

UNDERSTANDING CITY AS AN ARCHITECTURAL AND NON-ARCHITECTURAL
PROGRAM: LEARNING FROM ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING CITY AS AN ARCHITECTURAL AND NON-ARCHITECTURAL PROGRAM: LEARNING FROM ANKARA

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This thesis presents a critical reading on the *generic* structures transformed by urban programs in *Kızılay* urban core. The ultimate aim is to understand the transformative relationships of the city and architecture within divergent conceptual levels through an analysis of *generic* buildings and processes of building consumption.

Architecture and the city have a correlative and multi-layered relationship that embraces not only continuities but also contradictions. However, especially for centers of the cities and other *generic* districts, while continuities disappear, the contradictions gain a multi-leveled character. Such contradictory relations can be observed in a number of cities in Turkey. On the other hand, Ankara has a specific position within this discussion because of the fact that its planning and construction as the new capital city of Turkey was a social as well as an architectural project.

Current anonym, neutral, and homogeneous urban fabric of *Kızılay/Yenişehir* can be presented as the ‘impotence’ of architectural intervention on the city. In this respect, it explores the necessity of extending limits of architectural thinking to the city scale. This study argues that when it is accepted that architecture cannot claim to shape the

city in its own image, different interfaces can be uncovered between city and architecture via alternative “reading(s) of the city.”

Current generic face of Ankara is an outcome of two radical economic, social and spatial transformations experienced during 1950s and 1980s. As a consequence of these transformations “new” kinds of spaces emerged and invaded *Kızılay* city center. 1950s were marked by the explosion of domestic apartment blocks, 1980s and 1990s were marked by their transformation to “a city in itself” in order to accommodate diverse and unstable urban programs. Two urban blocks next to *Konur Street* are taken as a case study due to their representational character of this transformation that is also common in other cities of Turkey.

This study aims to understand the “generic” and “specific” qualities of transformed urban environment and draw a critical framework for this new urban reality. Notions of ‘program’ and ‘infrastructure’ employed by Rem Koolhaas will provide a framework for the discussion of the current position of ‘architectural object’ conditioned by the city. Diagrammatic cross-sections will be employed as an architectural tool for architectural reading of the site, which explore the logic of these mutant spaces.

Keywords: program, architectural program, non-architectural program, infrastructure, generic, metropolitan condition.

ÖZ

KENTİ MİMARİ VE MİMARİ OLMAYAN PROGRAMLAR ÜZERİNDEN ANLAMAK: ANKARA' DAN ÖĞRENMEK

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Bu tez, Kızılay kent merkezinin kentsel programların dönüştürdüğü anonim yapısı üzerine eleştirel bir okuma sunar. Asıl amaç kent ve mimarlığın birbirini dönüştüren ilişkisini anonim yapılar ve kullanım süreçleri üzerinden farklı kavramsal katmanlar içinde anlamaktır.

Mimarlık ve kent devamlılıklar ve karşıtlıklar içeren karşılıklı ve çok katmanlı bir ilişki içindedir. Bununla beraber, özellikle kent merkezleri ve diğer anonim bölgelerde devamlılıklar yerini karşıtlıklara bırakır. Bu tür karşıtlıklara Türkiye'nin pek çok kentinde rastlanır ancak mimari ve sosyal bir proje kapsamında Türkiye'nin başkenti olarak inşa edilen Ankara'nın bu tartışma içinde özel bir yeri vardır.

Günümüzdeki anonim, nötr ve homojen kentsel dokusuyla Kızılay'a, "kente mimari katkının güçsüzlüğü" gözüyle bakılabilir. Bu bağlamda, mimari düşüncenin sınırlarını kent ölçeğinde yeniden sınamak bir zorunluluk olarak karşımıza gelir. Bu çalışmada, kentin mimarlığın şekil verdiği bir yapı olmadığı gerçeği üzerinden hareketle, kent ve mimarlık arasında alternatif ara yüzlerin, ve ilişki biçimlerinin keşfedilebileceği savunulmaktadır.

Ankara, 1950'ler ve 1980'ler olarak tarihlendirilen iki önemli sosyal ve mekansal dönüşüm yaşamıştır. 1950'ler, bu günkü apartman tipolojisinin ortaya çıktığı ve şehirlerin hakim yapılaşma biçimini oluşturmaya başladığı yıllardır. 1980'lerde ise barınma amaçlı üretilen bu tipoloji, yeni oluşan kent merkezlerinde kentsel programlar edinir ve kendi içinde bir kent olan, kentsel bir yapı formuna dönüşür. Konur Sokağın iki yanındaki yapı adaları, bu dönüşümün yaşandığı pek çok kentsel alanın bir temsili olarak seçilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, dönüşüm geçiren kent merkezlerinin “jenerik” ve “kendine özgü” niteliklerini araştırır ve eleştirel bir çerçeve sunmayı amaçlar. Rem Koolhaas'ın öne sürdüğü “program” ve “alt-yapı” nosyonlarıyla kent tarafından dönüştürülen mimari objenin durumunu tartışır. Farklı metinlerle birlikte, gözleme dayalı bir okuma sunar ve bu okumayı mimari diyagramlara dönüştürür.

Anahtar kelimeler: program, mimari program, mimari olmayan program, altyapı, anonim, jenerik, kentsel durum.

To Feride Mutlu and Kasım Mutlu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

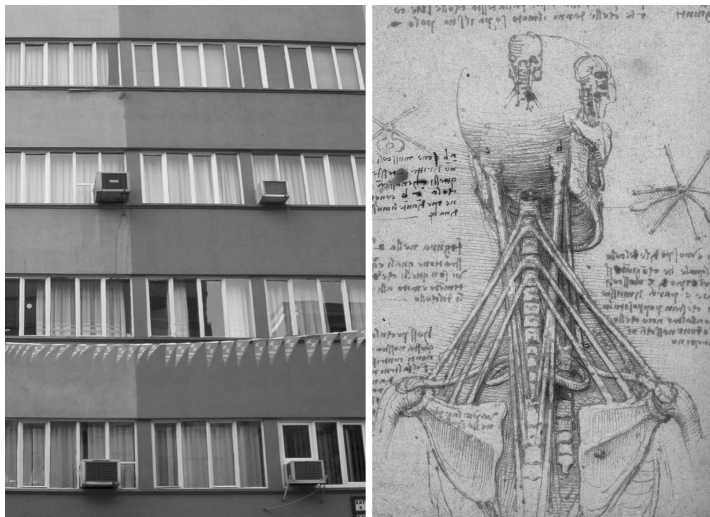


Figure 1.1: On the left, detail from the façade of the building with number 52 in the urban block 1082. On the right, *drawing of a schematic dissection of the posterior cervical region*, by Leonardo da Vinci, 1513.

Architecture and the city have a correlative and multi-layered relationship. Although they belong to different orders, they are nonetheless inseparable. It can be said that while architecture is a background for the city, city is a background for architecture.¹ As it is stated by Jean Attali, they maintain a relationship of “inverted belonging”. The city is not only the place but also peculiar condition of architecture. Objects of architecture belong to the city. On the other hand architecture can not act directly on

¹ See. Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961. p.106

the city. Rather, the city determines what architecture must be. Architecture takes its function and program from the city.²

The correlative relationship of architecture and the city embraces not only continuities but also contradictions. City, then, becomes an arena where values related with architectural production and that of dynamics of urban life confront. Architectural values and principles such as scale, contextuality, composition, and harmony³ contradict with demands of urban dynamics that introduce a different task in terms of relationship between interior and exterior, public and private, construction of territories, identity, image and consumption value. For instance, while harmony is a means of construction of an identity for architecture, it can as well be seen as a problematic issue in the urban context. Likewise, scale of architecture cannot find its justification in the context of the city that has a different kind of scale.

Especially for centers of the cities and other *generic* districts, while continuities disappear, the contradictions gain a multi-leveled character. In such districts, speed and scope of urban processes so radicalize that change becomes the most permanent characteristic of its geography. On the other hand cycles of production and consumption of space gain a complex character in which multiple actors operates in different degrees on the formation of urban fabric. In this case, methods and means of architecture are seen as inadequate in their flexibility and variety to respond to the demands of multi-dimensional dynamics of the city. At this point, the gap between urban infrastructure and program proposed by architecture constantly grows.

Such contradictory relations can be observed in a number of cities in Turkey. On the other hand, Ankara has a specific position within this discussion because of the fact that its planning and construction as the new capital city of Turkey was a social as well as an architectural project. Architecture was employed for the materialization of the visions and ideals of the Early Republic. Thus driving forces of its construction were the modernist outlook of planning and architecture. However, within thirty

² Attali, Jean. "A Surpassing Mutation". ed by Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Mutations*. Barcelona: Actar, 2000. p.271

³ See Ching, Francis D.K. *Mimarlık: Biçim, Mekan, Düzen*, çev. Sevgi Lökçe, 1.Baskı, İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2002.

years Ankara began to turn into a generic agglomeration. *Kızılay/Yenişehir* was one of the first places where modernist planning principles were executed.⁴

Current anonym, neutral, and homogeneous urban fabric of *Kızılay/Yenişehir* can be presented as the ‘impotence’ of architectural intervention on the city. In this respect, it explores the necessity of extending limits of architectural thinking to the city scale. This study argues that when it is accepted that architecture cannot claim to shape the city in its own image, different interfaces can be uncovered between city and architecture via “reading(s) of the city.”

Thus this thesis aims to present a critical reading on the *generic* structures transformed by urban programs in *Kızılay* urban core. The ultimate aim is to understand the transformative relationships of the city and architecture within divergent conceptual levels through an analysis of generic forms of buildings and processes of building consumption.

It can be said that *program* covers the major part of the convergence points between city and architecture. Therefore, the method of this study will be to investigate and exemplify continuities and contradictions between program that frame architecture and the program that stems from urban dynamics via observations on the chosen site as well as to evaluate the issue via different readings. In that manner, different value systems belong to consumption and production of architecture, origins of these differences, and their reflections to the built environment will be read with reference to its existing urban infrastructure and its ongoing transformation in *Kızılay*.

Centers of the city presents more aggressive manifestations of the gap between ideals of architecture and existing built environment conditioned by urban dynamics. To uncover these dynamics and understand such a multi-layered interaction, this study

⁴ Please see. Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı & Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2004. And Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: (1929-1939)*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993. Also see. Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, der. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, pp. 135-118. History of Ankara, from the angle of its physical transformation from a representational space to a generic agglomeration is worth to examine. Nevertheless, this issue is left outside of the scope of the study because of the fact that the multi-dimensional character of the issue transcends the limits of the thesis.

concentrates on real cases in Ankara assuming that it will be representing an adaptable model for the main discussion. It will analyze two urban blocks (with numbers 1082 and 1083) on both sides of *Konur Street* in *Kızılay* as a case study. While its existing physical structure composed of apartment blocks presents “another” manifestation of the “Generic City”⁵, it also has its own specificities as a consequence of its current programmatic transformation. It is this transformation that generates a gap between its diverse programs and infrastructure. With an analysis of the district, this study aims to read the transformative relations of architecture and the city.

This study lends itself on the discussion of the position of “building” with reference to the split between the building that belongs to architecture and the building that belongs to city. This thesis problematizes “impotence of architecture” especially in the city centers composed of generic agglomeration of apartment blocks. In this study apartment block becomes inevitably a central issue, since it is the generic infrastructure of the Turkish urban centers and also of *Kızılay*.

In the scope of the study, the “building” that belongs to city – apartment block – comes forth as a field of inquire due to capture how *metropolitan condition* acts on built environment and on the contrary, and at same time how existing built stock accommodates this programmatic instability.

In Turkish architectural literature, apartment block is represented as the subject of the “legitimacy crisis” of the city.⁶ It has been criticized as “shameful monument devoid of aesthetics” that damages cities. And its “architecture” is described as monotonous and meaningless agglomeration of concrete that is devoid of identity. Thus it is presented as an obvious “impotence” of architecture in the city context.⁷

⁵ The term of “The Generic City” is a term developed by Rem Koolhaas. He defines the “Generic” as “what is left after identity is stripped.” Koolhaas, Rem. “The Generic City”, *S, M, L, XL*, ed. by Jennifer Sigler, second edition, New York: Monacelli Press, 1998. pp. 1264-1239.

⁶ Please see. Tanyeli, Uğur. *İstanbul 1900-2000 : Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak*, İstanbul: AKIN NALÇA, 2004. 285-281

⁷ Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, der. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, pp. 125, 118.

The endeavor of the thesis will be to develop “another” view point while it makes apartment block the object of an inquiry. Therefore this study will read the apartment block not as a central subject of the aesthetic damage of the city but as a *frame* which the forces of *metropolitan condition* actively transforms and contradicts with the internal principles of architecture. In this respect, apartment block becomes fertile a source of re-thinking architecture with reference to the *metropolitan condition*.

From the view point of the study, apartment block is conceived and conceptualized as an organization logic that was produced to allocate and distribute operational ownership sizes in the wake of 1950s⁸. Within a short period of time, apartments invaded through all around the geography of cities and became dominant face of the cities in Turkey. Then beginning from 1980s, under the *metropolitan condition* the city forces apartment block to transform itself into a *city in itself* and puts it into assimilating alienation from its residential character.

Concentrating on current gap between its infrastructure and programs it houses in the centers of the cities, the thesis will investigate *continuities* and *contradictions* of apartment block in terms of its *performance* of creating *frames of probability* for emergence of unpredictable spaces, and urban life forms. While analyzing *how apartment blocks work* under the condition of *metropolitan instability*, the ultimate aim is to discover transformative power of the city on architecture. Within the limits of the study, the city itself is accepted as the condition of architecture, a transformative background, rather than a closed physical entity. In this sense different readings of existing urban fabric and the city becomes a major tool to understand contextual limits of architecture.

Architecture takes its program from the city. The *metropolitan condition* in terms of programmatic diversity and instability stands at the focal point of the contradiction between city and architecture. In this respect, mutation of the apartment block to a “city within a city” can be seen as the writing of the *metropolitan condition*. In fact, its significance lies in these very inscriptions of unpredictable dynamics of the city

⁸ Güzer, C. Abdi. “ ‘Apartman’ Üzerine Denemeler,” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 03/1998, p. 96.

that “has always eluded the architect”⁹. In another words, it stands where architecture delays and misses.

In terms of methodology, this study uses the approach developed by Rem Koolhaas as a major model of understanding the city in especially *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, and in his other books and essays.¹⁰ His approach to generic structure as a *frame* within the urbanism of eighties and nineties¹¹ in this respect interpreted and re-utilized in case of Ankara along with a cross reading of the site by observations and analyses. Generic structures, in the framework of the thesis, imply the direct, “unconscious” responses to the *metropolitan condition*. Their production process and spatial organization excludes (A)rchitects and conventional principles and values of architecture. Their continuity and contradiction are assessed with its capability to combine programmatic instability, and architectural permanence.

Case study will be taken as a means to understand the limits of the boundaries between architecture and the city. In this regard, with the case study, an alternative reading of the city and an investigation to discover different faces of the interrelation of architecture and the city in the generic *Kızılay* context are aimed. Site analysis of the study covers the time span between April 2005 and January 2006. It is based on direct observation and documentation of the arguments by black/white photography and cross sections. Employment of the section for documentation and demonstration here, is worth to articulate.¹²

⁹ Gandelonas, Mario. “The city as the object of architecture”, *Assemblage*, Issue 37, 1998, pp. 144-128. [Internet, WWW, Database], Available: Academic Search Premier Database from EbscoHOST. ADDRESS: <http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=1632147> [Accessed: 10 May 2005]

¹⁰ Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994.

Koolhaas, Rem, O.M.A. and Bruce Mau. *S, M, L, XL*, ed. by Jennifer Sigler, second edition, New York: Monacelli Press, 1998.

Koolhaas, Rem, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans Ulrich Obrist Ed. *Mutations*. Barcelona: Actar, 2000.

Koolhaas, Rem, Brendan McGetrick, Simon Brown, Jon Link, Jason Long, Jennifer Sigler, Penelope Dean, and Bill Millard Ed. *Content*, Köln: Taschen, 2004.

¹¹ Please see. Speaks, Michael. “The Singularity of OMA,” *A+U: Architecture and Urbanism*, v. 3, March 1999, pp. 90-94

¹² Section is conceived in the framework of the study as not only an “ordinary” tool of architectural representation but also a tool of architectural thinking. The relationship between modes of representation and architectural epistemology is the main emphasis of the course ARCH 524 directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş.

As Jacques Guillaume and H           argue, section is a cut-out in order to show ‘inner workings’¹³. In Bloomer words, section “maps the residual of a surgery on an object by a plane of incision.”¹⁴ It is an inscription and incision at the same time that explores at once the interior and exterior of edifices.¹⁵ Cross section is widely used as an architectural tool in designing and also for representation of designs as well as buildings.¹⁶ It is also commonly used in the domains of art, science and technology as a mode of (re)presentation for its ability to display invisible elements, relationship, and connections.¹⁷

Jennifer Bloomer describes the significance of section as such:

It is a plan divorced from gravity, a section through an object constructed with ideas, an *ampio*, (both ample and diffuse) *Collegio* (a collage, an assembly). It is a translucent slice, a window; also a slicer – Piranesi’s critical knife, cutting open, laying bare, revealing. The section, the having-been-cut, is itself an instrument of incision: it is both the plane of inscription and the plane of incision. The section is a connection between worlds. The section delineates the here and serves as an interface between theres.¹⁸

In the framework of the site analysis, cross section is employed as an instrument not to explore inner ‘tectonic’ working of the physical edifice, rather the relationship between its physical and programmatic structure; its inner world(s) and mechanism.

Cross section contributes the site analysis in different manners. First of all it gives the opportunity to transcend the aesthetic issues that posit apartment block to the outside of the limits of architecture while revealing the active re-organization/re-framing of apartment block which remains invisible behind the facades¹⁹. On the other hand, section introduces the third as well as the fourth dimension to the site plan. For such a changing environment inside of *envelops* of apartment block, section

¹³ Guillaume, Jacques and H          . “The Archaeology of Section,” *Perspecta* 23, 1989, p. 228 (from the reader of the course ARCH 524 directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ay           in 2003)

¹⁴ Bloomer, Jennifer. “Vertext and Vortex: a Tectonics of Section,” *Perspecta* 23, 1987. p.40 (from the reader of the course ARCH 524 directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ay           in 2003)

¹⁵ Bloomer, Jennifer. Ibid.

¹⁶ For Jacques Guillaume and H          , the origin of architectural section is Roman ruins drawn by travelers. Ibid., 226

¹⁷ Guillaume, Jacques and H          . Ibid., 228

¹⁸ Bloomer, Jennifer. Ibid. (Italics belong to the writer)

¹⁹ The most significant attribute of sectional representation is its ability to display the invisible. Please see. Jacques Guillaume and H          . Ibid., 228

is taken as a *frozen frame* of change that captures and reveals the inscriptions that appeared for a while and then disappeared.²⁰

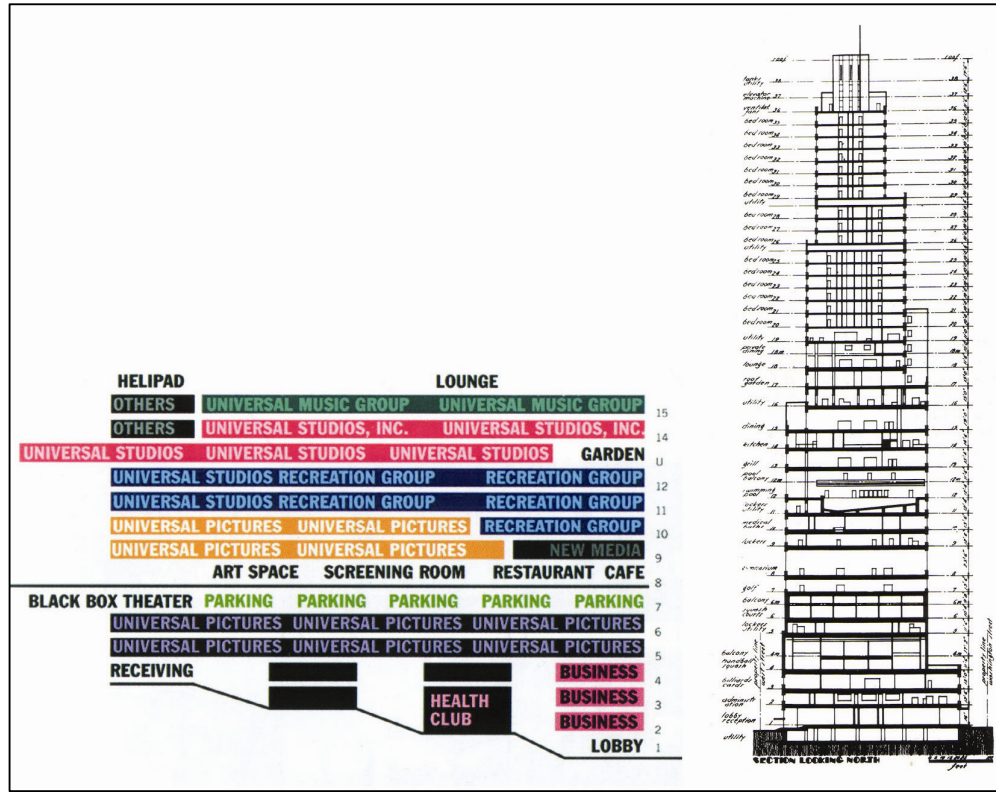


Figure 1.2: Rem Koolhaas, Universal HQ: diagram for an unstable assembly of different groups that appear and disappear, 1995

Figure 1.3: Section of Downtown Athletic Club

The following chapter will draw the conceptual framework of the study and evaluate the issues necessary for the later discussion in the thesis. The third chapter will present the analysis of the case study. Ongoing transformations in the infrastructure and its programs in the selected two urban blocks will be examined. The forth chapter will be conclusion with the discussion of the results that are derived from the analysis.

²⁰ For the usage of cross-section in a different manner, please see. Tekin, İlke. “Beyoğlu-İstiklal Caddesi ve Yakın Çevresinde Kentsel Yaşamın Kesitler Üzerinden Okunması ve Caddedeki Kalabalık”, Yüksek Lisan Tezi, Mimari Tasarım Programı, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2005.

This study will be an open ended reading that does not propose a solution as such. Rather, it will aim to develop the means of understanding and problematizing the current position(s) of architecture with reference to “metropolitan conditions” and re-introduction of the *metropolitan conditions* to architectural thinking with reference to the context of Ankara/Turkey. My ultimate intention is to investigate, discuss and discover the boundaries of legitimacy and validity bound up within the context of values that are produced and consumed in the city.

CHAPTER 2

ARCHITECTURAL PROGRAM VERSUS NON-ARCHITECTURAL PROGRAM

2.1 Architectural Programming of the City

Until 1960s, along with the history of architecture, it was believed that architecture could give form to the city and also give order to its dynamic processes in the name of modernist planning.²¹ Consequently, the city was seen as an object of architecture that could be architecturally programmed. Thus architectural program was thought as prior even opposed²² to urban programs.²³

Modernist architecture's well known motto, "form follows function" was also a call for the autonomy of architectural discipline and also conceptual background for overpraised power of architecture on the city.²⁴ With the 1960s, on the one hand, modernist approach to the city was severely criticized by many critics from various disciplines. On the other hand, "urban condition" radically changed in relation to transformation in modes of production and invention in new technologies of information and transportation. As a result of such developments, the city gained a

²¹ Gandelsonas, Mario. "The City as the Object of Architecture", *Assemblage*, Issue 37, 1998, pp. 144-128. However, it is obtained from [Internet, WWW, Database], Available: Academic Search Premier Database from EbscoHOST.ADRESS:<http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=1632147> [Accessed: 10 May 2005]

Here, "architecture" is used "as an institution" with reference to Manfredo Tafuri. Please see. Tafuri, Manfredo. *Theories and History of Architecture*, trans. by Giorgio Verrecchia, London: Granada, 1980 (originally published in Italian in 1968)

²² Please see as an impressive example, Le Corbusier. "Architecture or Revolution." *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. by Frederick Etchells, New York: Praeger, 1963, pp.249-269.

²³ Please see. Tafuri, Manfredo. Ibid., and *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*. Massachusetts: MIT Press. 1976.

²⁴ Adorno, Teodor W., 'Functionalism Today', *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by Neil Leach, London: Routledge, 1997, pp. 5-19 and also, Foster, Hal. "Tasarım ve Suç", *Tasarım ve Suç*, çev. Elçin Gen, İstanbul: İletişim, 2002, pp. 44-29.

more complex character.²⁵ While professions of architecture and urbanism were criticized for their impotence, the problems of cities also became more complex and multiple. This was called a crisis of both discourses of architecture and urbanism in the severe atmosphere of 1960s criticism.²⁶

2.1.1 Architectural Discourse on the City and the Crisis of Architecture

For Diana Agrest, amalgamation of architecture with urbanism in the name of planning is the main dynamic of so-called crisis of architecture. Agrest claims that with modern urbanism, architecture begins to make/see the city as its object of professional study. Urbanism and architecture comes together on a shared engagement with the city in the planning discourse. While the discourse of the city in architecture develops in a relatively autonomous manner, urban discourse as planning begins to play the role of a mediator between dominant social ideologies and architectural ideologies, and elaborates the functional side of architecture's form/function dichotomy. For Agrest, as a result of its engagement with the city under the title of planning, architecture leans on its functionalist conception that results with the loss of its own power of intervention to the city.²⁷

On the other hand, for Gandelsonas the contradictory relationship between architecture and the city was established with Alberti's theory. Since then the city has been "the object of architectural desire." This relationship between architecture and the city established on the basis of their shared object: the building. Within this

²⁵ Please see. Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

²⁶ Manfredo Tafuri relates the crisis of modern architecture with the reorganization of capitalism. In his own words: "The crisis of modern architecture begins in the very moment in which its natural consignee – large industrial capital – goes beyond the fundamental ideology, putting aside the superstructures. From that moment on architectural ideology no longer has any purpose." Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, op.cit., 135. Micheal Hays argues that architectural theory begins with 1960s. For him, the sociohistorical context of architectural production is introduced to architecture within the critical practice of 1960s. Please see. Hays, K. Michael. "Introduction", *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, an anthology edited by K. Michael Hays, Massachusetts MA: The MIT Press, 1998, pp.x-xv

²⁷ Agrest, I. Diana, "The City as the Place of Representation," *Architecture From Without, Theoretical Framings for Critical Practice*, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991, 125-126.

relationship, “building” splits into two as *urban building* and *architectural building*. And the building, as part of the city, is conceived as “outside” of architecture.²⁸

This split gives way to other conflicts within the architectural discourse and practice and leads to the separation of architect from the building, its site and construction process. Since architects were responsible for transforming “the stones” to an architectural building via beauty and ornament, a point of separation was established between the architect and the builder. Building split into opposing sites as the architect’s atelier versus the construction site, the skills split into opposing practices as architect versus builder. Likewise, means of production split into opposing techniques as design versus building.²⁹

From another point of view separation of architectural production process from the construction site and the city, also contributes to the rupture between architectural knowledge and urban processes. While the building in urban context becomes an “object of the city” that is open to any changes depending on peculiar tasks of “urban condition”, maintaining the permanence of “architectural object” in urban context comes forth as an issue for architectural program.³⁰

Within the architectural discourse, Gandelsonas mentions two complementary architectural fantasies that serve to bridge the gap between architecture and the city in an imaginary way. The first fantasy is the “artistic fantasy”. In the framework of the artistic fantasy, architecture is seen as an artistic practice, and architect as a *creative subject* who at the same time occupies the place of the builder. Architecture is defined as the “mother” of the other arts so that the in-between positionality of architecture and architect becomes obscured. Gandelsonas calls this act of pretending to be in two places at the same time as “doubling”. For him doubling of the subject coincides with doubling of the object, design. In this occasion, design indicates not only drawing but also building realized by construction, so that the apparatus of representation and of the drawing as the space of architectural production is

²⁸ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Koolhaas, Rem. “Elegy for the Vacant Lot”, *S, M, L, XL*, op. cit., p. 936

concealed. For him, architectural artistic fantasy has been playing a dominant role in architectural discourse for four hundred years.³¹

As a summary, from his point of view, artistic architectural fantasy related with the subject of architecture assumes that architect has a control over production processes of the building in the construction site. This assumption is based on exaggerated role and position of the architect under the title of “creative subject”. Exaggeration of the power of the architect on built environment coincides with another fantasy, which is called as “urban fantasy” by Gandelsonas.

As Gandelsonas puts it, urban fantasy of architecture stems from the desire of architecture to domesticate the wild economic and political forces, which operate on the city. As he argues, it is “the doubling of architecture that wants to be within its own boundaries and to have an effect outside”.³² For Gandelsonas, the architectural urban fantasy takes the place of a fundamental lack. This lack of architecture stems from the distance of architecture to the consumption processes of the building in the city context. It is superseded by the loss of reality of the urban processes. Within this fantasy the city is reduced to a large building instead of a physical-spatial reality and a *process* so that the focus shifts from the actions taking place in it to the shapes of the city that is seen as an architectural stage. Because of the fact that the city resists to the ignorance of time, difference and the contingency, in another words, its reduction to the status of a building, urban fantasies never reach their object.³³ It means that “[t]he city has always eluded the architect.”³⁴

The two architectural fantasies mentioned above are the origin of the architectural programming of the city. For Gandelsonas, the major obstacle the city presents to architectural program is its resistance to the notion of “whole” while architect/architecture conceives the city as a large building, in a totalizing order. Another obstacle is the resistance of architecture to the temporal dimension that

³¹ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

³³ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

³⁴ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

causes architecture not to capture urban processes taking place in urban space.³⁵ In his own words:

These processes always overflow the institutionalized framework of the practice of architecture, which, in its pursuit of the city, can approach it but never quite get there. Architecture is too slow or too fast, it rebuilds the past or projects an impossible future, but it can never insert itself into the contingency of the urban present.³⁶

Despite the impossibility of architecture to control urban processes via geometry and physical forms, since the Renaissance European architects have proposed totalizing designs that are realized in partial and fragmented ways at some specific historical conditions. On the other hand, the nonarchitectural programs (based on grid plan and skyscrapers on the one hand and on the suburban city on the other) have always been put into practice in America. In the European case, resistance was toward consideration of the American city in architectural terms. The American city was beyond the architectural field of vision until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a result of the resistance of European architects to see the American city in architectural terms. The moment when European architects “saw” the American city was destroying for the architectural status quo, which, at the same time let the invention of a new architectural universe.³⁷

For the writer, the radical changes in architecture in the early twentieth century were over-determined by the confrontation with new challenges proposed by the skyscraper and its introduction to architectural thinking. The skyscraper, which deals with high density, gives way to question the traditional fabric of the city as a stage of architecture. The issue for architecture about the skyscraper is its scale or its “Bigness”. For Koolhaas, “[b]eyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building”.³⁸ “Big Building” is no longer part of a city, but it becomes a city in itself that is beyond the architectural program.³⁹

³⁵ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

³⁶ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

³⁷ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

³⁸ Koolhaas, Rem. “Bigness” *S,M,L,XL*. op.cit., p. 499

³⁹ Ibid., p. 502

The American city was transformed to an urban fantasy because of the fact that the only possible way to locate the city within architectural discourse is the representation of the city via urban fantasies. Thus the urban fantasy related with the American city serves to hide the antagonism between architecture and the city while keeping the American city out of site for European modernist architects.⁴⁰

2.1.2 Reading the City

Diana Agrest describes the city as the “limit of architecture” that is an accumulation and superimposition of different conflicting orders that compose its so-called orderlessness.⁴¹ On the other hand, the city, which is “the most important spatial production in this century”, supplies/provides “true critical distance” for a critical work on architecture with its position “outside” of architecture.⁴²

In late 50s and early 60s, a critical shift occurred in the position of the architect, from production to reception, from writing to reading. Gandelsonas writes that city is not someone’s writing but a specific “writing mechanism”. The writing mechanism includes inscriptions of both permanent traces and the possibility of their erasure on three levels. First level is the building that is always open to changes. The second level is the urban plan on which the traces are inscribed and retained. And the third level is the level of social and cultural forces, of practices and institutions that reconciles the other two levels. For Gandelsonas, there must be a balance between permanence and erasure on the three levels, in order to allow architectural practices. He states that “[t]here is no place for architecture either in the city of memory (which would be a dead city, a museum, a tableau, and where articulation is impossible) or in the city of constant change (where nothing remains).”⁴³

In a similar way, while Agrest regards the relationship between architecture and the city in modernist thought as the crisis of architecture, she suggests a return of architectural thinking to the city in order to transcend its own crisis. She claims that the supposed return of architecture to the city, for this time, requires abandoning the

⁴⁰ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

⁴¹ Agrest, I. Diana, “The City as the Place of Representation,” op.cit., p. 119

⁴² Agrest, I. Diana, “Introduction: The city as the unconscious of architecture,” op.cit., p. 2

⁴³ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

form/function dichotomy and transcending it by new ways of understanding of the city as an object of study. In fact, her suggestion on architectural readings of the city is a part of her call for architectural theory and production of a renewed 'archive' for notions and concepts of architecture that in the atmosphere of 1970's many commentators of architecture share. For her, the role of the architect as a "creative subject" who is the writer of the city should be superseded by a "creative subject" engaging with critical reading of the city. The reading of the city, in her view, will be another form of creativity.⁴⁴

For both Agrest and Gandelsonas, the reading of the nonarchitectural – the city – comes to the scene as a repository for architecture. Reading the city is an active practice to discover this repository⁴⁵. At the same time, each architecture/building in the city presents its own reading of the city. By doing so, as stated by Gandelsonas, "while the city presents different layers of inscription, architecture adds levels of meaning to the city with its own reading mechanism."⁴⁶

2.1.3 Rewriting the City/Rewriting the Building

The starting moment of architectural rewriting is a reading practice on the city. This act of reading distinguishes architectural rewriting from architectural writing. Rewriting in the form of reading aims at instead of an accurate representation of the city, an act towards changing the city based on 'actual conditions of the city'. Reading as rewriting of the city also leads to get rid of architectural fantasies about exaggerated power of architect and architecture on the city. Therefore, it will open the way of rewriting of architecture itself in the face of the city.

Robert Venturi first revealed his approach to architecture in relation to the city in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* published in 1966.⁴⁷ He further developed his position in *Learning from Las Vegas* with Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. For Venturi, architecture should follow "low art" of the city. He

⁴⁴ Agrest, I. Diana, "Introduction: The city as the unconscious of architecture," op.cit., p.4

⁴⁵ See especially Agrest, I. Diana, "Design versus Non-design" op.cit., pp. 31-65

⁴⁶ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

⁴⁷ Venturi, Robert. *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, second ed., New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977.

argues that architecture should adjust itself to the city by “learning from the city”. According to him, architectural object – especially via its facades – becomes a communication device in the city, thus its symbolic meanings gain a special importance in the context of the city. He severely criticizes “modernist” approach to architecture for the reason that it turns its back to the city and its everyday realities, in other words, to the ordinary. It must be stressed here that what he calls as “ordinary” is, in fact, “popular culture”. He exalts the “ordinary” as a formal vocabulary for architecture, thus it can be said that in his point of view, the interface between architecture and the city is based on the ground of formal vocabulary of popular culture: pop art.

Jane Jacobs concentrates on “how cities work in real life” in her influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* published in 1961. For Jacobs, the city is an immense “laboratory” for architecture to assess its *success* and *failure*. In her view, the essence of the city is social interaction processes. The success of the cities in real life is their ability to generate unexpected events, diversity and vitality within its own “organized disorder.” Modernist architects and planners who perceive “orderlessness” of the city as unaesthetic, irrational and unhealthy follow not realities but myths. Thus, her legitimization ground between architecture and city is not the aesthetic qualities but realities of everyday life. In this context, intervention of architecture to the city, according to Jacobs, should search the ways for promoting the city vitality. In other words, what is problematic is not the city but principles of modernist architecture.⁴⁸

Aldo Rossi criticizes modernist approach to the city, emphasizing that the value of architecture should be assessed with reference to its connection with the city. He extends the architectural notion of “type” to the fabric of the city, and by doing so, he subverts the distinction between “architectural building” and “urban building.”⁴⁹ Rossi studies permanent forms and structure of “urban artifacts.” The essence of the city, from his point of view, is its continuity. Along with history (from ancient city to modern city) all cities have had similar features, especially on the level of street and

⁴⁸ Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961.

⁴⁹ Gandelsonas, Mario. op.cit.

plan. Permanent structures contribute the life in the city and sustain “collective memory”.⁵⁰

Different from these approaches, in Koolhaas’ view, two things gain special importance in reading practice. The first is the Generic typologies, “what exists,” and the second is program, “what happens.” His reading on Manhattan in “Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan” at the same time indicates a rewriting. The main reason of Koolhaas’ interest in the *Generic* is that the *Generic* is an outcome of a direct and unconscious “working” response to *metropolitan condition*. It is a source and repository for architectural thinking on the city standing as a starting point.

2.2 Non-architectural Programming of the Architectural Object

In the context of the city, the ‘object of architecture’ becomes open to any manipulation, transformation and aberration through urban dynamics. Territorial transformations triggered by *metropolitan condition* in urban fabric can be regarded as a manifestation of re-writings of architectural program under the pressure of urban forces. In some cases, urban programs with their tendency toward expansion and instability may erase all tasks of architectural program. The outcome of this erasure is what Koolhaas calls ‘The Generic City’⁵¹.

2.2.1 “The Generic City”

“The Generic City”, employed by Rem Koolhaas, indicates the end of the architectural programming of the city – the end of architectural fantasy.⁵² For Koolhaas, The Generic designates “what is left after identity is stripped”⁵³ from the physical substance. The Generic City deprived of an architectural identity, is an anonymous, authorless and neutral urban environment.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Rossi, Aldo. *The Architecture of the City*. Revised American Edition, ed. by Aldo Rossi and, Peter Eisenman, trans. by Diane Ghirardo, and Joan Ockman. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1982.

⁵¹ Koolhaas, Rem. “The Generic City”, op.cit., pp. 1239-1264

⁵² Ibid., p. 1248

⁵³ Ibid., p.1250

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.1253

“The Generic City” is the very product of urban condition. Its properties are directly determined by cycles of space production and consumption in the city. Its program derives from the very dynamics of the city and depends on a simple principle: “to abandon what doesn’t work – what has outlived its use” and “to accept whatever grows in its place”.⁵⁵ For this reason it is also a “refuge of the illegal, the uncontrollable, and subject of endless manipulation”⁵⁶

Its ‘neutrality’ and ‘blankness’ are products of the substitution of issues of “quantity” by those of “quality”. Its modules are “resilient frames” and boxes for unstable urban programs. They are reduced to infrastructures acting merely as vessels for movements and flows, implying the role of the architecture in the city as a passive agent. On the other hand, its neutrality is at the same time the origins of its apparent chaos and “free style” architecture⁵⁷.

Generic City consists of “an endless repetition of the same simple structural module”.⁵⁸ In case of urbanism of Manhattan, Manhattanism, it is a multi-programmed infrastructure that gains properties of “Bigness” as a pragmatic response to the pressures of *metropolitan condition*. Tendency of urban programs toward expansion in both dimensions generates “the bigness” of neutral boxes of the *Generic Cities*.

2.2.2 Bigness/Scale

“Beyond a certain scale, architecture acquires the properties of Bigness” writes Koolhaas.⁵⁹ On the other hand, ironically, the scale of “Bigness” is left beyond architecture. Building in such a scale can not be controlled and programmed by architecture in accordance with its own canons and precepts.⁶⁰ For Koolhaas, this impossibility provides its parts a relative autonomy. All parts act separately to each other, while maintaining their commitment to the whole.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.1252

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.1253

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.1254,1260, 1264

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.1251

⁵⁹ Koolhaas, Rem. “Bigness”, op.cit., p. 495

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 499

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 500

Technological innovations (such as elevator, electricity, air-conditioning, steel structure) give birth to the building with its urban-like scale. The elevator as a mechanical vertical connector re-writes interior spaces and plans of the building. It lets different vertical connections between floors without architectural intervention. For Koolhaas, then architectural conventional repertoire including issues of composition, scale, proportion, detail becomes useless.⁶²

“What you see is no longer what you get” writes Koolhaas for The Generic typology that acquires the properties of Bigness.⁶³ In this case, exterior surfaces of the building turn to an “envelop” covering the building. “Envelop” gives the building the impression of stability/permanence by concealing the unstable, constantly changing programs inside of the building.⁶⁴ The building with its growing scale and complexity, acts as a city that also causes its separation from the context: from the outside city, its tissue. It does not refer to its context.⁶⁵

Supposed dissolution of architecture, its values and precepts, in its growing scale/complexity stems from its acquired urban characteristics. Bigness demanded by The Generic typology re-invites urban problematic/issues to the “building scale” and to architectural discourse in an ironic manner. For this time, urban program is not only a matter of the “outside” of architecture, but also of architecture itself. “The absence of a theory of Bigness – what is the maximum architecture can do? – is architecture’s most debilitating weakness”⁶⁶ writes Koolhaas. In the case of building-like-city – *a City within a City* – urban programs become issues of architecture itself, and the supposed gap between architectural program and the urban program comes to the scene as not an outcome of discursive exaggeration of power of architectural program. On the contrary, the gap appears as impotence of architectural discourse in the domain of “architecture.”

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 501

⁶⁴ Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994. p.100

⁶⁵ Koolhaas, Rem. “Bigness”, op.cit., p. 502

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 509

Amalgamation of the city with architecture in the building scale thus necessitates re-programmation of architecture in accordance with (re)emergent problematic. The need for re-programmation finds its expression in Koolhaas words: “because there is no theory of Bigness, we don’t know what to do with it, we don’t know where to put it, we don’t know when to use it, we don’t know how plan it. Big mistakes are our only connection to Bigness.”⁶⁷

2.2.3 Reading Skyscraper and Grid Plan

Modernist discourses on the city about the control of urban conditions and domestication of the city can be classified in two groups: non-urban fantasies (in the form of garden city based on the metaphor of an organism), urban fantasies (based on the metaphor of a machine) besides them, there is also the model of “American city” appeared as the best example of *The Generic City* in Koolhaas’ reading of Manhattan.⁶⁸

Whereas architects have proposed totalizing designs in Europe since the Renaissance, most of the constructions of “American City” is driven by “the non-architectural urban fantasies” giving way to its grid plan and skyscrapers. The difference between the models is that models of Europe are devoted to combine architecture with the city under the authority of architecture (primacy of architecture over the city), on the other hand, models of America serve not to incorporate but to separate the two fields. This separation leads to a “mutant architecture” in the form of the skyscraper. Koolhaas reads Manhattan as a successful resolution of dichotomy between the permanence of architecture and instability of metropolis⁶⁹.

Grid plan of Manhattan as a pragmatic schema serves for separation of architecture from the city and city planning. For Tafuri, the grid plan is the great historical merit of American city planning that was proposed as early as the mid-eighteenth

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 509, 510

⁶⁸ GUST (Ghent Urban Studies Team) ed. “Introduction,” *The Urban Condition: Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999. p.17 They explain the distinction with the terms of *modern city* and *modernist city*.

⁶⁹ Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, op.cit., p. 296

century.⁷⁰ Koolhaas describes the Manhattan grid as a method that is “least limiting and most enabling”, “a combination of two-dimensional discipline and an almost independent potential freedom of expression in the third dimension.”⁷¹ With grid plan, architecture is free to explore the most diverse expressions. It guarantees the figurative liberty of architectural object and provides “a simple, flexible support for an urban structure to be safeguarded in its continual transformation”.⁷²

Skyscrapers of Manhattan propose a degree of flexibility in order to accommodate constantly changing urban programs that erase any traces of architectural programming. In another words, at the price of loss of its “quality”, it maintains its permanence in the face of metropolis. For Koolhaas, Its success depends on certain architectural elements and strategies. They are: its “typical plan”⁷³, its “Bigness”, and its “envelop”.

Koolhaas describes “typical plan” as “an environment that demanded nothing and gave everything”.⁷⁴ The typical plan of skyscrapers is “zero-degree architecture”, “the plan without qualities”. It creates a territory for unfolding of events with a bounded void. A circulation shaft in a minimal size is located at the center of the plan in order to supply maximum space and light for the rest of the space.

With its sectional “Bigness”, it accommodates different and autonomous programs on different floors. Its disconnected floors *independently* accommodate an urban program that is called as “schism” by Koolhaas.⁷⁵ Envelop separates the exterior from interior so that any transformation in interior does not effect its exterior surface and its structure. That is called “lobotomy” by Koolhaas.⁷⁶

⁷⁰Tafari, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, op.cit., p. 38

⁷¹Koolhaas, Rem. “Tabula Rasa revised,” *S,M,L,XL*, op.cit., p. 1123

⁷²Tafari, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Ibid.

⁷³Koolhaas, Rem. “Typical Plan,” *S,M,L,XL*, op.cit., p. 346-335

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 346

⁷⁵Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, op.cit., p. 105

⁷⁶Ibid., p.100

What Koolhaas manifests as urbanism of Manhattan, an environment that is composed of autonomous parts - “archipelago.” Metropolitan instability is tolerated by these isolated parts. Within such flexible structure, diversity and instability of programs coexist in the same structure without disturbing each other or overall physical structure. This is the “unconscious” program of “Manhattanism.”⁷⁷

2.3 Program and Infrastructure

Koolhaas defines program as “simple interest in what happens”.⁷⁸ Metropolitan instability operates on the program of the built environment. It leads to diverse and unstable programs in the city that architecture is supposed to house them. In such condition, 19th or the early 20th century functionalism loses its validity.

Instability of metropolitan condition brings about difficult task for architecture. Because of the fact that when a building, designed for a particular purpose, is materialized in the city, no one can predict its future uses. The building in the city becomes “open” to city. Thus an effort towards predetermination of “functions” and isolation of them in relation to certain categories are useless in current conditions.⁷⁹

Re-programmation of architecture in relation to metropolitan instability, in fact, actually realizes in existing structures of the city, which are generic structures. If bridging the gap between ideals of architecture and metropolitan environment is the task in front of the architecture, architecture should learn from the city, from the working principles manifested in generic structures. And then it should search for strategies “to combining architectural specificity with programmatic instability.”⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 296

⁷⁸ Rem Koolhaas, “Elegy For The Vacant Lot,” *S,M,L,XL*, op.cit., p. 937

⁷⁹ Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, op.cit., p. 85 and also see. Tschumi, Bernard. *Architecture and Disjunction*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994. p. 21. He says “....in our contemporary societies, programs are by definition unstable. Few can decide what a school or a library should be or how electronic it should be, and perhaps fewer can agree on what a park in the twenty-first century should consist of. Whether cultural or commercial, programs have long ceased to be determinate, since they change all the time – while the building is designed, during its construction, and of course, after completion.” And he adds “What has been true for very large buildings (the ever-changing use of warehouses of the new generation of American “big footprint” skyscrapers) also applies to the smallest constructions. There is no longer a causal relationship between buildings and their use, and, of course, their very improbable meaning.”

⁸⁰ 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 emphasizes the role of the program. He sees ‘program’ as the engine of a project that drives the logic of form and organization in relation to the changing demands of society.⁸¹

Infrastructure refers to base structures that can offer a framework for developing flexible uses as needs and desires changed. When the old conception of direct relationship between form and function loses its validity, a search for infrastructures that can tolerate unstable programs and permit unexpected co-existence of diverse programs comes to forth. Thus the very task of a sufficient infrastructure is to “provide a resilient structure that can withstand the unpredictable political and economic pressures that architect and urban designers rarely able to influence”⁸²

Infrastructure is a staging ground for unfolding of future events. Alex Wall writes that “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.”⁸³ According to Wall because of such new conditions, architects and planners are forced to modify their understanding of urban projects. In Wall’s words, “a renewed concern with infrastructure, services, mobility, and with the provision of flexible, multifunctional surfaces promises a revitalized role for the design professions.”⁸⁴

Metropolitan condition employed by Koolhaas takes the place of “urban context”. In fact, this shift in terminology indicates a wider phenomenon. Urban as a process composed of social, cultural and economic forces (urban processes) do not only compose the very context of architecture but also it “conditions” architecture, giving architecture its form and content. *Metropolitan condition* does not refer to a physical

Rem Koolhaas, *Architecture 1970-1990*, ed. Jacques Lucan, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991, p. 98

⁸¹ Please see. Rem Koolhaas, “Elegy For The Vacant Lot,” *S,M,L,XL*, op.cit.

⁸² Wall, Alex. “Programming the Urban Surface”, *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*, ed. by James Corner, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999, p. 238.

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 234

agglomeration; rather it refers to the forces, processes, and circumstances. It can be said that there is a contradictory relationship between metropolitan condition and urban context. When a building succeeds in being compatible with the unstable urban condition, it fails in its relation to physical urban context.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Koolhaas, Rem. “Bigness”, op.cit., p. 502

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF YENİŞEHİR: FROM “NEW CITY” TO “GENERIC CITY”

Gandelsonas conceives the city as “inscription of both permanent traces and the possibility of their erasure.” According to him, contradictory requirements of “permanence” and “erasure” characterize the city. He mentions three levels of change in terms of “permanence” and “erasure”. The first level is building. It is always open to changes and manipulations. The second level is the urban plan. He argues that urban plan is the most permanent level and the third is level of social and cultural forces, of practices and institutions. The third level, level of “urban condition,” does not only act on other two levels, but also it is the ground and condition of their realization.⁸⁶

This chapter explains the history of the traces that survive and that has been erased or re-written on *Yenisehir* with reference to urban condition. It concentrates especially on the transformations in the case of the study most part of which had studied in a historical perspective from 1939 to 1977 by Gönül Evyapan.⁸⁷

The case study of this thesis examines two urban blocks in *Yenişehir*, which were built after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Outlines of the urban blocks and general street pattern in this urban section were determined by *Lörcher Plan* in 1925, and maintained in a great amount by 1928 *Jansen Plan* and 1955 *Yücel-Uybadin Plan*. Similarly, there have been only minor changes on the outlines of the two

⁸⁶ Gandelsonas, Mario. “The City as the Object of Architecture”, *Assemblage*, Issue 37, 1998, pp. 144-128. Obtained from [Internet, WWW, Database], Available: Academic Search Premier Database from EbscoHOST.ADDRESS:<http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=1632147> [Accessed: 10 May 2005]

⁸⁷ Evyapan, Gönül A. *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekanların Değişimi*, Ankara: ODTÜ, 1980

selected urban blocks since the *Lörher Plan*. However, building stocks on this area has changed great amount.



Figure 3.1: The case study area, urban blocks 1083 and 1082, in 2005

3.1. New City: Yenişehir between 1920s and 1950s

Planning and construction of Ankara as the new capital city of Turkey was a social as well as an architectural project.⁸⁸ Architecture and planning were employed for materialization of the visions and ideals of the Early Republic.⁸⁹ Ankara would reflect the spatial logic of the nation-state and modern way of living. Thus driven forces of its construction was modernist outlook of planning and architecture. Plan as the ideology of modernist outlook introduced by Tafuri⁹⁰ was the new task that embraces planned development, planned growth and planned constructions.

⁸⁸ Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: (1929-1939)*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993, p. 44

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.45

⁹⁰ Tafuri, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*. Massachusetts: MIT Press. 1976. (Originally published in Italian in 1973)

Kızılay/Yenişehir was one of the first places where modernist planning principles were executed.⁹¹

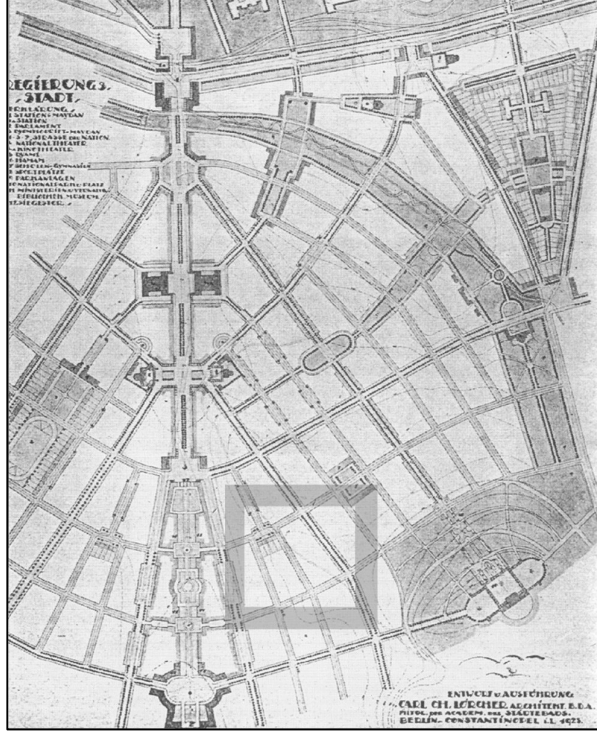


Figure 3.2: 1925 Lörcher New City Plan. The plan is documented by Ali Cengizkan. Two selected urban blocks for the case study is marked by the square

The first step directed to construction of the “new city” was the foundation of *Ankara Municipality* in 16 February 1924 after the plan was ordered in 1923.⁹² Then 400 hectare area was expropriated in 13 December 1924.⁹³ However, the plan used 150 hectare area of the whole expropriated area. Within the scope of *Lörcher Plan*, *Yenişehir* was planned for administrative and housing accommodation for the members of the parliament.⁹⁴ The plan proposed a low-density residence area with one or two story villas in large gardens in accordance with the principles of *Garden*

⁹¹ Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı & Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2004

And Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: (1929-1939)*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993. Also see. Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, der. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, pp. 135-118.

⁹² Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, op.cit. pp. 15, 36

⁹³ Ibid., p. 52,53

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.26

City and the City Beautiful Movements which are also effective in the general planning decisions of *Lörcher Plan*.⁹⁵

The built housing district in *Yenişehir* was criticized for its inability to create a vital urban life. For instance, according to Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, basic characteristics of the housing district were “silence and solitude.”⁹⁶ These residences were expensive and their architecture was unfamiliar and artificial with their towers and wide eaves. There were at least forty-fifty meters between the houses so that sense of neighborhood could not be generated. Each house was like a castle in their separate gardens.⁹⁷

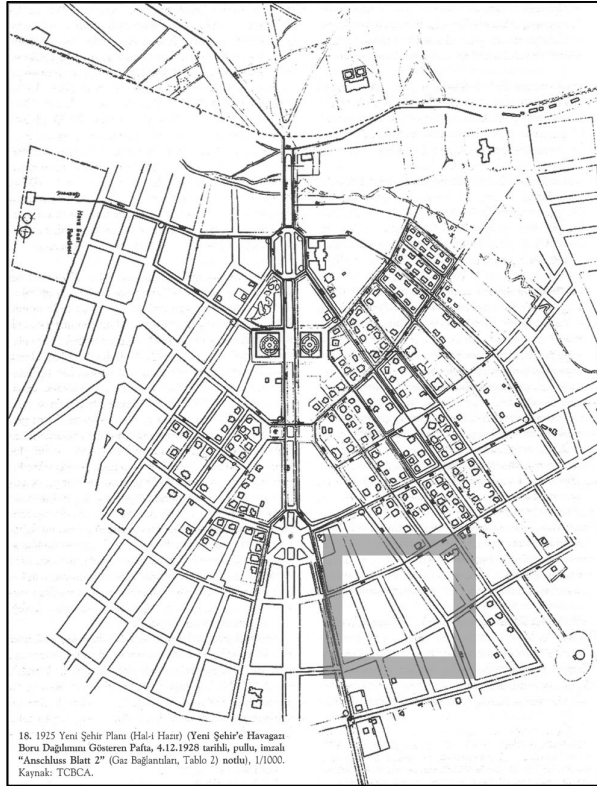


Figure 3.3: the plan demonstrating existing state of Yenişehir in 1928. (The plan was prepared for planning of the gas distribution.. It is documented by Ali Cengizkan) The case study area is marked by the square.

⁹⁵ Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, op.cit. pp. 43, 48

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.96

⁹⁷ Evyapan, Gönül A. *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekanların Değişimi*, op.cit., p.30

Within the *Lörcher Plan*, a small square was planned in front of the urban block with number 1083. However, it cannot be found in the plan that shows the existing state of the area in 1928. As far as the plan in 1928 demonstrates, in 1928 there was not any built residence yet in the urban blocks with number 1082 and 1083.

The population of Ankara in 1926 was 47 727, in 1927 it was 74533, and in 1928 it reached to 107 641. On the other hand, city was planned for the population of 200 000 in the scope of *Lörcher Plan*.⁹⁸ Such speed of population growth could not be anticipated thus preparation of a new plan became a necessity.⁹⁹ A competition was hold in 1928. In the same year Construction Administration (İmar Müdürlüğü) was founded with an independent budget in order to direct the construction activity in *Ankara*.¹⁰⁰ In 1929, the plan of Herman Jansen was selected. It was approved in 1932 then put in practice in 1934.¹⁰¹

For the competition, the maintenance of the main decisions of *Lörcher Plan* for *Yenişehir*, and existing state of the built fabric in this area were demanded from the three planners who were invited as participants.¹⁰² However, Göksu writes that Jansen complained about the small parcels stemmed from the implication of previous plan.¹⁰³ Jansen Plan increased the density of the *Yenişehir* while he maintained the majority of the outlines of the *Lörcher Plan*. The plan proposed the right of ground floor + three floor + attic for the villas in *Yenişehir*.¹⁰⁴

In 1934, according to the plan documented by Gönül Evyapan, there were several buildings which were separated from each other in the urban block 1083 and its surroundings. On the other hand, *Jansen Plan* brought forth to the area the obligation of block order so that except the built residence, new residences in this area would be built in the block order. The proposed order of the urban block remains nearly the same until now except the growth in the buildings' size.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, op.cit. p. 47

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.73

¹⁰⁰ Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkentin İmarı: (1929-1939)*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993, p. 72

¹⁰¹ Göksu, Sezai, "Yenişehir: Ankara'da Bir İmar Öyküsü," *Kent, Planlama, Politika, Sanat*, ed. İlhan Tekeli, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1994, p.261

¹⁰² Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Ibid., p.76

¹⁰³ Göksu, Sezai., Ibid., p. 260

¹⁰⁴ Cengizkan, Ali. Ibid., p. 76

¹⁰⁵ Evyapan, Gönül A. Ibid.

In the report prepared for the *Jansen Plan*, the most uncertain decision was about the location of commercial activities. The report did not even mention this. Tankut writes that according to Jansen the center of the city was *Ankara Castle*. He conceived the idea of the center in terms of physical and visual entity, instead of a functional organization. In the project prepared in 1928, the vast area between *the boulevard, İstasyon Avenue* and the railway station was reserved for the commercial activities. However, in the decisive construction plan 1932, *Gençlik Park* was located to the area instead of commercial activities.¹⁰⁶

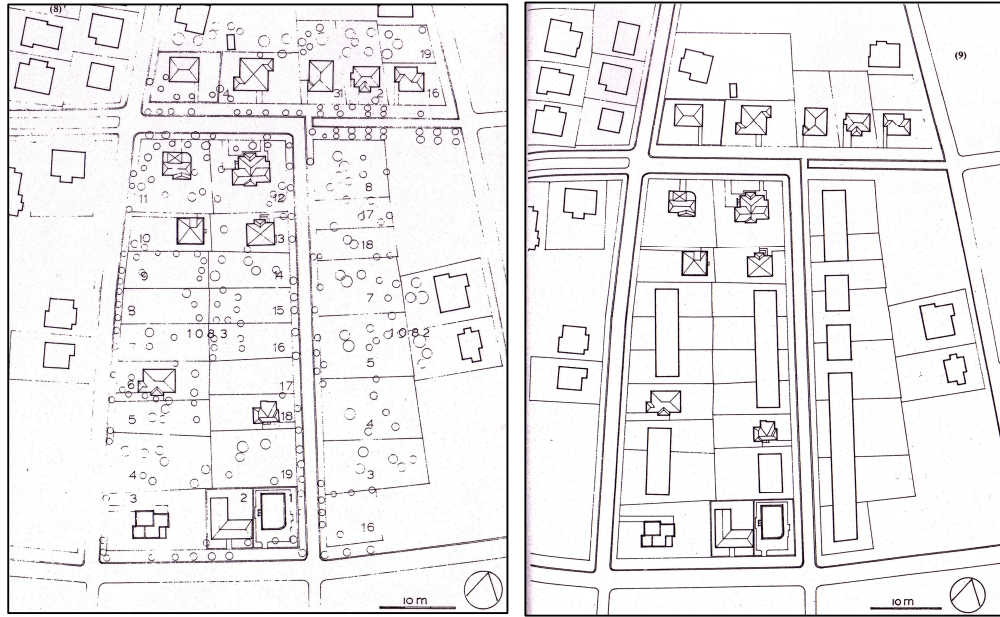


Figure 3.4: On the left, existing state of urban block 1083 and its surrounding in 1934. On the right, Plan proposed by Jansen for the same urban block in 1934. The plans are documented by Gönül Evyapan.

During this period southern part of the *Atatürk Boulevard* did not accommodate commercial activities. And demands in this direction were refused by *İmar İdare Heyeti*. Göksu suggests two reasons for this refusal. Firstly, *Yenişehir* was planned for residential purposes and other basic activities were located in *Ulus*. Secondly, this area was at the opposite of government buildings and it was planned as a representational space of the new Republic. Commercial programs would disturb this

¹⁰⁶ Tankut, Gönül. Ibid., pp. 79-80

representational character of this area. However, commercial buildings responding the needs of *Yenişehir* was allowed to be located at the north of the *Boulevard* including the area between *Sıhhiye* and *Havuz Başı* in 1933.¹⁰⁷

According to the agreement, the plan was going to be prepared for the population of 300 000, comprising a fifty year period. However, as Gönül Tankut has argued, the plan was prepared for 150 000 people and comprised a twenty year period. Along with the following years after the plan began to be carried out, population of *Ankara* increased rapidly that also resulted in the increase in the land prices. Thus urbanization of *Ankara* transcended the limits of the plan. In a sense, such results stem from the characteristics of Jansen plan which is devoid of flexibility and close to growth.¹⁰⁸

Gönül Evyapan examines spatial transformations in terms of building-open area ratio through the documents, in the particular sections and plans taken from the archives of Construction Administration (İmar Müdürlüğü) in the urban block 1083 and a part of the urban blocks with number 1082 and 1066. She divides the period as 1927-1939, 1939-1959, and 1959-1977. The plans and sections of this district in 1939 represent the end of *the first rapid building activity period*. Those of 1959 represent *the era of additional buildings* that were rapidly constructed through the enlargement of existing buildings. Drawings of 1977, on the other hand, represent *the rebuilding period* of *Ankara*.¹⁰⁹ She writes that the alterations of building stocks in this district were due to the increase in population, land speculation, and the market realities.¹¹⁰

In 1930s, modernist architecture became the dominant face of *Yenişehir*. According to Sibel Bozdoğan, modernist movement in architecture found its reflections in Turkish context by the “cubic” architecture of *Yenişehir*, which was largely interpreted at the time as a new architectural vocabulary rather than a new rationale. She argues that modernist architecture of this period was appreciated as a “key word” and a symbol, which was legitimized in relation with the project of the Turkish Republic. Thus, the conception of modernist architecture as mere a formal

¹⁰⁷ Göksu, Sezai., *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 262

¹⁰⁸ Tankut, Gönül. *Ibid.*, p. 32

¹⁰⁹ Evyapan, Gönül. *op.cit.*

¹¹⁰ Evyapan, Gönül. *op.cit.*, pp. 22-25

vocabulary prevented its potential to become a critical and a generative force in the city.¹¹¹



Figure 3.5: Existing state of the urban block with number 1083 and its surrounding in 1939. The ground level plan is documented and drawn by Gönül Evyapan.

Such a socially programmed introduction of modern movement to the Turkish context gave way to exaggeration of the role of architect as a social agent. For architects of early republic, modernist architecture was “one way road” leads to rapture between the Ottoman imperial past and republican Turkey. Architects were seen as bearer of the new culture and representative of civilization. Modernist movement was conceived in conjunction with Kemalist principles and project of the republic. Thus the profession of architecture gained an additional credit and reliability.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, der. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p.120

¹¹² Ibid., p. 123

3.2 “Generic City”: Yenişehir between 1950s and 1980s

1950s indicate a shift in the history of the cities in Turkey in accordance with social and economic developments. Liberal economy politics gained validity in all fields. Meanwhile, private sector gained importance in cities and modernization of agriculture resulted in an immigration from rural areas to cities. Urbanization process speeded up along with the growth of population in cities.¹¹³ At the beginning of the 1950s, the population growth reached 300 000 which, according to the Jansen Plan, was going to be reached in 1980s. Along with 1950s, centers of the cities experienced a constant population growth, processes of demolition and reconstruction, decrease in the green areas in great amount, and insufficiency of existing infrastructures.¹¹⁴

Therefore it can be said that the city continued to change more rapidly than the foresights of the planners. In order to respond to the population growth and increasing demands, to add one more floor to the buildings was allowed. In the course of 1950s Yenişehir began to acquire a multi-programmed character and demand of rise of the building and its pressure on plans increased. With the decision made in 1952, Yenisehir becomes as one of the centers of the city, and number of floors of the buildings in this area increase from three to four. According to Göksu, for these reasons 1950s was the period in which Jansen Plan lost its validity for the built environment.¹¹⁵ And the image of “Garden City” proposed by Lörcher (Plan) was about to disappear giving its place to an image of “The Generic City”.

In 1955, the project of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadın won the competition held for a new plan for Ankara. This plan was put into practice in 1957. Until this year, increase in allowed numbers of floors continued. In 1957 the second great construction activity started because of the fact that allowed height of buildings along with the boulevard reached 23.00 meters¹¹⁶. *Atatürk Boulevard* at that time was

¹¹³ Tekeli, İlhan. “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, der. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p.148

¹¹⁴ Tekeli, İlhan. “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması”, *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed., by Yıldız Sey, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p. 16

¹¹⁵ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., p. 263

¹¹⁶ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., p. 264

a strolling path of citizens, and *Kızılay Square* was the one of most popular public spaces. The square was still the place of meeting, and entertainment.¹¹⁷

After the beginning of implementation of the Plan of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadın, in 1959, the first deviation from the plan occurred with the decision of a new increase in the number of floors. The decisions to increase the density were taken in spite of the planners' oppositions. In 1968 another decision of increase in the numbers of floors of the buildings gave rise to a new period of construction thus it can be said that within fifty years this area was renovated three times.¹¹⁸

Göksu writes that in the case of Yenışehir, the idea of a new housing suggested in the midst of 1925, turned into a new city center especially within 60s. This transformation in programmatic structure went hand in hand with a series of decisions that suggested an increase of floors. For Göksu, existing physical capacity of the area could not support the burden of pressure stemmed from these additional increases in floors on account of its crumbled pattern of property.¹¹⁹

Evyapan writes that after 1935, especially in 1950s additions to the existing buildings were built in Yenışehir. In 1959 existing buildings got old and became insufficient to house increased population and economic demands of landowners. Thus additional buildings or (vertical) additions to the floors of the existing building stock were built in order to sustain insufficient service functions and accommodate increased population. The additional artifacts served for the transformation of the buildings into rental houses in the form of apartment block.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., p. 265

¹¹⁸ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., p. 265

¹¹⁹ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., p. 268

¹²⁰ Evyapan, Gönül. op.cit., p. 37



Figure 3.6: Existing state of the urban block with number 1083 and its surrounding in 1959. The ground level plan is documented and drawn by Gönül Evyapan.

According to İlhan Tekeli, the most problematic issue of the period was housing shortage.¹²¹ The apartment block is one of the outcomes of this period, stemming from emergent housing shortage. For Tekeli, driving forces of the housing shortage in these years were the accelerated speed of urbanization and population growth caused by immigration, land speculation and inadequate planning processes.¹²²

¹²¹ Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, ed., by Yıldız Sey, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p. 13

¹²² Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye'de Konut Politikaları," *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 03/1998, p. 72

3.2.1 Apartment Block



Figure 3.7: *Les valeurs personnelles* (Personal Values), by René Magritte, 1952.

Abdi Güzer writes that ‘apartment block’ has a great variety of connotations in the architectural context of Turkey; it is “the name of the residence, a type of a building that is built in the greatest number, the dominant face of the architecture in cities, a planning approach based on property rights and a project scale with which, architecture the most faces”.¹²³

Etymological root of “apartment” is most associated with collective inhabitation. The apartment “house” comes from French *appartement*, the Italian is *appartamento*. “Appartare” means separate. Thus for Mark Kakatansky, “apartment” connotes simultaneously both being “a part of” and being “apart from”. And as a housing type composed of uniform units for each user who have different life styles, it always oscillates between these two opposite poles.¹²⁴

After the Second World War, as a response to the problem of housing shortage, three ways of solution appeared. They were: “gecekondu”, apartment blocks of “builder-and- seller”¹²⁵ and housing complexes of cooperatives. Apartment blocks gave the

¹²³ Güzer, C. Abdi. “ ‘Apartman’ üzerine denemeler”, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 03/1998, p. 96

¹²⁴ Kakatansky, Mark. “A/Partments”, *Assemblage*, Apr98 Issue 35, p.1 (article obtained from METU e-library resources, given page number belongs to this digital copy).

¹²⁵ “Builder-and-seller” is an individual developer who makes an agreement with the owner of the land for giving him a number of flats in response to the price of the land. “Builder-and-seller” then,

middle income group the opportunity to have their own residence. Realization of this type of housing presentation required legal regulation for the flat ownership and a mechanism for gathering of the people who purchase for housing in order to pay high land prices. This mechanism was build-and-sell mechanism which was directed by a small scaled individual developer, so-called “builder-and-seller”. And necessary regulation permitting the flat ownership came to forth in 1948 then was enacted in 1965.¹²⁶

For Güzer, apartment block is, in fact, a typology produced by planners, and it reflects a planning mentality that considers each kind of enclosed object as an apartment block. It is a direct translation of three dimensional property rights to a building form for the purpose of maximizing the profit acquired from the land.¹²⁷ Thus its typology stems from short-term economic expectations and the regulations for private ownership of the land, rather than “functional requirements”. Here, the task of the architectural program is replaced by the objective of “building the largest area in the shortest time period, and in the cheapest way”.¹²⁸

Apartment block as a product of a mind-set in which the essential thing is the frame/box that determines the boundaries of property, the rest is – left-over spaces – so-called “green and urban spaces”.¹²⁹ The same rationale gives birth to strictly defined spaces of apartment block as well as ill-defined spaces of side yards and backyards.

Basic elements of an apartment block are its concrete frame, staircase, shafts and elevator. Elevator promotes its rise more than four floors. As a residential building typology, it is generally composed of more than one unit. Each unit has a simple schema organized in uniform patterns without any concern for particular life-styles. The units are organized symmetrically in order to distribute equal amount of space to each unit. The core of the building embraces staircases and elevator for vertical

takes the necessary permissions for construction and he begins to sell the apartment blocks during the construction process. Thus he accomplishes the construction of apartment block with a limited capital, while all of the process of construction by “builder-and-seller” is a legal activity; its social legitimacy has been questioned.

¹²⁶ Tekeli, İlhan. “Türkiye’de Konut Politikaları,” op.cit., p. 72

¹²⁷ Güzer, C. Abdi. “ ‘Apartman’ üzerine denemeler”, op.cit., p. 96

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.99

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.96

circulation, a public hall/corridor for horizontal circulation and shafts for air conditioning. Minimum area is assigned for the services and the circulation due to supply for the units a space in maximum size. The core of the block is located in the center of the plan. Likewise in each apartment unit, private service functions are organized along with the core of the building due to supply for residual living spaces maximum space and light. The unit is planned for a nuclear family with its two rooms, one sitting room, a kitchen and a bath and toilet. Despite its strictly defined spaces with its attached functions, its reinforced concrete frame *would* make the plan open to any manipulation of their users especially after 1980s.

In fact, this typology was conceived as a symbol of the western way of living. On the other hand, within its invasion process to all cities of Turkey, apartment block acts as machine to increase the rent gained from urban land. As a result of the “endless repetition” of apartment blocks, which is called as “apartmentization” (apartmanlaşma) process, all cities began to resemble each other. Each city became a “generic city” losing its own architectural peculiarities. Apartmentization process was so rapid that within a short period of time, there were no differences between *Adapazarı* and *Erzurum*, or *Konya*.¹³⁰

In 1977, apartment block was the dominant face of *Yenişehir*. According to the 1977 plan documented by Gönül Evyapan, apartment blocks took place of the additions and the old buildings in the urban block with number 1083 and its surrounding. The area covered by buildings increased great amount through the vertical and horizontal dimensions. On the other hand divisions of parcels remained nearly the same, except for wide ones that were divided into smaller parcels. Outlines of the urban blocks and street widths except *Meşrutiyet Caddesi* remained the same. Also order of the buildings was maintained. However, within the same infrastructure, dimensions of the buildings increased in great amount that caused unhealthy conditions in terms of building-open area ratio for Gönül Evyapan.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Sey, Yıldız. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,” *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed., by Yıldız Sey, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, pp. 273-300

¹³¹ Evyapan, A. Gönül, op.cit., pp. 73-77



Figure 3.8: Existing state of the urban block with number 1083 and its surrounding in 1977. The ground level plan is documented and drawn by Gönül Evyapan.

Gönül Evyapan mentions that during this period, the transformation in the use of buildings from housing to commercial and office-type use speeded up. She explains the transformation in the activity structure of this area writing that because of its location near the boulevard and the *Kızılay* city center, more amount of rent with office-type use could be acquired. On the other hand, this transformation itself triggers in turn the decrease in housing.¹³²

Another point which can be read from the plan is that while the amount of *void* in terms of open spaces decreases, the ground level plans signifies “another” birth of the *void* in enclosed spaces. The erasure of the plans is striking in 1977 ground level plan. According to Gönül Evyapan, the ground floor of the apartment blocks was allocated for the purpose of auto park usage “on the official plans.” On the other hand, all of the ground floors of the blocks used for commercial purposes actually. Thus indeterminacy of which program is accommodated by these volumes lead to the *typical plans* that were left “empty.” This *void* would become the origin of the

¹³² Ibid., p. 73

mutations that all floors of the blocks will experience especially from 1980s to 2000s.

3.3. Yenışehir After 1980s

Within the 1980s, Turkey began to be effected by dynamics of globalization.¹³³ The distribution of population and capital was re-organized by global economic and political forces. More than half of the population in Turkey began to live in cities. Especially with the beginning of the 1990s, centers of cities expanded while getting diversified and dispersed.¹³⁴

On the other hand, a new plan prepared by *Ankara Nazım Bürosu*, which was founded in 1969, was approved in 1982. In the plan the direction of urbanization was determined towards the western corridor of the city. Places which are located in the north-west side of the *Ulus*, such as *İskitler*, *Akköprü*, *Kazıkıçibostanları* were decided to be renovated. This plan decreased the congestion in *Yenişehir*, however *Yenişehir* remained to be an important center of Ankara. In addition to these, the core of the center spread out towards *Tunalı Hilmi* sub-center.¹³⁵

In accordance with the implications of liberal economy policies and the shift in investment of the government from industrial to service sector resulted in a growth in service sector and its invasion of city centers. Big super markets, shopping centers and high office buildings become one face of the city centers. The other face of the centers is composed of the transformed and mutated existing building stocks of these centers. As Ayten argues, transformation of *Kızılay* in terms of use is one of the reflections of this economic and political atmosphere.¹³⁶

¹³³ Şengül, H. Tarık, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: kapitalist kentleşme süreçleri üzerine yazılar*, İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 2001, p. 89

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Göksu, Sezai., op.cit., pp. 266-267

¹³⁶ Ayten, Asım Mustafa. *Konuttan İşyerine Dönüşüm Süreci: Ankara “Kızılay” Örneği*, Doktora Tezi, Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi (Kent ve Çevre Bilimleri) Anabilim dalı, Ankara Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2002. pp. 169-170

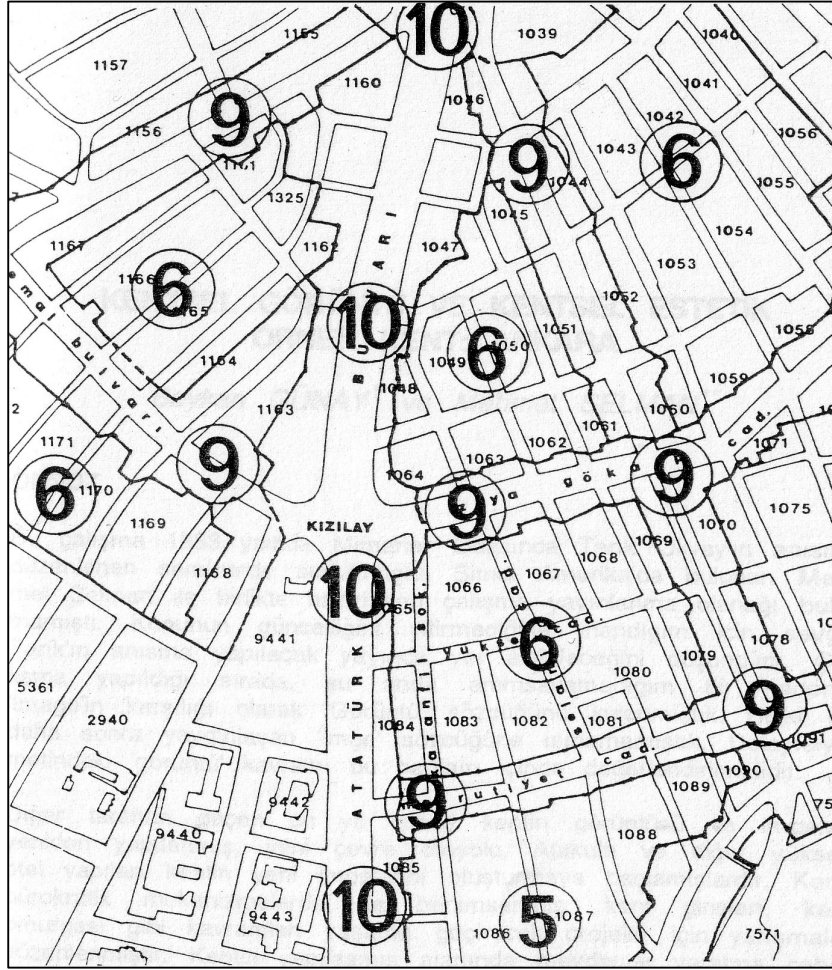


Figure 3.9: Ankara Region Floor Order Plan (Ankara Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı).

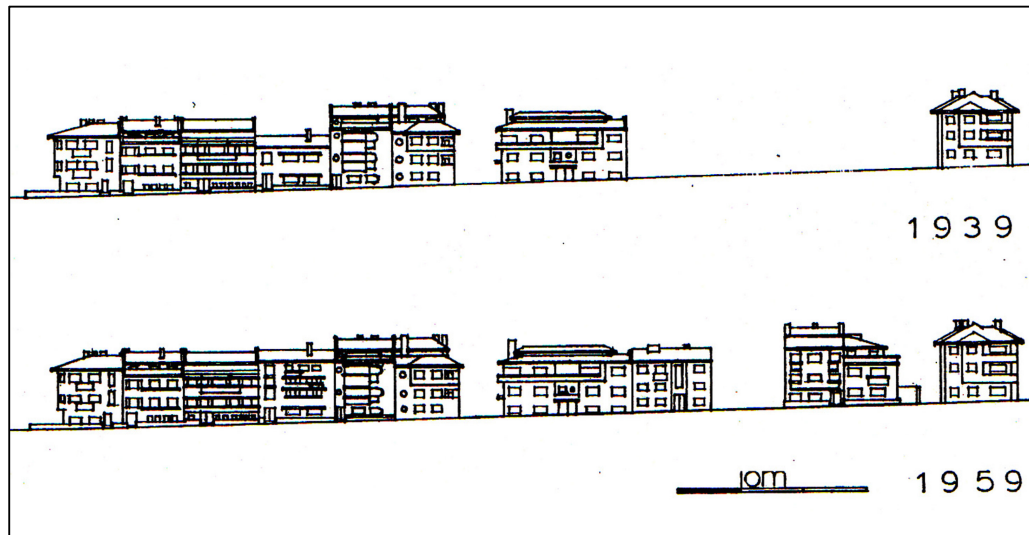


Figure 3.10: Facades of the buildings (in 1939 and 1959) in the urban block with number 1082, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by Gönül Evyapan.

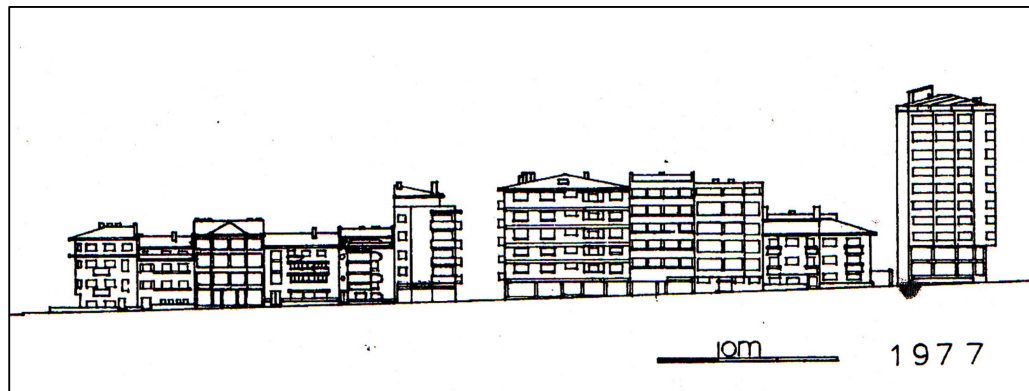


Figure 3.11: Facades of the buildings (in 1977) in the urban block with number 1082, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by Gönül Evyapan.

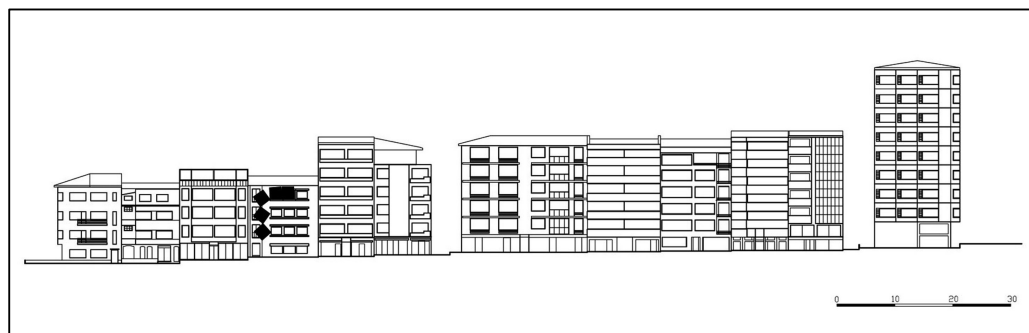


Figure 3.12: Facades of the buildings in the urban block with number 1082, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by the author in January, 2006.

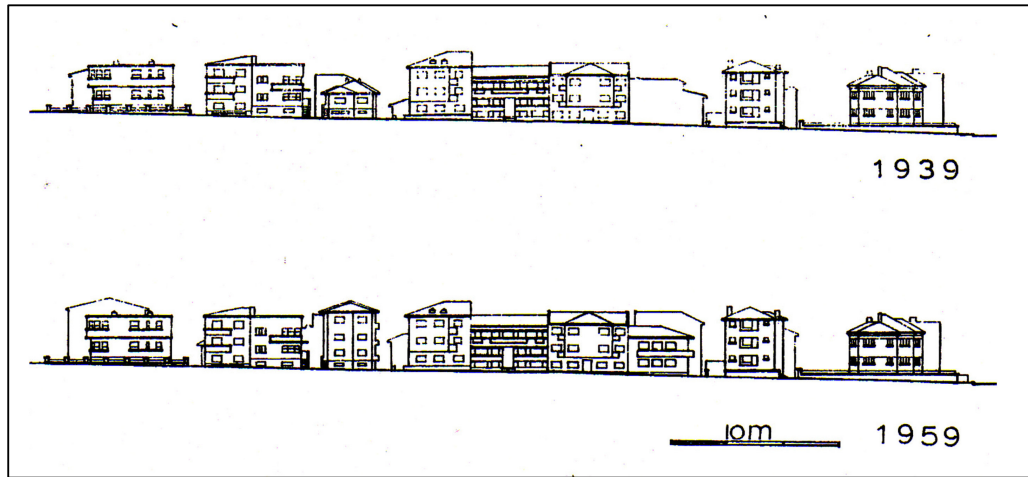


Figure 3.13: Facades of the buildings (in 1939 and 1959) in the urban block with number 1083, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by Gönül Evyapan.

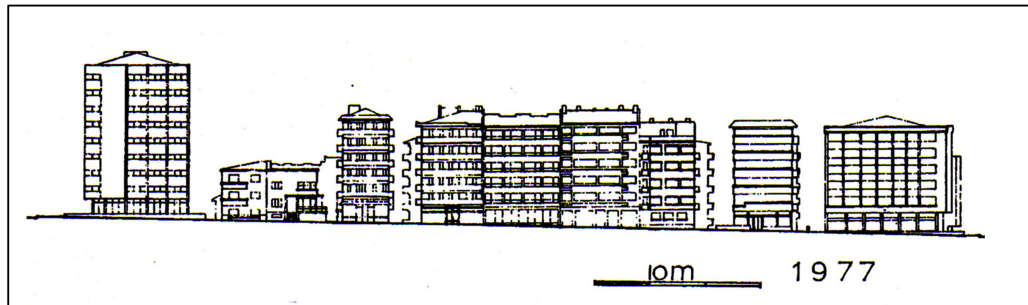


Figure 3.14: Facades of the buildings (in 1977) in the urban block with number 1083, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by Gönül Evyapan.



Figure 3.15: Facades of the buildings in the urban block with number 1083, from *Konur Street*, drawn and documented by the author in January, 2006.

CHAPTER 4

READING KIZILAY/YENİŞEHİR: PROGRAMMATIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN CORE

We were making sand castles.
Now we swim in the sea that swept them away.¹³⁷



Figure 4.1: Aerial photograph of *Karanfil Street*. From Baykan Günay's archive.

It has already been noted that the product of the policies of 1980s in terms of cities is not only the hotels with five stars, shopping malls and huge commercial centers; or office buildings with atriums. Within this period, cities have been experiencing a great change that is not restricted with new building typologies. Especially, centers of cities turn into highly dynamic and changing geographies. At this point, existing

¹³⁷ Koolhaas, Rem. "What Ever Happened to Urbanism." S,M,L,XL, op.cit., p.971

generic agglomeration of city centers becomes the very scene of this re-writing of the urban spaces. These writings of urban condition can be regarded as destruction as well as a re-structuring process of cities. The case study of the thesis has been selected from such a dynamic context. On the two urban blocks located in Kızılay, I will read the ongoing modifications which serve to tolerate the new task introduced to the architecture *in the city by the city*.

4.1. Contemporary Situation of Konur Street and Its Vicinity

According to Asım Mustafa Ayten the year when Kızılay's transformation from domestic area to a place of leisure and working began in 1980. He mentions that it is impossible to give a certain date for the transformation in the programmatic structure of the built environment. He regards the law of flat ownership accepted in 1965 as a crucial date, which allowed the accommodation of commercial activities in apartment blocks. On the other hand, for him, especially liberal policies of 1980 were more effective on the transformation of the district.¹³⁸

Commercial and service sectors in the form of middle-scale companies are the dominant figures of the new programmatic structure of the area. For Ayten, these companies can increase their capital via further investments. The constant tendency to spatial expansion is a reflection of their demand for capital accumulation and enlarging the scale of the company.¹³⁹

The two urban blocks studied in this thesis have a great variety in their programs: housing, office, storage, warehouse, restaurant, doctor's office, laboratory, bookstore, shop, cafe, bar, fast-food restaurant, private school/course, bank, hairdresser, tailor, social and political associations and etc. All these diverse programs co-exist in the interiors of apartment blocks and their surrounding environment.

¹³⁸ Ayten, Asım Mustafa. Konuttan İşyerine Dönüşüm Süreci: Ankara "Kızılay" Örneği, Doktora Tezi, Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Bilimi (Kent ve Çevre Bilimleri) Anabilim dalı, Ankara Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2002.p.188

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.169

In the studied part of *Konur Sokak* (from *Yüksel Sokak* to *Meşrutiyet Caddesi*) social and cultural programs and activities related with entertainment and recreation intensify especially on the ground and first floors of apartment blocks which are easy to reach. *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* and *Mimarlar Odası* play an active constitutive role in the cultural and social atmosphere of *Konur Sokak*.

Upper floors are preferred by doctors, architects and lawyers, financial adviser's and engineering firms as their private offices. It has been observed that doctors' offices intensify along with the roads that are open to traffic. Private schools/courses intensify especially in urban block number 1083. Private schools (dershane), have highly parasitic dispersal attitude in the street. They can be located on any floor of the apartment block. The program of the private schools is the most occupying program whose spatial limits extend gradually in the interiors of the blocks.

Its programmatic structure can be dispersed over the diverse units on different floors, and it invades the flats of the apartment building and finally occupies the whole building. The program generates population intensification in the blocks, its front yard and also in the street.

Housing programs co-exist with other commercial or service programs in all the cases in this area. Within the two urban blocks, density in housing is observed especially in two apartment block (number 11 in 1082 and number 29 in 1083). In these blocks, housing persists in the building, and offers a spatial control of the whole building and its appearance. This control over the building is provided by the presence of a house-keeper, intimate neighborhood relationships between inhabitants, and addition of a secondary spatial border like a door in front of the side yard of the block. There is also housing in some other blocks in a dispersed fashion although, according to Ayten, their number decreases gradually.¹⁴⁰

Other activities in the form of bars, pubs, and night clubs turn the street to a lively place also during the night. They are located on the ground floors or terraces of the

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

buildings, which provide a street view to their users. These spaces require radical changes in spatial configurations of the apartment buildings.

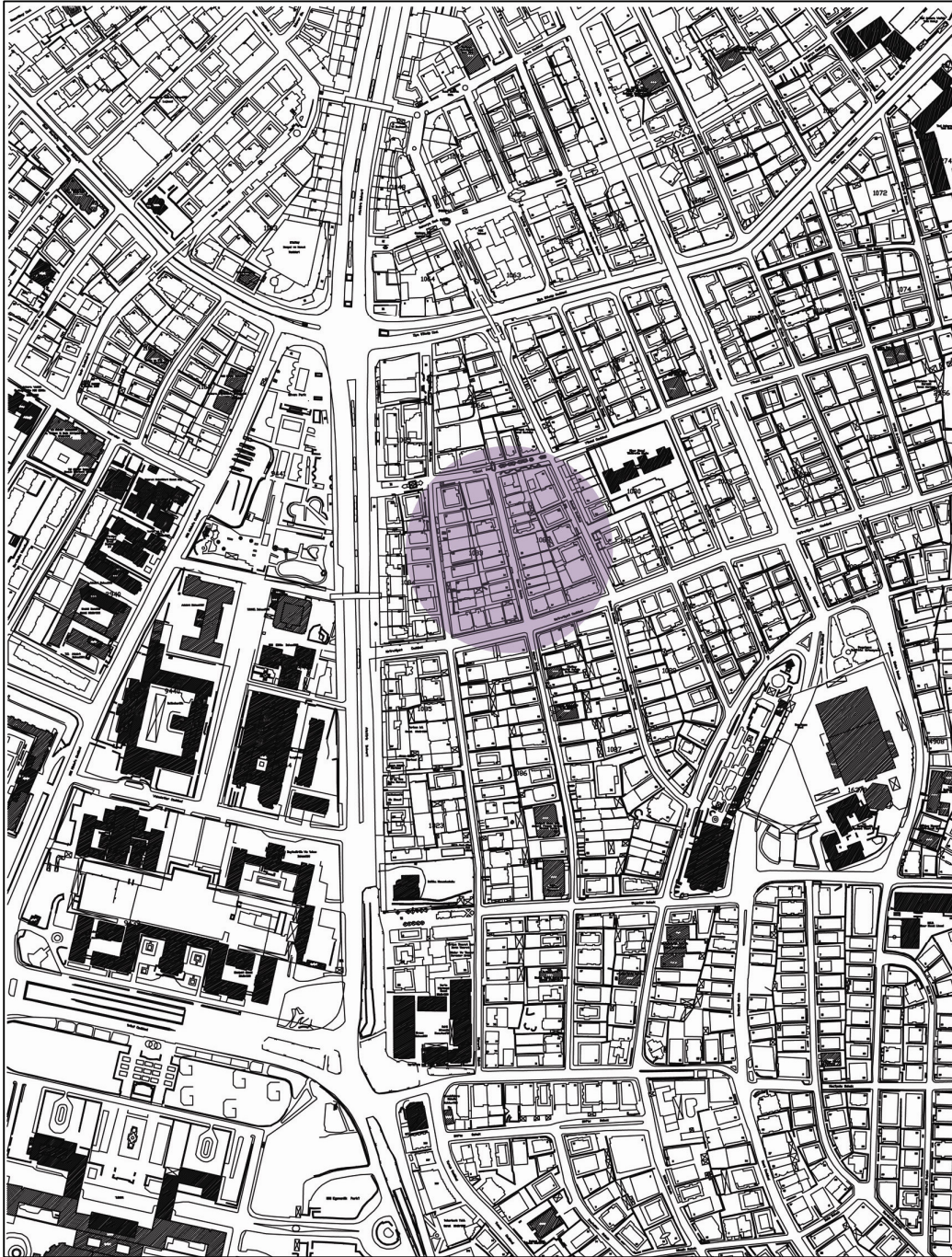


Figure 4.2: The case study area: urban blocks with number 1083 and 1082 in *Kızılay*.

4.2 Mutations of the Apartment Blocks



Figure 4.3: La Chambre d'écoute (The Listening Room), by René Magritte, 1952.

Self-organized programmatic transformation of apartment blocks in *Kızılay* urban core can not be seen merely as filling of physical forms with various contents. Here, reprogramming processes brings about change in physical spatial configurations of apartment blocks, their definition and meaning. Re-programming process also transcends the physical boundaries of the building embracing its surrounding spaces and leads to invention of 'new' kind of spaces and relationships between them.

Similarly, transformations are not restricted with particular units of apartment blocks. Re-programming leads to a transformation of all parts of the block and also of its surrounding. Architectural elements of apartment blocks such as walls, windows, balconies, doors, and interior spaces such as corridors, whole parts of the units, as well as exterior front yards, and left-over spaces; and inevitably architectural language and urban image of existing blocks are re-defined by urban programs. Each particular program re-defines and re-makes its own space. The act of re-definition disturbs the pre-given/pre-existing repetitive and homogeneous spaces of apartment block.

As a result of the unstable and ephemeral character of the urban programs (metropolitan instability), a continuous de-configuration and re-configuration processes inside of the “envelops” of apartment blocks reinforce an unstable and constantly changing urban environment (physical urban fabric). Thus while the existing infrastructure prescribed for the purpose of housing continuously *re-programmed, crossprogrammed, trans-programmed* and *disprogrammed*¹⁴¹ by urban forces, its spaces re-arranged by active processes of de-formation, de-configuration, fragmentation, and superimposition.

The outcome of these ongoing mutations is never a *finished product*. Rather they continuously (re)produce partial ambiguities, unexpected combinations, unfamiliar connections and relationships. Here, the apartment block comes to the scene as a relatively small-scale “urban building” – *city in itself* – that is also a part of the city. It becomes open to forces of the city and processes of (social) production of space peculiar to city. In another terms, with its mutations stemmed from *metropolitan condition*, apartment block can be seen as “another” manifestation of any necessary causal relationship between function and form in the *Generic City*.

Programmatic instability and simultaneous coexistence of different programs are the major task in front of the existing physical structure of *Kızılay*. As Koolhaas mentions such conditions demand “another organization” of the physical structure. Current infrastructure of *Kızılay*, on the other hand, has some continuities and contradictions with these programs. The structure of apartment block frames coexistence of different programs at the cost of such spatial mutations. In another words, while the infrastructure of the blocks frames metropolitan instability, metropolitan programs re-frames apartment infrastructure.

141 Bernard Tschumi defines the term as such:

“ Crossprogramming: Using a given spatial configuration for a program not intended for it, that is, using a church building for bowling.

Transprogramming: Combining two programs, regardless of their incompatibilities, together with their respective spatial configurations.

Disprogramming: Combining two programs, whereby a required spatial configuration of program A contaminates program B and B’s possible configuration. The new program B may be extracted from the inherent contradictions contained in program A, and B’s required spatial configuration may be applied to A.” Tschumi, Bernard. *Architecture and Disjunction*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994. p.

In order to cover lacks of insufficient infrastructure of apartment blocks, tactical acts become unavoidable. All types of mutations are products of spatial tactics such as the acts of adding, dividing, re-styling, and combining. These space-making tactics come forth as the major tools of the spontaneous changes because tactical mutations are the cheapest way that responds to partial transformations carried out by the users. Plans and strategies, here, are left behind the current speed of the metropolitan changes¹⁴².

4.2.1. Strategies vs. Tactics in Architectural Design

Kerem Yazgan explains tactician approach with a theatrical play entitled *Canlanan Mekan*. He writes that in this play, script is not written beforehand. Several objects are located on the scene randomly. The actors on the scene develop their scripts that can take place in this space using the materials at hand during the play. Therefore script here is never stable: it evolves though time, and changes its directions in relation to actual conditions.¹⁴³ In terms of design, he says that “[...]the tactician architect develops his/her configuration in every phase according to the conditions of the design and according to feedbacks.”¹⁴⁴ In this framework, tactical acts produce spontaneous solutions to the unpredictable problems, and tactics do not propose a fundamental resolution, rather they solve them partially in a modest way.

On the other hand, following Yazgan’s example, strategy necessitates knowledge of the whole script. Each step through the evaluation of the play is calculated and determined beforehand. For the design process in the strategist approach, “the architect keeps his/her design configuration that is developed in the earlier phases of design throughout the whole design process.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² For different faces of this kind of transformation, please see: Koolhaas, Rem, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans Ulrich Obrist ed. *Mutations*. Barcelona: Actar, 2000. Especially transformation of apartment blocks in Athens has a number of parallel characteristics with the studied example of this thesis. Ibid. p. 404.

Also see. Sargın, Güven Arif ed., *Hybrid Spaces*, Ankara: METU, 2004, pp. 19-15. This publication presents the works of the graduate students (the author is one of them) who took part in Arch 505 Design Studio at the Department of Architecture, METU in the Academic Year of 2003-2004.

¹⁴³ Yazgan, Kerem. Designography of Architecture, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2003. p. 38-39

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p.37

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p.36

For the mutations of the apartment block, it can be said that strategy gives its place to tactics that propose unconventional, partial and momentary solutions. They are never carried out according to a readily identifiable project and their applications represent another break away from the conventional architectural tasks. Besides the tactical mutation of physical space, programs can be converted according to existing arrangement in a tactical manner if the spatial configuration can not be converted according to demands. For this account, cafes with long corridors and bathrooms, offices with fireplaces and kitchens come to the scene. Thus underlying condition of the studied urban geography can be seen as a ground of an ongoing play of restrictions and transgressions, existing and required /requisite, demands and shortages on the existing physical structure.

4.2.2. Modifications in the Plan Schemas of the Apartment Blocks

Within the transformation of domestic apartment blocks to multi-programmed infrastructures, independent urban programs coexist within the frame of apartment block. Tschumi would relate the current condition of the apartment blocks with the Surrealists' meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissecting table.¹⁴⁶ Apartment blocks accommodate highly unrelated programs located side by side or on top of each other. For instance, in the block with number 25, an erotic shop is placed next to a lawyer's office. Likewise in the block with number 52, a pet shop is located below a doctor's office. In fact, all of the sections of selected area are full of such unexpected co-existences of diverse programs within the frame of apartment block. Besides this, within a given/certain time scope, the unit which is programmed as a finance office, may be programmed as a hairdresser later on. The two unrelated program may use the same plan schema previously arranged for the purpose of housing.

¹⁴⁶ This imagery is originally belongs to Isidore Lucien Ducasse (1848-1870), known by his pseudonym Comte de Lautreamont. "Beau comme la rencontre fortuite sur une table de dissection d'une machine à coudre et d'un parapluie." (Beautiful as the fortuitous meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissection table.) in *Les chants de Moldoror*.

Highly dynamic urban programs with their instability and unpredictability transform standard plan organization of the apartment blocks and lead to generate an endless variation of mutant forms of pre-existing uniform residential schema. Different relationships are developed between the different parts of the blocks. In some cases this new relationships unfold the spatial potentials of the apartment blocks, in other cases, these relationships put pressure on the current infrastructure and become destructive. For the plan schemas, it is impossible to talk about a 'final form' due to constantly evolving re-configurations / re-arrangements.

Under the pressure of (changing) urban programs, existing spatial schemas are usually re-configured in different degrees without going into total reconstruction. In some cases, pre-established functional layouts are erased when separating walls are no longer used. The enabling limit of layouts and their flexibility stem from the reinforced concrete frame of the building.

In general, changes on the level of plan can be classified in two groups. The first is the changes on the size of the space assigned for a unit. Plan schema of a unit or of the floor can be modified as a result of the unfit character of the previous schema for the new program. For instance, in the block with number 8 (in the urban block1083) first three floors accommodates cafés, however five cafés use different plan schemas which are different mutated forms of the previous typical housing plan schema.

First type of change in size derives from tendency of expansion of the urban programs. The spatial configurations of apartment blocks are transformed for the purposes of expansion in order to acquire larger space. Proliferation of a program usually results in expansion of its space in any dimension. The path of expansion is usually drawn by chance. The programmed space is expanded through other units, if possible on the same floor, if not, on another floor in the same block. If the program expands through the next unit, the separating wall between the units is demolished, in this way, the two units are combined.

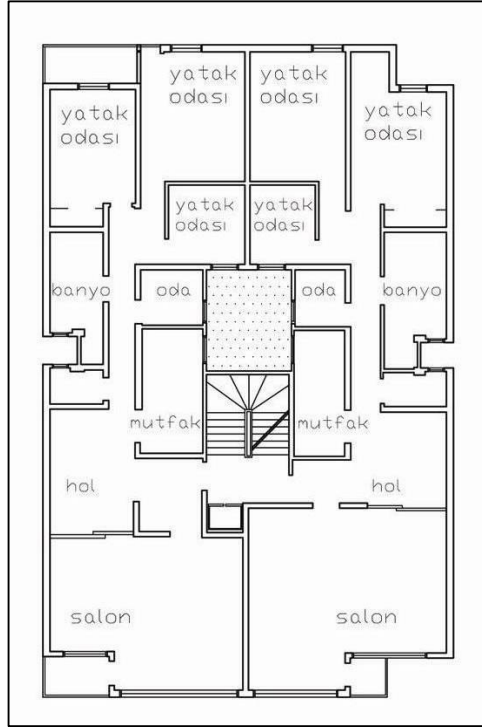


Figure 4.4: Typical plan of a domestic apartment block (with number8)¹⁴⁷

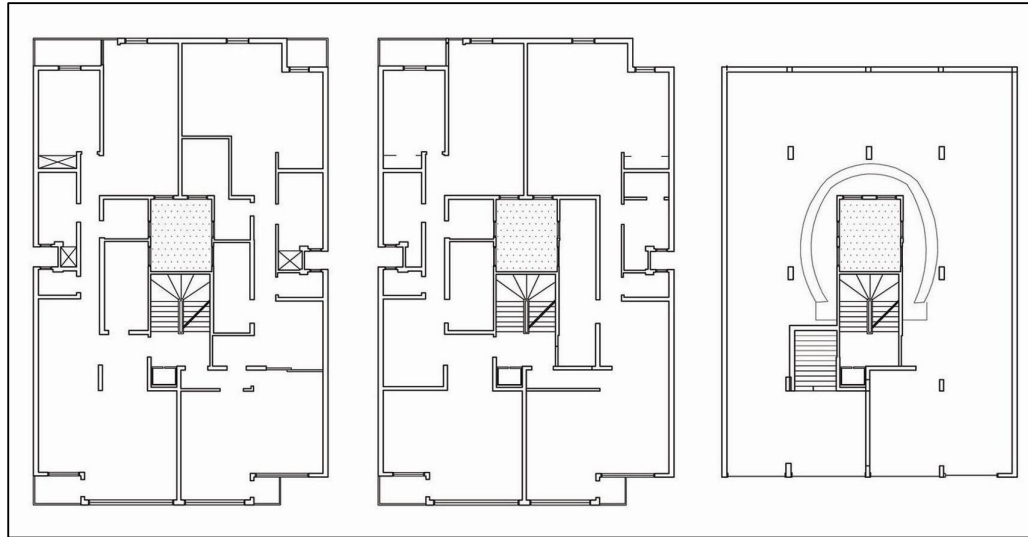


Figure 4.5: From right to left: ground floor plan, first floor plan and second floor plan. Five cafés are accommodated on these floors, and each one of the cafés uses modified plan schemas to different degrees.

¹⁴⁷ The original plan on the top left of the picture is taken from Evyapan's research project on Kızılay. [Evyapan, Gönül A. Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekanların Değişimi, Ankara: ODTÜ, 1980] It is re-drawn. Other three plans are drawn according to the current condition of the plan schemas of the ground floor, first floor and the second floor.

Balcony becomes another direction of expansion via enclosing and adding to the interior of the unit. It is usually programmed as storage. Therefore in the most cases, it looks worn-out and neglected. Likewise, open balconies located at the back side of the buildings are programmed as storages. Open balconies gain importance especially to be used as part of cafés and they are transformed to a place for the ‘spectacle’ of the street life. Except these major uses balconies acquire various momentary functions. For instance, balconies of hairdressers are used for drying their towels. And also they are often programmed as smoking places in nearly all units.

The second form of the changes in the size of the units is ‘dividing’ a unit into separate parts by the owner of the block in order to increase profit by increasing the number of the units. Units are usually divided according to the order of the columns. If the unit is divided into two parts, (as it happened in the second, third and the forth floors of the apartment block with number 44 in the urban block0-1082) one unit is composed of part of the corridor and bedrooms, and the other one is composed of the living room and kitchen.



Figure 4.6: A finance office on the fourth floor in the block with number 44. This unit is half of the original domestic unit. It contains a kitchen, toilet and a part of the living room. The kitchen is divided with a wall and the rest of the kitchen space is transformed as the personal room of the accountant. (The photograph was taken in August, 2005)

If the next unit in the same apartment block is not available in the course of the expansion of a program, the program can expand through the unit next to it in the adjacent apartment block. For instance, on the second floor of the block (number 21), the units of different blocks next to each other are combined by a restaurant. Another example of this type can be observed in the blocks with number 3 and 1. These buildings belong to *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*. The second, third and the forth floors of the block with number 3 is connected in the interior to the block number 1 and the separating wall between the two building is demolished. Thus these floors of the number 3 do not have any access to the street. Increase in the profit brings forth spatial expansion. This expansion continues till the program invades the whole building. These acts of adding and sprawling result in a chaos in the strictly ordered spaces of corridors of apartment blocks.

If the owner of a unit programmed as an office intends to expand his/her company s/he may have enough capital to purchase the next unit. But the owner of the next unit may not intend to sell his property¹⁴⁸. In this particular case, the course of expansion of the program is interrupted, so the program splits into diverse units on different floors in the same block (i.e. in the block with number 21, a private school programs one unit on the second, third and sixth floors and two units in the fifth floor. Another example of such programmatic distribution can be found in the block with number 7). What connects these fragmented parts of a program, which spread into different floors, is the elevator. By this mechanical connector, architectural design becomes something out of necessity and it is rendered as null. And the plans of apartment block are re-written by it.

It can be said that the ultimate tendency of an urban program is to combine these fragmented units under its programming. The configuration/arrangement resulted from spatial unification can be seen as defective in an orthodox architectural point of view. Because it is not of interest how they join together. Even if the units located next to each other are combined, they do not form a coherent whole. The main principle of the act of combining is: if “it works” somehow, it will be enough.

¹⁴⁸ It should be mentioned that property is an important keyword in all these processes.

If all the units on the same floor are programmed by the same company/enterprise without combining the units, corridor of the block on this floor is transformed to a transition zone among the units. In order to prevent such territorial ambiguities, additional doors can be located to the staircases in the circulation zone of the block so that the public hall gains a private character. For this occasion, some walls and doors on the hall are thrown away. Then the corridor of the block becomes spatially a part of the unit that covers the whole floor area. By doing so, not only the units but the whole floor is re-configured and re-organized by the program.

Programs at the ground floor have the possibility of spatial expansion through the frontier and the left-over spaces. Expansion through out left-over spaces can be accomplished via an additional building. An extreme example of expanding via additional building is *Kızıllrmak* Movie Theater located on urban block no: 1087¹⁴⁹. In this case, the basement and the ground floor of the apartment block are re-programmed by an act of adding cinema salons at the back of the building. The previous domestic plan schema of the apartment block is turned into a lobby of the cinema. Besides such examples, simple and ephemeral tent-like structures are employed frequently for the ground floor expansion.

¹⁴⁹ This urban block is actually out of the scope of the study. On the other hand, there are many such examples in the studied part of *Kızıllay* but *Kızıllrmak* Movie Theater is a remarkable example that shows the phenomenon with its all dimension.



Figure 4.7: The same unit on different floors in the block number 8 (urban block 1082). Originally, each floor contains one unit. But the unit is divided into two on the ground and the first floor. In June, 2005 there was a café on the second floor, in August it was under re-construction, and in September, another café was accommodated in the unit. In a similar way, on the second floor, there was a driving course in June, then it is transformed to a cultural center (Nazım Kültür Evi) that is connected to a political party on the third floor. In the first floor corridor in September, there were two doors, one of them is unused. The unit with an unused door was connected to the ground floor internally. But the door of the unit was still standing. In the second floor in September, there were three doors on the corridor, all of which open to the same unit.



Figure 4.8: The same unit on the ground floor, second floor and the fourth floor in the block with number 9 (in urban block 1082). The unit on the ground floor was programmed as a bazaar (shop) and the unit was spatially expanded towards the left-over area. On upper floors, each floor contains four units. The second picture shows the unit just on the top of the shop. This part of the unit is divided in to two, the same unit on the fourth floor is not divided and it is programmed as a dentist's office.



Figure 4.9: Different mutations of the same unit on different floors in block number21 (urban block 1082).



Figure 4.10: This room is originally the living room of the typical domestic plan schema in the block number 13. On the first floor it is programmed as a shop. On the second floor it is a classroom of a private school (dershane).



Figure 4.11: Living rooms on different floors. With different decorations, the same space can be used as a hairdresser and a café.

4.2.3. Modifications in the Circulation Spaces of the Apartment Blocks



Figure 4.12: Doors at the corridor in the block number 46. Textual indicators and small billboards are sufficient to express the uses of the units.

Circulation space of an apartment block contains corridor, stair cases, an elevator and fire staircases. Circulation spaces of a domestic apartment block are accepted as public space that belong to the apartment block.¹⁵⁰ The territories are strictly defined in the domestic apartment blocks, and circulation spaces are neutral and homogenous. However, in these mutant apartment blocks, programs of the units re-frame their territories. This process brings forth the re-programmation of circulation spaces in connection with the programs of the units. Transgressions in different manners towards circulation spaces become the nature of these new mutant spaces. First of all private/public relationship on the floors changes and also becomes variable for different floors and different apartment blocks.

Re-programmation of circulation spaces and degrees of publicity and privacy depend on programmatic structure of the floors. In some cases such as the block with number 12, and possibly related to the accommodation of a left wing political party, public hall is open to actors and life of the street to some extent. In this case, signs belong to the street such as graffities and political posters are placed in different parts of the public places of the building. On the contrary, when the whole apartment block is programmed by a single program, it isolates itself completely from the street.

If all the units on the same floor are programmed by the same company/enterprise without combining the units, corridor on this floor is transformed to a transition zone among the units of the same program. In this case, public hall on the floor used as a private space among the units which are programmed as diverse parts of the same program. For instance, third floor of the block with number 13 is programmed by a private school. While some of the units on the floor are programmed as classes of the school, some of them for administrative purposes. And the public hall on the floor is, transformed into a place for recreation and social interaction by students. Thus for this floor, the territories between public and private, inside and outside are blurred.

¹⁵⁰ The corridor of apartment block is regarded as semi-public in terms of the relationships with the street.



Figure 4.13: In the block with number 10 (urban block 1083), a course on the third floor sets a border that re-limits and re-determines its territory by locating a door on the staircases.



Figure 4.14: In the block with number 21 (urban block 1082), a private school (dershane) sets a border line to its territory on the floor. On the other hand located door does not prevent the continuity of circulation between different floors in the block.



Figure 4.15: when the units next to each other are combined by single program, unused doors are left in the corridors. These two doors lost its function but physically still stand in the corridor on the second floor of the block with number 10 (urban block 1083). Photograph is taken in the scope of the study on January, 2006.

In order to obstruct such territorial ambiguities, such as on the 4th floor which is programmed as an engineering firm in the block with number 15, on the 4th floor which is programmed as a course and on the 5th floor programmed as a beauty center of number 10, additional doors are located to the staircases in circulation zone so that public hall gains private character. In the number 10, privatization of public parts of the building reach to a point that the elevator is used as private commodity of the beauty center, serving for only among the 5th, 6th, and ground floors of the block.. In case of the beauty center, the wall separating the units from the corridor is demolished, and, by so doing corridor also becomes spatially a part of the program. Therefore, the distinction between interior and exterior in the apartment block invalidated.

Transgressions of the programs towards the corridors are various. When programs re-frame the units of apartment block, corridor as an “interval” is affected from such process in different degrees. Changes in the materials used in the corridor come to the scene as a part of such a process. Some corridors distinguish themselves from the neutral and homogeneous halls of the apartment block, which have similar fabricated



Figure 4.16: Some doctor's offices and advocate's offices distinguish their part of the corridor with a timber cladding pasted on the painted wall of the corridor. The borders of cladding signify a semi-private area belonging to the office. (The photographs were taken by the author in August, 2005)



Figure 4.17: Different claddings and lightening billboards located on the homogeneous and repetitive corridors of the blocks. (The photographs were taken by the author in August, 2005)

elements and spatial patterns. For instance, the halls of the beauty center on the 5th and 6th floors are covered by ceramic tiles, whereas the rest of the apartment halls are covered by dark gray mosaic.

The apartments that are by and large consisted of offices and firms promote disorientation, which stems from their similarity. Interior spaces of such apartment blocks may easily disorient a careless person. All floors, which are in their pre-existed condition and are not yet modified look the same. The only indicators are the numbers and small signs attached on the apartment doors. If a person does not pay attention to which floor s/he is in the elevator, there is no way to understand at first glance where s/he really is.

On the corridors, another disorienting figure is concerning with the doors. Re-organization of the size and layouts of units provoke confusion in the corridors by the way of unused, additional or extra doors. When the units next to each other are combined by a program, one of the two doors becomes useless. However, the door is usually left in its place on the corridor. Thus in this new situation, one unit, which is in fact a combination of the two units, have two door number, and two doors, one of which is useless. On the other hand in some cases both of the doors can be used as it is in the block with number 44 (urban block 1082). Thus if somebody rings the bells of the two units, s/he will enter the same space. If the door of a unit loses its function because of the re-arrangement of the plan schema, an additional door can be located where it is needed.

Public halls where doctor's offices are located may temporarily turn into waiting rooms. One or two sitting units may be placed in the halls. Equipments related with hygiene of the interiors are located in public halls, as it is in number 15. Similarly, textual indicators are pasted to walls and doors if it is needed. Housing units can be discerned from the houseplants located on staircases and halls of the floors. Shops, hairdressers, tailors and photograph studios add advertising panel/boards and posters on the wall of the corridor. Some doctor's offices and advocate's offices distinguish their part of the corridors with a timber cladding/covering pasted on the painted wall of the corridor. And they may change their uniform door common to all units in the apartment block, with another reproduction, yet different from the others.

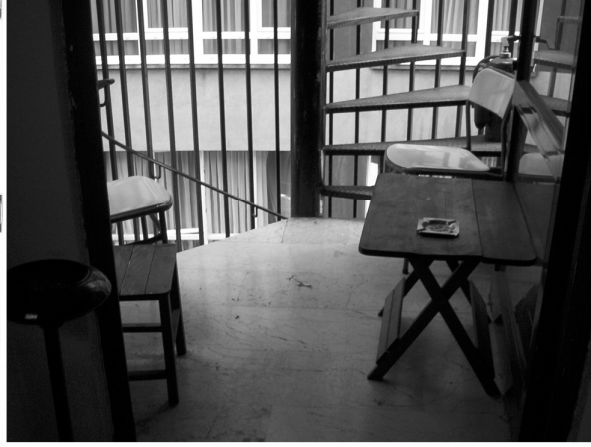


Figure 4.18: Different temporary programmations of the circulation spaces. Photographs were taken on August 2005.



Figure 4.19: A fire staircase programmed as an open common space for recreation and an entrance hall programmed for social interaction and reading daily newspaper.

Common preference of elevator to reach upper floors leaves halls and staircases on upper floors freed from circulation. This opens the way to “other” momentary or temporary programs. Absence of a common place for recreation leads to momentary programming of circulation areas as places of social interaction, communication and recreation. In this case, staircases are programmed as sitting places between different floors. On the other hand, restrictions on smoking in units lead to momentary and temporary programming of circulation areas as smoking rooms. In a similar manner fire staircases are programmed as an open common space for recreation. For this purpose, small sitting units and tables can be placed on fire staircases as it is seen in number 21.

4.2.4. Modifications on the Facades of the Apartment Blocks



Figure 4.20: photograph on the left is taken from Konur Street. photograph on the right shows the apartment blocks on the Meşrutiyet Mainroad. August 2005

Façades of the domestic apartment blocks are neutral and repetitive. They do not express any meaning; they are in Koolhaas' words: "what is left after identity is stripped"¹⁵¹ On the other hand mutant facades of the apartment blocks in the studied urban blocks are modified in different degrees. Modifications concerning the facades are changes in the material used for the windows, changes in the order of the windows; advertising billboards located the facades and the changes in color, texture and cladding.

With the re-programmation process, facades of apartment blocks, which can be seen as an interface between the interior and the street, can construct new diverse types of relationships with the street in relation to the programs they accommodate. It can be easily observed that, ongoing programmatic transformation introduces a different task to front (facing the street) and back façades of the apartment blocks in this area.

¹⁵¹ Koolhaas, Rem. "The Generic City", op.cit., p. 1250

Due to relatively small sizes of the blocks that do not transcend the visual sight of the people on the street, front facades come to forth as communication devices addressing the “content” of the block with advertising and boards revealing the private enterprises in various sizes. Each program acts on the front facade independently in accordance with its own content. The boundary of programmed parts of the facade is drawn by the spatial territories of the programs in various forms. Thus neutral façade of the block turns to a patchwork as a consequence of independent operations derived from diverse programs.



Figure 4.21: Advertising billboards on the facades. Thanks to the neutrality of the existing facades, each company can attach its own “identity” to the façades of the apartment blocks via advertising boards. The same boards are used by the companies for each place that they move, even without any adjustment to the dimensions of the facade of the new building.

Re-programmation of the front façades in order to construct an image accomplished in two ways: via the act of re-styling with material changes, and the act of adding advertising boards to the facades. If the apartment blocks are re-constructed or restored as office buildings, or are programmed by a single enterprise, then their façades of them are totally re-styled.



Figure 4.22: On the left mirror-glassed facades of the block number 21 (urban block 1082), and on the right the façade of the block number 27 that is totally renovated in a different style.

Multiplication of programs leads to multiplication of identities that depends on advertisement. Identity, here, is no longer an issue of architecture but of decoration and advertisement. An apartment block seems to reveal the modern principle known as “less is more” for the sake of economic benefits that provides necessary ‘neutrality’ for freedom. Identity, when it is needed, can be constructed in the cheapest and easiest way via additional boards.



Figure 4.23: Long-term structures are often temporarily hidden by others which are less powerful but currently more visible. Façade on the left belongs to the block with number 7 (urban block 1082), façade on the left belongs to the block with number 6 (urban block 1083).

Signs on the façades attached to them via boards altogether reveal identities derived from separate and independent programs. Here, identity is mobile and portable; these signs can be moved when the program of the unit changes. They are not permanently in use in the same place, and they are not derived from inherent qualities of the spaces and its elements. Thus, they do not stem from an architectural program. Pertaining to their program however, materials and frames change.

Partial re-styling of the homogenous facades of the old apartment blocks appear mostly as part of the programs such as cafe, and restaurant. The images that belong to rural and natural planes are highly preferred ones. Materials look like timber and stones are used as covering materials and these artificial additions do not necessarily follow the proportions of façades. Re-styling is prevalent especially on the ground floor facades. Ground floor facades do not conform to the order of upper floors.



Figure 4.24: Re-styled facades of the ground floors. The photographs were taken in December, 2005



Figure 4.25: For these two cases, facades are partially re-styled. Boundary of the cladding on the façade is drawn by the preprogrammed part of the apartment block. The photographs were taken in September, 2005

CİSİ FİREKİSİ
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KILIMCI VE KİLEK
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Figure 4.27: Facades of the buildings that are totally programmed by the same program are the most plain ones. On the top left, *Mimarlar Odası* with number 4 on the top right, hotel with number 13, on the bottom left, a governmental building with number 18 (all of them in the urban block 1083), and on the right bottom, another governmental building with a bank in its first two floors with number 19 (in the urban block 1082).

Entrances of apartment blocks are the most rigid and unchanged parts of the blocks. Entrances of the shops on the lower floors are independent from the main entrance in apartment blocks. These entrances are placed on the front or on either sides of the block. The doors of all the multi-programmed apartment blocks in the two selected urban blocks are always open in the daytime. Usually on the one side of the door, a set of bells are located with the names of the owners. In some cases, writings pasted on the door, announcing the rules to be obeyed in the apartment block. Some apartment blocks have a name besides their number. These names may refer to its place in the street, its owner, or its contractor.

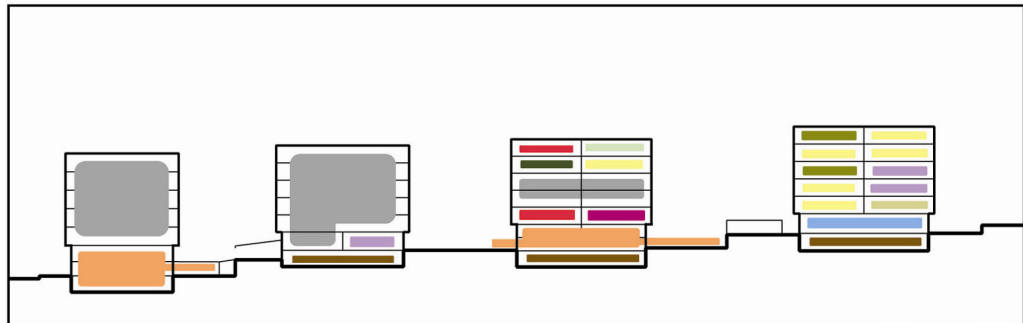
Façades on the back and on both sides (the ones that stand facing left-over and transitional spaces) are usually left out of the scope of aesthetic and communicative concerns. The difference between façades stands like the other side of the same coin. Technical equipments such as aluminum shafts for air conditioning, satellites, fire staircases, etc. that are related with the new programs of the block are added to the blocks from “outside”. Façades on back and the sides are re-defined as a supporter for the equipments, which contribute to accommodate urban programs of the interiors of the block. They become a part of the service facilities.



Figure 4.28: The program of the back facades of the mutant apartments is to support service facilities and additional technical equipments.



Figure 4.29: On the top right, (left) side facade of the block with number 17; on the top left side facade of the block with number 15; on the bottom left, (right) side facade of the block with number 17 (all of them in the urban block with number 1083); on the bottom right, back facade of the block with number 13 (urban block 1082).



Section 10-10

 Social & political org.	 Advocacy/finance Office	 Residence	 Hotel
 Doctoris office	 Engineering/arch. Office	 Course	 Bar/night club
 Laboratory	 Tourism Agency	 Shop	 Door keeperis office
 Book & cafe	 Firm office	 Uninhabited	 Bank
 Fast food & cafe	 Hairdresser&beauty	 Restaurant/fast food	 Tailor
 Internet & cafe	 Private school	 Notary/governmental O.	 Bookstore

Figure 4.30: Plan of the case study area and the section 10-10 taken in December, 2005.

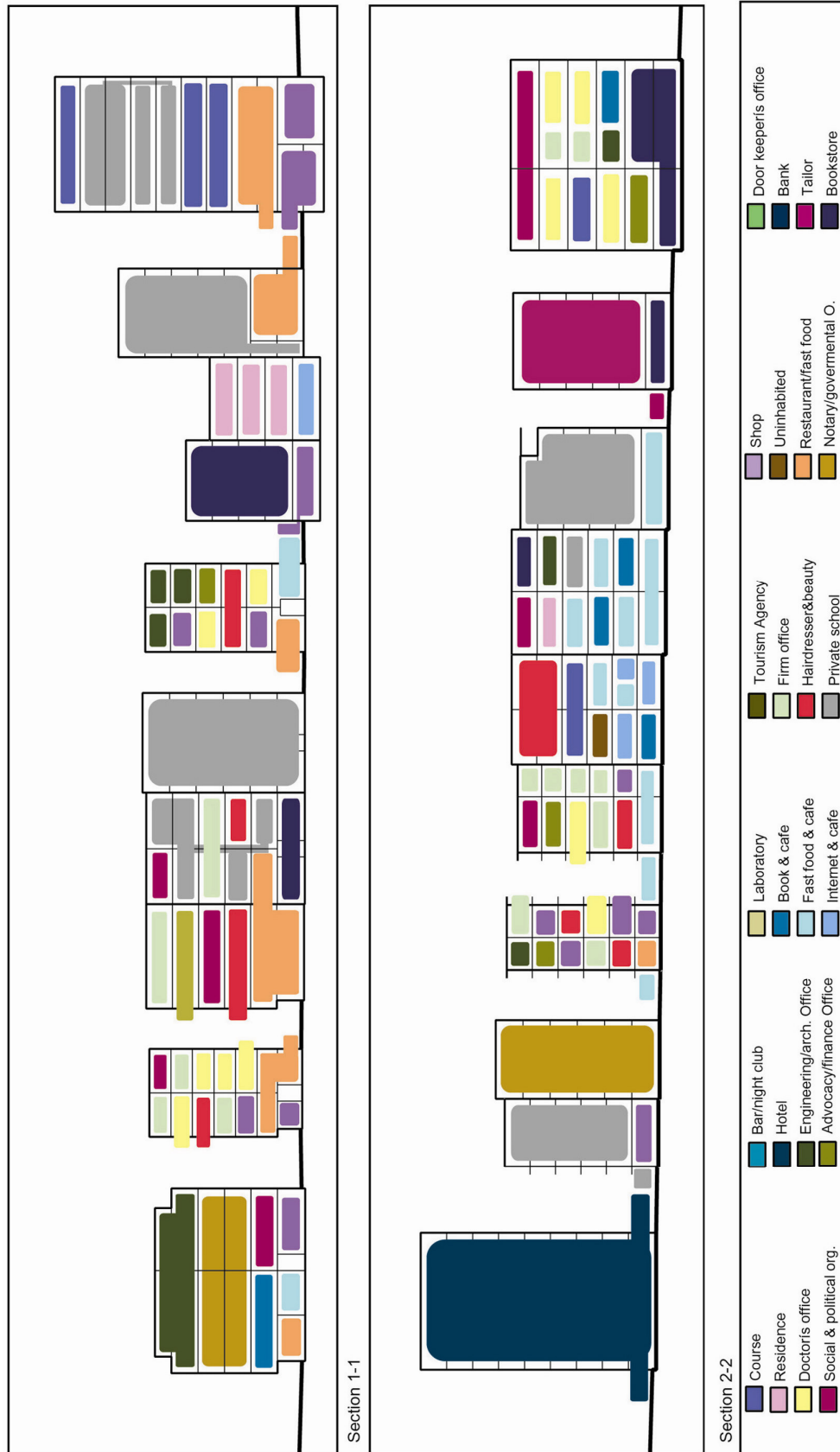


Figure 4.31: 1-1 Section and 2-2 Section taken from the urban block with number 1083 by the author in August 2005.

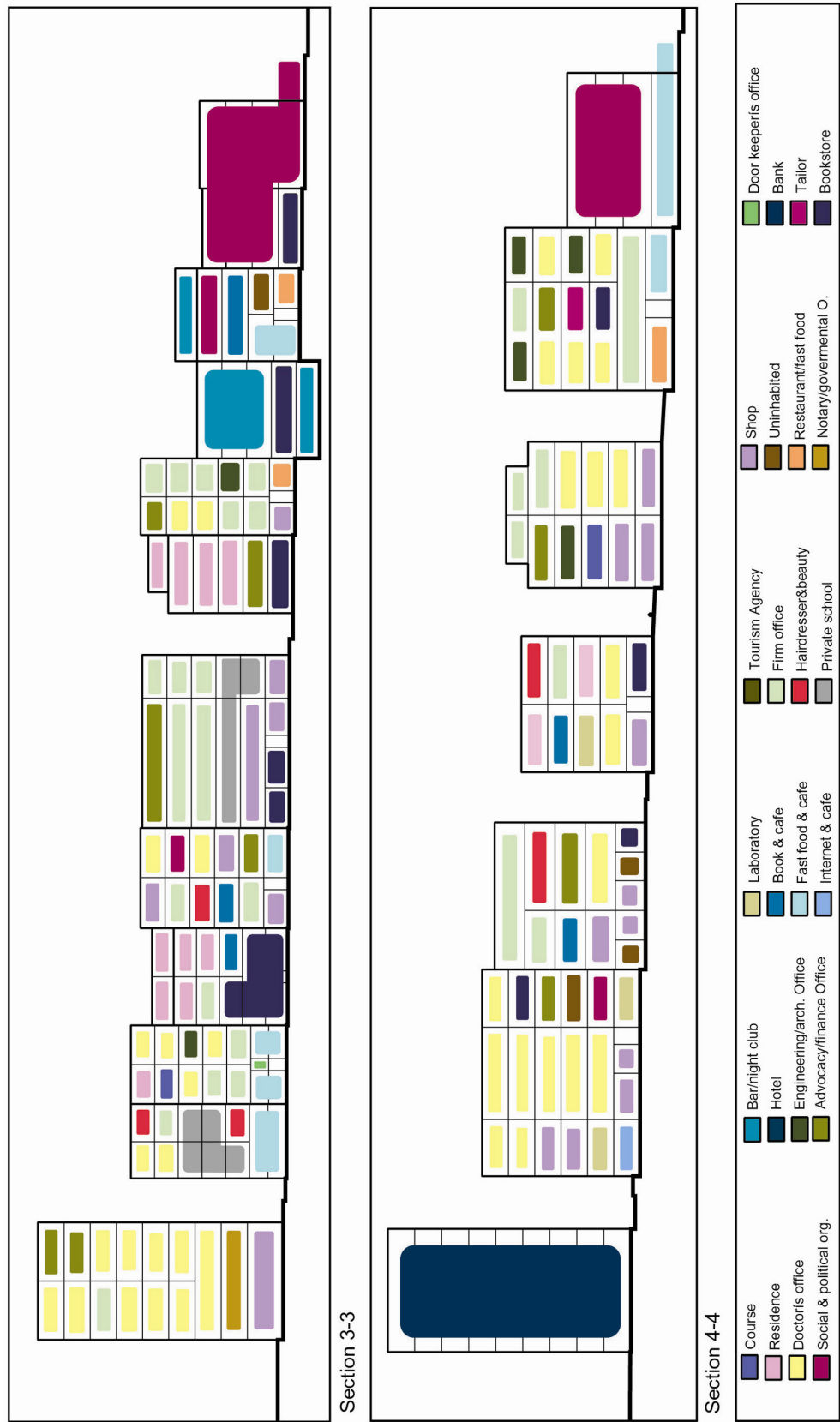


Figure 4.32: 3-3 Section and 4-4 Section taken from the urban block with number 1082 by the author in August 2005.

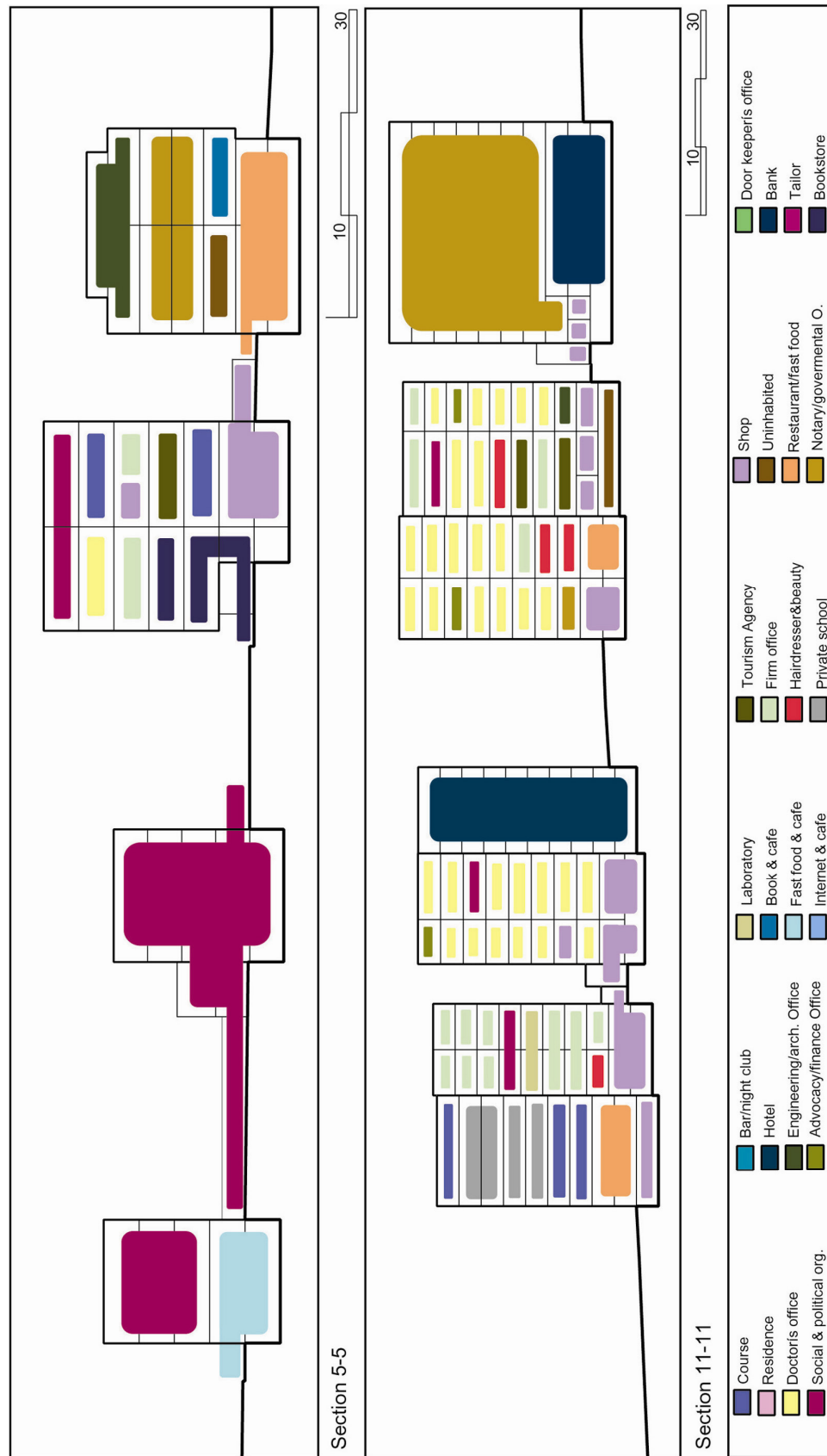


Figure 4.33: 5-5 Section taken from the urban blocks with number 1083 and 1082 by the author in December 2005.

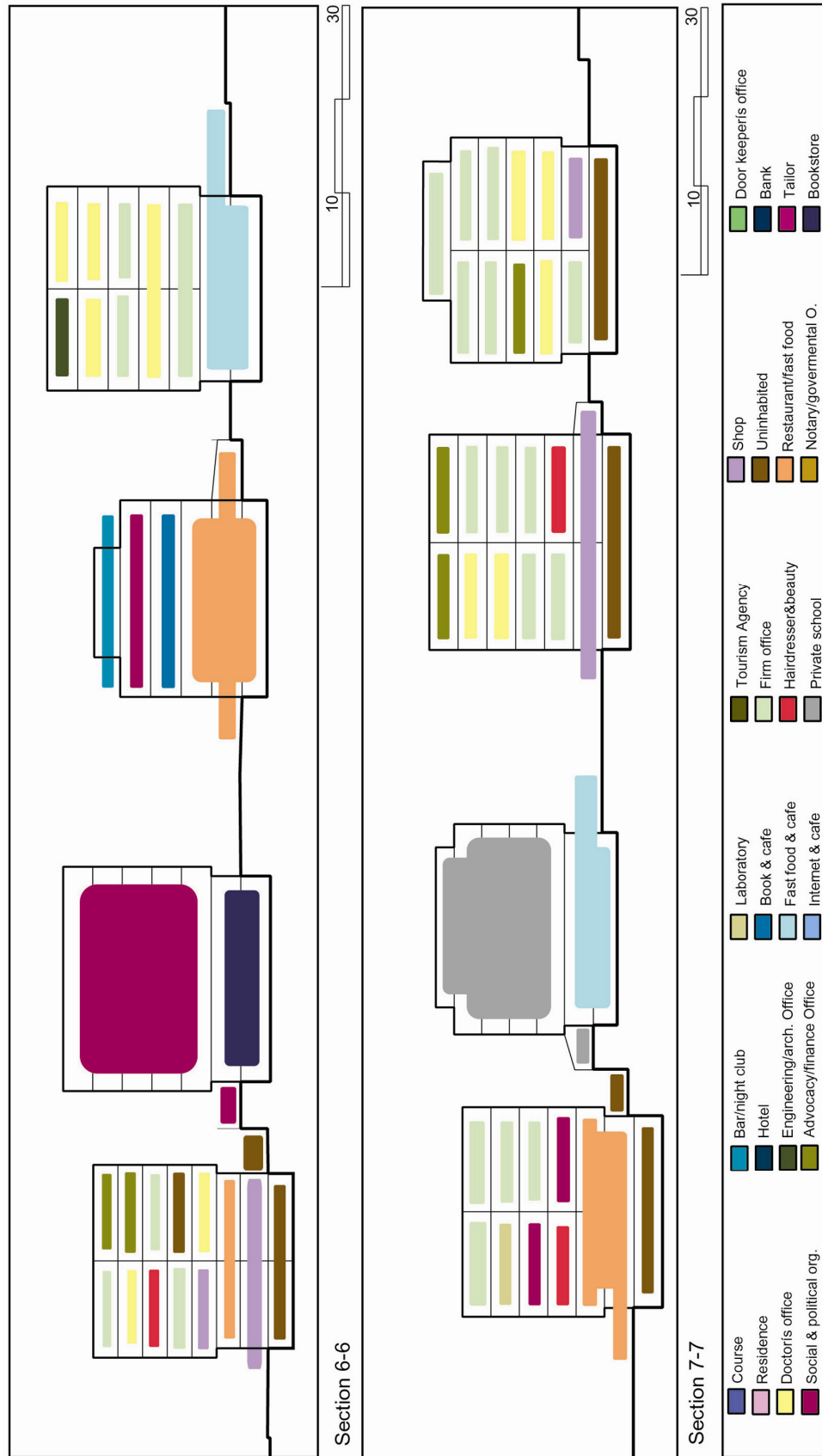


Figure 4.34: 6-6 Section and 7-7 Section taken from the urban blocks with number 1083 and 1082 by the author in December 2005.

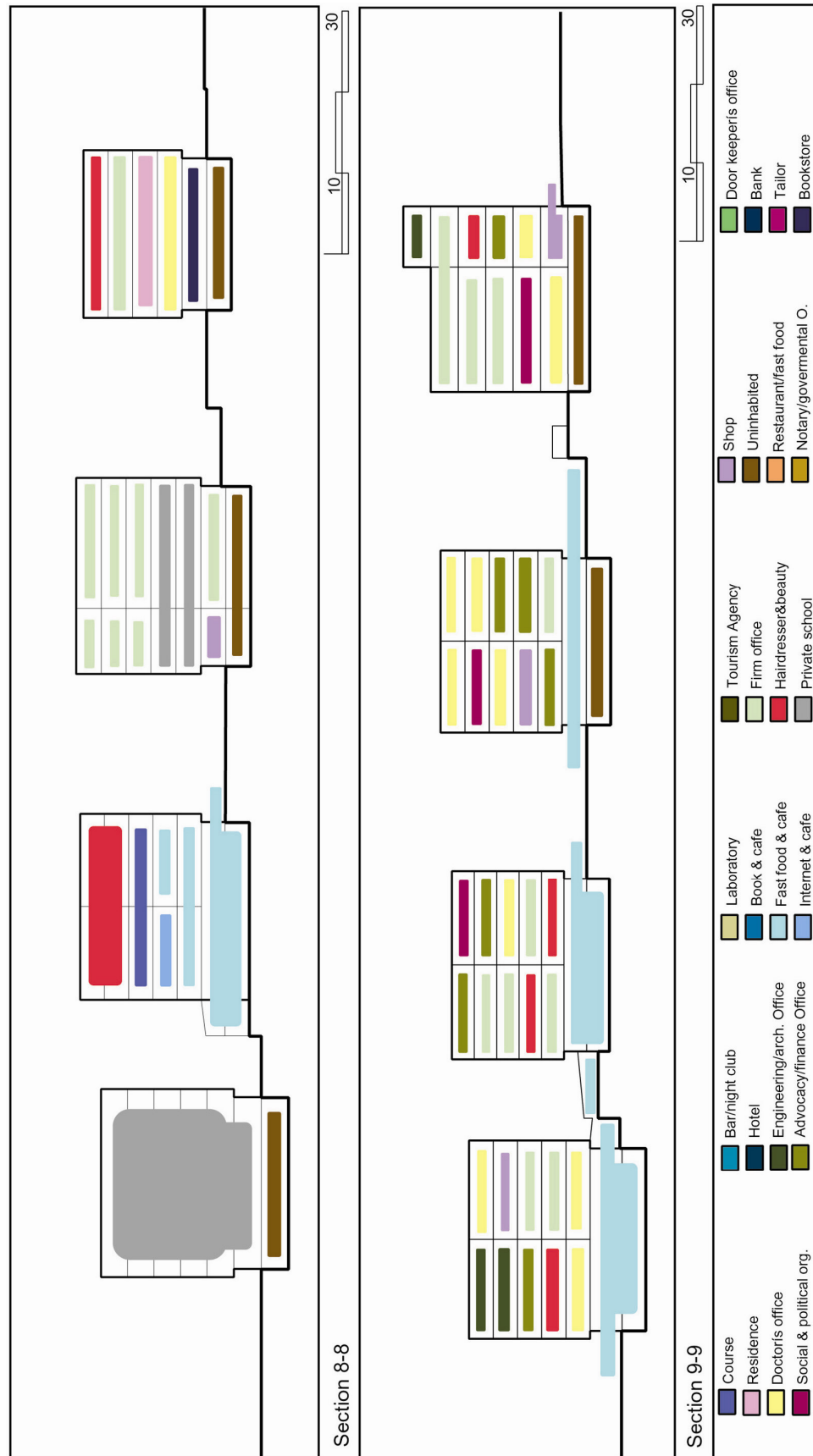


Figure 4.35: 8-8 Section and 9-9 Section taken from the urban blocks with number 1083 and 1082 by the author in December 2005.

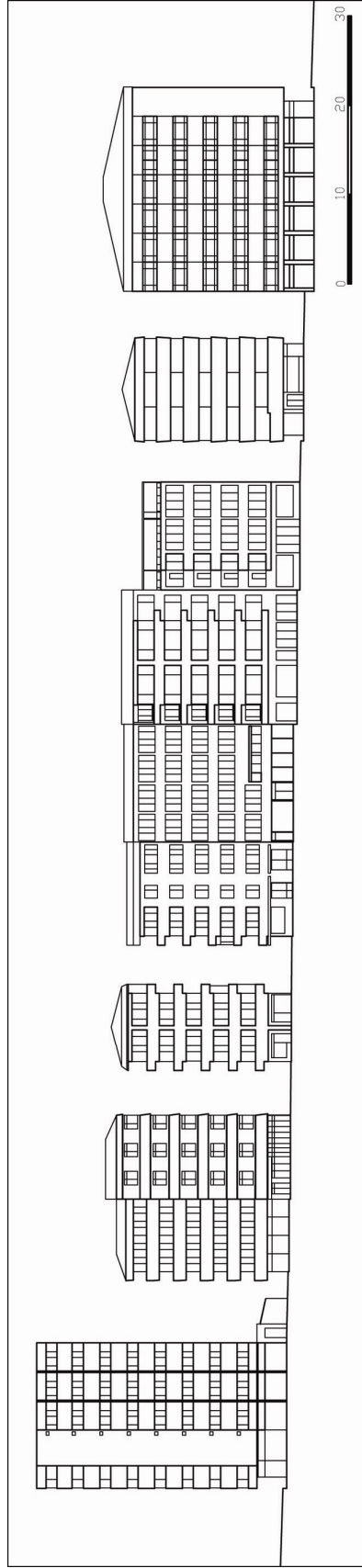


Figure 4.36: Facades of the buildings in the urban block 1083, from Konur Street. (drawn by the author, in december, 2005)

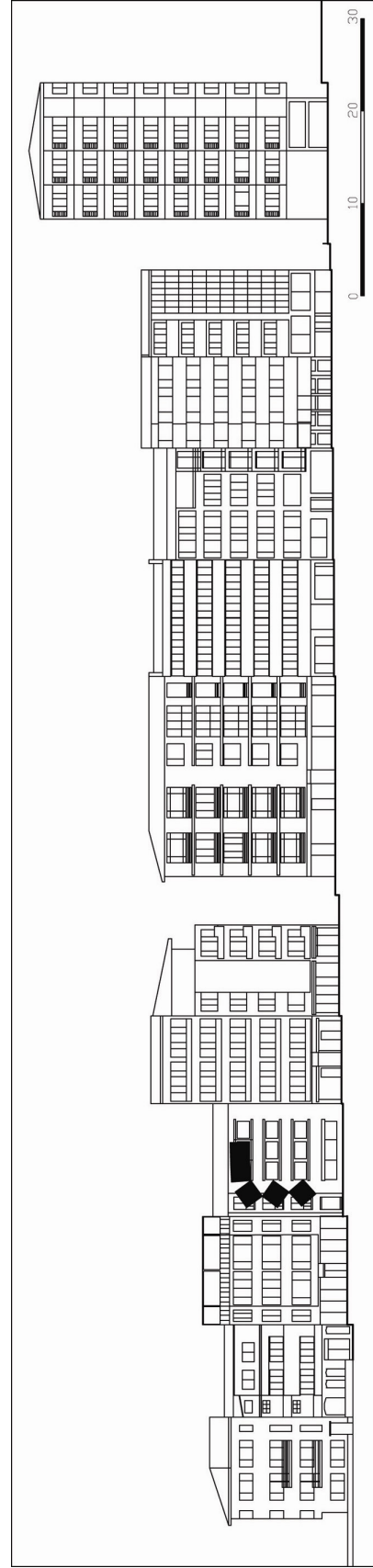


Figure 4.37: Facades of the buildings in the urban block 1082, from Konur Street. (drawn by the author, in december, 2005)

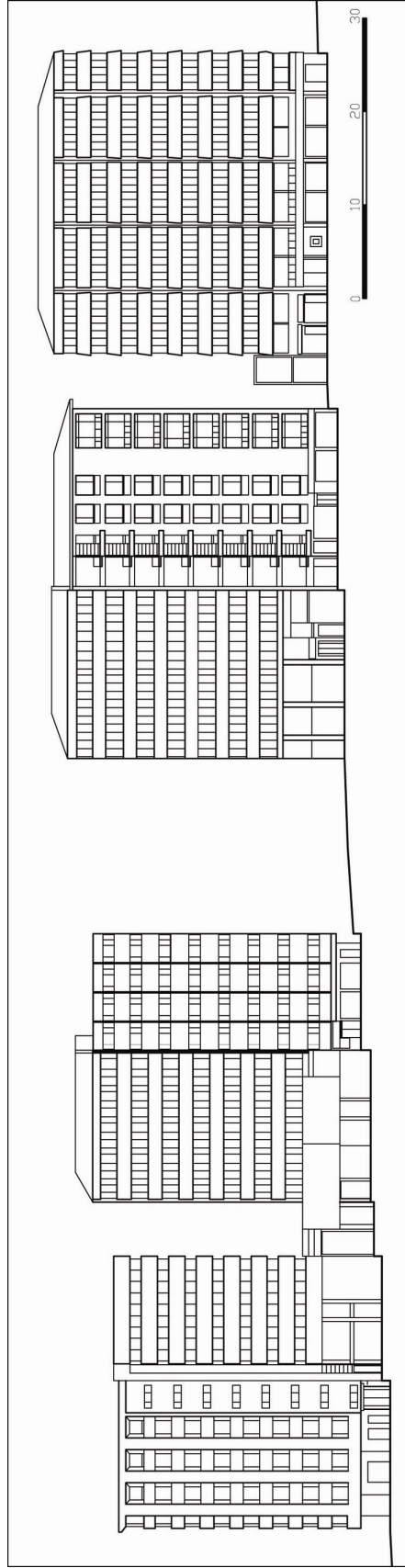


Figure 4.38: Facades of the buildings in the urban block 1082 and 1083, from Mesrutiyet Boulevard. (drawn by the author, in december, 2005)

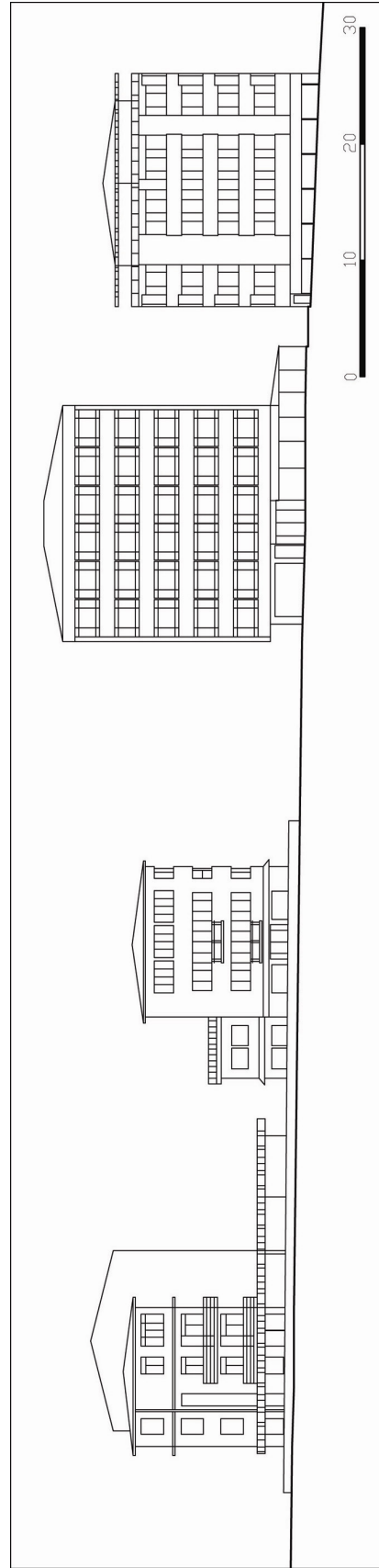


Figure 4.39: Facades of the buildings in the urban block 1082 and 1083, from Yüksel Street. (drawn by the author, in december, 2005)

4.3. Mutations in the Front Yards and the Streets

Streets are constituted by “endless repetitions” of apartment blocks aligned so that it is almost impossible to distinguish one street from another. Every street resemble to each other so that no one can remember a street s/he went before in her/his second trip. The only peculiarity that distinguishes the streets from each other is their congestion, and density.

Crowd and its intensity are determined in accordance with the infrastructural and programmatic structure of this area. At 6:30 am, with the arrival of the first Metro and *Ankaray* (Underground) trains, *Konur Steet* welcomes the day. During the morning hours, people rush for their offices and have their breakfasts in cafes. For instance, *Taş Fırın Café* serves for these people of the street in early morning hours. During the noon time restaurants and fast-food cafés, such as *Papağan* restaurant and *Leman Café*, accommodate some amount of the crowd of the street. In the evening, the street becomes a corridor filled with people who come out of their working places and rush through the Underground and other transportation vehicles. After the rush hours the street is filled with a crowd composed of mostly young people.

This part of *Konur Sokak* that continues from *Yüksel Sokak* to *Mesrutiyet Caddesi* is a place where cultural activities intensify. There are six major bookstores on the ground level that also offer meeting days for authors and readers. *The Chamber of Architects of Turkey* organizes various social and cultural meetings in its meeting room and also on the street. *Kapı 7*, *Ankara Kültür Evi*, and *Nazım Kültür Evi* are the other places of temporary exhibitions and other cultural activities. They combine program of a café with social and cultural programs.

Programs of ground floors determine the front yards of the apartment blocks in different manners. Tactical acts and modest ways of doing are employed for drawing the boundary between the street and the territory of the program. Walls in different sizes, green refuges or gardens, iron railings, differences in height, mobile elements like flower pots and simple constructions used for covering are the tools for determining the territory. The ultimate border however is drawn by the municipality and it expresses itself with the difference in used material paving the street.



Figure 4.40: From top to bottom: *Konur Street*, *Yüksel street*, *Karanfil Street* and *Selanik Street*.

Mülkiyeliler Birliği is a graduate union of Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University, located on the corner of *Konur Street* and *Yüksel Street*. It has a social club on the ground floor. The restaurant of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* is a highly fashionable place in *Konur Street*. On the other hand, this restaurant is open only to people who studies in the faculty and who works for the government. Within this program, its open spaces are strictly isolated from the street with a wall. Thus it keeps the city outside of the garden of the restaurant and produces a highly private territory for the union.



Figure 4.41: A view of the wall surrounding the restaurant of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*. The photograph is taken from *Yüksel Street*. September 2005.

Turhan Bookstore in the block with number 2 in *Konur Street* separates its frontiers with the aid of difference in height and a small green area/refuge. This green refuge, although spatially included in the street, is a board that declares people not to stand on the refuge. This makes it a territorial boundary for the bookstore. On the other hand, pavement stones on one side of the street serve as sitting place for people in the street. At its frontier open space, periodicals are exhibited.



Figure 4.42: The bookstore in the block with number 2 in *Konur Street* determines its territorial border via creating difference in height and in addition with a green refuge.

Similarly, frontier of *Dost Bookstore* in the block with number 4 in *Konur Street* has similarly a green refuge at the edge of the street. But in contrary to the case in *Turhan Bookstore*, a niche generates for unplanned and momentary events and programs of the street in the area between the refuge and the building. This niche is one of the famous waiting and meeting places of Ankara city core. The wall surrounding the refuge whose height permits people to sit upon creates the border of this niche. This shallow wall provides especially young people to get together without having to pay for somewhere to sit down. So, it is easily/continuously programmed by street people for various purposes, such as waiting, having a rest, meeting, and street spectacle.

The street side of this refuge is temporally programmed by various civil and political organizations for exhibitions, street concerts, political gatherings and campaigns. TKP (Turkish Communist Party) have actively programmed this zone by selling its magazines and announcing its political campaigns.

Opposite of *Dost*, *İmge Bookstore* has a private small green garden surrounded by a wall. While it draws the territorial boundary of the bookstore, it serves for the street as a highly preferred sitting place. Another branch of the same bookstore, 7 blocks away, small planted areas and flowerpots act as a boundary element on the frontier. *Bilim ve Sanat Bookstore* similarly has a green refuge that spatially separates the street from its frontier space, while maintaining visual contact.



Figure 4.43: The green refuge in front of the bookstore on the ground floor of the building with number 4 generates a niche for the people in the street especially in summer time. January, 2006.



Figure 4.44: Two branch of İmge Bookstore on *Konur Street* with different approaches to the street. January, 2006.



Figure 4.45 : The front yard of *Bilim ve Sanat Bookstore* on the ground floor of the block with number 11 in *Konur Street*. January, 2006.

The street side of the refuge in front of *Bilim ve Sanat Bookstore* is programmed by informal and mobile forms of commerce. These mobile forms of commerce add another, changing and transient physical layer to the street. Their parasitic and spontaneous architecture are composed of cardboard boxes, cloths spread on the ground and wheeled small vehicles/metal boxes that include the products for sale. These temporary structures also take place on the buffer zones, which is added to the street, of the block with number 13 (in the urban block 1082). Its ground floors are programmed by four small shops. Another bookstore located in the street is in the block with number 7. It is a half floor above from the street. It does not have a frontier. The frontier space of this block is occupied by a bar half a floor below the ground line and on the street level by a café which also programmed other three floor of the block. This block is rather old one, an early example of an apartment block left from the period of Jansen plan.

Cafes and restaurants constitute 36 % of the ground floor programs. All of them also program frontier spaces of the block, and except for *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*, they draw their territorial boundaries without cutting visual interaction/connection with the street. In the studied part of the *Konur Street*, front yards of cafes and restaurant are separated from the street by mobile elements. Big flowerpots made up of various materials, such as concrete, plastic, timber, are used as an accessible boundary. These open urban spaces are filled with as many fabricated tables and chairs as possible. If

their image constructed in accordance with rural imagery, they employ Ottoman traditional sitting units.



Figure 4.46: Different usages of flowerpots as mobile and portable border elements in *Konur* and *Karanfil Streets*. January, 2006.

Shops called as “bazaar” sell virtually anything. Bazaars of Kızılay urban core are a modified copy of traditional bazaars and located on the ground floor of the apartment blocks. They have one of the most spatially widespread programs. They exhibit some of their products in the front yards of the apartment blocks. In fact many other shops in the streets transcend the frame of the buildings and occupy the front yards.

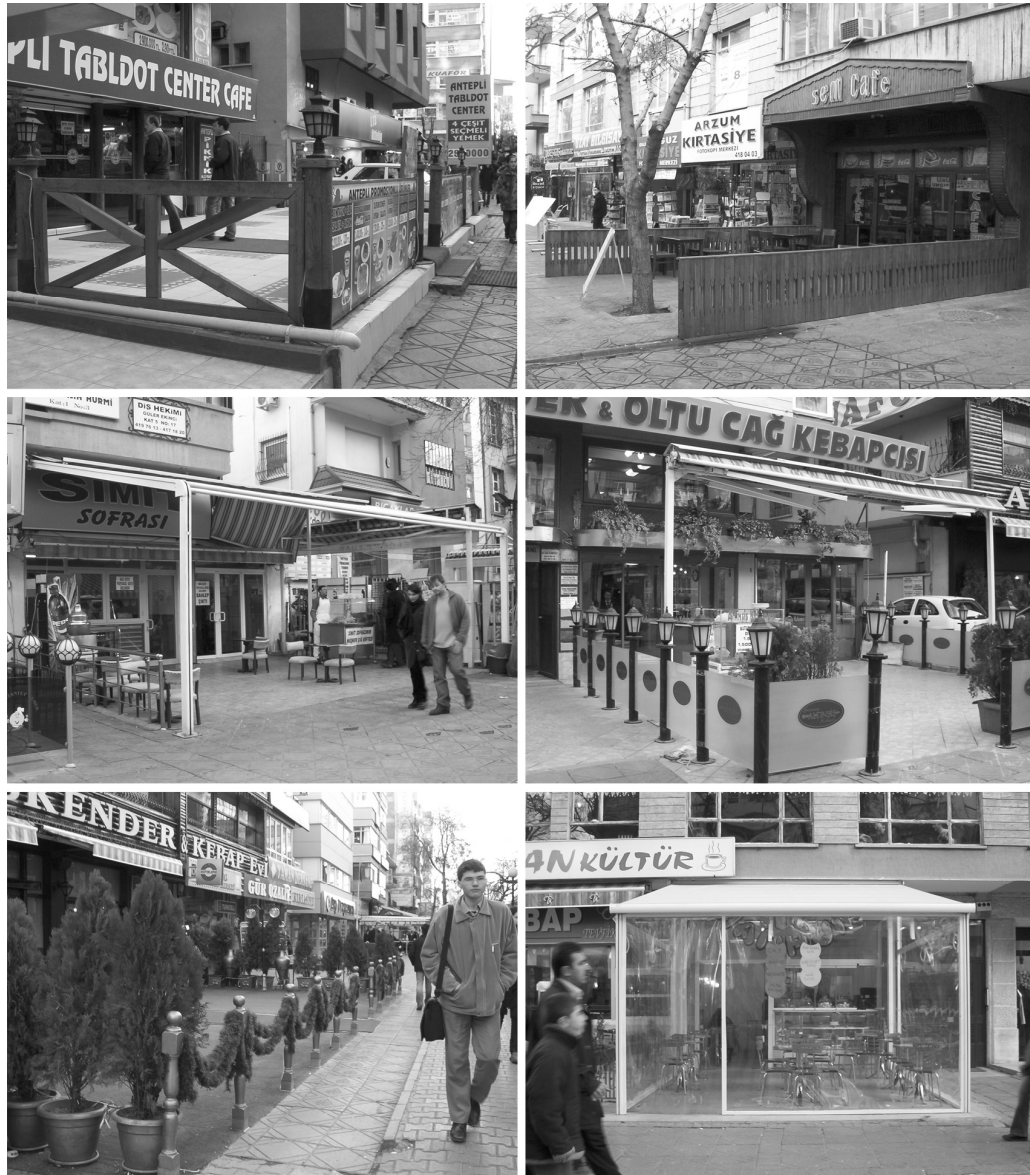


Figure 4.47: Various tactics due to determine the territorial boundaries in the street. January, 2006



Figure 4.48: Shops called as “bazaar” invade to the front yards of the buildings. January, 2006

4.4. Mutations in the Left-over Spaces

Extruding of property border lines as long as the point determined by the plan forms apartment-blocks and residue of the plot forms left-over spaces. Gathering of left-over spaces that are restricted with borders of 'property' generates a formless, fragmented whole like a patchwork. In fact, they are the outcomes of the given primacy to enclosed spaces. By doing so, residual part of the parcel is allocated as transition spaces and green gardens. Even though the areas arranged as parcels are private property, as each apartment owner has a share on the land, they may be deemed as being ownerless. Therefore, with reference to the mind set that produce these spaces and their usages in real life, they can be called as "left-over spaces."

To divide land into parcels is a tool for spatial homogenization on the basis of land ownership. Based on a standard, a plot serves in terms of "quantity" instead of "quality". On the other hand there are heterogeneities present in the land divided up in parcels, in quality. This heterogeneity is the result of how the area is programmed. Treatments toward leftover spaces are various.

In the studied two urban blocks, left-over spaces are programmed as parking lots of the apartment block, designed gardens, disorderly gardens, depots for unused things and also garbage, open or enclosed terraces of cafes and restaurants as well as an area that gives the chance of expansion to the programs of ground floors. In addition to these, left-over spaces contain small scaled buildings such as small garages, illegal housings, hut like or permanent additions of buildings served for horizontal expansion on the ground floors, additional buildings which occupy between two apartment blocks along with the street.

Some cafes and restaurants use the isolation of the leftover space from the chaotic environment of the street via emphasizing its natural elements and creating a rural scene to sit and eat. On the other hand others just regard the leftover space as an extra space to be utilized for placement of a couple of more tables. In such cases, left-over spaces gain an exchange value and become consumable goods.



Figure 4.49: On the left, the restaurant of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* (number 1) and on the right the café belongs to *İmge Bookstore* (number 17). They are designed left-over spaces. These café places in the left-over spaces surrounded by rows of buildings exclude the city and street life. September, 2005.



Figure 4.50: On the left, left-over space of *Arı Derşhanesi* in the block with number 23 (u.b. no: 1083). It is the place of unused and worn-out furnishings. On the right, a parking lot behind the block 44 (u.b. no:1082)

Isolation of left-over spaces from the street, which are surrounded by building rows, enables the services to expand to this area. It leads to careless constructions, or usages as a junkyard and/or a stockpiling area. Most of the left-over spaces contain service facilities and serve to support insufficient infrastructure of apartment blocks. Due to the fact that these buildings are built for housing purposes, there is not enough parking area to serve for the offices and work places. Therefore left-over spaces are mostly transformed to parking lots of the apartment blocks.

Left-over spaces behind restaurants may be programmed as service place for the kitchen as it was the case for the blocks with number 17 and number 19 in the urban block 1083. On the other hand, half part of the left-over space of the block with number 10 (u.b. no: 1083) is occupied by an additional building that serves for the spatial expansion of the kitchen of the ground floor restaurant.

If the property in question has a single owner (real person or a firm, foundation, hotel etc) or is state owned, then the area belonging to this block become a highly private place. Trespassing is barred, even gates installed to block entrance. If the left-over does not have an excess to the street and is not programmed by a café or restaurant then it turns to a no-man's land as it is for the block with number 25 (u.b. no:1083)

As was mentioned, these spaces also contain small buildings. These are portable temporary structures constructed in order to extend the size of the existing area allocated to a program on ground floor, another types of addition are made up of concrete, small built volumes of garages, depots and additional houses for house-keepers and extra single floor buildings that fill the gaps between the apartment block along side of the street. For these constructions, their appearance is out of concern. Most of them are products of self-building/designing activities.



Figure 4.51: On the left, a house for house-keeper that does not possess a door number. It is located in the left-over of the block with number 48 (u.b. no: 1082), on the right a small car park and its half part for storage of fuels to be used in the winter (in the building with number 50 in u.b. no:1082)



Figure 4.52: These spaces also scenes of inventions of unconventional ways of space making, and non-standard buildings types and materials. On the top, additional construction with its aluminum frame and plastic covering next to the block with number 2 (u.b. no:1083). On the bottom, a tent like structure (in the block with number 31 in u.b. no: 1083) serving for expansion of the program toward the left-over space. August, April, 2005.



Figure 4.53: Additional constructions serving for the extension of the size of the area that cafes and restaurants occupy. August, 2005.

For the left-over spaces of the studied area, it can be said that their territory and quality are re-organized in the real life, again, in tactical ways. In addition to their organization with parcels, they are re-divided by the programs. Territories are constantly and unpredictably changed.

All these mutations indicate a gap between the existing physical infrastructure and so-gained programs. According to Koolhaas, permanence of the building – and architecture – in metropolitan condition is based on the principles of *grid*, *lobotomy* and *schism*. Grid plan subdivides “the metropolitan area into maximum increments of control” thus sustain an autonomous field to the building within the city¹⁵². In case of the studied part of the Kızılay, each urban block accommodates more than twelve buildings most of which are located next to each other. Trapezoid shape and incompatible proportions of the urban blocks fail to provide a flexible support for the urban structure and thus architecture cannot be separated from the city. On the other hand row blocks are also connected to each other physically so that changes in one block can affect the blocks on both sides of it.¹⁵³

The degree to which the floors are disconnected is variable. In most cases, accommodation of more than one program on the floors prevents autonomous functioning of the floor. Thus functioning of the principle of *schism* is not inherent quality of the infrastructure but it is produced by some mutations. In terms of the separation of interior from the exterior of the building, what Koolhaas calls as *lobotomy*, apartment blocks with nine stories next to the main streets are the most successful ones. For others, in spite of the fact that *lobotomy* is an inherent quality of the apartment block structure, in this unstable geography, partial expressions can be observed in a limited number. Especially programs of leisure have certain demands concerning the façade. But it can be said that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between interior and exterior architecture for mutant apartment blocks.

¹⁵² Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, op.cit., p. 296

¹⁵³ Please see the section of the block with number 19 in urban block 1083

Bigness, here is the ultimate aim of the urban programs. Most of the spatial mutations serve for spatial expansion of the programs. On the other hand, small plot areas here produce inadequate floor areas for the blocks thus spatial expansion is accomplished in tactical manner and through different dimensions. Domestic plan schema is another obstacle in front of the urban programs. For this account, plans, if they do not work in any way, are erased to be turned into “typical plan” or re-configured while some traces are left. If the schema works somehow, it can be left totally unchanged.



Figure : An aerial view of the left-over spaces of the urban block 1082, taken from the topmost floor of the building with number 17, by the author in April, 2005.

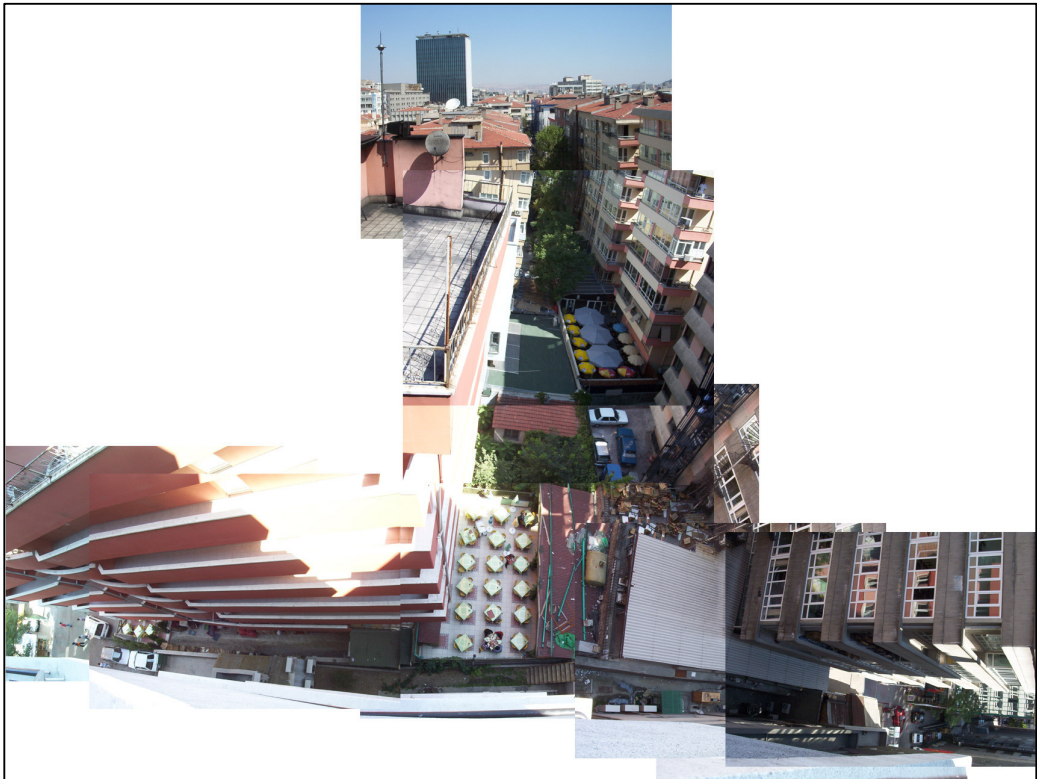


Figure : An aerial view of the left-over spaces of the urban block 1083, taken from the topmost floor of the building with number 9, by the author in August, 2005.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

What if we simply declare that there is no crisis –
redefine our relationship with the city not as its
makers but as its mere subjects, as its supporters?
More than ever, the city is all we have.¹⁵⁴

This study contains different alternative results due to its method. More over these readings are open and they can be further multiplied. Therefore the study does not suggest a crystal, and precise result, rather it proposes a view point, and a framework.

There were also some limiting ingredients concerning site analysis. It is impossible to capture this transient urban geography with its current complexity. On the other hand analysis may be further developed when complex systems of information and data processing invited to urbanism in the context of the Turkey so that statistics of programmatic change can be a reachable data.

Case study was a means of understanding the outlines of the limits of the relationship between architecture and city. This study aims at a panorama of the urban condition especially in the context of Turkey. Ongoing processes of mutation refer to the speed of change in urban dynamics. Thus in this context, questions of “performance” of built environment take place of architectural assessments. Building, in this context turns into a scene of such dynamic changes. It can be said that what is left permanent is a neutral frame “without quality”.

¹⁵⁴ Koolhaas, Rem. “What Ever Happened to Urbanism.” S,M,L,XL, op.cit., 971.

Reading was located on a ground where “writings of the city” can be a source of architecture while accepting that they are different orders. And program connects architecture to the city. Within the current urban condition, urban programs are more powerful and more determinant thus the task in front of the architecture is to understand “how city works.” On the other hand, architecture in the context of the city “exploits the potentials that can be generated finally only by urbanism.”¹⁵⁵ In case of the selected area, urban programs exploit the potential generated by buildings.(apartment blocks)

In the chosen site, limits of architecture drawn by urbanism are inadequate for generation of “architectural specificity.” It is not a compatible organization with the current urban condition. It does not provide a flexibility needed by architecture. Therefore, in case of architecture, unique solutions are prevented at the beginning, and with such an urbanism generic typologies are provoked and produced. Thus urbanism determines also all of the buildings. Architecture of the boxes in the form of apartment block is a direct product of the boundaries of ownership.

In current programmatic transformation process, boxes, thus come to the scene as different organizations are inserted in, same times at the cost of transcend the borders of the boxes. Three dimensional organizations superimposed of the pre-existing boxes that are product of a two dimensional organizational logic. Outcomes of such re-organizations are various in their affect and scale. Facades do not express this complex order(less), rather they become observable behind the facades in its full dimensions.

Three dimensional re-writing of a system that is derived from a two dimensional logic (multiplication of plot area through the third dimension) on the one hand erase the plans as functional layouts and turn them into “typical plans”, vessels of flows and change, in Koolhaas words, “the plan without qualities” that is “zero-degree architecture”. Section becomes

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 967

Re-organization of apartment block with urban programs means re-organization of its internal mechanism and as well as its relationships with its environment. Mutations are carried out without any radical renovation due to respond to the new demands stemmed from “unstable programs”. The gap between its physical structure and so- gained urban programs re-fragment/combine not only interior spaces of each unit but also the building and its surrounding: street and left-over spaces.

Here, uncertainty transforms into innovation via tactics. The borders of “autonomous parts”, *frames*, are transgressed in unusual ways. On the other hand, transgression of borders has its own potentials. Envelops are torn by programs thus diverse programs mix to each other. It engenders ambiguous spaces, “unnameable hybrids” that in turn provokes the diversity of programs. Because of the transgressions, or re-framings by urban program, these spaces are full of encounters, unexpected events and programmatic hybridisations.

Homogenous spaces of apartment blocks acquire spatial and programmatic diversity. Temporally changing territories generates new kinds of relationships between public and private spaces that also contribute to spatial diversity. Boundaries are transient. They are determined partially and tactically. Within such a context, architecture becomes a play thing.

However, from another point of view, modernism in its powerful expressions is massively experienced. But for this time, it comes to scene not as a choice, but as an obligation. Mutations in the blocks are another birth(s) of the *domino house* of Le Corbusier.

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