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REUSE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS IN MODERN

KEÇİÖREN

By

İREM ÖZ

Submitted to the Graduate School of

Social Sciences & Humanities

In Partial Fulfilment of

The Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in

Archaeology and History of Art

Koç University

June 2014

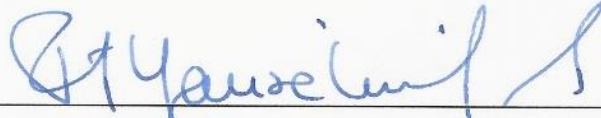
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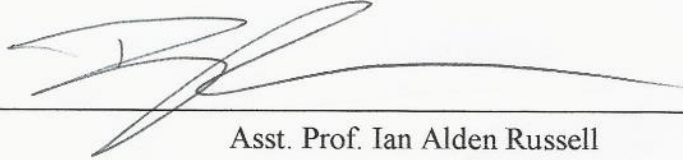
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13.06.2014

ABSTRACT

REUSE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS IN MODERN

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Archaeology and History of Art, M.A. Thesis, 2014

Thesis Supervisor: Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu

**Keywords: Ankara, Keçiören, Urban and political transformation,
Historicism, Eclecticism, Pierre Bourdieu**

Being the capital city of a newly established Turkish Republic that was descended from the Ottoman Empire, Ankara was attributed a massive symbolic meaning. Ankara became the representative of a new Turkish State that aimed to attain a place in the global picture as being a modern and secular nation state. It carries a distinct characteristic as the reflections of transformations taking place in the political sphere can be read from the urban space. In this context, Keçiören District,

being one of the largest and most populated districts of Keçiören has undergone a massive transformation after 1994 with the change in the political structure.

The aim of this study is to make an analysis of the transformation that has been taking place in Keçiören district of Ankara since 1994, focusing on the architecture of AKP government that has been taking place not only in the architectural or urban field but also in the political, social, economical and cultural fields. What has been tried to be analyzed in this study is the emergence of a new architectural style that imitates the past with a modern approach not only in terms of urban and architectural quality but also from social and political motives that are embedded in the “culture” by using Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological notions as elements of interpretation.

ÖZET

GELENEKSEL MİMARİ ÖGELERİNİN MODERN KEÇİÖREN MİMARİSİNDE YENİDEN KULLANILMASI

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Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2014

Tez Danışmanı: Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu

**Keywords: Ankara, Keçiören, Kentsel ve Politik dönüşüm, Tarihseccilik,
Seçmecilik, Pierre Bourdieu**

Osmanlı Dönemi'ni takiben kurulmuş olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkenti olan Ankara'ya bu bağlamda önemli sembolik anlamlar yüklenmiştir. Modern Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin temsili olan Ankara kenti, modern ve laik bir devlet olarak küresel tabloda yer edinmeyi amaçlamıştır. Diğer şehirlerden farklı olarak, siyasi alanın merkezinde olması sebebiyle, siyasi alanda olan dönüşümleri mekan üzerinden okumak mümkündür. Bu bağlamda Ankara'nın en büyük ve nüfusu en fazla olan ilçelerinden Keçiören 1994 yılı sonrası siyasi sahada olan dönüşümler sonucunda tamamen değişmiştir.

Bu alışmanın amacı, Ankara'nın Keçiören ilçesinde 1994 yılı sonrası başlayan ve hala devam eden dönüşümü incelemektir. AK Parti mimarisinin üzerinde durularak bu dönüşümün etrafında sosyal politik, kültürel ve ekonomik sahalarda meydana gelen değişimler incelenecektir. Bu alışma ile amaçlanan, geçmişini sadece fiziksel olarak değil, bunlar ile iç içe geçmiş sosyal ve siyasi olarak da benimsemiş yeni bir mimari oluşumun incelemesini Pierre Bourdieu'nun sosyolojik kavramları ile yapmaktır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has taken time, patience and effort to complete this thesis. This thesis would not have been possible without the guidance and the help of several individuals who in one way or another contributed and extended their valuable assistance. First and foremost, my utmost gratitude is to Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu without whom I would not have completed my research. She has never lost her enthusiasm and interest for this study and made me feel excited about it all along the way. I appreciate all her contributions of time and ideas.

I can never thank enough to Zeynep Aycan, the director of the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities and Lucienne Şenocak, without their understanding, patience and support, this thesis cannot be completed.

I also would like to thank to examining committee members; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ian Alden Russell who has been an excellent mentor for me in the hardest times and Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay Peker for the time he devoted and his suggestions.

I would not have healthfully finished this study if not for my friends. I want to show my gratitude to Ayşe Dibek and Özge Demirci who have been more than a friend and roommate and was there in during the best and the worst in this period. I want to show my heartfelt gratitude to Elifnaz Durusoy, Aslıhan Oktay, Ceren Hepyalnız and Duygu Cihanger whom for they always be there whenever I need a warm voice and motivation. Also I would like to make note of the preciousness of my friends:

Nazlı, Merve, Begüm and many others whom were by me during the happy and hard moments.

Especially, I am deeply indebted for the presence of Michael Johnson in my life. I thank him for giving me whole hearted love, encouragement and endless tolerance. He is the one that always believes in every step I take more than I do, and he has been a great source of happiness and joy to me during challenging times.

Lastly, I can never thank enough for the limitless support, help, patience and love my family has given me not only during the completion of this thesis but in every step of my life. My mother Gül Öz and my sister Zeynep Öz were the ones who were always there for me in the best and the worst. Their infinite love and belief in me inspire me to do and to be better. I would like to thank to Burçin Yorulmaz whom I consider not a friend but family. I would like to express my greatest gratitude and love to my father Tefik Öz for his endless support, guidance and love. He has always been the one to support and encourage me in every decision I have taken in my life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Ankara teaches us patience, tolerance and to wage battle day and night against all the opposing forces out to block our progress; it beats on our will endlessly like a hard anvil” (Kadri 1934 cited in Cengizkan 2009 in Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent, 1923-1938: 11).

The history of Ankara is filled with invasions, consecutive fires, and ransacking that stand before the eyes of a man in bizarre chaos. “There are a few places in which the Turkish culture haphazardly blends and mingles with the remains of the preceding civilizations in such a manner” (Cengizkan 2009: 17). Ankara started to stand out as an important element in the historical context after becoming the headquarters of the resistance movement in 1920. After the War of Independence was won and just before the Turkish Republic was established by Turkish nationalists, Ankara was declared as the capital city of the Turkish Republic.

Being the capital city of a newly established Turkish Republic that was descended from the Ottoman Empire, Ankara was attributed a massive symbolic meaning. Ankara became the representative of a new Turkish State that aimed to attain a place in the global picture as being a modern and secular nation state. The fact that

Ankara was a small Anatolian city that did not possess much built environment within itself allowed the ruling power to shape the city in a way that it would be the reflection of the modern Turkish Republic in social and spatial dimensions and create an example for the rest of the country.

Contrary to Istanbul, which has been an important center for centuries, representing tradition and history, Ankara was established to be the representation of modernity and the future. On the other hand, a city created and shaped from a scratch will have an affliction; the city will transform with every different contemporary ideology of the ruling class. The large-scale transformations took place in the political and ideological field in different time spans lead to the transformation of the urban environment. As the contemporary ruling power changed or became stronger in the political field, the urban environment was changed and shaped in such a way that it would become a reflection of those changes.

In order to make interpretations about the transformations that have been taking place in the urban environment it would not be sufficient just to evaluate the contemporary context. Cities are entities that continuously evolve and change forms, whose elements attain new meaning and functions to meet with contemporary fashions (Kostof 1991). For this reason the urban land is thought to resemble a palimpsest, which originally refers to a writing block or parchment that is used, erased, and reused several times (Khirfan 2010). "As each era is overtaken by the next, it leaves traces and redundancies, obsolesces and irrationalities – things that remain as a mark: the burden of the past or an inheritance" (Crang,

1996, p. 430) which results in the emergence of a new layer imposed on the predecessor. Therefore, the urban environments are formed on top of one another not only in physical dimension but also in social dimension. The combination of different layers that were formed as reflections of different political and social entities form the contemporary urban environment.

Although the urban environment is constantly evolving, it always carries the traces of the past. It is possible to perceive or read different social and political processes that the city has been through from the spatial environment. As the structure of the society is also in a process of evolution, in every different layer those palimpsestuous elements are interpreted (sometimes misinterpreted) and evaluated from a distinct point of view. Following this palimpsest concept, as every different period leaves its traces on the physical, cultural and social structure of an urban area, in order to grasp the whole picture, an evaluation taking into account the past social and spatial dynamics has to be conducted.

1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

Ankara had been subjected to numerous development plans after becoming the capital city of the Turkish Republic. A controlled growth and a planned urbanization were sought so that Ankara would become the representation of modern identity. The urbanization process in Ankara was planned up until 1950s, when the vast migration wave from the rural areas to the urban areas caused by the

modernization in agricultural production threw off the balance established by the efforts of early Republicans. Many people were moving from the rural areas to Ankara, however, the city did not have sufficient space to support the settlement of this unplanned population. The migrants found their own solution to this issue with the construction of illegal housing areas in the peripheral areas of the city. A point worth mentioning here is the fact that the hinterland of the city covered a much smaller area back then; therefore, the areas that can be considered as central areas within the city today were regarded as peripheries.

Keçiören in this context became one of the main areas of these illegal, low-density housing settlements referred to as “gecekondu.” This gecekondu issue was first neglected by the ruling authorities, then strict actions were taken for the elimination of the problem from the urban scene, and then it was accepted and rehabilitation projects were started to transform the area. This issue that emerged in the 1950s still has its effects in the urban sphere.

By 1994, a political party infamous for its nationalist political stance became the dominant power in the district. The result of the elections in 1994 stands as a milestone in the history of Keçiören as it started the process of urban transformation on the basis of political ideology. This transformation that has been taking place since 1994 constitutes the scope of this research.

In this study I aim to make an analysis of the transformation not only in terms of architecture but also in terms of political and social processes. In the course of this study I will provide an academic backdrop to understand the social and political dynamics embedded in the physical transformation process that has been taking

place in Keçiören district, making an emphasis on the period after 1994 which resulted in the emergence of an eclectic architectural style. With the changing conditions of the political sphere, such as the rising popularity of identity politics, the architectural transformation of the district started to address an entirely different phenomenon. In order to strengthen the bonds among a society and to gather them around an ideology based on nationalism and/or Islamism, the politicians started to use certain symbols and icons. The use of these symbols or icons alone or together in an eclectic manner and mimicking certain architectural styles of the past without proper academic research or professional consultancy leads to a chaotic situation in the urban and social fabric. The aesthetic quality in the area is reduced to the presence of these historical Ottoman/Seljuk elements as decoration elements. This process has been the subject of many discussions; however, most of the criticisms about the issue approach it only from a physical perspective. With this study I aim to provide the social and political dimensions of the process. In order to attain this, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts were used.

The reason why I chose to use a Bourdieusian approach to construct the theoretical framework of this study is because Bourdieu, in his work *Distinction* (1984) analyses societal dynamics based on the judgment of taste and aesthetics and how these phenomena lead to distinction among different groups (or classes) within the society. As I have intended to take a different stance from previous academic research that was conducted on the subject and evaluate the process based on the physical and aesthetic quality of the district, I aim to conduct an analysis of the

problem based on the social, cultural, and political dynamics that lead to the transformation of aesthetic judgment, therefore, the transformation of physicality.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The following chapter in this research includes the theoretical framework I have constructed to explain the process taking place in the Keçiören district. I have divided the second chapter into two sections to provide a better understanding. The first section includes the theories mentioned in *Distinction* by Pierre Bourdieu. The main theoretical questions in this section that I intend to address and later base my discussions on, and use to explain the process taking place in Keçiören are:

- What are the elements that construct social stratification?
- How culture is socially reproduced within society?
- What makes one class more favorable than the other in the cultural field?
- How social stratification/distinction among different groups attained is based on the judgment of taste? How does the dominant class use cultural capital as a tool for social domination?
- What constructs the criteria for judgment of taste? How norms that operate as the decision mechanism for what is aesthetic and what is not socially formed?
- How did the ruling political class use social stratification based on the judgment of taste to expand their field of influence to attain further domination?

One point worth mentioning is that although I have used a Bourdieusian approach, this study is not a sociological analysis. I have simply used the Bourdieusian point of view to explain the social and political dimensions hidden behind the physicality of the district. Bourdieu's concepts were used as elements of interpretation of the process.

In the second section of this chapter I move towards another dimension of the issue. As I have explained that political domination in Keçiören area was attained through identity politics and architectural reproduction based on these policies, in the second section I try to explain the relationship between the concept of identity and architecture. The production of heritage to provide symbols that would signal a shared past in order to strengthen the bonds among society and create a comfort zone where one would feel a "sense of place" and incline towards the authority that provides this is explained. Recontextualization of heritage and historicism in architecture as main tools of this process were also explained.

The third chapter of this study presents information about the urbanization process that has taken place in Ankara after its declaration as the capital city. In order to understand the process that has taken place in Keçiören, the social and political dimensions were explained in a wider context. The social, political, and physical transformations that have taken place in the area are also explained.

The case study for this research is presented in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, the transformation process in Keçiören is explained with more detail, taking into consideration the internal dynamics that were not presented in the previous chapter. The architectural elements that represent the new historicist, eclectic style

architecture were studied in detail. The elements of ornamentation and decoration were explained in reference to their original exemplars. The actors and their actions that are responsible for the case were also presented in the last section.

The fifth chapter of the research includes the discussion. As I have made a division in the theoretical framework chapter, this chapter also explains and evaluates the process in two different sections.

1.3 LIMITS AND DEFICIENCIES

There are a few limitations and deficiencies about the study I conducted worth mentioning as they might contribute to further research to be conducted on the issue.

First of all, this study is based on previous research conducted in the area and in terms of urban quality I have gathered empirical evidence as a result of my field study in the area. Although I intended this research to be objective, having spent my whole life in Ankara and using Bourdieusian terminology, the habitus I was born into may have shadowed my objective stance at some points.

Secondly, as the contemporary architectural style mentioned in this research is relatively new, it was hard to find comparative studies about the issue.

Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu's sociology may be considered as a recent field as well. Therefore the lack of research in this emerging sociological field was one of the main limitations that I was faced with.

The fact that no interviews with people living in the area or working in the area were conducted is one of the main deficiencies of this research, however, past investigations that had conducted interviews with the different actors in the area were cited and their results were utilized.

In order to understand the complete picture in the Keçiören district, the other side of the discussion might have been addressed. In other words, a picture of a different population in Ankara that is in conflict with Keçiören might have been presented, however this would go beyond the limits of this study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before the presentation of a historical outline and the presentation of the case, some established definitions and concepts will be utilized in order to understand the process that have been taking place in Keçiören, on a smaller scale and in Ankara, on a larger scale. The theoretical framework of this study is divided into two different sections.

The first part of this section discusses the concept of culture and its production. The theoretical framework does not follow the classical concept of Kantian aesthetic and his theories on judgment of taste. According to Kantian aesthetics, judgments of taste are based on the feeling of individual pleasure while they are universal as they are disinterested, individual needs and wants, are discarded when beauty is appreciated, the aesthetic pleasure follows the free-play of imagination and understanding (Ginsborg 2013). Instead the sociological debate of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu; his theories on the judgment of taste are based on the class structure and social socio-cultural interactions. This paper will strive to answer some questions such as why different groups in society have different perception of

aesthetics, how the mainstream perception of aesthetics is established, why and how culture is dominated by certain groups in a society and such. In this sense I will aim to provide a different insight into my research compared to some of the other studies conducted before. The former researches about the subject labels the urban transformation process and its products in Keçiören as being kitsch, however in the scope of this research I aim to understand the emergence of such a culture in Keçiören by looking at its socio-political background.

By using a Bourdieusian approach the question of how culture is reproduced in a society that is formed of a strict class structure will be answered. As Bourdieu himself rejects the idea that “tastes are the results of innate individualistic choices of human intellect”, the theory is extended to understand the aesthetic perception of different groups and how it is socially constructed. In Keçiören example, in the last two decades, we see a social and spatial transformation. The urban space transforms from a “gecekondu” settlement area into an urban land. Moreover, we see the population which previously used to be composed of a rural population that recently migrated to a highly urbanized land; previously excluded and belittled by the contemporary urban population, transform into the dominant class that have the power to define the legitimate culture throughout the city (Weber, 2011: 66). This shift in the class structure and its reproduction of space are explained via theories produced by Bourdieu. My main aim in this chapter is to understand the hidden dynamics behind the emergence of an architectural style (or emergence of a culture in wider scale) within the historical context. In order to understand the social reproduction of culture I will start by giving definitions of the most important

concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. Then I will move to the explanation of social reproduction of culture. Another subject I aim to understand is the social dynamics of the judgment of taste. Who sets the standards of aesthetics, from whose point of view an art product is considered as aesthetic or not and whether social classes are reproduced by using the judgment of taste will be the questions I aim to answer.

On the second part of the theoretical framework chapter I will continue with another dimension of the issue. In the second section, my main aim is to explain the relationship between the concepts identity, heritage and architecture. How heritage is used to create familiarity with a place, or create a sense of place and how certain symbols are used to reproduce heritage and cause a historical approach in contemporary architecture are some issues to be addressed.

2.1 SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF CULTURE

“Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.” (Bourdieu 1984).

In order to understand and explain the taste, culture and social status of the people living in the Keçiören area, significant frameworks and terminology created by Pierre Bourdieu were utilized. Bourdieu’s work is important in this context as his model constructs a theoretical model of social practice, carrying the field of sociology a step forward and trying to scientifically explain what people do in their daily lives (Jenkins 2002; 67-68).

Before introducing Bourdieu's related terminology, his theoretical standpoint will be examined. Bourdieu has constructed his scientific sociological endeavor in late 1950s in France, where sociological environment was dominated by the objective structuralism of Levi Strauss and subjective existentialism of Sartre (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005: 856). He takes into account the useful notions of objectivist and subjectivist approach. Subjectivism includes the points that were not included in the objectivist approach, the concept of agency that is ruled out with cultural norms such as laws, rules and systems. Objectivism does not take these concepts into account as it claims individuality is intentionally regulated by cultural contexts (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 32-36). According to Wacquant, Bourdieu denying the controversial relationship between structuralism and constructivist approach as being artificial; seeks out for a worthwhile relationship between "structuralist" approach which seeks the concealed relational patterns that operate behind the agents and "constructivist" approach which explores the perceptions and actions of agents (2006, 266).

While the focus of his studies is social emphasis, his main concern is what individuals do in their daily lives. However, he claims that simply the aggregate of individual behavior is not enough to understand the social life. Moreover, he doesn't accept the fact that practice can be understood by studying individual decision making or supra-individual structures (Jenkins 2002, 74). He takes into account the useful notions of objectivist and subjectivist approach. He uses the concept of "habitus" to overcome the objectivist-subjectivist split which will be explained in detail in the following section.

A research that was conducted in Algeria between 1958 and 1961, during the Algerian War of Independence by Bourdieu served as a base for the formulation of the theoretical framework of Bourdieu (Calhoun and Craig, 2006, 1403). His observations on Kabylia¹ life let him construct his framework. Although Bourdieu was criticized about his research in Kabylia as his claims were not applicable to the advanced capitalist societies, his observations were proved to be useful instruments for understanding the societies that experienced similar past that was observed in Kabylia (Poyraz 2011: 21).

“Theory in practice” approach which represent the inseparable relationship between the theory and the practice in the field of social sciences was embraced by Bourdieu. This approach enabled his theoretical framework to be realistic as he did not exaggerate either theory or practice; he emphasized the relations among and between agents and structures so that he can grasp the social reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, 97). In order to make sense of the objective structures (institutions, discourses, ideologies) and everyday practices (why and what people do), Bourdieu constitutes a framework composed of his concepts of “habitus, field

¹ Eickelman explains Bourdieu’s notion of “traditional” Kabylia society as “it is based on the idea of a homogeneous and unchanging society that leaves little room for ambiguous or atypical individuals” (2009, 260-261). Karpas, for the Turkish example, used the term aşiret (tribe) and extended family to understand the social formation. “Kabylia (*kabile* in original text) ties seemed to have become either synonymous with the extended family or village or did not exist at all since there was not much evidence that the migrants preserved a sense of kabylia affiliation or identity.” He also claimed that even though the theoretical framework created by Bourdieu does not perfectly be applicable to the Turkish gecekondu examples, a Bourdieusian framework can be correlated to understand the gecekondu residents as gecekondu areas distinguished with their population composed of various homogeneous and relatively unchanging groups that form agglomerations in big cities according to their cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds (1976: 118; cited in Poyraz, 2011: 21). The “cultural limbo” which was followed by the settlement of rural communities to cities when mountain communities were displaced and moved to French re-settlements camps was the focus of his Algeria studies (Webster, 2011: 10).

and capital” (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 1) which will be explained in detail.

In the scope of this research, the reason for why the Bourdieusian theoretical instruments are used is that Bourdieu tried to reveal the motivations behind the actions of the individuals without ignoring the structural and environmental factors by using relational sociology. Moreover, his studies conducted in Algeria, where social relations were determined by kinship, ethnicity and religion can be applied to the Keçiören example where social relations were established in a similar way. Webster also concludes that Bourdieu’s ideas can help architects to comprehend the complex social phenomenon where social groups form their own particular beliefs and values which reinforce the group cohesion and how these groups compete to gain the power in the society and by this way dictate what is legitimate (2011: 2).

2.1.1 Key Concepts by Bourdieu: Habitus and Field

In his research about social practices, Bourdieu’s concern is the question of what individuals do in their daily lives. He indicates that, individuals have to deal with a set of social positions that are constrained by a relation of homology to a series of relationally characterized activities (Bourdieu, 1996: 10). On the other hand, his idea of the complexity of social life and how it cannot be merely understood by the aggregate of individual behavior; and the rejection of simplification of practice to

individual decision making or its determination via supra-individual structures, drove him to fill the explanatory gap between two extremes. In order to establish a bridge between those two extremes, he came up with the notion of “habitus” (Jenkins 2002; 74). With this concept of habitus, Bourdieu contributed sociology to overcome the abstract opposition between the society and individual (Rey 2007: 47).

Bourdieu explains the social world as a multi-dimensional space constructed according to the principles of differentiation and distribution established by the set of properties that define the social universe. Individuals and groups are distinguished according to their relative positions within that space (1985, 723-724). Possible clashes or harmony among individual or structure is described to be a significant process that occurs within the field of relations (Poyraz 2011: 26).

Habitus is explained as “an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu 1977: 95). In simpler terms, it is described as the values, and dispositions gained from ones cultural history that usually stays with one context as they are durable and transposable. These values and dispositions channel us to respond to cultural rules and contexts in different ways which are determined by where or who we have been in a culture (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 36-37). Dumais makes a further addition to this concept and describes it as the actions an individual takes which can be observed in one’s physical demeanor, how one carries oneself or walks. Habitus is created in an individual’s placement in the social structure. When an individual internalizes the social structure and his/her place in it, which takes

place unconsciously during the early childhood, the individual determines the possibilities and impossibilities in the life and develops aspirations and practices accordingly (2002, 46).

The development of habitus has some consequences as it leads to the reproduction of the social structure. Depending on the positions of the class they were born into, individuals develop ideas about their individual potential which are then externalized into actions leading to the reproduction of the class structure. An example of this can be given; those in the working class consider that they will remain in the working class (Dumais 2002, 46).

Bourdieu makes an emphasis on the concept of “objective homogenizing of a group or a class habitus which results from the homogeneity of the conditions of existence” (1977: 80). To explain this notion in simpler terms, Rey concludes that individual members belonging to the same socio-economical class have habitus that is relatively homogeneous as they have many determinative experiences. Family structure, household income, the neighborhood they live in, the quality and degree of education they experienced, religion and belief structures accumulate and form their set of dispositions (2007: 49-50). Therefore, Bourdieu defines habitus as a second nature, embodied history (1990: 56). Rey shows the behavior of the American working class as an example (2007: 50). This example can be modified to the Turkish Keçiören example. Although the people that emigrated from rural areas to the urban land come from different geographies, ethnicities and backgrounds; they experienced the assimilation process under the same conditions and together. They went through the same gecekondu phase and they have all witnessed the

spatial and political transformation of the city. It can be concluded that what different agents from this social sphere expect from life, how he/she perceive of and react to any life experience or social condition will be similar to each other as their habitus have been similarly formed.

Bourdieu defines this relationship by saying that “ A social class – a class of identical or similar conditions of existence and conditionings, is at the same time a class of biological individuals having the same habitus, understood as a system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditioning” (Bourdieu 1990, 59 cited in Rey 2007: 50). So once an individuals’ habitus is developed it is always a “class-ed” habitus which causes the agent to perceive, appreciate and act with respect to dispositions of the existing class and contribute to his/her habitus formation. Therefore identity is the key deterministic influence on habitus (Rey 2007: 59). This class structure based on the notion of habitus contributes to sociology in a way that sociology takes its aim to understand the question of how class condition structures the whole experience of the social subjects (Brubaker 2004, 47-48). Following this notion that social subjects are structured by the habitus, Bourdieu also suggests that culture (and aesthetic judgment and taste) is socially structured; he says that “the struggle for taste is a struggle for power” (1990, 297).

Before going further on with the social reproduction of culture, another concept should be described in order to understand the context established by Bourdieu. He uses the term field to describe “a structured place of special forces and struggle” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 243). He further explains the concept as being a

structured social space, a force-field which includes the people who dominate and people who are dominated. In this space, operation of various constant relationship of inequality is expressed through a struggle between various actors for transformation/preservation of the field. All the agents use their various kinds of power (capital) to compete in this field. With the possession of this power, the positions (and the strategies) of the agents within the field are defined (Lingard and Christies 2003: 322). In simpler terms, Rey describes the field as a space of action and a place where struggles takes place (2007: 44). It is also described as being a social arena where struggles or actions take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them. Fields are defined by the stakes that are at stake such as goods, housing, intellectual knowledge, education, employment, land, political power, social class, prestige, taste, etc... (Jenkins 2002: 84). These stakes that are at stake can be defined as the types of capital in the field. And the struggle is over these kinds of capital while the actions are comprised of the production/consumption of the capital and positioning for positions among the consumers of the capital (agents) (Rey 2007: 44).

Bourdieu suggests that, every individual occupies a position in society's different fields, which is objectively determined by the amount of capital he/she possess (Rey 2007: 44). Following this, agents who possess various dispositions and volumes of capital, access to the field so that they can seek their rights and profits. Preservation of the already possessed and transformation to acquire more are appeared to construct the core of the struggles among agents and institutions (Poyraz 2011, 30).

Although they are composed of different variations among capitals, interests, strategies and positions, all fields are homologous, meaning they are defined by same (homo) principle (logous) yet every field operates according to its own rules. As structural homologies are shared between different individual fields (cultural field, political field, religious field), they can only attain a relative autonomy, therefore are related to each other. This allows types of capital to be transferred from one field to another (Rey 2007: 45).

On the other hand, Lingard and Christie points out the differences among the fields by indicating that each field have their own structures, interests and preferences; they have their own distinct rules of the game although they show similarities. Every field is constituted differently, they are composed of their own agents and power struggles. Every participant aims for the domination in order to attain power to impose its rules for its own sake. In terms of power relations, the legitimization of the rules gains importance (2003: 324). "Every field is the site for the explicit struggle over the definition of legitimate principles of division of the field." (Bourdieu, 1985, 734). In order to dictate what is legitimate, groups within these fields within society construct their own beliefs and values that would reinforce group cohesion (Webster 2011: 5)

So far, I have tried to give an introduction of the work of Pierre Bourdieu by explaining the notions of "field" and "habitus. The transformation that has been taking place in Keçiören since 1994 has been taking place in many different social scenes. Described as fields by Bourdieu, the struggle to gain profit on the urban land can be explained as the interaction between different fields (political, cultural and

economical) on a broader scale. The culture and its reflections on space on society in Keçiören is both the result of these relationships between different fields and the tendencies of the residents that is rooted from their habitus. In the next section, types of capitals will be described in order to understand how social and cultural space is reproduced.

2.1.2 Types of Capital

In this section the struggles, attitudes and actions of the agents are explained via the capital terminology of Bourdieu. In a social sphere with many dimensions where habitus is the dispositions and cognitions and field is the arena agents seek to maintain or improve their social status, capital stands for the currency which enable agents to gain social recognition (Allen and Anderson 1994). In Crossley's own words, "capitals are resources distributed throughout the social body which have an exchange value in one or more of the various markets or fields which ... that comprise the social world" (2001: 96) or in Bourdieu's own words; "capital is a social relation ... which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced" (1989: 113).

Capitals are important as they help us to understand the major differences among agents and groups that is reflected as conflict and struggle in the social sphere (Poyraz 2011: 32). Capital should not be only comprehended as an economical tool;

it also applies to the resources like status, power, personal contacts and formal/informal forms of knowledge (Hiller and Rooksby 2005: 24).

Bourdieu identifies three main types of capital; economic, social and cultural capital. He also makes an emphasis on the importance of symbolic capital. For the scope of this research more emphasis is going to be given on the terms “cultural capital” and “symbolic capital”.

Bourdieu gives definitions of different kinds of capital claiming that capital presents itself in three fundamental forms depending on the field it functions: economic capital which can be directly converted into money and can be institutionalized as property; cultural capital which can transform into economical capital under certain conditions and can be institutionalized as educational qualifications and the social capital consisting of social obligations and relationships that can be converted into economic capital in certain cases and that can be institutionalized as the titles (1986:47).

Individuals engagement with the capital (i.e.how do they engage and with what types of capital this engagement takes place) is important as it denotes the function of their habitus or how they internalize the social world, as well as it shows how much capital they end up possessing in different fields which in conclusion determines the status in the broader field of power (Rey 2007 : 50-51). Forms of capital can be viewed as weapons and resources that can determine and consolidate the individuals’ position in the social space as the more capital an individual has the more resources they possess in order to adopt themselves to the changing circumstances and to strengthen their position (Bourdieu 1998 cited in

Poyraz 2011: 33). On the other hand, this statement does not mean that every kind of capital is valid under distinct conditions. Different types of fields require different forms of capital (Poyraz 2011: 33).

As mentioned earlier, the volume and type of the capital an agent possesses determines his/her position in social space. Taking this statement a step forward, Bourdieu suggests that agents in the possession of similar types of capital gets together and forms groups in the physical and social space as a result of the need to dominate the space (1989: 17). He says that "... capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things (made desirable, among other things, by their richness in capital)" (Bourdieu 1999: 127). To conclude, if an agent desires to enter a field, he/she has to meet the certain form of capital requirement that field requires and that would satisfy the dominant agents' expectations. This process constitutes the core of the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms in social and physical space. In order to survive in a certain field, the agents (especially the disadvantaged ones) try to preserve or increase the volume of capital they are in possession of.

Relating the concept of capital to Keçiören example, the volume of capital possessed by the former gecekondu dwellers played a key role for the application of the transformation projects. With the transformation process the volumes of different types of capitals increased/decreased, which in turn resulted in the emergence of a new dominant culture and the change of the dominant actors.

2.1.2.1 Social Capital

Social capital is the type of capital that allows its possessors to be capable of using possible social networks by appropriate network connections. In Bourdieu's own words it is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to obtain membership into a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world (1986, 51)". It is simply the network of contacts especially with individuals or groups that are powerful in the social sphere that would enable an agent's access to other forms of capital (Rey 2007: 53).

The existence of these networks are not a result of a natural or a social process, they are the results of the acts of institutions. Therefore, active participation to a network is not enough, in order to maintain the social capital it is required to make certain investments that would establish an environment. Bourdieu also indicates that social capital is neither independent from other forms of capital nor it can be reduced to the economic or cultural capital possessed by the agent (1986: 51-52).

Another important point about the social capital is that it is usually in the possession of a small group of agents who ensure its conservation or accumulation. It is significant as it means to be noble among others. This small group of agents may exercise authority in the name of the whole group (Bourdieu 1986: 53).

2.1.2.2 Economic Capital

Since its meaning is obvious Bourdieu did not explore this form of capital in detail. It refers to the material wealth and the power that material wealth brings (Hillier and Rooksby 2005: 24). It is explained by Poyrazas the exchange value of all sellable things that materializes as a result of transactions (2011: 39). In simpler terms, it is the material possessions that might be considered as investments as well. They can be in the forms of real estate, stocks and bonds, etc...

Bourdieu focuses on the transformative character of economic capital as in this context is more valid than the other types of capital. He further discusses that the logic behind how economic capital functions can be understood by two opposing views: first one being the “economism” which can be explained as the reduction of any kind of capital into economic capital; and the second one being the reduction of the social exchange to the notion of communication and ignores the universal reducibility to economics (Bourdieu 1986: 54 cited in Poyraz 2011: 39-40).

2.1.2.3 Cultural Capital

Hillier and Rooksby explains the cultural capital by relating it to prestige status which includes resources such as articulateness, aesthetic preferences and cultural awareness (2005: 24). It is simply the combination of tastes, beliefs, values, skills and knowledge that were acquired in formal or informal ways. Bourdieu explains how cultural capital is acquired by saying “cultural capital can be acquired, to a

varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously” (1986: 48-49). Simply, it can be described as the capacity to play the cultural game, to know what and how to approve and to disapprove, to have internalized the necessary tools to have a taste of the appropriate art (Blunden 2004).

Cultural capital is of great importance in Bourdieu’s work. Being the key form of the symbolic capital, cultural capital legitimates and reproduces social distinctions (Rey 2007: 53). As it was mentioned before agents do not possess the same amount of capital within a field which applies mostly to the cultural capital field. Agents are not in the possession of the same degree of instruments necessary to produce personal opinion (Bourdieu 2004a: 40). The possession of cultural capital is socially predicted by social origins (habitus); a white-collar worker may know from an early age master directors and how to appreciate their work while the blue-collar worker knows the actors and actresses of the popular cinema (Blunden 2004).

Cultural capital can exist in three different forms: it can be embodied; where agents consume cultural goods being aware of their meaning and symbolism which is usually internalized unconsciously via socialization in one’s family, social class, neighborhood, sub-culture aka habitus (Hillier and Rooksby 2005: 24); it can be objectified where cultural capital exist in the form of cultural goods, where the significance comes from the capacity to use these cultural goods (Bourdieu 1986: 47); or they can be institutionalized according to which cultural capital is acquired via educational system (Poyraz 2011:39-40).

Bourdieu explains the concept of stratification in the society not only via the distribution of economic capital. Although not much importance has been given so far, the cultural consumption, taste, preferences and perception of aesthetics or cultural capital in other words strikes out as another component of reproduction of class and social inequality. The ones who possess larger amounts of economic and cultural capital become more dominant and will impose their hierarchy of taste and preferences on others. This social reproduction of culture will be explained in detail in the next section.

2.1.2.4 Symbolic Capital

As mentioned in the previous section, symbolic capital is the key form of the cultural capital according to Bourdieu. Symbolic capital represents the form of the different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate by incorporating three different kinds of capital (Hillier and Rooksby 2005: 24). The volume of other forms of capital determines the volume of the symbolic capital. It can simply be described as value that an agent possesses within a culture that is based on/ relies on honor, prestige and recognition. It differs from economic capital as being bounded by the historical, social and political context in which it emerged from. It must be described in its cultural and historical background (Bourdieu 1984).

Within the struggle for the imposition of the legitimate view, agents use the power that is proportionate to the symbolic capital they own. By this way, a dominant

agent can bring others together and mobilize these groups. This dominant agent's symbolic capital serves as a tool to provide recognition (Bourdieu 1985: 731).

Symbolic capital is highly related to the symbolic power, which takes its roots from the volume of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989: 23). Bourdieu gives great importance to symbolic power, by his words symbolic power is "A power to preserve or to transform objective principles of union and separation, of marriage and divorce, of association and dissociation, which are at work in the social world; the power to conserve or to transform current classifications in matters of gender, nation, region, age, and social status, and this through the words used to designate or to describe individuals, groups or institutions. To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1989, 22-23).

In the context of the symbolic capital, objects can be described as the abstract reflections of their environment and can have symbolic capital values. Representing the environment's cultural value by being the symbolic representations of them, this symbolic capital can be found embedded in the physical space. Urban landmarks become significant in an environment as they carry a symbolic value representing cultural and in Keçiören an example for the political stances that provide certain prestige to their environment. Keçiören area, possessing various landmarks is an example case study where a culture is imposed as a result of the changing political field.

2.1.3 Cultural Field and Judgment of Taste

So far I have tried to provide a basis for the main theoretical discussion. What and who structures the dominant culture. Why judgments of taste vary among different groups.

Culture in sociological terms is a peculiar form of life that is produced and reproduced by a group of agents. It expresses various meanings not only in the field of art and learning but also in institutions of ordinary behavior. In aesthetic terms, it signifies the human expression of creativity. It is the body of imaginative and creative work by which human thought and experience is expressed. In other words agents attribute meaning to the world by using the expressive power of artistic creation (Susen 2011: 174-175).

Bourdieu claims that culture is a game of distinction in which class differences are also expressed or visibly established for the first time (Joas and Knöbl 2011: 26). In this section of the chapter, a brief conclusion will be made using Bourdieu's concepts described above. By using the terms habitus, field and capital and using the work "Distinction" by Bourdieu, the perception of aesthetics among different classes and the struggle for establishing the dominant culture will be discussed.

"People compete about culture and they compete with it" (Jenkins 1992: 128). But what is culture and what bounds the cultural field? What Bourdieu attempts to do in his works, as stated before, is to offer an alternative to Kantian aesthetic philosophy. According to Bourdieu, aesthetics is neither pure nor disinterested as Kant suggests. It is in fact a disposition that comes along with the prosperity

(Jenkins 1992: 128-129). Cultural field is defined as a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles that constitute an objective hierarchical system while producing certain discourses and activities. On the other hand it is a field of struggle which is produced by groups or agents in order to determine what constitutes as capital and how it is distributed. Bourdieu suggests that cultural fields are not static, but rather dynamic and fluid as they are composed of institutions and rules and interactions between them. Cultural capital is not stable or universally accepted, what makes it interesting might not be acceptable in another cultural field (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 22).

Bourdieu suggests that the legitimacy of a particular activity within various cultural fields is determined by the ruling class. For example, the ruling class declares avant-garde art to be real art, when they require a level of distinction, but just when lower class starts to appreciate and appropriate this style, the fashion ends (Joas and Knöbl 2011: 27). Following this, Bourdieu extends his thesis about the notion of habitus that is acquired within a particular class, defines the life-style by distancing themselves from the other classes culturally. Occurrence of various types of lifestyles found within a society is entailed by symbolic conflicts over the efforts made by different classes to achieve distinction (Joas and Knöbl 2011: 27).

Further in his theories, Bourdieu suggests that cultural fields were differentiated under two fractions: First one being the small field of restricted production which is characterized as being an autonomous field in which well educated agents shares the codes of aesthetic appreciation with well educated producers. The second one

is the much larger field of large scale production, a field in which less well educated producers responds to the demands of the popular and largely uneducated market (Webster 2011: 43). "The autonomy of a field of restricted production can be measured by its power to define its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products" (Bourdieu 199: 112). This can be concluded by saying that such an autonomous field of high-culture can be created by its own creators, judged by its own judges and appreciated by its own appreciators (Susen 2011: 177). The reason that allows for the cultural hegemony to be maintained by the dominant class is the prejudices of the middle and working classes and the lack of the tools they have to question this dominant class for the choices they make. Cultural choices require special cultural knowledge (Allen and Anderson 1994).

Susen sums Bourdieu's theory by saying that as cultural relations are nested in material relations just like material relations are embedded in cultural relations, the fact that every society produces its own cultural economy should be recognized. Following this, the formation of social classes follows the societies' capacity to reproduce via cultural differentiation. It is not possible to conceive the material power of class relations without taking into account the symbolic power of cultural relations (2011: 176).

Culture and the means of cultural reproduction are resources and weapons in the struggle over economic and political hierarchy and domination. They are also the terrain over which those struggles take place. Culture is thus both a means and the end, simultaneously (Jenkins 2002: 120). Just like any form of capital, cultural capital can be transformed into a tool of social domination. Culture, being a vehicle

for class domination serves as both an instrument and a source of power. Using culture for domination is subtle but it penetrates every sphere of society much more efficiently than any other form of capital. (Susen 2011: 194). Symbolic domination serves as the key to the cultural domination. "The power of culture is only conceivable as symbolic power" (Bourdieu 1992). This symbolic power is not rooted from the material substance form but from its social significance. When a commodity carries a symbolic power, the main aim for the individual becomes, is to acquire the value that commodity represents and the authority that commodity contains (Susen 2011: 180).

Another dimension of the symbolic power is emphasized by Webb, Schirato and Danaher; as the field of cultural consumption is dedicated to making meanings, a symbolic function of the cultural products; it also represents how members of society perceive themselves and their values. They become the indicators of the authorized version of the society and how the dominant institutions require society to be seen by others (2002: 150).

To make a conclusion of the domination in the cultural field, the class based hierarchy imposed on society by the dominant class via symbolic power maintains this cultural hegemony which is the decision tool for the cultural and aesthetic perceptions (Allen and Anderson 1994).

Bourdieu aims to prove that aesthetic judgment, being part of the culture is socially determined as well. The aesthetic theory that claims to be great music, literature or architecture, is in reality just a perception form that is derived from specific social and economic realities (Joas and Knöbl 2011: 27). Webster makes an emphasis on

the social construction of aesthetic codes. Art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences (Webster 2011: 51).

Taste being the representation of hidden exercise of power; is a 'matter of course', a natural difference distinct from what is social. It is a battlefield in cultural reproduction and legitimating of power (Rahkonen 2011: 126). As stated above, the dominant class in the cultural field aims to distance itself from the others by distinction; by producing goods of pure taste, high-brow culture, and the products of field of restricted production. This way the high class distinguishes itself from the other groups representing other categories (Rahkonen 2011, 127). This distinction is also represented in physical space. There is a tendency for agents that are close together in social space to find each other by choice or necessity, to form groups in geographical space (some exceptions may occur) (Bourdieu 1989: 16). Although cultural field was represented as a divisive structure that would divide us into groups as the ones with the taste and others, it has a unifying dimension. It also produces the unifying symbol of us, through symbolic power, which is used especially by governments to create a sense of the national community (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 156).

However in this study, the sense of national community will be used as a divisor element which will be discussed in the discussion chapter.

Although in his work 'Distinction', Bourdieu always suggests that the social classes proposed by Marxist sociology is always on paper, the social order and classification is inscribed in one's mind by "cultural products" that include institutions like family

and educational facilities and systems like language, values and activities of everyday life. These all lead to the acceptance of social differences, hierarchies and even to the behaviors of exclusion in an unconscious way (Bourdieu 1986: 147). This is also a notion that is buried deep inside the habitus of agents. "The habitus is thus generative structure that provides the unifying principle of the specific practices in different cultural fields." This social structure of classes is nested so deeply in individual dispositions that they are perceived as natural to the agent (Bourdieu 1977 cited in Gartman 1991).

A final point that is worth mentioning is that Bourdieu's suggestion of the effect of educational institutions on the reproduction of appropriation of culture. Jenkins explains the Bourdieusian theory as follows: the legitimate system of educational institutions can contribute to the multiplication of social inequalities as although it may seem that every agent is provided with equal opportunities, based on the primary education provided by agents' family, he/she may fall into the disadvantageous class. The pupils that come from families which provided them with appropriate level of cultural capital will achieve better academically than those whose familial socialization bestows upon them with the lack of cultural capital (Jenkins 2002: 110-113).

In conclusion, Bourdieu's notions of class structure and social reproduction of culture can be applicable to Keçiören in many dimensions. The following chapters providing a historical context aims for the understanding of class formation in Ankara and social background of the residents that are living within the area of the case study; Keçiören. We will discuss Bourdieu's work again in the fifth chapter.

2.2 CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Pierre Bourdieu has evaluated the segregation of society via culture and judgment of taste in terms of sociological basis. However, there is another dimension of the issue, how the concept of identity is created and in what ways an identity is important for the agents of the society. In this section, my main aim is to explain the concept of identity, how and why it is important for individuals and how it is reflected on urban space. In other words the relationship between the concept of identity, architecture and heritage will be explained.

“Culture is a way people make sense of the world but it is also a system of power and domination. Culture is a means of differentiating the world, but it is also global and hegemonic” (Mitchell 2000: 64). Identity in this context becomes a prominent factor as it becomes the cultural power to revolt against the homogenizing forces of globalization. Although it may seem that the ideas of globalization and identity reproduction may conflict, the debates about identity, tradition and indigenization are rooted in globally produced ideas that aim to standardize the lifestyle and therefore raise the issues of cultural, societal and ethnic self-consciousness (Robertson 1992).

Identity is a notion that emerges from the modern cultural imagination which had not existed before and emerged as a consequence of globalization. During the process, being the spatial reflections of the political and cultural transformations new forms of architecture that would represent the group in terms of identity was created. This new architectural identity introduced new, not familiar forms that

were internalized and became the part of the process. The new, non-local forms were introduced gradually over a large span of time and became internalized by the society unconsciously (King 2007: 222).

2.2.1 The Concept of Identity

Identity became the base for the reactionary arguments that had been taking place against universalization and globalization in the post war period (1950s).

Globalization and identity are highly related to each other. King defines them as being two sides of the same coin (2007) and cites from Tomlinson “Cultural identity is more a product of globalization than its victim” (2003).

The concept of identity is defined as the set of qualities that differentiate a specific group for the rest and is linked with the conservation of difference against standardization. The idea of the preservation of identity has been criticized for being a decentralizing alternative against the universalization of the cultural form (Çaylan 2000: 40). The formulations to define the concept of identity remained loose and ambiguous; therefore different scholars interpret a definition or a conceptualization of identity differently.

Guibernau defines identity as a multi-faced phenomenon that consists of a range of human attributes that includes language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism and shared interpretation of the past (1996). There are agents who are qualified for membership to the group and those who do not. “Identity refers to the processes

categories and the knowledge through which communities are defined as such and the ways in which they are rendered specific and differentiated.” (Donald and Rattasani 1992 cited in Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 4).

Correa emphasizes three major characteristics of identity in an attempt to define it. First of all, he describes identity as being a process, not a fixed component of the society. It is the trail that was left by a civilization as it proceeds through time. Cultural or national identity is a dynamic “process” that evolves constantly. Secondly, as it is a process, which means every different cultural and national identity follows a different path in the historical timeline, therefore producing a unique and distinct product, identity cannot be produced or fabricated (1983: 10). It is explained that, the efforts for reproducing a lost national identity through architecture remains as a mimetic exercise. Even if it tried, the architectural process can only attain an artificial formulation instead of the aimed authenticity (Colquhoun 1997). Third characteristic of identity is that it is not a self-conscious thing. The characteristics of a certain group or nation are not determined by that nation as a conscious process, external observers recognize the specific characteristics of that certain group (Correa 1983: 10). Therefore it can be concluded that again, central to the identity debate is the idea of the other. What is essential for identity representation is the attributes of otherness that are competing and conflicting beliefs, values and aspirations (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 4-5).

Although identity may take many different forms, in the post-war period, the efforts for restoring the lost identity were usually accompanied by nationalistic (and

therefore cultural) claims. The concept of national and cultural identity served as a reaction against the universalization in the fields of the living patterns, language and architecture, where the reflection of culture is the most visible (Çaylan 2000: 42).

Stets et al. cites from Hogg and Abrams (1988) and claims that, the structured society is composed of different social categories in which agents place themselves and these social categories differentiate in terms of capital they possess. They can only exist as long as different categories exist. "Individuals are born into an already structured society" (2000: 225).

On the individual scale, individuals have always been capable of identifying with different social groups (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 4). On the other hand, each individual, depending on his/her own personal history has a unique combination of social categories therefore a unique self-concept (Stets, et al. 2000: 225).

"Identities with common meanings will tend to be activated together" (Leary et al 2003: 148). Belonging to a group, brings some standardized characteristics as well, which in return controls the human behavior. The expectation to fit in a group pressures the individual to verify his/her identity (Kuduğ 2014). The loss of such a bond to a group also means the loss of a social network which creates the self-concept and self-esteem in society (Hogg et al 1995: 258).

Individuals within a large society tend to identify themselves as belonging to different social groups in social and spatial dimensions. Although these differences

have always been thought to cause conflicts, in many cases they may serve as complementary dimensions of social segregation in different scales (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 4). Douglas explains this in two dimensions. In terms of individuals living within a group defined by their identity, the sameness or group membership provides a basis for “supportive social interaction, coherence and consensus”. This recognition of otherness within a greater dimension, in a society may also lead to distrust, avoidance, exclusion and distancing from the other group (1997: 151-152).

What makes identity so important is that when people associate themselves with different groups because individuals feel confident about themselves when they enact particular roles. This verification of personal identities make individuals feel confident as they enact particular roles that makes them feel authentic or real (Stets et al 2000: 234).

On the other hand, contemporary societies are faced with greater diversity and fragmentation. Many pasts belonging to many groups are represented as many different identities within a society. This issue combined with the migration processes result in practices of inclusion and exclusion which lead people to start seeking for affinities of places or at least with their representation so that they would legitimate their claims of territory (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 5). This concept is used by the hegemonic core. Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge interpret the issue and claim that all constructs of space, place and identity carry an ideological intent. A strong place identity is beneficial both to the individual and the group. Such identities are created and managed by the hegemonic core as the

official expressions of social cohesion while recognizing diversity or as unofficial acts of resistance depending on the context. The notion of plural identities and multiculturalism carries the same characteristics of the tradition of us and them and represents them as nation and foreignness within a society and a global context. National identity is easily constructed around core values that are aimed to be emblematic and symbolically important to the society. This shows the importance of belonging to a group or to a place. Therefore, territoriality remains as an important component for the formation of identities among a group. "Identities may transcend place but politics remain intensely territorial" (2007: 62-63).

2.2.2 Identity, Architecture and Heritage

As mentioned above, cultural identity can be defined in many ways and can be related to numerous different subjects. Sameness and difference aspects of the culture is key to create an identity composed of common codes, values and even physical artifacts that would define a group of people. When confronted by absence of such codes or when a group is in contact with another one that would impose different set of codes (as a result of processes like migration), agents seek for qualities of sameness that would differentiate and distance them from the majority. These qualities of sameness usually reflect themselves in physical space.

Identity is usually associated with geographical location and a sense of place. The place is characterized by different geographical, cultural, linguistic, architectural and

social characteristics. Not only physical and social, but the sense of place has cultural dimensions, notion of identity is created through a collective memory, a shared past, a particular place and of course symbolic representations and icons (King 2007: 222). This sense of place usually comes from one's habitus but in some occasions it can be acquired as well. When there is none, individuals create place identities. Different people, at different times create different narratives of belonging for different reasons (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 6). As Bourdieu also mentions; the sense of one's place serves both as a common ground within a group and a tool to keep distance from other groups (Bourdieu 1989: 177).

"Space is transformed into a place through traditions, memories, myth and narratives and its uniqueness confirmed and legitimated in terms of their relationship to particular representations of the past" (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 54).

Heritage in this context operates as a key connection; the existing heritage might be interpreted to strengthen the bonds among individuals and their pasts while it can be invented or discarded according to the needs and demands of the contemporary societies. Heritage is the frozen image of the past that we choose to present for contemporary purposes. Whether these purposes are economical, cultural, political or social, through heritage the society transmits the past to present and future. The present is validated by the past by transmitting an idea of timeless values and lineages by restoring lost or subverted values (Lowenthal 1985). However, both past and future are imaginary domains that cannot be experienced in the present. Heritage used as a cultural product fulfilling important socio-economical functions

may serve as an economical and political resource. As an economic resource it can be used to promote tourism and economic development strategies. As a political resource, as it is accompanied by identification and political conflicts, they can be used to legitimate power structures via its symbolic nature (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 35-36).

In this context, icons are significant as they have the power to evoke thoughts and emotions about one's self and his/her place in society. This idea was transformed into a policy which by promoting the heritage aims to reassure and reconcile rather than disturb and divide between different groups and members among society. The intended aim was to create an all-inclusive harmonious society by promoting the past and use the icons as a common ground to reconcile different groups; however the past and the heritage may not be all harmonious. In fact, icons may cause some groups to feel uncomfortable and excluded as the multi-cultural nature of the contemporary society is composed of different groups among many levels.

"Heritage precisely mirrors the culture to an extent" (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007).

Heritage is not the only spatial reflection of the identity reproduction process. Contemporary architecture is directly linked to the reproduction of cultural identities in a society. Popescu claims that, as identification became a political fact in the modern era, it gained the power to affect and shape hidden mechanisms of the society. As it is a form of representation, architecture is considered as one of the most efficient instruments of creating and transmitting identity. Architecture, which evolved as the need for identification evolved, transformed according to the

needs of the contemporary society and resulted in the creation of different identitarian architectural expressions. National styles, historicism, regionalism, localisms, etc represent the same phenomenon: the need for identification (2007: 291).

These representations of imaginary places constitute an important portion of the social practices that aimed to transform a space into a place; a material world into cultural and economical domains of lived experience. But behind the social motives what triggers governors to support such transformations that might lead to further social segregation? By promoting place and identity policies, the following are attained: “the identification of peoples with their governments at various scales, the promotion of different political ideologies that would justify the right to exercise power over others, the identification of social groups and the construction of images of place for promotion in various markets for various purposes” (Ashword, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 5). As mentioned before, place identities are not received passively but are created by people consciously or unconsciously with the support of the governors for various (mostly political and economical) purposes.

Another important point to mention is that, this reproduction of identity through heritage and architecture is a subject, which cannot be conceptualized easily. This is because every different individual, every different group, every different society possesses a unique past that was created through a unique historical process. Therefore every society is unique in every aspect. As King also mentions,

contemporary identities represented in the urban space via architecture can only be understood contextually (2007: 221).

2.2.3 Historicism in Modern Architecture

Identity reproduction in a society via heritage can be attained by two different processes. The first one is the use of heritage to strengthen the bonds among individuals and in some cases among groups by using the existing heritage. In the case when there is lack of heritage, this might be attained by creating symbols, icons, monuments and heritage.

Pallasmaa concludes that process of globalization has created an immense pressure on the agents by making them feel lost in the universalized world. Therefore the society necessitates the existence of a collective identity that would serve as anchor points. Architecture being the visual representation of the historical processes would contribute to the psychological well-being of the people by satisfying their need for self-identification as it provides symbols of belonging, continuity and familiarity. Pallasmaa further explains the link between the identity and architecture by defining traditional identity as not being a static, frozen thing in the historical context that would be inherited, preserved and possessed. This identity in fact has to be reinvented and recreated by each generation. He emphasizes the importance of the “historical sense” over the factual history. In the spatial dimension, the historical sense ties the architect to produce in order to sustain the

continuum of culture; which in result forms the core of the architectural language that the architect creates (2012: 18).

The main concern of reproducing identities becomes the continuity of the culture and the historical sense via different tools during a period when conditions change constantly. Place identity, which constitutes a part of one's self-identity, can be provided by the use of place features. Place icons make a space more personal, more intimate as they are the representations of people's memories and values. These icons may evoke the valued memories and other associations related to that place and create the "sense of place" (Hull IV et al 1994: 118). Hernandez et al. takes the discussion one step further and states that these symbols can be used to overcome the possible conflicts that might occur between the new comers, the natives and the previous identities as they provide a place-identity relation to all (2007). Kuduğ also contributes to the discussion by emphasizing the importance of the possibility that non-natives/immigrants may generate a possible place identity via symbolism belonging to them after spending enough time in a place to feel an emotional connection (2014: 59).

Pallasmaa associates identity within a space with historicity. As mentioned before, personal identities are not objects or things; they are formed as a result of a dynamic process that is constructed on the basis of an inherited cultural heritage. The sense of self can only emerge from the cultural context and historicity (2012). But what does historicity (especially historicism in architecture) mean?

Lucie-Smith explains the term historicism or historism as an artistic style that is inspired by the past, therefore function by the recreation of historic styles or

artisans (1988: 100). Historicism alienates what is historical from the holistic context where it shaped and emerged and uses it as a tool used to create a linkage between the past and the present by adapting it into a whole different system. The memories of the agents and cultural heritage examples constitute a large portion of discussions as they are used as tools in the reproduction of history (Yenişehirlioğlu1998: 169). In the field of architecture, in Hitchcock's own words: "It does ... express more accurately than 'traditionalism', 'revivalism' or 'eclecticism' a certain aspect of architecture which was common throughout the last five hundred years, and not unknown in early ages. Quite simply, it means the reuse of forms borrowed from the architectural styles of the past, usually in more or less new combinations (1958: 626).

Historicist fashions in architecture had their reflections in Western architecture as well. From Renaissance to 20th century architecture, the interest in history influenced architecture. Especially with the 19th century, the Romantic Movement emerged as a reaction against Enlightenment and undesirable conditions created by the Industrial revolution contributed to the issue. The rise of general interest in history and the longing for the past, influenced architects to use an eclectic set of historical forms in their designs (Altan 1991: 19).

Pallasmaa claims that the primary task of architecture should be to provide wholeness and dignity to human life. In order to attain so, the architect should be able to grasp the wider context of landscape or an urban setting and the productions of his/her designs should reflect this context while altering the

environment in terms of aesthetic quality. Buildings should be the reflections of deep narratives of culture, place and time (2012).

On the other hand, Colquhoun criticizes the historicism in architecture by claiming that the application of historical elements on contemporary architecture does not provide a coherent formulation of contemporary theories in the field of history.

“When we revive the past now, we tend to express it’s most general and trivial connotations; it is merely the ‘pastness’ of the past that is evoked” (1984: 39).

From another point of view, Yenişehirlioğlu claims that the creation of images and symbols under the influence of historicist fashions do not just represent the artistic inclinations and tendencies of the period but in fact these symbols are the images representing the social relations that were aimed to be produced by the certain actors that serve as the image producers. The socially created image sometimes remains hidden but in other cases it becomes visible with the identification of cultural variables. In this context, symbols become the representatives of the image aimed to be delivered to the society in different dimensions; social, economical and political. Under what influences these images are produced, which actors in the society take place and profit in the process, how do these symbols influence people remains as questions to be answered to understand the complex socio-political relationships hidden behind these mechanisms (Yenişehirlioğlu 1998).

To conclude; this image production via the use of symbols is attained through different processes special to each society. This symbol production may even be seen as a heritage construction in larger scale examples of which is thought to serve political purposes. Lowenthal emphasizes the role of myths, memories and

traditions, history and heritage as indispensable set of elements for a political identity formulation (1985 cited in Yenişehirlioğlu 1998: 121). As a widely accepted fact, stressing history, cultural heritage and traditions that are specific to a society can be used to attain communal order by emphasizing the self-esteem of the agents. But in fact, this attachment is not to a certain group of symbols but to a certain “historical genealogy created by a specific group of people/policymakers”. For this reason, policy makers are in possession of the authority to decide or reject which legacies are integrated in the public discourse and which are not (Yenişehirlioğlu 1998: 121).

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 BRIEF INFORMATION ABOUT ANKARA

Having a history of more than three thousand years, it may be said that Ankara is one of the oldest cities in Anatolia. Situated upon a steep hill above the plain on the Enguri Su, a tributary of Sakarya River, Ankara has always been an important center for numerous civilizations from ancient times till to the present. In particular, Ankara's strategic and geographic location has given the city many advantages over the course of its history (Kaya 2002).

Ankara is considered as one of the earliest settlements in Anatolia; however, there are some arguments on the dating of the city. Aktüre claims that the first founders of the settlement and its time cannot be exactly known (2000: 5) where on the other hand Buluç claims that according to the data acquired from the tumuli found within the Ankara hinterland, the area was occupied by medium and small sized tribes in 3000 BC (1994: 21). The oldest part of the city, the citadel was used by the Hittites as a military garrison (Kinal 1962: 43). After the fall of the Great Hittite

Empire in the 12th century BC, Ankara was occupied again by Phrygians by 8th century BC (Erzen 1946: 296).

Being located in the intersection of Roman trade roads, Ankara's most prosperous period may be traced back to the Roman Era. Even today, we can see many traces of the Roman Age, such as Temple of Augustus, Roman Baths and the column of Julian (Buluç 1994: 22). Ankara was under the control of Galatians for a short period of time from 2nd to 4th centuries. In that period the citadel walls were surrounding the city against the Persian attacks. Around 7th century, in order to have defense from the attacks of Arab forces, the city was retracted to the Inner Citadel area (Foss 1977: 60).

Being an intersection of the main trade routes, Ankara gained importance on the following Byzantine period. The city, being used as a military garrison was transformed into a commercial city (Aktüre 1987: 111). The citadel was constructed by Byzantines in the 9th century. The city was conquered by the Turks in 11th century; however the city lost its importance due to the change of the trade routes. For this reason the city remained as a secondary route until the end of 14th century and stopped developing (Bilgi 2012: 33). Faroqhi remarks that, in 14th century, the physical environment of Ankara did not change at all, it remained almost the same with the previous Byzantine period (Faroqhi 1994: 16)

The city started developing towards the outside of the fortifications surrounding the citadel at the end of 14th century. The most brilliant period of Ottoman Empire as well as the Mediterranean states, between 1500 and 1600, due to the population increase and Ankara became one of the most important cities in Anatolia again

(Faroqhi 1994: 17). With the increasing production and commerce activities, many hans around Atpazarı (which will be perceived as the center of the city for centuries) was constructed (Aktüre 1992: 33-41).

In the 17th century, Celali attacks caused the destruction of the commercial district and the residential units surrounding them. In order to prevent these attacks and provide protection from the possible attacks, the public got organized and constructed the city walls between 1607 and 1608 (Aktüre 1987). The city walls became an important urban element of the city as it constituted the border of the city from 17th century until late 19th century (Eyice 1972: 87-88).

In late 18th century, parallel to the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara lost its commercial importance again and became weak in terms of economy. The traders started to leave the city and replaced by the Armenian and Greek populations (Eyice 1972: 73).

On 19th century by when the population of Ankara was around 30000, half of this population was comprised of non-Muslim population who owned majority of the lands around the city (Önsoy 1994: 122). With the arrival of railway towards the end of 19th century, the export volume increased. Although Ankara may seem like an ordinary poor Central Anatolian town, the cosmopolitan population occupied with the western trade made it different (Ortaylı 2000).

With the outbreak of the First World War and the major fire that took place in 1916 which destroyed a broad area, Ankara became little more than an ordinary Anatolian city, and its situation seemed to be irreversible (Derieu 2013). The city

started to regain its former importance when it became the administrative center for the Kemalist forces due to its central location, allowing it to exert control over much of Anatolia (Tekeli, 1982). In 1923, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the capital city was moved from Istanbul to Ankara in order to locate the capital in a more central location (Fig 3.1).



Fig 3.1 Commercial center of Ankara at the beginning of 20th Century

Source: Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009

Mustafa Kemal, being the president, intended for the new capital to be a symbol of Westernization. The move of the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara for geopolitical reasons was also a symbolic move that took the world by surprise. Therefore, as part of the Westernization process, Ankara was designed to be a very modern city and it is the first planned city of the Republic Era that was planned to have wide boulevards and many green areas. The city rapidly grew and became one of the major urban centers in Turkey (Derieu 2013).

3.2 SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF ANKARA

In order to understand the urbanization process after it became the capital city and the transformation of the city to what it is today, I am going to study the history of Ankara in 3 developmental phases. According to Şengül's work (2001), the three phases were constituted using the "geological metaphor" approach of Massey (1984) developed in the field of industrial geography. Massey claims that every industrial development period creates its own industrial structure as a layer. Every layer is shaped using the previous layer as a foundation and becomes a foundation itself for the next one (Massey 1984). Therefore the spatial and social form of a settlement emerges by the accumulation of these layers. Although this approach was developed in order to understand the effects of industrialization processes on urban space, it is possible to use it in a broader sense to understand the different phases of urban transformation (Şengül 2001: 98-100). Following this, Şengül sets three different urbanization periods and three different urbanization layers in Turkey (2001).

The first one, which Şengül refers to as the "Urbanization of the Nation State," was the period from 1923 to the 1950s. Briefly, this period can be seen as reflecting the transition from a land order with its roots in the centuries-long Imperial Ottoman domination of Anatolia, to an order centered on the nation-state. The socio-spatial order of this period reflects a radical transformation as the patterns of land ownership of the previous phase and the new urban stratification show vast differences. Although there is a radical transformation, this period cannot be

described as a disengagement from the previous one as the transformation had started in the Ottoman Period. The centralization of the state, the establishment of a political-authority bounded by the nation-state and the constitution of a citizen-centered social order has its reflections in the urban landscape and especially in the capital city (2001: 103-104).

The second period, called the “Urbanization of Labor,” established a new layer of socio-spatial relations. Following the Second World War (1939–1945), there can be seen a vast migration from rural areas to urban areas. At the beginning of this period the migration from rural to urban areas caused many problems, however the relationship turned out to be a complementary one as time progressed. The relationship was problematic as the process of modernization was interrupted by the new low-income class that had migrated from the rural areas. The low-income group created their own socio-spatial structures contradicting the social structure that had been envisioned in the previous period. After a period of contradictions and bargaining, this new socio-spatial structure became complimentary to the intended structure (Şengül 2001, 104).

The last period is named as the “Urbanization of the Capital”. Although the urbanization of the capital had been an ongoing process throughout the previous periods, in the last 30 years, the capital became a hegemonic element as it became increasingly dominant over many spheres of life (Şengül 2001, 105).

3.2.1 Urbanization of the Nation State (1923-1950)

According to Altaban's research, Ankara, when it became the capital city, was a settlement with a population of 20.000. The opening of Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in 1920 and the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was the beginning of a new era for Ankara, as it was declared the capital city of the republic. With the modernization efforts of the Republican government, the main intention was to build a model city for the whole country. The main aim was to create a modern environment with new socio-cultural institutions and their reflection on the urban land (1998) (Fig 3.2).



Fig 3.2 Bentderesi, Tabakhane Mahallesi at the beginning of 20th Century

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009

This period was defined by the efforts of constructing a new republic, socially and spatially. In this period of change, there existed a conflict between the Ottoman

Empire's socio-spatial structure and the newly established republic's ideologies. As Şengül acknowledges, the Ottoman Empire had a strategy to expand its territory, the concept of "motherland" was never taken into consideration. On the other hand, when Ankara was declared the capital city, the main priority was to create the feeling of a "motherland" in Anatolia (Şengül, 2001). In this socially and economically distinctive period, a new architectural style representing the contemporary ideologies emerged. This nationalistic architectural style had a broad effect on the future of architecture which continues even today.

The first modern plan of Ankara was made by Şehremini Ali Bey. When this first city plan made by Şehremini Ali Bey (Fig. 3.3) was not enough to suffice the needs of an expanding urban entity, Lörcher, a German architect was invited to Ankara. He was asked to evaluate the situation of the town after the fire of 1916 which destroyed a third of the old city and the development opportunities. A plan and its report were ordered in 1923 and were completed in 1924 (Tuğaltan 2008). Lörcher plan brought forward ideas to transform the traditional city centre and reform the urban fabric, therefore was rejected by municipal commission (Türkoğlu, 2007: 75-77). This plan divided the city into two main areas, the old city, the area around the Castle and Ulus and Yenışehir that extends from Ulus to Kızılay until Çankaya today. When we look at the 1920s the residential areas were mainly concentrated around the Citadel and there existed some settlements in Cebeci and Yenışehir. In that period the center had a linear form with two different parts having different qualities. Also the newly set city center Ulus, started to expand towards the west (Tuğaltan, 2008).

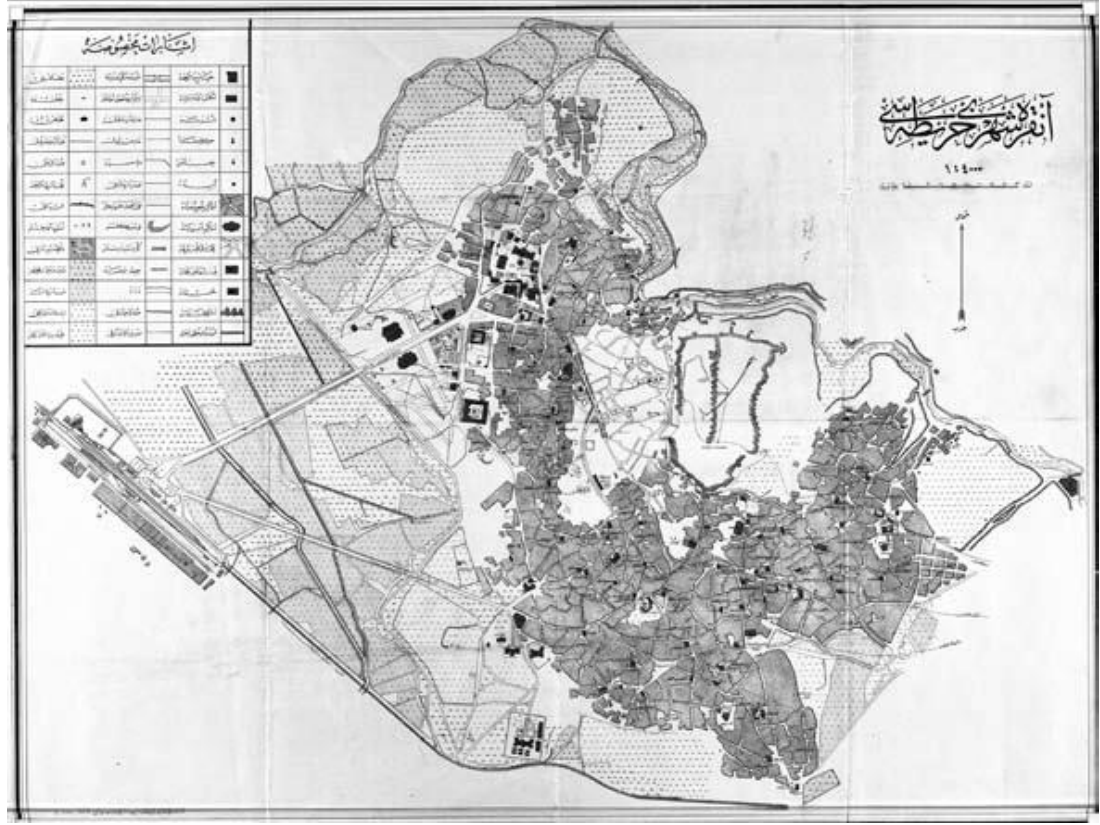


Fig 3.3 1924 Ankara Şehremaneti Map

Source: Cengizkan 2004

In 1925, Lörcher was asked to prepare a new plan for the 150 hectares of land located in the Yenışehir area. This plan (Fig 3.4) included decisions about the construction of new public buildings, roads, axis, and the spatial quality of the city; aiming to create a model for the newly constructed republic (Kara Kalpaklı Kent, 2001: 35-36). What Lörcher aimed for in this development plan could be explained in two stages; the first one being the rehabilitation of the old city around the citadel and the second one being the construction of the new city to the south (Bozdoğan 2012, 26-28). The Lörcher Plan had a vast effect on the formation of the new capital city (Fig 3.5 and Fig 3.6). However, it was not enough; the plan was limited in terms of size and scope and therefore was not able to cope with the uncontrolled growth

of the city which necessitated new measures to be taken (Türkoğlu, 2007). On the other hand, it did provide the outline of the Jansen planning program.



Fig 3.4 Lörcher Plan, 1924

Source: Günay 2005



Fig 3.5 Ulus Square, 1928

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 2009



Fig 3.6 A general view of the citadel from Ulus in Late 1920s

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 2009

So, what happened in Ankara until 1932 were regional interventions that were not part of a larger scale development plan. It became clear that a comprehensive plan was needed for the organization of the urban space. Therefore, in order to answer

the increasing need, a development plan competition was held and Hermann Jansen's plan was chosen to be the winner.

The Jansen plan (Fig 3.7) placed Atatürk Boulevard as the main axis providing the connection between the old center and the new city. With this plan, the Ulus-Çankaya axis and the green areas along this axis were established. However, this plan put Ulus as the isolated and preserved city center and placed Kızılay as a local center (Tankut 1993). The development around the axis connecting the city center to the residential areas caused a rise in the land values and triggered new business center formation around Kızılay (Fig 3.8 and Fig 3.9).

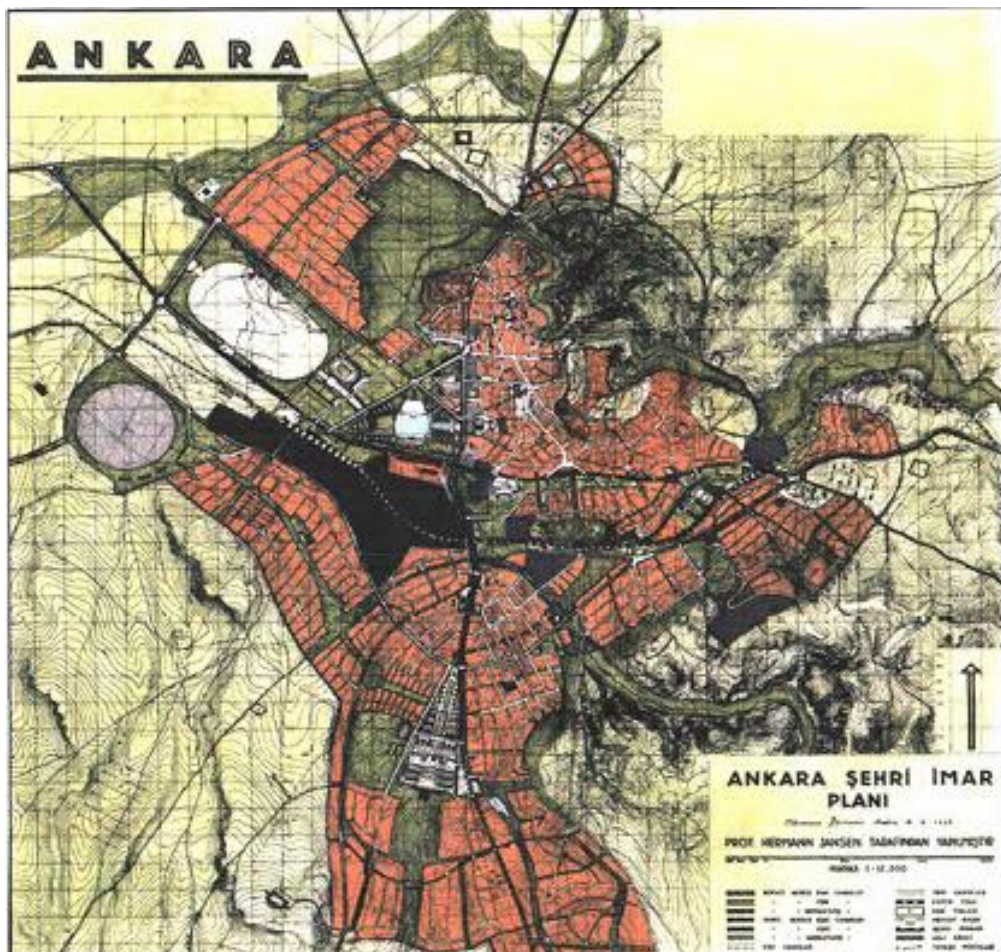


Fig 3.7 Development plan of the city of Ankara by Prof. H. Jansen (1932)

Source: Günay 2005



Fig 3.8 Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, 1940s

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009



Fig 3.9 Examples of residential housing proposed according to the Jansen Plan

Source: Çalışkan 2004

Günay summarizes this urban change by saying that the Jansen and Lörcher Plans caused the city to become constrained in the geo-morphological cavity by developing the city along the North-South axis. This decision caused the problems of today such as transportation, high land values and pollution (2005: 79).

After the Second World War (1945-1946), the population of Ankara increased tremendously due to migration from rural areas. The low income population settled in Ulus leading to a break in local investment and development while Kızılay became a prestigious scene where ministries were established (Bademli 1986). The population of the city was estimated to be around 300.000 (due to the economic crisis of the 1930s, it was estimated that the population would increase linearly) towards the end of 1970s. However it reached to this number towards the end of this period because of the vast migration from the rural areas.

The changing social and economic structures as well as the changing macro-form brought its own distinctive architectural style to this period. In the first half of this period, starting at the turn of the century, we can see the emergence of the First Nationalist Architectural Style, i.e. Ottoman Revivalism. This architectural style was followed by the Second Architectural Style, Turkish Modernism.

3.2.1.1 The First National Architecture (1908 – 1930)

The changing social order brought its own influences on architecture. This spatial change was started almost a decade before the proclamation of the republic in order to purge nationalist architecture of western influence. This era in the Turkish Nationalist Architecture is important as today's government has returned to the use of construction programs influenced by this style.

After the war, the first years were dedicated primarily to reconstruction and repair activities. After the loss of the First World War, the War of Independence was won under very hard conditions which left there public with a collapsed economy, tired people, and a half formed capital city (Aslanoğlu, 2010). As the country was devastated economically, the implementation of construction policies was very limited, mostly in the capital city. Also, the limited amount of money, technical staff (engineers and architects), and materials complicated this situation. Priority was given to erasing the marks of the war and transforming the capital into a modern city, which had not lost its Turkish identity (Bozdoğan 2001).

Culturally, at the turn of the century, the post-war scene triggered the emergence of several ideologies intended to strengthen ties among different populations. Ottomanism, which aimed to unite all different groups under the Ottoman Empire and Ummet, Islamic nationalism, had failed. Turkism, which was a romantic movement aimed to unite the Turkish race was rather successful. This movement aimed to investigate the roots of the Turkish population and re-nationalize the Turkish language which was losing its originality due to western influence. This movement was especially popular among the young population and publications were released accordingly. The nationalist movement had never achieved acceptance before the War of Independence due to the hesitancy of the dominant political power of the era (İttihat ve Terakki Hükümeti) to adopt Turkism, Islamism or Ottomanism (Aslanoglu, 2010).

Ziya Gökalp², with his views on Turkism was considered a very important pioneer in this sense when the First World War started. According to his view, the main elements that made up a nation were culture and religion, not ethnicity; therefore, in order not to lose Turkish identity, only the civilization should be adopted from the Europe, not the culture. The effects of Gökalp's view continued after the War of Independence as well (Kuruyazıcı, 2008). According to Altınışik, the Turkish nationalist approach was conceptualized by the "culture" and "civilization" duality, which had an effect on the physical form as well. With ideas of Turkish Nationalism growing under the influence of Ziya Gökalp, it became clear that architectural style should be a means to reflect nationalist feelings in this nation building process as the society was in a search of a national identity.

Parallel to the opposition of Turkish Nationalism against the political and economic pressure of the western world, a rejection of western styles in the field of architecture was also happening (Kuruyazıcı 2008). With the return of the architects who were sent to Europe for education, a new architectural style representing Turkish Nationalism was to be formed. Following this, starting in 1909 until the 1930s, a new architectural style dominated the field of architecture, denying western traditions. The First National Style as it is called today or National

² Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924) who was a Turkish writer, political activist and poet was considered as the chief ideologist of Turkey's creation and becoming a modern nation. According to Berkes Gökalp "laid the only plausible comprehensive cognitive map for Turkey's passage from a six-hundred year empire to a new nation state (Berkes 1954: 375 cited in Bonnet 2008). His Works were influential shaping the reforms of Mustafa Kemal and contributed to the development of Kemalist ideology and its legacy in the Turkish Republic. His thought were described as "cult of nationalism and modernation" as he rejected Ottomanism and Islamism and favored Turkism and Pan-Turkism (Moaddel 2005).

Architectural Renaissance as it was called at the time, this eclectic Ottoman Revivalism basically combines classical elements from Ottoman architecture and merges them e field of architecture, with the return of those architects, a new era begun (Yavuz, 1981). This period, between 1908 and 1930, called Ottoman revivalism, National Architecture Renaissance or First Nationalistic Architectural Era can be distinguished from the former eras by its characteristics.

The pioneers of this movement, Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey³, continued to practice this architectural style after the establishment of the republic as well. Although these architects were educated in Europe they never lost their emotional connection to their homeland. According to them, Ottoman architecture was not something incapable of adapting to the modern world, nor was it something exotic like the orientalist and post-Islamic styles popular in the 19th century. Ottoman architecture was an old and rich tradition that had all the components for it to transform into modern and national architecture (Aslanoğlu 2010).

They aimed to purge the field of architecture of the foreign influences while producing eclectic models as a result of their education in Europe (Aslanoglu 2010). Instead of using western architectural elements, Turkish architects used elements from their own past, from Anatolian Seljuk architecture and the classical Ottoman period (Fig 3.10 and Fig 3.11). It can be concluded that, by doing so, a new neo-ottoman architectural style was established (Kuruyazıcı 2008). Some other

³ Further information about Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey can be acquired from following resources: Batur, Afife. *M. Vedat Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*. Ed. Batur, Afife. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003.

Yavuz, Yıldırım. *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin 1870-1927*. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası ve Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009.

important architects (that include the foreign architects as well) following the path of Mimar Kemalettin and Vedat Bey are; Ahmet Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Ahmet Kemal, Tahsin Sermet, Ali Talat, Fatih Ülkü, Giulio Mongeri, among others.



Fig 3.10 İstasyon Street extending from Ulus Square to Ankara Train Station: Ankara Palas (Mimar Kemalettin) and Belvü Palas (Mimar Kemalettin) on the left, and Meclis (Vedat Tek) building are seen on the right

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent



Fig 3.11 Bankalar Street on 1920s: Tekel Başmüdürlüğü (Mongeri) on the right and Ziraat Bankası (Mongeri) building on the left side can be seen

Source: Dinçer 2009

This style was applied in many of the big cities. Ankara in particular, being the capital city, was in the need of major public construction. Therefore, in the historical city center of Ankara (Ulus) there is an abundance of buildings representing the era (Aslanoğlu 2010).

Batur makes generalizations about some characteristics of the buildings of the period. She says that despite the economic conditions of the era, most of the buildings were large scale, using modern construction techniques. They usually had symmetrical and axial mass designs, similar to those of the European neo-classic era. Elements such as columns, arched doors and the design of decorations carry motifs of line and form derived from Ottoman and Seljuk architecture (2005).

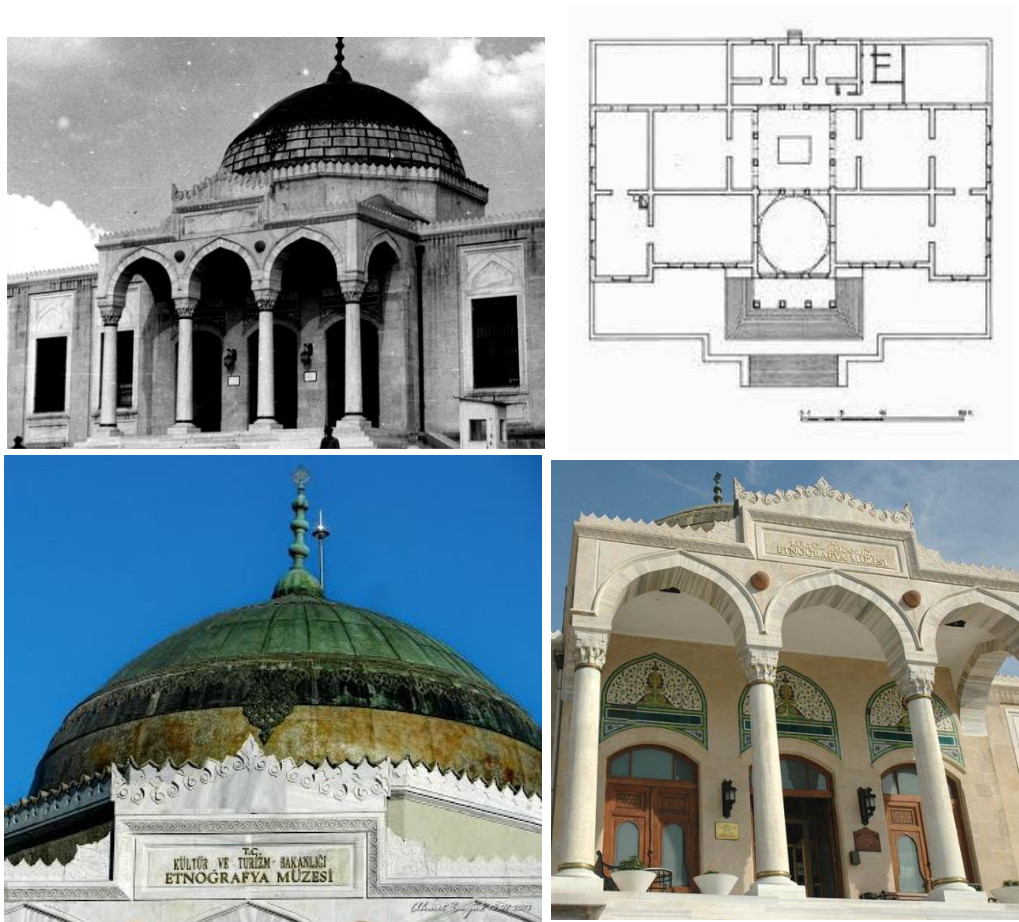


Fig 3.12 Etnografya Museum Ahmet Hikmet Koyunoğlu), plan and details

Source: Kuruyazıcı 2008

This ideology-architecture duality had shown itself mostly on the facades of the buildings as Ottoman style decorations. Almost every building was designed to have domes, arches, porches, and portals. Buildings which were usually two or three stories were designed to be symmetrical along an axis, influenced from neo-classical western architecture. Some buildings are divided into different zones along a horizontal axis and it is not unusual for such a plan to be implemented without considering the floor levels. The İş Bankası building (Fig 3.13) (designed by Mongeri and constructed on 1929) being a two-story building, is perceived to be three stories high from its façade. The entrances and the flanking of the bays were projected forward forming a frontispiece for emphasis. In some buildings, such as the Etnografya Museum (Fig 3.12) (designed by Koyunoğlu and constructed between 1925 and 1927) or Turk Ocağı (designed by Koyunoğlu and constructed between 1927 and 1930) buildings, the entrances were further emphasized with porches. The corners of the buildings that were situated on the road intersections were either rounded or elevated from the roof level and covered with a dome, making them resemble towers (Aslanoglu 2012) (Fig 3.14 and 3.15).

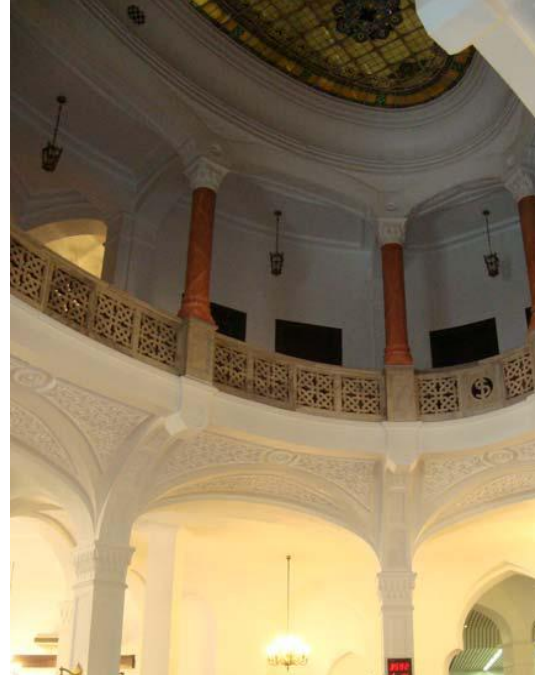


Fig 3.13 İş Bankası Building (Mongeri)

Source: Akşit 2010



Fig 3.14 Ankara Palas (Vedat Tek and Mimar Kemalettin)

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009



Fig 3.15 The Second Parliament Building (Vedat Tek)

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009

Alsaç concludes this period by saying that the 1st Nationalist Architectural Style or Ottoman Revivalism can be described as the new Turkish classicism. Although this style was developed by Turkish architects, the influence of 19th century European Classicism can be clearly seen. Similar to the post-war political environment in Europe, Turkish architecture at that period was oftentimes referred to be as being complicated, chaotic and unstable. Undergoing such a massive change in social and economic dimensions, the physical structure was also dynamic and unstable.

Architects were relatively free to create a new architectural style by combining traditional architectural elements with modern ones while aiming to strengthen the bonds between people and their past. Those buildings were answering the physical

needs but the main reason for them to be built was to answer the symbolic needs of people (1976).

From another point of view, this architectural movement was criticized for creating structures that look similar to each other. In Mimar journal, it was claimed that functionality was neglected (Mortaş, 1941). All the buildings were created so that they would reflect nationalistic feelings and it was not possible to distinguish a parliament building from a primary school. Aslanoğlu agrees with this criticism and explains the use of stylistic Ottoman elements aimed to reflect nationalistic feelings (2010).

Altınışık further criticizes this era by claiming, despite all the efforts, nationalism in the field of architecture can be considered as being superficial. The Turkish nationalistic approach was implemented by simply pasting Ottoman architectural elements on Western neo-renaissance style buildings. The structures were usually criticized for being eclectic, formal, and not keeping up with technology (2008).

Technically speaking, Eldem criticizes this movement for not taking advantage of the advancing technology. The use of arches and domes was superficial as there was no need to use them as structural elements on a building made up of concrete. He says that the outcomes were far from reflecting a national style. According to him, the only reason for these elements to be used was to copy the old, traditional styles which resulted creating a chaotic architectural style (1939).

Bozdoğan explains these criticisms by referring to the transformation from an empire to a nation state and the changes this situation brings in every field. First of

all, Ottoman revivalism was the first time when Turkish architects systematically engaged with new types of buildings, construction techniques, and design principles. It was the first large-scale construction agenda for identity construction and nation building. It can also be viewed as the last effort to revitalize Ottoman-Islamic architecture before it was transformed into a modern-western style. In addition to this, the very first architects of the era were former Ottoman architects. As they were trying to establish a new style, very important institutional transformations were happening in their careers. The ambiguity of the situation, establishing a new architectural style that would reflect the glorious Ottoman-Islamic past, yet appear modern, lead to different readings and interpretations (2001).

According to Batur, from today's point of view Ottoman revivalism was not enough to meet the construction program and the needs of the new regime – it lacked the ability to give an image to the city and, on a smaller scale, on the level of individual projects, the desired architecture was expensive, time consuming and lacked the characteristics to build identical construction cooperatives (2005).

Towards the end of 1920s, as tendencies of the new regimes became clearer, a series of decisions had been taken in the cultural/ideological, political, and economic spheres. Efforts were made to reflect the national structure of the state where the level of a contemporary civilization is adopted (Batur 2005).

By 1931 this style was totally abandoned. References to Ottoman architecture were anathematized by republican architects with the adaptation of the western-oriented and secular policies. In some extreme cases, existing Ottoman Revivalist

buildings were refaced and their facades were turned into modern ones (Bozdoğan 2001).

Today, in the physical fabric of Ankara this distinction is quite visible. The Ottoman Revivalist buildings that were constructed around the 1920s are located in the older section of the city, which was constructed before or during the Lörcher plan era, mostly around the Ulus area. With the Jansen Plan, the city grew along the Atatürk Boulevard axis that joins the old traditional centre and the modern part of the city and the modern architecture was reflected along this high-density axis.

An extensive examination of the First Nationalist Architectural Style in Ankara is given in Appendix 1.

3.2.1.2 The Second Nationalist Architecture (1930 – 1950)

The stylistic shift around 1930s can still be read from the physical fabric of Ankara. The Ottoman Revivalist buildings of the 1920s are situated in the older section of the city while Yenışehir, the southern extension of the city, has a more modern face as the structures were influenced by German and Central European modernism (Fig 3.16) (Bozdoğan 2012:25-27).



Fig 3.16 Higher Institute of Agriculture (Egli)

Source: Ankara Kara Kalpaklı Kent 2009

The ideologies rooted in the revolution brought a suspicion towards the tendency to re-use “history and tradition” in the Early Republican Period. Everything that was a reminder of the Ottoman Era was stigmatized as being unprogressive (Balamir, 2003).

Egli and Holzmeister⁴, being the pioneering architects of the era created the modern face of Ankara. The modern buildings were built with modern materials. The examples of the era include the Higher Institute of Agriculture, the Faculty of Political Sciences and the National Musical Conservatory. What this style emphasized was the functionality of the building and therefore they lacked the stylistic decorations. Unlike the first National Architecture, this modernist approach’s concerns included not only building structures but also parks and recreational areas (Bozdoğan 2001).

⁴ Further information about Egli and Holzmeister and their works in Turkey can be acquired from the references:

Bozdoğan, Sibel: *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic.* Seattle/Londra 2001

Holzmeister, Clemens: *Milat Döneminin Mimarı. Otobiyografi, Eserler listesi.* Salzburg/Stuttgart/Zürich 1976

3.2.2 Urbanization of the Labor (1950-1980)

Following the Second World War, this period represents the reestablishment of the political system which shifted towards a multi-party democratic system. The efforts at unification with the West were provided mostly by the U.S. Marshall program which influenced the economy of Turkey. The modernization of agricultural production led to a massive migration from the rural areas to urban areas. Ankara, being the capital city, was one of the cities most affected by the consequences of this rapid migration (Çalışkan, 2009).

This period, is named the “Urbanization of Labor” by Şengül. This period was the most unstable period for the nation; the migration of an unskilled labor force to the cities caused a surplus of labor. This period included two coup d’états, rapid urbanization, massive migration and general social unrest. In the societal dimension, a new labor class appeared that led to ideological differentiation resulting in the polarization of society. As a result of all of the above, many changes in the spatial character of the city and the city centre took place. Furthermore, planning processes were institutionalized in this period (Şengül 2005). This era, being one of the most dynamic periods in the history of republic, cannot be explained in detail in this thesis. Therefore only the spatial aftermath of this dynamic period will be emphasized.

The population reached 300,000 at the beginning of 1950s, much sooner than was expected. In order to cope with the problems related to the rapid population increase a new competition was held in 1955. The winning project was the Yücel-

Uybadin Plan (Fig 3.17), although it was a limited plan as it made some further additions to Jansen Plan.

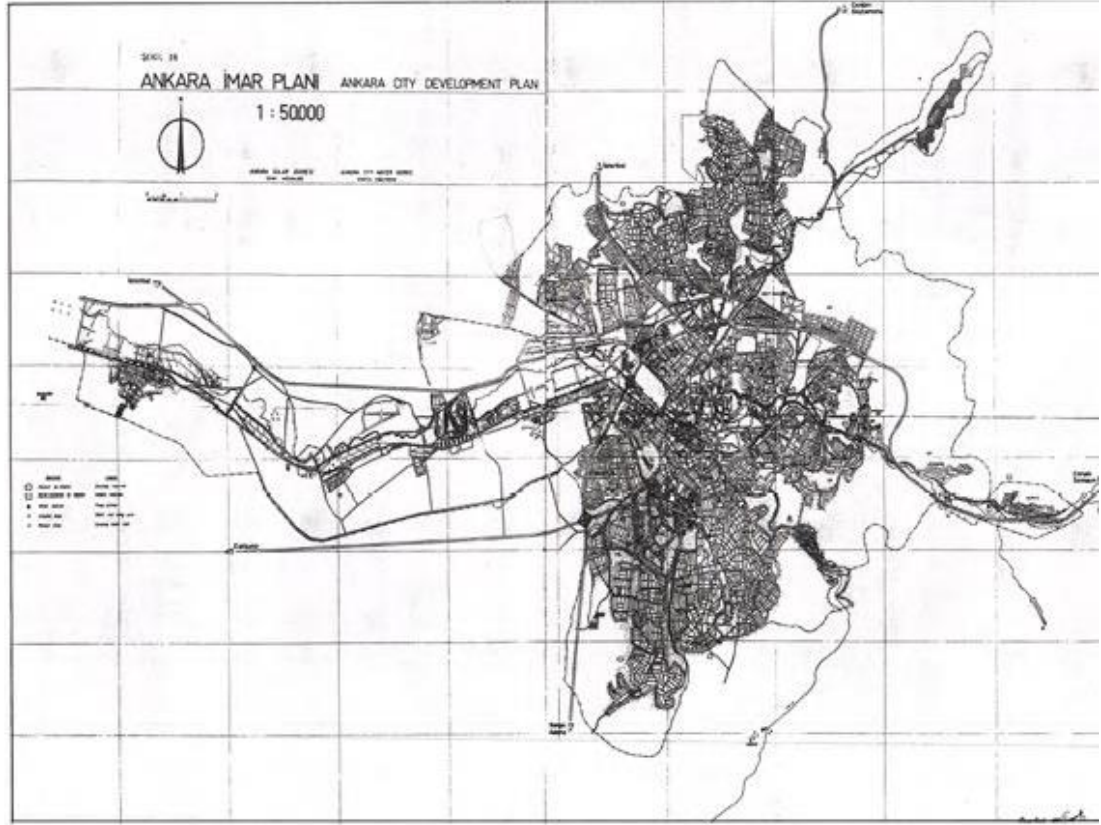


Fig 3.17 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, 1957

Source: Günay 2005

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan aimed to create a dense and homogeneous city; therefore it brought restrictions and regulations. One of the most important regulatory decisions included in the scope of the plan was about restricting new developments in order to plan boundaries. The restricted development within the borders of the municipality resulted in a drastic increase in land prices, thereby encouraging unauthorized construction in areas the low-income, newly-migrated families could afford. These squatter areas (gecekondu) around the main arteries formed the fringes of the city until late 1970s (Çalışkan 2009) (Fig 3.18).



Fig 3.18 Gecekondu districts throughout the main outward arteries in the year of 1966

Source: Çalışkan 2009

At first, the “gecekondu” problem was not seen as an issue that needed to be immediately addressed. It was seen as a self-supply method of answering the need for housing (Günay 2005). In the mid 1970s, by the time socially reproduced gecekondu became a part of the dual organization of the city, it began to be seen as a major problem (Tuçaltan 2008). It can be concluded that the migration from rural areas to urban areas created the conditions necessary for the social division between labor and high-income classes to be reflected in the stratification of the urban landscape.

The main gecekondu areas in the city were concentrated around Altındağ, Yenidoğan and Kayaş. The migrant population was geographically distributed in the city according to where they came from, thereby forming their own communities (Tuçaltan 2008). In this period, Keçiören appears to have become a component of the urban scene. These rapid urbanization processes caused the formation of gecekondu areas in Keçiören as well⁵.

By the end of this period, Ankara was occupied by two different groups; the middle-high income groups shaped by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan and the low income groups

⁵Keçiören area will be the emphasis of the chapter 4.

shaped organically around those areas (Günay, 2005). The Yücel-Uybadin Plan did not satisfy the need for a planned development form for the gecekondu areas due to the fact that regulations concerning gecekondu were not in accordance with the upper scale plan; they were just temporary solutions to the growing problem (Turan 2007).

3.2.3 Urbanization of the Capital (1980 onwards)

The coup d'état of 1980, being a milestone in Turkish political history, caused transformations in the political climate and urban fabric of the city. Şengül names this period as "Urbanization of the Capital". The main factor in the shift from "labor centered urbanization" to "capital centered urbanization" was the military in this period since they were in charge following the coup d'état. In the neo-liberal era, with the rise of capitalism, the state-based import substitution model was left. Export-oriented, market based economic policies were implemented. The most important change was the allowance of import of foreign products. With this new economic model, the privatization issue returned to the urban scene after a long time (2009). In other words, the land was commodified for the sake of sustaining capitalist relations (Tuğaltan 2008).

In this period the city started to lose its characteristics as being a complementary unit. As a characteristic of the capitalist economy, the middle class started to be dissolved while the rich became richer and poor became poorer. This duality

spatially showed itself as a stratified urban fabric (Ataöv and Osmay 2007: 67). The low-income group moved to other parts of the city, creating communities which led to social and spatial conflict with the rest (Uzun 2005).

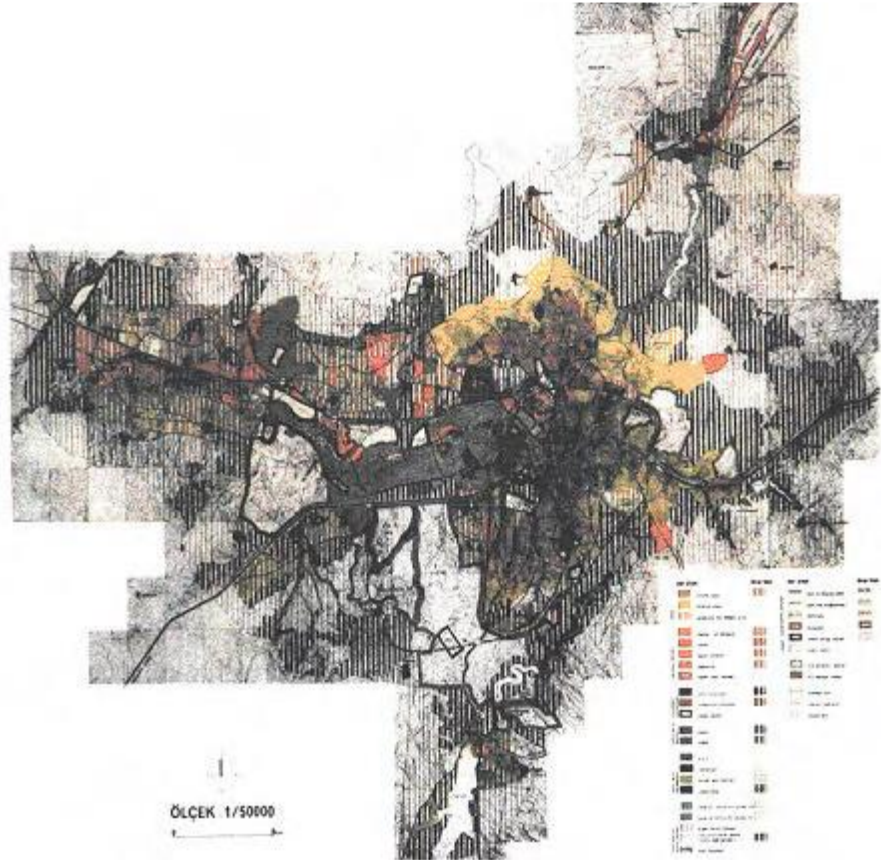


Fig 3.19 1990 Plan

Source: Günay 2005

The 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan (Fig 3.19) prepared in 1975 and the Ankara 2015 Plan prepared in 1984 aimed to end the social stratification taking place in the city and redistribute the population more evenly. However, the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan failed to resolve the issue of the gecekondu settlements (Fig 3.20) and the Ankara 2015 Plan focused on making use of new planning approaches and technology, and therefore lacked the political dimension

needed to attain this intention (Günay 2005; Tuğaltan 2008). On the other hand, some planning decisions address in gecekondur issue transformed parts of the city. Although not in its entirety, some of the land provided by the clearance of gecekondur areas was used for mass housing projects as new residential areas at the periphery of the cities (Özden 2002). Places like Keçiören which were excluded from the Yücel-Uybadin plan, started to be integrated to the city (Günay 2005).



Fig 3.20 Gecekondur settlements in Keçiören at the beginning of 1990s

Source: Pınarevli 2005

In 1994, with the local elections, a new administration run by a conservative party, the Refah Partisi, came to power both in some important localities and the Greater Municipality of Ankara. This new local government had a different construction based approach. The most comprehensive transformations and improvements took place in the Keçiören area (Tuğaltan 2008). This Keçiören transformation will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

The 2000s were characterized by the European Union issue that dominated every sector. In this period the nature of the socio-economical classes had changed as well. It was no longer composed of unskilled migrants but the new middle class

(Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). In order to provide new housing and improve the existing housing conditions, new large scale transformation plans as well as ongoing privatization policies were implemented (Tekeli 2005).

In 2003, with the general elections, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party) came into the power. With the AK Parti's rise to power, 2004 stands as a milestone in the political history of Ankara. For the implementation of an economically and socially based urban transformation project at the Northern Entrance of Ankara, a new law was passed through the parliament; the North Ankara Transformation Project Law No: 5104. As the necessary legal background was provided a massive transformation project began to be implemented (Tuğaltan 2008) (Fig 3.21). This project did not remain as the sole example. More than 40 transformation projects all over Ankara were prepared (Akin 2007). Keçiören became an area which has changed completely from a gecekondu settlement area into an urban settlement that was viewed as one of the best examples of AK Parti government policy.

Further on, in 2007, Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara prepared the 2023 Plan for Ankara. This plan proposes interventions in five different zones. The northern zone puts emphasis on the further transformation of Keçiören while proposing further decentralization (2023 Plan Report).

Tuğaltan criticizes the Turkish Government's approach towards transformation as being insensitive to urban issues and urban planning. Gecekondu clearance or improvement was used as an excuse for building luxury high-rise buildings, gated communities, and shopping malls in the name of urban regeneration (2008).



Fig 3.21 Transformation project that was realized by Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) in the Northern section of Ankara

Source: “Başkent, yeni projeyle 8 bin gecekondudan kurtuluyor”, Arkitera, 2014

3.3 MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION PROCESS IN ANKARA

Şenyapılı concludes that 1950-1980 is the period when most of the social and economic problems (both in micro and macro level) emerged. A foreign-dependent

economic development is the reason why both rural and urban populations are facing so many social problems (2001). As explained above, the shift in the economic structure of the country caused a mass migration from rural to urban areas.

For the Ankara case, between 1950 and 1980 the urban population of Ankara increased 12 times (Kartal 1982). Kartal further explains the migration process by pointing out its difference from the urbanization process. He claims that the recently migrated rural population becomes the urban population after a period of time. As the new migrants do not know the city they migrated to, they move to the places where they are close to their relatives and acquaintances. In a few years' time they create their own local communities without being assimilated to the urban culture. Kartal further proposes a model that explains the urbanization of the rural population in detail and concludes that the transformation takes around 40-50 years (1982).

While going through this transformation, as migrants come to the unfamiliar urban terrain of the city, ill-equipped to adapt to their new surroundings, they are left with a sense of being overwhelmed, shock, and anomie. This obliges them to seek more secure environments and communities, usually composed of "hemşehri" and relatives. They distance themselves from urban life by pursuing their rural life-style in an urban environment, usually in squatter areas in the case of Ankara (Baştuğ, 1979).

During this transformation taking 40-50 years' time, the migrated population starts to assimilate in the city. While doing so they seek their roots, or something that

belongs to their past that they can hold on to. This is usually the rural-style communal life-style. The conservative regime that came into the power after the 1980s used architecture to provide symbols from the past to those communities.

As the case study to be analyzed in this thesis, the Keçiören district was once a squatter settlement area that drew a tremendous amount of migration from rural to urban areas and is an example of the reflection of the conservative rightist ideology on space. This was done on two levels. The first level is the elimination of republican modernism from the collective urban memory. This was done by the reestablishment of Ottoman and Seljuk elements in architecture (Elçin 2008). On a societal level, it represents an identical formation that creates a feeling of “us and them”, which causes the populations living in this area to have even tighter bonds on a societal level. Thus, they were provided with social bonds that they can hold on to psychologically and symbolic architecture that they can hold on to physically.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: KEÇİÖREN DISTRICT

4.1 BRIEF INFORMATION ABOUT KEÇİÖREN

Keçiören, located approximately 3 km away from the city center, covers the northern portion of the city. It is the second largest district of Ankara covering a 190 km² area with a population of 848.305 according to 2013 data (Barış, Uçkaç and Uslu 2009 and TUIK). The districts neighboring Keçiören are Altındağ from the east and southeast, Yenimahalle from the South and the west, Kazan from the northeast and Çubuk from the North (Kalaycıoğlu 2006) (Fig 4.1). Today, Keçiören is divided into 50 local neighborhood units, mahalle the largest ones being Etlik, İvedik, Kalaba and Aktepe. ("Mahalle/Muhtar | Keçiören Belediyesi" on 20.03.2014).

In its macroform, the district initially developed linearly along the main roads, but lost its linear shape due to urban growth on the southern portion. Since it covers a large area, outside its town centre several sub-centers are located in the fringes. The geography of the district restricts its development on the northern and eastern sides. The main highway, which creates a ring around Ankara and provides one of

the main entries to the city passes through the north of the densely urbanized part of the district (Kalaycıoğlu 2006). The Çubuk River runs through this area.

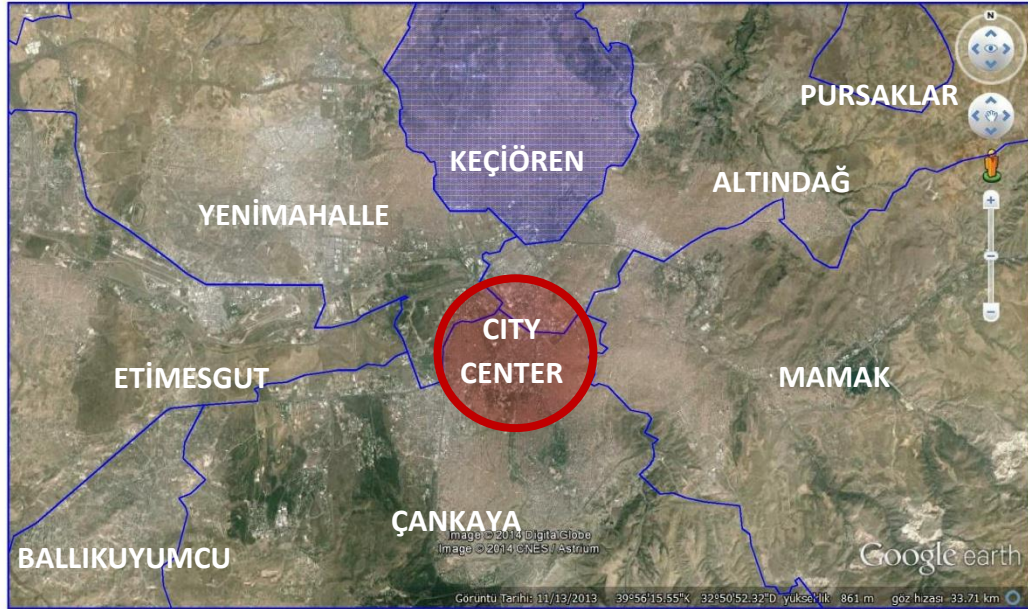


Fig 4.1 Location of Keçiören and the neighboring districts

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

4.2 HISTORY OF KEÇİÖREN

Until the 1940s, before the rural-urban migration took place, Keçiören was a recreational area used during the summer where vineyards and orchards were found for centuries. In history, Keçiören is described as a small agricultural town with rural character. The district was not heavily populated, and there were small houses in large green areas. In the early 20th century, it began to be used as a summer residence by the middle and upper classes (Pınarevli 2005). During the War of Independence, the Faculty of Agriculture situated in this district was used as the command center by Mustafa Kemal (Alkan 2006).

According to the Jansen Plan (1932), the typical designs of the vineyards and gardens were to be protected (Fig 4.2). Up until the 1950s the district managed to preserve its characteristics. The Kalaba and Aktepe neighborhoods were the core of the district. During 1940s and 1950s many proposals for a higher density settlement were made, but most of them were rejected as they conflicted with the Jansen Plan strategies for the protection of the district's original character (Şenyapılı 2004).



Fig 4.2 Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center (VEKAM): One of the last traditional vineyard houses in Keçiören

Source: www.vekam.org.tr on 24.05. 2014

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the increasing migration from the rural to urban areas brought the need for more housing, but no solutions were proposed to resolve the issue. These low-income groups produced their own solution, since they were not able to find suitable housing, they produced “gecekondu”. In the 1940s gecekondu did not cause any serious problems as they were usually concentrated around one area (Etlik today) and they were low-density. However, in the 1950s there occurred a rise in the number of gecekondu in Keçiören, but this shift was not enough to change the characteristic of the district (Şenyapılı 2004). On the other hand, in some parts of Keçiören that are extensions of the city center, several housing zones were created by the government to control the rising population (Pınarevli 2005). Towards the end of the 1950s, the new Ankara Plan prepared by Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin proposed new settlement areas around

Keçiören. These areas were designed to sustain denser populations by using the system of blocks and parcels. Nonetheless, this new plan proposal did not contain any strategies to cope with the rising gecekondu problem (Şenyapılı 2004).

In 1966, Keçiören became the part of Altındağ district. In 1970, with the preparation of the 1990 Ankara Plan, decentralization of the population from the inner city, which included Keçiören area, was proposed. For the first time, a proposal for the prevention of squatter settlements was made, however the scope of these prevention strategies did not cover all of the gecekondu zones (Kalaycıoğlu 2006).



Fig 4.3 Gecekondu Settlements in Keçiören in 1970s

Source: Saylan 2008

After the 1960s the migration rate accelerated. People were migrating to Keçiören from districts that were situated far away from the city centre, such as Kızılcahamam, from nearby cities such as Bolu, Yozgat, Çorum, Çankırı, and from the more distant cities like Erzurum. Keçiören, once a district used mostly by governmental workers (memur), started to lose its original characteristics after the 1970s (Fig 4.3 and Fig 4.4). Local tradesmen and gecekondu owners started to dominate the area. The migration caused the local population composed of

Armenians, Romans, Jews, and Turks to dissolve and was replaced by a population that could be defined by its Alevi-Sunni characteristics (Kurtoğlu 2003).



Fig 4.4 Typical urban pattern in Keçiören after 1970s until 1990

Source: Pınarevli 2005

In 1984 Keçiören was declared a municipality district under the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. This gave the Keçiören Municipality authority to make and implement 1/1000 scale construction improvement (İslah ve İmar Planı) plans especially for the gecekondu areas. The completion of these plans took place in 2004, extending over a period of 20 years. With these plans, the density and social infrastructure of the area was reconsidered. The building density had been increased to 4-storey high apartment blocks and the social infrastructure to support them needed to be expanded. The physical form of Keçiören today is mostly created with the “Construction Improvement Plans” that were made between 1994 and 2004 (Kalaycıoğlu 2006).

It can be concluded that the main deterioration of Keçiören started in the 1950s with the increased migration from the rural to urban areas. Up until the 1970s or

even 1984 the area was left to its own devices, when the situation became irreversible. The local elections of 1994 represent a milestone in the history of Keçiören, as the change of the local government transformed the district politically and physically (Fig 4.5).



Fig 4.5 Apartmentalization of Gecekondu areas

Source: Pınarevli 2005

4.3 KEÇİÖREN AFTER 1994

1994 was a very important turning point in the history of Keçiören as the Republican Identity of Ankara transformed into a conservative one that would change the face of Keçiören and create “Keçiörenli.” What created a sense of community in the area among groups of people from different ethnicities and backgrounds was that they belonged to a lower-income group. In the areas without

a development plan, this was reflected as gecekondu and in the areas having a development plan this was reflected as low-quality housing. This structure created a base to support them in the upcoming local elections (Aydın, et al. 2003).

Furthermore the ethnic relations and kinship among groups helped Islamic conservative movements to emerge and spread in the district (Kurtoğlu 2003). The dominant power of the period, Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), successfully used and manipulated the Islamic movements. The domination of the political scene with Islamic ideals fundamentally transformed the way local and central arenas reproduced space (Şahin 2007).

Melih Gökçek, current mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, served as the district mayor from 1984 to 1989 and started the process. He used policies that would enable the emergence of Islamic enclaves and suburbs where the Islamic lifestyle would be dominant. In this respect, he used planning to legitimate the transformation of public space into mosques, Islamic student hostels, “külliye’s,” and Islamic housing settlements. These new structures also represented Gökçek’s understanding of aesthetics and landscape. A style bearing Seljuk-Ottoman forms and traditional features became the dominant architecture in the district. Through the creation of a new environment by using architecture and planning, they prepared a base for the upcoming elections of 1994 (Şahin 2007).

With 1994 elections when Turgut Altınok of Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi famous for its nationalistic ideology came to the power, transforming the character of the district. The departure from modern Turkish ideology leads to the social reproduction of space resulting in creating a new architectural form and urban forms. Turgut Altınok

was chosen to be the mayor of the district in the 1999 and 2004 local elections as well therefore serving until 2009. As he served for 15 years, the transformation process of Keçiören continued without any intervention (Pınarevli 2005).

One of the most important characteristics of this new local regime was their new approach to alienating the district from the rest of the city while aiming for a new spatial order (Aydın, et al. 2003). The first action that the new municipal government took was to change the emblem of the district into one composed of abstract representations of a crescent and minarets instead of the old one bearing a human figure (Fig 4.6). Their second action was to change names of the streets. Streets that used to have names related to “peace and freedom” concepts were given the names of martyrs that were killed in southeast Turkey and famous Turkish-Islamic ancestors (Kurtoğlu 1998). This was how the politicians were using the nationalist and historical values of the residents (Pınarevli 2005).



Fig 4.6 New emblem of Keçiören Municipality

Source: www.kecioren.bel.tr on 26.05.2014

The major transformation took place in the public areas used for recreational purposes. The best example of this transformation can be seen in the area containing the municipality complex and its surroundings. Most important of these public areas is the square in front of the Keçiören Municipality building. The

arrangements that were done in the area include: the ceremonial area, an open air museum inscriptions of Orhun, statues of famous Turkish-Islamic ancestors and Şehitler Anıtı (Martyrs Monument), a waterfall, and a castle together with its fortifications. This area was meant to be a scene where the new ideology could be spatially exhibited from its position on the main artery linking the district to the rest of the city; in other words, this area can be considered as the main entrance to the district. This area where one is obliged to pass in order to enter or leave the district constitutes a border between the Republican Ankara and a newly-emerging Islamic district (Aydın et al. 2003).

After the transformation of the areas surrounding the municipality complex, the local politicians took the liberty of making further changes. They started to regulate the architecture of the residential areas by bringing standard models for their facades. The façade elements of monumental Seljuk-Ottoman architecture, stylized floral motifs of Islamic art, traditional Turkish carpentry designs, and Sultan signatures were applied to the façades of the residential apartments creating a new eclectic architectural language based on the cultural ideology of Turkism and Islam (Saylan 2008). Turgut Altınok, former district mayor of Keçiören, on many occasions proudly said that he himself chooses the façade designs of the buildings and sets the use of traditional motifs and certain materials as a rule for the contractors (Şahin 2007).

4.4 THE CASE

The Keçiören district was chosen to be the case study of this research for a number of reasons. Firstly, Keçiören is one of the oldest districts in Ankara. That being said, it witnessed many different transformative periods in the history of Ankara.

Furthermore, its involvement in the vagaries of history contributes to its significance.

First of all, in the earlier history of Ankara it was used by the upper and middle class as a recreational suburb before and after the establishment of the republic where one could find vineyards and agricultural land. During the War of Independence, the Faculty of Agriculture served as the headquarters for a period of time. Secondly, during the 1950s Keçiören was one of the places that had received a vast amount of migration which eventually led to the emergence of squatters' camps and caused social and economic degradation in the area. It eventually became a district that could be characterized by its dominant "gecekondu" architecture. Finally, it shines as an important example of the reflection of the political-Islam process. Even before AKP came into the power, under the control of Gökçek, the process of Islamization had started. After 1994, when the moves to isolate Keçiören from the rest of the city started to give results, the process became much more obvious from the social and spatial urban sphere. Today, as it can be considered as the stronghold of the AKP government, the dominant group in the area is composed of supporters of the Party. Bourdieu states that the dominant group has the power to declare their culture as worthy of being sought, which makes Keçiören an example where space

is socially reproduced (Bourdieu 1984). It is the perfect example of the nested relationship between the local and general politics (Kurtoğlu 2003).

Another reason why this area was chosen as the case study is that it represents the aesthetic considerations and image of the changing political powers. The series of transformations that took place throughout the political history of the district are spatially reproduced. With the changing political variables and mechanisms of the local municipality in the last two decades, as the local politicians use architecture as a representation of their ideology, the identity of Keçiören continues to change. This spatial representation of the dynamic power and ideology shift makes Keçiören a perfect case (Fig 4.7).

In the next section, a detailed survey of the chosen structures representing the eclectic architecture of the area is given (Fig 4.8).

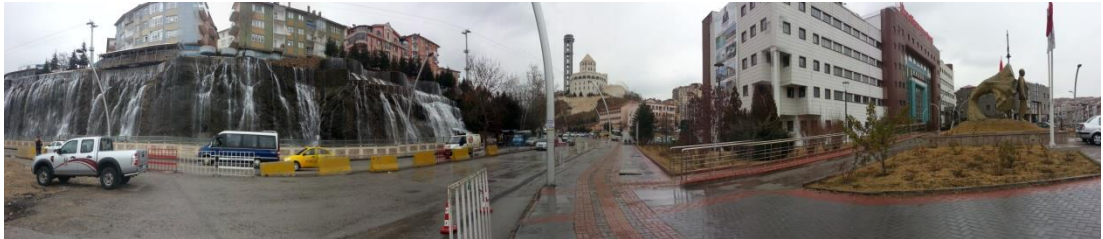


Fig 4.7 General view of Keçiören entrance zone, the waterfall, municipality building and Estergon Cultural Center is visible

Source: Photograph by author



Fig 4.8 Image showing the areas that were analyzed in detail in the scope of the research

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

4.4.1 Public Buildings



Fig 4.9 Image showing the public areas along Fatih Boulevard

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

4.4.1.1 Municipality Complex

The municipality complex is situated on the main boulevard (Fatih Street) serving as an entrance to the district. It is located in the same area where Estergon Turkish Cultural Center and Residential Area B is located. The complex is composed of the Keçiören Municipality building, Kaymakamlık Building, the ceremonial area, and the open-air museum (Fig 4.10).

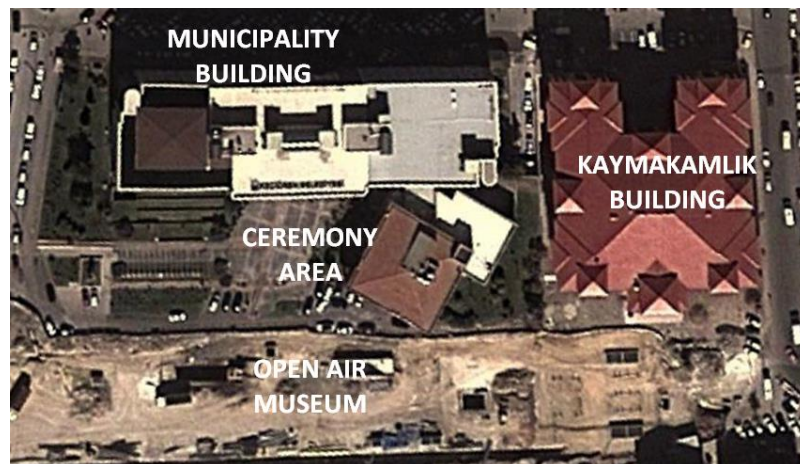


Fig 4.10 Satellite image showing the Municipality Complex

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author



Fig 4.11 Keçiören Kalaba Square: the exhibition/ceremony area and the municipality building and Fatih Boulevard

Source: www.kecioren.bel.tr on 26.05.2014

The core of this area is the ceremonial area also called as Kalaba Square that is bounded by the Municipality and the Kaymakamlık building (Fig 4.11). According to the original development plan, this area was designed to be public space where the community and the administration would meet. In front of the Municipality building, bounding the ceremonial area, the statues of Turkish-Islamic ancestors and the flags of 16 Turkic states were placed (Fig 4.12). This composition is completed with a statue of Mustafa Kemal although politically, the Municipality formed in contradiction to Republican ideology. The main aim of creating such a composition is to emphasize the continuity of the Turks throughout history.



Fig 4.12 Statues in front of Municipality Building and the statue of Mustafa Kemal

Source: Photographs by author

The area facing the municipality building is designed as an open air museum. The Martyrs Monument and Orhun inscriptions are exhibited in the open air museum (Fig 4.13 and Fig 4.14). The Orhun Inscriptions are important as they are the first examples of Turkish written documents known. The exact replicas of the monuments are the ones that were erected to Bilge and Kul-Tigin, the sons of Kutlugh Ilteris Kaghan of the second Eastern Gokturk Kaghans. What makes these Orhun Inscriptions important is that they have been accepted as representing the Turkish roots. This design was completed with a monument representing a form taken from the Temir-Kapig epic stories. Temir-Kapig is a part of one of the first spoken legendary stories belonging to Turkish history (www.encyclopediabritannica.com on 20.03.2014). A symbol picturing a crescent surrounding the globe is placed on this monument. The Martyrs Monument (Fig 4.15), which was built as a memorial for the soldiers that were killed by the PKK in southeast Turkey is situated not far from the Orhun Inscriptions. The PKK was very active in southeast Turkey during 1990s and the names of the soldiers that were killed during that period are inscribed on the monument. According to the book that was published in 2004 for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Turgut Altınok as the district mayor, the monument is composed of 4 parts. The first is the Turkish Flag made out of cast bronze; the second part is composed of reliefs representing the war against terrorism. The third part of the monument is the inscriptions of the names of the martyrs. Lastly, the fourth part of the statue is composed of decorative elements. These decorations include Seljuk and Ottoman floral and ceramic designs, a couplet from the famous Turkish

historian/journalist/writer Cemal Kutay, and a versicle from the Quran
(Ankara'nınParlayanYıldızı Keçiören 2004 on 20.03.2014).



Fig 4.13 Open-air museum showing different statues and Municipality Building in the background
Source: Pınarevli 2005



Fig 4.14 Orhun Inscriptions, Temir Kapig monument and the symbol (the crescent and the globe)
Source: Saylan 2008



Fig 4.15 Şehitler Anıtı (Martyr's Monument) and the plate that has the martyr's names on

Source: Photograph by author

These compositions described above are designed to signify the immortality and dominance of the Turkish nation. The idea of world domination was meant to be metaphorically understood (Aydın, et al. 2003).

According to Pınarevli, the arrangement of the area was done in a way that would guide people to explore the area, not stay and rest. He considers the area as being designed as a monumental zone rather than an urban recreational park (2005).

Saylan further adds that, the landscape arrangement was designed in a way that they would be seen and perceived from the main Fatih Boulevard. All the monuments in the area are placed faced towards the road, not towards the ceremonial area or to the Municipality building (2008).

Keçiören Municipality building (Fig 4.16), completed in 1997, is said to be the biggest service building in Turkey. It is the first “transparent building” that does not

possess any partition walls. The building has two main entrances named after two Ottoman Emperors, Fatih and Kanuni ("Keçiören'i Adeta Yeniden Yarattık" on 20.03.2014). The layout of the building itself resembles the monumental structures of the Neo-Classical style and has a modern look with a façade composed of modern materials. On the other hand, the decorative elements on the building are taken from the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. Decorating the façade with such elements as tiles, the signature of Fatih the Conqueror, the portal, and the emperor's engraving all represent a rebellion against Republican ideology (Aydın, et al. 2003).



Fig 4.16 Municipality Building and the monumental entrance

Source: Photograph by author



Fig 4.17 Kaymakamlık Building

Source: www.panaromio.com on 24.05.2014

The complex further extends towards the East with the Kaymakamlık Building (Fig 4.17). This building carries the main characteristics of the Ottoman Revivalism. Resembling the structures that were built in Ulus at the turn of the 20th century, this building adapted and readjusted the main elements of the style so that it would look modern but have a connection with the past.

A detailed analysis of the municipality complex and its architectural elements can be seen in the following tables. The tables illustrate the original elements that were adapted from Ottoman or Seljuk architecture compared to the original elements. An explanation part giving details about the elements and how they are adapted are given after the tables. Table 4.1 analyses the Keçiören Municipality Building and its environs, the Ceremonial Area and the Open Air Museum. Table 4.2 makes an extensive analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building while going through the architectural elements that were adapted from past architectural styles.

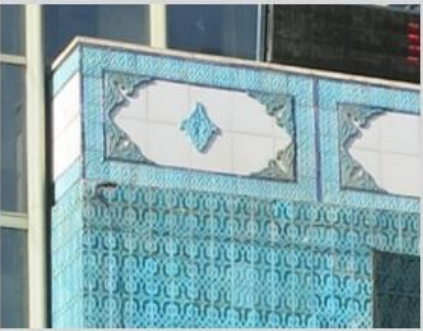
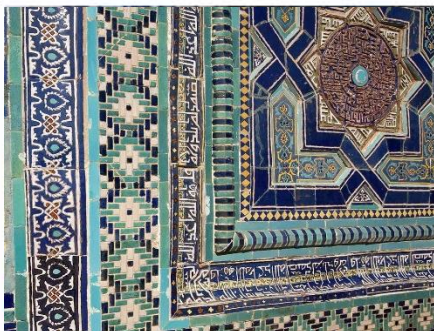
	BELEDİYE BİLDİNG	LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
1	STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS			
A	THE PORTAL			
2	FAÇADE DECORATIONS			
A	TILES			

Table 4.1 Analysis of the Municipality Building

Sources for row 1.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.doncronerblog.com on 30.06.2014

Sources for row 2.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.doncronerblog.com on 30.06.2014

	BELEDİYE BUILDING	LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
2	FAÇADE DECORATIONS			
B	TUĞRA			
C	EMPEROR DRAWING RELIEF			

(Continued) Table 4.1 Analysis of the Municipality Building

Sources for row 2.B (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, <http://www.hatdergisi.com> on 04.04.2014

Sources for row 2.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, <http://blog.radikal.com.tr> on 05.04.2014

1.A. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / PORTAL: The entrance to Municipality Building is provided via a massive portal door that is decorated with tiles. The portal itself stands out as the most important facade element on the building. The portal itself is not a replica but the use of the tiles and its massive scale hints that it is adapted from Seljuk-Timurid architecture. However, the strict geometric form differentiates it from the original ones as the original arches are tend to have the form of arches. The example from Uzbekistan, Samarkand, the mouseloum complex of Shah-I Zinda (used between the 9th and 14th century) was used for comparison. The portal is further decorated with a hadith from Muhammed and a saying from Atatürk was used.

2.A. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / TILES: The tile decorations constitute the latge portion of facade decorations. The tile decorations were applied on the frame defining the entrance and portal. Although this tile design do not have any historical reference to the past, the overall application of the tiles on the door frame shows similarity to the arched entrances of mouseleums located in Shah-i Zinada in Uzbekistan, Samarkand.

2.B. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / TUĞRA: Tuğras are signatures of the emperors that include their name and nickname. Tuğra was used by all the Emperors of the Islamic Empires and the most complex examples were created in the Ottoman period (Hasol 2005). On the facade of the building, just above the portal, Tuğra of infamous emperor, Fatih the Conqueror is placed. Being famous for the conquer of Istanbul, Tugra carries a symbolic meaning

2.C. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / EMPEROR RELIEF: Following the use of Fatih the Conqueror's Tuğra as a facade decoration, the facade is further decorated with a relief of him. This emphasis on Fatih the conqueror, the one who conquered Istanbul is provided to raise nationalistic feelings as most nationalists respect Fatih the conqueror the most.

KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
1 STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS				
A	LAYOUT			
B	THE MAIN ENTRANCE			

Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 1.A (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, photograph by author

Sources for row 1.B (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, Kuruyazıcı 2008

KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
1 STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS				
C	DIVIDED AND PROJECTED FAÇADE			
D	EAVES			

(Continued) Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 1.C (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, Aslanoğlu 2012

Sources for row 1.D (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, photograph by author

1 STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS				
	KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING	LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
E	SUBBASEMENT			
2	WINDOWS			
A	POINTED ARCH WINDOWS			

(Continued) Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 1.E (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, Aslanoğlu 2012

Sources for row 2.A (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, photograph by author

KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
2	WINDOWS			
B	DEPRESSED ARCH WINDOWS			
C	THE WINDOW FRAMES			

(Continued) Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 2.B (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, Bozdoğan 2001

Sources for row 2.C (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, www.e-tarih.org on 19.03.2014

KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
3	FAÇADE DECORATIONS			
A	TILES			
B	PILASTERS			

(Continued) Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 3.A (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, Cengizkan 2009

Sources for row 3.B (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, photograph by author

KAYMAKAMLIK BUILDING		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE STRUCTURE	ADAPTED FROM
3	FAÇADE DECORATIONS			
C	BUTTRESSES			

(Continued) Table 4.2 Analysis of the Kaymakamlık Building

Sources for row 3.C (respectively): <http://ankara.gov.tr> on 18.03.2014, photograph by author, gib.gov.tr on 20.03.2014

The elements that were adapted from the Ottoman and Seljuk decorations can be seen on table 4.2. These elements are explained in detail:

1. A. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / LAYOUT: Kaymakamlık (district governor) Building is a large scaled building located next to the municipality building. This building carries the characteristics of the First National Architectural Style aka Ottoman Revivalism.

The example on table 4.2 is taken from Adliye Sarayı building. The building is a symmetrical building in terms of facade design and layout. It possesses an axial mass design which is one of the most important characteristics of the era that shows similarities to those ones of the European neo-classic era.

1. B STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / MAIN ENTRANCE: Aslanoğlu makes some generalizations in her study about the First Nationalistic Style. The entrances to the buildings are usually provided through a projected part of the facade for emphasis and mostly designed as crowned gates framed by stone frames (Aslanoğlu, 2010).

The main entrances of the building are identical to each other. On the front facade, the main entrance stands further behind from the rest of the building, while on the back facade this part is projected forward. Either way, the main entrance to the building is emphasized and stands different from the rest of the facade. The example that the entrance is adapted shown on table 4.2 is taken from Ankara Palas.

1. C. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / DIVIDED AND PROJECTED FAÇADE: A characteristic of the neo-classical architecture, First Nationalistic Style adapts the facade vertically divided into sections by projecting different parts of the building usually in a

symmetrical form (Batur, 2005). This characteristic was also used in the design of the Kaymakamlık Building. The projection of the central and corner axes on the entrance and flanking of the bays impose a perception of symmetry. These projections on the entrance and on the either side of the building have been elevated and with their wide-eaved roofs take the form of towers. The façade system shows the same character with the façade of Ziraat Bankası Building that is shown on Table 4.2.

1. D. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / EAVES: Buildings, characterized as being the First Nationalistic Style, usually possessed wide overhanging eaves (Aslanoğlu, 2010). This characteristic is present in most of the buildings built at the time with a slight difference. Most of the time, the underside of the wide eaves were decorated with geometric forms. In Kaymakamlık Building, the wide eaves were imitated without their decorations. These plain eaves are supported by timber brackets underneath. The example on table 4.2 is taken from the second Parliament Building.

1. E. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / SUBBASEMENT: Usually, the buildings built in the First Nationalistic style were horizontally divided. Usually this division was attained by distinct facade decorations (Aslanoğlu, 2010). The Kaymakamlık Building being concrete is clad with a dark colored rustic stone at the basement level whereas on the upper levels, concrete is covered with plaster and later painted white. This division of the subbasement creates a horizontal division. This division is emphasized with the use of a different shape of windows. The windows on this level have depressed arches with wooden frames. The example that the subbasement design is adapted shown on table 4.2 is taken from Ziraat Bankası Building.

2. A. WINDOWS / POINTED ARCH WINDOWS: One of the characteristics of First Nationalist Architecture is that, almost all of the buildings have several different types of arched windows. The design of these windows may vary from one to another depending in their locations on the building (Aslanoğlu, 2010). This characteristic has been taken from the classical Ottoman architecture. In Sinan's works, rectangular windows were used on the ground floor, pointed-arch windows on the middle row and small-arched or circular windows on the upper row (Erzen, 1986: 114). In the case of Kaymakamlık Building, there are two different types of arched windows, one of them which is the pointed-arched ones. These arched windows are a dominant element of the facade as they run through many floors. These pointed arch windows are located on the projected facades of the building. They contribute to the perception of a visually divided structure. The example on table 4.2 is taken from the Hariciye Vekaleti building.

2. B. WINDOWS / DEPRESSED ARCH WINDOWS: A pioneer architect of the period, Mimar Kemalettin used a variety of arches in his buildings. In all of the buildings designed by him, the subbasement floor and first floor windows have arches that are depressed (Cengizkan, 2008). In Kaymakamlık Building, the tradition of placing depressed arch windows on the lower levels so that they would contribute to the horizontal division of the structure is used differently. The depressed arch windows were only used on the vertically emphasized entrance around the wide arched windows which is projected on the back facade and pulled behind on the front facade. The use of different style windows around the entrance contributed both to

the vertical division and emphasis of the entrance. Gazi and Latife Primary School buildings shown on Table 4.2 are taken as an example.

2. C. WINDOWS / WINDOW FRAMES: After the technological developments in the field of glass production, the traditional decorated stained glasses attached by plaster (revzen), towards the end of 18th century, the use of wooden framed double-winged and sash windows become widespread (Tanyeli, 1999: 220).

Following the Turkish tradition, the window frames in Kaymakamlık Building were imitated from the wooden window frames of Turkish housing. In order to do so, the frames of the windows are painted so that they would give the impression of wood.

3. A. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / TILES: The tile work, located on the spandrel of all of the pointed-arched windows on every facade of the building is imitated from First Nationalistic Style. Following the Ottoman tradition, especially the public buildings built between 1908 and 1926, the entrances and the facades of the buildings are decorated by adaptations of Ottoman and Seljuk designs (Cengizkan, 2008). In Keçiören example, the projected central frontispiece reveals a tiled decoration on the spandrels of the entrance arch. The same tile design was used for all the spandrels. Ankara Palas shown on Table 4.2 is given as the example for the tile decorations on the façade.

3. B. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / PILASTERS: The main door of the building and the wide windows on the facade are surrounded by a stone frame. The frames consist of two pilasters and arches carried by them. Pilasters have been used as facade decoration elements at the turn of the century. The column heads usually have diagonal decorations, corniches carrying muqarnas decorations were imitated from

Ottoman and Seljuk architecture (Aslanoglu, 2010: 240). In Kaymakamlık building, the frames of the pointed-arc windows are combined with pilasters. These stone pilasters end with decorated capitals. The decorations resemble a modern version of muqarnas decorations. These decorated stalactite capitals of the columns carry the arches of the wide windows. The example on table 4.2 is taken from Hariciye Vekaleti building in Ulus.

3. C. FAÇADE DECORATIONS / BUTTRESSES: The different sections of the structure are covered with tiles. These tiles are segmented just like the structure itself. The roof finishes with wide overhanging eaves. These eaves are supported by wooden buttresses. The wooden buttresses may be decorated or not, are characteristics of First Nationalistic Style (Arslanoğlu, 2010).

4.4.1.2 Estergon Turkish Cultural Center

Estergon Cultural Center is located along Fatih Boulevard, neighboring the Municipality Complex. Located on the hill behind the municipality building, the Estergon Turkish Cultural Centre provides a vista for visitors. The area where the Cultural Centre is built is designed in terms of landscape accordingly. On the hill that is located against Estergon Cultural Center, the fortifications of the castle are built forming a border for the waterfall (Fig 4.18).



Fig 4.18 Estergon Castle and its hinterland

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

Starting with the waterfall, it is claimed to be the largest waterfall in Turkey and the largest artificial one in the world. This massive structure extends 180 meters along the Fatih Boulevard. It was designed to be a tourist attraction that would be the symbol of Keçiören ("Keçiören’i Adeta Yeniden Yarattık” on 20.03.2014). The waterfall arrangement includes a composition about the victories of the Turkish nation. Some recreational spaces for the purpose of observatory decks were also constructed on the upper levels of the waterfall structure. Islamic literature attributes values like immortality and holiness to the presence of water (Topaloğlu 1991). Using this attribute as well as the dynamism symbolized with running water answers the need of the municipality to ascribe Islamic values to landscape elements (Aydın, et al. 2003). On the other hand, Pınarevli, approaching the design from a more practical point of view, claims that the climatic conditions of Ankara would not make the use of water elements a feasible one. The winter conditions in Ankara cause waterfall to freeze and cause a dangerous situation for the residents

(Fig 4.19). Plus, more than being an attraction it becomes a distraction for the drivers (2005: 38-39).



Fig 4.19 The Waterfall in front of the Estergon Cultural Center

Source: Photograph by author

Estergon Turkish Cultural Centre is placed on the hill against the waterfalls. This structure which is as large as an original castle scale-wise, was designed by İbrahim Terzioğlu, assistant president of Keçiören Municipality as a cultural and commercial center. This large scaled project was completed in a period of 6 years' time and opened in 2005.

On the websites of the municipality, it is explained that Estergon Turkish Cultural Centre is constructed to contribute to the urban aesthetic quality of the district. There used to be nothing on the site of the cultural center, therefore it was creating an ugly view. When the Cultural Centre was constructed, the Keçiören community had a new shopping center. The design of the castle was done in light of historical and cultural values by using examples from Seljuk and Ottoman architecture ("ESTERGON TÜRK KÜLTÜR MERKEZİ | Keçiören Belediyesi." on 20.03.2014).



Fig 4.20 Original Esztergom Castle in Hungary and Estergom Cultural Centre compared

Source: Pınarevli 2005

The Cultural Center was named after the original Esztergom Castle in Hungary. During the 16th century, the castle was occupied by the Ottomans for around 50 years. The defense of the castle by Ottoman soldiers in the war of 1595 makes this castle famous in history. Many songs were composed about the infamous Esztergom castle (Pınarevli 2005: 39) (Fig 4.20).

The Cultural Center is composed of 3 different parts. The structure of the castle serves as a commercial center on the ground floor, an ethnographical museum on the second level, and restaurant/observation terrace on the last level. On top of the main castle structure the “kümbet” portion is constructed. This Kümbet is used as a place where recreational gatherings are held. The area between the castle and its fortifications extending further up to the hill is designed as Asian gardens. Some restaurants are also present in these gardens constructed in traditional Turkic styles (Fig 4.21).



Fig 4.21 Estergon Cultural Center from Fatih Boulevard

Source: Photograph by author

In terms of the decorative elements of Estergon Cultural Center, it is claimed by the municipality that a rich selection of figures from traditional Turkish art was used.

The castle was constructed in an eclectic way so that every part of the castle belongs to a famous historical structure or pattern that represents a frozen moment in Turkish Culture.

In table 4.3 a detailed analysis of this eclectic structure was done. The table makes a detailed analysis of every single decorative elements used on the structure.

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
1	STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS			
A	MAIN BODY			
B	KUMBET			

Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 1.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.antalyakulturturizm.gov.tr on 20.03.2014

Sources for row 1.B (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.erciyes.edu.tr on 20.03.2014

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
1	STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS			
C	THE PORTAL			
2	MARBLE AND MASONRY			
A	WINDOW FRAMES			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 1.C (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Erdemir 2001

Sources for row 2.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
2	MARBLE AND MASONRY			
B	TRADITIONAL BIRD HOUSES			
C	ARCHES			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 2.B (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Tekin and Oğuz 2013

Sources for row 2.C (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
2	MARBLE AND MASONRY			
D	MARBLE FLOOR PAVEMENT			
E	COLUMN BASES			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 2.D (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Degeorge and Porter 2002

Sources for row 2.E (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Bloom 2009

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
2	MARBLE AND MASONRY			
F	FOUNTAIN			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 2.F (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Eldem and Akozan 1982

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
3	WOODWORKS			
A	MAIN ENTRANCE DOOR			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 3.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Pinarevli 2005

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
3	WOODWORKS			
B	SHOP DOORS			
C	WOODEN COLUMNS			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 3.B (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.kastamonu.bel.tr on 20.03.2014

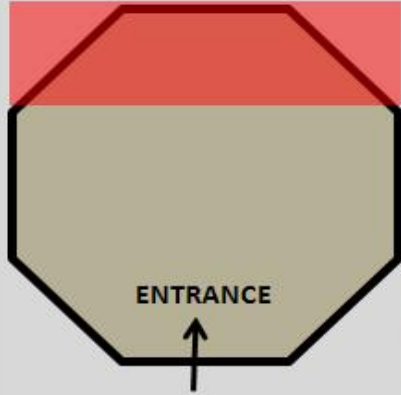
Sources for row 3.C (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Degeorge and Porter 2002

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
4	GLASSWORKS			
A	STAINED GLASSES			
B	BALUSTRADES			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 4.A (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, photograph by author

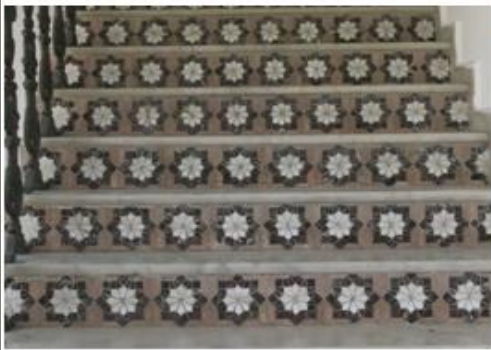
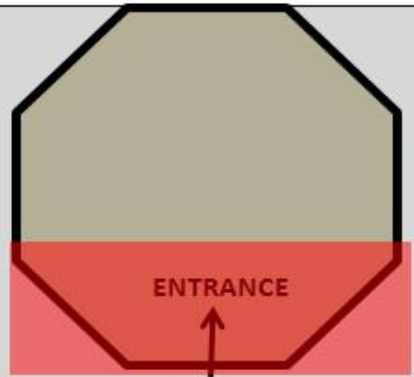
Sources for row 4.B (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, www.millisaraylar.gov.tr on 20.03.2014

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
5	DECORATIONS			
A	TILES			
i	Main Tile Design in the Atrium			
ii	Tile Designs on the Walls			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 5.A.i (respectively): illustrated by author, photograph by author

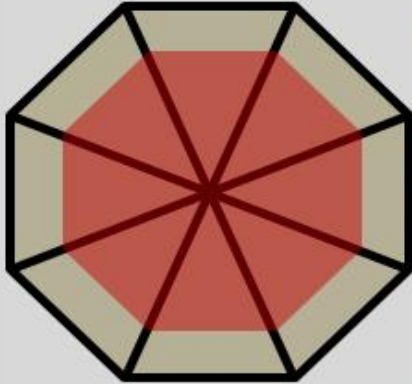
Sources for row 5.A.ii (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, photograph by author

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
5	DECORATIONS			
A	TILES			
iii	Tiles on the Staircase Risers			
B	MINIATURES			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 5.A.iii (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, DeGeorge and Porter 2002

Sources for row 5.B (respectively): illustrated by author, photograph by author, Simakoff 1993

		LOCATION ON THE STRUCTURE	PHOTO FROM THE ESTERGON CULTURAL CENTER	ADAPTED FROM
5	DECORATIONS			
C	TEZYİNAT			
i	Tezyinat on the Dome			
ii	Tezyinat on the Ceilings			

(Continued) Table 4.3 Analysis of the Estergon Cultural Center

Sources for row 5.C.i (respectively): illustrated by author, photograph by author, photograph by author

Sources for row 5.C.ii (respectively): photograph by author, photograph by author, Simakoff 1993

The adapted elements of decorations that were illustrated on the table 4.3 are explained in detail:

1. A. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / MAIN BODY: The main body of the castle was imitated from the Kızıl Kale⁶ of Alanya (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). Having an octagonal shape, the stone facing of the facades is of Ankara stone⁷. The castle carries characteristics of traditional Seljuk architecture. Following the traditional Turkish architecture, Seljuk castles are made by using stones. The facades of the castles are usually simple, not many decorations are present except for the main portal. The portals of the castles are decorated with stone-work (Kuban, 2008: 277-278). Estergon Cultural Center carries mentioned characteristics of Seljuk Castle architecture.

1. B. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / KÜMBET: The upper part of the castle was built imitating the form of traditional Kümbet⁸ structures. The form resembles the Kümbet structure; it has an octagonal structure and a pyramid-shaped dome. Kümbet part of the Estergon cultural centre has a different function, it is mostly used for recreational gatherings usually having religious purposes.

⁶ Kızıl Kule is an octagonal-shaped castle made out of red bricks which is the reason it was given the name Red Tower. It is situated in the Alanya Harbour. It is a work of Seljuks and was built in 1222 by Ebu Ali rehç el Kettani ("Alanya Kalesi" n.d.).

⁷ Ankara Stone (as it is densely found in Ankara-Gölbaşı region), also known as andesite is formed due to volcanic activities. Andesite usually has a light pink-grey colour

⁸ Hasol explains Kümbet as being sepulchres in Seljuk architecture resembling the traditional tomb-towers of the Turks. They were built as stone structures having a pyramid-shaped dome (2005: 293). Tuncer further explains that Kümbet architecture were under high influence of Persian and Sassanid architecture during Seljuk period. Kümbets had octagonal plans, conical hats and they started to be widely used times of Anatolian Seljuks (1986: 12).

1. C. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS / PORTAL: The entrance to Estergon Cultural Center is provided via a copy of the portal of Karatay Medresesi in Konya, claimed to have very slight differences (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). Karatay Medresesi is famous for its majestic portal and the stone adornments on it. The portal of the Estergon Cultural Centre, carry the same characteristics; the adornments have a more geometrically strict pattern than many other Seljuk examples. The corner columns on both sides of the niche carry byzantine characteristics. The muqarnas decorations on top of the door are a simple pattern made of parallel arches which does not carry an Anatolian character (Kuban, 2008: 177-178).

2. A. MARBLE AND MASONRY / WINDOW FRAMES: On the body of the castle two different types of window frames were used. Following the Islamic domestic architecture the window openings on the lower level are small (Bloom, 2009: 419). Windows on the Kümbet part follows the same form. This form is a modern adaptation of the lancet arch (Hasol, 2005: 254). The wider windows are placed just below the bastion of the castle. These wide windows have a depressed arch form allowing them to provide a wider view of the surroundings.

2. B. MARBLE AND MASONRY / TRADITIONAL BIRD HOUSES: On the facade of the castle modern adaptations of traditional bird-houses are placed as decorative elements. Bird houses, which is a nest built on the outer walls of the structure to protect birds became a tradition on the 16th century (Hasol, 2005: 290). Usually built on the public use structures such as mosques, bazaars and fountains the bird houses show the compassion of Turkish people for animals (Tekin and Oğuz, 2013:

1-3). In the case of Estergon cultural Center, they are placed at the bottom part of the pilasters separating the windows on the body of the castle (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

2. C. MARBLE AND MASONRY / ARCHES: The arches of the doors giving access to the interior space of the Cultural Center carry characteristics of traditional Islamic tradition. The frames of the portals are composed bi-colored stones forming pointed arches. The practice of outlining an architectural element by using much lighter and a darker color was introduced in Seljuk times and adapted quickly by the Islamic world (Lewcock, 1978: 235)

2. D. MARBLE AND MASONRY / MARBLE FLOOR PAVEMENT: The designs on the marble floor were imitated from the Khiva ceramic ornaments of Uzbekistan. The Khiva ornaments are predominantly blue and white; the figures used are composed of non-figurative arabesque forms (DeGeorge and Porter, 2002: 130-133). The imitations in Estergon Cultural Center simply used the forms, not the color schema.

2. E. MARBLE AND MASONRY / COLUMN BASES: The column pillars were imitated from Buhara-Khiva (Uzbekistan) columns placed in Juma Mosque (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). This marble column bases are hand-carved. The stonework on the column bases were imitated from the carved marble plaques from the Necropolis of Shakhi-Zinsa in Samarkand(Uzbekistan) (Simakoff, 1993: 46)

2.F. MARBLE AND MASONRY / FOUNTAIN: The fountain placed on the center of the atrium of Estergon Cultural Center is an exact copy of the one in Lale Bahçesi (IV

Courtyard) in Topkapı Palace⁹. The IV. Courtyard possesses the kiosks of the emperors and the famous Tulip Gardens. The fountain is placed in the center of the Tulip Garden (Davis, 1970). This imitation of the fountain was made from hand-carved Marmara Marble following the original tradition (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

3. A. WOOD WORKS / MAIN ENTRANCE DOOR: The main entrance door to the castle is an exact copy of the entrance door in Isfendiya Han of Khiva in Uzbekistan. Following the Uzbek tradition of using elegant carved wooden details on the decoration of the facades, Khiva woodwork can be considered as one of the most elegant ones (Bloom, 2009: 385-387). The woodwork door in the Estergon cultural Center is an example of hand-carved product of Kastamonu craftsmans infamous for their work (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

3. B WOOD WORKS / SHOP DOORS: The doors around the atrium giving access to different functions such as, praying room and shops, are all different from each other. The doors are exact copies of wood-work examples from around the Islamic world. Two of them were taken from Mahmut Bey Mosque and İbn-i Neccer mosque in Kastamonu. Rests of the doors were reproduced from the famous wood carved door examples from Semarkand, Bukhara, Khiva and Merv (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

⁹ Topkapı Palace is the imperial palace of the Ottoman Empire. It was started to be built in 1460 and completed in 1478, covering an area of 700.000m². It was used by 31 different emperors throughout 400 years (Davis, 1970).

3. C. WOOD WORKS / WOODEN COLUMNS: The wooden columns, just like the column-bases, were imitated from the originals is Juma Mosque in Bukhara-Khira that are on display in Khiva Han Palace Museum(Uzbekistan) (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). Varying regionally, the Uzbek tradition makes use of the elegant carved wood columns and details supporting the ceiling(Bloom, 2009: 385-387). Again, the woodwork door in the Estergon cultural Center is an example of hand-carved product of Kastamonu craftsmans infamous for their work (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

4. A. GLASS WORKS / STAINED GLASS: On the web-site of the Keçiören Municipality, the stained glasses were claimed to be produced in the Tiffany Style. Tiffany style, associated with the Art-Nouveau movement, is created by the decorative art designs of Comfort Tiffany. The designs included stained glass windows, lamps, glass mosaics, jewelery in the Art-Nouveau style (Mathieu, 1999). Furthermore, the decorated stained glass have decorations imitated in rumi¹⁰ figures from the traditional Ottoman drawings (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

4. B. GLASS WORKS / BALUSTRADES: The balustrades in the atrium are exact copies of the ones in Dolmabahçe Palace (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). The balustrades in Dolmabahçe Palace are one of the most striking examples of the glass technology and art of the era. Made by cut-stone technique and finished by putting the pieces together, the design was striking as it brought a

¹⁰ A motif claimed to be derived from a lotus leaf by some or derived from a bean life by others, litterally means curves. They are an essential element of illumination in the designs (Birol and Derman, 1991).

brand new style to the Ottoman palace architecture (Küçükerman and Yücel, 1993: 26-28)

5. A. i. DECORATIONS / TILES / MAIN TILE DESIGN IN ATRIUM: The composition of the tile work serves as an extension of the aquarium above, creating a waterfall look on the inner facade walls of the atrium. According to the Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi book, the technique used, was the same with the 16th century one, the brightest period of the Iznik Tilework. The design serves as a continuum of the aquarium above and illustrates the sea world during the Ottoman Period.(Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

5. A. ii. DECORATIONS / TILES / THE DESIGN ON THE WALLS: The design of this tilework applied on the wall of the stair landing was imitated in form and design from the Topkapı palace example (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). The tile design on the outer wall of the Sünnet Odası, facing the Hırka-i Şerif courtyard was imitated with slight changes (Eldem and Aközen, 1982: L:193)

5. A. iii. DECORATIONS / TILES / TILES ON THE STAIRCASE RISERS: The risers of the stairs were decorated with tile designs. Although this is not a characteristic of traditional Turkish architecture, Seljuk decorations are placed on the risers (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). These designs are similar to the tile designs in the mausoleum of Bibi Jhavindi in Pakistan.

5. B. DECORATIONS / MINIATURES: According to Estergon Turkish Culture Center book published by Keçiören Belediyesi, the miniatures are modern adaptations of a hunt scene and a circumcision ceremony from "Sürname" which is a depiction of 52-

days long celebration ceremonies for the circumcision of Şehzade Mehmet and a love scene from the Herat (Persian school) miniatures (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi).

5. C. i. DECORATIONS / TILES TEZYINAT / TEZYINAT ON THE DOME: The domed ceiling of the atrium is ornamented with masterpieces that are colored with golden leaves. The forms of the designs are derived from the masterpieces of the ottoman decorative art (Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Keçiören Belediyesi). The original historic painting and tiles in “Tash Haule Palace” in Khiva, Uzbekistan are imitated in design in the Estergon Castle decorative painting on the dome (Pınarevli, 2005: 97).

5. C. ii. DECORATIONS / TILES TEZYINAT / TEZYINAT ON THE WALLS: Other Ottoman decorative drawings that are placed on the walls facing the staircase are modern adaptations of traditional Ottoman tezyinat art. The circular rosettes surrounded by rumi and hatayi motifs are typical examples of Ottoman decorative paintings.

4.4.1.3 The Entrance to the District

Entry to the district is provided from Atatürk Street which branches from the extension of Fatih Boulevard towards the East. The orientation of transportation was planned in a way that one has to pass from Atatürk Street to reach to Fatih Boulevard (Fig 4.22).

The Municipality designed a figure (Fig 4.23) to be used as a decorative element on the facades of the buildings in the entrance zone. This figure has both been used on

the apartments and commercial buildings. The buildings in the area, Halil İbrahim Sofrası and other small commercial structures, although designed in a very modern concept, were obliged to use this figure on their façade. Although Pınarevli (2005) suggests that the design does not have any reference to Turkish, Ottoman or Seljuk architecture, in fact this is a design used in Yalı (waterside mansion) architecture of the Ottoman Period. The exact same design can be seen on the façade of the “Faik ve Bekir Paşa Yalısı” which is situated in Yeniköy along Bosphorus. This style was originally adapted from India. The arch styles were formerly used as elements of Baburid architecture.



Fig 4.22 General view of the entrance to the district, the area is under construction today

Source: Pınarevli 2005



Fig 4.23 The figure designed by the Municipality and the original figure from Faik ve Bekir Paşa Yalısı

Source: (respectively) Photograph by author and www.yvik.org.tr on 25.05.2014

4.4.1.4 The Republic Tower

Another large-scale project of the Keçiören Municipality was the construction of the Cumhuriyet Kulesi (Tower of Republic). It is situated in the same area as Estergon cultural Center, moving towards north along Fatih Boulevard.

The tower was designed by the architect Ragıp Buluç who is famous for designing “Atakule” in Çankaya. Atakule is famous for being one of the first shopping centers in Ankara. Eventually Atakule became the symbol of city. Keçiören Municipality aimed to build a tower that would serve the same purpose (Fig 4.24).

The construction of this tower was started in 2005. It was designed to be a tower of 135 m, however when the 100 m concrete part was finished, the construction process stopped. The tower stands as a half-constructed structure ever since. The reason behind this is said to be that, as Keçiören is a district close to Esenboğa Airport, the tower causes problems concerning take-off and landing of the airplanes. Furthermore, it is claimed that the ground that the tower is built is not suitable to support such a huge scale structure.

According to an interview that was done by Cumhuriyet Gazetesi with Taner Güner, a former candidate from CHP for the position of mayor of the district, the tower

signifies a competition between the north and south populations of Ankara. As Çankaya, a district which is famous for its “Republican Ankara” character, possesses Atakule, Keçiören district aimed to possess a tower that would symbolize their people ("Keçiören’de Kule Bilmecesi-Haberler | yapi.com.tr." on 20.03.2014)

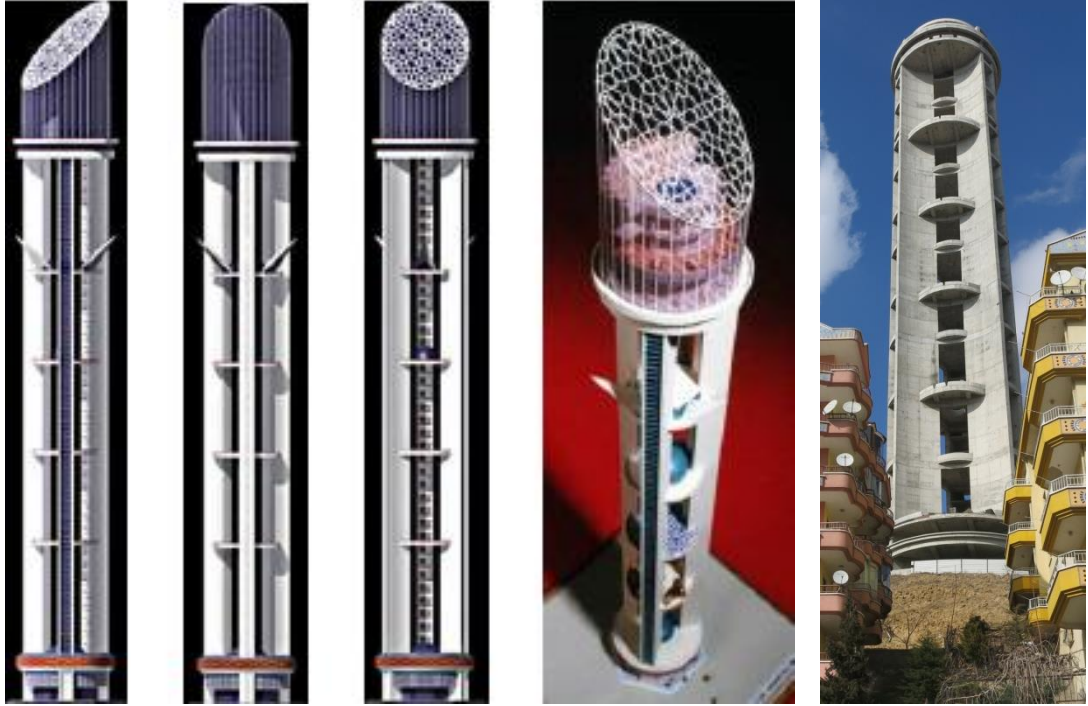


Fig 4.24 The Republic Tower project and its current situation

Source: (respectively) www.kecioren.bel.tr on 20.03.2014 and photograph by author

4.4.2 Residential Areas

When the transformation of the area started, the municipality took control of the housing developments by making contracts with firms that would provide apartment blocks instead of squatter settlements which sped up the transformation process. By taking this course of actions their ideology was implied in a more private and smaller sphere (Aydın, et al. 2003). The next step was to modify the buildings in

such a way that that they would be coherent with their political ideologies. In order to do so, they imposed regulations concerning the facade decoration of the buildings. By the legitimization of their new power, they had the authority to channel architects into the direction they chose. In fact, the municipality produced brochures that include guidelines for the façade arrangements that could be used by architects (Aydın, et al. 2003). It should also be mentioned that contractors also had the authority to make their own design as long as they follow the guidelines; this means that the façade of the apartments were not always professionally produced (this can be seen from the use of some irrelevant elements as façade decorations). Actually, on more than one occasion, the former mayor of the district, Turgut Altınok proudly declared that, he himself designed some of the apartment facades. In this case, their only aim was to enhance the use of Seljuk and Ottoman decorative elements on the facades of the apartment blocks. Their policy resulted in the rapid transformation of the area from a gecekondu settlement to an urban environment in a very short period of time (Pınarevli 2005). The main aim was the rapid transformation of the area, as a result construction permits for up to 4 storey high blocks were provided to gecekondu owners. Gecekondu owners, working together with the contractors, rapidly changed the face of the district. However, the problem here was the fact that these apartment blocks were built without a proper urban plan. This resulted in a disorderly settlement pattern.

From the point of view of the Keçiören Municipality, enforcing these regulations helped to change the face of the district into a more beautiful one. Their application of Ottoman-Seljuk monumental architectural decorations, stylistic floral motifs of

Islamic architecture, traditional Turkish carpentry motifs, and signatures of the emperors created an eclectic language that would give an identity to the district which was believed to be necessary.

In the scope of this study, the residential areas were chosen after a field survey. The chosen residential areas are situated along the axis determined by Fatih Boulevard. The reason why these residential areas are chosen is because they show different characteristics than the rest yet are coherent with their environments. Being situated on the main axis and their proximity to the public buildings carrying Neo-Islamic and Neo-Ottoman characteristics, the facades of these apartment blocks show distinction. Some of the apartment facades are overly decorated with elements from Ottoman and Seljuk architecture. On the other hand some of the facades were intended to represent Ottoman or Seljuk styles but failed; the façade ornaments of these buildings carry influences from Art-Nouveau¹¹. It cannot be concluded that these buildings are examples of Ottoman Art-Nouveau but the decorations on the façade carry elements from Art-Nouveau designs.

¹¹ Art-nouveau is French word meaning new-art. In art history, it represents the artistic style that started towards the end of 19th century and finished in the beginning of 20th century, lasting 25 years. Art-nouveau firstly emerged in the industrialized countries that had recently changed their means of production which led to a rise in the wealth of the nation. For this reason it is not surprising that, England is the first place where this style is seen rapidly influencing France, Belgium and other Central-European countries. Art-Nouveau aims to attain a level of aesthetic that had been forgotten with the industrialization. This search for this aesthetics should not only be attained in the fields of art and architecture but also in daily life as well. At the turn of the centuries, art-nouveau became dominant in every field; from daily use objects to kitchen utensils, from fashion sense to daily clothing, from sculpture to architecture, art-nouveau created a new understanding of art (Batur 2005: 141-146). Lahure describes the essence of Art-Nouveau with sensuous lines and subtle, light, feminine figures, fluent dresses and attitudes, vegetative curves and willow leaves, twisting waves and also controlled lines, geometric details and colorful new shapes (2005: 17). In the field of architecture, opposing the normative classical, neoclassical and academic styles, Art-Nouveau used asymmetry, atypical plan elements that challenged the geometric definition, use of projections and appendages on the façades, curvilinear forms in the decoration elements (Batur 2005: 148).

In terms of their locations, I decided to conduct my study in three different residential areas (Fig 4.25). Although the structures in these residential areas show similarities, in their own contexts they may represent more. Residential Area A, is the area along the main Fatih Boulevard axis. This area is situated between Estergon Castle complex and the shopping zone along the boulevard. Residential area B, is the area behind the Municipality Complex. Residential Area C is the area in the entrance of Keçiören. This area is situated in front of the commercial zone. In all the residential areas, a distinction was made among apartments. They either represented a Neo-Ottoman, Neo-Islamic architectural style or an eclectic style that carries influences from Art-Nouveau. On the plans and the tables, this distinction is represented by color codes. The red ones stand for the eclectic Art-Nouveau style which will be referred as Type 1. The blue ones are the Ottoman influenced structures which will be referred as type 2 later in the text.



Fig 4.25 The chosen residential areas along Fatih Boulevard

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

4.4.2.1 Residential Area A

Situated on Fatih Boulevard, this residential area is in the same neighborhood as Estergon Castle, Cumhuriyet tower, and the shopping zone. The apartment blocks situated here are visible from the whole area as it is surrounded by the hill where Estergon Castle is located on one side and the other hill where the waterfalls and the fortifications are built on the other side. Especially the buildings facing the main street are highly decorated with Ottoman -Seljuk ornaments (Fig 4.26).

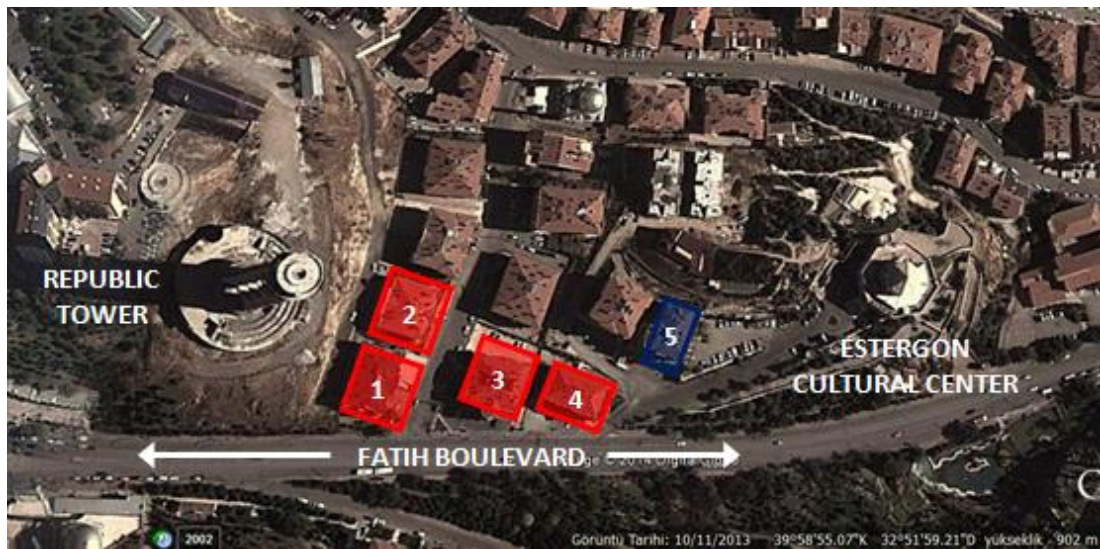


Fig 4.26 Chosen structures in the Residential Area A

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

In this area 5 apartment blocks were chosen as examples representing the study. As the chosen 5 apartment blocks are situated on one of the busiest boulevards of the area, they reflect the identity of the neighborhood as well. The influence of Ottoman architecture can be seen on one building and an eclectic style carrying influences from modern architecture and Art-Nouveau style can be seen on the other four buildings. These concrete buildings are all constructed as simple structures and then became “decorated-sheds” with the over-application of

decorative elements imposed by regulations enacted by the municipality so that they would not be very distinctive from the characteristic “architecture” of the area (Fig 4.27). The buildings and their details can be seen on Table 4.4.



Fig 4.27 General view from Residential Area A

Source: Photograph by author

Type 1 buildings of the area carry some common characteristics. The buildings are built in an eclectic style combining modern apartment architecture bearing some art-nouveau elements. The buildings are 4-6 storey buildings that are symmetric in terms of layout. Some geometric designs were used for decorations. Art-nouveau follows either a geometric or floral pattern (Bozkurtoğulları, 2012: 38). Following this tradition, Building 3 has a round form while the other buildings possess a more strict geometric form.

The entrances to those buildings are emphasized by projections from the façade. These buildings are painted in different colors and especially on the frontispiece, more striking colors were used for emphasis. The balconies on the sides of the

buildings create a sense of projection at the flanking of the bays and in some examples, the flanking of bays is projected forward.

The façades of the buildings are decorated with different elements. The projecting frontispiece in the façade of the buildings created a porch-like entrance supported with columns and decorated with mosaic ornaments and floral/faunal drawings.

The decorations are mostly placed on the sides of the balconies and on the frontispieces. The roof levels of the frontispieces were hidden behind a mosaic ornamented false-front. These designs on the façade were adapted from abstract floral designs and organic figures of the art-nouveau style.

These buildings only used art-nouveau influence in their façade ornaments. Art-nouveau is characterized by asymmetry, atypical planning elements, its avoidance of “frontalite” in design and the coherence of the inner and outer structure of the building (Hitchcock, 1958). Although structurally the buildings have simple lines and compositions, which is another characteristic, architecturally it cannot be concluded that those buildings possess the linearity and curve-linearity of art-nouveau.

The only Type 2 building in the area is the most visible due to its proximity to Estergon Turkish Cultural Center. This structure has a similar layout to the Type 1 building. It has a rectangular symmetrical plan with a projected frontispiece and flanking of the bays on the sides. These projections were elevated from the roof level in order to give a stronger emphasis to those sections.

A different façade decoration, applied to the projected sections, is present on this building. An arched figure made of plaster was intended to give the apartment a

more Ottoman look. As mentioned above, a figure designed by the municipality was obliged to be used on the facades of the apartment buildings and other structures in the entrance zone of Keçiören. Although, like the commercial structures mentioned in the previous section, these apartment blocks were also designed in a much more modern concept, they were forced to include this so called ornamental figure on their facades (Pınarevli, 2005).

Aside from the decoration, the projections of the building are covered with a wood veneer. The “Yalı” type coating of the building, also called American siding is used on the outer façade of the building, imitating the Yalı architecture to project the image of a high-status residential area.

The windows that are placed under the arched decoration have round arches. As the arched windows are only present with the façade decorations, the window types vary throughout the building.

RESIDENTIAL AREA A	PHOTO OF THE APARTMENT BUILDING	FACADE DECORATIONS
BUILDING NUMBER 1		
BUILDING NUMBER 2		
BUILDING NUMBER 3		
BUILDING NUMBER 4		
BUILDING NUMBER 5		

Table 4.4 Chosen apartment blocks and details in Residential Area A

Source: All photographs by author

4.4.2.2 Residential Area B

The location of the Residential Area B is very important as it holds the entrance to the rest of the district. It is located behind the municipality complex facing Kaymakamlık building. The entrance to the municipality complex is also provided from here. These buildings cannot be seen from Fatih Boulevard, however they are located on the road providing access to the boulevard.

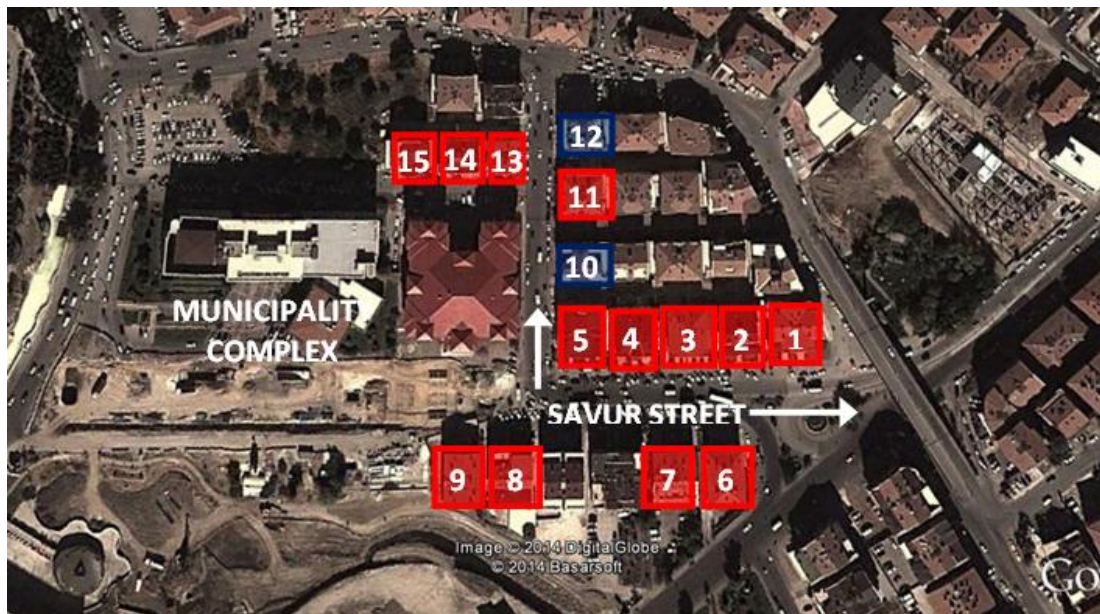


Fig 4.28 Chosen structures in the Residential Area B

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

In this area 15 apartment structures were chosen that would represent the aim of this study (Fig 4.28). As this area also serves as a commercial zone, the ground floors of most of the apartments are used as shops. In fact, the ground floors of these buildings are connected via an archway, which creates a more protected and private area in front of the shops (Fig 4.29). Table 4.5 shows the buildings and their details.

Although in terms of structural design the buildings are more or less the same, their decorations shows a wide variation. There is a predominance of Type 1 buildings in the area with 13 exemplars. All the buildings that fit in the Type 1 category are painted in vivid colors and have several signs on them resulting in the creation of a chaotic environment.



Fig 4.29 General view from Residential Area B

Source: Photograph by author

Type 1 Buildings in the area carry some common characteristics. They are 4 or 5 storey-high buildings that have raised-ceilings on their ground floor. Almost all of the buildings have penthouses. These concrete buildings are all simple buildings in design. The decorations are applied on their facades is designed to match the characteristic architectural style of the area.

Some of the Type 1 buildings have pediments (Buildings 1, 2, 4, 11, 14). These pediments either have a triangular form or a curvilinear form. The pediments of Buildings 4 and 11 have stylistic decorations representing abstract compositions of

the sun. On the other hand, the curvilinear pediment of Building 14 has a faunal design with birds. Although these decorations were intended to belong to Ottoman or Seljuk style, they seem to be influenced from faunal designs of Art-Nouveau.

Some of the buildings have a more simple design in terms of adornments; however, on these apartments structural elements such as arched windows, pilasters, and stone reliefs were used. In one example (Building 3) traditional Turkish carpentry designs were formed with mosaics.

Type 2 buildings in the area show similar characteristics. Buildings 10 and 12 are both buildings constructed on the crossroads, and therefore have 2 faces exposed and decorated. Both buildings have false fronts on their uppermost ceiling level. Building 10 has a larger false-front that is decorated with a stylistic interpretation of lancet-arched windows that have a design of stained glass. The false fronts on both buildings have embossed designs made with plaster. The embossments were taken from traditional Ottoman drawings (*kalemişi*).

The facades of Type 2 buildings have some ornamental elements from Ottoman architecture. Just like the buildings in Residential Area A, the stylistic figures used in Yalı (waterside mansion) architecture are applied on the facades as well. The facades are further decorated with embossments, pilasters, column capitals, and tiles. The tile designs on both buildings are the same and are modern interpretations of the designs on Ottoman tiles.

RESIDENTIAL AREA B	PHOTO OF THE APARTMENT BLOCK	FACADE DECORATIONS
BUILDING NUMBER 1		
BUILDING NUMBER 2		
BUILDING NUMBER 3		
BUILDING NUMBER 4		
BUILDING NUMBER 5		

Table 4.5 Chosen apartment blocks and details in Residential Area B

Source: All photographs by author

RESIDENTIAL AREA B	PHOTO OF THE APARTMENT BLOCK	FACADE DECORATIONS
BUILDING NUMBER 6		
BUILDING NUMBER 7		
BUILDING NUMBER 8		
BUILDING NUMBER 9		
BUILDING NUMBER 10		

(Continued) Table 4.5 Chosen apartment blocks and details in Residential Area B

Source: All photographs by author

RESIDENTIAL AREA B	PHOTO OF THE APARTMENT BLOCK	FACADE DECORATIONS
BUILDING NUMBER 11		
BUILDING NUMBER 12		
BUILDING NUMBER 13		
BUILDING NUMBER 14		
BUILDING NUMBER 15		

(Continued) Table 4.5 Chosen apartment blocks and details in Residential Area B

Source: All photographs by author

4.4.2.3 Residential Area C

Residential Area C is located along Atatürk Street and the buildings in this area are all facing the main street. The buildings in this area are all 7 to 9 storey high buildings with commercial shops on the ground floor. This area has a more uniform look due to the coherence of the decorations and colors of the buildings (Fig 4.30).



Fig 4.30 Chosen structures in the Residential Area C

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author

All of the buildings in the area are Type 2 buildings (Fig 4.31). Structurally they are concrete with modern elements such as wide windows covering the balconies. In all the buildings, the flanking of the bays differentiates from the central part. They are either projected or have balconies; therefore the central part is emphasized. The buildings are coated with a material called “American Siding” which gives the buildings a “yalı” appearance. Continuing with the imitated “yalı” decorations, the figure that was designed by the municipality is applied on all the buildings in the area. Although they have different forms in every single one of the buildings, they

are all decorated with the same tile design. Actually this tile design was also used in Estergon Castle, which is imitated from a design in Topkapı Palace. Not only the buildings here, but the commercial sub-centre on the opposite side of the road has used the same decoration elements in their façade decorations.



Fig 4.31 General view from Residential Area C

Source: Photograph by author

Buildings 1, 2 and 3 have wide eaves and buttresses to support them. The buttresses were not placed for technical support but for decoration. They are made out of plaster. Table 4.6 shows the buildings and their details.

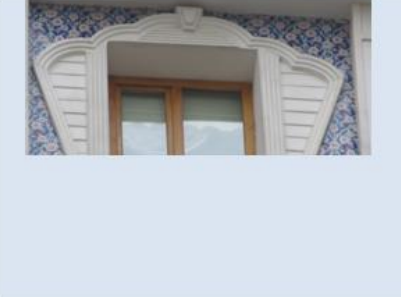
RESIDENTIAL AREA C	PHOTO OF THE APARTMENT BLOCK	FACADE DECORATIONS
BUILDING NUMBER 1		
BUILDING NUMBER 2		
BUILDING NUMBER 3		
BUILDING NUMBER 4		
BUILDING NUMBER 5		

Table 4.6 Chosen apartment blocks and details in Residential Area C

Source: All photographs by author

4.4.3 Landscape Elements

4.4.3.1 Fountains

Fountains (“sebil”s) or the structures that are related with water were considered very important in the history of Anatolia. Seljuk architecture bears some of the most beautiful examples of the water-related structure (the fountain in Karatay Medresesi in Konya can be given as example). When moved to the Ottoman period, it can be seen that the fountain architecture is much more developed and more aesthetic when compared to the western world. Some of the examples still survived and can be seen throughout several cities (Ömerov 2012: 215).

Many fountains were built within the city after 16th century when construction of the water facilities within the urban context was accelerated. Hundreds of fountains or water structures were built within the city and was constructed as charity by the richer population in the city. After 16th century, more than one fountain was present in every single street (Ömerov 2012: 215). The fountains were usually decorated; these decorations would mostly include animal forms, geometric and faunal designs (Ab-ı Hayat Sergisi - Geçmişten Günümüze Su Kültürü on 28.05.2014)

The fountains in Ottoman culture do not only have materialistic value. People would gather around the fountain when they needed water and also socially interaction. They were important landmarks within the urban contexts (Ab-ı Hayat Sergisi - Geçmişten Günümüze Su Kültürü on 28.05.2014).

Today in Keçiören district, throughout the city one can see several fountains (Fig 4.32). They are usually located on the more public areas to provide people with water; however, being transformed into a modern urban district, nobody needs to supply their water from the fountain. Therefore fountains today remain as landscape elements.



Fig 4.32 Chosen fountains in Keçiören District

Source: Image is taken from Google Earth and the illustration was created by the author



Fig 4.33 Some of the fountains that were constructed by Municipality in the district

Source: Photographs by author

These fountains built around the city are heavily decorated. Their decorations include the Ottoman/Seljuk motifs on tile decorations, carved wood/marble ornaments. However, as they were constructed with modern material by means of contemporary technology, they do not possess any historical value (Fig 4.33).

4.5 ACTORS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

The transformation process and the urban quality of Keçiören has been presented in detail in the previous sections. This transformation process took place on two levels. The first is the transformation of the core area of the district, which is presented in the previous section. In the scope of this research, the case study was focused on this core area. The entrance zone of the district has drawn large-scale investments and transformation. Although it was intended to alter the urban quality by creating major attractions coherent with the ideologies of the politicians (and in a way the urban quality became better), from another point of view, a contextual and spatial chaos was created. The second dimension of this transformation has happened district-wide. The extensive transformation is the gecekondu improvement process that took place. This transformation occurred all over the district where gecekondu were demolished and new apartment blocks were erected instead. In the name of beautification of the city, some landscape elements such as fountains and sculptures were produced.

What is criticized in the transformation of Keçiören is the involvement of politics throughout the process. Politicians are supposed to be a part of the processes that

their district is going through, but modifying and manipulating the urbanization process in such a way that they would profit from its outcome is taken under criticism. Transformation of an urban space is not a process that can be controlled single-handedly. It is supposed to happen in a broad, participatory fashion. However in the Keçiören example politicians single-handedly, without consulting architects or urban planners, monopolized the process of transformation. The ultimate aim of creating an identity for the district by the means of urban and architectural elements in a discriminatory manner by using Turkic and Islamic symbols created a forced transformation pattern that is becoming more and more irreversible every day.

On the other hand, politicians are not the sole actors in this case. Politicians got to be so powerful in the district because of their supporters and they attained whatever they wanted through the cooperation of architects and contractors. It can be concluded that one of the parties responsible for the situation is society as well. It is a known fact that the politicians easily manipulated the low-income, uneducated population that had been living in the area, however the socio-economic structure of Keçiören is also transforming. Although the population continues to transform in economic and social spheres, they remain as the supporters of the same ideology over the years.

4.5.1 Society

As stated before, the district was dominated by gecekondu type settlements after the big migration movement of 1950s. Up until 1984, gecekondu was not considered a problem in the urban scene. Gecekondu settlements were accepted by the low income group as they were organic urban solutions to the population movement. Arslan also states that, until 1984, the only problem concerning gecekondu areas was the ownership pattern. The case did not seem to cause any social or economic problems (1989: 34-36).

However, with the rapid population increase, Keçiören became a more populated district. This population increase brought the need for proper social and technical infrastructure. Investments in the area caused the urban rent to increase in a short period of time. After 1984, the transformation process of squatter settlements into urban lands, usually taking up to 50 years of time, was fitted into a 20 year time span.

The domination of gecekondu settlements in the area is very important in terms of understanding the social dynamics of the population. The voter base that enabled local governments with a conservative - Islamist character is responsible for the transformation of the district.

The pass of several gecekondu laws by the Özal government during 1984 and 1985 allowed the construction of buildings up to four-storey high on gecekondu land. This led to the commercialization of the gecekondu and created a new sector. The apartmentalisation of gecekondu can be considered as the way politicians bribe

people as once owner built and occupied gecekondu houses were replaced by high-rise apartments, several of them in many cases which are owned by the former gecekondu owner (Erman 2001: 987). However, this policy caused the “undeserved earning” concept in a short period of time. A part of the settlement was experiencing further deprivation, while another part was becoming economically better off.

It was after this apartmentalisation process that society realized former rural migrants/gecekondu owners could move to a higher economical class, and more importantly they had the power to shape the city by imposing their way of life and sets of values that were different from those of the urban elites of the period. A part of the population that profited from the commercialization of gecekondu started to leave their gecekondu houses and moved to apartments, however they kept on preserving their own culture (Erman 2001: 988).

The gecekondu owners that started to become more and more significant in the economic and urban sphere as they were given the power to shape the city had the power to bargain with politicians looking to increase their votes. Politicians would offer to provide them more services and construction permits in return for their votes (Pınarevli 2005: 52). Even today, Melih Gökçek, in an interview before the local elections that took place in March 2014, was declaring in public that he would personally deal with the improvement of services to those areas with the highest percentage of votes ("MelihGökçek| TEKE TEK | 04 Mart 2014").

Another dimension of this transformation issue is the transformation of the community living in the area. Early gecekondu studies conducted in 1970s and

1980s carried the expectation that the migrated population would become urban in a unilinear model. Migrants would discard their rural ways of life when they moved to the urban land (Erman 2001: 989). As gecekondu residents failed in freeing themselves from their rural way of life, they were seen as an obstacle to the social transformation of society into a more modern one.

“...the gecekondu people, while on one hand try to grow vegetables and trees in his garden as he does in the village, on the other hand, hopes to become a worker in a factory in the city...” (Yasa, 1970:15).

This belittling approach of the urban elite class caused the gecekondu population to further alienate itself and become a closer community. People migrating from their hometowns are in search of a hometown that they can define themselves as belonging to. Hometown not only refers to the place of birth but it refers to a culture, an identity, and certain potential social networks which the individual is entitled to by birth (Erman 1997). Kurtoğlu, in her research shows that kinship and ethnic relations led to the emergence of the Islamic and conservative movements and this new conservative life style became dominant in the squatter settlements like Keçiören, Altındağ, Sincan, and Etimesgut (2003). Refah Partisi successfully mobilized and manipulated those growing tendencies to form a voter base for the party (Şahin 2007) providing an identity to the community living in Keçiören district.

“You can't build trust when some groups feel left out of the society and believe that others control the resources.” (Uslaner 2000: 580).

Shortly, the transformation process of the gecekondu in Keçiören followed a pattern. Firstly, the newly migrated population moved to urban land simply by occupying it. By using the populist and tolerant approach of the politicians towards gecekondu settlements during the pre-election periods the legalization of gecekondu settlements was attained. Then, politicians gave permissions to gecekondu owners to build apartments on their lots to bribe them and to make up for the neo-liberal policies that caused the poor to become poorer and live in sub-standard living conditions. The objective was to get rid of the rural-urban transitional characteristics of gecekondu settlements in an attempt to improve the living conditions and make them a part of the urban land while preventing an uprising of the lower class. As they began to shape the urban land they became more and more powerful.

Arslan, in his article dated 1989, when the apartmentalisation process was taking place, summarizes that, the local political institutions become more and more important for gecekondu dwellers as their legitimation and the provision of services to the gecekondu relied increasingly on the local government they voted for (1989: 36). With the results of the 1994 elections, it became clear that the gecekondu population was very effective in the determination of the local election results.

4.5.2 Politicians and Local Government

One of the most important socio-political movements that took place in the 1980s was the change in the political structure of the municipalities that provided them with more economic power and independence to find, create, and manage their own finances. Starting from 1984, the income and expenses of the municipalities has increased vastly, generating an increase in investments and services provided to the residents. However, these investments aim to make an emphasis on the power and prestige of the municipality more than they serve the residents (Tanyeli 1989). Although it may seem like Keçiören district was administered by many different political powers, the ideological motivation remains the same as the selected mayors come from a similar ideological base and serve for a long time.

When we look at the political history of the district from the last twenty years, we see three political parties that attained power. With the local elections of 1994, TurgutAltınok of Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) was elected to be the mayor of the district while Refah Partisi (RP) was selected for the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. Turgut Altınok continued to be the mayor of the district after the 1999 local elections; however he was representing Fazilet Partisi (FP), the former RP, at this time. Altınok again became the district mayor after the 2004 local elections, this time from Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi. He resigned in order to run as a candidate for the mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, but lost it. After Altınok, the AKP candidate Mustafa Ak came into the power; he still serves as the district mayor.

The origin of the transformation in terms of ideology and urban environment can be traced back to this twenty year period.

The concept of modern life and the values and virtues it brought from the perspectives of the middle and upper class was not embraced by the lower class during 1990s. The situation caused the working class to become much more conservative. The political upheavals caused by the economic crisis, terrorist movements in southeast Turkey, coalition governments, and the rise of Islamic power in the political sphere were taken advantage of by the conservative figures like RP and Melih Gökçek on a more local level. The domination of the local arena by Islamic ideals finally changed the way the local and central spheres reproduced and had an effect on the urban planning process (Şahin 2007: 91 - 93).

The acts of terrorism taking place in south-east Turkey fostered the nationalist and traditionalist ideologies. MHP, being a nationalistic party, successfully took advantage of the situation, generated nationalist feelings in the Turkish community, and established its election campaign accordingly in the district (Pınarevli 2005: 54). As soon as they became the dominant power in the district, they started to transform it spatially according to their ideologies, such as the Estergon Castle and the nationalistic figures in front of the municipality building. They not only reflected their ideologies in public images but also they brought regulations to control the aesthetic dimension of the buildings that were going to be built and had already been built. The municipality declared their intentions from their website as follows:

“According to the plan done by the municipality, the area will transform into a modern urban settlement where contractors will want to buy lands in return of the apartment floors... Apartments are constructed in Keçiören which once considered as a gecekondu area. Today modern apartments are rising in those neighborhoods where it was impossible to see nothing but gecekondu. We are disinfecting Keçiören from gecekondu while changing and beautifying it. Municipality sets an example in Turkey. Residents of Keçiören have shown us their trust by multiplying their votes in the last elections.”¹²

According to the municipality web site, after bringing the development problem to an end, the municipality started working towards the beautification of the district. The architects and contractors that had been working for the municipality were contacted and were given a catalogue that included the guidelines and samples of the types of buildings that were supposed to be built (Fig 4.34) (<http://www.kecioren.bel.tr> on 20.03.2014).

Even for the construction of the huge complex of Estergon castle, no professional advice or utilization was taken. İbrahim Terzioğlu, being proud with the fact, claimed that he designed the building himself. In this design process of the Cultural Centre, architects and urban planners were not involved in the design process.

¹² 30 Yıllık Hasret Sona Erdi

Yapmış olduğumuz planla bu bölge modern bir şehir haline gelecek, birçok müteahhit kat karşılığı yer almak isteyecek. ... Keçiören'deki bütün gecekondu semtlerinde mantar gibi modern binalar yükselmeye başladı. Bir tane bile apartmanın olmadığı mahallelerde bugün modern inaatlar yapılıyor. Böylece Keçiören'i gecekondulardan arındırıyoruz Keçiören değişiyor ve güzelleşiyor. Keçiören Belediyesi şu an Türkiye'nin örnek belediyesi konumunda. ... Keçiörenli bize olan güvenini 18 Nisan seçimlerinde oylarımızı katlayarak göstermiştir. ...” Keçiören Municipality webpage, <http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/projelerimiz.asp?projeler=Devameden> ,August2005)

Although it may seem like an innocent attempt to beautify the city, by limiting an autonomous profession it gave the district a dominant nationalistic and Islamic character and identity which was the main aim of the politicians, projecting their ideologies on space. In order to create Islamic and historical urban values in the district, the local governors neglected contemporary concepts and applications in the fields of architecture and urbanism (Pınarevli 2005).



Fig 4.34 Some examples of the sample facades that were proposed by the Municipality

Source: Pınarevli 2005

4.5.3 Architects, Urban Designers and Contractors

As it was stated under the politicians section, the urban improvement plans produced by the municipalities granted clearance to the contractors to demolish the squatters settlements and build apartments up to four-storeys high.

Simplification of the district through apartmentalization was supported by the municipality in order to create a less chaotic atmosphere.

As it was stated on the previous section, the municipality predetermined all the architectural decisions to be taken, the only thing left for the contractors and architects (as contractors have the authority to produce and design buildings, they can be considered in the same category) was to obey them. Pınarevli summarizes the role of architects in the process by describing them as technicians, not designers (2005). The architects do not have any authority or power in the design process of the facades of the buildings. The façade designs are prepared following the samples that the municipality had distributed (Saylan 2008: 28). Another dimension of the issue is that contractors, in order to make quick profit, do not follow the proper construction regulations which leads to the production of buildings with poor quality, but so called “rich” decorations.

When the development stages of Ankara that were presented in chapter three are considered, it can be easily seen that with every architectural and urban design project, the city was intended to be carried forward. While doing so, architects and urban designers took an active role in the process. On the old city plans, it was intended to build a city that conserves its identity while making use of modern construction materials and means of production. The architect should aim for the development of an urban land, however, in Keçiören example the mass production of the apartment blocks proves contrary. As Pınarevli also states, commercialization and making profit became more important than creating a livable urban environment for the residents. The architects and urban designers were at fault for not standing up for the existing situation (2005).

Saylan conducted a study on the area by carrying out interviews with the architects working in Keçiören. Although none of the architects like the aesthetic value of the urban land in the district, they all agree with the fact that all this transformation process resulted in increased land values and the district became more prestigious (2008.)

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CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In the previous chapters my main aim was to provide an objective understanding of the concepts which will be discussed in this chapter. In the theoretical framework chapter Pierre Bourdieu's key concepts were explained. His concepts of habitus, field and capital construct the core of his attempt of understanding the relationship between objective social structures (ideologies, fields and institutions) and human behavior (Webb, Schirato and Danaher 2002: 1). In order to consolidate the theoretical framework and aid in the perception of the larger picture in terms of the transformations that have taken place throughout the greater Ankara area, the third chapter provided necessary information about how these transformations took place. Since Keçiören remained an isolated area within the city in terms of social and cultural reproduction, the forth chapter was dedicated to the internal dynamics of the transformation that took place in the district.

In this chapter, the discussion will be conducted in three different sections. In the first section of this chapter the socio-political mechanisms hidden behind the spatial transformation processes in Keçiören, taking into account their larger context of

transformation processes that have taken place in Ankara in general, will be explained. This discussion will be conducted referring to the Bourdieusian sociological understanding of class formation and social reproduction of culture.

The second section of this chapter aims to present an understanding of the issue from a political point of view. The hidden political and ideological mechanisms behind the spatial transformation in Keçiören are explained. In order to do so, previous discussions by scholars are used to develop and understanding of how politicians used symbolic representations to create a sense of identity and strengthen their authority.

In the last section, criticisms from an aesthetic point of view are provided. The use of symbols, images and heritage, its decontextualization and recontextualization for political purposes are explained.

5.1 EVALUATION OF KEÇİÖREN DISTRICT BASED ON THE BOURDIEUSIAN FRAMEWORK

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Bourdieu rejects an idea of aesthetic judgment based on Kantian terminology. Bourdieu criticizes Kant for having neglected one's relational position in the social sphere. Goodman explains Kant's emphasis on the subjective nature of the judgment of the taste (Goodman 2011). In order to judge whether something is beautiful or not, one relates it with the means of the imagination to the subject and the feelings of pleasure and displeasure it

evokes. Kant claims that judgment of taste is not a cognitive one. He describes the judgment of taste as being an aesthetic one whose determining ground cannot be other than subjective. He also emphasizes disinterestedness by claiming that judgment of an object necessitates a refusal of one's dependence on, or interest in, the object (Kant 2007: 89 cited in Goodman 2011).

Bourdieu, in essence, argues that aesthetic judgment is socially determined. He further says that judgment of taste is associated with an agent's relational position in the social sphere (Rahkonen 2011: 128). Jenkins claims that appreciation of aesthetics can be considered as something that one learns. It cannot be considered as a predisposition, it is something that must be learned through primary education provided by the family and habitus and a secondary education that was acquired in school (1992: 132-137). However, in this field of judgment of taste, inequalities exist in different levels. In the next part of this section I aim to define the inequalities that emerged at the societal level throughout the historical development of Ankara and explain the conflicts in the cultural field to establish domination and exercise power upon others.

5.1.1 Transformation before 1980s

Although my main focus of study is the period after the 1980s, information about the period between the establishment of the republic and 1980 will be given to provide a background. In order to understand the transformation process that took

place, it is important to understand the social dynamics resolved by a Bourdieusian approach.

Before going into the details of the change in the social structure and its spatial reflections in the city I would like to emphasize a few points about the transformations that eventually led to the emergence of a distinct architectural style from a different point of view. When we look at the transformation process that has taken place in Ankara, the first extensive social and spatial transformation took place in the period referred to as the “Urbanization of the Nation State” by Şengül. When we look at the stratification of society, we see three different classes: the villagers, the working class, and the middle class. 87.7% of the population had been living in rural areas having populations below 10,000 and the 16.3% percent of the total population was settled in urban areas. The period between 1923 and 1937 was the period where a massive migration took place. More than half a million people were relocated to urban areas from rural areas (Aslanoğlu 2010: 21-23). Of course, compared to modern conditions the number may seem inconspicuous, but at that time serious precautions had to be taken in order to relocate and assimilate the migrated population within the urban areas.

These rapid changes in the political and urban spheres brought serious changes to the social structure of the population; however, there was no serious gap between the different classes. Towards the end of the first portion of this period, just before the economic depression and massive waves of migration from the rural areas, although a stratification of the population was present, there were no serious gaps among different groups that would cause conflicts (Aslanoğlu 2010; 22-24). The

bourgeois class was not yet powerful enough in the cityscape to have control over the judgment of taste in the architectural field. A quote from Vedat Nedim Tör supports this assertion; “For us, class divisions did not spread far enough to play a dominant role in political life. The New Turkish Republic was simply not a classed state.”¹³(Nedim 1932: 17).

In the second chapter, the growth of the city through plans prepared by Lörcher and Jansen were explained in detail. Because the massive migration movement from the rural areas to urban land had not started until the end of this period, there were no great differences among the urban population. The habitus displayed among the population of the city showed a more or less a homogeneous structure without causing a serious conflict in the different fields.

The emergence of a new architectural style in this period, known as the First National Architectural Style was not caused by social variables. Batur explains this transformation by referring to two facts; the first one being the ideological framework used to create a modern face for the newly founded republic while making use of the traditional elements for the construction of a national identity, and the second one being the improvement of the national economy. Because the revolution years were characterized by serious attempts at cutting ties with the old Ottoman society one by one, the republic needed to make use of Eastern/Islamic symbols and images to create a sense of identity that would strengthen the bonds within the society itself and to the newly established republic. (Batur 2005). The

¹³ “Bizde sınıf ayrılıkları, siyaset hayatımızda hakim bir rol oynayacak kadar açılmamıştır. Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti bir sınıf devleti değildir.”

main aim was to unite the nation under a Turkish identity that contradicted the multi-cultural social structure of the Ottoman Empire (Şengül 2001: 113). The construction program in this period depended on state controlled policies, unlike after 1960s when the private sector dominated the field of construction (Batur 2005).

This process can be identified as being the ideological or political reproduction of space. Although throughout the theoretical framework section, the reproduction of urban space was related to social dynamics, this ideologically produced space may seem to contradict the theory. However, a distinct process with the inclusion of different actors existed in this period. In this transformative period we witness the emergence of symbols, however this image production did not take place in an organic way. It was attained by making use of the present nationalistic inclinations of people by using a top to bottom approach. By this, I mean image reproduction was intentionally accomplished by politicians to create and strengthen an agent's sense of place in an unnatural way. The modernization project did not take the local culture as its focus; instead the main aim was to distance modernization from Islamic or Turkish labels as much as possible, thinking that this might ruin the modernization process (Keyder 1998: 29).

According to Bourdieu, the structures that constitute a particular social formation produce a habitus. This habitus is the main determining source of the agents' interests and motivations. On the other hand, habitus is the condition of existence of all practice (Resch 1992). Here we see a dual structure, different mechanisms within a society produce and reproduce the habitus, as habitus (like identity) is not

a static phenomenon, it is a dynamic process which evolves and adapts itself to the contemporary conditions. On the other hand, different structures, institutions and mechanisms are created as a result of the actions of the agents where the main variable is the habitus.

Relating this to the Ankara example between 1923 and 1930; as mentioned before, the population was composed of the working class, middle class, and villagers. The society was comprised of a homogeneous population where social stratification did not exist. The main aim in this post-war period was to revolutionize the style of life while distancing from an Ottoman one. Doing this on an institutional level, the ideology had spatial reproduction as well. The First National Architectural Style, which combines modern material with traditional Ottoman/Seljuk elements, represents the spatial dimension of the ideology. Therefore, the new ideology and political structure aimed to transform the habitus of people towards a modern one. From another point of view, becoming the capital city had an effect on the social structure of Ankara as well. In addition the social structure was also changing and this transformed habitus led then to the transformation of political institutions as well.

On the other hand, towards the second half of this period, this approach of relating the newly-established republic to Ottoman and Seljuk structures in terms of architecture began to be replaced by modern approaches in architecture as it was realized that it contradicted the ideology. Reactions had started towards all things Ottoman, and the style was abandoned (Alsaç 1996: 4). Another point worth mentioning here is that the architects and politicians responsible for the emergence

of the First National Architectural Style were educated and cultivated in an intellectual environment which was shaped by Ottoman nationalism (Dener 1996: 96). Their habitus was based on the Ottoman intellectual environment, therefore the designs they created followed this pattern.

The spatial reproduction of politics cannot be described as an organic process that took place as a result of social transformation but it was intended directed effort to restructure a city that would fit into the brand new modern ideological framework. Unknown to the politicians, the economic and political investments realized in the period later contributed to the formation of social class and the creation of greater gaps between these classes. Another point worth mentioning is the insufficiency of the construction program followed. The rate of construction did not answer the demands of the rising population as the rate of migration from rural areas to urban land accelerated towards the end of this period.

Moving to the second contextual phase in the history of Ankara, as mentioned before this period is a very significant one as it is characterized by a wave of migration from rural areas to urban land caused by modernization in the field of agriculture, thereby taking social stratification a step further. Şengül claims that the urbanization process also transformed from a state and middle-class based process into one that puts local societies at its core (Şengül 2001: 123).

In the first years of the Republic, the administrators, governors and politicians implemented their reforms in a strict way, even sometimes forcefully, in order to attain the shift to a modernized and contemporary nation. The part of society that showed a more conservative character and wanted to maintain their original

cultural, religious, and conservative life style, could not raise their voice against the secular nation and therefore became invisible in the urban scene. The liberal parliament that came into power after the 1950s created an opportunity for the people to reflect their own cultural dispositions and values in the urban sphere (Dener 1996: 98).

Gecekondu settlements that emerged at the fringes of the city and in the urban areas that were intentionally left vacant because they were not suitable for development started to form as a contradiction to the middle class settlements within the urban area. This dual structure of the city started to become a scene of conflict between the gecekondu dwellers and the state (as they simply occupied the land) and middle class as the gecekondu dwellers keep sustaining their rural lifestyle which threatened the middle class style lifestyle within the city (Şengül 2001: 124).

The middle class that created hegemony within the urban land started to lose its power and started to be replaced by a new layer of citizens. However, the layer that the middle class occupied in the previous period never disappeared from the urban scene; they became less powerful but remained as the main economic actors. On the other hand, the migrated population forming the gecekondu, low-income informal settlements, obstructed the political and cultural project of the middle class (Şengül 2001: 125).

The values that were brought by the migrants to the urban areas were preserved in a conservative way. The political inclination of this class was towards supporting the conservative parties.

The lack of basic urban services and the exclusion that gecekondu dwellers faced when they moved to the bigger cities from rural lands caused the radicalization of the gecekondu class. The people that moved from rural to urban lands unconsciously created a homogeneous class or group. This phenomenon was accomplished by relations of “hemşehrilik” and family. In the process of settling into the urban scene, the choice of location and this family and hemşehri network played a key role. As a result the gecekondu neighborhoods were segregated within themselves in terms of ethnicity and hometown (Şengül 2001: 127). These kinds of grouping provided security for the gecekondu dwellers recently migrated to urban land where they were strangers. In spite of the fact that there existed many different population groups, they managed to live together. Such political, religious, cultural, and everyday life differences such as Sünni or alevi, Turkish or Kurdish, did not result in any serious clashes or conflicts. On the contrary, the fact that they were sharing the same space and that they were outcasts excluded by the middle class brought them together (Erman 2005).

These significant neighborhood relationships became indispensable dispositions that could not be sacrificed easily as they created a “sense of one’s place” through networks that emerged in the area.

According to Şenyapılı, one’s perceptions and behaviors within an urban context can be perceived through whether or not they managed to acquire a secure job and dwelling rather than the time he/she stayed in that city. Some people who were able to keep up with the urbanization process left the gecekondu settlements and moved to the apartment blocks (cited in Ersoy 1985: 90). However, these people

got stuck between rural and urban life causing an internal and external conflict between the previous culture and dispositions and the newly imposed urban way of life (Bilir 2004: 102).

Although in the first decade of this period the first reactions and the policies followed were towards the demolition of these settlements, the 1960s showed a different character. Some strict demolition and prohibitions took place but a better more positive approach was taken towards this low-income population. This was not an innocent act though. This shift in attitude was rooted in political concerns. With the effect of the migration movements, the balance that had been established in terms of politics started to shift. The competitive environment that was caused by the shift towards a multi-party political life made the increasingly numerous low-income population an indispensable element of the society (Şengül 2001: 128-129).

What was done by the politicians in 1960s was to follow healthier relations that were less strict towards gecekondu dwellers. Some improvements in terms urban infrastructure were accomplished while the ownership of the land that gecekondu dwellers occupied in the first place was provided to them. This improvement approach included social adjustments as well; actions were taken for the provision of jobs to the gecekondu dwellers.

Such an approach provided gecekondu dwellers with the opportunity become a part of the urban sphere on the spatial and economical level while it rebalanced the shift in the political atmosphere. However, this approach was not successful in terms of resolving all the conflicts. The socio-spatial structure of the urban land was far from making gecekondu dwellers urban citizens. Furthermore, at some level, these

improvements increased the expectations of the gecekondu dwellers from the state after they possessed some power by their increased rights in the urban sphere. The new reference point for their comparison became the middle class of the city, not the rural life they left behind; this condition caused further conflict within the city (Şengül 2001: 130-131).

By the end of 1960s, the population of Ankara was comprised of middle and high-income districts shaped by Yücel Uybadin Plan and low-middle and low-income groups informally settled around the city (Günay 2005: 100).

Every phenomenon exists and creates its contradiction. Two sides of a conflict may recreate its own products making use of the other side's lackings. For example, the bureaucrats that played any role in the establishment of the republic spent an immense effort to impose what they consider to be a contemporary and modern life-style. They wanted to set an example to others by being the first ones to live in that particular way. Their aim was for people to forget the past and internalize modern culture. This attitude brought its opposite after some time had passed (Dener 1996: 101-102). Bourdieu names this process as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is the imposition of a set of systems, values, and symbolisms upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate (Jenkins 1992: 104).

The conservative part of the population that valued its original culture started to react to the modern part of the society as they desired to live how they wanted. The lower-income class that did not possess significant economic capital found ways to express themselves. They started to create values that would be coherent with modern western culture and revolt against it at the same time. They created their

own subculture; they had their own music, clothing, entertainment, and housing styles. The popular culture “arabesk” became successful against its struggle with the elite culture that had been imposed on society and became visible in the urban scene. Whether the elite-class liked it or not, they had to listen to their music in the public areas, they had to see gecekondu settlements from their luxury houses (Dener 1996: 101-102).

Özbek, unlike others does not consider arabesk as an anomaly within the culture. It is actually a type of popular sub-culture that emerged within the context of modernization and migration from rural to urban areas. The formal cultural policies, the changing life-style in the gecekondu settlements in the urban fringes, and the production of a culture-industry constituted the elements feeding the emergence of such a culture (Özbek 1998: 168-169).

In 1970s we see that political domination was in the hands of middle class radicals while gecekondu settlements had a rising role in the urban political scene. This period was ended with a coup d’état as a reaction against the increasing political tension within the urban environment caused by the economical crisis and conflicts between right-left supporters (Şengül 2001: 135-137).

When we look at this transformation from a Bourdieusian perspective, we see that changing life styles brought a change in habitus for the gecekondu dwellers. Once when they were living in the rural areas, each village or each agglomeration had their own dispositions and values which in turn would create the specific habitus for the people living there. Having moved to the city - although as emphasized before, the migrants move to those places where their relatives or ‘hemşehri’s live - in

looking to live in a group with similar habitus, urban life triggered the transformation of habitus as well. This population living in the urban land was pressured to be modern but could not abandon the values and disposition they had carried over from their previous rural way of life. Although the system treated everybody as equals when in fact they were actually competitors that started the competition with different handicaps based on cultural background (Jenkins 1992: 111).

At the beginning of this period, we see that the dominant classes in society are the high-income and middle-high-income groups. This elite-group had the authority to dominate the field of cultural production as they possessed the majority of the capital within the urban field. The dominant culture created by the dominant class is usually misrecognized as being the legitimate culture by the subordinate classes (Jenkins 1992: 112). Therefore they have the power to set the standard for aesthetics and judgment of taste. For them, gecekondu settlements and the arabesk subculture they created could not be acceptable within the urban scene. This also validates Bourdieu's view of culture being a game of distinction in which class differences are expressed or visually constituted where aesthetics is nothing other than a form of perception derived from economic realities (Joas and Knöbl 2011: 26-27).

On the other hand, the cultural field as a scene of social recognition becomes the major arena for conflict. The main struggle becomes the imposition of culture by dominant groups. After the 1960s, with the changing policies towards gecekondu settlements and their residents, the balance started to shift. Provided with housing

and better conditions, the gecekondu dwellers started to become visible within the urban sphere. They began to accumulate various forms of capital (economic, social and symbolic). Because they were the dominant power within the environments that they lived in and were excluded from the urban core as an attempt by the urban-elite to distance themselves from this group, they finally found a platform to represent their culture. However, they did not have enough power to dominate the whole urban scene. The standards for aesthetics and judgment of taste was still established and acknowledged by the urban elite. However, within the urban fringes dominated by gecekondu settlements, these low-income, middle-low-income groups became the dominant class.

As for the Keçiören case, emphasized in the case study chapter, the area had been left to its own devices up until the 1980s, after the situation took an irreversible turn. The former low-income class actually constitutes the core of the people living in the Keçiören area today. Therefore the previous transformation that they had been through should be emphasized.

5.1.2 Transformation after 1980s

In order to understand the transformation process that took place after the 1980s, the previous transformation patterns were described in the previous section. In this section of the discussion my main aim is to make an analysis of the socio-spatial

process that has taken place since the 1980s by referring to the cultural reproduction theories of Bourdieu.

Şengül describes the environment in this period as follows: “Recently emerging new political balances and economic structuring ended a period which was referred as “Urbanization of Labor” caused a layer of urbanization which can be characterized by the hegemony of capital (2001: 138).

Considering the fact that Keçiören used to be a gecekondu area and today 75 percent of the population living in the Keçiören district is composed of former-migrants and their descendants, the general transformation pattern I will be mentioning later in this section will be coherent with Keçiören example.

At the beginning of 1980s, the population was mostly constituted of people that did not experience the establishment of the republic first-hand. Therefore, as time passed the population became skeptical towards promises of a “bright and prosperous future.” This showed itself as a process of questioning identity, belief and value at the social level. This tendency was first present in the part of society which had been most recently urbanized, but then this skepticism sprawled to other sections of the population and started to affect ideas about the contemporary life-style of society. This questioning finally reached a point where the Kemalist modernization program began to be doubted. The criticisms rose above the issues of secularism and the nationalist history of Turkish Republic. The anti-Kemalist groups and Islamist groups took advantage of this unstable political situation and started to gain more and more power in the political arena while conflicts seemed

to rise in every level (secularism vs Islam, Turks vs. Kurds, rationalism vs. religion, urban vs. rural, old vs. new) within the urban community (Kasaba 1998: 2).

To look at the implications of the military coup d'état issue in more detail, at the beginning of the 1980s during the process of transformation from labor-based urbanization to a capital-based one, the military played a key role. The strategy of using urban services to support the urban poor were abandoned and no provision of services under its production value was adopted (Güler 1992). In other words, the military regime not only put an end to the growing public struggle within the community but it also ended the leftist movement and in this way created the basis for the emergence of urban entrepreneurship that would organize the urban sphere according to the needs and requests of capital. The urban environment became a field of private investments that would profit the capital holders (Şengül 2001: 139-140).

This new development strategy brought new ideologies proposing two new concepts, the extension of market forces in the field of economy and the emergence of ideologies in the field of culture that are based on individual competition. The feeling of trust for the nation state was replaced by the competitive environment of the global market and individualization (Gülalp 1998: 47).

The process of urbanization of capital changed the class structure and its spatial reflections. Different classes became more and more distant, causing social stratification to be experienced at its greatest. For the middle-class the class structure became more and more complex in the urban sphere (Şengül 2001: 142-

143). As Bourdieu argues, class distinctions in the economic sphere generate symbolic distinctions in terms of culture which in turn regenerate and legitimate the class structure (Gartman 1991: 421)

This further stratification was actually caused by the earlier strategies implemented by the politicians. The reformists of the early years of the republic over-applied their strategies of modernization and tried to change the lifestyles, actions, and daily habits of the people which in the following years became visible as a conflict between the modernists and the Islamists within the population. As Kemalists ruling the state internalized an approach which put westernization as the ultimate form of modernization, they viewed societal differences (ethnical, ideological, religious or economic) as elements that threaten progress, not as components of a pluralistic democratic society (Göle 1998: 73). People belonging to different groups, having different sets of values, and having different habitus were not acknowledged at first, and then were excluded, and in the end strict policies were implemented against this group.

Before going any further within the political sphere, an important concept should be mentioned. The subculture that had emerged in the previous decade started to be successful in this process of gaining recognition in the urban scene. However, in the mid-1980s, it became the center of the discussion. It attained a negative nature as it contradicted the dominant political power of the nation, ANAP, because it was reminiscent of Arabic culture. This subculture was considered as a self-emerged reality which did not fit into the norms of either traditional (Eastern) culture, or modern (Western) culture. The reason why arabesk culture was at the core of the

discussion was that it was the first organic mass public culture structuring that criticized and questioned the concepts of modern Turkish cultural identity (Özbek 1998: 182-185).

To conclude, what happened up until the mid-1980s, by using Bourdieu's concepts, we see that the habitus of gecekondu dwellers had transformed. As it was mentioned before, culture and habitus are not static 'things,' they are in fact dynamic processes that evolve with the transformations taking place in different fields. Stratification in the economic field conditions different class habitus, which in turn is the reason different cultural tastes are generated (Bourdieu 1984: 169-175).

While the gecekondu population still possess the culture and identity that can be defined with the "hemşehrilik", family and ethnicity networks but not with a shared history, the second generation now possesses a shared history, values and dispositions that mainly root from the exclusion. This situation in Turkey can also be visualized as the emergence of such a sub-culture in the previous time span and its effectiveness during this decade.

As it was done to gecekondu residents before, this sub-culture was first neglected, then criticized and then targeted to be suppressed via different strategies. The cultural field became the main field of conflict where the main concern was to dominate the cultural scene. Although this sub-culture became the focus of criticisms in the 1980s, the criticisms lost their intensity towards the end of this period.

In the mid 1980s, with the rise of the Islamic movements, a historical turnaround was experienced (Göle 1998: 73). The exclusion strategies were not successful anymore; therefore in the political field some new strategies were produced to make this group a part of the urban sphere. It became necessary to understand the how the nature of conflict and tension represented itself at the emotional, personal and symbolic level (Bourdieu 1984 cited in Göle 1998: 73).

Refah Partisi, the Islamist party, set its ideology towards a framework that would address the members (identity and to be recognized within the urban arena) of the lower-class that would lead the way to becoming the dominant political power (Göle 1998: 81). With the new-rightist ideology, the implementation of strategies towards the gecekondu population of the city had started (Şengül 2001. 142-143).

The gecekondu population, once excluded and subjected to symbolic violence, turned out to be valuable as they constituted more than 75% percent of the urban field in terms of population and space (Uzun 2005).

In the 1990s, the arabesk criticisms lost their intensity as the new agenda became the rise of the Islamist Refah Partisi and the threat of radical Islamism and ethnic identity among Kurdish population (Özbek 1998: 182-185).

In the mid 1990s, the educated elite class finally acknowledged the existence of the sub-cultures and accepted them as the representations of the struggles of the low-income class. Everyone in society learned not to belittle the existence of different gecekondu style houses, the arabesque style of music, or little mosques that possess aluminum domes. In fact, as an agent becomes aware of the mixed feelings

toward modernism, he/she starts to appreciate it. Today, the republican view of modernist ideology and its strict and elitist nature is disgraced. However, this inertia towards democratization might present itself in the approval of “kitsch” style as a result of the guilt of elites and the consideration of it as a product belonging to the people (Bozdoğan 1998: 130-131).

In 1994 the local elections resulted in the victory of Refah Partisi. This Islamist party came into power in the two largest metropolises: Istanbul and Ankara. This came as a shock to the secularist segments of the population and power holders, however, the anti-globalization, anti-western discourse of the Islamic Party attracted the marginalized city population who became more and more segregated in the urban space by the policies of globalism (Keyder 2005 and Tuğal 2002 cited in Tatar 2012).

The compromises (gecekondu affı) given to gecekondu owners were not the only factor that decided their political behaviours, ethnic and religious factors as well as the economic policies were effective elements of the behavior mechanism. Urban poor, however heterogeneous they can be within their own community had the potential to be united under a political project. However, this potential can only be activated through the existence of a political organization which can create a realistic alternative project. In response to the further segregated character of the cultural and political fields, a political approach putting the concept of identity at its core was adopted which was thought to answer the need to gather different groups together on a shared political arena (Şengül 2001: 144-147).

After the fall of RP due to the increasing tension between the RP and secularist state institutions, the AKP following its footsteps, was established and took over

control of the metropolitan municipality of Ankara. AKP appeared appeared to be successful in gathering the urban poor under a single ideology. Although the AKP government caused urban poverty to sprawl to a larger section of society, the lack of a realistic alternative from the political left enabled AKP government to do so (Şengül 2001: 148). The ideology they created presented itself as a convincing “alternative modernity” that does not deny its Islamic roots (Keyman and Koyuncu 2005).

The Islamist politicians took advantage of the further segregated urban field and gave compromises, mainly economic ones, to the excluded population. This caused a shift in the amount of capital the lower-class was in possession of. As their economic capital increased, as well as symbolic capital (therefore social) provided to them via their patronage relationship with the politicians, this class started to gain more power and became more effective within the urban sphere. The symbolic violence practiced by the culturally and economically privileged class lost its intensity. Even in the last decade, this symbolic violence has been turned around, with increasing social capital in the possession of the former lower-class, today’s middle class.

Within the cultural field, this political shift led to the change of the dominant culture. For the perception of aesthetics or the judgment of taste the dominant view was still in the hands of the culturally-privileged class, mostly the descendants of the urban elites from the last period. However, the changing political structure brought a shift in the dominant class within the city towards the voter base for the dominant political party.

The domination of the cultural field is acquired by the possession of the cultural capital. As it is stated in the theoretical framework chapter, cultural capital is acquired via education. Although the modern education system seems like a mechanism that assumes everybody as equals, this situation creates a biased context. The children coming from families that are in the possession of cultural capital are most favored in the cultural field as they possess a greater amount of cultural capital by default. Therefore, the new politically dominant class, former gecekondu population does not have the power to dominate the cultural field and set standards for the perception of aesthetics. Although they do not possess the power to change the perceptions of aesthetics, with the symbolic power and the actual power they possess via politicians, they have become the dominant class to practice the dominant culture. This opposition is classified by Wacquant as being the opposition between those who are in the possession of economic capital but have few cultural assets (dominant class in the urban sphere) and those whose assets are mostly composed of cultural capital (dominant class in the cultural field) (2011: 102-103).

In spite of the fact that there is an endless conflict between two contradicting cultures, the aesthetic perception of the former gecekondu population is not actually very different from the so-called high culture. Called as *petite bourgeoisie* by Bourdieu, the middle class (former working class) aspires to attain the distinction of the bourgeoisie (urban elites), however, it does not possess the required capital in the cultural field or habitus to achieve it. Therefore, the middle class in turn

adopts a life-style that is not their own by superficially borrowing from the legitimate culture, transforming into something they are not (Bourdieu 1984: 318-371 cited in Garreck 1991: 424-426).

However, the point worth mentioning is that Bourdieu defines aesthetic judgment as an eminent social faculty resulting from social stratification and education. To appreciate a kind of work of art, one needs necessary type and amount of cultural capital. Furthermore, taste and aesthetic judgment of a class represent themselves through the distance of classes: “taste is first and foremost distaste of the taste of the others” (Bourdieu 1984: 56). This is because any type of cultural practice takes its social meaning and its ability to signify social difference and distance not from some intrinsic property it has but from its location in a system of likes and practices (Wacquant 2011: 103). Relating this to the case study of this research, the established cultural norms that put western art/architecture as the products that signify modernization or aesthetics after the establishment of the republic exclude any object that has ethnic or historical (orientalist) value. Therefore, consciously and unconsciously modern products of architecture mimicking Western traditions become the beautiful while the ones representing an orientalist style are labeled as kitsch.

Of course this situation is reflected as a conflict in the urban scene. “Taste represents the concealed exercise of power; it is a matter of course, the natural difference that has grown apart from the social” (Rahkonen 2011: 126). Throughout the city it is possible to see the spatial appearance of ideology. Although the overall appearance of the cities seemed secularized, it became more and more Islamic with

the integration of the Islamic life-style to the existing urban pattern (Tuğal 2009: 55). In the name of gecekondu transformation, many wide-scale urban projects were implemented (Tatar 2012: 37). Another policy that the government adopted was to 'rehabilitate' and 'preserve' cultural heritage, which in turn was the destruction and re-creation of a nostalgic model of the city (Sulukule urban-renewal project and the upcoming case of Ankara Castle and surroundings). Gülhan concludes that these spatial transformations usually resulted in class-based spatial re-arrangement as the rehabilitated neighborhoods are not given back to the lower-classes who inhabited the area, but rather are settled by people of the middle and upper classes (2011).

On a smaller scale, the example of Keçiören was chosen to represent this distinction at its best. Keçiören, being a former gecekondu settlement and being infamous as a stronghold for the AKP, represents this distinction in its physical environment. The emergence of the eclectic architectural style presented in the third chapter was accomplished as a result of this political and social process.

In the context of symbolic capital, objects can be described as the abstract reflections of their environment and can have symbolic capital values. Representing the environment's cultural value by being the symbolic representations of them, this symbolic capital can be found embedded in the physical space. A cultural commodity becomes significant and implies a symbolic power not because of its material existence but from its social significance (Susen 2011: 180). Urban landmarks become significant in an environment as they carry a symbolic value representing cultural, and in the Keçiören example, political stances that provide a

certain prestige to their environment. The Keçiören area, possessing various landmarks (Estergon Cultural Center, the fountains, as suc) is an example case study where a culture is imposed as a result of the changing political field.

From a different point of view, the city became segregated in the social sphere as well. As an attempt to distance themselves from the cultural norms of the former gecekondu residents, the former urban-elite population became more self-enclosed and reactive against the others. The conflict became visible in every field - political, social, cultural and economic. As the dominant class strove to distance themselves from individuals that represent other taste categories, this segregation at the spatial and social level became meaningful. When the popular taste embraces what is considered to be the 'good taste', the pure taste becomes vulgar (Rahkonen 2011: 127) which leads to an endless conflict in the cultural field.

Although I have followed Bourdieu's concepts to explain the process that has taken place in Keçiören district, there are some points in Bourdieusian theory that does not completely fit to Keçiören example. As every society is unique and has a unique path of development that would make every single society different from each other, the theories developed by Bourdieu according to the French society of the era shows some differences.

First of all, Bourdieu assumes that the society is strictly divided into groups and classes. However in Ankara example, this becomes partially correct. Although there was a strict class structure in the first years of the republic, after the vast migration movement and the assimilation process and especially after the Islamic policies implemented on the former Gecekondu class the strict class distinctions becomes

vague. This is not to say that it has become a classless society but the line between the middle class and the low income class becomes blurred. For example the new emerging middle class used to be the low-income Gecekondü population; but now they are replacing the middle class. Therefore the distinction between these two classes become somehow vague. Another dimension of the issue is the question of what happens to the former middle class? They are still present in the urban scene as the middle class but there is a distinction between those two different groups caused by their different collective habitus. This is to say that although the middle class conflicts with different classes it also experiences an internal conflict as well. Therefore as Ankara has undergone a different historical process, although Bourdieusian theories may be applicable to the population there are still some differences.

Another point that shows difference in the Bourdieusian theory and Keçiören example is the nature of the cultural capital. Bourdieu assumes that cultural capital behaves like economical capital however cultural capital takes time for its process of transmission. Economic capital can be increased/decreased in a short period of time whereas for the change of cultural capital some time is needed as it accumulates through education. As it can be seen in Keçiören example, it has taken almost 50 years of time (starting with the migration process) for the shift of cultural capital. And again we see that the definition of cultural capital may shift as well. In Keçiören example what has been seen as the produce of high cultural capital may shift. Starting from the republican period, we can witness the change in the description of cultural capital. What once being the example of “aesthetic” changes

throughout time. This is also caused by the shift in the class and economical structure.

To conclude, the transformation that has been taking place in Keçiören since 1994 has been taking place in many different social scenes. Described as fields by Bourdieu, the struggle to gain profit on the urban land can be explained as the interaction between different fields (political, cultural and economical) on a broader scale. The culture and its reflections on space and society in Keçiören is both the result of these relationships between different fields and the tendencies of the residents that is rooted from their habitus.

Post-modernism in architecture allows the creation of an original architectural language which incorporates different concepts like culture and identity without causing any conflict. In the last 50 years the Turkish Republic has been a scene of chaos, transformation, and change in every field. In the field of architecture, as it failed to establish its own post-modern discourse, it became a fertile area for the production of kitsch in architecture. It is possible to witness so called 'ideological discourse' in the field of architecture which in reality is constituted by polished images and exaggerated slogans that give the impression of a wide-scale change which will be emphasized in the next chapter (Aydınlı 1998: 29). The aesthetic concerns about the production of a new style in architecture (which is usually considered as kitsch production) that mimics the past will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.

5.2 IDEOLOGY, HISTORICISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Architectural elements contribute to the development and transformation of a city on different levels. In other words, the built structures carry different values and create different physicalities; they constitute the urban history, transform the space into a place, and therefore create a sense of place (Madran 2001). In this section, my main aim is to give insight into the relationship between ideology and politics and how ideology makes use of the heritagization process in order to create identities (or a sense of place) and gather people under one ideology. In the last part of this section, the concepts of kitsch and hyper-reality will be explained, as previous researchers on the subject criticized the issue by making use of these concepts.

Sağlam claims that architecture, capable of transmitting direct and indirect messages has always been viewed as a tool for public discourse; however, this attribute works in both ways. As architecture has the power to construct, when faced with a conflict within society due to political struggles, it also causes the exclusion of certain products of architecture by anathematizing them, which results in the destruction of that product. What makes architecture so dominant in this issue is not its ability to represent values, but the way it transforms daily life. For this reason architecture can be defined as the strongest tool for societal transformation and is widely used by the ruling actors (Sağlam 2013: 23).

In many examples from history there has always been a dual relationship between architecture and the ruling actors. Architecture has been used to solidify the power

of the ruling actors while the field of architecture and the architects themselves were dominated by the ideologies belonging to the rulers. Architecture has been perceived as a tool representing the power of a leader and the power of the leader was reflected on space which can be sensed via certain codes and symbolisms in architecture. "To construct" is used as a political tool, a new struggle to dominate visual culture (Bertaux 2006 cited in Akalın 2013: 20). The main aim is to profit from the use of space in ideological terms (Akalın 2013: 20).

Hardy and Leiba O'Sullivan describe the power of the government imposed on people in different levels. On a superficial dimension, it is the ability to make a change, while in a more profound dimension it is control and command. On an even more profound level power is merged into the system and it becomes the decision mechanism behind how we think and what we think. On this level power is perceived as domination and actions take the form of a challenge. The very extreme examples of this enforcing attitude can be seen in the structures of Nazi period. In this period, the social and political values of aesthetics were maximized and architecture was transformed into 'a tour de force'(1998). Pfeffer describes this organizational attitude of the government as being activities that are practiced in order to acquire power, muster up support, and use power and resources that would result in success in times of conflict. When power and domination is the focus of the discussion, actors perceive space as an ideological tool (1981).

When we consider the situation in Turkey, in its historical context, with the establishment of the republic, the new capital city of Ankara was aimed to become the representative of a new-modern identity of the republic. While Istanbul signifies

the past, tradition and history, Ankara was meant to become the representation of the new, the contemporary, and the future (Yavuz 1973). These might be considered the first steps to creating an urban scene that would represent the dominant political power.

Our cities were and are faced with a chaotic situation due to the desire to use architecture to represent the politically dominant structure; this condition can be felt in every dimension of our daily lives (Akalın 2013: 20). This process was started with the first national architectural style. What was intended there was the use of traditional Turkish and Islamic elements to decontaminate the field of architecture from foreign influences. However, as Ahunbay also states, the new buildings were built so that they would represent historicity, but in fact do not carry a historical value; it just remains as a structural revitalization of the mass and the spaces (Ahunbay1996:99). The architectural language created in these national styles never becomes pure or permanent in the urban scene, they would remain as images that would represent a historical continuity but transform according to the social and political dynamics or as “inflection images” that would be open-ended, dynamic and open to different interpretations (Cache 1995 cited in Gür 2007: 38).

Like in the Keçiören example, the eclectic architectural style can be said to not carry a historical meaning; they are the interpretations of historical values and elements from today’s point of view. In a more pluralistic approach, it can be observed that many elements that are unrelated to each other are unnaturally gathered together in order to create an image that has been long lost. These images give the city an unnatural look, almost like a theater stage. The half-archeological images of the

past are used to create a continuity for the political story and strengthen the idea of belonging to a place. The urban images created transform into certain indicators and in the end are presented for the cultural consumption (Yenişehirlioğlu 2002).

The different architectural phases that were defined as national styles impose a duality on the architects and on society. The architect especially becomes trapped between the need to create architectural elements according to the contemporary fashions and functions and the search for an identity with the rising concepts of postmodernism. As I have presented in the previous chapters, this duality has been present during different historical periods. During the first National Architectural Style, the main concern was to westernize or modernize the building technology without losing touch with history. This national architectural fashion was not adopted because of internal societal motivations but to catch up with the modernization process. Even the search for a national identity, in this sense, was not only about the representation of one's historical identity, but it was also an attempt to adopt Western forms. Designers of the period found it sufficient to construct the structures on western style and use decorative elements that belong to an Ottoman or Seljuk historical context to create a national architecture (Sağlam 2013: 25).

These attempts at creating a new architectural style and a new architectural language failed because, as Sağlam concludes, architecture can only be considered as a historical development as long as it is articulated to its predecessor. The conception of space and the hidden meaning behind the form only then make

sense. If this is not the case, architecture is under the threat of transforming into fashion, consumption, pretension, or a market value (2013: 25).

Although it is not the consideration of this research I would like to make an emphasis on the role of the actors. Today, the actors that shape the urban environment are no longer in the decisive position, they are enforcing and patronizing; the city becomes the show-scene for them.

In the concept that we may call “power identity” today, elements that carry past references were distanced from their contexts and used in order to represent the power of the politically dominant. Architects or designers are faced with a dilemma in their professional lives. On one side, architects are faced with the employers (governmental offices or municipalities in this case) that request new features on the buildings such as “Turkish identity representation” or “coherency with historical elements” while on the other side, they have their own set of ideologies and principles. They are forced to leave their personal views aside (Akalın 2013: 20).

As I have mentioned in the previous chapters, the actors that are involved in the design and construction process of the buildings and structures in Keçiören are constrained, either with policies that are produced to shape the urban scene according to the requests of the dominant ideology or with the restrictions and pressure they face on a more psychological level. Architects become less and less involved in the planning and construction process of the buildings (everything was decided and is supposed to be done according to the guidelines distributed by the municipality) which leads them to focus on the façade design of the buildings. The strict control of the municipalities lead designers to only produce costumes for the

buildings. The architects become the means of implementing the populist political ideologies of the municipality, which focuses on the group identity, nationalism, the use of Islam, and historicism.

5.2.1 Criticisms about the Architectural Quality

So far I have tried to make an analysis of the transformation process that has been taking place in Keçiören and in Ankara in a wider scale from a Bourdieusian perspective. Although my approach to the issue is an historical and sociological one there are some criticisms to the process. The criticisms are mostly done taking into account the physical quality of the district. These criticisms utilize some well known concepts such as Venturi's "decorated shed", Baudrillard's "hyperreality and simulation". Another point worth mentioning is that these criticisms show a vast difference from the perspective that I have approached the issue. Although I adopted an objective approach to explain the process making use of sociological norms, I find it useful to mention these subjective criticisms to understand different point of views towards the issue.

Pınarevli uses Venturi's concept of the decorated shed to explain this process which covers especially the production of residential architecture that is reduced to façade decoration. In his work *Learning from Las Vegas*, Venturi defines two concepts, the first one is the application of ornaments after the building of the structure is completed, which is referred as the decorated shed; in another way, an overall design that pretends to be something else. The second concept introduced by Venturi is the term duck, which is the introduction of an overall symbolic form to be

used in various elements of space, structure, and program, where the building becomes a representation of an ideology in the Keçiören case (Venturi, Brown and Izenour 1977).

The building itself cannot be conceived as a symbol, but the application of the symbols create a distinct architectural language that is criticized by the author. In his own words: "... emphasized image - image over process or form - in asserting that architecture depends in its perception and creation on past experience and emotional association and that these symbolic and representational elements may often be contradictory to the form, structure, and program with which they combine in the same building" (Venturi, R. 1997: 88).

A new architectural form has emerged on a grand scale where the relationship between exterior design and interior design is totally irrelevant. However this is not to say that the facades of the residential apartments are decorated with historical elements while the interiors are new. The interior designs also possess this historicist approach. But due to the lack of knowledge about the actual contexts of the elements, the use of multiple images create spaces of totally different contexts therefore they become irrelevant.

In Keçiören example, we witness that architecture became a means of commerce as contractors (as the designers were excluded from the process) produce the buildings and make profit over them. In this sense, "city space and architectural forms became consumer items or packaged environments that support and promote the circulation of goods" (Velibeyoglu, 1999). The municipality, contributing to the process with its ideology-creation policies constrains the

freedom of designers and forces designers to use the symbols that were produced by the municipality and that are thought to represent the aesthetic concerns of the overall society.

What is criticized by Pinarevli is the false consciousness created by the politicians on purpose. He further claims that although it might be considered as an innocent effort to alter the urban environment with the application of decorations that include elements from the Turkish historical context, the hidden motivations behind them proves it wrong. Again, although the creation of identity with the use of historical elements may seem like an innocent effort to unify and strengthen the bonds among society, the hidden motivation behind it is the exact opposite. Furthermore, he criticizes the process from the point of view of an architect, without scientific research conducted in the area, or without professional assistance, the process becomes a biased one in many dimensions. The adoption of many symbols not belonging to the Turkish historical context is widely seen (Pinarevli 2005). The use of art-nouveau decoration or the adaptation of Greek architectural figures can be given as examples. Therefore, ignorance of the contemporary context leads to the misguidance of the urbanization process based on historicism or historical eclecticism.

In terms of larger scale projects, the government or municipalities in Turkey today transform the power they have into spatial investments, they use pointed arches or domes belonging to their past. Primary schools that look like Seljuk caravanserais and governmental offices that carry Ottoman architectural elements are the concrete representatives of the ideology of the power. Even residential units

became the architectural representations of political power. Today, the district of Keçiören in Ankara gives a surreal sensation, as if one is in Disneyland. The main aim of the political power that aesthetizes daily life on its terms is to build an ideology that would continue to dominate when their authority is no longer valid (Akalın 2013: 20).

Referring to the sur-reality mentioned above, Baudrillard explains this situation with his concept of hyper-reality. This concept was adopted by Pınarevli as well. He set his main argument on the basis of the production of hyper-reality within the urban context.

“The real is merely a simulation” (Baudrillard 1998: 69 cited in Pawlett 2007: 70). This representation becomes replaced by the simulation and eventually hyper-reality is a world without origin. In the post-modern world, as people start to lose their attachments to their past and attempt to bond to their history in different dimensions, hyper-reality becomes the dominant way of experiencing and understanding the world (Lane 2000: 87). Simulation is distinct from representation as “signifiers lose attachment to the signifieds” (Pawlett 2007: 76). The example of Disneyland is used extensively by Baudrillard as it is an example of the simulation of reality taken to extremes. In this model of sur-reality, the model precedes the real (Lane 2000: 86).

Lane summarizes what Baudrillard means by the term hyper-real as a kind of virtual reality that is produced by the people and represents what we really want it to be. The hyper-reality covers what is really happening in the world by presenting a sense of comfort through familiarity produced by fakeness (Lane 2000: 101).

Pınarevli uses Umberto Eco's explanation of the human fascination with fake reality as mentioned in his work "Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyper-reality." According to him, humans surround themselves with fake realities which cause our minds to wander into the hyper-real worlds and accept those false truths as being real. Individuals prefer those false-realities as a substitute for what we perceive as real; in fact this reproduced image surpasses the value of the original (2005).

So the term hyper-reality can be utilized to explain another dimension of the process that has been going on in Keçiören. Estergon Castle or the Municipality complex create fake-realities by making use of the historical references that symbolize the great history of the Turkish Nation and present (not the exact symbols but rather interpreted ones) the interpretation of these values in order to gather especially the suppressed migrants under one shared history and set of values. Estergon Castle, named after the infamous Esztergom Castle that represents one of the bravest historical events in Turkish History, makes use of different architectural and decorative elements that represent different periods in an eclectic manner. Several signifiers are gathered in one place to attain a sense of the authentic; however the newly produced reality changes the perception towards the actual reality and becomes the main realm of the urban scene.

Pınarevli claims that this fake reality, presented and created by the politicians, aims to please everyone that feels themselves to be a "Turkish". They attain a sense of knowing one's place, the sense of one's identity by using important and significant symbols from the past that would allow people to experience the Turkish reality without experiencing those images and cultural products in their own context.

From another point of view, many researchers on this subject claim that other than the production of hyper-reality, the production of kitsch is a process taking place in the area. Kitsch emerged in 19th century Germany as a term that describes the mass produced, poor quality imitations of artwork and luxury goods that were produced especially for the ordinary consumers (Binkley 2000 cited in Atkinson 2007: 524). Following this, Dorfles defines kitsch as being bad taste and claims that it is the product of consumer society (1969). Calinescu claims that this state of fake art is an indispensable and inescapable phenomenon (1966). "Kitsch could not, in fact, either emerge or prosper without the existence of kitsch man, the lover of kitsch; as a producer of art he produces kitsch and as a consumer of art is prepared to acquire it and pay quite handsomely for it" (Broch 1959: 49).

Pinarevli, in order to find the answer to the question of why there is kitsch man and why does he promote the kitsch, cites from Dorfles who claims that this situation is caused by the lack of education about real art or aesthetics (1969 cited in Pinarevli 2005: 84).

Kundera defines kitsch man as being not an individualized agent with a freedom of mind but a totalitarian thinker. He defines kitsch as a product of the totalitarian ideology. Following this, kitsch man becomes an agent of the totalitarian ideology which uses kitsch to realize its aims in the urban scene. "Kitsch is the aesthetic ideal of all politicians, all political parties and movements" (Kundera 1984: 257). The common values created with the means of kitsch production in order to provide common ground for different agents within a society, the phenomenon can be used

to attain power. These values may include religion, nationalism, arabesk culture, fear, nostalgia, or historicism.

In the Keçiören case, combining the terms hyper-reality and kitsch, the production of another visual reality attained by the politicians conceals the real problems in the district. The rising views on nationalism and Islamism with the rising power of the AKP government (and Refah Partisi in the past) shaped the urban environment with the use of populist symbols promoted by the politicians (Pınarevli 2005).

To conclude the main criticisms, it is claimed that the populist views of politicians and presence of an architectural style that was forced upon the urban sphere which lacks proper research so that it would be coherent with the contemporary urban developments create an unreal environment in the urban sphere. Although there is a consistent architectural language in the area, researchers label this architecture as being kitsch. An aim of architecture is to create a sense of place, however, by doing so via the concept of “national” requires more profound research and scientific studies (Sağlam 2013: 25).

Some further criticisms about the urban environment in Keçiören focuses on the physical structure which mostly are problems caused by the improper infrastructure. For the sake of creating an urban environment that would not conflict with the political ideologies the infrastructural investments are either postponed or cancelled.

However, this lack of infrastructure or the social conflict experienced between the Keçiören community and the republican elitist section of society cannot be

experienced at first, a research or an actual living experience is needed to see the social and physical realities in the district.

The production of architecture according to the aesthetic perceptions of the community which is directly related to the socio-economic structure (low-income populations are claimed to be easier to manipulate around populist views) shadows the understanding of the severity of the actual situation. Different dimensions of the identity creation process will be mentioned in the next section.

5.2.2 The Identity Creation Process in Keçiören District

After discussing the subject from a different point of view where I have provided subjective criticisms, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter I would like to discuss the identity creation process that has been taking place in the Keçiören District since 1980s.

Going further into the details of the identity creation policies of the government, today public buildings that can be considered as the major items of prestige as representations of political power became the reflections of the identity-creation efforts of the government. The façade application that takes different historical contexts as reference, the portals that are placed in the entrances, the repeating window frames, the emphasis on the symmetrical layout, the visual divisions on the façade are some of the common characteristics of the public buildings that have been built within the last two decades (Sağlam 2013: 25).

Following this populism in architecture and its reflection as identity creation by using symbols in the Keçiören case, Baudrillard refers to the populist character of architecture as the “consumption of values.” The images are being consumed while the main industry became heritage production. Haison refers to this process as “the historical heritage industry” and sees a connection between this produced image and postmodernism and claims that both of these concepts create a shallow screen between our life today and our history. He further claims that it is impossible to perceive history as it was; instead what is being served to us today is just a mere reconstruction of the past in today’s terms, like a theater scene that is presented to us in costumes (Akalın 2013: 21-22).

Nostalgia is an essential tool for addressing crises, it serves as an inhibitor at the community level and strengthens the bonds among society under the guise of ‘national identity’ when there is a threat or lack of trust. The rising interest towards family or hemşehri bonds among societies, or inclinations towards research for historical origins are all signs of a search for safer ground and long-term values (Akalın 2013: 21-22).

A new phenomenon is rising in academic discourse: heritagization. It is defined as the contemporary use of the past (Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge 2007: 41). In this context, heritage is not considered as the solid artifacts, what is more important is the socially constructed meaning of the artifacts (Graham 2002).

Following this, Akalın claims that the dominant political power becomes profoundly embedded in one’s daily life, affecting their perception of aesthetics. The main aim here is to be different and to be noticed. It can be said that architectural products

are noticed by the spectators within an urban scene and are internalized and perceived as becoming one's own ideas (2013: 21-22). Therefore, with the power of the artifact, the pasts may be rejected or, on the contrary, new pasts can be reconstructed (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999). In Keçiören as well, contemporary structures that resemble (or not) the original structures were assigned heritage values to provide the ruling party with a national community binding process (Heritage production in Turkey: Actors, issues, and scales, 2014)

It was easy for the community to accept the "cultural heritage," however, everything that is new is condemned to struggle against what is traditional (Scheebart 1972). Today, architects react with hostility to the revitalization of the out of fashion traditional values; they do not even negotiate when these values are reinterpreted. This is considered as a reaction against the ideology of the party in power. Akalın advises that, instead of denying it, they may spend their efforts on the modern reinterpretation of the traditional and transform it into an acceptable form that might be adopted by a larger section of the community. It cannot be expected that contemporary interpretations will be accepted and adopted while the ruling power and the government continue this enforcing attitude. The contemporary interpretations of the traditional created by architects may be a way to overcome the conflict (Akalın 2013: 21-22).

Criticisms about the issue center on the discussion of the spatial arrangements that are being realized in Keçiören and the imposition of ideology on the spatial level by the AKP government that contradicts the peaceful approach of the Republic. The demonstration of the Turkish-Islamic ideology is used in order to prove the point

that this ideology exists as a contradiction to the earlier republican ideologies that take western development as their reference. In terms of architecture, the elements that were used in the structures were gathered in an eclectic manner. Although this eclectic style emerged as a contradiction to the republican ideology, it searches for a common ground with it at the same time. Names like the “Tower of the Republic” or “Atatürk-Ergenekon Park” are clear expressions of the issue. With such an attitude what is trying to be hinted at is the coexistence of the republican and Turkish-Islamic ideologies. This ideology denies the republican ideologies and therefore its capital, Ankara, has chosen Keçiören as the place to represent this refusal. This situation transforms the Keçiören district into a space of conflict and struggle but also to a place of emulation. The district is claimed to possess the biggest waterfall and the tallest tower, it claims to be the neatest, the most planned, the most aesthetic (Aydın, Bayraktar and Tekkaya 2003: 59).

The Turkish-Islamic ideology that starts with the public areas and infiltrates into private spaces starts to interpret and shape ideology and the tools used by it. The interpretations of the architecture shaped by ideology decontextualize these iconic and ideological representations and recontextualize them in the new national style as abstract reflections of ideology and power (Aydın, Bayraktar and Tekkaya 2003: 59).

In every identity production process, in the most desperate situations, the repertoire of traditions was used to create simulated worlds that only manage to become a setting for the real world (Akalin 2013: 21-22). All the historical examples have shown here that the aesthetic concerns of architecture do not show continuity

unless they are grown in an organic way adapting to the changing social dynamics of the society. Every different architectural phase decayed due to enforcement applied by political power. Every application the does not stem from its own bases and that does not possess its own cultural base acting on a societal level remains a non-contextual entities (Sağlam 2013: 23).

To conclude, in Keçiören, in the last 20 years, we see the manipulation of people by using their need to be defined with an identity. In the district there exists a multi – layered social structure that is used successfully by the politicians for the implementation and realization of their ideologies. The processes and projects that are used by the politicians can be interpreted differently as it depends on one's place in social, cultural and political sphere. This complicated social structure contributes to the city by enriching its culture; however, the population living there starts to be in the possession of more and more capital everyday therefore causing a shift in the balance in the urban political and social fields and causing conflicts. To sum up, the process that has been going on in Keçiören is not a basic one that can be related to an approach that takes a single component to characterize. This transformation process should be evaluated as a whole, composed of cultural, economic, social and political networks that are embedded in each other.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to make an analysis of the transformations that have been taking place in Keçiören district of Ankara since 1994, not only in the architectural or urban fields, but also in the political, social, economic, and cultural fields. To that end, the primary element of analysis in this study has been the emergence of a new architectural style during the 30 year period since 1994 that imitates the past with a modern approach, not only in terms of urban and architectural quality but also from social and political perspectives that are embedded in the “culture,” resulting in a total transformation of Republican Ankara..

The ideological transformation process that started in Keçiören in 1994 and its effects on different spheres makes this a unique case. Formerly a gecekondu settlement that was despised, and today being one of the most favorable districts in Ankara with a population mostly composed of AKP supporters, Keçiören can be classified as the spatial representative of shifts in the political sphere. However, concluding that these changes in different spheres are the mere result of political

shifts is insufficient. Therefore by using Pierre Bourdieu's sociological notions as elements of interpretation, I have aimed to explain the social and cultural motivations, values, and dispositions of people that are acquired unconsciously and that shape the cultural field and its reproduction in terms of space. Political domination can be considered a result of agent based behaviors while the actions of politicians result in spatial and cultural changes that affect an agent's life. It may be suggested that dominant powers and agents or groups reproduce each other. As in the example of Keçiören, the former gecekondu inhabitants formed the core voter group for Nationalist/Islamic elements to come into power. Political parties, by using people's different needs, especially the need to attach themselves to a certain identity, reproduced an urban environment that would change the agent's lifestyle.

This transformation taking place with the rise of the AKP is not limited to Keçiören. Although their most extensive transformation projects were implemented in Ankara and Istanbul, in almost every city and town, the rise of the new eclectic architecture that was described in this study may be observed. What makes Keçiören more striking in this sense is the symbolic meaning it was attained. Some points that contribute to the symbolic importance of the area can be exemplified as: the prime minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan keeping residence in Keçiören and Melih Gökçek's (the mayor of Metropolitan municipality of Ankara) time as mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. These attributes contribute to the idea of Keçiören being "the base of the AKP government".

The emergence of this eclectic architectural style is still an ongoing process. For the Keçiören district, many projects following this path have either commenced or are

about to be started. However, as mentioned above, this is not limited to Keçiören; the use of traditional Ottoman/Seljuk elements can be seen throughout the city. The new clock-towers (52 of them) are distributed among the main squares in the city, the arches that were placed on 5 different entrances to the city of Ankara, or the redesigning of the Gazi University façade are examples that maybe seen at the first glance. What is criticized about these cases is the false consciousness that was created on purpose. Although these may seem like innocent efforts towards the beautification of the urban environment, the identity politics of the dominant political power, by using the architectural and urban elements without any professional assistance, leads to the intentional Islamization of the district(s), not only in terms of physicality but also in terms of social and cultural contexts (Pınarevli 2005: 107).



Fig 6.1 One of the arches placed at the entrance of the city

Source: Ankara: www.ankarabel.gov.tr on 30.05.2014

This thesis can be enriched by further studies on the architectural quality of this emergent style, in particular by conducting interviews with the different agents

involved in the process. Another direction that further studies might take could be to provide a picture of a different population in Ankara that is in conflict with Keçiören in order to understand the details of the social conflict that arises between the different habitus of the residents.

What I have hoped to provide was a study which takes architecture as its main focus and uses sociological tools for its interpretation, evaluation, and understanding. Hopefully, this research contributes to the debate on the architectural and urban quality of the areas that were reproduced as a result of the massive transformation movements that have been going on for the last 25 years in Turkey from a different point of view.

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