RE-MAPPING CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY BASED ON
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBANISATION AND ARCHITECTURE:
ESKİŞEHİR ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
AHMET GÜNEL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

JANUARY 2020
Approval of the thesis:

RE-MAPPING CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY BASED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBANISATION AND ARCHITECTURE: ESKIŞEHİR ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

RE-MAPPING CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY BASED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBANISATION AND ARCHITECTURE: ESKIŞEHIR ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN ANKARA

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January 2020, 161 pages

The purpose of this thesis is to re-map contemporary architecture in Turkey through the transformative and correlative relationship between urban and architectural scales because the contemporary transformation of architecture in recent years is considerably related with its urban meaning and its role within the urban context. In order to achieve this, a theoretical background, which includes a comprehensive literature survey and a general framework of architecture and urbanization relation in Turkey with historical background, is presented. In this respect, the impact of urban planning and policies and urban development patterns on architectural scale, as well as the transformative power of developments in building scale are studied.

The recent urban developments on Eskişehir Road in Ankara are selected as a case study area and a representative model to understand the relationship of architecture with urbanisation, context and city. Similar new developments as an annex to city centers are demonstrated in many Turkish cities. Therefore, this case study addresses a repetitive pattern not limited with Ankara but adaptable to many urban transformations all through Turkish context. The case study is evaluated within the
transformation of architectural typologies. In this sense, new urbanism policies and dynamics in Turkey, and the transformative relationship between architecture and the city are examined. This critical evaluation of the case study area will be utilized to re-map and understand contemporary condition both in urban and architectural scale developments, transformations, and their transformative impact on each other.

Keywords: Architectural Typology, Urbanisation in Turkey, Urban-scale Building, Urban and Architecture, Urban Transformation, Urban Scale, Eskişehir Road in Ankara
ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE ÇAĞDAŞ MİMARLIĞIN KENTLEŞME VE MİMARLIK İLİŞKİSİNİ BAĞLI OLARAK YENİDEN HARİTALANDIRILMASI: ANKARA ESKIŞEHİR YOLU GELİŞİMİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık
Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer

Ocak 2020, 161 sayfa


dynamikleri ve mimarlık kent arasındaki dönüşümlü ilişki sorgulanmaktadır. Durum çalışması alanının bu kritik değerlendirmesi, hem kentsel hem de mimari ölçekteki gelişmeler, dönüşümler ve bunların birbirleri üzerindeki dönüşümlü etkilerinin çağdaş durumunu yeniden haritalandırmak ve anlamak için kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mimar Tipoloji, Türkiye'de Kentleşme, Kentsel Ölçekli Bina, Kent ve Mimarlık, Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kentsel Ölçek, Ankara Eskişehir Yolu
To My Parents Sibel Günel and Mehmet Halis Günel
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer who has touched my life in the best way and broadened my horizon. I thank Güzer for sharing his valuable views, directing the thesis with his valuable comments, allocating his time with patience and providing full support at all stages of this research.

I would also like to thank all the jury members; Adnan Aksu, Cânâ Bilsel, Neşe Gurallar, and Lale Özgenel, for their guidance, comments and criticism which enable the thesis to develop in a very positive way.

I am always grateful to my parents Sibel Günel and Mehmet Halis Günel. Without their continuous patience, encouragement, endless support and trust, it would have been impossible to complete this thesis.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research specifically focuses on contemporary architecture in Turkey within the frame of the relation and counter impact of architecture on urbanization and vice versa. The situations derived from the transformative relationship between urban and architectural scale will be analysed within a critical frame. The missing and lost components will be revealed as an inference through some architectural productions. Therefore, this thesis is a critical view within both planning-urban design scale and architectural scale. This view as the main focal area actually underlines the problems arising from their own dynamics and characteristics, and their relationship with each other.

This thesis is organized to consist of four main chapters in overall. In this chapter, problem, aim, methodology, and limits of the study are presented. The following chapter of the thesis \textit{(Chapter 2)} presents a theoretical background for the main discussion framework. The chapter starts with the post-war era by referring rapid re-urbanization process as an introduction to urbanization and architecture relationship. Then, it proceeds to examine a literature review within an international discussion based upon some certain significant concepts. Following, it is aimed to elaborate transformative problems in urban and architectural scales within general framework. Thereafter, in a more specific dimension, urbanisation in Turkey is analysed through a historical background of urban transformation, and the emergence of urban-scale buildings with respect to urban and architecture relationship.
Chapter 3, titled “A Case Study on Urban Transformation and Architecture Relationship”, begins with presenting the representative potential of the case study. The chapter also provides a historical background with reference to master plan and planning studies. Then, it is aimed to discuss the new dynamics through conceptual frames via case study as the representation of contemporary situation in Turkey. It is assumed that this case study has a representative value and power on contemporary architectural transformations. This chapter also conceives the analysis of both in urban and architectural scales in terms of urban and architecture relationship. It traces restricted urban accessibility, creating urbanism within itself, introversion, scale, eclectic and partial planning, and functional multiplicity as the urban concepts; thereafter, authenticity, language, identity-representation, sign-symbolism, contextualism, memory-belongingness and typology as the architectural concepts. The transformative relation between urban and architectural scales is examined through the evaluation of the case study. Finally, Chapter 4 summarizes the arguments and the conclusion of this research.

1.1. Problem

The point of view of this research in the field of architecture is that contemporary architecture in Turkey is limited in terms of feeding and feeding from urban scale, although there is a wide range of new architectural productions and despite its development and process in building scale. Therefore, architecture does not contribute enough to the city and it is not sufficiently fed from urban data, urban dynamics, and context. From this point of view, “the time has come to conceive of architecture urbanistically and urbanism architecturally”¹ as Aldo Van Eyck states.


² David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social Change
In this sense, it is tried to figure out, re-understand and re-map is the contemporary architecture in Turkey based on the relationship between urbanisation and architecture. In light of many factors and changes, contemporary architecture has undergone some certain transformations all around the world and Turkey; and a new state has inevitably emerged which is effective on all scales. The fundamental problems observed among these emerged situations are evaluated as:

- the understanding of planning approach in urban scale,
- the understanding of design with values in architectural scale,
- the continuity between values is no longer a necessity,
- the introversion of architectural productions,
- and many of the projects try and attempt to maintain their own existence as an “entity” in urban scale.

These affect not only the urban state, but also typology, scale, identity and language of architectural productions, their relationship with each other, the city, silhouette, and the density of buildings in the city, briefly everything in urban and architectural scales. Within this perspective, it can be observed that many of the urban problems stem from this transformation. In all of these, it is intended to re-understand and classify this situation within the scope of this thesis.

1.2. Aim

It is aimed to understand the relationship between architecture and urbanisation through some examples, and examine the transformative impacts on each other and the problems of contemporary situation. Through this relationship, it is intended to evaluate and demonstrate the transformation of architectural typologies and productions. In this sense, exemplifying and mapping the emerging typologies, the changes in the use of existing typologies, the reflections of typological multiplicity...
on urban scale, and the determinative relationship between architecture and city are the significant aims in this study.

It is also intended to re-map the existing theoretical discussion from a different perspective in order for the interpretation of this issue through a further study, which is directly related with analysing, understanding and evaluating contemporary architecture within the urban context. A wider meaning of context will be carried out through the thesis including not only the physical environment but also political, social, ideological, economic, physical, urban development and planning. The gap between urban scale and building scale is examined in order to present an alternative ground to new models through the theoretical background, concepts, some certain architectural productions and the case study that represents the contemporary situation of Turkey.

1.3. Methodology

The method of this research is based on the examination of an area as the case study which has a great representative potential. In other words, the contemporary architecture in Turkey is examined through the situation of this specific example that represents Turkey. The case study as the main research material for this thesis consists of new building typologies which come together and form an urban fabric through their coexistence. It will be analysed through the observed problems which continuously occur in architectural scale and urban scale. In other words, the repetitive patterns and determinative situation of architecture in Turkey will be discussed.

It is aimed to examine and evaluate a specific area of Eskişehir Road in Ankara as an urban part of the city, while architectural concepts (which are selected in
consideration of referring the main problem) and building typologies are used as important discussion topics in the methodology in order to investigate and test the urban scale of contemporary Turkish architecture in last decades and to understand the relationship of architecture with urbanisation, context, and city as well. In addition to the coexistence of the buildings on this corridor in the selected area, completed buildings especially as of the last year (YDA Center, Next Level, Mahall, METU Informatics and Innovation Center, and Maidan) lead to form integrity in terms of the urban fabric. Thereupon, it is aimed to examine whether these typologically large-scale urban buildings really make a contribution to the city or not. Accordingly, the main concern is to evaluate the new understanding of urbanization in Turkey through this case study as a representative example of the contemporary situation. For this reason, changes and transformations of the contemporary architecture in Turkey will be discussed through the background of the case study after the analysis of Eskişehir Road.

This area will be analysed through its impacts on urbanisation, urban scale, architecture and the city Ankara. Hereby, this will be achieved with regards to

- the building typologies,
- the relationship of buildings with each other,
- site plan characteristics and complex-wise architectural organization
- their contributions to the city,
- integration with infrastructure and network (including traffic, pedestrian, public transportation, and car parking),
- and their forms of representation of some architectural concepts.

To sum up, the methodology of this research is based on the examination of a certain area with concepts and typologies. This area is representative of almost completed new development zone, which accommodates large-scale public buildings and different typologies, hence, it is a sampling area as the main axis of
this thesis that will allow evaluating both architectural concepts and their relationship with the city.

1.4. Limits of the Study

As shown in the map on the following figure, the selected area in Eskişehir Road is limited from Konya Road junction to Beytepe junction which can be considered as an appropriate corridor where lots of new buildings come together rapidly in Ankara. The buildings along this area are selected and evaluated. The green and public spaces within this specific area are neglected, and the rest is discussed for this research. The study is mainly concerned with public buildings where housing as an independent architectural domain has consciously been neglected within this frame.

Selected contemporary buildings were built after 2000; therefore, they represent the transformation and new developments in Turkey. In this sense, they will be traced, scrutinized and discussed in order to support and embody the main discussion framework. More importantly, it is not intended and aimed to criticise the buildings mentioned in the main discussion but rather to discuss with concepts through urban and architecture relationship. Thus, there is no tendency and effort to evaluate the buildings on single scale and to create an area that transcends the stated limits.

In addition, it is taken into consideration and intended to indicate three important focal points that have significant impacts on the case study area with regards to developments and densities coming from these points. These are Mustafa Kemal district, Bilkent City Hospital and Çukurambar district (Figure 1.1). There are new developments in either educational, residential, office or health services which are very near to or within the case study area (Figure 1.2).
Figure 1.1. The case study area along Eskişehir Road, Ankara
Figure 1.2. Developments and impacts on the case study area

In order to achieve the intended analysis, the selected buildings (with project end year and architectural office) within the case study area starting from Konya road junction to Beytepe junction are as follows:

- Armada;
  - 2002, A Architectural Design
- Armada Extension;
  - 2012, A Architectural Design
- Next Level;
  - 2014, Brigitte Weber Architects
- YDA Center;
  - 2018, Yazgan Design Architecture
- Mövenpick Hotel;
  - 2008, Boyut Architecture
- TOBB Hospital;
  - 2005, MTK Architects Consultants
- Besa Tower;
  - 2015, A Architectural Design
- ATO Congresium;
  - 2007, A Architectural Design
- TOBB University dormitories;
  - 2010, A Architectural Design
- Koç Towers;
  - 2015, Korucuoğlu Architecture
- JW Marriot Hotel;
  - 2011, RMJM Architecture
- Medicana Hospital;
  - 2009, Geyran Architecture
- 312 Vista;
  - 2017, RGGA
- CEPA;
2006, Öncüoğlu + ACP
  o Kentpark;
    2009, Öncüoğlu + ACP
  o Maidan;
    2018, A Architectural Design
  o TOBB Twin Towers;
    2001, Umut Inan
  o Tepe Prime;
    2010, A Architectural Design
  o Mahall;
    2017, Öncüoğlu + ACP
  o Togo Towers;
    2019, A Architectural Design
  o AFAD Headquarters;
    (Ankara İl Afet ve Acil Durum Müdürlüğü)
    2016, Uz Architectural Atelier
  o Ministry of Agriculture and Forest;
    (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı)
    2011 Hüseyin Keçeci
  o METU Informatics and Innovation Center;
    2015, FREA
  o Information Technologies and Communications Authority;
    (Bilgi Teknolojileri ve İletişim Kurumu Başkanlığı)
    2012, Erdem Architects
  o Bilkent City Hospital;
    2018, Necdet Kırhan Yazıcı
  o State Council;
    (Danıştay)
    2012, Cem Açıklkol Architecture
  o Petrol stations, Showrooms
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Since architecture and urbanization relationship is a widely discussed phenomenon in the literature of architecture, the literature review for this research reflects what has been done within the frame of the relationship between architecture and urbanization in the literature, the discussions on that field, the theses directly related with the main issue, academic research and the articles in order to determine the boundaries of the area. The books written by Rem Koolhaas, Kenneth Frampton, Paul Ricoeur, Hal Foster, Fredric Jameson, David Harvey, Charles Jencks, Diana Agrest, Mario Gandelsonas, Christian Norberg Schulz, Steven Holl, Vittorio Gregotti, Robert Venturi, Edward Relph, Roger Trancik and Aldo Rossi in the first place work as the main sources which constitute a framework for international discussion on the theoretical background. To examine the interactions, continuities and contradictions within the relationship between architecture and city; these sources within the research field are also utilised for the examination of international discussion. The discussions on Turkey as the extensions of the international medium, which focuses on the current situation and contemporary scene of Turkey in urban scale, relate to the issue of urbanism and architecture through some case studies.

It is aimed to select a set of considerably important and related sources with a deep literature review in terms of concentrating on architectural productions and their disconnection from the urban context. To achieve these, the typological differentiations of some specific architectural productions and their interaction with urban space are analysed and evaluated by focusing on transformative problems in urban and architectural scales with a theoretical background in this chapter. Then,
two sub-sections about urbanisation in Turkey are presented. These are historical background of urban transformation, and the emergence of urban-scale buildings and the relationship between urban and architecture.

The post-war era is a significant breaking point in the discussion of these issues in order to understand that there is a direct relationship between architecture and urbanization. Harvey underlines that the origin of re-urbanisation plan is after World War 2 since the war had legitimately brought about the destruction of many major cities in Europe.² The industrialisation movements after the war and urban forms and formations, which gradually emerged in western countries, played an important role in the contemporary situation of the west. In the post-war era, urbanisation has increased all over the world along with modernism and the development in the industry as important breaking points and determinants of urbanization due to “the critical shortage of housing and the intent to quickly solve the problem” and “because standardisation and prefabrication led to increasingly rapid construction.”³ For instance, Figure 2.1 is an image from Rotterdam after World War 2 showing that the city was almost completely demolished. The reconstruction of the demolished cities as an emerging issue became one of the main questions in the 50s after the war.


In consequence of the huge destruction in the war, the need for revitalization as a huge process of rebuilding for many of the cities becomes inevitable. Due to the lackness of money, labour, and technology at that years; this rapid re-urbanization process is a critical shift towards believing industry, mass production, creating a universal language, large-scale and repetitive typological buildings, a purified and reductionist aesthetic understanding through the ease of reproduction, and cities that are similar to each other. These shifts are the basis and essence of Modernism in architecture with regards to the dynamics of current condition of those years apart from the free choice and style of architects. In this sense, David Harvey defines this emerging mass production by referring to Fordism as:

 [...] mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labour power, a new politics of labour control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society. 

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5 Ibid., 125-126.
This can be considered as a cultural transformation since this new era is defined as “the biggest collective effort to date to create, with unprecedented speed, and with a consciousness of purpose unmatched in history, a new type of worker and a new type of man.” As a result of such a breaking point, the beginning of this new era has been discussed within the frame of Modernism approach, which led many people to question the Modernism, the modernity itself, and its principles. To begin with, Kenneth Frampton, in his essay “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance”, starts with an excerpt titled “Universal Civilization and National Cultures” by Paul Ricoeur. Frampton questions the resistance of the preservation of cultural history against modernity and universalism by referring Ricoeur; “there is the paradox: how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization.” This paradox is actually parallel with the fact that modernism does not refer to cultural history due to its mass production, the rapacity of development, and the understanding of producing same cities and buildings; therefore, rapid re-urbanisation process becomes inadequate to generate an urban form. Frampton underlines modern buildings with a critical point of view by referring to Modernism’s production and development.

Modern building is now so universally conditioned by optimized technology that the possibility of creating significant urban form has become extremely limited. The restrictions jointly imposed by automotive distribution and the volatile play of land speculation serve to limit the scope of urban design to such a degree that any intervention tends to be reduced either to the manipulation of elements predetermined by the imperatives of production, or to a kind of superficial masking which modern development

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6 Ibid., 126.

requires for the facilitation of marketing and the maintenance of social control.⁸

Within this context, modernist urbanism approaches actually played an important role in terms of the interrelation and correlation of urban and architecture with regards to the understanding of city when city regarded as the object of architecture and a common interest of urbanism and architecture. As Diana Agrest, in her essay “The City as a Place of Representation”, states:

> It is with modern urbanism as a discipline that architecture finally directs the discourse of the city. […] Architecture, which had always been seen primarily through the city, begins to make the city its object of institutionalized, professional study. […] For the first time the discourse of architecture and that of urbanism engage in an immediate relationship, brought together over a common concern-the city.⁹

This shows that it is possible to understand architecture by comprehending the city that is actually very parallel with and represents the framework of this thesis by relating the situation in Europe. In parallel, to architect and theorist Mario Gandelsonas in the essay “The City as the Object of Architecture”, “the fantasies imagined by European modernist urbanism […] depict the impossible relation of architecture to the object-cause of its desire, the city.”¹⁰ He asserts that the relationship between architecture and city constituted since the city has been conceived as “the object of architectural desire”¹¹ by giving reference to Alberti’s

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¹¹ Gandelsonas, “The City as the Object of Architecture,” 130.
theory. For him, “this relationship was established on the basis of a “shared” object, the building”\textsuperscript{12}; in this sense, it results with a disjunction of two objects of building as “urban building” and “architectural building”. Moreover, he continues that “the building, as part of the city, is outside architecture”\textsuperscript{13}, which leads to a separation of the architect from the building, site and construction.\textsuperscript{14} However, architecture fills this gap with its potential power according to Gandelsonas. He clarifies that “the architectural-urban fantasy - an architectural universe of buildings in which the city is the largest building - fills out a fundamental lack in architecture”\textsuperscript{15}. Thusly, it can be deduced that there are disjunctions as well as conjunctions between urban and architecture relationship; however, there is a transformative relation between each other showing that they are actually related to each other.

The discussions on relationship between urbanization and architecture are very significant with reference to the concepts including place, context, belongingness, scenography, sign, symbolism, authenticity, identity, placelessness, scale, and typology and their interrelation. Thus, it is aimed to present theoretical background of these significant concepts in order to constitute a ground for main discussion in this chapter. When urban and architecture relationship is analysed, one of the most significant concepts is context.

Context is a crucial concept in architecture, despite the frequent ambiguity around its use. It is present in many architectural thoughts and discussions,
while a critical discursive reflection is absent from contemporary architectural theory and practice.\textsuperscript{16}

The significance of context is emphasized as “the inevitable sited-ness of architecture”\textsuperscript{17} in Kelly Carlson’s words. As Steven Holl states “the site of a building is more than a mere ingredient in its conception. It is its physical and metaphysical foundation.”\textsuperscript{18} There is a physical impact of architecture and environment with reference to its context. Within this physical impact, place and topography are the important keystones. Christian Norberg Shculz defines the phenomenon of the relationship between place and architecture that place is an integral part of existence for the environment.

What, then, do we mean with the word ‘place’? Obviously we mean something more than abstract location. We mean a totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture, and color. Together these things determine an “environmental character,” which is the essence of place.\textsuperscript{19}

As an inference, there is a direct connection between context and environment that is parallel with the relationship between architecture and urban in an integrated way. At this point, the concept of belongingness is of great significance within a context since one of the most important aspects that distinguish the architectural products is that it belongs to a place. As Schulz states “the existential purpose of


building (architecture) is therefore to make a site become a place, that is to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given environment. In this sense, it can be deduced that either architecture on single scale is correlated with place by giving reference, or the place is susceptible to lose its meaning that both are actually about an impact in urban scale with reference to belongingness. Thus, establishing physical, social, ideological, economical, historical, and cultural relationships with both environment and the city is relevant to urban and architecture relationship.

The vandalised and mass produced version of Modernist approach’s disregard of context shows that “freestanding and mass produced buildings later became a canon of modernist architecture” with a regardless notion of context which is actually “the problem of the relationship between buildings and their social, physical and cultural conditions by abusing, imitating or ignoring context.” Against the tendency of Modernism towards considering buildings as single, separate and solitary objects regardless from their settings, Frampton in his essay “Rappel a L’ordre: The Case for the Tectonic” touches upon this issue by referring an excerpt from Vittorio Gregotti:

[...] the worst enemy of modern architecture is the idea of space considered solely in terms of its economic and technical exigencies indifferent to the idea of the site.

The built environment that surrounds us [...] the physical representation of its history, and the way in which it has accumulated different levels of meaning to form the specific quality of the site, not just for what it appears to be, in perceptual terms, but for what it is in structural terms.

Geography is the description of how the signs of history have become


22 Dağlıoğlu, “Reclaiming Context: Architectural Theory, Pedagogy and Practice since 1950,”
forms, therefore the architectural project is charged with the task of revealing the essence of the geo-environmental context through the transformation of form. The environment […] becomes the essence of architectural production.  

This clearly emphasizes how important the context is in terms of the formation of urbanization within the frame of modernism. In order to examine the importance of context, Gregotti addresses some significant and related concepts including the built environment, meaning, history and site which are interrelated with each other and should have a referential connection with context. Thus, the concept of context should not only be related to a physical domain but it also includes the cultural, social and historical background, and many dimensions together. In parallel with this approach, the cultural historian Robert Hewison states that

> The impulse to preserve the past is part of the impulse to preserve the self. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we are going. The past is the foundation of individual and collective identity, objects from the past are the source of significance as cultural symbols.  

The inevitable importance of context can also be underlined through Frampton’s theory of Critical Regionalism that he defined as a strategy “to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place. It […] depends upon maintaining a high level of critical self-consciousness.”  

Frampton states that the impact of architecture and environment is a physical impact within the frame of context. To him, there should be emphasis on physical, geographic and natural aspects of a site including topography, climate,

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light and tectonic form rather than abstract, scenography and tabula rasa approach of Modernism, additionally, on the tactile sense rather than the visual. Therefore, it is an approach also dealing with placelessness in Modern architecture through contextual references:

The bulldozing of an irregular topography into a flat site is clearly a technocratic gesture which aspires to a condition of absolute placelessness, whereas the terracing of the same site to receive the stepped form of a building is an engagement in the act of “cultivating” the site.

He refers to Swiss architect Mario Botta’s “building the site” methodology with respect to the significance of contextual point of view. One of the main philosophies of Mario Botta Architetti is the “importance of the site” asserted as:

Every work of architecture entails the construction of a site. It is not an isolated object; on the contrary it is an entity that takes root in a distinctive place. For this reason, the territory is an integral part of the project, and never an incidental element. From this point of view, it can be said that architecture is the discipline that, instead of building on a site, builds that site.

Frampton supports building site method through emphasizing the significance of cultural and historical references which “has many levels of significance, for it has a capacity to embody, in built form, the prehistory of the place, its archeological past and its subsequent cultivation and transformation across time.”

26 Ibid., 26-27.
27 Ibid., 27.
28 Ibid.
By this point, it is intended to highlight the significance of the concept of contextualism within the frame of urban and architecture relationship. In brief, context is a referential concept and significant domain both on urban and architectural scales in terms of architectural productions. It plays an important role for a building where it is built on within the context since there is no chance to change all the parameters and inputs once it is built. Thus, the context is not only defined by its physical aspects including built environment, surrounding, existing buildings, roads, land, topography and etc., but also it has political, ideological, economic, social and cultural domains such as history, memory, belongingness, economical background, and etc. Therefore, all these come together and constitute the context as a whole.

However, within the boundaries of the society of commodification, identity value and representative value of a building have become an independent value added to the object value of the building so that it became a competitive issue with the concept of contextualism. In this way, that building starts to develop interesting and charming identities. Chris Abel asserts the point reached in relation to identity as follows:

Various analogies have been drawn between the symbolic function of architecture and the formation of personal and social identities. Their accumulation has reached the point where the idea of ‘architecture as identity’ now rivals that of ‘architecture as space’ and ‘architecture as a language’ as one of the principal metaphors and themes in architectural discourse.31

In a similar way, the signature and the trademark of the architect becomes a market issue in the sense that buildings representing the architects’ language-based identity have been established independently from the context. As a concrete example of

this issue, The Guggenheim Museum and Walt Disney Concert Hall are two architectural productions that are repeated in two totally different countries and contexts by the same architect, Frank Gehry (Figure 2.2). Thus, this shows that the concept of identity value actually emerges as something that conflicts with context and transforms it. It becomes possible that an architectural production can be reproduced again and again through market, identity and signature values of either architect or the building.

**Figure 2.2. Reproduction of architecture through identity value**


From this point of view, the market and signature value of Frank Gehry turns into a typological production. This brings that the form, language and identity coming from the market value of the architect starts to become more significant than the context. As a result, there becomes a reproduction of a repetitive typology. Then, it becomes difficult for architect to escape from reproducing due to the precedence given to market and identity value by the consumer society. In this sense, there is a duality within the frame of context with reference to these two examples. On the one hand, there is a contextual understanding with reference to its environment
when the Guggenheim Museum is taken into consideration. On the other hand, Walt Disney Concert Hall represents a reproduction that is designed as an object and marketed through its object value regardless of its context. In other words, the value is added through the original one with its market value. Thus, an architectural production becomes an object to be marketed and sold through a language-based identity and trademark of architect where its context becomes insignificant. As a result, one of them becomes an alternative to other one with a different approach and understanding. In this respect, this exemplification is actually significant since it represents two interrelated endpoints.

Among the discussed concepts, there are significant interrelated concepts: sign-sign value, scenography and authenticity. These are different alternatives to contextualism that come with the consumer society. Sign and sign value are the concepts that make a building come to the forefront through objectifying it independently from its context. It is about the representation of the function of building with reference to urban and architecture relationship. Venturi, Brown and Izenour, in the book “Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form”, analysed the sign and symbolic aspect of architecture in cities, which become prominent within urban context by referring Las Vegas in 1960s with “a generalization on symbolism in architecture and the iconography of urban sprawl”32. It is stated that

Modern architects, who shunned symbolism of form as an expression or reinforcement of content: meaning was to be communicated, not through allusion to previously known forms, but through the inherent, physiognomic characteristics of form.33

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Moreover, cities become prevalent and monotonous with the use of sculptural, figurative, iconographic surface elements which can be seen as a result of popular culture and postmodernism. The architecture, which they call “ugly and ordinary”, and the quality of the building are based on decoration and ornamentation. They examined this situation by referring two examples: “duck” as an expressionist, functionalist and symbolic form and “decorated shed” as a box with symbols on it.\(^3^4\) In the same sense, “the duck is the special building that is a symbol; the decorated shed is the conventional shelter that applies symbols.”\(^3^5\) (Figure 2.3)

\[\text{Figure 2.3. “Duck” versus “Decorated shed”}
\]


\(^{34}\) Ibid., 87.

\(^{35}\) Ibid.
While differentiating the modern “duck” from postmodern “decorated shed” as a result of this urban analysis, they evaluate the duck as a transformation of a building into a sculpture by representing its function through expression, shape and its “technically speaking iconic signs”\textsuperscript{36}, decorated shed as the representation that façade is independent from building as an element having added “symbolic sign”\textsuperscript{37} value. In this sense, the form and shape itself give a direct message what is inside the building in the duck case; whereas decorated shed expresses itself through its signs. These two representative examples focus on the sign value of architecture. Architectural elements and signs in the city have gained a different quality in order to establish a relationship with the consumer society. In this sense, architecture becomes something that supports rapid consumption, which can be considered as the transformation of architecture in a cultural dimension.

In the case of Las Vegas, the primary indication of sign aspect of the building is its function, which makes the building iconographic in urban scale. In this way, the continuity of meaning of buildings has been destroyed and transformed into symbols; as a result, buildings compete with each other to attract attention.\textsuperscript{38} As a result of the attractiveness of the signs, it can be deduced that the importance given to the image, symbolic, and iconic values is more than the architectural quality, its essence and building itself. In this respect, architecture and architectural symbols in the city have a different aspect in terms of relationship with people. Thus, architecture is functionalised as a tool in terms of its symbolic aspect within urban context. This is actually related to the issue that buildings themselves become signs in cities referring to Las Vegas. In this respect, it is possible to mention that the


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} Venturi, Brown, and Izenouri \textit{Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form}, 13.
coexistence of each building with different symbolic characters in single scale generates an urban image in urban scale that we actually observe and face with similar versions of this situation in many of the cities today.

At this point, scenography can be considered as another interrelated concept to be underlined within this context. For this concept, Frampton’s Critical Regionalism is a referential point that his approach can be considered as a stance against the reduction of architecture to scenography. He also points out that scenography exists for a long time and it is one of the common problematic and attitude of today's architecture. In an interview, he states that “Critical Regionalism was formulated to counter this reduction of architecture to mere scenography. It was a categoric repudiation of the “decorated shed” as this had been posted by Robert Venturi fourteen years earlier.” Frampton also addresses this reduction in the essay “Rappel a L’ordre: The Case for the Tectonic”. For him, scenography defines a problematic; in addition, he identifies “tectonic” as a reaction to “decorated shed” with reference to scenography as stated before:

I have elected to address the issue of tectonic form for a number of reasons, not least of which is the current tendency to reduce architecture to scenography. This reaction arises in response to the universal triumph of Robert Venturi’s decorated shed; that all too prevalent syndrome in which shelter is packaged like a giant commodity. Among the advantages of the scenographic approach is the fact that the results are eminently amortizable, with all the consequences that this entails for the future of the environment.

The reduction of architecture to scenography with reference to “decorated shed” is parallel with freeing the body from the façade or vice versa. In this sense, the

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whole body behind the façade remains almost insignificant and façade starts to represent architecture as a tool for expression. In other words; scenographic, which is related to hiding the building with façade, reduced architecture to a superficial way of expression. In an interview, Frampton touches upon this issue as:

What I was reacting against was the mutation of architecture into scenography. In a way this scenographic architecture is still around, in a larger scale than ever perhaps. In terms of the relative autonomy of architecture as a poetic of construction, the scenographic is somehow problematic, there have always been of course.

There is this drive, which is particularly evident in speculative development. In high rise buildings for example, where the curtain wall is the beginning and the end of the whole thing. Curtain wall is the cheapest thing to wrap a construction with. The tendency of choosing the cheapest way to finish is obviously there. But we can have this problem at many scales.41

Hereby, authenticity can be regarded as a key concept with regards to urban and architecture relationship since there is a reductionist manner in terms of identity and representation of the architectural products. Buildings are designed, marketed and sold with the intention of being very different, unique and authentic. As a common tendency, being unique and authentic in terms of its geometric expression becomes a value when the general scene of contemporary architecture is considered. As a result, there becomes a tendency to create a surplus value through visual difference, market, identity, image and architectural values.

The authenticity and uniqueness are gained through being different in terms of its geometry and form independent from cultural, physical, historical, contextual or ideological references and approaches. This situation comes to the forefront with the perception of creating a value through the image. Its image value becomes very

significant regardless of its content, location, context, or function. Thus, the difference between authenticity and being different starts to become blurred. Kenneth Frampton defines this problem as:

> Behind our preoccupation with the autonomy of architecture lies an anxiety that derives in large measure from the fact that nothing could be less autonomous than architecture, particularly today when because of domination of the media we find it increasingly difficult to arrive at what we want. Under such skeptical circumstances, architects often feel constrained to perform acrobatic feats in order to assure attention. In so doing, they tend to follow a succession of stylistic tropes that leave no image unconsumed, so that the entire field becomes flooded with an endless proliferation of images. This is a situation in which buildings tend to be increasingly designed for their photogenic effect rather than their experiential potential.  

This situation can be considered as a contradiction of architecture towards urbanity when aesthetic concerns and visual appearance for its image value become precedence rather than creating something really authentic, different and unique, and at the same time enabling functionally a different quality of urban life and suggesting an alternative to the contextual problems. Frampton mentions this issue by touching upon the problem of identity value of architectural productions.

> It is a sign of our times that aesthetic display has come to be used as a form of packaging to such an extent that architecture is often called upon to provide nothing more than a set of seductive images with which to “sell” both the building and its product.

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With reference to Frampton, it can be deduced that architecture is not a discipline of aesthetic display and is not functionalized to bring a surplus value on single scale but rather is an important tool for the city to solve urban problems and a establish a relationship with urban architecture relationship on urban scale since “architecture cannot be reduced to architectural representation at any level, nor can it be passed off as large scale sculpture.” Moreover, David Harvey states that “identity is increasingly dependent upon images, this means that the serial and recursive replications of identities [...] becomes a very real possibility and problem.” This situation causes the transformation of identity and leads to the emergence of placelessness concept. Edward Relph defines the gap between the physical and character as placelessness and states that placelessness is an “abstract geometric view of place, denuded of its human being” in his article “Prospects for Places” by referring Harvey Cox. Thus, the tendency to bring a surplus value to an architectural production by prioritising aesthetic concern with the intention of creating visually attractive building appearances for identity as a common and repetitive problem, does not contribute to its relationship with the city. Accordingly, the search for a geometry-based identity and authenticity through image value depending on visual appearances and differences as a simplified representation does not make a building authentic within an urban context.

With reference to the main framework, typology is another significant concept, which was conducted in the middle of the 19th century in order to examine the structural or similar features of objects comparatively. To Italian architect Aldo

44 Ibid., 21.


Rossi, typology is “analytical moment of architecture”; within this approach, plurality and generality are more important than singularity and specialty. The common character that ensures continuity and prevalence of typology is the “type” that constitutes it before the form.

 […] the typical element, or simply the type, is to be found in all architectural artifacts. It is also then a cultural element and as such can be investigated in different architectural artifacts; typology becomes in this way the analytical moment of architecture, and it becomes readily identifiable at the level of urban artifacts.

Thus typology presents itself as the study of types of elements that cannot be further reduced, elements of a city as well as of architecture. […] No type can be identified with only one form, even if all architectural forms are reducible to types. The process of production is a necessary, logical operation, and it is impossible to talk about problems of form without this presupposition.

However, the concept typology “is concerned less with the forms of the past (or their integral meaning), and more with their catalytic agency in urban transformation” due to the conceptual transformation with respect to urban and architecture relationship. Since consumer society represents a cultural transformation in the forms of production and consumption, this transformation reflects on the contemporary era that architecture starts to be seen as a commodity and serves for consumer society. As the return of this new cultural state, it unavoidably determines the building typologies and leads to the emergence of new building typologies including as open-air public spaces, large-scale projects


50 Ibid., 40-41.

including shopping malls, mixed-use buildings, city hospitals, office buildings and etc. for consumer society which brings the conceptual transformation of architectural typology. Therefore, there is no doubt that the role of typology “in the dynamism of the city and in propelling the agency of architecture to engender urban change and transformation” is significant in terms of urban and architecture relationship. The case study will evaluate and examine this transformation in the following chapter.

As a consequence, all these concepts mentioned above are actually dependent on and interrelated with urban context. As Agrest states, since “the city has always occupied a privileged place in the architectural dream”, “to think of the city is to think of architecture, for the city is the limit of architecture.” For this reason, it can be deduced that there should be an evident contribution to city at the end; architecture on single scale should provide alternative solutions to the context; moreover, there should be continuity between the intention of architectural productions and the end result by the reflection on the program, city and urban life within the frame of urban-architecture relationship. Accordingly, isolation of architecture from city in order to gain a surplus value, privilege, and identity is not related to integration of urban and architecture, which can be considered as contextual rejection or independency from city.

52 Ibid.


54 Ibid., 125.
2.1. A Scale-Wise Understanding of Urban and Architectural Problems

In this section, the transformative problems are mentioned with regards to the theoretical background and literature survey in order to constitute a discussion ground for Chapter 3. The main components of problematic within the frame of the relationship between architecture and urbanization can be considered as transformative problems on urban scale, architectural scale and vice versa. In the next three subsections, it is intended to understand scale-wise problems within the physical setting of environment from architecture to urbanization by referring related concepts.

2.1.1. Problems on Urban Scale

Architecture, on the one hand, responds to the program and expectations of buildings on single scale, on the other hand, it becomes a part of the city and constitutes continuity with planning on urban scale. This situation has led to the investigation of an important domain called urban design where various problems have been experienced in this regard. At this point, the post-war era played an important role with reference to the ideological tendency of that period. After the huge destruction, the economic problems reflect on architecture in the sense that producing maximum housing units with minimum cost through “industrialized building processes based on rationalization and standardization in order to maximize the satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number of people.” As an important figure in urban planning as well, “Le Corbusier was heavily influenced by problems he saw in industrial cities at the turn of the century.” Most of the


public housing projects were influenced by Le Corbusier’s Ville Radieuse (The Radiant City) (Figure 2.4), which represents modernist urbanism in terms of its principles and essence. It is a representative model and template of urban design although it is an unrealised urban-scale project. However, this reflects on contemporary era as “the effect of isolating poor communities in monolithic high-rises and breaking the social ties integral to a community’s development”\textsuperscript{57} since “the inhabitants of a city needed a sense of belonging within a community – that the sterile blocks of Le Corbusier’s Plan Voisin were alienating and did not address the human need to belong to a community.”\textsuperscript{58}

![Figure 2.4. Ville Radieuse](https://www.arkitektuel.com/ville-radieuse/)

Pruitt-Igoe which is regarded as urban housing scheme after the war (Figure 2.5) is parallel with Le Corbusier’s urban design approaches and principles including public corridors to be used for social purposes, repetitive high-rises and high density. It was unavoidably lead to experience various social and urban problems such as “increasing vandalism, sexual assaults and muggings.”\textsuperscript{59} In addition, the

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., 20.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{59}Nihan Bölükbaş, “Re-Reading of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project (St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.) in the Context of Modernism,” (Master’s Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2016).
standardization of urban life as one of the principles of such these urban housing projects has been criticized for being not compatible with urbanisation. As a result, after the living conditions in Pruitt-Igoe began to deteriorate, it was demolished. Since it was known as one of the symbols of modernist urbanism and modern architecture, its demolition is considered as “the death of Modern Architecture” by Charles Jencks.

![Figure 2.5. Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project, St. Louis, Missouri, USA](https://www.archdaily.com/870685/ad-classics-pruitt-igoe-housing-project-minoru-yamasaki-st-louis-usa-modernism)

There are also iconic examples from Europe related to on-going discussion (Figure 2.6). Some of their problems are defined as: “public spaces soon became desolate, abandoned corridors, while the most radical modern concepts led to complete standardisation of architectural solutions” or “the poor urban quality”.

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62 Ibid., 70.
These type of urban housing projects are evaluated as:

Indeed, it is obvious that the success or failure of these estates does not exclusively depend on the features of open, modern urbanism design, but on the conditions of their construction and on the particular circumstances of a period in which increased scale and rapid construction processes led to a significant loss of their urban quality.\(^{63}\)

It is observable that Pruitt-Igoe and other examples represent, in Harvey’s words, “serial repetitions”\(^{64}\) of a single block. It is possible to encounter with the same prototype as a variation of it in the contemporary era such as TOKI blocks in many cities of Turkey (Figures 2.7-2.8). These residential high-rise examples are regarded as the contrary models towards urban belongingness of the community with the city due to the isolation. This issue actually refers to the transformation of a repetitive typology into an urban plan.

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\(^{64}\) Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social Change, 92.
Moreover, it can be seen that they obviously come in sight in city silhouette (Figure 2.8). In other words, they become very dominant in urban fabric in terms of huge density within the context of this type of mass production of mass housing. This prototypical situation in the contemporary era is so common in Turkey that even two projects in different cities start to become almost the same.

Even in the first look, they all give the same message in the sense that they represent almost the same repetitive manner and principles with the same essence. Thus, as a result of these housing projects that were constructed in city peripheries
or isolated in large areas, they turned into a crime, misery or such related problems like Pruitt-Igoe example.

While avoiding generalisations, particularly in assessing their architectural, urban and environmental quality, it is important to bear in mind the legacy these estates represent fifty years after they were built. Beyond the considerations of their eventual ‘failure’, the diagnosis of an inoperative process appears to be shared: starting with more generic aspects such as the lack of urban life due to rigid functionalist zoning; or the difficulty of integrating isolated, autonomous estates with the city; and including other more specific factors such as the obsolescence of housing types and specific amenities, the inadequacy of construction methods according to current standards, over-sizing or the poor design of urban spaces.  

Although Pruitt-Igoe's failure and its housing policy has become a symbolic icon in the debates on modern architecture, and many of such these repetitive projects are either redesigned or demolished throughout the history; it raises the question of why TOKI is typologically so common in the agenda of Turkey. These high-rise housing units built either on the periphery or far from the cities, which proved to exclude the urban life, the human scale, belongingness, and integration resulting with isolation, individualization and alienation. Finally, the reflection of all these examples as the repetitions of a typology on the contemporary era has resulted that “general loss of urbanity is one of the biggest challenges cities face at the outset of the twenty-first century.”

Apart from these, there is another problem worth to discuss which is about the destruction of the historical environment. The urban development of “La Défense” in Paris can be considered as one of the prominent representative examples in the

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65 Ibid., 68.

66 Ibid., 73.
history of urban transformation. La Défense is a central business district in Paris metropolitan area located in the Ile de France region. It is stated that

Never before has such a large-scale urban renewal operation been implemented in such a short amount of time: less than two years. In the spring of 2005, EPAD – at the French government’s request – began considering the future of a business district threatened with obsolescence.

The urban development of the region is actually based on a transformation of a historical axis into a business district full of tall iconic buildings. (Figure 2.9)

La Défense is based on the principles of and results with many of tall buildings and the alteration of the existing transportation network by separating pedestrian and

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vehicle flow. Although it is seen as an urban development project, it points out a serious urban transformation since a new venue is built on a historical city as a new center, which also transformed the whole city silhouette. Despite the reduction of the pressure of economic activities in the historical area of the city and making a connection of this new center with the historical one, it is undeniable that La Défense has become competitive of the historical center when the end result is considered. Consequently, a completely different built environment from the historical city is formed, which is an issue in the scale of urban design. A similar development is also seen in Turkey. Ataşehir in Istanbul can be considered as the counterpart of La Défense in the same manner. As one can see, “the result is a patchwork quilt of private buildings and privately appropriated spaces, usually severed from an historical context” in Trancik’s words. (Figure 2.10)

![La Défense in the city silhouette of Paris, France](https://www.milliyetemlak.com/dergi/atasehirde-guncel-gayrimenkul-fiyatlar/ (accessed on 6.11.2019)]


In this sense, these situational problems can be regarded as an indicator of the weakness of planning and architecture relationship, which can be described as one of the existing problems of contemporary architecture. Whereas,

[...] planning and architecture are parts of a continuous process. Planning is the correlation of human activities; architecture is the housing of these activities. [...] In a given environment thorough planning will lead to architecture. Planning remains abstract until it generates architecture. 71

Bilsel and Polat define the distinction between architecture and planning discourses as:

Today, while architecture is directly interested in the single scale and aesthetics, it is distant from urban space-place and urban design; [...] and ineffective in environmental issues. On the other hand, planning with limited approaches in urban scale [...] is inadequate in strategic approach, distant from user needs and functional solutions. 72

In parallel, planning and architecture are not complementary to each other in general; in other words, there is a discontinuity between these two disciplines. Some of the reasons behind this problematic can be examined as there is an understanding of eclectic planning, there are too many alterations of planning, and there is a lack of unity and integrity in both regional and urban scales.

The transformative impact and significance of planning in urban scale cannot be ignored as well. “Urbanism of projects” can be a referential point to discuss planning within the main discussion, which is defined as “the idea of a city built


piece by piece”. It is actually related to partial planning approach rather than a holistic plan. “This piecemeal planning is not an urbanism of the everyday, or of the commonplace; it remains an urbanism of exception.” The reason is that “urbanism and architecture comes together on a shared engagement with the city in the planning discourse.” Agrest points out this issue that when the city becomes a common concern of architecture and urbanism discourses within a relationship for the first time,

[c]omplications arise, however, over the fact that the urban discourse (or the planning discourse into which it had been transformed) is at the same time the mediating discourse between the dominant social and architectural ideologies. The conjunction is highly problematic. Architectural discourse, which had previously been structured around the opposition of sensation and reason, particularly as it gave rise to the opposition of form and function, art and technique, encounters the urban discourse at a moment when it has been transformed into a specific planning discourse.

Therefore, architecture is in correlation with city in urban scale. At this point, planning has a connective feature for the relationship between urbanism and architecture. In this sense, architecture should not be considered only on a single scale discipline but it is also in relation to planning discourse as urban scale. Otherwise, there becomes an understanding of eclectic planning, which results with parcel-based developments. As a result, architectural productions become independent of each other and come together in such an eclectic way. In this way, lack of unity and integrity become inevitable in urban scale as seen in the previous examples. The reason is that urban formation takes place through the coexistence


75 Agrest, Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice, 125.
and interaction of urban and architecture in terms of planning when the built
environment constituting the city is taken into consideration. Accordingly, rather
than an interdisciplinary transformation (planning into architecture or vice versa),
there should be continuity between these two discourse in relation to city.
Architecture plays an important role in urban scale through holistic planning
approach rather than eclectic way.

2.1.2. Problems on Architectural Scale

Despite the existence of privileged examples in building scale, one of the main
problems within the built environment can be considered as the lack of reflection of
this achievement to the citywide and urban fabric. As an architect and planner,
Oriol Bohigas focuses on this problematic under the title of “Architecture as a
Project for the City” in order to emphasize an architectural problem in “Ten Points
for an Urban Methodology”.

I do not want to conclude without referring to another architectural
problem. It is evident that these days there is a great split in the diversity of
architectural output. [...] the most evident ones are typological peculiarity of
the great projects and the commercialization of vulgar architecture.
I began by saying that the city must be an architectural project and have
ended by saying that the solution to the present problems of architecture
may be to design it as part of the city. 77

From a broader perspective, this lackness of reflection to the city unavoidably
becomes something that determines the building typologies. As Sennett underlines

76 Bilsel and Polat, “Mimarinin ve Kentin Birlikte Planlanması’nda Farklılaşan Kavramlar
Üzerine...,” 57.

77 Oriol Bohigas, “Ten Points for an Urban Methodology,” in Transforming Barcelona: The
this issue by referring to shopping malls which create their own inner world (Figure 2.11),

Once a mass of bodies packed tightly together in the centers of cities, the crowd today has dispersed. It is assembled in malls for consumption rather than for the more complex purposes of community or political power; in the modern crowd the physical presence of other human beings feels threatening.  

Thus, rather than providing alternative solutions to the city, architecture is getting transformed into an object of commodification and becomes actually a simulation of the city despite its transformative power. When we look at the contemporary scene, lots of buildings emerge with large and very self-sufficient, or with a set of some concepts related to urbanism, or with their symbolic and sign aspect in an exaggerated way as a reductionist approach. As a result, new types of buildings tend to create their own introverted urbanity and generate gated communities in architectural scale. In his essay “What Ever Happened to Urbanism?”, Rem Koolhaas describes this issue as:

Now we are left with a world without urbanism, only architecture, ever more architecture. The neatness of architecture is its seduction; it defines, excludes, limits, separates from the “rest” – but it also consumes. It exploits and exhausts the potentials that can be generated finally only by urbanism, and that only the specific imagination of urbanism can invent and renew.79

In order to discuss the transformative problems in architectural scale in a wider context, “consumer society” and its emergence as an interrelated concept are very significant with reference to the transformations all around the world after World War 2. Fredrick Jameson defines it as

a periodizing concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order - what is often euphemistically called modernization, postindustrial or consumer society, the society of the media or the spectacle, or multinational capitalism.\(^{80}\)

He continues with pointing out the transformations which are the direct impacts of the consumer society:

New types of consumption; planned obsolescence; an ever more rapid rhythm of fashion and styling changes; the penetration of advertising, television and the media generally to a hitherto unparalleled degree throughout society; the replacement of the old tension between city and country, center and province, by the suburb and by universal standardization; the growth of the great networks of superhighways and the arrival of automobile culture - these are some of the features which would seem to mark a radical break with that older prewar society in which high modernism was still an underground force.\(^{81}\)

When we move onto the contemporary era, the phenomenon of consumer society has become one of the main factors that cause the tendency towards creating a surplus value in many fields. Especially when designed objects, architecture and architectural milieu are considered, this surplus value comes to the forefront through “image” since “the image is not lost or abolished by chance: it is sold. It falls into the commodity sphere, we might say, and this is indeed the sense of


concrete, social alienation." Duygu Koca addressed this issue in her dissertation as follows:

The prominence of a project among the others is mostly identified through the concepts of “the difference” and “the identity” which are entirely matter of image. In other words, as a result of the transformative power and the impact of the consumer society and global culture on architecture, “identity” in architecture has been perceived an additional market value which is reduced to the image of the housing instead of a notion, valued through the unique design process of architecture.

In addition, Baudrillard expresses this as: “Thus consumer society lived also under the sign of alienation, as a society of the spectacle” by giving reference to Guy Debord’s “Society of Spectacle”. Therefore, encountering repetitive images of buildings regardless of their content, urban context, cost, location, tectonics or function becomes as a common issue in contemporary architecture. In other words, its image value becomes very significant rather than the social, cultural, or economic benefits for the city. Consequently, “architecture turns into making an image that is easy to exchange, buy and sell.” This situation is directly related to the transformation of the concepts of authenticity and identity. To clarify, the market value of an architectural production within the context of consumer society forces architecture to produce something different rather than being experimental, or affecting philosophical, ideological cultural, sociological, and contextual, or being based on a research or theoretical background. Jameson touches upon this

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83 Duygu Koca, “Remapping Contemporary Housing Production in Turkey: A Case Study on Housing Patterns and Marketing Strategies,” (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2012).


issue that “it is in the realm of architecture, however, that modifications in aesthetic production are most dramatically visible, and that their theoretical problems have been most centrally raised and articulated.”

In parallel, the concept of identity has become “an element to enrich the market value of the production beyond the functional sufficiency, the strength, material quality and location of the structure.” One of the reasons is stated as: “commodities are no longer defined by their use (as they formerly were), but by their appearance.” Other one is that “aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally.” As a result, there becomes emergence of lots of different images, which legitimize themselves through their differences. For this reason, the market value of an architectural production is in the foreground, which is achieved through the transformation of two different concepts as authenticity and identity into “being different”. Koca refers to this issue as follows:

The concept called as “difference” has been perceived as a value by itself. Consequently, a case of doing something different and doing something recognized have begun to be new attitudes to generate the market value; and the architect has been forced to take positions in the design process according to these new attitudes.

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87 Koca, “Remapping Contemporary Housing Production in Turkey: A Case Study on Housing Patterns and Marketing Strategies”

88 Akalin and Özaslan, “Architecture and Image: The Example of Turkey,” 920.


90 Koca, “Remapping Contemporary Housing Production in Turkey: A Case Study on Housing Patterns and Marketing Strategies”
In order to gain such a difference, there becomes a tendency towards search for compulsive geometrical forms, aesthetics, or form-based exaggerated expressions in order to gain a surplus value through image. Jameson discussed this situation as:

No matter that the earlier theory (still enormously influential in media studies) ingeniously reversed the priorities of this opposition, assigning authenticity (and thereby aesthetic value) to the denotative value of the photographic image, and a guilty social or ideological functionality to its more "artificial" prolongation in advertising texts that take the original denotative text as their own new content, pressing already existent images into the service of some heightened play of degraded thoughts and commercial messages.  

For example, China Central Television (CCTV) Headquarters in Beijing (Figure 2.12), designed by OMA, can be considered as an interrelated representative example with this issue. It represents an international discussion ground in terms of its tremendous investment (approximately with a cost of approximately 750 million dollars\(^1\)) with respect to its materiality, structural system and compulsive form.

Figure 2.12. CCTV Headquarters
[Source: https://www.architecturalrecord.com/articles/7911-cctv-headquarters (accessed on 17.9.2019)]

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\(^1\) Jameson, Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. 84.

https://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=179084
As seen in Figure 2.13, the structure constitutes one of the most parts of the investment since it is not easy to construct such a building in terms of a structural system for such a form. In addition, the building shows itself obviously in the foreground when urban fabric and city silhouette are considered (Figure 2.12). CCTV represents that there is a search for uniqueness gained through its image and market value, which can be regarded as the difference between “authenticity-uniqueness” and “being different” is blurred due to the importance given to image and market value rather than the essence of architectural production. Eventually, it is regarded as the “problem of a rampant consumer culture, which repositioned architecture dramatically” as Hal Foster states.

As a result of these discussions, the concepts including *sign, memory, history, belonging, identity, language, authenticity* and *context* start to lose their meanings to be effective in urban scale. The on-going urban transformation can be a multi-referential case study area where this discussion can be carried on.

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2.1.3. Problems on interrelation between Urban and Architectural Scales

When the point reached in today's contemporary world is considered as a matter of interrelation between architecture and city, architecture becomes something that either tends to create its own urbanity independent from the urban situation or repetitively reproduces through international typologies. In the contemporary era, the concept of scale becomes an important tool for this type of reproduction as a significant transformative problem in urban scale. Due to scale and its urban impact, there inevitably becomes creation of urbanism within itself through its scale, which emerges in such an introverted way. This can be seen as one of the most important points in which urban architecture relationship is blurred because the aim is to create “a city within a city”.

When a city is created in a building, the building inevitably starts to compete with the real city by hosting the functions of the city. In other words, it starts to simulate the city. “Simulate” means “to do or make something that behaves or looks like something real but which is not real” as a dictionary definition. Thus, city corresponds to “real” and the building starts to become the “simulation” of city. This situation can be explained by Baudrillard’s words: “present-day simulators attempt to make the real, all of the real, coincide with their models of simulation.”

From a wider perspective, the representative examples of this situation can be considered as Shenzhen and Doha (Figures 2.14-15). As it is seen, there is a tendency of each architectural production towards creating urbanism independently from each other in those new developing cities. Consequently, it results with the inconsistency between urban and architectural scales.

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The same situation manifests itself in old cities as well including London as formations in new areas of development (Figures 2.16-18).
Figure 2.16. Kings Cross and St. Pancras Railway Stations, London, England
[Source: https://ak4.picdn.net/shutterstock/videos/5261534/thumb/1.jpg (accessed on 17.12.2019)]

Figure 2.17. Docklands, London, England
[Source: https://aeroengland.photodeck.com/-/galleries/london/-/medias/28fbb097-e054-4bec-aeda-f45b568929-aerial-photograph-of-london-docklands (accessed on 17.12.2019)]

Figure 2.18. Waterloo Station, London, England
[Source: https://aeroengland.photodeck.com/-/galleries/london/-/medias/0452398f-a1f4-4404-a124-05923b4261e8-aerial-photograph-of-waterloo-station-london-england-uk (accessed on 17.12.2019)]
The current problems that arise from weak relationship between urban and architecture are seen as the cause of this tension and conflict between each other.\textsuperscript{96} In this sense, these reasons through the concept of scale are significant when we look at the general frame. Hereupon, the problem of bigness in terms of scale becomes a critical point with the emergence of the urban-scale buildings, which are very large in terms of scale and size. In his essay “Bigness or the problem of Large”, Rem Koolhaas as an architect, architectural theorist and urbanist, stated that “beyond a certain scale, architecture acquires the properties of Bigness. […] Bigness is ultimate architecture. It seems incredible that the size of a building alone embodies an ideological program, independent of the will of its architects.”\textsuperscript{97} Koolhaas describes it in “Theory of Bigness” that “beyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building”\textsuperscript{98} and continues with clarifying Bigness:

Through size alone, such buildings enter an amoral domain, beyond good or bad. Their impact is independent of their quality. […] the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue.

It exists; at most it coexists.

Its subtext is \textit{fuck} context.\textsuperscript{99}

Therefore, since such a “Big Building” is introverted and creates a city within itself without any interaction with the context, it creates an urbanism and its own urbanity within itself “through its very independence of context”\textsuperscript{100} rather than

\textsuperscript{96} Bilsel and Erkan, “Mimarinin ve Kentin Birlikte Planlanmasında Farklılaşan Kavramlar Üzerine…”, 63.


\textsuperscript{98} Koolhaas, “Bigness or the problem of Large,” 499.

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 501-502.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 515.
being a part of a city. Thus, it does not directly suggest a real alternative in terms of contextual problems.

For Koolhaas, “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.”101 That is to say, the impacts of a “Big Building” on city actually are not parallel with the message it give and what reflects to the city.

Not only is Bigness incapable of establishing relationships with the classical city—at most, it coexists—but in the quantity and complexity of the facilities it offers, it is itself urban.

Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; it preempt 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.

Bigness = urbanism vs. architecture.102

On the other hand, Koolhaas points out the reason behind this issue as “Because there is no theory of Bigness, we don’t know what to do with it, we don’t know where to put it, we don’t know when to use it, we don’t know how plan it. Big mistakes are our only connection to Bigness.”103 This is one of the evidence that this problematic should be queried and concentrated more in terms of such a trend of “Big Building” because the problems of bigness including size, scale, proportion, context are contrary to the essence of urbanism. Thus, rather than being part of an urban life that is created on a higher scale, architecture is trying to

101 Ibid., 501.

102 Ibid., 514-515.

103 Ibid., 509-510.
urbanize itself through bigness in the contemporary era. In other words, architecture tends to feed from an urban event or to represent it in some different mediums. As a result, this situation inevitably brings sub-domains that compete with each other in the city which are not actually related to using the possible potentials of density, diversity and urban belongingness. As a representative example of the on-going discussion, West Edmonton Mall accommodates a big water park, amusement park, golf, ice skating, aquarium and etc. inside like a city under one roof that this issue actually represents the weakness of urban and architecture relationship, although it is a shopping mall. (Figure 2.19)

![Figure 2.19. West Edmonton Mall, Edmonton, Canada](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2315225/The-city-roof-Inside-Canada-s-biggest-mall-pool-amusement-park-golf-course.html)

As the second discussion related to this frame, the continuity of urban movement does not occur in the contemporary state. To clarify, since “mobility has become
the characteristic of our period” as Aldo Van Eyck states, buildings have actually become objects that are arrived and perceived almost only by car. It is actually related to Venturi’s Las Vegas example which is about the coexistence of buildings having façade working as a screen with lighting and illuminations in order to point out sign and sign value as discussed in Chapter 2. In other words, this is not about experiencing the façade in the classical sense and traditional meaning, but rather about perceiving it as an object from the car. “Thus, just as words take on meaning according to their position in a differential system of language, so sign values take on meaning according to their place in a differential system of prestige and status.” This results with a competitive built environment to create prestige within cities.

To conclude, the problems including bigness of projects, multi-functionality, and independency from context have redefined the relationship between city and architecture in the sense that they transform both urban and architecture in this era. Hereby, projects have gained both bigness and functional multiplicity in a way that architecture, on the one hand, is dependent from the city; on the other hand, it is decisively influential on the city. In this sense, one of the common points is the individualization which means that each project tends to come to the forefront by being isolated from the city within its own individuality rather than being a part of the city. In the same sense, each of them creates urbanism and its own urbanity within itself. In parallel, they become self-sufficient, introverted and gated entities as “city within a city”. As a result of the emergence of the urban-scale buildings, architecture starts to compete with city by simulating it with functional multiplicity. As an important factor in this discussion, consumer society has caused the tendency towards creating a surplus value among the projects. Architecture


starts to produce something different for consumer society independently from the concept of authenticity. In consequence of the weakness of planning and architecture relationship, architectural productions come together and coexist in an eclectic way that cause lack of unity and integrity in urban scale. It results with inconsistency between urban and architectural scales. Up to here, it is intended to discuss the relationship between architecture and urbanism through history and some problems. It is aimed to present a discussion ground for the transition to Turkey for the next section.

2.2. General Framework on Urbanisation in Turkey

The discussions, issues and problems stated in the previous sections are observable in Turkey when its contemporary situation is taken into consideration. Within the historical background, the metropolitan cities of Turkey including Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and etc. are actually built with the hope and intention of being based upon urban planning. Later on, this situation is degraded in an eclectic and partial way. As a result, this unavoidably caused buildings to be formed in different scales by losing their relation with plan. Beyond these, there is an eclectic understanding of planning, which has brought about the formation of urban context of different types of buildings.

For the historical background of urban transformation, this section starts with the 1980s because significant social, economic, cultural and political transformations and breaking points, including the issue of scale and the emergence of new typologies, start with the transition to the liberal economy. With respect to socio-economic and socio-political transformations in the late twentieth century, David Harvey expresses “flexible accumulation” as the new and altered mode of capitalist production:
Flexible accumulation, as I shall tentatively call it, is direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labour process, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organizational innovation. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions, given rise, for example to a vast surge in so-called “service sector” employment as well as to entirely new industrial ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions.106

At this point, the 1980s is a significant determinative time period and breaking point when “the potential of creating significant urban form […] has never been greater” 107 in the worldwide, in addition, those years “marked a striking transformation in the state’s attitude towards urbanisation at large and housing markets in particular in Turkey.”108 As Tülin and Zekai Görgülü state:

The year 2000 was the beginning of an era for Turkey where the impacts of neo-liberal policies adopted in the 1980s with the developments in technology become visible in all fields of society. Turkey as a nearby country, which is open to international capital movements and functionalizes and internalizes the policies of developed countries, is affected rapidly by economic, political and social crisis in the world today; and it is in the search of restructuring in all fields to overcome this situation.109


For this reason, the timeline within the boundaries of this thesis starts from the 1980s and continues with the 2000s as important breaking points. In the following section, the history of planning in Turkey, the change of city centers and understanding of urbanism, the general information on urbanisation in Turkey, and how urban transformation began are explained. Then, the emergence of urban-scale building typologies and urban-architecture relationship by referring to the problem of bigness will be examined with a theoretical background. Finally, the critical aspect of these issues will be discussed.

2.2.1. Urban Transformation: A Historical background

After the industrial revolution in the world which “has always been a catalysts for urbanization”\textsuperscript{110}, the dense population migrated from rural to urban areas confront the cities with problems of sheltering, transportation and urban infrastructure, and unhealthy urbanization accelerated.	extsuperscript{111} Due to the fact that urban land is not an endless source, it has become necessary to regain the abandoned settlement areas or spaces back to economy. In particular, new projects and new approaches were needed in order to ensure the growing population with the development of industry since the 1950s to live in the settlement areas with urban and social infrastructure that this movement is called as “transformation”\textsuperscript{112}.

With global capitalism in the 1980s and development in technology, the process of reconstruction of urban space, which is also described as the spatialisation of late

\textsuperscript{110} Tom Verebes, “Towards a Distinctive Urbanism: An Interview with Kenneth Frampton,” 29.


\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 20.
capitalist processes, started in Turkey. While cities were expanding towards peripheries, the office blocks and shopping centers built in various parts of the cities created their own spaces; therefore, cities had a multi-centered characteristic which leads a temporary spatialisation. This situation leads and imposes a new urban program based on temporality and the coexistence of different functions within a transformation process. Apart from the control of the architectural discipline, the nature of this urban transformation in which economic, social and political processes are directly influential becomes a problematic issue in terms of the scale and scope of the contribution of architecture to urban space.

“From Squatter Town to Contemporary Housing Project” (GEÇAK), which started to be implemented in 1990 in Ankara is the first urban transformation project in Turkey. Since urban land values increase tremendously with the year 2000, real estate investment has inevitably turned into one of the most profitable models in Turkey. First, the production of new residential areas on the urban periphery strengthened the urban population's movement towards these areas, and then it initiated transformation projects for urban centers, which is evacuated and depreciated in a sense. Then, Law 5366 in 2005 (“Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property”) lead the renovation of historical environment and urban

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114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.


117 Görgülü, “Türkiye’de Planlama ve Mimarlık Alanının Son 10 Yıllı,”

118 Ibid.
transformation to become important current issues in Turkey’s agenda. According to Zekai and Tülin Görgülü,

[…] in order to get more real estate by pretending the earthquake in city centers, (instead of improving the existing urban fabric) intensity of construction was increased and new applications were started. Some of these practices were ideological and some of them are for the surplus value.

Therefore, there exists a new understanding in terms of architecture reorganization of city, planning and urban-architecture relationship. One of the aims of urban transformation can be considered as creating a surplus value by increased building densities while renewing the buildings for the landowners, which lead to an understanding of eclectic planning.

2.2.2. Buildings in Urban Scale

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

\[\text{119 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{120 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{121 Ibid.}\]
\[\text{122 Mutlu, “Understanding City As An Architectural And Non-Architectural Program: Learning From Ankara”.}\]
Technological innovations, the global capital, real estate market, increased building densities, and new construction areas have led to the emergence of new function fields and building typologies in cities including the new shopping malls, big office buildings, residences, large scale hospitals, and mixed-use buildings which actually aim to change and transform traditional spaces, people's living culture, and shopping habits. Moreover, these new urban spaces have been marketed through the mass media, and have thrived in this way to many cities of Turkey.

When the contemporary situation of Turkey is considered, there is a construction boom and the economy is mostly based on the construction. The buildings including shopping malls, hospitals, school complexes, universities, office buildings, mixed-use buildings, and etc. are built in very large scale, which have great urban impacts on cities with reference to the urban-architecture relationship. Some of the representing examples of urban-scale building typologies from Turkey includes shopping mall, city hospital, school, university campus, office, and mixed-use as shown in the following figures. (Figures 2.20-25)

![Figure 2.20. Küçükyalı Hilltown Shopping Mall, Istanbul](https://www.insaatderyasi.com/kucukyali-hilltown-avm-27-ekimde-acilacak-6694h.htm) (accessed on 22.11.2019)

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123 Görgülü, “Türkiye’de Planlama ve Mimarlık Alanının Son 10 Yılı,”.

124 Ibid.
Figure 2.21. Bilkent City Hospital, Ankara

Figure 2.22. Mehmet Emin Saraç Religious Vocational High School, Istanbul

Figure 2.23. Hacettepe University, Ankara
There is no doubt that all of these examples can be considered as “Big Buildings” in Koolhaas’ words. Tekeli defines these urban scale buildings as the projects that have a significant impact on dynamics of urban development, require a large amount of investment, take a long time to implement, create changes on the rent surface of the city, create problems and changes in the lives of those living nearby.\footnote{Ilhan Tekeli, “Kentlerde Büyük Projelerin Meşruiyetinin Kurulması ve Yönetimi Üzerine,” TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Dosya 28, Issue: Büyük Projeler (2012): 125.}
However, one of the important points is that the urban impact of these new urban scale buildings is just reduced and compressed to architectural and single scale since they are urban within themselves. As Mutlu states:

In the case of building-like-city – a City within a City – urban programs become issues of architecture itself, and the supposed gap between architectural program and the urban program comes to the scene as not an outcome of discursive exaggeration of power of architectural program.\textsuperscript{126}

Therefore, the value coming from their coexistence and urban scale does not return, reflect or contribute to the city, although their urban character is powerful enough to transform the cities. Whereas, it should integrate with the urban culture, built environment, and the city because “[…] buildings should not be seen as specific design and research areas limited with single building scale but rather should be seen as urban statements in city scale.”\textsuperscript{127} That is why “urbanism and architecture comes together on a shared engagement with the city in the planning discourse.”\textsuperscript{128} In this sense, the transformative problems in urban and architectural scales has significantly reflected on urbanisation in Turkey throughout urban transformation and the emergence of urban-scale buildings with respect to urban and architecture relationship.

\textsuperscript{126} Mutlu, “Understanding City As An Architectural And Non-Architectural Program: Learning From Ankara”.


\textsuperscript{128} Mutlu, “Understanding City”.
CHAPTER 3

A CASE STUDY ON URBAN TRANSFORMATION-ARCHITECTURE RELATIONSHIP

After the theoretical background on the international scale presented in Chapter 2, this chapter aims to focus on how these international discussions reflect on Eskişehir Road and Turkey. In this chapter, the issues in Chapter 2 are analysed by focusing on a case study – Eskişehir Road – where all of these are clearly visible and exemplified in detail. For this, the problems are evaluated and defined in terms of some certain concepts.

This chapter primarily includes why especially Eskişehir Road is selected as a case study in order to understand this area. Then, the representative potential and power of this area as a very significant aspect for this thesis through the evaluation of the case study are clarified. Following a brief historical background of the area is presented. Finally, the new representative situation in terms of both urban and architectural aspects within conceptual frames, and how they affect and transform each other are discussed through the features of the case study.

3.1. Representative Potential of the Case Study

In this section, it is aimed to discuss the problems in Turkey within the frame of contemporary architecture through the representative potential of the case study by focusing on the developments. The developments are parallel to the reasons why Eskişehir Road is chosen as a case study for this thesis. These are regarded as:
It has a representative potential,
- It is a new settlement and development area,
- It is a newly built, formed, and densely populated area,
- Buildings are almost completed there,
- It hosts comparable examples of different types and functions of buildings and features by considering their coexistence within this area,
- The fact that the public buildings are included within this context,
- Each of the selected buildings in this area actually has a big potential to make urban impacts and urban characteristics in terms of size and scale,
- Density difference (as the classical local zoning status in Turkey) is observed.

In fact, this development is not unique to only Eskişehir Road; it represents the current situation in other regions of Ankara, or in many different regions of Istanbul, or lots of cities in Turkey. In other words, Eskişehir Road has a representative value when the contemporary scene of Turkey is considered. That is to say, it is intended to make a representative sampling of the general problem in Turkey through the case study because of its similarity to many developments in Ankara and actually Turkey.

When the current situation of Eskişehir Road is compared with other cities in Turkey, they are not as long and varied as Eskişehir Road. However, it points out a certain typology in terms of urban planning and architecture relationship as a representative model. Since it represents the new urbanization apparently, most of the problems and discussions about Eskişehir Road are adaptable to other cities and scales of Turkey. The reason is that the settlement in almost all of the cities is done within the frame of a program formed by other dynamics. The plans do not integrate with local zoning plans rather than the same type and architecture. In this respect, the representative characteristic of Eskişehir Road is one of the most important reasons to be chosen.
3.2. Historical Background of Ankara and Eskişehir Road

In this section, Eskişehir Road, known as the western corridor of the city will be discussed and analysed within the context of a brief history, planning and development of the macroform, and the interventions by the plans. The main focus is to find answers to “what is predicted and foreseen for that region” and “how is it developed” through both approved and unapproved Ankara plans and planning studies.

The developmental background of Eskişehir Road was revealed and tried to understand through “the plan statement report”\(^\text{129}\) of “2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan” (or with another name “2025 Master Plan Study”) as the last planning study. Starting with a brief historical background of the Ankara, Bülent Batuman states the

in 1924, a plan was produced for the city by the German city planner Carl Christoph Lörcher. […] Since this development was not considered in the making of the plan, Lörcher was asked to develop another plan for this “new city” – Yenişehir.\(^\text{130}\) (Figure 3.1)


Following the expropriation, the physical and social environment in and around Yenişehir began to develop rapidly. […] The incoming migration and the rapid growth of the city soon brought about the need for a comprehensive plan. […] The incoming migration and the rapid growth of the city soon brought about the need for a comprehensive plan. A committee was sent to Germany in 1927 to choose and invite prominent architects to participate in a competition. The winning project, that of the German planner Hermann Jansen was approved in 1929. 131 (Figure 3.1) 132

Some of the important aspects of the Jansen plan are the foreseen of a green axis formation in the east-west direction of the city and expansion of the city in the north-south direction. Due to the migration, there becomes an uncontrolled population growth in the 1950s and “the plan began to lose its real qualification” 133. Thus, “a planning should be done to get Ankara under control again: Yücel-Uybadin plan has created a macroform that controls the expanse of

131 Ibid., 579.

132 The red boundary shows Lörcher plan.

the city to the periphery.”\textsuperscript{134} With this plan, “Ankara was designed as a single-centered city surrounded by a periphery road in the west and north-east directions.”\textsuperscript{135} Moreover, an axis extending to the west of the city was defined and growth in this direction is foreseen.

However, in the 1970s, it was determined that the foreseen population and settlement for this plan were already exceeded and the plan was inadequate.\textsuperscript{136} Then, another plan “1990 Master Plan”\textsuperscript{137} was approved in 1982. It is the first time that a metropolitan-scale planning is made for the city. With this plan, “which foresees the development along the western corridor”\textsuperscript{138} through the structural planning approach, Eskişehir Road serves as a “western corridor” in order to meet the housing needs.\textsuperscript{139} Thus, one of the most strategic decisions of the urban development process has been made with this plan in terms of the expansion of the city towards the western corridor. “During the 1990s, it became an important axis for determining the city's macroform and transportation relations.”\textsuperscript{140} The main policy of this plan was to direct the development to a main corridor (western


\textsuperscript{135} Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Zoning and Urbanism Head of Department, \textit{2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan: Plan Statement Report (Surveys & Interventions)}. 50.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 66.

\textsuperscript{137} After this plan, upper-scale plans were prepared but they were not approved; thus, this is the last approved plan for Ankara.


\textsuperscript{139} Sargın, \textit{Ankara Kent Atlası}. 39.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
corridor) where air pollution would be less.\textsuperscript{141} Therefore, the main strategy is western corridor decentralization.

Though, it has started to become dysfunctional as a result of partial planning approaches and uncontrolled construction.\textsuperscript{142} As it is shown in Figure 3.2, Eskişehir Road comes to the forefront as a corridor in “Ankara 1990 Master Plan”. It was out of the boundaries of the older plans. It triggered the fast spread of residential and commercial area in that region. “The growth of city macroform had become the cause of urban air pollution.”\textsuperscript{143} In order to solve this problem, the municipality has identified the need for the preparation of a comprehensive urban development projection.\textsuperscript{144} Then, “2015 Structural Plan” was prepared in 1987. This plan, proposes a structural plan for the city searching for a metropolitan area macroform. In addition, radial development along corridors is foreseen and the sub-centers are planned to be shifted on the Istanbul and Eskişehir Roads.\textsuperscript{145} Hereby, the decentralization along the western corridor had begun to be implemented in these years.

Since 1990 Ankara Master Plan had limitations in terms of directing urban development and controlling rapid urban sprawl, and the 2015 Structural Plan was not approved, this situation necessitated the production of a new upper-scale plan

\textsuperscript{141} Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Zoning and Urbanism Head of Department, \textit{2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan: Plan Statement Report (Surveys & Interventions)}. 51.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 67.

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.

instead of this plan. Finally, the plan “2025 Master Plan Study” was prepared by the municipality in 1998. It is a plan to conserve agricultural lands, rural areas, and natural protected areas. In this period where urban dynamics and macroform have undergone major changes, it is aimed to solve problems, stop the partial developments, and control unplanned developments. Therefore, in order to prevent the stated problems, this plan aims to encourage and focus on the upper scale holistic planning approach rather than parcel-based planning which causes the loss of integrity of the city.

Figure 3.2. Overlap of plans for Ankara


However, “this plan had significant theoretical dilemmas”\(^{149}\) and remained as an upper-scale planning study. Hereby, the evaluation and going into detail of this plan is significant in order to understand the discontinuities between plan foresights and actual situation within the development of Ankara. There are some contradictions between aims and strategies within the context of Eskişehir Road. In “The vision, aim and strategies” section of “2023 plan statement report”; some of the aims are;

Constituting high level of socio-economic integration and "equitable" urban systems, taking measures to reduce inequalities, and eliminating social exclusion and urban poverty by identifying the socio-economic reasons that produce and increase inequalities in the social structure. 

[...] Constructing and directing urban life and its elements in a way that will enable the public to adopt and will define transparent and real participation mechanisms.\(^ {150}\)

In addition, some of the strategies related to the aims are as follows;

Utilising mixed-uses effectively in all scales by evaluating the formation of city macroform as a factor for reducing tensions enabling social integration. 

[...] Realizing the projects that [...] minimize the tensions caused by inequalities in the social structure.\(^ {151}\)

However, there are some contradictions between the stated strategies & aims and the end result. The stated "encouragement of mixed-use" does not mean on building scale but rather planning scale. In other words, it is about plurality and multiplicity of functions (including school, shopping, sports facilities, and etc.) in a settlement. On the contrary, it has started to occur in architectural scale. Mixed-use

\(^{149}\) Ibid., 69.

\(^{150}\) Ibid., 15.

\(^{151}\) Ibid., 18-19.
began to show itself in the city as more of a single scale project rather than planning scale. Hence, there becomes coexistence of repetitions; for instance, there are shopping malls side by side (Figure 3.3).

![Figure 3.3. Kentpark and CEPA - Two adjacent shopping malls](source: Google Earth (accessed on 26.12.2018))

In fact, when mixed-use is applied on architectural scale rather than planning discussed above, the contradictions are directly related to gated communities (which will be discussed in the “Conceptual Transformation in Urban scale” section of this thesis) as conceptual sampling within this frame. The reason is that gated communities, as mixed-use development due to its multiple functionality, start to limit the use of public by controlling security. In this way, the spaces that everyone can use in urban life are limited and restricted. As a result, participation and adoption of public; or in other words, social integration becomes difficult. On the contrary, this situation increases the tension by creating social segregation. In this way, it is difficult to eliminate social exclusion by eliminating or limiting entering of a group of people. Moreover, the strategically specified mixed-use is a system that creates gated communities unavoidably if it is not applied in planning scale. It is not possible to create public spaces where there are private and limited public spaces. Thus, these strategies and aims actually contradict with the foresights. In addition to these, “making plan applications, which will avoid parcel-
based implementations”\textsuperscript{152} is another strategy to be discussed. Considering that the parcel-oriented tradition of partial planning continues today in Eskişehir Road, it can be said that this strategy has not been implemented. There are isolated parcels on the case study area that are planned as independent from each other which is not related with a holistic planning approach.

Related to the framework of this thesis, some foresights about macroform of the city are pointed out in the last planning study, which should be taken into consideration. There has always been a search for a macroform for Ankara in the development process. In addition, the macroform development seems to require control the metropolitan approvals (which are disconnected from the city), partial upper-scale approvals, the density-increasing decisions and the tendency to extend around macroform.\textsuperscript{153} In this sense, it is aimed in this planning study to prevent partial planning, and to make decisions on the selection building locations that will have a significant impact on the city including residential areas, large shopping malls, campuses and etc. through detailed analysis.\textsuperscript{154}

To conclude, there has been decentralization throughout Ankara's history. By the years, this situation reflects apparently to the western corridor, which is the main development point of the 1990 Master Plan. Along this corridor, new and rapid development areas including mixed-use buildings, large offices, shopping malls, gated communities, etc. have emerged and formed particularly in Eskişehir Road. However this formation is based upon an eclectic and partial understanding of planning whereas, there should be a holistic plan by considering all dimensions including economic, social and physical needs to be made. Eskişehir Road corridor

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 21.

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 90.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 89-90.
is defined as urban service-working area in its approved plans, but it tends to fulfill functions of the city center. Eskişehir Road as a main artery has become the center of skyscrapers, business plazas, residences and mixed-use buildings.

3.3. Eskişehir Road as a Representative Example of New Urban Dynamics

In this research, Eskişehir Road as a case study is evaluated from three main points: conceptual transformations in urban scale, architectural scale and the transformative relationship between each other. Case study concretises, indicates and represents the new dynamics, have the characteristics of and carry the features of all concepts, which will be discussed, under the section of “Conceptual Frames for Understanding New Dynamics of Urban Transformation via Case Study” as next section of the thesis.

As Rossi states “destruction and demolition, expropriation and rapid changes in use as a result of speculation and obsolescence, are the most recognizable signs of urban dynamics.”¹⁵⁵ The rapid change of production, urban fabric and urbanisation in Turkey has become inevitable with the increase of these large-scale introverted buildings as new urban dynamics. Since urban dynamics “refers to any process capable of transforming the urban or social morphology of a certain space”¹⁵⁶, fifteen-year change of Eskişehir Road is analysed. This indicates how urban fabric changes with the emergence of new building typologies as shown in the following figures by providing five different images in different years starting from 2004 to 2018 (Figure 3.4).


Figure 3.4. Urban transformation in Eskişehir Road
[Source: Google Maps,
As a comparative analysis, it can be seen that new urban and large-scale buildings are continuously emerging within this fifteen years in the case study area. These buildings appear in such an eclectic way and are independent of each other. In addition, an urban fabric is formed through the coexistence of those urban scale buildings. This coexistence inevitably causes an increase of density and traffic along this corridor since all these typologies host and undertake the city center functions. As another factor in increasing the density on the axis is the decentralization of public institutions with the 1990 Master Plan. There is a great number and size of public buildings affecting the density which will be indicated in Figure 3.5.

This main artery hosts ministries, public institutions and shopping malls, many residential projects and office buildings. In addition, a radial development has apparently formed along this corridor within this period. From another perspective, it can be deduced that a corridor can spontaneously form in time by itself and can be a focal development as it develops with the built environment. Thus, this transformation can be considered as a metamorphosis. This situation can be observed on different scales and in different cities in Turkey. For this reason, it has become a representative example for Turkey.

Within this area, seven different types of building typologies are examined as case studies. These typologies are office buildings, open-air public spaces, residential, public buildings, urban services, mixed-use buildings and health services. They are indicated with different colors to see the location, density and scale of each typology, and their coexistence in the area (Figure 3.5). In addition, this map is significant in terms of how such a coexistence of multi-functionality regenerates each other as a repetitive pattern in the case study area.

As seen in Figure 3.6, each of the designated building examples represents a typology. The main aim here is not to discuss these examples, but rather the current
situation of architecture through their representative potentials. Some of the examples of representative building typologies on Eskişehir Road;

- Office building: 312 Vista
- Open-air public space: Tepe Prime
- Residential: TOBB University dormitories
- Public buildings: Ministry of Agriculture and Forest
- Urban services: Petrol stations and showrooms
- Mixed-use: Next Level
- Health services: Bilkent City Hospital

157 Apart from dormitories, lots of residential units exist independently in Mustafa Kemal district and other parts of the case study area in the classical understanding of residential typology as shown in the map illustrating all typologies. The reason why dormitories are selected as a representative example is that they exist in a different form and scale of residential units which is considered to be underlined.
Figure 3.5. Typologies along Eskişehir Road

[Source: Google Earth, (accessed on 26.12.2018) (The image is edited and drawn by the author)]
Figure 3.6. Representative buildings of seven typologies on the case study area
3.4. Conceptual Frames for Understanding New Dynamics of Urban Transformation via Case Study

As the most important dimension of mainframe, urbanisation architecture relationship is evaluated through the case study in this section. The developments in large lands, which create urbanisation within themselves through local zoning plans, refer to a new understanding of urbanism in Turkey. Indeed, Eskişehir Road emerges as an example of this situation.
In this sense, the representative power of the case study points out these newly emerging urban dynamics in Turkey due to on-going and continuous transformations. The case study represents these dynamics in Turkey with reference to concepts. This section presents an evaluation of conceptual transformations in both urban and architectural scales through the case study.

3.4.1. Conceptual Transformations in Urban Scale

It is observed that the case study area represents the features including gated community, creating urbanism within itself, introversion, scale, the discontinuity between local zoning plan and main plan, eclectic and partial planning, and functional multiplicity. These are evaluated in the following parts by referring to Eskişehir Road and the architectural productions, which represent the new difference and the contemporary situation of Turkey in terms of urban scale.

3.4.1.1. Restricted urban accessibility

With the spread of urban transformation, one of the concepts that is a new difference and represents the current situation we witness in terms of urban scale is gated communities. Blakely and Snyder defined gated communities as “residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatised”\(^\text{158}\) and they are “fast becoming global commodities and cultural icons eagerly consumed by the urban élite world-wide.”\(^\text{159}\) “In the past two decades, a remarkable growth of


gated communities has been observed in almost all metropolises around the world.” Indeed, “this global urban form has been transplanted and translated into the city’s landscape with the help of urban and cultural politics and has transformed the dynamics through which élite localities and identities are produced.”

One of the important features of gated community is security, which is provided for residents by preventing non-residents to restrict entrance and interaction. In addition, it provides homogeneity of the community in terms of social status, income and education level. Thus, there is not only a physical barrier because of the security, but also a symbolic barrier which cause the emergence of the concept of “otherness” and social disintegration within the frame of urbanity. Hence, there becomes a “formation of independent and isolated communities rather than a truly metropolitan culture.” This is actually an important transformative impact in terms of fragmentation of urban space through a privatization process. Therefore, “gated communities have created a new housing option for some of us, but they have also created a new societal dilemma.” Since gated community “proposes an ‘alternative urban living’ for a select community”, there becomes an “exclusive urban space that complement this homogeneous community” within an isolated and enclosed bounded environment which is actually a social segregation.

160 Ibid., 792.

161 Ibid., 771.


163 Blakely and Snyder, Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States. 137.


165 Ibid., 786.
The main aim of gated community is “to attain maximum self-sufficiency and minimum dependence on outside services”\textsuperscript{166} by providing a variety of urban facilities and functions including restaurants, shopping, markets, schools, sports centers, entertainment, healthcare centers and etc. However, this situation leads to “autonomy from the city, public life and authority”\textsuperscript{167} due to “segregating and isolating upper-income groups and taking over urban functions that once—at least in theory—belonged to the public realm and authorities.”\textsuperscript{168} In this way, “upper-income groups can isolate themselves from the lower classes and build communities based on differences of culture, identity and life-style.”\textsuperscript{169} and social, cultural and urban segregation becomes apparent. This results in the alienation of those living in gated communities with life outside their borders due to the less dependency on city.\textsuperscript{170} In the contemporary era, gated communities as new dynamics of urban transformation “are now a feature of the urban landscape in most cities around the world.”\textsuperscript{171} They transform the social life through separation and segregation, on the other hand, transforms the urban life through fragmentation and isolation.

Apart from these, the concept of gated community reflects on different architectural typologies in the sense that the control and security checks in the entrances prevent buildings from being a public space. As a result, they actually

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., 776.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., 777.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 792.
\textsuperscript{170} Ünal, “Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Aidiyet: Ankara’dan bir Örnek (Urban Transformation and the Sense of Ownership: An example from Ankara),” 27.
become semi-public spaces. Thus, it is possible to confront gated communities not only in residential but in other forms and versions. METU campus and MTA Headquarters are some of the examples on the case study area. The entrance is controlled with barriers and security as shown in Figure 3.7.

In parallel with the meaning of gated community here, it is quite possible to see it in the form of mixed-use since entering residential and office blocks is quite similar to gated communities. These are not exactly gated communities however they become “gated” within certain layers; there is a hierarchy. For instance, at the entrances of shopping malls in both Armada and Next Level, there are barriers and security checks through which it is not allowed to enter without passing through. In addition, the conditions to enter the towers of these examples are to have an appointment with someone from the tower or having own residence or office in the tower. Hence, the towers are completely gated communities. Public use and public access to such these buildings are limited.

For these reasons, hierarchically shopping malls are regarded as semi-public spaces and towers as private spaces in the following figure. In Armada, even the outdoor spaces between the two buildings are controlled from two different points (Figure 3.9). Moreover, there are six points in total to control semi-public spaces as shown in Figure 3.10.
Figure 3.8. Space analysis of Next Level and Armada

a. Next Level, Ankara
The image is edited and drawn by the author]

b. Armada, Ankara
The image is edited and drawn by the author]
Figure 3.9. The transition between two points with security check in Armada
[Source: Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w5dJJeHOAm8
(accessed on 6.12.2019)
The image is edited and drawn by the author]

Figure 3.10. Security checks in Armada
[Source: A Tasarım,
The image is edited and drawn by the author]
As a result, it is quite possible to see gated communities in other forms because they have become a mixed-use development resulting from its multiple functionality. Gated communities within the form of mixed-use buildings lead to changes in the formation and development of cities in both physical and social areas. Shopping malls can be shown as an example of this issue. Although they appear with public intention, they restrict the access and passage by filtering out a particular segment of society through controlled access, security and barriers. As a result, they break the relationship with the city and create contextuality within themselves. Consequently, there becomes no public space but rather they constitute semi-public and private spaces. Whereas “public” means “relating to or involving people in general, rather than being limited to a particular group of people” and it is “available for everyone to use.”\textsuperscript{172} Therefore, it is contrary to the essence of public space where all citizens have access and right to use. This actually indicates that the city and urban life have undergone a transformation. Ankara Chamber of Architects mentions this issue in a manifesto as:

\begin{quote}
The city must regain its public sphere so that its citizens can reclaim their civic pride. They have a ‘right to the city’; that is, a right to belong to their city and participate in its process of change. Only by re-connecting its spaces and its people can Ankara become again a place where citizens are proud to live together.\textsuperscript{173}
\end{quote}

In parallel with this issue, at a panel discussion titled “Reading Culture through City and Architecture” the relationship of city, architecture and culture are discussed. The panel starts with the questions of the moderator:

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Public and urban spaces come to mind when urban culture is examined. What is the exact counterpart of urban space in the context of today's Turkey? Is it a space based on shopping centers? Can we define urban sphere as a permeable area since it is a space where people communicate with each other?174

Nevzat Sayın emphasized the questions by referring to shopping malls. He starts with describing shopping malls as a kind of “private collective areas” where controlled entrance is dependent on permission with barriers, which is contrary to the essence of urban space. To him, it is understandable to face with this situation at an airport since it is not a public space. In this sense, gated communities can be defined as closed settlements that increase tension and contradictions in urban social structure.

3.4.1.2. Creating urbanism within itself - Introversion - Scale

In Chapter 2, the contemporary situation that the buildings are creating their own urbanity and not trying to be part of a city was exemplified with the developing cities like Shenzhen, Doha. There are examples of this issue as the reflection of Turkish cities as well, and the case study is taken as one of them. The coexistence of repetitive urban buildings, commonly referred to as “glass boxes”, has inevitably become observable in urban silhouettes as seen in the Figures 3.11-12.

With the influence of attraction factors through the business and shopping centers in the case study area, Eskişehir Road is full of such these buildings, which formed an urban fabric by itself. As a common tendency, there are lots of large-scale projects or “Big Buildings” in Koolhaas’ words. In architectural scale, it is possible
to mention the situations that on the one hand zoning plans restrict architecture, on the other hand force it. As a result, the common features of such buildings can be observed that they all introverted and tend to create urbanism within themselves that occur in a large-scale closed building. They create a small city and exclude everything other than themselves. As a representative example of the on-going discussion, YDA Center can be considered as an over-scale “Big Building”. In order to compare its scale, Ulusoy bus terminal and Vatan computer center next to YDA center are counter small-scale building examples as shown in Figure 3.13 that they are located on the same axis in the case study area.

![Image](source.png)

*Figure 3.13. YDA Center, Ulusoy bus terminal and Vatan computer center [Source: Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJix7TOtTn4 (accessed on 6.12.2019) The image is edited and drawn by the author]*

In this sense, a large-scale project can be defined as an intermediate medium between single and urban scales due to its bigness and its impacts; thus, it becomes an issue of both architecture and urban design. It has the potential to be transformed into an urban-scale project with its scale and multi-functionality. These projects are planned in parcel-based without considering the built
environment and its relationship with the city. Thus, they cannot integrate into the urban space and create unavoidably small introverted centers in the metropolitan area. As a result, they create their own urbanity inside and exclude the city through introversion. Eventually, the certain relational conditions between these large-scale projects start to blur because each one is inward and excludes everything around it.

As Cuff states “In order to grasp the form of the contemporary city, and how it is significantly transformed, we can scrutinize the great schemes imposed there. Large-scale projects produce civic upheavals as they lurch into existence.” Parallel to this, these urban scale large projects has also a transformative impact on city in terms of cultural aspects. It is possible to observe that these buildings transform into objects as commodities serving for consumer society. They provide everything within itself, which can be consumed rapidly. As a result, there inevitably becomes an isolated urban life, which points out a social and cultural transformation.

Kentpark shopping center can be considered as a representative example within this frame (Figure 3.14). It has 242000 m² total closed space, with lots of shopping stores, offices, fitness center, children's playground, cinema, artificial lake, dance school, bowling, and market area. This proves that all these functions which coexist in a closed-introverted building are almost enough for a city center. However, it is detached from the built environment and its surroundings due to its introversion. Thus, the relationship with the environment can be defined as a visual relationship.

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These spaces, which have become the meeting point of the city and include many functions undertaken by public spaces, are gradually transformed into privatized public spaces in a sense and create urbanism within itself through introversion and scale. However, it is very controversial situation in terms of the fact that it is built with the intention of creating a public space within a closed space in the city but it has no relationship with the city. As a result, there becomes a transformation of city and understanding of urban life by creating a city within a city – in other words creating its own urbanity - and the exclusion of the city which make the relationship of those projects highly distant from the city.

To conclude with a counter argument to manner of such these buildings, one of the ten important points that Bohigas stated for urban methodology is that “the public space is the city”. “If we start out from the idea that the city is the physical domain for the modern development of the commonalty, we have to accept that in physical terms the city is the conjunction of its public spaces. Public space is the city.”

177 Bohigas, “Ten Points for an Urban Methodology,” 92.
3.4.1.3. Eclectic and partial planning

Eclectic and partial planning has come to the forefront within the frames of urbanisation and urban transformation in Turkey. Today, the formation of urban fabric is based upon a parcel rather than a main plan in cities. As a result, urban fabric is formed by the articulation of each parcel to another, which points out as one of the most important urban problems. In addition, this situation leads to an intensive construction due to the privileges provided by planning. In this way, there is an on-going urban sprawl that inevitably creates an unplanned urban fabric. Cuff describes this as “convulsive urbanism” which represents “sudden quantum changes in the urban landscape that occur as a direct consequence of the existence and occasional transformation of very large urban sites.”

In this sense, there are some inconsistencies in the case study area due to the eclectic and partial planning. Firstly, there are constructions with varying different densities, heights, function and zoning constraints, through modifications that is through local zoning plan since there is no master plan for the case study area along the road. When “METU Informatics and Innovation Center”, “Information Technologies and Communications Authority”, and “Mahall” (Figure 3.15), or, “Vatan computer center”, “Ulusoy bus terminal” and “YDA” center (Figure 3.13) are comparatively analysed; it is obvious that there is an inconsistent and irregular development where structures with different densities and heights start to be formed although they are on the same axis along the case study area. Nalbantoğlu clarifies this issue as:

> It is not possible to constitute urban space through lot coverage and floor area ratio. With the existing development plan law, there is a high possibility of encountering urban spaces that a planner could not even

imagine. This situation leads the city to an uncontrolled and unpredictable development process […]\(^{179}\)

![Figure 3.15. Buildings with different heights, densities and functions](Source: Twitter, https://twitter.com/vedat1910/status/1053251907903459329 (accessed on 10.10.2019) The image is edited by the author]

Secondly, it is observed that there is a coexistence of public and private sector structures that their priorities and privileges are different from each other (Figure 3.15). Therefore, foresights of the planning studies, in fact, have been changed and differentiated in many times. It is underlined in the 2023 planning studies as: “After 1990, […] this period can be summarised as an understanding of planning based upon logic of giving high zoning rights in order to distribute zoning rent and increase urban rent.”\(^{180}\) The factor that plays an important role for this period is the “zoning plans which enable the zoning movements that do not define a real planning process and expansion to be “planned” and “fed into a virtual plan understanding”.”\(^{181}\) For Ankara, this period is defined that it was formed through zoning rents and land speculations with partial plans and practices.\(^{182}\) Therefore,


\(^{181}\) Ibid.
this issue directly points out the discontinuity between the local zoning plan and the main plan.

![Figure 3.16. Coexistence of public and private sector structures](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SZDD9YPFRv8)

With the eclectic and partial planning approach, large-scale mixed-use projects, office buildings, shopping malls or residence projects are realized rather than single small-scale projects. It can be observed that there exists an urban fabric, which is created by their eclectic coexistence (Figure 3.16). These are not actually related to a holistic understanding. Eskişehir Road represents this issue as a sampling area. The buildings along the corridor can be identified as they are surrounded by vehicle traffic around parcels, and they are rarely connected to each other by pedestrian crossings. This situation is not related to an urban integrity in urban scale. As a result, rent-oriented planning and arrangements, which are disconnected from a holistic planning approach, have led the city to face with a rapid urban sprawl.\textsuperscript{183} In terms of their relationship with the urban context, they either rise as single towers (Figure 3.17) independent from the context and built environment or exist as large,

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 82.
self-sufficient and introverted masses (Figure 3.18). Within the scope of 2025 planning studies, it is stated that:

As it is seen, the problems that are intensified and complicated in the whole city can gain more complex dimensions with the suggestions of partial solutions and they can define new problems and solution difficulties by triggering other urban problems.\textsuperscript{184}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figures/figure3_17.jpg}
\caption{Single high-rise structures [Source: http://brigitwebber.com/assets/resimler/upload/h900/7cd231bf255fc6d54c82c332f212d12d.jpg (accessed on 6.12.2019)]}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figures/figure3_18.jpg}
\caption{Buildings with large, self-sufficient and introverted masses}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., 53.
As another dimension, the urban impact of such these urban scale buildings cannot be ignored in urban scale. Bilkent City Hospital (Figure 3.20) represents that such a structure has great urban impacts on city through its bigness. It indicates that a structure affecting the city in terms of its scale exists as an eclectic and partial planning approach. It can be observed that it altered and transformed Eskişehir Road very dominantly as seen in Figure 3.21; the road has undergone a big and rapid change.
There are two issues relating to this structure. First, there is an eclectic emergence and existence of such a large-scale project. Second, which is interrelated with the former, there is a partial understanding of planning. In other words, it has been partially planned within itself on a very large area. These are the result of such a large hospital to be built there without planning. An alternative new route is planned for this new such a big structuring. As a result, road planning and traffic flow are altered rapidly regardless of its future impacts and density. Thus, city hospital is related to the main discussion in terms of its relationship with the main artery in urban and planning scales. The whole transformation process of road planning for the hospital (from 2015 to 2019) is shown in Figure 3.21.

![Figure 3.20. Bilkent City Hospital, Ankara](http://www.gazeteilksayfa.com/ankara-bilkent-sehir-hastanesi-en-iyi-saglik-tesisi-projesi-odulunu-aldi-56083h.htm)
Figure 3.21. Transformation of the site from 2015 to 2019 due to city hospital

[Source: Google Earth,
(accessed on 3.11.2019)
The image is edited by the author]
Within a closer scale, Figure 3.22 shows the transformation process in urban scale in three different sections in Eskişehir Road from 2018 during the construction. Finally, the current condition is presented as the end result of road planning alterations and change of route for the city hospital.

*Figure 3.22. Transformation process of Eskişehir Road due to city hospital*

[Source: Google Earth, (accessed on 3.11.2019)
The image is edited by the author]
In Eskişehir Road as a straight main artery, the alterations for the city hospital actually represent and indicate that the transformation in urban scale through eclectic and partial planning as urban impact becomes inevitable when such urban scale projects are considered; although these images in planning scale show only a small part of the transformation. (Figure 3.23)
Togo Towers and CEPA office tower are another examples related to the same discussion. They represent that at any moment, starting from function to scale of a building can unpredictably be changed and have instantly undergone a transformation according to the priorities and the momentary situations. When transformation processes of Togo Towers are examined, a serious scale difference and function alteration are observed (Figure 3.24). CEPA Office Tower constructed after shopping mall had built which points out that there might be sudden alterations according to the conditional needs and situational decisions. Consequently, there becomes an eclectic coexistence of such these buildings in the case study area.

*Figure 3.24. Togo Towers, before and after construction (2016 & 2019)*
[Source: Google Earth, (accessed on 15.10.2019)]
The image is edited by the author]
Consequently, cities rapidly lose their identities due to the eclectic planning approaches, such transformations and alterations. For this reason, therefore, a holistic upper-scale plan is required for Ankara.

3.4.1.4. Functional multiplicity

Functional multiplicity is that lots functions are co-existing within a single parcel and building, at the same time these functions feed from each other. Shopping malls are one of the most obvious examples in order to clarify this issue. There is no essence and they are not genuine in terms of urban context and urban life due to the coexistence of all functions in one single building. There are endless alternatives of functions including cinema, food court, shopping, entertainment, gym, cafe and etc., however, what is missing is that we have to go that mall for all
these functions. Moreover, our relationship with the city starts to diminish. At a panel discussion Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer underlines this situation:

It simulates the multiplicity of the city; in other words, people simulate all their experiences very quickly and economically within a single building which is a multidimensional and complicated problem. It is not just related to architecture, but also cultural medium we are in. The real space cannot compete with its own replica. This is the dynamics which is very unique to Turkey. The most important thing is the loss of meaning and importance of urban space. There is no encounter with the local people and culture due to the issue of non-publicization of buildings.

Many of the functions (including shopping, cinema, entertainment, restaurant, and etc.) which are generally scattered in the city center, coexist in one single building complex; thus, this can be considered as the reason why these shopping centers are more attractive than the city center and effective on the user. These packaged spaces, where urban life can be experienced in extremely practical ways, simulate the city by presenting the needs of the city in the easiest and quickest way in a single closed space. At this point, architecture becomes competitive of the city. Moreover, architecture starts to become the simulation and model of the city by reproducing and replacing the reality. As a result, the functions of the city center are similarly formed in new areas, which are alternative to the center, and the centripetal position of the city scatters; therefore, multi-centered urban formation occurs as a new urban dynamic. This prevalent situation is questioned by Ankara

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Chamber of Architects through a manifesto by giving reference to society of commodification:

*Can the city regain its public sphere?* The ongoing metamorphosis is turning Ankara’s city dwellers into commuters-consumers. The shopping mall, that ubiquitous non-place, is becoming the indisputed centre of social life in the city: a space for the organized and surveilled mass consumption – of time as well as commodities.  

As one of the examples representing this situation in the case study area is CEPA shopping center (Figure 3.25). The multiple functions that CEPA hosts are office, shopping center, café, restaurant, cinema, tailor, dry cleaning, pharmacy, masjid, baby care rooms, hairdresser, car wash, sports center, book store and etc. that means users can spend all day in one place and experience some kind of simulation of urban life.

![CEPA Shopping Center, Ankara](https://www.pimeks.com/details.php?id=122#prettyPhoto (accessed on 10.10.2019))

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3.4.2. Conceptual Transformations in Architectural Scale

“Capitalism has transformed everything [...] into a consumable goods”\textsuperscript{190} which is actually an indicator of cultural transformation. In contemporary era, this transformation that we experience becomes something reflecting on nearly all fields. “In Turkey today it is possible to talk about the power of consumption not only for consumer items but in the architectural field as well.”\textsuperscript{191} Hereby, consumer society is an important domain because “consumption [...] has become an important determinant of architectural production.”\textsuperscript{192} Bülent Tanju in his article titled “Architecture in Transition: Turkey” evaluates the current contemporary situation of architecture in Turkey as:

The existing continuity is a contradictory, complex and global continuity, as opposed to the pre-modern local continuity that is a totality of a consistent and introvert identity. Countless cultural features are similarly produced and consumed around the world, regardless and almost completely detached from geography and history. The worldwide similarity between the modes of production and consumption is an indicator of the dominance of global capitalism. And yet, this process of similarity does not produce a homogeneous continuity.\textsuperscript{193}

With the rapidly developing technology, architectural concepts are transforming to serve consumer society emerging through mass media. In this sense, their modes of representation and meanings in essence have undergone an alteration inevitably. This actually results with “the production of architecture according to the

\textsuperscript{190} Akalin and Özaslan, “Architecture and Image: The Example of Turkey,” 919.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 920.

consumption demands that are influenced by the mass media.”

This section presents an evaluation of architecture and urbanization relationship in terms of architectural concepts including authenticity, language, identity-representation, sign-symbolism, contextualism, memory-belongingness and typology as altered and transformed concepts in architectural scale. These are discussed within the scope of this thesis and examined through the prominent architectural examples in the case study area which actually represent the current situation in contemporary architecture in Turkey.

3.4.2.1. Authenticity

Contemporary architecture in Turkey often referred to as privileged and distinguished examples, do not really represent the built environment because “they are generally come to the forefront through easily visualizable qualities such as technology, structure, material, color or space without being based on social, ideological, philosophical, or theoretical basis.” Although these buildings quantitatively constitute a minority in the built environment, they are paradoxically at the center of architectural discourse. Moreover, contemporary architectural products are reduced to visuality in essence through a search for extraordinariness; thus, they “create a kind of a collective memory, while constituting a visual illusion as a marginal part of built environment.”

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196 Ibid.
Instead of having social, theoretical, cultural, social and economic aim and basis, there is a common manner in contemporary architecture focusing on visualization, appearance and the search for difference through form, which show the transformation of understanding of authenticity. Thus, the concept of authenticity in the contemporary situation has transformed in terms of its essence. Jürgen Joedicke discusses this issue as follows:

Trying to be different from others [...] actually impedes the continuity of the development that has been going on so far.  

 [...] It is doubtful that architecture responds to its current task by giving importance to form. [...] The task of today's architecture is not to create individual monuments, but to focus on an environment that can meet the needs of society. The contemporary architect cannot be content with only the art of form.  

Buildings are designed, marketed and sold with the intention of being original as a descriptive alternative for authentic. When Eskişehir Road is considered as a representative example, there is a set of buildings coming together which are totally different in form-wise (Figure 3.26).

![Figure 3.27. A view from Eskişehir Road, Ankara](https://www.yazgandesign.com/yda-center)  

[accessed on 10.10.2019]


198 Ibid.
It is obvious that most of the buildings show the compulsive form-based search and exaggerated expression with different geometries. METU Informatics and Innovation Center (Figure 2.28) represents the issue of being different through its hollow building identity. As another example, Next Level (Figure 2.29) comes to the forefront with its sharp geometric form.

Figure 3.28. METU Informatics and Innovation Center, Ankara

Figure 3.29. Next Level, Ankara
It can be said that there is a reductionist manner in terms of authenticity and identity of the architectural products behind these visual differences since there is a search for geometry-based identity, difference and uniqueness. When different buildings are evaluated, it can be obtained that what they enable in terms of lifestyle is typologically the same with their equivalents.

Being authentic and different transformed into a search for different attracting geometries rather than providing solutions to the context and contextual problems, or enabling alternatives to the stereotypical urban life, or supplying integration with the city. Otherwise, they remain as the typological reproductions.

3.4.2.2. Language

In the contemporary era, technology becomes one of the main determinants in terms of the production and language of architecture. As a common tendency of contemporary architecture in Turkey, we face with scenography as Frampton had foreseen when we consider architectural language in the built environment. In architectural scale, it becomes a transformation of representation and expression of architecture. For example, buildings on the case study area and the way they represent in language-wise is that the façade becomes a very significant and powerful element of a building to express themselves resulting that the city is full of scenography.

As stated in Chapter 2, freeing the façade from the body and using façade as a tool for graphical expression, hiding the building through the façade, and wrapping the building with a curtain wall; that is the concept “scenographic” defining such these attitudes. Besides hiding the building behind a “screen”, the term scenography refers to expression, and it becomes another mode of representation with an
additional meaning. However, the important character of architecture is the tectonic rather than the scenographic as stated Frampton states; otherwise, “façade becomes independent from the “body”; a décor representing an image not necessarily related to the building.”

As a result, there becomes a tendency to create a difference artificially through the image value, which can be regarded as a reduction of architecture to a superficial way of expression. Güzer points out this issue as:

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Freeing façade from form, function, program, structure and truth, has brought an isolated screen which autonomous aesthetic display can freely exist. […] On this free “screen” it is possible to create as many “styles” as possible.
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Thus, this superficiality makes façade independent and it becomes a common way of superficial, two-dimensional and graphical representation. For instance, Doğan Media Center in Figure 3.30 illustrates that façade with perforated steel exists independently from the body.

Figure 3.30. Doğan Media Center & Perforated steel façade, Ankara


200 Ibid.
As a consequence, image value provided only by this “screen” causes a reduction of architecture to scenography for the representation of character. However, “building remains essentially tectonic rather than scenographic in character and it may be argued that it is first and foremost an act of construction rather than a discourse predicated on the surface, volume and plan”201 in Frampton’s words.

YDA Center and TOBB twin towers on Eskişehir Road can be considered as representative examples of this issue. Façade as being independent from the building expresses itself by working as a “screen”. And the screen continuously changes via lighting elements and changing patterns which for additional image and sign values (Figure 3.31-32). In addition, the most prominent, striking, and impressive element becomes that screen which also wraps the building. The rest including the tectonic character, the architectural values, the relation with the city and etc. become less important compared with the image value. This way of expression as a common language in contemporary architecture is reduced to a graphical representation independent from architecture which we have been experiencing recently.

Figure 3.31. Façade as “screen”, YDA Center, Ankara
[Photographed by the author on 5.12.2019]

Another example of scenography is the newly built part of Armada which has a decorative steel plate with attractive lighting elements on the façade (Figure 3.33). When it is not illuminated, decorative plate also serves as a scenography on the façade that covers the building (Figure 3.33).

Figure 3.33. Armada, Ankara


To conclude, this approach is about an architectural situation that breaks the connection between the tectonic character and the expression of the building. Wrapping and hiding the building makes what is inside insignificant and secondary. Thus, this is about considering scenography as architecture and making it an architectural language through this reductionist attitude, which represents a conceptual transformation in architectural scale in language-wise.

3.4.2.3. Identity-Representation-Sign-Symbolism

Identity is another transformed concept in the contemporary architectural situation of Turkey since it starts losing its meaning in architectural practice when the importance given to image is more than the solution or alternative presented. Akalın and Özaslan evaluate this situation as:

Since the 1980s, through the creation of image-dependent products, the advertising industry in metropolitan areas of Turkey has followed new tastes by manufacturing collective identities promising ‘a different lifestyle’. This has been achieved by promoting either images of past (historical) forms or of different cultures and claiming that these images represent a better future in the social network of consumption.²⁰²

It is actually a reduction of experience into image and visuality which has been criticised by many urban and architectural theorists. Function, circulation, movement, space articulation, program, and etc. as the inevitable essences of architecture give their places to images; thus, form and visual appearances in terms of its image value represent identity.²⁰³ As a result, architecture starts to become an object that addresses visual perception.


At a panel titled “Tourism of Architecture: Space as a Form of Consumption”, the relationship between architecture and tourism is discussed in the cultural transformation reflected in the consumption habits by referring tourism and recreation buildings. The panel opens with a discussion on the values of buildings and urban environments as tourism objects. The moderator of the panel Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer addresses the concept of identity;

After the 1980s, it is understood that identity has a market value in every field. Therefore, identity can be an alternative factor of attraction. Buildings themselves were transformed into elements that directly generate this identity and became a part of this identity. Thus, architecture has turned towards designing buildings that generate an attraction value through this identity. Different buildings were built with different architectures. While some of them tried to get this identity with their references, some tried to come to the forefront with the concept they brought to architecture.

Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation (Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı Binası) (Figure 3.34) and AFAD Headquarters (Ankara İl Afet ve Acil Durum Müdürlüğü) (Figure 3.35) on the case study area in Eskişehir Road are some of the examples of the issue of getting identity by giving some references. These examples can be considered as a representation of eclectic styles due to the given references for image value and being different. Both of the buildings are the representation of and give historical references to Ottoman and Seljuk architecture with geometrical motives and architectural gestures on their façades which can be considered as a search for identity through the emulation of the past.

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However, when the elements of architecture are detached from their content and meaning, as provided by a particular culture and time, they are reduced to forms that are easily separated from their original and become independent elements fixed to new compositions, which creates an eclectic, revivalist and pluralist style in architecture in spite of the historical and cultural intentions. 206

Figure 3.34. Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation, Ankara


Güzer continues the issue of identity with reference to loss of its meaning through legitimation.

But apart from these discussions, there is a second section that we cannot ignore; architecture is directed towards being a tourism object itself, even though the building is not a tourism building. It has been seen as a basis of legitimacy for the demand by the employer. Thus, it is aimed to add a market and consumption value in order to make the building different and inviting so that an identity value can be added to the market value of the building. Therefore, this situation began to transform architecture into a competitive environment.207

Thus, the concept of identity loses its meaning in terms of urban architecture relationship when city and architecture transform into tourism objects, and surplus values added to increase market and consumption values. This situation is regarded

207 VitrA Çağdaş Mimarlık Dizisi. “Tourism of Architecture: Space as a Form of Consumption”.
as “transformation of Turkish architecture [...] from an historical and cultural representation of society to the ‘ordinary’ and the ‘clichéd’.”

As another interrelated point, there is a competitive built environment in the contemporary era when architectural productions are traced within the sense of ongoing discussion. Each of the buildings generally tries to gain a surplus value through sign value that is created by their own. This is made not only through architecture, but also with lights, texts, screens, and etc. With all these, there is an effort and tendency towards coming to the forefront in the market. Secondly, there is also a tendency towards articulating with international mainstream which arises and originates from building typology especially when buildings including shopping malls, hotels, office or mixed-use buildings which are consumer society oriented typologies. When the buildings in the case study area are taken into consideration, each of the buildings tries to be a landmark for the sake of being prestigious and iconic through the sign value and symbolic aspect in a very competitive way. As a result, there becomes competition of signs within the built environment in the sense that “varied materials and facade styles compete stridently for attention” (Figure 3.36). While buildings give references to the mainstream, on the other hand each of them tries to differentiate within itself. Koç Towers, Armada, YDA Center, JW Marriot Hotel and Besa Tower can be considered as representative examples.

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210 From left to right; Koç Towers, Armada, YDA Center, JW Marriot Hotel and Besa Tower.
3.4.2.4. Contextualism

In the contemporary era, “the problem of the relationship between buildings and their social, physical and cultural conditions by abusing, imitating or ignoring context”\textsuperscript{211} has been a common concern which points out another conceptual transformation in architectural scale; the transformation of “context”. In the dissertation “Reclaiming Context: Architectural Theory, Pedagogy and Practice since 1950”, Esin Kömez Dağhoğlu underlines this problem by giving reference to Turkey:

Architecture has become a commodity since specificity in place and time have become lost, and unfortunately, neither the majority of practicing architects nor the many schools of architecture look to address the political, economic, social and physical predicaments of context in Turkey, relying still on conventions that lead to the design of buildings as detached freestanding objects.\textsuperscript{212}

\textsuperscript{211} Dağhoğlu, “Reclaiming Context: Architectural Theory, Pedagogy and Practice since 1950”

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid.
Moreover, Kömez emphasized a common reductionist recognition of context that “contextualism increasingly became identified as a matter of “fitting in”, which reduced the understanding of context to a single and simplistic design approach where its previous multiple definitions slowly disappeared from the debate.”

The outdoor transition of Armada, which is defined as “street”\textsuperscript{214}, can be considered as a good example of consciousness and awareness of context (Figure 3.37). This street in between buildings provided passage by connecting two points for transition. It represents a contextual tendency and approach since there is a passage which is integrated with its surrounding. In that sense, it tends to be a public space and enables public to use rather than isolating itself from the city. Otherwise, it would be an isolated, introverted and closed building where we could only enter the building and experience inside.

![Figure 3.37](http://www.ayraglobal.com/tr/hakkimizda/armada-avm/ (accessed on 6.12.2019)]

As a contrary example to Armada, Next level has a weak relationship with its context. There is a contextual discontinuity in terms of roads around, axes from the

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.

environment, the surrounding buildings and environmental differences. To clarify, its sides are very significant in terms of its location. As seen in Figure 3.38, on the one hand, two sides of Next Level are Konya and Eskişehir Roads with immense traffic and density passing by a business district, on the other hand its nearby surrounding is Balgat district which is very local. This means there is a big potential to utilize those environmental differences contextually; however, Next Level represents introversion and the unawareness of these potentials.

Moreover, the utilisation of level difference in the site is another contextual dimension here. There is a tendency towards transparency in terms of taking inside the building; however, it is not that much different than a classical, introverted, closed, box-like shopping mall. In other words, the circulation starts with entrance and there is no chance to exit without finding the same starting point. In spite of the level differences, the relationship between inside and outside of the building is closed in terms of the circulation rather than inviting, fluent and open one.
Whereas, there is a possibility to experience the inside of the building by taking the advantage of level differences in a more transparent and contextual sense (Figure 3.39). Therefore, it is about using those level differences for a more flowing circulation by enabling entrances from different levels. Contrarily, it can be deduced that the level difference within the boundaries of Next Level is not used as input in the design of the building and was not utilised as an urban issue.

Figure 3.39. Level differences in Next Level
The images are edited by the author]
3.4.2.5. Memory-Belongingness

The process of urbanization in the city creates a sense of belongingness to the city, which connects the inhabitants of the city to “place”. Thus, the concept of place can be described as possession of identity and history which is directly related to memory and belongingness. The transformation of identity of a place regardless of memory means that “human experience also changes, which breaks the link between people and place and causes placelessness”; and therefore, this adversely affects the belongingness to a place. In parallel,

For this reason, individuals' desire to live together has transformed and changed the sense of belonging to the society or place with the change and transformation in the social structure. In case of failure to adapt to the change of the economic, social and cultural level, it is inevitable to accustom to lose the sense of belongingness.

The mentioned large-scale projects that result with loss of memory and belongingness in essence can be considered as a good sampling area within this frame. Dana Cuff, who examined the impacts of large-scale projects on Los Angeles, qualifies “large-scale constructions that erupt across the cityscape” as the contemporary urban change. Moreover, she argues that these projects interfere with and transform the history of the areas in which these projects are located, the existing urban fabric, architectural development, urban life and built environment.

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216 Ibid.


Cities [...] are punctuated by large projects: housing developments, hospital complexes, public utilities, college campuses, office complexes, shopping malls. Some of these urban places have employed architecture’s blood stirring “magic” to create modern communities as well as to destroy them. [...] The dominant places are sited upon others that have somehow lost their value in the city. And the new inhabitation comes into being convulsively, sometimes violently, leaving little trace of what it evicted.  

In this sense, it inevitably results with the loss of memory of a place.

It posits the evolution of the modern city as a sequence of unrelated upheavals, in which big schemes overrun the territory they require, leaving no trace of the former land use. Each such architectural scheme denies the past as it manifests a temporary vision of a better future, for it too will experience the surges that it rode into existence, bringing about its own obliteration.  

Related to the case study area, it is worth to mention that almost none of those buildings have a concern about the sense of belonging to the city in fact. Since most of them are introverted and create its own urbanity, there inevitably becomes an understanding of having no relationship with the city. As a result of this, it becomes possible to experience the concept of placelessness within the city and urban life due to the lack of belongingness.

Since Eskişehir Road is on a completely new area and isolated from the city, it does not associate itself with the city in terms of memory and belongingness. Instead, the buildings there try to urbanize themselves through sub-domains that compete with each other in the city according to the observations and evaluation of the case study. In addition, they try to create an artificial sense of belonging and

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220 Ibid., 4.

221 Ibid., 5.
memory within themselves as an inference. This situation is not actually related to using the possible potentials of density, diversity and urban belongingness.

To exemplify, while concerts are traditionally given in the squares, now they occur in the parking lots of shopping malls as a common tendency. However, in the culture and essence of urban life, an urban event is performed in squares or urban plazas which exists permanently in a specific place. On the contrary, they are temporarily arranged for an activity or event in a parking lot of shopping malls in the contemporary era. To clarify, they tend to create belongingness through activities and events rather than to constitute it by being based upon the building itself. Armada, Kentpark, and CEPA can be considered as referential examples with regards to this issue which represent the weakness of urban and architecture relationship. As it is seen in the following figure, activities and events including concerts, festivals, amusement parks or even circus can be temporarily held in parking lots or empty spaces of shopping malls (Figure 3.40). In other words, within its own spatial infrastructure, there is a tendency to establish an artificial belongingness relationship that is not connected with the space or the city. It is not about a belongingness that has been accumulated in layers and articulated with the history of the city. It is important that this is a corridor where the existing international typologies including shopping malls, mixed-use buildings, hotels, and etc. are gathered by rejecting this belongingness. Therefore, it can be said that they are trying to create a sense of belonging with activity rather than building.
3.4.2.6. Typology

Another concept that has transformed in urban scale based upon urban and architecture relationship is architectural typology. It is defined “as a domain of reasoning about the formal and organisational capacities of architecture in a way that responds to, but is not reducible to ‘external’ factors: such as, technique,
politics or function.” However, “typological questions [...] arise naturally whenever urban problems are confronted” according to Rossi, which means there is an inevitable relation of typology within urban context. As a result, typology has undergone a change due to “its role in the dynamism of the city and in propelling the agency of architecture to engender urban change and transformation.” The reflection of those transformations to cities unavoidably determines the building typologies and emergence of new building typologies such as open-air public spaces, large-scale projects including shopping malls, mixed-use buildings, city hospitals, office buildings and etc. that create their own urbanity within themselves. Relating to this discussion, open-air public spaces are one of important and basic elements of urban fabric and main uses of the cities. These spaces actually shape the physical structure of the city. It can be defined as empty areas where there is a potential for suitable recreational use outside the buildings and transportation areas for public use including parks, greenery and etc. However, in the contemporary era, this term has been conceptually transformed into the form of outdoor spaces based on restaurants and cafes as an annex to buildings (Figure 3.41). In parallel, Roger Trancik evaluates this issue as

Abstract notions of compatible uses created urban areas that could no longer accommodate physical or social diversity, and that therefore were no longer truly urban. [...] We have transformed the city of collective spaces into a city of private icons.

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223 Rossi, The Architecture of the City, 40.


In fact, examples on the case study area such as Tepe Prime, Mahall and Maidan represent a situation that privatizes and functionalizes public spaces through the city, which is done with the promise of creating open space. This points out a typological transformation coming to the forefront in contemporary architecture in Turkey. The buildings within the case study “including in a number of large urban projects, where the displaced concept [of typology] propels new urban patterns, thereby effecting a transformation at a metropolitan scale”\footnote{Ibid., 1097.} show the conceptual transformation in this sense.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Along with the 1980s, Turkey has undergone significant changes in parallel with neoliberal economic policies in worldwide. When Turkey is examined specifically, this last forty years have brought a restructuring on all scales. Within this frame, the emergence of consumer society is an important breaking point in terms of its reflections on urban and architecture relationship. The triad of consumption, city and architecture has an undeniable interrelation. In the contemporary era, the intersection point of consumption and the city is social and urban life. In this sense, the consumer society plays an important role within the city. Consumer society represents a cultural transformation which brings a new cultural circumstance. Correspondingly, architecture defines commodification in the sense that it accommodates all the consumed goods and products brought by the consumer society which are gathered under one roof. In this respect, architecture becomes the biggest accumulation of commodification in parallel with the deep, direct and undeniable relationship between architecture and culture. Hereby, architecture also becomes a commodity for consumer society since all the products are designed according to the market value. As a result, architecture shifts towards creating additional value in the market. In this context, the transformative impact of consumer society plays a major role in terms of the on-going transformations where lots of concepts have transformed and each of them has an urban impact on urban and architectural scales. Among the transformations in both architectural and urban scales, the uncovered and revealed dimensions of the case study area are examined as the new building typologies and urban impacts of altered concepts through architecture.
Today, physical perception and experience are in second place with the spread of mass media throughout the world as the return of consumer society. As a result, contemporary architectural productions are reduced into and based on image production in order to increase its image value. The factors including urban fabric, built environment, climate, topography, context, spatial perception, orientation, spatial quality and etc. are no longer more significant than its market, sign, identity and image value within consumer society. This situation actually represents a disconnection from architectural essence because there is a tendency towards producing, marketing, consuming and selling easily. Thus, architecture and architectural productions are reduced into image and consumable objects respectively in this era where the consumer society dominates and manipulates this transformation. In this sense, the understanding and importance of some concepts are changed after the 1980s with postmodernism. Consequently, what we experience in contemporary architecture in Turkey is an image production based process, which constitutes a large part of today's building stock.

In parallel, there exists a competitive built environment with exaggerated forms and appearances where artificially created sense of authenticity becomes a surplus value as an urban impact of conceptual transformation of authenticity. In the contemporary era, lots of buildings exist within a context where most of them are very different in form, which constitutes a competitive built environment in this sense. This situation represents the tendency to create a market, identity and architectural values, namely as surplus value, through visual difference. As a result, design has been functionalised as a tool to gain such a surplus value. It points out to the transformation of the concept of identity since one of the precedence of an architectural production becomes its geometric expression, appearance and representation for its identity which is created artificially rather than providing solutions to the contextual problems. This unavoidably leads to the conceptual transformation of context due to the significance given to it despite the contextual existence of architecture. Eventually, the relationship between urban and
architecture is limited with visuality, appearance and geometric expression. In this sense, architecture is reduced to visuality for image value and to gain identity rather than constituting contextual relationship with its place, surrounding, built environment and city. This situation is critical to address that context is more important than its image value in terms of the significance of architecture in urban context.

By focusing on conceptual transformations in architectural scale as a result of the developments in technology and the emergence of consumer society; the façade of the buildings becomes one of the keystones for additional market value in order for being different, which is actually an artificially created difference. As discussed before, scenography is the key concept in terms of this artificial way of expression for architecture among the contemporary architectural productions. Façades of the buildings turn into a graphical expression which is achieved through serving façade as a screen with lighting. In this sense, language becomes a tool for expression within this competitive built environment in order to gain sign value. In addition, the façade becomes independent from the body, hides it and tends to gain a surplus value and meaning through its way of expression. It points out a priority and importance given to scenography for gaining an additional value rather than its tectonic character and relationship with the context and the city. Depending on these discussions, the conceptual transformation of memory and belongingness has become inevitable due to the understanding of creating an artificial sense of belonging in the contemporary era which causes different consequences and losses. When the case study is taken into consideration, there is a common tendency to create belongingness artificially through sub-domains, activities and events including concerts, festivals, amusement parks and etc. that are temporarily held in parking lots or empty spaces of shopping malls. Rather than articulating the belongingness with the history of the city; rearranging the belongingness in such an artificial, competitive and temporary way changes habits, affects the daily urban life, deletes history and consequently transforms memory.
The consumer society reflects on architecture also in the formation of large-scale and introverted structures that can be consumed quickly and easily. For instance, shopping malls as consumption-oriented buildings are designed as spaces that close themselves to physical boundaries and try to create a world which is isolated, safe and controlled in all aspects. As a result, this kind of introverted buildings exclude their relationship with context where they exist in the city. In other words, such these big closed-boxes separate and isolate themselves from the environment. For this reason, these buildings can be located anywhere in the city and the country and become a prototype without giving contextual, historical and cultural references. This situation points out the creation of cities where car transportation forms the boundaries, social relations become spatially impossible, and public spaces are commercialized and privatised. This inevitably leads to the transformation of urban life. For example, living in a gated community, going to plaza to work, and doing activities in shopping malls become a lifestyle as a loop. In this way, cities start to consist of such those various clusters which have become isolated and create their own world within themselves through introversion and their bigness. This is because urban scale buildings change and transform cities. Without the need for a city, these gated entities create their own urbanity and fulfill all the functions inside in a self-sufficient way which refers directly to being competitive of city and urban life. Simulating the urban life inside by accommodating all the urban facilities inside replaces the public nature and public use of the city. As a result, architecture becomes an object as a commodification of consumer society to be consumed and reused again. When such these urban-scale buildings in the case study are analysed in order to re-map contemporary architecture in Turkey, some of the continuously increasing results and problems on urban scale in the contemporary era within the frame of this research that can be observed nearly everywhere in Turkey are listed as:

- They are introverted, enclosed, and tautological. They neither make a contribution to city, nor take the advantage from the city. For this reason, they do not have a relationship with their context and with each other. As a result,
neither architecture nor cities develop enough which points out the problem of placelessness. In other words, the relationship with the context starts to blur. Consequently, the concept of belongingness becomes insignificant because it is possible to encounter with a building which is almost same with another one in Ankara, Istanbul, Dubai, Shenzhen or any other cities in the world.

- When these buildings do not have a relationship with concepts of memory, belonging, and identity, their presence does not contribute to the city in terms of urban identity.
- They eventually exist as an object of consumer society.
- Their planning approach is not based on local and contextual problems, but rather according to the priorities of the marketing strategies, which cause the loss of authenticity. Therefore, the main aim is not about improving architecture or providing alternative solutions despite the fact that many of these buildings are very large-scale buildings.
- They do not integrate with or enrich the urban life. They are not trying to actually be part of an urban network and city. They actually create gated entities, which fulfill and create their urbanity within themselves as a competitive of the real urban life. In addition, the repetitive patterns of all these facilities are continuously increasing.
- They are independent from their contexts that make architecture be reproduced in anywhere, at anytime or any situation regardless of its connection with its context, surrounding, built environment and city.

As an urban impact, the concept of city center has been transformed when Eskişehir Road is taken into consideration. It took on a central function suddenly and in an unplanned way. Although it does not have a central feature and is not appropriate to be a center; lots of state buildings, shopping malls, business centers have been built which create a huge density. However, it is not suitable to be central in a physical plan. One of the reasons in urban scale referring to the case study is that there is a common tendency towards creating isolated and gated
entities rather than creating an urban space, which represents disconnection of architecture from the city. This is because each entity creates its own urbanity within itself whereas “architecture takes its function and program from the city”.

Many of the buildings as closed boxes become a city center within itself and simulate the city with functional multiplicity by fulfilling urban facilities. This eventually causes the relationship between city and architecture to diminish and results with creation of gated communities and isolation from urban life. The creation of gated communities exists also in other typologies such as housing complexes that represent the “mutation of the apartment block to a city within a city” since it “generates an introverted settlement through its wall-like boundary effect” with lots of urban facilities in itself.

It can be considered as an anti-urban domain that is exclusive of urban life by creating urbanity within itself. These make architectural productions in the contemporary era be forced to a typology which is isolated and does not have a relationship with city. In other words, self-closure or introversion of the privileged examples among architectural productions become one of the evidence of not getting a reference from the built environment. This problem is directly related to the understanding of eclectic and partial planning since the formation of urban fabric is based on parcels rather than a main plan. As a result of eclectic and partial planning, which is not actually related to a holistic understanding, observations in the case study area are as follows:

- There exist multiple shopping malls next to each other (Kentpark and CEPA),
- It results with such a large-scale city hospital without planning (Bilkent City Hospital),
- The eclectic coexistence of buildings with different densities, heights and scales along the same axis,

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227 Mutlu, “Understanding City As An Architectural And Non-Architectural Program: Learning From Ankara,”

228 Duygu Koca, “Remapping Contemporary Housing Production in Turkey: A Case Study on Housing Patterns and Marketing Strategies,”
The understanding of city center is changed,

Typological differences of open-air designs,

Buildings are surrounded by vehicle traffic around parcels and they have weak relationships with each other,

Apart from the green areas that come into being by themselves such as MTA and METU, there is an exclusion of greenery and open public spaces.

The transformative relationship between urban and architectural scales is directly related to evaluating how urban and architecture relationship transform each other. In other words, there is a transformative relationship and transitions between these two scales within the contemporary era as a new understanding of urban dynamics in Turkey. This transformation can be discussed through three significant aspects which are “discontinuity between planning and architecture”, “discontinuity between context and architecture”, and “contemporary typologies in architectural production”.

Although urbanism is a matter of architecture, the coexistence of urban and architecture does not actually make a contribution to city. When the pedestrian and vehicle movement, site plan characteristics are analysed in this sense, each of these elements are actually tautological229 within itself since “the usual process of urban development treats buildings as isolated objects sited in the landscape, not as part of the larger fabric of streets, squares, and viable open space.”230 It is possible to define this issue as one of the most important problems in urban planning practice in Turkey since the planning approach is not mainly based and focused on built environment and urban life.

\[\text{229} \text{ The term “tautological” refers that something is designed according to its own values; in other words, not constituting continuity.}\]

\[\text{230} \text{ Roger Trancik. “What is Lost Space,” 63.}\]
Moreover, there is a tendency towards creating transportation-oriented, car-dependent, introverted and isolated urban habitat developments. As Nevzat Sayın refers, it is quite possible to encounter this issue especially in Eskişehir Road where all of the streets along this road are assumed to come only with a car that has no relationship with the pedestrian. This situation causes the fact that streets, which cannot be replaced with anything else, are not in our lives anymore when we consider the new settlements. Therefore, it is needed to free the urban development pattern from this car-dependent structure and “to design environments in which individual buildings are integrated with exterior public space so that the physical form of the city does not fall victim to separation caused either by zoning or by a dictatorial circulation system.” Otherwise, transportation problems inevitably arise due to the current planning approaches and car oriented urbanisation within this context. This issue is underlined in 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan as follows:

Along with these, it is clear from the results of such projects in the case of Ankara that shopping centers and large-scale projects, which are disconnected from the city and macroform and produce large transportation waves, are also effective in contributing to urban transportation problems. Therefore, it is necessary to be aware of the requirements in the planning studies to be produced in the solution of transportation problems.

In this sense, there naturally emerges new urban dynamics that is discontinuity and the loss of relationship between planning and architecture as an important domain.

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232 Ibid.

233 Roger Trancik. “What is Lost Space,” 68.

relating to transformative relation between urban and architectural scales. This weak relationship and gap reflect unavoidably on the city landscape, inconsistency between architectural productions, the lack of integrity, and therefore on urban fabric. Whereas, “architecture is an essential part of any big plan, for it must embody the aggressive optimism of those who initiate these fundamental alterations to the landscape.”

When it goes in parallel and together with this approach in architecture as well, (with the understanding of partial planning), the city is inevitably left out of a holistic system.

One of the prominent conditions of contemporary architecture practice in Turkey represents that the loss of urban fabric does not provide a context for new architectural products, which points out the discontinuity between context and architecture.

Bouchet asserts that

We were accustomed to the fact that no city was like another. A city was made of geography and history, of building materials, traditions, colours and sounds, of working activities, celebrations and politics, of a multitude of local signs providing multiple and different connotations and identities to different people. [...] But lately, cities are more alike, with the same suburbs and the same communication networks. An important factor of urban change is the mass consumption that creates and transforms places.

This situation actually represents the direct relationships between commodification and architecture. On the one hand, there are architectural productions like shopping malls and centers that are completely related to serves for consumption. On the

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235 Dana Cuff, The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism, 4-5.

236 Kozacıoğlu, “Mimarlık Pratiginde Dönüşüm,” 27.

other hand, architecture itself transforms into an object of commodification either functionally or semiologically in the contemporary era. In this sense, these transformations inevitably affect city and its formation within urban scale and urban context. And it reflects to the city as the transformative effect of the relationship between urban and architecture. Therefore, commodification-oriented, introverted, isolated, and closed spaces, which actually represent the concept of placelessness, can be created. In this sense, it is possible that these buildings may have been built or located in or may belong to anywhere regardless of place and context. This issue mainly results with the loss of the relationship between the city, context and the building. As a result, “formerly centripetal the cities are now centrifugal and public space has turned into publicity material. Formerly historical, cities turn amnesiac.” As a result, it seems that urban transformation projects are more of a tool for the consumer society than to solve the social and physical problems of the city.

The contextual determinance and existence of architecture have always been an integral part of architectural design. However, especially when we come to the contemporary era, social and cultural transformations with reference to developments today's world including technology, globalization, media and politics bring a new altered definition of the relation between architecture and context, which change the conceptualization of architecture. Those developments have made architecture not necessarily be dependent on context. The way in which context directs architecture and being very effective on design has transformed according to time, politics, priorities, privileges and geography. Depending on time, the dominant determinacy and decisiveness of context on architecture is no longer a necessity. When cities like Ankara, Istanbul, Shenzhen or Doha are taken into consideration, they start to become all the same as a prototype architectural

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238 Bouchet, “Information Technology, the Social Bond and the City: About the Changing Relationship between Identity and the City,” 113.
productions. Consequently, the notion of context as a whole of not only physical but cultural, social, political and economic contexts as well, which has been primarily dominant in directing architecture throughout history, has begun to lose this dominance. As a result of globalisation and developments in technology, the independence of architecture from the context has emerged.

As a consequence of the transformative relation between urban and architectural scales, the emergence of contemporary typologies in architectural productions is parallel with the on-going discussion. Shopping centers or multi-use, large hospitals, and open-air public spaces with their own streets and urban plazas can be considered as the contemporary typologies in architectural productions in Turkey. There are minor differences among these typological buildings, and in essence it becomes very possible to encounter with nearly the same building in another city. Therefore, it can be deduced that there is a typological pressure and control on architecture. For instance, this situation has caused an immense increase of commercial, office and residential blocks around mixed-use structures, which brought those buildings to direct the city. Some of the representative examples of these typologies in the case study area are shopping centers (Kentpark, CEPA, Armada, Next Level), large hospitals (Bilkent City Hospital), open-air public spaces with streets and plaza (Maidan, Tepe Prime). Those typologies have an urban character within the city. Especially when the city hospital example is taken into consideration, it is very large in terms of its scale and size. Inevitably, it has an urban impact which is powerful enough to transform its surrounding and the city itself. These transformations are done through eclectic and partial planning.

As another significant point, there is a continuous and immense transformation and on-going restructuring process in Turkish cities. While large-scale urban transformation projects occur in Ankara where the dynamics of urban transformation can be observed clearly, other cities are inevitably experiencing the reflections of this situation on their own scales. Within the scope of this thesis, a
case study is selected that can represent the current situation in Turkey in order to obtain the general frame of and evaluate the contemporary architecture in Turkey. In this sense, Eskişehir Road is consciously chosen as a case study, which is evaluated through its power of representation. Each building in this area is correspondingly examined in terms of urban and architectural concepts and vice versa. It presents a comparative analysis between buildings in the case study area and the concepts in both architectural and urban scales. Some continuities, similarities, contradictions and conflicts between concepts and buildings are determined to discover, evaluate and discuss the changes, transformations and their reflections on both architectural and urban scales. In this respect, Eskişehir Road represents both Ankara and the current situation of Turkey. For this reason, the representative value of Eskişehir Road provides a basis through problematisation of contemporary architecture in Turkey. In this sense, one of the most significant points of this case study is that it is aimed to create a model discussion ground which is based upon the architectural productions in the case study area but not limited with those examples. As a result, same discussions for Eskişehir Road can be made by adapting to different areas, contexts, examples and scales by problematizing the current transformations since it exists as an extreme case that represents the contemporary state of Turkey. For instance, it would be adaptable to some other regions such as Levent in Istanbul or Bayraklı in Izmir both on regional and architectural scales (Figures 4.1-2). In other words, Eskişehir Road describes the situation that can be representatively adapted to different situations, which is directly related to its representative potential and power. Therefore, it is possible to discuss and evaluate different projects in Turkey or international scales through the accumulation of knowledge, approaches and methodologies within the frame of this thesis. When it is analysed in this sense, there are not much differences between the one in Ankara or anywhere else. There are differences in terms of the dynamics of city, the region, landscape, context, economy, and etc. but the problems, conceptual transformations, and the transformative relationship between architecture and urbanization are the same in essence.
Figure 4.1. Views from Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul

a. Eskişehir Road, Ankara, Turkey

b. Bayraklı, Izmir, Turkey
   [Source: https://www.usbw.us/tr/blog-post/bayrakli-izmir-manhattani-mi (accessed on 11.9.2019)]

c. Levent, Istanbul, Turkey
   [Source: Skyscrapercity
Figure 4.2. Examples from Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul

a. Next Level, Eskişehir Road, Ankara
   [Source: http://brigitteweber.com/assets/resimler/upload/h900/f6bb5e85a55ee96aa24bdace6397818a.jpg (accessed on 11.9.2019)]

b. Ege Perla, Bayraklı, Izmir

c. Kanyon, Levent, Istanbul
On the one hand, it is possible to encounter blurred and similar relationships, (Figure 4.3) on the other hand, this adaptable relationship deepens and becomes more extreme in some contexts. To give a sharp example, Zorlu Center in Istanbul completely exists as an island in terms of silhouette and its relationship with the city. In terms of its language, introversion, identity, authenticity, representation, transparency and etc., it has also very similar features that are discussed for the case study. Therefore, the discussions in this thesis are not limited with Eskişehir Road and Ankara, but it also corresponds to a situation in another metropolitan city which can be carried on. Thus, this brings a mapping both in architectural and scales. This thesis is not limited with Eskişehir Road as a corridor, but rather it is utilised as a model through which all the discussions can be transferred to other contexts.

![Figure 4.3. Zorlu Center, Istanbul](http://www.zorlucenter.com.tr) (accessed on 11.9.2019)

Apart from these, Eskişehir Road is not the main discussion ground. It is considered as a tool to discuss the main issue since it is a representative model of contemporary architecture in Turkey. Thus, there are also lots of examples in Turkey illustrating and supporting the main frame. Eskişehir Road as a case study is predominantly discussed more of a discussion than that of itself but it is examined in terms of these features:
It is a rapid and sudden development point,
It represents a typical and typological development area for Turkey
Its representational status is more or less the same in Turkey

Additionally, it is significant to underline that there are also lots of examples that do not fit to discussions and representations of Eskişehir Road. From other frames and dimensions, there are other specific dynamics which does not associate with Eskişehir Road. In this sense, the deficiencies of the case study area and situations that it cannot fully sample can be listed as:

- It does not completely illustrate the situation of the city center since it is a new development area.
- It does not definitively address and scrutinize the issue of establishing continuity and integrity with the existing urban fabric due to its location.
- It does not represent a historical transformation that has been developed over time. In other words, it is not a representation of a partially and slowly transformed urban fabric but rather a sudden and rapid urban transformation.

Accordingly, these features except from Eskişehir Road are not included and covered in the scope of this research but they are also valid and adaptable to other related examples.

To conclude, the prominent discussion and aim within the framework of this thesis are to re-map the contemporary architecture in Turkey with a different dimension through the case study. It is intended to understand the contemporary condition of architecture by analysing a corridor where many new types of constructions coexist. The important approach is that this examination is based upon especially the urban architecture relationship. Within a broader perspective, typologies are examined with concepts by bringing together through all the differences within the case study as a representative sample of Turkey. In order to achieve this, it is tried to establish and analyse the new understanding and relationship on urban life, culture, habits and environment within the scope of the building types based on
urban and architecture relationship rather than directly focusing on buildings. By referring to all the discussions up to here, a chart titled “Contemporary Transformations in Turkish Architecture with examples from Eskişehir Road and the context of Turkey” is presented as a mapping in order to concretise the case study. This study consists of a list of transformations which were evaluated as the basis of the main discussion. For each transformation, two representative architectural productions from the case study area and four examples from Turkey are chosen and determined (Figure 4.4). Thus, the end result of each transformation is illustrated with representative examples built after 2000. It presents an alternative discussion ground and useful framework for other mappings and models on the basis of building, typology, relationship with the city, concepts and new development. Within this thesis and chart, the discussions serve only as a model. Since the selected buildings have representative value in both urban and scales; the number of concepts, transformations, samples and titles discussed throughout this thesis can be either decreased or increased according to the other contexts. It is not aimed to criticize the architectural productions and architects, but rather to focus on and refer to the main discussion framework. It is intended to re-map the point that contemporary architecture in Turkey has come, the forms of transformative and reflective relationship between urban and architecture, and how they affect and transform each other.
Case study area

Context in Turkey

Form-based authenticity with the intention of being original. Trying to be different in form-wise.

Anonymization of language. Scenography becomes architectural language. Façades start to work as “screens”.

Identity and representation become a tool to gain surplus value by giving historical references.

Built environment is surrounded with competition of signs. Sign become a race and scenographic. This can be done with additional elements independently from the building.

Disregarding of context. Each building is isolated and creates its own context which breaks the relationship with the city.

Typology becomes very dominant. Misrepresentation of typology. Repetition of typology independently from form.

Planning becomes eclectic and partial. Buildings either rise as single towers independent from the context or exist as large, self-sufficient and introverted masses.

Bigness of scale. Each building creates urbanism and its own urbanity within itself in such an introverted way through bigness.

Restricted urban accessibility becomes prevalent. Gated community is reduced into building scale. Buildings become gated entities. Public access and use are limited.

Privatization of public space. Introvension of buildings. Buildings become closed-boxes and isolate themselves from urban context.

Disappearing and artificialisation of memory and belongingness. Integration of functional multiplicity with the concept of flexibility. (e.g. concerts, playgrounds etc. in shopping malls)

Figure 4.4. Contemporary Transformations in Turkish Architecture with examples from Eskişehir Road and the context of Turkey
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