TRANSFORMATION OF AN URBAN "VECTOR": ESKİŞEHİR HIGHWAY, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF AN URBAN "VECTOR": ESKİŞEHİR HIGHWAY, ANKARA

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The urban transformation of the city of Ankara as a planned and constructed city with "stable configurations," "definitive forms," "limits" and "boundaries" in scope of modernization project of the country, is under the influence of new space-time understanding with "hybridizations," "proximities," "frictions," "overlaps" and "superpositions" in neo-liberal era.

This thesis presents the rapid transformation of Eskişehir Highway which is the "development corridor" of the city of Ankara. Eskişehir Highway is chosen in order to reflect the complexity of the "metropolitan condition" of the city of Ankara. Eskişehir Highway will be questioned as a "vector" which will be used as a tool to decipher multi-dimensional dynamics of this complex urban condition which reconfigures the new urban architecture with "intensity," "movement," "direction" and "magnitude" as both the features of the vector and era.

The Highway as a vectorial urban realm is transforming itself and the nearby, with the non-linear capitalist project production process. In order to understand this

transformation, the “new urban objects” of globalization will be examined as big projects of large capital regarding the new relation patterns between architecture and the urbanism under a framework shaped by the notions of “movement”-“fluidity”-“speed”, “intensity”, “direction” and “magnitude.”

Keywords: globalization, neo-liberalism, transformation, “vector”, “metropolitan condition”, “new urban objects,” Eskişehir Highway

ÖZ

BİR KENTSEL "VEKTÖR"ÜN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: ESKİŞEHİR YOLU, ANKARA

Tekin, Tuğba

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Ülkenin modernleşme projesi kapsamında sabit konfigürasyonlar, tanımlı formlar, limitler ve sınırlarla planlı bir kent olarak inşa edilen Ankara yeni zaman-mekan anlayışı etkisinde melezlikler, yakınlıklar, sürtünmeler, üst üste geçmeler ve çakışmalar ile dönüşmektedir.

Bu tez, Ankara kentinin gelişim koridoru olan Eskişehir Yolu'nun hızlı dönüşümünü sunar. Eskişehir Yolu kentin karmaşık metropolitan durumunu yansıtması açısından seçilmiştir. Çalışmada Eskişehir Yolu bir "vektör" olarak ele alınmıştır. "Vektör," yeni kent mimarisini hem vektörün hem de dönemin özelliklerini yansıtan "yoğunluk," "hareket," "yön" ve "miktar" gibi kavramlar ile yeniden tanımlayan karmaşık kent durumunun çok boyutlu dinamiklerini açığa çıkarmak için bir araç olarak kullanılmıştır.

Eskişehir Yolu vektörel bir kent alanı olarak kendisini ve çevresini doğrusal olmayan kapitalist üretim süreci ile dönüştürmektedir. Bu dönüşümü anlamak için, büyük sermayenin büyük projeleri olan küreselleşmenin "yeni kent objeleri," mimarlık ve

kent planlaması arasındaki yeni ilişki biçimleri de gözetilerek “yoğunluk,” “hareket,” “yön” ve “miktar” kavramları ile belirlenen bir çerçevede incelenecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: küreselleşme, neo-liberalizm, dönüşüm, “vektör,” “metropolitan durum,” “yeni kent objeleri,” Eskişehir Yolu

to my family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is a research on the transformation and character of "Eskişehir Highway"[1] (E 90) which is the starting point of the route between two cities, the city of Eskişehir and the city of Ankara.[2] Eskişehir Highway (former name was Cumhuriyet Street) was planned as one of the highways which were defining the by-then boundaries of the city in the 1957 Ankara Master Plan[3] with the influence of the Marshall Plan which caused a shift in transportation system of the country.[4] In the following decades with the rising population due to the rapid increase in migration, a "linear" city development was observed through Eskişehir Highway, towards the West because of the geomorphologic characteristics of the city as described with 1990 Master City Plan in

[1] With the law 3194 Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara got the largest authority for Eskisehir Highway (to 50th kilometers) which was under the control of General Directorate of Highways before 1985.

[2] The part of the Eskisehir Highway starting from Ataturk Boulevard to METU is named as Inonu Boulevard in 1970s by Vedat Dalokay who was the major of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in these years. Since the transformation which is the subject matter of the study already spread further side of METU campus without a definite end point; the name "Eskisehir Highway" is used to refer to the study area throughout the study, instead of using the name "Inonu Boulevard."

[3] Ali Cengizkan. "Nihat Yucel: Bir Mimar Planci, Bir Otobiyografi", Modernin Saati, Mimarlar Dernegi Yayinlari, Ankara, 2002, pp.189–195.
In 1953, a competition was organized for the new plan of Ankara, and in 1957 the new Master Plan is prepared by Nihat Yucel and Rasit Uybadin as the winners of the competition. This plan was highly concentrated on the existing boundaries of the city and did not propose extension.

[4] The political trends of the country transformed with transition to a multi-party political regime in 1946, and with the agreement between USA and Turkey in 1947 depending on Truman doctrine, and a new period started in Turkey with the influence of Marshall Plan. The transportation system of the country changed, and large scale highways are constructed instead of railways in these years. Furthermore, Marshall Plan has an encouraging role in mass migration from the rural areas by means of mechanization in agricultural activities and industrialization. Ankara as the capital city of the Turkish republic and a metropolis became an attraction point, and the highest increase of the population of the city of Ankara is observed in 1950-1955. After these years, decentralization process of Ankara started due to automobilization and migration which speeded up in 1980s.

terms of decentralization strategies.[5] Starting with this development, Eskişehir Highway gained importance and it became a focus point in the city for big investments of private sector after 1980s, and during 1990s the governmental and military character of the highway became heterogeneous and dynamic with the construction of "new urban objects"[6] of global capitalism like plazas, shopping malls, mixed-use centers, and international hotels. In this respect, this interurban motorway became a part of the complexity of the city, and an element infrastructure in transportation and communication, turned into a dynamic, unstable and flexible urban generator as a "vector."

1.1 Aim of the Study

This thesis aims to understand this large-scale transformation of Eskişehir Highway, "development direction" of the city towards the West. The study of Eskişehir Highway will give clues in order to comprehend the complex urban reality of Ankara as the "speculative city of large capital" and the role of the highway in the making of this recent urban complexity.

The study does not picture the historical transformation of the district, but attempts to understand the contemporary "metropolitan condition" substantially dominated by different components, processes, actors and vectorilised events rather than a linear designing or planning process, referring to the approach of Rem Koolhaas.

The main argument of the thesis is that, transformation in this part of the city constitutes the dynamic reflection of the social, politic and cultural realm of the city with the guiding role of economic factors during the last 15 years. In order to comprehend this transformation, throughout the study, the term "vector" will be used as a key term which implies the shift from "passive" to "active" in urban context. In this respect,

[5] Baykan Gunay. "Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme," Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 98.
[6] Borrowed from "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions" by Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui (cited in Global Networks Linked Cities) in order to refer office blocks, mixed-use projects, shopping malls, international hotels as the new urban spaces of global capitalism.

Eskişehir Highway will be analyzed and discussed as an urban “vector” transforming itself and its nearby environment with a freer “time and space” understanding.

The study intends to express that the new urban condition and the new urban spaces can not be explored without an understanding of “vector” with its features like “intensity,” “mobility,” “direction” and “magnitude” that are also the dominating features of the era, and with such an approach, this thesis presents a reading on the “new urban objects” of global capitalism and new interaction patterns with these features.

For the reason that, it is an incomplete process, it is difficult to picture a closed transformation analysis, but with urban “vector” I aimed to define an open ended, ever-changing, reconfigurable urban condition in order to grasp the existing indefiniteness situation.

This thesis will not propose a solution at the end, but it can only be regarded as an overall reading of this complex circumstance. It is expected that the study will give clues about the future of the district and illustrate the urban transformation process of the era which can be of reference to the following researches.

1.2 Limits of the Study

Since this study of transformation of Eskişehir Highway will mostly focus on the “new urban objects” of global capitalism and new relation patterns that are generally shaped by dynamics of free-market mechanism with the intentions of big capital; the research is limited with the period after 1990s when the transformative role of the big capital on Eskişehir Highway became obvious.

Because of the fact that, there is not a definite origin or an end point of the transformation process, and since the broad research field of the thesis which is composed of “fragmented urban forms” have a nodal character, it is difficult to draw a clear boundary for the research area of the thesis. Although the Akay multilevel traffic junction at the intersection of the Atatürk Boulevard and Eskişehir Highway can be

defined as the origin of Eskişehir Highway in a linear understanding, this study which intends to reveal the transformation after 1990s with “new urban objects,” will definitely focuses on the areas where the “new urban objects” are concentrated. In this respect, the site of the study is defined with the area where the physical outputs of the urban vector can densely be observed: the area between the Konya Highway junction and Bilkent junction with heterogeneous (private and state) properties. This area is limited with the road and nearby built environment of the road in 200 m span in both sides which cover nearly all of the “new urban objects.” This part is not chosen to define a specific site, but to illustrate the condition which can spread to the other parts of the highway and the city in a repeatable and reconfigurable manner. The field survey covers the time span between April 2007 and July 2008.

Figure 1. General view of Eskişehir Highway
[Source: Imaged captured from Google Earth (accessed on 05.2008)]

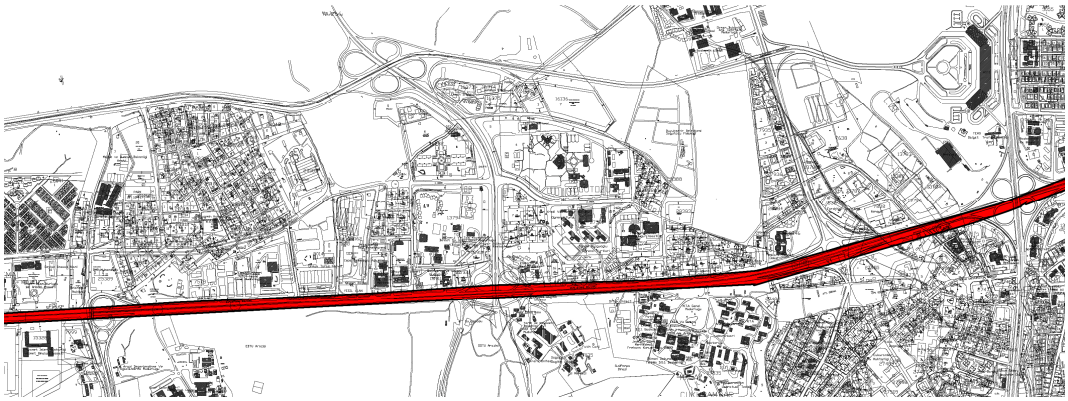

Figure 2. Plan of Study Area (Source: obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

1.3 Method of the Study

In order to define a general approach to the thesis, the concept of “vector” will be used as a tool to read and comprehend the complex transformation process of Eskişehir Highway in recent decades. Therefore, the study is essentially structured with the key features determined after the research on the term “vector”. These general features as “intensity,” “mobility,” ”direction” and “magnitude” which are derived from the definitions and theories will also be used to define the boundaries of the study on the transformation of Eskişehir Highway.

Within this framework, Eskişehir Highway will be regarded as a vector composed of other vectors, and accordingly the “new urban objects” as vectorial elements composing Eskişehir Highway will be researched with the key features of vector. The “new urban objects” will be particularly analyzed under two main headings: “form” and “program” which gain importance in the blurred relation of architecture and urbanism as separated elements. The method of the thesis can be explained as to analyze the “form” and “program” of the “new urban objects” in Eskişehir Highway with the cross-reading of the key features of “vector” which are also the dominating features of the era; “mobility,” “intensity,” “magnitude,” and “direction.”

The transformations in “form” and “program” will be presented with the features of “vector” one by one for achieving an in-depth understanding of the “heterogeneous whole” emphasizing the transformations in architecture and urbanism.

Table 1. The Matrix of the Method of the Analysis

Intensity	**Mobility fluidity-speed**	**Magnitude**	**Direction**
form	form	form	form
program	program	program	program

Investigation has been carried out with a combination of theoretical studies and empirical research. Empirical research was based on observations (with drifting in car and drifting by walking) and documentation of these observations with graphic experiments as collages of serial photographs, layering technique of non-hierarchical parts, functions (vertical and horizontal) and a route survey. These techniques are chosen especially to demonstrate not only the transformation in a two dimensional manner, but also provide the representation in the third dimension.

The main sources of the survey are visual documents of the projects (implemented and executed); photographs, renderings, architectural drawings (sections, elevations and plans). The interpretations of these visual documents are the way of understanding the transformation.

1.4 Content of the Study

The thesis is composed of six main sections. In the following chapter, a brief theoretical framework in regard to globalization and its urban spatialities will be given to provide a medium for the search of transformations in urbanism and architecture. Moreover, the influence of the globalization on the urban transformation of Turkey will also be analyzed with the period after the shift in economic system of the country in 1980s in this chapter.

In the third part of the study, in order to develop a theoretical framework to the study, the term “axis” and the term “vector” will be studied with inspiring and recent theories and definitions in different disciplines which underline the new interactions and relations between technology, time, space, and speed. Then, the urban “vector” concept will be introduced as a way to represent the shift from the “static urbanism” to the “metropolitan condition,” and the characteristics of the urban “vector” which are derived from the theoretical studies of the term “vector” as “mobility,” “intensity,” “direction,” and “magnitude” will be explored both representing the multi-dimensional dynamics of era and the new meanings in urban sphere.

In the fourth part of the study, the inner motives which turn Eskişehir Highway into an urban "vector" will be studied with plan decisions and inadequacies, social character of the district, working areas along the highway, the role of the political authority, and transportation regulations with a historical research to highlight the specificy of the district which make it attractive and speculative for private uses.

In the fifth chapter, physical environment formed by large capital as products of the urban "vector" will be investigated with new interaction patterns and "new urban objects" as non-places "without specific meaning, relation, history or identity"[7] in the contemporary city. The theoretical framework will be reconstructed in this part with the contribution empirical studies.

In this main part of the study, the "new urban objects" will be briefly introduced, and then, the order in the urban vector will be studied with new relation patterns of the era. After these, the "new urban objects" of Eskişehir Highway, as the products of globalization; plazas, shopping malls, mixed-use centers, international hotels, congress centers (with implemented and designed projects) will be presented with their general information by an analytical reading. And lastly, these new urban objects of big capital will be rendered through their "forms" and "programs" with the features of the urban "vector" in a cross-reading, not only to understand these new building typologies, but also the new urban life in the contemporary city and the relation of architecture and urbanism.

Eventually, in the last chapter the study will be concluded with the general inferences which are derived from the research and with the estimated results of the transformation of Eskişehir Highway.

[7] Marc Augé. Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity, London & New York: Verso, 1995, pg. 78.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALIZATION AND NEW URBAN SPATIALITIES

2.1 Globalization

Globalization is one of the most discussed issues of the 21st century. It denotes different contents and definitions in various spheres of life as an "umbrella term."[8] According to Peter Taylor and Colin Flint the discourses of globalization can be categorized in eight main headings: economic, political, social, technological, financial, geographic, cultural, and ecologic.[9] Hence, it is not easy to cope with all these theories and definitions; "globalization" will be briefly explored as a pre-study to understand the transformations in urbanism and architecture of the era.

In a most simple definition, globalization means a "borderless world"[10] with the diminishing connectness of people, ideas, economic activities, rules, goods, services, and capital to the geographic place.[11]

The general characteristics of the era are explained as: the accelerated mobility of the capital and the goods all around the world, the increasing importance of international

[8] David Harvey. "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 28.06.2008)
[9] Peter Taylor, Colin Flint. Political Geography: World-economy, Nation-state and Locality, London: Prentice Hall, 2000, pp. 2-4.
[10] Rana Eksinat. Kuresellesme ve Turkiye Ekonomisine Etkisi, Anadolu Universitesi Hukuk Fakultesi Yayinlari, 1998, pg. 7.
[11] Rusen Keles. "Kuresellesme ve Yerel Yonetimler", Cevat Geray'a Armagan, Ankara, Mulkiyeliler Birligi Yayinlari No: 25, 2001, pg. 564.

firms, developments in the information technology, and practice of the new science and technologies in the production system.[12] More precisely Harvey explains that:

> "Dynamics of growth and geographical expansion, technological change and product innovation, class struggle, international competition with in a shifting frame of relative space shaped by revolutions in transport and communications, and the growing disruptions of crises of over accumulation."[13]

Antony Giddens regards globalization as one of the features of the modern world,[14] according to him, globalization designates "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa."[15] He manifests interconnectedness of social relations and deterritorialization in terms of "time-space distantiation."[16]

In technological means, Marshall McLuhan argues globalization with his "global village" regarding time and space relation via the transformations in communication and media technologies. In this context, he mentions that "'Time" has ceased, "space" has vanished. We now live in a global village."[17] Correspondingly, Manuel Castells emphasizes technological means of globalization. He argues that "without new information technologies, there could be no economic globalization, no network enterprise, no global media, no global communication, and no global criminal economy."[18] He asserts that: "This new economy emerged in the last quarter of the

[12] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-36.pdf (accessed on 13.01.2008)
[13] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 30.
[14] Antony Giddens. The Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge,UK.: Polity Press, 1990, pp. 55-63
[15] Ibid., pg. 64.
[16] Ibid., pg. 21.
[17] Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore. The Medium is the Message, New York: Bantam Books, 1967, pg. 3.
[18] Felix Stalder. Manuel Castells: The Theory of the Network Society, Cambridge: Polity, 2006, pg. 32.

twentieth century because the information technology revolution provided the indispensable, material basis for its creation."[19]

Castells introduces "space of flows" "which dominates the historically constructed space of places, as the logic of dominant organizations detaches itself from the social constraints of cultural identities and local societies through the powerful medium of informational technologies."[20]

According to Fredric Jameson "globalization is a communicational concept which alternately masks and transmits cultural or economic meanings"[21] and he adds:

> "We have a sense that there are both denser and more extensive communicational networks all over the world today, networks that are on the one hand the result of remarkable innovations in communicational technologies of all kinds, and on the other have as their foundation the tangentially greater degree of modernisation in all the countries of the world, or at least in their big cities, which includes the implantation of such technologies." [22]

Although globalization is understood as a new phenomenon, according to Roland Robertson it is not quite recent.[23] For him globalization emerged before the modern era and capitalism.[24] Also the theorists who associate globalization with capitalism disregard the globalization as a new phenomenon, and they explicate globalization as the current phase of economic system, a stage of capitalism.[25] They note that, the general character of capitalism is to expand universally, but in this era of global capitalism the "speed" and "intensity" of the system certainly increase[26] in accordance

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[19] Manuel Castells. The Rise of the Network Society, Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pg. 77.
[20] Manuel Castells. The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-regional Process, Oxford: B.Blackwell, 1989, pg. 6.
[21] Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi. The Cultures of Globalization, Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1998, pg. 55.
[22] Ibid., 55.
[23] Roland Robertson. Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture, London: Sage, 1992, pg.78.
[24] Ibid., pp. 58-60.
[25] Yildiz Teknik Universitesi Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi, http://www.stratejik.yildiz.edu.tr/makale1.htm (accessed on 12.01.2008)
[26] Fuat Ercan'in Web Arsivi, http://fuatercan.files.wordpress.com/2007/06/esneklik_petrol_is2.pdf (accessed on 20.06.2008)

with the transformations in production, transportation and transmission technologies which diminish distances and define the more fluid form of global capital as elucidated by Harvey:

> "For us, the contemporary form of globalization is nothing more than yet another round in the capitalist production and reconstruction of space. It entails a further diminution in the friction of distance (what Marx referred to as "the annihilation of space through time" as a fundamental law of capitalist development) through yet another round of innovation in the technologies of transport and communications."[27]

In terms of economic globalization, Harvey underlines the "expansionary logic" of the era and states that "investments in new systems of transport and communications reduce spatial barriers and roll back the possible geographical boundaries of exchange relations."[28] Globalization is mostly used to refer the process which was defined in order to eliminate the crisis of capitalism during 1970s,[29] and it is stated that the program of globalization in economic means becomes valid in the 1980s with the neo-liberal policies.[30]

> "Globalization in its present guise has entailed, among other things, the pursuit of a whole series of spatial fixes to the crisis that erupted around 1973. Capital, most would agree, has since become much more global in all of its forms of production, commerce, merchanting, and finance. It has shifted rapidly (and often with considerable volatility) from one location to another."[31]

Saskia Sassen considers the transformations of the era as:

> "One of the key properties of the current phase is the ascendance of information technologies and the associated increase in mobility and liquidity of capital. There have long been cross-border economic processes- flows of capital, labor, goods, raw materials, tourists. But to a

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[27] David Harvey. "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 28.06.2008)
[28] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 19.
[29] David Harvey. "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 28.06.2008)
[30] Fuat Ercan'in Web Arsivi, http://fuatercan.files.wordpress.com/2007/06/sermaye.pdf (accessed on 20.06.2008)
[31] David Harvey. "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 28.06.2008)

> large extent these took place within the inter-state system, where the key articulators were national states. This began to change rather dramatically in the 1980s and has accelerated in the 1990s as a result of a rapidly growing number of governments opting for or being pressured into privatization, deregulation, the opening up of their national economies of foreign firms, and the growing participation of national economic actors in global markets."[32]

At this point, a brief explanation of neo-liberalism which is particularly interconnected with globalization can be given. Globalization was achieved with neo-liberal policies in terms of universalizing the capital after the crisis in 1973[33] as mentioned before. The general meaning of neo-liberalism is given as a strategy of political-economic restructuring[34] which promotes the economic liberalism, and neo-liberalism is asserted as the project of redefining communities and social structure according to the rules of the global capitalism. According to Harvey:

> "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to be concerned, for example, with the quality and integrity of money."[35]

In this system, economic cares become more essential than the "public good" and the "community". Harvey stresses that "the fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state is to create a "good business climate" and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation" without considering the "consequences for employment or social well-being," in contrast "with the social democratic state that is of all of its citizens subject to the condition of maintaining adequate and stable rates of capital accumulation."[36] He

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[32] Saskia Sassen. "The Global City: Introducing a Concept and its History," Mutations, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist., Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 105.
[33] Fuat Ercan'in Web Arsivi, http://fuatercan.files.wordpress.com/2007/06/sermaye.pdf (accessed on 20.06.2008)
[34] Neil Brenner, Nik Theodore. Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Erope, Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pg. vii.
[35] David Harvey. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction," Annals of the American Academy, 61, 2007, pp. 22-44.
[36] David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism, London: Verso, 2006, pg. 25.

also adds that "it is obvious that the political alternatives will choose the development rather than the social justice."[37]

The role of the state in the liberal economic system is making regulations with the aim of achieving the circulation of capital universally which eliminates the nation-state boundaries.[38] In this respect, Sassen denotes that: "Economic globalization does indeed extend the economy beyond the boundaries of the nation-state."[39] The neo-liberal state also emphasizes the importance of personal and individual freedom, liberty, and responsibility, particularly in the market place.[40] The increasing emphasis of local authorities who aim to be a part of the universal competition is another significant characteristic of the neo-liberal system.[41]

> "The neo-liberal state is particularly assiduous in seeking the privatization of assets as a means to open up fresh fields for capital accumulation. Sectors formerly run or regulated by the state (transportation, telecommunications, oil and other natural resources, utilizes, social housing, education) are turned over to the private sphere or deregulated."[42]

Turning back to the globalization; it is already known that the era of globalization brings a new "time and space" understanding. Different than the Giddens who puts forward the "time and space distantiation" Harvey associates the compression of "time and space" with globalization.[43] It is stated that the "time and space" compression implies the shrinking of the world with elimination of boundaries.

> "The expansion of the railway network, accompanied by the advent of the telegraph, the growth of steam shipping, and the building of the Suez Canal, the beginnings of radio communication and bicycle and automobile travel at the end of the century, all changed the sense of time and space in radical ways."[44]

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[37] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 192.
[38] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-36.pdf (accessed on 13.01.2008)
[39] Saskia Sassen. "From Globalization and Discontents", The Blackwell City Reader, edited by Gary Bridge, Sophie Watson, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pg.166.
[40] David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism, David Harvey, London: Verso, 2006, pg. 27.
[41] Ayda Eraydin. Post-fordizm ve Degisen Mekansal Oncelikler, Ankara:ODTU, 1992, pg.121
[42] David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism, David Harvey, London: Verso, 2006, pg. 25.
[43] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 240.
[44] Ibid., pg. 264.

Harvey describes “time-space compression” as:

> "The intensity of time-space compression in Western capitalism since the 1960s, with all of its congruent features of excessive ephemerality and fragmentation in the political and private as well as in the social realm, does seem to indicate an experiential context that makes the condition of postmodernity somewhat special. But by putting this condition into its historical context, as part of a history of successive waves of time-space compression generated out of the pressures of capital accumulation with its perpetual search to annihilate space through time and reduce turnover time, we can at least pull the condition of postmodernity into the range of a condition accessible to historical materialist analysis and interpretation."[45]

Transportation and information technologies also speed up the circulation of money as Harvey clearly mentions that “turnover time of the capital is very important magnitude”[46] in the capitalist mode of production, since “time is money.” Additionally, he states that “Capitalism has been characterized by continuous efforts to shorten turnover times, thereby speeding up social processes while reducing the time horizons of meaningful decision-making.”[47]

In a cultural sense, the contemporary globalization reasons the spread of new life style depending on consumerism which is widely discussed with the idea of “consumer culture.” In this life style, individualism is highlighted with the relations that are specified with “money” depending on consumption activity[48] which is resulted in replacement of the idea of “citizen” with the idea “consumer”. This cultural transformation is also associated with the homogenization of culture, and in that manner, it is affirmed that the “world are unified into a single society,”[49] the cultural differences are eliminated,[50] and a “global culture” is formed[51] based on cross-border communicational networks with new relation patterns. Castells clarifies these new relation patterns in various

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[45] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 306.
[46] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 22.
[47] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 229.
[48] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-36.pdf (accessed on 13.01.2008)
[49] Wikipedia, http://www.wikipedia.com (accessed on 18.04.2008)
[50] Rana Eksinat. Kuresellesme ve Turkiye Ekonomisine Etkisi, Anadolu Universitesi Hukuk Fakultesi Yayinlari, 1998, pg. 93.
[51] Ayse Oncu, Petra Weyland. Space, Culture and Power; New Identities in Globalizing Cities, London/New Jersey: Zed Boks, 1997, pg. 9.

contexts with the concept of "network society" that he conceptualizes to refer the social structure of the era.

Although globalization with different aspects is studied so far, the effects of globalization are actually so debatable. Besides the homogenization effects of globalization, it "also brings an emphasis on questions of power and inequality"[52] according to Sassen. Castells stresses that the new informational economy brings polarizations in society, "segments social groups, isolates cultures and segregates the uses of a shared culture."[53] Ayşe Öncü also declares that rather than a world-wide homogenization, globalization leads heterogeneities, diversities and complexities.[54] In this respect, Robertson puts forward "glocalization" to define these heterogeneities and contradictions of globalization and localization.

2.2 Urban Reconfigurations of Globalization:

In order to define and understand the complexity of new urban configurations of globalization, different theories and definitions are constructed which represent the new roles and dynamics of the cities.

One of the earliest attempts to define the internal and external transformations of the cities is the idea of "world city". The "world city" hypothesis is firstly put forward by John Friedmann to render how the cities connect to world economy. With this first prototype of the global cities the capitals' and world markets' increasing influence on the urban forms and the hierarchic relations between the cities are questioned.[55] Friedmann gives the following explanation about the "world city" hypothesis:

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[52] Saskia Sassen. "The Global City: Introducing a Concept and its History", Mutations, ed. Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist., Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 105.
[53] Manuel Castells. The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-regional Process, Oxford, UK; New York, NY, Usa: B.Blackwell, 1989, pg. 218.
[54] Ayse Oncu, Petra Weyland. Space, Culture and Power; New Identities in Globalizing Cities, London/New Jersey: Zed Boks, 1997, pp. 1-19.
[55] Fuat Ercan. "Dunya Kentleri ve Uluslararasi Kentler: Istanbul", Toplum ve Bilim, No: 71, Istanbul, 1996, pg. 68.

> "The world city hypothesis is about the spatial organization of the new international division of labour. As such, it concerns the contradictory relations between production in the era of global management and the political determination of territorial interests. It helps us to understand what happens in the major global cities of the world economy and what much political conflict in these cities is about."[56]

In terms of the strategic roles that cities get with economic globalization, Saskia Sassen introduces the "global cities" as the command points of the global economy.[57] She maps the general features of global cities as:

> "The point of departure for the present study is that the combination of spatial dispersal and global integration has created a new strategic role for major cities. Beyond their long history as centers for international trade and banking, these cities now function in four new ways: first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations, in these leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the production and innovations produced. These changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact both international economic activity and urban form: cities concentrate control over vast resources, while finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social and economic order. Thus a new type of city is appeared. It is the global city. Leading examples now are New York, London, Tokyo, Frankfurt, and Paris."[58]

According to Castells, the "global city is not a place but a process by which centers of productions and consumptions of advanced services, and their ancillary local societies, are connected in a global network, while simultaneously downplaying the linkages with their hinterlands, on the basis of information flows."[59]

Castells presents "megacities" as the nodal points of "informational age" which "articulate the global economy, link up the informational networks, concentrate world's power"[60] with increasingly dense pattern of communications.[61]

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[56] John Friedmann. "The World City Hypothesis", Development and Change, 17:1, 1986, pg. 67.
[57] Saskia Sassen. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 3-4.
[58] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[59] Manuel Castells. The Rise of the Network Society. Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pg. 386.
[60] Ibid., pg. 404.

> "It is this distinctive feature of being globally connected and locally disconnected, physically and socially, that makes megacities a new urban form. A form that is characterized by the functional linkages it establishes across vast expanses of territory, yet with a great deal of discontinuity in land use patterns. Megacities' functional and social hierarchies are spatially blurred and mixed, organized in retrenched encampments, and unevenly patched by pockets of undesirable-uses. Megacities are discontinuous constellations of spatial fragments, functional pieces, and social segments."[62]

Edward Soja in his study of Los Angeles brings forward "postmetropolis as a general term to accentuate the differences between contemporary urban regions and those that consolidated in the middle decades of the twentieth century."[63] He defines six discourses in order to decipher the new complex urban condition:

> "I. Flexcity: on the restructuring of the political economy of urbanization and the formation of the more flexibly specialized post-Fordist industrial metropolis.
> 2. Cosmopolis: on the globalization of urban capital, labor, and culture and the formation of a new hierarchy of global cities.
> 3. Expolis: on the restructuring of urban form and the growth of edge cities, outer cities, and postsuburbia: the metropolis turned inside-out and outside-in.
> 4. Metropolarities: on the restructured social mosaic and the emergence of new polarizations and inequalities.
> 5. Carceral Archipielagos: on the rise of fortress cities, surveillance technologies, and the substitution of police for polis.
> 6. Simcities: on the restructured urban imaginary and the increasing hyperreality of everyday life."[64]

2.3 Reflections on Physical Environment

> "If the metropolis is still a place, a geographic site, it no longer has anything to do with the classical oppositions of city/ country nor center/ periphery. The city is no longer organized into a localized and axial state. While the suburbs contributed to this dissolution, in fact the intramural-extramural opposition collapsed with the transport revolutions and the development of communication and telecommunications technologies. These promoted the merger of disconnected metropolitan fringes into a single urban mass."[65]

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[61] Ayse Oncu, Petra Weyland. Space, Culture and Power; New Identities in Globalizing Cities, London/New Jersey: Zed Books, 1997, pg. 5.
[62] Manuel Castells. The Rise of the Network Society. Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pg. 404.
[63] Edward Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis," Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory, New York: Routledge, 1997, pg. 19.
[64] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[65] Paul Virilio. The Lost Dimension, New York, N.Y.: Semiotext(e), 1991, pg. 12.

The effects of globalization and neo-liberal policies can clearly be observed on the transformations in urbanism and architecture through privatization of space and "urbanization of capital" with new territorial dynamics and urbanization patterns,[66] as Çağlar Keyder states that "what was visible in terms of the transformation of the built environment was the result of accelerated transnational flows of capital, commodities and images."[67]

In the era of globalization the capitalist mode of production of space is obvious, but it changes form and strategy. Hakkı Yırtıcı states that capitalism and the transformative role of the capital shape not only the production modes and the people in the process, but also the space understanding,[68] thus the transformations in capitalism also reconfigures the urban condition[69] with emphasis of the materialized space, diminishing relevance of place and geography by means of the new distance relations. As land speculations and production of built environment become profitable area for investment in terms of capitalist production of space, the urban environment is restructured according to the most profitable manner[70] which causes unequal structuring of urban space[71] with heterogeneities. As an example of unequal structuring of urban space, juxtaposition of contradictory spaces like squatter areas and new business areas can be given.

> "The competition for space is great, so that each area generally tends to be put to the use which yields the greatest economic return."[72]

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[66] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pg. 311.
[67] Caglar Keyder. "Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 29.1 March 2005, pp. 124-134.
[68] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 11.
[69] Cana Birsel. "Kentsel Donusum, Cozulen Kentler ve Parcalanan Kamusal Alan," Mimarlik, http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=41&RecID=1014 (accessed on 18.04.2008)
[70] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 84.
[71] Tarik Sengul. Kentsel Celiski ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentlesme Surecleri Uzerine Yazilar, Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitapligi, 2001, pg. 146.
[72] Louis Wirth. "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44.1, 1938, pg. 15.

Rana Aslanaoglu affirms that, shrinking of geographic distances together with juxtaposition, superposition, overlapping of new urban spaces as hyperspaces by new means of perception understanding[73] can be experienced in this era.

> "In the current course of development, we are facing complex and dynamic transformations of the urban space: dispersed landscapes, trans-national spaces, contour-less city-regions, global markets, demographic changes and post-modern lifestyles are challenges to our understanding of the relation between time, space, and urbanity."[74]

Aslanoğlu also claims that "time-space compression" brings two significant transformations in urban space: first one is fracturing of urban space by means of informational technologies which results in looser urban density patterns, and second one is image reproduction capabilities with the use of computer technologies in control and consumption processes which leads market tendency in architecture and urbanism.[75] In addition to these transformations, the general reflections of globalization on the overall built environment are determined as:

> "…represents freedom, emancipation from the pressures of history and geographic location, the distribution of new scales and programs, the downloading of formalist exercises, the development of business strategies, the abandonment of architectural object, the intermixing of various cultural references, the development of new materials, the quest for the new."[76]

Cana Birsel states that the cities improve new competitive visions in order to integrate the global economic order and to be a part of the competition with the aim of attracting the international capital.[77] The urban land actually becomes the most important tool for the international competition, and in this respect, private interest is encouraged into the

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[73] Rana Aslanaoglu. Kent, Kimlik ve Kuresellesme, Ezgi Kitabevi, 2000, pg. 116.
[74] The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, http://www.karch.dk/dk/Materiale/Forskningsforvaltningen/Pdf/Phd-abstracts/Vanessa_Miriam_Carlow_abstract.pdf (accessed on 20.06.2008)
[75] Rana Aslanaoglu. Kent, Kimlik ve Kuresellesme, Ezgi Kitabevi, 2000, pg. 119.
[76] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 316.
[77] Cana Birsel. "Kentsel Donusum, Cozulen Kentler ve Parcalanan Kamusal Alan," Mimarlik, http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=41&RecID=1014 (accessed on 18.04.2008)

built environment.[78] Therefore, cities turn into reproduction areas for international capital. Harvey argues that:

> "Imaging a city though the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism."[79]

Local authorities also work as entrepreneurs and cooperate with private sector for project production, especially for regeneration and big urban projects are carried out with these collaborations.[80]

Consequently, it can already be said that the formation of physical environment under these approaches results in similarities, homogenizations and standardizations in cities with loss of identity. "Commercial and recreational areas that can be reached only by private cars via the highway network"[81] and the "new urban objects" which "are simply forms of investment"[82] illustrate the similarities all around the world as the outcomes of developments in new materials, construction technologies and design strategies with new formal expressions and diverse programs, as "International hotels, shopping centers, megastores, private suburbs, restaurants, exclusive boutiques" constitute the "common spaces" of globalization.[83]

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[78] Cana Birsel. "Kentsel Donusum, Cozulen Kentler ve Parcalanan Kamusal Alan," Mimarlik, http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=41&RecID=1014 (accessed on 18.04.2008)
[79] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 92.
[80] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-36.pdf (accessed on 13.01.2008)
[81] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pg. 310.
[82] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg.309.
[83] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 309-323.

> "This global system is manifested through the standardization of certain building types, planning strategies, and infrastructures unifying the "world" under a single rule."[84]

The shift in urban sphere will be deeply studied in the further chapter with Rem Koolhaas' "Generic city."

2.4 Urbanization in Turkey under the Influence of Globalization: "Urbanization of Big Capital"

Since mid-1980s, Turkey is under the influence of global circumstances by means of neo-liberal policies and new economic program,[85] as the economy of the country was reorganized in 1980s with "greater openness and liberalization."[86]

> "State control and/or intervention in the economy gradually weakened. In the rich sense of the term, the opening up of the Turkish economy to western world was realized in the post-1980s. In time, the economy took on a neo-liberal, foreign oriented character whereby it would be possible to compete with other countries."[87]

In this period the nation-state identity of the country and the modernism project of the Republic of Turkey which also identified with the physical environment of the city of Ankara were corrupted with the populist approaches which are denoted as "for public."[88]

The shift in the political trend of the country can also be observed through the transformation in the urban sphere with new, globalized space understanding, as, before 1980s, the urban transformation was guided and defined by state control and private capital under the control of state, but after 1980s, with the changes in policies,

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[84] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 12.
[85] Korkut Boratav. Turkiye Iktisat Tarihi 1908-2002, Ankara: Imge Yayinevi, 2003, pp. 147-150.
[86] Caglar Keyder and Ayse Oncu. Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities, Istanbul: Friedrich Ebert Vakfı, 1993, pg. 19.
[87] Oya Erisen. "Suburbanization in Turkey within the Process of Integration to Global Development and a New Life-style Settlement", Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2004, pg. 90.
[88] Ilhan Tekeli. Modernite Asilirken Kent Planlamasi, Ankara: Imge Kitabevi, 2001 pg. 84.

the state lost its control over the private capital, and new metropolization process emerged parallel to the liberal economic approaches.[89] İlhan Tekeli states that with "institutional renovations, Turkey became a part of cyberspace of the world"[90] in these years, and he discusses the transformations in urban sphere with the changes in redistribution of population and redistribution of capital in space. Tekeli summarizes the general transformation of the urbanization process in three items: the first one is the changes in the urban controlling mechanisms, the second one is the changes in the housing supply and transportation systems and the last one is the changes in the urban form.[91]

The changes in the urban controlling mechanisms became obvious with the law 3030. The Ankara Metropolitan Area City Planning Bureau[92] transferred to Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara with this law in 1984, and with the law 3194 the authority of planning of the cities was given to municipalities in 1985.[93] Moreover, the regulations in housing supply system of the country were redefined with the mass housing law and new credit mechanisms in these years.[94] With these regulations, urban land and the built environment as "secondary circuit of capital"[95] became important investment areas of the country rather than the production investments. Thus, big capital holders and firms who were working in the Middle East were encouraged by these transformations, and they participated in the construction sector in Turkey.[96]

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[89] Bugra Gokce. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali. TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi, Ankara, 2003, pg. 18.
[90] Ilhan Tekeli. Turkiye'de Cumhuriyet Doneminde Kentsel Gelisme ve Kent Planlamasi. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 1998, pp. 20-21.
[91] Ibid., pg. 22.
[92] Bugra Gokce. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali. TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi, Ankara, 2003, pg. 17.
[93] Nihan Ozdemir. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali. TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi, Ankara, 2003, pp. 53-54.
[94] Ilhan Tekeli. Turkiye'de Cumhuriyet Doneminde Kentsel Gelisme ve Kent Planlamasi. Tarih Vakfi, Istanbul, 1998, pg. 22.
[95] David Harvey. The Urbanisation of Capital, Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1985, pg. 6.
[96] Ayda Eraydin. Post-fordizm ve Degisen Mekansal Oncelikler, ODTU, 1992, pg. 118.

> "Investment in the built environment took place primarily for financial rather than the use-value reasons investors were looking for a steady and secure rate of return on their capital. "[97]

Tekeli states that the compact forms of the cities were redefined with decentralization processes[98] which were also depending on increasing car ownership, and thus the homogeneous forms of the cities replaced with heterogeneous city forms composed of big urban parts. For him, in these years the shift from the "speculative city of small capital" to the "speculative city of large capital"[99] was experienced with these transformations.

> "A general condition for the flow of capital into the secondary circuit is, therefore, the existence of a functioning capital market and, perhaps, a state willing to finance and guarantee long-term, large-scale projects with respect to the creation of built environment."[100]

According to Ayda Eraydın, the relations of the internalized capital not only define the new functions in the cities, but also the complications in the urban space.[101] In this respect, she states that accumulation defined by the unearned money, and new urban investment patterns were resulted in rapid suburbanization and new organization patterns in metropolitans.[102] Furthermore, Eraydın claims that different than the traditional dual character of the cities, new urban spaces were introduced like plazas, luxurious housing areas, and mass housing projects together with squatter settlements in these metropolitan areas, and a new group of capital holders were defined in this process.[103]

> "The decade of the 1990s, when the impact of globalization (processes which occupy spaces where internal and external actors are linked without

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[97] David Harvey. The Urbanisation of Capital, Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985, pg. 22.
[98] Ilhan Tekeli. Kent Planlamasi Konusmalari, Mimarlar Odasi Yayinlari: Ankara, 1991, pp. 170-172.
[99] Ibid., pg. 171.
[100] David Harvey. The Urbanisation of Capital, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1985, pg. 7.
[101] Ayda Eraydin. Post-fordizm ve Degisen Mekansal Oncelikler, ODTU, 1992, pp. 112-113.
[102] Ibid., pg. 114.
[103] Ibid., pg. 114.

> the mediation of the state) was most visible, witnessed important changes in all these dimensions which together define exclusion."[104]

In 21st century, the new transformation process of cities became more obvious with the increasing influence of "globalization". Emre Kongar particularly considers this condition in terms of universal "urbanization",[105] and elucidates this new urbanization process in Turkey as:

> "Thirdly, the prevalence of urban land plundering and illegal building sites urged the local and central political powers to intervene to obtain their share from the system. However, since these interventions were conducted without any proper plan and because they were applied only for the intention of obtaining a share from the plundering, the public authorities have also become an accomplice to the guilt of plundering the city areas. Fourthly, since the urbanization process in Turkey caused the big unearned incomes from city lands to be captured by using brute force and since the public authorities are also involved in this process, all planned urbanization activities have been prevented. Therefore, to live peacefully in big cities has become nearly impossible since neither the traffic flows smoothly, nor any public services are given adequately…. The sixth result is more grievous: The "plundering culture" developed in these areas first combined with the local authorities through their "refined families" who became rich with the brute force and illegal means of this culture."[106]

Consequently, urbanization process of Turkey under the influence of globalization which is discussed so far, reveals that the heterogeneity and complexity of the new condition resulted in capital's unequal concentration in some districts with an crucial role in restructuring of the physical environment[107] via the privatized urban spaces of global capitalism, "new urban objects," and new relation patterns, as it can clearly be observed in the case of transformation of Eskişehir Highway in Ankara.

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[104] Caglar Keyder "Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 29.1 March 2005, pp. 124-34.
[105] Analysing and Overcoming the Sociological Fragmentation in Europe, http://www.anovasofie.net/vl/countries/turkey/docs/01/tur_01_01_social.pdf (accessed on 21.09.2007)
[106] Ibid.
[107] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 44.

CHAPTER 3

THE "AXIS" AND THE "VECTOR"

3.1 The Term "Axis" and the Term "Vector"

In the urban context, the term "axis" is generally conceptualized in order to represent the "linear" development of the cities, but I believe the urban transformations through the highways with the "new urban objects" in capitalist cities of neo-liberal globalization can not be understood with the traditional linear understanding. In order to develop a general approach to the case of Eskişehir Highway, first of all the "axis" and the "vector" will be analyzed.

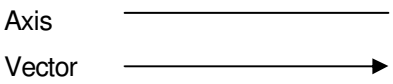

Figure 3. Axis and Vector (drawn by the author)

Starting with the term "axis", the "axis" which reveals "space and time" relation in a static manner can be associated with the traditional linear understanding. This traditional linear understanding which is highly configured in modernist thought can be explored with the explanations of Le Corbusier on "axis." He declares about the "axis":

> "The axis is perhaps the first human manifestation; it is the instrument to any human act. The child who hesitates tends in the direction of the axis,

> the man who fights in the tempest of his life draws an axis for himself. The axis is the organizer of architecture. "[108]

As Le Corbusier mentions, axis is commonly designated as one of the ordering principles of architecture and urbanism. Moreover, Peter Eisenman argues that historically a grid, an axis, a marche, or a promenade architecturale are used as referents of a sequential ordering of a series of apperceptions in the experience of space.[109] Accordingly, it can be said that, the term "axis" can be set where "space and time were still understood as a simultaneous continuum."[110] Eisenman's definition of the term "axis" is:

> "Traditionally an axis represented a linear progression in time, a continuous and indifferent movement between two (or more) points which in themselves contain meaning and relate each other in a hierarchical way."[111]

In 21st century, the new approaches to architecture and urbanism, contrary to the static linear understanding, defend that "axis" defined with an "origin" and "end point" is inadequate for the representation of time, movement, direction and space relation, and this static approach is subverted with new definitions and theories.

For Eisenman, "there is no longer a need for a classical axis" which he describes "as a form bound to a linear time, hierarchy, and community."[112] He has an approach different than this what he calls "the traditional understanding" and the term "vector" which he regards as "virtual movements" gets a vital role in the symbolization of time, direction and movement in his various works. To emphasize the reason of preference of "vector" rather than "axis," he simply compares these two terms, and declares that

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[108] Le Corbusier. Towards a New Architecture, New York: Dover Publications, 1986 (Originally published in French in 1923), pg. 151.
[109] Peter Eisenman. "Time Warps: The Monument," Anytime. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pg. 251.
[110] Ibid., pg. 252.
[111] Ibid., pg. 252.
[112] Peter Eisenman. "Architecture and the Problem of Rhetorical Figure," Architecture and Urbanism, no. 202, (July) 1987, pp. 16-22.

"An axis is a neutral vector that has no direction, magnitude, or intensity" on the other hand "A vector has direction, magnitude and intensity."[113]

Eisenman delineates connections with vectors as moving forces in his projects, and according to him "correlated movements produce a mechanical system capable of generating forms influenced by the position and orientation of the vectors."[114] He elaborates his idea as:

> "A field of influence is attributed to each vector, which updates its virtual movement through time. The visualized lines, together with their geometric properties, become moving forces."[115]

Daniel S. Friedman also points out the shift from static understanding in architecture as:

> "Complex systems have effectively displaced classical proportion and order as the basis of formal experimentation. In this new compositional vocabulary, "field" supersedes "figure", "event" supersedes "object", "vector" supersedes "axis"."[116]

Bernard Tschumi and Greg Lynn are some other architects who search for the dynamic organization and "form" rather than the "static object" in their projects by means of the vectors, based on digital design technologies. Lynn asserts that: "An object defined as a vector whose trajectory is relative to other objects, forces, fields and flows, defines form within an active space of force and motion."[117] As a result, these approaches which stress the "vector" by means of new design understanding can be associated with the shift from the "passive space" to the "active space" of interactions.

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[113] Alejandro Zaera-Polo. "A Conversation with Peter Eisenman," El Croquis, no. 83, 1997, pg.13.
[114] Luca Galofaro. Digital Eisenman - An Office of the Electronic Era. Basel: Birkhäuser, 1999, pg. 66.
[115] Ibid., pg. 66.
[116] Daniel S. Friedman. The American Institute of Architects, http://www.aia.org/SiteObjects/files/0_Introduction.pdf (accessed on12.04.2007)
[117] Greg Lynn. Animate Form, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999, pg. 18.

> "A field of vectors, then, makes possible the construction of Deleuze's "supple set of relationships between forces", since a vector cannot be understood as a singularity, it exists only as the result of all other vectors connected to it."[118]

For Paul Virilio, the "vector" is a key term too. He figures out the relations between technology, time, space, and speed with the concept of "vector," and accepts "vector" as power. About Virilio's concept of "vector", McKenzie Wark declares that:

> "Virilio employs it to mean any trajectory along which bodies, information or warheads can potentially pass. Vectors are potential trajectories. The gift of technology to strategy is ever faster, ever longer vectors, with greater and greater acceleration. Unlike Deleuze and Guattari's "line of flight", escaping from static power, the vector in Virilio is power, a power beyond metaphors of structure, with which writing must find ways to keep pace."[119]

Wark also points out that in the concept of Virilio, "vector" is used to refer mobile stream of information or images or narrative filled with force.[120] In order to conceptualize his own approach to the concept of "vector" which he borrowed form the studies of Virilio, Wark gives the general definitions of the term "vector" in different disciplines as:

> "In geometry, a vector is a line of fixed length but of no fixed position. It has definite dimensions, but potentially could start at any point whatever, and connect any point within its radius. In epidemiology, a vector is a specific means of transmission for an infection, such as water, air or bodily fluids, through which any body could be connected to any other body. With technology, a vector might be the potential to connect one thing to another, a particular relation but with no specific coordinates. The vectoral, in other words, is the technics of the open, of virtuality." [121]

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[118] Rob Annable, http://www.rob.annable.co.uk/academic/post/pigsinspace/dissertation/dissertation.html#N_38_ (accessed on12.04.2007)

[119] McKenzie Wark. "On Technological Time: Cruising Virilio's Over-Exposed City", Arena, No. 83, 1988. http://evolutionzone.com/kulturezone/futurec/mwark/mwark.virilio (accessed on 20.06.2007)

[120] Ibid.

[121] Mckenzie Wark. "Telegram from Nowhere," Mutations, Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg. 32.

He affirms that vectors can move anywhere and have no fixed destination with any fixed meaning.[122] Thus, more than "where it is," "how it is" becomes important. He particularly posits vectors as the potential to traverse space (territory) and mentions that "vectors have particular qualities of velocity, acceleration, accuracy, timing and may be more or less flexible in terms of the trajectories they may map out."[123]

Consequently, the explanations and definitions of some important theorists of 21st century which can be correlated with the transformation of urban spaces implying the shift from passive to active in the era of global capitalism are denoted with the shift from "axis" to "vector" in this part, and throughout the study the general features of the term "vector" as "intensity," "direction," "magnitude," "movement" which are derived from the discussions above will be used in order to draw a theoretical framework for the study of transformation of Eskişehir Highway.

3.2 "Vector" in Urban Context: The Shift from "Static Urbanism" to the "Metropolitan Condition"

In this part the term "vector" will be redefined in the urban context, mostly upon the theories of Rem Koolhaas. At the very outset, "vector" is chosen as a tool to represent the approach of the study in terms of designating the shift from the "static urbanism" to the "metropolitan condition" with "intensity," "movement," "direction" and "magnitude," since; I believe that the early approaches are not enough to grasp this transformation, as theorists Paul Virilio and Peter Eisenman claim "that to understand the complexities of the city we must depart from a "static urbanism".[124]

In order to comprehend this shift in the urban context, the early approaches which can be regarded as "static urbanism" will be briefly explained at this point.

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[122] Minnesota State University, http://www.mnstate.edu/gunarat/jicreviews2-1.html (accessed on 20.06.2007)
[123] McKenzie Wark. "On Technological Time: Cruising Virilio's Over-Exposed City," Arena, No. 83, 1988. http://evolutionzone.com/kulturezone/futurec/mwark/mwark.virilio (accessed on20.06.2007)
[124] John Rajchman. Constructions, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, pg. 28.

An approach which regards "the city as an object of architecture"[125] in modernism and can be related with the "rigid" system of Fordist production process with linear time and space understanding disregards the multidimensional character of the city. This understanding which defines the city as a building[126] is especially discussed by Mario Gandelsonas with the article "City as the Object of Architecture."

Without consideration of multidimensional character of the city, "geometric, right angled, linear practices" express the architectural and urbanistic approach in the modern age.[127] In this respect, Le Corbusier, one of the most important modernist architect-urbanists can be given as an example to this approach, since he especially uses "orthogonal state of mind" with emphasis of "rightness of right angle"[128] which he explores in his book "The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning."

The understanding which illustrates the city with maps and patterns and allows considering it as a whole emphasizing the form and city aesthetic in a physical approach is generally conceptualized in postwar era by Kevin Lynch. In the book, "The Image of the City," Lynch considers the city with patterns like: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks[129] in terms of imageability and legibility. However, today these approaches are broken down with new theories opposite to the "static urbanism," as John Rajchman argues that:

> "We are no longer in the nice postwar world of the "grammar" or orienting "map" dreamt by Kevin Lynch; in its place, we have a freer space in which many unexpected things can happen at once, without overchanging story or program, involving rather different relationships between image and city."[130]

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[125] Mario Gandelsonas. "The City as the Object of Architecture," Assemblage, 37, 1998, pp. 128-144.
[126] Ibid., pg. 130.
[127] Catherine Ingraham. "Architecture and the Burdens of Linearity", Architecture Theory Since 1968, ed. K. Michael Hays. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998, pg. 647.
[128] Le Corbusier. The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning, London: The Architectural Press, 1947, pg. 43.
[129] Kevin Lynch. The Image of the City, Cambridge:Technology Press, 1960, pp. 46-50.
[130] John Rajchman. "Time Out," Anytime, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pg. 153.

Since “static objects are no longer as meaningful as timely events in which the time based dimension of the present merges the past and the future”[131] with rapid transformations of the era, a new understanding has certainly emerged in urbanism unlike “static urbanism” which is defined by the physical boundaries and only deals with objects instead of events[132] in accordance with a linear planning and design process. In terms of globalization:

> “Precise maps and chronometers were symbols of linear and homogeneous conceptions of time and space, by which the confused local conceptualizations were destroyed and a universal fixed and continuous schema was constructed.”[133]

The new approach in urbanism is called “metropolitan condition” which describes the city with different components, processes, actors and vectorilised events by Koolhaas. In this respect, Harvey affirms that urbanism can not only be studied as a thing in itself, it is not “a testing ground for propositions and theories of the single discipline.”[134] Gandelsonas also puts forward that:

> “But in the reality of the city as a process, as an economic dynamo, a place of both physical and nonphysical exchange, has always resisted the suppression of time, of difference, of the contingent, of its reduction to the status of a building; that is, to the spatiality and totalizing nature of the object implied by the architectural urban practices.”[135]

It is asserted that in this era, “the city has lost its place, it tends to be everywhere and nowhere.”[136] Koolhaas denominates this condition as “Generic City”[137] which figures out "a city without qualities." He clearly explicates and clarifies the “characterlessness” of the “Generic City” as:

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[131] John Rajchman. “Time Out,” Anytime, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pg. 153.
[132] Transient Design, http://www.transientdesigns.net/articles/fold_in_organizations.htm (accessed on 22.06.2007)
[133] Ozan Karaman. “Deterritorialization and New Approaches to Urban Space,” Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2003, pg. 25.
[134] David Harvey. Social Justice and the City, Blackwell, Oxford, 1988, pg. 26.
[135] Mario Gandelsonas. “The City as the Object of Architecture,” Assemblage, 37, 1998, pg. 131.
[136] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg. 43.
[137] Rem Koolhaas. “The Generic City”, S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1996, pg. 1248.

> "People can inhabit anything. And they can be miserable in anything. More and more I think architecture has nothing to do with it. Of course, that's both liberating and alarming. But the generic city, the general urban condition, is happening everywhere, and just the fact that it occurs in such enormous quantities must mean that it's habitable… Architecture can't do anything that the culture doesn't. We all complain that we are confronted by urban environments that are completely similar. We say we want to create beauty, identity, quality, singularity. And yet, maybe in truth these cities that we have are desired. Maybe their very characterlessness provides the best context for living".[138]

According to Tshumi, "The contemporary city is certainly more open to the highly diverse demands of people, it is also more tolerant toward the disorder of urban life, and reveals a critique of the Cartesian logic of modern architecture."[139]

Opposite to the linear understanding of "static urbanism" with "stable configurations, definitive forms, limits and boundaries," "metropolitan condition" offers "hybridizations, proximities, frictions, overlaps and superpositions" of independent parts in a complexity of non-linear understanding. Tschumi asserts that: "As with the contemporary city, there are no more boundaries delineating a coherent and homogeneous whole. On the contrary, we inhabit a fractured space, made of accidents, where figures are disintegrated, dis-integrated."[140] Charles Jencks uses the term "schizophrenia" to refer the discontinuities and fragmentations in terms of complexity postmodernism, and Virilio dictates that:

> "The crisis of the notion of dimension then appears as a crisis of the whole, a crisis of substantive, continuous and homogeneous space inherited from classical geometry, in favor of the relativity of an accidental, discontinuous and heterogeneous space, one in which the parts and the fractions, the points and the various fragments become once more essential, as if they were an instant, a fraction or fragmenting of time. Which would, as already noted, assail the image of the world as a City, the view of objects in an environment in which inertia has become manifest: "Duration consists of

[138] Wired Magazine, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/4.07/koolhaas_pr.html (accessed on 12.01.2008)
[139] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg. 423.
[140] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 217.

> instants without perceptible duration, just as the line is made of points without sensible dimension." "[141]

As mentioned before, the reasons of this shift in the urbanism with new space organization emphasizing quantitive values with privatization are specifically outcomes of current phase of capitalist economic system in the dynamism of global economics and the developments in the transportation and the transmission technologies in terms of globalization.

> "Koolhaas runs through the canonical list of reasons popularly understood to be the cause of these conditions: rising world population, higher dependency on communications technologies, the impact of late capitalist forms of production and consumption on social structures, and the "sabotaging" of the classical city by modernization."[142]

Koolhaas certainly states that planning has nothing to do with this condition under the homogenizing effects of globalization[143] and he proclaims that "with globalization, we all have more or less the same future."[144]

> "Buildings may be placed well (a tower near a metro station) or badly (whole centers miles away from the road). They flourish/perish unpredictably. Networks become over-stretched, age, rot, become obsolescent; populations double triple, quadruple, suddenly disappear. The surface of the city explodes, the economy accelerates, slows down, burst, collapses. Like the ancient mothers that still nourish titanic embryos, whole cities are built on colonial infrastructures of which the oppressors took the blueprints back home. Nobody knows where, how, since when the sewers runs the exact location of the telephone lines, what the reason was for the positioning of the center, where monumental axes end. All it proves is that there are infinite margins, colossal reservoir of slack, a perpetual, organic process of adjustment, standard behavior; expectations change with the biological intelligence of the most alert animal. In this apotheosis of multiple choice it will never be possible again to reconstruct cause and effect. They work –that is all."[145]

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[141] Paul Virilio. "The Morphological Irruption," The Lost Dimension. New York, N.Y.: Semiotext(e), 1991, pg. 35.
[142] Jorge Otero-Pailos. ""Bigness" in Context: Some Regressive Tendencies in Rem Koolhaas' Urban Theory", City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2000, pg. 383.
[143] Rem Koolhaas. "The Generic City," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1996, pg. 1255.
[144] Ibid., pg. 366.
[145] Ibid., pg. 1255.

In this sense, the transformation of Eskişehir Highway where the economic activity, power and information are concentrated as a new collective space of the "metropolitan condition" rather than only a physical infrastructural element, can not merely be designated in a two dimensional manner, but it must be considered with the multi-dimensional dynamics which transform the city. So, in this study Eskişehir Highway which is a complex, hybrid, dynamic, movable, fluid condition composed of heterogeneous parts will be defined as an urban generator, an urban "vector", in a non-linear system of complex metropolization process, different than the "urban axis" which is a more rigid and stable entity which can be identified with the system of Fordism. Accordingly, with urban "vector" as the unity of forces, dynamism, flexibility of global era in the urban context is expected to be represented. In order to redefine the "vector" in "metropolitan condition", the key words which are identified with "vector" by the theorists like "intensity", "movement", "direction" and "magnitude" will be explored as the characteristics of everyday life with social relationships and the physical environment which is in correspondence with globalization in economic and technological aspects. These features of the metropolitan condition will be deciphered in order to understand the "new urban objects" of the era which are the products of the condition, since without the realities like speed, intensity, population, the building becomes meaningless today as mentioned by Koolhaas.[146] Accordingly, in the following part, the urban "vector" will be studied with socio-economic vectors and transportation-transmission vectors which compose it.

3.2.1 Intensity:

The "intensity" as one of the significant features of the urban "vector" will be deciphered with the compressed character of the era of globalization, as Soja describes "intensification" as the key world of the era.[147] This intensified condition of

[146] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 121.
[147] Edward Soja. Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, pg. 191.

era suggests a new understanding of intensity in urbanism and architecture too, and in this respect, the city is defined as "an ever-changing network of intensities."[148]

In the urban sphere the term density is commonly used to refer "the number of people living in a given area…as people per square kilometer."[149] But "vector" in the contemporary city can be discussed as a condition that emerges with the concentration of capital with its transformative role which brings unfixed, ever-changing, mutable intensity of people, culture, information, activity, goods, and defines a new understanding of physical intensity.

As Harvey puts forward, the aim of the urbanization of capital is to concentrate investments geographically.[150] This concentration of capital unequally in some districts causes rapid development and restructuring of the physical space according to the demands of capital holders that brings heterogeneities in city.[151]

The density which is implied by technological developments is another important issue which represents the new interaction patterns of "metropolitan condition." As mentioned before, the technological developments offer a hyperspace with "denser and more extensive communicational networks"[152] in the era of globalization, and the relation between the new spaces of globalization is determined by these denser links. In that manner, traditional neighborliness understanding is widely replaced with the electronic neighborliness understanding.[153]

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[148] The Whitehead Research Project, http://whiteheadresearch.org/event-and decision/papers/Graham%20Livesey_Final%20Draft.pdf (accessed on 15.06.2008)
[149] British and International Modern and Contemporary Art, Tate Gallery, http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/exhibitions/globalcities/density.shtm (accessed on 15.06.2008)
[150] David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development, London; New York, NY: Verso, 2006, pg. 101.
[151] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayınları, 2005, pg. 44. Yırtıcı affirms that this unequal concentration of the capital causes the increase in the infrastructural investments, land prices, production and circulation costs.
[152] Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi. The Cultures of Globalization, Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1998 pg. 55.
[153] Esra Akcan. "Iletisim ve Tuketim Toplumunda Mekansal Farkliliga ait Celiskiler", Toplum ve Bilim, Vol: 64-65, 1994, pp. 39-51.

> "Within the fast world there is now an intense connectedness that ties together 800 million or so of the world's people through global networks of communication and knowledge, production and consumption."[154]

Sassen argues that in this era different than the old patterns of agglomeration a new logic of concentration has emerged with the global telecommunications advances which allow for maximum population and resource dispersal is poorly conceived.[155] In this condition, accordingly the physical urban density understanding is transformed as well. The traditional city is dissolved and dynamic, multicentered and fragmented urban parts are formed with new life style,[156] and the physical density in the city is defined by overlapping and superimposition of the hybrid urban spaces of "new urban objects."

Figure 4. Physical density pattern, Atatürk Boulevard as an urban axis

Figure 5. Physical density pattern, Eskişehir Highway as an urban vector

[Source: Imaged captured from Google Earth (accessed on 17.06.2008)]

Rem Koolhaas brings forward the "hyper-density" with the metropolitan condition as "the basis for a desirable modern culture"[157] that he mostly discusses in his book "Delirious New York: a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan."

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[154] Citta Slow, http://www.slowcity-deutschland.de/index.php?id=56,107,1,0,1,0 (accessed on 15.06.2008)

[155] Saskia Sassen. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001, pg. 5.

[156] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pp. 10-13.

[157] Rem Koolhaas. Delirious New York: a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, New York: Monacelli Press, 1994, pg. 104.

> "The subutopian fragments are all the more seductive for having no territorial ambitions beyond filling their interior allotments with a hyperdensity of private meanings. By leaving intact the illusions of a traditional urban landscape on the outside, this revolution insures its acceptance through its inconspicuousness."[158]

According to Koolhaas, "The Generic City is on its way from horizontality to verticality. The skyscraper looks as if it will be the final, definitive typology. It has swallowed everything else. It can exist anywhere: in a rice field, or downtown - it makes no difference anymore. The towers no longer stand together; they are spaced so that they don't interact. Density in isolation is the ideal."[159]

3.2.2 Mobility, Fluidity and Speed

> "In the universe, movement is given prior to everything."[160]

The second notion of "vector" is "mobility" which will be studied with its derivative concepts; "fluidity" and "speed" so as to redefine "vector" in the complex urban circumstance of era.

> "Mobility has become an evocative keyword for the twenty-first century and a powerful discourse that creates its own effects and contexts. The concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life."[161]

In a similar way, Yırtıcı points out the increasing emphasis of the fluidity, and explains that with the fluidity of the capital, productivity, production capacity and force, with the fluidity of information systems, production capacity, force, and productivity, and with

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[158] Rem Koolhaas. Delirious New York: a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, New York: Monacelli Press, 1994, pg. 104.
[159] Rem Koolhaas. "The Generic City," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1996, pg. 1253.
[160] Paul Klee. cited in Earth Moves The Furnishing of Territories (Writing Architecture), Bernard Cache, ed. by Michael Speaks, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press,
1995, pg. xii.
[161] Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, John Urry. "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings," Mobilities, Volume 1, March 2006, pp. 1-22.

the fluidity of traffic accessibility, physical approach and the disappearance of the distance are represented.[162]

In the second chapter it is already mentioned that, in terms of economy, the movement is crucial in order to "overcome spatial barriers" and "annihilate space with time" for the geographic expansion of the capital, as capitalism "had to be both expansionary and technologically dynamic."[163] In the era of neo-liberal globalization, the geographical fluidity of the capital is speeded up in order to shorten the "the turnover time of capital"[164] for utmost profit, and acceleration of vehicular and informational performances gives the "ability to search for new markets and concentration points" with the "freer flow of capital and labor power between sectors and regions"[165] as mentioned before.

> "The reduction of distances has become a strategic reality bearing incalculable economic and political consequences, since it corresponds to the negation of space."[166]

Sassen especially discusses the electronic mobility which is different than the physical mobility as:

> "The shrinking of distance and the speed of movement that characterize the current era find one of its most extreme forms in electronically based communities of individuals or organizations from all around the globe interacting in real time and simultaneously, as is possible through the Internet and kindred electronic networks."[167]

The new technologies offering virtual mobility of information and knowledge in terms of "time-space compression" generate a collective imagination through the global "image

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[162] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 128.
[163] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 19.
[164] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 229.
[165] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 29.
[166] Paul Virilio. Speed and Politics, New York: .Columbia Univ., 1986, pg. 133.
[167] Saskia Sassen. "From Globalization and Discontents", The Blackwell City Reader, ed. Gary Bridge, Sophie Watson, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pp. 161-170.

banks,"[168] as Castells asserts, "we no longer live in a space of places, but a global space of flows".[169]

For Harvey, "speed-up and acceleration in the pace of economic processes also bring speed-up and acceleration in the pace of social life,"[170] and in that manner, mobility becomes the essential characteristic of the urban life. John Rachman states that the "contemporary city "not gridded- a city in which incessant "movement" is prior to the apparent immobility of traditional place or planned space."[171]

Although the technological developments are not enough to reveal the reflections of the system into the urban space, automobile and decentralizing communication technologies have accelerated the suburbanization and metropolization processes by altering the understanding of distance with new relations. In this respect, John Rachman claims that:

> "Among the vectors that have transmogrified urban space, those of transport and transmission have performed a key role: in some sense it is the auto and the airplane that killed off or complexified the rational grids and the radial city of nineteenth-century industrialism. "[172]

In terms of transformations in transportation technologies, Yırtıcı suggests that different than the railway which draws a linear route, with automobile everywhere becomes accessible.[173] Thus, car as "King-Object" [174] and "Leading-Object"[175] becomes one of the important definers of urban condition which causes the decline of pedestrian urban

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[168] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pp. 346-349.
[169] Manuel Castells. The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-regional Process, Oxford, UK; New York, NY, USA: B.Blackwell, 1989, pg. 6.
[170] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 230.
[171] John Rachman. Constructions. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, pp. 28-29.
[172] The Exhibition Location/Dislocation, http://www.deplacement.qc.ca/en/situ.html (accessed on: 16.04.2007)
[173] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 92.
[174] Henri Lefebvre. Everyday Life in the Modern World, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, pg. 14.
[175] Ibid., pg. 100.

space. Motor-car which "offers greater flexibility"[176] with the driving experience figures out the new understanding of distance and perception of the physical environment that constitutes the relation between body and built environment. This new relation will be discussed in detail in the further part of the study.

> "The informational systems and transportational networks have had an important impact on traditional modes of perception. The development of systems of instantaneous information transfer has come to distort our conception of time, and our perception of place."[177]

It is asserted that, more than a dynamic act, city driving and car usage become a way for people to construct themselves in relation to their metropolitan context[178] as "a symbol of personal freedom."[179] For Castells, traffic is an exchange element, and in this context he puts forward that:

> "Indeed, an analysis of urban circulation must be understood as a specification of a more general theory of exchange between the components of the urban system, which means, in concrete terms, that one must establish the content of the traffic if one is to explain the mode of circulation. The content differs according to the type of transfer, that is to say, according to the elements of the urban structure between which it operates and according to the direction, intensity and conjuncture, that characterize it. "[180]

Virilio for whom mobility and speed are inspiring issues, uses the term "dromology" for "the study and analysis of the impact of increasing speed of transport and communications on the development of land-use."[181] According to him "speed is power" in this era, and he clarifies that: "Today we are entering a space, which is speed-space" and thus automobiles become "speed machines." Furthermore, Virilio argues the relation of automobile and human body, and in this respect he affirms that

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[176] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pp. 194-195.
[177] John Armitage. Virilio Live: Selected Interviews, London: SAGE, 2001, pg. 75.
[178] UCL Library Services, http://eprints.ucl.ac.uk/archive/00002328/02/IainBordenlecture.pdf (accessed on: 12.04.2007)
[179] Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard, Henry L. Lennard. Livable Cities Observed : A Source Book of Images and Ideas for City Officials, Community Leaders, Architects,
[180] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 191.
[181] John Armitage. Paul Virilio: From modernism to Hypermodernism and Beyond, Thousand Oaks, Calif.; London: SAGE, 2000, pg. 74.

"An animal body that disappears in the superpower of a metallic body is able to annihilate time and space through its dynamic performances"[182]

> "What's more, mobile subjects/objects do not simply float across spaces, places and landscapes; rather, their very mobilities continually rework and shape these places and landscapes."[183]

So, Eskişehir Highway as an urban "vector" which is a fluid entity can be correlated with the mobilities in various aspects which "activate the city" with fragmentation and complexity in the urban space.

3.2.3 Direction:

"Direction" is another feature of the urban vector which is derived from the explanations of theorists who studied the term "vector." In this part the effects of globalization in terms of "deterritorialization" which indicates the decrease in importance of geographical location implying "non-location" will be questioned, since the "vector" implies "direction rather than a location."[184]

> "We have to recognize that geographic localization seems to have definitely lost its strategic value and, inversely, that this same value is attributed to the delocalization of the vector, of a vector in permanent movement–no matter if this movement is aerial, spatial, underwater, or underground. All that counts is the speed of the moving body and the undetectability of its path."[185]

Direction is generally represented with arrows in order to delineate the relation between two points in a two dimensional geometrical understanding.[186] The general absolute direction relationships are described with north, south, left, right etc., but in the era of global capitalism, a "global direction" is defined in terms of cyberspace which

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[182] Paul Virilio. Speed and Politics, New York: .Columbia Univ., 1986, pg. 62.
[183] Peter Merriman. Driving Spaces, USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, pg. 6.
[184] Margaret Morse. Virtualities, Television, Media Art and Cyberculture. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998, pg. 119.
[185] Paul Virilio, Speed and Politics, New York: .Columbia Univ., 1986, pp. 107-108.
[186] The Free Dictionary, http://www.thefreedictionary.com/direction, Wikipedia, http://www.wikipedia.com (accessed on 30.03.2008)

offers "overflows in all directions"[187] without any fixed point. Therefore, rather than the "place," the "position" in this cyberspace becomes important with the loss of physical location.

> "These forces imply that as a result of the growing interconnectedness of social relations, the power of global capital determines the economic well-being of places instead of the events within the boundaries of place."[188]

As it is mentioned in the second chapter, the general consequence of the globalization is the phenomenon of "deterritorialization" with the increasing mobility of people, goods, capital which also causes instability in everyday interactions and in social life. "Decreasing relevance of space", "having no place", "place boundedness", "being in anywhere" represent the phenomenon of "deterritorialization" with the shift from a specific location. Soja particularly underlines "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" in order to describe the effects of new urbanization process[189] with the contemporary intensification of globalization. According to Soja:

> "Deterritorialization refers to the weakening attachments to place, to territorially defined communities and cultures ranging form the household, the urban neighbourhood, and the town or city, to the metropolis to the region, and that most powerful of contemporary territorial communities of identity, the modern nation-state… At the same time, however, there has also been a reterritorialization process, creating new forms and combinations of social spatiality and territorial identity that, if not actually replacing the old, are producing human geographies that are significantly different and more complex, from those we have recognized in the past."[190]

The temporality in the urban environment can be related with "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" processes with the search of new areas to concentrate[191] since "capital can be exported from one place (city, region, nation) to build another place

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[187] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg. 47.
[188] Mahyar Arefi. "Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place", Journal of Urban Design, 4:2, 1999, pp. 179-193.
[189] Edward Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis," Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions, Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pp. 151-152.
[190] Ibid., pp. 151-152.
[191] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pp. 50-51.

within an existing set of space relations"[192] with the loss of identifiable limits and borders which configures "placeless geographies."

In this era of globalization with "deterritorialization," the "placelessness" and "sense of placelessness" become more obvious. Edward Relph is one of the earliest theorists who discussed these issues in his book "Place and Placelessness." Marc Augé and Paul Virilio are other theorists who search about "being placeless." The approaches of these theorists will be discussed in terms of transformations in built environment with the "new urban objects" in the further chapter.

Under such a framework, the urban "vector" is used to imply the condition where the "direction" becomes more important than a location under the effects of "deterritorialization", with its reflections on the physical environment via the placeless "new urban objects". Moreover, placeless highways as channels of motion can be considered as vectors which have a direction rather than a location since "velocity does not exist without the vector of direction."[193]

> "As Brodsky explains in his essay on the L. A. Freeway, a freeway is not a place but a vector; even its name or number is a direction rather than a location. Channels of motion dedicated solely to one-way, high-velocity travel, freeways are largely experienced as "in betweens," rather than enjoying the full reality of a point of departure or a destination. And magnitude on the freeway is popularly measured in minutes rather than miles."[194]

3.2.4 Magnitude:

> "As globalization bespeaks a rescaling of the global, the scale of the urban is recast."[195]

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[192] David Harvey. Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, pg. 295.
[193] Paul Virilio. Open Sky, London: Verso, 1997, pp. 129-130.
[194] Brodsky "L. A. Freeway" cited in Virtualities, Television, Media Art and Cyberculture, Margaret Morse, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998, pg. 119.
[195] Neil Brenner, Nik Theodore. Spaces of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, London: Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pg. 80.

Firstly, it should be noted that, the notion of "scale" will be used to represent the "magnitude" which is one of the significant features of "vector" in order to configure the urban "vector" concept. The magnitude which means "greatness in size or extent"[196] will be examined with the new scale understanding of era, since scale refers a broader understanding rather than something measurable. It is explained that the notion of scale is used in three different manners: scale as size, scale as level or scale as relation[197] which is developed by Richard Howitt in terms of musical metaphor.

Henri Lefebvre, Erik Swyngedouw and Neil Brenner are the theorists who study the concept of "scale" in terms of geographic scale with reference to globalization process in a socio-economic framework. In this geographic approach, scale is commonly used to refer "hierarchy."

It is explained that the time-space compression is very much correlated with the "problem of scale" [198] in terms of the advents of the technology which make the free flow of capital, information, people, goods, services between different scales, as the formation of space can be affected by the far away dynamics.[199] In this context, Soja puts forward the "blurring of the scales."[200] He clarifies that:

> "It is precisely this breaking down and reconstitution of spatial scales, from the most intimate spaces of the body, household, and home to the metropolitan region and the territorial nation-state, that is so deeply involved in the contemporary intensification of globalization."[201]

It is already known that the physical compact form of the city transformed, and indistinct form of the city gets the place of this traditional form. In terms of metropolitan region Soja explains the transformations as:

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[196] Oxford Advanced Dictionary.
[197] Richard Howitt. "Scale as Relation: Musical Metaphors of Geographical Scale". Area, 30(1), 1998, pp. 49–58.
[198] Esra Akcan. "İletisim ve Tuketim Toplumunda Mekansal Farkliliga ait Celiskiler", Toplum ve Bilim, Vol: 64-65, 1994, pp. 39-51.
[199] Ibid., pp. 39-51.
[200] Edward Soja. Postmodern Geographies, London: Verso, 1989, pg. 11.
[201] Edward Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis," Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, pg. 200.

> "The boundaries of the city becoming more porous, confusing our ability to draw neat lines separating what is inside as opposed to outside the city; between the city and the countryside, suburbia, the non-city; between one metropolitan city-region and another; between the natural and the artificial."[202]

He also stresses that a "way of describing the postmetropolitan transition is as a simultaneous implosion and explosion in the scale of the cities, an extraordinarily far-reaching turning of cityspace both inside-out and outside-in at the same time."[203] Furthermore, he adds:

> "at one level today, the entire world is rapidly becoming urbanized, from Antarctica to Amazon , as the spatial reach of city-based culture, societies, and economies expands into every region on the planet. At another level, every individual urban center, form the largest to smallest, seems increasingly to contain the entire word within it, creating the most culturally heterogeneous cityscapes the world has ever seen."

As a result, the blurring in scales can also be experienced in terms of rearrangement of architectural scale in the blurred relation of urban scale and architectural scale which replaces the early hierarchical scale understanding, as it is explained that, the economic global scale, increasing populations increase the demand to the bigger buildings,[204] infrastructures, transportation alters (built environment). The transformation in scale understanding is generally conceptualized by Rem Koolhaas with his theory of "bigness." In this theory both formal and programmatic changes in architecture are examined. The new architectural scale will be studied in the fifth part of the thesis.

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[202] Edward Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis," Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, pg. 150.
[203] Ibid., pg. 152.
[204] Charles Jencks. "How big is bad? – Theory," Architectural Review, August, 2002, pp. 66-70.

CHAPTER 4

ESKİŞEHİR HİGHWAY AS AN URBAN VECTOR

In this part, the inner dynamics which specify Eskişehir Highway to be attractive and speculative for "new urban objects" will be researched.[205]

4.1 1990 Master Plan Decisions

One of the most important dynamics which turns Eskişehir Highway to an attraction point in the city for the big capital is the 1990 Master City Plan. The plan which is regarded as a structure plan[206] was prepared in 1975 by the Ankara Metropolitan Area City Planning Bureau (AMANPB),[207] and approved in 1982.[208] With this plan, urban development strategies were defined and decentralization of the city was proposed. In this respect, Haluk Alatan mentions that with the purpose of decentralizing the city, development corridor schema was decided "to overcome the compact form of the city.

The west corridor was determined as the development direction of the city with 1990 Master City Plan because of the geomorphologic character,[209] and within the decentralization studies of AMANPB on this corridor, housing areas were planned in

[205] An unpublished paper on the historical transformation of Eskisehir Highway which constitutes the bases of this thesis is written in 2006 by the author within the course ARCH 709 Housing and Discourse directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan.
[206] Baykan Gunay. "Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme," Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 94.
[207] In 1969 the Ankara Metropolitan Area City Planning Bureau (ANAMP) was established, in order to create solutions for the issues like physical and social development, transportation, infrastructure and urbanization.
[208] Bugra Gokce. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi, Ankara, 2003, pg. 14.
[209] Baykan Gunay. "Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 98.

the southwest and northwest parts of the city along the İstanbul Highway and Eskişehir Highway. In the southwest part Çayyolu-Ümitköy region lined with Eskişehir Highway was denoted as residential areas.[210]

More precisely, Tansı Şenyapılı declares that this residential area (for 120 thousand people)[211] was proposed for the white collars and upper income group who work in universities and state buildings[212] (existing and planned to be constructed). Accordingly, the areas facing Eskişehir Highway were chosen for public uses in order to serve these residential areas. Thus, the areas facing Eskişehir Highway from AOÇ junction to the Ümitköy district were decided for the introverted research institutions with large land requirements.[213] Özcan Altaban explains that Ministry buildings were also planned to move on this corridor[214] within the studies of AMANPB.

Şenyapılı puts forward that the dual character of Ankara which was formed according to the socio-economic bases as; the south part of the city which was specialized for the upper income group-white collars and the north part of the city which was specialized for the lower income group-blue collars, was reconfigured in this period in accordance with the residential mobility of socio-economic groups.[215] With the 1990 Master City Plan, in the southwestern part of the city through İstanbul Highway, housing areas like Batıkent and Eryaman were planned in order to solve the problem of squatter settlements of the city which emerged because of the housing shortage depending on rapid migration.[216] Şenyapılı asserts that the population settled to this district generally moved from the northern part of the city with lower income level, and the decisions of 1990 Master City Plan were generally achieved through the İstanbul Highway with the

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[210] Ali Turel. "Ankara'da Konut Yapim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg. 58.
[211] Interview with Ozcan Altaban, 2006.
[212] Tansi Senyapili. "Ankara Kenti "Ikili" Yapisinda Donusumler", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 217.
[213] Ozcan Altaban. "Kamu Yapilari Yer Secim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg. 40.
[214] Ibid., pg. 40.
[215] Tansi Senyapili. "Ankara Kenti "Ikili" Yapisinda Donusumler", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pp. 217-244.
[216] Baykan Gunay. "Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 99.

addition of industrial districts like Ostim and İvedik as the working areas of blue-collars, and a metro line between Batıkent and Ulus.[217] On the other hand, the decentralization process was highly different through Eskişehir Highway.

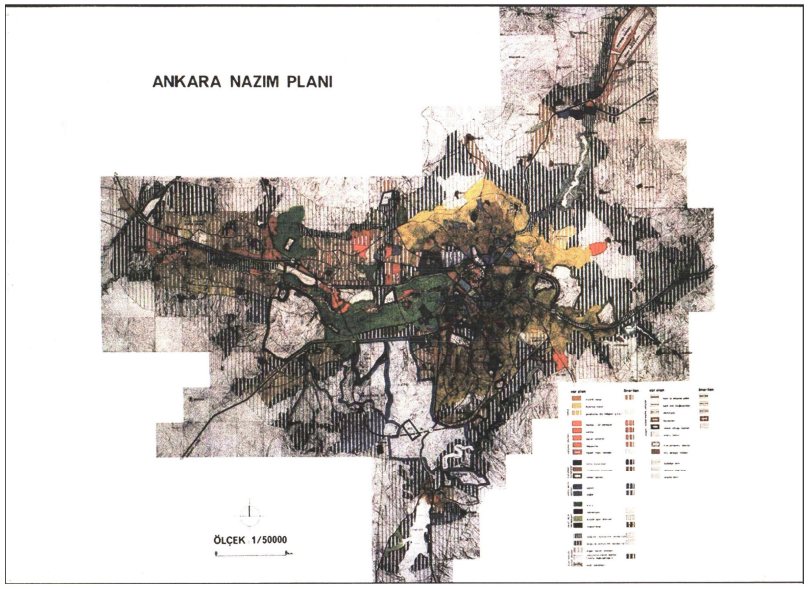

Figure 6. 1990 Master City Plan
[Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/2-tarihce.pdf (accessed on 17.06.2008)]

Şenyapılı declares that unlike the northern part, the southwestern residential area lined with Eskişehir Highway took migration from the southern part[218] of the city, from upper-middle income group, that can be related with the search for better residential standards of this socio-economic group who wants to be differentiated from the "others". As Castells argues that:

1. "Social characteristics tend to form spatial clusters. The closer these characteristics are, the more they tend to group together in space.

[217] Baykan Gunay. "Ankara Cekirdek Alaninin Olusumu ve 1990 Nazim Plani Hakkinda Bir Degerlendirme", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 100.
[218] Tansi Senyapili. "Ankara Kenti "Ikili" Yapisinda Donusumler", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 240.

2. The essential principle that influences the distribution of housing in space is social prestige, the positive expression of which is social desirability (the preference for similar neighbours) and the negative expression social distance (rejection by different neighbours).
3. The differential distribution of income, an expression of the social sanction (positive or negative) of a given kind of work, determines accessibility to the residential space desired, since it is subject to the law of the market."[219]

In the formation of this residential area, upper and middle socio-economic groups were organized in cooperatives before 1980s. The earliest attempt of these cooperatives was Ümitköy housing district. It is explained that, the district was chosen by the cooperatives because of the difficulties in getting land in the city center,[220] as Ali Türel affirms that in Turkey, suburbanization process was generally organized by the cooperatives who search for getting lands with low prices different than the suburbanization processes of West Europe and the USA which were regulated by big construction companies.[221]

Following these years, the lands in Çayyolu-Ümitköy district were separated into small parts, because of the increasing demand of upper-middle income level to the district with the easy land opportunities.[222] As a result of these economic intentions, urban space has been fragmented,[223] and no more the unity can be formed in the district. Accordingly, the district transformed with "gated enclaves" that offer a new life style (with security precautions, sport facilities, health services).

As it is understood, while the 1990 Master City Plan decisions were generally achieved through İstanbul Highway, they were highly corrupted through Eskişehir Highway.

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[219] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 170.
[220] Oya Erisen. "Suburbanization in Turkey within the Process of Integration to Global Development and a New Life-style Settlement", Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2004, pg. 117.
[221] Ali Turel. "Ankara'da Konut Yapim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg. 58.
[222] Konutkent I and Konutkent II are the projects constructed on these parcels. Later Beysukent, Binses, Mutlukoy, Hekimkoy were configured with similar approaches by cooperatives. Especilally Me-sa Koru project and Cayyolu Housing projects have a generative role in the formation of the district.
[223] Tansi Senyapili. "Ankara Kenti "Ikili" Yapisinda Donusumler", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 217.

4.2 Land Speculations, Inadequacies and Corruptions of Plan

Since the plans of the southwestern housing district were not strictly defined; many plan adaptations were made in order to expand the area that the capital can circulate through small lands. For the reason that these adaptations which were decided and planned in parcel scale, the density of the housing areas highly increased which caused social and technical infrastructural problems in the district.[224] And so, without sub-centers different than the self-sufficient "satellite cities", these housing districts with high population became dependent on Eskişehir Highway because of the inadequacies.

As it is mentioned before, it was one of the general decisions of the 1990 Master City Plan to locate institutions and ministry settlements with "public use" through Eskişehir Highway, but the indefinite characters of these decisions without an implementary development plan[225] triggered the transformation of Eskişehir Highway according to the intentions of private sector.

Another issue that is pointed out by Şenyapılı is the lateness of getting big lands in Eskişehir Highway different than the İstanbul Highway which gave the chance for the land speculation[226] to the land owners through their small lands between the large areas of university campuses and state settlements. Therefore, while the transformation of the İstanbul Highway was defined by state control through large areas, Eskişehir Highway transformed partially and out of state control.

> "The strategy of the landlord is therefore simple: wait for the construction of new buildings or for urban redevelopment to bring him a profitable sale of the land and, meanwhile, obtain sufficient rent thanks to the particular conditions, socially defined, of the property market in which he operates."[227]

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[224] Interview with Ozcan Altaban, 2006.
[225] Nihan Ozdemir. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi,Ankara, 2003, pg. 52.
[226] Tansi Senyapili. "Ankara Kenti "Ikili" Yapisinda Donusumler", Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 217.
[227] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 173.

İlhan Tekeli explains that in West European countries although they have liberal economic approaches, there are many regulations and limitations in order to discourage land speculation different than Turkey. Some regulations in these countries which differentiate the suburbanization process from Turkey are explicated as; redounding the state lands, defining big taxes or different renting regulations of land for long times instead of transferring it etc.[228] In that manner, the suburbanization process of Turkey with lack of control became problematic.

Consequently, the decentralization process of the city is the most important shift to catalyze the transformation of Eskişehir Highway which gives it "vectorized" character. The reasons more than the intention of the plan encouraged the private sector after 1980.

4.3 Socio-economic Structure: "Consumer Culture"

Another reason which attracts "new urban objects" to Eskişehir Highway is the socio-economic structure of the district which directly influences physical structure.

> "Urban dispersal and the formation of metropolitan regions are closely bound up with the social type of advanced capitalism ideologically designated by the term "mass society". [229]

After the change in the economic character of the country in 1980s, the social character was also reshaped according to the new economic system with the rise of "consumer culture" as explained before. This transformation in the socio-economic structure particularly strengthened the social segregation, and so polarization in urban space.

> "Living spaces were made to represent status, position, and prestige. Social competition with respect to the life-style and command over social

[228] Ilhan Tekeli. Kent Planlamasi Konusmalari, Yenisehir, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odasi, 1991, pp. 173-174.
[229] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 23.

> space and its significations became an important aspect of access to life chances. "[230]

A totally "new life style" which is configured according to the current phase of capitalism is generally obvious in the upper income level. Mike Featherstone clearly explains this new life style as:

> "A shift in attention from lifestyles conceived as a relatively fixed set of dispositions, cultural tastes, and leisure practices which demarche grounds from each other to the assumption that in the contemporary city lifestyles are more actively formed. Hence the focus turns away form lifestyle as class- or neighbourhood-based to lifestyle as the active stylization of life in which coherence and unity give way to the playful exploration of transitory experiences and surface aesthetic effects."[231]

It is asserted that in this "new life style" which is highly depending on process of consumption rather than production, the only relation with others is defined by money,[232] and accordingly, the relation of people with space is reconfigured according to the new consumption modes rather than use-value reasons.[233]

> "Third, demand-led urbanization (with all of its concerns for individualism, consumer sovereignty, life style and status, and social competition for command over space) pushed the focus of concern away from the direct circulation of capital toward the circulation of revenues."[234]

As it is explained before, the suburbanization process of Ankara was structured by this upper income socio-economic group[235] with the power of residential mobility in terms of searching for "the new life style". The socio-economic status of Bilkent, Ümitköy-Çayyolu, Çukurambar and Mustafa Kemal residential districts lined with Eskişehir

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[230] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 40.
[231] Mike Featherstone. Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2007, pg. 95.
[232] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 126.
[233] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 134.
[234] David Harvey. The Urban Experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pg. 41.
[235] Bugra Gokce. "Ankara'da Merkezi Is Alanlarini ve Merkezler Sisteminin Donusumunu Kuramlar ve Merkezlerin Yapisini Etkileyen Siyasalar Uzerinden Tartismak," Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pg. 74.

Highway which is above the standards of Turkey highly affects the transformation of Eskişehir Highway with a new space understanding which aims to serve the demands of upper class in terms of the new consumption modes brought by neo-liberalism. Since the demands of this socio-economic level are so flexible, serving for these demands becomes advantageous for the capital holders and urban entrepreneurials who particularly search more profitable investment areas to direct the capital. Therefore "new urban objects" which are highly interconnected with this new life style get a vital role in the urban life, as it is mentioned that the incompleteness of this new life style, it is mutually in relation with the new urban spaces like plazas, mixed-use centres and shopping malls together with privatized education, health services.[236]

4.4 Working Areas for White Collars

The working areas of "white collars" through Eskişehir Highway will be considered together as another dynamic of the transformation with new interaction patterns. Different than the İstanbul Highway which occupies working areas for blue-collars, Eskişehir Highway is highly specialized with the working areas of white-collars.

With accumulation of knowledge via the developments in technological and transmission technologies, a new working system was configured which replaced manual jobs of industrial era. In this respect the position of white collars as the workers of the new system became even more influential in comparison with the position of blue collars whose job designates the manual works.[237] The influence of this shift in the working system has been experienced after 1980s in Turkey. Tekeli affirms that the informational society replaced the industrial society, and instead of labor power, a new working system was defined in accordance with the influences of globalization in these years.[238]

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[236] Bugra Gokce. "Ankara'da Merkezi Is Alanlarini ve Merkezler Sisteminin Donusumunu Kuramlar ve Merkezlerin Yapisini Etkileyen Siyasalar Uzerinden Tartismak," Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pp. 73-84.
[237] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi. Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 16.
[238] Ilhan Tekeli. "Kuresellesen Dunyada Yerlesmeler İcin Yeni bir Temsil Bicimi ve Yeni bir Ahlak", Modernite Asilirken Siyaset, Ankara: Imge Kitabevi, 1999, pg. 216.

> "The space of flows structures and shapes the space of places, as when the differential fortunes of capital accumulation in global financial markets reward or punish specific regions, or when telecom systems link up CBDs to outlying suburbs in new office development, bypassing/marginalizing poor urban neighborhoods."[239]

With the increase in the speed of getting knowledge via the transmission technologies, a "cyberspace" which constitutes the relationship between working areas was defined different than the traditional patterns in the city as mentioned in the second chapter. Representing such relationships, high rise office blocks and plazas are defined as new working spaces of the era[240] which compose "prestigious" districts as in the case of Eskişehir Highway in Ankara which presents similarities with Maslak District in İstanbul.[241]

The universities and the state settlements as working areas of "white collars" through the highway which were constructed in the liberal economic period of the country after 1950s as the American style institutions and the ministry buildings[242] and which were constructed with the decisions of 1990 Master City Plan increased the attraction to the district. Furthermore, since the white-collars can afford car ownership, especially this working group preferred the residential districts through Eskişehir Highway in terms of suburbanization process of Ankara. For the reason that with automobile the physical distance" between the residential areas and the working areas annihilated.
Although the universities and the state settlements have an encouraging role in the transformation of Eskişehir Highway, they have a blockading role too. The distance

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[239] Manuel Castells. "An Introduction to the Information Age", The Blackwell City Reader, edited by Gary Bridge, Sophie Watson, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pp. 125-134.
[240] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 16.
[241] Sogutozu district on Eskisehir Highway is defined as the new CBD (Central Business District) of the city.
[242] Ozcan Altaban. "Kamu Yapilari Yer Secim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg.45.
1950-60 with the change in political trends, the bureaucratic decisions also changed and American style semiautonomous (public) institutions are founded. In this manner, Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics (DIE), General Directorate of Highways (TCK), General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSI) and Goverment's Office of Agricultural Products (TMO) as big and prestigious buildings are constructed on the early military areas through the Eskisehir Highway with the inexpensive land opportunities.

between the residential settlements for upper class and the center was defined with the large lands of these institutions, since these campuses and settlements were protected by laws. Accordingly, the areas beyond these lands and in-between areas are the only appropriate areas for the private attempts. Therefore, these lands cause the partially and nodal transformation of Eskişehir Highway with big fragmented urban forms[243] which are shaped according to the dynamics of free-market mechanism".[244]

4.5 "Patron-client Relation"

Another motive which affects the character of Eskişehir Highway is the correlative relationship of local authority and the capital holders in the urbanization process. As it is mentioned before, the changes in the urban controlling mechanism became obvious after 1980s in Turkey, but after 1994 with the change in local authority of Ankara, the neo-liberal attitudes became more influential in the urban condition of Ankara. As mentioned before in terms of globalization, the main concerns of the local governments become to attract the big capital to the city, and in this respect they work as entrepreneurs under the striking discourse of "world city."[245]

A. Ekber Doğan states that, public who did not experience the modernization process and assimilate modernism, have traditional and conservative stance in Turkey.[246] According to Tekeli, populism is the ideology which is common in such in-between societies,[247] and provocative "leader" is an outcome of this system. He adds that in such a system, patron-client relation can be observed.[248] In terms of Ankara, the personal approach together with conservatism defined with neo-liberal policies regards

[243] Ilhan Tekeli. "Kent Tarihi Yazimi Konusunda Yeni Bir Paradigma Onerisi," Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'si, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pg. 19.
[244] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-36.pdf (accessed on 13.01.2008)
[245] Ibid.
[246] A. Ekber Dogan. "Gokcek'in Ankara'yi Neo-Liberal Rovanscilikla Yeniden Kurusu", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pg. 132.
[247] Ilhan Tekeli. Modernite Asilirken Kent Planlamasi, Ankara: Imge Kitabevi, 2001, pg. 47.
[248] Ibid., pg. 47.

especially construction and big trade sectors' demands,[249] as Tekeli declares that patron-client system gives priority to the benefits people with political allegiance in terms of legal boundaries or partially interrupting these boundaries. In that manner, this system causes rupture in equality.[250]

As Gökçe clearly mentions that the private entrepreneurs as the power in the system search for profitable opportunities especially in the periphery part of the city,[251] the patron-client relation in the project production process can be observed through the transfer of lands (in terms of urban unearned money) and through the planning and construction process with the adaptations in the legal regulations.

4.6 Transportation Regulations and Private Car Ownership

> "Suburbanization should not be attributed simply to technological changes, such as the ones related with the automobile. The massive auto highway transportation system, new spatial patterning of residential areas and activities, in fact, are the expression of a new stage of capitalist accumulation, which could be possible, primarily by the policies of the state designed to serve this purpose."[252]

The other reason which indicates specificy of Eskişehir Highway is the issue of transportation with emphasis of private car ownership. As the automobilization is considered as a way to break the geographic boundaries with the "diffusion of populations and activities," the decentralization process of Ankara in terms of Eskişehir Highway is highly related with high private car ownership ratio of the upper class. Private car ownership configures new relations in urban life with new definitions of accessibility and physical distance.

As it is mentioned before, the changes in urban space are generally defined by the upper class with the economic capacity to access the new transportation and

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[249] A. Ekber Dogan. "Gokcek'in Ankara'yi Neo-Liberal Rovanscilikla Yeniden Kurusu", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pg. 132.
[250] Ilhan Tekeli. Modernite Asilirken Kent Planlamasi, Ankara: Imge Kitabevi, 2001, pg. 47.
[251] Bugra Gokce. Ankara Ust Olcek Plan Sorunsali. TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi, Ankara, 2003, pp. 18-19.
[252] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 385.

transmission technologies which also become "consumption elements." In this respect, Lefebvre clearly mentions that "a car is not merely a material object with certain technical advantages, a socio-economic means and medium involving demands and compulsions."[253]

> "The car is a status symbol, it stands for comfort, power, authority and speed, it is consumed as a sign in addition to its practical use, it is something magic, a denizen from the land of make-believe. Speech becomes rhetorical and unrealistic when referring to the motor-car; this significant object has a significant retinue (language, speech, rhetoric), its various significances involving, intensifying and neutralizing each other as it stands for consumption and consumes symbols, symbolizes happiness and procures happiness by symbols."[254]

After 1970s, the private car ownership highly increased in Turkey because of the developments in the automobile industry with the first automobile production. As Castells mentions that "the motor-car contributed to urban dispersion"[255] in terms of decentralization strategies of the city of Ankara, new transportation policies were planned which promote private car ownership and regulate service supply for the people working in state and private organizations.[256]

> "Thus, it is clear that the transfers between units of consumption (residences) and units of production and administration (work) represent the biggest number, and, by virtue of the fact of their concentration in time and space, will determine the structure of the circulation network."[257]

After 1980s, with neo-liberal attitudes, private car ownership was highly encouraged with new regulations with economic considerations, since the automobile is a big sector together with the fuel industry for the capitalist system which ensures the fluidity of the money universally.

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[253] Henri Lefebvre. Everyday Life in the Modern World, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, pg. 100.
[254] Ibid., pg. 102.
[255] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 21.
[256] Ilhan Tekeli. Kent Planlamasi Konusmalari, Yenisehir, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odasi, 1991, pg. 171.
[257] Manuel Castells. The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977, pg. 196.

> "The cost, speed and capacity of the transport system relate directly to accumulation because of the impacts these have on the turnover time of capital. Investment and innovation in transport are therefore potentially productive for capital in general."[258]

After 1994, with the change in the local authority of Ankara, the new regulations were defined in transportation system. Thus, the spread of the large capital to the periphery of the city was promoted with big projects with big programs which searched for both the economic and physical fluidity. Doğan asserts that in this period (1994-?), the big investments in maintenance and construction of roads has been made in cooperation with big construction companies which encourage private car ownership with disregarding existing transportation Master Plan (1994). In that manner, by integrating the suburban areas to city the flow of large capital to the outer parts of the city is enabled.[259] Moreover, with these transportation regulations "new urban objects" which are dependent on the automobilized life are attracted. [260]

> "Transport investments get drawn towards major centers of production, finance and commerce because that is where they are likely to be most profitable."[261]

Accordingly, Eskişehir Highway (Aşti-Ümitköy) was lastly widened to 10 strips in 2007[262] (with 16 million dollars investment[263]) which cause 50 per cent increase in the traffic flow, and all of the intersections on Eskişehir Highway were proposed as multi-level traffic junctions,[264] so that the flow of the traffic would be continuous, and western settlements would be connected to the city center uninterruptedly which obviously increases the speed in the city.[265] The position of the pedestrians in this automobilized

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[258] David Harvey. The Urbanisation of Capital, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1985, pg. 24.
[259] A. Ekber Dogan. "Gokcek'in Ankara'yi Neo-Liberal Rovanscilikla Yeniden Kurusu", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pg. 136.
[260] Mehmet Tuncer, "Yaz boz tahtasi: Eskisehir Aksi", Ankara Magazine, Eylul, 2006.
[261] David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism, London, Verso, 2006, pg. 101.
[262] In 2002 this part of the highway was widened with a new infrastructure, and it is demolished in 2003 for the construction of metro project.
[263] Buyuksehir Ankara, no: 114, 2007.
[264] Six multi-level traffic junctions were constructed on Eskisehir Highway after 1994.
[265] Eser Atak. "Bir Baskani Araba Sevdasi ve Ankara Ulasiminda Kayip Yillar", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005/4, pg. 106.

system is defined by overpasses and underpasses which are also identified with the local authority.[266] (71 multi-level junctions, 94 overpasses and underpasses in Ankara in 1994-2008)[267] These adaptations as the counter projects of the public transportation increase the traffic load, and only bring temporary solutions for traffic problem which can be regarded as a reflection of complexity in urban life.[268]

Because of these unplanned transportation regulations, fly-overs, landscape elements and retaining walls are destructed and adapted over and over again with big investments in Eskişehir Highway.[269]

The encouragement of the private car ownership more obviously can be observed through Eskişehir Highway which is described as "a prestige road" emphasizing the socio-economic character different than the İstanbul Highway with an alternative public transportation system, a metro line between Batıkent and Ulus. Actually, through Eskişehir Highway, Çayyolu-Kızılay metro line project (2nd stage of the metro line Project) was planned in 1994[270] as a solution for the rising private car ownership, but although the construction started in 2002[271], it is still an incomplete project. This can be associated with the circulation of money through the automobile, fuel sectors and the upper class' demands. Since, upper class generally search for personal comfort and prefer travelling with private cars rather than a public transportation system.

[266] A. Ekber Dogan. "Gokcek'in Ankara'yi Neo-Liberal Rovanscilikla Yeniden Kurusu", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005 /4, pg. 136.
[267] Buyuksehir Ankara, no: 164, 2008.
[268] Eser Atak. "Bir Baskani Araba Sevdasi ve Ankara Ulasiminda Kayip Yillar", Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Yayini, 2005/4, pg. 104.
[269] Mehmet Tuncer, "Yaz boz tahtasi: Eskisehir Aksi", Ankara Magazine, Eylul, 2006.
[270] Emniyet Genel Mudurlugu Trafik İsleri Baskanligi, http://www.trafik.gov.tr/icerik/bildiriler/B6-45.doc (accessed on: 17.03.2008)
[271] EGO Genel Mudurlugu, http://web.ego.gov.tr/inc/newsread.asp?id=264 (accessed on: 20.08.2008)

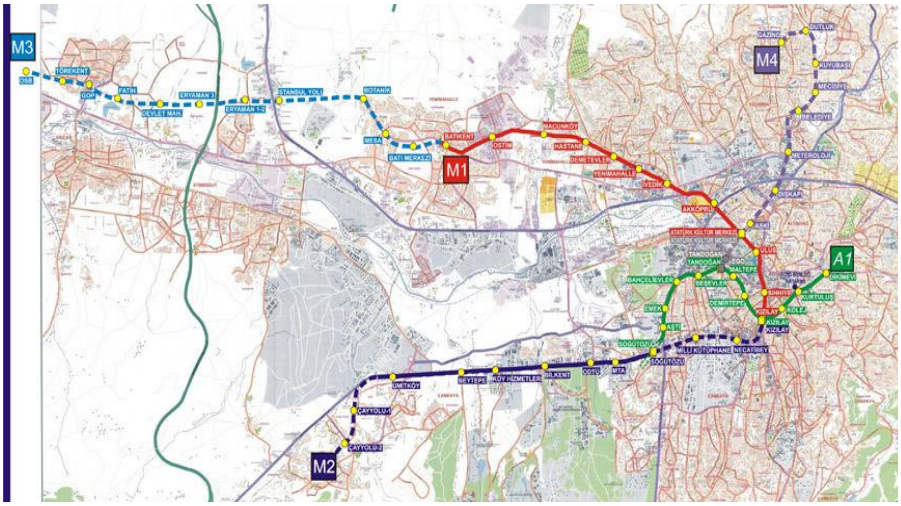

Figure 7. Ankaray and Metro Line Networks [Source: EGO Genel Müdürlüğü, http://web.ego.gov.tr (accessed on 28.07.2008)]

As a result, for the upper class settled to the Çayyolu, Bilkent, Çukurambar and Mustafa Kemal districts, Eskişehir Highway turned into a speedy everyday route which connects the work and the housing functions. More than this, with the vectorized character, Eskişehir Highway became a "collective space" for the whole city different than the traditional, stable urban spaces, and in this respect automobile, more than a transportation vehicle, becomes the new way of communication in this complex metropolitan condition.

4.7 Future of the District: 2023 Master Plan

Future of the district is the last reason of the concentration of "new urban objects" to Eskişehir Highway which can be considered with the last Master Plan of Ankara.

The last plan of Ankara (1/25000 scaled) which was prepared by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality with the law of 5216 was approved in 2007. Until this year, although there were planning studies like 2015 Plan and 2025 Plan, these plans were not approved by the authorities. So, with the corruption of 1990 Master City Plan which was valid

until 2007, urban transformation of Ankara was shaped according to the partial plans[272] which inevitably increase land speculations in the city.

It is explained that with this last plan which is regarded as a "product of uncoordinated planning system" with neo-liberal and postmodern approaches, the planning process became a way to serve capital holders in terms of defining new geographies to continue the circulation of the capital for the liberal economy which will determine the future of Eskişehir Highway. Therefore, the guarantee of the expansion to new areas for construction sector increases the importance of the district.

In scope of this Master Plan, new housing areas and industrial districts were proposed on Eskişehir Highway, as Temelli, Ballıkoyuncu districts were determined as residential areas with the project of Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI). Moreover, Mustafa Kemal and Dodurga districts were denoted as central working areas, and Technocity in Lodumlu and Industrial area in Malıköy-Alçı were defined as urban working areas.[273] With the transportation projects like speed train project (Ankara-Temelli) metropolitan condition of Ankara is expanded to new areas.[274]

[272] TMMOB Sehir Plancilari Odasi Ankara Subesi, http://ankara.spo.org.tr/doc/ust_olcekli_planlama_sorunsali.doc (accessed on 17.06.2007)
1/50.000 scaled 2001 Ankara Master Plan Partial revision Plan with the co-operation of the municipality and the ministry considering the western development corridor where the power relations became dominant rather the planning decisions was approved. In this plan the planned decentralization strategy of the 2015 plan is corrupted, and the land of AOC is highly lost. In 2004 another partial plan is approved with a similar understanding. This plan offers development to the further side of the freeway.
[273] Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/9-planlama-bolgeleri.pdf (accessed on 17.01.2008)
[274] Ibid.

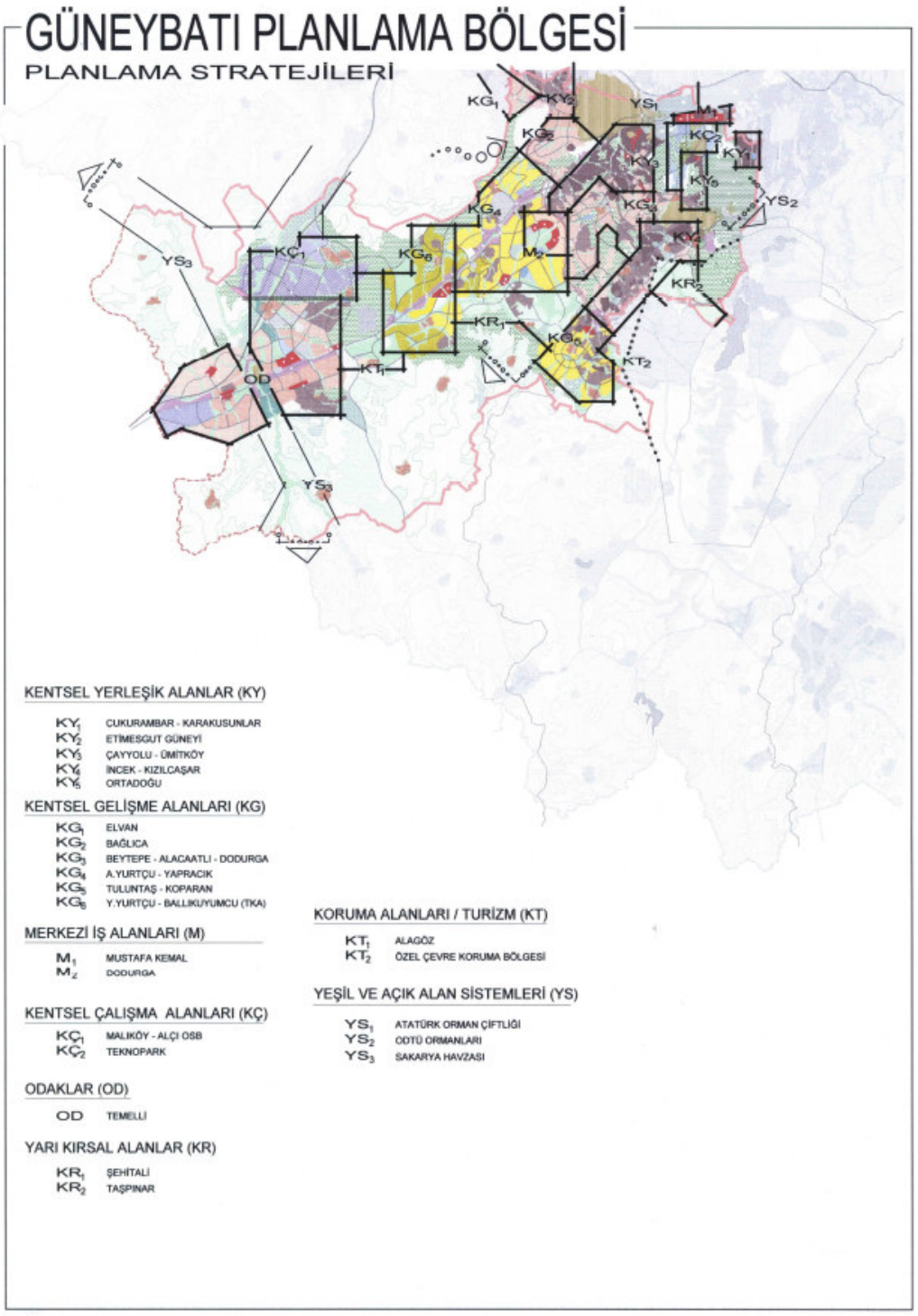

Figure 8. 2023 Master Plan, Southwestern Planning District
[Source: Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi,
http://www.ankara.bel.tr (accessed on 17.01.2008)]

Table 2. List of the settlements and the buildings on Eskişehir Highway

Military Settlements:[275] Turkish General Staff (Genelkurmay Başkanlığı) Settlement by Clemens Holzmeister (1930) Turkish Air Force (Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı) Settlement Turkish Land Forces (Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı)Settlement Turkish Naval forces (Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı)Settlement
Bahçelievler Housing District by Herman Jansen (1936)[276]
Saraçoğlu Housing District by Paul Bonatz (1944-46)[277]
METU Campus by Behruz Çinici, Altuğ Çinici (1961-81)[278]
Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics (DIE)
General Directorate of Highways (TCK) by Fikret Cankurt (1963)
Goverment's Office of Agricultural Products (TMO) by Cengiz Bektaş Vedat Özsan, Oral Vural (1965)
MTA Campus by Demirtaş Kamçıl, Rahmi Bediz (1967)
Foot-and-Mouth Disease Institute Campuses (1960s)
Renault-Mais Settlement (1969)[279]

[275] Ozcan Altaban. "Kamu Yapilari Yer Secim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg. 36.
The first shift from the planned part of the city to the West part was the expropriation of the 440 hectare area in 1930-40 through the West and South part for the governmental and military purposes.

[276] Bahcelievler, the first housing co-operative of the city which is founded to meet the housing needs of the middle and upper income group. This co-operative can be defined as the first threshold in the development of the city towards West. The district is selected in 1934 out of the boundaries of the Jansen plan, and this housing area is planned with the influence of "garden city" movement.

[277] Ustun Alsac. Turk Kent Duzenlemesi ve Konut Mimarligi. Istanbul: İletisim Yayinlari, 1993, pg.112.
In 1944 the law 4626, the Law of Civil Servant Housing, gave priority to those living in Ankara, and in 1944-46 Saracoglu housing district (Namik Kemal Mahallesi) with 400 residential units was planned with the reinterpretation of traditional Turkish houses in the West part of the Yenisehir.

[278] Ozcan Altaban. "Kamu Yapilari Yer Secim Surecleri", Ankara 1985'den 2015'e, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, EGO Gn. Md. Yayini, Ankara, 1986, pg.40.
The most important expropriation was made for METU campus area (4900 hectare) and institutions with military purpose (1950-1960).

[279] Yavuz Selim Barbaros. "Creation of the Commercial Node: Sogutozu, Ankara," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg. 21.
Private capital owners are encouraged because of the large and inexpensive land opportunities of the periphery of Eskisehir Highway and "at late 60's several large scale corporates (like Oto-Koc, Renault-Mais) and entrepreneurs (like Muammer Kiraner, Emin Hattat) selected Sogutozu region either for commercial development or personal investment."

General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSI) by Behruz Çinici, Enver Tokay, Teoman Doruk (1970)
Hacettepe University Campus in Beytepe (1970s)
Ümitköy-Çayyolu District (1970s)
Ford Otosan Automobile Service Settlement by Nejat Ersin (1972)
Ormak-Tofaş Settlement (demolished in 2006)
Dostlar residential area[280] (1970s)
Türk Metal-İş Labor Union Headquarters (1999)
Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs
Ministry of Industry and Trade
Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Hasan Özbay and Tamer Başbuğ (1984-88), extension building (2005)
Ministry of Culture and Tourism
Ministry of Labour and Social Security
Varan terminal building (1980s) (demolished in 2008)
Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO)
National Library was moved to the Bahçelievler in early 1980s
Bilkent University (1984)[281]
Intercity bus terminal (AŞTİ) by Davran Ekşinat with a competition (1987–95)
Turkiye Elektrik Kurumu (TEK) (Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources today) is moved to Eskişehir Highway in 1980s
Halkbank Headquarters (Undersecretariat of Treasure and Foreign Trade) by Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa (1983–84)
Secretariat General of the National Security Council by Orhan Şahinler, Fehmi Kızıl, Muhlis Türkmen (1985-93)
Bayındır Hospital (1992)
Reconstruction of Çukurambar housing district (after 1992)[282]
Ankara Chamber of Commerce by Haluk Pamir (1997)

[280] Dostlar residential area was constructed in Bahcelievler district for the Members of Parliament.

[281] Near Bilkent University campus area a residential district was constructed for middle and high income groups by Emlak Bank.

[282] The squatter areas in Sogutozu district which "had been left vacant until late 90's except some service facilities" is gone under a rapid apartmentization and regeneration process in 1992 with final subdivision plan, 79170–2 was approved by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

The Turkish Court of Accounts by Ziya Tanalı (2000)
Presidency of Religious Affairs (2001)
Mesa Hospital by Turhan Kayasü (1999-2004)
General Directorate of Disaster Affairs Earthquake Research Department
Turkish Atomic Energy Authority
General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSI) Settlement
General Directorate of Electrical Power Resources Survey and Development Administ.
Ankara Tahsin Banguoğlu Dormitories
Animal Health School
Turkish Cement Manufacturers' Association
Mustafa Kemal Housing district
Havelsan
Selamoğlu Transportation, Ortek Construction, BM Engineering, Turkcell (1994)
Şark Halı by Boran Ekinci (2003), TOGO, Çilek
Gökkuşağı Recreation Area (2006) located on the refuge in Bahçelievler district
Gas stations (Türkpetrol, Mobil, Petrol Ofisi)
Boss tourism service settlement
Başkent University (1994), Ufuk University
Party Headquarters: The Republican People's Party (CHP) by Kadri Atabaş (2006) The Justice and Development Party (AKP) by Can Gökoğuz (2007) Anavatan Party (ANAP) by Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa (1986-1989)

Figure 9. The district in (Jansen Plan)
[Source: Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi,
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/2-tarihce.pdf
(accessed on 17.06.2008)]

Figure 10. The district (Yücel-Uybadin Plan)
[Source: Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi,
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/2-tarihce.pdf
(accessed on 17.06.2008)]

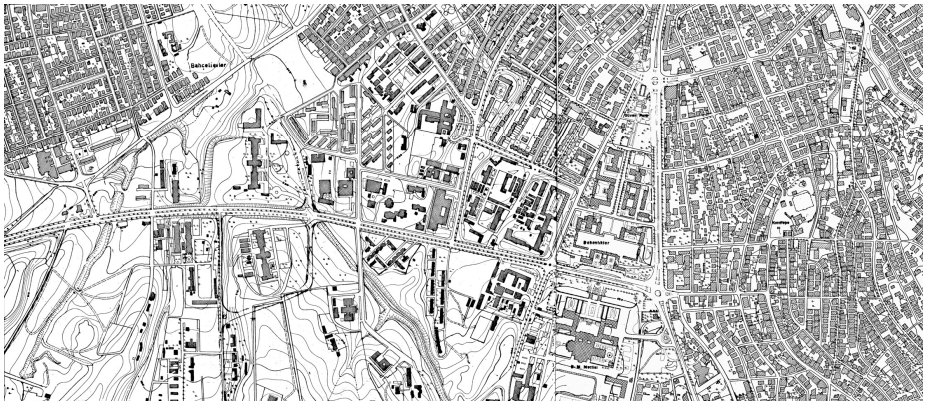

Figure 11. The district in 1970s
(Source: obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

CHAPTER 5

THE PRODUCTS OF THE URBAN VECTOR: "NEW URBAN OBJECTS" WITH NEW INTERACTION PATTERNS

The physical environment structured under the influence of multi-layered dynamics of globalization is different from the traditional urban spaces and the relations in the city as mentioned before. In this part, after a brief introduction of "the new urban objects," new interaction patterns will be analyzed. The relations between these projects which are considered as the big projects of big capital will be examined with the question of are the projects bound to a place or are they "anywhere" and "anytime" floating on the highway? After these studies on the "order in the vector," the new urban objects of Eskişehir Highway are briefly introduced. Then, these "new urban objects" will be rendered through the "intensity", "movement", "direction", and "magnitude" as the key features which define Eskişehir Highway as an urban "vector" of metropolitan condition in the era of neo-liberal globalization.

5.1 "The New Urban Objects", "Urban Spaces of Globalization"

Tarık Şengül mentions that especially after 1990s the capital holders and big construction firms interested in construction of office blocks, shopping malls, international hotels which are the symbols of globalization with the expectations of universalization of country's economy,[283] since the globalization searches for areas to "consume urban space." The "new urban objects" (as the new building typologies of era) become the "common spaces" of the cities which cause loss of identity of the cities with their similar, standardized characteristics as discussed in Koolhaas's Generic City. These new spaces are labeled as "carnival masks" and "businessmen's

[283] Tarik Sengul. Kentsel Celiski ve Siyaset, Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitapligi, 2001, pp. 89-89.

utopias" of global capitalism,[284] and they are regarded totally as products of the capitalist system with finance, design, construction and advertising processes which are based on the demands of the clients.

> "Capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital."[285]

In these buildings the functions become less important than the symbolic meanings as they generally symbolize the globalized capitalism.

> "These NUO (new urban objects) are changing the overall landscape and the distinctive features of the city, generating new emblematic images of economic power."[286]

Sassen also asserts that:

> "These new economic projects materialize partly in new types of built environments (that is, in physical structures) and partly in digital space. (The hyperspace of international business is emblematic- a cross- border grid of brand- name airports, state-of the-art office buildings, and luxury hotels whose construction is a response to new business practices.)"[287]

French anthropologist Marc Augé describes these materialized spaces of global capitalism with the phenomenon "non-places". Augé precisely explores that: "If place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which can not be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place."[288] He generally describes non-places with the "characteristics of the contemporary world" as circulation, communication, and consumption. According to

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[284] Paul L. Knox. "Creating Ordinary Places: Slow Cities in a Fast World", Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 10. No. 1, February 2005, pp. 1–11.
[285] David Harvey. Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography, New York: Routledge, 2001, pg. 247.
[286] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 309-323.
[287] Saskia Sassen. "Juxtoposed Temporalities: Producing a New Zone," Anytime, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pp. 115-121.
[288] Marc Augé. Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity, London & New York: Verso, 1995, pg.78.

this, freeways and airways in terms of circulation, department stores, and supermarkets in terms of consumption, telephones, faxes, television, and cable networks in terms of communication are the main examples of non-places.[289] As it is explained before, the concept of "placelessness" is rooted by Relph. He broadly discusses the placelessness with annihilation of "place" and "place sense" in the modern world. He gives the following explanation about the "place" and "placelessness":

> "Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence are full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities. They are important sources of individual and communal identity, and are often profound centres of human existence to which people have a deep emotional bond....Placelessness describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order."[290]

He describes placelessness with the aspects like other-directedness, uniformity and standardization in places, formlessness, lack of human scale and order in places, place destruction, impermanence and instability of places.[291] Similar to Auge, Relph denotes the placelessness with mobility.

> "Roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but, by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impacts."[292]

Apart from these approaches, Virilio elucidates the emergence of "non-places" via the loss of rights in society. He mentions that:

> "The megapolises now being talked of are no longer cities, they are phenomena, which go beyond the city and translate the decline of the city

[289] Marc Augé. An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999, pg.110.
[290] Edward Relph. Place and Placelessness, London: Pion, 1976, pp. 141-143.
[291] Ibid., pp. 118-119.
[292] Ibid., pg. 90.

> as a territorial localization, and also as a place of an assumed right, affirmed by a policy. Here, I am very pessimistic. I feel we are entering into a society without rights, a "non-rights" society, because we are entering a society of the non-place, and because the political man was connected to the discrimination of a place. The loss of a place is, alas, generally the loss of rights."[293]

It is explained that road networks as veins generally comprise these non-places as new introverted, independent, isolated, depthless building types as "boxes-or "buildings without qualities."[294] In this respect, it is stated that:

> "Non-spaces are often near movement corridors and include median strips and rights-of-way along highways and roads. Because people frequently view these spaces from moving vehicles, the landscape becomes a backdrop, seen from a moving perspective."[295]

These buildings with intelligent building systems, technological equipments (like elevator and escalator), artificial lighting, security precautions and comfortable climate which define "timeless times" are introduced by new construction technologies, materials and also new aesthetic patterns in design and architecture.[296]

As it is understood, these new mutable, mobile, flexible urban objects without any specific characteristics can be anywhere and anytime all around the world under the influence of globalization. In the case of Eskişehir Highway, with the free flow of the large capital after 1990s, the character of Eskişehir Highway which was identified with military and state uses before, transformed, and a heterogeneous condition has appeared. In that manner, high-rise commercial and business complexes with large programs, plazas, big, attractive shopping malls, mixed-use centers with different colors and neons, international hotels, media centers together with private health and education functions generally designate the general transformation due to the

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[293] John Armitage. Virilio Live: Selected Interviews, London: SAGE, 2001, pg. 81.
[294] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg. 528.
[295] University of California Digital Library, http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1040&context=ced/places (accessed on 26.04.2007)
[296] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 309-323.

dynamics presented before which turn this interurban motorway to an urban vector and the city citizen to a consumer and a tourist. To sum up, it can be said that the traditional urban spaces leave their place to these "new urban objects" in the city of Ankara.

5.2 The Order in the Vector

Although, the "linear" formation of Eskişehir Highway can be observed in a two dimensional manner, there is no fixed order in the system. The only order in the built environment can be delineated with the search of the large capital holders for the more profitable combinations via the flexibility of capital. In that manner, the "linear" formation of the city "development" turns into a "freedom for three-dimensional anarchy"[297] in a non-linear understanding with "hybridizations, proximities, frictions, overlaps and superpositions" through the Highway.

> "These "new urban objects" that underlie the spatial fragmentation are characterized by additive, heterogeneous, ephemeral, and excluding architectures, responding to specialized processes embedded in the way new urban culture."[298]

The highway turns into totally a heterogeneous urban space with new, "disconnected, materialized urban spaces which are located side by side or superpositioned."[299] Accordingly, the projects through Eskişehir Highway are not bounded to a place and they are floating "anywhere" and "anytime" on the highway. As mentioned before, placeboundedness is the general character of these "new urban objects."

> "With the decay of urban centrality and axiality, the symbolic and historic reference points go first. Then, when the industrial apparatus and the monuments lose their meaning, the architectonic references vanish. Most

[297] Rem Koolhaas. Delirious New York, A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994, pg. 20.
[298] Pablo Ciccolella and Iliana Mignaqui. "Buenos Aires: Sociospatial Impacts of the Development of the Global City Functions", Global Networks Linked Cities, ed. Saskia Sassen, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 309-323.
[299] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pp. 87-88.

> decisively, the demise of the ancient categorization and partition of the physical dimension leads to the loss of geometric reference points."[300]

Therefore, Eskişehir Highway can be considered as a "non-contiguous collage of parcelized, consumption-oriented landscapes"[301] as Tschumi explores:

> "The city and its architecture lose their symbols- no more monuments, no more axes, no more anthropomorphic symmetries, but instead fragmentation, parcellization, atomitazition, as well as the random superimposition of images that bear no relationship to one another, except through their collision."[302]

Figure 12. Horizontal Superimposition through the Highway (photographed and articulated by the author on 06.05.2008)

The new interaction patterns between the "new urban objects" composing the urban vector; Eskişehir Highway are generally defined with the "hyperspace" which replaces the traditional notion of place and brings a global connection, and with the driving experience as mentioned before.

> "Telecommunications, in dissolving the "here" and "now", serve both to break down distance, physical distance, and to create psychological "distance"."[303]

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[300] Paul Virilio. The Lost Dimension. New York, N.Y.: Semiotext(e), 1991, pg. 30.
[301] Michael J. Dear. The Postmodern Urban Condition, Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2000, pg.159.
[302] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 218.
[303] A. Duygu Kacar. "The Effects of Time Perception on the Design and Use of Architectural Space," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2002, pg. 53.

It is affirmed in the "Learning from Las Vegas" by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour that the automobile is completely overturning relationship of the built environment,[304] and accordingly the highway provides entirely a new way to experience the city.

It can be observed through Eskişehir Highway that as in "strip" in Las Vegas "various functions of a great city were distributed along a line; communication linking them could be carried out in a minimum time by movement along that line."[305] In such system defined by highway, people can not walk from one to another building, and they can only interact with the buildings by car[306] with the aim of arriving, different than the common spaces of the traditional city like city squares, bazaars which people can visit in the everyday life. Unlike the early common spaces, the new urban objects are controlled areas which are not accessible for all the citizens.[307]

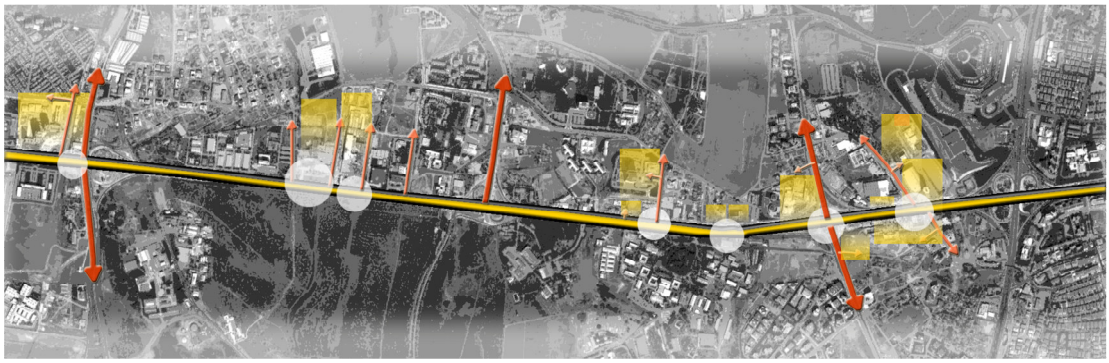

Figure 13. Secondary Roads and Connection Points (drawn by the author on the image captured from Google Earth)

[304] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, "System and order on the Strip," Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1972, pp. 20-34.
[305] Ibid., pp. 20-34.
[306] Ibid., pp. 20-34.
[307] Cana Birsel. Metropol Istanbul, http://www.metropolIstanbul.com/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=7&mid=8 (accessed on 18.04.2008)

In accordance with the automobilized character of Eskişehir Highway, there are no continuous pedestrian roads that people can experience buildings by walking. Also it is difficult to arrive to these fragmented, automobile oriented spaces by using public transportation, because of the lack of pedestrian areas that people can land safely. Because of this, the number of people who come to these new urban objects with public transportation is negligible. In order to arrive to these new urban objects by automobile, secondary roads are usually determined. By using these secondary roads, people can access the car parking areas of the buildings. People can not interact with each building while travelling since the two sides of the vector are strictly separated with refuges. Therefore, in order to enter the buildings which are on the other side of the direction of movement U turns have to be made by using the multilevel traffic junctions. Because of the speed and intensity of traffic, discontinuous service strip is constructed in order to regulate the public transportation and to ease the turns of the secondary roads.

To sum up, as mentioned above rather than a planning process, intentions of capital holders already constitutes the transformation of Eskişehir Highway, therefore it is difficult to define an exact order in this urban "vector", but it can be said that the multi-layered relationships of "new urban objects" are highly configured with automobile and "hyperspace" different than the "hierarchical, linear, narrative ordering of" traditional urban spaces.

5.3 Introduction of the "New Urban Objects" through the Urban "Vector"

In this part, a concise introduction of some of the important "new urban objects" as plazas, shopping malls, mixed-use centers, and international hotels which constitute the transformation of Eskişehir Highway will be made one by one. Because of the incomplete and disorderly construction management and organization very brief information could be gathered about the projects.

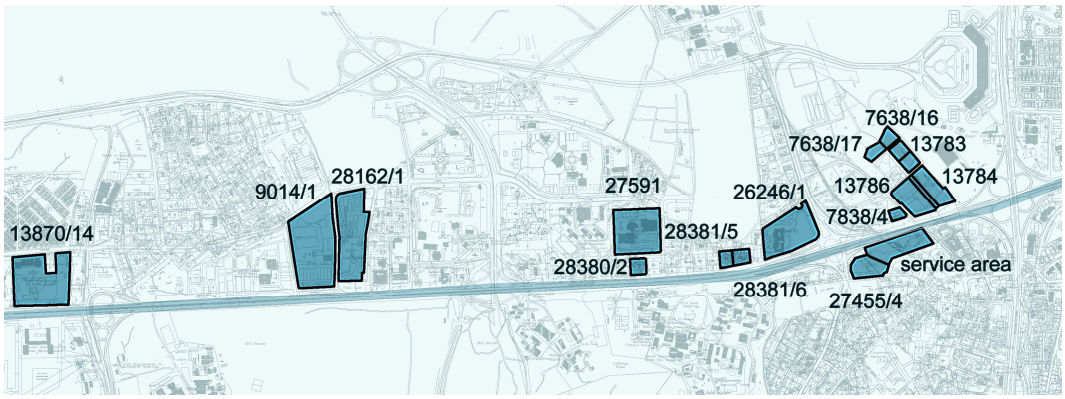

Figure 14. Plots of the Projects (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

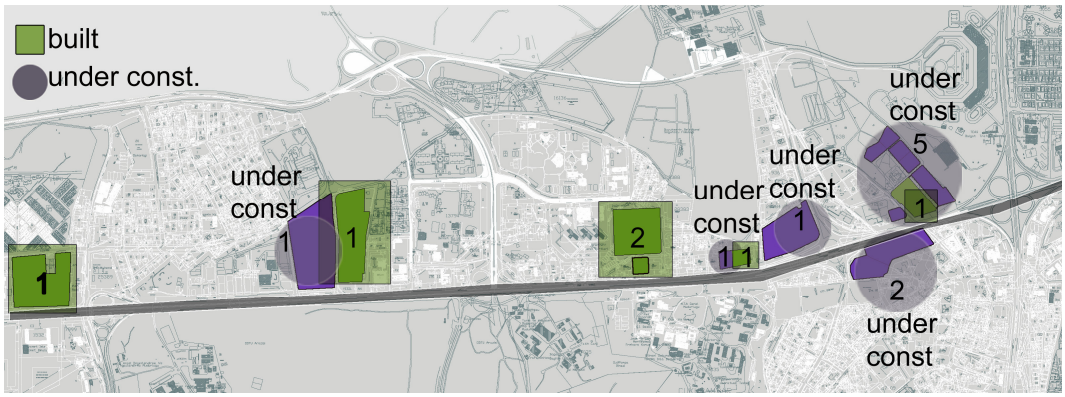

Figure 15. Projects-Constructed and Under Construction (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

5.3.1 Shopping Malls and Mixed Use Projects

Eskişehir Highway becomes an important point for commercial facilities with the shift in consumption habits. Many attractive Shopping Malls and Mixed Use Projects with huge total floor space and diverse functional programs take place of the traditional city centers as new places of investment promising highly populated areas with high profit.

Armada Business and Trade Center (Lot no: 13786-13784)

One of the earliest examples of "new urban objects" through Eskişehir Highway is "Armada Business and Trade Center" which is completed in 2002. The architect is Ali Osman Öztürk, the owner and founder of A-Tasarım Architecture and Consulting Ltd Co. He has graduated from METU Faculty of Architecture and he is the architect of the many buildings on Eskişehir Highway, and around Ankara.

The building is located at the Söğütözü district on a plot of 30.000 m^2 area with 125.000 m^2 overall total built area.[308] The site of the building is defined as a "nodal point," close to the junction of Konya and Eskişehir Highways; the main two arteries of the city. The land, an agricultural area till 1980s, was purchased from the Kıraner Family,[309] and plan adaptations were made in order to collect the small parcels in the district for the project. Afterwards, this land is divided into two the by the allé project which is planned by Raci Bademli.[310]

Armada Business and Trade Center, denoted to be one of the most expensive buildings of Ankara,[311] was financed by "Söğütözü Construction and Management Corporation." The total cost of the building was given as 125 million dollars.[312] The corporation is established by twenty-three local and private entrepreneurs, among whom the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey's chairman Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu is the head of the "Söğütözü Construction and Management Corporation," and Sinan Aygün is the head of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce.

Between the Corporation and the Architect, Öztürk declares that:

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[308] Armada Alisveris ve Is Merkezi," Tasarim, 128, 2003.
[309] Yavuz Selim Barbaros "Creation of the Commercial Node: Sogutozu, Ankara," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg. 81.
[310] Raci Bademli proposed a connection between the Highway and the Saklıbahçe recreation area with this pedestrian axis project, and this project is approved in 1999.
[311] Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=4075 (accessed on 02.13.2007)
[312] Peyzaj Mimarligi Portali, http://www.peyzaj.org/2005/Haber/haberdetay.asp?HABER_ID=827 (accessed on 12.06.2008)

> "It's very important because this cooperation represents the will, the growing power and the pioneering efforts of private sector to achieve better status in "global" world."[313]

In the website of the architectural office, the main aims of the office are explained as the adaptation to technological developments, shown as the considering new materials.[314] Space quality is main concern of the office with strong emphasis to local identity.

The building is composed of two parts: a low rise shopping mall and an office block with 21 storeys and 3 underground storeys for service.[315] During the planning process the height of the building which was above the limitations of the *Mania Plan*[316] was redefined and decreased. The structural system of the building is based on reinforced concrete frame and modular curtain wall system composed of aluminum, "tempered glass" and granite. Armada Business and Trade Center is designed to be a landmark of the city with the "ship concept"[317] as a formalist approach. There are 156 shops, 11 cinema halls and food courts in the main block. The complex has 3100 car parking places capacity.[318]

Armada Business and Trade Center project will be enlarged with the second phase of the Armada project with an extension to be constructed in the car parking area of the existing building,[319] on the land which is defined with the allé project of Bademli. It is clearly observed that, the part of the allé project that is in between the two separate lands of the Armada Business and Trade Center has been used as car parking areas until 2008, but it is mentioned that with the extension building, the allé project will be regenerated.

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[313] Interview with Ali Osman Ozturk cited in "Creation of the Commercial Node : Sogutozu, Ankara," Yavuz Selim Barbaros, Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg. 80.
[314] A Tasarim, http://www.atasarim.com.tr/ (accessed on 10.04.2007)
[315] "Armada Alisveris ve Is Merkezi," Tasarim, 128, 2003.
[316] In 1994, MANIA plan (Flight Hindrance Limits) which restricts the building heights in accordance with flight cones of military air vehicles is prepared. The flight cone of Guvercinlik Military airport partially covers Eskisehir Highway.
[317] "Armada Alisveris ve Is Merkezi," Tasarim, 128, 2003.
[318] Armada Alisveris ve Is Merkezi, http://www.armadasite.com (accessed on 10.05.2007)
[319] Interview with Armada Management, 26.07.2008.

The construction will start in 2008: it has 3 storeys, 5 underground and a suspended underground storey in a similar program with the existing main block of Armada Business and Trade Center. The area of the new building is explained as 20.000 m^2. This building is planned to be connected to the existing building with bridges.[320]

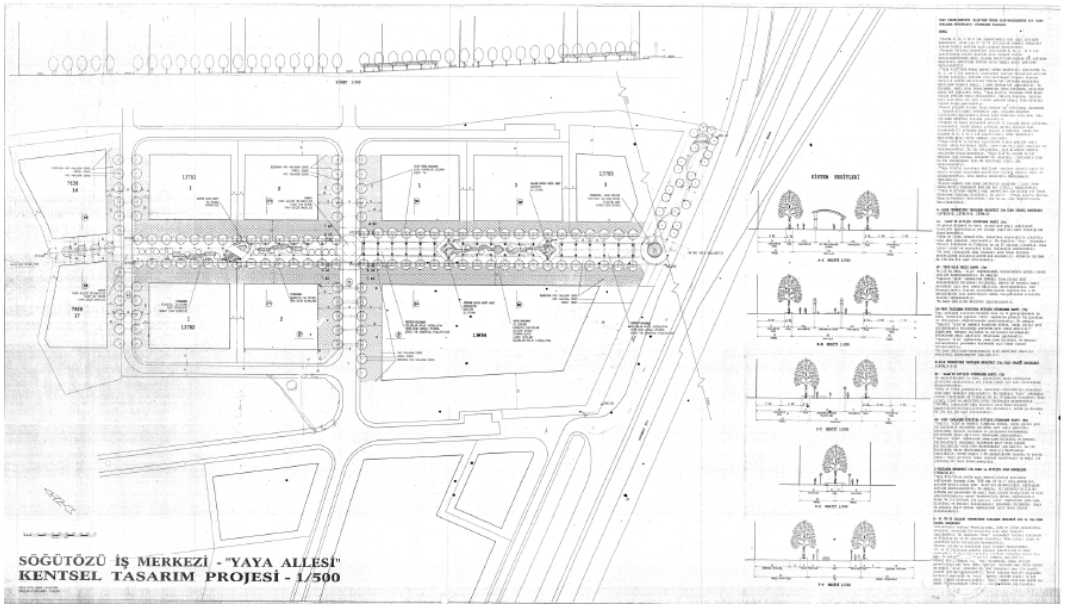

Figure 16. Allé project of Raci Bademli in Söğütözü district (Source: Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy Achieve)

[320] Interview with Armada Management, 26.07.2008.

Figure 17. Armada Business and Trade Center Existing Building and Armada 2 (Source: Armada Business and Trade Center Management Achieve)

CEPA Shopping Mall (Lot/parcel no: 28162/1)

Second example of the "new urban objects" is CEPA Shopping Mall announced to be one of the biggest malls of the Ankara. The construction of the building is completed in 2007.

This big investment financed by Celebcioğlu Group (Üstünçelik AŞ)[321] which is specialized in iron and steel industry. This shopping mall project is defined as an alternative point of investment for the company. The cost of the building is explained as 120 million dollars and it is asserted that the biggest Bauhaus and Carrefour of the country are in this complex as the globalized trademarks.

The architectural project of the mall is adjudicated to Öncüoğlu Architecture and City Planning Ltd.Co., one of the largest offices of Ankara with staff specialized in the field of shopping buildings. The office is founded in 1964 by Hasan Öncüoğlu a graduate of

[321] "Cepa Alisveris Merkezi," Yapi, 314, 2008, pp. 66-71.

ITU Facuty of Achitecture. “The company works with best engineering sub-consultant firms to full-fill the scope of design in every field under its coordination and control. All types of design services are provided in full automation, speed and support of contemporary computer aided design.”[322]

CEPA Shopping Mall is constructed with 52.000 m² of floor area, opposite to the METU campus area, with overall closed area of 172.000 m². It has 8 floors together with the 3 underground floors for car parking.[323]

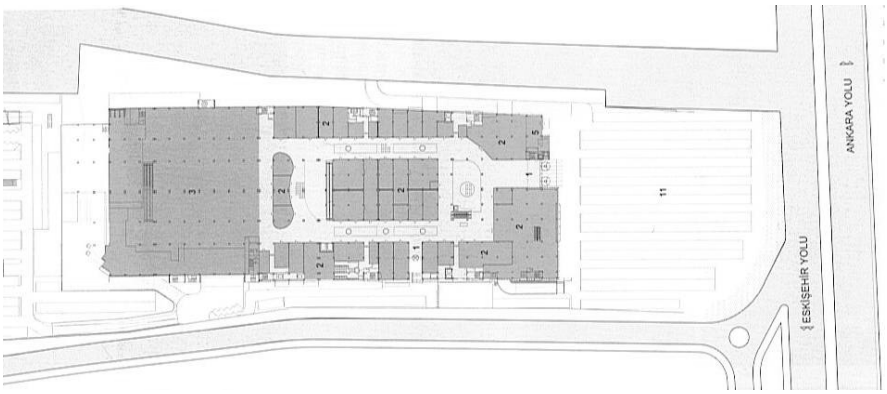

Figure 18. Entrance Floor Plan of the Cepa Shopping Mall (Source: Yapı, 314, 2008, pg. 69.)

In terms of design decisions, it is declared that “the specifications of the project and the boundaries of the site have been resolved by choosing a horizontal rectangular shape for the structure.”[324]

The construction system of the building is conventional reinforced concrete frame with a cladding system. It is mentioned that the façade at the main street is designed to have maximum visual relation with the environment.”[325]

[322] Oncuoglu Architecture Planning, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr (accessed on 07.04.2008)
[323] “Cepa Alisveris Merkezi,” Yapi, 314, 2008, pp. 66-71.
[324] Ibid., pp. 66-71.
[325] Oncuoglu Architecture Planning, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr (accessed on 07.04.2008)

Kentpark Project (Lot/parcel no: 9014/1)

Kentpark is a mixed-use project composed of shopping, office, residential, recreational functions on Eskişehir Highway beside the CEPA Shopping Mall. It is invested by Megatürk Construction and Management Corporation for about 140 million dollars.[326] The total area of the building is 386.300 m² on a 73.000m² of plot area.[327] In this area there was Ormak-Tofaş service complex and it is demolished in 2006 for this project.

The architectural design and project management of Kentpark is being directed by Öncüoğlu Architecture Planning Company. The construction of the complex is hold by Mesa Construction Company.

The Kentpark project under construction is announced to be opened to service in 2008. The aim of the project is explained by the financers as, to construct a mixed-use complex which will be the new urban center of Ankara.[328] It is also denoted that the design addresses a different understanding of shopping activity with the propose of outdoor shopping areas around a "160 m boulevard" together with an artificial lake between the residential and the shopping area. It is explained that the project is designed with the concept of "high street retail."[329] There will be 220 stores, 12 cinema halls, 465 housing units in different sizes (2+1, 3+1, 4+1) [330] with car parking are with the capacity of 3033 parking lots.[331]

[326] Hurriyet, 07.03.2007.
[327] Oncuoglu Architecture Planning, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 01.08.2008)
[328] Toplanti Dunyasi, http://www.toplantidunyasi.com/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=127&Itemid=6 (accessed on 07.04.2008)
[329] Oncuoglu Architecture Planning, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 01.08.2008)
[330] Milliyet, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/03/08/ekonomi/eko16.html (accessed on 15.05.2008)
[331] Oncuoglu Architecture Planning, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 01.08.2008)

Figure 19. Site Plan of Kentpark Project
[Source: Kentpark Resmi Web Sitesi, http://www.megaturk.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.02.2008)]

In this part of Eskişehir Highway, it is known that adaptations in the construction regulations are made in terms of increasing the FAR ratios; the FAR ratio of the plot increased from "0.2" to "2.0 with undetermined height limitation."

Bayraktar Tower (Lot no: 13783)

The project is financed and constructed by Bayraktar Cons. Ltd., to be opened to service in 2008. The architect of the building is Ali Osman Öztürk. It is located on a plot of 6.450 m^2 area in the Söğütözü district, to the near the Armada Shopping and Trade Center, the total area of the project is 31.350 m^2. The building has 32 storeys together with four underground storeys.[332] The structural system of the building is reinforced concrete framework with curtain wall system.

In the website of the Bayraktar Construction Company, it is mentioned that it is an office building with commercial activities on the ground levels, similar to the Armada

[332] Bayraktar Insaat, http://www.bayraktarinsaat.com.tr/index.php?page_id=3&section_id=5&post_id=2 (accessed on 04.05.2008)

Business and Trade Center. Bayraktar Tower is built to represent the "prestige"[333] of the company.

Figure 20. Bayraktar Tower
[Source: Bayraktar İnşaat, http://www.bayraktarinsaat.com.tr/index.php?page_id=3&section_id=5&post_id=2 (accessed on 11.02.2008)]

Medicana Hospital (Gözüm Plaza) (Lot/parcel no: 28381/6)

Figure 21. Medicana Hospital (Gözüm Plaza)
(photographed by the author on 06.05.2008)

[333] Bayraktar Insaat, http://www.bayraktarinsaat.com.tr/index.php?page_id=3&section_id=5&post_id=2 (accessed on 04.05.2008)

Gözüm Plaza is constructed in 2008 around the Söğütözü district beside the complex of Ankara Chamber of Commerce. The construction firm is Gözüm Construction Company. The landowner of the project is Salim Koç and the project is financed by him. The architect of the building is again Ali Osman Öztürk. The construction area of the building is 5500 m^2 and project has 14 storeys. The construction system is reinforced concrete with curtain wall system.

In the construction period, the program of the building is changed. Firstly it was designed as a plaza with shopping areas in the lower horizontal block then it was reconfigured as a private hospital in the name of Medicana Hospital.

A building construction is started in the plot near the Medicana Hospital in a similar manner.

The Plaza of Akaret Construction Company (Lot/parcel no: 7638/16)

Also one of the projects which are under construction is the Plaza of Akaret Construction Company; the architect is Ali Osman Öztürk. The construction area of the building is 7496 m^2 with 20 storeys. The constructor firm is Güncel Construction Company. It is located on the near of the Bayraktar Tower in Söğütözü district.

The construction system is reinforced concrete framework with curtain wall system. It is planned as an office building, but as in the case of Medicana Hospital it is designed in a flexible manner to be adapted different uses.

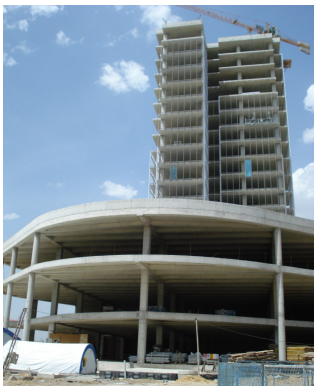

Figure 22. The Plaza of Akaret Construction Company (photographed by the author on 06.05.2008)

5.3.2 Congress Centers

Another example for "new urban objects" is Congress Centers. It is stated that these new urban spaces are constructed in order "to make Ankara a congress center"[334] under the discourse of "world city".[335] It is expected that these projects attract foreign capital to the city by congress tourism.[336]

Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center (service area)

Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center has been financed by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. The architectural project is prepared by Uludağ Architectural Office, founded in 1988 by Orhan Uludağ and Zeynep Uludağ, both graduates of METU Faculty of Architecture. They explain their attitude and quality policy as; "the needs of the client, the relation with environment, economic solutions are the main concerns with the aim of high space quality, aesthetic and production in world quality."[337]

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[334] Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=14074 (accessed on 05.12.2007)
[335] Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=22406&month=5&year=2008 (accessed on 05.12.2007)
[336] It is expected that after 8 years, 10 million tourists will visit Ankara per year for congresses.
[337] Uludag Mimarlik, http://www.uludagmimarlik.com.tr/ (accessed on 15.07.2008)

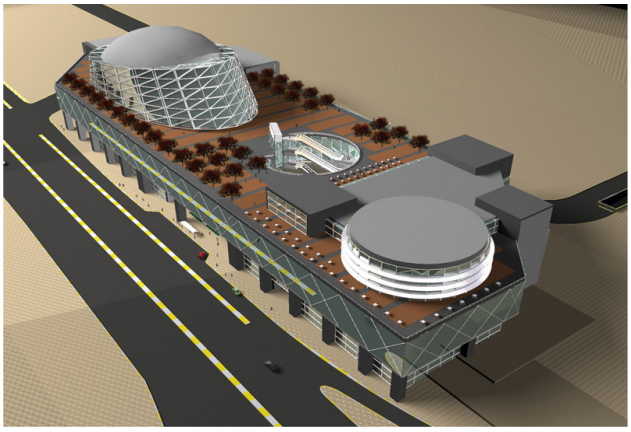

Figure 23. Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center
[Source: Aykon Çelik Yapı,
http://www.melce.com.tr/turkce/kategori.aspx?kid=18
(accessed on 15.07.2008)]

Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center is constructed on the land opposite to the Armada Business and Trade Center, adjacent to Eskişehir Highway with a broad mixed use program on the junction point of metro line and Ankaray line in the Söğütözü district, where has been appointed for urban service use in the subdivision plan notes. In the Çukurambar district plan regulations are made and the area of the project defined as "urban transformation area."

The design process of the building is highly complex; it is constructed on the two existing structures of Metro line and Ankaray. Orhan Uludağ states that the project was designed according to these existing buildings and this brings hugeness in the structural system. In the design process the building was firstly decided to be elevated from ground without any commercial functions.[338] But during the design process according to demands of the investor commercial areas were added to the program and the area of the project has been increased. The total area of the building is 175.000 m².[339] The construction is being carried by Aktürk-Güris Corporation. The construction system is reinforced concrete and steel construction.

[338] Interview with Orhan Uludag, 29.07.2008.
[339] Uludag Mimarlik, http://www.uludagmimarlik.com.tr/ (accessed on 15.07.2008)

Figure 24. Çukurambar district before the "Urban transformation"
Source: obtained from Çankaya Municipality of Ankara)

Figure 25. Çukurambar district "urban transformation area"
(Source: obtained from Çankaya Municipality of Ankara)

The large program of the project is legitimized as; a big congress hall with its capacity for 4500 people, two halls with the capacity for 650 people and 450 people, 10 multipurpose halls in various sizes, 30 seminar halls, 12 cinema hall, cafeterias, a

multimedia center, a library, 2 markets, food-courts, 180 shops and car parking area with the capacity of 1250 cars.[340] It is designed to be a landmark in the city.[341]

Regulations of planning and construction rights can be observed in terms of distance from highway which will cause problems in automobile and pedestrian traffic, and FAR ratios of the plot which is indicated as "3.2" which is above the standards of the district.

Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center is under construction from 2005[342] till today. Because of the unprogrammed planning attitudes, the end date of the construction is unknown as in the case of some other projects of municipality with financial and legal problems.

Ankara Chamber of Commerce (ATO) Fair and Congress Center (Lot /parcel no: 26246/1)

Second example of convention centers realized on Eskişehir Highway is the Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center. The architect of the project is Ali Osman Öztürk. The building is designed to be an extension to the existing complex of the Headquarters of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce which is designed by Haluk Pamir, construction completed in 1997.

This huge project of Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center is designed in 2001-2003 and it is under construction today. It is located at the junction of the Söğütözü Street and Eskişehir Highway with a total area of 80.490 m². The constructor firm is Yüksek Project Construction Company.

Together with 2 underground and 2 suspended storeys, there are 6 storeys in the building. The program is composed of an auditorium for 3200 people, 2 congress halls,

[340] Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com/h27642-baskan-gokcek-projelerini-anlatti.html (accessed on 15.07.2008)
[341] "Uludag Mimarlik," Insaat ve Yatirim, December, 2006, pp. 259-260.
[342] Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, http://www.bel.gov.tr (accessed on 15.07.2008)

9 meeting halls, a multipurpose hall, a restaurant, a cafe, a roof garden and car parking areas with 1000 parking places.[343]

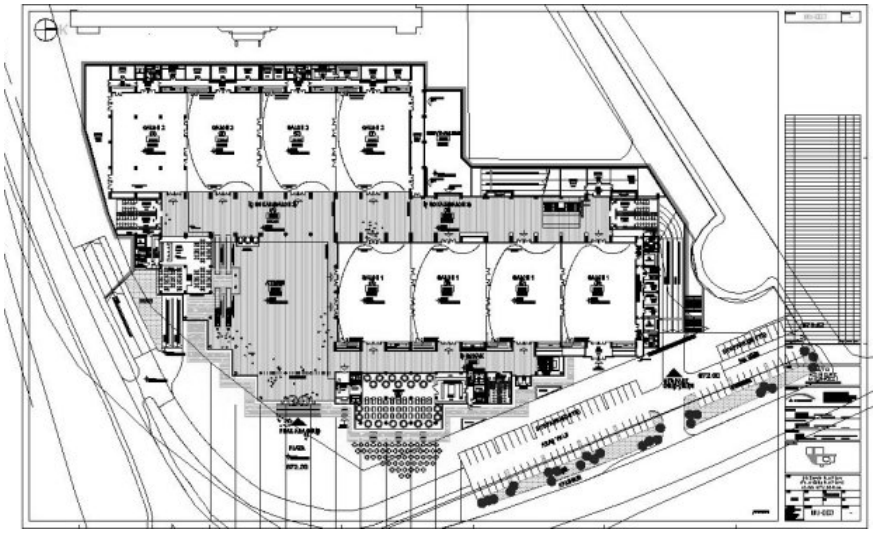

Figure26. Entrance floor plan of Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress [Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası, http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=342&l=1 (accessed on 15.07.2008)]

The structural system is reinforced concrete framework with steel constructed roof. Curtain wall system is used with aluminum, steel and glass. During the construction process the project is adapted to the level regulations of the Söğütözü Street which is reconstructed in a lower level.[344]

5.3.3 Plazas

Plazas which are for non commercial facilities are other examples of "new urban objects" which defines contemporary workspaces of the globalization different than the traditional business areas. These buildings are not completely for private uses.

[343] Ankara Ticaret Odasi, http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=340&l=1 (accessed on 17.02.2008)
[344] Ege Ekonomisi, http://www.egeekonomisi.com/haber_detay.php?hid=1263 (accessed on 15.07.2008)

Halkbank Headquarters (Lot no: 27591)

The second building of Halkbank Headquarters which is one of the biggest buildings of the highway as a prestige plaza is constructed in 1998.

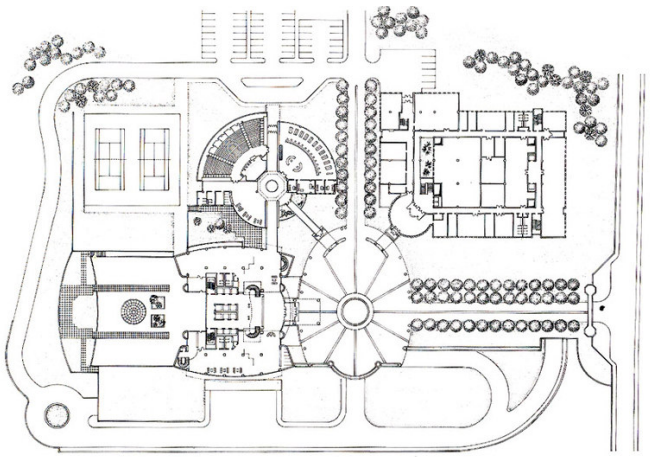

Figure 27. Entrance Floor Plan of Halkbank Headquarters
[Source: Mimarlık Müzesi,
http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.com (accessed on 10.09.2007)]

The first and second buildings of Halkbank Headquarters are designed by Sami Sisa and Doğan Tekeli. This partnership with modernist attitudes was founded in 1954 in İstanbul.

For the early Halkbank Headquarters, a competition was organized and the project of Sami Sisa and Doğan Tekeli was announced to be the winner in 1983. As a competition project there were some limitations and obligations that the architects obey. Symbolism is one of these in order to emphasize the institutional identity. In the first project the decision was designing the building to be a city gate located close to the intersection of the Eskişehir and Konya Highways.[345] This design decision lost its

[345] Tekeli- Sisa Mimarlik Ortakligi, http://www.tekelisisa.com/y_halkbank/sunum.html (accessed on 19.05.2007)

validity with the spread of the transformation of Eskişehir Highway to further side of the Konya Highway. This building was sold to the Undersecretariat of Treasure and Foreign Trade and a new building is acquisited at 2 km to the west of the first building on Eskişehir Highway designed with a similar architectural approach, but in a different scale and with a larger program. The total area of the new building is 90.000 m^2. The limitations like *Mania Plan* were corrupted in this building with 123 meters height with 30 storeys. Headquarters of Halkbank is constructed by one of the biggest construction companies; Günal Construction Company of MNG Holding.

The complex is composed of three parts which are arranged around an oval central space. It is explicated that:

> "This time, banking school and club house are eliminated and a new and independent data processing block is added. The three buildings forming the composition; General Directorate, Data Processing Center, Bank Central Branch and auditorium are placed around the oval shaped central area. This area is reached by two main entrances on north and west directions through inner paths with trees on both sides. The lighting beams placed at regular intervals, around the esplanade indicate the entrance area, that's on a higher level than the Ankara-Eskişehir highway on the south."[346]

Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) (Lot/parcel no: 13870/14)

Another important plaza through Eskişehir Highway is the "twin towers of The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey," described as the most "expensive" building of Ankara.[347] The building is placed near the Bilkent junction on Eskişehir Highway. It is designed by SUTE Architectural Office which is founded in 1969 by Umut İnan, a graduate of the ITU Faculty of Architecture. The construction process of the building is contracted by Ceylan Construction Company.

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[346] Tekeli- Sisa Mimarlik Ortakligi, http://www.tekelisisa.com/y_halkbank/sunum.html (accessed on 19.05.2007)
[347] Peyzaj Mimarligi Portali, http://www.peyzaj.org/2005/Haber/haberdetay.asp?HABER_ID=827 (accessed on 19.05.2007)

The construction process of the building is very complex. It was a state financed construction. Umut İnan mentions that the design process started in 1986. The project was firstly designed as a complex which is composed of an administration building, stores, housing blocks for the workers of TEKEL and a block for social activities. During the design process, the project is changed to be the TEKEL Headquarters and in this respect, a building which is lower than the last project is designed and started to be constructed. In the construction process, in 15th floor, it is decided to be transferred to the Prime Ministry of Turkey.[348] Because of the high rent values of separated units, Prime Ministry of Turkey was searching for an integrated model. İnan states that the project is redesigned with considering the constructed part of the early project and it is enlarged to serve for the Prime Ministry of Turkey.[349] In this respect the height of the building was increased and a second tower was added to cope with the large program of the Prime Ministry. The existing two buildings were adapted to the new program. İnan mentions that, the land of the project and the surrounding area of the project were the only state lands in the district, because of this the project is designed in an urban scale with considering the surrounding lands for the future projects with the propose of an urban square.[350] After the change in the political authority of the country, the building was sold to the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey with 100 million dollars price in 2005 in terms of privatization policies of neo-liberal attitudes.[351] The building still under construction for about 20 years and announced to be open to service in August 2008.

[348] Interview with Umut Inan, 17.07.2008.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Radikal, http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=159757 (accessed on 12.04.2007)

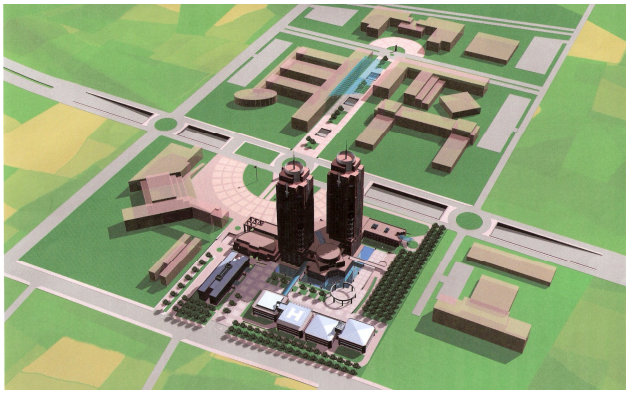

Figure 28. The Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

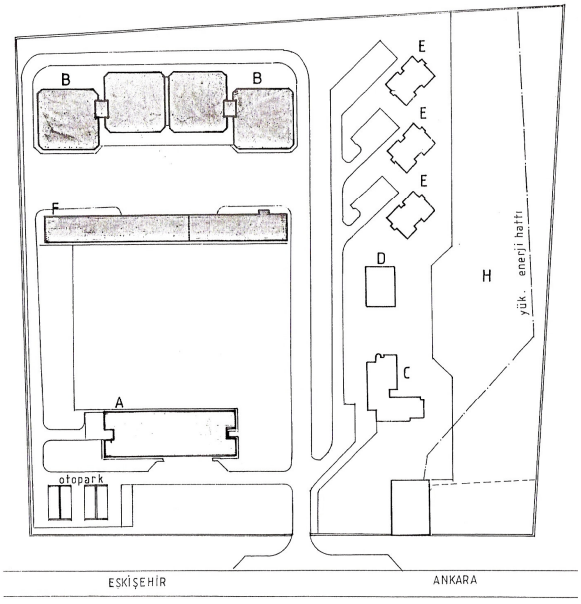

Figure 29. First project, designed for the Settlement of TEKEL (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

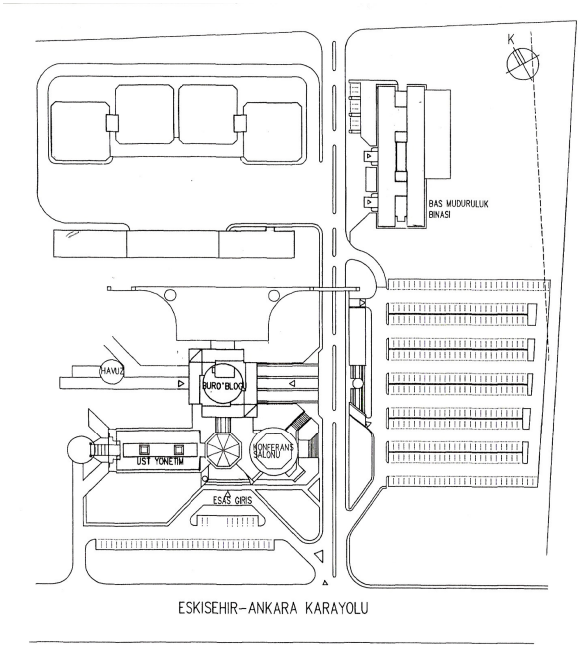

Figure 30. Second project, designed for the TEKEL Headquarters (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

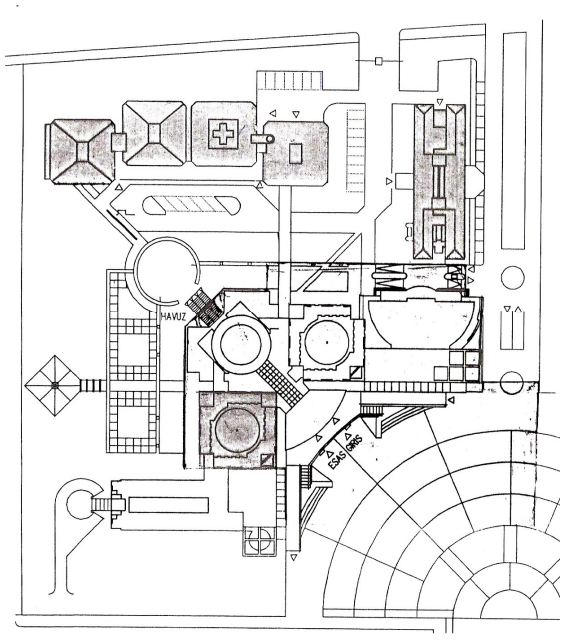

Figure 31. Third project, designed for the Prime Ministry of Turkey (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

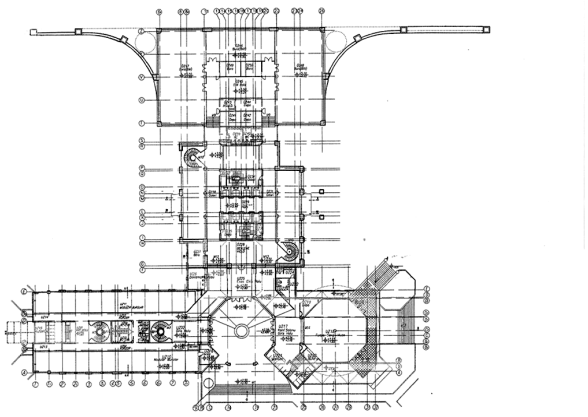

Figure 32. Entrance floor plan of the second project (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

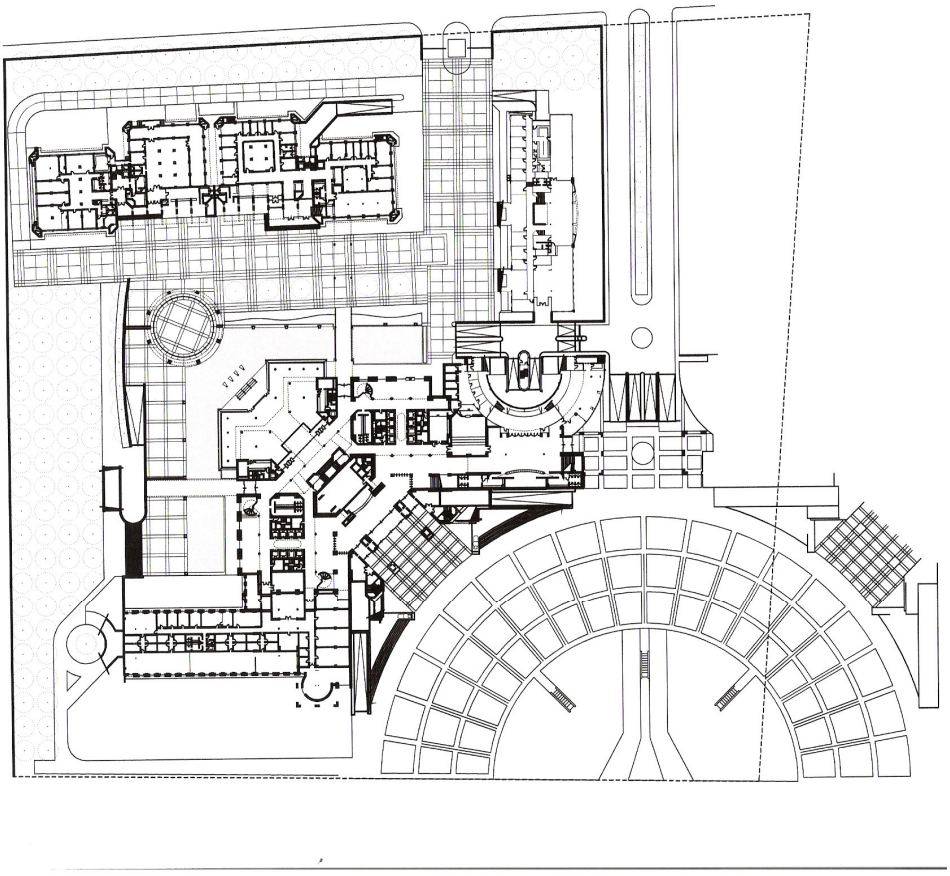

Figure 33. Entrance floor plan of the third project (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

The 45.828 m^2 area of the building is increased nearly 4 times during this complex process.[352] The total area of the project is 147.500 m^2. It has 38 storeys with 140 meters height. The height of the building is also above the construction limitations defined by the *Mania Plan*.

The construction system of the building which is defined as "intelligent building" is reinforced concrete frame with curtain wall system and the exterior surface of the building is granite cladding.

DMC (Doğan Media Center) (Lot/parcel no: 280380/2)

The office for Doğan Media Group has been constructed in 2008. It is placed in front of the Halkbank Headquarters. The project is designed by one of the biggest architectural offices of Turkey Tabanlıoğlu Architects. Tabanlıoğlu Architects was founded in 1958 by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu and in 1990 it is institutionalized with the partnership of Murat Tabanlıoğlu. Murat Tabanlıoğlu and Melkan Tabanlıoğlu are the architects of the Doğan Media Center project. The office received "The National Awards in Architecture 2008" with this project.

The project is constructed with 14.500 m^2 total area. It is based on 7 storeys and 3 underground storeys. The cost of the building is explained as 18.5 million YTL. The construction firms of the project are D Yapı Construction and Ataman Construction Company. The design attitudes are stated as:

> "…the main form of the building is planned to be a cube in respect to the square site; yet starting on the surface, the straight cube form deformed and re-structured by again cubic annexes and subtractions that resulted in extra volumes"[353]

[352] Radikal, http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=159757 (accessed on 12.04.2007)
[353] World Architecture News, http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/index.php?fuseaction=wanappln.projectview&upload_id=927 (accessed on 18.07.2008)

Figure 34. Entrance floor plan of DMC Building
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 18.07.2008)]

Figure 35. Section of DMC Building
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 18.07.2008)]

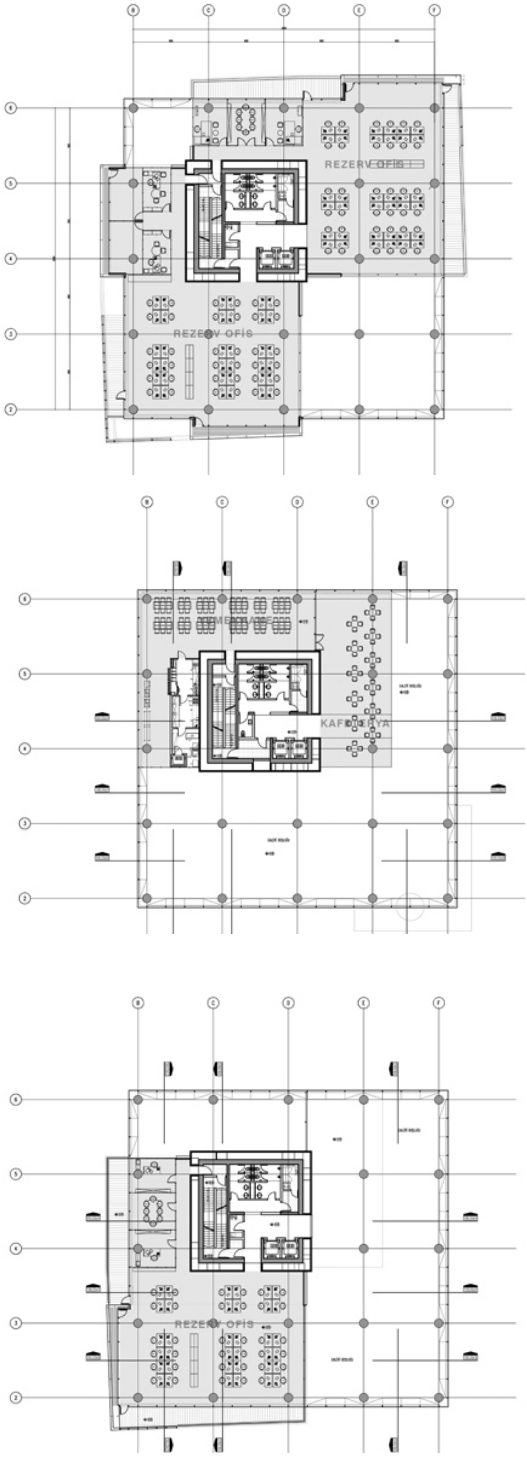

Figure 36. Floor Plans of DMC Building [Source: Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri, http://mo.org.tr/ulusalsergi/index.cfm?sayfa=YD-DMC (accessed on 18.07.2008)]

Transparency is emphasized in the building with a centralized core and it is expressed that this building is designed to be "a distinctive media figure in Ankara," a "sign".[354] Murat Tabanlıoğlu mentions that in order to be attractive for the city, modular cladding system is used with steel and glass. [355]

5.3.4 International Hotels

With the change in the character of Eskişehir Highway, the district becomes attractive for international hotels in order to get a share in the market. This concentration of international hotels can also be explained with the proximity to the state buildings, intercity bus terminal, and airport. There is little data about these projects, since all of them are under construction.

International Hotel of Öz Group (Lot/parcel no: 7638/17)

The financer of the investment is Mehmet Emin Erdoğan who is also the landowner of the project. The design process of the project is carried by Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy. The architect is Filiz Ekren. The building has 14 floors together with 3 underground floors. It is under construction on the land beside the Plaza of Akaret Construction Company, to the back of the Armada Business and Trade Center. The area of the Project is 17600 m^2. The hotel capacity is explained as 140 hotel rooms. Structural system of the building is reinforced concrete with curtain wall system.

It is declared that the main design decisions of the building are defined in accordance with the existing allé project which is designed by Raci Bademli, [356] the construction limitations, regulations, and the demands of the client. According to the information obtained from the Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy, the project is located diagonally on the site in order to increase the area of the hotel considering the

[354] Arcspace, http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html (accessed on 18.07.2008)
[355] Rotahaber, http://www.rotahaber.com/haber/20080406/Ankara-medyasi-bu-binada-bulustu.php (accessed on 18.07.2008)
[356] Information obtained from Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy.

demands of the client. Moreover, it is affirmed that with this diagonal positioning, the hotel become the end point of the pedestrian axis (allé).

In the lower floors of the building, triangular modulation is used in order to get dynamic spaces. In terms of formal concerns, it is explained that creating an attractive "urban object" for the city, by using a striking "blind wall" is the main intention of the architect.[357]

An important issue that should be noted that in the design process of international hotels is the standardization by the intentions of management firms which aims to emphasize "the name" all around the world by the similar design approaches.

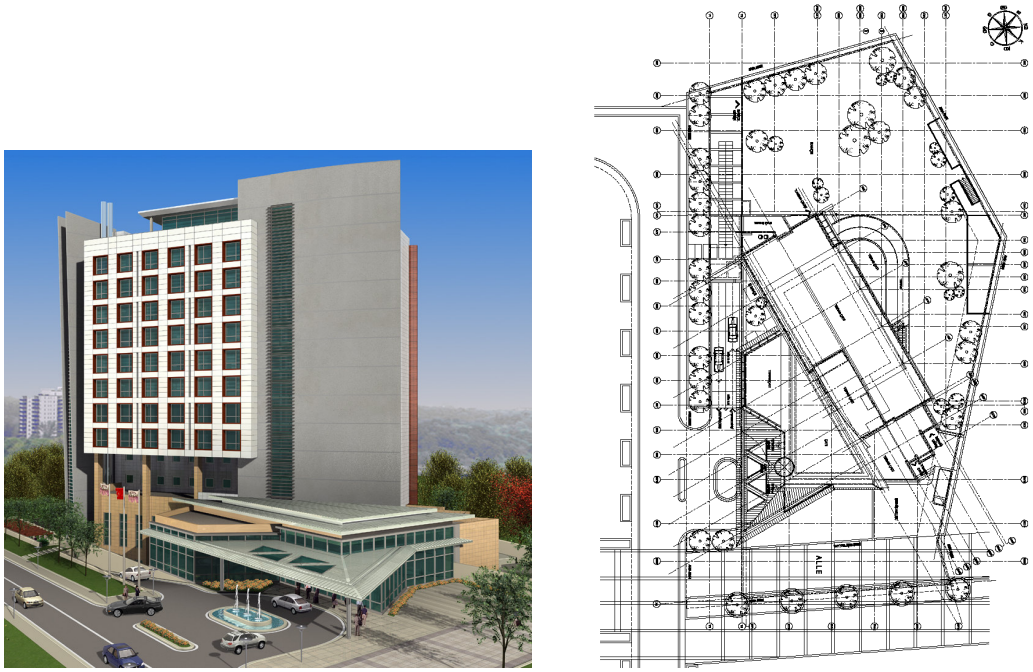

Figure 37. International Hotel of Öz Group (Rendering and Site plan)
(Source: Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy Achieve)

[357] Information obtained from Orsel Project Architecture and Consultancy.

Calista Hotel (Lot/parcel no: 27455/4)

International Hotel of Özdoğan-Özkar Group is under construction near the Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center on 14 decares area. The estimated cost of the project is 100 million dollars. There will be a congress hall in the hotel and it is announced that the project will be designed by "the second largest architectural office of the world"; Hillier Arch (RMJM Hillier, A.B.D). Ali Özdoğan who is director in Özdoğan Group mentions that this luxurious hotel will be an important symbol of Ankara.[358]

The building has 26 storeys. There will be 350 rooms with the standard area of 40m^2.[359]

Figure 38. Calista Hotel Site plan and Rendering [Source: WowTurkey, http://www.wowturkey.com (accessed on 18.07.2008)]

International Hotel of Varan Tourism (Lot/parcel no: 7838/4)

The Varan Tourism which is one of the leading firms in transportation and travel sector is constructing an international "business hotel" in the Söğütözü district on the service

[358] Milliyet, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/10/29/son/soneko13.asp (accessed on 10.05.2008)
[359] Gazete Vatan, http://w9.gazetevatan.com/haberdetay.asp?tarih=23.04.2008&Newsid=174358&Categoryid=2 (accessed on 10.05.2008)

station area of Varan Tourism which is demolished in 2008 next to the Armada Business and Trade Center.

Figure 39. International Hotel of Varan Tourism
(Source: Boyut Architectural Office Archive)

Boyut Architecture by F. Bozkurt Gürsoytrak, a graduate of Gazi University Faculty of Architecture, was selected for architectural design and project work. The construction is carried by the consortium of Özçelik and İmaj Construction Companies. It is declared that the estimated investment will be 20 million dollars and the construction will be finished in 2010. The management of the hotel will be carried by international Mövenpick.[360]

The project has 12 storeys and five underground storeys. The construction system is reinforced concrete and steel construction. In the facades, partially curtain wall system is used.[361]

[360] Information obtained from F. Bozkurt Gursoytrak
[361] Ibid.

5.3.5 Others

"Protocol Mosque" is one of the projects through the highway which is designed to be constructed to the near Presidency of Religious Affairs. It is financed by Social Service Foundation. It is mentioned that the mosque has 5000 people capacity with 3098 m2 area.[362] There are 2000 car parking areas in this project. The estimated cost of the building is explained as 15 million dollars. Moreover, it is also mentioned that this project will be the first mosque which is designed in neo-classic style in Turkey. [363]

Figure 40. Mosque Project [Source: NTVMSNBC, http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/456275.asp (accessed on 18.08.2008)]

Another project which is highly influential on this transformation of Eskişehir Highway is the housing project, "Ankara Ankara," constructed near the Bilkent junction on the lot 16140/3. The plot area of the project is nearly 18.000 m^2.

The architectural project of is designed by Celal Abdi Güzer, and the construction is financed by the consortium of Yapı Kredi and Koray. There are 184 various housing units (2+1, 3+1, 4+1, 5+1, flat, duplex and having garden, between 100 m^2-278 m^2 areas[364]). The architecture of the project is announced as "elite, pure and functional". The construction system of the building is conventional reinforced concrete frame. The construction started in 2006 and completed in 2008.

[362] NTVMSNBC, http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/456275.asp (accessed on 18.08.2008)
[363] Ibid.
[364] Yapi Kredi Koray, http://www.yapikredikoray.com/ankara.asp (accessed on 02.08.2008)

Figure 41. Site Plan of the "Ankara Ankara" Housing Project
[Source: Yapı Kredi Koray, http://www.ankara-ankara.com/galeri.asp (accessed on 02.08.2008)]

Figure 42. "Ankara Ankara" Housing Project
[Source: Yapi Kredi Koray, http://www.ankara-ankara.com/galeri.asp (accessed on 02.08.2008)]

5.4 Architecture of the Urban Vector

In this section, the "new urban objects" of Eskişehir Highway will be analyzed in terms of the elements of architecture: form and program by the general features of urban "vector": "intensity," "mobility," "magnitude" and "direction". In this respect, firstly the transformations in architectural expressions, approaches which are particularly defined in terms of postmodern architecture by Jencks[365] will be briefly summarized.
According to Tschumi in this era, "we see disorder, collisions, and unpredictabilities entering the field of architecture."[366]

[365] Charles Jencks. The Language of Post-modern Architecture, London: Academy Editions, 1978.
[366] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 23.

> "Free-flowing, universal, open ended space, once the accepted convention of three-dimesional composition, is being challenged by a conception of space as a closed, static, and well-defined entity."[367]

With "disorder, collisions, and unpredictabilities", the elements of architecture are particularly redefined. The elements of architecture which are defined as "function, structure, and beauty" (Utilitas, Firmitas, and Venustas) by Vitruvius are commonly repeated for centuries.[368] These elements (form, function and structure) were highly interconnected, and can not be thought separately. Accordingly, in modernism this relationship is emphasized with the principle of "form follows function," but it is stated that the deterministic hierarchy of "form follows function" loses its validity today. Since, the capitalism with the tendency of materializing everything, resolves the relations between form, program and structure. Therefore, in the era, architecture is composed of fragments, and "form" and "program" become important as the separated elements of postmodern architecture.

> "The paradox between the permanence of architecture and instability of the metropolitan condition is resolved through the development of a new type of architecture, in which the interior, programmatic performance becomes independent from the exterior, monumental appearance."[369]

It can be said that the transformative role of the era configures the forms and programs of the "new urban objects" which are separately materialized with privatization of space, as it is stated that in this era of global capitalism rather than "form follows function" each of these elements "follows finance"[370] with "lack of context." Accordingly, Jencks affirms that today's architects and urbanists are ready to serve the demands of "consumer culture." [371]

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[367] "Formal Concerns", Beyond the Modern Movement, The Harvard Architectural Review, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Pres, vol. 1, Spring 1980, pg. 7.
[368] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 108.
[369] Tugce Selin Tagmat. ""The Maximum Architecture Can Do": Architecture and Urbanism from Le Corbusier to Rem Koolhaas," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg. 23.
[370] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 21.
[371] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 95.

> "Architecture is directly connected to the everyday procedures of human life, and it is more subject to the utility and profit considerations of economics than any other art."[372]

The conventional ordering principles of architecture as "balance", "equilibrium", "harmony" highly lost their importance in the chaotic character of the city. In this respect, it is affirmed that the "new urban architecture" can not be understood without the features of the everyday life, since these features constitute the relation of body and the built environment. In this respect, Tschumi puts forward that "there is no architecture without everyday-life, movement, and action; and that it is the most dynamic aspects of their disjunctions that suggest a new definition of architecture."[373]

5.4.1 Intensity in the Urban Vector

As it is mentioned before, the urban "vector" which indicates the unfixed intensity of capital, population, and goods, thus the intensified condition of urban life reshapes the physical environment by means of "new urban objects." In this respect, the physical intensity which is generally identified with "built intensity, land coverage, network density, pressure on the non-built ground (or spaciousness) and the average building height of an area"[374] is redefined with the dynamic character of capital.

This new intensity understanding will be questioned, firstly with the forms of the "new urban objects" considering visual intensity in the system, and secondly with the programs of these new building types in terms of mixed-use programs.

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[372] Heinrich Klotz. The History of Postmodern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988, pg. 129.
[373] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 23.
[374] School of GeoSciences, http://www.geos.ed.ac.uk/geography/DensityInsideOut.html (accessed on 07.03.2008)

5. 4.1.1 Intensity in terms of Form: Visual Intensity

Images impose everywhere without the concern of depth, as Jameson describes postmodern architecture with depthlessness.[375] Accordingly, facades of buildings and signs with symbols and messages which define temporary effects as images in the automobilized life comprise the visual intensity in city.

> "Images of the city and its dimensions are never geometrical nor predictable but are rather collections, aggregations, accumulations of patched-up, extendable, overlapping and developing forms."[376]

According to Robert Venturi "architecture must refer something beyond itself."[377] This is mostly discussed in the 1970s important book "Learning from Las Vegas" with the notions of "duck" and "decorated shed" in terms of symbolism in architecture. It is put forward that "where the architectural systems of space, structure, and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form, this kind of building-becoming-sculpture we call the duck… Where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them…"[378] "Duck" and "decorated shed" are described as:

> "The duck is the special building that is a symbol; the decorated shed is the conventional shelter that applies symbols. We maintain that both kinds of architecture are valid…but we think that the duck is seldom relevant today, although it pervades Modern architecture." [379]

The notion of "decorated shed" can be exemplified in many of the "new urban objects" of Eskişehir Highway, since the facades of these buildings become "attached surfaces" with curtain wall system. In that manner, each facade turns a "mask of the function"

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[375] Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, London: Verso, 1991, pg. 9.
[376] UNESCO, http://www.unesco.org/most/isocarp/proceedings2001/cases/cs01_0234/WAEL.htm (accessed on 07.03.2008)
[377] Heinrich Klotz. The History of Postmodern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988, pg. 154.
[378] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour. Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972, pg. 89.
[379] Ibid., pg. 87.

and a symbol of investors in the system. As Soja claims about the Bonaventure Hotel, the building becomes a "concentrated representation of the restructured spatiality of the late capitalist city."[380]

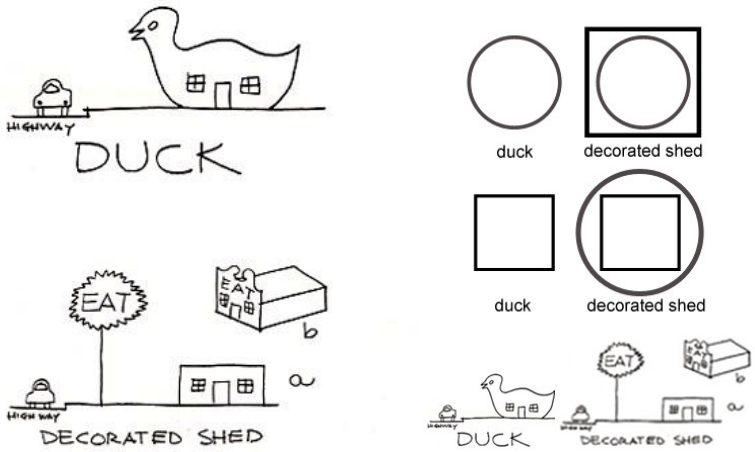

Figure 43. "Duck" and "decorated shed" (Source: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour. Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972, pg. 90.)

"Here we are in Robert Venturi's (post)modern city, not just Las Vegas but any [post]modern city, a mediascape of office buildings and stores transformed by their corporate identities into the new language of consciousness: the sign moulded in glass and light, splashed over with the insignia or characters of logos. Buildings are no longer mass and weight, stone and iron, but an array of sentences spelling out the consciousness of a city, what a city means when we enter it and use its services, consume its goods. The city's language of buildings and streets, of glass and light, is a declaration of ideals... which the city achieves by transforming things into words, objects into signs, the dark of nature into neon abstraction and codes... the mediascape devours the literal materiality around it"[381]

[380] Edward Soja. Postmodern Geographies. London: Verso, 1989, pg. 243.
[381] E. Christensen. "Mediation and Return: Ambiguous Identity of The City's Edge," In: M. Quantrill and B. Webb (editors). Urban Forms, Suburban Dreams. Texas: Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 1993, pp. 9-10. cited in First Monday, http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/special11_2/fahmi/index.html(accessed on 07.03.2008)

Koolhaas particularly discusses the separation of the exterior from the interior with the term "lobotomy."[382] He stresses that, with "lobotomy" program and the expression becomes disconnected which offers flexibility in programs, and form becomes only the appearance of architecture.

In this respect, Yırtıcı affirms that the relation between inside and the city is corrupted[383] in this era under the capitalist production process of space. Thus, the "envelope" gets importance in defining the relation between architecture and the city[384] without any reference to sense of history or an urban concern. The facades are generally separated from the context in order to give commercial message for getting more profit, and in this sense the new buildings turn into an ornamented box with a shinny shell. In terms of shopping mall which is one of the significant examples of "new urban objects," Vedat Tokyay declares that two dimensional screens, flat full of reflecting windows" composes the facades of these new buildings[385] which are highly attractive for consumer culture. Furthermore, these facades mostly indicate the name, and the image of the institution.[386]

New building materials and construction methods enable for the new images of these buildings.

> "In effect, we are witnessing a paradoxical moment in which the opacity of building materials is reduced to zero. With invention of the steel skeleton construction, curtain walls made of light and transparent materials, such as glass or plastics, replace stone facades, just as tracing paper, acetate and prexiglass replace the opacity of paper in the designing phase."[387]

The continuous glass and granite surfaces and expensive cladding systems are introduced with invention of the steel skeleton construction with free-standing façade. It

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[382] Rem Koolhaas. Delirious New York: a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, New York: Monacelli Press, 1994, pp. 100-101.
[383] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 126.
[384] Ibid., pg. 125.
[385] Yapi, http://www.yapi.com.tr/Haberler/yeni-tasarim-kulturu-isiginda-alisveris-mimarligi-ve-gosteri-kulturu_61081.html (accessed on 26.01.2008)
[386] Ibid.
[387] Paul Virilio. The Lost Dimension. New York, N.Y.: Semiotext(e), 1991, pg. 12.

is affirmed that by means of these continuous smooth surfaces, power of the financer is symbolized.[388]

> "Cities will increasingly be seen as brandscapes, where each building markets itself as a distinct sign, or billboard, representing corporate identity and globalisation."[389]

Through Eskişehir Highway, Armada Business and Trade Center, Bayraktar Tower, and Medicana Hospital are some examples of continuous "tempered glass" cladding which give no clue about the interior.

One of the most significant examples of the symbolic approach through Eskişehir Highway is the Armada Business and Trade Center which is designed in a "ship concept" to be an icon emphasizing the name, and to be an urban attraction point for Ankara. About the project, the architect Öztürk declares that:

> "The demand of the clients were so clear at first; a II. Generation shopping mall. But we focused not only in commercial success of the required task, we mostly put our efforts in creation of a design symbol. By designing a skyscraper, I planned to get diversity and to create a pleasurable attraction point for Ankara."[390]

Similarly, it is stated that, the building of Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey will be a representation of the power of the chamber and the name "twin towers" will be identified with the chamber.[391]

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[388] Duygu Sener. "Understanding Facade between Design and Manufacturing: A Case Study on High-Rise Office Buildings in Istanbul," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2006, pg. 66.
[389] First Monday, http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/special11_2/fahmi/index.html (accessed on 07.03.2008)
[390] Yavuz Selim Barbaros. "Creation of the Commercial Node: Sogutozu, Ankara," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg.84.
[391] Iste Gundem, http://www.istegundem.com/news_detail.php?id=229 (accessed on 08.07.2008)

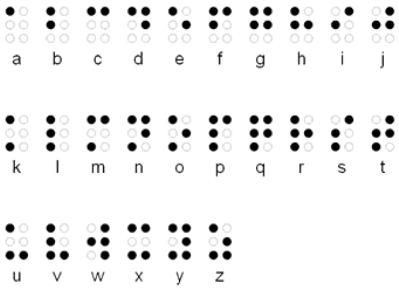

Figure 44. Braille Alphabet
[Source: Photobucket, http://img.photobucket.com/albums/v424/damai/Braille- alphabet.gif (accessed on 18.07.2008)]

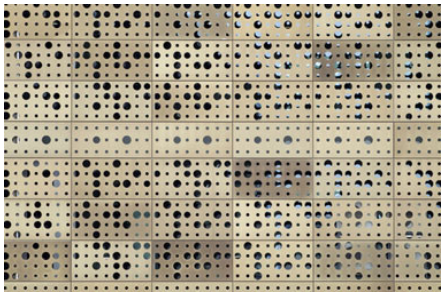

Figure 45. Facade of DMC building
[Source: Thomas Mayer Archive, http://thomasmayerarchive.de /index.php?l=english alphabet.gif (accessed on 18.07.2008)]

In terms of the building of DMC, it is affirmed that "a distinctive media figure in Ankara" is created, and with the facade articulations "communication" is symbolized with reference to Braille alphabet.[392]

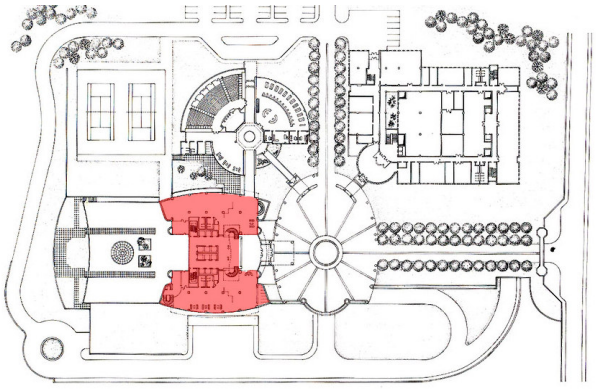

Figure 46. Entrance floor plan of Halkbank Headquarters
[Source: Mimarlık Müzesi, http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.com (accessed on 10.09.2007)]

[392] Arcspace, http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html (accessed on 18.07.2008)

The Halkbank Headquarters has also a significant symbolic meaning in terms of representing the power of the institution as a "prestige building." In this manner, plan of the building is designed similar to "H" letter which designates the logo of the Halkbank.

As stated at the very beginning, visual intensity in the automobilized life is defined not only with the "forms" of the buildings but also signs and symbols, as in the case of Las Vegas in a dynamic perceptual context. In this context, the "sign language" is highly discussed in the book "Learning from Las Vegas" as:

> "The commercial persuasion of roadside eclecticism provokes a bold impact in the vast and complex settings of a new landscape of big spaces, high speeds, and complex programs. Styles and signs make connections along many elements, far apart and seen fast. The message is basely commercial; the context is basically new."[393]

In Las Vegas together with the buildings facades; advertisement boards, message boards, lightings and neons as "series of signs" are used[394] without considering any relation. This disorderly condition causes an "image bombardment" in the city. Although the perception of this intense condition is difficult, it is attractive for the viewers as well. These unrelated elements bring visual hyperdensity in the contemporary city.

> "However the city may really be, beneath this thick coating of signs, whatever it may contain or conceal, you leave Tamara without having discovered it."[395]

The visual intensity of Eskişehir Highway is mostly defined with landscape elements, lightings of the highway, lightings of the buildings, advertisement billboards (high rectangular and private advertisement boards of buildings), logos, flags, fly-overs, direction signs, information signs, boundary walls, retaining walls, refuges, car parking areas, kiosks, barriers, bus stops, metro stops, vehicles and also with the warning signs of the constructions. The repetitive elements like lightings of highway and

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[393] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, "System and order on the Strip," Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1972, pg. 18.
[394] Ibid., pg. 18.
[395] Italo Calvino. Invisible Cities, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, pg. 14.

landscape elements overlap with the disorderly other elements which compose the visual hyper-crowd. Since these elements have shorter lifetimes than the built environment, various experiences are defined.

Figure 47. Superimposed images (photographed by the author on 06.05.2008)

In Eskişehir Highway different than the “strip” in Las Vegas, the sign system is not dominant than the built environment, but built environment together with the urban furniture and sign system defines this intense condition as a representation of complex character.

5.4.1.2 Intensity in terms of Program: Doing Many Things at the Same Time

In terms of the programmatic intensity, the mixed-use buildings will be explored with reference to the “new urban objects” of Eskişehir Highway.

According to Nan Ellin, with "mixed-use" projects an antidote to modernism's rigid and anti-urban separation of functions is provided.[396] It can be said that the program of the classic city can be experienced in a clean and safe manner in the “new urban objects” which can be considered “as a city in itself” consistent with the blurring of urban program and the architectural program. The “new urban objects” as intensified urban experiences increase the demand, and in this manner encourage the capital holders who search for more profitable investment areas, as the programs of these buildings are generally specified by the developers in accordance with profitable combinations. As a result, in these new programmed buildings the commercial-residential, public-private separations are eliminated with the materialization of space which homogenizes it.

Along Eskişehir Highway, it can be clearly observed that residential areas, plazas, medical centers, shopping malls, congress halls are highly intensed vertically or horizontally, since the “new urban objects” with diverse programs have generative vectorial character that trigger one another.

For instance, after the construction of the Armada Business and Trade Center, Cepa Shopping Mall, and Kentpark project are constructed side by side. Moreover, a new shopping mall project will be constructed beside the Armada Business and Trade Center. All of these projects offer large, similar programs with shops, cinemas, food courts etc.

[396] Nan Ellin. Postmodern Urbanism, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995, pg. 188.

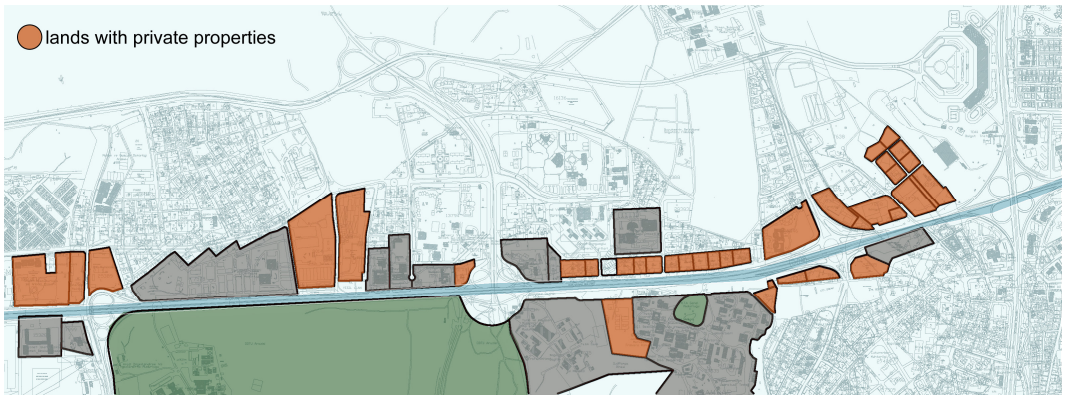

Figure 48. Lands with private properties (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

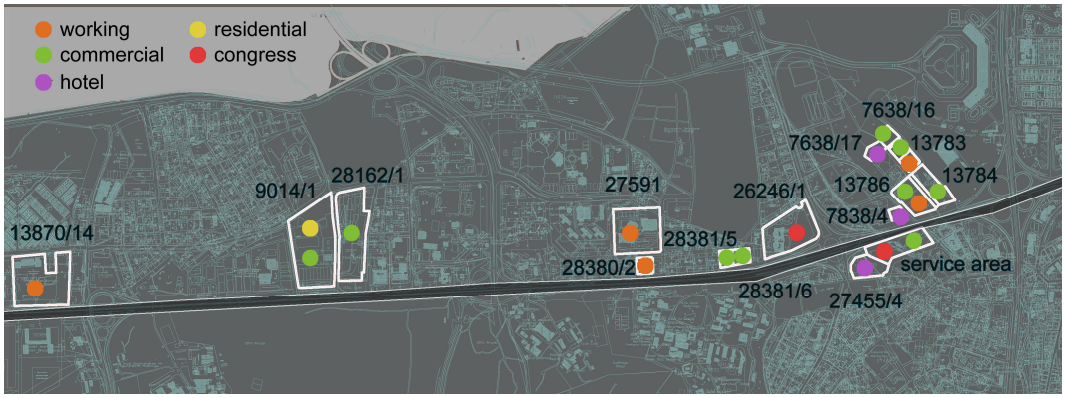

Figure 49. Horizontal Layering of different functions (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

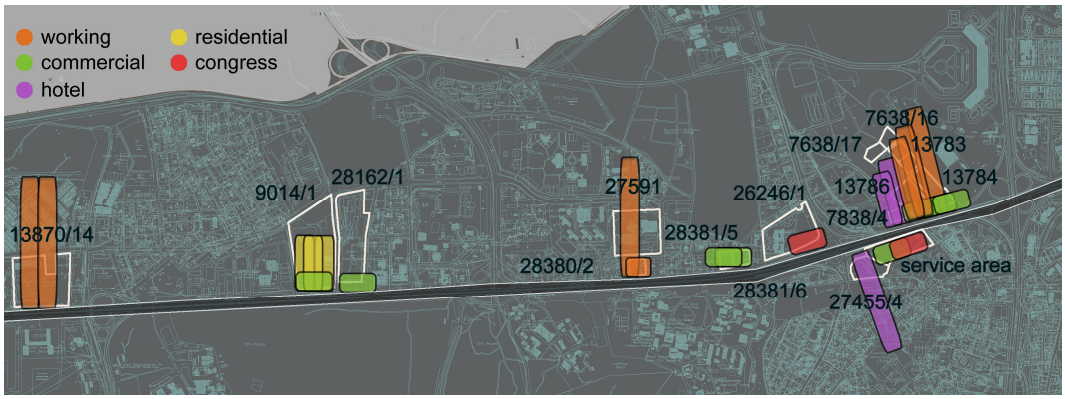

Figure 50. Vertical Layering of different functions (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

The programmatic intensity is obvious in terms of congress halls too. Although there are congresses halls (600-1.000 people capacity) which are rarely used nearly in each of the early introverted state buildings along Eskişehir Highway,[397] new, big, attractive congress halls like Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center and Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center are constructed proximately. The construction of convention halls with the aim of attracting the congress tourism into the city, also promoted the construction of international hotels, as there are three international hotel constructions nearly in 400 meter span in Söğütözü district.

With the aim of attracting the consumer culture, various activities are intensified in these projects which simulate urban life. According to this, in the Kentpark Project a miniature, artificial lake[398] is designed, also a traditional "street" life is proposed in this "new urban object."

Similarly, there are suspended gardens in the high rise Halkbank Headquarters. Also, in the program of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center there is a roof garden and actually, the building is constructed after the excavation of the hill in the district.

[397] Orhan Kuntay. "Karma Kent Yasatilmaya Calisilan Olu: Zoning (Bolgeleme)," Mimarlik, 315,2004, http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=27&RecID=322 (accessed on: accessed on 17.03.2007)
[398] Kentpark Resmi Web Sitesi, http://www.megaturk.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.02.2008)

Figure 51. Artificial lake in Kentpark Project
[Source: Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com (accessed on 10.09.2007)]

Figure 52. Construction area of Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center [Source: Skyscraper city, http://www.skyscrapercity.com (accessed on 15.07.2008)]

Figure 53. Roof Garden in the project Chamber of Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center [Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası, http://www.atonet.org.tr (accessed on 08.05.2008)]

In the high-rise buildings, the programmatic intensity is clearly examined with the example of Downtown Athletic Club[399] by Koolhaas. In this context, Koolhaas defines the "deliberate disconnection between stories" as "schism,"[400] for him this brings multifunctionalism and concentration of many functions in a building. Accordingly, Tshumi declares that:

[399] Rem Koolhaas. Delirious New York: a Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, New York: Monacelli Press, 1994, pg. 157.
[400] Ibid., pg. 157.

> "Multiple programs scattered throughout the floors of high-rise buildings: a department store, a museum, a health club, and a railway station, with putting greens on the roof."[401]

The separation of the floors for different functions in terms of high-rise new urban objects of Eskişehir Highway can be especially exemplified with the building of Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey's. In this building, four stories designated to be used as Headquarters of the chamber, and other floors will be used as rentable offices.[402] Moreover, it is declared that in one of the towers of the plaza, a techno park project will be decided. Similarly, in the Armada Office block, the offices can be rent by different users for various functions. These offices which are differentiated according to their door numbers can be used as a design office, advertisement agent, clinic or an engineering office etc. (Reuters New Agency, Akademi Media, Prof. Dr. Haluk Deda, Deloitte&Touche, Eczacıbaşı Securities, Regus, Avusturya Trade Attache, Astaldi, Besa Construction, A Tasarım Architecture and Consulting Ltd Co., Şavk Energy and Reis Automotive).[403]

In the Kentpark Project, the combination of residential, office, shopping and recreational activities exemplify the hybrid programs of the "new urban objects." Also in the Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center, the metro station in the district is combined with the shopping areas and the congress halls. This project which is under construction will have a different user typology in accordance with the ranging program: the users of congress halls who visit the building for only congresses, users of shopping center who visit the building indefinite times for shopping activities and the users of the metro station for whom the building becomes a part of everyday route.

The bodily density is certainly defined with these various activities according to the programs of the buildings through Eskişehir Highway. The early buildings through Eskişehir Highway which are generally identified with one function, mostly working areas, have semi-static congestion which depends on the working hours. According to

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[401] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, p.256.
[402] Milliyet, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/default.aspx?aType=SonDakika&ArticleID=761465 (accessed on 10.06.2008)
[403] Armada Is ve Alisveris Merkezi, http://www.armadasite.com (accessed on 10.05.2007)

this, the densities in these early spaces are changing according to day-night and weekdays-weekends. Different than this semi-static definition, with the "new urban objects" which propose various activities, the bodily density through the urban vector becomes unstable and difficult to evaluate. The bodily density defined with these "new urban objects" shows difference according to many circumstances, ever-changing flows of events and activities, like working hours, concerts, congresses, even the discounts in the shopping malls. Therefore, there is no static definition of density anymore with these new urban objects, and the bodily density changes in accordance with new dynamic experiences which are reduced to get utmost profit. According to the data obtained from the management of the Armada Business and Trade Center, the number of the visitors of the building in weekdays is 25.000 and in weekends this number increases to 30.000. In the weekdays after 17.00 pm the ratio of visitors increases nearly to two times comparing with the early hours of the day, on the other hand in the weekends the number of visitors is not changing according the hours of the day and it is nearly constant. In terms of "events," the data obviously shows that, because of the concert organizations the number of visitors 20%-30% increases in a day. Koolhaas emphasizes the unstable densities defined by shopping activity as:

> "Unlike programs such as schools, universities, or churches, where attendance is prolonged, or hospitals where attendance is insured by basic human necessity, there is no guaranteed frequency or density of use for shopping."[404]

5.4.2 Mobility, Fluidity and Speed in the Urban Vector

In this part mobility will be studied with the "new urban objects" though Eskişehir Highway as a reflection of dynamic, unstable, flexible metropolitan condition. These new urban spaces through Eskişehir Highway are transforming dynamically according to the flexibility of the capitalist system, as Yırtıcı claims that space can be redefined in each time with the rapidly changing relations of the system,[405] and accordingly

[404] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: Actar, 2000, pg.174.
[405] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 12.

Tschumi declares that "architecture is constantly unstable."[406] In this context, the "new urban objects" will be regarded as dynamic architectural spaces with considering new understanding of perception and unstable programs.

> "The contemporary city is primarily formed and informed by heterogeneous speeds and mobility patterns, which offer a complex fragmented composition."[407]

5.4.2.1 Mobility in terms of Form: To Percept in Movement

> "Bodies not only move in but generate spaces produced by and through their movements."[408]

Mobility in terms of forms of the buildings can be examined in two aspects: with the changes in perception of the buildings in movement in terms of automobilized life, and with the dynamic, mutable facades of the buildings.

> "Inevitably, architecture and its perception will become like another object of contemporary reality." [409]

As it is mentioned before, mobility redefines the understanding of perception and distance which constitutes the relation between body and built environment. The perception of the physical environment by a driver is mostly discussed by Virilio in the mobilized character of the metropolitan condition. He particularly claims that the window of a car becomes similar to a TV screen during the driving experience, since both of them offer a collection of fragmented images.

> "Speed treats vision like its basic element; with acceleration, to travel is like filming, not so much producing images as new mnemonic traces, unlikely, supernatural."[410]

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[406] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 19.
[407] Olgu Caliskan. "'Motionscape' as an Indicator of Urban Vitality: Rethinking on the Late-Modernist Urbanism in Need for Speed," unpublished paper submitted to at "The Vital City" European Urban Research Association (EURA): 10th Anniversary Conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, 2007.
[408] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 111.
[409] Ibid., pg. 236.

He also argues that:

> "The driver is fixed between the dashboard and the "screen" presented by the windshield, on which a reality that has become unreal in the real sense of the word is taking place like a film."

According to Virilio, in 21^{s} century the bonds to a specific instant in time are blurred, and "speed, which replaces the distances of space and time, abolishes the notion of physical dimension."[411] The perception from automobile is totally different than the perception of a pedestrian in movement. In the perception from automobile, it is a general view that is grasped, and the details become lost in accordance with the speed of the automobile, as Virilio defines this as "disappearance of detail in the world through the shimmer of speed."[412] It is mentioned that automobile "increases concentration and creates an energetic affect, accordingly."[413] Furthermore with speed, "distance between the buildings was filled with new ones"[414] in a different scale, and therefore the physical environment turns into a blurred "formless intensity." Transformation of the perception with the increasing speed is clarified by Virilio as:

> "It goes without saying that speed is a way of visualizing the world. When I walk at the speed of 4 kilometers an hour, I have a certain vision of the world. When I stop to look at a tree, it is immobile. When I start walking again, the tree seems to pass by. This passing by is tied to the speed of the observer. If I pass the tree quickly in a car, the tree will become indistinct, and if I pass it very quickly, I won't see anything; I'll only see a blur, a fog…So speed is always a way of seeing the world differently. Means of transportation are not only a means of displacing oneself from one point to another. I have often used different vehicles for the mere pleasure of seeing the speed; for example, in the beginning I often took the TGV (high speed train) to see its effect on the countryside, and I wrote about what I

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[410] Paul Virilio. The Aesthetics of Disappearance. New York: Semiotext(e), 1991, pg. 60.
[411] Paul Virilio. "The Overexposed City," City Reader, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp. 440-48.
[412] Paul Virilio, 1992, cited in Social Geography, http://www.soc-geogr.net/2/63/2007/sg-2-63-2007.pdf (accessed on 17.03.2008)
[413] Olgu Caliskan. "'Motionscape' as an Indicator of Urban Vitality: Rethinking on the Late-Modernist Urbanism in Need for Speed," unpublished paper submitted to at "The Vital City" European Urban Research Association (EURA): 10th Anniversary Conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, 2007.
[414] Aysu Baskaya. Yalin Bir "İsaret Dizgesi", J. Fac. Eng. Arch., Gazi Univ. Vol 16, No 2, 2001, pp. 63-75.

have called dromoscopy, that is, the vision of speed, which implies a major philosophical question: which tree is the true one?"[415]

Figure 54. Blurring in speed
(photographed and articulated by the author)

The "new urban objects" through Eskişehir Highway with their bigness, colored facades, neons and sings become attractive in speed and realizable from far distances.[416]

The main movement in Eskişehir Highway in terms of car travel is in two directions which are parallel to the front facades of the buildings. In this respect, these facades

[415] John Armitage. Virilio Live: Selected Interviews. London: SAGE, 2001, pg. 88.
[416] Aysu Baskaya. Yalin Bir "İsaret Dizgesi", J. Fac. Eng. Arch., Gazi Univ. Vol 16, No 2, 2001, pp. 63-75.

are generally differentiated from others, with entrance areas, car parking areas, big arcades, entrance labels and logos of the buildings to be perceptible in speed.

As the regulations in transportation policies increase the speed of movement in Eskişehir Highway, the huge distances between the "new urban objects" defined with the early state and military settlements can be diminished. The increasing speed also alters the scale of the buildings. This will be discussed in further parts.

Secondly, mobility in terms of forms of the "new urban objects" can be considered with the "mutable facades" that is already separated from inside the building. The "mutable facades" are introduced with the advents of "curtain wall" system which gives maximum variety that the glass-panel allows. In this context, Virilio puts forward that the facades of buildings in the postmodern city turn into "time based images" and "speed pictures."[417] Accordingly, it is declared that Rem Koolhaas doesn't design the facades because he believes that the facades will be modified.[418] It can be claimed that these mutable surfaces brings new interactions and experiences "like a Hollywood studio lot, it (the Generic City) can produce a new identity every Monday morning."[419]

Along Eskişehir Highway nearly all of the new urban objects are constructed with "curtain wall" system which can be modified according to the different programs, demands of the developers or the desires of the consumer society etc. Virilio also mentions that the facades are morphed to screens in the contemporary city.[420] Screen type facades, neons, colors also define "mutable facades" with the advents of technology. Cepa Shopping Mall with the screen type facade defines different expressions with various colored lights at night. Kentpark, Armada, DMC are the other projects with the consideration of the mobility in facades with neons, colors and screens. It is stated about the DMC building:

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[417] John Armitage. Virilio Live: Selected Interviews. London: SAGE, 2001, pg. 63.
[418] Ibid., pg. 64.
[419] Rem Koolhaas. "Generic Cities," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, pg. 1250.
[420] John Armitage. Virilio Live: Selected Interviews. London: SAGE, 2001, pg. 64.

"The emblematic use of façade creates a visually legible dynamic ambiance with reference to today's colorful, fast moving and assertive image of the media. The building is strongly perceived form far and in diverse prospects at various angles due to dissimilar boxes at range of sizes and colors and angles, and materializes as an eye-catching "sign"."[421]

Figure 55. Screen type facades of Cepa Shopping Mall
[Source: WowTurkey, http://www.wowturkey.com (accessed on 05.02.2008)]

[421] World Architecture News, http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/index.php?fuseaction=wanappln.projectview&upload_id=927 (accessed on 18.07.2008)

5.4.2.2 Mobility in Terms of Program: Unstable Programs

The "movement" of the urban "vector" can also be considered through the destructive force of dynamic capitalism[422] which increases the "turnover rate of the buildings." In this manner, built environment itself becomes mobilized in terms of creative destruction.[423] It is built, destroyed and rebuilt for more profitable opportunities. Thus, everything becomes temporary with the speed of the capitalist system.

Through the transformation of Eskişehir Highway, service stations with interurban character and squatter areas are replaced with luxurious residential areas and "new urban objects". The destructive force of capitalism can be exemplified with these examples; Çukurambar district which is a squatter area until 1992 is restructured with new luxurious residential settlement and the service complex of Ormak-Tofaş is demolished in 2006 for the Kentpark project. Moreover, the service area of Varan is destroyed in 2008 for the construction of an international hotel.

> "In the perversity of this system, not only is there an incredible speed of design and construction, but almost every building will change its program before construction is finished. Architects recycle projects."[424]

In terms of the mobility in programs, "dynamic, flexible and constantly changing activities" will be questioned with the "typical plan" which is put forward by Koolhaas to refer the programmatic instability of the buildings. He definitely states that "no single specific function can be matched with a single place."[425] With "typical plan" a space without qualities is referred, and he adds that "where there is nothing, everything is possible."[426] He explores "typical plan" as:

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[422] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 13.
[423] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 106.
[424] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 309.
[425] Rem Koolhaas. "'Life in the Metropolis' or 'The Culture of Congestion'", Architectural Theory Since 1968, ed. K. Michael Hays, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1998, pg. 328.
[426] Rem Koolhaas. "Typical Plan," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, pg. 344.

> "Typical Plan is as empty as possible: a floor, a core, a perimeter, and a minimum of columns. All other architecture is about inclusion and accommodation, incident and event; Typical Plan is about exclusion, evacuation, non-event."[427]

By "typical plan", the programs can be redefined many times in the indeterminate characters of the buildings. Tschumi also discusses about the instabilities in programs as:

> "Not only is there no simple relation between the building of spaces and the programs within them, but in our contemporary society, programs are by definiton unstable.[428]…whether cultural or commercial, programs have long ceased to be determinate, since they change all time- while the building is designed, during its construction, and, of course after completion."[429]

The function of a building can be subverted with more profitable function in an economic logic. As Koolhaas states that the changes in the height and program of the buildings which are determined according to financial aspects sometimes can be radical: "an office becomes a hospital half way through construction."[430] In Eskişehir Highway starting with 1990s the programmatic mobility in the buildings can be experienced; the Bayındır Hospital which was firstly designed as a hotel in Söğütözü district was turned into a private hospital as an early example. Also "Gözüm Plaza" which was designed as an office block with commercial areas in the lower floors was articulated as a private hospital in the construction phase. The building of Akaret Construction in the back of Bayraktar Tower is under construction without a definite program as in the case of "Gözüm Plaza."

The programmatic transformation of the Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey is more "radical." The program of the building was transformed many times in accordance with the economic and political intentions. As it is mentioned before, this complex is firstly designed as a state settlement with housing

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[427] Rem Koolhaas. "Typical Plan," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, pg. 344.
[428] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 20.
[429] Ibid., pg. 21.
[430] Rem Koolhaas, Stefano Boeri, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi and Hans U. Obrist. Mutations, Barcelona: ACTAR, 2000, pg. 309.

areas, administration building and stores, but half way through construction turned into a state Headquarters, and lastly defined as a private plaza with rentable offices.

The dynamism of program of new urban objects can also be exemplified with temporary regulations which are defined according to "events" or weathers. For instance, for concert organizations, the open-air car parking area of the Armada Business and Trade Center turns into an open-air concert area as an urban attraction point for the city. Likewise, the artificial lake of the Kentpark Project will be used as a skating area in winter, and there is a temporary Luna Park serving in the car parking area of Cepa Shopping Mall which can be only used in summers.

> "There is no longer a causal relationship between buildings and their content, their use, and, of course, their improbable meaning. Space and its usage are two opposed notions that exclude one another, generating an endless array of uncertainties."[431]

Figure 56. Concert in the car parking area of the Armada Business and Trade Center (Source: Armada Business and Trade Center Management Achieve)

[431] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg. 21.

5.4.3 Direction in the Urban Vector

> "…that this latest mutation in space-postmodern hyperspace-has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world. It may now be suggested that this alarming disjunction point between the body and its built environment-which is to the initial bewilderment of the older modernism as the velocities of spacecraft to those of the automobile-can itself stand as the symbol and analogon of that even sharper dilemma which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the great global multinational and decentered communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects."[432]

In the new urban condition, the sense of location is lost with similar, standardized urban spaces, and the notion of "direction" which is represented with texts, signs and lights takes the place of fixed "location." The relation between the fragmented urban parts is defined with these indicators because of the defamiliration and the loss of the neighborhood understanding thus the notion of "place." In this respect, it can be said that, the ever-changing character of the "new urban objects" offers directions rather than static locations.

The direction of the vector will be questioned with the formal characters of buildings in terms of way-finding in the system and with the activities which draws different routes via diverse programs of the "new urban objects." Firstly the alienation will be briefly studied, then, a route survey is made in order to grasp the complexity of the system with the example of the Armada Business and Trade Center.

5.4.3.1 Direction in terms of Form: Alienation

> "Postfordist economic restructuring, intensified globalization, the communications and information revolution, the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of cultures and identity, the recomposition of urban form and social structures, and many other forces shaping the postmetropolitan transition have significantly reconfigured or urban imaginary, blurring it once

[432] Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, London: Verso, 1991, pg. 44.

> much clearer boundaries and meanings while also creating new ways of thinking and acting in the urban mileu."[433]

The "new urban objects" generally have standardized, similar formal characters with separated "envelops" which cause de-familiarization between the city and the body, as result of similar construction techniques with similar materials in terms of global architectural tastes and fashions. There is no logical hierarchy in the system everything nearly become identical without considering the function, as an international hotel can resemble an office block through Eskişehir Highway. Even these structures can resemble any office or hotel all around the world whatever the program is. These similar buildings are only separated with by texts (names) and by signs. According to Koolhaas the production in built environment seems similar to the production by "PHOTOSHOP" in the contemporary city.

> "loss of the capacity of for orientation and "cognitive mapping" brought about by postmodern space to the breakdown of normal linguistic and temporal unities which characterizes schizophrenic experience, and both of these to the dominant aesthetic of postmodernism:"[434]

These standardized, similar formal characters confuse the orientation with the sense of placelessness and thus, way-finding by means of the site and architecture becomes difficult.[435] Jameson explains this as a schizophrenic experience, "an experience of isolated, disconnected, discontinuous material signifiers which fail to link up into a coherent sequence."[436]

In Eskişehir Highway similar design intentions are observed with the "new urban objects" consisting different functions, in respect to the formation of their exterior surfaces. In the examples Bayraktar Tower and Medicana Hospital, the "tempered glass" cladding and similar facade elements cause "alienation" of man from his

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[433] Edward Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis," Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, pg. 324.
[434] Paul Patton. "Imaginary Cities: Images of Postmodernism," Postmodern Cities, ed. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson, Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995, pg. 114.
[435] Aysu Baskaya. Yalin Bir "İsaret Dizgesi", J. Fac. Eng. Arch., Gazi Univ. Vol 16, No 2, 2001, pp. 63-75.
[436] Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, London: Verso, 1991, pg. 119.

environment. The alienation and placelessness are highly discussed by Jameson with the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. He claims that the facades of Bonaventure Hotel become a distortion of the outer images which cause placelessness and timelessness. In this respect, he asserts that:

> "The great reflective glass skin repels the city outside, a repulsion for which we have analogies in those reflector sunglasses which make it impossible for your interlocutor to see your own eyes and thereby achieve a certain aggressivity and power over the other. In a similar way, the glass skin achieves a peculiar and placeless dissociation of the Bonaventura from its neighbourhood: it is not even an exterior, inasmuch as when you seek to look at the hotel's outer walls you cannot see the hotel itself but only the distorted images of everything that surrounds it."[437]

Figure 57. Medicana Hospital "tempered glass" exterior (photographed by the author on 06.05.2008)

Figure 58. Bayraktar Tower "tempered glass" exterior

Beside the similarities in the built environment, the built environment redefines[438] itself with destruction and construction processes in ever-changing relations under the dynamism of capitalism which makes it difficult to grasp these unstable configurations. This also causes alienation in the city. "Mental map" of the city can not be defined in such a disorderly, dynamic system with lack of reference points. Because of this,

[437] Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, London: Verso, 1991, pg. 42.
[438] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2005, pg. 136.

“edges, paths, nodes, districts and landmarks” which are conceptualized by Lynch in order to define the navigation in city are replaced with the non-architectural signs. Lynch clearly explains way-finding as:

> "In the process of wayfinding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual. The image is the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action. The need to recognize and pattern pur surroundings is so crucila, and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical and emotional importance to the individual." [439]

About the approach of Lynch Gandelsonas states that:

> “The question addressed by Lynch is the “clarity and legibility of the cityscape,” the ease with which it parts can be recognized and organized into a coherent pattern to provide clues to orientation.”[440]

Today, signs, banners, websites define the direction of routes in everyday life. These indicators which offer “orientation without architecture” can be a text, symbol like arrow or a picture (graphic or verbal). The sign system of the Eskişehir can be Highway categorized in three aspects: in terms of transferring the city citizen from a point to another, give information about the buildings and advertising. It can be said that, in this system there is no relation between these individual elements like signs, banners, lightings etc. Auge states that in the traffic conditions of spaces, individuals are supposed to interact only with texts,[441] and he describes this as “invasion of space by texts”[442] in terms of non-places.

> “Instead, individuals react to a set of predetermined instructions, codes and numbers programmed for carrying out certain activities, i.e. boarding an aeroplane, taking money from an ATM, shopping at a supermarket or driving on a freeway.”[443]

---

[439] Kevin Lynch. The Image of the City, Cambridge: Technology Press, 1960, pg. 4.
[440] Mario Gandelsonas. “The City as the Object of Architecture,” Assemblage, 37, 1998, pg. 133.
[441] Marc Auge. Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity, London & New York: Verso, 1995, pg. 96.
[442] Ibid., pg. 99.
[443] Mahyar Arefi. “Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place”, Journal of Urban Design, 4:2, 1999, pp.179-193.

In the route with speed, way-finding becomes a selection of the signs from the intense visual condition.[444] In order to guide the movement people have to follow these signs, but this shows difference according to the type of the travel. For instance, the users of Eskişehir Highway for interurban travels, the traffic signs provide frequent directional clues in the system, since the aim is not to interact with the "new urban objects". On the other hand, the users with the aim of visiting the "new urban objects" have to follow the informative signs like the names of the buildings together with the direction signs like the indicators of the car parking areas, since it is difficult to realize the right entrance of these buildings with multi-entrances. If the driver can not follow these signs, it becomes difficult to visit these objects and the driver has to use traffic junctions by U turns.

Figure 59. Signs near the Armada Business and Trade Center (photographed by the author on 12.07.2008)

The lighting systems also work as a way-finder in the urban vector. The continuous lighting system of the highway for traffic is overlapped with the private lighting systems of buildings which define different intensities of light through the vector, and these different intensities of light can orient the movement in the vector at night, as the more intense points indicate the "new urban objects."

[444] Aysu Baskaya. Yalin Bir "İsaret Dizgesi", J. Fac. Eng. Arch., Gazi Univ. Vol 16, No 2, 2001, pp. 63-75.

Figure 60. Lighting system [Source: WowTurkey, http:// www.wowturkey.com (accessed on 05.05.2008)]

The websites are the new way-finders in the urban condition, and also inside the "new urban objects." For example, the website of the Armada Business and Trade Center gives the orientation schemas of the buildings as a pre-arriving information of the building, since "electronic media bring information and experience to everyplace from everyplace"[445]

> "Telecommunications provide vicarious access to all landscapes and places, no matter how remote, and they put geographically isolated places into "direct" contact with the centers of electronic influence."[446]

Figure 61. Virtual tour in the Armada Business and Trade Center [Source: Armada İş ve Alışveriş Merkezi, http://www.armadasite.com (accessed on 10.05.2007)]

[445] Joshua Meyrowitz. No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour, Oxford Press, 1985, pg. 118.
[446] Edward Relph. "Modernity and the Reclamation of Place," ed. by David Seamon, Dwelling, Seeing, and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology, New York: Suny Press, 1993, pg. 31.

Inside the buildings, the system which defines orientation with the space organization is also replaced with the sign system. Starting with the codified huge car parking areas, information desks, the floor numberings, room numberings and names of the shops which are generally globalized trade marks like Starbucks, Mc Donald's, Benetton guide the movement in these buildings. This system is nearly identical all around the world.

5.4.3.2 Direction in terms of Program: Routes of Activities

The hybrid programs in the new urban objects address different directions for different users which brings the complexity in the system. Each activity draws its own vector with a direction. This complex system will be illustrated with the example of the Armada Business and Trade Center since many of the buildings are under construction and it can not be possible to evaluate all the activity patterns.

In the Armada Business and Trade Center, the direction of the activity differs according to the users of main shopping block and the office block as visitors, workers and service activity. In a most simple meaning the visitors can be categorized according to transportation types who use automobile, public transportation, minibuses of the Armada. The workers of the office and the shopping center can also be separated, since there is a private closed car parking area for the offices. Other workers differ according to the use of automobile, public transportation or the minibuses of the Armada Business and Trade Center. The service activity in the system is defined one directionally.

The main entrance facing Eskişehir Highway does not generally used by the people who come with the automobile, but the people who come with public transportation highly use this entrance. The users who come with public transportation also use the entrance in the left façade of the building. In order to arrive to the building, people coming form the western part of the city by using public transportation have to pass the fly-over. Also the routes of people show difference according to the type of public

transportation: bus and minibuses, since the buses have a fixed stop different than the minibuses.

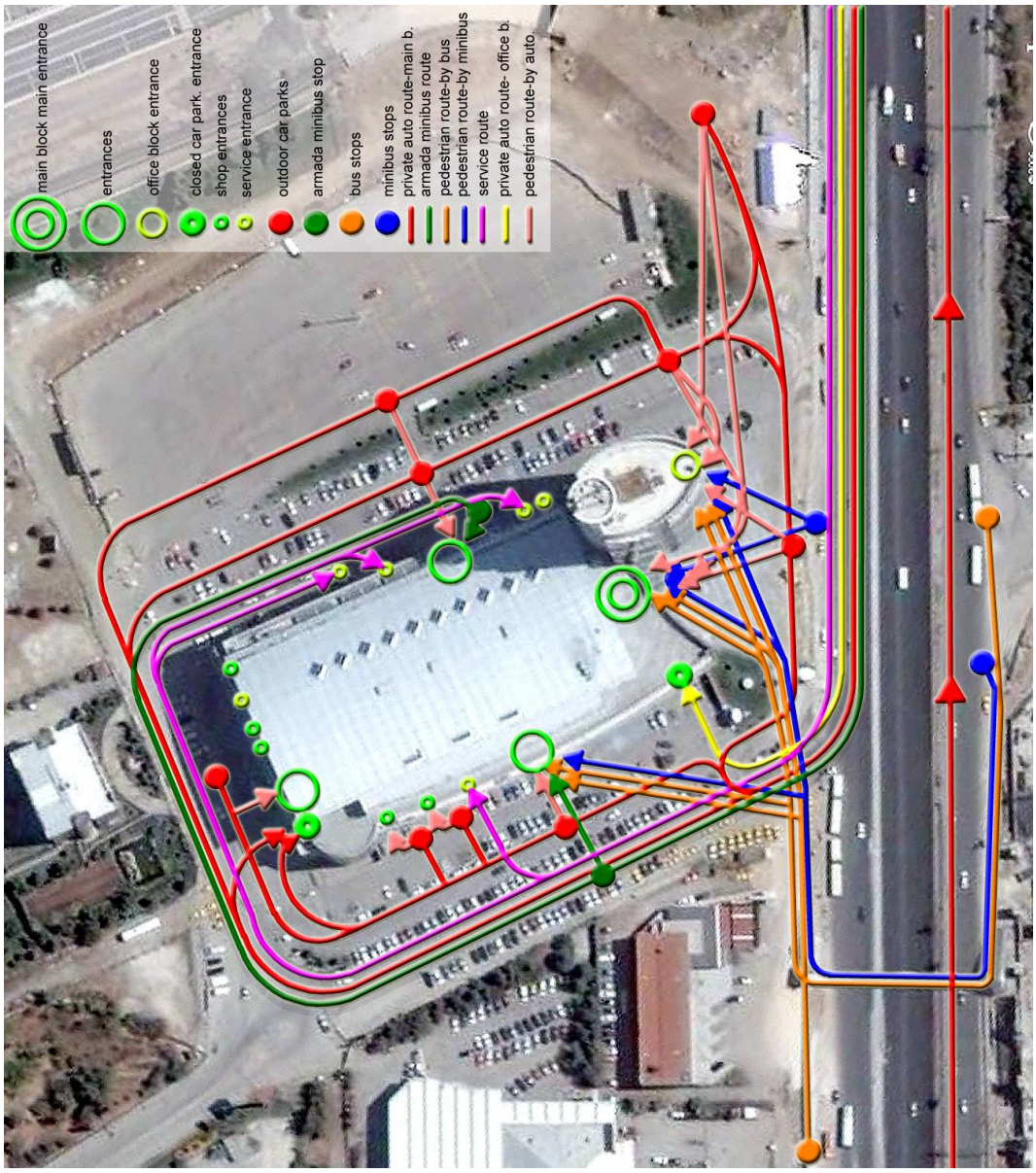

Figure 62. Routes- Armada Business and Trade Center (drawn by the author on the image captured from Google Earth)

Visitors who come with the private automobiles have different alternatives in accordance with the various car parking areas. They can use the car parking areas in the underground floors of the building which has an entrance in the back facade of the building. They can use big open car parking area in the right side of the building and another alternative is the small parking areas in front of the building, in the left side of the building and in the back part of the building. Some shops like Beymen and Vakko have small, separate car-parking areas in the left part of the building to serve only for their customers. As mentioned before, the people who are working in office block has a separate closed parking area with the capacity of 300 parking places. The entrance of this closed parking area is in the left side of the building. According to the data get from the management of the Armada Business and Trade Center, 60% of the visitors come with their private automobiles.

The visitors who come with the minibuses of the Armada Business and Trade Center generally use the entrance in the right facade of the building. These minibuses come form different parts of the city especially with upper income levels: Aşti-Bahçeli(5), Konutkent(5), Çankaya-Oran(5), G.O.P(5), Çiğdem (2). There is also another route which is defined by the minibuses of the Armada Business and Trade Center which serves for the workers. This route is ended in the road near the left entrance. It is declared by the workers, they do not generally prefer these minibuses, and they use public transportation.

There are two important service entrances in the right side of the building; first one serves for the big market which is not integrated to the building and other one is for the stores of other shops. There are also small services entrances used by workers and for the service (heating center etc.)

5.4.4 Magnitude (Scale) in the Urban Vector

As explained in the third chapter the transformations in the era of global capitalism bring a new architectural scale different than the early approaches of architectural scale which were dealing with proportions and measure. The new scale of the era,

"bigness," does not only deal with early physical dimensions. Rem Koolhaas in his theory of "bigness" explains this as:

> "Bigness is where architecture becomes both most and least architectural: most because of the enormity of the object; least through the loss of autonomy –it become instrument of other forces, it depends".[447]

Koolhaas describes five main themes with the concept of bigness:

> "1. Beyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building. Such a mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture, or even by any combination of architectural gestures.
>
> This impossibility triggers the autonomy of its parts, but that is not the same as fragmentation: the parts remain committed to the whole.
>
> 2. The elevator-with its potential to establish mechanical rather than architectural connections--and its family of related inventions render null and void the classical repertoire of architecture. Issues of composition, scale, proportion, detail are now moot. The "art" of architecture is useless in Bigness.
>
> 3. In Bigness, the distance between core and envelope increases to the point where the facade can no longer reveal what happens inside. The humanist expectation of "honesty" is doomed: interior and exterior architectures become separate projects, one dealing with the instability of programmatic and iconographic needs, the other--agent of disinformation--offering the city the apparent stability of an object. Where architecture reveals, Bigness perplexes; Bigness transforms the city from a summation of certainties into an accumulation of mysteries. What you see is no longer what you get.
>
> 4. Through size alone, such buildings enter an amoral domain, beyond good or bad. Their impact is independent of their quality.
>
> 5. Together, all these breaks--with scale, with architectural composition, with tradition, with transparency, with ethics--imply the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue."[448]

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[447] Find Articles, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_n4_v33/ai_16547724/pg_3 (accessed on 10.02.2007)

[448] Rem Koolhaas. "Bigness: or the Problem of Large", Theories and Manifestoes of Contemporary Architecture, ed. by Charles Jencks and Karl Kroph, Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2006, pg. 308.

He adds:

> "Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; it preempts the city; or better still, it is the city. If urbanism generates potential and architecture exploits it, Bigness enlists the generosity of urbanism against the meanness of architecture."[449]

As understood from the quotations, the theory of "bigness" both represents the transformations in form and program. In this respect super-human scale as to refer massive presences of the buildings and the programmatic bigness of the projects will be questioned in this part.

5.4.4.1 Magnitude in terms of Form: Super-human Scale

Today, high-rise and huge projects become the main components of the metropolitan condition as the "monuments of capitalism". In terms of Eskişehir Highway, the physical bigness can be examined with "vertical in the case of skyscrapers and horizontal in the huge dimensions of large buildings" that can be observed with the transformation of massive presences.

It is already known that the "human scale" in modern city subverted with the superhuman scale in the postmodern city. In this context, Kenzo Tange mentions that: "We live in a world where great incompatibles co-exist: the human scale and the superhuman scale, stability and mobility, permanence and change, identity and anonymity, comprehensibility and universality."[450] Heinrich Klotz discusses the transformation in architectural scale in his book, "The History of Postmodern Architecture." He declares that:

> "The built environment has been shaped in observance of human proportions since the Renaissance. Human proportions, either life-size or monumentally enlarged, have recurred in all buildings… However, the last few decades have witnessed the erection of many buildings that cannot be compared with the size of the human body. Uniform and gigantic, they

[449] Rem Koolhaas. "Bigness: or the Problem of Large", Theories and Manifestoes of Contemporary Architecture, ed. by Charles Jencks and Karl Kroph, Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2006, pg. 310.
[450] Robin Boyd. Kenzo Tange. New York, G. Braziller, 1962, pg. 15.

> stand conspicuously in the urban landscape yet defy being measured in proportion to anything."[451]

According to Klotz, because of the hugeness of the buildings the eye can not perceive the details and "perceive the total form as a foil-wrapped package."[452] Moreover, with the perception in speed, the physical environment lost its exact sizes. Klotz also explores this new scale with the increasing speed in the automobilized everyday life as:

> "The new scale derives form the sensations of driving an automobile at high speed and experiencing the environment as something gliding quickly by-of being hurled toward and swept past one's surroundings. The visual experience of rapid locomotion and of structures that approximate the vast dimensions of nature results in a "second scale" beyond that of the pedestrian in the city, and it is to that second scale that the superlarge container building is keyed."[453]

Jencks is another theorist who discusses the new scale of the era, and he defines the massive presences of the buildings of the contemporary architecture in "developer" system as "too big"[454] which "inevitably leads to boredom and anomie"[455] according to him.

> "In short, buildings today are nasty, brutal and too big because they are produced for profit by absentee developers, for absentee landlords for absent users whose taste is assumed as clichéd."[456]

Jencks puts forward about the big buildings:

> "Since big buildings must get a return on their investment, with zero risk, there will be zero creative architecture. No risk, no creativity and therefore in critical terms, no architecture. To adopt an old distinction, one might call such zero-rated creativity and architecture, but building."[457]

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[451] Heinrich Klotz. The History of Postmodern Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988, pg. 60.
[452] Ibid., pg. 60.
[453] Ibid., pg. 70.
[454] Charles Jencks. The Language of Post-modern Architecture, New York: Rizzoli Publications, 1984, pg. 12.
[455] Charles Jencks. "How big is bad? – Theory," Architectural Review, August, 2002, pp. 66-70.
[456] Charles Jencks. The Language of Post-modern Architecture, New York: Rizzoli Publications, 1984, pg. 14.
[457] Charles Jencks. "How big is bad? – Theory," Architectural Review, August, 2002, pp. 66-70.

He relates the “alientation” in the contemporary city with the increasing sizes of the buildings. He mentions that “greatest cause of alientation is the size of today’s projects: the hotels, garages, shopping centres and housing estates which are “too big”- like the architectural offices which produce them.”[458]

Figure 63. Heights of the buildings-storeys (drawn by the author on the plan obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

The early buildings which are constructed before 1990s on Eskişehir Highway, especially state buildings, were bigger in size as compared to the state buildings in Bakanlıklar district. This shift in scale can be explained with functional and economic considerations together with the advents of steel structure, air conditioning, elevator and artificial lighting. But after 1990s, the transformation in scale, mainly in the buildings of private capital was configured according to universal trends.

The large capital constructs monumental “prestige”[459] buildings as to be the “symbol of the power of big firms”[460] on Eskişehir Highway. Accordingly, these prestige buildings turn the highway to a “prestige road.” In that manner, the investors aim to construct the “biggest” in a competitive vision; biggest of district, biggest of Ankara, biggest of Turkey. For instance, CEPA shopping mall is announced as the biggest mall of

[458] Charles Jencks. The Language of Post-modern Architecture, New York: Rizzoli Publications, 1984, pg. 13.
[459] The definition of the term “prestige” is given as “to power to impress others, especially as a result of wealth, position, appearance, etc” in Oxford Advanced learners Dictionary.
[460] David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pg. 89.

Turkey, the Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center is announced as the biggest congress and convention center of Turkey [461] and Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center is declared as the biggest of Ankara.[462]

> "Architecture is then nothing but the space of representation. As soon as it is distinguished from the simple building, it represents something other than itself: the social structure, the power of the God, and so on."[463]

Skyscrapers and high-rise buildings as the "icons of contemporary capitalism"[464] through Eskişehir Highway like Armada Business and Trade Center, Bayraktar Tower, The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey Headquarters, Halkbank Headquarters with large programs are designed with the aim of expressing the prestige of financer and the institution, sometimes by disregarding the restrictions.[465] Ali Osman Öztürk mentions about the high rise Armada project:

> "…I'm very proud to propose and design the tower because of achieving an alternation in competitiveness of not only the building, but Ankara. [466]

5.4.4.2 Magnitude in terms of Program: "Bigness" in Programs

The new scale in architecture indicates not only the massive presences but also large scale of the programs as it is clarified with the theory of "bigness". It is explained that the intensity of the era resulted in large programs of buildings which dissolve the relation of architecture and city, as it is mentioned that "bigness no longer needs the city."

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[461] In Ankara, http://www.inankara.org/haberler/haberincele.php?haberid=ODMw (accessed on 10.06.2008)
[462] "Uludag Mimarlik," Insaat ve Yatirim, December, 2006, pp. 259-260.
[463] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pg.36.
[464] Information Technology St. Lawrence University, http://it.stlawu.edu/~global/pageslandscapes/globaltowers.html (accessed on 13.02.2008)
[465] In order to concentrate the complex, large programs on the small lands, adaptations are made in architecture and construction regulations. The increase of FAR ratios of plots as in the case of Kentpark project and Sogutozu Congress and Trade Center, and increase of building heights can be observed through Halkbank Headquarters and The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey Headquarters with corrupting the limitations of *Mania Plan.*
[466] Yavuz Selim Barbaros "Creation of the Commercial Node: Sogutozu, Ankara," Master Dissertation in Architecture in M.E.T.U., Ankara, 2005, pg. 84.

> "Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; it preempts the city; or better still, it is the city."[467]

According to Koolhaas "bigness" defines a free interpretation in program. In terms of "bigness" program of the city is compressed in a safer, more comfortable, cleaner, more aesthetic, more controlled manner as an "enveloped reality." Moreover with "bigness," each part of the building becomes autonomous and free from envelop.

> "Like plutonium rods that, more or less immersed, dampen or promote nuclear reaction, Bigness regulates the intensities of programmatic coexistence."[468]

John Rajchman explicates the "bigness" of Koolhaas:

> "Here sale is not colossal or sublime but labyrinthine, without overchanging plan. This is what allows him, even in aquite neutral or minimal container, to break up the classical relations of permanence, succession, and simultaneity and introduce diagrams that allow odd simultaneities, hybridities, and unexpected encounters. In this way Koolhaas arrives at something other architects find along different paths: the Corbusian promenade is interrupted, its narrative broken, multiplied, its exits and entrances displaced, its pan made more informal and complex."[469]

The "bigness" which is conceptualized by Koolhaas can be observed in the examples of shopping malls and mixed-use centers through Eskişehir Highway. On the other hand, programmatic bigness can also be considered in a different way. With the increasing demands of investors, the programs of the buildings are increased which brings construction of extension buildings or reconstruction of new buildings. For instance, the Ankara Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center is constructed as an extension building to the existing complex of The Ankara Chamber of Commerce Culture which brings problematic relationship with the existing building. Also, in the car parking area of the Armada Business and Trade Center, an extension building will be constructed.

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[467] Find Articles, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_n4_v33/ai_16547724/pg_4 (accessed on 10.02.2007)
[468] Rem Koolhaas. "Bigness," S, M, L, XL, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, pp. 511- 512.
[469] John Rajchman. "Time Out", Anytime. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pg. 153.

Halkbank Headquarters is one of the most significant examples of this increase in programs, since it is reconstructed with a larger program in a different scale with similar architectural approach another place on the highway by means of the demands of investor. Doğan Tekeli explains that, because of the similar properties of the new parcel and the similar demands of the Halkbank they reinterpreted the early building. Variations of the design attitude with the same theme were used in this new building. He also states that they had the concern of not designing a totally different building.[470]

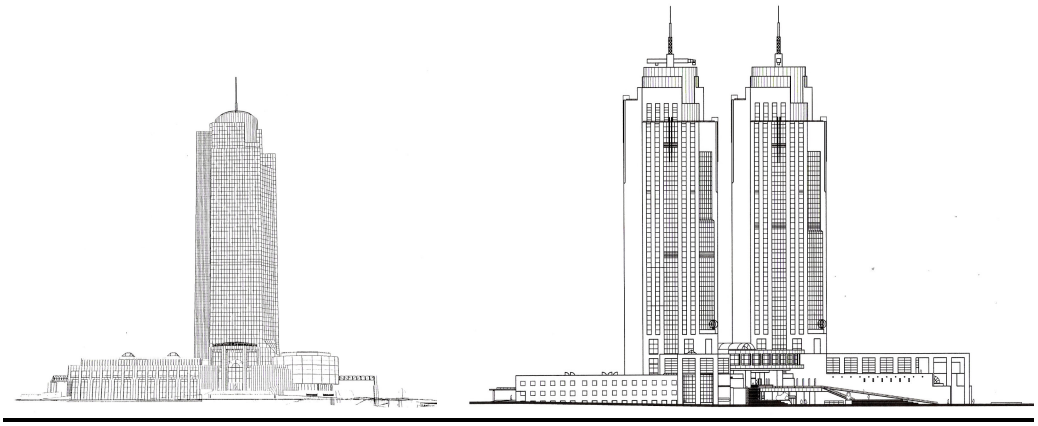

Figure 64. The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey Headquarters 2nd and 3rd projects (Source: Sute Architectural Office Archive)

[470] Arkitera, http://www.arkitera.com (accessed on 12.05.2007)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the on-going transformation process of Eskişehir Highway which generally represents the urban condition of the city of Ankara. Rather than a precise outcome, the unstable, dynamic contemporary situation is demonstrated with "new urban objects" and interaction patterns.

In the purpose of the study, the term "vector" is reconceptualized with its features in order to represent the "metropolitan condition" rather than using the "axis" which can be related with "static urbanism." Since the relations between architecture and urbanism can not be understood with the "static urbanism" and the study is carried under the framework defined by "metropolitan condition" which can be regarded as the urban condition of global capitalism. In this purpose, Eskişehir Highway is studied as an urban "vector" which activates the city with the features; "intensity," "mobility," "direction" and "magnitude."

By the features of "vector," both the dynamics of global era which shapes the urban condition and new configurations in urban architecture are illustrated. This study does not pretend to define the exact physical environment of Eskişehir Highway, because of the dynamism of the process which can be changed without any fixation. In this respect the urban "vector" is used as an urban condition which can repeat itself anywhere and anytime with new dynamos rather than a physical entity.

There are many limitations to capture this transformation. The most important reason is that, since the many of the buildings are under construction, it can not be predicted how they will attribute to this complexity after the construction. Another difficulty in the

process is the lack of reliable legal data and documentations. Also there are few studies on Eskişehir Highway which can be of reference to this study.

To briefly summarize the study; since these “new urban objects” are defined as the spaces of global capitalism, firstly a concise introduction of globalization is presented to stress that the formation of built environment is not a product of designing and planning processes, it is shaped with under many circumstances of globalization. Then the new urban configurations which decipher the internal-external transformations and new relation patterns of the cities are explained by different approaches with the examples of “the world city,” “the global city,” “the megacity” and “the postmetropolis.” After this, the effects of globalization on the physical environment and the influence on the urbanization process of Turkey which can be observed after 1980s is studied.

In the third part of the study, the “axis” and “vector” are discussed with theories and definitions in order to define the approach of the study. Then, an analogy is made between the shift from “axis” to “vector” and the shift from the “static urbanism” to “metropolitan condition”, and the features of urban “vector” are explored with the general transformations of the era in terms of socio-economic and technological.

In the fourth part, the specificy of the study area is indicated and the reasons which define the shift from an interurban highway to an urban “vector” of Eskişehir Highway with the concentration of “new urban objects” are questioned.

In the field research the “new urban objects” are studied. In this part, general information about the “new urban object” is given and order in Eskişehir Highway is questioned, then the “new urban object” of Eskişehir Highway is briefly studied as a pre-information for the last part. In the last part of this chapter, cross-reading of the features of the urban “vector” and the separated elements of architecture as “form” and “program” are made to understand the complex character of the “vector.”

With this cross-reading, it is aimed to uncover that it is not only a physical reality but an urban condition as a result of economic, technological, social, cultural process brought

by globalization with questioning the relations between body and built environment regarding everyday life, architecture and urbanism, and the relation of all these with globalization in socio-economic and technological aspects their interacting nature into consideration.

In this respect the visual intensity, multi-functionalism, “creative destruction”, changing perception understanding, “mutable facades,” programmatic instability, alienation in the city, new means of way-finding, super-human scale and “bigness” are demonstrated with the emphasis of programmatic and formal transformations.

In the study of “visual intensity”, it is understood that the symbolic meanings of formal concerns which are generally of reference to the identity of institute, financer with economic considerations constitute the visual effects in the system without any indication of the function. More than this, it is obvious that formal experiences lose its importance in the automobilized life because, the “sign system” competes with architecture, and this irregular, disorderly sign system brings complexity in the automobile dependent urban life, and increases the “visual intensity” in the system.

The study of the feature “intensity” in terms of programs reveals that there are no regulations or limitations in the system to solve the problem of overconcentration of hybrid multi-programmed buildings without any hierarchical relation through the highway, since the programs are determined by financial concerns for more profitable combinations. This programmatic intensity leads irregular, unfixed bodily density and increase in traffic load.

The examine of “mobility” in terms of formal characters of the “new urban objects” with changing perception understanding in increasing speed due to the uncoordinated transportation system shows that the buildings become blurred formless intensities in everyday-life, and in this respect the design understanding altered in terms of formal experiences to be perceptible in irregularity in speed. “Mutable facades” which are adaptable to different programs, demands of the developers or the desires of the consumer society also represent mobility in terms of dynamic formal characters of the

buildings which is introduced with the separation of form and function in the dynamic and unstable character of the city.

In the part of “programmatic instability,” it is examined that the bounds of a function to a space is broken down which causes indeterminate characters of the new buildings, and it can be clearly grasped that this programmatic mobility is especially defined with economic and political intentions along Eskişehir Highway.

The formal analysis of these “new urban objects” with the feature of “direction” deciphers that the sense of location is lost with similar, standardized “new urban objects”, and this confuse the orientation with the sense of placelessness. According to this, mental map of the city can not be defined and way-finding by means of the site and architecture becomes difficult, so, non-architectural elements like signs, banners, websites, and lightings become important in terms of way-finding in the contemporary city.

With the route analysis in the part headlined as “direction in terms of program: routes of activities,” it is aimed to indicate that the hybrid condition of the “new urban objects” through Eskişehir Highway draws many different directions which bring complexity in use with the emphasis of the dominancy of private car usage.

Lastly, by the feature of “magnitude,” the new “scale” understanding of the architecture as “bigness” is considered, in order to understand more than the physical transformations, since, new scale in architecture not only represents the massive presences, but also programmatic formations. In terms of formal characters of the buildings the increasing scale addresses the competitive visions to get bigger share in the market, especially with the aim of to be a “monument” for the city with the advents of steel structure, air conditioning, elevator and artificial lighting, and in this manner it is observed that the regulations and limitations are corrupted through the highway.

The programmatic “bigness” shows that in these “new urban objects” comprising different functions of the city causes the diminishing relation with the city. Also, the

uncoordinated increase in programs of the buildings for utmost profit brings problematic construction and designing processes which leads many other problems.

To sum up with these studies, alternative urban programs defined according to universal economic considerations, demands of consumer culture and trends in the world, new formal experiences which are defined with new construction techniques and materials, digital design technologies, virtual image catalogs and new ways of experiencing the built environment with new time and space understanding which shape the architecture and urban condition of the era are figured out in Eskişehir Highway.

Although Eskişehir Highway is generally considered with the features of "vector" as the dynamics of global era, here it is important to mention that that the outcomes and influence of these features with their new means are unique in Eskişehir Highway. The transformation of Eskişehir Highway which is not a result of a conscious decision is dissimilar to the transformation patterns of European and American cities, even also Istanbul under the effects of globalization. In the purpose of the study, this significant, unique condition in different levels under the influence of globalization will be discussed in this part which does not fit any patterns or developments in the world.

The rendering of the "new urban objects" as an outcome of the global economic system through the features of "vector" helped to comprehend the effects of "new urban objects" in Ankara and the urban transformation under the influence of global economy, and at the end, the uniqueness of this condition on Eskişehir Highway will be considered in urban and architectural aspects regarding both social and physical affects on the city. This circumstance can be discussed in three levels: transformation of city of Ankara, transformation of the relation of architecture and urbanism, transformation of urban architecture considering everyday life.

It is known that the city of Ankara does not have "global city" characteristics, in spite of the new urban pattern composed of "new urban objects" of global capitalism, as Eraydın states that Ankara's position and characteristics are not enough to integrate

the world economy, and become a nodal point in the global system.[471] Because of this, different visions are configured under the discourse of "world city". The discussions about confronting issues of globalization of Ankara like the movement of Central Bank and some other banks which are associated with the capital city to Istanbul reveals the in-between position of Ankara. Consequently, it can be said that although the city of Ankara is transforming under the increasing influence of global capitalism, it could not gain "global city" properties, and the "new urban objects" of global capitalism should be considered regarding the in-between position of Ankara. Under such a framework the intentions in the transformation of Ankara urban fabric with the "new urban objects" can be resembled as an importation process in correspondence to the ongoing transformation of the economic bases.

As mentioned before Eskişehir Highway as a district full of "new urban objects" has a specific distinct character in this circumstance with transformative role in the city. The concentrated functions of the city via the "new urban objects" redefined the role of the highway with a new, centralized character. Comparing to the Maslak district as a CBD in Istanbul; it is observed that the transformation is highly different in Eskişehir Highway, since, Maslak district has a more central position in the city. In the case of Eskişehir Highway, the periphery part of the city gets centralized character.

Accordingly this decentralization process with "new urban objects" which comprise all the functions of a city causes the collapse of the city center,[472] Kızılay, where the identity of the nation is "fixed in recognizable architectural forms." This collapse is highly the result of the new commercial activity patterns and new modes of consumption which cause the decline of small scale, traditional shopping understanding.

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[471] Ayda Eraydin, Bilge Armatli Koroglu. " Ankara'nin Yeni Gundemi: Ulus Devletin Baskentliginden Kuresel Ekonominin Dugum Noktasi Olmaya Uzanan Yapisal Donusum Cabalari," Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı, METU Press, Ankara, 2005, pp. 267-284.

[472] Bugra Gokce. "Ankara'da Merkezi İs Alanlarını ve Merkezler Sisteminin Donusumunu Kuramlar ve Merkezlerin Yapısını Etkileyen Siyasalar Uzerinden Tartısmak," Planlama, TMMOB Sehir Plancıları Odası Yayını, 2005 /4, pg. 82.

Moreover, this irregular transformation affects the entire city in terms of movement of capital, population and traffic. For instance, it is known that the shopping mall projects in the district which attract population and capital to the Eskişehir Highway cause decrease in use of other shopping malls in other parts of the city. This transformation also activates the city in terms of secondary and tertiary roads, and this condition spreads to the inner parts of the highway with significant functions.

Although Eskişehir Highway gains centralized character, and Söğütözü district is defined as the new city center of the city, I believe, in terms of ongoing transformations of Eskişehir Highway with the tendencies of large capital without a planning process, the district can not absolutely gain city center properties with isolated, introverted "new urban objects" and automobilized life which are also issues of social segregation. These new spaces which especially serve the upper income level socio-economic communities strengthen the heterogeneities in the urban space, since these spaces can not be used by all the city citizens.

In the urban level, "city gate" issue should also be emphasized in terms of the transformation of Eskişehir Highway. The rapid transformation in the entrance part of the city through Eskişehir Highway as an interurban highway not only binding city of Eskişehir to Ankara but also many Western and Southwestern cities could be considered with a "city gate" project for Ankara, but because of the uncoordinated and inadequate planning attempts, partial and heterogeneous formation occurred which can not define a "city gate" for the city.

Another issue that can be discussed as a conclusion is the transformation of the relation of architecture and urbanism in the defining this complex circumstance of Eskişehir Highway. The intentions of local authority that has the major role in the transformation of Ankara after 1985 is one of the main reasons that give priority to private interest in terms of corrupting the constructional and architectural limitations and regulations which cause heterogeneities in the physical environment. The big gap between architecture and planning activities resulted in this transformation constituted

by “new urban objects,” different than the proposal of 1990 Master Plan which offers a state characterized development through Eskişehir Highway.

Architecture and the planning relationship have been highly weakened after 1994 in Ankara with the attitudes of new local authority which gives priority to some capital holders in terms of increasing far ratios and providing lands in the project producing process. The plan adaptations and regulations in parcel scale as a result of uncoordinated planning and architecture activities are highly encouraging for private interest that search for the profitability of investment. For instance the FAR ratios which are redefined according to the demands of investors in a correlative relationship cause striking ruptures in the highway and bring a problematic eclectic condition. Although, the transformation of cities should be carried by both the contribution of architect and the planners, this production process loses the attribute of the architect and highly determined by the major role of capital which brings a speculative situation. Since, there are no limitations to prevent land speculations, land owners who get lands in early periods without predicting the feature of the highway cause land speculations in the district with increasing property prices, as Yırtıcı affirms that unequal concentration of the capital causes increase in the infrastructural investments, land prices, production and circulation costs.[473]

In terms of the relation of architecture and urbanism it should also be noted that there are no limitations and planning regulations that are considering the effects of these large programmed buildings. Although, this issue is mentioned in 2023 Master City Plan in terms of shopping malls as; before constructing big shopping malls, “strategic urban and environmental effect evaluation” should be made, it is observed that there are no regulations and attempts which limit or plan the constructions of similar, large programmed buildings in Eskişehir Highway. Actually, there should be large investigations about economic, social and cultural status also infrastructural studies of the city and the district before constructing a “new urban object” which highly activates

[473] Hakki Yirtici. Cagdas Kapitalizmin Mekansal Orgutlenmesi, Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayınları, 2005, pg. 44.

the capital and population in the city in order to limit and regulate the private intentions which consider only profitability.

The other conclusion which comes out from this study is transformation of urban architecture which has already indicated in the previous chapters. Firstly, it should be noted that the problematic relation of urbanism and architecture cause the transformation of new urban architecture with its own dynamics. According to this, because of the fact that each of the "new urban objects" has its own formation process in an isolated parcel, the urban pattern in the district gets an eclectic character.

As mentioned before these "new urban objects" without any reference to the city of Ankara can be considered as the imported architectural patterns defined by globalization. The autonomy of architecture becomes questionable in this manner. The architects become less involved in the production of projects, and the role of the architect is reduced into a process defined by producing "urban objects" separated from its environment bounded in an isolated parcel, fulfilling the demands of client in a limited time. Additionally, architecture becomes a marketing tool in this manner, and the autonomy of architecture is limited by the intentions of capital and the considerations of municipality which is highly dominated by the entrepreneur "leader." But the architect should be responsible in both urban and architectural levels of transformation of a city.

When considering architectural formations in such a system, it is obvious that each of these "new urban objects" is designed with a different approach resulting in different languages depending on the trends, amount of investment, special demands of investor, construction techniques and materials. As a consequence, the architecture loses its own position. For instance, although many buildings in the study area are designed by the same architect, each of them separately participates in this eclectic condition without any sense of relation.

In this eclectic, concentrated condition of individual objects where each object aims to be a landmark for the city without considering its site, environment and the functional

necessities, architecture no more make sense for the city citizens with loss of perceptibility in automobilized life. As mentioned before, advertisements and signs are passing over architecture, and therefore architecture remains as a gaze in everyday life. Moreover, this "new urban objects" constructed within a limited time with standardized materials and techniques cause loss of the identity of the city of Ankara which is identified with the modernization project of country. This also leads to loss of the city-citizen interrelation.

Although it is too early to grasp the future problems which will be occurred in the district the current situation provides clues about some of the problems in urban life. The uncoordinated system brings many problems like increasing heavy traffic loads, air pollution, and financial problems. In terms of financial problems, Enis Öncüoğlu states that not all of these shopping mall projects constructed side by side can get a share in the market.[474] Accordingly, it is known that the rent values of the shops in these buildings are decreased as in the case of Armada Business and Trade Center.

The concentration of these "new urban objects," above the capacity and demand of the city, also brings infrastructural problems as traffic problem especially for the people living in the Western residential areas. Because of the unplanned regulations in transportation system which attracts "new urban objects," the speed in the city increases which cause traffic accidents and decline of the pedestrian space in the city with new relations defined by automobile.

Although, automobilization and traffic regulations seem transportation issues, they are no more only issues of transportation, since highways become new "common" spaces for the city defining discontinuous, automobilized experience which "is based on the argumentation on the alienation of individual from nature and social environment."[475] In Eskişehir Highway, this condition is more problematic without a continuous pedestrian

[474] Kobi Finans, http://www.kobifinans.com.tr/tr/sektor/011204/15448 (accessed on 20.07.2008)
[475] Olgu Caliskan. "'Motionscape' as an Indicator of Urban Vitality: Rethinking on the Late-Modernist Urbanism in Need for Speed," unpublished paper submitted to at "The Vital City" European Urban Research Association (EURA): 10th Anniversary Conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, 2007.

way as a result of uncoordinated planning and construction regulations which totally eliminates the pedestrians in the system which divides the social interaction of the citizens. It should be noted that these regulations like road widening, construction of multi-level traffic junctions and fly-overs which are counter projects of public transportation and increase the traffic load, only defines temporary solutions for the automobile traffic as mentioned before, and it can obviously be observed that because of the unplanned and programmatic construction facilities of “new urban objects”, even these temporary solutions can not be performed in future. For instance, in Söğütözü district, there is no more space between the Armada Business and Trade Center and Söğütözü Congress and Trade Center to widen the highway.

Another point should be emphasized in terms of everyday-life is the incompleteness in physical structure with leftover spaces, vacant projects, unfinished infrastructures etc. which highly constitutes the contemporary condition of Eskişehir Highway. This incompleteness forces city citizens to behave according to the irregular articulations, construction facilities which are highly completing everyday-life.

So, it is understood from the discussions above, in such a system to prevent this problematic situation in urban and architectural levels local authorities, city planners, architects and sociologists should work in collaboration considering the urban life corresponding to the elements of city and urban architecture instead of allowing a transformation formed by the intentions of capital.

To conclude, with this thesis, the on-going transformation process of Eskişehir Highway is represented. At the end this study offers an alternative field of study for the future projects; “flexible urbanism” which can be adapted to ever-changing social, politic and cultural dynamics. This can be exemplified and tested with the complex, disorderly character of Eskişehir Highway which is composed of temporary, partially planned individual parts.

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