**ARCHITECTURE AS AN URBAN AND SOCIAL SIGN:
UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN
ESKİŞEHİR HIGHWAY, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURE AS AN URBAN AND SOCIAL SIGN: UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN ESKİŞEHİR HIGHWAY, ANKARA

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The buildings of a city such as shopping malls, plazas, world trade centers, hotels or even residential complexes are not only alternative urban building typologies but they represent power in social, economical, political and even religious terms. In this sense 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. However the eclectic existence of these buildings in urban fabric causes a series of unexpected transformations in a larger scale.

The impact of a building in urban scale takes a very important place in the modern city – their architectural expression is not limited with their individual scale but rather it becomes an integrated part of the whole city which is open to transform function, infrastructure, architectural meaning, image ability and other social problems. This building behaves as a cultural and social symbol and it is inevitable to consider the design process as an urban experience. However many of the contemporary examples are designed as individual architectural buildings…

The integration of Turkey, but especially the city of Ankara to the global economic network providing new cultural identities presents a transformation of the city which natures could be seen "in terms of rent theory" and makes

this city "a place of competition for profit." To better present these transformations one of the most important regions Eskişehir Highway will be analyzed for the power it reflects as the buildings are set on the two sides of the highway as a new type of urban architecture proceeding spontaneously and reconfiguring boundaries based on the limits of the capital. The limits economic power decides about social, economic and physical order of places shapes the city as an urban product to be sold.

ÖZ

KENTSEL VE SOSYAL BİR İŞARET OLARAK MİMARLIK: ANKARA ESKİŞEHİR YOLUNDAKİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN DOĞASININ ANLAŞILMASI

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Bir şehrin alışveriş merkezleri, plazalar, dünya ticaret merkezleri, otelleri ya da konut kompleksleri gibi yapıları sadece alternatif kentsel yapı tipolojisini değil aynı zamanda şehrin sosyal, ekonomik, politik ve hatta dini konulardaki gücünü de anlatır. Bu anlamda, binalar yalnızca tek yapı ile sınırlı özel tasarım ve araştırma alanları değil, tüm şehir ölçeğinde kentsel ifadeler olarak görülmelidir. Ancak binaların kent dünyasındaki bu ekletik varlığı daha büyük ölçekte beklenmedik dönüşümler silsilesine yol açmaktadır.

Bir binanın kent çapındaki etkisi modern şehirde çok önemli bir yer bulmaktadır, zira binaların mimari anlamda ifade ettikleri kendi ölçekleriyle sınırlı değildir ve işlev, altyapı, mimari anlam, görsel yetkinlik ve diğer sosyal problemlerde dönüşüme açık kentin bütününü etkileyen bir parçasıdır.

Türkiye'nin, özellikle de Ankara'nın küresel ekonomik ağa uyum sağlaması, yeni kültürel kimliklerin oluşumuna ve kentsel dönüşüme neden olmakta, bu değişimin doğası da "kira teorisinde" görülmekte ve kenti bir "kar yarışı sahası" haline getirmektedir. Bu dönüşümleri daha iyi sunabilmek adına, yolun her iki tarafında spontane olarak yeni bir kentsel mimari yapının oluşturulduğu ve başkentin imkanlar ölçüsünde sınırlarının yeniden biçimlendirildiği, şehrin en önemli bölgelerinden Eskişehir Yolu yansıttığı güç itibariyle incelenecektir.Ekonomik gücün sınırları şehrin sosyal, ekonomik ve fiziksel sıralaması şehri, satılacak kentsel bir ürün olarak şekillendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Para, alan, ölçek, mekan, kentsel tasarım, kimlik.

to Avni Bonjaku and Levent Gökdemir

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aim to understand the latest transformations in the city of Ankara as a matter of the global impact within contemporary context of architecture, the dominancy of market and economical aspects which create an eclectic development both in plan and architectural scale to provide in the urban aspect "reorganization of the city according to the logic of capital." Though, the "symbolic meaning" of the city "gain a significant dominance in the design process, and in this medium all cultural and contextual properties are not only seen as sources to produce a sense of artificial identity towards strengthening the marketing power of the designed object but also 'design' itself becomes a process of commoditization."[1] The success of the city, or better said "global city" has a common world view constituting on the production of architectural products such as shopping malls, office towers, world trade centers, hotels and residence complexes in a grand scale.

> [...] architects' urban visions is the recurrent enthusiasm among the avant-garde for utopian urban schemes, frequently demonstrated in the form of so-called 'megastructure' projects. Though nominally propagating new technologies, change and flexibility, they are actually rooted in relatively static and well-worn concepts of the ideal city.[2]

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[1] My ideas on this topic were profoundly influenced by the ARCH 418 course, Case Studies in Architectural Criticism, Fall 2001, offered by Abdi C. Güzer, that "considers that architecture as a process of re-production is open, not only to a sense of change and development but also to the assimilating and alienating effects of contemporary transformations in technology," and "commodification, as a key concept in this context, becomes transparent to the disciplinary field of architecture to such an extent that concepts like "identity", "difference", "otherness" and "symbolic meaning" gain a significant dominance in the design process, and in this medium all cultural and contextual properties are not only seen as sources to produce a sense of artificial identity towards strengthening the marketing power of the design(ed) object but also 'design' itself becomes a process of commoditization."

[2] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 15.

The physical city, existing in three spatial or even in four dimensions, changes over time[3] and "the dominant conception is invariably that of a static spatial arrangement."[4] The use of land, lately presents "the commonly favored image of a dense, multi-layered urban centre, reminiscent of mediaeval cities."[5]

To see 'architecture as a power of identity' rival to what was till now discussed of 'architecture as space' and 'architecture as a language' which credited the contemporary principal discourse in architecture. The significance of place as an indicator of identity makes the sense of "the interrelation of cognitive processes, social activity and formal attributes."[6] Chris Abel, referring to Kevin Lynch, explains that:

> [...] the relation of man to place is more than simply a matter of being able to orientate oneself to one's surroundings, as Lynch implies, but has to do with a much deeper process of identification, by which he means 'to become "friends" with a particular environment'. In turn, human identification with a place presupposes that places have 'character', that is, attribute which distinguish one place from other and which lend to a place its unique presence or *genius loci*.[7]

The city and its dwellers experience the transformation of the urban environment through time that gradually or in a rapid evolution expose the growth of the city and its building. In this aspect it is proper to understand the impact of global culture and economy as the indicator of the identity transformation.

Ankara is the city representing the new Republic where most of the symbolism and representation of power were gained via govern and administrative bodies. After liberal economy, integration with foreign investments the preferences like the privatization and high economic expectations from building construction industry, Ankara, inevitably adopted itself to transformation in global context. However, the lacks of infrastructure,

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[3] Jon Lang, "Introduction: Urban Design" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 2.
[4] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 1.
[5] Ibid., 18.
[6] Ibid.141.
[7] Ibid., 141-143.

inefficiency of plans and master-plans, as well as, political indeterminacies, cultural perception of urban identities create and accelerate erosion Turkish cities, thus the situation in the early 21st century in Ankara represents the alienating and assimilating effects of global transformations in the understanding of urban issues as an extreme case.[8]

The recent architectural developments in Ankara and their impact on the city represent this eclectic urban transformation. The new model architectural product – 'the megastructure's or megaforms', such as the shopping malls, office towers, world trade centers, hotels and residence complexes constructed now throughout the city – is the model with "a large form extending horizontally rather vertically or vice versa, a complex form which does not necessarily express its structural and mechanical elements."[9]

These transformations are discussed in five sections. In the following chapter the analyzing of the city will be prescribed through a brief historical background, then proceed with the symbolic meaning of the city seen tied in regard to globalization as a process of cultural and identity transformations as the globalization problem takes one of the most important and discussed issues in the 21st century by "challenging the model of a homogenized world future."[10] This impact of the globalization manifested in the explosive growth of cities throughout the world made the building architecture to be identified in a sample building type as the skyscraper or tall buildings to articulate the nature of the contemporary city in a cultural condition[11] and what it provides is a comprehension of "borderlands sites" to be "symbols of power,"[12] these geographic borders remained in place but what is being *global* is a culture that created interconnectedness of place, community and identity. In the geographic understanding, according to Harvey "the production, reproduction and reconfiguration of space have always been central to understanding the political economy of capitalism," and "the contemporary form of globalization is nothing more than yet another round in the capitalist production and

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[8] My ideas on this topic were influenced by the thesis advisor Abdi C. Güzer.
[9] Kenneth Frampton, "Megaform as Urban Acpunture" in Seven Points for the Millenium: An Untimely Manifesto (The Journal of Architecture, Vol. 5, spring 2000), 29.
[10] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 194.
[11] Eric Höweler, "Vertical Now: The Skyscraper at the Beginning of the 21st Century" in Skyscraper: Vertical Now" (Universe Publishing, 2003), 17.
[12] Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, "Introduction: Borders, Nation and State" in *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 1.

reconstruction of space," but in addition to these, globalization "entails a further diminution in the friction of distance through yet another round of innovation in the technologies of transport and communications." contemporary globalization has been "the product of specific geographically grounded processes" like the geographical restructuring of capitalist activity in earth, the production of new forms of uneven geographical development, a recalibration and even re-centering of global power, and a shift in the geographical scale at which capitalism is organized. Furthermore, the rapid urbanization caused a cultural shock on the society and cities. This cultural instability directly reflected on the architecture of cities. There are three main flows of cultural approach reflected on the built environment: popular culture, academic culture, and professional culture. Popular culture is the one which is generally popularized by media and preferred by ordinary citizens. Academic culture may be defined as the intellectual-based culture which is in the search of a rational justifications of given decisions, whereas professional culture is feed by both of culture and academic culture. For instance, it would put forward a unique architectural masterpiece, copy it several times and server for the popular acceptance. On the other hand it would only create just popular images that lacks quality, or may well present high-quality designed buildings.[13] Articulated to economic and political levels, the cultural production responding to architecture "manifests the ways by which ideology is produced as a part of a given social structure." The transformation that makes culture perform through design to produce types and forms on building will deeply introduce to the urban life the grounds of new identities for new concepts of the future of architectural field.[14]

"Theoretical Framework" as the third chapter is conceiving the analysis of some key problems such as money, time, space, place, bigness, scale, proportion, dimension, meaning of the architectural product, sign and image, considered in an architectural discourse. The world the capitalism create seems to create an environment built on a physical landscape of roads, houses, factories, schools, shops, and so forth with its image under the market demands. One of the main key problem to this chapter is money as agued by Harvey is "a mediator of commodity exchange radically transforms and fixes

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[13] My ideas on this topic were profoundly influenced by the ARCH 418 course, Case Studies in Architectural Criticism, Fall 2001, offered by Abdi C. Güzer.
[14] Ibid., 32-33.

the meanings of space and time in social life and defines limits and imposes necessities upon the shape and form of urbanization." [15] Money appears as "power external to and independent of the producers," and also appearing "as a means to promote production becomes a relation alien (to them)," but furthermore, "the power which each individual exercises over the activity of others or over social wealth exists in him as the owner of exchange values, of money."[16] "The shaping of time as a measurable, calculable, and objective magnitude, though deeply resented and resisted by many, had powerful consequences for intellectual modes of thought," and another dimension for money that may represents social labor time is the fact that "the rise of the money form transforms and shapes the meaning of time."[17] Time and space articulated closely to money defined independently of each other forms "intersecting nets of very specific qualities that frame the whole social life."[18] Describing the experience of space and time innermost in thought, as discussed from Yi-Fu Tuan, is to admit that the sense of space we have is that we move and that "the movement that give us the sense of space is itself the resolution of tension." The concept length given in time units and the passage of time is described as "length."[19] In this concept of length it seems that the interaction of money, space and time has a material effect in the framing of the urban process.

To Harvey "the universal sense of time came to dominate social life and practice," but clearly to this extends "it mirrors the evolution of social practices in important ways," and he approaches the issue of Marx that "space cannot be considered independently of money because it is the latter that permits the separation of buying and selling in both space and time." The situations in which location, place, and spatiality declare as powerful and autonomous forces in human affairs vary from "the urban speculator turning inches of land into value (and personal profit), through the forces shaping the new regional

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[15]David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 1-2.

[16] Ibid., 3.

[17] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 10.

[18] Ibid., 10-33.

[19] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Time in Experimental Space" in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press , 2001), 118.

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and international division of labor."[20] In the contemporary ideology what space endures is not just the "void – the enclosed space where man lives and moves" but further more it is something social.[21] What we call place, is "the theoretical model that describes and explains certain aspects of the built environment in urban contexts within a given structure,"[22] and according to Heidegger the "distinction between space and place, where 'spaces' gain authority not from 'space' appreciated mathematically but 'place' appreciated through human experience" and "places, like things and buildings, were primarily understood through use and experience." Regarding the problem of bigness in architecture, according to Rem Koolhaas "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." [23] Building big is a demand of global solution and the "large-scale planning has long since moved from making plans for an individual city or region to the realm of mass production." [24] Power effects and is an important part in design of buildings in different ways. Obviously the most important of these is the use of architectural form to symbolize particular kind of power. For the economic power some could think of banks and exchanges to resemble cathedrals and temples, or of the towering skyscrapers that are housing many financial institutions.[25]

The fourth chapter will be analyzing the case of Ankara through understanding its architectural development as a transforming power of identity basically while presenting some of the most popular and newest buildings part of the city's urban environment as the impact of these buildings in urban scale takes a very important place in the modern city – their architectural expression is not limited with their individual scale but rather it becomes an integrated part of the whole city which is open to transform function, infrastructure, architectural

[20] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), xii, 10-11.
[21] Barry Dainton, Time and Space (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 26.
[22] Diana Agrest, "On the Notion of Place" in *Architecture from without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 7.
[23] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, S*, M, L, XL* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 495-496.
[24] Sigfried Giedion, "Signs of the Evolving Tradition" in *Space, Time and Architecture; The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) xxxiv.

[25] Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron ,*The Words Between the Spaces: Building and Language,* (London ; New York : Routledge, 2002), p. 66-68.

meaning, image ability and other social problems. In Ankara the shopping mall "is becoming the in-disputed centre of social life in the city: a space for the organized and *surveilled* mass consumption – of time as well as commodities."[26] For the last ten years seems to be kind of spontaneous and casual architecture. The changes in the urban design contest, lately consisting primarily in large trade centers and shopping malls introduce the need for change in the architectural program. The city's new public sphere is being conceptualized through the marketable image that these centers shift. Obviously, there exist spaces that work separately divided by roads which recently are turning into highways and separate parts rather than connecting. The limits economic power decides about social, economic and physical order of places[27] shapes the city as an urban product to be sold. Thus, the city, in a global context seems to cope spontaneously with other cities throughout the world and this "mirroring behavior" at a present time exercises by identifying new terms of cultural signification.

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[26] See Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id =3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009)
[27] Jon Lang, "Introduction: Urban Design" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 3.

CHAPTER 2

THE CITY

2.1 Historical Background

> The land is the simplest form of architecture…. Building upon the land is
> […] natural to man […] his buildings became what we call architecture
> […] what then is architecture? […] It is man in possession of his earth.
> […] Man by nature desired to build […] and architecture became by way
> of this desire the greatest proof on earth of man's greatness, his right to
> be born, to inherit the earth […] if the man was poor and mean by
> nature he built that way. If he was noble and richly endowed than he
> built grandly, like a noble man. But high or low it was his instinct to build
> on this earth.[28]

Looking back to history the examples of the Great Pyramids of Cheops,
Chephren, and Mycerinus in Egypt are the vivid expression of the ruler's
power and inside of them is contained little usable interior space. Other
examples as the 52-meter spiraling brick minaret of the Great Mosque of
Samarra in Iraqi that does not have interior at all, and the stone spires of
Chartres Cathedral with a tallness of 107-meter, though sophisticated in its
structure, enclose narrow shafts of empty space and cramped access stair.[29]
The great Lighthouse, or Pharos, of Alexandria which is known to be the
tallest structure in the ancient world and that was built by Alexander the Great
outside just the entrance to his new city harbor was slightly higher than the
Great Pyramid of Cheops. The first high-rise living quarters, the Roman
insulae, were predominantly utilitarian forms, but their name 'islands'
embodies a notion of psychological separation from the immediate
surroundings common to many tall buildings. These cheaply build apartments

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[28] Frank Lloyd Wright, "Some Aspects of the Past and Present of Architecture" in *The Future of Architecture* (New York, Horizon Press, 1953), 34.
[29] William Mitchell, *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 23.

were an example of economic forces pushing living accommodation upwards, appearing in the densely populated lower-class *pontine* area of Rome.[30]

Other historical examples of tall and big buildings like Colosseum, Pont du Gard, Hagia Sophia (Byzantine church more towering than tall), Cathedral of Seville, Ulm Cathedral, and following with later tall buildings like Monadnock and Reliance Building in Chicago, the Flatiron Building in New York, Eiffel Tower in Paris, Mies's Seagram Tower in New York, the John Hancock Center in Chicago, the World Trade Center in New York, and other examples of the 20th and 21st centuries show that architects attempt to built tall and big buildings and make the towers more sophisticated according to the interior space and make the High-Rise and Skyscrapers a symbol in the modern city and not just a simple tower.

The Industrial Revolution provided facilities to enlarge and open up the interiors of tall buildings and towers and architects could employ mechanical elevators for vertical circulation as well as integrate sophisticated mechanical systems to heat, ventilation, and cool growing amount for the interior spaces.[31]

The kind of building build by man and called architecture today – as Wright expressed in his book *The Future of Architecture* – "is the building wherein human thought and feeling enter to create a greater harmony and true significance in the whole structure." Furthermore, Wright says that "man always sought reflection in it of his sense of himself as God-like" and this God is the man's imagination and *he* made a "God-like building" and dedicated it to the God made from his imagination. The gods man made - various in number and time – were high or low, great or small and man's "architecture was something out of his practical self to his ideal self." Wright says that common to this entire works made by man another spirit lived which he called "the great spirit, architecture."[32]

[30] Mathew Wells, *Skyscrapers: Structure and Design* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 6-15.
[31] William Mitchell, *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 23-24.
[32] Ibid., 41-52

What was world in the tens of thousands of generations of Neolithic period when the life of human being could be just imaginary or we could have just a rough idea how in this period the natural environment was shaped by man which was just a superficial modification of a vast environment. In this primitive life man created natural refuges made of hollow or shelters which were made of skins draped over a wood framework. Tracing the initial signs of location excavating and studying archaeologists showed world how man learned to use fire and the examples of a primitive dwelling even though it remains confuse and we cannot recognize a clear shape of this primitive man experience. This early Neolithic settlements sited in a part nature which was transformed due to a human plan which included cultivated land to produce food, goods and which was the place of leaving usually found on large scales plans. Here the city born with his roots on the village tradition.[33]

Mesopotamia, a world constructed in our belief to be controlled by gods and goddesses protecting cities and people and honored by rituals in temples built large in a great size and elevation well distinguished from the ordinary dwelling-houses. Here the surplus is controlled by the governors of the cities. Cities grown in size were surrounded by a wall or ditch built for defense but for the first time these became a barrier between the natural environment and the artificially enclosed urban area divided into privately-owned units but the countryside is administrated in common on behalf of local deities. The cities of Mesopotamia form a number of independent areas continually struggling to increase borders in the middle of the third millennium. Under empires grown in a period of domination from kings physical effects to be taken under consideration were like the foundation of new residential cities, in which the main source of power becomes the royal palace rather than the temple and that the growth of cities like Babylon became the first cites that reached such dimensions to be comparable with the modern metropolis.[34]

The land on the Nile, Egypt, fascinated world with the great civilization of Ancient Egypt, possibly understood by the deciphering of hieroglyphic writing in the 19th century which provided the key to a forgotten world.[35] Here the

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[33] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Prehistoric Background and the Origins of the City" in *The History of the Cit* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 7-10.
[34] Ibid., 20-28.
[35] Matthias Seidel and Regine Schulz, *Egypt: Art & Architecture* (Könemann, 2005).

pharaoh is the powerful figure in the land building cities, public works and temples but especially building his monumentally tomb, symbol this of immortality where with the preservation of his body guaranteed his survival power for defending the community. Egyptians monuments formed their own kind of self-contained city the holy city built of stone which is a city for the dead.[36]

In Greece the city-state a small territory placed on the top of the mountain crossed by a stream was a single united entity not formed in different areas and or secondary zones. People's houses for living were built on the same lines varying just in size but not with a different architectural style. The city divided in three zones like the private areas, sacred areas and public areas. The city, a natural organism inserted to the natural environment, respected the natural lines of the countryside, perfect symmetry of temples and this balance of art and nature gave every city a high individuality. The Greek city basically a living organism but sometimes it reached some points of stabilization, its population growth led to the construction of other complexes of buildings greater or larger than the original. In short, such qualities like unity, lack of rigidity, balance with nature, and stability of growth made this Greek city resembled a valid model for other urban developments. Looking back at the monument of Acropolis it is impossible to find out where architecture ends and ornament begins. Man is present in the natural environment and his presence noted its quality rather than the quantity. *He*, by using his skills improved these constructions trying to compete the perfection of nature, imposing the close relationship between individual elements and the whole, and making his city a construction on a human scale.[37]

The construction man made in Greece has a human scale, but what about the space the building offer? Turning to Bruno Zevi – as he talked for the Ancient Greece – "the Greek temple is characterized on the one hand by a great lack and on the other by a supremacy which has never been rivaled." This "great lack," as he explained, consist in the "ignoring of the internal space." What about this supremacy! It is "in the masterly application of human scale." Zevi

[36] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Prehistoric Background and the Origins of the City" in *The History of the Cit*y (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 37-43.
[37] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Free City in Greece" in *The History of the Cit*y (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 55-73.

gives the examples of architects like Le Corbusier who "admire its human scale," and Wright who "deplore its negation of space." According to Zevi for anyone who seeks a "conception of architectural space" might well take the example of the Greek temple as "horrible example of architecture." A Greek temple consists of a raised platform up to which of posts supports a continuous architrave that supports the roof. There is a *cella* which in the archaic period constituted the sole nucleus of the structure that had an internal space never developed creatively, because there was no social function and this "*cella* was not merely an enclosed, but literally a *closed*, space and a closed or sealed internal space is exactly characteristic of sculpture."[38]

Rome… the world city and the centre of the world, the great city with origins influenced by nature and its physical environment even during the Middle Ages in its view of a impoverished village. As Benevolo cites from Tacitus in Rome "the construction was not… without plan or demarcation," and "street-fronts were of regulated dimensions and alignment, streets were broad, and houses spacious."[39]

Looking at the Ancient Greece and referring to Zevi "the Parthenon is a non-architectural work, but it is still a masterpiece of art; and it might be said that anyone who fails to value it as a sculptural monument is failing in esthetic sensibility."[40] Roman architecture if we look at the reconstructions of monuments of Imperial period and imagine the space and feel of forums as they were there, according to Zevi, a "Roman building is not a work of art, but never to the conclusion that it is not architecture." The internal space developed on a grand scale and even if they did not have the refinement of the Greek sculptor-architects, they did have the genius of builder-architects which is the genius of architecture. They were "unable to extend their spatial and volumetric themes plastically," themes which were the product of a grand architectural inspiration.[41] The multiplicity of forms is in contrast to the unitary theme of Greek architecture. Monumental scale, the technique of arch and

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[38] Bruno Zevi, "Space and Scale in Ancient Greece" in *Architecture as Space; How to Look at Architecture*, edit. Joseph A. Barry, trans. Milton Gendel (New York, Horizon Press, 1957), 76.

[39] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Prehistoric Background and the Origins of the City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 55-73.
[40] Bruno Zevi, "Static Space in Ancient Rome" in *Architecture as Space; How to Look at Architecture*, edit. Joseph A. Barry, trans. Milton Gendel (New York, Horizon Press, 1957), 78.

[41] Ibid., 78-79.

vault reduced columns and *trabeation* to the function of decorative motifs, the feeling for large-scale volume applied in reservoirs, tombs, aqueducts, and arches. There is a powerful spatial conception of basilicas and baths and an acute consciousness of setting the power of invention which makes Roman architecture a "morphological encyclopedia of architecture."[42]

In Rome, the monumental scale of Imperial building, with a social theme to the basilica, where men living and acting in conformity to a philosophy and culture breaks out the abstract contemplation, the perfect equilibrium, of what the Greek ideal is, becoming richer psychologically, instrumental, and given to rhetorical symbols of grandeur. As Zevi explains, "moving the Greek colonnade into the interior means man's walking in the enclosed space, where all plastic decoration is organized toward vitalizing that space."[43]

Roman space, fundamentally, is that it was conceived statically. The rule is symmetry like expressed in circular and rectangular spaces that provided "an absolute autonomy with respect to neighboring spaces emphasized by thick dividing walls and a biaxial grandiosity on an inhuman scale, essentially self-contained and independent of the observer." Official Roman building is an affirmation of authority. The Empire is a symbol dominating the mass of citizens. Roman scale in buildings, referring to Zevi "is the scale of that mythos, later to become reality, still later nostalgia, and it neither is, nor was it intended to be, the scale of man," and "scale has an additional meaning, which concerns not the proportional relations between man and building, but the proportions within the building itself and their effect on man.[44]

Europe, at the end of the 10th century began to undergo an economic renaissance and in this period the population increased, the agricultural output rose, industry and commerce plays a very important role. As a result of the increase of population cities became too small for accommodation and because of this phenomenon new settlements move upward outside the city and were called suburbs which became larger than the urban nucleus. The medieval city-state controlled a large area of land which size varied due to city needs and unlike the Greek city it remained a close city with economic and

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[42] Ibid., 79.
[43] Ibid., 80.
[44] Ibid., 81-108.

political activities equally being on an international scale as on the national one but the politics of this city were oriented to coincide the interests of urban population.[45] Medieval cities came in adapting themselves freely to geographical and economic situation in all shapes and sizes. The Medieval city varied considerably on size lying from full-scale street to narrow alleyways containing squares self-contained open spaces closely integrated with streets that ran into them. Public areas had a complex layout because they had to accommodate different authorities as the local bishop, the municipal government, religious orders and the trade guilds. Cities of great importance with overlapped areas but with a well defined contrast between civil and religious authority had more than one center which would have been the religious centre with the cathedral, the civil centre with the town hall and one or some commercial centers with arcades and guildhall. These Medieval cities were privileged political entities with its bourgeoisie representing only a small part of population that grew rapidly from the beginning of the eleventh century up to mid-fourteenth century. The tallest structures were at the centre – those like the towers of the municipal palace, the campanile and cathedral spire – which presented the city's highest points. The city had to be surrounded by a wall which had to defend it from the outside world and with the growth of the city its walls had to increase until a series of concentric circles of fortification had been constructed. The walls represented the largest item of public expenditure and the need of a new wall construction was postponed until there was no room left for buildings within the existing walls which accounts for houses density and also for the height of buildings. Complexity, continuity, and concentration are three main characteristics surviving the passing of time still defining basic nature of the European city.[46]

First decades of the 15th century architects embodied new concepts of universal validity adopted by the whole of civilized world. Artists and specially architects in this period were already high-level specialist no longer dependent on the medieval guilds. One of these high-level specialist establishing a new method of working in architecture was Filippo Brunelleschi defining the position of the architect as an artist-intellectual and who had some primary duties like detailing in advance, but who furthermore upheld a new concept of

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[45] Leonardo Benevolo, "European Cities in the Middle Age" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 286-307.
[46] Ibid., 308-326.

architecture conflicting with the traditional views still held by his patrons. Brunelleschi made a great work and studied on fundamental rules of perspective. According to Brunelleschi in the first plan the architect has to detail in drawings and models with a precise appearance which while drawing would follow a logical order as its proportional, metrical, and physical characteristics; in buildings individual elements as pillars, arches, pilasters, doors or windows should be of a certain type as those used in antiquity.[47]

These new methods of projections, in the 15th century throughout Italy, theoretically could be applied to all kind of things from the smallest object to whole cities and landscapes. Renaissance architects put their theories of ideal proportion and scale into practice in some buildings without founding or transforming the entire city. In cities like Pienza and Urbino the principal buildings were distinguished by their greater regularity and not by their size, furthermore, there is a balance between the city and the palace which dimensions differ not to greatly from those of the other buildings.[48]

Man's spirit – his pattern – in all buildings built on earth raised great or small like these ancient buildings which were similarly formed by the human spirit. These ancient buildings were sculptured by the spirit of architecture in passing. Wright expressed that "any building is a by-product of eternal living force, a spiritual force taking forms in time and place appropriate to man," and these buildings "constitute a record to be interpreted, no letter to be imitated." Wright, calls this ancient aggregations "architecture," but looking back upon this deposit to man's credit while underlining that "just as man was in his own time and place so was his building in its time and place," Wright points out that architecture does not represent just these buildings in themselves but far greater, furthermore, we must believe "architecture to be the living spirit that made buildings what they were," a spirit "by and for man," a spirit of "time and place," and we must perceive architecture "to be a spirit of the spirit of man that will live as long as man lives." In architecture to separate spirit and matter

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[47] Ibid., 500-501.
[48] Leonardo Benevolo, "Italian Cities during the Renaissance" in *The History of the Cit* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 535-544.

is to destroy both, and building itself is architecture "when it is essential pattern significant of purpose."[49]

This living spirit of architecture traced by history as a living myth and symbolized through forms and monumental creations attached to architectural pieces creating the image of a holistic architecture.

The architecture of Neo-Classicism emerged two different but related developments radically transforming the relation between man and nature, firstly, as a result of a sudden increase of man's capacity controlling nature as known by the mid-seventeenth century to advance beyond the technical frontiers of Renaissance, and secondly, the fundamental shift in the nature of human consciousness resulting to changes in society like the declining aristocracy and rising bourgeoisie life style. These technological changes guided to a new infrastructure and here will be need to note also an exploitation of an increased productive capacity.[50]

In the Rococo period the over-elaboration of architectural language interiors of the Ancient Regime and the secularization of Enlightenment thought forced the architects of 18th century to search for a new style through a precise reappraisal of antiquity with a motivation to obey the principles on which their works were based on. Looking at this Ancient world an archeological research arising from this impulse led to controversy which raises the question if should they look for a new style.

Piranesi in 1761 in his book *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* makes a direct attack on the polemic made by Le Roy asserting that Etruscans antedated the Greeks but together with their successors the Romans raised architecture to a higher level of refinement. Piranesi portrayed Classical images, like Manfredo Tafuri observed, treated as myths to be

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[49] Frank Lloyd Wright, "Some Aspects of the Past and Present of Architecture" in *The Future of Architecture* (New York, Horizon Press, 1953), 52.
[50] Kenneth Frampton, "Cultural Transformations: Neo-Classical Architecture 1750-1900" in *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*, 3rd ed., (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 12.

considered as mere fragments or deformed symbols of an order in a state of decay.[51]

The evolution of Neo-Classicism after the Revolution was inseparable from the need to accommodate new institutions of bourgeois society and to represent the emergence of the new republican state.[52]

Kenneth Frampton in his book *Modern Architecture: a Critical History* (1992) describes that in Europe over the previous five hundred years "the finite city… was totally transformed in the space of a century by the interaction of a number unprecedented technical and socio-economic forces, many of which first emerged in England during the second half of the 18th century."[53]

The European revolutions of 1848 precipitating a severe crisis between Left and Right parts and where the victorious middle class established a new urban model where interests of dominant groups – entrepreneurs and landlords – partly coordinated corrected contradictions caused from the presence of the poorer classes. Intervention of state limited complete freedom of action for private enterprise and established building regulations and carried out public works guaranteed within these limitations. The city was achieved thus the transition from the 'liberal' city to the 'post-liberal' city. This new model successes on the further development of Europe's great cities specially Paris, and on the foundation of colonial cities that still have a determining effect on modern cities. Some of these characteristics of this model were: both public administration and the private sector recognized the other's domain, the control over the minimum amount of land for a city to function properly was controlled by the administration and the private sector was responsible for the rest; the way urban land was used depended on the individual owners, on whom administration influences indirectly and controlling the size of building in relation to public areas and fixing the relation with the neighboring buildings; boundaries between the public and private areas determined the shape of the city were building specially were sited directly adjoining the road or set back from the road. Arrangements as cited above led to the rise of prices and made it possible for preserving low-cost dwellings for the poor people and pushed

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[51] Ibid., 12-13.
[52] Ibid., 17.
[53] Ibid., 20.

this section of society in a third concentric zone, mixture of the city, spreading further and further with the developing growth of the city. The 'post-liberal' city has an excessive density of the centre and there is an absence of low-cost housing and these were alleviated from public parks that provided "artificial slice of the inaccessible countryside, and council built with public money, which were either terraced blocs or small houses set back from the road." 'Post liberal' city superimposed on earlier cities tends to destroy it, treating old streets as 'corridor streets' and eliminating areas in which land served a dual public and private purpose but above all these it treated buildings as spendable and built near to each other these building provided the widening of the street. Old buildings as churches and palaces used as models for the use of the stylistic elements part of the new architecture creations preserved on the modern city as an open museum. "The cities were designed so as to enable the landlords to obtain the maximum rents possible," this meant the difference between the centre and less populated peripheral areas divided into different neighborhood.[54]

Paris was the most important example in this period when cities were in danger of grinding to a complete halt as the public services never adequate and while areas of land in private ownership exploited more than laws allowed. The city became a discriminatory apparatus confirming the domination of the strong over the week. The transformation of Paris during the Second Empire (1851-1870), under the visions of Baron Haussmann, consisted of new: streets networks laid out in the city proper but also in the surrounding area linking with baroque boulevards and integrated these street into the system; primary services as water supply, sewers, gas lighting, and public transport; secondary services as schools, hospitals, colleges, prisons and public parks; administrative system which abolished the 18th century tax boundaries and outlying communes annexed to the *Commune de Paris*. The city stretched to the outer fortification and was divided into twenty *arondissements* which had their own anatomy. Haussmann tried improving the quality of new environment by using traditional tools of town planner and imposing a degree of geometrical regularity choosing form of monumental structure whether it was ancient or modern for restructuring the focal point of each new street. Enforcing the architectural uniformity of building facades overlooking the most

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[54] Leonardo Benevolo, "The 'Post-Liberal' City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 765-786.

important street squares or centers, and the vast extend of these new open spaces frequently under traffic made these places to be prevented from being enjoyed as perspective views as they blended into each other and made them lost individuality. Building facades became merely unfolding backcloth and street furniture as lamps, trees, benches became more important. "The never-ending ebb and flow of traffic and pedestrians changed the city into a constantly moving spectacle," and this was the modern metropolis face.[55]

This example for the new city fascinated European society and was accepted as a universal model as there were no alternatives. This model, in fact, instead of solving old problems revealed other new ones which became matter for an immediate consideration.[56]

Napoleon III and specially Haussmann with his regulations for this 'open' city left their incredible mark in the city of Paris but also on a major part of cities in France and Central Europe that underwent this regulations. Haussmann influence is present even in Daniel Burnham's 1909 gridded plan city of Chicago. Burnham, as Frampton writes, explained that this task used from Haussmann for Paris obviously functions for Chicago "to overcome the intolerable conditions which invariably arise from a rapid growth in population."[57]

During the second half of the 19th century the European city was not as transformed as Paris was and old shape was deciding for their modern appearance. Particularly in Vienna, between the medieval town and baroque outskirts, the open area of clear ground was built at 1857,[58] and as also Frampton writes, "where the replacement of demolished fortifications by a display boulevard was taken to its logical extreme in the ostentatious Ringstrasse, built around the old centre between 1858 and 1914."[59] Florence (capital of Italy in 1864) and Barcelona were enlarged on the basis of the plan

[55] Ibid., 786-789.
[56] Ibid., 804.
[57] Kenneth Frampton, "Territorial Transformations: Urban Developments 1800-1909" in *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*, 3rd ed., (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 23-24.
[58] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Modern' City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 823.
[59] Kenneth Frampton, "Territorial Transformations: Urban Developments 1800-1909" in *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*, 3rd ed., (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 25.

formulated in 1859.[60] In Barcelona, urban regularization were developed by Spanish engineer Ildefonso Cerdá (inventor of the term *urbanizacion*) who projected the expansion of the gridded city twenty-two blocks deep, bordered by the sea and intersected by two diagonal avenues, and who gives priority to a system of circulation.[61] Toward the end of the 19th century the European system was applied also in cities of North America.

Modern architecture, searching for an alternative to the traditional urban model begun when artist and technicians needed to find a new image for the 'post-liberal' city, reacted against the city ugliness and criticizing the surrounding. Architects like Horta, Van de Velde, and Wagner, who were not in search for a borrowed style from the past, searched for a new original model not dependent on tradition. Painters begun to question "the truth of external reality," artist of the avant-garde in the middle of the century questioned "all the established rules concern the organization of the physical environment." In 1856 with the invention of the Bessemer Process the use of steel became more widespread and allowed the manufacture of new machines providing the built of structures that were never seen before like the rotunda at the 1878 Exhibition in Vienna, Galerie des Machines at the 1889 Exhibition in Paris; suspension bridges like Brooklyn Bridge (1873), and Washington Bridge over the Hudson (1928); and skyscrapers erected in the of the nineteenth century in Chicago, New York and other examples of the early examples usually exiting 100 or more floors. These new construction methods created a certain indecisive confusion about the external appearance of the building whether it should be designed in traditional lines or should present the latest ideas of the avant-garde architecture. The increase of the population, traffic and urban services led to the demand of a renewal of the urban environment.[62]

To reflex its attack white surface was the key role of its manifesto. The modernity of the white surface was identified with the rejection of the fashion

[60] Leonardo Benevolo, "The 'Post-Liberal' City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 823.

[61] Kenneth Frampton, "Territorial Transformations: Urban Developments 1800-1909" in *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*, 3rd ed., (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 25.

[62] Leonardo Benevolo, "The 'Post-Liberal' City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 823.

of nineteenth-century architecture.[63] Modern architects were trying to find something new and different to style in architecture. The image of modern architecture especially for Europe in the twenties is "the texture less container of simple shape as the membrane-thin envelope for extravagantly open interiors." According to William Jordy, this image is "the manifestation of the courageous vision which brought modern architecture fully into being."[64] To Alan Colquhoun in modern architecture the forms were "a spontaneous outgrowth from an immediate and radical past."[65]

Adolf Behne in *Der moderne Zweckbau* (The Modern Functional Building) written in 1923 and published in 1926, tried to unmask many of the ideologies such as functionalism, rationalism, and European Modernism of the 1920s. In his book Behne "is crucial for understanding modernist contextually, especially those later subsumed under the notion of functionalism." Rosemarie Haag Bletter writes that "the increasing concern with purpose and *Sachlichkeit* in early Modernism signifies the change from older, aristocratic value systems to an emphasis on everyday and common experience as the new paradigm" and "instead of emphasizing the external appearance of buildings, German texts dealing with Modernism in the 1920s identified the new architecture through its underlying conceptual premises. The visual aspect of the building was different in this period and perhaps the correspondence between idea and form was difficult to establish.[66]

In the modern concept the role of the façade differs from the old fashions and styles in history. Behne attempts to clarify that function as one of the most important aspects of modern architecture in Germany is the key word of what was new in the architecture of the 1920s. Behne seems to have been in agreement with Hartlaub stating that:

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[63] Mark Wigley, "The Fashion Police" in *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashion of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press, 1995), 37-38.
[64] William Jordy, "The Symbolic Essence of Modern European Architecture of the Twenties and Its Continuing Influence,*" JSAH* vol.22 (October 1963): 177.
[65] Alan Colquhoun, "The Modern Movement in Architecture" in *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change* (Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press, 1981), 21.
[66] Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Introduction" in *The Modern Functional Building* by Adolf Behne (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1996), 1.

Academic and historical styles have been abandoned and the concept of façade has been disposed of. Yet the "house" is still standing.[67]

But what is the importance of the surface? Why this change of the old stylized historical walls became suddenly white and a smooth surface?

The façade became white… White surfaces became inseparable and the identity of the modern architecture. For Wigley "modern architecture" known as a set of principles or practices uniting a group of heterogeneous architects and buildings, the idea of making it modern was the sharing of the white wall. These walls are rarely discussed as they appear everywhere becoming strangely invisible, and at the time the modern architecture is understood as such, the whiteness becomes inconspicuous.

But clearly the white wall is far from neutral or silent. For the modern architect, it speaks volumes. Indeed, nothing is louder. The white wall is precisely not blank. Its apparent passivity is but the curious effect of a whole set of coordinated actions by the discourse, a concerted campaign that began as soon as the majority of architects started to reach for cans of white paint. In a strange twist, the white wall was carefully silenced in the very moment of its success.[68]

For Wigley the identity of architecture is located in the white surfaces that "assumed unparalleled force," in that grade to define modern architecture "long after architects started to remove the layer of paint in favor to the look of exposed concrete or metal." "Modern architecture" as Wigley proceeds "was never simply white," the surface of the building is "far from superficial," detail is important and "textures are telling." [69]

As Wigley presents, one of the most influential modern architects, Le Corbusier, argues that modern architecture "can only be modern inasmuch it is white," and for him this is not just an aesthetic issue. Le Corbusier with his buildings like the famous Villa Savoye, House at Weissenhof, Notre Dame Du

[67] Adolf Behne, "No Longer a Façade but a House" in *The Modern Functional Building* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1996), 100.
[68] Mark Wigley, "Introduction," in *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashion of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press, 1995), xiv.
[69] Ibid., xv.

Haut, or Villa shows that he was crazy about white color and his works wanted to transform the house in "a machine for living." [70]

> The modern building is naked and the white wall accentuates that nakedness by highlighting its machine-like smoothness. The white paint is meant to be the skin of the body rather than a dissimulating layer of clothing… the white is a layer… Although everyone seems to be everywhere with the beauty and purity of the body of industrialized structures, modern architecture is not naked. From the beginning it is painted white. And this white layer that proclaims that the architecture it covers is naked has a very ambiguous role. Supposedly, it is inserted into the space once occupied by clothing, without being clothing as such… No matter how thin the coat of painting is, it is still a coat. It is not simply inserted into the space vacated by clothing. It is itself a very particular form of clothing.[71]

Le Corbusier reactivated the white wall and attempts to mobilize it to the most modern agendas. Maybe this attempt was to create a new fashion or maybe as Wigley states "the architect enters the fickle world of clothing to extract the seeming stable order of the man's suit." According to Wigley "the white wall is meant to precede fashions rather than participate in them," and that the changes of these fashions last much longer than a season. Le Corbusier states that he "acquainted" himself with the fashions of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Munich and that "everything about all this fashions seemed to be dubious," but after this journey his respect for decoction was "finally shattered." The white wall was a discovery of the clothing that precedes fashion. But does this fashion resemble the "decorative styles" like the examples of many historical buildings? What is the importance of this cover, the importance of the surface in buildings? Architects remove the authority of the structure to expose everything on the surface exposing the architecture in the limits of a surface one of the most important aspect of modern architecture.[72]

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[70] Ibid., xvi.
[71] Mark Wigley, "Introduction," in *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashion of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press, 1995), xviii.
[72] Mark Wigley, "The Fashion Police," in *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashion of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press, 1995), 36.

City based on the idea of an integral entity has a process of analyzing in a combination of activities dominating urban life as Le Corbusier would list as: living, working, cultivating the body of the mind, and moving about. Looking back to the 'post-liberal' city concerned with production, commerce and movement we see that while criticizing this system another system came out with priorities where: housing (becoming the most important element of the city was to be inseparable from the services that were to be their main companion), 'the scattered farm' (in the country side), 'the linear industrial city', and 'the radiocentric trading city'. In the middle-class green areas were as isolated patches, cause of the density, but they started to be up-grated and spread throughout the city. The traditional moving about in the city organized through transport and other activities were categorized in the base of their importance and especially what the 'corridor street' was to be known of its pedestrians and carriageway, changed in an system of separate streets for pedestrians, bicycles, slow and fast vehicles provided liberally through the length and breadth of the park-city. The new urban structure intended overcoming the dualism of the town and country and consequently "the appropriation of urban land by private individuals for financial gain."[73]

> From the very beginning, modern architects criticized the combination of public interest and private ownership that formed the basis of the bourgeois city, and that clearly indicated the alternative: the transfer of all urban land into public ownership.[74]

The living was considered as a prime function and the home, as the smallest habitable unit, became the basic element of the city and was the strongest point of criticizing the bourgeois city which also was precisely based on this relationship between private and public area as this modern building depend.[75]

The modern architectural research involved the first detailed analysis of the houses internal structure but which implies a particular view of the establishment of the rules governing the grouping of homes according to the needs of their occupants and taking into account the relationships within

[73] Leonardo Benevolo, "The Modern' City" in *The History of the City* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 861-863.
[74] Ibid., 863.
[75] Ibid., 871-872.

houses and with the public services which helpfully provided a neighborhood – principal unit to the modern city.[76]

Unites d'habitation, concepts of Le Corbusier, formed a continual gradation from the smallest unit to the largest and finally to the whole city that made architecture control on larger scale. The city could be shaped differently in many various ways but deriving from a limited number of combinations of the way of joining building to each other.[77]

Modernism to be hold on together was "neither a style nor a temporally demarcated era but a general principle or cultural predisposition," or it was to maintain that modernism "striving for change" in architecture is about "new conceptions of space."[78]

2.1 "Symbolic Meaning"

The city occupying a privilege place in architectural design is "the place of the unexpected"[79] (as Henri Lefebvre would say) and is the mythical place where "all orders are possible,"[80] but furthermore the city is conceived in its temporal terms in like manner of spatial aspects.[81]

The city is the place of the 'exposition of art works' whether it reflects cultural transformation, mirrored social evolution of neighboring, but not anymore the "meeting-place of classes," but "it is the structured space of separation."[82]

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[76] Ibid., 872-881.
[77] Ibid., 881.
[78] Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style" *JSAH* vol. 64, no. 2 (June 2005): 158.
[79] See David Harvey, "Preface" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), xv.
[80] Diana Agrest, "The City as the Place of Representation" in *Architecture from without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 109.
[81] Ibid., 114.
[82] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space, and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 14.

2.2 The City Demand for Continuity

The past was when man started seeking shelter in the natural environment he felt the desire to build and posses the earth by building grandly for himself and his myths and his building was sculptured and painted externally and superficially differently in countries and cultures. With the passing of time the building became a reflection of man's richness as he styled and painted on gold where he lived and prayed to Gods and suddenly his building became ridiculously comic. Men build the machine and he reduced his massive buildings to a skeleton of steel. He created the city and he searched for function, he planned and destroyed what he built…

The rapid growth of the cities as a phenomenon of the increase of the population and of an ongoing human experience of building and dwelling seems to expand the borders of the city and localize the activity of regions within this parts that bring down curtain of cities inside of the city. The demand for continuity within a universal viewpoint for the planning of the city perhaps concludes in the definitions of new strategies basic to past experiences for the recreation of the future developments to structural city.

2.3 Early Transformations in Architecture

What we see today in the 'universal city' is that whatever the regional development provide it conclude to a mirroring of cultures and unifying characteristics of this city 'wearing' the contemporary clothe that architecture stick together.

What is commonly accepted in the last architectural trends evolution seems to be an attempt to enlarge in a great scale buildings like high-rise buildings, skyscrapers, and mega-structures. This tall buildings type capturing the public imagination and is being an iconic representation of world cities. The tall building or the commercial building emerges from the pressure of the land prices. Tall buildings are not only alternative urban building typologies but they represent power in social, economical, political and even religious terms. In this sense these 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. However the eclectic existence of the tall buildings in urban fabric causes a series of unexpected transformations in a larger scale.

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The impact of these buildings in urban scale takes a very important place in the modern city – their architectural expression is not limited with their individual scale but rather it becomes an integrated part of the whole city which is open to transform function, infrastructure, architectural meaning, image ability and other social problems. In this sense tall buildings became cultural and social symbol and it is inevitable to consider the design process as an urban experience. However many of the contemporary examples are designed as individual architectural buildings…

"Michelangelo built the first skyscraper when he hurled the Pantheon on top of Parthenon,"[83] Wright writes and explains that Michelangelo "probably thought architecture, too, ought to be sculpture." The great dome being a kind of "thing authority had been looking for as a symbol" and Wright implies a particular view of acceptance of this symbol that "the world saw it, accepted and adopted it as the great symbol of great authority."[84] The sense of grandeur looks to simplify all triumph, the triumph embodied in the body of tall structure.

> We are not putting a dome up on stilts – no, but we are carrying the stilts themselves on up higher than the dome ever stood and hanging reborn architecture, or architecture-soon-to-be-born, all over the steel, chasing up and down between the steel-stilts in automatic machines at the rate of a mile a minute, until the world gasps, votes our innovation a success, and imitates. Another worldly success, but not this time empty in the name of grandeur. By no means; we are no longer like that. We are doing it for money. Mind you – charging off whatever deficit may arise in connection therewith to advertising account.[85]

The skyscrapers birth arising to unprecedented heights and dimensions created a new speculative terrain of vertical extension. Calibrated to market forces and technological efficiencies the skyscraper transforms a powerful expressive gesture in a structural form.[86] The impact of tall buildings in urban scale takes a very important place in the modern city – their architectural expression is not limited with their individual scale

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[83] Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Tyranny of the Skyscraper" in *The Future of Architecture* (New York, Horizon Press, 1953), 148.
[84] Ibid., 148-149.
[85] Ibid., 150.
[86] Eric Höweler, "Vertical Now: The Skyscraper at the Beginning of the 21st Century" in Skyscraper: Vertical Now" (Universe Publishing, 2003), 8-10.

but rather it becomes an integrated part of the whole city which is open to transform function, infrastructure, architectural meaning, image ability and other social problems. In this sense high-rise buildings became cultural and social symbol and it is inevitable to consider the design process as an urban experience. However many of the contemporary examples are designed as individual architectural buildings…

Being on fashion… having the right fashion… creating a style or being on top-list of the parade…

> A telling example of the preconceptions and prejudices underlying architects' urban visions is the recurrent enthusiasm among the avant-garde for utopian urban schemes, frequently demonstrated in the form of so-called 'megastructure' projects. Though nominally propagating new technologies, change and flexibility, they are actually rooted in relatively static and well-worn concepts of the ideal city. Usually, they feature an articulated general-purpose supporting structure, which also acts as the servicing and circulation system, into which are placed a variety of subsystems and components, all closely integrated with and dependent upon the supporting megastructure. The overall appearance is that of a high density, closely knit urban form virtually comprising a continuous, all-in-one structure. --- Radical change cannot be accommodated without a drastic overhaul of the whole system.[87]

2.4 Globalization

> Globalization destabilizes and redefines both the way architecture is produced and that which architecture produces. Architecture is no longer patient transaction between known quantities that share cultures, no longer the manipulation of established possibilities, no longer a possible judgment in rational terms of investment and return no longer something experienced in person – by the public or critics. Globalization lends virtuality to real buildings, keeps them indigestible, forever fresh.[88]

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[87] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 15.
[88] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, "Globalization" in S*, M, L, XL* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 367.

Globalization takes one of the most important and discussed issues in the 21st century. Aspects of global paradox "challenging the model of a homogenized world future"[89] as conclusive evidence reveals that the city image is to be unified in a type of architectural product. According to Koolhaas globalization "expands the realm of possibility, for better or worse" and "exponentially depletes and enriches the architectural imagination," but furthermore it "radically modifies architectural discourse, now an uneasy relationship between regional unknowing and international knowing."[90]

> The true global cities of the twenty-first century may well be those large metropolises that are simultaneously emerging as production motors not of national economies but of the global economy. Industrialization and urbanization are more, not less, interwoven, and the cities of most intense population growth are also those of greatest industrial expansion. In any case, as this language of world cities indicates, the transformation of urbanization is tied to transformations at the global scale captured, however ideologically, in the language of globalization: as Lefebvre sensed, the evident quantitative growth of urban areas does indeed express a much more complex shift.[91]

This impact of the globalization manifested in the explosive growth of cities made the building architecture to be identified in a sample building type as the skyscraper to articulate the nature of the contemporary city in a cultural condition.[92] "Borderlands are sites and symbols of power,"[93] and these geographic borders remained in place but what is being *global* is a culture that created interconnectedness of place, community and identity.

> Macro-economists, even those with interests in development, have a
> weak grasp of how to handle the production of space in their theories
> and models. The best they can usually do, is to see the world as
> partitioned into geographical entities (hence the importance of the state
> in their analyses and policies) each undergoing some kind of temporal

[89] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford; Boston: Architectural Press, 2000), 194.
[90] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, "Globalization" in S*, M, L, XL* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 367.
[91] Neil Smith, "Forward: Industrialization/Urbanization" in Henri Lefebvre (ed.) *The Urban Revolution,* trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), xx.
[92] Eric Höweler, "Vertical Now: The Skyscraper at the Beginning of the 21st Century" in Skyscraper: Vertical Now" (Universe Publishing, 2003), 17.
[93] Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, "Introduction: Borders, Nation and State" in *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford : Berg, 1999), 1.

process of development. The target of their thinking is how to understand different temporal trajectories (why and how national economies develop in the way they do and how to theorize and model these developments) and perhaps intervene so as to promote a healthier or more beneficial (usually defined as more profitable) pathway of development within that territorial entity.[94]

Harvey in his essay *Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"* as a geographer thinks that "the production, reproduction and reconfiguration of space have always been central to understanding the political economy of capitalism," and "the contemporary form of globalization is nothing more than yet another round in the capitalist production and reconstruction of space," but in addition to these globalization "entails a further diminution in the friction of distance through yet another round of innovation in the technologies of transport and communications." Harvey argues that contemporary globalization has been "the product of specific geographically grounded processes" like the geographical restructuring of capitalist activity in earth, the production of new forms of uneven geographical development, a recalibration and even re-centering of global power, and a shift in the geographical scale at which capitalism is organized. There is the question of how "these distinctive geographical processes of the production and reconfiguration of space have created the specific conditions of contemporary globalization." Harvey interpreted globalization in terms of a theory of "the spatial fix" to describe capitalism's insatiable driving "to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring." For him "capitalism is addicted to geographical expansion" as much as "addicted to technological change and endless expansion through economic growth."[95]

> Globalization in its present guise has entailed, among other things, the pursuit of a whole series of spatial fixes to the crisis that erupted around 1973. Capital, most would agree, has since become much more global in all of its forms of production, commerce, merchanting, and finance. It has shifted rapidly (and often with considerable volatility) from one location to another.[96]

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[94] David Harvey, "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 10.06.2009).
[95] David Harvey, "Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"", Geographische Revue, http://www.geographische-revue.de/archiv/gr2-01.pdf (accessed on 10.06.2009).
[96] Ibid.

Harvey emphasizes "the value of the geographical standpoint in understanding contemporary processes of globalization." When framed in terms of literature there are places recognized as "victims or victors" of some empyreal processes called as globalization. Based in historical-geographical materialism, according to Harvey, we can give the interpretation for globalization as "the product of these distinctive processes of the production of space on the ground under capitalism."[97]

2.4.1 Culture

The rapid urbanization caused a cultural shock on the society and cities. This cultural instability directly reflected on the architecture of cities. There are three main flows of cultural approach reflected on the built environment: popular culture, academic culture, and professional culture.[98] Popular culture is the one which is generally popularized by media and preferred by ordinary citizens. Academic culture may be defined as the intellectual-based culture which is in the search of a rational justifications of given decisions, whereas professional culture is feed by both of culture and academic culture. For instance, it would put forward a unique architectural masterpiece, copy it several times and server for the popular acceptance. On the other hand it would only create just popular images that lacks quality, or may well present high-quality designed buildings.[99]

Diana Agrest while explaining the relationship of architecture to ideology generally excluded from traditional architectural criticism and when relates architecture formally to itself it is known that criticism failed to "incorporate cultural problematic into its domain of concern."[100]

> When the cultural dimension has been introduced, it has more often been as a simple explanation of architecture as "reflecting" a particular culture – the notion of style as the expression of the spirit of the age –

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[97] Ibid.

[98] My ideas on this topic were profoundly influenced by the ARCH 418 course, Case Studies in Architectural Criticism, Fall 2001, offered by Abdi C. Güzer.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Diana Agrest, "Design Versus Non-Design" in *Architecture from without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 31.

than as a problem to be confronted independently from a consistent theoretical standpoint.[101]

When articulated to economic and political levels, the cultural production responding to architecture "manifests the ways by which ideology is produced as a part of a given social structure."[102] Design related closely to culture is defined as "reductive, condensing and crystallizing general cultural notions within its own distinct parameters."[103]

> Culture, on the other hand, is understood to be a system of social codes that permit information to enter the public domain by means of appropriate signs. As a whole, culture can be seen as a hierarchy of these codes, manifested through various texts.[104]

Michael Hays, in his book *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, assumes that design is considered as "both practice and a product," and design "is in effect a closed system". This is understood, according to Hays, not only in relation to culture as a whole comprehension but it is also related to other cultural system like literature, film, painting, philosophy, physics, etc. Design constituting a set of practices - architecture, urban design, and industrial design – within the limits of the cultural system unified according to normative theories.[105]

> Design [...] possesses specific characteristic that distinguish it from all other cultural practices and that establish a boundary between what is design and what is not. This boundary produces a kind of closure that acts to preserve and separate the ideological identity of design. This closure, however, does not preclude a certain level of permeability toward other cultural systems – a permeability which nevertheless is controlled and regulated in a precise way.[106]

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[101] Ibid., 31.
[102] Ibid., 32-33.
[103] Ibid., 33.
[104] K. Michael Hays, "Design and Culture" in *Architecture theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998), 201. [Also in Diana Agrest, "Design Versus Non-Design" in *Architecture from without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 31.]
[105] Ibid., 201.
[106] Ibid., 201.

This relationship between design and culture is "stated as the mode by which design is articulated as one cultural system in relation to other cultural systems at the level of codes" and these transformations in these articulations display themselves as changes in the structure of meaning and along these lines the development of specific forms of articulations of design and culture be apprised as a dynamic process.[107]

> The relationship between design and other cultural systems is heightened and intensified at certain moments in this process, and its precise articulations become clearer. In architecture, this occurs when new economic, technological, functional, or symbolic problems force the production of new formal repertories, or the expansion and transformation of existing vocabularies.[108]

Actually, this transformation that makes culture perform through design to produce types and forms on building will deeply introduce to the urban life the grounds of new identities for new concepts of the future of architectural field.

2.4.2 Identity and Urban Spaces of Globalization

> Today everything that derives from history and form historical time must undergo a test. Neither 'cultures' nor the 'consciousness' of peoples, groups or even individuals can escape the loss of identity that is now added to another besetting terrors. Points and the system of reference inherited from the past are in dissolution. Values, whether or not they have been organized into more or less coherent 'systems', crumble and clash.[109]

Identity is derived from physical substance, from the historical, context, and from the real. Identity conceived as the form of shearing the past according to Koolhaas is a losing proposition.

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[107] Ibid., 201.
[108] Ibid., 201.
[109] Henri Lefebvre, "Openings and Conclusions" in *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA : Blackwell, 1991), 416.

Identity is like a mousetrap in which more and more mice have to share the original bait, and which, on closer inspection, may have been empty for centuries. The stronger identity, the more it imprisons, the more resists expansion, interpretation, renewal, contradiction. Identity becomes like a lighthouse – fixed, overdetermined: it can change its position or the pattern it emits only at the cost of destabilizing navigation. (Paris can only become more Parisians – it is already on its way to becoming hyper-Paris, a polished caricature. There are exceptions: London – its only identity a lack of clear identity – is perpetually becoming even less London, more open, less static.) [...] Identity centralizes; it insists on an essence, a point. Its strategy is given in simple geometric terms. As a sphere of influence expands, the area characterized by the center becomes larger and larger, hopelessly diluting both the strength and the authority of the core; inevitably the distance between center and circumference increases to the breaking point. [110]

There exist analogies "between the symbolic function of architecture and the formation of personal and social identities" with the accumulation of 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." [111]

Chris Abel, who is focused upon relations of identity between home and occupant provides, in the *Architecture and identity: Responses to Cultural and Technological Change* book cites the example of Kevin Lynch who credited "interest in the relation between the formal characteristics of cities and problems of orientation," and who ascribe to "studies of the mental images people had of the cities in which they lived spawned a whole new field of research called cognitive mapping, focused on the mental processes involved in the formation of such images." Attention is to be taken "to the concept of place identity as the interrelation of cognitive processes, social activity and formal attributes." Abel suggesting the Anatol Rapaport, argument for "the 'open-ended'

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[110] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, S*, M, L, XL* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 1248.
[111] Chris Abel, "Architecture as Identity" in *Architecture and identity: Responses to Cultural and Technological Change* (Oxford; Boston: Architectural Press, 2000), 141.

design in housing to permit occupiers to take an effective part in the design of their homes" and John Turner who in a similar way "suggests that self-built housing not only meet a pressing need for low-cost shelter for the poor, but equally important provides opportunities for those expressions of personal and social identity which come from having control over one's own home and neighbourhood." Abel turns to Yi-Fu Tuan who "adopts an 'experimental' perspective, and finds evidence in developmental psychology to explain the reciprocal nature of man's relation to his physical environment."[112] Referring to Norberg-Schulz, Abel seems to agree in what "the relation of man to place is more than simply a matter of being able to orientate oneself to one's surroundings… but has to do with a much deeper process of identification, by which he means 'to become "friends" with a particular environment".

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[112] Ibid., 141.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 "Money, Time, Space and the City"

> Based on 'Money, Time, Space and the City', in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization,* 1985, from David Harvey.

I have long been impressed with the power money possesses in the capitalisms world. It seems to capture social, cultural, political and economic life in a universal expand transforming urban process evolving usually naturally but even in a radical and fast process.

The world the capitalism create seems to create an environment built on a physical landscape of roads, houses, factories, schools, shops, and so forth with its image under the market demands. Harvey in his book *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* tries to understand "the forces that frame the urban process and the urban experience under capitalism" focusing on the themes of money, space and time. These three subjects according to him "clear away some of the clutter of detail and lay bare the frames of reference within which urbanization proceeds." Harvey argues that the "very existence of money as a mediator of commodity exchange radically transforms and fixes the meanings of space and time in social life and defines limits and imposes necessities upon the shape and form of urbanization." To understand the "politics of urban protest," attached to his main argument Harvey tries to construct another argument which is about "the forms of urban power, and the various modes of urban experience." Harvey states that "the demand to liberate space from its various forms of domination, to liberate time from free use, and to exist independently of the crass vulgarity of pure money valuations can each be

built into social protest movements of enormous breadth and scope." Here than confusions arises, Harvey explains, on account of the command over money, space and time and "command over time form independent but interlocking sources of social power, the repressive qualities of which spark innumerable movements of revolution and revolt," and that the "confusion is compounded, however, by the restless and contradictory dynamic of capital circulation and accumulation."[113]

3.1.1 Money

"The land is the simplest form of architecture" says Wright and building, for man, is as natural as it is for animals, birds or insects but as man was more than an animal his building built upon the same land "became what we call architecture." When asking the question of what architecture is, for Wright, it is man and "is man in possession of his earth," and "while he was true to earth his architecture was creative." Art, as a man creative ability, is conditioned upon this earth and "his possession of earth in this sense grows dim as his intellect (science and invention) discovers ways to beat work." Money becomes a "new way to cheat life" and this is a power that becomes exterior instead of interior.[114]

Central to this discussion Harvey argues "that the very existence of money as a mediator of commodity exchange radically transforms and fixes the meanings of space and time in social life and defines limits and imposes necessities upon the shape and form of urbanization."[115]

> Money is simultaneously everything and nothing, everywhere but
> nowhere in particular, a means that poses as an end, the profoundest
> and most complete of all centralizing forces in a society where it
> facilitates the greatest dispersion, a representation that appears quite
> divorced from whatever it is supposed to represent. It is a *real* or

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[113]David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 1-2.

[114] Frank Lloyd Wright, "Some Aspects of the Past and Present of Architecture" in *The Future of Architecture* (New York, Horizon Press, 1953), 34.

[115] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 1.

> *concrete abstraction* that exists external to us and exercises real power
> over us.[116]

Harvey explained the meaning of this statement for "concrete abstraction" referring to Marx. "Money," as he goes on to observe "arises out of concrete social practices of commodity exchange and the division of labor." There exists a "grand diversity of actual labor processes given over to the production of all manner of goods of specific qualities gets averages out and represent in the single abstract magnitude of money (exchange value)." Harvey cites from Marx that "Individuals are now ruled by abstractions, whereas earlier they depend on the other," and with the growth of division of the labor, money appears as "power external to and independent of the producers," and also appearing "as a means to promote production becomes a relation alien (to them)," but furthermore, "the power which each individual exercises over the activity of others or over social wealth exists in him as the owner of exchange values, of money."[117]

> Money becomes the mediator and regulator of all economic relations
> between individuals; it becomes the abstract and universal measure of
> social wealth and the concrete means of expression of social power.[118]

Money, an important contributing factor, "becomes the real community," a statement this from Marx that Harvey brings in discussion. He followed by defining that "the community of money is strongly marked by individualism and certain conception of liberty, freedom, and equality backed by laws of private property, rights to appropriation, and freedom of contract…. The owners of money are free (within constraints) to choose how, when, where, and with whom to use that money to satisfy their needs, wants, and fancies (a fact that the free-market ideologues perpetually dwell upon to the exclusion of all else)."[119]

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[116] Ibid., 3.
[117] Ibid., 3.
[118] Ibid., 4.
[119] Ibid., 4.

> There is no more opposition between the abstraction of money and the apparent materiality of commodities: money and what it can buy are now fundamentally of the same substance.[120]

As articulated in the statement by Koolhaas, money would very likely remain to the limits of what Harvey framed in the 'money's community.' A related argument on the power of money, as Wright's states below, seems to follow with the freedom money provides and the power that it owns have no limits to be sold.

> By money power democracy has been perverted to inverted aristocracy. The new world has made social parasitism and vulgarity academic. What by nature can only be grown, may by such modern improvements be mere artifice freely bought to change hands at price. Life itself must now be standardized because it is to be prefabricated, show-windowed, and eventually sold. Yes, and sold even now.[121]

3.1.2 Time

> Let everyone look at space around them. What do they see? Do they see *time*? They live time, after all; they are *in* time. Yet all anyone sees is movements. In nature, time is apprehended within space – in the very heart of space: the hour of the day, the season, the elevation of the sun above the horizon, the position of the moon and stars in the heavens, the cold and the heat, the age of natural being, and so on. Until nature became *localized* in underdevelopment, each place showed its age and, like a true trunk, bore the mark of the years it had taken into grow. Time was thus inscribed in space, and natural space was merely the lyrical and tragic script of natural time. […] With the advent of the modernity time has vanished from social space. It is recorded solely on measuring-instruments, on clocks, that are as isolated and functionally specialized as this time itself. Lived time loses its form and its social interest – with the exception, that is, of time spent working. Economic

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[120]Rem Koolhaas, "Money" in *S, M, L, XL* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), 928.
[121] Frank Lloyd Wright, "Some Aspects of the Past and Present of Architecture" in *The Future of Architecture* (New York, Horizon Press, 1953), 62.

space subordinates time to itself; political space expels it as threatening and dangerous (to power).[122]

For Lefebvre, it looks clearly that in nature time is apprehended within space in the basic of space.[123]

Since Aristotle, time, in an oversimplification described as a series of now-points, which "yields no shape," as Kant has pointed out, seems to be what Heidegger states "a matter, but nothing temporal."[124] To Harvey "the shaping of time as a measurable, calculable, and objective magnitude, though deeply resented and resisted by many, had powerful consequences for intellectual modes of thought," and another dimension for money that may represents social labor time is the fact that "the rise of the money form transforms and shapes the meaning of time."[125]

> The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the birth of innumerable professions that had a deep and vested interest in a rigorous definition and measurement of time, since their whole raison d'être was to advise on the efficient allocation of what had become a scarce and quantifiable resource. Engineers, chemists, economists, industrial psychologist, to say nothing of the experts in time and motion study, computerization, automation, electronics, and information transfer, all have in common an abstract conception of time that can be used in concrete ways, usually directed toward making money.[126]

As articulated in the statement above by Harvey it appears that time could be calculated and measured but what is clearly accepted is that it has its price affirming the equation that "time is money." It is essential to reiterate that in the industrial capitalism the community money defines is that in which the organization of space and time including the priority of the latter over the former taking specific qualities. Time and space articulated closely to money defined independently of each other forms "intersecting nets of very specific

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[122] Henri Lefebvre, "Social Space" in *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA : Blackwell, 1991), 95.
[123] Ibid., 95.
[124] Martin Heidegger, *Being and time,* trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996).
[125] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 10.
[126] Ibid., 10.

qualities that frame the whole social life."[127] Commenting on the concrete abstraction of money, time, and space Harvey describes that:

> Money, for example, arises out of exchange and the spatial division of labor and represents social labor time. But by the same token the formation of the formation of the world market depends crucially upon the rise of an appropriate money form and the spread of the spread of the psychological preconditions necessary to its proper use. I insist upon the significance of such interrelations in part because other commentators (ranging from neoclassical economics to time-space geographers) so frequently ignore them. But I also insist that the power relations between individuals, groups, and even whole social classes, and the consequent capacity to find feasible paths of social transformation, are broadly defined through the meshing of monetary, spatial, and chronological nets that define the parameters of social action. [128]

To describe the experience of space and time innermost in thought, as discussed from Yi-Fu Tuan, is to admit that the sense of space we have is that we move and that "the movement that give us the sense of space is itself the resolution of tension." The concept length given in time units and the passage of time is described as "length."[129] In this concept of length it seems that the interaction of money, space and time has a material effect in the framing of the urban process. Referring to Giddens, Harvey explains that time-space relations are "constitutive features of social systems," and approaching this issue then the question of space is "too important to be left to geographers exclusively."

3.1.3 Space

Referring to Harvey "the universal sense of time came to dominate social life and practice," and it seems clear that "the priority given to time over space is not in itself misplaced," but clearly to this extends "it mirrors the evolution of social practices in important ways." Harvey follows approaching the issue of

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[127] Ibid., 10-33.
[128] Ibid., 24-25.
[129] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Time in Experimental Space" in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 118.

Marx that "space cannot be considered independently of money because it is the latter that permits the separation of buying and selling in both space and time." The situations in which location, place, and spatiality declare as powerful and autonomous forces in human affairs vary from "the urban speculator turning inches of land into value (and personal profit), through the forces shaping the new regional and international division of labor."[130]

Harvey questioned nature of "space," and implies a particular view of "the conquest of space" that required to be "conceived of as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action." A chronological net for human exploration and action created through navigation and map making and due to this "cadastral survey permitted the unambiguous definition of property right in land."[131] Along with Marx, who states that "space cannot be considered independently of money," Harvey questioned the nature of this "space," and he assumes that:

> Space thus came to be represented, like time and value, as abstraction, objective, homogenous, and universal in qualities. … Builders, engineers, and architects for their part showed how abstract representations of objective space could be combined with exploration of the concrete, malleable properties of materials in space. But these were all just islands to practice. Light chorological nets thrown over a totality of social practices in which all manner of other conceptions of place and space – sacred and profane, symbolic, personal, animistic – could continue to function undisturbed. It took something more to consolidate space as universal, homogenous, objective, and abstract in most social practices. That "something" was the buying and selling of space as a commodity. The effect was then to bring all space under the single measuring rod of money value.[132]

In the nineteenth century the transport communication revolutions consolidated the triumph of space as a concrete abstraction with real power in relation to social practices causing the broke dawn independent power of the

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[130] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), xii, 10-11.
[131] Ibid., 12.
[132] Ibid., 12-13.

landlord class and during this process land became kind of financial asset or, as Harvey states, a form of "fictitious capital" making land titles became nothing other than "coined land" as Simmel would say. Here exists a contradiction. Referring to Lefebvre "the homogeneity of space is achieved through its total *pulverization* into freely alienable parcels of private property, to be bought and traded at will upon the market" with the result "a permanent tension between the *appropriation* and use of space for individual and social purposes and the *domination* of space through private property, the state, and other forms of class and social power." This "permanent tension" underlies the further fragmentation of homogenous space. With absolute qualities of place posing a serious challenge to the social order both physical and social space could be shaped. Harvey questioning "in whose image and to whose benefit is space to be shaped"[133] correctly pointed out that:

> Where the land marked is dominated by money power, the democracy of money takes charge. Even the largest palace can be bought and converted into office or slum building. The land market sort spaces to functions on the basis of ability to pay, which, though clearly differentiated, is by no means differentiated enough to etch clear class and social distinctions into the social spaces of the city. The response is for each and every stratum in society to use whatever powers of domination it can command (money, political influence, even violence) to try to seal itself off (or seal off others judged undesirable) in fragments of space within which processes of reproduction of social distinction can be jealously protected.[134]

When framed in terms of the three factors - money, time and space – we have been considering till now, it is notable that these factors, sources of social power deeply influence the capitalist urbanization and urban experience.

Space, after all, is multiple.[135]

The specific property of architecture that distinguished it from other forms of art consists in its working with a tree-dimensional vocabulary including man.

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[133] Ibid., 13.
[134] Ibid., 13.
[135] François Penz, Gregory Radick, and Robert Howell, "Introduction" in *Space: in Science, Art, and So*ciety (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1.

Painting works in two dimensions but usually it suggest three or four, sculpture functions in three dimensions but architecture "is like a great hollowed-out sculpture which man enters and apprehends by moving about within it." Architecture not consisting in the sum of the width, length and height of the structural elements which enclose space, but it consists in the void – the enclosed space where man lives and moves.[136]

Giedion framing architectural development gives three space conceptions: the first conception – "space was brought into being by the interplay between volumes and interior space was disregarded (architecture of Egypt, Sumer, and Greece); the second conception – "began in the midst of the Roman period when interior space and with it the vaulting problem started to become the highest aim of architecture, and the formation of interior space became synonymous with hollowed-out interior space" (from the Roman Pantheon to the end of the eighteenth century); the third conception – "the optical evolution abolished the single viewpoint of perspective and the hollowing out of interior space is continued, though there is a profoundly different approach to the vaulting problem."[137]

Actually, in the contemporary ideology what space endures is not just the "void – the enclosed space where man lives and moves" but further more it is something social.[138]

> It has in common a space conception, which is as much a part of its emotional as of its spiritual attitude. It is not the independent unrelated form that is the goal of architecture today but the organization of forms in space: space conception. This has been true for all creative periods, including the present. The present space-time conception – the way volumes are placed in space and relate to one another, the way interior space is separated from exterior space or is perforated by it to bring about an interpenetration – is a universal attribute which is at the basis of all contemporary architecture. […] Individual differences in architectural

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Bruno Zevi, "Space – Protagonist of Architecture" in *Architecture as Space; How to Look at Architecture,* ed. Joseph A. Barry, trans. Milton Gendel (New York, Horizon Press, 1957), 22-23.
[137] Sigfried Giedion, "Three Space Conceptions" in *Space, Time and Architecture; The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), IV.
[138] Barry Dainton, *Time and Space* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 26.

structures together with a similar over-all approach provide hopeful signs for future development.[139]

3.2 Place

> We call place the theoretical model that describes and explains certain aspects of the built environment in urban contexts within a given structure.[140]

To introduce the notion of place Heidegger developed his discussion of the bridge where the key passages on place in 'Building Dwelling Thinking' are significantly influenced by the English translation.[141]

> *Raum* means a place cleared or free for settlement and lodging. A space is something that has been made room for, something that is cleared and free, namely within a boundary, Greek *peras*. A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*. That is why the concept is that of *horismos*, that is, the horizon, the boundary. Space is […] that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds. That for which room [*Raum*] is made is always granted, and hence is joined, that is, [placed], by virtue of a [place], that is, by such a thing as the bridge. *Accordingly, spaces receive their being from [places] and not from 'space'.*[142]

For Heidegger "a distinction between space and place, where 'spaces' gain authority not from 'space' appreciated mathematically but 'place' appreciated through human experience" and "places, like things and buildings, were primarily understood through use and experience." Heidegger considered that "space is parceled up into places by people through the manifold identifications of place involved in their daily lives," and for him space is understood from people "dependant on their experiences of the places they identify for themselves within the broader context of the generic 'space'

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[139] Sigfried Giedion, "Universal Architecture" in *Space, Time and Architecture; The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), xxxiv.

[140] Diana Agrest, "On the Notion of Place" in *Architecture from without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 7.
[141] Adam Sharr, "Defining place in German and in English" in *Heidegger for Architects* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 50-51.
[142] Ibid., 55.

surrounding us." To identify a place is to include a boundary around a place in space, thus, "places are made particular by individuals – in complex and ever shifting ways – within the generality of space." [143]

3.3 The problem of Bigness

Architecture exposes not only the preferences of an architect, but also the aspirations power aim and material culture of a society. A building could be an architectural art work, and to such an extent as this building serves as a visual metaphor, declaring in its own form something about the size, regularity, strength, protectiveness, and organizational structure of the institution it stands for.

In architectural history models of tall and voluminous building have been presented to the city. Models of these big buildings have changed a lot while looking back and forward in architectural history. For Tall buildings we have the example of the Tower and regarding to Low buildings there is an enormous list of examples.

The problem of bigness remains still a critical point in today architecture and need to be considered while trying to explain the power functions and the verticality presence of the high-rise buildings in the modern city. Rem Koolhaas in his manifesto book *S, M, L, XL,* produced with the graphic designer Bruce Mau, tries to analyze the problem of bigness in the city with his essay 'Bigness' which is part description and part manifesto. In the essay "Bigness or the Problem of Large" Koolhaas writes:

> 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.
>
> Of all possible categories, Bigness does not seem to deserve a manifesto; discredited as an intellectual problem, it is apparently on its way to extinction – like the dinosaur – through clumsiness, slowness, inflexibility, difficulty. But in fact, only Bigness instigates the *regime of*

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[143] Ibid., 55-56.

> *complexity* that mobilizes the full intelligence of architecture and its related fields.[144]

Proceeding with the effects of the bigness in buildings Koolhaas explains the "Theory of Bigness" based in five theorems. The first theorem is about mass and Koolhaas describes that "beyond a critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building." So this mass cannot be controlled by a single or combination of architectural gestures. The second theorem if for the elevation, which with its potential to establish mechanical rather than architectural connections and its family of related inventions render void the classical repertoire of architecture. Composition, scale, proportion, and detail became arguable. Koolhaas declares that "the 'art' of architecture is useless in Bigness."[145] In the third theorem is described that in Bigness, the distance between core and envelope increases to the point where the façade cannot reveal what happens inside. Here the humanist expectation of "honesty" is doomed: interior and exterior architectures become separate projects, one dealing with the instability of programmatic and iconographic needs, the other – agent of disinformation – offering the city the apparent stability of an object. "Where architecture reveals, Bigness perplexes; Bigness transforms the city from a summation of certainties into an accumulation of mysteries."[146] For the fourth theorem Koolhaas writes that through size alone, such buildings enter an amoral domain, beyond good or bad. Their impact is independent of their quality.[147] Finally in the fifth theorem according to Koolhaas all these breaks together – with scale, with architectural composition, with tradition, with transparency, with ethics – imply the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue. "It exists; at most, it coexists. Its subtext is *fuck* context."[148]

Koolhaas explained the problem of modernization starting from 1978, when "Bigness seemed a phenomenon of and for (the) New World(s)." In the second half of the eighties, signs multiplied of a new modernization that would

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[144] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, S*, M, L, XL* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 495-496.
[145] Ibid., 499-500.
[146] Ibid., 500-501.
[147] Ibid., 501-502.
[148] Ibid., 502.

camouflaged from the Old World and provoking episodes of a new beginning even on the "finished" continent.[149]

Koolhaas declares that such Bigness is the most basic result of the past 150 years of building, and, following various phases of modernization, has spread almost everywhere, attaining mega proportions that stretch and distort the very idea of the city. Then Koolhaas describes how Bigness was seen in Europe:

> Bigness became a double polemic, confronting earlier attempts at integration and concentration *and* contemporary doctrines that question the possibility of the Whole and the Real as viable categories and resign themselves to architecture's supposedly inevitable disassembly and dissolution.
>
> Europeans had surpassed the threat of Bigness by theorizing it beyond the point of application. Their contribution had been the "gift" of the mega structure, a kind of all-embracing, all-enabling technical support that ultimately questioned the status of the individual building: a very safe Bigness, its true implications excluding implementation. Yona Friedman's *urbanism spatial* (1958) was emblematic: Bigness floats over Paris like a metallic blanket of clouds, promising unlimited but unfocused potential renewal of "everything," but never lands, never confronts, never claims its rightful place--criticism as decoration.[150]

The absence of a theory of Bigness and to which extend could be understood the maximum the architecture can do, is the architecture's most debilitating weakness. Without a theory of Bigness, according Koolhaas, architects are instigators of a partly successful experiment whose result are running amok and are therefore discredited. Because of the inexistence of a theory of Bigness, Koolhaas reflects that we do not know what to do with it, where to place, use or plan it.[151]

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[149] Ibid., 502-503.
[150] Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *S,M,L,* (The Monacelli Press, New York, 2nd edition 1997), 503-504.
[151] Ibid., 508-509.

Bigness is a theoretical domain at this *fin de siècle*: in a landscape of disarray, disassembly, dissociation, disclamation, the attraction of Bigness is its potential to reconstruct the Whole, resurrect the Real, reinvent the collective, and reclaim maximum possibility. Only through Bigness can architecture dissociate itself from the exhausted artistic/ideological movements of modernism and formalism to regain its instrumentality as vehicle of modernization.

Bigness recognizes that architecture as we know it is in difficulty, but it does not overcompensate through regurgitations of even more architecture. It proposes a new economy in which no longer "all is architecture," but in which a strategic position is regained through retreat and concentration, yielding the rest of a contested territory to enemy forces. Bigness destroys, but it is also a new beginning. It can reassemble what it breaks.[152]

The essay of "Bigness", as Charles Jencks writes in his book "*The Language of Post-modern Architecture*", is partially description and partially aphoristic manifesto for the new mutation in city proliferation and its argument by telegraphic assertion is reminiscent of Le Corbusier and even more apocalyptic in tone:

Bigness is ultimate architecture… Such [a big] mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture… Issues of composition, scale, proportion, detail are not moot… The humanist expectation of 'honesty' is doomed: interior and exterior architectures become separate objects… Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue. It exists; at most, it coexists. Its subject is fuck context… Only Bigness can sustain a promiscuous proliferation of events in a single container… Although Bigness is a blueprint for perpetual intensity, it also offers degrees of serenity and even blandness. It is simply impossible to animate its entire mass with intention… Bigness is impersonal: the architect is no longer condemned to stardom… Beyond signature, Bigness means surrender to technologies: to engineers, contractors, manufacturers; to politics; to others… Bigness, through its very independence of context, is the one architecture that can survive, even

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[152] Ibid., 508-511.

exploit, the now-global condition of tabula rasa… Bigness surrenders
the field to after-architecture.[153]

Bigness, as a description of urban context has some obvious truths as Jencks
explains, in many respects the city is out of control, and has nothing to do with
architectural merit or value. Regarding to Jencks, the weakness of the
argument is that, counter to what the book jacket claims, the issue of
economics and politics are not engaged. Koolhaas makes the exaggeration of
the previous conditions and also Venturi identifies the split between inside and
outside and contradictory forces and also he writes of the 'obligation toward
the difficult whole' – the context, and architecture. Koolhaas makes a great
contribution with his manifestation in the *S, M, L, XL* book.[154]

3.3.1 Scale, Proportion, and Dimensions

> […] scale is a materially real frame of social action: geographical scale
> is socially produced as simultaneously a platform and container of
> certain kinds of social activity. Far from neutral and fixed, therefore,
> geographical scales are the product of economic, political and social
> activities and relationships; as such they are as changeable as those
> relationships themselves. At the very least, different kinds of society
> produce different kinds of geographical scale for containing and
> enabling particular forms of social interaction.[155]

As a demand of global solution "large-scale planning has long since
moved from making plans for an individual city or region to the realm of
mass production." [156]

The buildings sometimes presented in huge dimensional scale or small
in scale, differs on what the second example may appear much more
spacious than the first. A tall building "stands out in a city," but "the scale

[153] Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions,
1978), 194.
[154]Ibid., 194-195.
[155] Neil Smith, "Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Pre-National and Post-
National Europe," in Neil Brenner (ed.) *State/Space: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.,
2003), 228.
[156]Sigfried Giedion, "Signs of the Evolving Tradition" in *Space, Time and Architecture; The
Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) xxxiv.

is inverted where, in the mass of skyscrapers a small scaled building "dominates its surroundings precisely because of its smallness." The principle of scale is "dimension with respect to man's visual apprehension, dimension with respect to man's physical size."[157]

The urban phenomenon "astonishing by its scale" provides complexity and "surpasses the tools of our understanding and the instruments of practical activity."[158] As for the proportions definition it could be said that "the relation of parts to each other and to the whole of the building" and "no matter how it is defined, proportion is the means by which a building is divided to achieve the qualities of unity, balance, emphasis, contrast, as well as harmony and rhythm […] proportion is closely tied to the scale of the building."[159]

3.3.2   The Building as a Instrument of Power

> A building itself has the power, by having been built right or wrong or mute or noisy, to be what it wants to be, to say what it wants to say, which starts us looking at buildings for what they're saying rather than just accepting their pure existence in the Corbusian manner. This narrative function that we have been talking about is all of these things together, the building being as descriptive as it can, about what is interesting about it – either the way it's built or the way people use it; the message is either shouting, or being quiet, or hiding […] but letting you know what is going on.[160]

The scope of power is a much debated topic in social science and philosophy. In Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron book *"The Words Between the Spaces: Building and Language,"* power is described as it may be founded directly on force or the threat of it like military power. It may be an economic relation, in which the ones who possess material resources have the ability to

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[157] Ibid., 196-197.

[158] Henri Lefebvre, "The Urban Phenomenon" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno, foreword by Neil Smith (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 45.

[159] Bruno Zevi, "Organic Space of Our Time" in *Architecture as Space; How to Look at Architecture*, edit. Joseph A. Barry, trans. Milton Gendel (New York, Horizon Press, 1957), 196.

[160] John W. Cook and Heinrich Klotz, *Conversations with Architects* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 243.

compel others who lack them like the example of the exploitation of workers in Classical Marxist theory. Power effects and is an important part in design of buildings in different ways. Obviously the most important of these is the use of architectural form to symbolize particular kind of power. For the economic power some could think of banks and exchanges to resemble cathedrals and temples, or of the towering skyscrapers that are housing many financial institutions. These are metaphors interpretable where community shares assumptions they are based on but the relationship between power and buildings is not just a case of symbolism.[161]

Facilitating the exercise of power, especially in its 'disciplinary' forms, could be the main function of a building. The notion of power effects the way we think about the connections between power and building. If power is ubiquitous, than we cannot draw distinctions based on function between those buildings where power is exercised and reproduced and those buildings where it is not. Even where "power is neither symbolized in the form of a building nor foregrounded in its function, it is always at issue in the articulation of *space*." The articulation of space according to Thomas A. Markus "the articulation of space embeds relationships of power, insofar as it governs interactions between the users of a building, prescribes certain routines for them, and allows them to be subjected to particular forms of surveillance and control," then there are "no 'innocent', power free spaces.[162]

3.4 Meaning of the Architectural Product

While talking about the bigness another problem which needs to be defined is the analyzing of the meaning of the architectural product, scale, proportion, architectural language, the concept of bigness, continuities, discontinuities with the environment, references of the building, and contextual character.

The meaning of a message depends not only upon the information that it contains, but also upon the sort of local ignorance or uncertainty that it

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[161] Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron, The *Words Between the Spaces: Building and Language,* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 66-68.
[162] Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron, The *Words Between the Spaces: Building and Language,* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 68.

reduces – in other words, upon what the message's recipients require information *about*.[163]

Architecture derives its meaning from the circumstances of its creation; and this implies that what is external to architecture – what can broadly be called its set on functions – is of vital importance.[164]

Kate Nesbitt writes in her book *"Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: an Anthology of Architectural Theory,"* that Meaning in architecture is directly related to Type, Function, and Tectonics are three elements which cannot be removed from architecture and are well correlated with Vitruvian triad of Delight (beauty or ideal form), Commodity (utility or accommodation), Firmness (durability). Type is linked with two terms as Nesbitt follows: to function through types based on use and to tectonics through types based on structural systems. Perhaps type constitutes what Derrida called "the architecture of architecture" or the equivalent of deep structure in language.[165]

Nesbitt referring to Giulio Carlo Aragan explains that type is thus the "interior structure of a form or… a principle which contains the possibility of infinite formal variation and further structural modification of the 'type' itself."[166]

Enlightenment theorist Quatremère de Quincy underlies postmodern thinking about typology:

> The foundation of neorationalism lie in its conception of the architectural
> project, the limits of which are already established by architectural
> tradition and whose field of action is logically framed by the constant
> return of types, plans, and basic elements: all synchronically

[163]William J. Mitchell, *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 3.
[164]Alan Colquhoun, "Postmodernism and Structuralism" in *Modernity and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: MIT Press., 1989), 254.
[165] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction" in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 44-45.
[166] Ibid., 44-45.

understood as permanent and immutable, rooted in tradition and history.[167]

According to Nesbitt, Function is seen as rational and scientific, not gratuitous or simply aesthetic. The assumption that architecture's form is derived from or "transparent to" function implies that there can be a direct correspondence between specific forms and specific functions. This correspondence requires codes to create meaning, since meaning is not inherent in the forms, but is culturally constructed.[168]

In Nesbitt's book the word tectonics is also another key word to explain and a rich source of meaning. She gives the example of the architect Demetri Porphyrios claiming that "imitative mediation" in hanging raw materials distinguishes architecture; its absence explains why modernism produced only building. Thus, the goal of architecture should be: "To construct a tectonic discourse which, while dressing the pragmatic of shelter, could at the same time represent its very tectonics as myth." She follows with the suggestions of Frampton that "we may return instead to the structural unit as the irreducible essence of architectural form." For Frampton, according to Nesbitt, the structural unit refers to the connections between tectonics components – joint – which is the "nexus around which building comes into being" and is "articulated as a presence" in phenomenological terms.[169]

3.5 Sign and Image

Image is everything (and vice-versa): in its escape from both nature and death, the Apollonian Western eye seems to have come to an extreme compromise. Aesthetic sing reality into its own simulacrum, the regime of vision has in fact accelerated the process of flattening reality to the point of entirely annihilating the distance of the gaze. We are *in* what we see, we are what we see. Merged in the domain of the scopic drive, image

[167] Ibid., 44-45.
[168] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," in *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture: an anthology of architectural theory, 1965-1995,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 45.
[169] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," in *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture: an anthology of architectural theory, 1965-1995,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 46.

supply a new ontology of self – apprehension and objectification of identity.[170]

The buildings in the urban environment usually are seen as sign object. This constitutes to the shape, size and visibility image impact the building advertises which will decide "whether it will have a pleasing or disruptive effect on the image and character of the city." Tall and slender buildings emphasize the form and preserve views, while low, smaller-scale "complement topographic forms and permit uninterrupted views."[171] The image of the city requires attention as it forms the identity of places as making these cities a sign of the future vision.

[170]Francesco Proto, *Mass, Identity, Architecture: Architectural Writings of Jean Baudrillard,* (Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley Academy, 2006), 1.
[171] Jon Lang, "Urban Designer as Designer of Guidelines for Design" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 86.

CHAPTER 4

ESKİŞEHİR HIGHWAY, ANKARA: A STUDY CASE

4.1 Understanding Architectural Development in Ankara as a
     Transforming Power of Identity

Within contemporary context of architecture the dominancy of market expectations create eclectic developments both in plan and architectural scale. The recent architectural developments in Ankara and their impact on the city represent this eclectic urban transformation. Referring to the previous part of this thesis it is of main interest to understand the global culture and global economy evolution of contemporary cities. Referring to urban experience, what happens on contemporary cities all around the world is nearly compared with the urban transformation happening in Ankara and Turkey.

Cultural context in Turkey, in the 1980s, is affected from two important turning points as the 1980s military coup – which "juncture violently rebuilt all of the public domain on a basis of repression and prohibition", and "the reorganization of the economy according to free market principles and the decision to become to the global economy" – which "liberalized the economic domain without establishing quite firmly its structural foundations."[172] Turkey's condition could "be considered as an extension of the globalization of the world."[173]

Ankara after being selected as the capital city of the new Turkish Republic the need for planning of new residential areas arose in parallel with naturally increasing population being the capital, consequently an intensive effort was initialized for the development of the city with the belief that perfect

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[172] Tansel Korkmaz, "The 1980s and 1990s: "Living on Display"" in *Architecture in Turkey around 2000: Issues in Discourse and Practice (*Ankara, Turkey: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 3.
[173] Ibid., 3.

development of the capital would also identify the success of the new regime.[174]

First attempts for elaboration of development schemes were made by the company Heussler for the old city (the castle and its periphery) in 1924 which were followed by the plans for the new city made by the architect Dr. Carl Ch. Lorcher, a Berliner and member of the Istanbul City Planning Committee. Whereas the scheme for the old city was not approved with the justification of being impracticable the new city plan, so-called Lorcher Plan, covering an area of 150 ha around today's Sıhhiye took into effect. Lorcher Plan, which is the first practiced development plan of Ankara, has set the principles for the present symbolic city center, Kızılay and its periphery. Then, Jansen integrated this plan into his plan as a data and planned the surrounding areas based on the existing idea of the Lorcher Plan. The acceptance of the second plan resulted from its nature of meeting the steadily increasing housing demand more than the appreciation for it.[175] The Lorcher Plan was envisaging a homogeneous texture on a Grid-Iron road system comprising of one-or maximum two- storey housing with gardens. Despite of the application of the said scheme in the end of 27's the tendency of the city was to extend towards Çankaya and Keçiören. For instance, an irregular, scattered and illegal settlement was evolving in Cebeci, where it was a former orchard and garden zone located on a high plateau.[176]

Figure 1. Lorcher Planı
[Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi,
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/
2-tarihce.pdf (accessed on 25.06.2009)]

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[174] Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, "Baskent Ankara Planlama Trihçesi – Geleneĝi," http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/2-tarihce.pdf (accessed June 25, 2009)

[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

In 1927, within the frame of a restricted international contest, offers were taken from German Prof. M. Brix and Prof. Hermann Jansen and from Jean Jausseley, the Chief Architect of French State, for the city's new development planning.[177]

The contest was concluded in 1928 and the winner was Jansen Plan estimating a population of 300.000 cap. on an area of 1500 ha with a population density of 120-240 cap/ha. Jansen Plan with an intermediary approach of Jausseley Plan, renewing the whole old city and Brix Plan, completely preserving the old city structure, was introducing a realistic practicable attitude while conserving the traditional structure.[178]

The main important points stressed out in the Plan were preservation of the Castle and its periphery, extension of the main artery connecting the old city to Çankaya (Atatürk Boulevard) in the direction of north-south, the idea of a Parliamentary Site between the old city and Çankaya including the Parliament and Ministry buildings, the allocation of low-level areas between the old city and the railway station for open recreational and sport areas like Gençlik Park, 19 May Sports Complex and Hippodrome and appraisal of high-altitude areas like Kocatepe, Hacettepe and Maltepe.[179]

Figure 2. Jansen Planı
[Source: Ankara Büyüksehir Belediyesi, http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor /2-tarihce.pdf (accessed on 25.06.2009)]

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[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

There were discrepancies between the "Final Development Plan" approved in 23 July 1932 and the Jansen Plan; e.g. the core of preservation of the traditional city structure was directed from the Castle to Çankaya and the design of Kızılay Square. Different kinds of pressures and speculative developments together with the lack of financial power and a strong implementing authority can be addressed for possible reasons for this deviation from the original plan. It can be noted that some of the components of the Jansen Plan were implemented, especially during the first years of the plan, however, within time the Plan started to lose its origin due to speculations over land, overgrowing of the city than anticipated and typical difficulties faced during implementation of development schemes. Deviations from the Plan, resulting from external pressures, led Jansen to leave his position as a Consultant in 1939, after Atatürk's death. From then, the implementation of the Plan was undertaken by the Directorate of City Development.[180]

After the Second World War, like in all over the world, in Turkey especially big cities were under the extensive stress of migration from rural to urban areas. The development of Ankara went out of control as an effect of the rapid population growth and lack of legal sanctions, consequently, the target population of 300.000 set out in Jansen Plan for the year 1978 was reached in the 1950's. Furthermore, slum settlements started to leave mark on the mid of 1940's.[181]

As a result of all these facts a new planning became inevitable for Ankara for the replacement of the existing plan that remains far behind the real development pattern of the city. For this reason, with the initiative of the Municipality of Ankara an international contest was announced towards the new planning of the city; the plan of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin was the price-taker planning approximately 12.000ha of development area. Unfortunately, also this plan had its handicaps concerning its assumptions on population growth rate, as the plan was based on a 30-year population projection of 750.000 inhabitants, where in reality; the design population was reached in just 8 years after the approval for the plan in 1957. Furthermore, other principles of the plan resulted in overconcentration in the centers of

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[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.

Kızılay and Ulus and slum settlements out of the municipal boundaries, where the latter was because of the exclusive planning of the area within the borders of the municipality and disregard to the other peripheral zones.

As a consequence of all the said complications a new planning became necessary, this time with an integrated approach though. For this purpose, the first studies in the country at a metropolitan scale were initiated in 1969. The comprehensive research studies conducted between 1970 and 1975 by the Ankara Metropolitan Zone Masterplanning Office (Ankara Metropoliten Alan Nazım Plan Burosu, AMANPB) of the Ministry of Development and Housing concluded a master plan scheme with a 20-year perspective which was in 1982 approved as "Ankara 1990 Master Plan". Based on long-term observations and data collection with successful problem identification and realistic solution proposals 1990 Master Plan introduced a new planning approach and achieved also success in guiding the developments outside the municipal borders. Moreover, it had also successful population growth estimation as 2.8m for low-immigration assumption, where the real census figures for 1990 showed 2,5m inhabitants for the city.[182]

The city of Ankara until the 1980s was able to preserve its structure through the Jansen Plan in 1928. The Atatürk Boulevard as a point of reference for all developments in the city and as the city's main public space which parallel to the socio-economic developments of 1980s has lost its force and as a result the city started to ripen into decentralization.

> … Ankara differs from other cities: a city that underwent planned growth. Proudly built by the young Republic as a minor image, Ankara was conceived from scratch as a modern city having a very clear urban structure. It is both a product of the efforts toward modernization and a locus of modernization.[183]

Ali Cengizkan, in *Producing Ankara through Residential Architecture: Generating and Re-Generating the City after 1975*, while analyzing the problem of housing in Ankara states that:

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[182] Ibid.
[183] Tansel Korkmaz, "The 1980s and 1990s: "Living on Display"" in *Architecture in Turkey around 2000: Issues in Discourse and Practice (*Ankara, Turkey: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 5-6.

The desire to modernize and achieve the comfort of contemporary living constructed important "internal and national" social motives for the Turkish Republic's young and developing society which wanted to prepare for the future by equipping its up and coming generations with the best in education and new habits. With its new and developing economy, and in it desire "to mimic the contemporary and developed West," and "to try to catch up with countries representing Western civilization," society could not help but use "external and transnational" models to make these examples concrete.[184]

Another reality exists for the city of Ankara. As stated in *The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara*, conducted in October 2006, *o*ver the past twenty years Ankara has changed drastically in a rapid transformation marked by chaos, conflicts, and contradictions. This pattern of change in terms of size, form and structure, considering the city as biological organism a thought of a *metamorphosis* of the city may come to discussion.[185]

The metamorphosis of a city must not be understood as an inevitable phenomenon, but rather as the result of actions that affect the life of all citizens.[186]

In *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* manifesto is questioned if *"the city"* is *"turning into a giant agglomeration of residential villages,"* and it concludes that the city changed beyond recognition with a population that increased exponentially and with the dramatic growth of traffic and as a result "rural land has been turned into a frantic building site."[187]

The prevailing response to housing shortage has been the construction, by the private sector, of endless apartment blocks in sprawling suburbs. The multiplication of residential districts fosters the formation of independent and isolated communities rather than a truly metropolitan culture. While the built environment is becoming ever more

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[184] Ali Cengizkan, *"*Producing Ankara through Residential Architecture: Generating and Re-Generating the City after 1975" in *Architecture in Turkey around 2000: Issues in Discourse and Practice*, Tansel Korkmaz ed. *(*Ankara, Turkey : Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 34.
[185]See Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009)
[186] Ibid., point 2.
[187] Ibid., point 3.

homogeneous and characterless, the scarcity of public spaces also affects the quality of everyday life. In the absence of a logic of sustainable development, the haphazard expansion is likely to breed ever more acute environmental problems and social disintegration.[188]

In the context of urbanity, even if with the physical growth of the city and new suburban parks increasing green spaces provides a profound change in the social life, still there exists a lack of public spaces in its inner districts.

The city needs more breathing space. With precious few and crowded exceptions, the city lacks pedestrian areas where social intercourse may take place. Public open spaces are mostly conceived of as mere transition spaces. The idea of urbanity itself has been swallowed up by increasingly individualized living patterns.[189]

It is of great interest that the city develops its urban plan in relation to public open spaces as they favor the breathing of the cities.

The Eskişehir Highway takes a very important place for historical transformation in the city of Ankara as it is becoming a corridor with a function of a show room for architectural buildings and in my opinion this "shift" of the city evolving in the two sides of the highway represents spontaneously an interesting identity transformation which will give to the city a different organization concept. Borrowing from the Ben van Berkel and Caroline Bos book *"Move"* in the second edition *"Imagination"* where is given the schema below and which I believe is to be considered for the case of Ankara as this city has the same plan configuration as the city separated in three main parts like the old city, the corridor of Eskişehir Highway – "the pumping city," and the new city if regions like Bilkent, Konutkent, Ümitköy and further extensions of the city in these directions. This corridor in concept is all about what we could consider about the meaning and importance the place, space, time, size, intensity, identity, culture, dimensions, and proportion of a building itself but furthermore for a broader urban concept of the city as a transformation power of identity.

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[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

Table 1. City Diagram
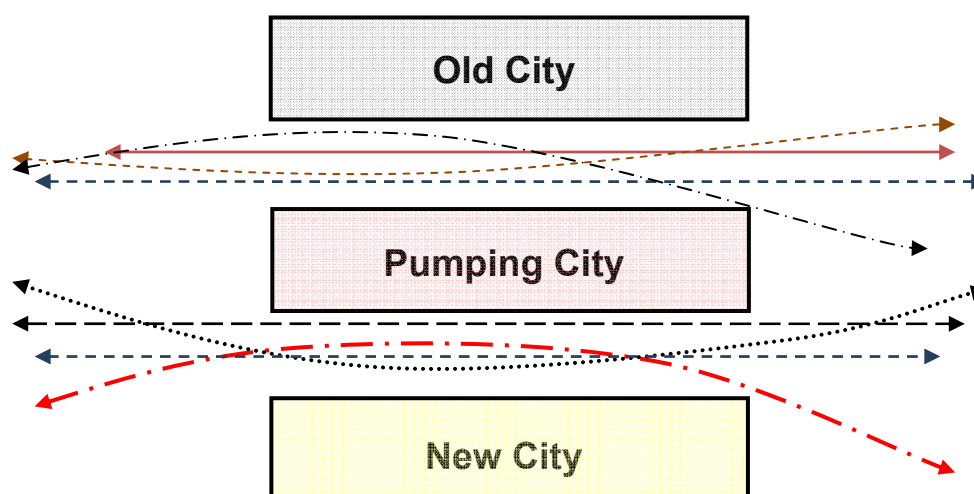
The city is becoming denser than before with people increasing consume with the want to live with more space and comfort and this is reflected "not only in traditional centers but in spaces between cities, in landscapes, and in places that are cheap and vulnerable."[190] The Eskişehir Highway as a shift in urban transformation reflects the production of these desires to "lead to a sometimes depressing inescapable matter: the Universal City."[191]

> A new "city" needs to span the gap. A city that accept this "matter" and extends its possibilities. A city that continues to serve all demands while incorporating all desires. A city that increases our capacities within the current mass, as well as in the currently underused spaces – deserts, forests, seas, oceans, underground, even the skies. CAPACITY. It will lead to a new programmatic "skin" around the globe that probably will not only extend only horizontally but upwards and downwards as well […] this "city" takes the position that society is make-able and changeable. It promotes consumerism and optimism over protectionism. It pleads for construction over analysis, energy over lethargy. It promotes activeness over laziness. The process for reaching these capacities will be not linear. It will appear in concentrated area, depending on social, economical or political processes. It changes local densities in time. In some parts it becomes denser; in other parts it becomes less dense. These shifts will change in time, depending on

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[190] MVRDV (Firm), "Capacity" in KM3, *Excursions on Capacities* / MVRDV (Barcelona, ES: Actar, 2005), 18-19.

[191] Ibid., 18.

upcoming and new desires and needs, differences in economies: a fabulous "perpetuum mobile".[192]

The Eskişehir Highway is a right and proper place for interpreting architecture transformation in the city of Ankara as it presents the tentative for "trying to have architecture both ways, 'as architecture', and as 'something else' then in a sense it is."[193]

> […] the contemporary world, and the second figure of excess characteristic of supermodernity, concerns space […] at the same time the world is becoming open to us. We are in an era characterized by changes of scale – of course in the context of space exploration, but also on earth: rapid means of transport have brought any capital within a few hours' travel of any other[194] […] the organization of space and the founding of places, inside a given social group, comprise one of the stakes and one of the modalities of collective and individual practice[195] […] place becomes necessarily historical from the moment when – combining identity with relations – it is defined by a minimal stability.[196]

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[192] Ibid., 22-23.
[193] Chris Abel, "Architectural Language Games" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 81.
[194] Marc Augé, "The Near and the Elsewhere" in *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London; New York: Verso, 1995), 31.
[195] Marc Augé, "Anthropological Place" in *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London; New York: Verso, 1995), 31.
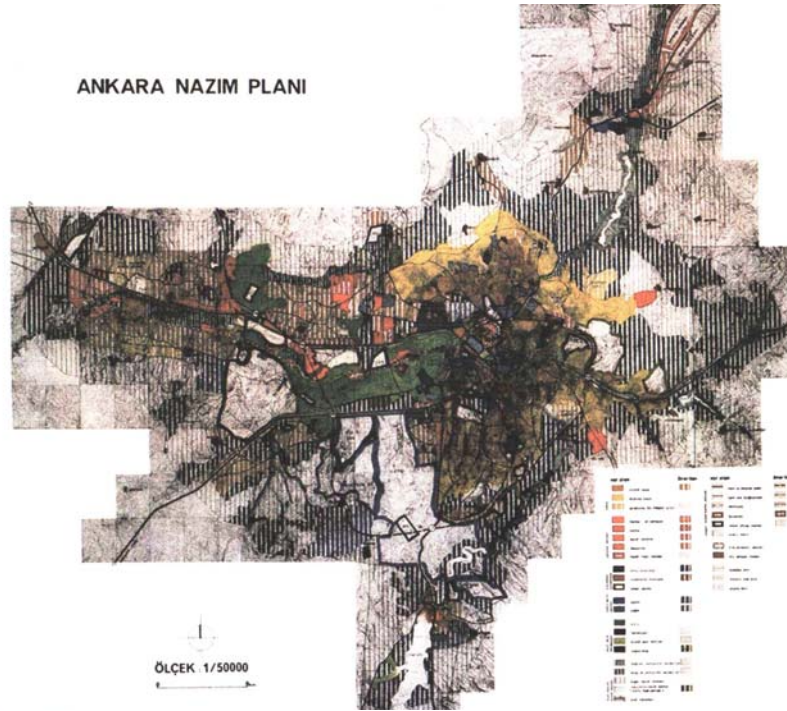[196] Ibid., 54.

Figure 3. Partial Plan of Ankara – Eskişehir Highway
[Source: Imaged captured from Google Earth (accessed on 19.06.2008)]

Figure 4. General view of Eskisehir Highway
[Source: Imaged captured from Google Earth (accessed on 19.06.2008)]

Figure 5. Ankara 1990 Nazım Planı - Master City Plan
[Source: Ankara Büyüksehir Belediyesi,
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/rapor/2-tarihce.pdf
(accessed on 17.06.2008)]

Referring to the theoretical part of the thesis, we could say that "where 'spaces' gain authority not from 'space' appreciated mathematically but 'place' appreciated through human experience" and "places, like things and buildings, were primarily understood through use and experience."[197] The changes in the urban design contest, in Eskişehir Highway lately consisting primarily in large trade centers and shopping malls introduce the need for change in the architectural program. The city's new public sphere is being conceptualized through the marketable image that these centers shift. Obviously, there exist spaces that work separately divided by roads which recently are turning into highways and separate parts rather than connecting. The limits economic

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[197]Sigfried Giedion, "Signs of the Evolving Tradition" in *Space, Time and Architecture; The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) xxxiv.

power decides about social, economic and physical order of places[198] shapes the city as an urban product to be sold. Money, "becoming the real community," in a rational concept of time, space and identity provides complexity and cultural transformation in the urban context.

I will explain the connection with these patterns by drawing the diagram below. If I draw an axis to represent the land-place dividing in concept its upper-world and under world I could say that there exists a certain space which I will mark with an oval form. Within this space if I define boundaries somewhere in time and a boundary to define the present time. With the passing of time within these boundaries and within the limits of culture or global effects, evolving transformations arises, transformations these, that make the city finding its space for identity.

Table 2. Space-Time-Identity Diagram
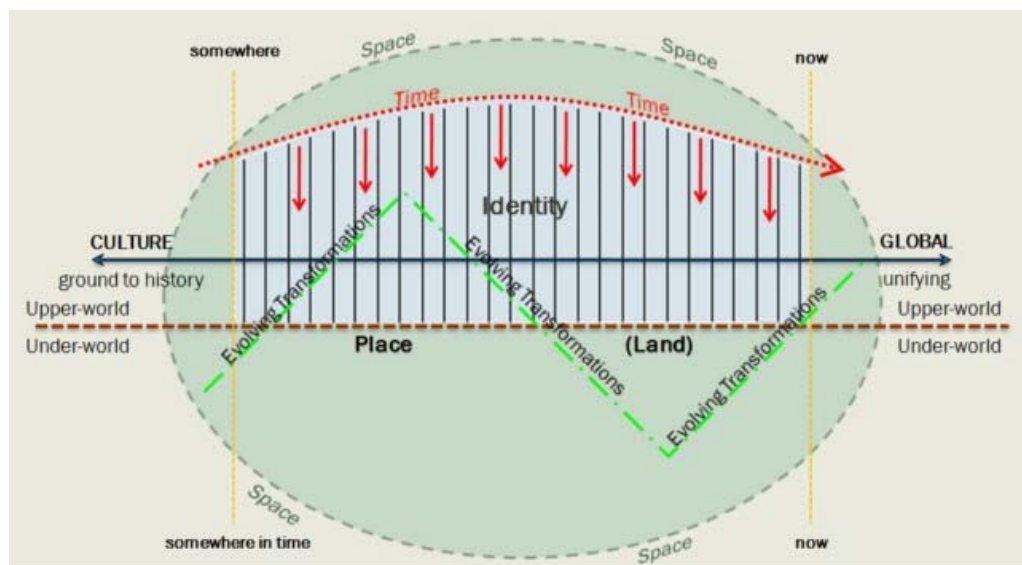
4.1.1   On Building Inside of the City

Does one always begin from architecture in the attempt to understand the city, that is, to conceive urban space and evaluate its sociability? Or is the city as such what must offer and imagine a role for architecture? […] Now we are left with a world without urbanism, only architecture. The neatness of architecture is its seduction; it defines, excludes, limits,

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[198] Jon Lang, "Introduction: Urban Design" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 3.

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. […] The relationship between architecture and urbanism seems to be of this nature: urbanism creates a possibility that architecture fulfills, but by exhausting it. What is more, this limit and the sense of exhaustion have the effect of placing the architect in a very special relation to chaos. [199]

Architecture is not to be considered separate from urbanism, but it makes the city be shaped from trends and forms through its dynamic design. The building, as a small piece of the urban environment, is "dressing" what it is called the "future". These buildings suddenly become the icon emphasizing the new identity of what the city is and what it will be in the future, whether it is to house the habitants, the workers, visitors or vehicles.

For Heidegger "buildings were primarily understood through use and experience." As explained in the theoretical part Heidegger considered that "space is parceled up into places by people through the manifold identifications of place involved in their daily lives," and for him space is understood from people "dependant on their experiences of the places they identify for themselves within the broader context of the generic 'space' surrounding us." To identify a place is to include a boundary around a place in space, thus, "places are made particular by individuals – in complex and ever shifting ways – within the generality of space." [200]

The capitalist city is the arena of the most intense social and political confusions at the same time as it is a monumental testimony to and a moving force within the dialectics of capitalism's uneven development.[201]

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[199]Rem Koolhaas, Considering Rem Koolhaas and the Office for Metropolitan Architecture: what is OMA (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2003), 50-51.
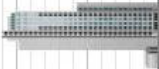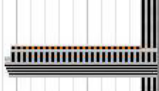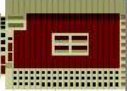[200] Adam Sharr, "Defining place in German and in English" in *Heidegger for Architects* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 55-56.
[201] David Harvey, "The Urbanization of Consciousness" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 250.

Table 3. Ankara Skyscraper Diagram – Part 1
[Source: Emporis http://www.emporis.com (accessed on 14.05.2009)]

	Yüksel Business Center	Portakal Cicegi Tower	TOBB Towers II	TOBB Towers I	Dikmen Valley Towers IV	Dikmen Valley Towers III	Dikmen Valley Towers II	Dikmen Valley Towers I	Halkbank Headquarters	Armada Tower	Bayraktar Söğütözü Tower	Portas Tower II	Sheraton Ankara
Name													
City	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara	Ankara
Country	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey
Illustrator	Nightsky	Ertugrul	Nightsky	Nightsky	Taylor	Taylor	Taylor	Taylor	Sercan&Murat	Taylor	Ertugrul	Baqthier Sari	Baqthier Sari
Status	proposed	construction	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built
Built	2009	2009	2001	2001	1996	1996	1996	1996	1993	2002	2008	1998	1991
Floors	40	37	34	34	36	36	36	36	35	26	30	31	29
Use	office	residential	office	office	residential	residential	residential	residential	office	office	office	mixed use	hotel
Antenna													
Spire										122.5 m			
Roof	160 m	160 m	140 m	140 m	140 m	140 m	140 m	140 m	123 m	102.7 m	115 m	115 m	143 m

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Table 4. Ankara Skyscraper Diagram – Part 2
[Source: Emporis http://www.emporis.com (accessed on 14.05.2009)]

	Cankaya Hotel	Akman Condominium 2000	Banking Regulation & Supervision Council	Kozlar Business Center	EGO Headquarters	TUBITAK Headquarters	TPAO Headquarters	State Planning Organization	Haci Ömer Sabanci Dormitory	Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade	Ministry Of Finance	Emek Business Center
Location	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey	Ankara Turkey
Architect	Jaic	Taylor	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Ertugrul	Anthony Sun	Anthony Sun	Ertugrul
Status	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built	built
Year	2002	1999	1975	2002	2006	1989	1974		1975	1983	2001	1962
Floors	35	32	29	17	26	25	28	25	28	25	25	24
Use	hotel	residential	office	office	office	office	office	office	residential	office	office	office
Height	110 m	110 m	108 m		100 m	100 m	100 m	100 m	98.5 m	90 m	89.9 m	76 m

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Table 5. Ankara Skyscraper Diagram - Part 3
[Source: Emporis http://www.emporis.com (accessed on 14.05.2009)]

Ata Plaza	Turkish Coal Industries	Stad Hotel
Ankara	Ankara	Ankara
Turkey	Turkey	Turkey
Supertall	Ertugrul	Ertugrul
built	built	built
2006	1972	1962
17	25	20
office	office	hotel
80.8 m		
75.3 m	74.1 m	71 m

4.1.1.1 Multipurpose Buildings and Shopping Malls

In the coming decades a new type of building will go up everywhere; a roofed-over amalgam of trains, busses, offices, parking garages and shops, situated on large plots in or very near historic town centers. This is totally new typology for the disciplines of architecture, urbanism and infrastructure. The new building for the urban transportation area addresses all three of these fields and requires an integral approach.[202]

Multipurpose buildings usually compound of vertical and horizontally expand volumes as the office tower and the "shopping mall box" seems to be the most common architectural product in the contemporary city. Including different services in shopping and office facilitation the new complex became a "producing machine for money" in the urban environment.

Urbanism is shopping. All new urban plans today are engendered by the need for more retail outlets of better quality. Shopping is science. Experts on shopping are presently counted as some of the best-qualified and most highly valued members of society. Shopping is a language. New words invented in relation to shopping are among the most imaginative and architectural concepts of our time. But when

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[202] Ben van Berkel and Caroline Bos, "UCP Mainport" in *Imagination* (Amsterdam: UN Studio & Goose Press, 1999), 72.

shopping only means buying the same branded products every-where, the bubble bursts. Inclusive shopping means integrating commercial functions with public life.[203]

This integration between commercial functions and public life has become one of the main successes of the city economical progress. Recently, the city dwellers in Ankara are turning in "commuters-consumers". The shopping mall "is becoming the in-disputed centre of social life in the city: a space for the organized and *surveilled* mass consumption – of time as well as commodities."[204]

In Ankara with the seven shopping malls under construction to be completed in the end of the year will have in total 24 centers which make it the second city in Turkey after Istanbul which owned 45 shopping centers.[205]

Before the shopping malls in Ankara were constructed up to 20.000m2 and recently they reach up to 120.000m2 and more. As stated by Öncüoğlu Architecture Planning the present average of shopping centre space for 1000 inhabitants is 60m2, whereas, after completion of ongoing construction it will reach 130m2 that will make Ankara the first city of representing Turkey within European countries for its shopping mall capacity. For 1000 inhabitants the average of shopping centre space in England is 230m2, Italy 121m2 and Check Republic is 80m2.[206] At the same time, while in Europe the total average of shopping malls space finds 15 million meter square, still in Turkey it remains 2.5 million meter square. In Ankara the construction of shopping malls too close to each other, as stated by Öncüoğlu Architecture Planning, will not provide a productive work for all shops and spaces.[207]

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[203] Ibid., 110.
[204] See Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006,
 http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009)
[205] Sektör Rehberi,
http://www.sektorler.web.tr/alisveris/alisveris_merkezleri/alisveris_merkezleri_rotayi_arazisi_olan_ankaraya_cevirdi_.htm (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
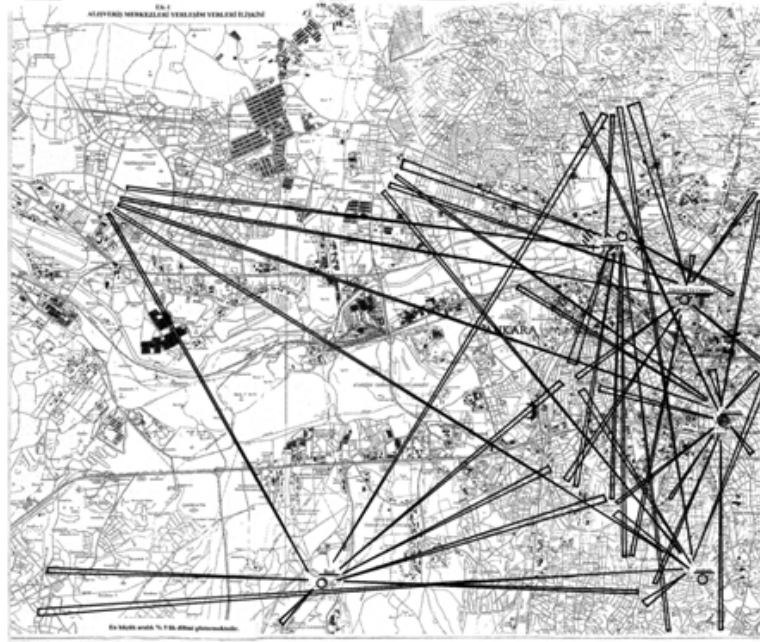
Figure 6. Ankara - Shopping Mall Connection in 2005, Site Plan
[Source: G.Ü. Fen Bilimleri Dergis,
http://www.fbe.gazi.edu.tr/dergi/tr/dergi/tam/18(2)/12.pdf
(accessed on 14.05.2009)]

Table 6. Some of the Shopping Malls in Ankara

No	Shopping Mall	District	Year
1	**365 CENTER**	**ZİRVEKENT**	**2007**
2	**ACITY**	**İSTANBUL YOLU** (FATİH SULTAN MEHMET BULVARI NO.244)	**2008**
3	**ANKAMALL**	**AKKÖPRÜ MEVKİ İSKİTLER** (KONYA DEVLET KARAYOLU ÜZERİ EMNİYET SARAYI YANI 2)	**1999**
4	**ANKUVA**	**BİLKENT** (ANKUVA ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ 4. CAD.)	**1998**
5	**ANTARES**	**ETLİK**	**2007**
6	**ANSERA**	**ÇANKAYA**	**2005**
7	**ARCADIUM**	**ÜMİTKÖY** (KORU MAH. 8. CAD. 192 ÇAYYOLU)	**2003**
8	**ARMADA**	**SOĞÜTÖZÜ** (ESKİŞEHİR YOLU NO:6 B BLOK)	**2002**
9	**ATAKULE**	**ÇANKAYA** (FARABİ CAD. 27/1)	**1989**
10	**BİLKENT CENTER**	**BİLKENT** (BİLKENT CENTER ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ)	**1998**
11	**CARREFOUR SA**	**YENİ MAHALLE** (İSTANBUL YOLU 12.KM JANDARMA KARŞISI BATIKENT)	**2001**
12	**CEPA**	**MUSTAFA KEMAL** (ESKİŞEHİR YOLU 7. Km)	**2007**
13	**DOLPHIN CENTER**	**ERYAMAN EVLERİ**	**2007**

14	FTZ AVM	**KEÇİÖREN** (FATİH CAD. 30)	**2003**
15	**FORUM ANKARA**	**KEÇİÖREN** (YOZGAT BULVARI NO.99 OVACIK)	**2008**
16	GALLERİA	**ÜMİTKÖY** (8.CAD. NO:53)	**1995**
17	**GALAXY CENTER**	**ERYAMAN GÜZELKENT**	
18	KARUM	**KAVAKLIDERE** (İRAN CAD. NO:21/ 401)	**1991**
19	KC GÖKSU	**ERYAMAN** (ALTAY MAH. SELÇUKLULAR CAD. 57 ZEMİN KAT)	**2006**
20	**MESA PLAZA AVM**	**ÇAYYOLU** (MESA PLAZA ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ)	**1999**
21	MILLENIUM	**YENİMAHALLE** (UĞUR MUMCU MAH. FATİH SULTAN BULVARI 318 BATIKENT JANDARMA KAVŞAĞI)	**2005**
22	MİNASERA	**ÇAYYOLU** (2716 CADDE)	**2008**
23	ODC CENTER	**BALGAT** (ÇİĞDEM MAH. 31. CAD. 9 YÜZÜNCÜYIL)	**2008**
24	OPTİMUM	**ERYAMAN** (ERYAMAN AYAŞ YOLU NO.93)	**2004**
25	PANORA	**OR-AN** (TURAN GÜNEŞ BULVARI NO.182)	**2007**
26	PLANET	**ETİMESGUT** (ATAKENT MAH. 349 ELVANKENT)	

Table 7. Shopping Malls Under-Construction

No.	Shopping Mall	District	Year
1	GORDION	**ÇAYYOLU**	**2009**
2	KENTPARK	**MUSTAFA KEMAL** (ESKİŞEHİR YOLU 7. Km)	**2009**
3	ANSE	**ESKİŞEHİR YOLU**	**2009**

Armada Business and Trade Center

Completed in 2003 and designed from the architect Ali Osman Öztürk (former of A-Tasarım Architecture and Consulting Ltd Co), Armada Business and Trade Centre is designed in the basic concepts of the naval force ship and with its highly rising tower of 101m, was an interesting project which suddenly would have turn to a "sign of the future" in Ankara.[208]

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[208] Armada Alışveriş ve İş Merkezi, http://www.armadasite.com/katlar.asp?bid=8 (accessed June 11, 2009)

Armada Business and Trade Centre is located at the Sögütözü district close to the junction of the Konya and Eskişehir Highways, and it is designed on a 125.000m2 built area. It is composed of a low rise shopping mall and an office block with 21 storeys and 3 underground storeys for service. The office tower totally comprises a 25.000m2 area, with 672m2 area to rent for each floor. The floors according to the rent-need can be separated in two parts of 311m2 and 361m2. There are also two floors with suspended floor having a total area of 1000m2 each. Looking from the façade of the building the tower itself is vertically separated in three parts.[209]

The shopping mall volume consists of seven floors from which two are below the ground level: (-2) market floor, (-1) shopping areas, (0) main entrance and shops, (1) and (2) floors for the big shops, (3) floor contains fast-foods and entertainment facilities; (4) floor – the cinema floor compound of 11 movie halls with a total capacity of 1.400 seats. As for the parking the center provides a total space for 3100 cars in its open and underground parking lots.[210]

The structural system of the building is based on reinforced concrete frame and modular curtain wall system composed of aluminium, "tempered glass" and granite.[211]

The most monetarily valuable building in Ankara with an appraised value of 125 million dollars has been awarded as *'The Best Shopping Center in Europe'* by the *International Shopping Centers Association* in 2004.[212]

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[209] Ibid.
[210] Alarko-Carrier Sanayı ve Ticaret A.Ş., http://www.alarko-carrier.com.tr/eBulten/Referans/images_7/e_konfor7print.pdf (accessed June 11, 2009)
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.

Figure 7. Armada Business and Trade Center
[Source: A Architectural Design (Ltd. Şti.) – Official Website,
http://atasarim.com.tr/tr/proje/armada-alisveris-ve-is-merkezi
(accessed on 14.06.2009)]

Recently it is advertised the further extend of the building designed to be constructed over the open-parking area. The current shopping mall provides approximately 156 shops of different size from 45m2 to 3500m2 areas for rent and it still looks not enough for the market need, thus, the building is to be enlarged with the second part of the shopping mall.[213]

Figure 8. Armada Business and Trade Center
[Source: A Architectural Design (Ltd. Şti.) – Official Website,
http://www.atasarim.com.tr/en/project/armada-ii-ankara-2004
(accessed on 14.06.2009)]

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[213] Ibid.

Figure 9. Armada Business and Trade Center
(Photographed by the author on 06.03.2009)
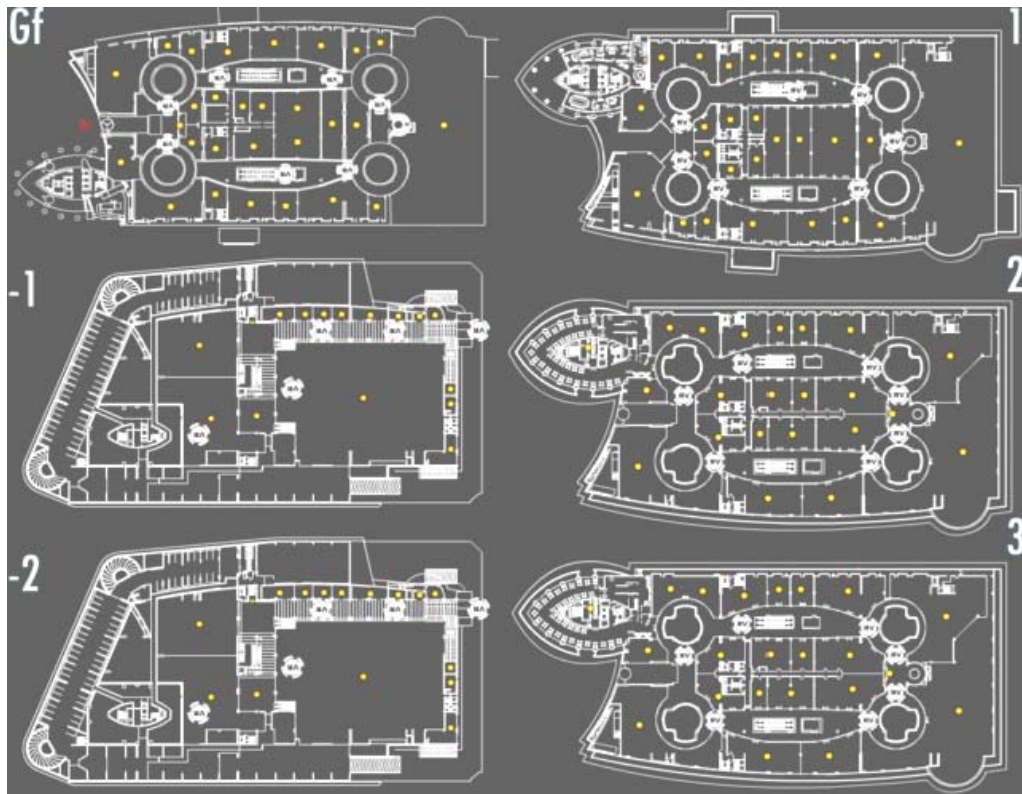
Figure 10. Armada Business and Trade Center - Floor plans
[Source: Armada - Official Website,
http://www.armadasite.com/armadagezi.asp
(accessed on 14.06.2009)]

Bayraktar Tower

The Bayraktar Tower, located in Sögütözü district, is a project built to represent the "prestige" of the company. It is designed from the architect Ali Osman Öztürk. The project is composed of a low rise shopping mall and an office block with 32 floors (4 for the shopping mall and 28 for the tower) where the tower has a height about 105m. The construction is placed on a 6.450m2 and the total area of the project is 31.350m2. The floors of the tower are designed with a clear height of 305cm (15cm raised flooring system).[214]

Figure 11. Bayraktar Tower
[Source: Bayraktar _nsaat,
http://www.bayraktarinsaat.com.tr/index.php?page_id=3&section_id=5&post_id=2
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

Figure 12. Bayraktar Tower
[Source: wowturkey.com - forum,
http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=19487&start=20
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

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[214] Bayraktar Insaat,
http://www.bayraktarinsaat.com.tr/index.php?page_id=3&section_id=5&post_id=2 (accessed on 11.05.2009)

Figure 13. Bayraktar Tower
[Source: wowturkey.com - forum,
http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=19487&start=20
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

Figure 14. Bayraktar Tower
(photographed by the author on 06.03.2009)

CEPA Shopping Center

Opened in August 2007, CEPA Shopping Center is one of the biggest shopping centers in Ankara. The building is located in Eskişehir Highway – "key commercial and public artery", opposite Middle East Technical University.[215] The project is invested from Celebcioglu Group (Üstünçelik AS) and designed from Öncüoĝlu Architecture and City Planning Ltd.Co.

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[215] World Buildings Directory, http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447 (accessed on 11.05.2009)

The building is placed on a land plot area of 53.000m2. The gross building area is 167.700m2 with a leasable area 68.500m2 and with 3786 car parking places.[216] The leasable area comprises "12.700 m² do-it-yourself store, 14.000 m² hypermarket, 195 shops, cinemas, cafes, food court and entertainment center."[217]

Figure 15. CEPA Shopping Mall
[Source: Arkitera Archive,
http://arkiv.arkitera.com/p6034#top
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

The design is based on "the idea of bringing a new and distinctive spatial interpretation to the shopping center concept" aiming "to offer customers spaces with different identities composed of various facilities."[218] Based on the shapes of the natural environment the building where it is positioned the building could be prescribed as a horizontal rectangular prism. As described in the World Buildings Directory site:

> The large spaces and brands as two floor retail units of Carrefour and
> Bauhaus played an important role at the planning stage of the building.

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[216] Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning, CEPA Shopping Center, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)
[217] World Buildings Directory, http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447 (accessed on 11.05.2009)
[218] Ibid.

It is intended to obtain optimum size and solutions for vehicle and pedestrian circulation with respect to the large area of the site. For this purpose, the shops are designed at the ground, first and second floors despite the presence of a great variety of facilities and large number of shops. The difference of 12 meters height between the front and back roads is exploited to create a four-storey indoor car parking at the direction of the Eskişehir Highway. The do-it-yourself store is located at the rear with three car parking floor height. The shops are located at the front side on the first and second floors while the hypermarket composed of two floors runs along the rear side. The third storey is occupied by the fast food units, restaurants, food court, cinemas and entertainment center.[219]

With respect "to the ratio of the width and length of the building" the main façade design is "to have maximum visual relation with the environment" differing from other shopping centers and the exterior of the building is highlighted from dynamic colors.[220] The façade effects of the building are same in the idea of having the daytime appearance similar with the night time by lightening the colored materials of the façade.[221]
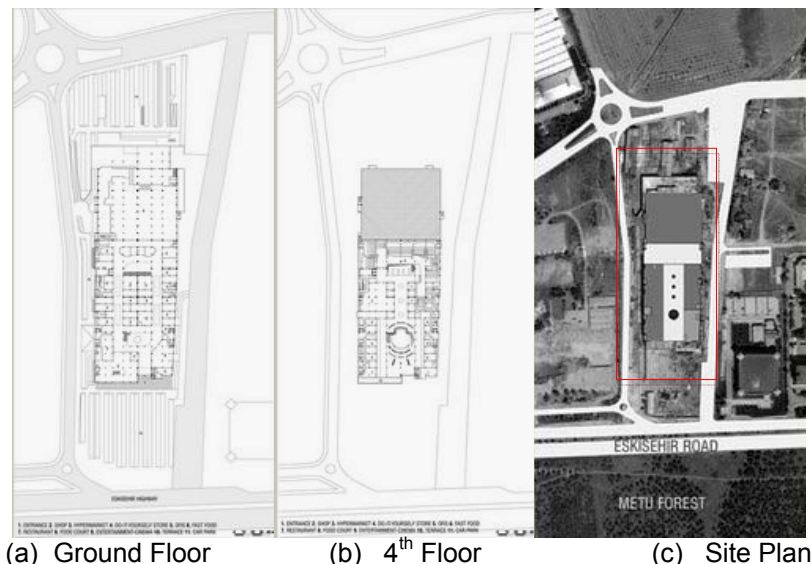
(a) Ground Floor   (b) 4th Floor   (c) Site Plan
Figure 16. CEPA Shopping Mall: Floor Plans and Site Plans
[Source: World Buildings Directory,
http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

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[219] World Buildings Directory, http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447 (accessed on 11.05.2009)
[220] Ibid., [Also in: Öncüoğlu Architecture Planning, CEPA Shopping Center, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)]
[221] World Buildings Directory, http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447 (accessed on 11.05.2009)

As shown in the sections on the figure below (marked with red line) the do-it-yourself store (BAUHAUS) is located at the rear in a three car parking floor height. The hypermarket (Carrefour SA) composed of two floors raises over the do-it-yourself store.[222] The shops are designed at the ground (first and second floor) as "it is intended to obtain optimum size and solutions for vehicle and pedestrian circulation with respect to the large area of the site."[223]
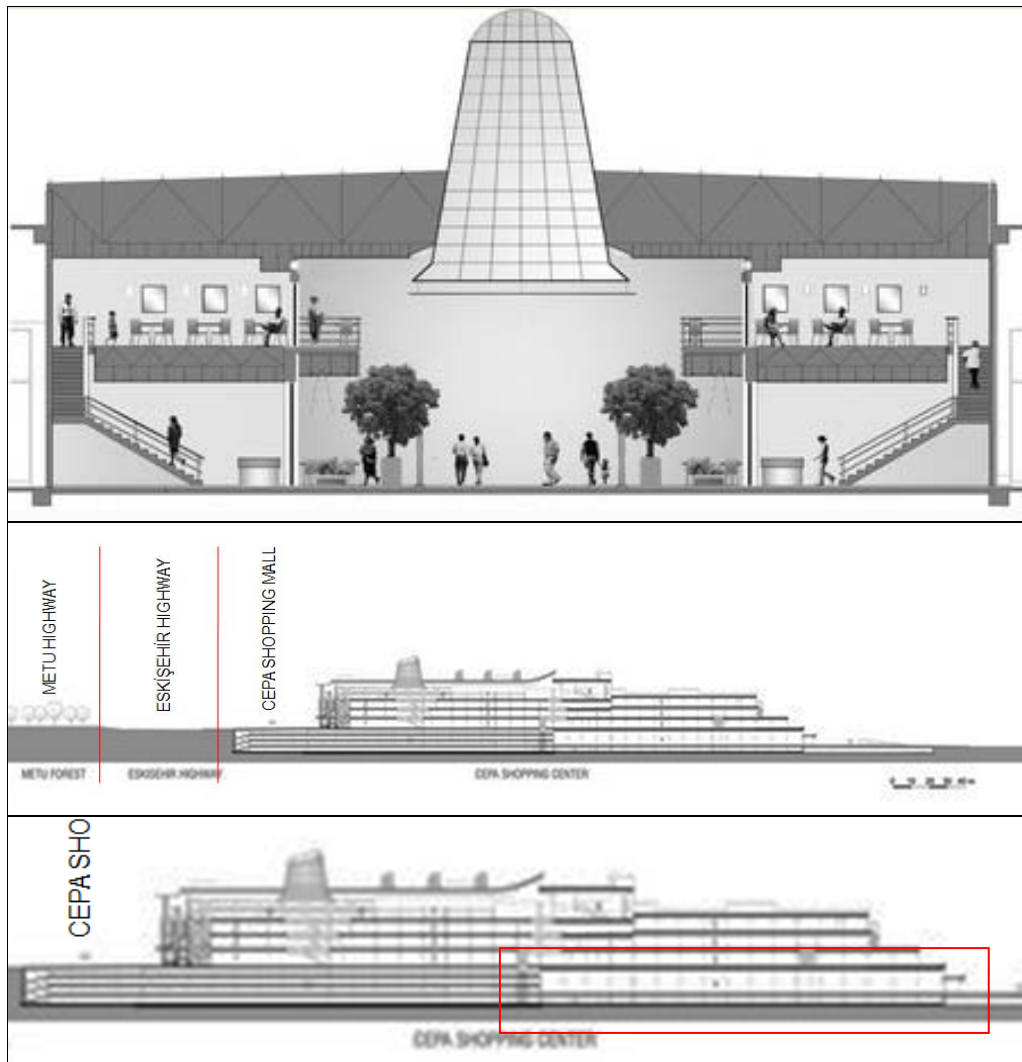
Figure 17. CEPA Shopping Mall – Coffee Street (3rd floor) and Building Sections
[Source: World Buildings Directory,
http://www.worldbuildingsdirectory.com/project.cfm?id=447
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

[222] Ibid.
[223] Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning, CEPA Shopping Center, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)

KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences

The project is located close to CEPA Shopping Center on the right site of the building in Eskişehir Highway and is planned in two phases comprising the retail and residential functions. Spatial diversity and functionality are the primary aims for the design. The project includes residential, office, entertainment, home decoration and retail utilities.[224] While presenting the main concepts of the design in the Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning official website it is emphasized that:

> It is aimed to go beyond the usual introverted shopping mall concept defined as "retail box" for the design criteria of the building. The building is designed with the concept of "high street retail" by creating an "urban park" formed with the elements of the city as public squares, streets, parks, gardens and terraces. The main feature of the project is the "main interior street" connecting the main road to buffer zone which is comprised of the recreation area and a small lake. This buffer zone is connecting and as well as separating the residences from the shopping center. In addition, the building is designed in respect to the objective sustainability by obtaining natural climate conditions at the interior of the building.[225]

The project is invested by MEGATÜRK İnşaat Turism ve İşletme A.Ş. and designed by Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning. The building rises on a gross land area of 73.000m2 and the gross building area is 386.300m2. The shopping center reaches 232.000m2 and the leasable area constitutes of 80.000m2 (230 shops). The shopping mall provides 3033 car parking spaces approximately with an area of 94.420m2 (400 cars in open area and 2900 cars indoor car parking). The building has in total eight floors and four of them are for car-parking.[226]

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[224] Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning, KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)
[225] Ibid.
[226] Öncüoĝlu Architecture Planning, KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences, http://www.oncuoglu.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)
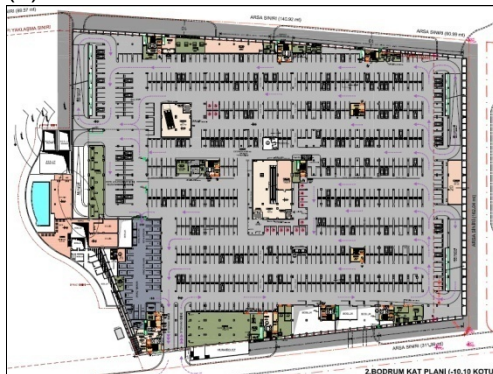[Also in: KENTPARK official webside, Project Information, http://www.kentpark.com.tr/ (accessed on 11.05.2009)]

Figure 18. KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences and CEPA Shopping Mall – Site Plan
[Source: wowTurkey.com - forum,
http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=335891
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]
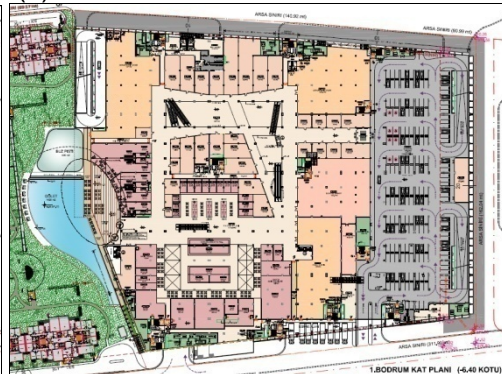

(a) 4th Basement
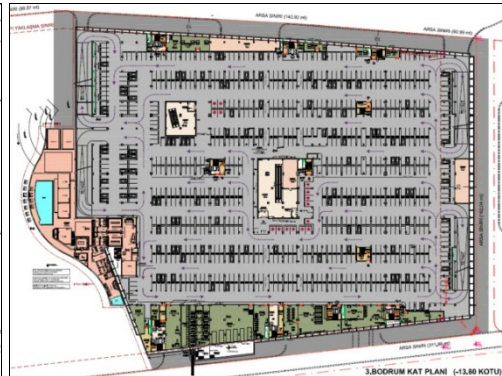
(b) 3rd Basement

(c) 2nd Basement

(d) 1st Basement

(e)   Ground Floor

(f)   1st Floor

(g)   2nd Floor

(h)   3rd Floor

(i)   4th Floor

(j)   5th Floor

(k)   6th Floor

(l)   Roof Floor
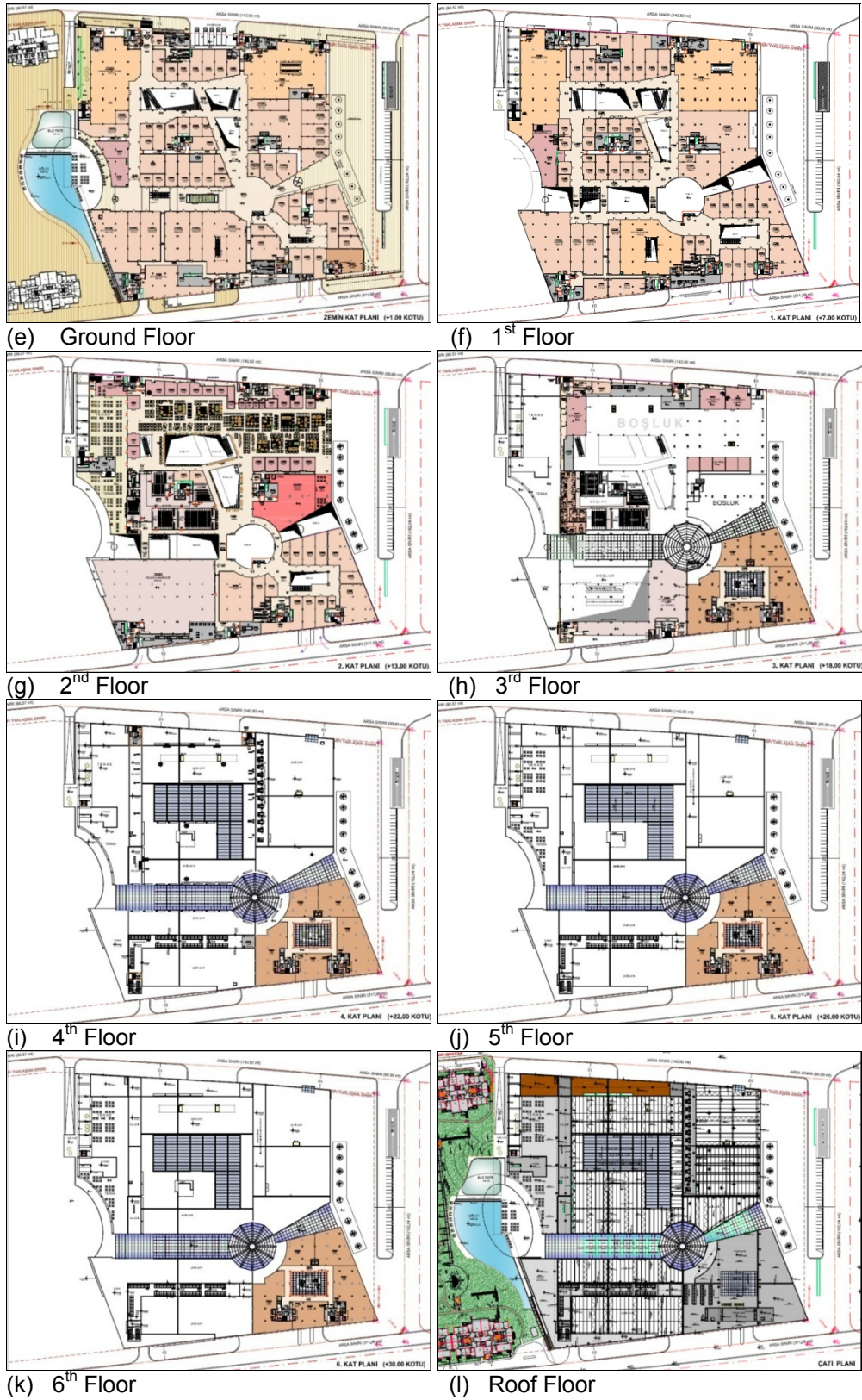
Figure 19. KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences Plans
[Source: KENTPARK Shopping Center – Official Site,
http://www.kentpark.com.tr/
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]
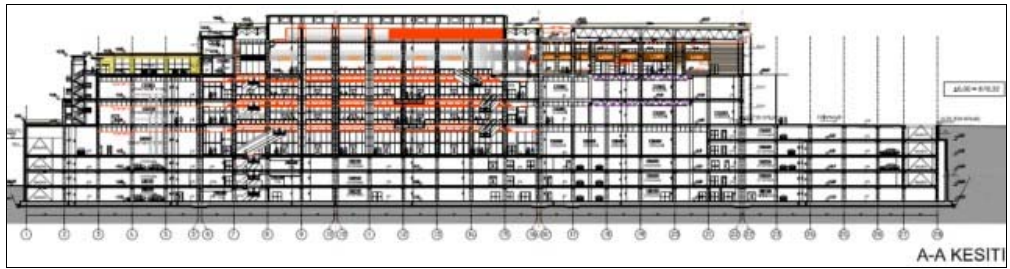
(a) Section A-A

(b) Section B-B
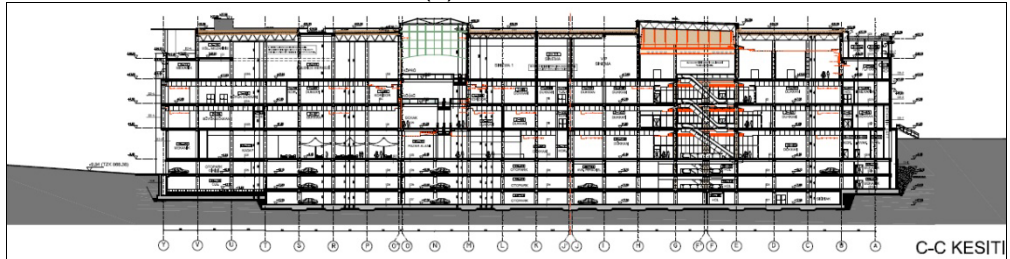
(c) Section C-C

Figure 20. KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences Sections
[Source: KENTPARK Shopping Center – Official Site,
http://www.kentpark.com.tr/
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

Figure 21. KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences
[Source: KENTPARK Shopping Center – Official Site,
http://www.kentpark.com.tr/
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

There was another proposal made for the project in January 2005 with a total floor area 180.000m2 for seventeen floors. The design was made from AYRİM Architecture - founded by Hacer Ayrancıoğlu Yetiş in 2003.[227]
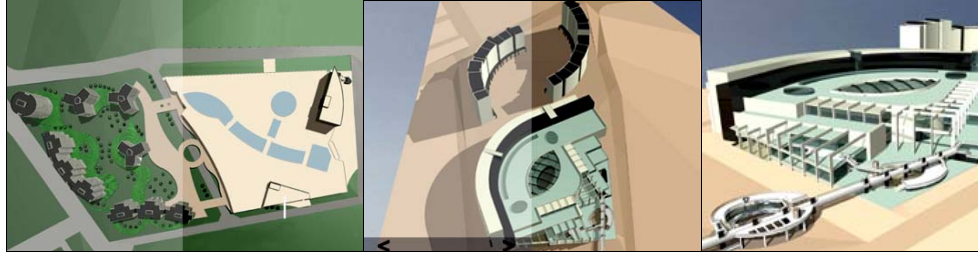
(c)   Site Plan   (b)   Perspective   (c)   Perspective
Figure 22. KENTPARK Shopping Center, Office and Residences Plans - Proposal
[Source: AYRİM Architecture – Official Site,
http://www.kentpark.com.tr/
(accessed on 12.05.2009)]

ANSE Household-goods Shopping Mall

Differing from other shopping malls presented above, ANSE Household-goods Shopping Mall to be open in August 2009 is just a building for the house needs. The building is located in Eskişehir Highway on the opposite site of Gordion Shopping Mall, MESA Center, and Arcadium. The project is realized by Kartallar Şirketler Grubu.[228]

Figure 23. ANSE Household-goods Shopping Mall – Site Plan
[Source: Anse Ev Gereçleri Alışveriş Merkezi,
http://www.anseevgerecleri.com/main.html
(accessed on 26.06.2009)]

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[227] AYRİM Architecture, http://www.kentpark.com.tr/ (accessed on 12.05.2009)
[228] Anse Ev Gereçleri Alışveriş Merkezi, http://www.anseevgerecleri.com/main.html (accessed on 26.06.2009)]

The mall separated in two blocks has a closed area about 70.000m2 and the leasable area constitutes of 26.000m2. The building has six floors and there are 56 shops in it. The shopping mall provides 1600m2 area for conference hall and operational area for different organization. Terraces and space for fast-food and catering trade reach an area of 1200m2. The parking space is solved on a 24.000m2 indoor park and there is a 5.000m2. Another facility that the shopping mall provides is a day-care center for children which together with the playground complete 2000m2.[229]
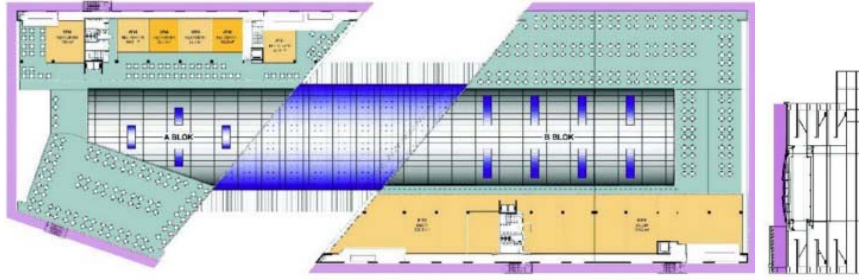

(a) 1st Basement – Section

(b) Ground Floor – Section
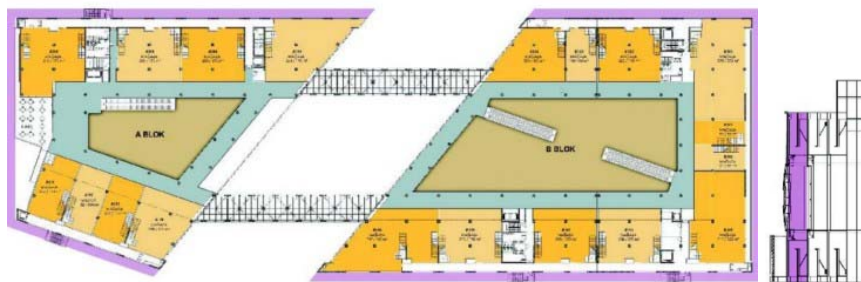
(c) 1st Floor – Section

[229] Anse Ev Gereçleri Alışveriş Merkezi, http://www.anseevgerecleri.com/main.html (accessed on 26.06.2009)]

(d) Terrace – Section

Figure 24. ANSE Household-goods Shopping Mall – Plans and Sections
[Source: Anse Ev Gereçleri Alışveriş Merkezi,
http://www.anseevgerecleri.com/main.html
(accessed on 26.06.2009)]

Figure 25. ANSE Household-goods Shopping Mall – Views
[Source: Anse Ev Gereçleri Alışveriş Merkezi,
http://www.anseevgerecleri.com/main.html
(accessed on 26.06.2009)]

GORDION Shopping Center and Housing

The project is located in Ankara in Yeni Mahalle district (Çayyolu – Eskişehir Highway). It is designed by the world-renowned Chapman Taylor Architects,

and the name is taken from the ancient and mythological town of GORDION, to the southwest of Ankara. [230]
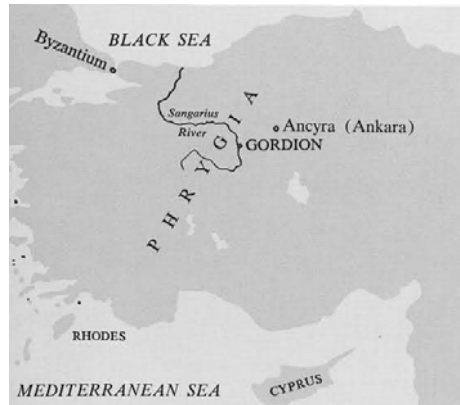
Figure 26. GORDION
[Source: Penn Museum - Archive,
http://penn.museum/documents/publications/expedition/PDFs/
5-3/Gordion.pdf
(accessed on 21.06.2009)]

The project partner is Redevco (Real Estate Development Construction Investment and Tic) which is active in 20 European countries and present in Turkey in May 2006. Redevco has a principal main 'sustainability' and the company has comitted to the BREEAM – green building standart.[231]

GORDION shopping center will provide a total of 50,000m² of gross leasable space of retail space and will house nearly 200 shops, a multiplex cinema and a hypermarket. The housing construction area is of 104,025m2. The construction has started in June 2007 and the center will be open to market in 2009. The project cost is 129,000,000 €. There will be parking for 2900.[232] The construction area is about 175.000m2 and "forms reinforcement concrete, steel and composite load-bearing systems." The building has 2 basement and totally 9 floors.[233]

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[230] Redevco (Real Estate Development Construction Investment and Tic)
http://www.redevco.com/SearchResults/tabid/38/Default.aspx?Search=gordion+-+turkey
(accessed on 21.06.2009)
[231] Ibid.
[232] Gürtaş İnşaat, GORDION Shopping Center,
http://www.gurtasinsaat.com.tr/gurtas2/page_en.php?ID=131 (accessed on 21.06.2009)
[233] Yalçın Proje, GORDION Shopping Center,
http://www.yalcinproje.com/en/projedetay.aspx?ID=32 (accessed on 21.06.2009)

Figure 27. GORDION Shopping Center – Views
[Source: Redevco (Real Estate Development Construction Investment and Tic),
http://www.redevco.com/SearchResults/tabid/38/Default.aspx?Search=gordion+-
+floorplans
(accessed on 21.06.2009)]

As described from the Redevco group the building will have a direct contact with the metro. In its 50.000m2 retail-space it will house:

> […]165 retail units, a cinema, a consumer electronics retailer and a hypermarket, as well as providing 2,500 parking spaces. Inditex has signed a lease agreement for seven brands (Zara, Zara Home, Massimo Dutti, Stradivarius, Bershka, Oysho, Pull and Bear), totalling up to 4,320 sq. m. Cinebonus, a subsidiary of Mars Entertainment Group, has leased a 4,250 sq. m. unit and will be the region's biggest cinema complex, with 13 screens. Carrefour has signed a lease for 3,000 sq. m. And Electroworld will take 4,000 sq. m. Boyner Group has signed a lease agreement for six brands (Network, Fabrika, Benetton,

Divarese, Que and T-Box), totalling up to 1,500 sq. m. REDEVCO has also signed lease agreements with Teknosa, C&A, Koton and Nike.[234]

Figure 28. GORDION Shopping Center (under construction photos) – Views
[Source: Gürtaş İnşaat,
http://www.gurtasinsaat.com.tr/gurtas2/page_en.php?ID=131
(accessed on 21.06.2009)]

The GORDION Residences are placed on a gross land area of 56,302m2 and the total built area is 106,000m2. The project construction duration is assumed to be 24 months. The value of the whole construction is about 59,003,062 TRY.[235]

Figure 29. GORDION Residences (under construction and render photos) – Views
[Source: Gürtaş İnşaat,
http://www.gurtasinsaat.com.tr/gurtas2/page_en.php?ID=131
(accessed on 21.06.2009)]

[234] Redevco (Real Estate Development Construction Investment and Tic)
http://www.redevco.com/SearchResults/tabid/38/Default.aspx?Search=gordion+-+turkey
(accessed on 21.06.2009)
[235] Gürtaş İnşaat, GORDION Residences,
http://www.gurtasinsaat.com.tr/gurtas2/page_en.php?ID=131 (accessed on 21.06.2009)

4.1.1.2 Other Buildings

Ankara in the urban context experienced its evolution alongside other rapidly growing cities throw a "quantitative production"[236] of several buildings be cultural, religious, residential, plazas or tourisms product.

Medicana Hospital (Gözüm Plaza)

Medicana Hospital was constructed in 2008 in the Sögütözü district beside of Ankara Chamber of Commerce. The architectural design is made from Ali Osman Öztürk, A-Architectural design. The building is composed of 14 floors and has a gross area of 15.000m2.[237]

Figure 30. Medicana Hospital – Views
[Source: Medicana International Ankara,
http://www.medicanainternational.com/?sid=18
(accessed on 21.06.2009)]

DMC - Doĝan Media Center

The office for Doĝan Media Center is designed by Tabanlıoĝlu Architects and is located on Eskişehir Highway. It is planned as a distinctive media figure housing TV channels and the newspapers Hurriyet and Milliyet.

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[236] Ali Cengizkan, *"*Producing Ankara through Residential Architecture: Generating and Re-Generating the City after 1975" in *Architecture in Turkey around 2000: Issues in Discourse and Practice*, Tansel Korkmaz ed. *(*Ankara, Turkey: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 34.
[237] A – Architectural Design, Panora Shopping Center
http://www.atasarim.com.tr/en/project/panora-shopping-center   (accessed on 11.05.2009)

Tabanlıoĝlu Architects team is priced with the "Chamber of arc award" for the building.[238]
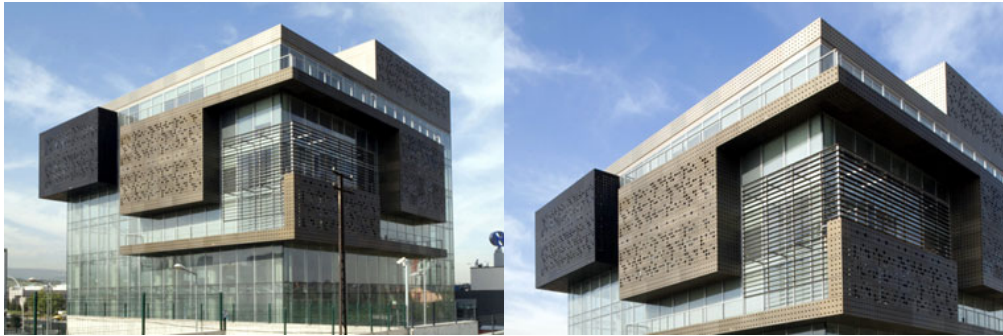
Figure 31. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Views
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
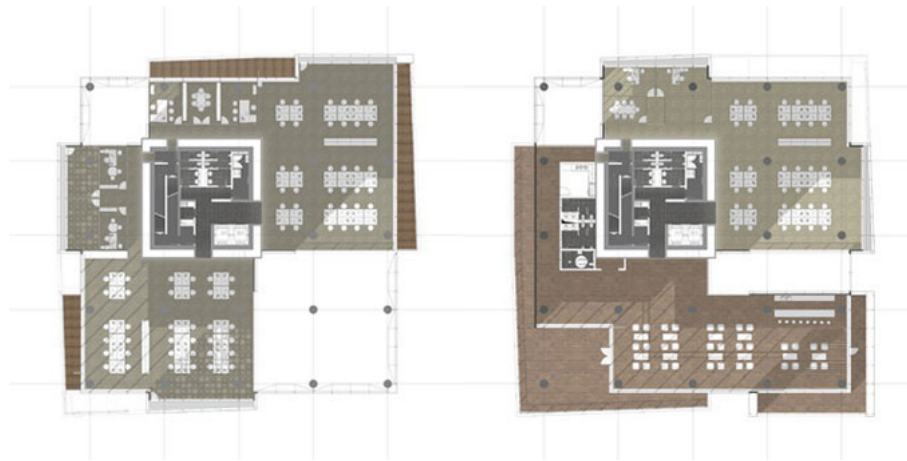(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

The design of the buildings evolved through the square site which makes architects respecting it and concludes in a decision of a cube as the main form of the building which "from the surface up the straight cube deformed and restructured with the addition and subtraction of cubic volumes."[239]

Figure 32. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Site Plan
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

238

239 Arcspace, Tabanlıoĝlu Architects: Doĝan Media Center,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html (accessed on 11.05.2009)

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(a) Office Floor Plan   (b) VIP Floor Plan

Figure 33. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Plans
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

The project consists of 7-story concrete structure – "4m high cubes formed every other floor, is supported by steel elements"[240] on a closed area of 11.475m2. The site plan of the building is approximately 4.299m2.[241] The atrium houses the main food court, the terrace-lounge (the VIP meeting point) located on the upper floor and there are additional spaces created by mezzanines. In the first basement are placed technical facilities and storage requirements are solved at the other basement floors.[242]

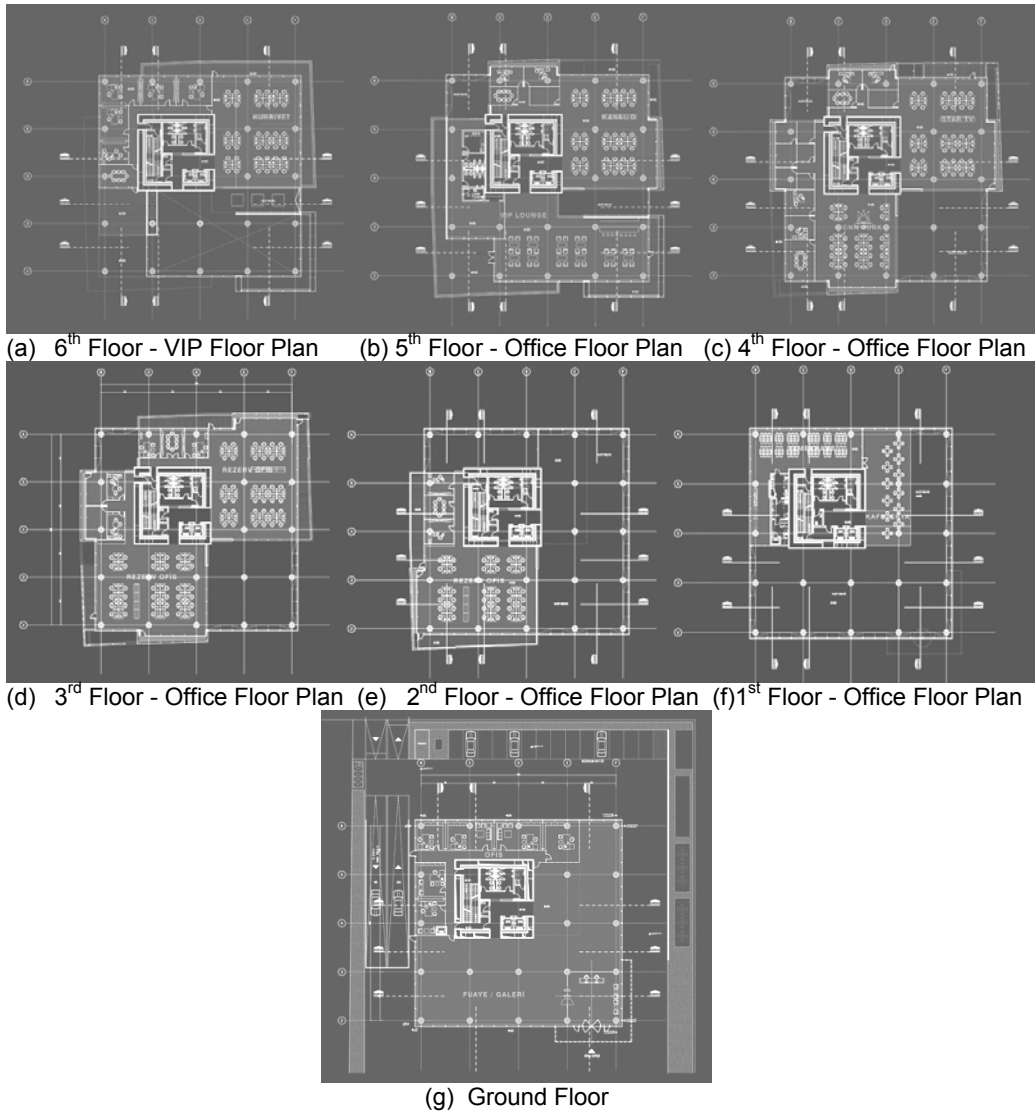**Figure 34.** DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Section
[Source: Ulusal Sergi,
http://mo.org.tr/ulusalsergi/index.cfm?sayfa=YD-DMC
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

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[240] Ibid.
[241] Arkitera Archive, http://arkiv.arkitera.com/p8340-dogan-medya-merkezi-dmc.html#myslidemenu (accessed on 11.05.2009)
[242] Arcspace, Tabanlıoĝlu Architects: Doĝan Media Center,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html (accessed on 11.05.2009)

(a) 6th Floor - VIP Floor Plan (b) 5th Floor - Office Floor Plan (c) 4th Floor - Office Floor Plan

(d) 3rd Floor - Office Floor Plan (e) 2nd Floor - Office Floor Plan (f)1st Floor - Office Floor Plan

(g) Ground Floor
Figure 35. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Plans
[Source: Ulusal Sergi,
http://mo.org.tr/ulusalsergi/index.cfm?sayfa=YD-DMC
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

The building façade has an emblematic use with perforated shields resembling the Braille alphabet at different scales makes the building easily to be read from the exterior.
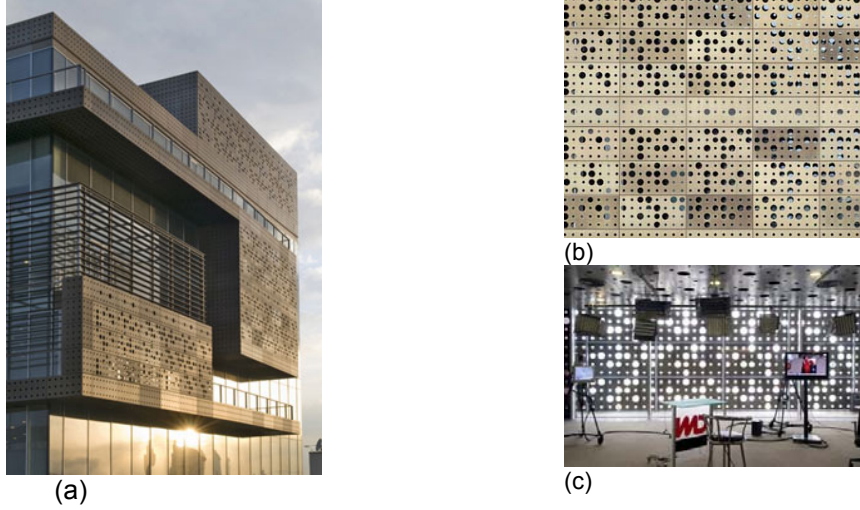
(a) Façade; (b) Façade Detail; (c) Façade - detail from the interior of the building

Figure 36. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Views
 [Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

Figure 37. DMC - Doĝan Media Center – Views of the Interior
[Source: Arcspace,
http://www.arcspace.com/architects/tabanlioglu/dogan/dogan.html
(accessed on 11.05.2009)]

Söĝütözü Congress and Trade Center

The center is located in Söĝütözü and the construction stands on the opposite side Armada Business and Trade Center. It is designed from Uludaĝ Architectural Office. The design was developing according the existing structures of Metro line and Ankaray but due to the investor demand the design area of the project increased and it is approximately 175.000m2.[243]

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[243] Uludag Mimarlik, http://www.uludagmimarlik.com.tr/ (accessed on 25.06.2009)

The construction of the building is made by Aktürk-Güris Corporation and is a composite system of reinforced concrete and steel (made from Aykon Steel Construction).[244]

The project program contains three big congress halls with a total capacity of 500, 700 and 3000 seats. There will be "10 multipurpose halls in various sizes, 30 seminar halls, 12 cinema hall, cafeterias, amultimedia center, a library, 2 markets, food-courts, 180 shops and car parking area with the capacity of 1250 cars."[245]
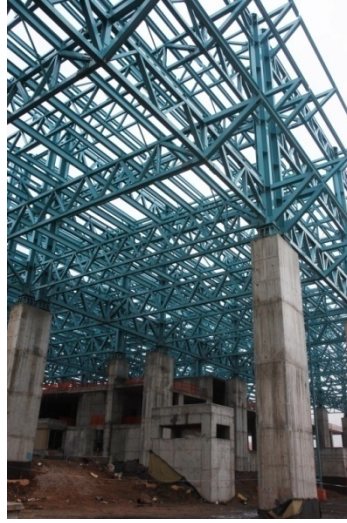
Figure 38. Söĝütözü Congress and Trade Center (photographed by the author on 06.03.2009)
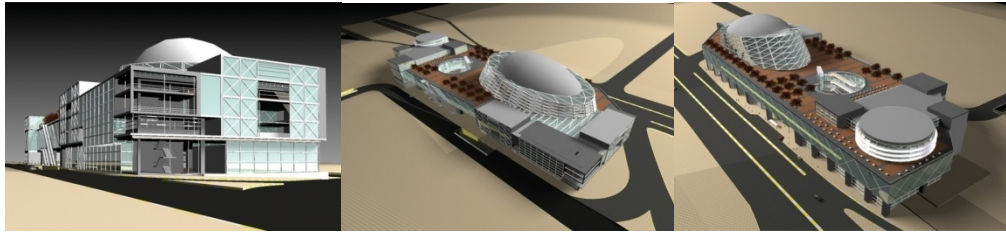
Figure 39. Söĝütözü Congress and Trade Center
[Source: Akyon Çelik Yapı,
http://www.aykoncelikyapi.com/english/kategori.aspx?onay=0
(accessed on 25.06.2009)]

The construction of the building is stopped since 2007 and in the district of the Söĝütözü there exist just the steel frame structure.

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[244] Akyon Çelik Yapı, http://www.aykoncelikyapi.com/english/kategori.aspx?onay=0 (accessed on 25.06.2009)
[245] Arkitera Archive, http://www.arkitera.com/h27642-baskan-gokcek-projelerini-anlatti.html (accessed on 25.06.2009) [Also in: Tuĝba Tekin, *Transformation of an Urban "Vector": Eskişehir Highway, Ankara* (Unpublished M.Arch. Thesis. Ankara: METU)]

Ankara Chamber of Commerce (ATO) Fair and Congress Center

The Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center in Ankara on the Eskisehir Highway is a project designed in 2001-2003 from Osman Öztürk and is designed to be an extension to the existing complex of the Headquarters of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce a project designed by Haluk Pamir, construction completed in 1997.

The total area of the building is about 80.490m2 and the project consists of two story underground floors (15,970m2 each); two floors: the ground floor (15,430m2) with a suspended floor (4,920m2), the first floor (12.500m2) with a suspended floor (8.300m2); and a terrace (2,400m2 usable area and 5000m2 green area). In the underground floors there is place for approximately 1000 cars. In the ground floor the design is arranged as an exhibition floor composed of two halls (3,000m2 each to be separated in four different areas), an entrance foyer (1,900m2), and internal footways (2,000m2 and 500m2). There is designed a Congress Center Auditorium for 3,200 seats (4,000m2), a Multipurpose Hall to be separated even in three different halls (1,500m2), two VIP Meeting Halls (400m2 each), small Meeting Halls (five halls of 50m2, two halls of 100m2, Auditorium Foyers (2,740m2; 1,200m2; and 980m2), Main Restaurant (in ±0,00 and +5,40 level with different access, 1,000m2), and a coffee area (300m2).[246]
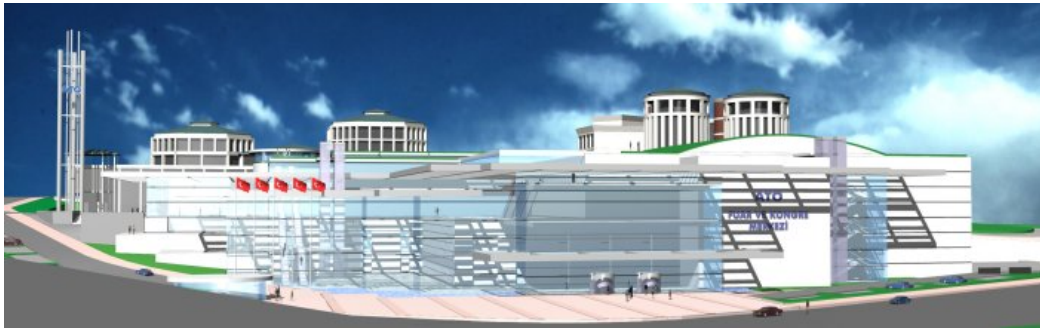
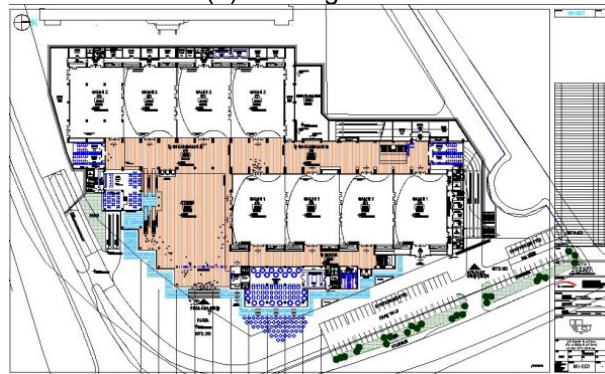**Figure 40.** Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center – View
[Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası,
http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=342&l=1
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

[246]Ankara Ticaret Odası, http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=340&l=1 (accessed on 19.06.2009)

(a) Underground floor

(b) Ground Floor
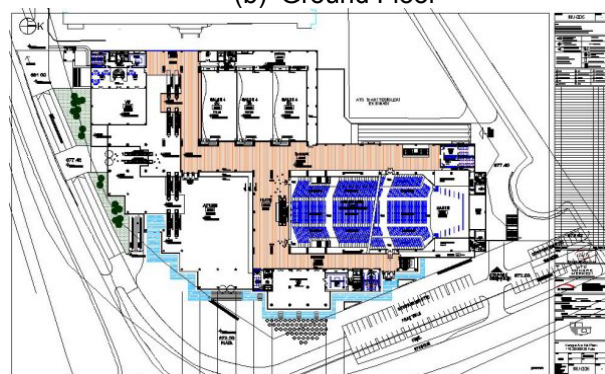
(c) 1st Floor

Figure 41. Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center
– Plans
[Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası,
http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=342&l=1
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Figure 42. Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center - View
[Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası,
http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=342&l=1
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]
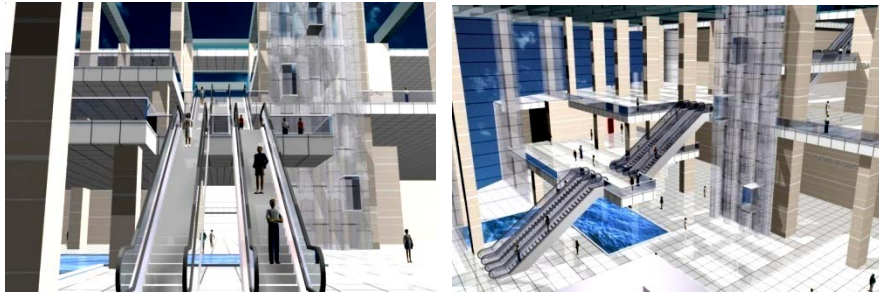
Figure 43. Chamber of Commerce Fair and Congress Center – Interior Views
[Source: Ankara Ticaret Odası,
http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=342&l=1
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Halkbank Headquarters

This project was realised as the result of a restricted competition held in 1983. The aims for the building were to be multi-functional and to carry a symbolic significance.[247]

The project is designed by the architects Dogan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and with the aims "to be multi-functional and to carry a symbolic significance" the building combined in a tall construction containing offices for the general head quarters built on an area 40.000 m2 in size[248] and with a site area of 98,000 m².[249] The entrance gates are situated in the directions of Ankara, Eskişehir and Konya Highways that intended to give to the building its particular character.[250]

The tall building has a slightly convex elevation on two sides, with windows in a regular pattern. In the middle, the building is more slender, which can be seen on the two sides. The building material is mainly reinforced concrete. It is quite common in Turkey for architects to produce a total design for a building, including the interior and furniture.

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[247] Museum Architecture, http://www.archmuseum.org/Collection/Detail_halk-bank-general-headquarters-turkish-republic-treasury-department_10068.html (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[248] Ibid.
[249] ARCAM Architectuurcentrum Amsterdam, Turkey Today: Contemporary Turkish Architecture in Turkey and the Netherlands,
http://www.arcam.nl/docs/nl/discussies/folderengelsturkeytoday.pdf (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[250] Museum Architecture, http://www.archmuseum.org/Collection/Detail_halk-bank-general-headquarters-turkish-republic-treasury-department_10068.html (accessed on 19.06.2009)

Here, too, the interior of the Halkbank was included in the design, which can be seen, for example, in the lamps in the large entrance foyer.[251]

The basic considerations in the design of this block were a respect for human proportions as well as a desire to keep in touch with nature […] the axial arrangement of the complex is its main feature. A tree-lined road leads from the high block to the centre where an eaved entrance resembling a baldaquin forms a focal point, emphasizing the strong axial symmetry continued through the length of the area.[252]

"The plan consists of a hollow square, 45x45 m, with two parallel office blocks, 45x15 m in size, extending north and south," which are "attached to the main building by a central core with vertical approach."[253] This plan allows each office to have natural lighting and outlook. On the eastern side a large open space designed to attract attention to its hanging gardens and green areas on all five floors. A central cafeteria, club, auditorium and school of banking, forming a peaceful green recreational area which consists of blocks two or three storeys high that are placed around a sunken pedestrian precinct.[254]

[251] ARCAM Architectuurcentrum Amsterdam, Turkey Today: Contemporary Turkish Architecture in Turkey and the Netherlands,
http://www.arcam.nl/docs/nl/discussies/folderengelsturkeytoday.pdf (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[252] Museum Architecture, http://www.archmuseum.org/Collection/Detail_halk-bank-general-headquarters-turkish-republic-treasury-department_10068.html (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[253] Ibid.
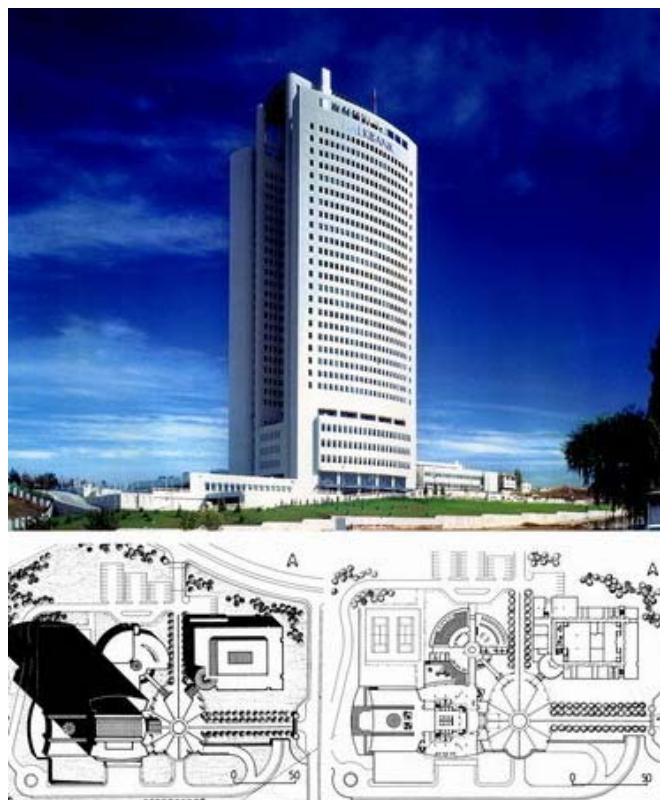[254] Ibid.

Figure 44. Halkbank Headquarters - Views
[Source: ArchNet,
http://www.archnet.org/library/images/one-image-
large.jsp?location_id=5663&image_id=166896 (accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Figure 45. Halkbank Headquarters - Ground Floor Plans and View
[Source: ArchNet,
http://www.archnet.org/library/images/one-image-
large.jsp?location_id=5663&image_id=166896
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Figure 46. Halkbank Headquarters - View
[Source: ArchNet,
http://www.archnet.org/library/images/one-image-
large.jsp?location_id=5663&image_id=166896
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB)

Described as the most expensive building in Ankara the twin towers of The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey is designed by SUTE Architectural Office and the construction part by Ceylan Construction Company.[255]

> Prime Ministry Headquarters was designed to make use of a few existing buildings on site, and to initiate a complete revision, in terms of urban design and architecture, of the surrounding state-owned properties. The intense program, its various safety zones and their circulation requirements were met by a base of varying levels, crowned with two dominant masses of 38 storeys.
> The design is an attempt to arrive at a new interpretation of state-owned architecture through an unfamiliar approach.[256]

The design process of the project occurred in 1996-1997 and the built area of the complex is about 150,000m2 in total. The two towers grow vertically in 38 floors with 140m height, which are known to have a value of 250,000 dollar. In 2005 the building was sold to the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey with 100 million dollars price in 2005 in terms of

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[255] Sute Architectural Office (official website), http://www.sute.com.tr/ (accessed on 19.06.2009)
[256] Ibid.

privatization policies. The building is still under construction for more than 20 years.[257]
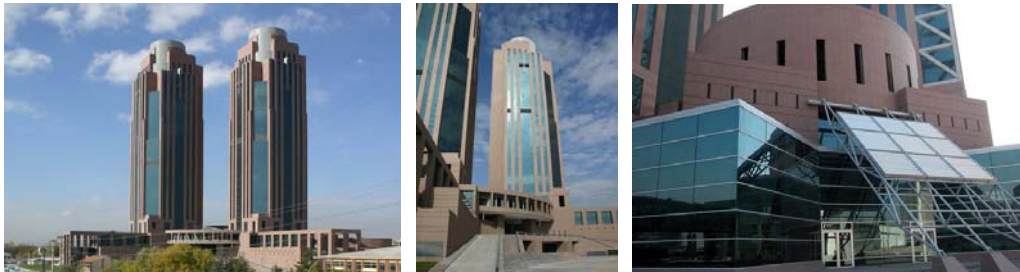
Figure 47. Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) - Views
[Source: Sute Architectural Office (official website),
http://www.sute.com.tr/
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

Figure 48. Headquarters of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) - Views
[Source: wowTurkey.com,
http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=13207&start=20
(accessed on 19.06.2009)]

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[257] Radikal, http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=159757 (accessed on 19.06.2009)

4.1.2   Spontaneous Architecture

What happened in Ankara for the last ten years seems to be kind of spontaneous and casual architecture. The changes in the urban design contest, lately consisting primarily in large trade centers and shopping malls introduce the need for change in the architectural program. The city's new public sphere is being conceptualized through the marketable image that these centers shift. Obviously, there exist spaces that work separately divided by roads which recently are turning into highways and separate parts rather than connecting.

This development in urban design introduces the power to decide for the city form. What urban design consists of, as Jon Lang would comment in his book *Urban Design: The American Experience,* is that:

> Urban design is now a recognized area of professional concern born out of the perception that a set of good buildings by major architects can, in themselves, make neither a good city nor a good urban place. […] The field of urban design was born out of the necessity to recognize the interrelatedness of a city's components, particularly those that constitute the public realm. Urban design was also born out of the recognition that however well land uses are distributed, they will not, by themselves, lead to a good city.[258]

The limits economic power decides about social, economic and physical order of places[259] shapes the city as an urban product to be sold. Thus, the city, in a global context seems to cope spontaneously with other cities throughout the world and this "mirroring behavior" at a present time exercises by identifying new terms of cultural signification.[260]

> Is the cultural life of the city adequate to its metropolitan status? The lack of urban culture in our city is coupled with a notable scarcity of cultural policies. Ankara prides itself on its status of 'university city' and 'research centre'. To claim this rank, the city must provide not only a more suitable environment for research and education but also a wider spectrum of cultural activities. Ankara deserves a cultural life

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[258] Jon Lang, "Introduction: Urban Design" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 3.
[259] Ibid., 2.
[260] Ibid., 2-6.

appropriate to its metropolitan condition (a mega-city of nearly 4,5 million people); and, what is more, to its status of national capital. As many examples around the world have shown, the arts and culture can play a crucial role in the process of urban regeneration.[261]

The built environment continually and rapidly changing conclude to a certain complexity within the regions. The density of the city eventually increasing with the population growth provides decentralized spaces.

> Economic growth and industrialization have become self-legitimating, extending their effects to entire territories, regions, nations, and continents. As a result, the traditional unit typical of peasant life, namely the village, has been transformed. Absorbed or obliterated by larger units, it has become an integral part of industrial production and consumption. The concentration of the population goes hand in hand with that of the mode of production. The *urban fabric* grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life. This expression, "urban fabric," does not narrowly define the built world of cities but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country. In this sense, vacation homes, a high way, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric. Of varying density, thickness, and activity, the only regions untouched by it are those that are stagnant or dying, those that are given over to "nature." […] As this global process of industrialization and urbanization was talking place, the large cities exploded, giving rise to growths of dubious value: suburbs, residential conglomerations and industrial complexes, satellite cities that differed little from urbanized towns. Small and midsize cites became dependencies, partial colonies of the metropolis.[262]

In Ankara "the suburban districts have grown to the detriment of the city centre, which is stifled by congested traffic."[263]

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[261] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009)
[262] Henri Lefebvre, "From the City to Urban Society" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 3-4.
[263] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009).

[…] Wider roads, underpasses, overpasses... […] Pedestrians must often struggle to survive, quite literally, amidst increasingly wild traffic conditions. Private automobile transportation has become the unquestioned engine of urban development. But its effect is a loss of human scale, and human speed, in the city. And a gradual disappearance of street life.[264]

The street in concept, as Lefebvre assumes, is "where the movement takes place, the interaction without which urban life would not exist, leaving only separation, a forced and fixed segregation." It "serves as a meeting place," "it informs," "it surprises," "the street is disorder," "the urban space of the street is a place to talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things," it is "a place where speech becomes writing," "a place where speech can become 'savage' and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls." To be against these concepts Lefebvre follows by saying that "such meetings are superficial" and the street "street prevents the constitution of a group, a subject." Lefebvre is fond of saying that "the world of merchandise is deployed in the street," and "the merchandise is deployed in the street."[265]

The merchandise that didn't make it into specialized locales or markets (marketplaces, halls) has invaded the entire city. The street became a display, a corridor flanked by stores of various kinds. […] Movement in the street, a communication space, is both obligatory and repressed. […] Although the street may have once had the meaning of a meeting place, it has since lost it, and could only have lost it, by reducing itself, through a process of necessary reduction, to nothing more than a passageway, by splitting itself into a place for the passage of the pedestrians (hunted) and automobiles (privileged). The street became a network organized for and by consumption. The rate of pedestrian circulation, although still tolerated, was determined and measured by the ability to perceive store windows and buy the objects displayed in them. Time became "merchandise time" (time for buying and selling, time bought and sold). The street regulated time outside of work; it subjected it to the same system, the system of yield and profit. It was

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[264] Ibid., point 4.
[265] Henri Lefebvre, "From the City to Urban Society" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 18-19.

nothing more than the necessary transition between forced labor, programmed leisure, and habitation as a place of consumption.[266]

The example of the Eskişehir Highway or the Atatürk Boulevard, as a "place of movement" could be seen as a separator corridor which divides parts and functions as a border of regions which advertise the new image of the future city. It is "a series of displays, an exhibition of objects for sale."[267] The urban reality "becomes the sum, the home of various markets: the market for agricultural products (local, regional, national), industrial products (received, manufactured, distributed on site or in the surrounding territory), capital, labor, lodging, land for development, as well as the market for works of art and the intellect, signs and symbols."[268]

The urban design "is guided by designers' and decision makers' concepts"[269] where "the nature of the city has been seen in terms of rent theory," so it makes the city as "a place of competition for profit."[270]

4.1.3 Urban Architecture Domain

How can the city look into the future if it breaks the ties with its history?
In a blatant denial of the city's history, buildings that should preserve the memory of Ankara are slated for demolition. Some have already been torn down. And the ancient core of the city lies in a state of decay. As economic values overcome cultural ones, the city is increasingly losing the material bearers of its own modern identity. The lack of a consistent plan for the conversion and reuse of historical buildings makes it all the more difficult to claim their relevance to the city's future. The city should not nurture a nostalgic bond with its past, but rather learn from its traces in order to envisage possible futures.[271]

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[266] Ibid., 19-20.
[267] Ibid., 20-21.
[268] Ibid., 47.
[269] Jon Lang, "Competing normative Theories – Concepts of a Good World: Concepts of a City" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 358-359.
[270]

[271] Mimarlar Odasi Ankara, *"The city of lost vision: A manifesto for Ankara"* in Workshop: 'Metamorphosis and the Textual City', October 2006, http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=3047 (accessed on May 5, 2009).

Urban transformations of Ankara make it behave as a mercantile city. The use of land and the urban space introducing impact to financial profit exercises the new limitations of architectural product.

The city of Ankara experienced a shift which can be described, according to Zeynep Uludağ statement, as a "shift in the use of the urban land can be defined as *centralization of the periphery and peripherization of the center*" and "the urban land has become the expression of new images and a new urban culture." These transformations merge the need for new design process.[272]

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[272] Zeynep Uludağ, "The Evolution of Popular Culture and Transformation of the Urban Landscape of Ankara," http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/01_2/uludag15.htm (accessed on 17.06.2008)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been analyzing the on-going transformation process of the city in the general context to the extension of examination of the architectural developments the city of Ankara as a transforming power of identity which makes the study case of the thesis.

It was prescribed that the symbolic meaning of the city is seen tied in regard to globalization as a process of cultural and identity transformations as the globalization problem takes one of the most important and discussed issues in the 21st century by "challenging the model of a homogenized world future."[273] This impact of the globalization is manifested in the explosive growth of cities throughout the world to articulate the nature of the contemporary city in a cultural condition.[274] What is being *global* is a culture that created interconnectedness of place, community and identity. A central question that is globalization contributing in culture and economy evolution of contemporary cities, referring to urban experience, explains what happens on contemporary cities all around the world which could nearly compared with the urban transformation happening in Ankara and Turkey. As analyzed in the second chapter it is clear that "the contemporary form of globalization is nothing more than yet another round in the capitalist production and reconstruction of space," but in addition to these, globalization "entails a further diminution in the friction of distance through yet another round of innovation in the technologies of transport and communications."

The transformation that makes culture perform through design to produce types and forms on building will deeply introduce to the urban life the grounds of new identities derived from physical substance, from the historical, context, and from the real, identities conceived as the form of shearing the past.

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[273] Chris Abel, "Urban Chaos or Self-Organization" in *Architecture and identity: responses to cultural and technological change* (Oxford ; Boston : Architectural Press, 2000), 194.
[274] Eric Höweler, "Vertical Now: The Skyscraper at the Beginning of the 21st Century" in Skyscraper: Vertical Now" (Universe Publishing, 2003), 17.

Throughout the thesis there are discussions on as money, time, space, place, bigness, scale, proportion, dimension, meaning of the architectural product, sign and image, considered in an architectural discourse which are closely related urban transformation where design "is guided by designers' and decision makers' concepts"[275] where "the nature of the city has been seen in terms of rent theory," so it makes the city as "a place of competition for profit."[276] In the city of Ankara, after analyzing a set of buildings such as shopping malls, world trade center's or plazas, the urban reality "becomes the sum, the home of various markets: the market for agricultural products (local, regional, national), industrial products (received, manufactured, distributed on site or in the surrounding territory), capital, labor, lodging, land for development, as well as the market for works of art and the intellect, signs and symbols,"[277] where the example of the Eskişehir Highway or the Atatürk Boulevard, exposed as "places of movement" could be seen as a separator corridor which divides parts and functions as a border of regions which advertise the new image of the future city. The city is advertising "a series of displays, an exhibition of objects for sale."[278] Referring to the street, after seeing the building examples growing aside the borders of the road, like Lefebvre is fond of saying that "the world of merchandise is deployed in the street," and "the merchandise is deployed in the street."[279] Capitalism creates an environment built on a physical landscape of roads, houses, factories, schools, shops, and so forth with its image under the market demands where money is "a mediator of commodity exchange radically transforms and fixes the meanings of space and time in social life and defines limits and imposes necessities upon the shape and form of urbanization." [280] "The shaping of time as a measurable, calculable, and objective magnitude," is valued from money

[275] Jon Lang, "Competing normative Theories – Concepts of a Good World: Concepts of a City" in *Urban Design: The American Experience* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 358-359.
[276] Henri Lefebvre, "From the City to Urban Society" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 47.
[277] Ibid., 47.
[278] Ibid., 20-21.
[279] Henri Lefebvre, "From the City to Urban Society" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 18-19.
[280] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 1-2.

which "forms, transforms and shapes the meaning of time."[281] Time and space articulated closely to money defined independently of each frame the whole social life"[282] in the same sense what is being universal is the building for profit which is "mirrored" within cities of the world and what limits the borders of identity is the exhibition of objects for sale to make the building and the city "a place of competition for profit."[283] In the urban context after analysis through the text of the thesis, I may conclude that the "urbanism is shopping and all new urban plans today are engendered by the need for more retail outlets of better quality."[284]

What happened in Ankara for the last ten years seems to be kind of spontaneous and casual architecture. The changes in the urban design contest, lately consisting primarily in large trade centers and shopping malls introduce the need for change in the architectural program. The city's new public sphere is being conceptualized through the marketable image that these centers shift. Obviously, there exist spaces that work separately divided by roads which recently are turning into highways and separate parts rather than connecting. This development in urban design introduces the power to decide for the city form, a power which forms the boundaries of city's identity. The limits economic power decides about social, economic and physical order of places[285] shapes the city as an urban product to be sold. Thus, the city, in a global context seems to cope spontaneously with other cities throughout the world. The built environment continually and rapidly changing conclude to a certain complexity within the regions. The density of the city eventually increasing with the population growth provides decentralized spaces. The example of the Eskişehir Highway as a "place of movement" could be seen as a separator corridor which divides parts and functions as a border of regions which advertise the new image of the future city. It is "a series of displays, an exhibition of objects for sale."[286] The urban reality "becomes the sum, the home of various markets: the market for agricultural products (local, regional, national), industrial products (received, manufactured, distributed on site or in

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[281] David Harvey, "Money, Time, Space and the City" in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 10.
[282] Ibid., 10-33.
[283] Henri Lefebvre, "From the City to Urban Society" in *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 47.
[284] Ben van Berkel and Caroline Bos, "UCP Mainport" in *Imagination* (Amsterdam: UN Studio & Goose Press, 1999), 72.
[285] Ibid., 2.
[286] Ibid., 20-21.

the surrounding territory), capital, labor, lodging, land for development, as well as the market for works of art and the intellect, signs and symbols."[287]

To re-gain a sense of critical consciousness about the identity of cities urban scale projects should be considered with reference to their contributions to urban and social life beyond their expectations as a tool of investment. Architectural image of the city, in this sense, should not be seen as a sum of independent projects but rather an integral contextual unity. This study should be seen as a preliminary study open to further contributions toward utilizing an alternative and contextual mode of global production of architecture.

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[287] Ibid., 47.

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