, as a rupture that deeply effected the site planning, clustering and plan types of the urban land of Ankara. At this year, as a response to *Emeksan* Cooperative’s application, “*İmar Daire Heyeti*” has declared that the kitchens, toilets and bathrooms can be illuminated and ventilated through the “lightwells” instead of direct openings to outside, by

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<sup>56</sup> Rem Koolhaas, “What Ever Happened to Urbanism,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 961.

interpreting the law #2290, which emphasizes that, these spaces should have sufficient amount of direct ventilation and direct daylight allowing.<sup>57</sup>

With this permission, locating all the service spaces within condense service core, supplying the necessary service shafts became possible. This means that the facade can be exploited fully for residential functions as the periphery of the core is left undisturbed, which means more profit. Ali Cengizkan marks this law as a crucial shift for the Apartment Block scheme to become a “template,” which has been very effective on for the diffusion of the building on the urban plane pervasively.

## 2.5 The Flat Ownership

Up to end of the 1950s, there were 4 distinct groups in the house production: Housing cooperatives, individual developers, mass housing companies and squatter developers.<sup>58</sup> The Apartment Block was considered as an ‘alternative’ housing and was not widespread. However, the total dwelling production was insufficient to satisfy the housing demand of the city. Moreover, the land prices were so high that the existing mechanisms cannot present affordable houses for the middle income group. İlhan Tekeli argues that, in 1940s there were still vacant lots and parcels in the city center which were impossible to be constructed by a single ownership.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 327-328

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>59</sup> İlhan Tekeli, “Kent Toprağında Mülkiyet Dağılımı ve El Değiştirme Süreçleri,” *Ankara 1983’den 2015’e*, (Ankara: Ankara Bütükdşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müdürlüğü, Ajans İletişim, 1987,) 93. Cited from Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations ...*, op. cit., 73 .

Through the end of the 1940s, gathering of a small group to build an Apartment Block and to distribute the property between the individual owners had been emerged as a new corporate system to resolve the problem. Such kind of organization was illegal, as the flat ownership was not allowed in the municipality laws. However, in 1948, a modification in the notarial code, paved the way for the legalization of the flat ownership.<sup>60</sup> Following, through Code # 6217 in 1954 and redefined in 2.7.1965 by code #634, flat ownership was legalized. With this regulation build-and-sell strategy came forth as a major housing mechanism, which will exploit the urban land through endless implementation of the Apartment Block, up to the present.

The build-and-sell mechanism became an arrangement between households, landowners, contractors, and other intermediaries, to avoid or minimize cost.<sup>61</sup> The developer and the landowner sign an agreement for a certain amount of the property as a deposit of the land and then starts construction with the capital he/she collects from the households. The necessary condition for the profitability of the system is the maximization of the building area and equal property distribution among the owners. Thus, the build-and-sell strategy was the main reason of the intense pressure on the municipality for extra build area and for modifications such as resolution no 33. With the liberty of flat ownership, social and economic dynamics that were activated after 1950s exhausted its energy mainly through the build-and-sell mechanism, through Apartment Block production.

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<sup>60</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 73.

<sup>61</sup> Murat Balamir, "Türkiye'de "Apartkentlerin" Oluşumu," 75 Yılda..., op. cit., 339.

Ali Cengizkan argues that the build-and-sell strategy is a speculation method on urban land, “which is quite adaptive in its possibilities, and corresponding with the practiced Apartment Block schema and its potential, it has been very permissive.”<sup>62</sup> Thus, with the establishment of the system as a legal and administrative organization, after 1950s, the build-and-sell strategy became the active agent of the transformation of the already developed urban land,<sup>63</sup> and thus the Apartment Blocks started to dominate the dwelling production. Table 3.3 clearly indicates that the increase in the amount of the Apartment Block number is further more than the increase in the amount of the total house production between 1955-62.

	Ann. Total	# Houses, %	# Apartment Blocks,%	Total Stock
1955	<b>1390</b>	<b>1049</b> , 21.38	<b>341</b> , 2.24	<b>3529</b> , 3.24
1956	<b>1367</b>	<b>1037</b> , 21.13	<b>330</b> , 2.85	<b>3749</b> , 3.44
1957	<b>1199</b>	<b>726</b> , 14.80	<b>473</b> , 4.08	<b>4808</b> , 4.41
1958	<b>1286</b>	<b>440</b> , 8.97	<b>846</b> , 7.31	<b>5653</b> , 5.19
1959	<b>1081</b>	<b>263</b> , 5.36	<b>818</b> , 7.06	<b>2908</b> , 2.67
1960	<b>711</b>	<b>89</b> , 1.81	<b>622</b> , 5.37	<b>4161</b> , 3.82
1961	<b>776</b>	<b>132</b> , 2.69	<b>644</b> , 5.56	<b>5512</b> , 5.06
1962	<b>865</b>	<b>66</b> , 1.35	<b>799</b> , 6.90	<b>8030</b> , 7.37

**TABLE 3.5.1:** # Houses and Apartment Blocks by Production in Ankara; 1955-62

Thus, the urbanization process of the Ankara has shifted under the pressure of the rapid success of the Apartment Block. Despite the plan of 1932 was proposing a low-density urban development, composed of houses with gardens, after 1950s the city has started to develop as high-density Apartment neighborhoods.

<sup>62</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 318.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 76.



The flat ownership code in the first instance was only the “fragmentation” of the property. However, it has extended the “autonomy” of the parcel to each single flat of the building, which means fragmentation of the interior space. In this respect, there happened a double “fragmentation” on the urban space. First, the “fragmentation” of the land due to the parceling policy, second the “fragmentation” of the space due to the liberty of flat ownership, which will be major reason for the Apartment Block to lose its “identity” as a residential building and to transform to a “frame.”

## **2.6 A Resilient Frame**

If any urban development is accomplished through an agreement, the Apartment Block was the utmost agreement among the planning and build-and-sell mechanism between 1950 and 1980. It has represented the meeting point of the distinct urban processes in a single mechanism. Up to 1950s, the Apartment Block was seen as “signifying a high status life”, with the implications of a new “modern” way of living, in a more crowded neighborhood, within easy reach of major public amenities and not far to the urban core.”<sup>64</sup> However, after 1950s, it has lost its positive connotations as a residential typology and became an economic phenomenon of property division. It has been seen as infernal in architectural debates. However, in the context of “hyper” development of this period, the conventional architectural debates such as composition, aesthetics, balance, were irrelevant.

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<sup>64</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 93-94

As a result of the “endless repletion” of the Apartment Block, as a base for property division, space, I believe, have been fragmented and became an “infrastructural system” for the “insertion” and “elimination” of different activities of the owners without disturbing the general system of distribution. Ankara has become a “three dimensional matrix” of frameworks and infrastructures that define the limits of property division. Any owner can “inject” his/her own lifestyle independently with an absolute “isolation” in to the “boxes” of the build environment, as “isolation” is the best way to achieve “unity” in “heterogeneity,” which is also “democratical.” In this context, any transformation in a single “box” should not affect the whole “framework” and in the same way any transformation in the whole “framework” should not affect the whole city. Any space in the urban terrain should be open to the continual transformation due to the insertion and elimination of new living form and activities.

This process was promoted and guaranteed with the “degeneration” of the plan by turning out to a design strategy, through defining the three dimensional parameters of any parcel in the city, which Abdi Güzer summarizes as the materialization of the three dimensional property divisions in a building form.<sup>65</sup> The aim was no more to “design” a residential building but to “frame” the maximum allowable area through a “template.” Thus, the objective was no more to construct a ‘residential’ Apartment Block but rather a “frame,” which proposes maximum efficiency for profit and a “resilient” structure, which enables the different kinds of living forms to exist. Thus, the Apartment Block scheme is transformed to a “structure,” a “resilient frame,” which I prefer to call it, and uniformly diffused through the urban allotments.

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<sup>65</sup> Abdi Güzer. ““Apartman” Üzerine Denemeler,” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 03/1998, 96.

The best description of the condition is revealed in the question of Ali Cengizkan and in its tacit answer: “is it possible to consider a design of a 5 story city, without predetermined functional distribution or user group, as a strategy?”<sup>66</sup>

## **2.7 A Multi-Programmed Infrastructure**

Up to 1980s, “continual reproduction” of the Apartment Block has continued to transform the urban land. Between 1950 and 1980, it was the only urban artifact that had been produced in the city. There were no specialized buildings, other than the Apartment Blocks and the administrative buildings of the state, that even the large firm's headquarters was an Apartment Block. Hence, any kind of spatial demand has to be satisfied within this “frame” Thus, from the early 1950s, the potential of the Apartment Block as a “resilient frame,” to accommodate diverse architectural programs comfortably, has already been realized.

The building production decreased % 50 in 1980s with the stabilization of the population increase and the emergence of the new investment methods.<sup>67</sup> However, when the construction boom was ended, what Ankara proposes was a city composed of 5 storey “resilient structures,” a “three dimensional matrix” without any predetermined purpose.

After 1980s, the amount and the diversity of the programs have been radically increased due to the implementation of a new economical system. İlhan Tekeli

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<sup>66</sup> Ali Cengizkan, “Nihat Yücel. Bir Mimar Plancı,” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 7-8/2000, 73.

<sup>67</sup> İhsan Bilgin, “Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyetin İmarı,” op. cit., 266.

underlines 3 strategic preference in Turkey, which have determined the general outline of the new system: the abandonment of the import-substitution economy in favor of exports and liberal monetary policies, implementation of the international standards in communications and its infrastructures, and finally establishment of the new institutions, which are necessary for global economy, such as banking, free trading, capital markets.<sup>68</sup>

The speed and effects of this transformation in social, cultural, political and economical structure of the city have reached to a magnitude that has never been experienced before. Metropolitan conditions started to traverse in Ankara. The ‘unstable condition’ that is the result of the inherent insistence of this new setting for the continuous development and transformation was mainly effective on the architectural programs of the city. Ankara started to experience the “variety,” “unpredictability” and “instability” of the architectural programs that the “metropolitan conditions” offer. A new urban setting that consists of ‘complementary’ and ‘contradictory’ fragments, instead of conventional homogeneous texture of the city has been came forth. The lines of action were determined to absorb, reflect and codify these rapid changes of production, circulation and consumption presented by the city.

Thus, the position of the architect in the city further complicated. The “social role” of Modern Architecture of the Early Republican period and its widespread belief in architecture to be the “generative force” of the urban production became highly problematic. The sudden increase in the amount of the commodities and as a result, the enlargement of the scale was not a simple problem of “quantity” to be resolved within architecture’s internal mechanisms.

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<sup>68</sup> Tekeli, “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması,” *75 Yılda*

This new condition led to an apparent functional transformation in Ankara. The industrial production was decentralized, where the administrative and control functions are centralized. Thus, the transformations in socio-economical structure mainly effected the city center; especially Kızılay, being the dominant center of the city from 1950s onwards. The production facilities diminished where as the service sector started to dominate the center.<sup>69</sup>

The new programs of the city started to invade the “resilient boxes” of the “three dimensional matrix” as there were no different spatial formations other than the Apartment Block. The “matrix” accommodated the new programs so comfortably that it’s already developed “template” became absolute, eliminating any attempt for formational modification. Within the underdeveloped economical circumstance of Ankara, it has presented the necessary spatial formation for the “unstable” programs of the city: a “generic” “frame,” which offers an “ennobling background,” that can exist anywhere in the city, can be multiplied endlessly, and can be placed one on the top of another.

Thus, the “resilient frame” has been mutated to a “multi-programmed infrastructure,” in which the “unpredictability” of the new architectural programs can be fully explored. Being “isolated,” different functions are piled up side by side and on top of each other. This isolation signals that the city no longer consist of more or less homogeneous activity texture but complementary urban fragments, implemented in a highly homogeneous land pattern. The “neutral”

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*Değişen...* op. cit., 120.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 122.

planes of the Apartment Block have supported every programmatic “insertion,” “elimination” and transformation, which is continual in the “instability” of the new economical conditions. The segregated “boxes” guaranteed that any transformation in the structure would not affect the whole “envelope.” Offices, banks, hospitals, sport centers and schools became the usual programs of the Apartment Block.

There was no spatial problem to satisfy the enlargement demands of the diverse architectural programs in this “multi-programmed infrastructure”. Any program can expand in any direction by invading the nearby boxes, regularly or in an amorphous manner, or even it can invade the whole structure. If the whole structure is still insufficient, the problem was resolved with the connections constructed in between the structures to enable the sprawl of the programs to nearby buildings. In any case the “resilient” boxes of the structure can be united, separated with a great ease, without effecting the general “frame.”

The unfit character of the Apartment Block for many programs left out of sight in favor of its flexibility and economy. The residential Apartment Blocks with fireplaces, big kitchens and balconies that has been transformed to office spaces has designated the “new” strategy to the contractors for the future development of the Apartment Block: Design a more “neutral frame.” The Apartment Block was no more only a residential structure but a phenomenon, which constitutes a new mindset for planning.

Ankara, with its dazzling transformation within few decades, proposed its own urbanism and its own architecture with the mutation of the Apartment Block. The “multi-programmed infrastructure was a “pure alignment” with the collective

forces of the city that forms the city, with an apparent absence of alternative thoughts. This “architecture” that the new conditions of the city has presented, with its own laws, methods strategies has remained largely outside the field of vision of official architecture and criticism.



**Figure 2.7.1** Kızılay, Ziya Gökalp Bulvarı. 2001.

Apart from its obvious success as an urban structure, Apartment Block deeply damaged the urban land. However, in such an urbanism, as far as something “works”, any criticism on environmental or visual concern is irrelevant. Within a

planning notion that defines the whole build environment as Apartment Blocks, even the structures that are not Apartments, the only strategy for visual concern was to hide the structure as if it is not an Apartment Block. In the urban development of Ankara, what Abdi Güzer claims, and I agree, the Apartment Block represents a mind-set, that has been radiated from the planners to whole levels of the society, which constructs mass houses as Apartment Blocks, offices as Apartment Blocks with curtain walls, hospitals as Apartment Blocks with different interior divisions.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, in Turkey, the Apartment Block is the city, not necessarily with its physical existence but as a planning mind-set. The transformation of the Apartment Block to a “resilient frame,” which was partially invaded by the new architectural programs was not a disguise in the first instance. However, after it has been transformed to a “multifunctional infrastructure,” the “exterior” of the structure was totally divorced of the “interior,” leading to a transformation of mere appearance. In any case, the interior has already had a potential to accommodate any transformation. From this point on, in Ankara, there will be no law, no planning, no doctrine, no architecture debate, but the Apartment Block.

This was an obvious victory of the “instability” and “unpredictability” that the Modern City presents over the “permanence” and “specificity” that architecture imposes. In Manhattan, this conflict was resolved with the divorce of “appearance” and “performance,” within the skyscraper with an illusion that keeps architecture intact.<sup>71</sup> In Ankara the “multi-programmed infrastructure,” the

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<sup>70</sup> Güzer. ““Apartman” Üzerine Denemeler,” op. cit., 99.

<sup>71</sup> In Rem Koolhaas, “Elegy for the Vacant lot”, *S, M, L, XL*, (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995). 937 Koolhaas writes: The permanence of even the most frivolous item of architecture and



mutant form of the Apartment Block had achieved to “combine architectural specificity with programmatic instability” by accommodating compositions of programs and activities that change constantly and independently of each other, without affecting the “envelop.” However, due to its “smallness”, it was insufficient to pave the way for programmatic or a visual promises that its “neutrality” supports.



**Figure 2.7.2** Kocatepe, Office Building. 2004.

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the instability of the metropolis are incompatible. In this conflict the metropolis is, by definition, the victor; in its pervasive reality architecture is reduced to the status of plaything, tolerated decor for the illusions of history and memory. In Manhattan this paradox is resolved in a brilliant way: through the development of a mutant architecture that combines the aura of monumentality with the performance of instability. Its interiors accommodate compositions of program and activity that change constantly and independently of each other without affecting what is called, with accidental profundity, the envelop. The genius of Manhattan is the simplicity of this divorce between appearance and performance: it keeps the illusion of architecture intact, while surrendering wholeheartedly to needs of metropolis.



**Figure 2.7.3** Kocatepe, Residential Building. 2004.

Today, being a mindset for building the city, architectural theory can not left the Apartment Block out of sight. Exploring the issues that are effective on its physical existence is crucial to understand what the contemporary urbanism is about and to develop new strategies to establish a “reciprocal” relation between architecture and the city, which is the only way to save architecture from being a formal discipline. Hence, constituting a theoretical framework to articulate the issues on the Apartment Block, this study will analyze the structure under 4 headings, which are effective on the physical existence of the “multi-programmed infrastructure”: Grid, Lobotomy, Schism, and Typical Plan, which were firstly introduced by Rem Koolhaas to decipher the urbanism of New York.

### 2.7.1 Parcel / Conceptual Grid

Ali Cengizkan argues that, the parceling scheme aims to limit the domain of the developer, in terms of the parcel's influence on the urban domain, trying to control the entity of the city.<sup>72</sup> It is 'relatively' flexible than the grid-iron plan to adapt to the topographical differences and to specific conditions that the city presents. However, in Turkey and particularly in Ankara, the dose of the control is so excessive that, inclusion of any contextual or topographical data into the design process is intentionally discouraged by regulations, due to prevent the abuse. Rather, the aim is to propose the same allotment and equal amount of accessibility for each parcel. Hence, this study considers the parcel pattern of Ankara as a "conceptual grid" that presents the same relation pattern with the grid-iron system between the city and the lot.

Leonardo Benevolo in his book, *The History of Modern Architecture*, summarizes the basic parameters of the grid-iron plan through analysing the American city planning.<sup>73</sup> He argues that in this system "the street system was undifferentiated, the few distinctive elements - a wider street, a square or important building - simply interrupted the uniform texture, without producing any related intensification in the adjacent buildings; the organism was temporally bounded by natural limits or geographical lines, but was open in all

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<sup>72</sup> Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture: Ankara; 1948-1962*, op. cit., 308.

<sup>73</sup> Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture*, trans. H. J. Landry, (Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1971) The plan and urbanization of the American cities were realized largely with the grid-iron strategy, which was applied fully especially in Savannah, Chicago and New York. However, the plan of New York City, being the most popular one, is noteworthy among all as it displays the first example of the new conception for the city and a plan to control the expansion of the modern city.

directions, the streets running in a way that suggested that they might vanish gradually into the surrounding countryside.”<sup>74</sup>

The "grid-iron plan" lays down a 'rigid' and 'invariable' parameter to provide a common and absolute "frame", lines of the grid, to achieve unlimited lots for the "indeterminate" programs of the city that are free to vary continually. Manfredo Tafuri argues that, this urban system is an attempt to set a stable reference of dimension, in which "figurative liberty may be exploited."<sup>75</sup> Thus, the grid-iron plan fragments the urban terrain into the lots, in a homogeneous pattern, leaving each lot free to celebrate different values. The utmost goal of this fragmentation is to achieve the most economical and effective control mechanism over the urban terrain by establishing a "stable" and "rigid" framework that can be maintained easily. Grid guarantees to contain 'change' - the essence of metropolitan culture- within the single lot and prevents it to effect the whole urban structure. The grid-iron system isolates each block and leads to a "system of solitudes;" it forms a "territorial partition sufficient to establish community, the continuity of independent parts."<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, this isolation means that the city no longer consist of more or less homogeneous texture - a mosaic of complementary urban fragments."<sup>77</sup>

In the homogenized structure that the grid mechanism proposes, the heterogeneity of the city is exploited by reducing the topological, morphological, and social differences. The concern is not with designing a "definitive complex of building" but only with "two way correspondence between certain numbers

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>75</sup> Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, op. cit., 38.

<sup>76</sup> See Jacques Lucan, "The Architect of Modern Life," *OMA-Rem Koolhaas, Architecture 1970-1990*, ed. Jacques Lucan, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991,) 37.

<sup>77</sup> Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, op. cit., 97.

and certain plots of ground."<sup>78</sup> The objects and activities to be concentrated on certain particular spots were not laid down or fixed in advance, and might in fact vary continually; what was fixed was the squaring up of land according to given pattern, and the application of certain constant number to each little square.<sup>79</sup>

The main contribution of the grid-iron plan is its simple and realistic approach to the coordination of the modern city, the coordination of the activities and their interaction, and the cost of construction. With a "least restrictive type of coordination, it reduced the rules to the minimum compatible with the technical necessities of the community life, while making those extremely rigid and unvarying."<sup>80</sup> Hence, Tafuri marks the great historical merit of the grid-iron plan through New York's planning, as controlling the forces that provoke morphological change in the city with an explicit pragmatism completely foreign to European practice. For him the plan results with the separation of architecture and planning and left for architecture a free field to explore the most diverse expressions.<sup>81</sup>

In Ankara parcel system guarantees the utmost objective of the planning after 1950s; to define a stable and rigid "frame" for property, which is isolated from the context to achieve the most economical and effective control mechanism over the urban terrain. This "stable" and "rigid" framework cancels the relation between the parcels and breaks off the parcel from its context. In this sense, any transformation in a single parcel would not effect the context and vice versa. Thus, the parcel system in Ankara achieved to accommodate the

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<sup>78</sup> Benevolo, *The History Modern Architecture* op. cit., 195.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>81</sup> Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, op. cit., 38.

heterogeneity of the city, which was “exacerbated” mainly after 1980s, in a homogenized structure at a certain scale.

However, the real merit of the grid, setting a stable reference, in which each building can exploit its own “figurative liberty” was terminated in Turkey. With regulations, discouraging all systems of articulation and differentiation, the ambition was the repetition of the same unit as a base for property division. The parcel system defines the setback, projection and heights so strictly that, what was left to builder was to “reproduce” the original land  $n$  times, up to the allowed height.

### 2.7.2 Reproduction of the World

With the realization of the space as a speculative object, with the permission for extra floors to deal with the population increases and as a result of the introduction of the reinforce concrete as a new building technology to support more floors, developers in Ankara have realized the potential of supporting  $n$  numbers of horizontal surfaces on one on top of another up to the allowed height as a new investment method. This means that by now any given site can be “reproduced” with the original parcel size to maximize the profit. Hence, the potential of the grid to accommodate different urban programs independently in the horizontal plane could be extended in the vertical position. In other words, the “Reproduction of the World” has extended what was two-dimensional to the third dimension. In this respect, the potential of grid to hold the programmatic variety, effects of instability, and congestion by establishing each program’s privacy and disjointedness, is multiplied with a number which is equal to the multiplication of the original dimension of the ground level.

The reproduction of the original site offers not only an increase in the amount of the space but also gives an opportunity to generate a new program at each level. Hence, it constitutes a 'frame' on each level to accommodate coexistence of each program without interfering with its content. Thus, this is the success of the implied ideology of the new urbanism, says Rem Koolhaas, to accommodate the indeterminate programs of the city in the "virgin sites, as if the others did not exist,"<sup>82</sup> Koolhaas argues:

In terms of urbanism, this indeterminacy means that a particular site can no longer be matched with any predetermined purpose. From now on each metropolitan lot accommodates - in theory at least- an unforeseeable and unstable combination of simultaneous activities, which makes architecture less an act of foresight than before and planning an act of only limited prediction.<sup>83</sup>

### 2.7.3 "Lobotomy"

"Lobotomy" is a surgical treatment for some psychic disorders involving the cutting of certain nerve fibers in the brain.<sup>84</sup> Rem Koolhaas claims that architectural equivalent of "lobotomy" is the "separation of exterior and interior architecture".<sup>85</sup> Through "lobotomy", each Apartment Block, which is segregated by parcel system, gains certain autonomy. This means, effects of any transformation in the structure was separated from the "envelope." For Koolhaas, while the exterior architecture is about the formal relationship of the structure with the city proposing the stability of the building, interior architecture manipulates the shifts in metropolitan culture and its instability inside the structure, independent of the appearance. Such a disjunction of interior and

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<sup>82</sup> Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, op. cit., 85.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>84</sup> Grolier Webster International Dictionary, (New York: Grolier, 1971.) Volume 1.

<sup>85</sup> Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* op. cit., 100.

exterior naturally results with the concealment of the “urbanistic revolutions” of the city inside.<sup>86</sup> Hence, I claim, lobotomy essentially strengthens the metropolitan ambition for re-arranging functions on the individual platforms that do not affect the framework.



**Figure 2.7.3.1** Kardeş Apartment, Kızılırmak street, n:16, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>th</sup> floor, office, 2004.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 104.





**Figure 2.7.3.2** Kardeş Apartment, Kızılırmak street, n:16, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>th</sup> floor, office, 2004.



**Figure 2.7.3.3** Kardeş Apartment, Kızılırmak street, n:16, 4<sup>th</sup> floor resident, 2004.

Separation of the architectural operational fields as interior and exterior resulted with two important outcomes for the Apartment Block. First, façade came forth as a “permanent” medium, for constituting formal relationship between the Apartment Block and the city, and as the most “appropriate” medium for the architectural “intervention.” Second, and more crucial, the interior architecture, that is supposed to “manipulate the shifts in metropolitan culture and its “instability” inside the structure, independent of the appearance,” stayed incapable due to the “smallness” of the structure. Thus, interior architecture only manipulated the “decors” of the inner transformations on the plane. In both cases, architect’s over enthusiasm to satisfy their desire to “design” these “decors” was the announcement of the “reduction “of the discipline to a “institutionalization of styles.” Thus, if parcel system has divorced the planning and architecture, then I claim, “lobotomy,” in Ankara case, divorced architecture of the city.

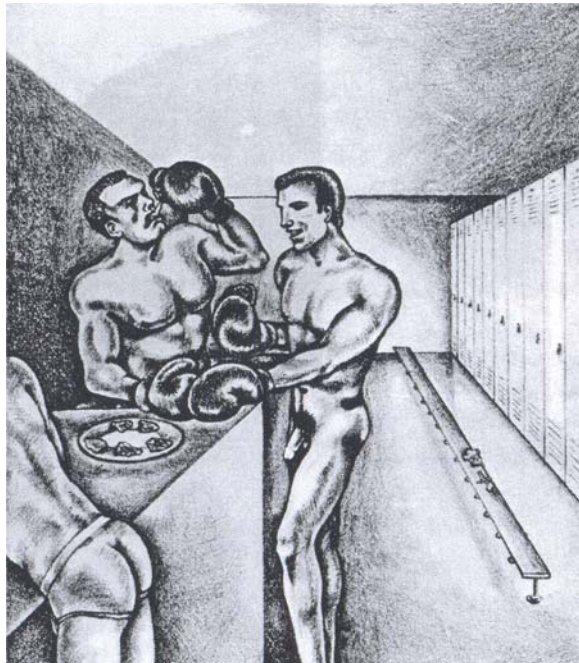
#### 2.7.4 Schism

“The vertical schism” is the outcome of the need to isolate, says Koolhaas, the “schizoid” arrangement of each plane. Hence, it is the deliberate disconnection of the programs, piled upon each other as a result of the “reproduction of the world.” The vertical schism is the complementary of the lobotomy. If the Apartment Block gains autonomy through lobotomy, the vertical schism extends this autonomy to each single floor. Thus, with the architectural strategy of “deliberate disconnection” between stories, the Vertical Schism allows each floor to be an independent whole with maximum “specificity,” and undermines its location vertically.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 106-107.

In Ankara, the “schism” first came forth as an outcome of the ambition of planning to define the boundaries of the property. However, with the mutation of the Apartment Block to a “multi-programmed infrastructure,” this isolation worked as disconnection of the programs to support their autonomy. Thus, it enabled the “simultaneous “existence of different programs on each plane. The disconnected slabs of the Apartment were assuring the undisturbed accommodation of the “indeterminate programs” vertically. New habitants of slabs, cut off from connective networks of relationships.



**Figure 2.7.4.1** Downtown Athletic Club. Starrett, van Vleck, Hunter. 1931. A machine for metropolitan bachelors... Interior perspective

First, grid divides the urban plane to limited lots that can be manipulated within their own programmatic requirements, then through lobotomy and the vertical schism the whole structure and each plane gain autonomy. In this sense, grid holds the discreetness on the city scale than lobotomy and schism permits change to reign in a single lot. This sequence supports the whole system by

absorbing the instability, the inherent need of city for change, and by accommodating the diverse programs of the city. Koolhaas argues,

Through the double disconnection of *lobotomy* and *schism* -by separating exterior and interior architecture and developing the latter in small autonomous installments- such structures can devote their exteriors *only* to formalism and their interiors *only* to functionalism. In this way, they not only resolve forever the conflict between form and function, but create a city where permanent monoliths celebrate metropolitan instability.<sup>88</sup>

#### 2.7.5 “Typical Plan”

“Typical plan is relentlessly enabling, ennobling *background*.”<sup>89</sup>

Typical Plan, defined by Koolhaas, is both an “obligation” and a “methodology,” invented by the architect’s of New York skyscrapers to deal with the immense volume of the structure. With the impossibility to articulate each floor in accordance with a program, Manhattan architects organized the slabs as “resilient” infrastructures. Typical Plan proposes a “neutral” space, a plan “without qualities,” a “void” for the programs that gains autonomy through “lobotomy” and “vertical schism.” It is a free plane, which is released from architectural choice that reduces the possibilities. Hence, Koolhaas claims that “it is zero degree architecture, architecture stripped of all traces and specificity.”<sup>90</sup>

This study considers the scheme of the Apartment Block as another example of the Typical Plan. Although it is not an outcome of the immense volume as in the case of the skyscraper, it is an outcome of the social and economical

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>89</sup> Koolhaas, “Typical plan”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 337. Authors italic.

<sup>90</sup> Koolhaas, “Typical Plan”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 335

agreement for a plan “without qualities”. The Apartment Block scheme is a universal scheme, which reveals differences only due to the technical specifications in different countries. In Turkey, what differs it from the other examples is that, it is a mind-set for planning due to its “success” to satisfy the property division objective of rent economy and its capacity to accommodate the divergent programs within a single framework. In both cases, its Typical Plan plays a vital role as an “undisturbed” and “neutral” plane in the urban development of Ankara.

The plan of the Apartment Block does not rely on the priorities of a design discipline. In any case, the plan is what is left after planning norms for max height / set backs / projections / shafts / ground level height is applied. Dark and light rooms are arranged through a corridor, tangent to the landing. The bathroom, toilet, depot are placed at the dark parts and the rooms to the light parts. However, as all the services are concentrated in a dense core, the rest can be arranged in any way according to the program. This supplies the necessary “margin” for any programmatic diversity, which Koolhaas explains as the flexibility.<sup>91</sup> The “typical plan” is so adaptable that it can be applied to any parcel, independent of its shape.

Typical Plan resolves the problem of “unpredictability” for the contractor. The contractor may start the building as a resident, in the half way he may decide to sell it to a hospital, in the end the building can be used as a sports center. Even the usual pattern, office in a “box”, which was arranged as a resident, can be reversed and a resident can invade in a curtain walled office structure. As the

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<sup>91</sup> Koolhaas argues that “flexibility is not the exhaustive anticipation of all possible changes. Most changes are unpredictable. Flexibility is the creation of margin-excess capacity that

plan is stripped of all “traces” and “specificity” it is open to any “interpretations.” If the parcel holds the heterogeneity on the city scale, then “lobotomy” and “schism” gives autonomy to the programs, then the “typical plan” presets the program an “enabling background” to explore its own “specificity.”

In our present condition, supplying the necessary technical support within a dense central core, Apartment Block became the instrument for the “unstable” programs. Its success is to the extent that the individuality of the platforms is preserved and their co-existence is framed without fixing the future transformations. As transformation never affects the framework, Apartment Block is a structure without any fixed, pre-determined program. Today, the constructors builds only the necessary technical and structural support, the slabs and in some cases the curtain wall and lefts the building “unfinished” as to be arranged for the future programs of the building.

## **2.8 Without Architecture**

The  $n$  times repetition of a ‘Typical Plan’ constitutes an Apartment Block and  $n$  times repetition of the Apartment Block constitutes the city. This repetition and quantity based condition strips the identity and substitutes it with “generic.” However, architectural thinking considered this “generic environment” as an “infernal” machine and exiled it to out of the architectural theory. Hence, the urbanization of Ankara, which is mainly represented by the Apartment Block was realized without manifesto, architectural debate, doctrine, ideology, and theory. The gap, which has came forth with the elimination of the national doctrine of the Early Republican period has always been filled with an another

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enables different and even opposite interpretations and uses.” Koolhaas, “Revision”, *S, M, L, XL*,

“identity” based discourse, which is irrelevant under the pressure of the speed of the urban development of the city.

Without a theory and with the intensive pressure of the economy on the urban development, the role of an architect is highly problematic. Architecture has been reduced to “masking” the exterior and designing the “decors” of interior. Building in such urbanization is not a “painful” process. The project, the template, is “drawn,” or better “modified,” on the desktop computer with copy-paste mechanism, within a few days, which is far away from the conventional schedule, to only take the necessary permission for construction. Anyone can do it. In any case, there is no need for project because what will be constructed is the same with the nearby buildings and has been already constructed several times by the builders.

Thus, the urbanization process of Ankara, mainly after 1950s, has been realized without architecture, without criticism. Being trapped in the parcel scale, architecture cannot produce a critical view for the Apartment phenomenon apart from disparaging ones that complains about the urban deformation keep on producing “architectural fantasies” to “re-order” the city.

## **2.9 Loss of the Identity**

Güven Sargın argues that, the hegemonic memory cannot be absolute, as there would always be a “conflict” with counter-hegemony.<sup>92</sup> Thus, Sargın claims that, Ankara, being the capital city, is the utmost space of the “conflict”

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op. cit., 240.

<sup>92</sup> Güven A. Sargın, “Kentsel Mekanı Siyaseten Tüketmek: Şiddet, Direniş ve Dönüştürme Üzerine...”, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 04/2001, 73.

between Turkish Modernization and its counter resistance, starting with the Jansen Plan.<sup>93</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan claims that the utilization of Modernism by the Republic to “fix the identity of the nation in recognizable architectural forms” regardless of the heterogeneity of the population and shifts in official cultural politics, led to a distortion in the perception of the modernity and reduction of the modernism to a style in 1920s to 1930s. Thus, for Bozdoğan “the abandonment of a politics of identity in favor of a politics of cultural difference emerges as the only way, in which we can begin to restore modernism as a critical, anti stylistic, empirical, pluralist and inclusive discourse irreducible to an official style.”<sup>94</sup>

After 1950s, the cultural politics of Turkey has been changed with a different Modernity perception, which equates Modernity with urbanization.<sup>95</sup> In this period from modernism’s full agenda, only “mechanistic” and “rationalistic” programs were utilized, which again shaded the meaning of modernization in favor of Modernization. This new hegemony rejected Modernity as an “identity” and even “scraped” it off from the urban space.<sup>96</sup> In this sense, the Early Republican objective to “construct” the Modern artifacts of the city as the representatives of the Turkish “identity” was replaced by an objective of urbanization, which supports the economical development through the rant that urban space proposes. This ambition is fully satisfied through the build-and-sell mechanism in Ankara, which proposes the “endless repetition” of the Apartment Block. This repetition and quantity based condition striped the identity and

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 70-75.

<sup>94</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, “Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey,” op. cit., 447.

<sup>95</sup> See Bozdoğan, “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış,” *Türkiye’de Modernleşme Ve Ulusal Kimlik*, op. cit. 126.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 126.



substituted it with “generic.” Thus, within few decades, the Modern “identity” of the capital city has been erased through the Apartment Block, which re-structured the city like “a transparent logo.”

The substitution of “radical” Modernism of the early period with a “popular” Modernism inevitably resulted with the emergence of diverse set of different cultural systems. The “imposed” identity of the built environment was highly problematic in these terms. Architecture was no longer either implicitly or explicitly seen as the dominant system, but simply one of many cultural systems, which together give the form to the built world.

However, it would be unfair to evaluate the failure of the plan of Ankara as the failure of modernism or to the failure of the planner. In any case, the positive environmental aspects of the Jansen Plan and the improvements in the social and cultural aspects such as equality, women rights, democracy as a result of the issues on modernism are clear. However, in a developing country such as Turkey, in which the economical factors are highly effective on the urban development, it is very difficult to achieve the desired urban projections. Under the pressure of the financial aspects, the city creates its own dynamics, which can not be “controlled” by a single cultural system such as architectural mechanisms.

In this sense, urbanization of Ankara should be evaluated within the conditions of the new economical system, which requires a continual change and expansion. Whether the “identity” finds its deposit, in Modernism or in history, it reduces the architectural production to a question of style, and resists any transformation for it is “fixed” and “over-determined.” “The stronger identity, the

more it imprisons, the more it resists expansion, interpretation, renewal, contradiction.”<sup>97</sup> The economical system that traverses in the Modern City upholds the knowledge of “multiplicity” and “repetition” rather than “specific,” and “special.” In Ankara, the Apartment Block, by mutating to a “resilient frame,” has been the outcome of the resistance to “identity,” mainly imposed by “architectural specificity.”

## **2.10 A Generic City: “Speculative City of Large Capital”**

“What is left after identity is stripped? The Generic.”<sup>98</sup>

Ankara within 60 years, between 1920-1980 has been transformed from the representative capital city to a “Generic City,”<sup>99</sup> in which Apartment Block was the object and the subject of the process both with its physical existence and with the mind-set it has radiated to the whole levels of the society. To understand the urban development of the city, especially after 1980s, it should be noted that apart from its physical aspects, the Apartment Block represents

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<sup>97</sup> Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1248.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 1248.

<sup>99</sup> The term “The Generic City” was introduced by Rem Koolhaas in his article “The Generic City” as to denote the current urban development and the new form of metropolis -as limitless agglomeration- which by now characterize the dominant built environment. The main issues of his study has been came forth with his analysis on peripheral sites. Koolhaas defines peripheral sites as counter old city centers that are organized under the strain of the “identity” and themed around tourist and entertainment functions. In any case Koolhaas argues that as a result of the extensive repetition of the ‘typical plan’ and ‘typical skyscraper’ the center is already is not the real center and is “transparent,” “unrecognizable” and “unidentifiable. See Koolhaas, “Typical Plan”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 345. Thus, “its illusionary presence denies the rest of the city its legitimacy. Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1249 However, Koolhaas argues that recently the peripheral sites are so extensive in many cases that they constitute an entire generic zone, The Generic City, essentially in Asia. These new kinds of urban sites are the materialization of the effects of congestion, instability, diversity, quantity, blankness, and typical that traverse the work of Rem Koolhaas and OMA from the early works such as *The City of the Captive Globe*. He describes the Generic City as: “the city liberated from the captivity of center from straightjacket of identity. The Generic City breaks with this destructive cycle of dependency: it is nothing but a reflection of present need and present ability. It is the city without history. It is big enough for everybody. It is easy. It does not need maintenance. If it gets

the course of the spatial organization form of 20<sup>th</sup> century that takes shape with the corporation of different cultural systems to deal with the new urban conditions, in which “blank” and “neutral” objects are dominant and extensive. Through the Apartment Block, Ankara has totally abandoned history as a concern for establishing an identity, which is insufficient to satisfy the demands of the contemporary city for change, multiplicity, and diversity. The urban development of the city upheld the knowledge of generic (quantity and repetition) to the knowledge of identity (specific and special). Today, although the Apartment Block production has largely diminished in the city, the “generic” development of the Ankara keeps going on through the new urban forms, new urban strategies and new agents. Even it is hard to conjecture on the future urban setting, as its results are not evident yet, many aspects signal the course of the urban development of Ankara.

Recently, the metropolitan objective, which has been started with the establishment of *Ankara Nazım Bürosu* in 1969, is the major determinant of the current urban development in Ankara.<sup>100</sup> In 1985 with the law #3194, the roles of the state and local authorities to develop the build plans was redefined, empowering the latter with new responsibilities and with great authority on an urban level.<sup>101</sup> In this period, as a result of the enlargement of the city beyond the municipality limits, the single municipality system was substituted with a metropolitan territory system under the authority of more than one municipality.<sup>102</sup> Although certain flexibility was achieved, it has endorsed the

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too small it just expands. If it gets too old it just self-destructs and renews.” Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1249

<sup>100</sup> Sezai Göksu, “Yenişehir: Ankara’da Bir İmar Öyküsü,” *Kent, Planlakma, Politika, Sanat*, ed. İlhan Tekeli, (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1994,) 267.

<sup>101</sup> Tekeli, “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması,” op. cit., 126.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 123

populist and arbitrary interventions on the city intensifying planning with the “plan amendments” and “plan notes.”

Planning of Ankara, especially after 1990s, has been realized under the influence of an empowered “leader,” entrepreneur mayor, who markets his “projects” randomly by triggering a boom over here and there on the urban terrain, leading a random development with territorial decisions and with sprawling of the “new” zones into the urban plane. Today, the automobile sub passages -connecting nowhere with anywhere- unfinished infrastructures, unrealized projects due to the termination of the site by a preceding unplanned project are the ordinary development forms of the city.

From 1980s onwards, the planning discipline has been absolutely eliminated from the urban scene. Unplanned development became a widely accepted strategy. As far as it works, anything can be realized in any way, proper or improper. This does not mean that there is no “planning,” no urban rules but the continuity of the “coexistence of multiple, usually incompatible system of rules”<sup>103</sup> that have once traversed the Apartment Block processes. Such urbanization is beyond the control of the planner, architect, and state. Thus, Tekeli argues that it became impossible to achieve the totality of the urban plan, and the city turned out to be the collage of the territorial building plans.<sup>104</sup>

In fact, the effort for planning does not lessens. However, what Koolhaas underlines as more essential is that in such an urban development “planning makes no difference whatsoever.”<sup>105</sup> Together with the speed of the

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<sup>103</sup> Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1255.

<sup>104</sup> Tekeli, “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması,” op.cit., 151.

<sup>105</sup> Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1255.

urbanization, the essential instability leads to a condition, in which a building is converted even before finished as the program changes before it is realized. Hence, the Generic City ridicules any attempt for planning. Koolhaas argues that in such a planning:

Buildings may be placed well (a tower near a metro station) or badly (whole centers miles away from the road). They flourish/perish unpredictably. Networks become over-stretched, age, rot, become obsolescent; populations double triple, quadruple, suddenly disappear. The surface of the city explodes, the economy accelerates, slows down, burst, collapses. Like the ancient mothers that still nourish titanic embryos, whole cities are built on colonial infrastructures of which the oppressors took the blueprints back home. Nobody knows where, how, since when the sewers runs the exact location of the telephone lines, what the reason was for the positioning of the center, where monumental axes end. All it proves is that there are infinite margins, colossal reservoir of slack, a perpetual, organic process of adjustment, standard behavior; expectations change with the biological intelligence of the most alert animal. In this apotheosis of multiple choice it will never be possible again to reconstruct cause and effect. They work –that is all.<sup>106</sup>

This poetic passage of Koolhaas impressively and powerfully depicts the essence of the architectural production in a Generic City. It quits the conventional architectural strategies. Design is not a heavy-going process between different solution, but is combining, accumulating anything with anything else in a kind of accumulations of objects of desire.<sup>107</sup>

As the city presents a “generic template”, open to any transformation, any spatial and programmatic expansion need is satisfied within the three dimensional matrix of the urban plane, legally or illegally. Any “infill” or “conversion” is possible, as planning is to accept and to approve “what exists.” The city abandons “what doesn’t work.” There is no spatial or programmatic problem. If any sector is in the need of expansion, it just terminates, invades the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 1255.

<sup>107</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, “Pearl River Delta, Harvard Project on the City,” *Mutations*, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi Armelle Lavalou, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000,) 320.

existing built or non-built tissue. If any sector is invalidated in the socio-economic structure of the city, it will be simply eliminated.

Thus, in Ankara, the modernist city planning, which was based on the argument that the development of the city through the self-interest of the individual would be replaced by the public interest, was totally abandoned.<sup>108</sup> It is substituted with “corruption” as a design strategy, which is beneficial for the economical welfare of every actor of the city. The tacit meanings of this planning mindset are, the rules can be ignored for specific conditions and the rules can be ignored with reference to other illegal examples.

The most important shift in the urban setting was the transformation from a relatively homogeneous structure into a relatively heterogeneous structure.<sup>109</sup> However, I believe, this should be considered as the heterogeneity of the activities and expressions in a homogeneous, “generic” space organization, based on “blankness,” “similarity” and “repetition.” In this new urban system, each part of the city establishes itself with clarifying its difference from the rest and it should renew its differences whenever it is blurred, otherwise will collapse. Thus, there is not an urban “whole” but a “competitive” relationship between parts with different economical, social, cultural patterns. In this sense conventional infrastructures that are used for their “equalizing” and “homogenizing” effects, largely replaced by new infrastructures for “maintaining

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<sup>108</sup> Tekeli, “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması,” 142.

<sup>109</sup> İhsan Bilgin, “Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyetin İmarı,” op. cit.

and increasing” difference between the different parts.<sup>110</sup> In this unstable, unfixed configuration and in continual adjustment, the highway transport, metro sublines, sub passages became strategic weapons, enhancing or restricting connections and accessibility to regulate and organize the different roles of the parts within the city.<sup>111</sup>

Infrastructures, which were originally reinforcing and totalizing, are becoming more and more competitive and local; they no longer pretend to create functional wholes, but now spin off functional entities. Instead of network and organism, the new infrastructure creates enclave, separation, and impasse.<sup>112</sup>

Thus, infrastructure presents an exploratory way to understand what is happening in the contemporary city. Considering infrastructures and their intersection provide us a “skeleton frame,” in which architects could find conceptual bases for dealing with the unknown.<sup>113</sup> In this sense, Michael Speaks, in his article “The Singularity of OMA” argues that the new conditions that the contemporary city proposes reduces architecture to an “infrastructural practice of framing planar surfaces into recognizably generic forms.”<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, “Pearl River Delta, Harvard Project on the City,” *Mutations*, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi Armelle Lavalou, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000,) 283.

<sup>111</sup> Koolhaas uses the term “City of Exacerbated Difference” to describe this new urban system. Ibid. In this new urban system, “each part is both competitive and has a relationship to each other part. These parts are being stitched together by infrastructures, so that every part is connected, but not into a whole.” Thus, Koolhaas argues henceforth, “the infrastructures are no longer a more or less delayed response to a more or less urgent need but a strategic weapon, a prediction.” Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1264.

<sup>112</sup> Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1264.

<sup>113</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, interview with Isabelle Menu and Frank Vermandel, *Euralille: The Making of a New City Center Koolhaas, Nouvel, Portzamparc, Vasconti, Duthilleul*, ed. Espace Croise, (Boston: Birkhauser, 1996,) 56

<sup>114</sup> Michael Speaks, “The Singularity of OMA,” *A+U: Architecture and Urbanism*, n.3 (342), March 1999, 90-96.

In Ankara, the role of the infrastructures further complicated with the entry of the large capital into urban land, which had contributed to the decentralization of the highly dense structure of the city. Developers preferred to locate their investments mostly in the peripheral zones of the cities for lack of spare land in the center. These, new settlements that are attached to the city as large pieces established their character in accordance with the infrastructures that define the limits of their accessibility or segregation. Moreover, the diversity of the parts of the city further enhanced with the investments of the large capital holders to the construction sector, rather than on production industry, as a new and more profitable entrepreneur / capital accumulation mechanism. The holiday resorts, international hotels, shopping malls, plazas are constructed and became the new public realms of the city.<sup>115</sup> İlhan Tekeli names this as the transformation from speculative city of small capital to the speculative city of large capital.<sup>116</sup>

The development of the city centers in Ankara is an example for this new condition. Today each of the four centers of the city: *Ulus*, *Kızılay*, *Tunalı Hilmi* and *Köroğlu* presents a different condition by adjusting themselves to the changes in the other parts of the city or to the emergence of new centers, without abandoning their role of being center.<sup>117</sup> Thus for Saskia Sassen today the center no more is the synonym of the down town or Central Business District (CBD) and each center can establish a different character.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 267.

<sup>116</sup> İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları*, (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 1991.)

<sup>117</sup> Here I benefit from a research paper on “Reading Ideological Shifts Through Displacement and Reorganization of City Centers in Republican Period” presented in course ARCH 526 Politics and Space, Fall 2001, offered by Güven Arif Sargin.

<sup>118</sup> Saskia Sassen, “The Global City: Introducing a Concept and its History,” *Mutations*, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi Armelle Lavalou, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000,) 110.



The Apartment Block as a “scheme” is the final and definitive form of spatial production in Ankara. Buildings are context free, neutral infrastructures, which present an undefined “three dimensional matrix” for the programs, ensuring their independence from each other. The interaction between the “boxes” of the buildings and interaction between the buildings is deliberately canceled as to manage their “density in isolation.”<sup>119</sup> Hence, isolation is the instrument to attain continual transformation without effecting the whole system. Although new building production mechanism have emerged with private and state investments, i. e. the intervention of the state to the housing market with Mass Housing Laws, Mass Housing Fund And Mass Housing Administration, the build-and-sell mechanism is still effective in building production. Even the office buildings are constructed with this mechanism.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, the contractors carries on what they have learned from the Apartment Block to these new constructions that to ease the marketing of the “product” they demand “neutral” designs, which could be converted to a hotel, a condominium, an apartment flat, or an office or can accommodate all of them together.

In Ankara any building is a “form of investment.” Financial aspects are effective in determining the volume and the program of the building. Any building, at any instant of its construction may undergo a programmatic transformation. Changes are sometimes so radical that an office building can be transformed to a hospital halfway through construction or a structure can be invaded by the different architectural programs, that has never been intended. Architecture has no final form but in permanent conversation. Koolhaas explains that in such

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<sup>119</sup> Koolhaas, “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 1253.

<sup>120</sup> Author currently designs the interiors of Söğütözü İşmerkezi with Ali Özer, which is a 20-slab office building, which has been realized with build-and-sell mechanism.

a situation there is no ultimate condition, only mutation from one condition to the other.<sup>121</sup>



**Figure 2.10.1:** Apartments in Ankara.

The “public realm” and the “collective spaces” are no more the squares, streets or the plazas. The urban plane accommodates only the necessary services for mobility and its infrastructures: web of highways and roads, metro lines and stations, and airports. They are not only vital for the continuity of urban

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<sup>121</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, “Pearl River Delta, Harvard Project on the City,” *Mutations*, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi Armelle Lavalou, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000,) 318.

processes but also constitute the “new” collective spaces of the metropolis. In any case, the “public realms” takes shape in accordance with the financial aspects. Thus, the spaces between the “frames” that are left as a result of setbacks, spaces within the infrastructures, such as metro station, and highways and spaces of the new life styles, like the shopping malls came out as the new “collective spaces” of the city.

## **Chapter 3**

### **PROJECT: THE EPIDEMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN JUNKYARD: KIZILAY, ANKARA**

The project is an attempt for “programming” an urban problematic, which is structured on the bases of an urban observance. It is neither an urban recovery nor a proposal to solve the used property of the site. The aim is to “re-write” the existing condition of the city through an architectural “reading,” to decode certain mechanisms of the urban spatial production. The utmost goal is to re-define the limits of “architectural intervention” via exploring certain strategies for the interaction of architecture and the city.

#### **3.1 Site: Yenışehir / Kızılay**

It is commonly accepted that, the coordination and control mechanisms of the cities are concentrated in the city centers. It is the most accessible space as it accommodates the social, cultural, economic, communication and transportation facilities of the city. Today, *Kızılay* is the dominant center that traverses the social and economical activities of Ankara.

Jansen Plan has foresighted *Ulus* as the center of Ankara. The plan was proposing a governmental district and a residential neighborhood with 2 storey villas within the gardens for the development of the southern part of *Ulus*, *Yenişehir*, which was expropriated with the Law # 583 in 1924. Sezai Göksu relates the aim of this decision to the establishment of Ankara as a capital to be a representative of the Modern Republic, as *Yenişehir* was thought to be a radiator of the new urban culture to the whole city. This decision was important as it also drew the general perspective of the future development of the city to the south, through the Atatürk Boulevard spine.<sup>122</sup>

In 1930s, there were no commercial activities in *Yenişehir*. Any application was rejected, as the central functions were located in *Ulus* according to Jansen Plan. Moreover, locating commercial activities beside the governmental district was thought to be inappropriate. However, deformation of the Jansen Plan especially in 1950s, led also drastic transformations in *Yenişehir*, which has modified the site from a low-rise residential neighborhood to a Apartment neighborhood, in which diverse commercial activities were located. First, in 1951 with # 308 written decree, an additional floor was allowed in *Yenişehir*, which was insufficient to satisfy the pressure for additional floors. Sezai Göksu marks the # 493 written decree in 1952, which allowed constructing four floors in *Yenişehir* mentioning the site as the core of the city, as the legitimization of *Yenişehir* as the new center of the city.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Sezai Göksu, “Yenişehir: Ankara’da Bir İmar Öyküsü,” *Kent, Planlakma, Politika, Sanat*, ed. İlhan Tekeli, (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1994,) 260.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 263



**Figure 3.1.1** Kızılay, 1937. Sight from Kocatepe

This legitimization resulted in further intensification of the pressures for additional floors in *Yenişehir*. In 21.10.1955 with # 1095 decision *İmar İdare Heyeti* has accepted the application for increasing the eaves height to 18, 50m from *Olgunlar* Street to *Ulus* square for *Atatürk* Boulevard and from *Ulus* to *Dışkapı* for *Çankırı* Avenue. Just 3 months later, in 27.01.1956 with # 218 decision maximum eaves height was decided as 23.00m. Thus, within 5 years, Jansen Plan's proposal for 2-3 storey villas was substituted with 7 storey contiguous Blocks.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 264

Finally in 1961, with the *Ankara Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı*, building 10 floors for the parcels on *Atatürk* Boulevard, 9 floors for the parcels on *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa* Boulevard, *Ziya Gökalp*, *Necatibey* and *Mithat Paşa* avenue were approved. Remaining lots would be 5-6 floor buildings. However, the existing buildings of *Yenişehir* were not appropriate to carry the extra load due to these additional floors. Thus, Sezai Göksu claims that, this has led to the reconstruction of the site 3 times, in 50 years.



**Figure 3.1.2** Selected area for the project. Kızılay.

Especially after 1980s, with the empowering of the service sector, the amount and the diversity of the functions drastically increased in *Kızılay*. However, there were only a few office buildings to accommodate the service sector. Thus, new programs started to invade the “resilient frames” of the district. The “boxes” of the “three dimensional matrix” filled one by one with divers activities, each attaching its sign on the façade with a great ease. Thus, after 1980s, *Kızılay*

has been “filled” with the Apartment Blocks that have become “multi-functional infrastructures” by either preserving their appearances or hiding behind a curtain wall.

The major spatial organization that today *Kızılay* and its “multi programmed infrastructures” present are:

1. Fragmentation of the site due to the parcel policy, which has led to the autonomy of the buildings. (isolation)
2. Fragmentation of the interior of the structures due to the flat ownership freedom.
3. Divorce of interior and exterior (lobotomy) leading to the autonomy of the structure (de-contextualization), and conversion of the “multi programmed infrastructure” with diversity of expressions
4. Divorce of the “boxes” of the structures.(schism)
5. Re-functioning of the fragmented space with the new architectural programs, reminding its previous function. (recycle)
6. Re-programming of the “multi programmed infrastructure.”
7. A three dimensional matrix, in which unstable programs of the city relocated, guaranteeing the stability of the system and the whole frame for any transformation.
8. The sprawl of the structure and its programs through “reproduction” and “repetition.”



## 3.2 Design Strategies

### 3.2.1 "Space of Reception"

Mario Gandelsonas in his essay "The City as the Object of Architecture" proposes the "space of *reception*" as one other possible location for architects, in stead of the "creative subject" or "generative force", to incorporate the "cultural problematic" of architecture.<sup>125</sup> In other words it denotes a stance for an architect in his/her relation with the city, in which architect's goal to "impose" "specificity" to the city and the belief in his/her "omnipotence" was replaced by an interest on the real space of cultural production: the city. Hence, criticizing the city with an architectural point of view has been substituted with looking at the city within other cultural systems that constitutes it, which Diana Agrest claims "non-design" mechanism.<sup>126</sup> Thus, the position of the architectural

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<sup>125</sup> Mario Gandelsonas, "The City as the Object of Architecture," op. cit., 132. Author italics. The criticism of the architectural "urban fantasy," which was mainly echoed through 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s, due to the criticism of the Modern Architecture for its "utopic" response to the new social, economic and cultural conditions emerged with the industrial revolution has led to the reconsideration of the relation between architecture and the city. The main objective was Modernism's so-called "failure" to incorporate the "cultural problematic" of architecture, in its relation with the city. See Diana I. Agrest, "Design versus Non-Design," op. cit., 32-33. The realization of the American urbanization and the collapse of the promise of architecture to convert the "quantitative" explosion of this period to a "quality," via "design," produced a critical shift in the architectural discourse. Analyzing the multi-dimensionality of the related issues and their illustration, new strategies for the relation of architecture and the city have come forth under the vision of this criticism. Architectural criticism of this period, with a realist assertion, marked the end of the generative role of the architect in the urban production and focused on the mechanisms of the city that produce its own culture. What essentially emphasized was the need to relate architecture to the city as to understand certain theoretical problems of architecture. Despite the desire of architecture to produce the city with its own specificity, the reverse flow from city to architecture has already been acknowledged. This led to the re-assessment of the position of city in architectural discourse. The widespread acceptance on the impossibility of giving "order" to the "congestion" and "instability" of city through architectural internal mechanisms paved way for the identification of one other possible location for the architects. Gandelsonas claims that this new location for was the "space of *reception*."

<sup>126</sup> Diana I. Agrest in her article "Design versus Non-Design," op. cit., 31-65, argues that the conventions of the architectural criticism "have failed to 'truly' incorporate the cultural problematic of architecture in its domain of concern," to relate architecture "formally, or internally, to itself," or at best relating "architecture externally to society. Agrest presents non-

subject has been shifted from "production to reception, from writing to reading."<sup>127</sup> Gandelsonas argues that two specific displacements determined the outline of this new conception. The displacement "in architectural production from designing and writing a new city" to "reading a ready-made city," and the displacement of "architect from traditional position of "a creative agent" to a new position of an architectural "observer who rewrites the existing city."<sup>128</sup>

In this respect, the project bases on an urban "reading" on the current condition of the city and urban development pattern, which were mainly articulated in the previous chapter, to rewrite existing situation of the site. It does not propose a new layout for the site but rather accepts the existing data and development strategy. Thus, to analyze the existing condition, first the current allocations of the programs were mapped. Second the expansion patterns and strategies of the programs within and between the structures were explored. Finally, the project has focused on extending "multi programmed infrastructure's" potential to support the unstable architectural programs through "fragmentation",

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design as one other mechanism to produce meaning than design, which relate architecture to culture as a different mechanism from "design". For Agrest *design*, is that "mode by which architecture relates to cultural systems outside itself; it is a normative process and embraces not only architecture but also urban design," whereas "*non-design*, describes the way in which different cultural systems interrelate and give form to the built world; it is not a direct product of any institutionalized design practice but rather the result of a general process of culture."

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 134. An early attempt to theorize such a criticism came from Robert Venturi. Venturi in *Learning from Las Vegas*, written with Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, analyzes the phenomenon of architect's position through a reading of the urban sprawl of Las Vegas. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1977.) Venturi criticizes Modern Architecture, that for him, to abandon the tradition of "iconology." He aligns himself with pop art and promotes the re-incorporation of icons, specifically icons of the popular culture and mass culture as a new and generative force of inspiration. For Venturi the "explicit symbolism" of such icons of the 'impure' architecture is more relevant than the "implicit symbolism" of Modern Architecture's industrial associations. For him, in the historical setting, symbolism had been an ever-valid medium to convey the architectural meaning. Emphasizing the independent position of the icons and the form, structure and program and the dominance of signs over space, Venturi mainly upholds symbolic connections. Venturi's intention was to explore to the question of the relation between

“lobotomy”, “schism” and “typical plan” to a larger scale to reveal and explore the promises of programmatic integration and interaction. Thus, program that Koolhaas defines as the “simple interest in what happens,” is the major objective of the project.

### 3.2.2 Program

After 1970s, the criticism of the architecture’s “generative role” in the cultural and the physical production of the city further complicated the question of the role of the architect. In this respect there left basically two possible stances for architects. On the one hand, those who posit architecture totally out of the production of the city with an assumption that city is arranged and manipulated by the builder/developer due to the production/consumption cycle. For this former stance, architecture can only be practiced as a “institutionalization of styles,” which produces “mask” of the building independently.<sup>129</sup> On the other hand, another position came forth, with the emphasis on the re-definition of architecture via extending the boundary of architectural thinking to the whole built environment, to establish a “reciprocal” relation with the city. New strategies generally have came forth with the reconsideration of the issues on the program, which is the utmost link between architecture and the city.

The unpredictability of the “modern life” finds its ultimate reflection in the architectural programs, relocated in the “three dimensional matrix” city.“ These programs effectively integrate a multitude of diverse, complex, and

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architecture and the city by investigating the mechanisms that produces signs in the built environment and to utilize them as a means of relation.

<sup>129</sup> See Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992,) 307.

contradictory demands,”<sup>130</sup> and undergoes constant changes and adjustments. Being affected by the highly changeable, unstable and unpredictable characteristic of the city, program is the major medium for the flow from the city to architecture and vice versa. Hence, it is the interface of the relation between architecture and the city and the utmost means to link both. Program is the instrument to achieve the flow of architectural ideas to the city for productive ends. Thus, the project considers programmatic manifestations of *Kızılay*, which were mainly effective after 1980s, as the major design strategy and rewrites it as to explore and extend the architectural intervention in the city. With a renewed interest, it utilizes “program” as a medium to re-construct the relation between architecture and the city and as an agent generating the logic of the form and the organization.<sup>131</sup>

Although, the “multi-programmed” infrastructures easily satisfy the programmatic transformation with its neutral slab, and preserve the “specificity” of the programs by “isolating” them with the operations “lobotomy” and “schism,” they can respond to the programmatic enlargement demand in limited terms, which in turn limits to explore the programmatic interaction. Thus, due to the “smallness” of the structure, it is hard to manipulate the shifts in modern life styles and its “instability” and to explore the potentials of the interaction between the diverse and complex programs. Although programs can be spread through the structure easily, they are trapped in a certain scale, which exhausts

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<sup>130</sup> Jacques Lucan, “The Architect of Modern Life,” *OMA-Rem Koolhaas, Architecture 1970-1990*, ed. Jacques Lucan, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991,) 37.

<sup>131</sup> At this point, it is beneficial to underline the difference between function and program as generative forces of architecture. It is not unusual, especially in 1970s, to read function as the driving force of the form for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Modern Architecture. In this respect, if form, being the stable and concrete component of this proposition is derived from a function, then this function should also be fixed and unvaried. However, the stability of function is highly questionable in metropolis. It is impossible to determine the final form of any structure as the expression of existing functions.

their internal complexity and variety. Thus, both the potentials of the programs and of the interfaces between them are restricted. Any programmatic transformation and expansion is limited within the scale of the parcel. Thus, first operation of the project is to abandon the parcel system to benefit from the promises of the “Bigness” for programmatic interaction and for programmatic strategies such as hybridizations / frictions / overlaps / superimpositions. Programs are released from the restriction of the limits of the parcel and then expressed themselves within a larger scale. Such an operation, which extends the limits of architectural intervention from parcel scale to whole built environment, in turn helps to re-define the relationship between architecture and the city.

### 3.2.3 Bigness

“Bigness is the last bastion of architecture.”<sup>132</sup>

In recent years, many projects have fallen far beyond the traditionally set limits of the architectural scale, which announces a re-drawing the boundary of the architectural intervention. The conceptional line between ‘architectural scale’ and ‘urban scale’ has been blurred and the insistence on ‘lot’, which is the conventional operational field of architecture, has been replaced by a renewed interest for expanding the limits of architectural intervention. This expansion proposes the inclusion of the instrumentality of the program into the design process.

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<sup>132</sup> Rem Koolhaas, “Bigness, or the problem of Large,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 516.

Rem Koolhaas in Small, Medium, Large, Extra Large—S, M, L, XL—in 1995 explicitly introduced the issues on theory of “Bigness”.<sup>133</sup> In this book, Koolhaas presents the scales L and XL as means to establish a “reciprocal” relation between architecture and the “metropolitan condition,” in which both are generative forces. Large -L- denotes the buildings that acquire the properties of “Bigness,” being beyond a certain scale where extra-large -XL- denotes the urban terrain, which is beyond L. In S, M, L, XL, Koolhaas articulates the potentials of the “instability,” “congestion” and “unpredictability” infiltrating to the large building and to extra-large urban terrain from the city with “The Theory of Bigness” and especially with the projects of Large: The Hague City Hall (1986), Zeebrugge Sea Terminal (1989), *Grande Bibliothèque* (1989) and Extra Large: Parc de la Villette (1982), and Lille *Grand Palais* (1994).

Beyond a certain critical mass, the complexity of a building reaches to a point that the system releases from the control of architecture. Hence, each part of the structure gains certain autonomy. The autonomy does not necessarily require fragmentation and the elimination of the Whole. Rather, for Koolhaas, the potential of “Bigness” is to develop possible strategies to ‘unite the

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<sup>133</sup> Although a latent theory of scale is implied in “Delirious New York” by Rem Koolhaas, on the bases of the theorems of mass, “reproduction of earth,” “lobotomy,” and disjunction from the urban tissue, it was explicitly introduced firstly in Rem Koolhaas, “Bigness, or the problem of Large,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit. The theory of Bigness was basically came forth as a response to the strong disbelief of deconstructivism, from 1980’s onwards, in the possibility of Whole, due to the criticism of earlier attempts for integration. See Rem Koolhaas, interview with Isabelle Menu and Frank Vermandel, *Euralille: The Making of a New City Center Koolhaas, Nouvel, Portzamparc, Vasconti, Duthilleul*, ed. Espace Croise, (Boston: Birkhauser, 1996,) 62. What this criticism proposes was the “dismantlement,” which Koolhaas explains as the decomposition of the world into “incompatible fractals of uniqueness, each pretext for further disintegration of the Whole.” Rem Koolhaas, “Bigness, or the problem of Large,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 506. The inevitable result of breaking down the program into functional units is fragmentation of the architectural expression. However, for Koolhaas the theory of Bigness is a means for integration without being intensive towards each of the component and is a response to the crisis of totality, by emphasizing “the possibility of creating whole things.”<sup>133</sup> For him, Bigness has the “potential to reconstruct Whole, resurrect the Real, reinvent the collective, reclaim maximum possibility.” Rem Koolhaas, “Bigness, or the problem of Large,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 510.

fragmented'. Thus, he argues that via the theory of "Bigness," it is possible to manipulate program for productive ends in a single structure. "The theory Bigness" assists to articulate "the intensities of programmatic coexistence."

Koolhaas writes:

Through contamination rather than purity and quantity rather than quality, only Bigness can support genuinely new relations between functional entities that expand rather than limit identities. The artificiality and complexity of Bigness release function from its defensive armor to allow a kind of liquefaction; programmatic elements react with each other to create new events.<sup>134</sup>

The generative force of the "Bigness" is the "thoughtless energy" of the pure quantity.<sup>135</sup> It is the utmost space of programmatic and infrastructural intensity. Hence, the 'amount' of the spaces and the number of the facilities that "Bigness" offers is beyond the conventional units. In such a scale, the impact of the quantity is beyond any qualitative evaluation. Thus, "Bigness" nullifies the issues of traditional architecture such as composition, scale, and proportion. The immensity invalidates any need for architecture to determine or design – "the 'art' of architecture" –, and yet zones are rescued from architecture.<sup>136</sup> The Big Building "embodies an ideological program, independent of the will of its architect."<sup>137</sup> "Bigness" does not propose to solve the problems of architecture with "more architecture," but rather proposes a new strategic position.

"Bigness" fills the gap that came forth with the elimination of the architect as the "creative subject," with the collaboration of the different disciplines. Yet, it presents a new, impersonal condition, in which architecture is only one of the supporter of the collaboration of different disciplines. Koolhaas argues:

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<sup>134</sup> Rem Koolhaas, "Bigness, or the problem of Large," *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 512

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 499.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 513.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 496.

Beyond signature, Bigness means surrender to technologies; to engineers, contractors, manufacturers; to politics; to others. It promises architecture a kind of post-heroic status- a realignment with neutrality.<sup>138</sup>

The essential knowledge of the contemporary urbanism can only be manipulated by “Bigness.” The diversity and instability of the programs can be articulated without enforcing coexistence, but leaving margins for the “assembly of maximum difference.” Only “Bigness” can maintain the vulgar spread of events in a single container.“ It develops strategies to organize both their independence and interdependence within a larger entity in a symbiosis that exacerbates rather than compromises specificity.”<sup>139</sup> Thus, for Koolhaas only through “The Theory Bigness” can architecture be rescued from being a “institutionalization of styles,” a formal discipline and “regain its instrumentality as a vehicle of modernization.”<sup>140</sup>

With the promises that “Bigness” presents the potentials, generated by the urbanism can be fully explored. The real merit of “The Theory of Bigness” is to give the architectural object an urban character by releasing it from “solidity” of architecture. Hence, it is the active expression of the relation between architecture and urbanism. “Bigness” offers architecture a chance to make interventions without radiating more “specificity”, more architecture to the urban plane. Thus, it is the only strategy that architecture has, to re-conquest the city.

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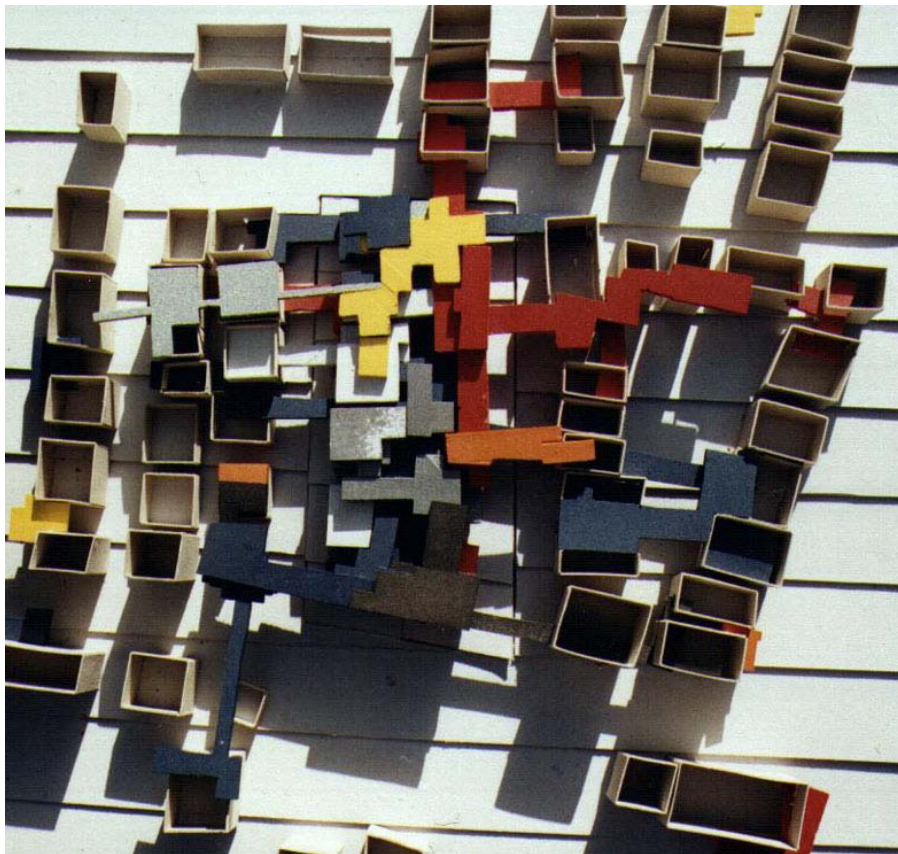
<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 495.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 511.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 510.



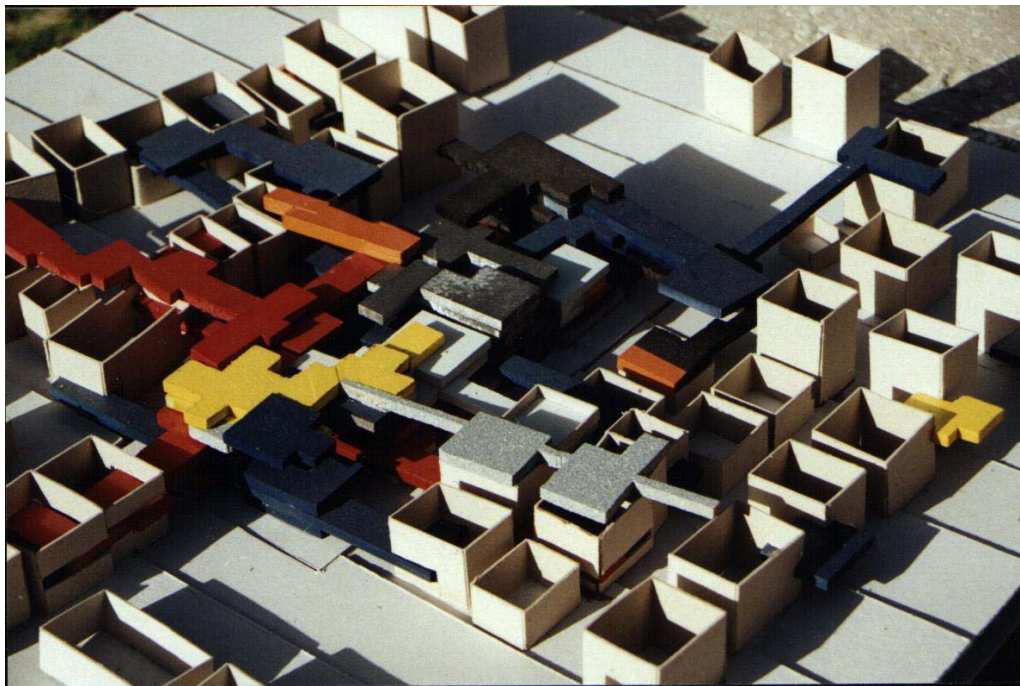
Thus, to benefit from the potential of “Bigness,” with abandoning the parcel system of the site, the project proposes a probable urban form when the epidemic transformation and expansion of the programs are allowed. The utmost aim of this operation is to explore the potentials of the “congestion” and programmatic relations. To read the probable formations, a model lot is selected and proposed a possible expansion form for the programs. As there is no end product in such a process, the form of an arbitrary instance is “pictured,” in the project, in which every color represents a different program.



**Figure 3.2.3** Transformation pattern of the programs. Model Photo.

The project considers the “generic” structural system of the Apartment Block as a three dimensional grid. Thus, by extending the scale and abandoning the parcel lines, it acquires a site with a homogeneous structural framework. The

empty spaces of this grid are filled by the additional steel structures to achieve the continuity of the space and to unite the fragmented site. As the service cores are also allocated in a grid systematic as a result of the previous parcel system, the project preserves them. Any program can exist, dominate, disappear, mutate or hybridized in the matrix of the system. The project only proposes a background a “generic template” to support the system.



**Figure 3.2.3.2** General perspective of the project. Model photo.

Such an operation presents us a new setting, in which it is possible to focus on the integration of the components marked by instability and maximum programmatic mutations. Considering the ever-changing characteristic of the program, from an existing data and set of spaces, new elements, new relations and new sets of spaces were derived by re-distributing the unstable programs. Thus, the intention of the project is to offer a “global response” that permits “modification, alteration, or programmatic substitutions without loss of overall

organization”<sup>141</sup> and a well integrated isolation. Rem Koolhaas explains this intention of program-based strategy by claiming “I combine architectural specificity with programmatic instability”<sup>142</sup> This new layout presents a new setting, in which every program exploits its own specificity without interfering the whole system. There exist spontaneous arbitrary, unexpected interactions between the programs.



**Figure 3.2.3.3** Close up view. Model photo.

#### 3.2.4 Strategy of “Void”

“Void,” is a term introduced by Rem Koolhaas between 1980-1990, which can be defined as a “resilient” space, with the minimum architectural constraints and a gap, hollow, interval, in which the less control leads to a greater probability. In

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<sup>141</sup> See Lucan, “The Architect of Modern Life,” *OMA-Rem Koolhaas, Architecture 1970-1990*, op. cit., 37.

<sup>142</sup> Rem Koolhaas, “I Combine Architectural Specificity with Programmatic Instability,” interview with Jaime Yatsuka, *Telescope*, 3, 1989, 7, cited in Jacques Lucan, “The Architect of Modern Life,” *OMA-Rem Koolhaas, Architecture 1970-1990*, ed. Jacques Lucan, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991,) 38.

fact, I believe, it comprises all notions that traverse works of Rem Koolhaas from *Delirious New York* such as grid, typical plan and generic, which of all bases on “neutrality.” For Koolhaas in spite of the “emptiness” that the void presents, within the urban conditions, void is not empty. He claims each void can be used for the programs, whose insertion into the existing texture is damaging, and “leading to mutilation of both activity and texture.”<sup>143</sup> In this sense, Koolhaas proposes void as a controlling element, which protects the system from the “contamination” by the city via absorbing unexpected effects. Hence, it is a regulating strategy that supports the general framework and reinforces the coherence of the whole.

The existence of the void, I claim, enhances the autonomy of the solid. Within a framework comprising void(s), solids can be shaped with different ideologies, styles in accordance with their “own logic, independent of each other, of the external envelope.”<sup>144</sup> Each solid can celebrate its individuality and can be articulated depending on the specific demands of the site and program provided that the void framework is preserved. Koolhaas argues that “in such a model of urban solid and metropolitan void, the desire for stability and the need for instability are no longer incompatible. They can be pursued as two separate enterprises with invisible connections.”<sup>145</sup> Thus, with the strategy of void, it is possible to deal with the instability of the programs and incorporate it with architecture.

The project considers the spaces left spontaneously during the expansion process of the program as “voids” that absorbs the new architectural programs

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<sup>143</sup> Koolhaas, “Imagining Nothingness”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 202.

<sup>144</sup> See Koolhaas, “Strategy of Void”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 620.

<sup>145</sup> Koolhaas, “Imagining Nothingness”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 201.

that are either inserted to the existing texture or came forth as a result of the interaction of different programs. These voids allow the existing programs to exploit or modify their figurative liberty. They both constitute a framework to preserve the system from the insertion and elimination of different programs and a neutral space, where the programmatic interaction can be fully exploited.

### **3.3 Urbanism vs. Architecture**

Ankara has experienced the apotheosis of the acceleration of the urbanization and effect of the issue of quantity after 1950s. However, urbanism, as a profession, has disappeared in this period, when it is at a magnitude that has never been experienced before. For Koolhaas explains it as a paradox, which was mainly came forth as a result of the criticism of the 1970s for the so-called “crisis” of the Modernism’s to transform “quantity into quality through abstraction and repetition” and invalidation of the architectural “urban fantasies” that tries to order the city via the notion of “whole.”<sup>146</sup> Moreover, the widespread acquiescence that the city can not be made ridiculed any attempt of urbanism as a profession to “encode civilization.” Thus, for Koolhaas this criticism inevitably led to the “demise” of the urbanism.

Elimination of the urbanism led to a condition, in which there is only architecture. However, Koolhaas argues that architecture is insufficient within the contemporary urbanism as “it defines, excludes, limits, separates from the “rest” – but it also consumes.” Hence, for Koolhaas only a renewed interest on urbanism can generate the potentials that the architecture exhausts.

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<sup>146</sup> See Rem Koolhaas, “What Ever Happened to Urbanism,” *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., 961.

Koolhaas claims that “redefined urbanism will not only or mostly, be a profession, but a way of thinking, an ideology: to accept what exists.”<sup>147</sup>

If there is to be a new urbanism it will not be based on the twin fantasies of order and omnipotence; it will be the staging of uncertainty; it will no longer be concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects but with the irrigation of territories with potential; it will no longer aim for stable configurations but for the creations of enabling fields that accommodate processes that refused to be crystallized in to definitive form; it will no longer be about meticulous definition, the imposition of limits, but about expanding notions, denying boundaries, not about separating and identifying entities, but about discovering unnamable hybrids, it will no longer be obsessed with the city but with manipulation of infrastructure for endless intensification and diversifications, shortcuts and redistributions – reinvention of psychological space. Since the urban is now pervasive, urbanism will newer be about “new,” only about the “more” and “modified.”<sup>148</sup>

This urbanism is “Lite Urbanism”, in which architects and urbanists relieved from the fantasies for control and “conceive new modesties, partial interventions, strategic realignments, compromised positions that might influence, redirect, succeed in limited terms, regroup, begin from scratch even, but never reestablish control.”<sup>149</sup> Koolhaas announces that within this new urbanism, architects and urbanists refine their relationship with the city, not as its makes but as mere subjects and its supporters, and thus, there is no architectural “crisis.”

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 970-971.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 969.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 965.

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