

DENSITY AS A TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF URBANIZATION:
MİLLETVEKİLİ LOJMANLARI / PARK ORAN KONUTLARI

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ABSTRACT

DENSITY AS A TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF URBANIZATION: *MİLLETVEKİLİ LOJMANLARI / PARK ORAN KONUTLARI*

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The economic and political restructuring of the 1980s whose main aim was to integrate Turkey to the global economic network via constructing “global cities” initiated not only new architectural programs such as grand shopping malls, office towers, world trade centers, five-star hotels but also new housing patterns all of which played an important role in shaping the urban character. As a result of these new architectural programs Ankara’s urban landscape has been reterritorialized according to the logic of capital. The aim of this study is to analyze the effects of the emerging residential programs on Ankara’s urban transformation since 2000. Specifically, this research critically concentrates on the process of transformation of a low rise-low density residential area into a high rise-high density residence through construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of the same site initiating a “re-scaled” urban landscape. With this respect, this study endeavours to deal with the case of destructing the *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* for constructing *Park Oran Konutları*.

Keywords: re-scaling, spatial fix, citizenship, urban architecture, lifestyle.

ÖZ

KENTSELLEŞMENİN DÖNÜŞTÜRÜCÜ BİR ARACI OLARAK YOĞUNLUK: *MİLLETVEKİLİ LOJMANLARI / PARK ORAN KONUTLARI*

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Küresel ekonomik ağa eklemelenmeyi hedef edinen Türkiye’de, “global kentler” inşası kapsamında 1980li yıllardan günümüze süregelen ekonomik ve politik yeniden yapılanma, kentin yapısını şekillendirmede önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu şekillenme sürecinde, büyük alışveriş merkezleri, ofis kuleleri, dünya ticaret merkezi, beş-yıldızlı oteller ve özellikle yeni konut dokuları oluşan yeni mimari programların tetikleyicisi olmuştur. Bu yeni mimari programların etkisinde, Ankara’nın kentsel mekanı yeniden şekillenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı 2000 yılından sonra yeni oluşan konut programlarının Ankara kentinin dönüşümü üzerine etkisini incelemektir. Özellikle, bu araştırma alçak katlı-alçak yoğunluklu konut alanının yüksek katlı-yüksek yoğunluklu “rezidans” dönüşümüne eleştirel bir bakış açısı getirmeyi amaçlarken, seçilen alanda bulunan mevcut yapının yıkımı ve başka bir projenin inşasını kentsel alanın “yeniden ölçeklendirilmesi” olarak kavramsallaştırmıştır. Bu amaç ve kavramsallaştırma doğrultusunda, TBMM Lojmanları ile yerine inşaa edilen *Park Oran Konutları* kentin konut dokusuna eklenen yeni programı örneklemek amacıyla incelenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: yeniden ölçeklendirme, uzamsal sabit, vatandaşlık, kentsel mimarlık, yaşam tarzı.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
2.1. Prologue.....	9
2.1.1. Restructuring of the Capitalist Mode of Production in 1970s.....	10
2.1.2. Flexible Accumulation.....	11
2.1.3. “Time-Space Compression”.....	13
2.1.4. “Spatial Fix”.....	15
2.1.5. “Hierarchical Arrangements”.....	17
2.1.6. “Scalar Fix”.....	18
2.1.7. Approaching the “Scale Question”.....	20
2.1.8. Conceptualization of “Geographical Scale”.....	23
2.2. Conceptualization of Re-Scaling.....	25
2.2.1. On Urban Level: Re-Scaling of the City.....	26
2.2.1.1. Cities: Centralization through Dispersal.....	27
2.2.1.2. Urban Question as a Scale Question.....	29
2.2.1.3. Relation between Architecture and Urbanism.....	30

2.2.2.	On Citizen Level: Re-Scaling of the Citizenship.....	34
2.2.2.1.	Conceptualization of the Re-scaling of Citizenship.....	35
2.2.2.2.	Defining “Urban Lifestyle”	36
2.2.2.3.	Relation between “Urban Lifestyle” and Urban Environment.....	38
3.	HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK.....	41
3.1.	Constructing TGNA Deputy Residence.....	43
3.1.1.	Constructing 400 villas: 1984-1987.....	43
3.1.2.	Expropriation of the Site.....	43
3.1.3.	Construction of the Deputy Residence.....	46
3.2.	Construction of Two Residential Towers: 1996-1997.....	47
3.3.	Privatization Process of <i>TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari</i>	49
3.3.1.	Transferring the Site to Finance Ministry.....	50
3.3.2.	Eliminating the Legal Barriers with the Introduction of Law 4969.....	52
3.3.3.	Turkey’s Business and Shopping Center Project.....	53
3.3.4.	Marketing in Fragments.....	57
3.4.	Giving Authorization to Housing Development Administration.....	60
3.4.1.	The Sale of the Two High-Rise Blocks.....	62
3.4.2.	Selling off the Site.....	63
3.4.2.1.	Revenue Sharing Model.....	64
3.4.2.2.	Specification of Tender.....	66
3.4.2.3.	Tender of the Site 16743.....	68
3.4.2.4.	Contract between HDA and the Contractor.....	69
3.4.3.	Discussion on the Destruction of <i>TBMM Lojmanlari</i>	72
3.4.4.	Construction of <i>Park Oran Konutlari</i>	75
4.	COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: <i>TBMM LOJMANLARI VS. PARK ORAN KONUTLARI</i>	77

4.1. Urban Architecture Domain.....	78
4.1.1. Community Based Accommodation vs. Commercial Based Housing: Establishing Consuming Architecture.....	78
4.1.2. Public Green vs. Private Green: Appropriating Garden City Concept.....	83
4.1.3. Preservation vs. Destruction: Erasing Collective Memory.....	85
4.1.4. Human Scale vs. Urban Grand Scale: Generating a New Urban Fabric.....	88
4.1.5. Neighbourhood Model vs. Enclaved Setting: Creating Gated Communities.....	91
4.1.6. Enclosure with Social Services vs. Enclosure with Amenities: Converting the Architectural Programme.....	94
4.1.7. Low Rise-Low Density vs. High Rise-High Density:	96
4.1.8. Site Plans and Plans of Flats: Reproducing the conventional Planimetric Outlines.....	98
4.1.9. Horizontal Residences vs. Vertical Blocks: Changing the Skyline.....	114
4.1.10. Building Systems and Construction Techniques: Pursuing Traditional Methods.....	115
4.2. Urban Lifestyle Domain.....	116
4.2.1. Globalizing Bureaucratic Class vs. Transnational Urban Elites: Legitimizing Social Segregation.....	116
4.2.2. “A World” of Inexperienced: Stimulating the Consumer Culture.....	118
4.2.3. The Needed Security: Emerging Defensive Life Style.....	120
5. CONCLUSION.....	124
REFERENCES.....	135

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	The payment plan of total revenue share of HDA.....	70
Table 2	Table comparing the density of the OR-AN Settlement, <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> , and <i>Park Oran</i>	130
Table 3	Table for proposing density for an urban setting.....	131

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Site plan of <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> . (From Günay's archive.).....	45
Figure 2	A photo of the model of <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> . (From Günay's archive.).....	46
Figure 3	A photo of groundbreaking ceremony on <i>Cumhuriyet</i> Newspaper dated 05.10.1984.....	47
Figure 4	A photo of aerial view. (From Günay's archive.).....	49
Figure 5	Site plan of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center Project.....	55
Figure 6	A rendered image of the triplex units together with the extensions prepared for Turkey' Business and Shopping Center Project.....	56
Figure 7	A photo of the construction of the shopping mall and the destruction of the deputy residences. (From Günay's archive.).....	59
Figure 8	An aerial view from the shopping mall on construction and deputy residences by Google Earth.....	60
Figure 9	The diagram of the revenue sharing model.....	65
Figure 10	Photos of the destruction of deputy residences. (From Günay's archive.).....	72
Figure 11	A photo of the construction of <i>Park Oran Konutları</i>	75
Figure 12	An aerial view illustrating the fragments of the site.....	81
Figure 13	A rendered image of the green landscape of <i>Park Oran</i> . (From the booklet of <i>Park Oran Konutları</i> .).....	85
Figure 14	A photo of the attached triplex units in <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> . (From Çinici's archive.).....	92

Figure 15	A rendered image of the gate to <i>Park Oran</i> . (From the booklet of <i>Park Oran</i>)......	93
Figure 16	Site plan of <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> . (From Çinici's archive.).....	99
Figure 17	Street perspective. (Booklet of <i>TGNA Milletvekili Lojmanları Sitesi Temel Atma Töreni</i> , 1984).....	101
Figure 18	Ground floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.).....	102
Figure 19	First floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.).....	102
Figure 20	Second floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.).....	103
Figure 21	Section 1-1, 2-2, 3-3 of the triplex units. (From Çinici's archive.).....	103
Figure 22	Site plan of <i>Park Oran Konutları</i>	105
Figure 23	Floor plans of A-type block in <i>Park Oran Konutları</i>	108
Figure 24	Floor plans of B-type block in <i>Park Oran Konutları</i>	109
Figure 25	Floor plans and flat plans of C-type and D-type block. On Left: Rendered image of the interior corridor of C-type block. On right: Rendered image of the living room in D-type block, playground in front of the C-type building, and C-type blocks together with the high-rise blocks in background.....	113
Figure 26	An image displaying horizontal silhouette of <i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> . (Booklet of <i>TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları Sitesi Temel Atma Töreni</i> , 1984).....	114
Figure 27	A rendered image displaying the vertical skyline of <i>Park Oran</i> . (From the web page of <i>Park Oran</i> . Address: www.parkoran.com).....	114
Figure 28	A rendered image of the entrance of the high-rise blocks in <i>Park Oran Konutları</i> . (From Booklet of <i>Park Oran Konutları</i>).....	118
Figure 29	A page in the booklet of <i>Park Oran Konutları</i> headlined as "In the nature of Park Oran, there is security; in the nature of security, there is peace.".....	122

Figure 30 Map displaying the developments between OR-AN and Ankara.
(A. Hamdi Büyükalıntıaş, (1985) *Peripheral Development of Residential Areas in Ankara: OR-AN Case Study*, unpublished
M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU, p. 114.).....129

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims at comprehension of the literature on the concept of “scale” which profoundly manifests not only into the contemporary economic and political re-structuring but also into the spatial reorganization of urban landscapes and spatial practices as dwelling. In terms of the theoretical assessment, the thesis focuses on two scalar fixes: on urban level as *the re-scaling of the city* and on citizen level as *the re-scaling of the urban citizen*. With regard to the appraisal in the case study of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* and *Park Oran Konutları*, these two residential projects are compared and contrasted with regard to two domains: *urban architecture* and *urban lifestyle*. The binary level of the theoretical framework aims to mould with the structure of the case study as constructed in these two domains.

After having identified the limitations of the present thesis, this chapter aims to account for the context of the economic and political developments in Turkey from 1983 onwards together with the theoretical assistance. This context can be argued as establishing the emergence of the recent high rise – high density housing pattern as it is the case in *Park Oran Konutları*.

Large metropolises are everywhere caught in the contradictory logics of globalization and localization. Symbolizing the accelerated momentum of globalization are the glossy facades of megacapital which have changed the skyline of major cities around the world. Office towers housing multinational corporations, transnational banks, world trade centers five-star

hotels, once the exclusive hallmark of a small number of 'world cities' now signify the integration of almost every major metropolis into global capitalism. The extension of information technologies and travel possibilities have created a new network of 'global spaces' within the interstices of metropolitan life across continents, inhabited by a growing coterie of transnational professionals and specialists.¹

Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland describe the process of large metropolises which are to integrate to the global capital as in the preceding passage. This process of integration of Turkey to the global economic network via constructing "global cities" is mediated by the economic and political developments of the post-1983. Tekeli regards that period from 1980 onwards as one of the important turning points in Turkey's economic political structure.² Until 1980, Turkey had pursued a statist development policy such as industrialization through import substitution. However, from 1980 onwards, Turkey has adhered to market-oriented development policy.³

In *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*, Çağlar Keyder and Ayşe Öncü illustrate the transformation of a metropolis into a "global city" which is well connected to the global capital.⁴ According to Keyder and Öncü, since such a transformation demands the "autonomous play of the world city in the global economic field" large metropolitan cities necessitated the "dismantling of national economies and political control of the state power."⁵ Consequently, the trend toward liberalization of the economy was regarded as a solution to overcome the ever existing political logic of nation-state. Therefore, following the military coup of

¹ Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland, (eds.) (1997) *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, London: Zed Books, p. 1.

² İlhan Tekeli, (2001) *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, Imge Kitabevi, p. 17.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Çağlar Keyder and Ayşe Öncü, (1993) *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*, Istanbul: Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

1980 in Turkey, “after 1983, Turkey’s pursuit of economic liberalization and structural adjustment was politically managed by a center-right alliance of interests under the umbrella of the Motherland Party.”⁶

Turkey’s restructurings in economic and political sphere since 1980s can be argued as correlating to “the struggles of states throughout the world economy to restructure themselves at once to adjust to intensified global economic interdependencies and to promote capital investment and renewed accumulation within their territorial boundaries.”⁷ As a result of this struggles on the urban scale, from Brenner’s perspective, the primary operation of state institutions is argued as “to mould urban space into an ensemble of exchange-values.” Sassen defines this urban space from the 1980s onwards as follows:

The particular kind of city in the world economy since the early 1980s basically resulting from the intersection of two major processes. One is the sharp growth of the globalization of economic activity. It is a fact that globalization has raised the scale and the complexity of economic transactions, thereby feeding the growth of top-level multinational headquarter functions and the growth of services for firms, particularly advanced corporate services. The second is the growing service intensity in the organization of the economy.⁸

In this vein, Sassen argues that cities once again acquired a key role as the ‘production’ sites through a combination of the growing service intensity in economic organization generally and the specific conditions of production for advanced corporate services, including the conditions under which information technologies are available.⁹

⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

⁷ Neil Brenner, (1999a) Globalisation as Reterritorialisation: The Re-scaling of Urban Governance in the European Union, *Urban Studies*, 36 (3), p. 433.

⁸ Saskia Sassen, (2001) “Cities in the Global Economy,” in Ronald Paddison (ed.), *Handbook of Urban Studies*, London: Sage Publications, p. 257.

⁹ Ibid.

In this sense, Brenner emphasizes a central thesis that processes of reterritorialization, that is the re-scaling of forms of territorial organisation such as cities and states, must be viewed as an intrinsic moment of the current round of globalisation. Building upon this thesis, Brenner conceives globalization as a “reterritorialization of both socioeconomic and political-institutional spaces that unfolds simultaneously upon multiple, superimposed geographical scales. The territorial organisation of contemporary urban spaces and state institutions must be viewed at once as a presupposition, a medium and an outcome of this highly conflictual dynamic of global spatial restructuring.”¹⁰ In other words, cities involved in current round of globalisation can be identified as sites of interaction between global processes and urban contexts as mediated through the state which is further elaborated in the following passage:

Because urban regions occupy the highly contradictory interface between the world economy and the territorial state, they are embedded within a multiplicity of social, economic and political processes organised upon superimposed spatial scales. The resultant politics of scale within the political-regulatory institutions of major urban regions can be construed as a sequence of groping, trial-and-error strategies to manage these intensely conflictual forces through the continual construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of relatively stabilised configurations of territorial organisation. The re-scaling of urbanisation leads to a concomitant re-scaling of the state through which, simultaneously, territorial organisation is mobilised as a productive force and social relations are circumscribed within determinate geographical boundaries. These re-scaled configurations of state territorial organisation in turn transform the conditions under which the urbanisation process unfolds.¹¹

Within the Brenner’s theoretical perspective which recognizes, in Lefebvre’s terms, the contemporary urban question as ‘the scale question’, “the urban

¹⁰ Neil Brenner, (1999a) p. 431.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 447.

question under capitalism” is identified as “double-edged socio-political problematic which encompasses both the historical processes of capitalist urbanization and the multiple, politically contested interpretations of that process within modern capitalist society.” Furthermore, on the one hand, the urban question refers to the role of cities as sociospatial arenas in which the contradictions of capitalist development are continually produced and fought out and, on the other hand, the urban question refers to the historically specific epistemic frameworks, through which capitalist cities are interpreted, whether in sociological analysis, in public discourses, in socio-political struggles or in everyday experience.”¹²

Moreover, these economic and political developments of the post-1983 created a new society who facilitates the global functioning of capital and its centralization by allowing the headquarters to exercise remote control on distant units of production or sourcing or markets, through the newly available technologies. This new society is comprised of the service sectors such as communications, computers, data services, financial institutions, accounting, management, marketing, consulting, firms, media and advertising companies, design, and engineering services. This group of people necessitated to pursue a lifestyle that would fit their social level and thus demanded luxury housing. Furthermore, as a result of improvements of post-1983 in the Central Business District (CBD), the city center attracted not only business and banking headquarters, and hotels but also high-rise housing constructions to accommodate the emerging new society of service sector.

After having introduced the context of the economic and political developments in Turkey from 1983 onwards, the content of this present thesis is structured into

¹² Ibid.

four further chapters. The “Theoretical Framework” as the second chapter of this dissertation is divided into two sections of “Prologue” and “Conceptualization of Re-scaling”. In the former section, the constructionist methodology not only presents the various terms and concepts of the existing literature on “scale” but also functions as a central analytical lens for conceptualization of the currently unfolding wave of worldwide capitalist manipulations in politic economic social and spatial spheres. The latter one aims to account for the processes of re-scaling of scalar structures of the city and the urban citizenship by reifying the “scale” theory on urban and urban citizen level as the two levels. On urban level, *the re-scaling of the city* acknowledges urban restructurings that have been unfolding upon urban landscapes. In doing that, it is attempted to decipher architecture’s response to the current round of re-scaling processes.

On citizen level, *the re-scaling of the urban citizen* elaborates the emergence of advent urban-based citizenship formations and “urban lifestyles” as facilitated by restructurings in global economy, global and national politics, and in urban physicality. After theorizing the emerging citizenship formations and the related “urban lifestyle” of an advent group of transnational professionals and specialists, the residential choice of these transnational urban elites as the prevailing citizenship form is presented from a lifestyle perspective.

“Historical Background” as the third chapter elaborates the transformation process from a low rise-low density housing project into a high rise-high density housing project. This chapter aims not only to give an account of the whole process initiated in 1984 with the construction of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* and ended in the construction of the *Park Oran Konutları* through destruction of the former project but also to decipher the network through which governmental and private agencies operate to manage the recent housing production. In brief, the whole process can be divided into three eras. The first era starts with the

construction of the Milletvekili Lojmanları in 1984. Due to the increase in the number of deputies from 400 to 550 in 1995, there was a need for another 150 housing units. This need is satisfied through construction of two additional residential blocks between 1996 and 1997.

The election in 2002 marks the beginning of the second era. In this era, the Prime Minister campaigned for the expropriation of this housing project. Hence, the residences and the site of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* are transferred to Ministry of Finance. Following this, TGNA passed the Law 4969 to eliminate the legal barrier for selling the deputy residence. In 2003, while preserving the existing built environment and surrounding landscape, the residential project is converted into a business and shopping center. As a result, Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center is prepared by Çinici Architecture. However, the conversion into a business and shopping center as a selling strategy proved to be a disappointment. After this disappointment, Finance Ministry started to sell the whole site in partitions which is argued as promoting the marketing of the whole area. As a result of this decision, two partitions of the site is sold out to construct a shopping and entertainment center and to construct a high-rise hotel.

The third phase starts with the assignment of 566 remaining units to HDA for a charge. Firstly, HDA decided to sell each of the 164 units in the two high rise blocks as housing in an auction. Secondly, HDA decided to put the site out to an open tender with a revenue sharing model. With this tender, the construction of a new project was assigned to Joint Venture of *Mesa Mesken, Aktürk Yapı, and Emlak Pazar*. In order to construct this new project, the destruction of the 400 triplex units was initiated on February 10th, 2007.

Fourth chapter headlined as "Comparative Analysis: *TBMM Lojmanları* vs. *Park Oran Konutları*" presents a comparative case study of two different types of

residential projects each transplanted into the same urban landscape through destructing the formerly constructed housing project, namely *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* in order to construct *Park Oran Konutları*. These two residential projects are intended to be discussed with respect to the relation of architecture to urbanism and to lifestyle. Former relation operates through the domain of “urban architecture” whereas the second correlation constructs the framework of “urban lifestyle” which is entailed by the new architectural programme of *Park Oran Konutları*.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Prologue

This prologue attempts to account for the theoretical basis of the discussions on the concept of “scale” which can be regarded as a theoretical embodiment of the contemporary restructuring processes in political, economic, social, and spatial spheres. With this purpose, Harvey’s rationalization of the notion of “spatial fix” and his discussion of “hierarchical arrangements” provides a critical starting point for Brenner’s development of the “scalar fix”. Brenner elaborates the notion of “scalar fix” to “theorize the multiscalar configurations of territorial organization within, upon, and through which each round of capital circulation is successively territorialized, deterritorialized, and reterritorialized.”¹³ Through the development of the conception of the “scalar fix”, Brenner arrives at a definition of the “geographical scale” which Brenner theorizes by elaborating Lefebvre’s notion of “superimposition and interpenetration of social spaces”. This constructionist methodological injunction aspires to embody the basis of a theory of the unfolding waves of politic-economic-spatial restructurings.

¹³ Neil Brenner, (1998) *Between Fixity and Motion: Accumulation, Territorial Organization and the Historical Geography of Spatial Scales*, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16 (4), p. 461.

2.1.1. Restructuring of the Capitalist Mode of Production in the 1970s

In order to understand Harvey's concept of the "spatial fix", it is vital to elaborate the transformations of the post-1970s. From economic perspective, David Harvey describes the period from 1965 to 1973 as follows:

More generally, the period from 1965 to 1973 was one in which the inability of Fordism and Keynesianism to contain the inherent contradictions of capitalism became more and more apparent. On the surface, these difficulties could best be captured by one word: rigidity. There were problems with the rigidity of long-terms and large-scale fixed capital investments in mass-production system that precluded much flexibility design and presumes stable growth in invariant consumer markets. There were problems of rigidities in labour markets, labour allocation, and in labour contracts.¹⁴

More specifically, Harvey explains why the Fordist regime was not able to sustain the capitalist system through its mass production and consumption through the inherent dialectics in capitalist mode of production. Harvey summarizes these basic dialectics with reference to Marx's argument laid out in Harvey's book titled as *The Limits to Capital* with reference to the three basic features of any capitalist mode of production.¹⁵ Firstly, "capitalism is growth-oriented" which means that "a steady rate of growth is essential for the health of a capitalist economic system, since it is only through growth that profits can be assured and the accumulation of capital be sustained." Secondly, "this growth in real values rests on the exploitation of living labour in production. Capitalism is founded, in short, on a class relation between capital and labour." Thirdly, "capitalism is necessarily technologically and organizationally dynamic." Marx

¹⁴ David Harvey, (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, third reprinting, first published in 1980, pp. 141-142.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

explains this in that “the competition pushes individual capitalists into leap-frogging innovations in their search for profit.”¹⁶

Harvey argues with reference to Marx’s argument that these three conditions of a capitalist mode of production were inconsistent and contradictory and that the dynamic of capitalism was necessarily, therefore, crisis-prone. Moreover, Harvey states that Marx’s analysis showed that the combination of these three conditions cannot produce steady and unproblematic growth. As a result of these three inherent characteristics of capitalist mode of production, Harvey defines the crisis tendencies of capitalism which would produce periodic phases of overaccumulation, defined as a condition in which idle capital and idle labour supply could exist side by side with no apparent way to bring these idle resources together to accomplish socially useful tasks.¹⁷ An example of such a condition of overaccumulation is the first major post-war recession in 1973 which resulted from Fordist mode of capitalist production.¹⁸

2.1.2. Flexible Accumulation

Harvey states that Marxist argument of the tendency towards over-accumulation can never be eliminated under capitalism. Therefore, he emphasizes the question “how the overaccumulation tendency can be expressed, contained, absorbed or managed in ways that do not threaten the capitalist social order.”¹⁹ As a solution, Harvey argues that long lasting absorption of overaccumulation can be achieved through temporal and spatial displacement of capitalist mode of production

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 180.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Beginning from the mid-1910s, this mode of capitalist production is manifested by Henry Ford’s vision which is explained by Harvey as an “explicit recognition that mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labour power, a new politics of labour control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society.”

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

which leads to “an entire new regime of accumulation” termed as the “flexible accumulation.”²⁰

The transition to this new regime of “flexible accumulation”, where the absorption of overaccumulation of the Fordist regime could be resolved through temporal and spatial displacement, was thought to be a much richer and long-lasting solution to overcome this economic recession in 1973. Harvey broadly defines “flexible accumulation” as in following passage:

Flexible accumulation is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovations. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions, giving rise, for example, to a vast surge in so-called ‘service sector’ employment as well as entirely new industrial ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions.²¹

The explanation for the argument of the absorption of overaccumulation through temporal and spatial displacement is given through Harvey’s accounts published in 1982 and 1985. He starts with the temporal displacement which “entails either a switch of resources from meeting current needs to exploring future uses, or an acceleration in turnover time so that speed-up this year absorbs excess capacity from last year.”²² For such a case, Harvey gives the example of the absorption of the excess capital and surplus labour by switching from current consumption to long-term public and private investments in plant, physical and social

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 145-147.

²¹ Ibid., p. 147.

²² Ibid., p. 182. Harvey defines the acceleration in turnover time as the speed with which money outlays return profit to the investor.

infrastructures and the like. Harvey, further, states that “the capacity to make this switch depends upon the availability of credit and the capacity for ‘fictitious capital formation’. Fictitious capital is converted into real capital to the degree that investments are made that lead to an appropriate increase in useful assets or commodities.”²³ Secondly, Harvey states that “spatial displacement entails the absorption of excess capital and labour in geographical expansion. This expansion enables the production of new spaces within which capitalist production can proceed to the growth of trade and direct investments, and the explorations of new possibilities for the exploitation of labour power.”²⁴ Thirdly, Harvey emphasizes the double power of the time-space displacements with respect to absorption of the overaccumulation problem. He illustrates a typical and powerful form of absorption of overaccumulation as the lending money by London or New York capital markets through fictitious capital formation to Latin America to build long-term infrastructures or to purchase capital equipment which will help to generate output for many years.²⁵

2.1.3. “Time-Space Compression”

This kind of economic strategy of spatial and temporal displacement in order to absorb the overaccumulation of the post-war Fordist capitalism caused a certain mode of experience of space and time. Specifically, Harvey terms this new spatial and temporal experience as “time-space compression”. Harvey states that this compression was achieved through the rapid deployment of new organizational forms and new technologies in production and parallel acceleration in exchange and consumption of commodities.

²³ Ibid., p. 182. Harvey defines the fictitious capital formation as the capital that has a nominal money value and paper existence, but at a given moment in time has no backing in terms of real productive activity or physical assets as collateral.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 183.

²⁵ Ibid.

At the outset, Harvey states that “the speed-up was achieved in production by organizational shifts towards vertical disintegration that reversed the Fordist tendency towards vertical integration and produced an increasing financial centralization.”²⁶ Another organizational shifts when coupled with the new technologies of electronic control reduced turnover times in many sectors of production such as electronics, machine tools, automobiles, construction, and clothing.²⁷ Thereafter, Harvey argues that the acceleration in exchange of commodities was achieved through improved systems of communication and information flow with rationalizations in techniques of distribution such as packaging, inventory control, containerization, and market feed-back. Moreover, electronic banking and plastic money were some of the innovations that improved the speed of the flow of money.²⁸ Thirdly, in the arena of the consumption Harvey identifies two important tendencies. The first consumption tendency of this flexible accumulation system is the fashion in mass markets. This enables acceleration of consumption not only in clothing, ornament, and decoration but also in life-styles and recreational activities such as leisure and sporting habits, pop music styles, and video and children’s games. The second consumption tendency, as identified by Harvey, is a shift from the consumption of goods into the consumption of services of not only personal, business, education and health services but also entertainments, spectacles, happenings, and distractions. Moreover, Harvey illustrates that this second tendency has resulted in a rapid growth in service employment and in producer services such as finance, insurance, and real estate, and in certain other sectors such as health and education. Harvey argues that since there are limits to the accumulation and turnover of physical goods and since these services have shorter “lifetime” than

²⁶ Ibid., p. 284. Harvey refers to vertical disintegration as sub-contracting and outsourcing.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 285.

²⁸ Ibid.

of a physical commodity such as an automobile, it makes sense for capitalists to turn to the provision of very ephemeral services in consumption.²⁹

2.1.4. "Spatial Fix"

Harvey defines "capitalism", in short, "as a social system internalizing rules that ensure it will remain a permanently revolutionary and disruptive force in its own world history."³⁰ Harvey argues that as a result of this capitalist revolutionary mode of production in which the material practices and processes of social reproduction are always changing, the objective qualities as well as the meanings of space and time have also changed.³¹ Harvey consequently states that this transformation in the experience of space and time has resulted in a concept of "time and space compression" which is defined by Harvey as "a process that so revolutionized the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves."³²

According to the inherent dialectic of capitalist production, on the one hand, "capital is inherently globalizing oriented towards the continual acceleration of turnover times, the overcoming of all geographical barriers to expanded accumulation, and the "annihilation of space through time".³³ On the other hand, however, "the impulsion to reduce the socially necessary turnover time of capital (the moment of deterritorialization) can only be pursued through the production of relatively fixed and immobile configurations of territorial organization that enable such accelerated movement (the moment of reterritorialization)."³⁴

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 107.

³¹ Ibid., p. 204.

³² Ibid., p. 240.

³³ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 462. Brenner cites from Karl Marx, (1973) *Grundrisse, Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, Martin Nicolaus, (trans.) New York: Penguin Books, p. 539.

³⁴ Ibid.

Therefore, Brenner concludes, in Harvey's terms, that "spatial organization is necessary to overcome space."³⁵ Brenner argues that "capital's endemic drive towards 'time-space compression' is intrinsically premised upon the production, reproduction, and reconfiguration of relatively fixed and immobile configurations of territorial organization, including urban - regional agglomerations, transportation networks, communication systems, and state regulatory institutions."³⁶

It is stated that these "[c]onfigurations of territorial organization are continually produced as basic geographical preconditions for capital's globalizing dynamism, only to be torn down, reconfigured, and reterritorialized during each period of systemic crisis, as capital strives to create new infrastructures of territorial organization for the next round of expanded accumulation." Brenner affirms that "Harvey refers to the provisionally stabilized, geographically fixed configurations of territorial organization that emerge through this dynamic of continual de- and reterritorialization as capital's 'spatial fix'.³⁷ Harvey defines the "spatial fix" as a "tendency towards [...] a structured coherence to production and consumption within a given space."³⁸ Brenner elaborates Harvey's notion of "spatial fix" as in the following passage:

A spatial fix is secured through the construction of relatively coherent, provisionally stabilized territorial configurations upon, within, and through which expanded capital accumulation can be generated; it entails "the conversion of temporal into spatial restraints to accumulation" However, as no spatial fix can ever definitively resolve the endemic problem of overaccumulation under capitalism, each configuration of territorial organization

³⁵ Ibid. Brenner cites from David Harvey, (1985) "The Geopolitics of Capitalism," in Derik Gregory and John Urry, (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan, p. 145.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 462.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. Brenner cites from David Harvey, (1985) "The Geopolitics of Capitalism," p. 146.

within capitalism's geographical landscape is merely temporary, a chronically unstable "dynamic equilibrium" within a broader, chaotic seesaw of perpetual de- and reterritorialization.³⁹

Harvey's development of the conception of the "spatial fix" describes the temporary resolution of the contradictions inherent in capitalism through the construction of socio-spatial configurations. However, Brenner states that "a spatial fix does not resolve the endemic problem of overaccumulation, but provides a relatively coherent geographical framework that temporarily displaces the latter during periods of growth and expansion."⁴⁰ Hence, via Harvey's interpretation, Brenner concludes that "capital requires a spatial fix to ensure its own accumulation and valorization, and yet its own ruthless dynamism constantly undermines these conditions, generating incessant geographical restructuring and social transformation."⁴¹

2.1.5. "Hierarchical Arrangements"

The deployment of the notion of the "spatial fix" is emphasized in "a broader, multiscalar sense to describe various overlapping forms of territorial organization that encompass all circuits of capital and multiple intertwined geographical scales." Brenner argues that "this conceptualization underpins Harvey's discussions of "hierarchical arrangements" in the concluding chapter of *The Limits to Capital*, in which he investigates the implications of capital's geographical contradictions for various territorial-organizational structures, including the spheres of production and finance, the territorial state, and world

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Neil Brenner, (1997) State Territorial Restructuring and the Production of Spatial Scale, Urban and Regional Planning in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960-1990, *Political Geography*, 16 (4), p. 279.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 280.

urban hierarchies."⁴² Brenner argues that, "from this point of view, each spatial fix is secured through the coordination of social processes articulated upon multiple, overlapping scales and through the "meshing" of various "hierarchical arrangements" such as transnational corporations, monetary regimes, legal codes, interurban networks, and state regulatory institutions."⁴³ Brenner introduces Harvey's description of this 'meshing' of intertwined geographical scales as a constitutive moment of the tension between fixity and motion in the following passage:

The tensions between fixity and motion in the circulation of capital, between concentration and dispersal, between local commitment and global concerns, put immense strains upon the organizational capacities of capitalism. The history of capitalism has, as a consequence, been marked by continuous exploration and modification of organizational arrangements that can assuage and contain such tensions. The result has been the creation of *nested hierarchical structures* of organization which can link the local and particular with the achievement of abstract labour on the world stage. Crises are articulated, and class and factional struggles unfold within such organizational forms while the forms themselves often require dramatic transformation in the face of crises of accumulation.⁴⁴

2.1.6. "Scalar Fix"

Brenner arrives at the result that "the forms of territorialization for capital are always scaled within historically specific, multitiered territorial-organizational arrangements." The resultant scale-configurations are termed as "scalar fixes". Brenner premises each "scalar fix" for capital upon "historically specific configurations of overlapping geographical scales, which are in turn produced

⁴² Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 463. For the discussions on the "hierarchical arrangements" see the last chapter of David Harvey, (1982) *The Limits to Capital*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 413-445, and especially pp. 422-424, 429-431.

⁴³ Ibid. Brenner gives reference to David Harvey, (1982) p. 423.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 463-464. Brenner cites from David Harvey, (1982) p. 422, Brenner's italics.

through the intertwined dynamics of differential "hierarchical structures of organization." Thus, Brenner defines spatial scales as constituting a hierarchical scaffolding of territorial organization upon, within, and through which the capital circulation process is successively territorialized, deterritorialized, and reterritorialized. In short, Brenner deploys the "notion of a scalar fix to characterize the distinctive scalar patterns through which the territorialization of capital is successively established, dismantled, and reconfigured during each round of capitalist development."⁴⁵

The major large-scale institutional forms of modern capitalism is argued as interacting and evolving "continually to produce certain 'nested hierarchical structures of organization' that enframe social life within provisionally solidified 'scalar fixes'." Furthermore, such "scalar fixes" are defined as being "composed of temporarily stabilized geographical hierarchies in which social, economic, and political activities organized at some scales tend to predominate over others."⁴⁶ Once established, these scalar hierarchies constitute relatively "fixed geographical structures bounding political, economic and cultural activity in specific ways."⁴⁷ Hence, "scalar fixes" can be defined as follows:

The long-run historical geography of capitalist development has been grounded upon a succession of determinate, if chronically unstable, scalar fixes through which the socio-territorial preconditions for capital accumulation have been successively secured, destabilized, junked, and remade.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 464.

⁴⁶ Neil Brenner, (2004) *New State Spaces, Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 10. See Chris Collinge, (1999) Self-organization of Society by Scale: A Spatial Reworking of Regulation Theory, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 17, pp. 557-574.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 10. See Neil Smith, (1995) Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Prenational and Postnational Europe, in Heikki Eskelinen and Folke Snickars, (eds.) *Competitive European Peripheries*, Berlin: Springer, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Concerning the character of spatial scales, Brenner suggests two initial insights as essential dimensions of territorial organization under capitalism. Firstly, Brenner states that each geographical scale must be viewed at once as a presupposition, a medium, and a product of the contradictory social forces associated with the capital relation. Therefore, in Brenner's argument, "scales are not merely the platforms within which spatial fixes are secured, but one of their most fundamental geographical dimensions, actively and directly implicated in the historical constitution, reconfiguration, and transformation of each successive configuration of capitalist territorial organization."⁴⁹ Secondly, Brenner suggest that differential forms of territorial organization, termed as "hierarchical arrangements" in Harvey's terminology, "interact and intertwine to territorialize capital upon each geographical scale. From this point of view, each geographical scale under capitalism must be viewed as a complex socially contested territorial scaffolding upon which multiple overlapping forms of territorial organization converge, coalesce, and interpenetrate."⁵⁰

2.1.7. Approaching the "Scale Question"

Drawing on Lefebvre's terminology, the cluster of methodological dilemmas is referred as the "scale question" whose methodological challenges are embodied into three aspects. Firstly, "scale" is conceptualized as a process rather than as a permanently fixed, pre-given thing. Secondly, "the intrinsic relationality of all "geographical scales" and their embeddedness within broader interscalar hierarchies" are conceptualized. Thirdly, Brenner develops "postdisciplinary methodologies that emphasize interscalar relations and multiscalar

⁴⁹ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 464.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

transformations rather than anthologizing the distinct scalar foci upon which traditional disciplinary divisions of labour have been grounded.”⁵¹

The notion of “scales” is understood not only “as the geographical imprints of capital’s moment of territorialization,” but also “as sites of differential forms of capitalist territorial organization.” Hence, “each geographical scale represents a contested arena in which the spatiotemporal contradictions of the capital relation are continually reproduced and fought out.”⁵² To elaborate the two closely intertwined aspects of “scales,” Brenner employs the analysis of “geographical scale” developed by Lefebvre in two of his major works, *The Production of Space* published in 1991 and *De l’Etat* published between 1976 and 1978. Brenner maintains that “throughout *The Production of Space* and *De l’Etat*, Lefebvre argues that spatial scales operate at once as *boundaries* and as *hierarchies* of social relations.”⁵³ Brenner elaborates his understanding of “scales” as “geographical imprints” by Lefebvre’s conceptualization of spatial scales as territorially circumscribed “space envelope” of social relations as in the following quotation:

On the one hand, Lefebvre suggests that scales circumscribe social relations within determinate, socially constructed, organizational-territorial boundaries or 'space envelopes'. As Lefebvre notes in an extended methodological discussion of scale in volume 2 of *De l’Etat*, each geographical scale must be conceptualized in terms of three intertwined "conditions": those of its historical "formation", those of its provisional stabilization", and those of its possible "rupture" or transformation. In this sense, spatial scales under capitalism organize social relations into historically specific patterns of interdependence at a given territorial extension; in so doing, scales are implicated in those relations by contributing

⁵¹ Neil Brenner, (2004) p. 8.

⁵² Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 465.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

directly to their historical reproduction, reconfiguration, and transformation.⁵⁴

Considering “scales” as “sites of differential forms” is manifested through Lefebvre’s appreciation of the role of “spatial scales” as “a multitiered hierarchy of scales”. This is elaborated in the following passage:

On the other hand, Lefebvre insists that spatial scales cannot exist in isolation from other scales, in relation to which distinct levels of interaction and forms of interdependence are simultaneously distinguished from one another and hierarchically intertwined. As Lefebvre argues, “*Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia*”.⁵⁵

In order to account for the second aspect of the “scale” as “a multitiered hierarchy of scales”, Lefebvre’s principle of “*the superimposition and interpenetration of social spaces*” is elaborated “to theorize the relational, mutually interdependent character of geographical scales under capitalism.”⁵⁶ Particularly, according to this principle, “global capitalism can be conceived as an amalgam of overlapping socio-spatial networks articulated on divergent geographical scales that interlace the entire world-system: ‘We are confronted not by one social space but by many – indeed, by an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces. No space disappears in the course of growth and development: *the worldwide does not abolish the local.*’”⁵⁷ Basing on Lefebvre’s principle, Brenner

⁵⁴ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 466. For “space envelopes” see Henri Lefebvre, (1991) *The Production of Space*, first published in French (1974), Donald Nicholson –Smith, (trans.) Oxford: Blackwell, p. 351. For three intertwined “conditions” such as historical “formation”, “provisional stabilization”, and possible “rupture” or transformation see Henri Lefebvre, (1976) *De l’Etat: De Hegel a Marx par Staline*, Volume 2, Paris : Union Generale d’Editions, p. 69.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Brenner cites from Henri Lefebvre, (1991) p. 86, italics in original.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

⁵⁷ Neil Brenner, (1997) p. 278. Brenner cites from Henri Lefebvre, (1991) p. 86, italics in original.

argues that “Lefebvre rejects the attempt to attribute causal primacy to any single spatial scale, be it the local, the regional, the national or the global.”⁵⁸

2.1.8. Conceptualization of “Geographical Scale”

In order to conceptualize the geographical scale, Brenner refers to Delaney and Leitner’s concise summary of the common methodological agenda as in the following quotation:

[G]eographic scale is conceptualized as being socially constructed rather than ontologically pre-given [...] the geographic scales constructed are themselves implicated in the constitution of social, economic and political processes.⁵⁹

Neil Smith states that “geographical scale is traditionally treated as a neutral metric of physical space: specific scales of social activity are assumed to be largely given as in the distinction between urban, regional, national and global events and processes; and analysts choose specific scales as appropriate for examining specific questions.”⁶⁰ Instead of such a treatment, Smith refines Delaney and Leitner’s concise definition of “geographical scale” as in the following passage:

[...] 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

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 278.

⁵⁹ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 460. Citing from David Delaney and Helga Leitner, (1997) *The Political Construction of Scale*, *Political Geography*, 16, p. 93.

⁶⁰ Neil Smith, (2003) “Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Pre-National and Post-National Europe,” in Neil Brenner (ed.) *State/Space: A Reader*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., p. 228.

scale for containing and enabling particular forms of social interaction.⁶¹

From this perspective, “spatial scale is not to be construed as a timeless, asocial container or platform of social relations, but as their historical presupposition, medium, and outcome, continually produced, reconfigured, and transformed as the “geographical organizer and expression of collective social action.”⁶²

In addition to these definitions, “scale” and rescaling processes is theorized by the representative definitions of “geographical scale”. With this aim Brenner identifies scale, in Delaney and Leitner’s terms, as “nested hierarchy of bounded spaces of differing size;”⁶³ in Agnew’s terms, as “the level of geographical resolution at which a given phenomenon is thought of, acted on or studied;”⁶⁴ in Smith’s term as “geographical resolution of contradictory processes of competition and cooperation.”⁶⁵

In addition to these definitions of the “geographical scale, the debates on “geographical scale” during the 1990s is comprehended as “an important extension and fine-tuning of the spatialized approaches to political economy developed during the preceding decade, provoked [...] by the post-1970s shaking-up of the scalar hierarchies and interdependencies associated with organized capitalism in a new round of crisis-induced sociospatial

⁶¹ Neil Smith, (2003) p. 228.

⁶² Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 460. Citing from Neil Smith (1995) “Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperatoin in Prenational and Postnational Europe,” in Heikki Eskelinen and Folke Snickars, (eds.) *Competitive European Peripheries*, Berlin: Springer, p. 61.

⁶³ Neil Brenner, (2004) p. 9. See David Delaney and Helga Leitner, (1997) The Political Construction of Scale, *Political Geography*, 19, p. 93.

⁶⁴ Ibid. See John Agnew, (1997) The Dramaturgy of Horizons: Geographical Scale in the ‘Reconstruction of Italy’ by the New Italian Political Parties, *Political Geography*, 16 (2), p. 100.

⁶⁵ Ibid. See Neil Smith, (1993) “Homeless/Global: Scaling Places,” in Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putman, George. Robertson, and Lisa Tickner, (eds.) *Mapping the Futures. Local Cultures, Global Change*, New York: Routhledge, p. 99.

restructuring.”⁶⁶ Under these conditions, Brenner asserts that “spatial scale has provided a more precise conceptual grammar for analyzing the continual geographical differentiation and redifferentiation of social relations among distinctive, if closely intertwined, spatial units within an increasingly globalized configuration of capitalism.”⁶⁷ Brenner affirms that it is “the lexicon of geographical scale of the 1990s” that “have provided scholars with an important theoretical lens through which to begin to decipher the dramatic and highly unsettling processes of rescaling.”⁶⁸

2.2. Conceptualization of Re-Scaling

Prologue as the first part of this chapter aimed to present the various terms and concepts of the existing literature on “scale”, as a central analytical lens for conceptualizing the currently unfolding wave of worldwide capitalist restructuring. As illustrated in Harvey’s terms, the restructuring of production and consumption initiated in 1973 is identified by Neil Brenner as the third wave of re-scaling that occurred in conjunction with the global economic crises of the post-1970s period.⁶⁹ Brenner identifies a wave of re-scaling “when structurally analogous reconfigurations of scalar hierarchies occur within multiple forms of territorial organization during or immediately following a period of sustained global economic instability.”⁷⁰ Brenner argues that the most recent round of crisis-induced capitalist restructuring has entailed a multidimensional process of re-scaling scalar structures.

Among these multidimensional processes of re-scaling scalar structures, the second part of this chapter intends to reify the theory of the “scale” on two levels:

⁶⁶ Neil Brenner, (2001) *The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration*, *Progress in Human Geography*, 25 (4), p. 603.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 473.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

on urban level *as the re-scaling of the city*, and on citizen level as *the re-scaling of the urban citizen*. Firstly, on urban level, *the re-scaling of the city* elaborates the process of urban restructurings that has been redefining the map of urban territoriality. Secondly, on citizen level, *the re-scaling of the urban citizen* elucidates the effects of the contemporary global, national, and urban restructurings on the urban citizens.

2.2.1. On Urban Level: Re-Scaling of the City

The capitalism's wave of re-scaling processes on urban level establishes an image of "creative destruction" which is illustrated by Harvey as one of the important features to understand modernity. Harvey argues that "the only way modernist can represent the eternal and immutable" which is crucial to facilitate the modernism's intention of a social change "is through a process of destruction" which can enable to freeze the chaotic, the ephemeral, and the fragmentary of the modern life. In order to understand the relation of creative destruction to the process of capitalist development, Harvey refers to the economist Schumpeter's image of this destruction. According to Schumpeter "the entrepreneur, a heroic figure, was the creative destroyer because the entrepreneur was prepared to push the consequences of technical and social innovation to vital extremes. And it was only through such creative heroism that human progress could be assured." Moreover, Schumpeter argues that "creative destruction was the progressive leitmotif of benevolent capitalist development." Harvey draws a conclusion that since "creative destruction was essential condition of modernity, the artist as individual might had a heroic role to play."⁷¹

Similar to Harvey's conceptualization of "creative destruction," Brenner regards cities as "the historical geography of capitalism as a "restless formation and re-

⁷¹ David Harvey, (1989) pp. 16-21.

formation of geographical landscapes" in which configurations of capitalist territorial organization are incessantly created, destroyed, and reconstituted as provisionally stabilized "spatial fixes" for each successive regime of accumulation."⁷² With respect to Brenner's point of view, the theoretical insight of the process of re-scaling of forms of territorial organisation enables to interpret the urban setting as one of the multi-scalar processes of reterritorialization which is entailed by the contemporary round of globalization.

It is this section of our study that intends to decipher the relation of architecture to the urbanization process under the influence of current round of re-scaling processes. With this aim, at the outset, city's dynamics of dispersal and of centralization will be scrutinized, thereafter, the concept of "urban question as a scale question" is dealt with, and, finally, it is aimed to reify the relation of architecture to urbanization process manifested by capitalism's territorial reorganisations on urban level within the framework of "urban architecture".⁷³

2.2.1.1. Cities: Centralization through Dispersal

Harvey highlights the most interesting about the flexible mode of capitalist accumulation is "the way in which capitalism was becoming ever more tightly organized through dispersal, geographical mobility, and flexible responses in labour markets, labour processes, and consumer markets, all accompanied by hefty doses of institutional, product, and technological innovation."⁷⁴ Harvey argues that this kind of tighter organization and imploding centralization have been achieved by two parallel developments of greatest importance, namely

⁷² Neil Brenner, (1999b) Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies, *Theory and Society*, 28 (1), p. 48.

⁷³ The framework of "urban architecture" can be drawn by two perspectives: Aldo Rossi's perception of "city architecture" as embodied in his publication of *The Architecture of City* in 1966 and Rem Koolhaas's construct of "metropolitan architecture" as manifested in his books such as *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* in 1994 and *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large* in 1995.

⁷⁴ David Harvey, (1989) p. 159.

accurate and up-to-date information and complete reorganization of the global financial system. Firstly, Harvey states that “access to and control over information has become essential to the centralized co-ordination of far-flung corporate interests.” This emphasis on information has also spawned a wide array of highly specialized business services and consultancies capable of providing up-to-the-minute information on market trends and the kind of instant data analyses useful in corporate decision-making.⁷⁵ Harvey identifies the second important development as the complete reorganization of the global financial system and the emergence of greatly enhanced powers of financial co-ordination.

Harvey’s elaboration of manifesting centralization via tighter organization through the dispersed arrangement of the flexible mode of capitalist production is advocated by Saskia Sassen’s understanding of the geography of globalization which “contains both a dynamic of dispersal and of centralization.”⁷⁶ Sassen states that “in the late twentieth century, massive developments in telecommunications and the ascendance of information industries led analysts and politicians to proclaim the end of cities. Cities, they told us, would become obsolete as economic entities.”⁷⁷ However, Sassen states that “the massive trends towards the spatial dispersal of economic activities at the metropolitan, national, and global level which we associate with globalization have contributed to a demand for new forms of territorial centralization of top-level management and control functions.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Saskia Sassen, (2006) *Sociology For a New Century, Cities in a World Economy*, third edition, Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press. An imprint of London: Sage Publications Ltd, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Saskia Sassen, (2005) The Global City: Introducing a Concept, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 9 (2), p. 32.

2.2.1.2. Urban Question as a Scale Question

The notion of a distinctive “urban question” was first popularized through Manuel Castell’s influential work in the early 1970s and has subsequently been debated at length among critical urban researchers. However, Brenner understands “the urban question under capitalism as a double-edged sociopolitical problematic: it encompasses both the historical processes of capitalist urbanization and the multiple, politically contested interpretations of that process within modern capitalist society” as elaborated in the following passage:

On the one hand, the urban question refers to the role of cities as sociospatial arenas in which the contradictions of capitalist development are continually produced and fought out. On the other hand, the urban question refers to the historically specific epistemic frameworks, through which capitalist cities are interpreted, whether in sociological analysis, in public discourses, in sociopolitical struggles or in everyday experience.⁷⁹

The “urban question” increasingly assumes the form of what Lefebvre once aptly termed “the scale question” [la question d’échelle]. Brenner draws attention to Lefebvre’s declaration that “[t]oday the question of scale inserts itself at the outset—at the foundation, as it were—of the analysis of texts and the interpretation of events.” Furthermore, Brenner states that Lefebvre proposed to embed the “urban question within the still broader question of geographical scale, its social production, and its socio-political contestation.”⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Neil Brenner, (2000) The Urban Question as a Scale Question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, Urban Theory and the Politics of Scale, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24 (2), p. 362.

⁸⁰ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 459. The “urban question” [la question urbaine] is formulated in Manuel Castells, (1972) *The Urban Question*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

2.2.1.3. Relation between Architecture and Urbanism

Titled as *Urban Architecture as an Architecture of Urban Public Realm*, master's thesis of Tansel Korkmaz assumes that "architecture is the only discipline which can re-built the urban public realm."⁸¹ In order to reconstruct this urban public realm, the relationships between architecture and the city is re-established through a redefinition of architectural discipline as "urban architecture". "Urban architecture" can be defined, in Aldo Van Eyck's words, as "to approach architecture urbanistically, and urbanism architecturally." Hence, urban context can be regarded as the design generator of "urban architecture".

The relation between architecture and urbanism is continuously redefined under the influence of social, cultural and economic aspirations on the city.⁸² This relation between architecture and urbanism is to be established through a redefinition of architectural discipline as "urban architecture". In doing that, the celebration of "new urbanism" in today's ever-changing urban areas is to be elaborated in order to identify "urban architecture" as a prevailing relation between architecture and urbanism of twenty-first century. In order to understand the contribution of "urban architecture" into the theory on urbanism from architectural point of view, two important assessments are to be differentiated: *programmation* and *scale*.⁸³

⁸¹ Tansel Korkmaz, (1989) *Urban Architecture as an Architecture of Urban Public Realm*, unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU.

⁸² As a relation between architecture and urbanism, two positions can be identified as "city architecture" and "metropolitan architecture". With regard to the former position see Aldo Rossi, (1988) *The Architecture of the City*, Oppositions Books, Massachusetts: MIT Press, first published in Italian in 1966. For the latter position see Rem Koolhaas, (1994) *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, New York: The Monacelli Press and Rem Koolhaas, Bruce Mao, and Jennifer Singler (eds.) (1998) *S, M, L, XL: Office for Metropolitan Architecture*, New York: The Monacelli Press.

⁸³ With regard to *programmation* and *scale* as the two contributions of "urban architecture" in urbanism from architectural perspective, Rem Koolhaas's appreciation of "metropolitan architecture" can be argued as manifesting the notion of "urban architecture" as the "new urbanism" of beginning twenty-first century since he makes a new definition of scale and

In Koolhaas's publication of *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* in 1994, "Manhattan represents the ultimate metropolitan condition, which is interpreted by Koolhaas as the necessary condition in contemporary cities under the influence rapid development of technologies, high rate of demographic increase, and ever-changing dynamics of contemporary politics, economy, and globalization."⁸⁴ In his publication of "retroactive manifesto", Rem Koolhaas redefines the architectural production process in the urban territory in terms of its form, *scale*, and *program*.⁸⁵ In this respect, what differentiates Koolhaas's construct of architectural production process in direct relation with a new definition of urbanism is his introduction of the *scale* and *program* into the architectural production.

With regard to the introduction of *scale* into the architectural production in an urban setting, it is argued that "as from the beginning of the twentieth century, there has been a shift in the scale of architectural production as an outcome of advanced construction technologies, new range of building material, automation of building services and progressive infrastructural networks."⁸⁶ Hence, the importance of the human scale initiated through Alberti's approach is replaced by another perception of "scale" within the context of a metropolitan condition.

Published in 1995, Rem Koolhaas's influential book *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large* can be regarded as the essential source for the discussions on *scale*. The content of this publication is described as follows:

The book includes the architectural works produced by
Koolhaas's Office for Metropolitan Architecture-OMA over the

programme for architectural production with the urban context in order to make it operable in the metropolitan territory under the rapid social, economic, and political transformations.

⁸⁴ Tuğçe Serpil Tağmat, (2004) "*The Maximum Architecture Can Do*": *Architecture and Urbanism from Le Corbusier to Rem Koolhaas*, unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

past twenty years from its publication, with accompanying essays, manifestoes and observations on contemporary architecture and city. The material in the book is organized according to the size of the architectural intervention made by each project.⁸⁷

Especially the last two the episodes of the book containing the “Large” and “Extra-Large” projects investigate the transformations in the architectural conception in order to explore the *scale* of architectural invention in an urban setting. In doing this, “the Theory of *Bigness*” as the major text in this publication foresees this transformation in architectural processes as an outcome of the increase in the scale.⁸⁸ Koolhaas identifies *Bigness* as a theoretical domain at this fin de siècle as in the following passage:

[...] 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, 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.⁸⁹

Koolhaas’s manifesto of “*Bigness or the Problem of Large*” says that “beyond a certain scale, architecture acquires the properties of *Bigness*.” Hence, Koolhaas proclaims that “*Bigness* is ultimate architecture.”⁹⁰ In other words, “the Theory of *Bigness*” is regarded as an “elaboration of the properties that architecture acquires beyond a certain scale” as “the first sub-theme to understand the new relation between architecture and urbanism.”⁹¹ In order to understand the architectural peculiarities of *Bigness*, the “Theory of *Bigness*” is based on five

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁸⁹ John Rajchman, (1994) Thinking Big – Dutch Architect Rem Koolhaas – Interview, *ArtForum*. [Internet, WWW], Address: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_n4_v33/ai_16547724, [Accessed: 14.06.2008].

⁹⁰ John Rajchman, (1994). Rajchman cites from Rem Koolhaas’s manifesto of “*Bigness: or the Problem of Large*”.

⁹¹ Tuğçe Serpil Tağmat, (2004) p. 16.

theorems.⁹² Furthermore, this theory manifests that *Bigness* is where architecture becomes both most and least architectural: most because of the enormity of the object; least through the loss of autonomy. Since *Bigness* becomes an instrument of other forces, it depends and surrenders to technologies; to engineers, contractors, manufacturers; to politics; and to others.

After having elaborated Koolhaas's introduction of the *scale* in to the architectural production and its resulting in the "Theory of Bigness", this section continues with the second assessment of Koolhaas's conception of the "metropolitan architecture." Koolhaas's development of architectural *programmation* is based on the source of *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. From the reading of Manhattan, "the retroactive manifesto concludes that the new programming of architecture will be advanced as much as it conforms to the indeterminate and instable nature of the metropolitan condition."⁹³ The new architectural *programmation* is interpreted as "a reaction to the rational and linear programming of architecture that draws a framework for stable configurations, definitive forms, limits and boundaries." Therefore, the central aim of this *programmation* is regarded as to organize the relationships between

⁹² For the five theorems see John Rajchman (1994): (1) Beyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building. Such a mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture, or even by any combination of architectural gestures. This impossibility triggers the autonomy of its parts, but that is not the same as fragmentation: the parts remain committed to the whole. (2) The elevator--with its potential to establish mechanical rather than architectural connections--and its family of related inventions render null and void the classical repertoire of architecture. Issues of composition, scale, proportion, detail are now moot. The "art" of architecture is useless in Bigness. (3) In Bigness, the distance between core and envelope increases to the point where the facade can no longer reveal what happens inside. The humanist expectation of "honesty" is doomed: interior and exterior architectures become separate projects, one dealing with the instability of programmatic and iconographic needs, the other--agent of disinformation--offering the city the apparent stability of an object. Where architecture reveals, Bigness perplexes; Bigness transforms the city from a summation of certainties into an accumulation of mysteries. What you see is no longer what you get. (4) Through size alone, such buildings enter an amoral domain, beyond good or bad. Their impact is independent of their quality. (5) Together, all these breaks--with scale, with architectural composition, with tradition, with transparency, with ethics--imply the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue.

⁹³ Tuğçe Selin Tağmat, (2004) p. 15.

“independent parts, hybridizations, proximities, frictions, overlaps and superpositions.”⁹⁴ As a result of this organization, the flexibility of the programme is enhanced in order to correspond to the continuous transformations in a metropolitan condition.

2.2.2. On Citizen Level: Re-Scaling of the Citizenship

The crisis-induced capitalist restructurings in economic organization and territorial state have not only entailed a process of the re-scaling scalar structures such as the city and the state but also created a context in which the nation-state based notion of citizenship is decentred. As a result of the dissolution of the citizenship tightly linked to the notion of nation-state, new citizenship formations have emerged. Hence, this section of our study intends to decipher advent citizenship formations under the influence of this current round of re-scaling processes. With this aim, at the outset, with regard to Mark Purcell, the change in the citizenship due to the restructurings in economic and state sphere is scrutinized. Thereafter, the emergence of new citizenship formations and practices is established through defining the lifestyle with which these new citizenship formations identify. The definition of urban-based lifestyle is ascertained with regard to Sharon Zukin.

2.2.2.1. Conceptualization of the Re-scaling of Citizenship

Mark Purcell argues that in order to resist the growing dominance of capital in the global political economy, one critical project is to develop new notions of citizenship that extend the limits of politics and expand the decision-making control of citizens. In its broadest sense, Purcell defines citizenship as involving “rights, duties, and membership in a political community of some kind.” More specifically, Purcell defines the predominant conception of citizenship in the core

⁹⁴ Ibid.

of the contemporary capitalist world system as “liberal-democratic/Westphalian (LDW)” citizenship which “imagines that individual political actors agree to a ‘social contract’ with the state in which they consent to be ruled in exchange for certain privileges and protections.”⁹⁵ However, Purcell explores new citizenship forms to develop an argument “that there is a need to go beyond LDW citizenship because it serves to constrain and limit politics in a way that makes it difficult to effectively resist increasing control of capital.”⁹⁶

In order attain at a wider definition, Purcell suggest three principal aspects that characterize the contemporary changes in citizenship. With regard to the first aspect, citizenship is argued as “being rescaled, such that the former hegemony of the national-scale political community is being weakened by the creation of communities at other scales.”⁹⁷ In the contemporary era, “citizenship is undergoing a process of partial rescaling similar to the process of both capital accumulation and the nation-state.”⁹⁸ Purcell argues that “rescaling of citizenship has involved a process of glocalisation: there has been a move away from national-scale citizenship and toward new citizenship forms at a range of other scales, both above and below the national.”⁹⁹ Thereafter, it is claimed as “being reterritorialized, such that the tight link between the nation-state’s territorial sovereignty and political loyalty has been increasingly thrown open to question.”¹⁰⁰ As a final point, it is maintained as “being reoriented, away form the nation as the predominant political community.”¹⁰¹ As a result of this reorientation, the pluralisation of citizenships has been a main theme where social difference is embraced among varies gated community.

⁹⁵ Mark Purcell, (2003) Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (3), p. 565.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 566.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 565.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 571.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 573.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 565.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Purcell argues that through these three changes “citizenship is beginning to become unhinged from its formerly dominant tie to the nation-state.” In other words, in Purcell’s terms, the present era is marked by an erosion of the hegemony of the national scale which was marked as the hegemonic scale for coordination during the Fordist era. In short, the process of rescaling and restructurings in economic organization and in the territorial state created a context in which nation-state is decentred which is regarded as both the opportunity for and consequence of the emergence of new forms of citizenship.¹⁰²

2.2.2.2. Defining “Urban Lifestyle”

As initiated by the global economic crises of the post-1970s period, the economic and political developments have created a new society who has been facilitating the global functioning of capital through the newly available technologies. This new society is comprised of the service sectors such as communications, computers, data services, financial institutions, accounting, management, marketing, consulting, firms, media and advertising companies, design, and engineering services. This group of transnational professionals and specialists necessitates pursuing a lifestyle that would fit their social status. Hence, within the framework of this dissertation, Sharon Zukin’s conceptualization of the way of life of transnational urban elites is elaborated in order to account for a definition of the “urban lifestyle.” With this aim, following the introduction of the change in the meaning of “urban lifestyle” in the post-1973 era, Zukin’s scrutinizing of professional class’s socio-economic status is presented together with its way of life.

¹⁰² See also Susan L. Robertson (2007) *Globalisation, Rescaling National Education Systems and Citizenship Regimes*, published by the *Centre of Globalisation, Education and Societies*, Bristol University of Bristol, also in Klas Roth and Nicholas Burbules, (eds.) *Changing Notions of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation-states*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Sharon Zukin confirms that “during the past 30 years, the meaning of ‘urban lifestyles’ has changed from a fairly stable prerogative of social status to an aggressive pursuit of cultural capital.”¹⁰³ Zukin elaborates the emerging pursuit of cultural capital with respect to citizen and to city. She states that “for individual men and women, this pursuit encourages various forms of cultural consumption,” while, “for cities, it stimulates the growth of both for-profit culture industries and not-for-profit cultural institutions.” Zukin comprehends the advent meaning of “urban lifestyle” in the post-1970s as in the following passage:

“To some degree, after 1980, there was a cultural and geographical shift from suburban shopping malls to urban, mixed-use complexes including offices, shopping and entertainment. Although this renewal of interest in urban consumption spaces may just have corresponded to a new investment cycle, it also reflected institutional changes. During the early 1980s, as financial institutions expanded on their existing urban base, they took advantage of proximity to the city’s cultural amenities to satisfy the needs of professional, high-income wage-earners, both male and female, for amusement.”¹⁰⁴

Zukin draws attention to this professional class “living near work and near other single people, and seemed to be enthused about the vitality of urban life.” Zukin regards their lifestyle as being “widely caricatured with the acronyms Yuppie (young urban professional) and Buppie (black urban professional).” In terms of their socio-economic peculiarities, Zukin describes these young professionals as having “high salaries and bonuses which enabled them to pay high prices for

¹⁰³ Sharon Zukin, (1998) *Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption*. *Urban Studies*. 35 (5), p. 825. Zukin suggests for comprehensive information about “social status” and “cultural capital” to see Max Weber, (1946) *Class, Status, Party*, in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification*, Glencoe, IL: Free Press, pp. 63-75; and Pierre Bourdieu, (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice (trans.), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, respectively.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 830.

consumer goods and consumption spaces- for urban apartments, restaurants and entertainment.” Hence, Zukin specifies Yuppies “as consumption group” who spent freely and conspicuously on high-status goods and services” without any endearing traits. In order to satisfy the aspirations of high-wage earners, Zukin further argues that an ensemble of urban consumption activities in housing, in shopping, and in supporting cultural amenities from restaurants to art galleries was required. Hence, Zukin construe that they were responsible for raising rents and restaurant prices, since landlords and restaurant owners tended, with their patronage, to price accordingly.

2.2.2.3. Relation between “Urban Lifestyle” and Urban Environment

This section investigates the relationship between the “urban lifestyle” and the changes in urban territory. Following the changes in the material and symbolic fabric of the urban setting, this section concentrates on the residential choice of the transnational professionals and specialists from a lifestyle perspective with regard to Thorkild Ærø’s analysis. With this aim, Ærø analyse residential choice from a lifestyle perspective rather from a demographic and socio-economic standpoint.¹⁰⁵ Ærø theoretically accounts for the residential choice by applying a concept of lifestyle.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Thorkild Ærø, (2006) Residential Choice from a Lifestyle Perspective, *Housing, Theory and Society*, 23 (2), p. 109.

¹⁰⁶ Ærø bases the theoretical understanding of lifestyle on Pierre Bourdieu’s three concepts: *disposition* (habitus), *position* and *distinction*. Firstly, “*disposition* (habitus) consists of heritage and experiences, which generate embedded choices.” According to Bourdieu, “habitus represents internalized social structures of people’s behaviour and practice.” Secondly, Ærø defines *position* as “what agents – people or institutions – obtain in a certain field by means of their resources. In these contexts resources are given by a person’s volume of economic, as well as cultural and social “capital”.” In Bourdieu’s usage, Ærø states that “capital has a broader meaning and covers more than economic resources.” This broader meaning of capital is elaborated as “symbolic capital” which “includes consumer goods and services that reflect the taste and distinction of the owner. However, it is more than that; symbolic capital can also be achieved by passing an examination, receiving academic titles or carrying out scientific work. Agents in these fields are people who seek and find like-minded agents and generally confirm one another. A precondition for a field to emerge is an agreement about symbolic or material values, and the struggle in the field follows

Zukin states that the emphasis on lifestyle has fostered changes in urban environment. With regard to these changes, firstly, 'alternative' lifestyles such as immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities and gays and lesbians have especially emerged in big cities. Furthermore, industries based on designing and producing goods for specific lifestyles are seen as contributing to a city's economic growth. Thirdly, "the attention to lifestyle has given rise to new, highly visible consumption spaces, such as *nouvelle cuisine* restaurants, boutiques, art galleries and coffee bars." Furthermore, "it has also generated new, complex, retail strategies, combining advertising, sales, real estate development and entertainment." Finally, Zukin states that "attentiveness to urban lifestyles on the part of city governments has encouraged strategies that 'aestheticise, or focus on the visual consumption of, public space – although this has been accompanied by an increase in private groups' control over specific public spaces."¹⁰⁷ Zukin concludes that "these changes in the material and symbolic fabric of cities alter previous conceptions of consumption as a residual category of urban political economy." Hence, Zukin construes that "cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption."¹⁰⁸

Ærø states that "the lifestyle approach appeared in the literature on residential choice in the 1960s and 1970s in connection with new suburban settlements in the

specific well established, but mostly embodied and tacit, rules. These embedded or internalized mechanisms – a "feel for the game" – give a good idea of the encounter between the habitus and a field." Thirdly, *distinction* expresses two practices generated by habitus. Ærø states that, on the one hand, "it denotes the ability to classify, to read, to decipher and to decode symbols, language and behaviour." On the other hand, "it means being an individual in a social space, to differ, to be different." Furthermore Ærø maintains that "distinction is how people identify the group of people with whom they share preferences such as manners and taste." In other words, "being distinct and distinguished means being confirmed by a specific group and confirming its lifestyle by position-taking."

¹⁰⁷ Sharon Zukin, (1998) p. 825.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 825.

USA.”¹⁰⁹ Basing on Scott Greer and Herbert J. Gans’s perspective, Ærø elaborates the attitude of residential choice via lifestyle in 1960s and 1970s as in the following passage:

“The choice of residential location was analysed based on the assumption that households choose a residential environment that suits their lifestyle. Bell focused on behavioural considerations, and Bell and Gans considered self-selection to be extremely important. Moving from the city centre to the suburbs was related not only to increased status but also to the escape from increasing numbers of neighbours of a dissimilar social character. In the new settlements in the 1960s, people sought to congregate in the new suburbs in groups of people who were in a similar demographic and socio-economic situation and who shared similar tastes and norms.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Thorkild Ærø, (2006) p. 110. Ærø recommends to see Wendell L. Bell, (1968) The city, suburb and a theory of social choice, in Scott Greer (ed.), *The New urbanization*, New York: St Martin’s Press, pp. 132–168; Herbert J. Gans, (1961) Planning and Social Life, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 27, pp. 134-140; and Herbert J. Gans, (1967) *The Levittowners: Ways of life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Ilhan Tekeli illustrates that nowadays there are two paradigms in writing urban history.¹¹¹ First paradigm aims to illustrate how the urban space is differentiated within the socio-spatial processes. This is generally defined as historical geography paradigm which is based on the aspiration to increase individual profit as the primary dynamic shaping the city. Second paradigm intends to write urban history through accumulation of planning history. In this paradigm, urban history is regarded as a counterpart of successive planning history. The dynamic behind the second paradigm relates to the characteristics of a good city as assumed by planner and society. However, in praxis, urban development enrolls this assumption as invalid. Such a constructed narration relates to the story of unexecuted planning rather than the urban history.

According to Tekeli, these two paradigms are regarded as unsatisfactory to comprehend the urban experience of Turkey because both of these paradigms exclude two important factors in their explorations. Firstly, existing social structure in the society is not considered. Social structure is used in a multiple meanings. On the one hand, it comprises the buildings shaping the city and related legal framework of control process. On the other hand, it defines the rules of living in a city. Second factor relates to the discordance of the capacity of social agents within these processes with the institutionalized legal framework.

¹¹¹ Ilhan Tekeli, (2006) "Kent Tarihi Yazımı Konusunda Yeni Bir Paradigma Önerisi," in Tansı Şenyapılı, (ed.) *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, Ankara: METU Publication, p. 3.

According to Tekeli, it can be argued that urban development in Turkey is mainly assured by the spontaneous solutions of the society which intends to overcome this discordance of the capacity of agents with the accepted legal framework. Hence, Tekeli develops a third paradigm which assumes this discordance as the main dynamic of shaping the city.¹¹²

Third paradigm aims to account for the deficiency of the agents with regard to all variations of agents and their deficiencies. Tekeli exemplifies these deficiencies on societal level as the scarcity of capital accumulation, either on state or local governmental level as institutional irresponsiveness, shortage of capacity of planning and governing, on bureaucratic level as absence of discipline, on a corporate level as scarcity of capital, on middle class level as low income, and on immigrants level as lack of income, skill, knowledge, and good manners. Furthermore, this discordance is vanquished through a wide range of spontaneous and short-run solutions such as emergence of spontaneous and partly illegal forms of housing production, corruption, illegal enforcement such as mafia, populist condone for digressing legal framework, creation of privileges in space and time within the operation of the accepted legal structure such as falling within the purview of a pardon. Tekeli states that the type of implementation out of these mechanisms of accordance is determined by the level of country's political operations and economic advancement. Hence, Tekeli states that third paradigm of writing urban history scrutinise the critical role of institutional organization in urban planning.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

3.1. Constructing TGNA Deputy Residence

Basing on Tekeli's third paradigm in writing urban history, this chapter aims to give an account of the contemporary urban experience of the housing pattern with reference to a specific case of destructing deputy residences and constructing *Park Oran Konutları* on the same urban landscape. Focusing on a single case of conversion process from a low-density and low-level housing project into a high-density and high-level housing project aims not only to give an account of the whole process initiated in 1984 with the construction of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* and ended in the construction of the *Park Oran Konutları* through destruction of the former project but also to decipher the network through which governmental and private agencies operate to manage the recent luxurious housing production.

3.1.1. Constructing 400 villas: 1984-1987

Within the context of Turkey's pursuit of economic liberalization and structural adjustment of 1980s politically managed by a center-right alliance of interests under the umbrella of the Motherland Party, the General Assembly of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) decided to construct 400 housing units to meet the housing need of deputies, in 1984. For meeting this demand, an expropriation process of the suitable site for residences and recreation facilities of deputies has to be managed through the framework of legislation.

3.1.2. Expropriation of the Site

According to the Expropriation Law, numbered as 2942, expropriation of this site was initiated by the National Estate Directorate associated to Revenue Office of Ankara. Comprehensively, *Emlak Konut A.Ş.* as one owner of the plots, numbered as 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 73/69-A, 84 and 85, and *OR-AN A.Ş.* as the other owner of

the plots, numbered as 65, 66, 67, 68, 74, 69-a transferred their plots to *Emlak Kredi Bankası A.Ş.* affiliated to Ministry of Finance through selling and expropriating associated plots, respectively.¹¹⁴ On May 28th, 1984, appraisal of these plots for its expropriation was esteemed according to the verdict of the Committee of Appraisal which is defined within the framework of Expropriation Law, numbered as 2942, dated on April 11th, 1983.¹¹⁵ According to this definition, the Committee of Appraisal consisting of three persons chosen out of the municipality's structure estimates the cost of production of land, housing and offices.

Beside the expropriation of the construction site, with the decision of Development Directorate of Ankara, numbered as 01011; plots, numbered as 65, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, and 85, registered to *Dikmen's* Land Office, and reserved as housing district in 1/5000 scaled *Yıldızevler* Master Development Plan are accepted as Partial Development Plan of the Residence and Recreation Area of TGNA, on May 1st, 1984.¹¹⁶ In this new development plan, these plots are united as the island and plot, numbered as 16743 and 1, respectively. 240.543 m² of this island of 246.650 m² belongs to the Ministry of Finance; whereas 6.116 m² of this island is registered to Municipality of Ankara since it is established out of the roads.

¹¹⁴ Metin Yıldırım, (2005) *Deputy Residences; A Sample of Secondary Center in the Process of Ankara's Center Graduation and Alteration*, unpublished M. Sc. Thesis submitted to City and Regional Planning Department, Ankara: Gazi University, p. 71.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 2 A photo of the model of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*. (From Günay's archive.)

3.1.3. Construction of the Deputy Residence

On May 3rd, 1984, *Emlak Kredi Bankası A.Ş.* was assigned to carry out any sort of construction work and its prosecution through a protocol with TGNA. On 01.08.1984, the Residence and Recreation Area of TGNA is assigned by the verdict of National Estate General Directorate affiliated to Ministry of Finance, numbered as 2682. *Çinici Architecture Ltd.* is invited as the designer of the Residence and Recreation Area of TGNA Project. *Emlak Kredi Bankası A.Ş.* assigned *Kadirbeyoğlu İnşaat A.Ş.* as the subcontractor for construction works. Finally, the foundation of TGNA Deputy Residence consisting of 400 housing units with a total construction area of 84.000 m² was laid with a ceremony on October 4th, 1984, as seen in the Figure 3. In 1987, the construction of this project with the name of Deputy Residence was completed. In 1984, 23.6 milliard Dollar was spent for the whole construction.



Figure 3 A photo of groundbreaking ceremony on *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper dated 05.10.1984.

3.2. Construction of Two Residential Towers: 1996-1997

The number of deputies was raised with the article 75 amended on June 23rd, 1995 stating that “the Turkish Grand National Assembly shall be composed of five hundred and fifty deputies elected by universal suffrage.” With this increase in the number of deputies there was a need for another 150 housing units additional to the already existing Deputy Residence of 400 triplex-units.

With an official writing to Municipality Presidency of Çankaya with a record number of A.01.0GNS/091, dated on March 7th, 1996, General Secretariat of TGNA requested the right of the construction for the additional housing units of deputies on the island, numbered as 16743, and the parcels, numbered as 2, 3, 4, and 5. In order to gain this permission of total construction area of 35.000 m²,

Municipality Presidency of Çankaya was required to make the necessary revision in the development plan, numbered as 75900/1.¹¹⁷

Development, Housing and Expropriation Committee provided Municipality Committee of Çankaya with a report, numbered as 64 and made on May 3rd, 1996.¹¹⁸ This report with a record number of 00436 deals with the revision of 1/1000 scaled development plan of island, numbered as 16473, and parcel, numbered as 1. This report states that north-eastern area of the site reserved for the housing of staff members is appropriate for the construction of additional housing units of deputies. Within the boundaries of this construction area, two blocks with 168 housing units, with a total construction area of 33.500 m² and with a maximum height of 66.50 m is advised for meeting the demand of additional housing requirement of deputies. Given with the study, registered as 00436, the total construction area of 33.500 m² is composed of the vacant area of 20.896 m² reserved for the housing of staff members 20.896 m² and of the additional area of 12.604 m² which was included with the revision in development plan, numbered as 75900/1. Finally, with a record number of 00436, this report of the revision of 1/1000 scaled development plan of island, numbered as 16473, and parcel, numbered as 1, was accepted according to the Development Law, numbered as 3194, and related regulations in meeting of Municipality Committee of Çankaya, on May 6th, 1996.

Initiated in 1996, the construction of the two housing blocks by *Emlak Konut A.Ş.* for General Assembly of the TGNA was finished in 1997. MESA was assigned as building contractor. Cost of construction for these blocks is estimated as 17.5 million Dollars in 1996.

¹¹⁷ Metin Yıldırım, (2005) p. 177.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 179.



Figure 4 A photo of aerial view of deputy residences. (From Günay's archive.)

3.3. Privatization Process of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları*

After the election of November 3rd, 2002, Prime Minister of 22nd Period initiated the process of selling the residence of deputies with the aim of creating source for economy. With expressions such as “Deputies shall live within the public”, Recep Tayip Erdoğan campaigned for the evacuation of deputy residences. According to the statement of Board of Directors of Chamber of City Planning on November 12th, 2002¹¹⁹, behind the manifestation of “deputies shall live among the public,” 22nd Period of Government campaigns for expropriation of public real estates and social facilities. Causing speculations of these sites, this expropriation

¹¹⁹ Board of Directors of Chamber of City Planning, (2002) “Lojmanların Satışındaki Tehlike!”, a Statement on November 12th, [Internet, WWW], Address: http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=11&tipi=2&sube=0, [Accessed: 23.03.2008].

will assure pursuit of rent. The selling of deputy residences and social facilities is rather regarded as a short-term populist solution, which will rather serve for urban speculations through the aspiration of gaining more rent. Whether this expropriation will result in urban speculations initiating rent as claimed by the Chamber of City Planning, it is necessary to understand the whole stages of this process.

3.3.1. Transferring the Site to Finance Ministry

Authorization, duties and responsibilities of National Estate is defined within the framework of Public Financial Administration and Supervision Law, number 5018. Within the framework of Public Financial Administration and Supervision Law, number 5018, administration of all moveable and immovable properties of Treasury is assigned to General Directorate of Finance Ministry with the Decree Equivalent to Law of Organization and Duties of Finance Ministry, number 178.¹²⁰

The article 13 of the Decree Equivalent to Law of Organization and Duties of Finance Ministry, number 178 defines the duties of General Directorate of National Estate such as executing services related to the administration of immovable properties in ownership of Treasury and in the judgement and possession of State with other public institutions and establishments in case of necessity; and making policy for administrating housing of State and housing of public institution and establishments, to determine the value of rent and fuel public housing each year together with the principles of management, maintenance, and reparation.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Maliye Bakanlığı Milli Emlak Genel Müdürlüğü, (2007) *2006 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu*, p. 2. [Internet, WWW, PDF], Available in PDF format. Address: http://www.milliemlak.gov.tr/diger_dosyalar/faaliyet_rap/Mile_2005_Faaliyet_Rap.pdf, [Accessed: 16.03.2008].

¹²¹ Ibid.

The main aim and targets of the General Directorate of Nation State are defined as to cause economy to gain immoveable properties of Treasury in an idle state through development of projects within the coordination of related public institution and establishments; and to guide the real estate market by taking immediate and right decisions related to immoveable properties of Treasury in pursuit of national and international market.¹²²

In the meeting on January 3rd, 2003, the General Assembly of the TGNA decided to transfer the residences and the site of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* to National Estate General Directorate affiliated to Ministry of Finance. On January 15th, 2003, this transmission to National Estate General Directorate took place with the condition of selling the site with the residences of 400 triplex housing units and 2 blocks of 168 housing units, and social and administrative facilities.¹²³ National Estate General Directorate affiliated to Ministry of Finance decided to assign selling procedure to *Emek İnşaat ve İşletme A.Ş.* affiliated to General Directorate of Superannuation Fund.¹²⁴

The Minister of Finance stated that there existed three ways of selling the *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları*: firstly as selling it as housing, secondly, as selling it as area, thirdly, as selling it through destructing housing units for construction of a new project with different development plan. Furthermore, he stated that selling it as housing would bring about 100-110 trillion Lira, selling it with the area would bring about 170-180 trillion Lira, and selling it with destructing the buildings and constructing a new project with an increase in density would bring 300-320 trillion Lira. Finance minister argued that although the last selling model

¹²² Ibid., p. 19.

¹²³ Hürriyet, (2003) "Meclis Lojmanları Milli Emlak'a Geçti", *Hürriyet*, January 15th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=121881>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹²⁴ Hürriyet, (2003) "150 Milyon Dolarlık Lojman Satışı Eylül' de", *Hürriyet*, March 10th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://www.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2003/08/25/lojman.htm>, [Accessed: 24.03.2008].

seemed most profitable, the process of such a selling model would take several years. Hence, besides these opportunities, finance minister argued for a selling model which will ensure the highest profit in shortest time. As a result, National Estate General Directorate decided to sell it as Turkey's Business and Shopping Center, which was estimated as bringing more than 300 trillion Lira of gain in shorter time compared to the other alternatives of selling.¹²⁵

3.3.2. Eliminating the Legal Barriers with the Introduction of Law 4969

On 15.04.2003, first selling agreement of the deputy residence lost its validity with the decision of stopping its execution by the Constitutional Court. After this verdict, on July 31st, 2003, TGNA passed the Law, numbered as 4969, to eliminate the legal barrier for selling the deputy residence. Within the framework of provisional article 1 of *Law Related to Alteration of Certain Law and Decree Equivalent to Law*, numbered as 4969, basing on the current price either estimated or have estimated by Ministry of Finance, Minister of Finance Ministry is authorized to sell the island, numbered as 16743, and plot, numbered as 1, with the buildings on this site via *Emek İnşaat ve İşletme A.Ş.*, affiliated to General Directorate of Superannuation Fund in three different ways such as keeping the existing situation, establishing flat ownership or flat appurtenance, and constructing new or annexed buildings. The minister of Finance is authorized to allow all kinds of operations, related to the selling procedure, done by public institution and establishments in the name of Treasury; and is authorized to determine the percentage of payment to the corporation for its service with the provision of not exceeding two percentage of assessment of the selling. Two percentages and one percentage of this assessment shall be given to related municipality and metropolitan municipality, respectively.

¹²⁵ Hürriyet, (2003) "Meclis Lojmanları Ticaret Merkezi Oluyor", *Hürriyet*, April 15th. [Internet, WWW], Address:<http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=140415>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

Furthermore, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement is authorized to realize, to have made, to alter, and to autonomously approve all kinds and scales of development plans; and to give all kinds of permits. Preparation and approval of plans is accomplished by the appropriate entity within the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement; whereas permit and application of plan is accomplished by urban administrative province of Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. Final plans are notified to the related municipality. These plans are obliged to be put into practice.¹²⁶

Briefly, this Law gives authorization to the Ministry of Finance for all necessary operations related to selling, and to Ministry of Public Works and Settlement for all kinds of operations related to development plans and permits. Introduction of this law highlights governmental agencies' vital role of constructing the legal framework in order to remove obstacles which restrict the well functioning of the economic system. As a result, on August 20th, 2003, with a second selling agreement between *Emek İnşaat* affiliated to Ministry of Finance and *Reha Medin Emlak Hizmetleri*, the selling organization was assigned to Reha Medin with a charge of two percentages.

3.3.3. Turkey's Business and Shopping Center Project

The site of 400 triplex units, 168 housing units, and social facilities is redesigned as Turkey's Business and Shopping Center. With preserving the existing building and the surrounding landscape, the function of 400 triplex units changed from housing to shopping. Moreover the function of 168 units in the two high-rise blocks transformed from housing to office. Furthermore, the unit containing the social facilities of Deputy Residence such as bank, club, and hairdresser was

¹²⁶ Başbakanlık Mevzuatı Geliştirme ve Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, (2003) "Law Related to Alteration of Certain Law and Decree Equivalent to Law. Numbered as 4969. Provisional Article 1," *Official Gazette*, No: 25197, published on August 12th.

converted into restaurants and cafes of 24 units. Furthermore, Finance Minister stated in a press conference on March 15th, 2003 that Turkey's Business and Shopping Center contains a shopping mall, a hotel, and a culture center.¹²⁷

Behruz Çinici, as the designer of the deputy residence, prepared Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center. Architectural programme of this conversion project consists of 400 shopping units, 177 office units in the two high rise blocks, restaurants, cafes, food-courts, building-shopping mall, garages, banks, cinema and theatre rooms, exposition and exhibition halls, hotel, kindergarten, and social facilities.

Through zoning different sectors of economy within the ten streets as illustrated in the Figure 5, the Turkey's Business and Shopping Center was designed as a shopping city. First Street accommodates general necessities such as hairdresser, dry cleaner, tailor, cargo, flower shop, natural products, spice-seller, bakery, water-selling shop, dried nuts shop, delicatessen, cleaning products, and health sector such as medical products and clinic. Second Street houses the sector of banking, finance, insurance, tourism, automobile, publishing houses, stationary, printing houses, software. Third Street incorporates restaurants, cafes, and patisseries. Fourth Street includes the sector of home appliances and electric and electronic goods. Fifth Street houses the sector of home textiles, glassware, cosmetics, and jewellery. Sixth, seventh, and eighth Streets is made up of the textile sector such as clothing, leather accessories, shoes, underwear, and drapery. Ninth Street houses the sector related to construction and construction materials. Tenth Street houses the sector related to furniture and interior decoration.

¹²⁷ Hürriyet, (2003) "Meclis Lojmanları Türkiye Ticaret Merkezi Oluyor," *Hürriyet*, April 16th. [Internet, WWW], Adress: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=14048>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].



Figure 5 Site plan of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center Project.



Figure 6 A rendered image of the triplex units together with the extensions prepared for Turkey' Business and Shopping Center Project.

A single triplex unit with a gross area of 235 m² was estimated as being sold out for an average of 360 thousand Dollars. However, certain triplex units were thought to be sold out for 380 thousand Dollars and 400 thousand Dollars. In two high-rise blocks units of a gross area of 65 m², 90-95 m², and 212 m², were assessed as 70, 100, and between 200-220 thousand Dollars, correspondingly. Office of a gross area of 769 m² in the high rise block was valued as 600 thousand Dollars.¹²⁸

In the 9th day after the official start to sell the deputy residence by the Ministry of Finance, Reha Medin made a comment that there was a high demand for buying these units. 25 % of the shops and offices were sold out. Giving in more detail, 136 units out of 400 triplex units and 28 units out of 177 units in the two high-rise

¹²⁸ Ibid.

blocks were expected to be sold out. Moreover, 24 units transformed out of the former facility services were completely sold out.¹²⁹ However, Reha Medin's statement of high interest in the project could be regarded as misleading foresight. Since almost one and half years after the official initiation of selling in October, 2003 the target of marketing strategy at which Reha Medin aimed could not be achieved.¹³⁰ Instead his target, 41 total units containing 10 triplex units, 15 flats in the two high-rise block, and 16 shopping units were purchased.¹³¹ This means that the Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center as a selling strategy proved to be a disappointment. After such a disappointment, Ministry of Finance started to sell the whole site through partitioning it into parcels which is argued as facilitating the marketing of the whole area.

3.3.4. Marketing in Fragments

Within the framework of this decision of marketing the whole site in fragments, Kemal Unakıtan, the Minister of Finance, explains with the writing to Directorate of TGNA on July 28th, 2005 that *Emek İnşaat ve İşletme A.Ş.* sold an area of almost 30.000 m² for 2.600.000 Dollars to *Merkez Müteahhitlik A.Ş.* through a method of tendering up via closed envelope with the condition of constructing Shopping and Entertainment Center on this area. Constructed by *Merkez Müteahhitlik Turizm ve İşletmecilik A.Ş.* and designed by *A Tasarım Mimarlık Uygulama Ltd. Şti.* Panorama Shopping and Living Center was officially opened on November 22nd, 2007.

In order to report about the *TBMM Lojmanları* in newspaper, Yılmaz Ateş put forward a second proposal to Finance Minister for answering the questions such

¹²⁹ Hürriyet, (2003) "Meclis Lojmanları'na İlgili Büyük," *Hürriyet*, October 9th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=176087>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹³⁰ Hürriyet, (2004) "TBMM Lojmanları'nın Sadece 25'i Satıldı," *Hürriyet*, May 31st, [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=229849> [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹³¹ Maliye Bakanlığı Milli Emlak Genel Müdürlüğü, (2007) p. 83.

as how many square meters are the site, how the announcement of tender was made, how many contractors participated in the tender, and how much were the each tender, and for how much money was this area sold out. In a second writing as a response to the second proposal of Yılmaz Ateş on October 21st, 2005, the minister of Finance states that the tender process was realized on August 27th, 2005 after the announcements of tender in *Hürriyet* Newspaper on August 20th and on August 25th, 2005. The second tender with a single participant of *Merkez Müteahhitlik A.Ş.* was executed with a proposal of 2.560.000 Dollars.

However, the tendering process of this area can be regarded with suspicion, since the Minister of Finance gave inconsistent answers to these questions. In his first writing of July he ascertained the completion of the selling out of the area to *Merkez Müteahhitlik A.Ş.* through a tender, however in his second writing of August, he confirmed that the second tender took place in August 2005. The dates of tender given in the first and the second account are inconsistent. Furthermore, Ateş states that the proposal of 2.560.000 Dollars for this area of about 30.000 m² was far below the current market value, which was estimated as almost tenfold of this accepted proposal. Moreover, Ateş affirms that the firm *Merkez Müteahhitlik A.Ş.* was established just a week before the tender date. Out of these facts, Ateş concludes that the putting this area out to the market in such a way can be regarded as plunder of public goods.¹³²

Another fragment of 25.000 m² of this site for construction of 29-storied hotel was sold out to Remzi Durmuz and Halil Başıoğlu for 4.820.000 Dollars. The half of the site was sold to Remzi Durmuz in April 2005, whereas the other half was sold to Halil Başıoğlu on June 8th, 2005.

¹³² Çiğdem Toker, (2005) “Unakitan iki yanıt verdi lojmanlarda kuşku doğdu,” *Hürriyet*, November 19th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=3539491>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].



Figure 7 A photo of the construction of the shopping mall and the destruction of the deputy residences. (From Günay's archive.)

In summary, after the excavation of deputy residences, separate deeds of 607 total units composed of 400 triplex units, 179 autonomous units, 28 shopping units were acquired on December 17th, 2003 and the selling of these 607 units, garage, and hotel site was initiated. In this selling procedure by Finance Ministry, 41 total units containing 10 triplex units, 15 flats in the two high-rise blocks, and 16 shopping units were purchased.¹³³ Moreover, two fragments of the site, one for constructing a shopping and entertainment center, and other for building a hotel.

¹³³ Maliye Bakanlığı Milli Emlak Genel Müdürlüğü, (2007) p. 83.



Figure 8 An aerial view from the shopping mall on construction and deputy residences by Google Earth.

3.4. Giving Authorization to Housing Development Administration

In authorization of General Directorate of Finance Ministry, the selling procedure of Treasury's immovable properties are mainly carried out in the legal framework of National Tender Law, number 2886, Appreciation of Treasury's Immoveable Properties and Law for Altering Law of Value Added Tax, number 4706, and Regulation of Selling of Nation's Immoveable Property, Bartering, Renting, Establishing Unique Law Real Right of Ownership, Charge Estimated by Specialist, and Evacuation.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 68.

Within the scope of Selling Procedure to Public Institution and Establishments as Article 30 of Expropriation Law, number 2942, immoveable properties of public legal entities and institutions are directly sold out to another public legal entity and institution for a market price.¹³⁵

Especially, the legalization of selling procedure to Housing Development Administration is achieved by the Law of Land Production and Appropriation, number 1164. Within the extent of this law, in order to prevent excessive increase in market value of lands, and to utilize as investments in housing, industry, education, and health, and as objectives for public facilities, Treasury's immovable properties are assigned to HDA for a price assessed by the committee qualified by Article 13 of National Tender Law, number 2886.¹³⁶

The *Process Report of 2006* of National Estate General Directorate affiliated to Ministry of Finance argues that the revenue gain of the selling of Turkey's Business Center would be almost twice as much as the revenue gain of the selling the site as housing. Therefore, Ministry of Public Works and Settlement alternated the development plan of this site from housing to Turkey's Business Center.¹³⁷

With a protocol on February 13th, 2006 between HDA and *Emek İnşaat ve İşletme A. Ş.* affiliated to Finance Ministry the appreciation of 566 remaining units of immoveable property of 390 triplex units, 164 flats, and 12 shopping units was assigned to HDA for a charge of 170.291.917 YTL.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 70.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 83.

3.4.1. The Sale of the Two High-Rise Blocks

On the one hand, Housing Development Administration decided to sell each of the 163 units in the two high-rise blocks as housing in an auction. Application operations were executed by *Ziraat Bank's Emek* Branch between October 17th and October 31st, 2006. For participation in the auction, the participants were required to pay in 20.000 YTL as assurance of involvement.¹³⁹ Executed in Directorate of HAD on October 31st, in the first auction, all 75 housing units in the high-rise block with a better location were separately sold out. With the market value of 27.2 million YTL, these 75 housing units found their owners for 28.4 million YTL with a price increase of 1.2 %. This means that each flat was purchased for an average of 378.000 YTL. The second open sale of the second high-rise block of 88 units was initiated on November 15th, 2006. In the first week, 55 units out of these 88 units were sold in the one day. And the remaining 33 flats were sold long before the deadline date of December 15th, 2006.¹⁴⁰

With a floor area between 90 and 220 m² flats were sold between 185.000 and 411.000 YTL. If paid in advance, there is a price reduction of 22 %. However, in sales by means of *Ziraat Bank* there were three alternatives of forward sales. Firstly, in case of advance payment of 25 % there will be a time period of 48 months for payment. Secondly, in case of advance payment of 35 %, there will be a time period of 60 months for payment and a price reduction of 5 %. Thirdly, in case of advance payment of 45 %, there will be a time period of 72 months for payment and a price reduction of 10 %.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Hürriyet, (2006) "Meclis Lojmanları açık artırmayla satışa sunuldu," *Hürriyet*, October 17th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5269557>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁴⁰ Çiğdem Toker, (2006) "Meclis Lojmanı yerine 'akıllı site' geliyor," *Hürriyet*, November 21st. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5475646>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

3.4.2. Selling off the Site

On the other hand, HDA decided to put the island, numbered as 16743, and parcel, numbered as 1, in Dikmen Quarter, Çankaya District, and Province of Ankara out to an open tender with a revenue sharing model in response to the site of 146.352,18 m² on November 22nd, 2006. The announcement for this tender was made in Official Gazette, numbered as 26339, on November 7th, 2007. This announcement defines the whole process of tender and the characteristics for the right of participation. Within the framework of these definitions, contractors are able to receive tender documents by a payment of 2.500 YTL. Questions relating to tender can be forwarded through faxing it to the administration until 17:00 o'clock, on November 15th, 2006. The deadline of the submission of tender files to the Directorate of Tender Commission of HAD is at 15:00 o'clock, on November 22nd, 2006. The tenders are opened by Tender Commission in front of the participants at 15:00 o'clock, on November 22nd, 2006. After the evaluation of tenders, appropriate participants attend to a second session at 15:00 o'clock, on November 29th, 2006. For required attributes of contractors see the Official Gazette, numbered as 26339, on November 7th, 2007. Furthermore, tender file shall contain the site plan of the project, 1/200 scaled conceptual design of the flats, enhancement of the list of spaces, and alternative proposals for Smart Home systems.¹⁴²

Most significantly, this announcement defines the density of the island and parcel. Cadastral area is the 146.352,18 m² of the parcel. According to the alteration of 1/1000 Scaled Application Development Plan, approved on October 4th, 2006, this island with "A" utilization is specified as housing and Business area

¹⁴² Başbakanlık Mevzuatı Geliştirme ve Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, (2007) "Operation of a Revenue Sharing Model in Response to The Selling of Site of The Island, Numbered as 16743, and Parcel, Numbered as 1, in Dikmen Quarter, Çankaya District, and Province of Ankara," *Official Gazette*, No: 26339, published on November, 7th.

arranged in accordance with the architectural project. On this island, the total area subject to floor-area ratio is 301.977 m². Within the framework of the codes of development contractor shall design projects encouraging sales and promising high profits and shall apply these projects with the approval of Administration.¹⁴³

3.4.2.1. Revenue Sharing Model

HDA generates models in order to meet the governmental objectives through the existing housing and settlement policies. One of these models is the Revenue-Sharing Model, targeting mostly the high-income families under the frame of profit making characteristic, providing short-term financial funds. HDA uses this method to generate funds for the low and middle-income housing projects. This model is based on production of housing units on HDA owned lands in-cooperation with the private sector consisting of developers and contractors and sharing the sales revenue of the project with the shareholder firm.

More specifically, engineering and architectural services, construction, marketing and sale of the project is implemented by a private developer or contractor selected through an open tender within the framework of national tender law. The subject of the tender in this model is the land provided by HDA and the total probable revenue is going to be offered by the participants. HDA evaluates the tender on the basis of revenue ratio offered and the highest revenue offered wins the tender. The shareholder meets all the investment cost, except land cost, as land is provided by HDA at the beginning of the investment period. For that reason, being the investor, the shareholder firm has the advantage of providing the land procurement procedure in the shortest term with the possible least cost. As the project is realized on a public owned land, the legal permission procedure is realized not having any delay. As these projects are realized and promoted

¹⁴³ Ibid.

under HDA's public guarantee, they have high marketing and sales capabilities. Through this method, the selling of the housing units take place at the beginning of the construction period so the sales revenue begins to be provided at early beginning of the total investment process.

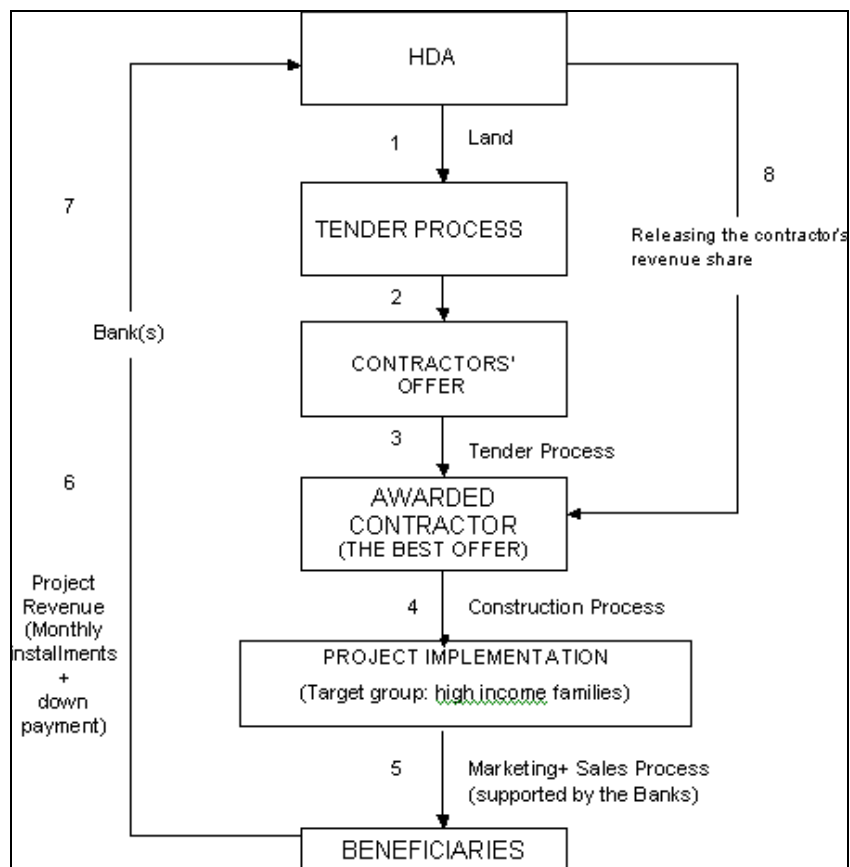


Figure 9 The diagram of the revenue sharing model.

In this model, one of the essential inputs is the state-owned or HDA-owned land. HDA uses valuable lands in the model HDA opens an open tender for all the contractors, having urban-residential reference, seeking for the best outcome of the development. The developer is selected due to the estimated total revenue

and the percentage of revenue-share with HDA. The revenue exceeding the estimation is shared between HDA and the contractor as well due to the percentage contracted with the contractor, although developer is obliged to give the estimated total revenue if the sales realizes less than the contractual offer.

Revenue Sharing Model is a build-and-sell concept, but is based on the revenue instead of housing units. In this kind of projects, the land is generally evaluated by HDA less than its actual market value. So, as a result of this hidden subvention, the selling prices of the houses are in general lower than the houses sold by other developers creating a somewhat unfair competition. But, the fact that the project is awarded to developers and contractors by an open tender compensates this disadvantage to a certain extent.

3.4.2.2. Specification of Tender

Besides this announcement in Official Gazette, specifications of tendering the site, numbered as 16743, and parcel, numbered as 1, in Dikmen Quarter, Çankaya District, and Province of Ankara with a revenue sharing model comprehensively defines whole process of tender and the characteristics for the right of participation.

Basing on the appropriate project of Administration, first article defines the duties of the tender with the condition that all expenditure of Housing project on the island, numbered as 16743, and parcel, numbered as 1, owned by Housing Development Administration, is covered by the tender. These duties are given as preparation of all necessary plans and projects; acquirement of approvals by related Municipality and Administrations and all kinds of permits; construction of separated units regarding the space list, social facility units, open parking lot and closed garages, all kinds of infrastructures in and outside the island,

surrounding landscape; completion of contract and its attachments with respect to the specifications; correction of species; acquisition of Housing Permit and Deed of Flat Ownership; marketing; selling; submission to the flat owner; and the payment of total revenue share of administration according to the revenue sharing model.

The article 2 defines the method of tender as an Open Tender according to the Article 25 of Selling and Tender with Revenue Sharing Regulations of Directorate of Housing Development Administration, published in Official Gazette, number 26157, on May 3rd, 2006.

The article 3 specifically defines the principals of tender. Specifically, fourth subtitle of the Article 3 requests the construction of a Shopping and Business Center of at least 13.885.50 m² in this site. Sixth subtitle states that the destructing the buildings on this site and clearing the site shall be executed by contractor.

The article 13 defines the evaluation of the proposal and the selection of the appropriate proposal. In order to evaluate the proposal, firstly, tenders without complete documents, inappropriate tender envelope, and improper tender guarantee are not considered in evaluation. Contractors with complete documents, tender envelope and tender guarantee are evaluated in details. In this phase, contractors' adequacy for the capacity of execution all requirements of tender and the coherence of proposals to the conditions set in tender document is examined. Contractors who do not satisfy these criterions are dismissed. Contractors passing the first evaluation attend to a second session.

In this second session, after the contractors' proposals of the first session are read, revised proposals are verbally given with a sequence of acceptance of tender. During this session, verbally given proposals are kept on record. In the second

session, following the first proposal, the proposal has to be above the highest Total Revenue Share of Administration. Moreover, in this session, contractors on turn are required to increase the proposal of the former contractor. In case of not increasing the former proposal, contractors are regarded as withdrawn from the tender; hence, they are not required to submit an enclosed proposal. After reading the verbally given proposals, final proposals are required to put forward in a written format. At the end of this second session, enclosed proposals are to be given according to the highest proposal.

The article 20 specifies the affiliation of tender to contract which are prepared by the Administration and signed by the tender author and contractor.

In the Example of Financial Proposal Envelope, it states that the total area of 301.977 m² is subjected to floor-area ratio. Since a part of the floor area of 13.885,50 m² was already sold to 38 persons by General Directorate of National Estate, remaining area of 288.091,50 m² out of the total area of 301.977 m² subjected to floor-area ratio can be sold. Hence within the framework of revenue sharing for selling the site, the area of 288.091,50 m² is considered to floor-area ratio.

3.4.2.3. Tender of the Site 16743

Although six specifications were bought, three contractors such as Joint Venture of Holding A.Ş. and Yeşil İnş. Gayrimenkul Yat. Hiz. Tic. A.Ş.; İZ-KA İnş. Taah. Müh. Teks. Amb. San. and Tic. Ltd. Şti, Durmaz İnş Taah. Tic. Ltd. Şti, and Ümitli Turz. Gıda İnş. Bilg. Otm. San. and Tic. A.Ş. and Bleda Yapı San. and Turz. Tic. A.Ş.; and Joint Venture of Mesa Mesken San. A.Ş., Aktürk Yapi End. and Tic. A.Ş., and Emlak Paz. İnş. Prj. Yön. and Tic. A.Ş. participated in the tender on November 22nd, 2006. First contractor proposed a revenue ratio of 22 % of a

revenue of 332 million 627 thousand YTL. Second contractor offered a revenue ratio of 25 % of a revenue of 499 million 844 thousand YTL.¹⁴⁴ The third contractor suggested a revenue ratio of 42 % of revenue of 580 million YTL. In this case HDA would gain revenue of at least 243 million YTL.¹⁴⁵

In the second session held on November 29th, 2006 the Administration argued over the revenue share and the revenue with these three contractors. In this session, Joint Venture of *Mesa Mesken San. A.Ş., Aktürk Yapı End. and Tic. A.Ş., and Emlak Paz. İnş. Prj. Yön. and Tic. A.Ş* raised the revenue from 580 million YTL (394.5 million Dollars) to 638 million YTL (431 million Dollars) and the revenue given to HDA from 243 million YTL as revenue ratio of 42 % to 304.5 million YTL (203 million Dollars). Besides this revenue, the tender is required to construct a business center of approximately 14.000 m² free of charge with reference to the triplex units sold as commerce units by Finance Ministry. As a result, according to such a revenue sharing model, HDA's revenue share is increased from 42 % to almost 55 %.¹⁴⁶ In summary, HDA gains through this tender not only 304.5 million YTL but also a business center both of which resulting in revenue share of 55 %.

3.4.2.4. Contract between HDA and the Contractor

After the tender process as delineated by the Specification of Tender, a contract between the Administration and the contractor is signed to agree on operations,

¹⁴⁴ Hürriyet, (2006) "TBMM Lojmanları TOKİ'ye kazandıracak," *Hürriyet*, November 23rd. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5491711>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁴⁵ Hürriyet, (2006) "Meclis Lojmanları'na 394.5 milyon Dolarlık teklif," *Hürriyet*, December 24th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5494944>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁴⁶ Hürriyet, (2006) "TBMM eski Lojmanları ihalesi sonuçlandı," *Hürriyet*, November 30th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5531093>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

related rights, and responsibilities as identified within the framework of contract's content. In order to account for contract's content, important articles of this contract are highlighted. Article 1 of this contract defines the two parties, namely Directorate of Housing Development Administration and Joint Venture of *Mesa Mesken San. A.Ş.*, *Aktürk Yapı End. and Tic. A.Ş.*, and *Emlak Paz. İnş. Prj. Yön. and Tic. A.Ş.* Article 2 specifies the content of contract which is the same as the Article 1 of the Specification of Tender. Both of these articles define the duties of contractor.

Table 1 The payment plan of total revenue share of HDA.

Payment Number:	Payment Day Starting from the Day of Contract	Percentage of Total Revenue Share of Administration (Instalment Rates)	Payment of Share of Administration (NTL New Turkish Lira)
1	180 th day	% 10	30.450.000,-YTL
2	360 th day	% 10	30.450.000,-YTL
3	540 th day	% 10	30.450.000,-YTL
4	720 th day	% 10	30.450.000,-YTL
5	900 th day	% 15	45.675.000,-YTL
6	1080 th day	% 15	45.675.000,-YTL
7	1260 th day	% 15	45.675.000,-YTL
8	1440 th day	% 15	45.675.000,-YTL
	TOPLAM	% 100	304.500.000,-YTL

The article 3 defines the sharing of the total revenue and the payment of the total share of the administration. Firstly, total revenue as assured out of the selling of separated units is 638 million YTL. Secondly, total revenue of administration for site paid to Administration is 304.5 million YTL. Thirdly, contractor pays 250 thousand YTL to Administration for selling excavation and scrap.

The article 4 defines the payment plan of total revenue share of Administration as in the following Table 1. According to this chart, contractor intends to pay the revenue share of Administration in eight instalments within 1440 days. Whereas first four instalments comprise ten percentages, last four instalments comprise fifteen percentages of the total revenue share of HDA of 304.5 million YTL.

The article 14 attributes the supervision of the operations to Administration. Appointed either out of Administration staff or out of Technical Consultancy, the supervisors control whether construction work is executed according to contract, specifications, projects, and construction schedule.

The article 18 defines that while contractor's responsibilities such as geotechnical survey report, application, infrastructure, and landscape are fulfilled in coordination with Administration, issues such as selection of materials, quality, quantity, and space list are accomplished according to the approval of Administration. Moreover, contractor is responsible for acquiring all kinds of approvals of projects related to contract's subject by related administrations. Additionally, contractor has scaled architectural models according to approved project made in order to display them in its show-room. Moreover, in the presence of official agencies, all Technical Responsibilities of construction works on island 16743 and parcel are pertained to contractor. With respect to the surrounding infrastructural network, Technical infrastructure projects of the site

have to be prepared by contractor who has to construct infrastructure according to these projects after their approval by Administration.

The article 25 defines the clearance of the site stating that all kinds of objects and conditions hindering the construction are to be eradicated. Attachments of the contract between HDA and contractor such as Specification of Proposal, Technical Specification and its Attachments, Specification of Infrastructure, General Specifications of Public Works, Related Urban Planning Codes and Master Plan delineate all phases of the whole project. Especially, Technical Specification with its Attachments defines all details related to architectural, structural, mechanical, electrical, and landscaping projects. Hence, architectural outcome is embodied out of these specifications prepared by HDA.

3.4.3. Discussion on the Destruction of *TBMM Lojmanlari*



Figure 10 Photos of the destruction of deputy residences.
(From Günay's archive.)

As the Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center could not be successfully actualized by Finance Ministry, the site of *TBMM Lojmanlari* was

expected as being better appreciated by HDA. With a tender of revenue sharing model, the construction of a new project was assigned to Joint Venture of *Mesa Mesken, Aktürk Yapi, and Emlak Pazar*. As a result of constructing this new project, the destruction of the 400 triplex units was initiated on February 10th, 2007.¹⁴⁷

Behruz Çinici, the architect of the *TBMM Lojmanları*, argues for *TBMM Lojmanları* as being a cultural heritage. Furthermore, he states that HDA's attempt of a tender to construct a brand new project on the site of deputy residence can be regarded as violating his copyrights. In an interview with Çiğdem Toker, a journalist in *Hürriyet*, Çinici states that nowadays shopping malls and office blocks as the dominant face of the city are generated by themselves without needing an architect and buildings worth discussing are easily given up. He questions what kind of attachment to Ankara a shopping mall replacing the deputy residence can construct. Most crucially, he emphasizes whether there is an end point of the accelerated transformation of oneself and the attempt of hollowing out of identity.¹⁴⁸

Although the destruction process of *TBMM Lojmanları* continued, Çinici applied for approval of this residence as cultural heritage via Chamber of Architects in Ankara to Culture and Tourism Ministry. To save this masterpiece, Çinici states that in stead of the Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center if these units were sold out as housing each unit would bring in between 350.000-400.000 Dollars. Furthermore, Çinici argues that if these units were renovated with today's construction materials each unit would have brought in above 500.000 Dollars.

¹⁴⁷ Fevzi Kızılkoyun, (2007) "Meclis Lojmanları yıkılıyor," *Hürriyet*, February 11th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5931441>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁴⁸ Çiğdem Toker, (2007) "Meclis Lojmanları'nın oferleri kimler?", *Hürriyet*, January 23rd. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5821266>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

Since the 400 triplex units were assumed as being sold with a conversion into a shopping center, Behruz Çinici was in possession of the author's rights of Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, as the owner of the hotel site tendered by Finance Ministry, Volkan Başeğmez states that the author's right of the hotel site in the preliminary design project of Behruz Çinici was taken over. However, through the destruction of these units the problem of author's rights was resolved.

As a result of Çinici's legal action of hindering HDA's destruction of the deputy residences in order to construct *Park Oran Konutları*, on March 2nd, 2007 the court decided to take precautionary measurements against this demolition. However, due to the HDA's objection against Çinici's prosecution to prevent the destruction, Third Judicial Court of Mental and Industrial Rights decided to remove the former decision of hindering the demolition. As a testimony for this objection, HDA illustrated the verdict of Regional Committee of Preservation of Cultural and Natural Entities, dating March 2nd, 2007. This verdict states that these deputy residences do not possess the characteristics of a cultural entity for their preservation. Moreover, a board of surveyors among which Ahmet Kılıçoğlu, professor in Department of Law of Ankara University, is listed decided that since Çinici does not possess the author's right of these residences, HDA does not require to obtain permission from the architect of deputy residence for destruction.¹⁵⁰ However, according to the final judgment as "nostalgic preservation" made by Third Judicial Court of Mental and Industrial Rights on July 19th, 2007, the three triplex residences, which were kept as housing the

¹⁴⁹ Hürriyet, (2007) "TBMM Lojmanları'nın yıkım tartışması," *Hürriyet*, February 18th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5974287>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁵⁰ Çiğdem Toker, (2007) "Çinici'ye kötü haber," *Hürriyet*, March 14th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6119824>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

administrational office of HDA, are to be preserved pertaining to the original design.¹⁵¹

3.4.4. Construction of *Park Oran Konutları*



Figure 11 A photo of the construction of *Park Oran Konutları*.

In the final construction process of the housing project, three agencies such as HDA as the administrative body, Joint Venture of *Mesa Mesken*, *Aktürk Yapı*, and *Emlak Pazarlama* as the contractor, and Ahmet Can Ersan as the architect engage in the embodiment of the project of *Park Oran Konutları*. ACE Architecture as the architectural office of Ahmet Can Ersan prepared the architectural project of *Park Oran Konutları*.

The former coefficient of 0.48 of *TBMM Lojmanları* was replaced with a coefficient of 2 through the alteration of the development plan by the Ministry of Public Work and Settlement within the framework of provisional article 1 of *Law Related to Alteration of Certain Law and Decree Equivalent to Law*, numbered as 4969.¹⁵² This coefficient embodies the density of the project which is also defined in the

¹⁵¹ Hürriyet, (2007) “Vekillerin eski lojmanlarına nostaljik koruma kararı çıktı,” *Hürriyet*, August 5th. [Internet, WWW], Address: <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=7026490>, [Accessed: 27.11.2007].

¹⁵² Başbakanlık Mevzuatı Geliştirme ve Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, (2003) “Law Related to Alteration of Certain Law and Decree Equivalent to Law. Numbered as 4969. Provisional Article 1,” *Official Gazette*, No: 25197, published on August 12th.

tender's specification and in the contract between HDA and the Joint Venture stating that the total area of 301.977 m² is subjected to floor-area ratio and the 146.352,18 m² of the parcel is assigned as cadastral area. Hence the legal base of the increase of site's density from 400 triplex units to 1832 housing units is established.

Architectural project of 1832 housing units consists of 17 housing buildings of four different types. Four 'A' type buildings and eight 'B' type buildings with 31 storeys are composed of six different plan layouts of units. Former displays these six different plan configuration such as one room and one living room (1+1), two rooms and one living room (2+1), three rooms and one living room (3+1), four rooms and one living room (4+1), five rooms and one living room (5+1), and five rooms and one living room (5+1) as a duplex unit; whereas the latter displays these six different alternatives such as two types of four rooms and one living room (4+1), three types of three living rooms and one living room (3+1), and a single type of six rooms and one living room (6+1) as a duplex unit. Three 'C' type buildings with seven storeys houses mainly two types of plan configuration such as one room and one living room (1+1) and two rooms and one living room (2+1). Two 'D' type buildings with seven storeys have two types of five rooms and one room (5+1) plan layout.

CHAPTER 4

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: *TBMM LOJMANLARI* VS. *PARK ORAN KONUTLARI*

This chapter aims to present a comparative case study of two different types of residential projects each transplanted into the same urban landscape through destructing the formerly constructed housing project, namely *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari*. The two housing projects, namely, *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari* and *Park Oran Konutlari* can be regarded as being realized within the agenda of different socio-economic dynamics. To illustrate, construction of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari* resulted through deputies' demand for housing rights within the city center in the early 1980s. This construction of coming together of deputies belonging to different parties was realized through state's own management. In contrast, the second project, namely *Park Oran Konutlari*, was established within the framework of neoliberal economies aiming to create new investment environment through deconstruction-reconstruction mechanism. Hence, these two residential projects are taken into account as exemplifying the architectural outcome of a wave of re-scaling on two scalar fixes: on urban level as *the re-scaling of the city* and on citizen level as *the re-scaling of the urban citizen*.

In order to identify the type of the architectural outcome as a result of the re-scaling process of scalar structures, the two housing projects are intended to be compared and contrasted with respect to the relation of architecture to urbanism and to lifestyle. Hence, this chapter intends to scrutinize the projects of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari* and *Park Oran Konutlari* with regard to two domains: urban

architecture and lifestyle. Urban architecture as the first domain compares the architectural quality of the two residential projects with regard to their references to the urban surrounding. Furthermore, second domain of lifestyle compares the two different ways of life constructed through different architectural conceptions in the two residential projects.

4.1. Urban Architecture Domain

While constructing an understanding of the relation between architecture and urbanism, the two residential projects, namely *Milletvekili Lojmanları* and *Park Oran Konutları*, are aimed to be compared within the framework of “Urban Architecture” domain through thematic agencies as follows: (1) Community Based Accommodation vs. Commercial Based Housing: Establishing Consuming Architecture; (2) Public Green vs. Private Green: Appropriating Garden City Concept; (3) Preservation vs. Destruction: Erasing Collective Memory; (4) Human Scale vs. Urban Grand Scale: Generating a New Urban Fabric; (5) Neighbourhood Model vs. Enclaved Setting: Creating Gated Communities; (6) Enclosure with Social Services vs. Enclosure with Amenities: Converting the Architectural Programme; (7) Low Rise-Low Density vs. High Rise-High Density; (8) Site Plans and Plans of Flats: Reproducing the Conventional Planimetric Outlines; (9) Horizontal Residences vs. Vertical Blocks: Changing the Skyline; and (10) Building Systems and Construction Techniques: Pursuing Traditional Methods.

4.1.1. Community Based Accommodation vs. Commercial Based Housing: Establishing Consuming Architecture

Following the success in 1937 in winning the competition opened for designs for the Grand National Assembly Building, in 1938 Clemens Holzmeister settled in Turkey where he lived until 1954. Furthermore, from 1940 to 1949, Holzmeister

gave courses in department of architecture at Istanbul Technical University (ITU). Following this period in 1952, as a follower of Clement Holzmeister, Behruz Çinici graduated from ITU. Hence, Holzmeister's approach of State Architecture shaped most of the architectural perception of Behruz Çinici. Following this approach, Çinici designed the project for the public relations building in the Grand National Assembly complex in 1978. The construction of this building ended in 1984.

In 1984, Behruz Çinici was asked to design a housing project of four hundred living units with a technical and socio-cultural infrastructure composed of a patisserie, a PTT (post, telegraph, and telephone) office, a banking office, an administration office, a hairdresser, a shop, a clubhouse, a small scale amphitheatre, a primary school, and a recreational area with open air sports facilities and a park for the four hundred deputies. Through the inclusion of such an infrastructure in the architectural programme, this residential project meets not only the housing right of the four hundred deputies but also constructs a social milieu with socio-cultural facilities. With other words, *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be regarded as a housing project providing its habitants with the necessary community services such as shops, social clubs, sport facilities, recreation areas, and a primary school. With regard to such a social milieu, *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be regarded as a community based residential project.

The economic and political developments of post-1983 have facilitated Turkey's pursuits of economic liberalization and structural adjustment of political and economic sphere. Beginning these transformations, demand of housing right for four hundred deputies was met through the decision of constructing a residential project for those deputies. This residential project was realized by Directorate of Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) as the employer through assigning

this project to Behruz Çinici as the architect, and to the Emlak Kredi Banka A.Ş. as the contractor who employed Kadirbeyođlu İnşaatı A.Ş. as the subcontractor. However, with the acceleration of these economic and political developments beginning twenty-first century, the real estate sector has been regarded as an economic liquidity. The impact of increasing investments in real estate sector on the urban sphere can be exemplified by radical transformations within the city center through surrendering the existing built environment. Parallel to these changes in urban sphere, the societal and economic transformations introduced new lifestyle, production and consumption habits which firmly request alternative building typologies. Hence, the radical transformations within the city center intent to open up new spaces for these alternative typologies. Destruction of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* to construct *Park Oran Konutları* can be regarded as one of these radical transformations in the city center to open up new space for an alternative residential project.

As illustrated in “Historical Background” as the third chapter of this study, since the selling of the whole site at one time could not be managed, privatization process of the whole site of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* ended up in vending through fragmenting the whole site. As a result of this decision, the site is partitioned into five areas in order to promote the marketing of the area of *TBMM Lojmanları*. Besides these five areas, there is a sixth left-out parcel which is delineated as red in the Figure 12. The utilization of this sixth partition is left to question.



Figure 12 An aerial view illustrating the fragments of the site.

First partition can be regarded as the recreational area accommodating the socio-cultural facilities of *TBMM Lojmanları* within a park. This area was sold to *Merkez Mteahhitlik A..* with the condition to construct Shopping and Entertainment Center. Hence, constructed by *Merkez Mteahhitlik Turizm ve İletmecilik A..* and designed by *A Tasarım Mimarlık Uygulama Ltd. ti.* Panorama Shopping and Living Center was officially opened on November 22nd, 2007. This shopping mall replaced the socio-cultural facilities accommodated within a recreational park with consumption based facilities housed within an enclosed building. Second fragment of the site of 25.000 m², initially reserved for the heating center of deputy residences, was sold to build a twenty nine-storied hotel. Especially these two fragments of the site replaced the technical and socio-cultural infrastructure with consumption based habits.

In 1996, as the third partition, the north-eastern area of the site initially reserved for housing staff members was selected for the construction of two high-rise blocks to meet the demand of additional housing units of one hundred fifty deputies. During the privatization process, each unit in these two high-rise residential blocks is separately sold out as residences in an auction. With reference to the triplex units sold as commerce units within the extent of Conversion Project of Turkey's Business and Shopping Center, an area reserved for the construction of a business center of approximately 14.000 m² can be regarded as the fourth fragment of the site.

The fifth part is the area left from partitioning the whole site, namely the construction area of four hundred triplex. The last biggest partition of the site is occupied for the construction area of *Park Oran Konutları* with its twelve thirty one-storied vertical blocks and five seven-storied horizontal blocks. The socio-cultural facilities of the inhabitants living in 1832 housing units in this residential project are provided through a single building and through a landscape design of

the left over spaces as a recreational park. The single building whose architectural project is not yet completed includes indoors and out-doors facilities such as swimming and sports. Beside these provisions for recreation of the inhabitant, the replacement of the socio-cultural facilities of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* by a shopping mall can be regarded as transformation of habits from recreation to consumption of products and events.

4.1.2. Public Green vs. Private Green: Appropriating Garden City Concept

Similar to Jansen's conceptualization together with Ebenezer Howard's invention of Garden City,¹⁵³ Behruz Çinici's residential project of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be regarded as a local interpretation of the notion of Garden City. With regard to this interpretation, Çinici integrates low density and low rise housing conception with gardens within a green landscapes in design decisions of his residential project. Aiming at this integration, Çinici structures a public green of nine triangular green landscapes between the linear configurations of clusters of attached triplex units. These nine slices of green areas can be interpreted as

¹⁵³ After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, urban planning execution following Herman Jansen's plan awarded in the international competition held in 1928 exemplifies the conscious search for the modernity project. Jansen's image of the modern urban way of life suggests an urban pattern of low density housing with gardens. Jansen's conceptualization of the modern urbanity of low density housing within green landscape can be regarded as a reflection of this Garden City model which was developed as a reaction against the industrial city. However, Turkey did not experience with the drawbacks of an industrial city. Tekeli states that this type of urban design principle can be regarded as a reaction to the life style in Istanbul's modern regions. According to Tekeli, adoption of a Garden City model as a reaction to the life style in Istanbul's modernism is based on the desire to preserve the connection with the ground. Tekeli emphasizes that the adoption of Garden City principle results from local interpretation which is differentiated from the reasons of its emergence in Europe. For Tekeli's elaboration see İlhan Tekeli (2006) "Kent Tarihi Yazımı Konusunda Yeni Bir Paradigma Önerisi," in Tansı Şenyapılı, (ed) *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, Ankara: METU Publication, p. 9.

Jansen's image can be traced back to his considering as a follower of the architectural styles of Camillo Sitte and Ebenezer Howard. In particular, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement can be argued as being most influential in Jansen's plan of Ankara. For Howard's invention of Garden City see Robert Fishman, (1994) *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, fifth Printing, first printed in 1946, London: MIT Press, p. 27.

constituting, in Howard's terms, a "ward".¹⁵⁴ Moreover, regarded as the basic unit of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, each triplex unit contains a back and front gardens. The back garden of each unit opens up to the triangular green corridors, whereas the front garden faces to the interior streets. Furthermore, this public green surrounding the housing units is aided through a separate recreational area of a park and open air facilities. This recreational area can be considered as a reflection of Howard's "Central Park" where leisure together with consumption and "civic spirit" as two cohesive forces unite the inhabitants within a green landscape.¹⁵⁵ Hence, Çinici's conceptualization of a residential project for the deputies can be argued as manifesting Howard's concept of *Garden City of Tomorrow* constructing a neighbourhood together with a Central Park, called by Howard as "ward" and "center".

As a result of privatization process of the residential project of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, Çinici's manifestation of Garden City concept was demolished to construct another housing project with a density of 1832 housing units. Although *Milletvekili Lojmanları* was guarded due to the requirement to protect the deputies as the only inhabitants, Çinici's conceptualization of a neighbourhood introduced a public green into the Ankara's urban space. With the destruction of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, this public green consisting of a "Central Park" and nine slices of green pie is replaced with *Park Oran Konutları*'s private green. Since *Park Oran Konutları* as a gated residential project is closed off from his urban surroundings, his landscaped environment is accessible only for its inhabitants. The notion of

¹⁵⁴ Fishman describes the neighbourhoods, called by Howard as "wards", as slices in the circular pie. Each "ward" comprises one-sixth of the town, 5.000 people or about 1.000 families. See also Robert Fishman, (1994) p. 42.

¹⁵⁵ Fishman states that "the center of the town is a Central Park which provides "ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all the people." Surrounding the park is a glassed-in arcade which Howard calls the "Crystal Palace": "Here manufactured goods are exposed for sale, and here most of that class of shopping which requires the joy of deliberation and selection is done. [...] Important as consumption and leisure were in his system Howard nonetheless reserved the very center of the Central Park to the second cohesive force, "civic spirit". See also Robert Fishman, (1994) pp. 43-44.

private green is manifested through the images as advertised in the web page and booklet of *Park Oran*.



Figure 13 A rendered image of the green landscape of *Park Oran*.
(From the booklet of *Park Oran Konutları*.)

4.1.3. Preservation vs. Destruction: Erasing Collective Memory

This theme within the urban architecture domain attempts to decipher the effects of the destruction of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* on the collective urban memory. Rossi understands the city as architecture, by which he means “not only the visible image of the city and the sum of its different architectures, but architecture as construction, the construction of the city over time.” Rossi states that “while each

urban intervention seems fated to rely on general criteria of planning, each part of the city seems to be a singular place, a *locus solus*.”¹⁵⁶

In Rossi’s terms, *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be designated as a “locus solus”, a unique or characteristic place. Rossi defines “locus” as “a component of an individual artefact which, like permanence, is determined not just by space but also by time, by topography and form, and most importantly, by its having been the site of a succession of both ancient and more recent events.” Furthermore, Rossi states that “while the locus is a site which can accommodate a series of events, it also in itself *constitutes* an event.” With regard to Rossi’s sense, Eisenman accounts for “locus” as “a unique or characteristic place”, namely as a “locus solus”. Furthermore, Eisenman states that the singularity of “locus solus” is recognizable in signs that come to mark the occurrence of these events. Rossi’s concept of “locus solus” is defined as “the specific but also universal relationship between a certain site and the buildings that are on it.” This relationship is explained as in the following quoted passage:

“Buildings may be signs of events that have occurred on a specific site; and this threefold relationship of site, event, and sign becomes a characteristic of urban artefact. Hence, the *locus* may be said to be the place on which architecture or form can be imprinted. Architecture gives form to the singularity of place, and it is in this specific form that the *locus* persists through many changes, particularly transformations of function.”¹⁵⁷

Eisenman states that this relationship between a certain site and the buildings on it suggests a different limit to history, which is elaborated in the following quotation:

¹⁵⁶ Aldo Rossi, (1988) *The Architecture of the City*, Oppositions Books, Massachusetts: MIT Press, first published in Italian, (1966) p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Aldo Rossi, (1988) p. 7.

“History exists so long as an object is in use; that is, so long as a form relates to its original function. However, when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into the realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins. [...] History comes to be known through the relationship between a collective – that is, urban – memory of events, the singularity of place (*locus solus*), and the sign of the place as expressed in form.”¹⁵⁸

Hence, according to Rossi’s differentiation of “history” and “collective memory”, Eisenman states that “the process by which the city is imprinted with form is urban history, but the succession of events constitutes its memory. The “soul of the city,” an idea derived by Rossi from the French urban geographers, resides in its history; once this soul is given form, it becomes the sign of a place. Memory becomes the guide to its structure.”¹⁵⁹ Hence, basing on the aspirations of Rossi, Eisenman concludes that “the new time of architecture is thus that of memory, which replaces history.”¹⁶⁰

After differentiation of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* as “*locus solus*”, accounts of authorities endeavour to illustrate the important role of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* in the collective urban memory. Hence, in order to decide whether the residential project of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be regarded as a subject of collective memory to preserve, Aydan Balamir advocates for evaluating assessments of project and architect into the architectural culture.¹⁶¹ With that purpose, Balamir regards *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* as a document reflecting the characteristics of its era. She argues that *Milletvekili Lojmanları* as “deputies’ neighbourhood” relating to a certain period is as important as the initial government buildings designed within the totality of “state neighbourhood” relating to the early Republican era in terms of their position in collective memory and their assessment as

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Aydan Balamir, (2007) *TBMM Milletvekili Sitesi, Mimarlık Dekorasyon*, 163, p. 48.

documenting the related period. Furthermore, regarding their architectural merit, she identifies both of these neighbourhoods as examples displaying the architectural appreciation and characteristics of dwelling and building culture of their era.

In order to elaborate, designed by Clements Holzmeister, the government buildings are regarded as typical examples of author's peculiar interpretation of the modern style dominating the architecture of institutional structures in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Similarly, Balamir argues that Çinici's deputy residences display populist motives of its era with historical and local references following the dominant post-modern styles in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Hence, in terms of architect's contribution into the architectural conception of a certain period, Çinici's deputy residences are to be regarded as subjects of preservation as cultural heritage, as it is the case in Holzmeister's governmental buildings.¹⁶²

Furthermore, Behruz Çinici regards *Milletvekili Lojmanları* with its 400 triplex units as the second largest residential 'state neighbourhood' after the *Saraçoğlu Mahallesi* (*Saraçoğlu Neighbourhood*) of 434 residential units designed by Paul Bonatz in 1944 in order to accommodate government employees.¹⁶³ Although displaying different architectural features of the era within which they are constructed, only these two neighbourhoods of a residential project embody the characteristics of 'State Architecture' in Modern Turkish Architecture history.

4.1.4. Human Scale vs. Urban Scale: Generating a New Urban Fabric

Emre Altürk's unpublished thesis of *XXL, Metropolis as the Object of Architecture* offers a reassessment of "architectural design" within the contemporary

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Behruz Çinici, (2007) Behruz Çinici'den Mektup, *Mimarlık Dekorasyon*, 163, p. 43.

“metropolitan condition” with a cross-examination of Rem Koolhaas’s *Delirious New York* and OMA’s *Parc de la Villette*.¹⁶⁴ In this thesis, the initial sign of location of city as the object of architectural production is traced back to the early fifteenth century. To elaborate this assumption, Alberti’s humanist approach states that total harmony is achieved by manifesting the continuity between man, building and ultimately the city. In other words, human body is declared as setting the standards of building, which is regarded as analogous to the city. Altürk states that “the location of architecture in this body-house-city analogy opens up the conception of city as the ultimate object of architectural production.” Altürk illustrates that at the first instance, Alberti relates architecture to the house and not to the city. Here, architecture operates starting from the small scale to the larger scale. Therefore, the gradual process is initiated by the male body reaching to the city. Thus, Alberti’s work locates city against architecture, where both city and architecture operate on the ‘shared object’ the building. With regard to this attitude, the construction of the building and than ultimately the city rest on the human scale.

Çinici’s development of a neighbourhood model for a low-rise residential project celebrates similar aspirations as found in Alberti’s humanist position. In his article of *Bir Ustayı Anlamak... “Behruz Çinici”*, Murat Şahin defines the anatomy of Çinici’s architecture as determined by human, time, and space.¹⁶⁵ With regard to the first attribute of Çinici’s architectural conception, Şahin illustrates that all built environment not only is about humans but also contains human beings. Since human is regarded as an inseparable agency of its immediate setting, buildings constructed for humans must be in harmony with its surrounding.

¹⁶⁴ Emre Altürk, (2004) *XXL, Metropolis as the Object of Architecture*, unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU, p. iv.

¹⁶⁵ Murat Şahin, (2007) *Bir Ustayı Anlamak ... “Behruz Çinici”*, *Mimarlık Dekorasyon*, 4, p. 73. The anatomy of Çinici’s architecture is illustrated through the translation of passages from Şahin’s article by the author, himself.

Secondly, according to Çinici, time is seen as a continuum from past to future. Hence, Çinici does not relate to a specific architectural style. Instead, besides interpreting the precedent identities through his architecture, he can search for the future in his buildings. Thirdly, without a further definition, Çinici identifies space as symbolizing the infinity.

On the contrary to Alberti's humanist attitude, Rossi's proposition of analogous process initiates two kinds of transformation. One is the dislocation of place, the other dissolution of scale. Specifically, the latter kind of transformation enables the individual building to be analogous to the city without the reference to human scale. Hence, Rossi's construct of city is liberated from any scalar dimensions. However, in late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the importance of "scale" in architectural production within urban environment is introduced via Koolhaas's construction of the relation between architecture and urbanism. Following Koolhaas's introduction of "scale", this subtitle aims to understand *Park Oran Konutları's* urban scale replacing the human scale on which Çinici's conceptualization of a residential project is based.

As elaborated in the theoretical embodiment of this thesis, corresponding to the two forces conducted by "Bigness", the architectural conception of *Park Oran Konutları* can be regarded as becoming both most and least architectural. On the one hand, this project together with the twelve thirty-one floored high-rise and five seven-floored horizontal residential blocks becomes most architectural due to its enormous objects consisting of 1832 housing units. On the other hand, *Park Oran Konutları* becomes least architectural since it depends on agencies related to the construction of the project such as engineering services and contractor rather than architect's perception for such a residential project. Koolhaas manifests that since "Bigness is impersonal; the architect is no longer condemned to stardom." As a result of architecture's surrender to technical and economic aspects, the

architect is doomed to “realignment with neutrality”, in Koolhaas’s terms, to “a post-heroic status.”¹⁶⁶

4.1.5. Neighbourhood Model vs. Enclaved Setting: Creating Gated Communities

Tüzin Baycan Levent and Aliye Ahu Gülümser draw a general definition of “gated communities as physical privatized areas where outsiders and insiders exists.”¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, they state that “the gated communities are part of the trend of suburbanization that is based on the creation of self-contained, separate communities with carefully constructed identities.” They claim this basing on their characteristics as “they (1) represent the hope of security; (2) appeal to consumers searching for a sense of community and identity; (3) offer an important niche marketing strategy for developers in a competitive environment; (4) keep out the unwelcome; (5) often come associated with attractive amenities; and (6) increase property values.”¹⁶⁸

Behruz Çinici does not define his residential project of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* within the classifications of gated communities. Instead of creating a gated enclave, Çinici celebrates a neighbourhood model which tries to reproduce the notion of street. However, due to the safety of the deputies as the only inhabitants of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, two guarded entrances are introduced to the residential neighbourhood. After the control in these entrances, every citizen has the right to enter this neighbourhood of deputies.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Tüzin Baycan Levent and Aliye Ahu Gülümser, (2004) “Production and marketing of gated communities in Istanbul”, prepared for 44th European Congress of the European Regional Science Association, Regions and Fiscal Federalism, 25-29 August, p. 3. [Internet, WWW, PDF], Available in PDF format, Address: <http://www.ersa.org/ersaconfs/ersa04/PDF/525.pdf>. [Accessed: 21.05.2006].

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.



Figure 14 A photo of the attached triplex units in *Milletvekili Lojmanları*.
(From Çinici's archive.)

According to Levent and Gülümser's descriptions, the case study of the *Park Oran Konutları* represents "a gated community" of 2000s. More specifically, among the various types of gated communities as delineated by Levent and Gülümser, this residential project can be defined as an example of "a vertical gated development", which are "usually high-rise buildings located in the city center or near the CBD" and are "generally integrated with a shopping mall or office blocks" and "usually built for urban elites."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 6.



Figure 15 A rendered image of the gate to *Park Oran*.
(From the booklet of *Park Oran*.)

Park Oran Konutları with its twelve residential blocks of 31 floors and five horizontal residential buildings of seven storeys can be regarded as a combination of a “vertical gated community” and a “horizontal gated community” within the city center. However since almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of total residential units are housed within the twelve high-rise blocks, this residential project can be rather categorized as a “vertical gated community”. Assuming as constructing one of the highest buildings in Ankara to live in, the housing project of *Park Oran Konutları* celebrates living in a high-rise building by mottos such as “A supernatural life!”¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ This motto can be found on the web page of *Park Oran Konutları*. [Internet, WWW]. Address: www.parkoran.com. [Accessed: 14.06.2008]. Also, this motto is on the front cover of *Park Oran Konutları*'s brochure.

Although being in most possible proximity to the CBD, this project, identified as a vertical gated community, create a similar effect of detachment from the real urban life as the “horizontal gated communities” of villas in the suburb do. To illustrate, whereas the gated community in the suburb achieves this effect by being at a distance from the urban center and yet close enough to reach the city center by express ways in a short time these projects achieves a similar effect of detachment from the surrounding urban environment by its verticality.

4.1.6. Enclosure with Social Services vs. Enclosure with Amenities: Converting the Architectural Programme

Çinici’s residential project constructs neighbourhood based rather on community services with a socio-cultural infrastructure. Besides accommodation, the architectural programme aims to provide the inhabitants of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* with necessary services not only to bring them together in a social milieu but also to bless them with the urban spirit. Hence civic spirit is facilitated by Çinici’s reification of the architectural programme as a neighbourhood model with an interpretation of the street. Çinici’s vision to construct a neighbourhood with community relations can be regarded as corresponding to Howard’s aspirations of achieving at a means of superseding capitalism and creating a civilization based on cooperation.¹⁷¹ Howard attempted to embody these aspirations within the scope of Garden City concept. Howard proclaimed that “mankind was moving inevitably toward a new era of brotherhood, and the Garden City would be the only fitting environment for the humanity of the future.”¹⁷²

According to Koolhaas’s assessment of architectural *programmation* in the metropolitan context as elaborated in the theoretical background, the

¹⁷¹ Robert Fishman, (1994) p. 24.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 25.

architectural programme of a residential project can be regarded as one of these programmes developed in the twenty-first century. In addition to the apartment flats, the architectural programme of these projects generally includes social facilities such as outdoor and indoor sport activities, entertainment, shopping mall, restaurants, cafes, and garages. Specifically, the housing complex of *Park Oran Konutları* consists of 31-storied twelve towers and seven-storied five horizontal blocks of total housing units of 1832 which displace 23 different plan options for different client profiles. In addition to the housing towers, *Park Oran Konutları* offers indoor and outdoor facilities. On the one hand, the outdoor activities are executed within the extent of the landscaped left over space. On the other hand, the indoor facilities are housed by a separate building within the boundaries of this residential project. Furthermore, a shopping mall is constructed on the nearby plot which was reserved for recreational activities within a park before the partially selling procedure of the total site of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*. Although this neighbouring shopping mall is not directly included within the architectural programme of *Park Oran*, it provides the inhabitants of *Park Oran* with services such as entertainment, shopping, and eating and drinking in restaurant and cafes. Therefore, this shopping mall not only reifies its presence as an establishment of promoting the consumption of goods and services but also contributes to a redefinition of urban life.

In order to comprehend this redefinition of urban life where social activities are replaced by shopping, the arguments of Harvard Project are illustrated. The Harvard Design School Project on the City is regarded as an investigation of a series of issues related to the urban condition. This project is a pure research project conducted by thesis students who explore a specific subject each year. Through the investigation of this research group, shopping as an issue related to

urban mutations will be elaborated. Shopping is regarded as the last remaining form of public activity.

[...] shopping has been able to colonize even replace almost every aspect of urban life. [...] Unlike other mostly static programs, the transformations of shopping are endless. Constantly refashioned and repackaged, shopping will always find other vehicles by which to expand, and ultimately outlive, all other public activities. [...] Perhaps the end of the twentieth century will be remembered as the point where the city could no longer be understood without shopping.¹⁷³

4.1.7. Low Rise-Low Density vs. High Rise-High Density

Comparing *Milletvekili Lojmanları* as a low rise-low density neighbourhood with *Park Oran Konutları* as a high rise-high density residential project in terms of their social and physical infrastructure justifies whether the same urban environment at different densities is provided with the necessary social and physical networks. With this purpose, these two residential projects for the same urban landscape are compared in terms of the area reserved for socio-cultural facilities.

The architectural programme of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* contains modest socio-cultural units of a patisserie, a PTT (post, telegraph, and telephone) office, a banking office, an administration office, a hairdresser, a shop, a clubhouse, a small scale amphitheatre, a primary school, and a recreational area with open air sports facilities and a park. These socio-cultural units are linearly arranged along an arcade of an arc form on a lower platform. On the upper platform 400 triplex units are linearly clustered along the two sides of ten interior streets leading to the socio-cultural facilities which can be regarded as the focal point. This focal point with socio-cultural facilities provides inhabitants with a social milieu. This

¹⁷³ Harvard Project on the City, (2000) "Shopping," in Rem Koolhaas, Harvard Project on the City, Stefano Boeri, Multiplicity, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, *Mutations*, Bordeaux:L'ACTAR, pp. 125-127.

social milieu intends not only to endow the inhabitants with basic services such as shopping, banking, clubs, and primary education but also to bring its inhabitants together within a green landscape.

In *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, social milieu is constructed as a focal point on a lower level. However, during the expropriation process of the whole site of the *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, the area reserved for socio-cultural facilities is separately sold out to construct a shopping mall. Hence modest socio-cultural units of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* are replaced with a pretentious shopping mall. The construction of this ostentatious shopping mall in stead of preserving the recreational park justifies the emergence of consumption-based conceptualization of a socio-cultural network.

The human interaction with each other within a recreational park is substituted by an enclosed shopping mall where every interaction aims to facilitate consumption of not only products but also activities. Hence, what is left for the construction of 1832 housing units in *Park Oran Konutları* is the site of 400 triplex units. Considering the size of the area in *Milletvekili Lojmanları* retained for recreation of inhabitants in 400 housing units, the project of *Park Oran Konutları* does not offer such a separated area for recreation. Instead of this, *Park Oran Konutları* leaves the area between the vertical and horizontal blocks out for recreation through landscape design. The approach of attributing recreational activities to the left over spaces between the buildings via landscape design replaces the conscious attitude to construct community relations via an interpretation of a neighbourhood model. Furthermore, the indoor activities of the inhabitants in *Park Oran Konutları* are accommodated in a single building whose architectural project is not yet completed.

4.1.8. Site Plans and Plans of Flats:

Reproducing the Conventional Planimetric Outlines

Written as a critique of Çinici's residential project of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, Abdi Güzer discusses this project within the scope of design method and scrutinizes the design process of the prototype.¹⁷⁴ According to Güzer, the guiding principle of the deputy residence, designed by Behruz Çinici, is regarded as, firstly, developing a useful prototype and, then, establishing a residential district through repeating this prototype over and over. Design method is the pursued way within the process of alteration of the architectural quotations and the bringing these modified quotations together. In other words, design method is regarded in terms of how the architectural components are brought together and how the general framework holding these components together is constructed rather than how and which architectural elements are chosen. Thus, the prototype of Çinici incorporates quotations from Venturi alongside symbolic allusions to traditional Turkish residential architecture. However, Güzer avoids discussion of how "good" this prototype actually is. Instead, he draws attention to the neighbourhood scale which is formed through clustering these prototypes. Regarded as walls defining the urban space, these units are assessed in terms of their forming an urban void instead of their own qualities. Hence, open spaces proposing visual merits and lifestyles embody an important contribution into the design on an urban scale.

¹⁷⁴ Abdi Güzer, (1989) *Fevkalade + Fevkalade = Alelade*, *Mimarlık*, 2, pp. 42-43.



Figure 16 Site plan of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*. (From Çinici's archive.)

Güzer argues that in an era where discussions on housing question was intensified and the mass housing production increased, deputy residence plays a vital role in housing construction as a locomotive project. Nowadays, main drawback of the mass housing production constitutes the monotonous and characterless open spaces of the master plan designed through the repetition of the prototype. In such a context, what is expected from Çinici is an investigation of the meaningful structure produced through these “good” prototypes and, especially, a guidance proposal for an alternative of a different open space organization and different common life qualities. However, Güzer argues that the horizontal proliferation of these prestigious units can not suggest a different lifestyle than the one found in an ordinary apartment building.

After having introduced Güzer’s critique, the study continues with an elaboration of the master plan and the triplex unit. Situated along the Turan Güneş Boulevard near the METU’s forest, this residential project suggests a neighbourhood model with interior streets and green corridors. In terms of the site plan arrangement as displaced in the Figure 16, interior streets are arranged as radiating from the recreational park designed as a socio-cultural center. Two triplex residences attached to each other constitute a unit. Two or three of such units form a row house arrangement along these streets leaving branch road between the row house clusters.

In terms of the single triplex unit, the design decisions base on the interpretation of the architectural peculiarities of a traditional Turkish house. Comprehensively, one façade of this unit faces to the interior street, whereas the other façade opens up into the green landscape. The ground floor of the single triplex unit integrates to the landscape through the front and back gardens. Through the interior street one can enter to the garage or to the front garden which opens into an eyvan characterised as an elevated and roofed platform walled on three sides. Similarly,

the back garden opens into a porch serving as a covered enclosed entrance to the guest room on the ground floor. With regard to this plan arrangement, the ground floor of each triplex unit displays the characteristics of a specific plan type with outer or open sofas utilizing projections and eyvans. These open sofas either as a porch or as an eyvan open to the semi-public garden which is separated from the street through a wall.

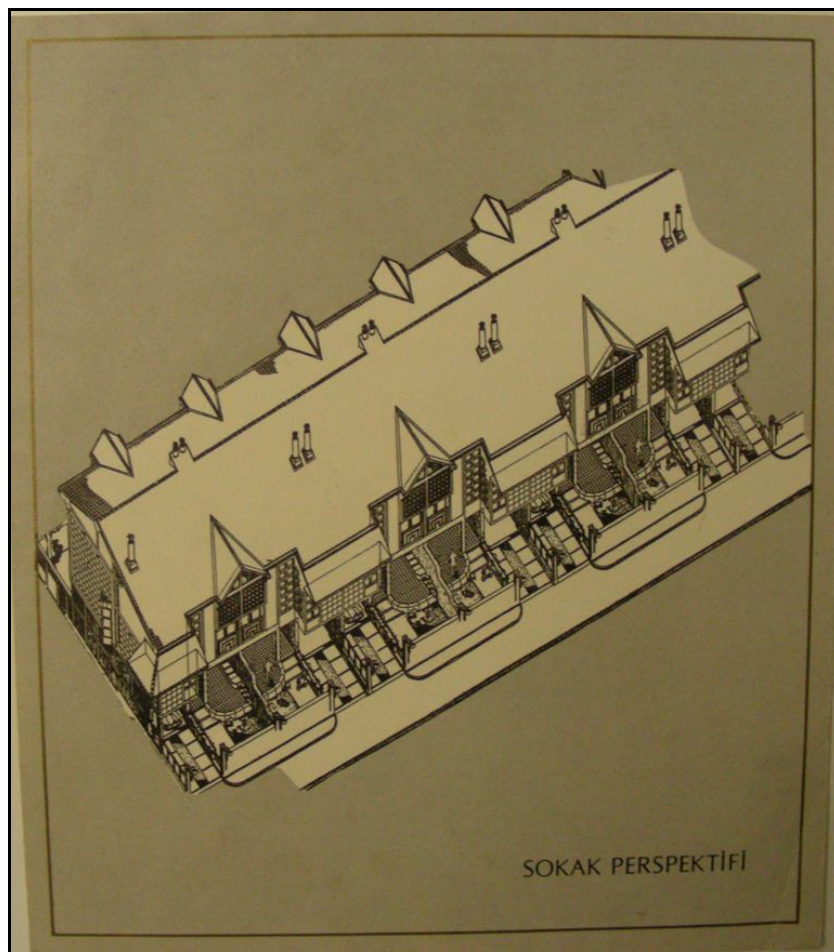


Figure 17 Street perspective.
(Booklet of TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları Sitesi Temel Atma Töreni, 1984)

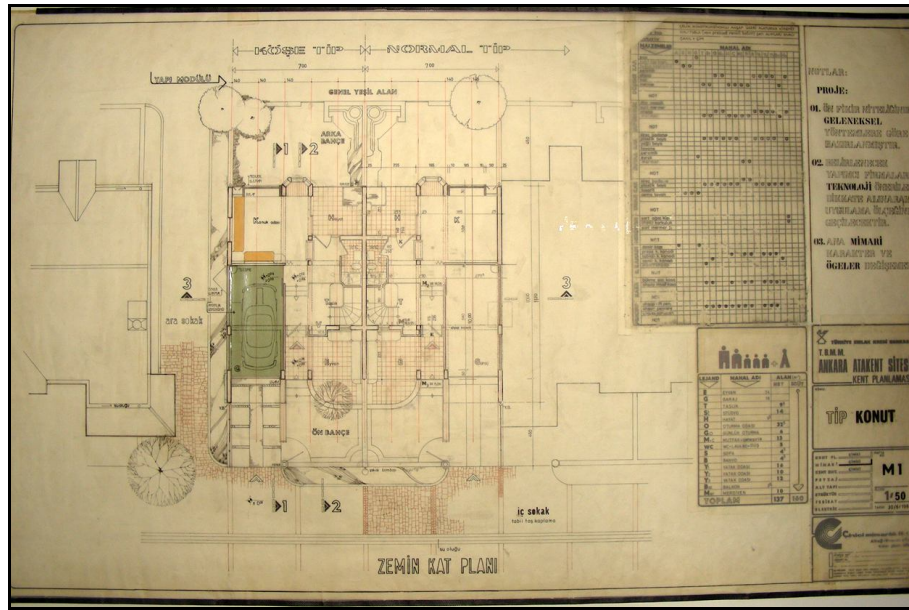


Figure 18 Ground floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.)

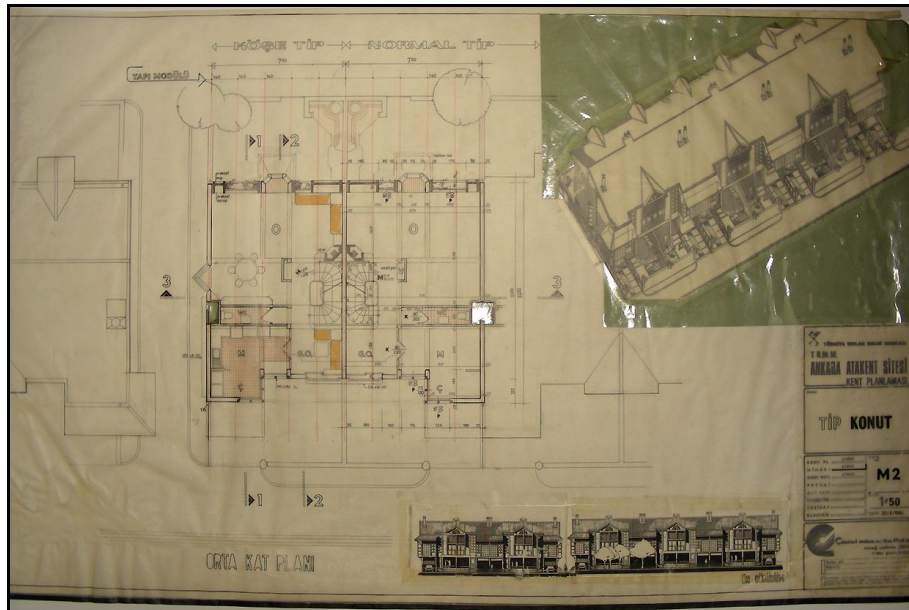


Figure 19 First floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.)

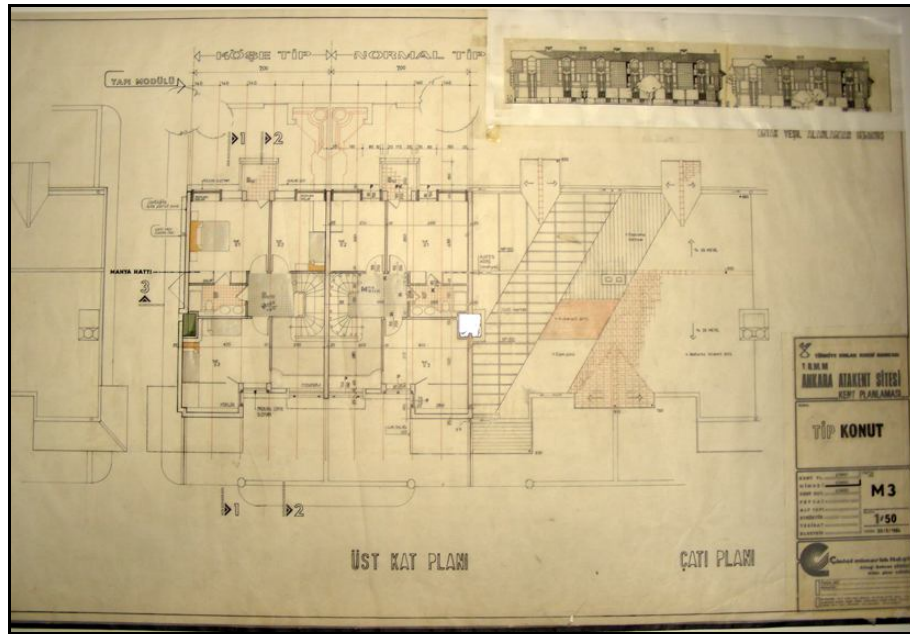


Figure 20 Second floor plan of the triplex unit. (From Çinici's archive.)

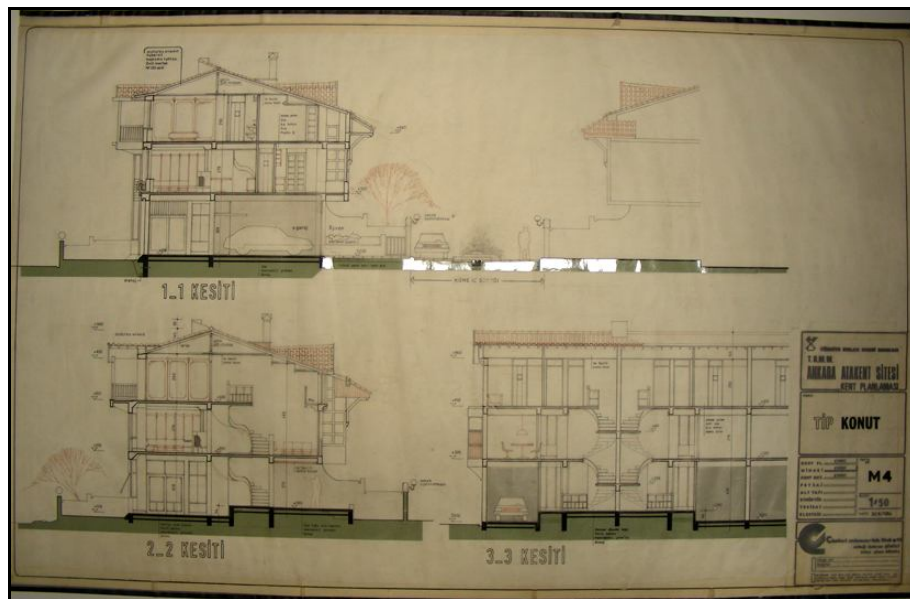


Figure 21 Section 1-1, 2-2, 3-3 of the triplex units. (From Çinici's archive.)

According to the Sedad Hakkı Eldem's classification of the Turkish house plan types as outer sofa, inner sofa and central sofa types, the ground floor of the deputy residence incorporates an outer sofa exposed to the outside world as a reflection of the Turkish way of life with very intimate relations with nature and the transition from the nomadic life in tents to permanent settlements. According to Eldem's description, in good weather and especially in summer the sofa is regarded as an intense living and production area. Moreover, the entrance hall paved with stones serves as a connection between the eyvan and the garage on the front façade and the porch on the rear façade with the first floor.

As it is the case in the traditional Turkish house, the first floor is served for living, dining, and cooking activities. Hence, the staircase in the entrance hall leads to the first floor containing the main gathering spaces such as a kitchen with a breakfast corner, and a living room integrated with a lounge corner around the fireplace and a dining space. Furthermore, the staircase leads to the centrally arranged sofa on the second floor. Similar to the plan arrangement of the rooms around a sofa in Turkish house; master bedroom, two bedrooms, a restroom, and an enclosed balcony open up to such a sofa on the second storey. According to Eldem's categorization, the plan layout of the second floor displays a plan arrangement with an inner sofa types.

This type of plan arrangement was implemented due to the population increase in cities resulting in smaller plots with higher values. Consequently, this led to a more dense and inward plan arrangement which can be regarded as a compact plan outline eliminating corridors and, thus, leading to some economy. To sum up, it can be argued that the architectural peculiarities of the triplex housing unit bless the occupants with an interactive relation with the green landscape through the introduction of open sofas as an eyvan and a porch on the ground floor. This

ground floor functions as a semi-public area which not only opens up to greenery but also welcomes guests of deputies.

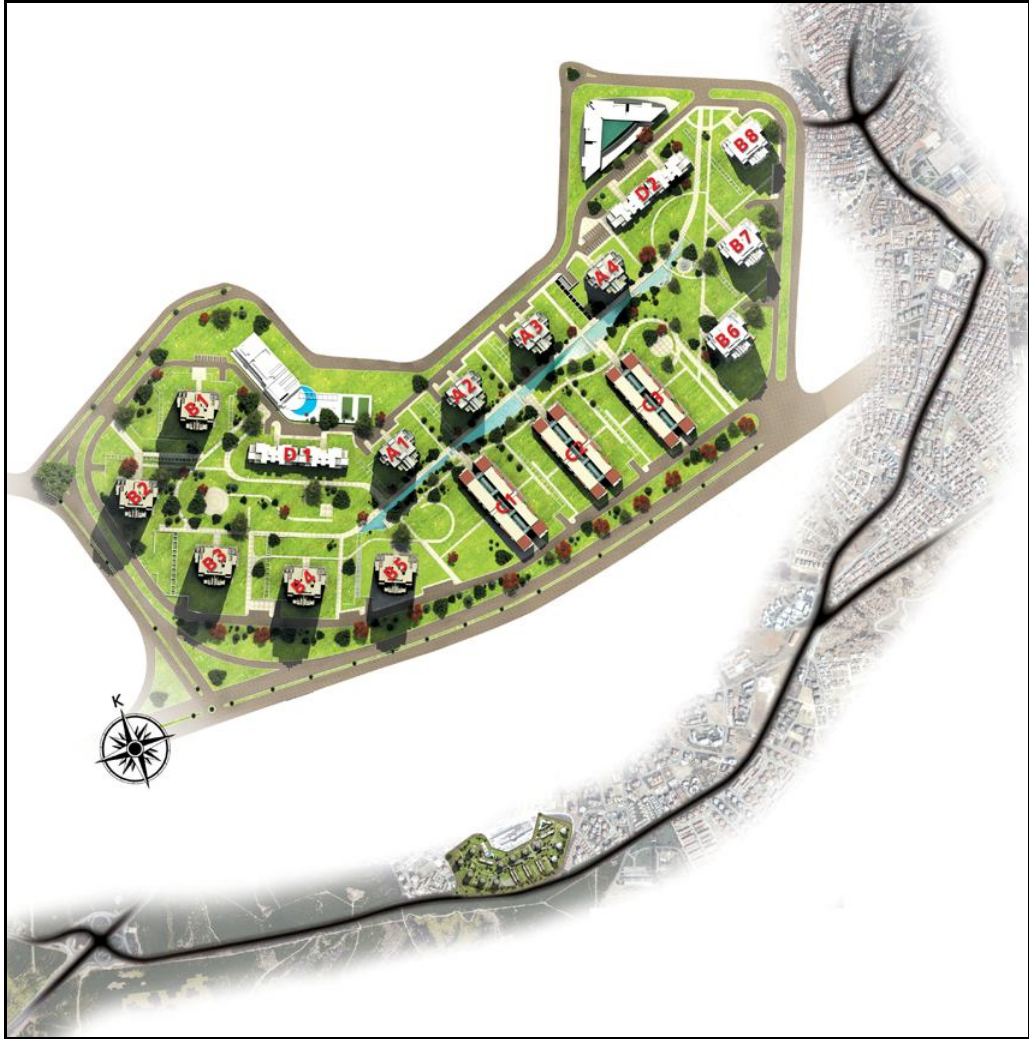


Figure 22 Site plan of *Park Oran Konutları*.

As having described the site plan and the planimetric outlines of the triplex unit of Çinici's design for *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, this part of the study proceeds to the development of master plan and to the arrangement of various plans for the flats

in *Park Oran Konutları*. When coming to terms with the arrangement of the site plan, one recognizes easily the familiar scheme developed for the site plans in Turkey since 1980s. To elaborate, the master plan of the twelve vertical blocks and five horizontal blocks displays similar characters of a conventional cooperative development, where the single blocks are located along the most outer boundary of the site.

In the case of *Park Oran Konutları*, as shown in the Figure 22, the boundary of the site is defined by an interior vehicular street, which is enclosed from the main traffic roads by a narrow green strip. This vehicular street contributes to the project's introverted concept for further segregation of the site from its urban surroundings. However, the placement of these residential blocks with a height of 31 floors along this vehicular street on the most outer boundary does not leave enough distance from the sidewalks. Considering the height of these blocks, they should have been positioned on a further distance to the public sidewalks.

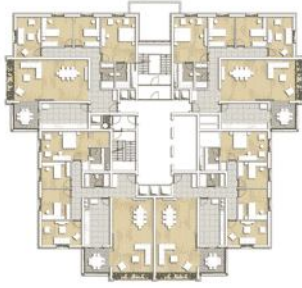
Since the developers make use of the most known construction technology in Turkey, namely the reinforced concrete construction with tunnel formwork, for erecting the towers they cannot escape from the inevitable outcome of the familiar plan layout of apartment blocks. As a result they define their flats with the conventional use of definitions employed for apartment flats such as (1+1) Flat, (2+1) Flat, (3+1) Flat, (4+1) Flat, (5+1) Flat, (6+1) Duplex. In stead of constructing this "new world" through architectural innovation of a construction technique and of a new plan organization, the assumed "new world" is rather constructed through smart home technology.

In the example of *Park Oran Konutları*, the planimetric configuration for the flats differs with regard to the vertical and horizontal blocks. Furthermore, within the vertical and horizontal blocks there are two different building types. To illustrate,

there are two different high-rise building, named as A and B and two different low-rise building, named as C and D. There are four A-type, eight B-type vertical buildings, and three C-type and two D-type horizontal buildings. In total, the residential project consists of seventeen buildings of four different types for accommodation and one building for socio-cultural facilities.

First of all, as illustrated in the Figure 23 and 24, each of A-type and B-type high-rise blocks consists of 7 different plan arrangements for 116 and 118 flats, respectively. Although the plan variations for (3+1) Flat and for (4+1) Flat in both A-type and B-type blocks slightly differ from other, these variations are very similar to the mass produced apartment flats where the front door opens up into the vestibule through which one can enter into the living room and the kitchen. The vestibule leads to a narrow corridor which further leads into either three or four rooms respectively while connecting the main bathroom. All master bedrooms have their own bathroom, which is one of the characteristics that differ from the conventional apartment flats.

As shown in the Figure 23, the planimetric configuration of (1+1) Flat and (2+1) Flat in A-type vertical block offers an alternative plan layout where open kitchen plan together with a dining and living is preferred. In the (1+1) Flat, the entry opens into the kitchen-dining-living room, the room, the bathroom, and into a small vestibule. On the contrary, in the (2+1) Flat, the front door directly opens into the kitchen-dining-living room. From this main living space one can enter into two rooms, one bathroom, the balcony, and to a narrow flower balcony.



2-26 Floor Plan



4+1 Flat Plans on the 2-26 Floors



27-29 Floor Plan



3+1 Flat Plans on the 27-29 Floors



6+1 Duplex Flat Plan of 31-32 Floors



3+1 Flat Plan on the G-11 Floors



4+1 Flat Plan on the G-1 Floors

Figure 24 Floor plans of B-type block in *Park Oran Konutları*.

The two types of plan layout of (6+1) Flat in A-type buildings display a similar configuration. The only difference in the plan configuration is that on the lower level the (6+1) Flat has two more small balconies to which bedrooms opens. Generally, the entrance directly opens up into a vestibule, a WC, and into the saloon from which one can penetrate into the two balconies on the left and right. Through these balconies saloon is connected to the kitchen and to the living room. Moreover, front façade of the saloon opens into a narrow flower balcony. Two corridors leading from the entry opens, on the right side, into the master bedroom, a room, and into the kitchen; and, on the left side, into two bedrooms, a living room, a main bathroom, and a laundry room on the left side.

As seen in the Figure 23 and 24, on 30th and 31st stories as the highest level, there are two triplex units of a plan arrangement for a (5+1) Duplex Flat in A-type buildings and a (6+1) Duplex Flat in B-type buildings. With minor differences, both plan arrangements can be illustrated in that the entrance opens through a passage into the kitchen, the grand living-dining space, two bedrooms one of which with its own dressing room and bathroom, and into the main bathroom. Grand living room and the kitchen opens to a flower balcony of almost 10 m². Moreover, the grand living room opens into a wooden decked terrace which further leads to a flower terrace. On this ground floor of the duplex units, even along the façade of the master bed room and the bedroom, there are narrow flower balconies. On the upper floor of the duplex unit in A-type block, the staircase opens into a hallway from which one can enter to a half wooden-decked and half flower terrace, to the master bedroom with its own dressing and grand bathroom with a Jacuzzi. This hallway further leads to two bedrooms, bathroom, and a laundry room. Master bedroom opens on the outside to a decked terrace which further leads to a flower terrace.

Similarly on the upper floor of the duplex unit in B-type building, the staircase leads to a hallway from which one can enter to the master bedroom with its dressing room, a grand bathroom with Jacuzzi, and a terrace. The hallway connects to a narrow corridor which opens into three bed rooms with flower balconies, a bathroom, and a laundry room. What is particular in the plan variations is the introduction of terraces and flower balconies and flower terraces especially on in the duplex units. In terms of the ratio of terraces and balconies to the total ground floor area, approximately 25 % of the total floor area of the (5+1) and (6+1) Duplex units serve either as a terrace or as a flower garden.

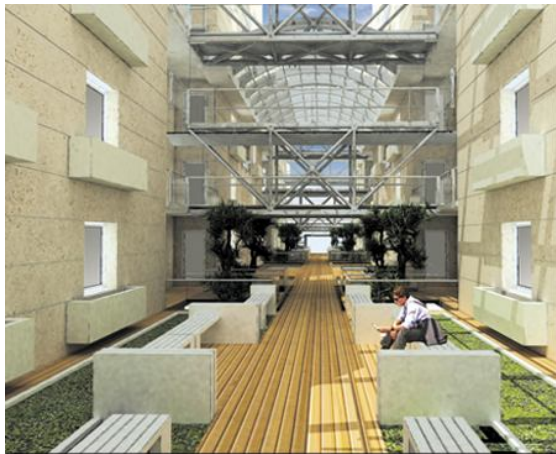
C-Type seven-storied horizontal block offers a different configuration of floor plans as shown in the Figure 25. In terms of the plan configuration of a single floor, one single storey of this horizontal block accommodates 16 flats divided into two groups of eight living units facing a foyer. On the ground floor and on the third floor, a foyer arranged as an interior street functions as an entrance to these two linearly attached eight flats on both side of the foyer. From these foyers the inhabitants can arrive at their flats on the upper floors through four staircases on the one side. One staircase only leads to two flats. On each upper story, four bridges over the foyer connect these four staircases with the two flats on the opposite side. Hence, one staircase functions as a vertical connection to four living units on one floor, whereas, the bridge functions as a horizontal connection to the two flats on the opposite side.

In terms of the individual plan variations of the flats, the C-type horizontal building offers five alternative plans. However, there are mainly two different alternatives such as (1+1) Flat and (2+1) Flat as seen in the Figure 25. All of these variations for these flat types make use of an open kitchen plan together with a living-dining space. In addition to the living-dining-kitchen space, two variations of (1+1) Flat has a bedroom and a bathroom, whereas, three variations of (2+1)

has two bedrooms and a bathroom. These options of (1+1) and (2+1) Flats can be regarded as accommodating the single business man or woman working in the nearby CBD.

With regard to the fourth building type as shown in the Figure 25, D-type blocks consists of seven stories with four attached (5+1) Flats on each floor. Each of the two staircases functions as a vertical connection to two flats on each storey. Similar to the plan arrangements of (3+1) and (4+1) Flat, the main entrance of (5+1) Flat opens up into the living room, kitchen, a WC, and a guest room with its own bathroom. A corridor connects this main entrance with three bedrooms, a main bathroom, and a master bedroom with its own dressing room and a bathroom. As it is the case in the high-rise blocks, the living room and the kitchen opens on the outside to a balcony and to a flower balcony.

Although, the brochure of the *Park Oran Konutları* thoroughly illustrates the variations in the plan for different flat types, it lacks images of the socio-cultural units where the inhabitants are meant to spend time with indoor and outdoor facilities. Although the booklet lists the content of recreational services such as cafes, multipurpose sports areas, shopping center, playing grounds, swimming pool, kid's swimming pool, fitness, and a promenade with an announces of "In the nature of Park Oran there is life, in the nature of life there is motion", the booklet does not display neither planimetric images nor rendered images. With that regard, since the reification of these facilities within the architectural framework is not extensively illustrated, the offered socio-cultural infrastructure is questionable.



5+1 Flat Plan in D-Type Block



Floor Plan of D-Type Block



Floor Plan of C-Type Block



2+1 Flat Plans



1+1 Flat Plans



Figure 25 Floor plans and flat plans of C-type and D-type block. On Left: Rendered image of the interior corridor of C-type block. On right: Rendered image of the living room in D-type block, playground in front of the C-type building, and C-type blocks together with the high-rise blocks in background.

4.1.9. Horizontal Residences vs. Vertical Blocks: Changing the Skyline

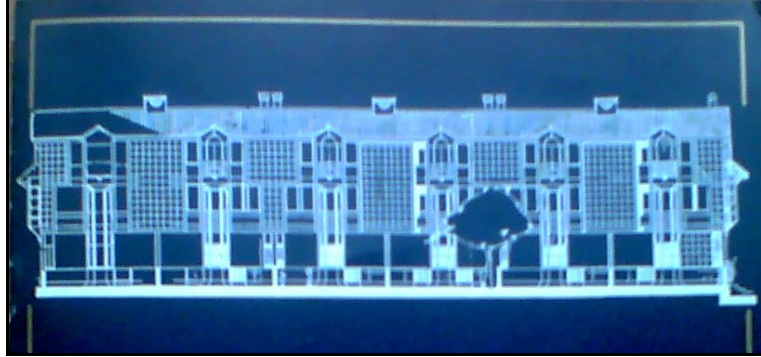


Figure 26 An image displaying horizontal silhouette of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*.
(Booklet of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları Sitesi Temel Atma Töreni*, 1984)



Figure 27 A rendered image displaying the vertical skyline of *Park Oran*.
(From the web page of *Park Oran*. Address: www.parkoran.com)

The change of the urban fabric from a low-rise arrangement of triplex units to towers leaving spaces around it results in a shift in the verticality of the city. Hence the homogenous skyline of conventional apartments of Ankara changes with the introduction of these residential towers. However, the change in Ankara's skyline from a homogenous horizontal one to a heterogeneous one with vertical blocks within the low-rise building pattern is aimed to be rationalized by Lefebvre's understanding of "the arrogant verticality of skyscrapers" as "an impression of authority to each spectator." Lefebvre argues that the purpose of the verticality and great height conveys "the spatial expression of potentially violent power."¹⁷⁵

4.1.10. Building Systems and Construction Techniques:

Pursuing Traditional Methods

With respect to the fact that such contemporary residential developments claim to incorporate a different architectural programme for accommodation with facilities and services, one would expect to face with innovative construction techniques that might have given rise to new plan layouts. However, this is not the case in *Park Oran Konutları*. Embodiment of this contemporary architectural programme continues to rely on the conventional construction techniques such as tunnel formwork and reinforced concrete construction methods. Instead of utilizing architectural innovations of a different construction technique such as steel construction and of a new floor plan organization, these projects give importance on smart home technology which provides an invisible comfort through mechanical and electronic infrastructure such as sound and heat insulation, air-conditioning system, natural gas system with an earthquake sensor, full capacity generator able to meet all the electricity needs of inhabitants,

¹⁷⁵ Henri Lefebvre, (1991) p. 98.

video intercom and network system, home theatre infrastructure, more than one telephone lines in each flat, and wireless internet line.

4.2. Urban Lifestyle Domain

The urban lifestyle as the second domain of the case study attempts to present the outlines of the relation between architectural setting and the way of living with regard to inhabitants' affiliations in an urban setting. The theoretical framework of "urban lifestyle" as drawn within the body of the second chapter provides a theoretical lens through which to begin to establish this relationship between architecture and "urban lifestyle." Although the aspirations of the occupants in *Park Oran* can be deciphered according to a study conducted after the completion of its construction, this domain aims at an understanding the kind of urban way of life the residential projects similar to *Park Oran* construct. This understanding can be established through an interpretation of planimetric outlines of the living environment together with the content of the architectural programme. With this aim, the lifestyle domain is comprised of themes such as (1) Globalizing Bureaucratic Class vs. Transnational Urban Elites: Legitimizing Social Segregation, (2) "A World" of Inexperienced: Stimulating the Consumer Culture (3) The Needed Security: Emerging Defensive Life Style.

4.2.1. Globalizing Bureaucratic Class vs. Transnational Urban Elites: Legitimizing Social Segregation

Leslie Sklair conceptualizes the transnational capitalist class in terms of the four fractions such as corporate, state, technical, and consumerist fraction. Sklair focuses on the specific role of each of the four fractions of the transnational capitalist class related to architecture in globalizing or world cities. Firstly, according to Sklair, the corporate fraction is defined as "either owing or controlling the major transnational corporations with their local affiliates".

Secondly, state fraction is defined as “composed of globalizing politicians and bureaucrats at all levels of administrative power and responsibility for regulating the built environment.” In depth, Sklair categorizes the state fraction of the transnational capitalist class in architecture into two groups with two sets of institutions. “First, there are globalizing state bureaucrats and politicians in official agencies who promote, award, permit or refuse contracts for important national or subnational, usually urban, projects in global competition. Secondly, there are interstate and transnational bureaucrats and politicians who do the same for projects that are marketed as sites and buildings with genuinely global significance, notably the World Heritage Site system of UNESCO.” Furthermore Sklair states that “in all these cases local and national politicians and bureaucrats combine with indigenous and transnational commercial interests and architects to create urban coalitions with a preference for tall, spectacular iconic buildings to attract foreign investment and visitors with money to spend.”

The technical fraction as the third group consists of globalizing professionals centrally involved in well functioning of capitalist system through the structural features and services such as finance, accounting, and management. With regard to the fourth group, “the consumerist fraction of transnational capitalist class in architecture consists of those who use their control of and access to the commercial sector and the media to promote the idea of contemporary architecture as a transnational practice in the realm of culture-ideology. In this fraction we find retailers with an interest in architecture and signature architects as a means of globalizing the appeal of their own businesses as well as those who control those parts of the media who see commercial opportunities in the promotion of signature architects and the use of iconic buildings.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Leslie Sklair, (2005) *The Transnational Capitalist Class and Contemporary Architecture in Globalizing Cities*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29 (3), pp. 485-500.

Sklair's categorization of the transnational capitalist class into the four groups helps to identify which class is housed by *Milletvekili Lojmanları* and *Park Oran Konutları*. Since *Milletvekili Lojmanları* is constructed to meet the housing demand of deputies of the Turkish state, it can be argued, in Sklair's terms, that the state fraction is the only class accommodated by *Milletvekili Lojmanları*. As Sklair further divides the state fraction into the two groups, the occupants in deputy residences can be identified as state bureaucrats and politicians in official agencies. With regard to *Park Oran*, this project can be argued as housing the transnational urban elites, in Sklair terms, the four fractions of the transnational capitalist class consisting of corporate, state, technical, and consumerist fraction.

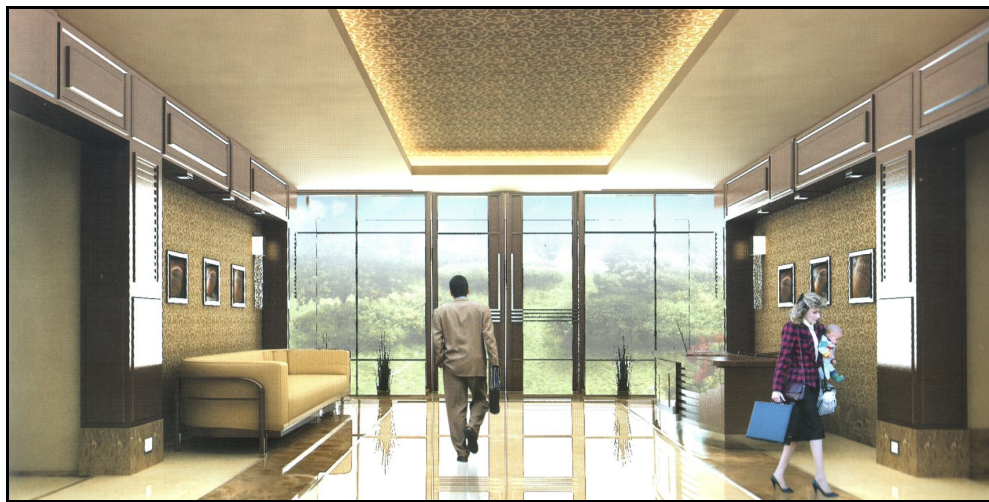


Figure 28 A rendered image of the entrance of the high-rise blocks in *Park Oran Konutları*. (From Booklet of *Park Oran Konutları*)

4.2.2. "A World" of Inexperienced: Stimulating the Consumer Culture

According to Harvey's elaboration as in the following quotation, it can be argued that the architectural programme of this new living environments seeks to

construct a community from a lifestyle perspective which promotes a “new world” in terms of the signs and symbols of prestige, status, and power.

For more than a generation, demand-size urbanization had focused heavily on life-style, the construction of community, and the organization of social space in terms of the signs and symbols of prestige, status, and power. It had also produced an ever broadening basis for participation in such consumerism. [...] The mass consumption of the 1960s was transformed into the less mass-based but more discriminating consumption of the late 1970s and 1980s. Interurban competition for that consumption dollar can be fierce and costly. Investments that make for a “good living environment” and that enhance the so-called qualities of life do not come cheap. [...] The construction of totally new living environments (gentrification, retirement communities, and integrated “villages in the city”) fits into such a program.¹⁷⁷

In this vein, the residential projects, specifically the ones similar to *Park Oran*, construct an appropriate image of a world which would fit the well-paid society of professionals and specialists working in the nearby offices in Central Business District (CBD). Such construction of the proper image can be regarded, as Öncü illustrates invoking Barthes, as “a realm of myth-making” through which the consumer culture operates. According to such an argument, “a culture of consumption would mean, in this sense, a culture wherein goods become the embodiment of desires, dreams, and emotions; wherein subjective experiences of love, excitement, cleanliness, pleasure or freedom are objectified in goods.”¹⁷⁸ For example, owning a flat in one of these projects not only denotes “a new world” but also connotes freedom and belonging to a group of urban elites.

Furthermore, Öncü state that “such ‘mythical’ properties of goods, generated in the lexicon of particular societies, classes and sub-groups, are universalized in

¹⁷⁷ David Harvey, (1989) *The Urban Experience*, The John Hopkins University Press, p. 47.

¹⁷⁸ Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland, (1997) p. 59.

contemporary global culture, and come to operate as myths in a diversity of 'local' contexts. Contemporary advertising and audio visual media are the institutional contexts of this 'myth-making' process."¹⁷⁹ The way these projects are promoted by the new marketing strategies is closely related to this 'myth-making' process. The assumed "a totally new world" mediates through advertisings on television and on print media using the rendered three-dimensional images montaged with photographs of realities. Since, in most cases, the sale of flats starts either before construction or during the construction it needs images and models in order to convey project's constructed world to the clients in the showroom of the developer or on the web page.

Another contemporary marketing strategy of such projects is turning of the sale activity into a "spectacle" where buyers are informed or persuaded in week-end barbecues by images and models. Guy Debord defines "spectacle" not as a collection of images but as a social relation between people that is mediated by images. Moreover, Debord summarizes "the spectacle" as being "*capital* accumulated to the point that it becomes images."¹⁸⁰

4.2.3. The Needed Security: Emerging Defensive Life Style

With regard to the literature on the restructuring of scale, the emerging defensive life style can be understood via Taylor Owen's "theoretical implication of the spatial shift implicit in the concept of human security."¹⁸¹ Owen explores the relation of the question of scale to human security. With regard to this relation, the implicit rescaling of security in the human security discourse is

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Guy Debord, (1995) *The Society of the Spectacle*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, (trans.) first published in 1967, New York: Zone Books, p. 24.

¹⁸¹ Taylor Owen, Spaces of Insecurity: Conceptual ,Definitional and Empirical Notes on The Re-Scaling of Human Vulnerability, published by *Human Security and Cities*. [Internet, WWW, PDF], Available in PDF Format, Address: http://humansecuritycities.org/sites/hscities/files/Owen_T_Spaces_of_Insecurity.pdf, [Accessed: 14.06.2008].

framed by using an emerging debate within the critical social science on the importance of scale. Specifically, Owen briefly discusses “the context and history of the scale debate, addresses the challenges posed by de-territorializing the security discourse from the state, introduces the concept of scalar restructuring, and discusses the implications of viewing urban human security through a scalar lens” as in the following passage:

While the national boundary has long been the dominant scale at which political and economic processes have been both regulated and understood, increasingly the supra-national (international organizations) and sub-national (devolution of state power) levels are of equal, if not at times greater importance. [...] This rescaling, or deterritorialization, of the state, however, implies more than simply the referential shift that much of the human security discourse acknowledges. With power devolved from the state, a new space of governance and economic activity has emerged, the geographical consequence of which is the “unbundling” the link between sovereignty and territoriality.¹⁸²

With regard to this emerging debate within the critical social sciences identified as scale question, Owen emphasizes that “scale is not simply resolution, but rather is multidimensional, with driving factors in the global economy, international and national governance, social imbalance, environmental conditions, etc.” Furthermore, Owen states that “while human security rightly shifts the spatial referent of security down from the state, we must realize that this new level of security is affected by a very wide range of factors.”¹⁸³ Parallel to Owen’s conceptualization of human security via the scalar lens, on sub-national level, the gated communities as *Park Oran Konutları* exemplify the shift in human security provision from state-based systems to corporate agencies. Hence, the question of scale, in Lefebvre’s terms, “inserts itself at the outset of the analysis of

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 15.

texts and the interpretation of events.” Therefore the choice of scale also has a particular importance in the case of *Park Oran* where the manifestation of the defensive lifestyle is accounted by the conceptualization of restructuring of the human security as a result of the current round of re-scaling processes.



Figure 29 A page in the booklet of *Park Oran Konutları* headlined as “In the nature of Park Oran, there is security; in the nature of security, there is peace.”

This defensive lifestyle is constructed around the hope of a secure environment, which enables security against the disorder and crowds of the city. Promising a defensive lifestyle manifests in the design of high rise residential developments where private agencies carry out the security regulations 24 hours a day. Hence these developments tend to exclude the “dangerous” urban surrounding by turning inward. Furthermore, as advertised in the Figure 29, the desired secure environment is provided by mechanical and electronic infrastructure such as fire alarm, natural gas detector, video and voice intercom system, and indoor and outdoor surveillance cameras.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed at the rationalization of the emergence of the high rise – high density residential programmes which not only initiate a re-shaping of the physical form of the city of Ankara, but also indicate the emergence of an advent citizenship formation. Within the limitations of thesis's aim, the discussions on the "scale" operate as a theoretical frame in order to appreciate the architectural milieu of the advent residential programme together with its inhabitants. Hence this thesis have presented Brenner's analytical insight of the processes of re-scaling of scalar structures as a fundamental theoretical lens through which to grasp the currently unfolding wave of worldwide capitalist re-structuring in the urban territorial configuration and urban citizen.

In order to attain at Brenner's theoretical basis of re-scaling processes the concept of "scale" is embodied by a superposition of Harvey's notion of "spatial fix" and his discussions on "hierarchical arrangements" with Lefebvre's elaboration of the "scale question" and his notion of "superimposition and interpenetration of social spaces". Harvey identifies the capital's "spatial fix" as "the provisionally stabilized, geographically fixed configurations of territorial organization that emerge through this dynamic of continual de- and reterritorialization." Furthermore, this deployment of "spatial fix" in "a broader multiscalar sense to describe various overlapping forms of territorial organization that encompass all circuits of capital and multiple intertwined geographical scales" celebrates Harvey's discussions of "hierarchical arrangements". With regard to Lefebvre's

theoretical perspective upon the “scale question”, on the one hand, the notion of “scale” is appreciated “as the geographical imprints of capital's moment of territorialization,” on the other hand; it is regarded “as sites of differential forms of capitalist territorial organization.” This binary characteristic of the spatial scales is conceptualized as *boundaries* and as *hierarchies* of social relations.”¹⁸⁴

Although the discussions on the process of re-structuring rather concentrates on the scalar structures both of cities and of territorial states from a politic-economic framework, this dissertation has emphasized the process of re-scaling not only of the cities but also the citizens as the two “scalar fixes” from the perspective of space production. Hence, the fourth has intended to scrutinize the projects of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* and *Park Oran Konutları* with regard to two domains: *urban architecture* and *lifestyle*. Urban architecture as the first domain aims not only to compare the architectural quality of these two projects but also to identify their architectural references to the surrounding urban nature. Furthermore, second domain of lifestyle compares the two different ways of life constructed by different architectural conceptions of these two residential projects. In doing these, the comparison of the two residential projects of *TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları* and *Park Oran Konutları* intends to establish a correlation of “urban architecture” and “lifestyle” as the two domains of the case study with the process of re-scaling of the urban territoriality and urban citizen as the two scalar fixes embodied within the theoretical assessment of the second chapter of this thesis.

In order to identify the type of the architectural outcome as a result of the re-scaling process of scalar structures, the two housing projects are identified with respect to the relation of architecture to urbanism and to lifestyle. On the one

¹⁸⁴ Neil Brenner, (1998) p. 466.

hand, this study has dealt with the relation of architecture to urbanism while considering the process of re-scaling of the city, on the other hand, it has aimed to introduce the relation of architecture to lifestyle by introducing the formation of the emerging transnational capitalist class as one of the new citizenship forms of the current round of the global capitalism.

Parallel to the re-scaling scalar structures such as urban environments from architectural point of view and the state from economic-political perspective, the notion of nation-state based citizenship is restructured into new citizenship formations. In order to elaborate, this thesis has conceptualized the re-scaling of citizenship. Thereafter, as a result of the re-scaling of the citizenship and related practices, emerging “urban lifestyles” in the post-1980 era is defined. Finally, the theoretical framework establishes “urban lifestyles” from urban territorial perspective. Hence, the theoretical framework regarding the citizenship and urban lifestyle has also endeavoured to identify the emerging urban elites as one of the advent citizenship formations under the influence of the current round of re-scaling processes.

The focus on a single case of urban transformation from a low rise – low density housing pattern of the *Milletvekili Lojmanları* to a high rise – high density housing scheme of *Park Oran* does not aim to personify this specific project. Instead of this, this thesis aims to account for present urban transformations within Ankara’s urban context via giving a historical account of a specific case in which the role of governmental and private agencies is deciphered. Furthermore the comparison of these two residential projects on urban architecture and urban lifestyle level aims to elaborate the architectural embodiment and the introduced lifestyle by such a transformation.

In order to establish a relation of the urban transformation in the specific case with the one in the surrounding district, it is necessary to evaluate the site of the case study within the district of OR-AN. Almost over one third of the site of *Milletvekili Lojmanları* was owned by OR-AN Building Company whose aim was to establish a new settlement from scratch 10 km away from *Kızılay* as the city center of Ankara. In order to construct *Milletvekili Lojmanları* the plots owned by OR-AN Building Company were expropriated. Hence, giving historical account regarding the construction and destruction of *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, and construction of *Park Oran Konutları* on the edge of the OR-AN district can be regarded as the contemporary stage of the urban transformations initiated by the residential development tendencies of OR-AN development. Hence similar stages of the urban transformation regarding the OR-AN district can be observed in different districts of Ankara Metropolitan Area.

Established in 1968, OR-AN Building Company aimed to construct a new settlement out of the city for a population of 30.000 people on the south slope of Mountain *Çaldağı*. The selection of the site was made regarding the criteria such as accessibility, air conditioning, topography, and scenery. OR-AN Building Company not only conceptualized the built environment together with its technical and social infrastructure but also aimed to construct a new community with a proposal of a new lifestyle. The beginning of the building activity was 1970 and the first stage would be finished in 1971 with 800 dwellings. Moreover, the whole community was planned to be finished in 1978 with 7000 dwellings. Actually, the development of the west district as the first stage comprised of 1758 dwellings for a population of 7000 people on 28.6 hectare area. However, OR-AN Building Company managed to construct and sell 701 dwellings 74 % of which are dwellings in four storied blocks and the remaining dwellings are in eight storied blocks in the center. The units in the four storied blocks and the units in

the eight storied blocks were built and sold between 1973 and 1977 and between 1981 and 1983, respectively. Consequently, the company has achieved only 40 % of its target for the west district.¹⁸⁵

The failure of the OR-AN Building Company lies in his mismanagement of a profit maximizing firm in order to finance its future production with the accumulation. Hence in order to pay back its debts to the other constructors and to continue to operate at the housing market the company had to sell some of its land. The selling off the land marked the beginning of the speculative tendencies of the district. Due to the change in the land ownership and in the building rights, the company lost the control over the district and architectural and urban design decision of OR-AN district lost its unity. As a result of parcel based individual constructions the continuity of the OR-AN development was lost which displays a similar tendency as seen in the city where the urban landscape is divided into parcel for individual constructions. Hence, the integrity which had been planned initially has been totally disappeared and the district had faced with new developments.

At the periphery the National Assembly Housing Settlement area for the deputies can be regarded as one of these new developments. Moreover along the Turan Güneş Boulevard Government Housing Settlement District for the officials of National Assembly, and Ministry of Resettlement and Public Affairs employees' cooperatives are the further developments adjacent to OR-AN. These housing developments along the Turan Güneş Boulevard together with the OR-AN settlements contributed to the development of the Turan Güneş Boulevard as a prestigious axis. Connecting *Kızılay* the city center of Ankara with *Çankaya*

¹⁸⁵ For more information see Büyükaltıntaş, A. H. (1985) *Peripheral Development of Residential Areas in Ankara: OR-AN Case Study*, unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU.

district and Çankaya district with OR-AN settlement, this prestigious boulevard faced with developments such as Police Training Center, School of Finance and Occupation, School of Cadastral Education, Agricultural Engineers' Cooperative, Ministry of Defence Settlement, T.R.T (Turkish Radio and Television Settlement area) and Diplomatic Settlement area, as seen in the Figure 30. These developments surrounding OR-AN settlement and along this axis have been established after the first dwellings began to be built and occupied in OR-AN, especially in the second half at the 1970s.

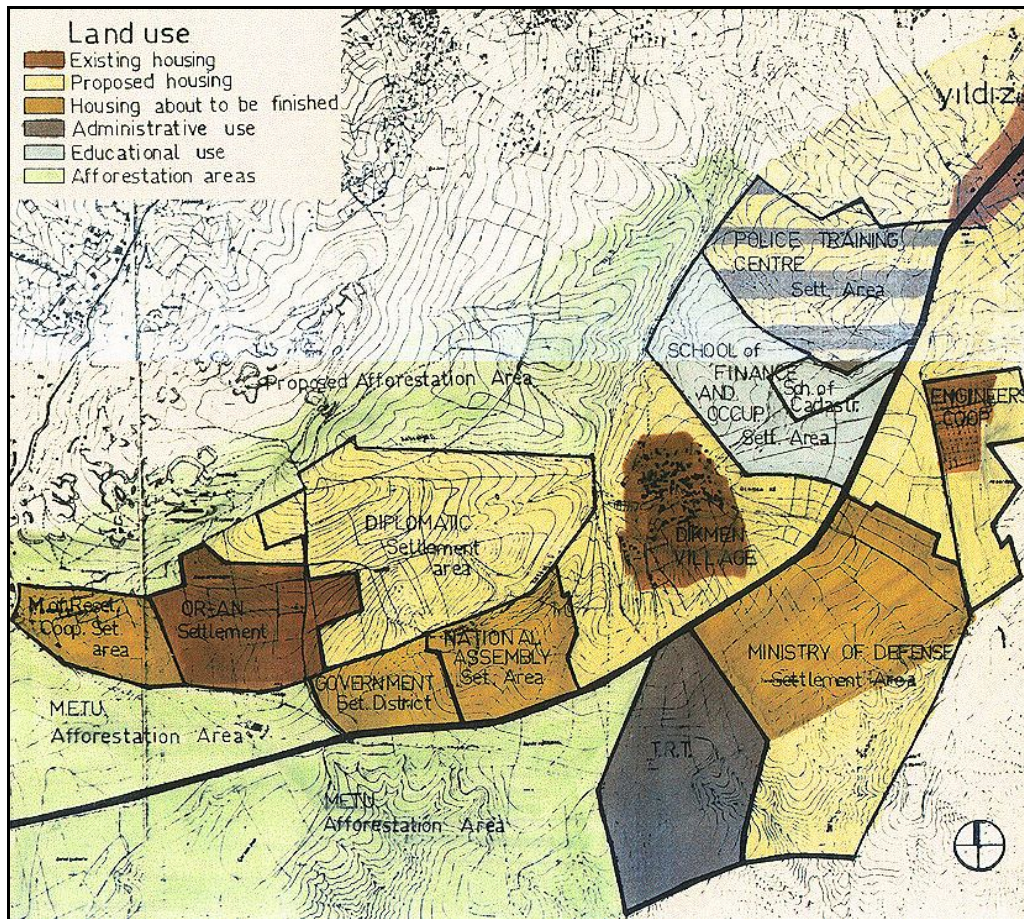


Figure 30 Map displaying the developments between OR-AN and Ankara. (A. Hamdi Büyükalıntı, (1985) *Peripheral Development of Residential Areas in Ankara: OR-AN Case Study*, unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Ankara: METU, p. 114.)

Regarding the OR-AN district the utilization of density plays a vital role in the urban transformation established by the architectural built environment such as the OR-AN settlement, *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, and *Park Oran*. Therefore, the comparison of the density in these three residential projects enables us to construe the transformative power of density in urbanization process.

Table 2 Table comparing the density of the OR-AN Settlement, *Milletvekili Lojmanları*, and *Park Oran*.

PROJECTS	TOTAL CONST. AREA (m ²)	NUMBER OF UNITS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	SITE AREA (m ²)	DENSITY (person per hectare)	FLOOR-SPACE RATIO
OR-AN Settlement	-	7000	28.000	1.000.000	280	1
<i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> 400 triplex units	84.000	400	(400x4.5) 1.800	220.530	66	0.38
<i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> Two blocks	33.500	168	(168x4.5) 756	51.847	150	0.68
<i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i>	117.500	568	556	246.650	103	0.48
<i>Park Oran</i>	288.091	1832	(1832x4.5) 8244	146.352	550	2

As it can be read from the Table 2, OR-AN settlement is planned with a density of 280 persons per hectare or 70 dwellings per hectare. The whole community is divided into three districts which are shaped according to the topography and other characteristics of the site. These districts are west, east, and north districts.

This density of 280 persons per hectare for the OR-AN settlement is chosen according to its placement within the metropolitan area and to its distance from the center. As inferred from the Table 3 proposal of this density is similar to the Howard's conceptualization of the density in his Garden City notion. Moreover, both OR-AN development and Garden City concept not only display similarities in terms of the density but also in terms of the programme and their design decisions such as locating these residential districts away from the urban center within a green landscape.

Table 3 Table for proposing density for an urban setting.

PROPOSER OF THE DENSITY	NAME OF THE PROJECT	YEAR	DENSITY (person per hectare)
E. Howard	Garden City City Center	1898	300 500
Le Corbusier	The City of Tomorrow	1922	3000
H. Ferris	The Metropolis of Tomorrow	1929	500
F. L. Wright	Broadacre Sitel	1932	5-10
W. Gropius M. Wagner	A Program for City Reconstruction	1940	50-100
Le Corbusier	Les trios etablissements humains	1945	425
OR-AN	Residential Settlement	1970-1978	280
Behruz Çinici	<i>Milletvekili Lojmanları</i> (400 triplex units)	1984-1986	66
HDA	<i>Park Oran</i>	2007-present	550

Constructed between 1984 and 1986, *Milletvekili Lojmanları* with its 400 triplex units on an area of 220.530 m² consists of a density of 66 persons per hectare. Compared with the density decision of 280 persons per hectare in OR-AN settlement, *Milletvekili Lojmanları* accommodates only one fourth of the suggested density in OR-AN settlement. Hence *Milletvekili Lojmanları* can be regarded as a low density residential project.

Although the construction is under way, *Park Oran* with 1832 living units on an area of 146.352 m² has a floor-space ratio of 2. According to a rough calculation, almost 8200 people will be housed by *Park Oran*. As a result, the density of this high rise residential project can be estimated as 550 persons per hectare. Compared with Çinici's residential project and OR-AN settlement, *Park Oran* is argued as being eight fold dense as *Milletvekili Lojmanları* and as being two fold dense as OR-AN district. Moreover, when contrasted with Howard's Garden City notion, *Park Oran* introduces a density similar to the density of the city center as estimated by Howard. Due to these assessments, *Park Oran* is argued as a high density residential project. Whether this dense population housed by *Park Oran* will be provided with necessary technical and social infrastructure such transportation, sewage systems, educational and health services is left to question.

Besides accommodating numbers of people, the technical and social infrastructure of such dense residential projects needs to be planned. In order to cope with this dense urban setting and to embody this density by a built environment architectural discipline plays a vital in this urbanization process. Therefore, the relation of architecture to urbanism needs to be constructed through a redefinition of architectural discipline as "urban architecture" which can be identified as the 'urbanization of architecture'.

The relation between architecture and urbanism is continuously redefined with regard to unfolding socio-economic restructurings upon the urban sphere. Hence, the projects for the contemporary ever-changing urban areas can be developed via a “new urbanism” which redesignates this relationship as to approach urbanism from architectural perspective. In order to enable this, a redefinition of the architectural discipline as “urban architecture” is required. Delft University of Technology incorporates the discipline of “Urban Architecture, Modification, Intervention and Transformation (MIT)” as a PhD. programme in Architecture and Urbanism. The studies of “Urban Architecture, (MIT)” are directed towards a durable urban environment through architectural interventions. Modification, intervention, and transformation of the urban environment is regarded as strategies to attain at a sustainable development of the cities. This programme argues that since “architectural forms seems to become more and more urban in nature,” architecture, as “a symbolic expression and physical formation constitutes the most important phenomenon for the understanding of the city.” Therefore, this discipline is “not only concerned with actual architectural interventions, but investigates also the condition and nature of urban structures.” With these objectives, this programme is structured by four different categories: *Typological and Morphological Research, Research by Design, Theories and Methods of Design, and Structural Research.*

After Delft TU’s ascertaining this discipline, *scale* and *programming* as two important assessments of “urban architecture” are elaborated. Koolhaas emphasizes the architectural production in metropolitan regions with respect to *scale* and *program*. Regarding the former, as a result of technological and economic advancements, the perception of the *scale* in architectural production is redesignated. Together with the increase in the *scale* of architectural production, *Theory of Bigness* accounts for the transformation in architectural processes. With

regard to the latter, *programmation* emphasizes the importance of the development of advent architectural programmes parallel to the process of re-scaling due to the unfolding wave of restructuring in both economic-politic and urban spheres.

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