DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY: THE CASE OF ANKARA (1994-2023)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND SCIENCE
OF BILKENT UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

By

Didem Baykal

July 2025

To my nephew Mete Can,
Who made our lives brighter

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We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY: THE CASE OF ANKARA (1994-2023)

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MSc. In Architecture

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July 2025

In architectural practice, demolition is a physical intervention aimed at reconfiguring the urban fabric and spatial narratives. Often carried out within the frameworks of capital driven transformations, demolition acts do not simply eliminate the material existence of a building; they also serve as a prerequisite for transforming the entire set of values produced through and related to a building. In this context, demolition functions as both a terminating and constitutive act, facilitating the transformation of existing narratives and the construction of new ones. This dual role means that demolition embodies a productive ambiguity rather than a fixed meaning, simultaneously representing notions of ending and beginning, cancellation and establishment. As such, demolition is not solely a practice of destruction but as a threshold for ideological reconfiguration. Moreover, it can manifest indirectly through the severance of a building's historical, cultural, and symbolic contexts, the transformation of its meaning, or its erasure. Within this framework, demolition emerges as a multilayered practice exhibiting typological diversity, rather than merely being an annihilation tool.

Ankara stands out as a prominent example where typological diversity in demolition practices is employed and manifested through various forms. Since 1994, under the governance of neoliberal-Islamist municipality, demolition interventions have largely targeted public buildings that represented the narratives and values of the Republican era. This process has included the complete annihilation, the suppression of narratives through renovation and reprogramming practices, and the construction of new public

buildings by synthesizing Ottoman and Seljuk styles, to create counter narratives to republican modernization. In this way, demolition has been transformed into an ideological strategy instrumentalized to reshape the narratives associated with the Republic and modernism in Ankara.

In this context, this study aims to conceptualize acts of demolition as an ideological interpretative tool and to develop a typological catalogue of these acts through selected case studies. It further investigates how demolition serves as a strategy through which power asserts and consolidates its hegemony by reshaping the public architecture.

Keywords: Demolition, Ideology, Ankara Urban History, Neoliberal Urbanism, Urban Politics.

ÖZET

İDEOLOJİK BİR STRATEJİ OLARAK YIKIM: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ (1994-2023)

Didem Baykal

Mimarlık, Yüksek Lisans

Danışman: Giorgio Gasco

Temmuz 2025

Mimarlık pratiğinde yıkım, kentsel dokunun ve mekansal anlatıların yeniden yapılandırılmasına yönelik fiziksel bir müdahale olarak ortaya çıkar. Genellikle sermaye odaklı dönüşüm süreçleri içerisinde gerçekleşen yıkım eylemleri, yalnızca bir yapının maddi varlığını ortadan kaldırmakla kalmaz; aynı zamanda, o yapıyla ilişkilendirilen değeler bütününün dönüşümü için bir ön koşul işlevi görür. Bu bağlamda yıkım, hem sonlandırıcı hem de kurucu bir eylem olarak işlev görür; mevcut anlatıların yok edilmesini ve yeni anlatıların inşasını mümkün kılar. Bu çift yönlü yönüyle yıkım, sabit bir anlamdan ziyade üretken bir belirsizlik taşır; aynı anda hem sonu hem başlangıcı, hem iptali hem de tesisi temsil eder. Bu nedenle, yalnızca bir yok etme pratiği olmanın ötesinde, ideolojik yeniden yapılanmanın eşiği olarak konumlanır. Ayrıca bir yapının tarihsel, kültürel ve simgesel bağlamlarından koparılması, anlamının dönüştürülmesi ya da silinmesi gibi dolaylı biçimlerde de tezahür eder. Bu çerçevede yıkım, yalnızca bir imha aracı değil, tipolojik çeşitlilik sergileyen çok katmanlı bir pratiktir.

Ankara, yıkım pratiklerinde tipolojik çeşitliliğin kullanıldığı ve bu çeşitliliğin farklı biçimlerde tezahür ettiği belirgin bir örnek olarak öne çıkmaktadır. 1994 yılından itibaren neoliberal-İslamcı belediye yönetimi altında gerçekleşen yıkım müdahaleleri, büyük ölçüde Cumhuriyet dönemi anlatılarını ve değerlerini temsil eden kamu yapılarının hedef alınmasıyle şekillenmiştir. Bu süreç; yapıların tamamen ortadan kaldırılmasını, renosvasyon ve yeniden işlevlendirme pratikleri araclığıyla anlatıların

bastırılmasını ve Osmanlı ile Selçuklu üsluplarının senteziyle yeni kamu yapılarının inşa edilmesini içermekte, böylece cumhuriyet modernleşmesine karşıt anlatılar oluşturulmaktadır. Bu yolla, yıkım, Ankara'da Cumhuriyet ve modernizmle ilişkilenen anlatıların yeniden şekillendirilmesine yönelik ideolojik bir stratejiye dönüştürülerek araçsallaştırılmıştır.

Bu bağlamda bu tez, yıkım eylemlerini ideolojik bir yorumlacı araç olarak kavramsallaştırmayı ve seçilmiş vaka çalışmaları üzerinden bu eylemlerin tipolojik bir kataloğunu oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, yıkımın, iktidarın kamu mimarisini dönüştürerek kendi hegemonyasını kurduğu ve pekiştirdiği bir strateji olarak nasıl işlediğini de araştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yıkım, İdeoloji, Ankara Kent Tarihi, Neoliberal Şehircilik, Kent Politikası.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my esteemed advisor, Assistant Professor Dr. Giorgio Gasco, whose valuable knowledge and guidance have ben an essential part of my professional development and competence. Without a doubt, this thesis could not have reached its current level without his support and direction. I also extend my heartfelt thanks to the thesis committee members, Associate Professor Dr. Bülent Batuman and Professor Dr. Olgu Çalışkan, for their contributions and valuable insights.

I would like to sincerely thank to Associate Professor Burcu Şenyapılı Özcan, who entrusted me with the opportunity to become a teaching assistant while I was a master's student. This opportunity helped me draw a roadmap for what I want to become in my newly started career journey. I would also like to thank Dr. Deniz Üçer Erduran and Dr. Özge Selen Duran, for their support and kindness throughout my time as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Architecture at Bilkent University. I also extend special thanks to Associate Professor Tahire Erman, from who I took courses during my graduate studies, for the attention and encouragement she showed both during and beyond the classroom. The opportunity to spend time with them during this period has been an unforgettable experience in my life.

I would like to extend my deepest graditute for my family and friends, for always listening to me with patience, supporting my interests and aspirations without hesitation, bearing with all my moods, and providing unwavering emotional support throughout this journey- so that I could freely pursue the profession I truly love in a life that is my own. I could not have come this far without them.

This thesis took a total of three years to research and write, covering the period from when I was 22 until I turned 25. During this time, many left my life, while others became closer. I am thankful to all who helped me grow into the person I am today. Finally, thanks to Ankara, the city I came to at the age of 17 and found myself in; and to everyone whose paths crossed mine there. Living and growing up in Ankara has left a lasting mark on my soul that I will remember for evermore.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement: Demolition as a Multi-Layered Strategy to Restructure Urban History

From the very beginning of architectural discourse, buildings, despite their inanimate nature, are often assumed as life-like biological entities. The architect is the creator and the life-giver of these technologically advanced structures (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017). However, statically constructed yet believed to be biological entities, they are in constant change, unaware of time, succumbing to it, evolving, and being affected by it (Brand, 1994).

Considering the place of buildings in relation to time and space conceptions, memory, culture, and modernity have defined and shaped the relationship between time and space in different ways. This allows for the understanding of the past not as a mere history, but as a tool that shapes the material conditions of both the present and even the future (Crysler, 2012). From this perspective, the journey of a building's disappearance can be argued to redefine and construct history, and the perception of time associated with it (Sukotava, 2022). Consequently, the meaning of demolition cannot be reduced to a physical removal, rather it's a threshold between annihilation and creation, which reconfigures the past. As Cairns and Jacobs (2017) argue, Demolition is seen as an act that reshapes the past and the future, while also encouraging creativity and giving rise to new beginnings.

Considering the life of buildings, demolition most of the time acknowledged as the opposite of construction. However, in time, humans constructed by demolishing, and demolished by constructing, in response to variable requirements. Throughout history and current situation, cities and the built environment are appearing because of

complex systems of construction and transformation processes (Musso, 2020). This reveals the situation of demolition as a threshold between creation and annihilation. While demolition may mean destroying, changing the spatial narratives of the past and the future, it can also be interpreted as a tool that allows architectural design to build new architectures each time (Tanyeli, 2020). Moreover, Herscher (2014) argued that demolition is not about erasing a precise past, but the reconstruction of it, implying that demolition has a transformative power.

When examined from the perspective of process rather than implying an end, demolition exists in more multi-layered ways and forms. In other words, demolition should be read as a multi-layered action that includes not only the removal of the physical, but also the transformations that a building undergoes (Musso, 2020; Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011) and even in the process of the emergence of new architectures (Tanyeli, 2020). It is important to examine the multi-layered nature of demolition, to reveal the latent meanings and the relationship between construction and demolition (Musso, 2020). By this way, the intertwining of demolition, construction, and creativity can be opened to discussion.

In the development processes of cities, demolition as being described as a removal of a building, can gain variable meanings and connotations due to its multi-layered nature (Musso, 2020). Although by dictionary definition of demolition defined as “the act of destroying something such as a building” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-a), in the study *Deconstruction, demolition, and destruction* Thomsen, Schultmann, and Kohler (2011) argue that many buildings in their entire life cycles once demolished, considering the adaptations, renovations, and additions. Even though these systematic attempts are for improvement, they dismantle the original version of the building and are considered as demolitions (Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011).

Moreover, Uğur Tanyeli (2020) argue that demolishing and constructing are not two completely different and separate things. Speaking about architectural design, construction illustrates novelty, when something considered as fundamental is demolished. This idea highlights the fact that even construction can be understood as demolition; since building new architectures demolishes the old to be new (Tanyeli,

2020). Nietzche reflects on the same idea as “whoever must be a creator, always annihilates.” (Nietzche, 1968, p.59).

In the urban context, demolition can be understood as a loss of material and a circumstance to build something novel, a threshold of the creative destruction (Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011). As David Harvey (2006) argues in his famous study *Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction*, when neoliberal waves hit global capitalism, creative destruction is required to continually demolish the old to create the new (Harvey, 2006). This situation is also addressed positioning demolition as a prerequisite for a new beginning in the realm of architecture, considering the process of creative destruction (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017).

In this process, demolition facilitates the swift clearance of existing spaces to make way for new projects. In the years after neoliberalism emerged, urban renewal projects often begin with the demolition of buildings or neighborhoods deemed outdated. Especially in the cities of the global south, revitalization, urban redevelopment, gentrification, and transformation occur with annihilation of a certain existing urban fabric (Baki & Ateş, 2020; Fahlberg & Vicino, 2016). Following this idea, Rachel Weber defines demolition as “a potent spatial fix” and argues that in the urban redevelopment process obsolescence has become a neoliberal alibi to revitalize urban fabric (Weber, 2006, p.523). These transformations are always held in the context of creating uneven development where capital can circulate. This allows for the rapid restructuring of space for profit, but this speed erases the social fabric and aggravates socio-spatial inequalities (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2009).

Just as demolition through urban transformation is a dominant practice in the built environment through the neoliberal ideology, demolition is also practiced shaping and correct urban narrative through ideological substructures. This is because the built environment and space are social products, and are always political and ideological (Lefebvre, 2020/1974). This approach is related to understanding the built environment not merely as a physical product but as a space that is lived, embedded in collective memory, and carries symbolic meanings (Lefebvre, 1991).

The built environment is shaped by society, and in turn, this process helps sustain the social structure. When a society undergoes a change, its urban landscape evolves accordingly, leading to the emergence of new buildings, and the removal of others (King, 1980). Moreover, Eyal Weizman (2017) argues that buildings are the recorders and responders of environmental and political changes that occur in the urban tissue. They are the "sensors" that tell the narrative of changes that happen in the political and environmental landscapes (Weizman, 2017, p.54). Therefore, examining the way buildings are demolished with different typologies highlights the reveals the process of the changes in political and environmental tissue (Weizman, 2017).

Lefebvre (2020/1974) argues about the commodification of the production of space in the capitalist system and its shaping in line with the interests of certain classes. Following this, the continuation or reshaping process of a space, demolition is one of the strategies, occurs on an ideological level by the hegemonic powers of certain classes. Demolition of public buildings (Köksal, 2018), looting of monuments and historical sites (Sukotava, 2022; Turku, 2018; Shaheen, 2017; McKirdy, 2016), demolition of historically important buildings as a result of the desire to establish certain ideological dominations (Ather, 2023; Ellis-Petersen, 2022) are examples of the breadth of the impact of demolition that are motivated through ideological assertions.

An ever-increasing number of cities are experiencing demolition because of urban renewal, gentrification, and rehabilitation projects. These interventions, while often framed as strategies for modernization or economic revitalization, frequently result in the erasure of architectural heritage and the displacement of marginalized communities (Mallach, Haase & Hattori, 2017; Hackworth, 2016; Talen, 2014; Weber, 2002). Similarly, Ankara is a paradigmatic test board for the implementation of demolitions, which exemplifies an urban history that was dramatically reshaped by it (Gür, 2011; Dündar, 2011; Köroğlu & Ercoşkun, 2006).

As Gür (2011) argues, since the early republican period, Ankara has been continuously rebuilt in a way that makes one forget the previous one, and for this reason, it is a city that every new authority can easily shape to fulfill its own imaginaries. For this reason,

the city's building stock is constantly changing, buildings are demolished and replaced with new ones, and renovation attempts are rebuilt in a way that makes one forget the previous state of the buildings (Gür, 2011). This situation has been the subject of extensive research in the context of Ankara (Baki & Ateş, 2020; Köksal, 2018; Candan, et. al, 2017; Sargın, 2006). Moreover, in the urban development process demolition occurred with different causalities, along with the variations in political economy in the development as the capital city of the Republic of Türkiye. Starting in the form of natural disasters such as fire, demolition changed its shape in the process (Tekeli 2018; Tekeli, 1987).

The situation of this change in recent years started with the local municipality elections in 1994, when Ankara for the first time in the Republic's history, transformed into an Islamist Welfare Party (Karaman, 2013). This period demonstrates significance in terms of the gradual germination of political Islam in Turkey (Batuman, 2013a). Under Gökçek's leadership, operating within a Neoliberal-Islamist ideology, these urban interventions mobilized by a nostalgic vision towards an idealized past, and implied as revanchist response against the spatial and symbolic legacy of Republican modernization (Çınar, 2001; Doğan, 2005; Ersan, 2007; Peker, 2015). During this term, demolition targeted public buildings (Köksal, 2018), which were constructed in the early republican era or constructed later but used as the propogandist of the modern way of lifestyles (Bozdoğan, 2002). These changes, in which the demolition of public buildings emerged, describes another period in classification of demolition as an action (Tekeli, 2018).

The demolitions that carried out during this period comprised three main strategies: the complete annihilation of buildings, interventions such as renovations and reprogramming on existing buildings, and the construction of new public buildings through an eclectic reinterpretation of architectural styles associated with Ottoman and Seljuk styles. These strategies exemplify a spectrum of demolition practices-ranging from physical erasure to symbolic overwriting- demonstrating that demolition played an active role in reshaping Ankara's urban landscape.

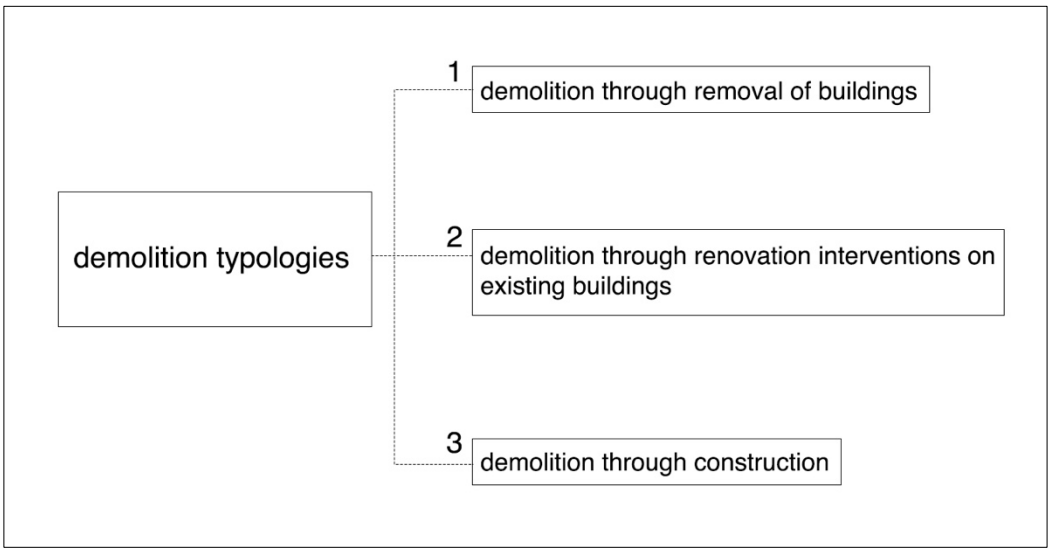

Figure 1.1 Demolition typologies.

As Batuman (2019) argues, the authority constructs its hegemony through the built environment. In this context, as a spatial restructuring tool to restructure urban environment and its narratives, demolition can be understood as a spatial strategy to reassert ideological dominance over urban narratives. Therefore, this thesis conceptualizes demolition as a tool of ideological intervention and classifies its different typologies through a series of case studies. By doing so, it offers an interpretive catalogue of public architecture transformations in Ankara between 1994 and 2023, positioning demolition as a key lens for understanding the spatial politics of the city.

Demolition, as a field of study, gathered interest from many scholars. Many works formed around the processes of building waste, material sustainability and life cycles of buildings (Blengini, 2009., Üçer, et.al, 2018, Mallach, 2011). At the same time other studies examined the drastic alterations in the usage of demolition that occurred when cities went through reconstruction after war and emerging shrinkage phenomena (Ammon, 2016; Hackworth, 2016; Weber 2002).

Since demolition is considered a kind of antithesis to the act of construction in which architecture lives, there are few studies that exemplifies the ideological meanings it reflects, its operational mechanism and therefore its figures. For this reason, there are inadequate resources directly formed around demolition and its ideological aspects.

However, there are some significant studies that evolved around building lives and demolition; its history and usages, urban decay and collapse, and the destruction of monuments (Harris, 1999; Davis, 2002; Byles, 2005; Imrie, 2021; Sukotava, 2022).

Many other studies can be mentioned. For instance, Jane Jacobs (2017) tries in her groundbreaking book to demolish the modern orthodox way of urban planning policies and regulations, while claiming that demolition is an action that became a power strategy for politicians and urban planners to reshape the existing fabric in alliance with gentrification, revitalization, and capital accumulation. In *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability,* Weizman (2017) investigates harmed or demolished buildings in relation to several destructive events like war. He argues that these events became a signal to read about the simultaneous changes in the urban landscape and how buildings are demolished can provide a narrative to the story behind the alteration in the environment (Weizman, 2017).

In 2020, Transactions on Architectural Education Journal published a serie called *Conservation and Demolition* edited by Rodica Crişan (et. al), which is focusing on the antagonistic relationship between conservation and demolition. As a newly established practice that delves into the endings, in 2016, the department of Ultimology was established at Trinity College Dublin's (TCD) research center by Fiona Hallinan and Kate Strain. Ultimology is a multi-disciplinary practice of looking at endings which is defined as "the study of that which is dead or dying." that "responds to a contemporary environment of anxiety around endings." (Department of Ultimology, 2019). When this practice intertwined with architecture, a study in Dublin was held about the heritage of Dublin and the way it towards an end, reflecting insightful ideas about how the end for the heritage of Dublin prepared (Rowley, 2023). Finally, *Buildings Must Die: A Perverse Review of Architecture (2017)* by Stephen Cairns and Jane M. Jacobs *and Yıkarak Yapmak (2020)* by Uğur Tanyeli focusing on the reality of demolition and its emancipatory role in the realm of architecture directly.

However, none of these studies tried to read demolition as process with multi-layered strategies, and conceptualizing demolitions that targeted the public buildings in Ankara as an ideological strategy. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill this gap by

conceptualizing demolition as an ideological strategy, in which it is performed as a part of the construction of hegemony of the current authority over the reshaping of built environment.

1.2 AIM AND SCOPE

This thesis aims to conceptualize demolition not as an act of physical removal, but as an ideological tool employed by the neoliberal-Islamist ideology to reshape the built environment, driven from nostalgic mobilization towards past. Focusing on the public buildings transformed under the rule of the Neoliberal-Islamist ideology, the study investigates how demolition operates through multi-layered practices. Therefore, turning demolition into an ideological interpretative tool examine these transformations, is the fundamental aim of the study.

The research is grounded in the political geography of Ankara, the capital city of Türkiye, and explores a series of selected public buildings that have undergone different forms of demolition from the 1994 to present day. It constructs a tripartite typology of demolition- annihilation, appropriation, and re-envisioning- the study interrogates how space is actively rewritten in line with Neoliberal-Islamist ideology, and how demolition becomes a medium for rewriting past for the political purposes of today. In alliance with this, the thesis tries to answer following research questions:

1) How can the various typologies of demolition that emerge within the threshold between annihilation and creation be typologically conceptualized?
2) How do multi-layered demolition processes of public buildings in Ankara serve to suppress the ideological legacy of Republican secularism, and what new narratives do they help construct under the neoliberal-Islamist ideology?
3) How does demolition extend and affect other buildings' fate, more than the demolished ones?

This thesis begins with addressing the ambiguity embedded in the term demolition, proposing that it lies between annihilation and creation, rather than signifying the disappearance of a building. With this framing, the study aims to analyze the figures

of demolition- its strategies, thresholds, and intensities- as a mode of rewriting urban history. The scope is limited to public buildings in Ankara that has been transformed in between 1994 to 2023, as these buildings were associated with the ideological transformation led by Neoliberal-Islamist governance. Although the broader political project also involved the transformation of public spaces, statues, street names, forests, and agricultural land, this thesis narrows its focus to public architecture due to its uniquely ideological significance.

Demolitions that occurred before 1994- often tied to technical reasons such as natural disasters or housing demand (Tekeli, 1987)- are excluded from this study. Likewise, this thesis does not address urban demolitions driven by real estate speculation, nor does it engage with urban resistance movements or debates on heritage preservation and environmental sustainability. It does not seek to evaluate demolition as necessary or unnecessary but rather understand how demolition operates as an ideological strategy in contemporary urban context.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

This research adopted a multi-method approach to examine demolition with its typologies. Mainly, the methodology consists of the construction of three different conceptual frameworks.

First, to create a sturdy base for methodology, works by Rob Imrie (2021), Jeff Byles (2005), Stephen Cairns & Jane. M. Jacobs (2017), and Uğur Tanyeli (2020) are analyzed. Their works, as mentioned in the introduction, discuss the history of demolition (Byles, 2005), the liberating power of demolition in architectural design, demolition as a potential catalyst for creativity (Tanyeli, 2020; Cairns & Jacobs, 2017), and how demolition and construction goes hand in hand (Imrie, 2021). Thus, reviewing their works as a beginning, paved the ground for the formation of the methodology.

Apart from literature, data obtained from archival research, oral interviews, and field observation, each contributed to a layered understanding of how public architecture in

Ankara has been transformed from 1994 to 2023 with different demolition interventions.

Archival research was conducted to gather information and build a conceptual framework, focusing on buildings that have been annihilated, renovated, or reprogrammed- including their previous conditions, the processes of their transformation, and the aftermath. Data regarding who made the demolition decisions and how these processes were carried out were also collected (reports, decision files, and protocols). Media sources were analyzed to understand how demolition was explained, legitimized and naturalized through public rhetoric that reached the masses, in relation to research objectives. For this purpose, archives of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Demolition, the Conservation Council, and the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects (TMMOB) were consulted, alongside digital newspapers, blogs, and various news websites.

Although no formal interviews were conducted, several verbal exchanges with officials took place during the archival process. These informal consultations provided context and clarification regarding inaccessible documents and institutional practices.

Regarding these data collection methods, methodology structured around three major theoretical conceptualizations. This is to create and seek an opportunity to turn demolition into an interpretative tool to examine certain transformations that appeared in Ankara through public buildings.

The first one is focusing on the latent meanings of demolition. This conceptualization presents a conceptual analysis of the different figures of demolition. Rather than viewing demolition solely as a physical removal, the study defines conceptual figures to illustrate demolition has a transformative power, and rather interpreting it as erasing, it interpreted as a tool to construct the new narrative. These figures are mapped through a conceptual diagram that outlines their interrelations, aiming to unpack demolition as a complex spectrum.

The second conceptualization focuses on conceptualizing demolition as an ideological strategy. This conceptualization draws upon critical spatial theory, starting with

Lefebvre (2020/1974), King (1980), Rapoport's (1969) arguments on the social and political production of space, and extends to discussions by Gramsci (1971) and Mouffe (1979) regarding the instrumentalization of space in the formation of hegemony. Through this theoretical dialogue, demolition is related to nostalgia, revanchism, and phantasmagoria, visualized through diagrams and conceptual mappings that illustrate how demolition operates as an ideological strategy through transformative interventions in the urban environment.

The third and final stage transforms the previous conceptualizations into a typological and analytical model. Based on the cases studies in Ankara that were included in the demolition interventions between 1994-2023, the study develops a tripartite typology-through the terminology of annihilation, appropriation, and re-envisioning. By integrating conceptual mapping, theoretical grounding, and field-based observations, the thesis aims to map demolition as a multi-layered and ideologically instrumentalized strategy by the neoliberal-Islamist ideology.

For this reason, a selection of buildings was made to serve as case studies that illustrate the proposed demolition typologies. Each case was chosen to exemplify how a specific type of demolition manifests in a concrete architectural intervention. The selection criteria align with the three major demolition strategies introduced in the introduction chapter:

- Buildings that were the constructors and representators of different modernization processes of Ankara as the capital, without considering the functional diversities.
- From that category, annihilated public buildings in the period between 1994-2023
- From that category, public buildings that are renovated but additions were made in the facade, or in the general system of the building complex, or reprogramming attempts in the period between 1994-2023.
- Simultaneously carried out along with these, public buildings that are constructed with the synthesis of Ottoman and Seljuk styles and promoted as the representatives of national architecture.

Regarding these, the selected buildings can be listed as; EGO Hangars, TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, Su Süzgeci Building, Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory, 100.Yıl Mall, İller Bank, TİKA Building, Cebeci Secondary School, TEKEL İnhisarlar Başmüdürlüğü Building (Now Yunus Emre Foundation), Sümerbank Building (Now Ankara Sosyal Bilimler University), Ankara Provincial Police Headquarters Building, Tevfik İleri İmam Hatip High School, University Complex of Yıldırım Bayezit in Esenboğa, Ulus Cultural Center Enclosed Bazaar and Minibus Terminal Building, and presidential palace in AOÇ. All these buildings were selected from the above criteria and clustered around the defined demolitions. By this way, the demolitions are matched with the buildings to create the catalogue of it.

In this thesis, case studies are working as focus cases, which is to exemplify the demolitions with their unique causalities. For this reason, a detailed examination of the buildings' historical, material, and architectural qualities is avoided. What is examined in detail is the process that these buildings' encounter with demolition processes. Therefore, the decision makers, legitimate discourses, why and how the buildings were entered in the demolition processes were prominent in the research.

1.4 STRUCTURE

The thesis starts with a brief introduction that outlines overall argument, problem statement, aim and scope, methodology, and the structure of the study.

Chapter two is dedicated to the figures of demolition, exploring its conceptual, historical, and spatial nuances. Starting with broader term destruction, the chapter delves into the themes such as transformation, death and rebirth, and destructive tendencies, and extracts demolition from which the notion of demolition is extracted. It argues that demolition is not merely a destructive act, but a threshold that enables new beginnings.

The chapter then situates demolition within the realm of architecture, discussing its emancipatory potential for architectural design- as a liminal moment between

annihilation and creation that can serve both progressive and regressive ends, depending on its context and implementation.

Subsequently, the chapter examines demolition within an urban context. First, it traces the historical trajectory of demolition and how its dominant forms have shifted across different time periods. Second, it analyzes how demolition has increasingly functioned as an alibi for neoliberal urbanization and other ideologies, masking the structural power dynamics behind discourses of progress and renewal.

Chapter three provides the conceptual basis for framing demolition as an ideological strategy. It begins with a literature review on ideology, followed by a discussion on how demolition is instrumentalized by hegemonic regimes to reshape the built environment. The chapter concludes by introducing different modalities of demolition- such as nostalgia, revanchism and phantasmagoria- each of which is diagrammed and contextualized.

Chapter four examines the historical transformation of demolition practices in Ankara. It introduces three key periods shaped by distinct socio-political and economic contexts: 1) the early Republican era during the construction of Ankara as the capital, 2) the post war era to neoliberal transition, and 3) the period from 1994 to 2023. This chapter investigates how the uses and meanings of demolition have changed over time.

The Fifth chapter presents a catalogue of the demolition typologies with case studies, considering the public buildings in Ankara. Data obtained from archives, interviews, and media sources, the study identifies three main demolition typologies: 1) *annihilation* of buildings, 2) renovation and reprogramming interventions (*appropriation*), and 3) through the *re-envisioning* of past elements regarding to Ottoman and Seljuk styles and synthesis of these in the construction of new public buildings. Each case study is classified according to these typologies, based on the nature and motivations of demolition.

Chapter six concludes the thesis by illustrating the interpretive power of demolition as a lens through which to read urban transformations. The findings are interpreted, and possible future research areas are introduced.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIGURES OF DEMOLITION

Demolition is an ambiguous and conceptually charged term, standing at the threshold between annihilation and creation. For this reason, one of the major objectives of this thesis is to conceptualize demolition through its latent meanings beyond its conventional definition as “the act of destroying something such as a building” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-a). Rather than treating demolition as an isolated concept, this chapter begins with the broader notion of destruction and gradually extracts demolition from within it. By situating demolition as a specific modality of destruction, the aim is to reveal how its meanings have been shaped, mobilized, and transformed across different contexts. In this regard, this chapter provides a larger horizon on the term, extending beyond the realm of architecture, and examines the underlying narratives that shaped the perception of it.

The term figure in this context does not refer to literal architectural forms of visual representations, but to conceptual constructs that embody meanings, tensions, or transformations associated with demolition. These figures serve as analytical tools through which demolition can be read not merely as a material act, but as a symbolic, ideological, and spatial operation. By tracing these figures, the chapter aims to unfold the multiple layers through which demolition has been narrated, rationalized, and enacted in both cultural and urban imaginaries.

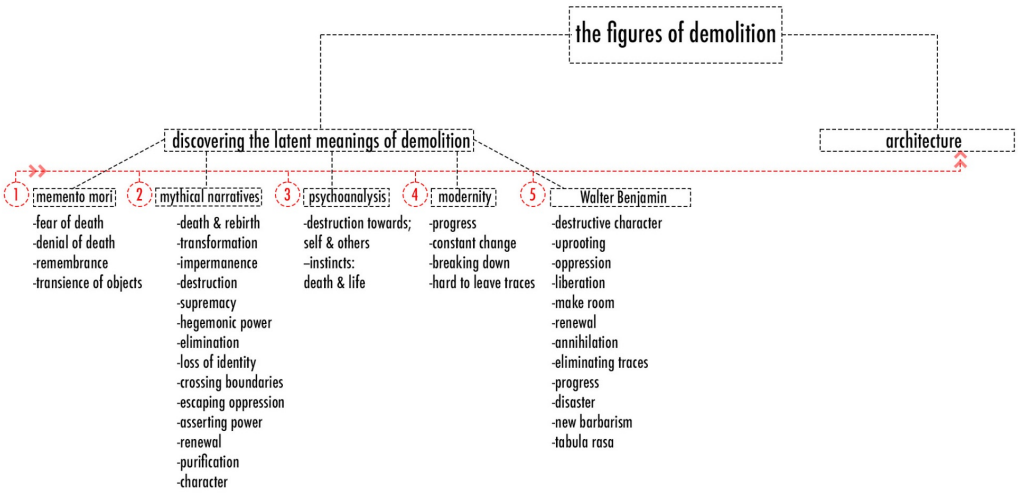

Figure 2.1 The Figures of Demolition. (Source: author).

This chapter consists of two parts, each offering an analytical investigation into the figures of demolition. The first part explores the symbolic and psychological dimensions and how it can be understood as a threshold through myths, psychoanalytic narratives, the death drive, and Walter Benjamin's works on destruction. The second part focuses on the transformations of demolition that have undergone over time in the urban realm and discusses them in this context.

The discussion starts with the beginning of metaphors to trigger the discussion around destruction; First, discussion is introduced with the concept of memento mori highlighting the inevitability of death and transience of man-made creations. It then explores Greco-Roman myths through Ovid's Metamorphoses Book, followed by the modern perspectives on the destructive tendencies with the theory of Sigmund Freud and Erich Fromm. Walter Benjamin's reflections on The Destructive Character further enriches the analysis. Finally, the gathered meanings are associated with architecture, providing a base for the discussion of demolition as a threshold between creation and annihilation. In the latter part of the section, the discussion shifts to architectural and urban contexts, analyzing how demolition is shaped by economic and political contexts. Additionally, the mutual relationship between construction and demolition will be explored. Finally, the key figures of demolition will be outlined, providing a conceptual base for subsequent chapters of the thesis.

2.1 DEMOLITION BEFORE DEMOLITION

2.1.1 INVESTIGATING THE LATENT MEANINGS OF DEMOLITION

Memento Mori

Becker (1973) argues that one existential debate about humanity is that people tried to associate themselves with a primary value, spiritual or cosmic specialness, from ancient to contemporary times. This association formed around the acts of taming nature by creating edifices that carry the potential to correspond to human value. Building temples, mosques, cathedrals, later skyscrapers, have become the rudimentary indicators of men who left their mark on this world. However, one misrecognition they believed in was that things created to gain meaning and value would be permanent (Becker, 1973).

In the regularity of everyday life, two main formations control the human psyche and are understood as everlasting and final: love and death. However, one of them remains beneath the water, overlooked by many: death. On the other hand, this neglect presents a massive failure, in terms of rejecting the opportunity to invent means to live and love more satisfactorily (Schmid, 2015).

In the context of human history, many tried to negotiate the reality of death through art and religion. The ancestors of humanity are affected by the memory of a passed away one, therefore invented spirits or other forms to assume that life will continue in a matter (Willock, 2007). These emerged from the fear of death, which derives humanity to escape from its reality, to reject the idea that it is the ultimate destiny (Becker, 1973).

Historically, one of the most understudied and underrated themes that reminds the reality of death is memento mori (Bennett-Carpenter, 2017). Memento mori is a Latin phrase defined as “remember mortality” (Bennett-Carpenter, 2017, p.2) or “remember that you must die.” (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017, p.2). It is a rudimentary but effective way

of reminding one that what they have been experiencing in this world will fade into nothing one day (Bennett- Carpenter, 2017).

Memento mori is a theme of an idea that has a purpose, encouraging people to consider mortality for both the present and possible future. In a rapidly globalizing culture, the experience of memento mori urges humans to survive, compelling them to live and produce in whatever way they can for the future. Moreover, Memento Mori works through different mediums. An item, a memorial, event, painting, movie, or documentary, can be understood as a signifier and a memorial of memento mori (Bennett-Carpenter, 2017).

This denial and remembrance about death in the modern context, is raised in many different scientific realms by many. One of them is Sigmund Freud, whose contributions to Western morality and traditions cannot be denied (Brown, 1985). For instance, in the article called *Thoughts for the Times On War and Death* (1957a) Freud exemplifies how in the wartime conditions, the denial of death turned into the omnipresence of death in a modern society, which makes this article, a memento mori.

In another study, *On Transience* (Freud, 1957b) Freud demonstrated the transitory phase of life and objects and explained a trip that he took with his poet friend. In substance, the poet admired the beauty around them but could not feel any enjoyment or happiness toward the event. The reason for this feeling derives from the poet claiming that all the beauty that is created by men will fade into nothing one day (Freud, 1957b). However, according to Freud, this reality of transience does not decrease the value of an admired or loved object. Rather than this, it increases the assigned value to objects, and this detachment of loved objects creates liberation from the libido. At the end of the day, when the mourning of a lost object ends, there is still a chance to reconstruct and flourish again (Freud, 1957b).

On the other hand, the reminder of death in architecture is demolition. It is the transitory side of architecture, and it is the final act by which architecture fades away. Architecture creates its means to stand up in front of the reality of this existential fact. However, much like the reminder of death in human life, it is possible to interpret the

reality of demolition, which serves as a reminder of death in architecture, as an act that enables architecture to exist under better conditions, since its reality creates an urge to stand against death through creation (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017).

Mythical Narratives

Classical mythology is a field of study that can be tackled through many means, and it can be studied concerning different branches of science (Philips, 1978-1979) and it can shed light on the discovery of meanings of demolition in relation to architecture. Therefore, the transformative power of myths are the greatest examples to illustrate the passage of status decadence, destruction, and recreation through stories from the ancient times.

As a starting point, ancient myths are rich tales of narratives, often highlighting the endless circulation of death, rebirth, and the transformative power of events and subjects. Apart from this, myths are about an unexpected and celestial World that has human figures behaving on it. It's a principal means of communication and discourse, which make them significant for required stability or alteration (Kirk, 1972). Strauss (1979) illustrates that studying myths is the shortest way to understand the order of the universe in a holistic way. Myths, through symbols, stories, and contrasts, allow humans to make sense of the world, while also providing a comprehensive explanation of the functioning of the universe (Strauss, 1979).

The Metamorphoses book by Ovid is essential text for examining these stories. In literature, various poets have interpreted and rewritten Greek myths across different periods. Examples include Homer's *Iliad and Odyssey,* Hesiod's *Theogony*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* stands out because it narrates myths through the themes of beginnings, endings, and transformations, making it the primary source for this study.

In the book, Ovid (n.d.) starts with a clear outline to imply the idea that from the very beginning of the universe, the nature of all things consisted of transformation, metamorphoses, and destruction. At the zero level of all start-ups, this endless cycle of transformation is embodied in the universe, so to claim that nothing is permanent

but in constant alteration. Changes, in the historical accumulation of time, come upon an existing thing, either completing it and changing it, or breaking it, ruining it, and demolishing it. But at the end, the goal is to create a new one. From the many poems and myths that occurred in the Metamorphoses Book, stand in the threshold where this constant transformation for each event (myth) is for the germination of a debatable better one. Sometimes it's for a new order, to claim the hegemonic power of the gods, or to illustrate that even if a form of animate thing comes to an end, something new will be born from the ashes (Ovid, n.d.).

The stories start with a couple of events that caused the destruction of mankind. These events take the shapes of collapsing mountains or creating a flood to put an end to the race of humanity (Griffin, 1992). In the myth of the Giants, which are classified as "political ideology and panegyric" (Hardie, 1983, p. 311), the theme is about the struggle of gods for supremacy over things deemed as anarchic such as demons and monstrous divines. The giants put all the mountains on top of each other to conquer heaven. Jupiter (Zeus), with his lightning-bolt, beats the giants and collapses mountains on them. With the death of the giants, the blood blended with the earth. This mixture prepared the suitable environment for the birth of a new human race (Ovid, n.d.).

Very similarly, in another story, the gods decided to destroy the deteriorated human race. Destruction, like a knife, was there to cut the irremediable body so the rest of the animate organisms won't get affected (Ovid, n.d.). After Zeus sent waves to Earth to destroy humans, Deucalion and Pyrrha, as the remaining two humans left, paved the way to re-creation of humans from the stones according to the prophecy (Green, 2001). Quintessentially, in both stories, the destruction comes from the idea of complete elimination of the bad seeds to have a better garden. These stories closely resemble the myth of the Phoenix, a bird that upon reaching the end of its life cycle, burns itself and rises from the ashes (Burton, 1961). The self-destructing phoenix serves as a symbolic narrative in which the idea of perfect renewal is equated with being reborn from the ashes (Harrison, 1960). Therefore, these stories highlight the necessary conditions of demolition and annihilation, to transform, rationalize, and enhance the emerging formations.

In some of the stories told in this book, however, the destructive power can lead to different outcomes. For instance, it may end up being a loss of identity, similarly in the story of Daphne who turned into a tree while escaping Apollo (Ovid, n.d.).

In the story of Dionysus, the destructive power and madness that is embodied in a figure of God can provide the changing of existing social structure: myths and rituals can make the existence of those who are considered forbidden, namely women, within society through the rituals performed (Cassidy, 1991). Additionally, in the myth of Icarus, Daedalus invents wings to escape Crete, warning his son not to fly too high or too low to avoid the sun melting the wax. However, Icarus, driven by a desire to reach the heavens, flies too high, causing the wax to melt, and he drowns in the sea (Ovid, n.d.).

These myths demonstrate how destruction and transformation arise from the tension between opposing forces, whether between gods and humans or within individuals. In the case of Daphne, her transformation into a tree symbolizes the destruction of her identity. In Dionysus myth, the clash between gods and mortals disrupts societal structures, allowing the forbidden to be integrated. Icarus' internal desire for freedom leads to his demise, representing the destruction of boundaries. All these stories are highlighting different forms of destruction- identity, societal structures, or physical structures which lead to transformation and renewal. However, at the same time, all these transformations are the constructors of the new ones. New identity in the story of Daphne, and new social order in Dionysus, can be given as examples.

Myths, interpreted by various poets in different ways, share a common ground: the liberating power of transformation. Greek-Roman myths, in substance, intertwine transformation with destruction, defining it as both a force of renewal and means of asserting power. Similarly, in architecture, demolition marks the first step in a cycle of transformation. Whether for the purpose of clearing space to make room, eliminating outdated structures, or overcoming spatial limitations, demolition can be seen as a tool for construction through transformation in the built environment. Just as in the myths, demolition serves to reshape the physical landscape, clear off the past in favor of the new possibilities and transformations.

Psychoanalytic Perspectives & Walter Benjamin

The tendency to destruction of the self or towards others, is a specific modality of modern condition (Davis, 1974). From Freud's *Psychoanalysis* to Benjamin's *The Destructive Character*, the necessity of destruction emerges as a strategy to survive, to change, to move on and to leave behind some specific aspects of a character.

Psychoanalysis is the intellectual offspring of 20th-century traumatic events that are coupled with the aftermaths of the Industrial Revolution. Massacres, disasters, wars, and political and economic alterations created globally effective anxiety. Therefore, psychoanalysis developed as a cleaning machine of the marks it left on the soul of humanity (Schwartz, 1999).

When Freud argued that real desires of the humans are unconscious, he opened a new portal within cultural studies and human history. That is so, psychoanalytic theory delves into the subject itself to try to dismantle the unconscious, and the real desires, and proposes a method to reinterpret human history (Brown, 1985).

In the latter part of his intellectual development, Freud introduced two major instincts that control and affect human behavior. According to Freud, the instincts are grouped in two; life and death, which are in a profound relationship with the subject's both personal and ancestral conditions. In more general terms, these instincts were what urged humans to search for satisfaction and gladness from the side of life instinct, and from the side of death instinct, heavily destructive and self-destructive (Kernberg, 2009). With reference to this, in alliance with an urge to preserve the self, the organic form of substance, and the will to live, there should be a counter existential instinct to dismantle the organic state to turn back, which is the death instinct (Freud, 1930). The death instinct as declared by Freud speculatively, is a fundamental concept to understand how an individual and later how a nation suffers and destroys itself (Garma, 1971).

In the years following this rudimentary construction of the issue of destructiveness and the theory of instinctivism, Erich Fromm in his book called *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (1973) argues that human destructiveness is one of two basic passions

in humanity and malignant aggression is the one drive which exhorts man to satisfy its existential needs like the requirement to leave traces, or to effect to mobilize. However, these depend on social circumstances that operate and drive humans in addition to their biological reality. Therefore, the destructive act that is embodied inside of human physiology is exhorted, altered, and shaped under the umbrella of cultural and social environmental circumstances (Fromm, 1973).

From another perspective from the destructiveness that embodied in a person's physiology, Walter Benjamin defines a figure that has been characterized as destructive, in a short essay called The Destructive Character (1978a). During the rise of fascism in the 1930s and many who were compelled to relocate from their native lands, Benjamin exemplifies and critiques a figure that has been characterized as a figure of destruction in the condition of modernity (Benjamin, 1978a; Aureli, 2013).

Considering the conditions of time, the character represents a destructive force that compelled the complete uprooting of many lives, including Benjamin's own. The destructive character is represented through negative or harmful individuals who hold influence over people and who have the power for rulemaking. He emphasizes that this is not liberating but rather an oppressive force (Aureli, 2013). Benjamin expresses how this destructive and oppressive force is used to make room for what is to come and how it provides satisfaction to the destructive subject as follows:

> The destructive character knows only one watchword: make room; only one activity: clearing away. His need for fresh air and open space is stronger than any hatred. The destructive character is young and cheerful. For destroying rejuvenates in clearing away the traces of our own age; it cheers because everything cleared away means to the destroyer a complete reduction, indeed eradication, of his own condition" (Benjamin, 1978a, p.301).

Benjamin (1978a) sees destructiveness not solely as an act to annihilate but interpreted it as a chance for renewal. The destructive individual experiences a sense of rejuvenation by eliminating traces of the past and the present. This process brings satisfaction, as everything that is destroyed represents a complete eradication of the destroyer's own condition, symbolizing a form of liberation. However, at the same time, for those whose traces are erased, this transformation is an oppressive one.

Therefore, as Aureli (2013) posits, this expression highlights a paradoxical relationship of destruction: a potential for liberation and oppression.

Benjamin's argument that the destructiveness brought by modernity is also parallel to progress can be supported by his thoughts on Paul Klee's Angelus Novus, in which he likens the painting's angel to metaphor of history (Benjamin, 1968a). The reason stems from the positioning of the angel, with its wings opened wide. According to Benjamin, the angel is trying to escape reality; that is why its face turned to the past. What he thought was the angel saw a disaster and stood on top of ruins. Interprets the idea that the angel wants to go back, reconfigure the ruins and make them alive. However, there was a storm, which prevented going back, and the angel dragged on to the future. Meantime, the ruins continue to accumulate. What is called progress, was achieved thanks to this storm (Benjamin, 1968a). Based on this, it is possible to say that progress is achieved by destroying what exists, that the accumulation of what is destroyed is interpreted as progressive, and at one point it is disaster-like an uncontrolled event.

Figure 2.2. The Painting of Angelus Novus. (Source: https://www.eskop.com/skopbulten/kaleydoskop-angelus-novus/3883)

In *Experience and Poverty* (1999), Benjamin presents an even more supportive narrative of this condition. Drawing on the effects of the generation that experienced World War I, he defines a concept called "a new kind of barbarism" as a response to the state of general human experiential poverty and interprets it as a positive phenomenon (Benjamin, 1999, p.732). The positive aspect here is that the lack of experience forces barbarians to start from scratch. He argues that all historically significant builders also performed a "tabula rasa" cleansing when beginning anew,

which enabled them to emerge as figures capable of construction (Benjamin, 1999, p.732). In other words, the zero point- the state of absence and having nothing- provides the vital motivation for a fresh start. Therefore, while the destructive character works as a tool for annihilation to make a new start, the new barbarian functions as a strategy to start from scratch, since there is nothing left (Khatib, 2018).

Thus, Benjamin's accounts reveal the reality of destruction alongside the constant progress of modernity. Hilde Heynen (1999) posits that modernity represents a continuous transformation aimed at a future different from the past and present. Over time, it is reduced to instant change, losing its meaning and becoming merely the aesthetics of change (Heynen, 1999). As Berman (as cited in Heynen, 1999) argues, to be modern is to embrace the promise of transforming the world while also facing the risk of losing everything. The modern world is defined by the process of breaking down forms, ideas, and stereotyped structures from the time-space context that seemed inseparable in the past (Berman as cited in Heynen, 1999).

Consequently, like how these discussions address the tensions between destruction and renewal, demolition in the development of the cities functions as a tool that opens space for new formations and ideologies by removing existing structures and transforming narratives. Like Benjamin (1968a; 1978a; 1999) argues, destruction can be read as both uprooting and oppression; however, it can also be interpreted as a liberating strategy. Drawing from this, demolition directed at the built environment to make room for the new can be associated with oppression and uprooting, but at the same time as liberating, as a process that triggers progress, renewal, and reproduction.

2.1.2 DEMOLITION AS A THRESHOLD: BETWEEN ANNIHILATION AND CREATION

As discussed above through myths, psychoanalytic perspectives and reflections on destruction by Walter Benjamin, destruction emerges as a threshold between creation and annihilation. This situation can be read through the diagram, where the gathered nuances of destruction form two sided meanings, in which one of them leads to annihilation, while the other leads to creation.

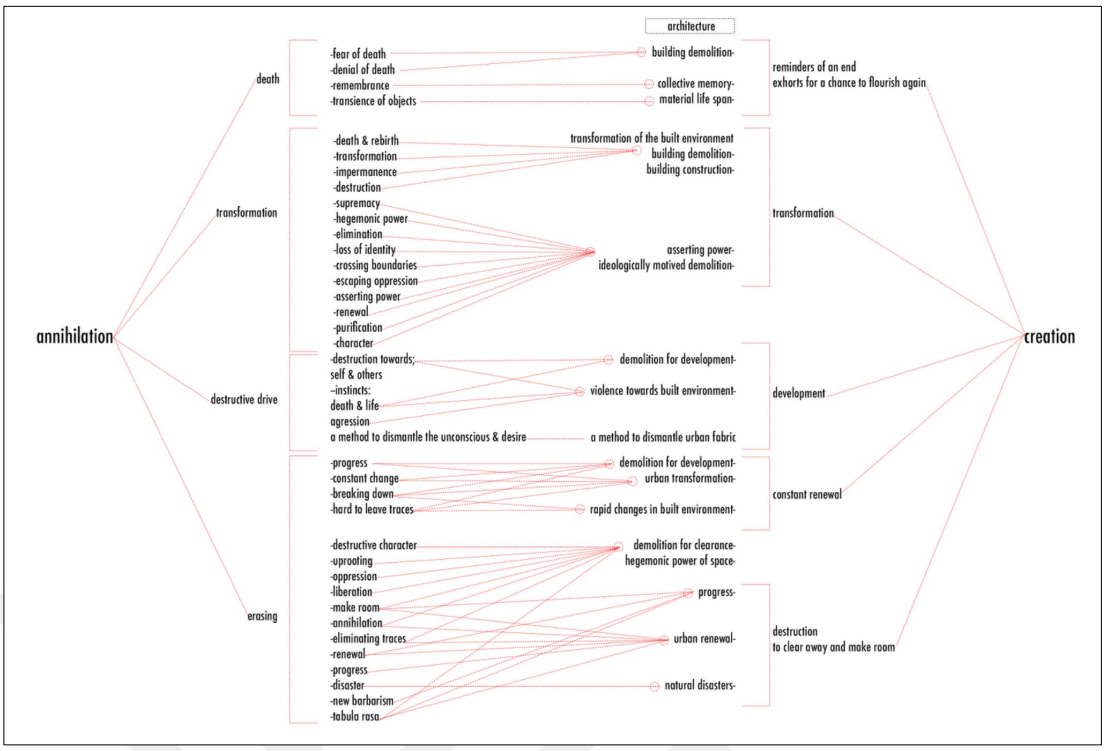

Figure 2.3 Demolition between annihilation and creation. (Source. Author)

Starting from trying to live efficiently to resist death drive, to breaking down, and destroying are associated with enabling new beginnings, rather than solely ending a certain situation. In this case, demolition in relation to architecture can also be read as a strategy that can enable new beginnings rather than being just an act of erasure. Within this framework, demolition is not limited to the physical removal of a building but can be understood as a dynamic threshold between creation and annihilation. As discussed, demolition marks the end of an architectural narrative, yet it is often an inevitable prerequisite for a new beginning. Although not always explicitly acknowledged, the process of creative destruction, which includes demolition, provides deep satisfactions within the field of architecture. From a practical perspective, this implies that there is always room for intervention. On a more fundamental level, demolition continuously enables the creative drive at the core of architecture (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017).

Uğur Tanyeli (2020) provides a crucial foundation for this discussion by examining, through various historical examples, how the relationship between construction and demolition can become a creative potential in architecture. Demolition and

construction are not simple opposites but rather inherently interconnected processes; every new creation eliminates the old, yet it does not emerge in a vacuum-it is shaped by what came before. There is no such thing as purely new, as every innovation is built within the context of the past. However, over time, what is considered new replaces and eliminates the old that enabled its existence. In a constantly changing world, the way to create different architectures can only be continuously articulated by demolishing, challenging, or critically reinterpreting what was once considered fundamental (Tanyeli, 2020).

Discussing the liberating power of demolition in design- for instance, the ideas of pure form and stability, which architecture had long prioritized, were disrupted by deconstructivist architects in the late 1980s. According to this experimental investigation, architecture was defeated by the pure formalism of radical-avant garde modernism and failed to break free from traditional frameworks. From the perspective of deconstructivism in architecture, the discipline shifted from being a conservative field that produces pure forms to one where these forms are deliberately deconstructed through this new experimental approach (Wigley & Johnson, 1988).

Peter Eisenman's House I design is an important example in this sense. Eisenman takes modern architecture's persistent emphasis on structural systems and logical clarity and transforms it in terms of form, material, and organization. Developed independently of function and meaning (Eisenman, 1975), this structure stands at a critical threshold where the breaking of existing patterns fosters creativity. Moreover, even in the absence of physical demolition, the construction of the new could only take place by dismantling the frameworks of the old, making this a case of creativity emerging through the demolition of what was once believed to be essential (Tanyeli, 2020).

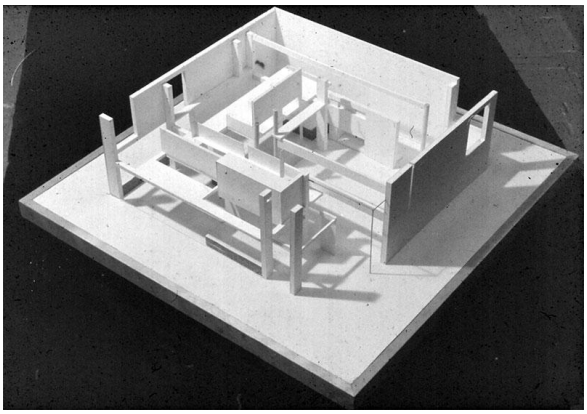

Figure 2.4. The model of House I. (Source: https://eisenmanarchitects.com/House-I-1968)

Another example that illustrates this condition is Phyllida Barlow's installation at Tate Britain, called Dock.

Figure 2.5. The installation Dock. (Photograph: Alex Delfanne) (Source: https://www.hauserwirth.com/resources/exhibition-learning-notes-phyllida-barlow-unscripted)

Beyond being a structure built through continuous processes of demolitions; it also dismantles the dominance of museum architecture. The structure (dock) not only deconstructs architecture itself but also disrupts everything associated with it- form, material, the grandeur of museum architecture, its purpose and its utility. In its place, it introduces chance, coincidence, desire, and demolition (Artun, 2014a). These examples highlighting the situation that demolition and construction are not separable, and demolition does not solely mean physical removal.

On the other hand, demolition not only enables creative renewal, but also facilitates the removal of the unwanted, the transformation of narratives, loss of architectural and cultural history, and, through these processes, the reproduction of the capital. Although architects design buildings, the physical removal process occurs independent from them. This disconnection arises from the various mechanisms that govern a buildings' lifespan, such as political and economic conditions, aesthetic trends, cultural acceptance, natural disasters, material durability (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017), and property ownership decisions (Osaragi, 2004). As a result, buildings disappear through diverse paths, shaped by wide range of social, economic, and environmental factors- a dynamic that will be exemplified through the cases of the Toyo Ito's U-House, Nakagin Capsule tower, the Pruitt-Igoe housing complex, and the demolition of Babri Mosque.

The fate of Toyo Ito's U House design highlights how demolition process occurs outside the will of the designer. Toyo Ito designed this house as a mourning home for his sister's husband, who passed away from cancer. The design expresses the symbolic and spatial construction of mourning through its form, materials, color, texture, and even the arrangement of its windows. However, in 1997, the house was demolished in a process closely overseen by Toyo Ito himself. The ones who requested its demolitions were the homeowners, as after twenty years, although the period of mourning had ended, the house had become a symbol and a space of grief (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017). Naturally, this led to the loss of an architectural heritage but for the homeowners the demolition signified the opening of a clean state, making it a constructive act (Arboleda, 2019; Cairns & Jacobs, 2017).

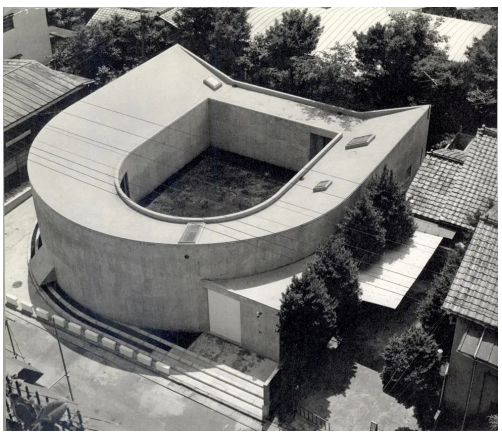

Figure 2.6 U House. (Photo: Koji Taki. Source: https://www.archdaily.com/345857/ad-classics-white-u-toyo-ito/51473e44b3fc4b932300002f-ad-classics-white-u-toyo-ito-photo?next_project=no).

The dismantling of the Nakagin Capsule Tower exemplifies the mechanisms through which capital driven urban development operates to clear space for new projects.

Figure 2.7. Nakagin Capsule Tower. (Photograph: Arcspace). (Source: https://www.archdaily.com/110745/ad-classics-nakagin-capsule-tower-kisho-kurokawa)

The building was designed by Kisho Kurokawa and built in 1972, as one of the greatest examples of metabolist architecture. The design consisted of two interwoven towers and 140 prefabricated capsules, which contained the homes. However, the building's home capsules are designed to be reorientated and replaced every 25 years. Due to lack of funding, these needs could not be matched and dilapidation and decay worsened (Crook, 2022). The owner of the building sold the land to a real estate company and eventually the building is demolished. In the replacement of Nakagin Capsule Tower, a hotel will be constructed by the global French firm Accor, with luxurious service areas, in the place where Nakagin capsule tower was once located (Roche, 2024).

The demolition of the Pruit-Igoe Housing Complex should be understood not merely as a design failure, but as the inevitable outcome of the political decisions and structural inequalities that shaped the project from the very beginning (Bristol, 1991).

Figure 2.8. Photograph from the demolition of Pruitt Igoe. (Photograph: St. Louis Post-Dispatch). (Source: https://bi-ozet.com/2020/09/30/salttan-dunya-mimarlik-haftasina-ozel-cevrimici-gosterim-the-pruitt-igoe-myth/).

Bristol (1991) explains that the project was constructed under the United States housing Act of 1949, in 1954. However, there was a fierce pressure for the design to become economical and cost cutting strategies were performed. Therefore, the architects of the project altered the general settlement, and the project emerged as all high-rise and some of the facilities were cancelled. These facilities targeted the contact zone between the users and the living units. In 1972, deficient management and high rates of crime and violence caused the demolition of the buildings. The demolition of Pruitt Igoe stigmatized as the failure of design for long, but even the construction process and the actors prepared the ground for the demolition of these buildings (Bristol, 1991). This demolition provides the base for clearance, uprooting the stigmatized spaces and their narratives, and consequents in the loss of architectural heritage.

And finally, the demolition process of Babri Mosque can be mentioned. The Babri Mosque, constructed in the 16th century during the Mughal era in India, was demolished in 1992 by far-right Hindu nationalists who claimed that it had been built atop a pre-existing Hindu temple (BBC, 2017).

Figure 2.9 Photograph from the demolition of Babri Mosque. (Source: https://www.anews.com.tr/world/2024/01/23/muslim-group-denounces-opening-of-hindu-temple-on-site-of-demolished-historic-babri-mosque-in-india)

The demolition triggered violent riots between Hindus and Muslims, resulting in the deaths of over 2,000 people. In the aftermath, a temple dedicated to the Hindu deity Ram was constructed on the site (Al Jazeera, 2024). This event exemplifies demolition as a politically and ideologically motivated intervention aimed at eliminating what is perceived as undesirable or intolerable. More than the physical removal of a building, it signified the deliberate erasure of shared architectural and cultural memory. As Lefebvre (1991) argues, space is always socially and ideologically produced; in this case, demolition functioned as a spatial strategy to overwrite existing narratives and reclaim territory in line with ethno-nationalist agendas. The replacement of centuries-old mosque with a newly built temple is thus not only a symbolic gesture, but a material expression of power- a form of spatial repression that reconfigures the urban landscape.

In conclusion, as demonstrated, demolition functions as a threshold between annihilation and creation- not merely as an act of physical erasure, but as a complex and ambivalent operation that enables both renewal and repression. Through diverse examples, it becomes evident that demolition cannot be reduced to a singular logic. On one hand, it liberates architectural thinking by breaking with conventions, disrupting established forms, and allowing new expressions to emerge. On the other, it often operates as a regressive act, enabling political, economic, or cultural agendas to overwrite what is no longer desired.

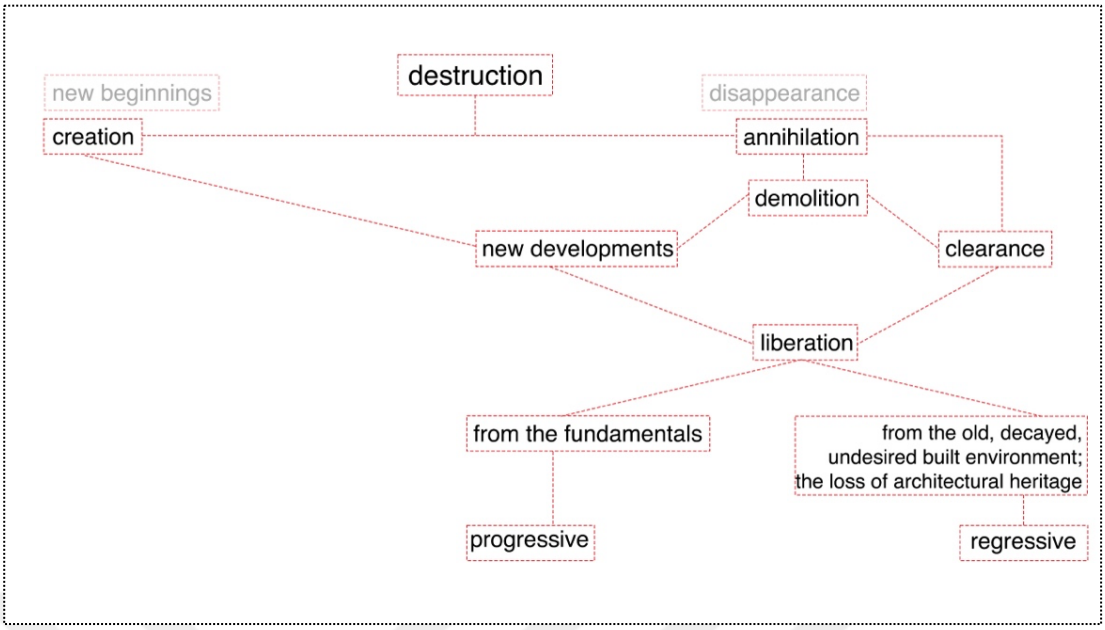

Figure 2.10. Diagram showing demolition between annihilation and creation. (Source: author)

This dual role reveals the inherent contradiction of demolition: it serves simultaneously as a creative force and as an instrument of power. What is demolished, and by whom, is never neutral- it is shaped by broader forces, such as capital accumulation, political will, socio-cultural norms, or material decay.

2.2 DEMOLITION IN URBAN CONTEXT

2.2.1 DEMOLITION PARADIGM: THE HISTORY

Considering the life of buildings and materials, ruins emerge from disregard, misuse, or occasionally due to vandalism or war, which at the end of the day illustrates the victory of nature over man-made culture, a natural way to come near to building death. Therefore, this leads to the idea that buildings appear and disappear, due to different factors. However, inside all the possible odds to end up with building death, demolition stands in a different place. Demolition comes into play intentionally when a building is desired to be annihilated, for structural obsoleteness, outdated, impractical, or political and ideological reasons (Cairns & Jacobs, 2017; Byles, 2005; Eggener, 2006).

Demolition is an action often associated with a fundamental agreement that at a precise location and time, eradication of any type of a building can be understood by it (Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011). However, nearly all the buildings in their lifetimes were reconstructed or renovated multiple times, which implies that almost all the buildings are already somehow demolished. The survival of buildings depends on various criteria, which are in a rudimentary and traditional sense, form, location and the function (Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011). In the book called *Rubble: Unearthing the History of Demolition* Jeff Byles (2005) posits that demolition is a business profession, sublime spectacle, civic trauma and a form of counter-architecture, with a peculiar history, and with its heroes (Eggener, 2006). As illustrated by many heroes (wreckers) in history, it can also be understood as a building euthanasia (Byles, 2005).

A single building constructs and reflects many different political, economic, and social structures throughout each phase of its life cycle. Throughout history, architectural history and theory have discussed and analyzed the effects of such social, economic, and political differentiations on the design and narrative of buildings. However, just as the construction phase or life cycle of a building reproduces and reflects such social transformations, the stories of the demolition of buildings are also constitutive and reflective of social processes (Wallace & Wallace, 2011).

In the process of urban development, demolition occurred in different geographical areas with different forms (Mah, 2012). Similarly to the improvements in public transportation, sanitation and public health, rapid city enlargement and suburbanization, demolition occurred several times to foster urban development throughout modern history (Mah, 2012).

According to Alan Mallach (2011), in general demolition comprises two different forms. These are product-driven and problem driven demolitions, which are conceptualized differently according to the achieved ends.

Throughout history, product-driven demolition was quite common. Product driven demolition is motivated from the intention to reuse a land or a site. The most well-

known and old example of product-driven demolition comes from warfare (Mallach, 2011). When a city is occupied, it is destroyed by the victory winners. As an example, R.T. Ridley demonstrates (1986) in an article called *to be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage* that destruction in Carthage in war illustrates the intersectionality between the symbolic power of the victory that belongs to authority and the destruction of a seized city that has been conquered, which in new empire can flourish (Ridley, 1986). Here demolition used as the destruction of buildings as instruments of war. Therefore, until the 19th century the major constitutive elements of the history of demolition are by warfare and environmental conditions like fire, earthquake, and floods (Imrie, 2021; Mallach, 2011). In many different cities of the world, fires have been effective and each of them became a nod point in the destiny of shaping the future of cities. Significant cities like London, New York, Chicago, and Istanbul faced crucial fires, and after these a major part of the historical texture of them were damaged and demolished (Hanson, 1989; Baer, 2004; Byles, 2005; Garrioch, 2016; Bayram, 2017).

Not only wars and environmental challenges but also the alterations in authority followed demolition in cities. So that it can be classified as a routine, that each ruler changes and make some additions to the urban fabric, according to their desire to build their own monumental representations or make their urban imaginaries become real in a peculiar city (Jordan, 1995; Mah, 2012; Imrie, 2021; Byles, 2005).

On the contrary, problem-driven demolition was not known. In other words, the origin of the idea that some problems manifesting themselves in urban areas, such as unsanitary living conditions, can be solved by demolition and displacement is unknown (Mallach, 2011). However, in the destruction of ancient cities problem-driven demolition can be illustrated as an example. For instance, in 13th century Rome, Senator Brancaleone commanded the demolition of towers that belonged to nobles, by putting forward the reasons that they were used as castles and prisons to oppress and abuse the public (Sanford, 1947).

Like this, in the case of demolishment of monuments, the French Revolution stands in a significant place. As Sukotava (2022) illustrates, the characteristic of the Revolution

proposed an emancipatory movement, influenced many other countries in furtherance and brought about massive destruction. It became a blueprint for future revolutionary upheavals, for instance for the Bolsheviks, and understood as the right attitude towards the revolutionary transformations. Following these, monuments of the royals, aristocratic tombs, palaces, and churches were destroyed. This type of demolition demonstrates the symbolic connotation of the subversion of power and a created new space for the commemoration of new protagonists. Moreover, as a strategy that belongs to the aggressors during the era of colonial wars, the buildings and sanctuaries were destroyed which felt futile while the valuable elements that extracted from them concurrently transported to European palaces or museums. This situation highlights the idea that opportunism and the pursuit of commercial gain have played a decisive role in determining whether a monument should be demolished or not (Sukotava, 2022).

The idea that demolition can be used as a problem solver tool mainly emerged in the 19th century world, when industrial cities grew rapidly, and its consequences increased drastically in public health and sanitation (Mallach, 2011). The emergence of the modern city, the restrictiveness of existing urban planning in terms of roads and street layouts, has brought demolition to the focus of urban development (Imrie, 2021). Starting from the late 18th century in North America and Europe, the Industrial Revolution has brought massive urbanization. However, this drastic and rapid urbanization brought emerging types of poverty and crisis within the realm of environmental health (Vitiello, 2018). Therefore, the urbanization process is fundamentally characterized by the strong urge for urban improvement which included the construction of docks and railways, wider streets, larger openings, sufficient infrastructure and transportation, and the emergence of the demolition of overcrowded and unhealthy living areas (Cannadine & Reeder, 1982). The authors express the idea as follows:

> It is possible to see allied to the commercial zeal for wider streets and larger openings in the City since the eighteenth century a restless opportunism for the demolition of the ugly, unhealthy, overcrowded-above all, commercially unjustifiable-bits of the ancient city (Cannadine & Reeder, 1982, p. 149).

In Britain in the late 19th century, an extensive majority of urban poor lived in slums. Cities like Birmingham faced major slum clearance because of the reason that the mayors wanted to municipalize gas and water, improve public services, clearing slums from working-class neighborhoods, to pave the ground for building new street layouts and provide new public services (Mah, 2012). Therefore, demolition occurred in the late 19th century and was characterized by a tool to make way for urban development, which consequently included the destruction of the slums. However, the idea that demolition was used for urban development brought the issue of displacement to public perception. Despite the intention behind the demolition, the problem of housing not being provided to the displaced was seen as a failure. The fact that the demolitions increased the number of homeless people and worsened the slum problem is seen as a major flaw in the urban developments of this period (Cannadine & Reeder, 1982).

Following these developments, In the late 19th century and early 20th century demolition's salvage role was quite popular in the States (Arlotta, 2018). The reason behind this was the increasing prevalence and necessity of World's fairs and exhibitions, and their temporary nature. Therefore, fast wrecking and reuse of the materials gained importance. This situation highlights a different point where demolition business intermingled with wrecking, which was previously called house-wrecking or housebreaking. (Arlotta, 2018; Byles, 2005).

When bulldozers and wrecking balls were not adequately popular in the US until the 1940s, buildings were used to demolish manually by the wreckers. Wrecking, which can be interpreted as synonymous with demolition, was used to present the comparable task in the annihilation of buildings (Arlotta, 2018). Wrecking is a concept historically originated from maritime salvage and the practices around shipwrecks (Williams, 2015). In time, this term started to be used for the demolition and removal of buildings because the possible salvage materials from a demolished buildings cost was high. As evidence to this situation, the demolition companies of the time paid the building owner to demolish a building can be illustrated (Arlotta, 2018). Over time, this work turned into an industry, and many different companies began to manually demolish buildings and earn large incomes from the salvaged materials. This situation also led

to the emergence of heroes of demolition-wrecking-destruction, and provided them popularity (Byles, 2005).

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, new acts were defined and enacted to improve living conditions in Britain, America, and much of Europe. Within the context of these acts, new housing construction was provided through state-supported social programs to respond to the housing problem and poor living conditions that emerged after World War I (Liepmann, 1937; Lebas, Magri & Topalov, 1991; Gotham, 2000). This situation caused the elimination of slums and attached houses brought about by industrialization and the post-war period, making room for new house construction (Liepmann, 1937). Therefore, although the focus was not on elimination, demolition was also implemented to make room for modern and improved housing to be provided for the populace.

The post war period was the beginning of a completely different era for demolition (Hackworth, 2016; Ammon, 2016). The aim behind this period was to turn cities into efficient livable environments. Therefore, the idea that puts automobiles into the focus and renewing the housing stock occurred in alliance with the legislations that enabled demolition (Hackworth, 2016). Beginning in the 1940s, demolition initiatives - reaching their peak in the 1960s and frequently termed as urban renewal - amplified the role of urban planning in national debates on human well-being, largely facilitated by government investment (Talen, 2014). The urban renewal strategies focused on reducing density, with the process being described as “renewal through destruction.” (Talen, 2014, p. 233).

Moreover, the postwar period is remembered not only for rapid construction, especially in the States, but also for large-scale destruction (Ammon, 2016). Through destruction of cities, suburbs and the rural areas, the development occurred in a rapid and successful way. With this, the modernization, militarization and mass consumption environment brought by the Cold War, paved the ground for the emergence of “culture of clearance.” (Ammon, 2016, p.9). Therefore, this notion all around the world in many different cities, required a rapid destruction and re-building of housing (Mollenkopf, 1975; Diefendorf, 1989). As Joseph Schumpeter’s theory of

creative destruction demonstrates, the post-war urban development period once again highlights the propensity of capitalist society to constantly destroy while producing a new (Schumpeter, 1994). As (Weber, 2002) demonstrates, blight was the main cause of demolition during this term. Indeed, this definition is ambiguous in the local regulations of the period. Accordingly, blight refers to both physical deterioration and the deterioration that exists beyond what can be understood as normal use (Weber, 2002).

The other significant issue in this period is the use of bulldozers, which turned the process of clearance into a "war infected ideology." (Ammon, 2016, p.5). So that the usage of bulldozers in World War II as a weapon, after that as a machine to demolish buildings to clear, relates the idea of violence to land clearance. The popularity, promotion, and legitimation of the usage of bulldozers for demolition happened in alliance with many different mediums. Not only via journals or newspapers but also through kids' toys, children and adult novels, photography, and movies. Consequently, the idea of bulldozers promoted land clearance as something friendly but masculine, which is a product of technological development (Ammon, 2016). Therefore, the war weapon bulldozers have become a strategy for problem-driven demolition. However, the strategy of bulldozer application was later denounced, heavily criticized, and its implementation is excluded (Carmon, 1999).

In the United States, new laws were enacted during this period to make demolition more fiscally logical for rebuilding devastated cities, and reuse policies were not implemented. Whereas demolition mostly affected minority groups (Ammon, 2016). Even before the war in many historic cities of Europe, were the nominees for urban renewal due to the unregulated growth after industrialization. After the war, most of the European cities were buried in ruins. Reuse, reconstruction of demolished monuments, and which buildings could be preserved were weighed up, but demolition was still used effectively and on a large scale to be able to reconstruct cities. Therefore, demolition was implemented to clear away the ruins and the ruined buildings (Diefendorf, 1989). Consequently, in the States and Europe the top-down implements and alterations through destruction of cities after the war created an environment of protest reconstitution in the central cities. The aim was to reclaim the public

institutions, cease urban renewal, and ensure adequate housing (Mollenkopf, 1975). Additionally, the years of the 1970s proposed a paradigm shift in demolition and historic preservation, which improved and supported the notion of the significance of preservation, reconstruction and historic adaptations (Diefendorf, 1989).

Following years, as Weber (2002) argues, the meaning and usage of blight has expanded. This expansion included the buildings and places that are not inherently blighted but targeted based on the perception that they can potentially classified as such. By positioning blight as moveable and expansionist, this has opened the way for demolition (Weber, 2002). The expansion of this meaning points out the radical changes in terms of the meaning, its possible justifications, and the area of use in the coming period. It also emphasizes that it will become one of the most powerful strategies of neoliberal urbanization, which will occur in correspondence to market orientations (Hackworth, 2016).

2.2.2 DEMOLITION AS AN ALIBI FOR NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATION

After the postwar era, the 1970s and 1980s marked a significant milestone in the history of social and economic alterations worldwide. As Harvey (2005) argues, the reasons for these alterations founded the ground from restructuring state forms after World War II. These restructuring efforts were implemented to encumber disastrous circumstances that were previously created the way to the crisis of the 1930s and to the war. To respond to these challenges, a consensual compromise between labor and capital was established. Consequently, a mixed system of institutions, the state, and the market was constructed to ensure global peace and prosperity. Even though the system brought tremendous growth until the 1960s, towards the end of it, this embedded liberalism system collapsed and a crisis in the accumulation of capital became apparent (Harvey, 2005).

In the 1970s, the crisis in capital accumulation brought high rates of unemployment and increasing inflation. In response, long standing liberal ideas gained renewed significance. These included the restructuring the economy, controlling the labor force, deregulatory ventures in industry and agriculture, privatization of state enterprises and

liberating financial powers (Davies, 2014; Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009; Harvey, 2005). These principles coalesced into what became known as neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005). Since then, almost all states in the world have tried to adapt to neoliberal policies (Davies, 2014; Harvey, 2005).

According to Harvey (2005) neoliberalism is a political-economy theory that supports the idea of only liberation can provide human well-being. In this framework, human well-being can be provided through individual fiscal freedom and private property ownership inside an institutionalized framework of free market and free trade. Therefore, neoliberalism frames social benefit as a function of expanding market relations and incorporating more human activities into the market logic (Harvey, 2005).

However, Harvey (2005) underscores that this liberation is primarily benefits private property owners, financial capital, businesses, and to the capitalist class (Harvey, 2005). In an interview, he argues that neoliberalism has always been a political project carried out by the capitalist class, aiming to reassert its control over labor (Risager, 2016). Within this logic, the market is positioned as more competent than the state in organizing and advancing society. It holds the power to produce and discipline subjects, shaping them to serve market interests (Spencer, 2016).

The process of control has architectural implications, particularly regarding the relationship between individuals and their environments. Starting from the 1980s, the discipline of architecture entangled with the dynamics of the market (Spencer, 2016).

Peck, Theodore & Brenner (2009) argue that in the past thirty years the cities in the global south and almost other ones have become the castles for experiments of neoliberal restructuring which continues to today. The ongoing market-oriented transformation occurred in the context of the built environment, creating and spreading socio-spatial inequality (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009).

Examining neoliberal urbanization through the lens of demolition, Rachel Weber (2002) argues that demolition has changed its shape and areas of application in the

neoliberal model. She argues that demolition was used to enhance blighted areas in the period of the welfare state. However, in the neoliberal era, demolition works under the market conditions, where it is implemented to gain maximum rent, whilst replacing the decayed, shrinkage, or even deteriorated places with luxurious projects. This works through the "stigmatization of space" which is "necessary to revalorization" (Weber, 2002, p. 531). Therefore, in the ongoing process of neo-liberalization, a building does not need to be old or decayed for demolition to take place (Weber, 2002).

Similarly, Hackworth (2016) posits that demolition has become a standard component of urban policy globally. Its role and function changed in the mid-20th century. Previously, demolition was aimed at removing unhealthy housing conditions and improving urban efficiency. After the 1970s, demolition took on a more fragmented and localized form, often concentrated in poor and disinvested neighborhoods. These ad hoc demolitions, financed by local governments, are typically unplanned and modest in scale (Hackworth, 2016).

These types of demolition often occur in the context of gentrification. In brief terms, gentrification highlights a process of the influx of private investment capital into major urban centers and the transformation of lower-class residential neighborhoods that have been subject to stigmatization and marginalization (Zukin, 1987), due to the disinvestment and deindustrialization (Shaw, 2008). This situation has been the focus of extensive research in the previous years (Zukin, 1987; Smith, 1996; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Weber et.al, 2006; Shaw, 2008; Smith & Thorpe, 2020).

As Zukin (1987) explains, demolition is part of the revaluation process when the land and space price decreases, which intended to prepare the ground for the construction of new buildings. At the same time, the emerging rent gap between the potential rent price and current rent price and the neglected settlements that are near to central business districts become areas that can be demolished (Zukin, 1987), since they do not include the potential land value in the capital. Encouraging the increase in land and property values is a central component of urban development strategies. It serves as the primary objective of key urban development authorities, a crucial factor in attracting private investors, and a main tool for securing local approval (Lovering &

Türkmen, 2011). This allows new construction to be carried out and profit maximization to be made, thus enabling the capitalization of the already increased land value (Weber et. al, 2006).

At the same time, the rapid emergence of new buildings and service sector spaces due to globalization, happened in alliance at the same time with the "shrinkage phenomena" in the cities (Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011, p.328). While some of the cities illustrated a regular growth, some of them constantly demonstrated a decline and shrinkage (Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006). As a phenomenon that occurred in several cities worldwide, it has been the theme of expanded research, and demolition has been the strategy to solve the problem that has emerged (Gao, Jansen & Ryan, 2023; Mallach, Haase & Hattori, 2017; Bernt, 2016; Luescher & Shetty, 2013; Bernt, 2009).

As Bernt (2009) discusses under the rule of neoliberal governance, local governments are required to attract investors to bring capital to their cities. In the event of its failure, cities experience deindustrialization, decay, and population loss. This is another quite normal process in the operation of the system. In this process, the decrease in population and the loss of jobs create a deterioration in economic and functioning and cause serious deterioration in the city's infrastructure: schools, cinemas, grocery stores are abandoned, which leads to shrinkage situations (Bernt, 2009). The causing effects are sometimes directly addressed as deindustrialization or demographic change; however, these are changing from country to country.

For instance, in Japan the major cause for shrinkage was demographic change, but in the States the causing effects were movement of the population from rustbelt to sunbelt and suburbanization after World War II (Mallach, Haase & Hattori, 2017). Therefore, demolition has become one the most effective strategies to handle abandoned or vacant structures, which seem problematic. Because these structures are prone to decay, they are always associated with crime and vandalism, which also causes possible further abandonment in the area (Gao, Jansen & Ryan, 2023). For this reason, demolition is a tool to overcome problematic people and spaces by trying to revitalize and develop the

built environment. By demolishing the buildings, the new space opens for the construction sector to gain profits (Imrie, 2021).

In the book *Concrete Cities: Why We Need to Build Differently,* Rob Imrie (2021) argues the idea that demolition and construction goes together, and demolition can be understood as a beneficiary action, to modernize society. Moreover, in the 21st century world, demolition is a significant and indispensable component of the construction operations (Imrie, 2021; Mallach, 2011). Japan can be given as an example for this mutual relationship between construction and demolition. According to The Guardian (2017), different from many other countries in the world, the house prices of Japanese houses gradually decrease over time, since they do not carry resale value. This attitude developed in time to correspond with the emergence of housing requirements after WWII, low quality construction, and changes to building regulations related to earthquake resilience. That's why, most of the houses are demolished after 30 years of construction (The Guardian, 2017), by creating its own means to legitimate and naturalize demolitions.

Moreover, the reality of earthquakes necessitates the continuous renewal of the existing building stock within a certain timeframe (Kohler & Hassler, 2002), while also prompting a reevaluation of construction regulations in the aftermath of such events. Just as buildings can collapse during an earthquake, irreparable structures may also be demolished afterward. The proper implementation of construction regulations, revised and developed to create a more earthquake-resistant building stock, is of critical importance (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2023a; TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2023b).

In this context, as demonstrated by the February 6, 2023, Kahramanmaraş earthquakes that affected many in Türkiye, institutional changes, newly enacted laws, the implementation of urban transformation policies, and zoning amnesties ultimately emerge as factors influencing the severity of destruction caused by earthquakes within the framework of disaster management and planning. According to the report published by the TMMOB Chamber of Architects (2023) immediately after the Kahramanmaraş earthquakes, the situation points to a different reality than what was

forecasted in pre-earthquake planning, building construction, and supervision processes. For instance, it is stated that in Türkiye, more constructions have been carried out than demolitions as part of urban transformation efforts aimed at reducing disaster risk. This situation indicated that the objective of demolition is not to reduce disaster risks but rather to enable a capital-driven urban transformation practice (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2023b). Thus, demolition is naturalized through the reality of earthquake.

Against these naturalization processes, Sharon Zukin (2010) argues that in this ongoing process of transformation, where buildings are constantly and selectively demolished and replaced by new ones within a market economy, the cities are losing their souls (Zukin, 2010).

Regardless of the reasons for which it is legitimized, the urban transformation and renewal projects of neoliberal urbanization are associated with demolishing and rebuilding, but reconstruction is achieved through the destruction of the existing urban fabric, which is the clear opposite of construction (Mudie, 2017). These examples highlight the intrinsic relationship between demolition and construction and provide a base for defining demolition as an alibi for neoliberal urbanization, to alter the space in favor of capital.

2.2.3 BEYOND NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATION: DEMOLITION IN SERVICE OF IDEOLOGIES

As previously discussed, the neoliberal urbanization process is not merely a collection of technical decisions based on economic rationality. Rather, it constitutes a multi-dimensional project interwoven with political ideological objectives. Practices such as privatization, value production, and the reorganization of space according to market logic illustrate how neoliberal ideology establishes hegemony over the urban landscapes- often in articulation with other political and ideological formations (Davies, 2014; Harvey, 2005). Beyond this, demolition operates in collaboration with various ideologies to assert ideological dominance over the built environment.

Accordingly, this section will illustrate how demolition functions alongside different ideological frameworks through examples.

A prominent context in which ideologically driven demolition takes place is war and the intermittent peace processes surrounding it (Coward, 2007). There has never been a period without wars throughout history, and the devastating effects of war on cities have been widely discussed (Weizman, 2017; Coward, 2007; Graham, 2003).

Coward (2007) suggests that in post-Cold War period, a new relationship has emerged between war and the city, wherein demolition has become increasingly entangled with urban life. He points out that demolition and the city are more closely related to each other (Coward, 2007). This strategy targets key elements of urban life- buildings, infrastructure, and the social relationships embedded with them. Coined as urbicide by some Bosnian architects and Marshall Berman in the early 1990s, this form of demolition represents more than a material damage; it seeks to erase all the constructed social relations by erasing the built environment (Graham, 2003). Furthermore, Coward (2007) argues that there may be three main forms of urbicide, and that these may arise in relation to the development of the self-destructive violence inherent in modern cities, the militarization of cities, and the demolition of buildings in relation to politics of exclusion (Coward, 2007).

This movement, which has not lost its relevance since the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Balkan wars, becomes a strategy worthy of reexamination at recurring points. Graham (2003) points out that, the use of the bulldozer has changed, that it has become a war tool for ethnic punishment and territorial reconstruction. From this perspective, urbicide is a strategy that is integrated with the desire to destroy the city, its relations and what these cities represent (Graham, 2003). Because buildings, the social relations they create, infrastructure systems and all other vital urban phenomena are important weapons that must be destroyed to clear the unwanted that was situated as the other from the dominant ideology.

Unlike the discussions above, as Turku (2018) argues, war has ceased to be a formal confrontation of power between states and has instead transformed into tactics

employed by non-state actors in various forms to gain advantage. One such tactic, terrorist acts, is carefully organized to maximize political pressure and is presented to the public as theatrical spectacle. The aim here is to spread fear and create a threat of violence as a means of achieving political objectives. Among the various ways to accomplish this is targeting, demolishing, and annihilating certain buildings, structures, monuments, and historical artifacts (Turku, 2018).

In this context, the demolitions of many monuments and historical artifacts through ideological motivations can be given as examples. In 2001 the Taliban proposed the development and execution of a new form of political erasure, which targets cultural property associated with depictions of spiritual and religious practices different from Islam. They started with the demolition of two Buddha statues and continued with the demolition of several museums (Turku, 2018).

Similarly, Islamic State Militants achieved demolitions of historical artifacts. The demolition of Palmyra's ancient Roman theatre and Tetrapylon (Shaheen, 2017), countless demolitions of mosques and churches, Mosul Museum, destroyed books and manuscripts, can be given as examples (Turku, 2018). These demolitions, driven by ideological foundations, stem from the perception of ancient cities as non-Islamic (McKirdy, 2016), the mandatory force to annihilate all representations of idolatry and secularism. In this way, cultural heritage structures are being demolished. On the other hand, while pursuing easily transportable artifacts to sell and generate funds for terrorist activities, they are demolishing historical and cultural artifacts to generate ideological statements (Turku, 2018).

A similar recent example can be found in India, where Modi’s islamophobia campaigns paved the ground for the rewriting and reinventing history through the ideology of Hindutva (Ellis- Petersen, 2022), that led to the demolition of historic mosques under the intention of urban developments that caused violent events (Ather, 2023).

As discussed, demolition towards the built environment also stems from the desire to erase the meanings embedded in monuments as symbols of the past, with or without

relation to wartime, the ideological and emotional attachments, and the desire to challenge history by erasing these structures. These demolitions not only highlight a physical disappearance, but at the same time a motive to clear collective memory and suppress a precise history (Sanni, 2024) and open new spaces for new ideologies. Targeting different building types, these demolitions aim to destroy the collective memory of people to pave the ground to shape the historical narratives easier, oppress minority groups, and homogenize by annihilating differences (Turku, 2018).

Consequently, demolition is not merely a process of physical destruction; it also functions as a strategic tool for realizing ideological and political objectives. Within the framework of neoliberal urbanization, it operates as a mechanism that enables the reorganization of space according to market rationality, while under conditions of war, conflict, and dominant ideology, it evolves into a strategy aimed at the systematic eradication of cities and their social fabric. In this regard, acts of demolition constitute hegemonic power through spatial means. Therefore, demolition should be considered a primary instrument through which ideologies materialized and reproduced in space, and these processes must be analyzed within complex political, cultural, and historical contexts.

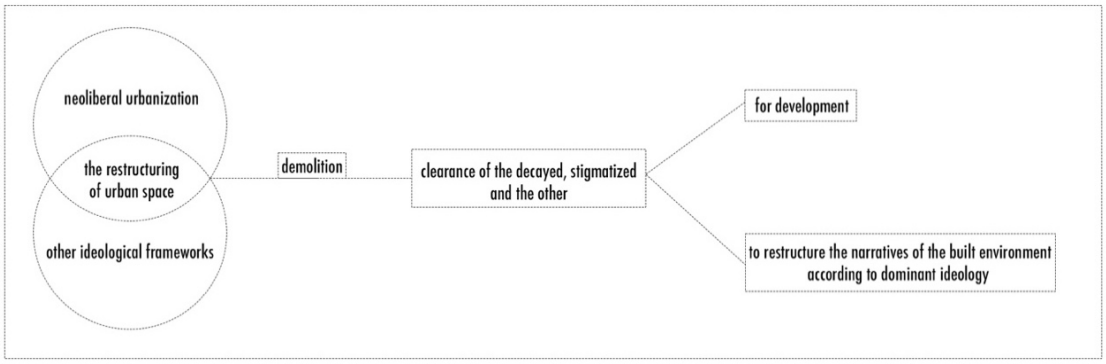

Figure 2.11. Diagram showing the intersectionality of neoliberal urbanization and ideological frameworks. (Source: author).

From this perspective, demolition emerges as an effective tool of authority in transforming the built environment according to certain ideologies. The next part of the thesis will focus on the relationship of demolition and ideology to transform

demolition as an ideological tool of the authority, and Ankara will be examined as a case study.

CHAPTER 3

DEMOLITION AND IDEOLOGY

Ideology has an ambiguous origin, and countless meanings in circulation, which hardens the situation of clear representation of what it ought to be and mean in the political and sociological realm (Drucker, 1972; Eagleton, 1991; Gerring, 1997). The definitions and usages of ideology have been discussed widely by many authors, sociologists, scholars, political theorists, and so on. For Marx and Engels (1998) ideologies cannot be considered independently of the material production processes, for Eagleton, one of the six definitions of ideology is "ideology turns on ideas and beliefs which symbolize the conditions and life experiences of specific, socially significant groups or class." (Eagleton, 1991, p.29), for Herman Schmid ideology is a "systematic, elaborated and delimited system of thought." (Schmid, 1981, p.57), for Althusser ideology exists in material practices (Althusser, 1971), and for Žižek (1989) it creates a social reality to distort and mask the real desires. However, in each epoch, due to the alterations in culture, social life, and political and economic developments, its meaning changes and encompasses many different usages (Drucker, 1972).

In this chapter, the concept of ideology is addressed with the views of different theorists like Marx, Durkheim, Gramsci, Althusser, and Žižek. The aim of this part is to define the intersectionality of demolition and ideology, and to create the link between ideological domination of space and built environment. In other words, to knit together the political theory of ideology and demolition, which is the strategy of the urban environment. For this reason, an attempt is made to define demolition as an ideological strategy by analyzing the strategies that theorists associated with ideology. Therefore, in the perpetuation process of the thesis, a detailed examination of the meanings and uses represented by ideology is avoided.

3.1. IDEOLOGY

According to Roucek (1944), throughout history, every social group has developed its own way of thinking in alliance with its social position. These forms of thoughts, or cultural products, are formed within a social group that prepares the ground for the emergence of thought and is subsequently affiliated with it. These forms of thoughts are "ideologies." (Roucek, 1944, p. 479).

According to Marx's thinking, every social class or group needs a theory to guide it and determine its future tasks (Drucker, 1972). From this point of view, ideology is a system of thoughts that shows what should be in a certain social order. Ideology expresses a theory of social life, and this theory approaches the facts in terms of ideals, and interprets them consciously or unconsciously, which at the end of the day legitimizes the ideal (Roucek, 1944). The system of ideas projecting its ideals into both past and future. Then, it proposes methods for the improvement of a society, a nation, or a state in the future (Roucek, 1944). In the contemporary environment of political doctrines, ideology comes to life in the intersectionality of the means of how societies operate, and men's means of thought (Drucker, 1972).

The ideas developed by philosophers and authors on ideology have expanded based on the discussions on ideology by Marx and Engels in their work *The German Ideology* (Wallenstein, 2016; Drucker, 1972, p. 152). In this work, the functioning of ideology is explained with the metaphor of the "camera obscura", as assumed that certain ideas and thought patterns shape the world (Marx & Engels, 1998, p. 42). According to them, what is decisive is not ideas, but the material production processes of individuals and the social relations they establish within these processes. In other words, how people are positioned within production activities and how they live their lives is more important than how they represent the world. Therefore, ideas and consciousness are not independent from material production processes but are directly related to them (Marx & Engels, 1998; Wallenstein, 2016).

In time, the term ideology started to encompass many different meanings and usages. For this reason, many different authors tried to reinterpret the meaning of ideology in

different time strata (Gerring, 1997). According to Terry Eagleton (1991), different meanings and usages of ideology have been in circulation, but these definitions are independent of each other.

Eagleton (1991) argues that ideology is not merely about systems of thoughts or set of beliefs but also interrelated with power itself. Ideology has a legitimating side of the opinions that belong to the dominant class or social group (Eagleton, 1991, p.5). Therefore, he posits the universality of ideology. He states:

> On the one hand, ideology is no mere set of abstract doctrines but the stuff which makes us uniquely what we are, constitutive of our very identities; on the other hand, it presents itself as an everybody knows that a kind of anonymous universal truth. (Eagleton, 1991, p. 20).

When the studies around ideology are examined historically in brief terms, the most general conceptualization of ideology as a theory is proposed by Emile Durkheim (Schmid, 1981). It is hard to claim that Durkheim proposed a well-defined systematic analysis for conceptualizing ideology. However, he suggested a precise understanding of it (Schmid, 1981). According to Durkheim, ideology is defined as an obstacle created by prejudices, which distorts to clearly understand and perceive reality. At the same time, it has a function, which complies with human actions to fit into reality (Larrain, 1980).

The context that Durkheim was trying to deal with ideology is to create the basis for sociology as social facts (Larrain, 1980). The questioning of what precise aspects constitutes social formation led Durkheim to the expression of social representations, which ultimately became a general conceptualization of ideology (Schmid, 1981). According to his theory, social representations create society, society itself is a system of representations, and representations are in everything and everywhere. Therefore, to understand how the society perceives and conceives the outer world, the nature of society must be considered (Durkheim, 1982). In more detailed terms, the representations act and shape the individual as an outer strength, which is divided into two as individual and collective representations. Following this, there is a two-way interaction of individuals who are influenced and shaped by collective representations, which means that humans are bound to these social norms in their behavior and their

behaviors become the reproduction act of these societal norms (Durkheim, 1982; Schmid, 1981). Moreover, social representations exist through different mediums. These mediums are either sets of beliefs that are shared by a community, or practices that end up being tangible actions like rituals, or physical form, which can be building, city planning, or even infrastructure systems (Schmid, 1981).

Very parallel to Durkheim's ideas, Althusser proposed his own theory of ideology (Schmid, 1981). Althusser's ideology theory challenged some aspects of Marxist theory's examination of ideology. According to Althusser, the way ideology is presented in Marxist theory is rejectionary and reductionary due to means of analysis. In the German Ideology, Marx and Engels presented two positions that were rejected by Althusser. The first is that "ideology is a false representation of the real" and the latter is that "ideology is a distorted reflection in consciousness of real social relations." (Hirst, 1976, p. 385).

In substance, Althusser (1971) argues that ideology is not just a shroud which distorts reality. Instead, he claims that it is a structure in which individuals turn into subjects and construct their relationship with the world. This implies that ideology is already profoundly embedded in practices and institutions, which are shaping the perceptions and the way subjects live (Hirst, 1976).

Moreover, Terry Eagleton (1991) further argues that ideology according to Althusser is not solely about trying to figure out the expressions to describe a reality. As he states:

> Ideology, Althusser claims, 'expresses a will, a hope, or a nostalgia, rather than describing a reality.' It is fundamentally a matter of fearing and denouncing, reverencing and reviling, all of which then sometimes gets coded into a discourse which looks as though it is describing the way things actually are (Eagleton, 1991, p. 19).

Later, Žižek (1989) in his supreme book called *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, drawing from Lacanian Psychoanalytic theory and Althusserian ideas on ideology, argues that understanding ideology also includes investigating deeper social structures and behaviors that reveal the underpinning ideological forces in use. According to Žižek (1989), ideology is more about unconscious desires that are managed through

social interactions and structures, rather than individual consciousness. Therefore, the unconscious is placed in the symbolic order, and it is not restricted to the individual, it's open to social space and shaped by it (Žižek, 1989).

Žižek's understanding of ideology also introduces the relation between ideology and reality (Elmer, 1990), and states that:

> Reality is a fantasy construction which enables us to mask the reality of our desires. It is exactly the same with ideology. Ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to escape insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support for our 'reality' itself: an 'illusion' which structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable, real, impossible kernel… The function of ideology is not to offer us a point of escape from our reality but to offer us the social reality itself as an escape from some traumatic, real kernel (Žižek, 1989, p. 45).

As illustrated by Žižek (1989) the construction of reality masks our real desires and adds that ideology functions very similarly; it is a fantasy construction, which shapes the way humans understand and rotate themselves towards social reality. Additionally, he emphasizes the requirement to question the social forms of individual behavior. He claims that to look at how ideology manifests itself in social structure is necessary. These can be social interactions, behavior patterns, or even institutional practices. Furthermore, he argues that how these behavior patterns maintain or change the existing social order should be examined. According to Žižek, in this way, the unconscious motives behind can be detected and how ideology works can be understood (Elmer, 1990; Žižek, 1989).

3.2. CONCEPTUALIZING DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY

As discussed in the previous section, Žižek (1989) argues that ideology is a fantasy construction that produces the reality itself. Therefore, it is not an illusion that distorts reality, rather it is a framework that constitutes reality (Žižek, 1989). From this perspective, if space is ideological and political and produced by collectively (Lefebvre, 1991), demolition can be interpreted as an ideological strategy that reshapes spatial order and redefines social reality. In this sense, demolition is not merely a

physical act, but a spatial intervention that participates in the reconstruction of dominant ideological framework.

For this reason, in this section, ideology, demolition, and the social production of the built environment will be developed, and their intersectionality will be discussed. In this way, a general argument will be presented regarding conceptualization of demolition as an ideological strategy between the rule of hegemonic powers and their aim to shape the built environment will be developed.

Lewis Mumford (1938) argues that the built environment gives the clues and nodal points for one to discover about a civilization, its background, its improvements in life and technology. Therefore, he claims that these alterations, modifications, and improvements can be read directly through the built environment (Mumford, 1938). However, this basic notion was extended to the realization that the built environment encompasses and is constantly altered by social segments and it's the place where ideological forces are maintained and reproduced (Knox, 1982).

Anthony D. King (1980) avers that the built environment is a cultural and social product. Buildings are composed of a range of factors such as economic, social, political, religious and cultural. Their appearance on the urban ground is not dependent on merely physical factors but also to society, the authority, and to the system of general beliefs. When changes happen in a society, the alteration follows on the urban ground and that is the way some buildings emerge, and other ones disappear. Moreover, buildings are produced by the society, and the production of the buildings aids in preserving the social structure (King, 1980). Therefore, just as the built environment is a product of social structures, social structures also manifest and take shape in urban space through architecture (Maran, et. al, 2006; Lawrence & Low, 1990; Knox, 1982). Similarly, Amos Rapoport (1969) and Lefebvre (1991) argue that the built environment is a product of cultural manifestations and social structures. So much so that the built environment has not been audited by the designer but formed by tradition, everyday requirements, cultural practices of different communities, rather than controlled by high-design architects (Rapoport, 1969).

The architectural practice is not solely a means of constructing a physical environment (Lahiji, 2011). It exists in connection with social and economic structures (McLeod, 1985), shapes the way individuals perceive reality, and turns reality into a form that cannot be separated from its aesthetic image (Lahiji, 2011). Lefebvre argues (2020/1974) that space is political and ideological. In substance, space is and always a representation full of ideology. It is not a concept that is distorted by politics or ideology (Lefebvre, 2020/1974).

As discussed by Fredric Jameson, aesthetics is not only related to art, but also to ideology itself as an act (Jameson as cited in Lahiji, 2011). Similarly, Mary McLeod (1985) posits Manfredo Tafuri's arguments towards the relationship between architecture and material conditions. According to this, when ideology is described as false consciousness, architecture is "pure ideology" that mirrors the dominant class interests and opened to interpretation as a negative instrument (McLeod, 1985, p.10; Martin, 2011). When examined from this point, in line with the interests of the dominant class or those who hold hegemonic power, architecture works for naturalizing and reproducing the systems of power and precise set of beliefs. For this reason, architectural meaning frameworks work through concealed systems (Porphyrios, 1985).

As Lahiji (2011) argues, in contemporary architectural practice, this force acts as a tool to solidify neoliberal politics idealized cultural hegemony. In the age that neoliberal thought, governance, and politics are dominating the architectural practice as a tool to continue this idealized utopia and social order, while also creating its means to legitimize these. What is tried to be discussed here is not to imply that architecture is only experienced through a mere structure of ideology. On the contrary, it is to claim that in contemporary society, architectural experience shaping reality is also a fundamental factor in how ideology is perceived and experienced. Therefore, this highlights the idea that architecture is not only an aesthetical and practical practice, but a force that is effective on the collective consciousness (Lahiji, 2011).

In this context, the concept of hegemony by Gramsci gains importance, who with this expanded the notion of ideology (Mouffe, 1979). From the Marxist perspective, the

germination of modern domination, fundamentally driven by economic power, joined with the ability to control ideas and rule people without facing serious resistance, considering the bourgeois and subordinated class context (Langman, 2015). However, domination could not be debated solely on economic grounds or as being related to the dominance of a particular ideology (Mouffe, 1979; Gramsci, 1971).

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony proposes a major difference in the awareness of man and its means to get ruled not only via force but in alliance with ideas. According to this theory, hegemony meant a system of production of consent for the ruling class, and in which consent is achieved through the universalization and popularization of the ideas belonging to the oppressive class (Gramsci, 1971; Bartes, 1975). According to Gramsci, the civil society comprises the whole ideological and cultural relations. Therefore, hegemony is:

> "the ideological predominance of the cultural norms, values and ideas of the dominant class over the dominated." (Woolcock, 1985, p.201).

Hegemony is not about unification of the classes in terms of common interests, but a deeper formation, it occurs when a precise ideology is dominant and accepted, which describes a more expanded socio-cultural process. Thus, rather than being solely about imposing an ideology, it is about integrating it to all socio-cultural levels of a society (Mouffe, 1979; Gramsci, 1971).

Following this, as Mouffe (1979) highlights, Gramsci stressed the material structure of ideology and its importance. He expanded the state's apparatuses into institutions more related to social and cultural formations and proposed that this occurs through different mediums like media, schools, churches, architecture, and even the names of the streets. According to Gramsci, these elements constitute the community where hegemony is exercised by the dominant social class in the level of civil society. This was later developed by Althusser, who formulated these ideas in his works (Mouffe, 1979).

Althusser, in his essay called *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, explains his theory of interpellation which is in substance the theory of individuals turned into subjects via ideology, demonstrating that ideology is eternal and was always there

(Althusser, 1971). The rejection of the reductionist understanding of ideology in Marxist writings, Althusser paved the ground for another formation of conception, which correlates ideology to social totality. This new concept is called Ideological State Apparatuses, and these devices ensure the continuous reproduction of production relations (Hirst, 1976).

State apparatuses are two in number; the first one is the repressive state apparatuses, and the latter one is the Ideological state apparatuses. Althusser claims that the state apparatus also operates with the institutions through repression and ideology but mainly through violence (Althusser, 1971). However, the main difference between these two apparatuses is driven by the fact that the political power of the ruling class is not only intertwined with the state's repressive organs like government, police, or army. The ideological hegemony of the ruling class over the others is operated through, which are not directly related to the state's repressive forces, some other specialized institutions in ideological apparatuses like media, schools, architecture, or even familial systems (Özpolat, 2020; Althusser, 1971).

As discussed, the dominant class produces consent to continue their authority with the tools of open oppression strategies and ideological strategies (Althusser, 1971). This process encompasses spatial corrections. Lefebvre argues (2020/1974) that the production, management, exploitation, and the continuity of space, depends on precise groups that own it. Therefore, space is not fixed, under continuous transformation, and as Lefebvre stated it cannot be read as a "text" (Maran., et al, 2006, p. 10).

Political power holders try to keep those they perceive as dangerous under control to implement their own visions. In this process, those who are outlined as out of the norm and their spaces are tried to be disciplined. The urban public spaces and therefore the built environment, shaped and controlled according to the rules of the hegemonic order (Sargın, 2002).

Within these discussions, the built environment provides a basis for the establishment of hegemony through the construction of physical and social relationships (Dellenbaugh, 2014; Batuman, 2019). If the construction of physical and social

structures in the built environment can provide the construction of the hegemony, its reverse view, demolition, can be conceptualized as an ideological strategy, allowing desires and ideologies of the dominant class to manifest itself in the built environment- whether to make space for the reproduction of systems, or to exploit a space, or to completely alter the urban history through cleansing within the neoliberal model of urbanization.

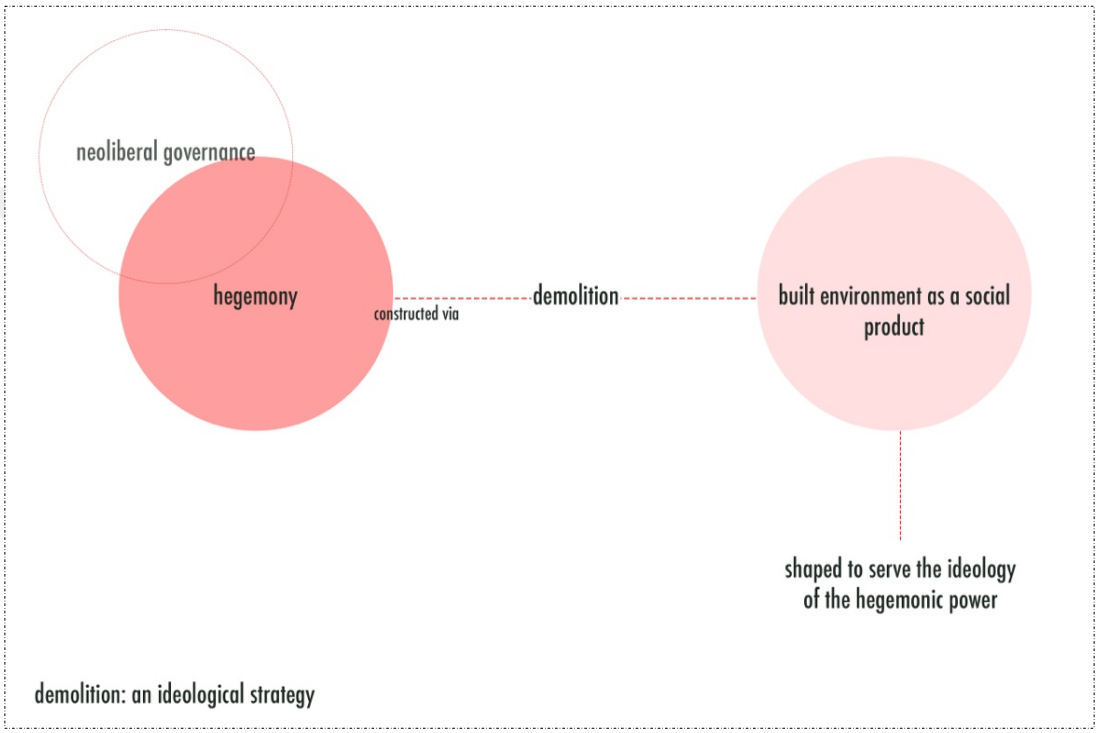

Figure 3.1 Demolition as an ideological strategy. (Source: author)

Here demolition is read as a strategy that goes beyond the erasure of a precise period of the past and becomes a tool of the hegemonic struggles over the built environment. By allowing the creation of new spaces for capitalism, it also provides normalization and legitimization of the hegemonic power. This situation targets the historical process to which the elements of the built environment that are considered undesirable are attached, and eliminates it, while paving the way for a transition to the period before or after it (Dellenbaugh, 2014).

It can be claimed that there is a raising tendency of cleansing towards the physical traces of the past, that with this way they needed to be forgotten or altered, highlights

the conflicted engagement in history (Siew & Lim, 2000). In the city constructing process, the selective method of demolition in which some buildings are desired to be demolished while others continue their presence on the urban grounds, has become natural (Zukin, 2010). Therefore, demolition makes room to create selective forms of urban history, while trying to shape the built environment according to the desires of the hegemonic powers. So that, architectural history conveys the designs and narratives of buildings that reflect what a society dreams worthy of remembrance (Adams & Hornstein, 2015).

Furthermore, (Herscher, 2014) argues that the demolition of architecture is not only the annihilation of a collective memory, identity, or culture. On the contrary, this political violence that is developed against buildings, redefines and restructures all these parameters. Thus, it reconstructs memory, culture, and identity retrospectively (Herscher, 2014). To illustrate, the demolition of historical buildings means the demolition of architecture historically, which places this act on historical ground. In this context demolition, is not erasing a meaning in past but is the recreation of it. The demolition of buildings assigns rememberability to architecture and makes it possible to remember it with different forms (Herscher, 2014). For this reason, investigating the way demolition acts on the urban ground with the desire to shape both past, present and future, makes the way to prevail these embedded relations.

3.3 MAPPING DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY WITH DIFFERENT MODALITIES

Urban transformation entails not only spatial restructuring but also the reconfiguration of social lives and collective effect produced through the built environment (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Yonucu, 2008). As Walter Benjamin observed in his reflections on Naples, cities exist within a continuous cycle of construction and demolition- a cycle that, while erasing the traces of the past, simultaneously generates a longing for it (Gritti, 2021; Benjamin 1978b). In this context, demolition is an intervention that constructs and renders the sense of loss tangible. As Butler (2003) suggests, the recognition of such a loss emerges not only as an individual affect but also as a

collective process of mourning. However, the sense of loss may not reflect on objective reality, rather, it can be constructed or imagined feeling (Gür, 2023).

Moreover, this mourning cannot be reduced to a fixed or singular form (Butler, 2003); at times, it manifests as nostalgia, at others as a revanchist act, and at still others as a phantasmagoric representation that profoundly transforms experience. This imagined loss mobilized through nostalgic and revanchist collective emotions, which in turn activates the process of demolition. In other words, the longing for an idealized past or to a past that never existed provokes ideological conflicts that manifest as urban transformations.

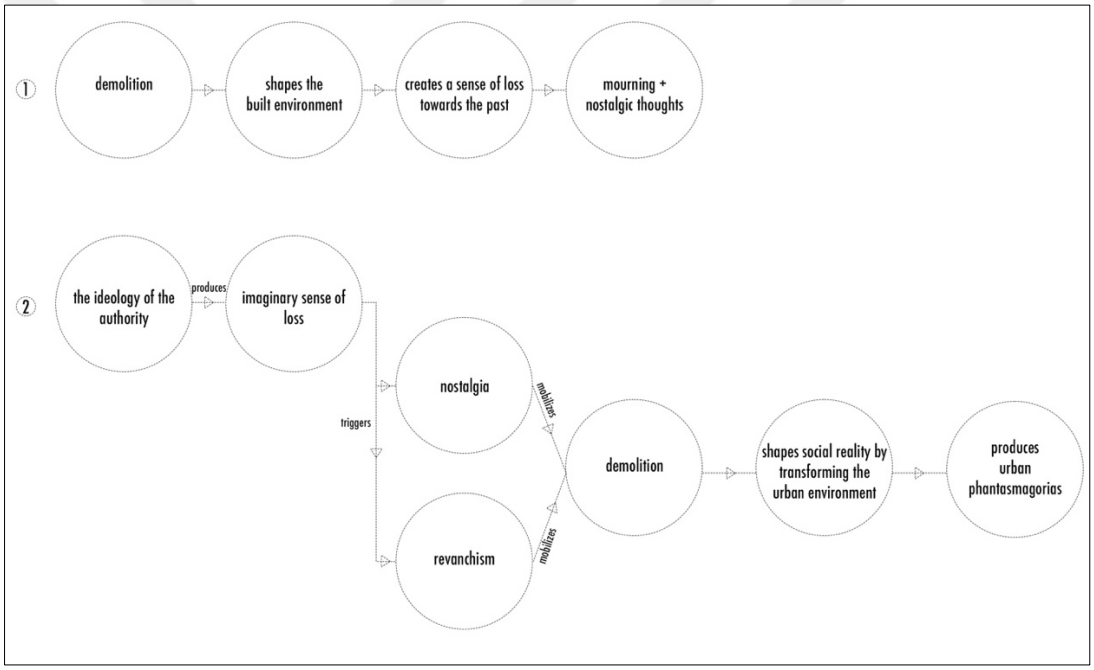

Figure 3.2 Mapping Demolition as an Ideological Strategy with different Modalities. (Source: author)

At this point, nostalgia emerges as an affective formation through which an idealized version of the past is reproduced in the present (Boym, 2001). In the urban development process, demolition emerges as restoring the past while demolishing the buildings that created the rupture from the idealized past. Revanchism not only recalls a supposedly lost past but seeks to reclaim it in the political arena of the present- often accompanied by an exclusionary or aggressive desire for restoration. As illustrated by Smith (1999), It operates as a spatial and symbolic strategy through which dominant

powers attempt to reassert historical authority, eliminate undesired architectural legacies, and overwrite previous regimes of memory and representation by demolishing buildings (Smith, 1996). Phantasmagoria, as a conclusion, refers to the transformation of the urban environment into a consumable spectacle under capitalist modernity (Benjamin, 1999; Buck-Morss, 1989). Affective forms such as nostalgia, revanchism, and phantasmagoria do not function solely as individual responses but operate as ideological apparatuses; they reshape spatial memory and modes of representation accordingly. These three concepts frame demolition not merely as a physical removal, but as an ideological strategy that reconfigures spatial memory, modes of representation, and projections of the future. Therefore, reading demolition with these modalities crucial to understand how demolition is manipulated, naturalized, and mobilized through different modalities.

Cities that undergo constant transformations, evokes different feelings towards the past and to the lost objects. When Walter Benjamin went to Naples, he felt disappointment and nostalgia towards the ever-changing image of the city (Gritti, 2021). At that time, rehabilitation and revitalization projects were implemented. Used the word porosity to define the unexpected surprises that are created by churches, streets, palaces, and monuments, and how these existences create social ties, rituals and life practices. Due to the transformations and several demolitions, Benjamin claimed that the city lost its porosity and modernity homologated Naples (Benjamin, 1978b). For this reason, he felt nostalgic towards the past, in which this porosity used to offer a unique city with rich experiences (Gritti, 2021).

Longing and Loss

Butler (2003) argues that transformations create new spaces by removing the old spaces. However, the new space is not a very novel one, because it is constructed on the loss of the old one. New spaces encompass ghosts; carry the traces and the voids of the past. For this reason, there is not a reality in which the past stays exactly in the past. Even though the past is removed physically, it continues its existence through a form of loss and shapes the existing. The belonging in the new space provided a common sense of loss: it is the prerequisite for togetherness. The realization of loss

brings mourning, and mourning can take different forms (Butler, 2003). While discussing Benjamin's ideas, Eng & Kazanjian (2003) argue that the mourning process establishes an open relationship with history, which is open to manipulation.

Nostalgia

Thinking that something is lost or gone triggers nostalgic thoughts. Basically, nostalgia is a type of longing, which transforms an idealized past, whether it can be lived or imagined, into a figure of loss. It presents a discontent with the present, and a rudimentary human condition that searches past traces of a better world to create a better future (Harries, 2015). The sense of loss does not correspond to a precisely remembered one. Therefore, there is an opportunity to puzzle the real with the imaginary (Boym, 2001).

Nostalgia gains meaning not only as a desire to return to the past but also transforming an idealized past image into a vision of the future (Cheung, 2023). One aspect of nostalgia carries the desire to return what has been lost- a kind of home- while the other aspect preserves the idea of this home as a dream and transforms it into a promise that is hoped to come true in the future. In this context nostalgia can be conceptualized as two-sided experience, in which it encompasses the longing for the past and the expectations for utopian dreams (Harries, 2015; Boym, 2021).

Boym (2001) further argues that nostalgia can be understood as a collective phenomenon for it follows big revolutions, mainly socio-political transformations. Especially the characteristics of restorative nostalgia, aimed to restructure the nationalist revivals, via regaining national symbols and myths (Boym, 2001). Therefore, she gives nostalgia a hegemonic character (Hook, 2012). Therefore, the dominance of the hegemonic powers and their ideology, plays a crucial role, to idealize a selected period that is related to the past.

Katz (2010) argues that modernity, while oriented towards progress and transformation, paradoxically evokes a sense of nostalgia for an imagined past. Urban culture, often seen as the embodiment of modernity, is also shaped by a longing for a lost city that no longer exists. Cities, as rapidly evolving social environments, become

both the stage for modern change and a site where this nostalgic desire is projected (Katz, 2010). Similarly, Boym (2001) further argues that, the shaping of the cities through urban renewals and revitalizations are driven by nostalgia, rather than futurism. Therefore, the reconstruction of cities is based on the idealization of an existing past, and nostalgia became mobilizing effort to actualize this longing (Boym, 2001).

The sense of longing may relate not only to the way architecture is experienced, but also the way it is practiced (Quesada & Carretero, 2021). In this context, demolition emerges as a tool to materialize these ideals by creating space to restructure them within the urban fabric. This reveals a paradox: while the past is being restructured in the present, demolition also enables the projection of a longed for a future that never existed. The return of the idealized past simultaneously requires the removal of what is deemed unwanted or alien, making demolition both a nostalgic and exclusionary act.

This situation was apparent when the fate of modern buildings in cities around the world are considered. Architectural historians claim that the association of brutalism and modernism with left-wing social policies has led to a right-wing backlash against this architectural style[1]. For this reason, the demolition of brutalist buildings gained momentum in the process up to the present day (Crook, 2021).

[1] In 2013, the far-right political party UKIP (The Uk Independence Party) released campaign video claiming that modern architecture has blighted British towns, advocating for a return to traditional styles. Demolition, in this context, was portrayed to clear space for such an intervention and was presented as a spectacle of revenge against modern architectural aesthetics.

Figures 3.3- 3.6. Screenshots from the video released by UKIP promoting the demolition of modern buildings and construction of traditional ones. (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L0EkIahdooM).

As this example highlights, the removal of buildings is not only a transformation of the physical environment; it is also an intervention that leads to the disintegration of social history and spatial identity. Although such transformations do not completely erase the past; they reproduce it in different forms, and a more acceptable past that is in line with dominant narratives is constructed. Thus, urban transformation reshapes not only the built environment but also perceptions of the past and social affiliations (Smith, 1996).

Revanchism

Adams & Hornstein (2015) argues that the demolition of a building is also carried out with the aim of making people forget an undesirable event that happened in the past and taking revenge on it. The direct identification of violent past events with space and buildings causes the act of forgetting to turn into an act of erasure. Architectural demolition becomes an important strategy to erase the unwanted and the stigmatized and to take revenge on a certain moment of the past (Adams & Hornstein, 2015).

In this context, the conceptualization of the revanchist city by Smith (1996) gains importance. Revanchist city is basically a concept developed by Neil Smith to conceptualize the new urban politics in relation to gentrification. Common to many cities that are constantly restructured by neoliberal urbanization, urban renewal projects are not only about economy and housing, but more than that, encompassing the reconquest of the city by the middle class (Smith, 1996). This is because of the consequences of the progressive urban developments against poverty that were held in the 1960s and 1970s, in which the middle classes claimed that they lost their control over the cities (Slater, 2016). Their response then, shaped by those kinds of urban

initiatives, are developed to take revenge by erasing the other, mainly undesirables, through demolishing buildings (Lawton, 2018; Aalbers, 2010; Smith, 1996).

Neil Smith (1996) further describes the revanchist city as a place where dominant class structure committed to preserving and expanding the advantages of their status through assertive or forceful strategies (Slater, 2016). This approach places the city as a space of desire and on the contrary, a place where the minority groups are being excluded. The modernization, the production of luxurious facilities are promoted like they are in favor of the whole populace. However, these projects and transformations serve the interests of a particular group (Lawton, 2018). Demolition then, as a strategy in the shaping of the urban arena, can be understood as a revanchist strategy, in favor of the hegemonic class.

Phantasmagoria

Phantasmagoria traditionally refers to the theatrical and technological act that were used to entertain and fool the audience in the 19th century. The phantasmagoria provides the impression of the dead coming back to life was created by means of a lantern. The use of mirrors, music, sounds and fog increased the reality, thus deceiving the audience. Indeed, phantasmagoria was a mechanism that presents previously produced images to the audience as if they were real (Stătică, 2024; Cohen, 1989). However, Walter Benjamin used this term to discuss the deceptive power of the urban environment and its crippling impact on human activity with emphasis on world fairs and arcades (Stătică, 2024; Benjamin, 1999; Cohen, 1989).

Walter Benjamin (1999) argues that the arcades and world exhibitions are experienced as phantasmagorias, in which these commodities conceal the reality behind the production processes of them. For this reason, he claims that these technologically advanced structures construct a phantasmagoric reality, to distort and hide the reality of production behind them (Benjamin, 1999). Therefore, humans see and experience only the fancy images these commodities produce, rather than experience the reality behind the production relations (Kaika, M. & Swyngedouw, 2005; Cohen, 1989).

He further argues that in urban context the splendor and ostentation created after the demolition produced an illusory atmosphere that made the society feel modern and secure, proceeding from the transformations carried out by Hausmann in Paris (Benjamin, 1999). As discussed by Buck-Morss (1989) Benjamin argues that these acts of demolition exemplified through Paris, created a modern phantasmagoria. Urban renewal projects aimed to construct a kind of social utopia by transforming the built environment- from the layout of streets to the placement of buildings. However, these changes did not eliminate class conflicts; they concealed them. On the other hand, the construction of new buildings generated an illusion of social equality, while in reality these demolitions served the interests of capital and harshened real estate speculation (Buck-Morss, 1989). In this context the modern urban landscape becomes both a promise of a desirable future and a phantasmagoric space that covers up suppressed social tensions (Stătică, 2024; Cohen, 1989). Therefore, the construction of phantasmagoria prepares the environment for the society to live inside an illusion that represents progress, security and newness. However, this structure conceals the conflicts, inequalities and the requirements for real transformations (Buck-Morss, 1989).

As illustrated by Gilloch (2016) emphasizing the ideas of Andreotti and Lahiji, the contemporary city shaped by the mechanisms of domination and surveillance under capital is defined through the concept of phantasmagoria. In this context, architectural practice has also assumed an obedient role in the construction of the built environment shaped by the interests of economic and political powers (Gilloch, 2016).

Similarly, demolition, produces urban phantasmagorias just as it happened with Hausmann's transformation in Paris (Benjamin, 1999; Buck-Morss, 1989), or demolition interventions against New York City by Moses (Jacobs, 2017). Under neoliberal urbanization and dominant ideologies, demolition functioned not merely to secure, clean, and modernize the built environment, but also to construct an imaginary coherence- a phantasmagoric image of the city. This occurred through a multi-layered practice of demolition and the built environment that replaces it.[2] Thus, while

[2] As discussed in the introduction and chapter two, demolition does not solely mean physical annihilation but rather; it encompasses renovations, reprogramming interventions, and new constructions, in a given context.

demolition is seen as modernization and cleansing, the underlying causes and questions about what the political and economic causalities were and who benefitted remain invisible.

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CHAPTER 4

MAPPING DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY IN ANKARA (1994-2023)

4.1 DEMOLITION IN ANKARA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW (1923-2023)

When trying to read demolition as an ideological strategy through Ankara, the urban development history of Ankara through the lens of demolition should be considered. As İlhan Tekeli (2018) argued, demolition always existed in Ankara, but through different causalities.

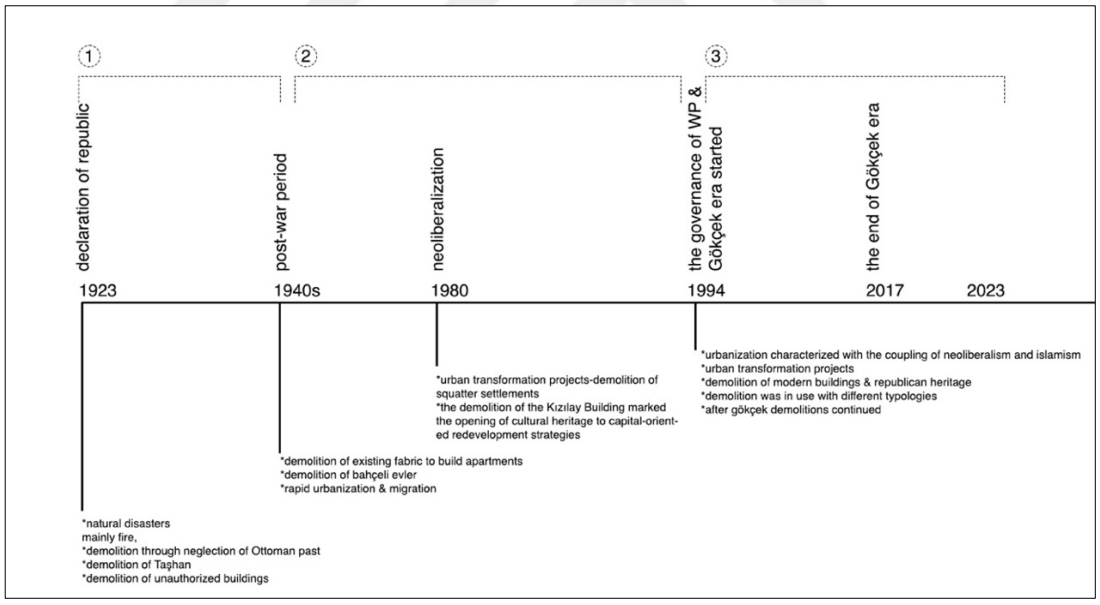

Figure 4.1. Diagram showing the different demolition approaches in Ankara through a historical sequence. (Source: author)

In this context, three main periods that demolition occurred with different forms will be examined. The first of these three periods encompasses the declaration of republic to the 1940s, the latter is the post war to the end of 1980s, and the last one encompasses the period of 1994 to 2023. Thus, a historical reading of demolition through Ankara

will be carried out, and the alteration in the use of demolition as an ideological strategy in the following years will be put forth.

4.1.1 THE CONSTRUCTION OF ANKARA AS THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE REPUBLIC

The early 20th century witnessed the dissolution of empires and the rise of nation-states, where the construction of new capital cities symbolized political sovereignty and modernization (Güngor & Özcan, 2022; Tankut, 1990). As in many newly independent countries, Türkiye abandoned former imperial port city of Istanbul -seen as symbol of dependency- and founded Ankara as its new capital in 1923 (Tankut, 1990; Tekeli, 1982).

According to Bozdoğan (2002), the republican regime, established through a radical rupture with the Ottoman past, aimed to reshape all aspects of life through western-oriented reforms. The development of Ankara thus became the spatial embodiment of this revolutionary transformation. This intervention, carried out in line with the modernist ideals and the ideology of Kemalism, was closely linked to the construction of a new secular nation (Bozdoğan, 2002).

However, Gür (2011) argues that Ankara was constructed as the capital of the Republic by deliberately emptying its historical content, ignoring the legacy of the Ottoman Empire and its previous history. This process was closely tied to the erasure of a specific historical memory and the creation of a counter-narrative to Istanbul's representational past (Gür, 2011). Yet, Ankara has a long and rich history (Tunçer, 2019). Its designation as the capital was made possible, Gür argues, precisely by disregarding this deep historical background (Gür, 2011).

Bayraktar (2013) argues that the year 1923 marked the beginning of the influence of nationalist ideas and economic precautions that are supported by radical modernist ideals. By considering space as both an ideological tool and physical environment of social transformation, the city has reached certain imagined images, and those living in the city are expected to behave in accordance with this image (Bayraktar, 2013).

Since the existing traditional and historical fabric of Ankara did not align with these ideals and the old city core did not carry any representational and cultural practices that can correspond to the new national bourgeoisie, building the capital required the creation of a new city independent of the old one (Tankut, 1990). With this, a new city -Yenişehir- was planned and built according to the modernist ideals, between Çankaya and old Ankara (Tekeli, 1982). Planning efforts aimed to establish a new urban identity by preserving the old city while developing the new part according to modern ideals of the early Republican period (Tunçer, 2019). By this, in the 1930s Ankara has become a city that represents the historical alliance between the state, modernism, and nation building (Bozdoğan, 2002). Moreover, the good construction of the city associated with the success of the republican regime (Tunçer 2014; Bozdoğan, 2002; Tankut, 1990; Tekeli, 1982), highlighting the fact that of the process of capital construction was highly political in substance (Tankut, 1990).

Bozdoğan (2002) avers that even though modernism was adopted as an ideology, architecture in Ankara first appeared through traditional styles due to the lack of construction industry's capabilities. Later, new architecture emerged via European and German academics and designers through imported modern architecture. Thus, the built environment and the representation of it created by modern architecture, was symbolizing the detached Ottoman and Islamic past, totally Westernized, and modern and secular nation building strategy (Bozdoğan, 2002). During this period, numerous public buildings were constructed, however these developments were fragmented and emerged individually in the city (Alpagut, 2017). For this reason, soon a city plan was required (Tekeli, 1982).

The introduction of modern urban planning is also achieved through foreign actors (Tekeli, 1982). The first plan for Ankara, prepared by Carl Lörcher before 1927, was designed with a holistic approach that bridged the city's old and new parts. Considering transportation, health, green spaces, open spaces, and public buildings, this plan incorporated garden city principles (Cengizkan, 2003). According to Cengizkan (2002; 2003), the plan was designed in line with an idea that could compete with the old city and change its character, but at the same time follow the reality that one must live with it. Regarding this, for the old Ankara, the plan offered restoration

proposals (for instance, renovation of old Ankara houses is planned), and developed ideas for integrating old and new city parts (Cengizkan, 2003). However, the plan did not allow its application to the old city due to the inadequacies in management and implementation, as well as the excessive increase in land prices in the old city (Tekeli, 1982). The plan for the new city is implemented but its application was largely lost in the following years. However, it formed a basis for subsequent planning processes of Ankara, such as for the Jansen plan (Cengizkan, 2003).

In 1930 Hermann Jansen's design proposal was enacted. Jansen's approach favored due to its emphasis on the castle, integrating the old and the new city parts, development of green areas, the importance of industry, and highlighting the workers district (Güngör & Özcan, 2022; Alpagut, 2017). Within the plan, the only demolition initiative that was developed towards the elements of the past is demolishing the top floor of the buildings that are constructed more than three floors to adjust according to the plan (Güngör & Özcan, 2022; Tankut, 1990).

However, as Tankut (1990) posits, between 1933 and 1939 more than a hundred demolition interventions occurred to annihilate illegal and unauthorized buildings in old Ankara. Initially, demolition decisions were justified based on illegality. In time, the reasons shift towards non-compliance with the plan, exceeding neighborhood setback distances, and proximity to mosques. Consequently, illegality alone was no longer sufficient grounds for demolition; instead, a policy of imposing fines and legalizing existing buildings became prevalent (Tankut, 1990).

As discussed with different sources above, demolition policies did not occur in this period to annihilate existing fabric that are related to Ottoman era or previous history as an ideological strategy (Öncü, 2017). Moreover, the developed city plans, and their reports are supporting this mindset. It can be argued that the reason why demolition did not become a physical erasure tool in this period was due to the already existing economic problems and giving priority to create new spaces in the city that would build and spread the ideologies of the Republic (Öncü, 2017; Tankut, 1990; Tekeli, 1982).

However, during this period, the type of demolition that was effective in the annihilation of the historic fabric in serious scale caused by fires. In the fire of 1929 Suluhan surroundings, Tahtakale Bazaar and Bath, Balıkpazarı district, Haseki Mosque, and Arasta district were affected and destroyed (Tunçer, 2019).
Apart from fire, there are also few demolitions of existing historical buildings while new buildings are being built or to be built. For instance, the Taşhan building (Later Taşhan Palace or Taşhan Hotel), which defined the square in 1880, was demolished in 1935 to build Sümerbank building (Bayraktar, 2013), which Hermann Jansen opposed to the demolition decision (Tunçer, 2014). Additionally, in the same period, within the scope of secularization and modernization, many mosques, tombs, and masjid lands were sold, and many of them were demolished in Ankara (Erdoğan, 2004) [3]. However, no studies have been found on whether the reason for these few demolitions is motivated by the desire to erase practices that represent a certain period of the past.

Bozdoğan (2002) finds problematic the beginning of identifying modernism with nation-building under the auspices of the state in the process of building Ankara as the capital. Indeed, the buildings constructed with modern styles embraced by republican ideology and its technical knowledge were later threatened by the return of those who were suppressed, ultimately being destroyed by several demolitions (Bozdoğan, 2002).

4.1.2 DEVELOPMENTS FROM POST WAR PERIOD TO NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATION

After the World War II, the Turkish Republic transitioned from a single party to a multi-party-political system, abandoned the idea of forming a national bourgeoisie, and pursued a more liberal economic policy (Tekeli, 1982). Shaped by the two poled world order at that time, Türkiye aligned with the Western block, developed closer ties with the States, and replaced its earlier statist development model with one focused on the private sector (Boyacıoğlu, 2015; Tekeli, 1982).

[3] In the book *Unutulan Şehir Ankara*, Erdoğan (2004) claims that the many tombs and Külliye complexes were closed, and starting from 1927, many mosques, tombs, and masjids were demolished. Moreover, the Kızılbey Külliye was demolished to make way for the construction of Ziraat Bank building. However, no other study has been found that clearly identifies when exactly these demolitions took place, by whom, and how they were rationalized. For this reason, these demolitions have not been directly associated with the elimination of a spesific social or ideological practice.

Under the leadership of Adnan Menderes and the Democratic Party (DP), urban development became a key political tool (Akpınar, 2015). Highlighting the neglect of Istanbul in the early republican times, he prioritized Istanbul's transformation through extensive demolitions. Moreover, the success of the construction of Istanbul and the desire to make the roads and mosques visible have been identified with the second conquest of Istanbul (Boysan, 2020; Akpınar, 2015). For this reason, more than seven thousand buildings were demolished in Istanbul to homogenize urban space, glorify the Ottoman past, and erase much of the Republican spatial legacy (Akpınar, 2015; Gürel, 2015). This shift also revived the significance of İstanbul that had lost its prominence when Ankara became the capital (Tekeli, 1982).

Consequently, Ankara, once the embodiment of Republican ideals, lost its focus to be developed firsthand and shaped within the forces of market mechanism (Bayraktar, 2020; Batuman, 2013a), without considering any special requirements for developing it as the capital. Therefore, the post-war period marks a threshold for the development trajectory of Ankara.

In Ankara, this period is generally characterized by migration from rural areas to the city and consequently the intense problem of housing. Constant migration and population increase caused the city growth target of 50 years in the plan prepared by Jansen was achieved in only 20 years, which exacerbated the housing problem (Tekeli, 1982). Regarding the housing problem, Boyacıoğlu (2015) identifies three main models to housing construction during this term: squatter settlements by the urban poor, speculative developments, and state supported projects (Boyacıoğlu, 2015). However, the housing problem of Ankara led to a spatial and social duality between squatter settlements built by the urban poor and formal residential areas planned for the middle class, raising concerns among modernists about how rural migrants would be integrated into urban life (Tekeli, 1998; Erman, 1998; Tekeli, 1982).

Rapid urbanization in Ankara, coupled with accelerated land speculation, worsen the access to adequate housing (Tuncel & İlerisoy, 2016; Tekeli, 1998). This led to the demolition of the existing buildings, before completing their life spans in terms of material and structural circumstances, and replaced with high rise residential units

(Çalışkan, 2009). Within these demolitions, the demolition of Bahçeli-Evler (garden houses) a cooperative-built neighborhood of 169 low-density row houses constructed in the 1930s (Akcan, 2019; Tekeli & İlkin, 1984), symbolizes the shift from a planned modern and republican capital to a market-driven city.

Initially, Bahçeli-Evler concept, introduced by Lörcher and Jansen, influenced Ankara's urban development but later became inaccessible to the middle class (Tuncel & İlerisoy, 2016). Welfare state policies created credit mechanisms enabling homeownership, increasing pressure on urban planners (Tekeli, 1982). Market dynamics, property ownership transfers, and rising land prices accelerated the demolition of Bahçeli-Evler within 30 years, replacing green spaces with roads and high-rise blocks (Akcan, 2019). These demolitions mark the period when the structures built as part of Ankara's exemplary modern city construction with the ideology of the Republic began to be demolished for the first time.

After 1950, the granting of multi-storey building permits to construction cooperatives under the Democrat party administration, became legal with the Yücel-Uybadın Plan approved in 1957, while the process of the collapse of the Jansen plan for Ankara accelerated (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984). Yücel-Uybadın plan implemented to encumber urban sprawl, without influencing the city's developmental trajectory (Günay & Kubat, 2021). For this reason, while higher-rise buildings were built, density increased and environmental standards decreased considerably (Çalışkan, 2009; Tekeli & İlkin, 1984). Eventually, all the changes that occurred during this period caused the revolutionary nature of the city to collapse (Al, 2011).

In the upcoming years, the city expanded and grew continuously. Until the 1980s the major causality for growth was state directed industrialization. Afterwards, it was the coupling of neo-liberalization with Islamism, which created its means for urban growth. By this period, the tendency to control urban development through master plans has ended (Batuman, 2013a; Tekeli, 1998). Rather than this, the plans that were produced for Ankara were adapted to prevailing trends of housing markets, and aimed at meeting market demands only partially (Çalışkan, 2009).

Moreover, as Uzun (2005) discusses, in the 1950s the squatter settlements that were seen as solutions to the housing crisis, started to be seen as possible investment tools after the 1980s. Therefore, demolition occurred in alliance with urban transformation projects, which targeted squatter areas to replace the land with luxurious residential and commercial units. With this, the increasing demand in the urban land market became the basic force shaping Ankara with urban transformation projects (Uzun, 2005). To restructure the city and transform urban spaces into new areas of profit, projects that demonstrate the phenomenon of creation and continuous destruction have been carried out in Ankara (Göközkut & Somuncu, 2019).

Apart from these, for the first time in this period, historical buildings, beyond the housing issue, were opened to capital interests, and demolitions were carried out accordingly. The building that gave the name to the Kızılay Square, the Kızılay building (Yıldırım & Topaloğlu, 2022), was demolished to build Kızılay rent facilities, namely a shopping mall, with the opening of the Kızılay Rent Facilities Architectural Project Competition (Merdin, 2012; Kılıç, 2009).

Figure 4.2 Kızılay Building (Source: https://mimdap.org/gozlem/ankaranyn-gobedhinde-both-duran-kyzylay-binasynyn-dunu-bugunu-2/)

Figure 4.3 the Kızılay Shopping Mall (Source: https://mimdap.org/gozlem/ankaranyn-gobedhinde-both-duran-kyzylay-binasynyn-dunu-bugunu-2/)

Kızılay Building being marked as problematic with many other buildings afterwards, the construction of the shopping mall was praised by the authorities and promoted by Anadolu Agency, as a solution to the problematic situation (Yıldırım, 2011). The shopping mall, which started operating in 1999 with the build, sell and transfer model, went bankrupt, and its evacuation was requested (Cumhuriyet, 2023a). This demolition marks the beginning of a series of transformations that would accelerate after 1994, signaling not only a shift in urban policy but also the expansion of capital-driven interventions toward buildings of historical and symbolic importance.

4.1.3. DEMOLITION DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1994 TO 2023

For Keyder, until the 1980s, Türkiye, like most peripheral economies, experienced significant development, urbanization and increased welfare. However, these material developments did not bring the development of legal rights. On the contrary, this caused a crisis in Turkish society in the 1990s. The triggering factor of this crisis was Western-modernization project. During this period, the identification of the ideal of Westernization with the statist and authoritarian approach of those who brought modernity developed a culture of resistance against the imposed modernization (Keyder, 1998).

This indicates the period when religion-based politics revived in Türkiye because of the developments experienced in the world (Gülalp, 1998). The secularization that was attempted to be achieved during the foundation of the Turkish Republic later led to the revival of religious politics and the destruction of the ideological hegemony of nationalist statist developmentalism. Islamism, on the other hand, emerged as an alternative ideology regarding the failures of nationalism and modernism (Gülalp, 1998). In this context, the military coup of 1980 is important in terms of the revivalist attempts on Islam. The ideological ground that is created by the 1980 military coup, mainly the interrelationship between Kemalist and left-wing ideologies' damage sustained, created the opportunity for the nationalist-conservative populace to build their new hegemony (Doğan, 2005). Here the efforts of Turgut Özal in the 1980s to

liberalize the market and popularize the marginalized Islamists can be interpreted as another reason for the success in the rise of Islamism in Türkiye the following years (Ersan, 2007).

Following these, the local elections that were held in 1994 in Türkiye, many of the great municipalities were started to be administered by the candidates from political Islamic movements' Welfare Party (Karaman, 2013). By obtaining the chance of ruling Ankara, the Islamic perspective that grounded inside the Welfare Party practiced its place in current political institutions and transferred this worldview to daily life at the level of urban spaces (Doğanay, 1999). The party followed populist urban policies, adopted a pious identity, put the anti-capitalist discourse at the core, and defended an idealized society. Even though in the continuation this Islamic party was cancelled by the constitutional court, afterwards it reappeared with a different name each time. The most successful in these reappearances was The Justice and Development Party (JDP) which was established in 2001, because of this cancellation (Karaman, 2013). The success of political Islamists, which have gained continuity under different names, is deeply related to the specific social policies developed by Islamist politics against deepening urban poverty in the 1990s (Batuman, 2009).

The JDP coupled neoliberal governance with Islamic rhetoric. Therefore, the party has created mutual reliance by creating economic and political ties across the spectrum, including the Islamist capitalist class and the urban poor (Karaman, 2013; Batuman, 2013a). The Islamization project that affected every area of life provided the opportunity to construct the hegemony of the Islamists, through the construction and domination of urban space (Batuman 2013a; Batuman 2019). Therefore, this paradigm shifts in the dominant ideology, affected the urban architecture (Peker, 2015).

Ankara has shaped overwhelmingly by demolition interventions in the period between 1994 to current day, under the administration of political Islamist municipality.[4] There were two major factors that were effective during these transformations. The first one

[4] According to information obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate, a total of 22.185 buildings were demolished only by the Directorate by the years between 2015 and April 2025, across the city of Ankara. When considered on a daily basis, this corresponds to demolition of approximately six buildings per day.

was focusing on construction-centered economic development with urban transformation projects, and the latter was excluding the spaces of the Republic and the modern architectural heritage, to construct the authority's new city centers with its image (Balamir, 2018; Tekeli, 2018). Here demolition is totally different from the period of 1950s. While urban transformation projects aimed to turn land into high-rent islands are being implemented, at the same time spaces and narratives of the republic and the modernization process have been destroyed within the scope of the new authority's economic and political project (Tekeli, 2018).

In the case of representational spaces of Ankara, mainly public buildings, has long functioned closely associated with the Kemalist modernization project and its spatial strategies of representation (Bozdoğan, 2002), were started to be demolished (Tekeli, 2018). However, with the rise of political Islam, this representational role began to undergo a transformation. The authority (JDP) made significant efforts to reinvent the symbolic spaces of the capital in line with Islamist and Ottoman perspectives (Ghulyan, 2019). This new Islamism wanted to alter the modernity project and either exploit it or replace it with its Islamic characteristics in Ankara (Ersan, 2007).

As discussed by Ersan (2007) for the authority, Ankara was previously a Muslim town that was destroyed by the modern regime. However, the Islamists required rhetoric to support this argument. Ultimately, they have found this from the conquest of Istanbul in which it included the Islamization of the city after the conquest. For this reason, in the modern urban sphere of Ankara, many reversals appeared starting from 1994 to conquer the city back. The first ever arrangement was the change in the logo of Ankara, juxtaposing the Atakule Tower with Kocatepe Mosque (Ersan, 2007). The older emblem was also ideological in the sense that it represented the connection between Hittite civilization with Kemalist ideology's space and history (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012). However, with the major shift in the ideology of the authority, the emblem changed with a design that coupled neoliberal economy with Islamist representations (Ersan, 2007).

Figure 4.4 New and the old logo of Ankara, respectively. (Source: https://yetkinreport.com/2024/04/29/ankara-ambleminin-degismesi-gundemde/)

With the new authority's new ideological approach after the 2000s, many transformations occurred in the urban space. These transformations included the way-built environment is produced and discourses regarding to space (Ghulyan, 2019). In this context, the development agenda of JDP in Ankara focused on urbanization to alter society from the roots. Urbanization was fictionalized with the aim to provide economic development, as well as symbolizing it as national restructuring and constructing Islamic citizenship. Therefore, with the urbanization processes modernization and conservative values were tried to be associated (Bayırbağ, Schindler & Penpecioğlu, 2023; Batuman, 2019).

The JDP, which came into power in 2002, transferred capital to housing projects and thus urban fabric profoundly altered. Luxury housing and shopping malls are characterized as the consequences of these alterations. At the same time, new laws were enacted to continue and legitimize these urban transformation projects, made Ankara a specific experiment board (Bayırbağ, Schindler & Penpecioğlu, 2023; Candan, et.al, 2017). The urban transformation projects made real under the authority of JDP through a combination of excluded and displaced people with local and foreign capital, and public-private sectors. Melih Gökçek, as the leader of these transformations, took control of the rent distribution mechanisms, constructed networks based on mutual interests, and therefore strengthened its political power. In this process urban transformation projects were understood as a tool to distribute surplus value in which political fidelity was constructed through (Bayırbağ, Schindler & Penpecioğlu, 2023).

As it discussed, neoliberalism provides capital accumulation through urban rent (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009). This approach is legitimized with the discourse of increasing the quality of urban life. The gentrification of cities and the usurpation of urban lands are part of this process. In this context, urban transformation projects have become an important tool (Weber, et. al, 2006; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1987). Such practices began in Ankara in 2004, with Northern Ankara urban Transformation Project. Thereafter, urban transformation legislation was developed with the successive laws enacted. Places such as Mamak, Dikmen Valley, Çinçin, Çukurambar, Önder and Çavundur neighborhoods underwent a very large-scale urban transformations, and tens of thousands of squatter settlements were demolished (Aykaç, 2024; Candan, et. Al, 2017; Köroğlu & Ercoşkun, 2006; Türker-Devecigil, 2005). These capital-oriented transformations created a loss in urban history, displaced people, and destructed the urban topography. Interestingly, later, areas that had never been urbanized or agricultural lands in Ankara were also declared as possible urban transformation areas, illustrates the municipality's ambition to capitalize land (Candan, et. al, 2017).

On the other hand, as illustrated by Tunçer (2013) since 2004 local elections, projects initiated by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality have increasingly threatened key elements of the city's collective memory. In 2005, the historic city center, including Ulus, was designated as a renewal zone. This decision disregarded existing conservation plans aimed at protecting Ankara Castle and the old urban fabric. The renewal area encompassed Ulus square, Bentderesi, and the Hacı Bayram Mosque vicinity. It included proposals to demolish significant modernist buildings such as the Ulus İşhanı, replace the 100.Yıl Mall with a Nation's Bazaar *(Millet Çarşısı),* and reconstruct the Modern Bazaar and Gümrük Müdürlüğü building as a traditional-style market named Taşhan (Tunçer, 2013). These interventions sparked strong criticism (Cengizkan & Kılıçkıran, 2009). While these interventions framed as part of economic development, they also reflect a broader political agenda that seeks to overwrite the modernist legacy with symbols of a fictionalized traditional and national identity.

Following these, under the influence of neoliberal policies and political Islam, and through a perspective that challenges the foundational regime, Ankara experienced its

most extensive spatial destruction. Large scale urban transformation projects occurred, many public buildings of the Republic and modern architectural heritage were destroyed, interchanges were built in inappropriate places and numbers, square arrangements were made, street and avenue names were changed many times, mosque construction increased, the plunder of Ataturk Forest Farm began, and the revenge that was sought was taken even from the trees (Candan, et. al, 2017).

Through these strategies, political-Islamist authority sought to establish its hegemony through the built environment (Batuman, 2019). Among these interventions, demolition, functioned not only as an act of erasure but also as a tool for rewriting history. Importantly, the demolitions carried out were not homogeneous in their typologies and causalities. These can be broadly categorized into three major types: complete annihilation of a building, symbolic or representational alterations on existing buildings, and demolitions occurred via new constructions, are considered as the characteristics of three fundamental demolition typologies.

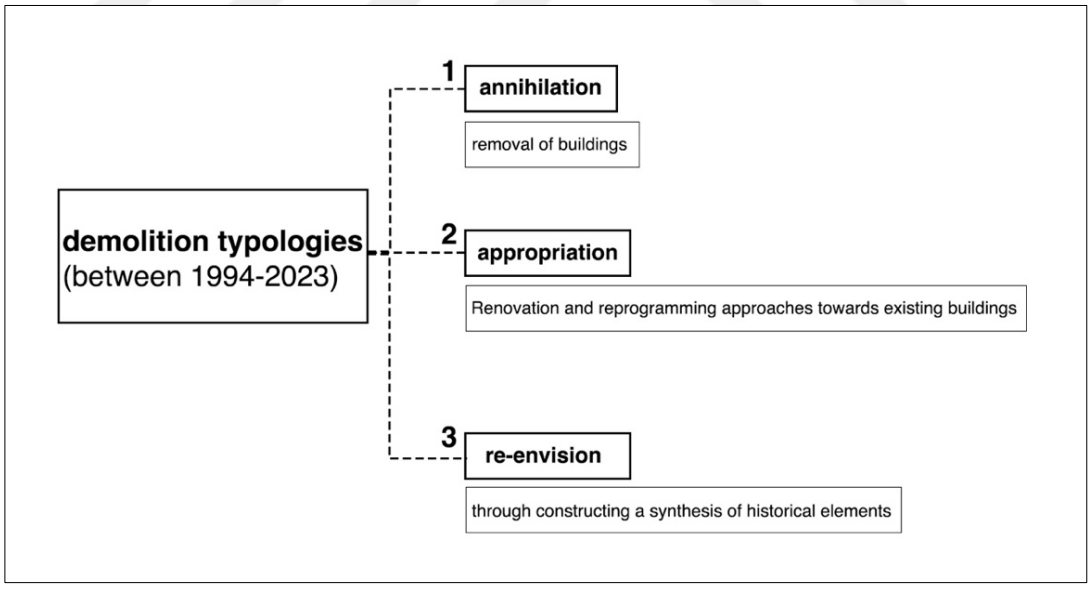

Figure 4.5 Tripartite Demolition Typologies (Source: author)

Examples of total annihilation include the demolition of TİKA Building, İller Bank, Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory, Ego Hangars, TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, Su süzgeci building, and several important buildings and spaces in Ataturk Forest

Farm and the Farm complex itself, can be listed (Köksal, 2018; Candan et. Al, 2017). Other demolitions occurred more subtly, disguised as renovation efforts that harmed the historical integrity of buildings- such as the case of Cebeci Secondary school and many others along Atatürk Boulevard (Al, 2011). Meanwhile, refunctioning initiatives were carried out on historically significant buildings like the TEKEL and Sümerbank buildings, displacing their original narratives.

Simultaneously, the authorities embarked on constructing a new ideology through architecture- synthesizing Ottoman and Seljuk styles- while repurposing or erasing modern Republican spaces (Batuman, 2019). This dual process of demolition and construction not only aimed to eliminate the visual and symbolic legacy of the Republic, but also served the goals of gaining maximum rent, to conquer the city back, and to establishing networks of reproduction for Islamist power (Peker, 2015).

As Uğur Tanyeli (2020) argues construction and demolition are inherently intertwined processes. A building, he suggests, can only be considered truly new if it negates what came before (Tanyeli, 2020). Within this framework, construction functions as a form of demolition-not only of physical buildings but also of symbolic values, historical continuity, aura, and architectural autonomy. In this sense, the effort to dismantle the Republican and modernist narrative should be seen as a multi-layered demolition process. This process, examined in chapter 5 through selected case studies, extends beyond physical destruction and operates through various typologies of transformation.

Additionally, these attempts and experiences have been met with serious reactions from the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects (TMMOB) and has caused serious tensions with the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. So much so that the mayor of Ankara Great Municipal, stated in a radio congress that:

> "The Chamber of Architects has had only one goal for 22 years, and that is to prevent the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality from doing any work" (İhlas Haber Ajansı, 2016).

In the period between 1994 to 2017 the demolitions carried out by Gökçek, continued as an influence after his resignation. Ankara Tennis Club building, 100.Yıl Mall, and Cebeci Stadium are demolished after 2017 (Candan, 2023; Cumhuriyet, 2023b; Bianet, 2021). These demolitions were also met with a reaction by professional organizations and the Chamber of Architects, and they expressed their reactions by saying:

"Gökçek is gone, but the demolish-build culture is not over" (Bianet, 2021).

4.2. MAPPING DEMOLITION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGY IN ANKARA (1994-2023)

As stated, the demolition practices of the authority in Ankara during this period produced different meanings and tools than in previous periods. These demolitions, driven by nostalgic desires placing conquest rhetoric at the core were carried out not only to transform historical narratives, but also as acts of revenge, aimed at reconstructing the present and shaping the future (Peker, 2015). In this sense, demolition ceased to be a mere physical act of erasure and became a multi-layered strategy that simultaneously constructed the past, in favor of the present.

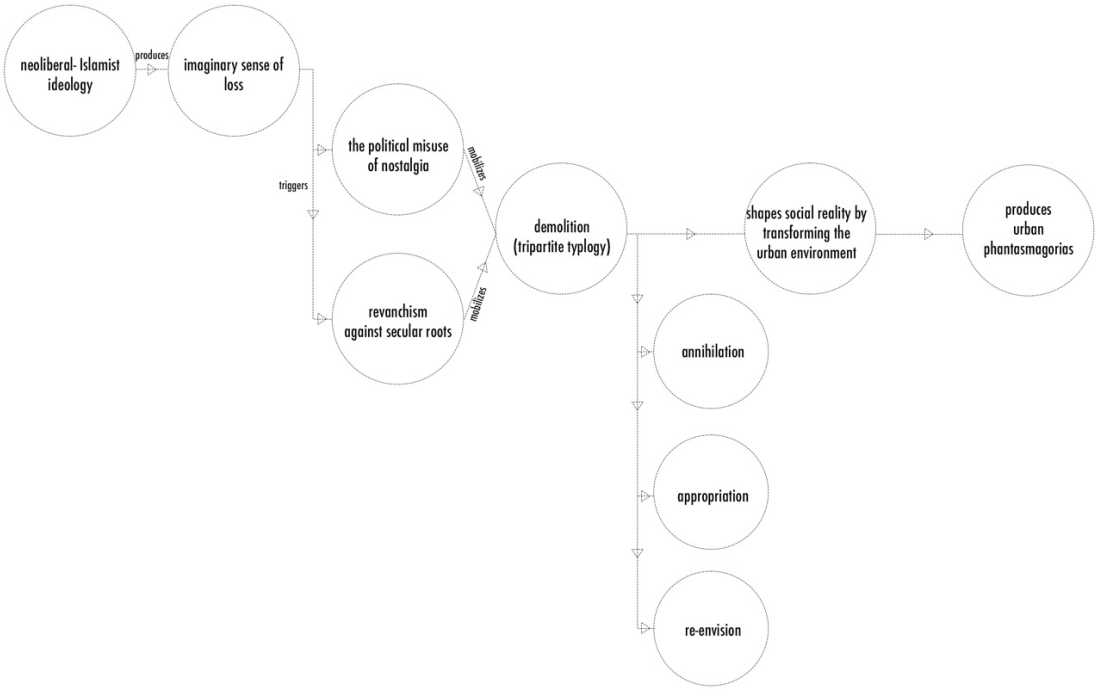

Figure 4.6 Mapping demolition as an ideological strategy in Ankara (Source: author).

Therefore, mapping the mechanisms of demolition in relation to nostalgia, revanchism, and phantasmagoria during this period offers a significant analytical opportunity to understand how demolition became instrumental for the ruling authority in alliance with neoliberal-Islamist ideology.

4.2.1. THE POLITICAL MISUSE OF NOSTALGIA

As illustrated by Boym (2001), nostalgia can be interpreted as a revolt against modernity, constructed on a sense of loss. Such a feeling of loss does not imply that the lost object is accurately remembered or that its place is still known. Indeed, the deeper the loss, the more it counterbalanced by remembrance. The greater the gap from the past, the more prone it becomes to glorification (Boym, 2001). The greater the scale and velocity of modernization, new traditions are tending to be more unchangeable. The stronger the discourse continuity with the historical past and the emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is presented. To bridge the gap created by modernity, some elements of the past are destroyed while others were selected and presented again, giving the impression that the past continues. However, this is a redesigned past and is imposed as a new tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983).

Following these, Elgenius & Rydgren (2022) argue that nostalgia is not only to commemorate the past, but also to reconstruct it by embellishing it in a way that suits today's political purposes. Elçi (2022) further argues that many populist leaders around the world abuse nostalgic rhetoric to abuse countries' politics. In this process, a certain period is idealized as the golden age; a glorified past is juxtaposed with a decaying present. The loss of the golden age reinforces the superior construction of the past over the present. Thus, references to the past become a tool to legitimize the present directly. Nostalgia reflects a yearning for an imagined past that may never have truly existed, revealing more about present concerns than historical realities (Elçi, 2022; Elgenius & Rydgren, 2022).

As discussed, starting from 1994, the new ideology, started attempts to conquer the city of Ankara back. Supporting the revivalist attempt towards the past, they found the

conquest of Istanbul rhetoric as fundamental, in which these initiatives on urban ground can be naturalized through (Ersan, 2007).

Çınar (2001) argues that the conquest rhetoric and its commemorations presented an alternative historical narrative by reviving the history from the Ottoman times challenged the secular foundations of Turkish national history. At the founding moment of the newly established Turkish Republic, the construction of national history has put a distance from the past (Çınar, 2001). Therefore, in the early Republican period, the built environment of Ankara was shaped as a spatial rejection of the past left behind by the new-nation state, and simultaneously as an ideological representation of the envisioned future (Bozdoğan, 2002). However, with the return of the Islamism at the end of the 20th century, the past is reconstructed nostalgically according to the coupling of neoliberal and Islamist-Nationalist ideology. Consequently, the celebration of national time, once focused solely on the two decades between 1919 and 1938 now extends into the past and anchors a national moment from the 15th century. This construction of alternative history disrupts the secularist narratives centered on the republican period's secular timeline (Çınar, 2001).

This situation highlights the political misuse of nostalgia by the authority, JDP, which idealized the juxtaposition of Islamist, Ottoman, and nationalist past and claimed its part of the national history, (Elçi, 2022; Karakaya, 2020; Çınar, 2001) to establish its hegemony through the built environment. The narratives specifically depict the Ottoman and Seljuk empires as glorious eras, suggesting that a new Türkiye will rise from their legacy. They further arguing that, unlike the earlier periods, namely during the construction of the secular nation state, the elites seized the will of the people. The authority, bound the populist rhetoric with nostalgic rhetoric, to claim this idealized past will provide the base for restoring power to the people (Elçi, 2022).

For this purpose, an imaginary sense of loss is constructed, claiming that the modern and secular state has created a rupture in the national history (Çınar, 2001). In this context and political project, Karakaya (2020) argues that nostalgia emerges as a mobilizing power rather than implying a stuck in the past. This kind of nostalgia is about a longing that is about present, in which the desired projects wanted to be

realized (Karakaya, 2020). Similarly, with these changes in the political ideology of the authority, Ankara's image as being the capital of the republic and the first-hand of this modernization project is also disrupted. In this context demolition has developed as a strategy to eliminate or change the spaces of republic and modernization processes, while at the same time enabling the authority to produce to make room for its own spaces and representations with its new architectures (Tekeli, 2018; Peker, 2015).

Within this framework, demolition mobilized by restorative nostalgia, defined by Boym (2001) as the desire to reconstruct the lost past today, operated in three distinct but related modes, each varying in its degree and form of demolition. The first refers to direct interventions of annihilation of buildings to clear the unwanted past; the second includes the interventions through the renovation and reprogramming to adjust buildings according to a glorified past; and the third operates through demolition by construction, in which lost cultural references was used with synthesis of Ottoman & Seljuk styles, to construct the imagined lost past. Although the latter two may appear constructive on the surface, both constitute forms of demolition. The first removes or transforms buildings entirely, while the second causes a more subtle kind of demolition by suppressing historical narrative and representational qualities of the buildings, and the third one demolishes the originality, aura, and historical continuity of what it seeks to imitate in the construction. What unites these three strategies is their shared objective to dismantle and overwrite the spatial legacy of the republican era and its modernization project, in alignment with the ideology of neoliberalism and political Islam.

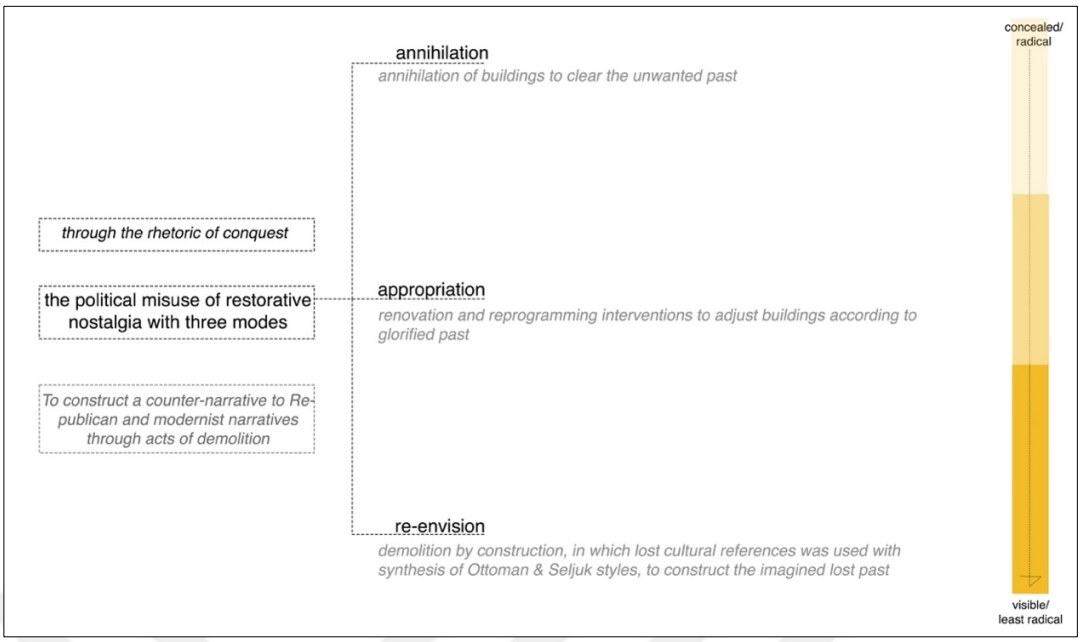

Figure 4.7 The relationship of Nostalgia with demolition (Source: author)

4.2.2 REVANCHISM AGAINST SECULAR ROOTS

As it discussed in detail at chapter 3, Neil Smith (1996) proposed the concept of Revanchist city, in regarding to urban gentrification efforts that targeted the undesirable groups on the urban ground, which paves the way for a more acceptable past (Smith, 1996). Moreover, situating revanchist city concept at the core, he argued that these urban renewal efforts can be understood as a revenge strategy and consequently comeback of the middle class, who claim that they lost their control over the cities in the 1970s (Smith, 1996; Aalbers, 2010; Slater, 2016; Lawton, 2018). Drawing from these works, in this part of the thesis, the concept of revanchism is tried to be read as the revenge of the conservatives, who were suppressed during the construction of secular nation state (Keyder, 1998; Doğan, 2005). Therefore, the comeback of the conservatives in the urban ground through demolition in Ankara is tried to be associated with the concept of revanchism, to claim that demolition become an instrument of the authority to shape and reconstruct Ankara's urban history, while taking revenge from its secular roots.

Under the management of Gökçek, the neo-liberal municipality approach was implemented with an aggressive revanchism in Ankara. In this context, Doğan (2005)

argues that what pushed Gökçek towards a revanchist strategy between 1994 to 1999 stemmed from Ankara's history of urban development and municipalism. Accordingly, this past points to both Ankara being constructed as a showcase of modern Türkiye and to it being the most developed place in terms of thought and practice of the democratic municipality movement that developed in the 1970s. This revanchist municipality attitudes did not directly target the Kemalist revolution but was indirectly targeted a form that is shifted to the left after 1980s (Doğan, 2005).

Moreover, this populist discourse, which presents the modernization of the Republic as a process that provokes reactions in the Islamist segment and left-wing politics as an object of opposition from the nationalist base, has established a productive bond that holds the right-wing ideology together despite the inconsistencies it contains **(**Batuman, 2009). The revanchist attitudes that Gökçek built by combining his political past with the historical meanings carried by Ankara has also become part of the ideological ground that integrates the Turkish right (Batuman, 2017).

As Doğan (2005) argues the Kemalism-left relationship, weakened by the 1980 coup, created an opportunity for nationalist-conservative circles to establish a new hegemony. The Turkish-Islamic synthesis provided a powerful ideological tool in this context. Conservative circles, suppressed during the republican period, gained more visibility in the public sphere during this period. Melih Gökçek undertook this representation in Ankara; he tried to revive the Ottoman past by adapting it to the present day. In this way, a revenge was attempted against the pro-labor and modern culture of social democratic municipality. In this process, whether the municipality council approved or not, the projects are implemented. This highlights the situation that these attempts were anti-democratic (Doğan, 2005).

Along with indirect criticism of modern culture and art practices, elements based on both traditional architecture and the most advanced use of contemporary technology were scattered throughout the city, and thus during this period the Welfare Party acted as the party of all Türkiye and displayed an image that distanced itself from the conservative-traditionalist understating of Islam (Doğanay, 1999). In the urban environment, monuments, fountains, pools, were constructed, practices such as iftar

tents, donations to mosques, circumcision celebrations and the reinterpretation of Ottoman-Seljuk motives have become visible in Ankara (Doğanay, 1999; Doğan, 2005).

By these interventions, the association of Ankara with modern city has exploited. In this narrative, the demolition of Ankara's symbolic buildings, mainly public buildings, was the most significant factor (Tekeli, 2017). Ali Uzay Peker (2015) argued that these transformations that occurred in Ankara as revanchist, that is triggered by the understanding of to make cities more conservative. In this context, he avers that revanchism can be understood as pushing aside the unwanted that emerged between the idealized golden age and disapproved present, just to gain back what is feeling like already lost. The spaces of republic ideology and modernity has turned into disapproved representations that required action by the conservative authority (Peker, 2015). Therefore, several demolitions were implied. With this, while the gained economical liberalism was expected to be implied as liberalism in architecture, the authority tried to concretize the ideological consensus of the Seljuk-Ottoman style of public architecture that is promoted as state architectural style that was thought to create national ties (Peker, 2015).

According to Bozdoğan (2002), the promotion and propaganda of modern style was achieved through exhibition houses and public venues. Today, the construction of the public buildings in a synthesized of Ottoman-Seljuk style represents the counter propaganda of the republican ideology (Peker, 2015). These initiatives reflect a denial of the modern architecture, and demolition can be interpreted as revanchist act directed against republican and modern narratives.

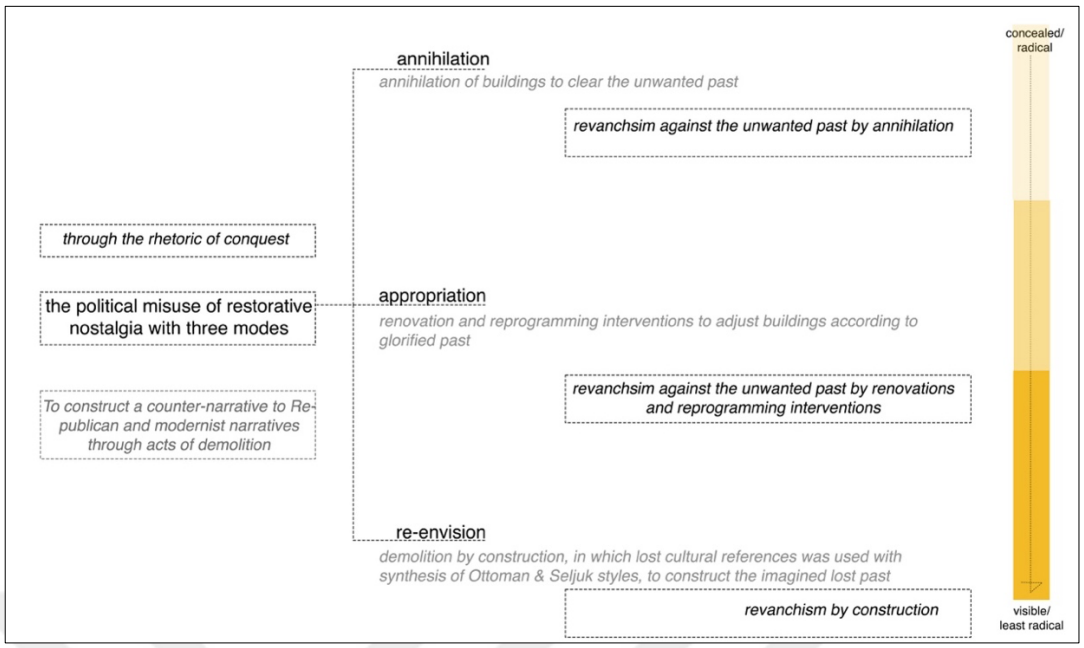

Figure 4.8 The relationship of revanchism with demolition (Source: author)

4.2.3. THE PRODUCTION OF PHANTASMAGORIA THROUGH DEMOLITION

As it discussed at the end of chapter 3, phantasmagoria was a theatrical act that was used to fool audience in the 19th century. The use of several different technological devices improved the reality of the show and produced images as if they truly existed (Cohen, 1989). However, Walter Benjamin used this term to discuss the deceptive power of the urban environment through World Exhibitions and Arcades, and their dazzling impact on human experience (Stătică, 2024; Benjamin, 1999; Cohen, 1989).

Benjamin (1999) argues on the emerging world exhibitions and arcades are presenting ideological spectacles that cover the underlying production relations of the buildings (Stătică, 2024). Arguing that, the fancy characteristics of technology and commodities are conceals the alienation and inequalities behind them. Criticizing capitalism, Benjamin (1999) argue that it deconstructs the way humans perceive the reality, and the produced objects of these production relations are experienced as phantasmagorias (Benjamin, 1999; Cohen, 1989).

Moreover, he criticized the urban renewal interventions in Paris by Hausmann and claimed that these acts presented as to modernize and make it secure to the society, hiding behind what was suppressed (Benjamin, 1999; Buck-Morss, 1989). According to this, in the shaping of the urban landscape through demolition can be understood as a phantasmagorical act, which creates illusionary representations through. New buildings seemingly represent modernity and prosperity; however, this bright image hides social inequalities, spatial exclusions, and loss of memory underneath (Buck-Morss, 1989). Therefore, demolition and reconstruction processes do not erase the past; rather, they ensure its political rewriting, as Herscher (2014) also argued.

Considering the tripartite typology for interpreting Ankara through the lens of demolition as an ideological strategy, the ways in which phantasmagoria is produced differ among the typologies.

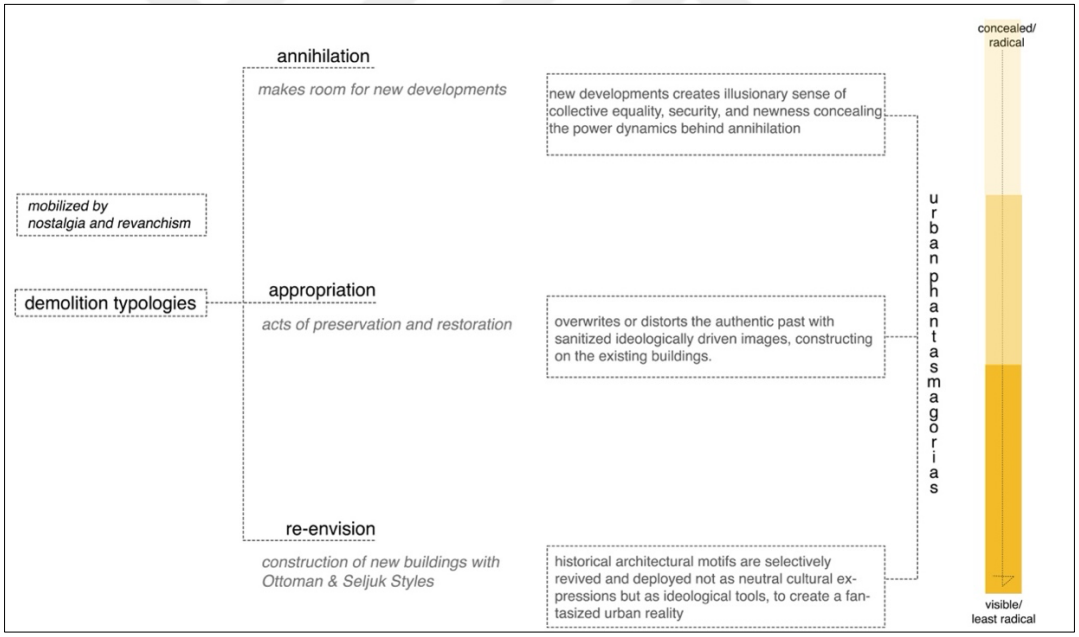

Figure 4.9 The relationship of phantasmagoria with demolition typology (Source: author)

In the annihilation typology, the built environment is entirely erased, and the new constructions that replace the demolished structures, or buildings demolished for to make space upcoming developments serve as the ideological and material basis for the

demolition itself.[5] These replacement buildings do not simply fill a physical void; rather, they actively produce phantasmagoric urban images that mask the violent erasure of the past and construct an illusory narrative of progress and renewal (Gilloch, 2016). This process conceals the underlying political and economic motivations behind demolition, transforming demolition into a spectacle by covering it with new luxurious projects.

In the case of appropriation typology, interventions are framed as acts preservation and restoration. However, beneath this intervention, historical narratives and the historical context of the buildings are suppressed or selectively erased. This results in the production of phantasmagoric representations that overwrite or distort the authentic past with sanitized ideologically driven images, constructing on the existing buildings. Such interventions manipulate cultural heritage to serve present political agendas, producing an urban environment where the past is controlled and reimagined rather than genuinely preserved. [6]

Finally, in the construction of public architecture through Ottoman & Seljuk architectural styles, phantasmagoria operates most explicitly and powerfully. Here, historical architectural motifs are selectively revived and deployed not as neutral cultural expressions but as ideological tools (Batuman, 2019), to create a fantasized urban reality. This stylistic production constructs an imagined continuity mobilized by a glorified past, serving to legitimize contemporary political projects by embedded them in an idealized historical narrative. The phantasmagoric cityscape thus created functions as both a spectacle and a mechanism of political control, shaping collective experience through the medium of architecture.

[5] This situation exemplified with case studies in chapter 5.
[6] This typology exemplified with case studies in chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

UNFOLDING DEMOLITION WITH CASE STUDIES IN ANKARA (1994-2023)

5.1 TYPOLOGIES OF DEMOLITION IN ANKARA

As discussed in Chapter 4, the rule of Ankara by political-Islamist party since 1994 has resulted in a series of urban interventions aligned with neoliberal-Islamist ideology (Ghulyan, 2019; Karaman, 2013; Ersan, 2007). These interventions have centered on altering Ankara's identity, originally established as the modern, secular capital of the Republic (Tekeli, 2018). In this context, demolition has emerged as a crucial spatial and symbolic strategy, particularly when coupled with the rhetoric of conquest and reclamation. The demolition of public buildings, thus, has functioned to materialize these ideological objectives. However, this process has not followed a uniform pattern; rather, it has manifested through distinct typologies, each reflecting different modes of spatial and political transformation.

Drawing on theoretical discussions introduced earlier, this chapter approaches demolition as a multi-layered phenomenon that includes physical removal, appropriation through reprogramming or stylistic modification, and constructing through demolishing. This broader understanding allows to recognize demolition not only as a means of erasure but also as a tool for producing new narratives and ideologies.

To grasp the complexity of demolition practices in Ankara between 1994 and 2023, this chapter proposes a three-part typology: Annihilation, Appropriation, and Re-Envisioning. These categories are constructed according to the intent, form, and consequences of demolition, rather than solely its material outcome.

- **Annihilation** refers to the complete erasure of buildings
- **Appropriation** includes interventions where the building is retained but stripped of its historical or symbolic meaning through renovation and reprogramming
- **Re-envisioning** involves new constructions by mixing the Ottoman & Seljuk elements

Each of these typologies embodies distinct political and spatial tactics. In the following section, these three categories will be illustrated through case studies of public buildings in Ankara, analyzed in detail to reveal the specific strategies, motivations, and implications of each mode of demolition. The aim is to construct a catalogue of demolitions, not simply as a classification of cases, but as an interpretative framework that demonstrates how demolition has been employed to materialize ideological shifts.

5.2 DEMOLITION AS ANNIHILATION

Annihilation, defined as "complete destruction, so that nothing or no one is left." (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-b), corresponds to the total demolition of the buildings. In the context of public architecture, and speaking technically, the reasons behind such annihilation vary, yet they can generally be categorized into three main groups.

First, buildings left idle for extended periods often become stigmatized as derelict, associated with criminal activity and environmental degradation, which leads to social pressure for their removal. Second, the removal of the buildings is considered a prerequisite for the realization of the projects planned to be built for the same site. Third and final, the direct demolition requests from users or relevant public institutions are the factors that effective in the process. These various justifications are typically legitimized through technical reports regarding statical or earthquake resistance; by this, demolition decisions are presented to the populace as something technical and social necessity[7], hiding its political motivations. Moreover, the presence of recyclable

[7] The above justifications were demonstrated as fundamental reasons for demolition interventions by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate, during archival research. (See Appendix C).

material (scrap value) in a building makes demolition economically attractive[8], although this typically plays a secondary role compared to broader redevelopment goals.

However, as it will be discussed with examples, the selected buildings are the representators of Republic's various modernization processes and carriers of cultural and historical value. These buildings were defined as cultural assets that needed to be protected by various professional organizations and academics, especially the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects (TMMOB). However, without taking these opposing views into consideration, these buildings were demolished as if they had no meaning in Ankara's history.[9] As a result of interviews with Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate and archive scans, it has been revealed that there is no difference in approach in terms of demolition practices between buildings characteristics of historical documents, and any other building. The historical meaning of a public building, its place in urban memory or its architectural value are treated as an ordinary building in practice; its subject to the same approach and different views on these values are not developed.[10]

Among the many buildings that fall under the category of annihilation are the Etibank building, the TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, Marmara Kiosk and several key buildings within the Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ), the Turkish Petroleum Corporation Headquarters, the Gümrük Müsteşarlığı Building, Kumrular Housing Complex, the EGO Hangars, Çubuk Dam Lake Casino, Danıştay building, TİKA building, İller Bank building, Halkla İlişkiler building, Cebeci Stadium, the 100. Yıl Mall, and Ankara

[8] According to the Demolition Directorate, the demolition process consisted of certain stages from a technical perspective. Before the buildings are demolished, experts determine the recyclable materials they contain (such as aluminum, copper, iron); and their economic value is determined accordingly. As a result of this evaluation, a tender is held for the recycling/scrap price and a demolition decision is made. Before the actual demolition, these valuable materials are separated from the building, then the building is demolished according to the selected demolition method (dynamites, column blasting, or dismantling from floors) and the rubble is transported to dump areas determined by the municipality. (See Appendix C).

[9] This information gathered from the examinations of the letters from Ankara Branch of Chamber of Architects to the relavant institutions, that were written to emphasize the buildings' importance and value for the history of Ankara and for the architectural heritage. (See Appendix B).

[10] According to the Demolition Directorate, demolition of these buildings are considered only as their presence in the urban fabric; if its abondoned, it falls into derelict category. If its demolition has been requested and a decision has been made, the decision is followed and the building is demolished. No further evaluation is carried out. (See Appendix C).

Tennis club. When examined closely, each of these cases reveals the underlying logic of annihilation as a strategic tool for spatial and ideological transformation- a mechanism aimed at severing ties with the Republican past to make way for new ideological order.

In this category, not only the identities of the demolished buildings are important but also the reasons behind their demolition. The justifications for demolition provide key insight into the ideological motivations underlying the process. Therefore, the forms of legitimation and the timing of demolition lie at the core of the analysis within this category. Based on this framework, case studies of annihilation in Ankara between 1994-2023 will selected and examined under different categories.

5.2.1. EXPLOITATIVE ANNIHILATION

Exploitation being defined as "the use of something in order to get advantage from it." (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-c) corresponds to the exploitation of public buildings to build high-rent projects on their place. In this context, the example buildings are selected as follows; EGO hangars, TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, and Su Süzgeci Building. The commonality of these buildings' demolitions is coming from the fact that all these buildings were exploited to turn land into a redevelopment area with new projects.

To begin with, TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, designed by Behruz Çinici between 1982 and 1984, was built to accommodate members of parliament and consisted of 400 dwelling units located in Oran, Ankara. Çinici himself described the project as a rare and remarkable architectural work, as it brought the issue of parliamentary housing to the public agenda. Furthermore, the symbolic significance of the complex as a state neighborhood highlights its architectural and historical value as part of Türkiye's modern architectural heritage (Candan, et. al, 2017).

Figure 5.1 The TBMM Deputy Housing Complex. (Source: https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/76166) (Photograph: Salt Research, Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive.)

Figure 5.2 Aerial image from 2005, showing TBMM Deputy Housing Complex (Source: Google Earth)

The transformation of the housing complex started with evacuation decision in 2003. Subsequently, the area was vacated and transferred to the Ministry of Finance. At this stage models were explored that could generate high returns from the site in a short period of time (Mimarizim, 2009). As a result of this search for profitability, in 2007, after only 23 years of use- the 397 houses out of 400 buildings, was demolished by TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) to implement an income-generating project. This initiative aimed to increase the residential density of the site from its original capacity of 2.000 inhabitants to 10,000 (Hürriyet, 2007).

Behruz Çinici, the architect of the housing complex, filed a lawsuit as an individual artistic rights. Accordingly, the court ruled that three still-intact buildings were to be preserved in their original state. However, despite its ruling, later these remaining buildings were also demolished. In their place, high-density residential and commercial buildings were constructed (Candan, et. al, 2017).

Figure 5.3 Image showing the luxurious projects that are constructed on the site of housing Complex. (Source: Google Earth).

As it can be understood from the image above, three shopping malls were constructed close to each other, creating a dense usage in the area. The housing complex which constructs and represents the modernization process of Ankara was erased through the construction of shopping malls and high-rise luxurious dwellings.

According to an interview with Behruz Çinici, he stated that the demolitions were entirely motivated by a desire to return to the Ottoman era. He noted that the site was also targeted because of its alternative name, Atakent (Ata-City), and that the buildings were essentially handed over to profit-driven vandalism (Toprakkaya, 2008).

Secondly, the annihilation of the EGO Hangars is examined. Constructed in 1928 by the Ankara Municipality for the General Directorate of Electricity, Gas and Omnibus (EGO), the hangars were part of the city's early modernization efforts, initiated after Ankara was declared as the capital. The building complex was designed to support newly prioritized urban infrastructure and transportation services (Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, n.d.).

In this area, five vaulted structures were built by a German construction company, and these vaulted structures came to define the characteristic image of the complex. Moreover, these buildings were representing the earliest examples of the industrial heritage of the Republican period (Candan, et. al, 2017).

Figure 5.4 the Ego Hangars. (Source: Ankara Rapor: Gökçek Dönemi Hasar Tespiti 1994-2017).

Before their demolition, the hangars were located across Hippodrome and adjacent to the main train station, close to AKM, Gençlik Park, AOÇ land, and many other important buildings. For many years, the building complex was used as public service area (Evirgen, 2022).

Figure 5.5 The location of Ego Hangars. (Source: Google Earth).

Over the years, the area where the building complex was located gained significant land value due to its central location within the city (Evirgen, 2022). Regarding this, the demolition process began in 2010, when the area was designated as urban transformation zone by a decision of the Council of Ministers. Subsequently, the Metropolitan Municipality council approved the boundaries of the urban transformation and development project area for the site (soL Haber, 2012). While professional organizations were in the process of filing lawsuits against this plan, the Municipality prepared a new zoning plan in 2011. This revised plan was also subject to legal action. Afterward, a new zoning plan incorporating small adjustments was approved. As part of these changes, the site and eventually the hangars transferred from Municipality to TOKI in 2012[11]; then from TOKI to Emlak Konut in 2014, and finally, in 2015, it was sold to a partnership between Pasifik Construction and Çiftay (Cumhuriyet, 2019). In the same year, the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects applied for the buildings' registration.[12] Ultimately, the hangars were demolished in 2016 before the registration process was completed (Evirgen, 2022).

Figure 5.6 Photograph from the demolition process of EGO Hangars. (Photograph: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate Archive).

[11] According to decision No. 962 taken by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council on June 15, 2012, Melih Gökçek proposed that the issue of selling the EGO hangars to TOKİ be discussed and decided upon directly, without being reffered to the commission. This verbal proposal was accepted, and subsequently, the sale of the hangars to the Housing Development Administration of the Prime Ministry (TOKİ) was requested. (See Appendix A).

[12] TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch launched an architectural competition in 2011 titled Kent Düşleri 5, aimed to revitalize the EGO Hangars by reintegrating the centrally located site into the urban fabric. The selected projects were awarded and publicly shared. However, the eventual demolition of the site indicates that these initiatives were not taken into consideration during the demolition process.

Later, on their place, hotels, office blocks, dense high-rise dwelling blocks, shopping mall and public buildings were started to be constructed. These projects, collectively called as Merkez Ankara, have been consistently promoted as “overlooking the Millet Bahçesi.” (Cumhuriyet, 2019), where once Ankara Hippodrome placed but demolished to build Başkent Millet Bahçesi in 2019 (Haber Ankara, 2024).

Figure 5.7 Image showing Merkez Ankara project. (Source: Google Earth).

However, a lawsuit was filed by professional organizations demanding the cancellation of the zoning plans and construction permits prepared for the implementation of the project. The lawsuit claimed that the legal procedures were violated. In 2018, a technical expert review was conducted as part of this case. The expert committee submitted its report to the Ankara Administrative Court. According to the report that illustrated by the TMMOB Chamber of Urban Planners Ankara Branch (2019), designating the entire area as commercial center in the 1/1000-scale zoning plan was against the spatial plan regulation. The report also emphasized that the floor area ratio of 4.50 was significantly higher than the surrounding built environment. This density, the report stated, would likely disrupt the infrastructural balance of the area. Despite repeated objections by various organizations demanding a low-density development, the project continued to be implemented (TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2019).

Lastly, the annihilation of Su Süzgeci (Water Filtration Station) building will be discussed. After Ankara declared as the capital, its population grew rapidly, leading to an increased demand for water. As a result, the construction of the Su Süzgeci building began in early 1930s in Dışkapı, Ankara (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

Figure 5.8 Image showing the location of Su Süzgeci Building. (Source: Google Earth).

The building was designed with modernist architectural style by the German Firm Hochtief. Its design composed of two masses- one extending horizontally, the other vertically. Along with the filtration station, several workers houses, warehouses, and administrative buildings were constructed on the site. For many years, the building provided clean water to the city and supplied water for the pools of Gençlik Park and for irrigation purposes. Over time, the building lost its function (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

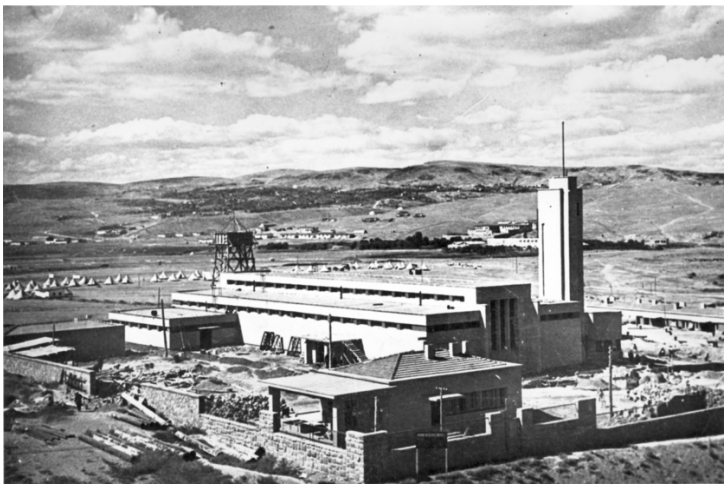

Figure 5.9 Su Süzgeci Building. (Source: Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive.)

The loss of function of the building became a factor that facilitated its demolition in favor of new development projects. The land on which the building was located was first owned by ASKI and was later transferred to various institutions through municipal council decisions. Before its demolition, the building was transferred to Turgut Özal University and during the transfer process of the building, it is said that the land and the building will be used for educational and health purposes.[13] While under the administration of Turgut Özal University, the building was demolished overnight in 2013, without waiting the registration request by the Chamber of Architects (Mimdap, 2013).

After demolition, the land was transferred to TOKI[14], and following a zoning plan change, the agency initiated the construction of a large-scale commercial complex consisting of 152 shops, 85 offices, one multi-purpose hall, and 46 temporary shops (Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2021) In current situation, this commercial complex named as İtfaiye Mall.[15]

[13] The building changed ownership several times before its demolition. For details, see Appendix B, document dated april 12 2021, numbered 07/1165.
[14] Ankara branch of the Chamber of Architects asked for information how the transformation of the property transferred to TOKI. However, this request was left unanswered.
[15] During the site visit to commercial complex, it was observed that the building comprises numerous shops. However, despite the visit taking place on a weekday, there was a noticeable absence of human activity.

Figure 5.10 Image showing the location of the commercial complex. (Source: Google Earth).

The demolition of the Su Süzgeci building was met with strong opposition from professional chambers and architectural associations, who published obituary notices in newspapers and expressed their condolences for the loss of the building [16] (Hürriyet, 2013).

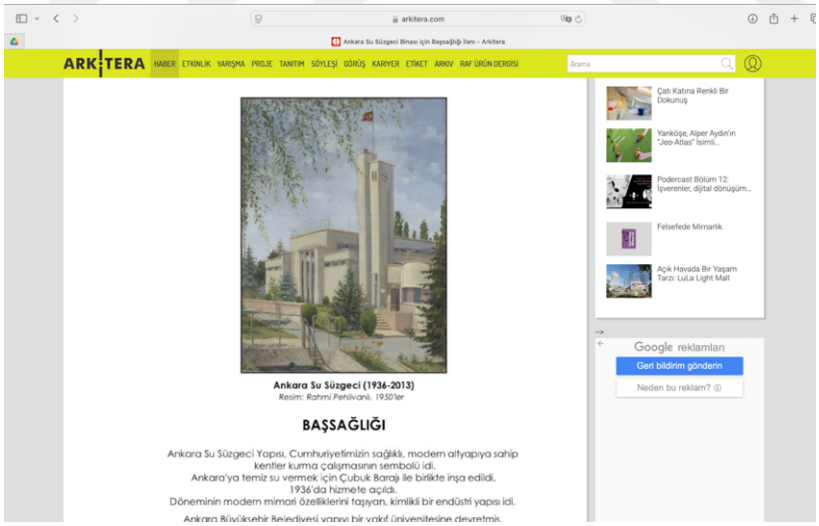

Figure 5.11 Obituary Notice. (Source: https://www.arkitera.com/haber/ankara-su-suzgeci-binasi-icin-bassagligi-ilani/)

[16] This event can be considered as an extremely powerful and symbolic reaction regarding loss of architectural heritage. The obituary notice given to newspapers by Professional organizations against the demolition of the building points not only mourning on a physical loss but also the disappearance of the historical, cultural, and ideological heritage that the building represents. Such a reaction shows that the demolition is not an ordinary act but is perceived as a conscious intervention towards the modern Republic heritage. In this context, the obituary notice also has the quality of a political action: it can be read both as as symbolic warning adressing the public and as a protest against decision makers.

As can be interpreted from above examples, historically important buildings were exploited and ultimately demolished to enable the redevelopment of urban areas by capital. As Weber (2002) argues, in the neoliberal mode of urbanization, a building does not need to be physically decayed to be demolished. Moreover, As Zukin (1987) highlights, neglected settlements in central urban areas become subject to demolition due to the potential rent value they embody. In such cases, capital demolishes the existing building stock to benefit from the already increased land value and replaces it with luxury development projects (Weber, et. al, 2006). As these examples show, the exploitative logic of capital drives demolition processes, thereby reintegrating these spaces into the chain of capital accumulation. However, as Zukin (2010) also points out, the act of demolishing buildings to demolishing differences thereby homogenizing urban diversity leads to the loss of the city's spirit and identity. With such demolitions, the continuity of the modernization narrative is interrupted, undermining the historical and ideological mission of Ankara as the capital.

Moreover, as these demolition cases illustrate, decisions are made in a top-down manner, anti-democratic, and the overall processes were opaque. Efforts to reintegrate these centrally located and historically important buildings into the urban fabric- through reuse proposals, expert reports, and heritage registration lawsuits initiated by professional organizations- have been systematically ignored. At this stage, the dismissal of alternative opinions and objections clearly reveals that demolition is not a technical or functional necessity, but rather an ideological choice of the ruling power- one that excludes collective interest.

In this context, the question of which buildings are allowed to remain, and which are condemned to demolition determined by the ideological orientation of the political Islamist regime. Demolition, rather than being a neutral act, here functions as a deliberate political operation aimed at reshaping the traces of republican and modern urban landscape. What is destroyed is not only physically removed but also transformed into an emblem of ideological victory.

5.2.2. INVASIVE ANNIHILATION

Invasion has several meanings. According to the Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.-d), it can refer to: 1) “an occasion when an army or country uses force to enter and take control of another country” 2) “an occasion when a large number of people or things come to a place in an annoying and unwanted way” or 3) “an action or process that affects someone’s life in an unpleasant and unwanted way.” In this context, annihilating buildings to claim and dominate larger space than the demolished ones can be interpreted as a form of annihilation, which is invasive.

The buildings exemplified under this category include the İller Bank and the TİKA building, which were demolished primarily because they obstructed the visibility and spatial dominance of newly constructed building, particularly the Melike Hatun Mosque in Ulus. These acts of demolition are interpreted through the concept of invasion, as they represent the political Islamist authority’s attempt to construct its ideology in urban space by erasing the spatial narratives of secularism, modernity, and the Republican heritage. Thus, the desire to invade and reconfigure specific parts of the urban landscape has led to the targeted annihilation of buildings that symbolized alternative historical and ideological narratives.

In this context, demolitions of the İller Bank and TİKA buildings should be interpreted on a broader urban scale, through highlighting the importance of the area in which they were located.

The Atatürk Boulevard that starts from Ulus and continues to Kızılay and Çankaya, is the road of the Republic. The buildings that were constructed on this road represents the different periods of the republic’s modernization process (Bayraktar, 2013). The buildings of Tika and İller bank, used to located in this main road, until they demolished in 2016 and 2017, respectively.

Figure 5.12 Image from 2010 showing the place of TİKA, İller Bank and Hergelen Square. (Source: Google Earth).

In 2013, the construction of a mosque was initiated in this area- covering Hergelen Square as well-following a directive from the president (Soy & Karademir, 2023). This process of urban redevelopment culminated in the completion of Melike Hatun Mosque in 2017, built on a plot of approximately 70,000 square meters. The mosque was designed as a complex for worship and a venue for various social events with a conference hall, a foyer space, and a parking facility (Soy & Karademir, 2023).

Figure 5.13 Image showing the Melike Hatun Mosque. (Source: Google Earth).

The place where the mosque was constructed, is inside the intersectionality between two main axis's that were designed in the early years of republic by Hermann Jansen. The first of these is the Northern-Southern axis that started from the Ankara Castle to Çankaya, where institutional buildings were placed along. The latter one is the Eastern-Western axis that starts with Atatürk Forest Farm and extending through recreational areas. Previously, İller Bank Building and TİKA building used to be present at this intersectionality (Özaloğlu, 2017).

The first ever demolition in the area with the construction of mosque appeared with the annihilation of TİKA building, in 2016. The demolition brought revisions to the mosque construction and afterwards, with pointing out the necessity of creating a square there, İller Bank is also demolished. According to the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of City Planners (TMMOB), the then-mayor Gökçek claimed that İller Bank building was demolished at the request of its owner to create an open square for the mosque constructed in the Hergelen Square. The contradictory situation is that the total area used for the square after demolishing these two buildings is equivalent to the size of four football fields (Politeknik, 2017). In other words, even if these two buildings had not been demolished, there would already have been a sufficiently large open space in the area to accommodate the square.

To start with, TİKA building was designed by the architect Vedat Özsan, between 1963 and 1967 (Ankarada İz Bırakan Mimarlar, n.d.). The design of the building reflects modern architectural style, with its modest façade.

Figure 5.14 Photograph from the dismantling process of TİKA (Photograph: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate Archive).

The demolition process of TİKA building started in 2016. According to demolition decision, the then-mayor Melih Gökçek requested that the demolition of the TİKA building be discussed and resolved without referring it to the commission, expressing this orally[17]. The Metropolitan Council accepted this proposal, and following the assessments, it was determined that the building did not meet the immediate usability and safety standards required by the earthquake regulations. Consequently, the municipality requested the demolition of the building. Upon learning of the planned demolition, the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects applied to Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Directorate General of Cultural heritage and Museums, requesting the building be protected as a cultural heritage site. However, this request went unanswered, and the building was demolished. Considering the protocol signed between TİKA and the municipality, the building was demolished in exchange for its scrap value. [18] Now the area where Tika was used to be placed, using as a carpark.

[17] See Appendix A, the decision document No. 2169, issued by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council on November 11, 2015.

[18] According to the protocol, TİKA requested the Municipality to carry out the demolition works. Accordingly, the TİKA building would be demolished by the Municipality, and a 1042 square meters plot would be delivered to TİKA at road level in a secured manner.

Figure 5.15 Photograph from the demolition of TİKA- behind: Melike Hatun Mosque. (Photograph: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate Archive).

Secondly, the İller Bank building was designed by Seyfi Arkan, after he won the architectural competition held for the project of the bank. Constructed between 1935 and 1937, the building stands as one of the significant examples of modern architecture heritage in Ankara, both in terms of its design features and architectural value (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

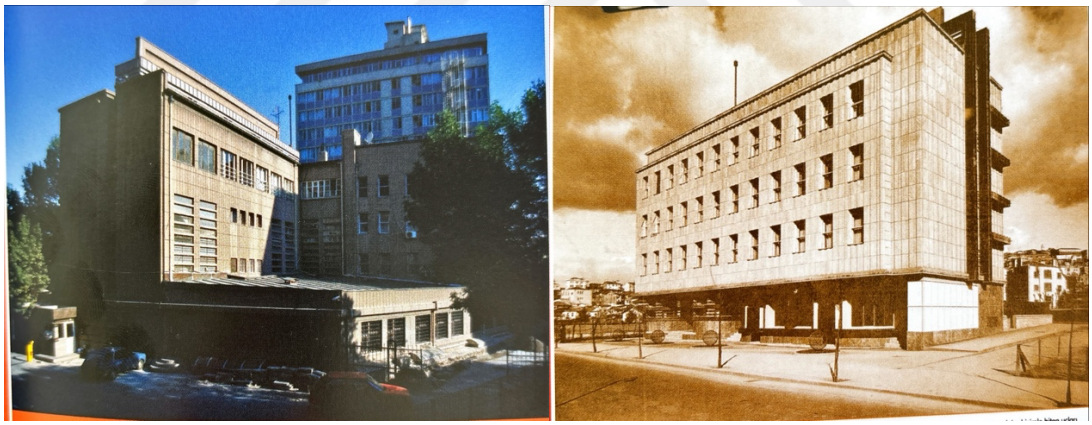

Figure 5.16-5.17 İller Bank. (Source: TMMOB Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive).

The demolition process starts with the gradual process of deterioration. The major contributor to this was the evacuation of the building, which was still in use, approximately one year prior to its demolition. This decision, which effectively depopulated the building and its surroundings, paved the way for the area to become a zone of decline. Notably, this decision was made while the legal process regarding designation of the area as a renewal zone- according to the 1/5000 scale master plan

for the historic Ulus city center and Council of Ministers' decision- was still ongoing.[19] Another factor was the theft of copper materials and gutters from the façade of İller Bank six months prior to its demolition. [20]

Subsequently, the demolition began in June 2017. Official letters sent by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects to various public institutions reveal that no application was made regarding the removal of the building's registration during the demolition process.[21] Furthermore, according to the decision made on 16 June 2017, the land that İller Bank was located designated to be used as a "religious service area."[22] Within this context, the reviewed structural reports stated that materials used in the building had undergone severe corrosion due to loss of strength and eventually cannot meet current earthquake regulation requirements. Therefore, they requested the demolition of the original building and its reconstruction on a different parcel. [23] Since this situation contradicts the provisions of protection regulation no.660, the chamber of architects announced it would initiate legal action.[24]

All these damages and decisions are concrete examples of the authority's stance toward buildings deemed undesirable. Moreover, it is difficult to argue that the demolitions of these two buildings were carried out to overcome problematic situation regarding to the earthquake resistance problems. Instead, the top-down decisions highlights that the purpose of the demolitions was to increase the mosque's visibility and eliminate unwanted in its surroundings, thereby making the mosque-the monumental structure-the sole focal point of the area. Related to its location within the city and the scale of it, this mosque almost invaded the Ulus district- the founding site of the Republic of Türkiye, and by offering vistas from almost every street, became an element that occupies and overshadows the secular history and context of the area.

[19] See Appendix B, letter issued by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of architects, dated February 19, 2016.
[20] See Appendix B, letter dated January 23, 2017, numbered 07/80, issued by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects.
[21] See Appendix B, letter dated June 17, 2017, numbered 07/896, issued by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects.
[22] See Appendix A, decision file prepared by the Ankara Regional Board of Cultural Heritage Preservation No. II of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on June 16, 2017.
[23] See Appendix A, decision taken by the Ankara Regional Board of Cultural Heritage Preservation No. II of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on June 16, 2017.
[24] See Appendix B, letter dated July 21, 2017, issued by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects, numbered 07/910.

Therefore, the demolition of İller Bank and TİKA buildings, served in favor of this invasion, where demolition helped to erase the shadowing elements to the legacy of the mosque.

Figure 5.18 On the left is the Vakıf Apartment II, and across the road stands the Melike Hatun Mosque. (Photograph: author).

Moreover, although initially located on relatively small urban plots, the İller Bank and TİKA buildings, through their demolition and the subsequent construction of a mosque, caused the impact of demolition to extend beyond the land they originally occupied. While only two buildings appear to have disappeared, their absence paved the way for the entire area to assume a completely different character. Thus, the impact of demolition is not confined to the structures it physically removes; it possesses the capacity to extend its influence spatially and symbolically, enabling broader transformation across the urban landscape.

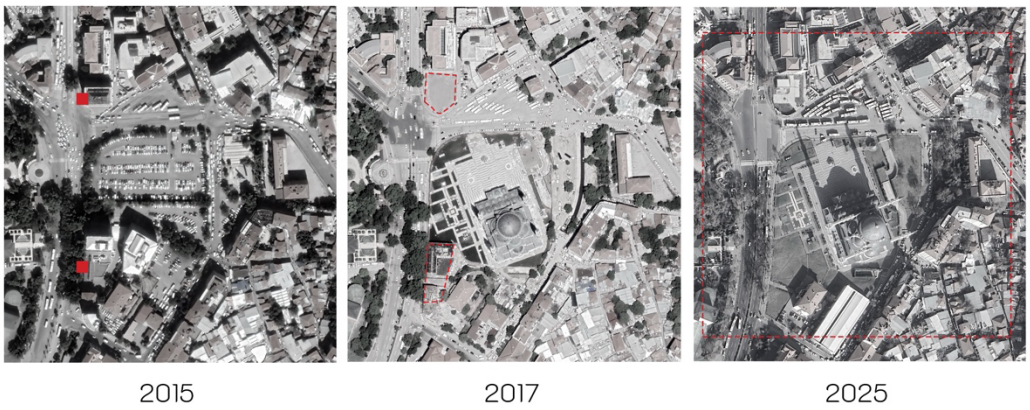

Figure 5.19 The expanding impact of demolition (Source: Google Earth).

5.2.3 DECAY- LED ANNIHILATION

Decay-Led annihilation refers to the prolonged neglect of a building long before any act of physical demolition occurs. A building is allowed to deteriorate- often through abandonment and disuse- until it collapses or is eventually demolished. This process can be analyzed within the framework of slow violence, as conceptualized by Nixon (2011), where demolition occurs not through sudden force, but through gradual erosion. Similarly, buildings may be left to decay- either naturally or through ideological neglect- as a means of preparing the ground for their eventual elimination.

In this context, annihilation emerges as the final stage of a slow and systematic process in which a building is progressively devalued and physically ruined. As Stoller (2008) discusses through the lens of ruins, ideology can intentionally abandon certain spaces and communities, leaving them to disintegrate over time. Therefore, demolition in such cases is not simply a technical act but the culmination of broader cultural, social, and ideological processes that have rendered a structure obsolete, unwanted, or threatening to the dominant narrative.

Decay-led annihilation aptly describes the fate of buildings that are deliberately neglected under political-Islamist Municipality. These buildings are not only physically eroded but also symbolically stigmatized- often associated with crime, urban decay, or moral decline- thus providing convenient justification for their removal.

However, this concept extends beyond physical disappearance. It also refers to the ideological cleansing of stigma attached to buildings, thereby opening space for redeveoplement. The contradiction here lies in fact that some buildings consciously left to deteriorate, constructed as ruins, and marked as uncanny, marginal spaces in need of rehabilitation. While the potential profit from demolition plays a role, the dominant rationale emphasizes resolving environmental or social problems attributed to the building- without assuming financial liability. Within this framework, the Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory and the 100.Yıl Mall will be analyzed as key examples of decay-led annihilation.

To start with, the Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory, which underwent two instances of physical demolition throughout its existence, stands out as a significant case in this context.

Saner and Severcan (2022) discuss that the urbanization process and industrialization occurred in a mutual relationship in Ankara during the early republican period. This mutual relationship has two fundamental reasons. The first one reflects the requirement to correspond increasing fundamental demand of population increase; while the latter highlights the political mission of Ankara that was constructed with the new regime's modernization stage. In this context, starting from 1924 many construction material factories were established by the municipal Haydar Bey. In the continuing years, more comprehensive efforts were required to meet the factory's energy needs and to equip the city with a modern infrastructure. The establishment of Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory was undertaken precisely to adress this necessity (Saner & Severcan, 2022).

The building complex was designed by German architect Werner Issel and constructed in Maltepe in 1928. The factory began operating during the early Republican period as Ankara's first electricity production plant powered by coal gas. In the same year, the power plant building and chimneys were constructed, followed by the gas furnaces in 1929. By 1933, the facility had expanded and transformed into a full industrial complex (Candan, et. al, 2017).

Figure 5.20 Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory. (Source: https://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/ind/gas/trindex.htm).

The proximity to the railway line was a key criterion in selecting the location for the construction of factory complex. In the following years, the presence of the Maltepe Factory influenced the siting of new industrial facilities in the area. Until the 1950s, the district remained one of Ankara's principal industrial zones (Saner & Severcan, 2022).

The complex remained in active use until 1989 but lost its function with the city's transition to natural gas (Cihanger, 2012). After years, as TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Doğal ve Kentsel Çevre Komisyonu Raporu (1990) highlighted, due to its central urban location and increasing pressure from residentail and commercial development, the factory site came to viewed as a lucrative zone of potential profit. This has caused for several reasons. The first is the construction of the Courthouse to the site which increased the tendency to use the surrounding areas for offices. The second is the demolition of the important buildings like TEKEL warehouses and TCDD maintanence facilities. The latter is the openning of Celal Bayar boulevard, which isolated the site from Kızılay and Gençlik Park, contributing to its idle stance (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Doğal ve Kentsel Çevre Komisyonu Raporu, 1990).

Figure 5.21 The location of the factory complex. (Source: Google Earth).

As a result of defunctionalization, the owner of the factory, The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (under EGO), reached an agreement with TEK to construct rental facilities on the site (Severcan, 2006). Consequently, demolition decisions were taken by the Municipality. However these plans sparked opposition from the Chamber of Architects. A compromise was reached between the municipality and the chamber, based on the condition that any future project on the site would be selected through a national architectural competition (Saner & Severcan, 2022).

Simultaneously, the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects submitted a request for its preservation to the Cultural Heritage Conservation Council and in 1991, the factory and parcel it stood on were officially registered as protected heritage (Cihanger, 2012). This heritage listing prevented the realization of the proposed EGO project, and as a result, the development was abandoned (Saner & Severcan, 2022).

However, the registiration of the building was annulled in the following years. The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the General Directorate of EGO justified the demolition decision on the ground that the building has lots is function and posed visual and environmental concerns. Later that year, a large portion of the factory complex was demolished in a late-night operation (Cihanger, 2012). Later on, Maltepe Bazaar was constructed on the site (Saner & Severcan, 2022). This marked the first physical demolition of the site.

From 2006 to 2017, no attempts were made to reuse the remaining parts of the building complex. As a result, in 2017, the remaining parts of the site were completely demolished by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate. The justification for this second phase of demolition highlighted by the Conservation Council as the risk of the collapse of the remaining chimneys and its attachments, the potential threat they posed to public safety, and the claim that remaining structures- having lost their integrity- were neither reusable nor economically viable. [25]

[25] See Appendix A, the letter dated October 24, 2016, numbered 41512469.

Figure 5.22 Photograph from the demolition of Factory's remaining parts. (Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate Archive).

However, this process of annihilations were the mark the end of the process of silent demolition, that has been on the ground since 1989. Between the factory's decommissioning in 1989 and its eventual demolition in 2006 and 2017, no attempts were made to repurpose or rehabilitate the building complex. It was deliberately left to decay.

Figure 5.23 Photograph from the remaining parts prior to demolition. (Photograph: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate Archive).

Similarly, 100.yıl Mall was designed by Semra and Orhan Dikel, and projected after it won the first prize in the Ulus Square Bazaar and Office Building architectural project competition opened in 1967. The building's design used the represent the international style that was effective after 1950s in Ankara (Koçyiğit, Çıplak & Acar, 2020).

Figure 5.24 100.Yıl Mall. (Source: https://yetkinreport.com/2022/06/07/ankaranin-hafizasi-ulus-100-yil-carsisi-yikilacak-mi/). (Photograph: Chamber of Architects).

For many years, the building was used as a bazaar complex, became a noding point for many people due to its central location in the city center. It was one of the three modernist bazaars surrounding the Ulus square, with Ulus Şehir and Anafartalar Bazaar (Koçyiğit, Çıplak & Acar, 2020).

Figure 5.25 The location of the 100. yıl Mall. (Source: Google Earth).

The building was named in honor of the 100th anniversary of Atatürk's birth and was opened in 1981 and used as a bazaar complex for many years (Koçyiğit, Çıplak & Acar, 2020). However, during Gökçek period, it was included within the boundaries

of the Ulus Historical City Core Revitalization Project, and by this its demolition process started (Tunçer, 2013 ; Candan, 2023). Since 2003, a series of decisions under the label of urban transformation have aimed to reinterpret the meaning of this area, which was the foundational space of the Republic, and rewrite its historical narrative. These interventions have contributed to the transformation of Ulus into a space perceived as uncanny and degraded (Cengizkan, 2022).

Within the scope of revitalization project, the demolition of the 100.Yıl Mall was proposed, to be replaced by a square and a conservative neighborhood- an idea publicly expressed by Gökçek. These early decisions were critized for contradicting international conservation principles and sparked strong oppositional views (Candan, 2022; Cengizkan, 2022).

During this time, the conservation of the building was tried by the several professional organizations and it was achieved (Candan, 2023). However, its active use ended in 2020, after which it remained abondoned for an extended period. Particularly, the building became derelict[26] due to its increasing association with crime, which constituted the fundamental rationale for its demolition. The idle stance of the building became a hub for homeless people and the assocaiton with crime.[27]

During this period, conservation and reuse intervention was attempted through an architectural competition organized by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to reuse the building. The competition called for proposals for a redevelopment project (Yarışmayla Ankara, n.d.). At the end of the competition, equivalent honorable mention awards were given, and there was a great anticipation about which project would be constructed. However, after the competition, it was announced that the building would be demolished and replaced with a square, with an underground parking lot planned beneath it. Regarding this, a public survey was conducted via

[26] During the archival research, the officials of Demolition Directorate emphasized that the building was abondoned and that the public had complained to the municipality about the building being associated with crime. When access was requested to examine these complaints, it is been told that these complaints could not be found. (See Appendix C).

[27] During the field research conducted by the Demolition Directorate officials prior to the decision making process regarding the building, it was reported that the building had become largely derelict, with visible physical and social corrosion resulting from years of disuse. Furthermore, certain uses associated with criminal activity and their traces were identified; however, these were not offically documented. Following this, the officals have been told that they have to demolish building immeadiately. Therefore, demolition emerged as the most appealing solution to the clean up the site.

Başkent Mobil by the Municipality, asking whether people preferred the preservation and redevelopment of the 100.Yıl Mall or its demolition and replacement with a square[28] (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022). Based on the data collected from this survey and the decisions made thereafter, and even though several professional organizations and scholars stood against the demolition of the building, the Bazaar was demolished between 2022-2023. The demolition was carried out in exchange for recycable materials (Candan, 2023).

Figure 5.26 Photograph from the demolition of the 100.Yıl Mall. (Photograph: author, 2023).

Data obtained from the Evacuation and Demolition Branch Directorate regarding the demolition indicates that seismic performance analysis was carried out[29], which concluded that the building's current condition was insufficient in terms of earthquake resistance.[30] Later, a square with a underground carpark project implemented on the

[28] In the interviews, it was stated by the directorate that while a competition was opened for the building, another project to replace the area of the building was already preapared by architectural firms.
[29] See Appendix A, Demolition request issue, dated November 7, 2022, numbered E41212469.

[30] In the panel titled *"Turkey's Modern Heritage Agenda 2022/2023"* organized by DOCOMOMO Turkey, Deniz Üçer Erduran presented a talk titled *"Inevitable Demolition, Condition of Building Materials and Reuse Potential, Concrete Strength Analysis: 100. Yıl Bazaar and Office Complex."* In this presentation, she shared insights regarding the core samples extracted from the structural elements of the building during its demolition. According to her observations, coring from the vertical structural elements was relatively easy, whereas obtaining samples from the horizontal elements proved extremely difficult, despite multiple attempts. This difficulty suggests the existence of structural problems specifically related to the flooring system. During the dismantling process, the coffered ceiling—namely, the vaulted slab floor system—was closely examined. Corrosion and rust were observed, along with minimal concrete grout and an excessive presence of large, rounded aggregates. It is believed that these deficiencies may be attributed to the extended construction period of the building. Strength tests were performed on the vertical core samples. However, the validity of these tests is questionable, as drawing conclusions about the entire structure is problematic—especially given the unresolved issues related to the flooring. While noting that these conditions were not necessarily irreversible, she

site. However, the square and parking lot project designed to replace the bazaar- which was demolished in 2023- collapsed in 2025 due to unknown reasons (NTV, 2025). This incident serves as evidence of the architectural and structural indequacy of what was built in its place.

Moreover, The demolition of the building has raised serious reactions and the intervention interpreted as the implementation of the project of Gökçek (Candan, 2023; İnanmışık, 2022). The demolition of this building after Gökçek's era also demonstrates how demolition became the most reliable problem-solving tool in urban space learned over time.

The transformation of these two buildings reveals a process shaped by spesific ideological preferences. Initially depopulated and gradually devalued through surrounding urban interventions, these buildings were eventually labeled as obsolete or dangerous and subsequently demolished. This process illustrates how demolition functions as the final stage in a long term strategy of spatial and political exclusion.

As can be observed, the process of abandonement was closely tied to the historical and political context in which these buildings were constructed- a context deeply intertwined with the narrative of the Republic and its modernization project. Demolishing a building based on the claim that its state of decay posed a threat to public safety reveals the failure to evaluate the documentary and historical significance it carried.

Following the cancellation demolition decisions due to the oppositional efforts, authorities deliberately allowed to the buildings to decay over time. In doing so, buildings were strategically abondoned as a means of preparing them for eventual demolition. During this interim period, these buildings were gradually framed as idle, derelict, or functionless. This rhetorical construction served to present demolition as a rational and inevitable outcome, thereby reducing political and public resistance. As

emphasized that the decision to demolish the building was ultimately a matter of choice, made following specific deliberations on the structure.

such, these buildings were not only physically but symbolically devalued, and demolition was portrayed as a legitimate and inevitable outcome.

5.3 DEMOLITION AS APPROPRIATION

As discussed in the introduction, many buildings have undergone various phases of transformation and renovation throughout their life cycles, which implies that they have, in fact, experienced multiple instances of demolitions over time (Musso, 2020; Thomsen, Schultmann & Kohler, 2011). In the scope of the thesis, under neoliberal-Islamic authorities, these transformations-including refunctioning and renovation practices on public buildings are considered as different typologies of demolition.

The overarching conceptual framework chosen to analyze these actions is appropriation. According to the Cambridge dictionary, appropriation is defined as "the act of taking something for your own use, usually without permission" or "the act of something such as an idea, custom, or style from a group or culture that you are not a member of and using it yourself" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-e).

This term is particularly apt for analyzing how the Neoliberal-Islamist municipality appropriated early republican-era public buildings. Rather than demolishing them, these buildings were transformed to reflect and promote the ruling power's ideological agenda. While they remain physically intact, their original identities, narratives, and meanings have been altered with new symbolic, functional, and political associations.

In this context, the types of demolition considered here involve the erasure of historical and social narratives while renovating the physical shells of buildings (camouflage), or reprogramming buildings with new functions that are detached from their historical context (Repressive reprogramming). This part will therefore examine which buildings exemplify such appropriative practices, and how these cases can be interpreted within the broader discourse on demolition.

5.3.1 CAMOUFLAGE

Camouflage as a term means “something that is meant to hide something, or behavior that is intended to hide the truth” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-f). This term is selected to associate public buildings that are renovated, which means that they are preserved, but the way they preserved created a camouflage, on the reality, history, narrative, originality, and legacy of the buildings, in alliance with the authority’s ideology. In this context, the renovations on the buildings to cover original narratives, are read through the term of camouflage.

During this period, many buildings were subjected to demolition through camouflage. A significant number of these are public buildings located along Atatürk Boulevard. The façade claddings, carried out with substantial budgets, were created by synthesizing Ottoman and Seljuk architectural styles, thereby camouflaging the original narratives of the buildings (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2013). Other examples include the renovation works in the Hamamarkası and Hamamönü districts. In this context, the renovated Cebeci Secondary School stands out as a striking case study among these examples.

The Cebeci Secondary school designed by Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger between 1938-1939 in Ankara. As illustrated by Aslanoğlu (1983) and Sarıarslan (2005), the building comprises a main block oriented along the east-west axis, with additional volumes attached at both ends. These blocks vary in height, and the three components are connected across the site to form a U-shaped configuration, thereby creating a large open courtyard for student use. On the façade, horizontal sunshades are placed above tripartite windows. This standardized window type later became typical façade element for the upcoming school designs. Overall, the building reflects the clarity and simplicity of early 20th century modernist architecture, setting a design precedent for future educational facilities in Türkiye (Aslanoğlu, 1983; Sarıarslan, 2005).

Figures 5.27-5.28 Cebeci Secondary School original situation. (Source: TMMOB Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive).

The Cebeci secondary school located in Hamamarkası, on the northern part of the Talat Paşa boulevard. This location makes this building's renovation important in terms of the nature of the intervention.

Figure 5.29 Location of the Cebeci School. (Source: Google Earth).

Poyraz & Gündoğan (2014) illustrates that Hamamönü and Hamamarkası is a very multi-layered city part, rich in terms of its context where Roman, Seljukian, and Ottoman heritage was settled. In the early times of the republic, Hamamönü was the place where the traditional housing typologies were most prominent. After the construction of Hacettepe University, the desire to attain a modern representation to Ankara, and the construction of the new housing for the civil servants, the

neighborhood lost its many important historical buildings, and its shrinkage started. In the 1980s, the neighborhood declared as urban conservation area and until the 2000s nothing occurred on the urban surface. In 2006, the street rehabilitation project started, and traditional buildings were renovated. Even though this project provided an accumulation of a significant amount of capital, it left many displaced people, and the renovation attempts only focused on façade renovations (Poyraz & Gündoğan, 2014).

After the success of Hamamönü, the renovations started in Hamamarkası in 2011. However, this time renovation attempts went beyond façades, it turned into a total reconstruction of the neighborhood. The old houses were annihilated and "new old houses" constructed, that are going to be served as many different functions as possible like henna houses, cafes, museums and places for Islamic NGOs (Onur, 2018, p. 160).

Figure 5.30 Photograph from the Hamamarkası street after renovation. (Photograph: author).

Cebeci secondary school went renovation in the same period [31]. Characterized mostly on the renovation of the façade of the design, Cebeci secondary school lost its identity as being designed by modernist gaze and being a pioneer to the upcoming school designs.

[31] Discussions were held with officials from the Ankara Provincial Directorate of National Education Construction and Real Estate Branch, and information was requested from the archives about the renovation process. However, no concrete information could be obtained regarding the exact date of the building's transformation and how it was renovated. (See Appendix C). According to the information provided by Giorgio Gasco, who was the speaker at the Building Identites Talk 11, organized by Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects, the building underwent renovation around the same time as Hamamarkası, approximately in 2012.

As it can interpreted from the photographs, after the renovation, some elements were implemented on the façade. At this point, some of the fundamental alterations can be mentioned. First, wooden battens were added to the façade. The concrete sun breakers above the triple windows were painted in a wood-like color, and elements referencing brackets- which were functionally used in traditional Turkish houses to support *cumba* (bay windows) (Bektaş, 2021) were placed underneath. Similarly, the wooden decorative elements that were attached to façade are apparent.

Figures 5.31-5.32 Current Situation of the Cebeci Secondary School. (Photographs: author, 2025).

In this context, the façade elements later added to the building give the impression of a revival of architectural components that Cengiz Bektaş (2021) emphasizes as constitutive of the unique character of the traditional Turkish house- elements shaped by centuries of accumulated knowledge and experience. However, this resemblance remains purely formal; as Bektaş also argues (2021), these architectural traditions are not confined to a few centuries but are embedded in a much deeper historical context; with roots extending back to the Hittite period. Therefore, what these added elements precisely refer to remain ambiguous.

Moreover, in traditional Turkish houses, such elements carry a high degree of functionality; for instance, the *cumba* (bay window) serve as a climatic device, while the *payanda* (butress) functions as its structural support. Wood, on the other hand, is a material preferred under specific climatic conditions due to its affordability, ease of

construction, and efficiency. This reflects a context-sensitive building practice (Bektaş, 2021).

In the renovation of Cebeci School, these elements serve as ornaments, but at the same time they are functional. This aesthetic intervention camouflages the visibility and the history of the Republican period and modern architectural narrative in which the building originally belongs. In this context, architectural restoration turns into a visual and historical erasure process.

Nostalgia plays a decisive role in this transformation. The break in the historical continuity of the Republican narrative is reconstructed through Ottoman or traditional references with a nostalgic façade arrangement, causing completely losing its connection with modern architecture, reflects what Boym (2001) explains as restorative nostalgia. Therefore, this intervention is not a restoration, but an ideological form of demolition implicitly camouflaged through nostalgia.

Moreover, the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects stated that the intervention carried out in Cebeci Secondary School was part of a larger assimilation project that aimed to make the architecture of the Republic period invisible; it emphasized that the implementation gave the building a completely new identity and its historical characteristics were erased (Hürriyet, 2008).

This situation should be read not only as a physical intervention but rather the demolition for homogenizing the built environment by eliminating differences. Instead of a layered urban environment that constructed with different histories and where different periods can coexist; a singular and homogenous historical narrative is brought to the fore, thus the diversity of spatial memory, representation, identity, and experience is lost. Based on this, it could even be argued that this intervention was carried out to ensure visual harmony with the surrounding buildings, as the representational transformation of Cebeci Secondary school does not differ from the general mode of representation acquired through the neighborhoods' broader renovation process in Hamamarkası.

Figures 5.33-5.34. Left: Hamamarkası. Right: Cebeci School. (Photographs: author, 2025).

5.3.2 REPRESSIVE RE-PROGRAMMING

In this part of the thesis, the reprogramming of existing public buildings with new functions is examined as a form of demolition. This process is conceptualized as *repressive re-programming*, as the selected examples demonstrate that these interventions are not intended to conserve or sustain historical narratives. Instead, they are carried out in a top-down manner with the aim of repressing specific meanings associated with the past. Although the physical structures (building shells) are preserved, their historical and experiential layers are erased through the imposition of new functions, offering no reference to the original context or significance of the buildings. Eventually, this results in a rupture in historical continuity, whereby the ruling authority appropriates heritage only when it aligns with its present-day agendas, silencing alternative or inconvenient narratives.

For this examination, the selected buildings are TEKEL and Sümerbank buildings that are situated in Ulus.

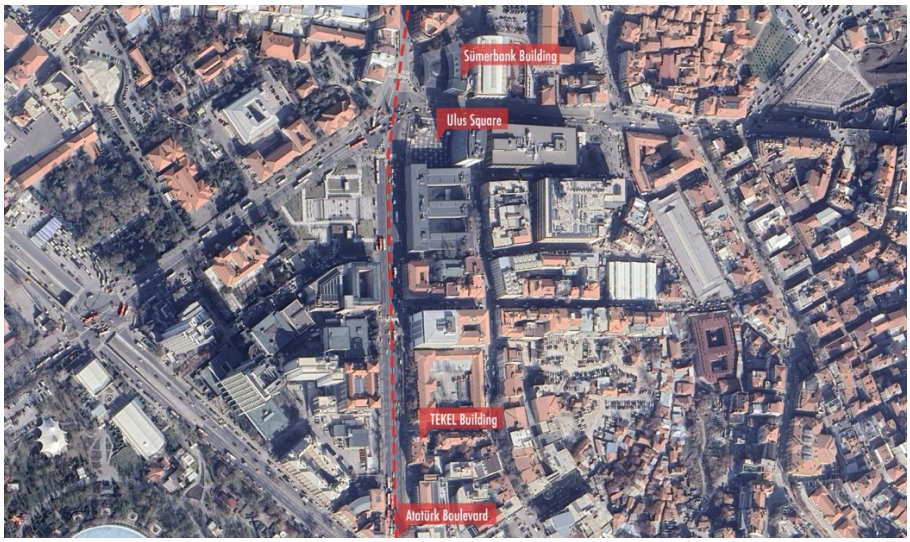

Figure 5.35 Location of the Tekel and Sümerbank Buildings in Ulus. (Source: Google Earth).

These buildings were constructed in the early republican times and used as the headquarters of TEKEL and Sümerbank. They stayed idle after TEKEL and Sümerbank were privatized, after the hit of neoliberal waves that emerged in 1980s. After their privatization, the buildings stayed idle for a very long time at the city center, caused security and uncanniness issues (Şahin, 2008). For their idle stance, research was made as a master's thesis at Middle East Technical University by Şahin (2008), where the empty position of these buildings is analyzed. It is interesting to note that at the conclusion part of the thesis it is stated that even if these buildings will be re-functioned at some point in the future, the core intention will be driven by the neoliberal policies, rather than the intention to provide continuation of identities and historical importances of these buildings (Şahin, 2008). Today, the way these buildings and their new functions are decided in alliance with the ideology of the authority; the coupling of neoliberalism with Islamism, as it will be discussed.

TEKEL was established in line with the early Republican developmental policies, contributed to the growth of domestic production, and gained a strong place in social life by generating employment opportunities (Yurtoğlu, 2018; Batuman, 2013b). In tobacco and alcohol factories, women, men, children and the elderly worked together, and these production processes turned into collective experiences through the direct participation of the people (Öztürk & Keskin, 2013).

Sümerbank, similarly, contributed to economic development through textile production and became a key institution in shaping collective memory and experience by engaging large segments of the population in its production processes (Asiliskender, 2004). However, the new functions of the buildings of these institutions in Ankara, represses these collective narratives.

İnhisarlar TEKEL Building was designed in 1928 by Giulio Mongeri in Ulus, as a general directorate building (Şahin, 2008). In the design, the use of vaults, reliefs, pointed arches, the tower and its decorations are all referencing to the Ottoman Architectural decorative elements. The building's design classified in the First National architectural movement (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

Figure 5.36 TEKEL building. (Source: https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/122025) (Photograph: Salt Research, Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive).

In 2002 the privatization of TEKEL started and the building eventually stopped functioning. The building, which originally belonged to PTT, was transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2004. Thus, the building was taken into restoration by the Ministry. During the restoration process, it was understood that reinforcement was needed. Following this, a top-to-bottom restoration was carried out in the interior, but no renovations for the building shell. The restoration process was initially intended to prepare the building for the use of the Ankara Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. However, at the end of the restoration process, the building

transferred for the use of Yunus Emre Institute in 2008, which continues to operate inside the building today.[32]

Similar thing happened with Sümerbank building. The Sümerbank building in Ulus Square designed by Martin Elsaesser in 1937-1938 (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

Figure 5.37 Sümerbank. (Source: https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/208091). (Photograph: Salt Research, Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive).

The design comprised of two different blocks. The front mass used as Sümerbank sales stores and bank, and the background mass was designed as office. The building design features represent the international style (Aslanoğlu, Ergut & İmamoğlu, 2012).

The building property belonged to Sümerbank in 1985, and registered in 1999 as a cultural asset needs to be protected. It was used for Sümerbank until it was privatized. However, afterwards the building stayed idle. During this process, renovation occurred to re-function the building by the ministry. Static examinations of the building revealed no serious damage, and the restoration was carried out with minor changes.[33] In 2016

[32] This information was obtained through the interviews with officials from Ankara Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage and examination of relevant documents. No justification provided for the transfer of the building to the Yunus Emre Institute, other than the official request letter received from the Ministry. The council decisions were retrieved from the archives and reviewed; however, the directorate did not grant permission for these documents to be used directly as sources within the scope of the thesis.

[33] This information was obtained through interviews with Ankara Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage officials, as well as archival research regarding the Council's decisions on the Sümerbank building. During the interviews, it was noted that the Sümerbank building was in a more solid structural condition compared to TEKEL building. For this reason, no major interventions were made to either its interior or exterior.

the building transferred to Ankara Sosyal Bilimler University "on the condition that it be used for educational purposes"[34]. The building has been using as educational purposes since 2016.[35]

According to Hayden (1995), preserving the shared past of a city is not only a cultural and historical concern but also a deeply political act. Decisions regarding what should be remembered and safeguarded require both historical insight and commitment to inclusive public narratives and architectural heritage. An urban preservation approach that is politically aware must go beyond conventional methods, such as converting buildings into museums or upscale commercial spaces. Instead, it should prioritize inclusive public processes and the protection of spaces as vessels of collective memory (Hayden, 1995).

However, as it can be seen from the examples, these reprogramming processes are decided in a top-down manner. New functions were determined by the various ministries and were approved based on direct requests submitted to the conservation council. As a result, collective narratives and social experiences are being suppressed through the ways these buildings are re-functionalized; in this sense, repression emerges as a spatial practice. Through their newly assigned functions, these buildings hinder the representation of the broader historical context that originally justified their construction.

Furthermore, the transformation of buildings into private uses (such as institute or university) both limits the physical publicity of these spaces and prevents the representations of the contents of the collective memory. Although the preservation of their physical shells seems to emphasize the historical value of the building, their usages do not contain any reference to the historical context shows that the collective memory is only preserved on the surface and erased at the content level.

[34] The title deed of the property was examined; although the document bears no date, it indicates that the building was allocated to Ankara Sosyal Bilimler University in 2016.
[35] During the archival research process, no council decisions, professional association evaluations, or official correspondences were found concerning the possibility of assigning the building to a different function rather than using it as for educational purposes.

In this context, demolition occurs in the form of making the historical, collective memory, and social experience invisible, by reprogramming buildings. The opacity of reprogramming processes is another indicator that covers up this state of suppression. As in these two examples, preserving history only as a form of the building and erasing its content is another typology of demolition.

5.4 RE-ENVISION AS DEMOLITION

The term "re-envision" is defined as "to re-imagine something, especially in a different way" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.). In this study, the term is used to express the authority's desire to establish its ideology through public architecture by re-envisioning selected elements from the idealized past of Seljuk and Ottoman Empires. In this context, architectural structures are reconfigured through a synthesis of stylistic features belonging to these periods; thus, aesthetic values presumed to originate from the past are transformed into spatial instruments of present-day power relations of the Neoliberal-Islamist ideology.

This approach is conceptualized as a form of demolition that does not operate through physical destruction but through re-envisioning certain elements of the past to use for ideological motivations of the authority. The process of constructing buildings through these styles is read as a typology of demolition which erodes historical continuity, dissolving the aura of the original, and displacing the subject's lived experience.

The JDP has been trying to establish an architectural style that was promoted by Seljuk-Ottoman style, since it become an authority in 2002. The architectural representation built based on the nationalist-conservative discourse's ideological depth gained during the JDP period can be evaluated as a form of spatial concretization. This orientation aims to both establish the cultural basis for a new definition of nation and to produce an architectural aesthetic that physically reinforces this definition (Batuman, 2014). Within this new style, architecture has been instrumentalized for the construction of power (Batuman, 2019).

First, this intervention emerged with school and courthouse designs, where claiming a new Islamic-national identity was the most possible. In time, these architectural interventions became a preferred architectural language (Batuman, 2014; Batuman, 2019). However, this process was not linear, it had some differentiations inside it. For instance, the authority's search for a new architectural language was started in a very similar fashion to early 20th century, when Ottoman-revivalist attempts were obvious in the construction of public buildings. Therefore, the JDP authority found the ground for legitimization of these architectural interventions from the revivalist attempts of the early 20th century. The expansion and complexity spatial production networks over time made it possible for Islamist actors to access not only historical references but also contemporary transnational architectural practices and integrate them into their own discourses (Batuman, 2019).

As a style, the Seljuk-Ottoman elements are randomly selected and synthesized on the design of the buildings, without considering any order. Pointed arches, long eave roofs, portals, and certain motifs and decorations are brought together in an eclectic style. All these selections are constructed differently in each building, but all of them are promoted as Ottoman-Seljuk architecture (Batuman, 2014). This approach reduces the Ottoman and Seljuk architectural heritages into some fundamental elements, and considering these buildings are carriers of the actual and real Ottoman-Seljuk architecture creates fictionalized reality (Peker, 2019; Yılmaz, 2014).

Furthermore, Batuman (2019) argues these representations can be understood as anachronism in the context of architectural history. The main reason for this is that Ottoman architecture does not have a monolithic character and therefore cannot be defined by a single architectural style. On the other hand, Seljuk architecture was mainly shaped by certain types of structures like tombs, madrasas, and mosques. These periods contain crucial differences in terms of architectural production, cultural values, economy and state organization. For this reason, re-envisioning these two past architectures together can only be fictional (Batuman, 2019).

Moreover, Alsayyad (2014) argues on post-traditional spaces and claiming that these pasts are not solely fictional but also overlooked. The reason for this is what was

presented as past is a construction of a present, which is believed to be past (Alsayyad, 2014). In this context, the architectural style of Ottoman-Seljuk does not carry a historical continuity, rather than this, it produces a fake past by covering real past-which was shaped accordingly the requirements of the present. Therefore, while historical was deformed by hollowing out, the contemporary one is manipulated by the historical (Aslan, 2018).

For this reason, the synthesis of these elements presented an ambiguity in meaning, which is inconsistent within itself. These historical references not only carry symbolic meanings but are also used as a functional tool in the formation of the new national identity. The selective construction of history centralizes certain periods and elements, renders other invisible, and ideologically imposed on the city (Batuman, 2014; Batuman, 2019; Aslan, 2018).

Considering Ankara, realizing the foundation of the city through the contemporary architectural production processes-particularly via the construction of new public buildings-reflects an approach that seeks to confront and renegotiate the symbols of the Republic (Batuman, 2019; Yılmaz, 2014). As it discussed in the 4th chapter, the modernity's understanding of secularism triggered a counter revolution within society (Keyder, 1998), and once this movement came to power, it acted in a revanchist manner (Peker, 2015). Peker (2019) argues that political power can be consolidated through myths constructed via a restoration of a medieval era. In this context, Ottoman-Seljuk architecture functions as such a myth: it constructs a conservative myth, in opposition to the modernist one (Peker, 2019; Peker, 2015).

In this framework, architectural styles that selectively barrowed and assembled elements from Ottoman and Seljuk times will be examined. The analysis focuses not only on which historical references are chosen, but also on how these elements are integrated into the design of the buildings- whether they are applied superficially on the façades, subtly embedded within spatial arrangements, or used to entirely transform the identity and meaning of a place. The way these elements are integrated into the architectural design will be interpreted as a tactic of demolition. In the

following sections, how these stylistic strategies related to demolition will be addressed through a series of case studies.

5.4.1. VENEER

In Cambridge dictionary, veneer as a term defined as “a thin layer of decorative wood or plastic used to cover a cheaper material” or “something that hides something unpleasant or unwanted.” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-g). Accordingly, veneer was chosen to describe the deployment of Ottoman-Seljuk architectural elements on facades at a decorative scale-not to introduce spatial differentiation, but to overlay the structure of a built form and transform its representation.

As a beginning point, the example of Ankara Tevfik İleri Anatolian Imam Hatip High School and Police headquarters buildings can be given. As it can be interpreted from the belove image, the entrances are highlighted with crown gates and windows are constructed in the forms of pointed arches, trying to giving the meaning of it resembles Seljuk architecture.

Figure 5.38 Ankara Tevfik İleri Anadolu İmam Hatip High School project render. (Source: https://tevfikileriihl.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/vizyonumuz_1764202.html)

Or in the police headquarters building, which was constructed in the place after the older police headquarters building was demolished in the 2016 after it harmed in the military coup, represents the same issues (TRT Haber, 2019). Moreover, the designs of the eaves are referencing to the 20th century Ottoman revivalism, while the decorative elements are referencing to Seljuk era.

Figure 5.39 Police Headquarters Building. (Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/ankara-emniyetinin-yeni-binasi-pazartesi-hizmete-giriyor/1530062)

Beyond their Ottoman-Seljuk inspired façades, the placement of these buildings within specific urban fragments also carries significant ideological meaning. As discussed in previous sections of the thesis, this area once hosted key Republican-era buildings such as the EGO Hangars and the Ankara hippodrome, embodying a distinct layer of urban history. However, these buildings were demolished to pave the way for the construction of the Başkent Millet Bahçesi and Merkez Ankara urban transformation project.

Figure 5.40 Location of the buildings. (Source: Google Earth).

The fact that new public buildings drawing on Ottoman-Seljuk stylistic references can now occupy this area- while real historically significant modernist structures could

not- reflects an explicitly ideological selectivity. The acceptance of Ottoman-Seljuk stylization at this place is not merely a nostalgic longing for the past, but also a political act in which a specific version of history is deemed worthy of re-construction in line with the ideological framework of the ruling power. In contrast, the erasure of modern Republican architecture from visibility and enabling the Ottoman-Seljuk styles in the urban landscape is representing this selectivity. As Lefebvre (1991) argues, space is not neutral or passive backdrop, but a socially produced and ideologically encoded field of representation.

Another solid example is the Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Esenboğa Complex.

Figure 5.41 Screenshot from the video of that presents the university complex of Yıldırım Beyazıt in Esenboğa, Ankara. (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtLiwF2_-tg&t=1s)

As it can be seen from the below images, this university complex is monumental in scale, referencing the crown gates and pointed windows, and repeated on the corners of the buildings. Decorations, on the other hand, were used on the facades as a way of recalling past elements.

Figure 5.42 Screenshot from the video of that illustrates repeating features on the corners. (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtLiwF2_-tg&t=1s)

During the opening ceremony of the university complex in 2016, president claimed that the university complex was constructed on the site where Ankara war occurred and said:

> In an age when borders have disappeared and distances have lost their meaning, it is unthinkable for our universities to be confined to their own borders. Turkish universities must be able to compete with higher education institutions in the world and even be superior to them (Habertürk, 2016).

The emphasis on erasing borders says that universities should not be confined to national boundaries but should compete in global knowledge and cultural arena. When examined from this perspective, it points out that architecture is not just a place-building, but also an authority's face, brand, and ideological stance that opens to the world. In other words, while the campus itself represents national identity on the one hand, it also becomes a symbolic stage carrying the message of its part of the world on the other. The eclectic and fictional architectural style turns this discourse into an expression that breaks both traditional borders and historical continuity by detaching historical elements from their original contexts and claiming them on a new surface, while re-conquesting the land.

In conclusion, the references to crown gates, pointed windows, and decorative elements, which have spatial and historical depth, have been reproduced here as decorative elements; the past has evolved into an aesthetic repertoire reduced to the surface. The meaning of the past has been erased, and representation have piled up in

its place. This contextless repetition of crown gates, arched windows, and many other decorative elements is not just an architectural copy; it is the spatial demolition of the past on the façade and its reconstruction within a new ideological order. Thus, while the demolition severs the bond established with the past; it turns architecture into a rewriting tool that serves the ideological purposes of the authority. As Batuman (2019) argues rather than solely implying a revivalist attempt, these stylistic interventions are highly ideological, and for this sense they are functional; they have become the tools of the authority to assert their ideological stance (Batuman, 2019).

5.4.2. DECONTEXTUALIZATION

In some cases, references to the symbols and emblems of the past have become an integral part of the architectural design itself, rather than merely serving as a two-dimensional façade dressing. These new buildings that are constructed with decontextualized elements, give rise to architectural compositions whose meanings have been disconnected from their original cultural and spatial contexts. For instance, the construction of the Ankara gates through an eclectic synthesis of Ottoman-Seljuk style- such as domes, eaves, and kümbets- not only detaches each element from its original historical and functional framework but also demolishes the authentic context and meaning traditionally associated with city gates. In this regard, the term decontextualized is used to describe the deliberate removal or isolation of an architectural element from its original context, thus altering its intended meaning.

The term decontextualized being described as “shown or considered without a context (=a sentence, a text, a situation, etc. that something is part of, that gives it a particular meaning)” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-h), has been chosen as a term to counteract the demolitions. In this context of the study, the term is employed to conceptualize a particular form of demolition, in which elements are preserved visually, yet stripped of their historical coherence and embedded meanings.

To start with, Ankara gates were five in number and constructed in several different entrance points of Ankara such as Eskişehir, İstanbul, Samsun, Konya and Esenboğa (Eke, 2016). The gates promoted as they were going to be the symbols of Ankara and

designs constructing the connection between modern building technologies with Ottoman-Seljuk architectural styles (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2014). Moreover, during the openning ceremony of the gates, Gökçek claimed that these Ottoman and Seljuk styles are imprinted on the collective memory of Ankara (Anadolu Ajansı, 2014).

Figure 5.43 Samsun road entrance gate. (Source: https://www.ankara.bel.tr/haberler/giris-kapilari-ankaranin-sembolu-olacak-5556#gallery-3).

Gökçek associated the city gates with modernity (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2014). In fact, these structures represent the very opposite of modernity; these architectural elements are long abandoned in contemporary urbanism. Constructed in various parts of the city, these gates produce a selective, nostalgic, and simultaneously arabesque form of representation, incorporating elements such as kümbet, domes, 19th century orientalist motifs, and references to the first national architectural movement (Eke, 2016).

According to Eke (2016) this construction of monumental gates representing an appropriation of a long-abandoned architectural tradition because city gates rooted in ancient Greece and were last constructed in the 19th century. Throughout history, Gates/doors were the symbols of sovereignty and dominance but at the same time a threshold between two different dimensions. They used to be placed in the entrance of the old cities, where one can understood the dominant belief system and the political authority while passing through. Similarly, the 21st century construction of the gates,

are representing a longing for a golden age, and victory over oppositions (Peker, 2014). Thus, these structures can be read as ideologically charged monuments that manipulate the historical meaning of city gates by decontextualizing and aestheticizing them for the political Islamist ideology.

Similarly, in Ulus in Hacı Bayram district, the Ulus Cultural Center Enclosed Bazaar and Minibus Terminal Building, which is still under construction, positioned as an important example in this context. The building complex located at the northern part of Hacı Bayram-I Veli mosque, across from the roman baths.

Figure 5.44 the location of the Cultural Center. (Source: Google Earth).

Commissioned to the YDA company through a public tender by the Department of Culture and Natural Heritage of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 2016, this building complex covers an area of 90,000 square meters. On the official website of YDA, the project is promoted as Ulus and its surroundings will turn into an attraction center for the central districts (YDA, 2018).

Similarly, on the website that is belonging to the Ankara Greater Municipality, this project has been promoted as “It will revitalize the historic city center of Ulus” and “suitable for historic fabric.” Developed for solving the carpark problem of the region,

this complex included exhibition halls, commercial zones, and a museum for visually impaired (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2023).

As it can be seen from the project render, the building design carry lots of different architectural elements that are intended to be Seljuk-Ottoman style. Domes, arches, crown gates, long eaves, and Iwans are used in a highly selective manner with many repetitions, on a spatial scale.

Figure 5.45 - 5.46 Project Render. (Source: https://www.ankara.bel.tr/haberler/ulus-kultur-merkezi-kapali-carsi-ve-dolmus-duraklari-insaatinda-calismalar-tum-hiziyla-suruyor-16395).

As Karacalı (2019) discuss in line with the characteristics of traditional Turkish bazaars, a central bedesten- a structure with thick walls and multiple domes- is typically included, and it is often considered one of the most significant civic architectural typologies of the city. When evaluated in the context of the 15th century Ottoman city, bazaars functioned not only as spaces for commerce but also as financial centers and custodial institutions, operating as early forms of banks (Karacalı, 2019).

The typology of the bedesten buildings indicates that these buildings embodied the construction techniques, architectural knowledge, and economic-cultural practices of their time. However, in the design of the Enclosed Bazaar and Minibus Terminal building of the Ulus Cultural Center- where reference is made to the traditional bazaar typology- these architectural components and the typology of traditional bazaar have been decontextualized. The building neither reflects any continuity of constructional knowledge from the past nor presents an innovative interpretation relevant to 21st century architectural practice. Much like the case of Ankara Gates, what is observed here is a selective reproduction of symbolic forms, stripped of their original spatial, historical, and functional context to serve for ideological construction of the authority.

5.4.3. PALIMPSEST

Huyssen (2003) discusses that urban space does not always reflect a harmonious relationship between the past and the present; on the contrary, it often presents a terrain where these temporalities coexist in conflict and layered complexity. In this sense, the city can be interpreted as a palimpsest, where the past is not entirely erased, but rather overwritten with new meanings, spaces and representations. This layering refers not only to physical buildings, but also the superimposition of narratives, memories, and ideological frameworks from different historical periods. The coexistence of the old and the new may generate tensions, yet it also reveals the multiplicity of urban memory and the ongoing transformation of the city through time (Huyssen, 2003).

The concept of the palimpsest allows for layered interpretations by drawing attention to the coexistence of historical and future traces within the built environment. These overlapping layers-whether related to time, space, or even imagination- highlight the dynamic and evolving nature of the city. Urban transformation, in this sense, can be understood as a continuous rewriting process, where newly constructed buildings interact with older ones (Turgut, 2021).

This conceptual framework becomes particularly salient when examining urban interventions of the political-Islamist authority in Ankara- especially the construction of the Presidential Complex on the grounds of Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ). In this

case, the state produces a new ideological palimpsest: by erecting monumental buildings in historically significant locations, it overlays new political meanings onto pre-existing urban forms, thereby neutralizing their earlier symbolic and historical significance. These spatial interventions do not solely destroy the modernist legacy in a material sense but rather reprogram it ideologically- substituting secular Republican narratives with political-Islamist ones.

In this way, demolition is enacted through ideological substitution. However, this process does not imply the complete obliteration of the past. On the contrary, traces of the old remain legible despite years of fragmentation and encroachment, AOÇ continues to exist as a physical space even though its legacy altered. What this example reveals is not total annihilation, but the construction of a dominant ideological layer that symbolically subordinates earlier narratives. This intervention function as palimpsestic act, whereby the spatial imposition of new values masks and suppresses the historical and ideological significance of the site.

To start with, when AOÇ was established in 1925, it reflected a comprehensive ideological framework that embodied the enlightenment ideals of republican modernity. The AOÇ area became one of the most significant components within the Jansen's urban plan, designed to spatially implement the Republic's ideological break from the Ottoman past, particularly in terms of everyday social practices (Alpagut, 2017). The intellectual foundations that guided the production and use of space within the AOÇ are also traceable at the architectural scale. Buildings such as the Marmara Mansion, İzmir Mansion, swimming pools, and recreational areas were all designed to support the ideals of gender equality and to promote the public sphere through inclusive urban space. These places functioned as sites where the principles of the Republic were materially and socially enacted (Kimyon & Serter, 2015).

Figure 5.47 Karadeniz pool. (Source: https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/972999 (Photograph: Salt Research, Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive.)

Entrusted to the state treasury by Atatürk, the farm was gradually plundered piece by piece over time after 1937 (Candan, et. Al, 2017; Kimyon & Serter, 2015). The first major intervention regarding this was the construction of state cemetery that opened in 1988 which destroyed the use of Karadeniz pool (Batuman, 2015).

The most important rupture occurred when the neoliberal-Islamist municipality began to govern Ankara. With the new law enacted in 2006, the authority to make plans in the AOÇ areas was transferred to the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. After this date, the farm was rapidly opened to construction and rent. The construction of Ankapark, the sale of a part of it to the States for the construction of US Embassy building, the fragmentation of the land for the construction of Ankara Boulevard and many other roads, and the downgrading from a 1st degree protected area to a 3rd degree were the factors that paved the way for the farm to be largely fragmented (Candan, et. al, 2017). Here, the downgrading of the protected area degree allowed the construction of the Illegal Palace- *Kaçak Saray*, the presidential palace building complex[36] in 2012 (Candan, et. Al, 2017). This construction changed the character of the farm, undermined its public accessibility, and converted it into a high-security zone.

[36] In 2012, the construction of the so-called Illegal Palace began on the land owned by the General Directorate of Forestry, intended as the Prime Ministry service building. Following this process, the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects filed legal cases against every application in this area. A total of 102 lawsuits were opened within the AOÇ site, and due to non-compliance with court decisions, a petition was submitted to the Constitutional Court. Additionally, the matter was taken to the European Court of Human Rights.

With the construction of new presidential palace complex, the Atatürk Boulevard served as a distinctive feature between the northern and southern zones. While the northern part serves as recreational area, the southern part serves as state's new development area (Batuman, 2015). Moreover, the construction of the palace, which completely changed the entire narrative of this area, caused the annihilation of the buildings that were located within the farm in the following years, which were founded during the republican period. In this context, the Marmara Hotel was demolished in 2012, the Gendarmerie Station, the Zoo, The AOÇ workers' and Officers' lodgings in 2014, and the Marmara Mansion in 2016 (Şenyapılı, 2021; Sönmez, 2020; Candan, et. al, 2017).

Figure 5.48 Location of the Presidential Palace Complex. (Source: Google Earth).

The presential palace located in the southern part of the Atatürk Boulevard, was designed as a complex that includes a library, administrative buildings, a mosque and cultural center. It represents a new approach to architectural synthesis by blending Ottoman and Seljuk styles (Batuman, 2019). This stylistic combination-particularly evident in the building's wide eaves and hipped roofs- can be interpreted as a reinterpretation of the early 20th century (Artun, 2014b).

Figure 5.49 Presidential Palace. (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidential_Palace_Main.jpg).

As Batuman (2019) argues, the selection of the site for the new presidential palace was ideologically significant and appropriate for the ruling power. The location's centrality within the city and its high elevation enhanced the building's visibility and symbolic presence. Moreover, due to the symbolic status of the AOÇ as a spatial embodiment of Republican values, modernization, and secularism, its appropriation by the Islamist government represented an assertion of dominance over this legacy. For this reason, the construction of building complex on the land of the AOÇ reflects the idea that it was built on a palimpsest rather than on a tabula rasa (Batuman, 2019, p. 236).

Regarding these, although the presidential palace built on the grounds of AOÇ appears to be a construction process on the surface, this intervention should be understood as a form of demolition. Following Lefebvre's (1991) arguments, what is at stake here is the construction of an ideological meaning through construction of a space. AOÇ, as a space embodying the values of the republican ideology- modernity, secularism, and publicness- holds historical and symbolic significance, which is now being suppressed and replaced by a new narrative of power through this architectural intervention.

As Huyssen (2003) emphasizes a palimpsest does not only preserve the layers of the past but carries the potential to rewrite them in ways that render earlier narratives invisible. In the case of AOÇ, the construction of the presidential palace complex acts as a demolition of the earlier narratives and the importance. In this sense the building complex built on a palimpsest (Batuman, 2019) saturated with ideological meanings.

Moreover, as discussed in chapter 2, the ideas developed by Walter Benjamin through Paul Klee's painting Angelus Novus can shed light on the transformation of Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ). In substance, Benjamin (1968a) emphasizes that history is not a linear and progressive process but rather a fragmented and fragile one that leaves behind a pile of debris. In this context, the spatial and ideological legacy of AOÇ has likewise been reduced to a form of ruin through years of fragmentation and several constructions. The erasure of what Benjamin calls the redeemable potential of historical remnants turns this intervention into a profound form of demolition. The rendering of such narrative's invisible signifies the transformation of the past from a living presence into a version subordinated to hegemonic history. Therefore, the construction of the place should be interpreted, in Benjaminian terms (1968b), as a powerful symbolic intervention that breaks historical continuity and reduces the past to an ideological ruin.

In conclusion, newly constructed public buildings through a synthesis of Ottoman & Seljuk styles involve a demolition on three levels, through three different typologies:

- The construction of Ankara as the capital, through the construction of modernity and Republic's narratives and representations,
- The extraction and replication of past elements from their historical context, thereby undermining history, aura, reality, and subject's experience,
- The conceptual and historical devastation of architecture and architects' creative will, resulting from the imposition of this architectural form on newly erected public buildings.

First, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Ankara carries a historical reality that it was constructed with the mission of the Republic's modernization project. Consequently, newly constructed public buildings and their architectures formed one of the principal media through which the broader modernization project was implemented (Bozdoğan, 2002). However, under neo-liberal Islamic authorities, the synthesis of Ottoman-Seljuk styles-and the portrayal of those eras as more authentically Islamic- created a direct counternarrative to republican representations. These revivalist attempts were fundamentally nostalgic and revanchist, provided a space for the previously

marginalized to reclaim public visibility through architecture. Therefore, this reality has been covered with contemporary buildings that selectively reproduce the Ottoman-Seljuk architectural style; its visibility within the city has been reduced by covering it with carefully selected pieces of the past.

Secondly, the way these buildings are being built through extraction and countless repetition of selective elements are demolishing reality and aura. Jameson (1984), in his comparative critique of various works of art, argues that in the postmodern world, images no longer open to a real world, but to a kind of void that is depthless. Instead of referencing reality, these images create a superficial universe of appearances (simulacres) or texts. According to him, this situation is related to the erasure of the meaning underling reality; there is no direct reality, there are representations or copies of it. In this context, Jameson (1984) states that the subject's perception and experience of the product has also undergone a transformation: instead of a deep relationship aimed at producing meaning, there is only a wandering between surfaces (Jameson, 1984).

In this context, these fictional architectural styles coincide with Jameson's concept of depthlesness: the meaning of the past has been erased, and representation have piled up in its place. As discussed, the Ottoman-Seljuk heritage, which encompasses a long history of architectural forms, is reduced to a few domes, portals, and repetitive geometric ornaments, demolishing it into the façade. The complexity of history was reduced to homogenized past images. Therefore, the synthesis of Ottoman-Seljuk items is undermining the meaning behind reality; now these elements are the constructors of authority's ideology, rather than being and reflecting a newness in construction techniques at their original context and belonging to history. These are now the reflectors of phantasmagoric spectacles, trying to persuade populace that these buildings are about history.

Moreover, Walter Benjamin (1968b) argues that the reproducibility of artworks inevitably diminishes their aura- the unique presence they possess by existing only once, in a specific place and moment. This aura encompasses the ritual beliefs, social context, and ceremonial display surrounding an artwork at the time of its creation,

enabling a symbolic-ritual communication between object and viewer. The media reproduction tools like photography, print or film intervene, the work is mechanically replicated. Its historical authority and spatial singularity erode, the viewer's capacity to encounter it in its original context weakens, and its ritual dimension is stripped away. Consequently, the artwork is reduced to a mere exhibit-or commodity-its historical depth obliterated, and its uniqueness destroyed (Benjamin, 1968b). Drawing from this, the Ottoman-Seljuk styled buildings, and their construction as references to past, demolishes the aura of the original. Decontextualizing and repeating these elements like crown gates, pointed arches or windows, and decorations, eventually creates the loss of aura in the original. Instead of creating a single strong and original narrative, the sense of familiarity is reinforced.

Soja's (1997) reading of postmetropolises as simcities is significant in this context. According to Soja (1997), cities are no longer physical and experiential spaces but are transformed into simulations constructed in digital, mediatic, or ideological forms. This new urban form consists of structures that are seemingly real but have become fake in terms of content (Soja, 1997).

Thirdly and lastly, within the current architectural debates in the world, the attempt to selectively bring together such elements of the past and impose them as the architecture of authority demolishes the creative potential of the architect and architecture. In his article on the architecture of the new Presidential Palace -built on the grounds of the Atatürk Forest Farm- Artun (2014b) argues that such and similar architectural productions do not free architecture but rather annihilate and render it meaningless. In other words, constructing via a selective synthesis of past elements creates a rupture from architecture's inherent authentic, critical, historical, and professional values. This architectural form not only fails to say anything new through architecture, but it also cannot sustain its historical continuity. The problem, Artun (2014b) contends, is not that these buildings merely look like imitations but that they lack theoretical and intellectual depth. Just as the form remains superficial, architecture thereby loses its capacity to generate ideas. Moreover, beyond being a rejection of the modernist architectural discourse, the intervention functioned as an anti-democratic disciplinary mechanism that reduced architectural production to the carrier of

ideological representations and limited the autonomy and creativity of architect (Batuman, 2019).

As discussed at the outset of the thesis, demolition is a threshold between creation and annihilation. Following Uğur Tanyeli (2020), architecture is liberated-and able to generate the new-only insofar as it can dismantle the old. However, in the case of these buildings, demolition has not served as a liberating potential; rather, it has acted like a lock on both the architect and the discipline's free will, producing a regressive effect.

5.5 TOWARDS A CATALOGUE OF DEMOLITION

By examining the cases, a catalogue has been created which functions as a complementary analytical tool that consolidates the theoretical arguments and case study analyses previously discussed. Rather than serving as an introductory device, the catalogue is conceived as a retrospective framework that visualizes and categorizes various demolition interventions in Ankara. It offers a typological synthesis of how neoliberal-Islamist power has reconfigured the built environment through ideological strategies of annihilation, appropriation, and re-envision.

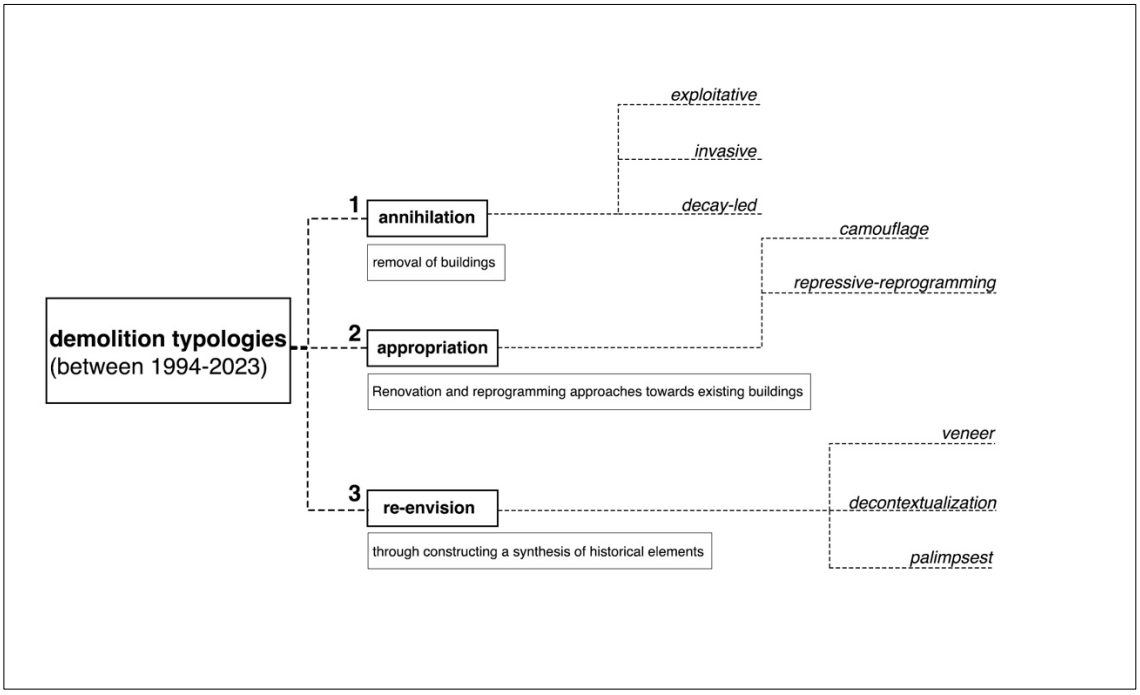

Figure 5.50 The catalogue (Source: author)

Rather than offering a comprehensive inventory, the catalogue presents emblematic cases that exemplify the ideological rationalities and spatial consequences of each typology of demolition. While classification may risk simplification, the typology is strategically employed to reveal the recurring patterns, symbolic logics, and political agendas driving these spatial interventions. The inclusion of diagrams and visual materials situates each case within its urban and temporal context, allowing the reader to grasp both ruptures and continuities in Ankara's architectural transformations. Ultimately, the catalogue aims to provide a critical lens through which to interpret demolition not as isolated acts, but as systematic tool of a broader ideological and spatial project.

The catalogue organizes selected case studies with demolition interventions in Ankara under a tripartite typology introduced in the Chapter 4.

The first type is the most radical form of demolition, *annihilation*, associated with the complete physical removal of a building. The term annihilation refers to the total erasure of a building, leaving no trace behind. A general analysis of these acts reveals that the authority's attitude toward Republican era and the modern architectural heritage can be interpreted as an effort to spatially manifest neoliberal- Islamist ideology, to exchange symbolic buildings for their scrap value, and to exact a revenge on the narratives they once embodied. Even though the act itself is the same, annihilation, the causality behind these demolitions varies significantly.

Regarding this, there are three types of annihilation, and these are classified based on the underlying motivations behind the demolitions, their modes of legitimation, and the temporal position of demolition within the broader process of transformation. Within this framework, annihilations are classified into three categories with case studies:[37]

[37] The annihilated buildings limited to a specific category here may also appear as case studies wtihin different categories of annihilation. However, in this section of the thesis, since the aim is to exemplify the act of demolition through an annihilated building, the buildings have been confined to singular categories.

1) *Exploitative*, involving demolitions carried out to clear the way for highly profitable redevelopment projects (TBMM Deputy Housing Complex, EGO Hangars, and Su Süzgeci Building).
2) *Invasive*, referring to the occupation of land with new projects while simultaneously demolishing existing buildings to assert dominance over the area (İller Bank and TİKA Building).
3) *Decay-led,* targeting the gradual elimination of derelict or undesirable urban areas, preparing the site for eventual demolition (Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory and 100.Yıl Mall).

The second type reflects the demolitions carried out on already existing buildings, without physically removing them. These acts are associated with renovation and re-functioning attempts and examined under the term of *appropriation*. The term is selected because rather than annihilating the buildings they were appropriated, but this appropriation process developed under a condition. Appropriation has either occurred by dressing buildings with a new identity, or re-programming an existing building while suppressing the broader historical context of its construction and experience.

Therefore, the typology of appropriation categorized into two different categories:

1) *Camouflage* reflects the renovation intervention towards existing buildings but redressing them out of their historical and architectural context (Cebeci Secondary School).
2) *Repressive Reprogramming* reflects the re-programming interventions towards idle buildings, but this reprogramming suppresses the historical context and the narrative of the buildings- leaving no trace behind about the past (TEKEL İnhisarlar Başmüdürlük Building and Sümerbank Building).

Finally, the newly constructed public buildings through a synthesis of past elements are considered as a type of demolition. In this context, public buildings were designed in the Ottoman-Seljuk styles are selected as focus cases. The reading of these construction practices as a form of demolition was made under the term of *re-envision*. Because the authority's construction of itself through architecture (Batuman, 2014; Batuman, 2019), with the Ottoman-Seljuk style, is based on the selective

reconstruction of elements of the past in the creation of the desired representation. Regarding this, there are three types of re-envisioning:

1) *Veneer* reflects the use of past elements on the facades decoratively, in the newly built public buildings (Ankara Tevfik İleri Anadolu İmam Hatip High School, Police Headquarters Building, Yıldırım Beyazıt University Esenboğa Campus)
2) *Decontextualization reflects* the use of past elements as a fundamental form or spatial element of the building, decontextualizing the originality (Ankara Gates and the Ulus Cultural Center Enclosed Bazaar and Minibus Terminal Building)
3) *Palimpsest* refers to the construction of new public buildings in Ottoman and Seljuk styles, through which the historical, contextual, and symbolic values of the place are overwritten and replaced by a selective reinterpretation of the past (Presidential Palace in AOÇ).

Rather than treating these interventions as isolated cases, the catalogue enables them to be read collectively, revealing shared strategies of spatial domination, erasure, and ideological projection. Through diagrams, visuals, and succinct case summaries, the catalogue serves to synthesize and reinforce the thesis's central argument: that demolition, in its various forms, is not merely a byproduct of transformation, but a deliberate political instrument for producing a new spatial order.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This thesis conceptualizes demolition as an ambiguous and multilayered process situated between creation and annihilation, rather than a mere act of destruction. Drawing on the concepts of memento mori, mythological narratives, psychoanalytic theory, Walter Benjamin's critiques of modernity, and the studies of Yıkarak Yapmak by Uğur Tanyeli (2020) and Building's Must Die by Cairns & Jacobs (2017), demolition is understood as an act that not only ends but also enables new beginnings within architectural and urban contexts. Building on the idea that built environment is ideologically and socially produced, the thesis places demolition at the center of ideological reproduction.

The study reveals how demolition has been instrumentalized as a complex ideological strategy to reshape Ankara's urban history, with a specific focus on public architecture. By framing demolition as a multilayered practice rather than a simple erasure, the thesis exposes how neoliberal-Islamist ideology has actively employed demolition to serve present political interests through spatial rewriting and symbolic substitution.

This research offers a novel perspective on Ankara's urban transformations by reinterpreting demolition as a mechanism that produces and reveals ideology. Rather than the physical removal of buildings, demolition functions as a medium for Islamist political hegemony to inscribe new ideological narratives onto the urban fabric-countering and overwriting the symbolic legacies of modern and republican architectures to establish a new hegemonic order.

The post-1980 period marked a deep entanglement of urbanization with market-driven neoliberal policies, leading to widespread urban renewal and demolitions, including those targeting historically significant buildings such as the Kızılay building. The rise of Islamist municipal governance after 1994 introduced a new phase of urban

rewriting, legitimized by nostalgic political discourse: conquest rhetoric. In this phase, demolition transcended physical destruction to become a spatial expression of conservative revanchism, driven by a nostalgic longing and aimed at symbolically restructuring Ankara's urban landscape according to the contemporary political agendas.

Just as the construction of Ankara as the capital was shaped by the ideals of modernism and the republican vision, the post 1994 period witnessed the development of a counter project by political Islamist governance. Through symbolic and material interventions, this new project has actively sought to reshape urban space. Within this process, demolition has emerged as a central ideological strategy for the spatial production of new hegemony aligned with the values and aspirations of the authority.

The demolition processes signify a multilayered intervention that goes beyond mere physical transformation. In these processes demolition becomes a ground where political decisions concerning the city's past, present, and future are made. The removal of buildings is not only a material disappearance but also a selective decision about which structures deemed grievable. This situation shows that demolition turns into practice of recognition and denial, where some buildings are valued and preserved while other are silently disregarded and erased.

In this context, demolition processes also function to suppress and redirect representational meanings. Through façade alterations or functional transformations, the historical, contextual, and architectural qualities carried by buildings become obscured, and the building is transformed into an ideologically shaped shell. These interventions are not merely aesthetic but are direct ideological choices, demonstrating how space becomes an apparatus for the reproduction of ideology. Thus, demolition enables the establishment of ideological order by reframing the existing without necessarily constructing something new.

All these processes also operate within a temporal framework. Demolition not only represents a rupture with the past but also carries an imagination for the future. New buildings adorned with images of the Ottoman past reveal not only how history, but

future imaginaries are ideologically shaped. In this regard, demolition does not merely create spatial voids; it is a process where decisions are made about how, with what, and whose imagination will fill those voids. Therefore, demolition in Ankara appears not as an end but as a continuous and systematic strategy through which power constructs history, identity, and future.

Regarding these, this thesis identified three primary typologies (annihilation, appropriation, and re-envision) through which demolition manifests in the transformation of public buildings in Ankara. Each typology reveals distinct mechanisms of ideological intervention. To start with annihilation, the category reveals that:

- Demolition is deployed as a systematic intervention targeting republican and modernist spaces, often under the guise of rehabilitation and capital generation
- buildings of architectural, cultural, and historical significance are treated indiscriminately, demolished with the exact same processes with other buildings, without considering further evaluations
- It worked like a chain reaction, once a building demolition is normalized, further demolitions are legitimized more easily
- Top-down decision making dominates, with minimal public consultation or democratic oversight
- Earthquake resistance and structural instability reports are used as tools of legitimation
- the consequences extend beyond the annihilated building, altering the meaning and identity of surrounding urban space.

Appropriation category reveals several key patterns:

- renovation and reprogramming decisions are made unilaterally, often to suppress undesirable narratives or uses
- Institutional opacity further distances the public from decisions regarding heritage

- Processes of renovation and reprogramming reduce buildings' architectural and historical significance to superficial façade alterations or functional changes, effectively silencing their original meaning.

Finally, re-envision category reveals several key patterns:

- The instrumentalization of history for the ideological production of power
- The extraction and replication of past elements from their historical context undermines the history, aura, reality, and subject's experience towards history
- the creative agency of architects and the conceptual coherence of architecture are compromised, resulting in aesthetic and ideological pastiche.

The findings and key patterns reveal that demolition process in Ankara function not as liberating but rather as a repressive mechanism that enables ideological control over space. The systematic demolition of modern architectural heritage and its replacement with the ideological production of the neoliberal-Islamist regime demonstrate a hegemonic transformation within the city's spatial and symbolic fabric. This transformation is not merely a physical change but also entails the dominance of certain ideological narratives, while opposing spaces and representations are eliminated through various forms of demolition.

Although most of the interventions align with the overarching neoliberal-Islamist ideology of the ruling power, the demolition processes reveal a more nuanced articulation of this political orientation. While many demolitions occur through discourses of rent generation, urban rehabilitation, or spatial reintegration- highlighting the neoliberal facet of the authority- others reflect its Islamist dimension more explicitly, such as demolitions to make space for a mosque, the symbolic masking of modernist identities with historical imagery, or the construction of new buildings in Ottoman-Seljuk hybrid styles. In this context, it becomes evident that these two ideological components are not uniformly applied but are selectively mobilized depending on the spatial, historical, and symbolic context of each urban site. Demolition, in this sense, becomes a diagnostic tool through which the ideological elasticity and context-dependent strategies of power can be read. Thus, the ideological

orientation and its transformative practices are not static, but contingent upon the building's location, scale, and embedded meaning within the urban fabric.

Moreover, this thesis also recognizes that such transformations are not exclusive to Neoliberal-Islamist governance, profit-driven urban redevelopment could generate similar spatial outcomes. What would differ is not the structural logic of demolition itself, but the ideological content of what replaces the demolished. This highlights the fundamental point that demolition, as a spatial act, is always ideologically charged, its meaning and effects shaped by the hegemonic project of the actors who wield it.

By conceptualizing demolition as an active site of ideological struggle, this study contributes to a growing body of literature that critiques the politics of urban transformation. It also opens a pathway for theorizing demolition not as an endpoint, but as a moment of ideological production- a lens through which political intentions are materially inscribed into urban form.

Given the study's scope, which is limited to selected number of case studies, applying this theoretical approach to different contexts or cities would enhance its analytical breadth. Furthermore, investigating counter-hegemonic practices- such as community activism, architectural resistance, or memory preservation efforts- could provide important insights into how spatial political can also be contested, not only enforced.

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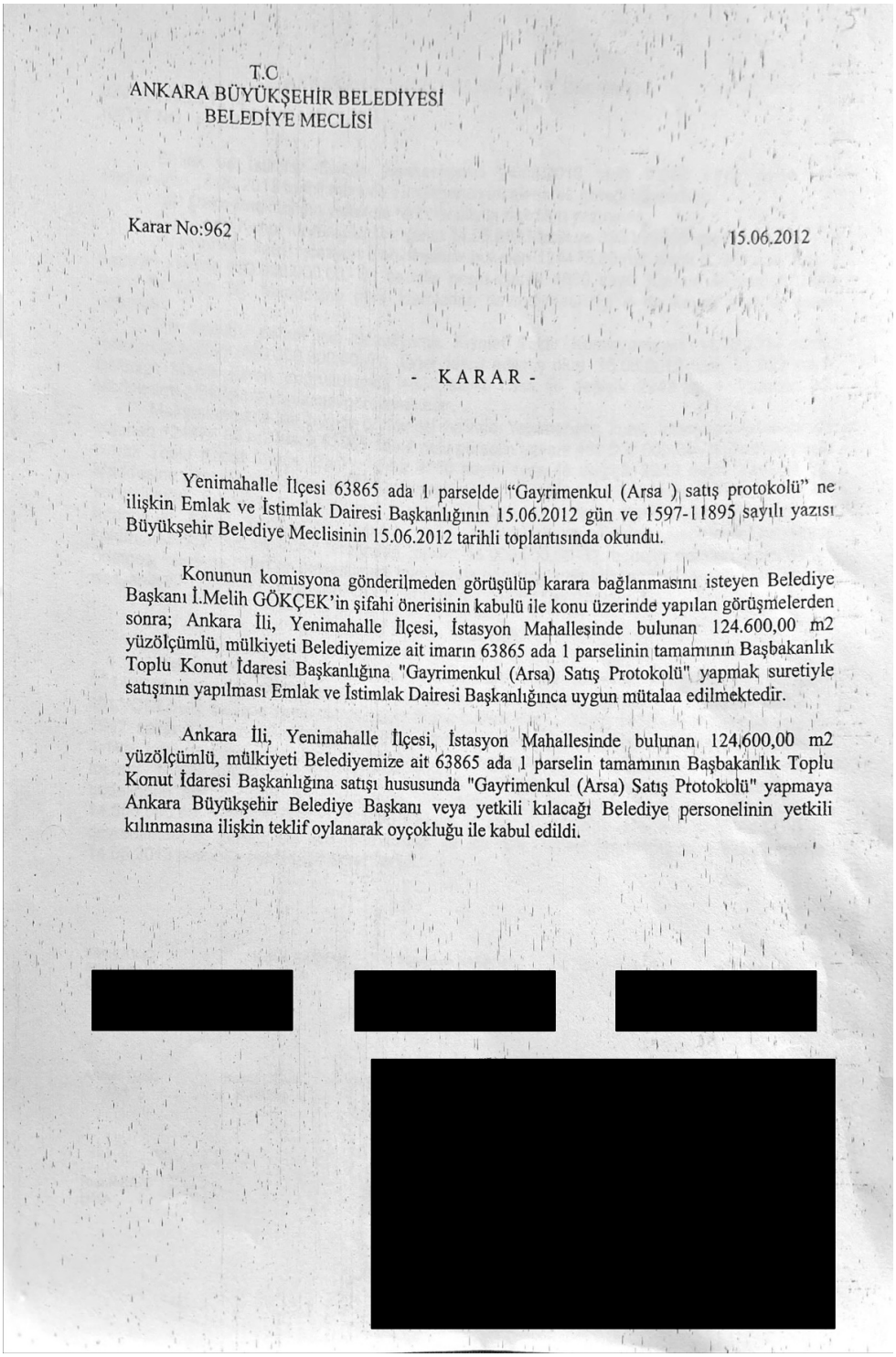
APPENDIX A

Decision documents regarding demolition or the transfer of the land, protocols, and official correspondence between the Demolition Directorate and various institutions

1. Ego Hangars



T.C
ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
BELEDİYE MECLİSİ

Karar No:962 15.06.2012

- KARAR -

Yenimahalle İlçesi 63865 ada 1 parselde "Gayrimenkul (Arsa) satış protokolü" ne ilişkin Emlak ve İstimlak Dairesi Başkanlığının 15.06.2012 gün ve 1597-11895 sayılı yazısı Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 15.06.2012 tarihli toplantısında okundu.

Konunun komisyona gönderilmeden görüşülüp karara bağlanmasını isteyen Belediye Başkanı İ.Melih GÖKÇEK'in şifahi önerisinin kabulü ile konu üzerinde yapılan görüşmelerden sonra; Ankara İli, Yenimahalle İlçesi, İstasyon Mahallesinde bulunan 124.600,00 m2 yüzölçümlü, mülkiyeti Belediyemize ait imarın 63865 ada 1 parselinin tamamının Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığına "Gayrimenkul (Arsa) Satış Protokolü" yapmak suretiyle satışının yapılması Emlak ve İstimlak Dairesi Başkanlığınca uygun mütalaa edilmektedir.

Ankara İli, Yenimahalle İlçesi, İstasyon Mahallesinde bulunan 124.600,00 m2 yüzölçümlü, mülkiyeti Belediyemize ait 63865 ada 1 parselin tamamının Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığına satışı hususunda "Gayrimenkul (Arsa) Satış Protokolü" yapmaya Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı veya yetkili kılacağı Belediye personelinin yetkili kılınmasına ilişkin teklif oylanarak oyçokluğu ile kabul edildi.

2. TİKA

T.C.
ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
BELEDİYE MECLİSİ

8

Karar No:2169

11.11.2015

KARAR

Altındağ İlçesi 6950 ada 1 parseldeki eski TİKA binasına ilişkin Kent Estetiği Dairesi Başkanlığının 06.11.2015 gün ve 266-4409 sayılı yazısı Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 11.11.2015 tarihli toplantısında okundu.

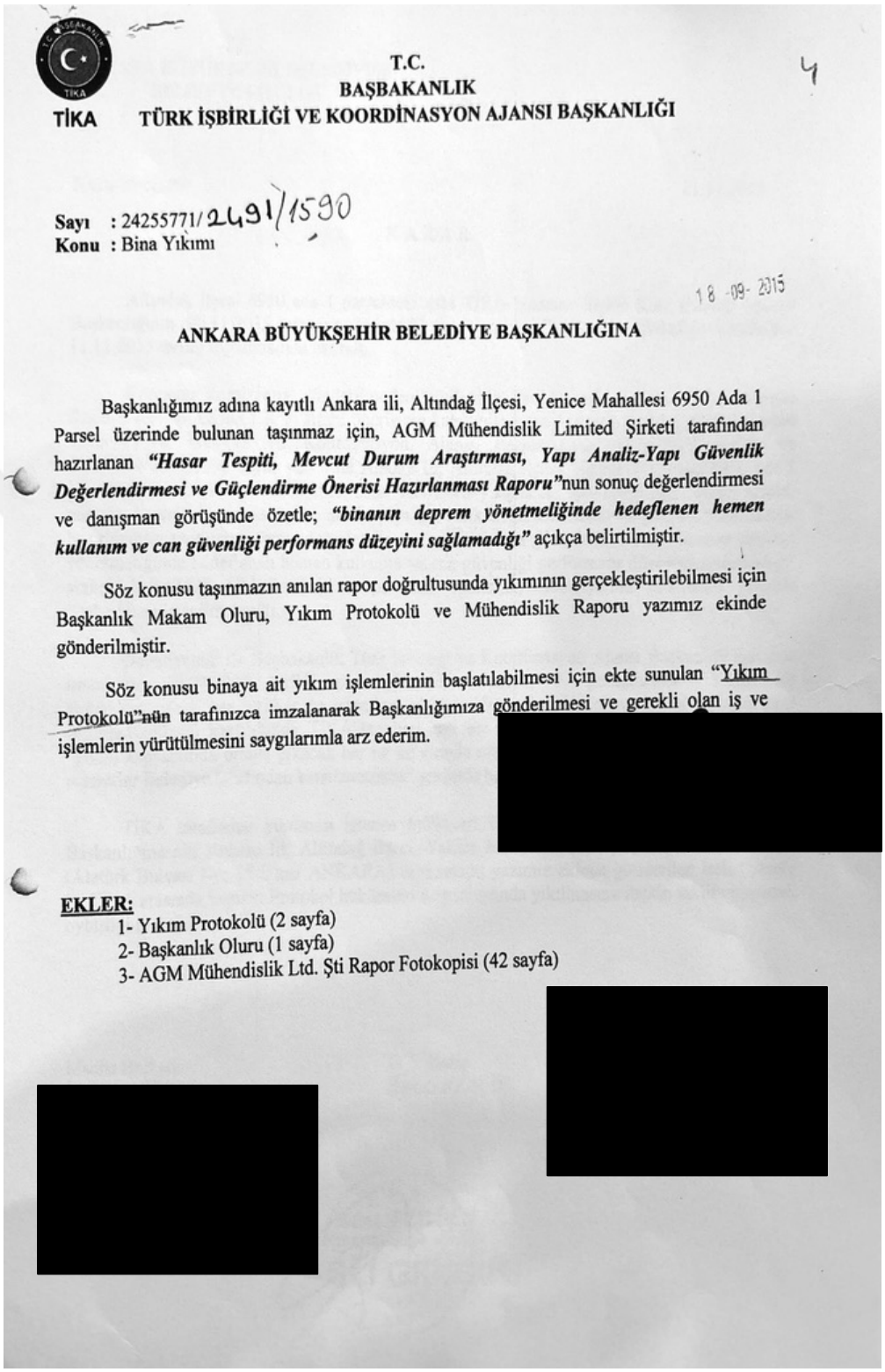
Konunun komisyona gönderilmeden görüşülüp karara bağlanmasını isteyen Meclis Başkanı İ.Melih GÖKÇEK'in şifahi önerisinin kabulü ile konu üzerinde yapılan görüşmelerden sonra; Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığının 18.09.2015 tarihli ve 24255771/2491/1590 sayılı yazısı ile Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, Yenice Mahallesi 6950 ada 1 parseldeki (Atatürk Bulvarı No: 15 Ulus/ ANKARA) taşınmaz için hazırlanan "Hasar tespiti, mevcut durum araştırması, yapı analiz-yapı güvenlik değerlendirmesi ve güçlendirme önerisi hazırlanması raporunun sonuç değerlendirmesi ve danışman görüşünde özetle; "binanın deprem yönetmeliğinde hedeflenen hemen kullanım ve can güvenliği performans düzeyini sağlamadığı" açıkça belirtildiği bildirilmekte ve protokol yapılarak, Belediyemiz tarafından yıkımın yaptırılması istenilmektedir.

Belediyemiz ile Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı arasında imzalanan 29.09.2015 tarihli protokolün 5. Maddesi 2. paragrafında" Yıkım ile gerçekleştirilecek her türlü iş ve işlemlere ait masraflar yıkımdan çıkan hurda malzemelerin değerlendirilmesi karşılığında TİKA'dan herhangi bir maddi unsur talep edilmeyecektir" ve "yıkım kapsamında ortaya çıkacak her ne ad altında olursa olsun vergi, resim, harç, KDV vb. masraflar Belediye tarafından karşılanacaktır" şeklinde belirtilmektedir.

TİKA tarafından yıkılması istenen mülkiyeti Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığına ait; Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, Yenice Mahallesi 6950 ada 1 parselde bulunan (Atatürk Bulvarı No: 15 Ulus/ ANKARA) taşınmazın; yazımız ekinde gönderilen Belediyemiz ile TİKA arasında yapılan Protokol hükümleri doğrultusunda yıkılmasına ilişkin teklif oylanarak oybirliği ile kabul edildi.

[redacted]

3. TİKA



T.C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
TİKA TÜRK İŞBİRLİĞİ VE KOORDİNASYON AJANSI BAŞKANLIĞI

4

Sayı : 24255771/2491/1590
Konu : Bina Yıkımı

18-09-2015

ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞINA

Başkanlığımız adına kayıtlı Ankara ili, Altındağ İlçesi, Yenice Mahallesi 6950 Ada 1 Parsel üzerinde bulunan taşınmaz için, AGM Mühendislik Limited Şirketi tarafından hazırlanan ***"Hasar Tespiti, Mevcut Durum Araştırması, Yapı Analiz-Yapı Güvenlik Değerlendirmesi ve Güçlendirme Önerisi Hazırlanması Raporu"***nun sonuç değerlendirmesi ve danışman görüşünde özetle; ***"binanın deprem yönetmeliğinde hedeflenen hemen kullanım ve can güvenliği performans düzeyini sağlamadığı"*** açıkça belirtilmiştir.

Söz konusu taşınmazın anılan rapor doğrultusunda yıkımının gerçekleştirilebilmesi için Başkanlık Makam Oluru, Yıkım Protokolü ve Mühendislik Raporu yazımız ekinde gönderilmiştir.

Söz konusu binaya ait yıkım işlemlerinin başlatılabilmesi için ekte sunulan "Yıkım Protokolü"nün tarafınızca imzalanarak Başkanlığımıza gönderilmesi ve gerekli olan iş ve işlemlerin yürütülmesini saygılarımla arz ederim.

[redacted]

EKLER:
1- Yıkım Protokolü (2 sayfa)
2- Başkanlık Oluru (1 sayfa)
3- AGM Mühendislik Ltd. Şti Rapor Fotokopisi (42 sayfa)

[redacted]

[redacted]

4. TİKA

MÜLKİYETİ TÜRK İŞBİRLİĞİ KOORDİNASYON AJANSI BAŞKANLIĞINA AİT HİZMET BİNASININ ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ TARAFINDAN YIKILMASINA İLİŞKİN PROTOKOL

Madde 1- PROTOKOLÜN TARAFLARI

Bu Protokol, bir tarafta T.C. Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı (protokolde bundan sonra **TİKA** olarak anılacaktır) ile diğer tarafta Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı (protokolde bundan sonra **BELEDİYE** olarak anılacaktır) arasında aşağıda yazılı şartlar dahilinde akdedilmiştir.

Madde 2- TARAFLARA İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

2.1. TİKA'nın Adresi: GMK Bulvarı No:164 Çankaya/ANKARA
Tel: 312 939 70 00
Fax: 312 939 75 15-16

2.2. BELEDİYE'nin Adresi: Hipodrom Caddesi No: 5 Yenimahalle / ANKARA
Tel:
Fax:

Her iki taraf, madde 2.1 ve 2.2'de belirtilen adreslerini tebligat adresi olarak kabul etmişlerdir. Adres değişiklikleri usulüne uygun şekilde karşı tarafa tebliğ edilmedikçe, en son bildirilen adrese yapılacak tebliğ, ilgili tarafa yapılmış sayılır.

Taraflar, yazılı tebligatı daha sonra süresi içinde yapmak kaydıyla, posta kuryesi ve faks yoluyla bildirimde bulunabilirler.

Madde 3- PROTOKOLÜN KONUSU

Mülkiyeti TİKA'ya ait Ankara İli Altındağ İlçesi Yenice Mahallesinde bulunan 6950 Ada 1 No'lu Parseldeki Betonarme Karkas Binanın Belediye tarafından yıkılmasına ilişkin usul ve esaslar iş bu Protokolün konusunu teşkil eder.

Madde 4 – PROTOKOLÜN AMACI

TİKA, Ankara İli Altındağ İlçesi Yenice Mahallesinde bulunan 6950 Ada, 1 numaralı parseldeki Betonarme Karkas Binadan, halen faaliyetlerini sürdürmekte olduğu GMK Bulvarı No: 164 06570 Çankaya Ankara adresindeki yeni hizmet binasına taşınmıştır.

İş bu protokol kapsamında Belediye tarafından yıkılacak olan TİKA eski hizmet binası için; AGM Mühendislik Limited Şirketi'ne yaptırılan, *"Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı Hizmet Binasına Ait Hasar Tespiti Mevcut Durum Araştırması, Yapı Analiz Güvenlik ve Güçlendirme Önerisi Hazırlanması Raporu"*nda özetle; binanın deprem yönetmeliğinde hedeflenen hemen kullanım ve can güvenliği performans düzeyini sağlamadığı belirtilmiştir.

Raporda belirtilen gerekçeler doğrultusunda boşaltılan binanın BELEDİYE tarafından yıkılması amacıyla, TİKA ve BELEDİYE arasında iş bu protokol imza altına alınmıştır.

[redacted] [redacted]

5. İller Bank

T.C.
KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
ANKARA II NUMARALI KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARINI
KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU
KARAR

Toplantı Tarihi ve No : 16.06.2017 - 207
Karar Tarihi ve No : 16.06.2017- 2667

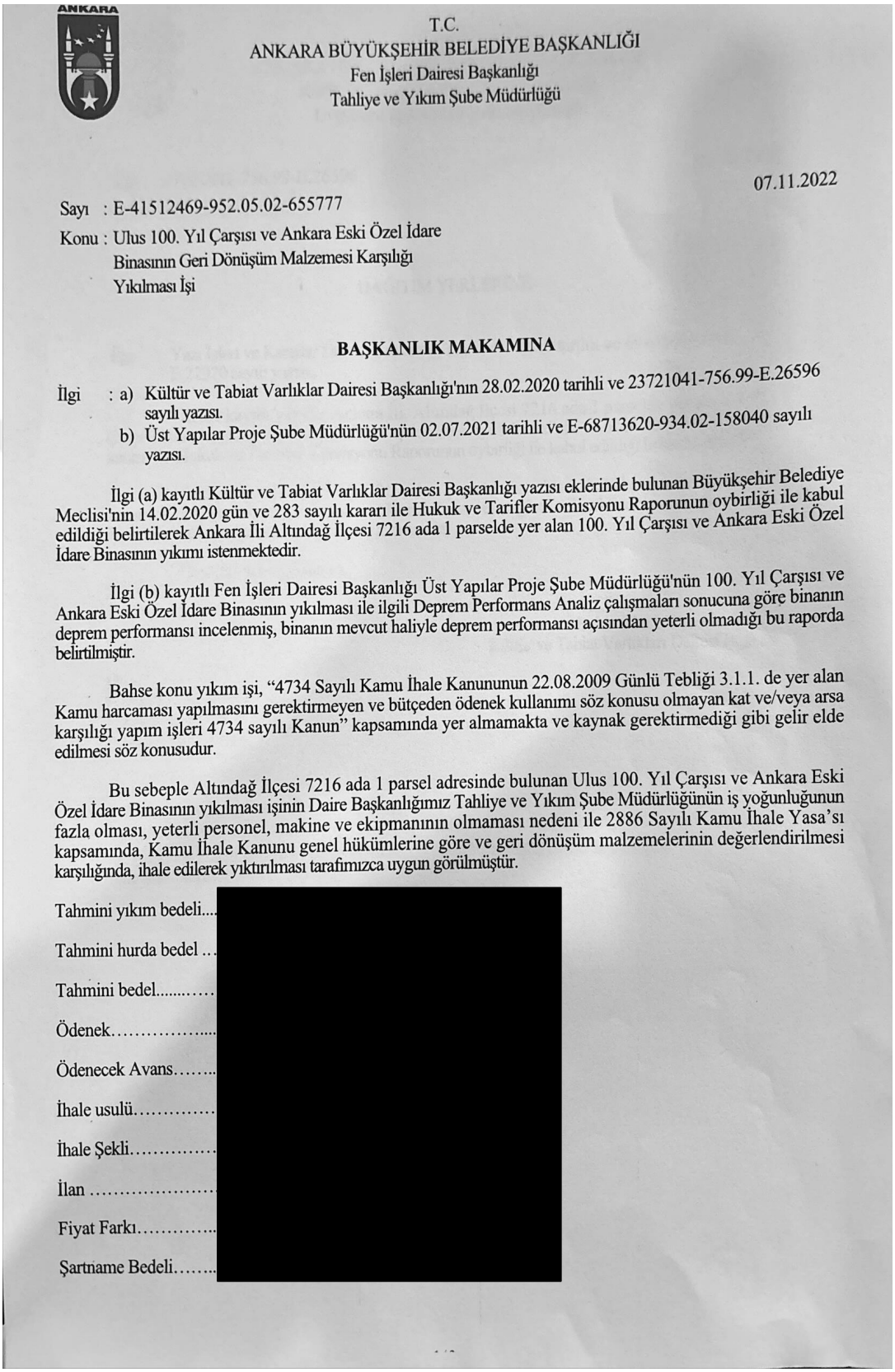
Toplantı Yeri: ANKARA

Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, 6953 Ada, 10 Parselde kayıtlı, 28 Haziran 2015 ve 29400 sayılı Resmi Gazetede yayınlanarak yürürlüğe giren 22.06.2015 tarih ve 2015/7872 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile belirlenen "Ankara Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı" ve "*Geçiş Dönemi Koruma Esasları ve Kullanma Şartları*" Ankara 2 Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu'nun 27.07.2015 tarih ve 1483 sayılı kararı ile belirlenen Kentsel Sit içerisinde yer alan, Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulunun 12.04.1980 tarih A-2167 sayılı kararı ve Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulunun 10.07.1986 tarih 2458 sayılı kararı ile taşınmaz kültür varlığı olarak tescil edilen İller Bankası Binası'na ilişkin Kurulumuzun 18.08.2016 tarih ve 2160 sayılı kararına istinaden rölöve çizimleri, rölöve raporları, fotoğraf albümü ve diğer belgelerin iletildiği ve 6953 Ada 10 Parselde yer alan tescilli İller Bankası Binası'nın tescilsiz 6953 ada, 13 Parsele taşınmasına ilişkin talebin ivedilikle Kurulumuzda değerlendirilmesi hususunu içeren Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklar Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın 14.06.2017 tarih ve 2355 sayılı yazısı, Ankara II Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu'nun 18.08.2016 tarih ve 2160 sayılı kararı, Ankara II Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlüğü'nün 16.06.2017 tarih ve 2621 sayılı uzman raporu okundu; ekleri, statik raporu, dosyası ve rölöveleri, rölöve raporları incelendi. Yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda;

Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, 6953 Ada 10,11 ve 13 Parsellerin "Dini Hizmet Alanı" olarak kullanılmasının ve 6953 Ada, 10 Parselde kayıtlı tescilli yapıya ilişkin rölövelerin uygun olduğuna; statik raporda değinilen yapının ve yapıda kullanılan malzemelerin dayanım özelliklerini kaybetmesi ve ileri derecede korozyona uğraması, güncel deprem yönetmeliği gereksinimlerini karşılayamaması gerekçeleriyle yapının tescilsiz 6953 Ada, 13 Parsele taşınması talebinin 2863 sayılı Yasa kapsamında uygun olduğuna, 6953 Ada 13 Parsele "korunması gerekli kültür varlığı" şerhi konulması gerektiğine karar verildi.

[redacted]

6. 100. Yıl Mall



T.C.
ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI
Fen İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı
Tahliye ve Yıkım Şube Müdürlüğü

07.11.2022

Sayı : E-41512469-952.05.02-655777
Konu : Ulus 100. Yıl Çarşısı ve Ankara Eski Özel İdare Binasının Geri Dönüşüm Malzemesi Karşılığı Yıkılması İşi

BAŞKANLIK MAKAMINA

İlgi : a) Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklar Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın 28.02.2020 tarihli ve 23721041-756.99-E.26596 sayılı yazısı.
b) Üst Yapılar Proje Şube Müdürlüğü'nün 02.07.2021 tarihli ve E-68713620-934.02-158040 sayılı yazısı.

İlgi (a) kayıtlı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklar Dairesi Başkanlığı yazısı eklerinde bulunan Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi'nin 14.02.2020 gün ve 283 sayılı kararı ile Hukuk ve Tarifler Komisyonu Raporunun oybirliği ile kabul edildiği belirtilerek Ankara İli Altındağ İlçesi 7216 ada 1 parselde yer alan 100. Yıl Çarşısı ve Ankara Eski Özel İdare Binasının yıkımı istenmektedir.

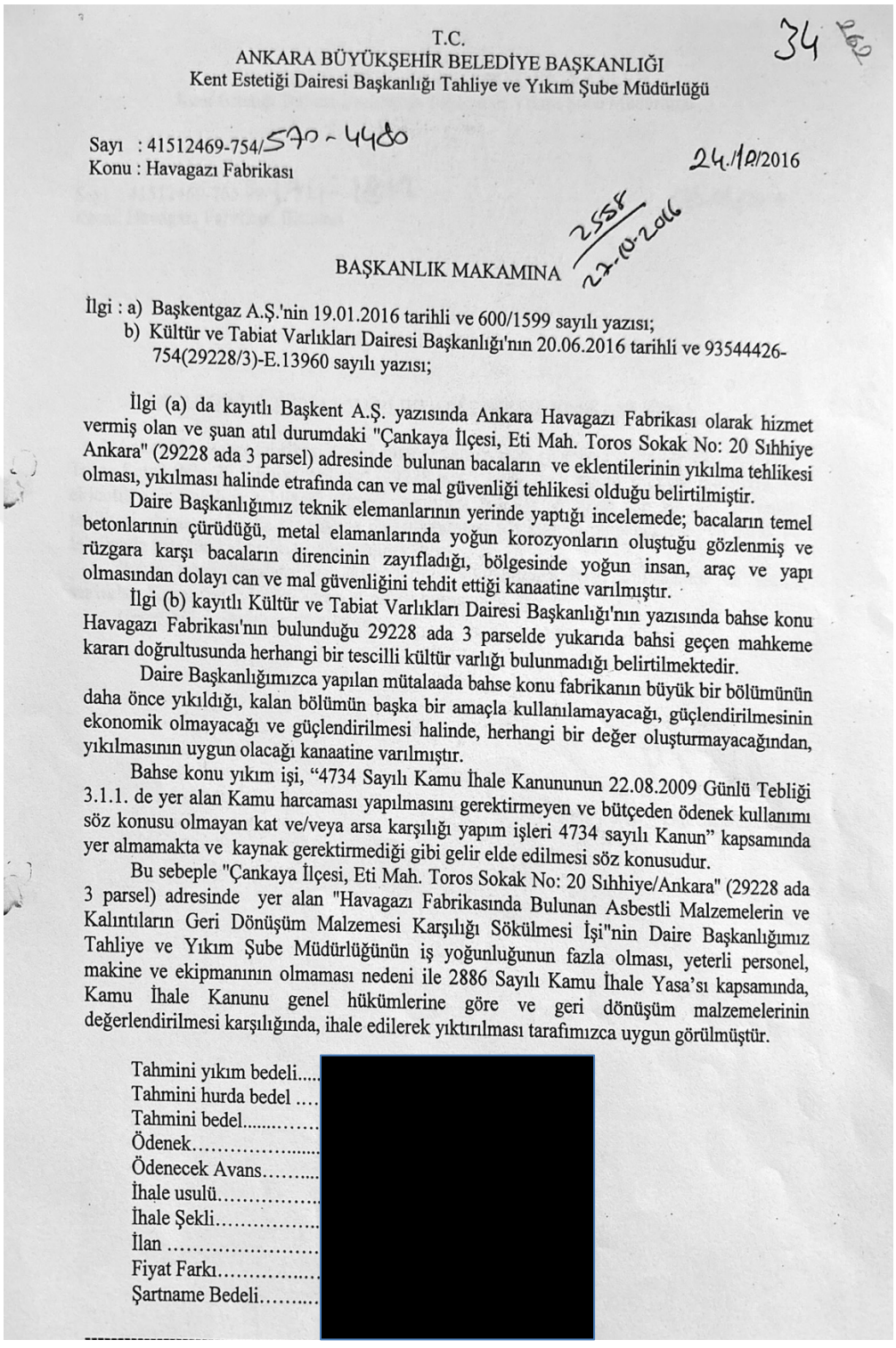
İlgi (b) kayıtlı Fen İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı Üst Yapılar Proje Şube Müdürlüğü'nün 100. Yıl Çarşısı ve Ankara Eski Özel İdare Binasının yıkılması ile ilgili Deprem Performans Analiz çalışmaları sonucuna göre binanın deprem performansı incelenmiş, binanın mevcut haliyle deprem performansı açısından yeterli olmadığı bu raporda belirtilmiştir.

Bahse konu yıkım işi, "4734 Sayılı Kamu İhale Kanununun 22.08.2009 Günlü Tebliği 3.1.1. de yer alan Kamu harcaması yapılmasını gerektirmeyen ve bütçeden ödenek kullanımı söz konusu olmayan kat ve/veya arsa karşılığı yapım işleri 4734 sayılı Kanun" kapsamında yer almamakta ve kaynak gerektirmediği gibi gelir elde edilmesi söz konusudur.

Bu sebeple Altındağ İlçesi 7216 ada 1 parsel adresinde bulunan Ulus 100. Yıl Çarşısı ve Ankara Eski Özel İdare Binasının yıkılması işinin Daire Başkanlığımız Tahliye ve Yıkım Şube Müdürlüğünün iş yoğunluğunun fazla olması, yeterli personel, makine ve ekipmanının olmaması nedeni ile 2886 Sayılı Kamu İhale Yasa'sı kapsamında, Kamu İhale Kanunu genel hükümlerine göre ve geri dönüşüm malzemelerinin değerlendirilmesi karşılığında, ihale edilerek yıktırılması tarafımızca uygun görülmüştür.

Tahmini yıkım bedeli....
Tahmini hurda bedel ...
Tahmini bedel.....
Ödenek.....
Ödenecek Avans.....
İhale usulü.....
İhale Şekli.....
İlan .....
Fiyat Farkı.....
Şartname Bedeli.....

7. Maltepe Gas and Electric Factory



T.C.
ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI
Kent Estetiği Dairesi Başkanlığı Tahliye ve Yıkım Şube Müdürlüğü

34

Sayı : 41512469-754/570 - 4480
Konu : Havagazı Fabrikası

24.10.2016

BAŞKANLIK MAKAMINA 2558 / 27-10-2016

İlgi : a) Başkentgaz A.Ş.'nin 19.01.2016 tarihli ve 600/1599 sayılı yazısı;
b) Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın 20.06.2016 tarihli ve 93544426-754(29228/3)-E.13960 sayılı yazısı;

İlgi (a) da kayıtlı Başkent A.Ş. yazısında Ankara Havagazı Fabrikası olarak hizmet vermiş olan ve şuan atıl durumdaki "Çankaya İlçesi, Eti Mah. Toros Sokak No: 20 Sıhhiye Ankara" (29228 ada 3 parsel) adresinde bulunan bacaların ve eklentilerinin yıkılma tehlikesi olması, yıkılması halinde etrafında can ve mal güvenliği tehlikesi olduğu belirtilmiştir.

Daire Başkanlığımız teknik elemanlarının yerinde yaptığı incelemede; bacaların temel betonlarının çürüdüğü, metal elamanlarında yoğun korozyonların oluştuğu gözlenmiş ve rüzgara karşı bacaların direncinin zayıfladığı, bölgesinde yoğun insan, araç ve yapı olmasından dolayı can ve mal güvenliğini tehdit ettiği kanaatine varılmıştır.

İlgi (b) kayıtlı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın yazısında bahse konu Havagazı Fabrikası'nın bulunduğu 29228 ada 3 parselde yukarıda bahsi geçen mahkeme kararı doğrultusunda herhangi bir tescilli kültür varlığı bulunmadığı belirtilmektedir.

Daire Başkanlığımızca yapılan mütalaada bahse konu fabrikanın büyük bir bölümünün daha önce yıkıldığı, kalan bölümün başka bir amaçla kullanılamayacağı, güçlendirilmesinin ekonomik olmayacağı ve güçlendirilmesi halinde, herhangi bir değer oluşturmayacağından, yıkılmasının uygun olacağı kanaatine varılmıştır.

Bahse konu yıkım işi, "4734 Sayılı Kamu İhale Kanununun 22.08.2009 Günlü Tebliği 3.1.1. de yer alan Kamu harcaması yapılmasını gerektirmeyen ve bütçeden ödenek kullanımı söz konusu olmayan kat ve/veya arsa karşılığı yapım işleri 4734 sayılı Kanun" kapsamında yer almamakta ve kaynak gerektirmediği gibi gelir elde edilmesi söz konusudur.

Bu sebeple "Çankaya İlçesi, Eti Mah. Toros Sokak No: 20 Sıhhiye/Ankara" (29228 ada 3 parsel) adresinde yer alan "Havagazı Fabrikasında Bulunan Asbestli Malzemelerin ve Kalıntıların Geri Dönüşüm Malzemesi Karşılığı Sökülmesi İşi"nin Daire Başkanlığımız Tahliye ve Yıkım Şube Müdürlüğünün iş yoğunluğunun fazla olması, yeterli personel, makine ve ekipmanının olmaması nedeni ile 2886 Sayılı Kamu İhale Yasa'sı kapsamında, Kamu İhale Kanunu genel hükümlerine göre ve geri dönüşüm malzemelerinin değerlendirilmesi karşılığında, ihale edilerek yıktırılması tarafımızca uygun görülmüştür.

Tahmini yıkım bedeli.....
Tahmini hurda bedel ....
Tahmini bedel.....
Ödenek.....
Ödenecek Avans.....
İhale usulü.....
İhale Şekli.....
İlan .....
Fiyat Farkı.....
Şartname Bedeli.....

[redacted]

APPENDIX B

Letters Written by Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects to various institutions regarding demolition processes, registration requirements, and requests for information.

Tarih : 12.04.2021
Sayı : 07 / 1165
Konu : Su Süzgeci Binası hk.

T.C.
ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ BAŞKANLIĞI

Başkent Ankara'nın önemli endüstri mirası yapılarından Su Süzgeci Binası'nın mülkiyeti 2012 yılına kadar ASKİ'de iken önce Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne, 2013 yılında da Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden, dönemin özel üniversitelerinden olan Turgut Özal Üniversitesi'ne geçirilmiş olduğu bilinmekte olup daha sonra üniversite tarafından 08.07.2013 günü resmi tatil sırasında Su Süzgeci binası yıkılarak Ankara'nın endüstri ve kültürel mirasından bir kayıp daha yaşanmıştır.

Ankara başkent olduktan sonra, Çubuk Barajı'ndan gelen suyu arıtmak için Dışkapı'da Su Süzgeci inşa edilmiş, ülkemiz ve Ankara açısından önemli bu yapının bulunduğu arazi, işletmede olduğu süreçlerde mülkiyeti ASKİ'de olmasına rağmen aşağıda Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye meclis kararları kronolojisinden de anlaşılacağı üzere mülkiyetinin sıklıkla el değiştirmiştir.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Meclis kararları kronolojik olarak incelendiğinde;
14.07.2006 (Karar No: 1678), **mülkiyeti ASKİ'ye ait** olan Su Süzgeci arazisinde 9491 ada ve 17 parselin itfaiye hizmet alanına dönüştürülmesi talebinin değerlendirilmesinde, ASKİ Laboratuar, ASKİ Lojman ve İtfaiye Hizmet Alanı olarak 3 parsele bölünmesi, 3 adet binanın korunması şartıyla

13.07.2012 (Karar No: 1184), **mülkiyeti ASKİ'ye ait** Süzgeç Tesisleri olarak bilinen 9491 ada 17 (eski 9492/9) parselin, Emlak ve İstimlak Dairesi Başkanlığının 11.07.2021 tarih ve 1792-13717 sayılı yazısı ile mülkiyeti ASKİ'ye ait 29.134,00 m2 büyüklüğündeki arazinin 9491 ada ve 17 parselin 1.825 ,00 m2 laboratuar alanı hariç Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nce satın alınmak istendiği, ancak laboratuar ve lojman alanın büyüklüklerinin korunmadığı, Su Süzgeci alanının "Sağlık ve Eğitim Alanı" olacak şekilde tadilen onayı,

12.02.2013 (Karar No: 270), **Mülkiyeti Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesine ait**, 19374 ada 3 parsel (eski 9491 ada 17) parsel E.3.00 yapılaşma koşullu olarak Sağlık ve Özel Eğitim Alanı kullanımında ve Eski Su Süzgeci alanı plan notlarında; "özel, vakıf ve kamuya ait üniversite, her ölçekte eğitim ve sağlık tesisleri, yurt …." yapılabileceği ve emsal haricinde tutulacak alanları, bina zemin kotunun 4- 1.50 kotunda olabileceği, parselde hizmet verecek servislerin tanımlanması, bahçe tesviyeleri ve avlu galeri, iç bahçe vb. emsale dahil edilemeyeceği, 5. Metre yapı yaklaşımlı bodrum katlarda otopark yapılabileceği, yapı yaklaşım sınırlarının dışında köprüler, tek katlı giriş ve kontrol binaları, arkadlar vb. yapılabileceği şeklinde 9 plan notu,

12.07.2013 (Karar No: 1343), **Mülkiyeti Turgut Özal Üniversitesi'ne** ait olan 19734 ada 3 parselin güneybatısında 1200,00 m2 lik alanın **meclis kararında** E.2.50 ve Hmax:18.50 m. Yapılaşma koşullu kentsel servis alanı ve **plan açıklama raporunda ise** Ticaret Alanı alanın bir bölümünün Ticari Alan olarak ayrılması oyçokluğu ile kabul edilmesi,

18.04.2014 (Karar No: 695), **Mülkiyeti belediyede iken Turgut Özal Üniversitesi'ne** geçen 27.000,00 m2 olan arazinin 'Sağlık ve Eğitim Alanı' olan kullanım amacının, mevcut itfaiye tesislerinin "inanç ve tarih müzesi" yapılacağından kent merkezinde yeni bir itfaiye alanına ihtiyaç duyulduğu, 19374 ada 3 parselin tamamının kullanım karar **belediye hizmet alanı 'itfaiye alanı'** olarak değiştirilmesi, E=3.0 olan yapılaşma emsalinin E=1.5'a, Hmax: serbest olarak oyçokluğu ile kabul edilmesi,

Söz konusu parselin 2013 yılı Temmuz ayına kadar Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde olduğu, 2014 yılı yeniden belediye Hizmet Alanı olarak " itfaiye alanı" olarak kullanılması kararı alınarak Turgut Özal

Tarih : 19.02.2016
Sayı : 07 / 273
Konu : İller Bankası hk.

T.C. KÜLTÜR ve TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
Ankara II Kültür Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını
Koruma Bölge Kurulu

Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezinde sınırları içerisinde 6953 ada 10 parselde bulanan ve Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu'nun 12.04.1980 tarih ve A-2167 sayılı kararı ile Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'nun 10.07.1986 tarih ve 2458 sayılı kararı ile tescil(anıt) fişi ile birlikte İller Bankası Binası'nın boşaltılması işlemlerinin yapıldığı duyumunu almış bulunmaktayız.

Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı'na bağlı olarak Görev yürüten İller Bankası A.Ş. personel ve demirbaşlarının Şubat ayı sonu itibari ile binadan ayrılacağı bilgisi üzerine Bakanlığa tahliye nedeni ile birlikte bu gün Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesince onaylanan Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi *1/5000 ölçekli koruma amaçlı nazım imar planı iptal* davası ve Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile *yenileme alanı ilan* edilmesine ilişkin yargı süreci halen devam etmekte iken yapılan bu tahliye işlemleri endişe ile izlenmektedir.

Yargı süreçleri devam ederken hem Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı hem de Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye meclisince yapılan fiili müdahalelerin telafisi mümkün olmayacak sonuçlar doğabileceği öngörüsü ile Kurulunuzca yıkım-tahliye- tahliyeler ile insansızlaştırılması sebebi ile çöküntüleşmesine izin verilmemesi ve konuların hassasiyetle izlenmesi hususunda gereğinin yapılması talebimiz bulunmaktadır.

Yukarıda bildirilen konular hakkında Kurulunuzun gündeminize alınarak değerlendirilmesi ile birlikte alacağı görüş, karar ve izleyeceği yöntem hususu ile birlikte İller Bankasının tescilinin kaldırılmasına ve/veya yıkımına ilişkin Koruma Kurulunca herhangi bir karar alınıp alınmadığı hususunda Bilgi Edinme Hakkı Kanunu ilgili hükümlerince tarafımıza bilgi verilmesi hususunu bilgilerinize sunarız.

Saygılarımızla,

[redacted]

Tarih : 23.01.2017
Sayı : 07 / 80
Konu : İller Bankası hk.

İLLER BANKASI ANONİM ŞİRKETİ
GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
ANKARA

Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezinde sınırları içerisinde 6953 ada 10 parselde bulanan ve Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu'nun 12.04.1980 tarih ve A-2167 sayılı kararı ile Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'nun 10.07.1986 tarih ve 2458 sayılı kararı ile tescil (anıt) fişi ile birlikte **İller Bankası Binası'nın cephesinde bulunan bakır malzemelerinin ve yağmur oluklarının** sökülme ve/veya çalınmış olduğu 14.01.2017 tarihinde tespit edilmiştir.

Bugün Genel Müdürlüğünüzün varlık nedeni olan İller Bankası'nın kuruluş amaç, çaba ve yüksek değeri ile ülke ekonomisindeki rol model özelliği yadsınamayacak kadar yüksek ve bu amacı taşımak üzere inşa edilmiş gayrimenkulleri ile kültür mirası olarak mimarlık tarihinde hak ettiği yeri korumaktadır.

Bu sebeple İller Bankasının Altındağ İlçesi sınırları içerisinde yer alan ve yukarıda imar bilgileri verilmekte olan kültür varlığı olarak tescili bina ve vermekte olduğunuz hizmet ile ilgili olarak;

1. Bina cephesinin ayrılmaz bir bütünü olan bakır malzemelerinin sökülmesi ve/veya çalınmış olduğundan bilginiz var mıdır?
2. Bakır malzemelerin sökülerek yerinden edildiği bir durum yaşanmakta ise cephenin bu anlamda bozulması kararını kim vermiştir?
3. Konu bilginiz dâhilinde ise, tadilat ile ilgili bir projeniz var mıdır? Varsa bir nüshasının tarafımıza verilmesi,
4. Bina başka bir kuruma mı tahsis edilmiştir? Edildi ise hangi kuruma verildiği bilgisi ile birlikte ve tahsis konulu protokolün bir nüshasının verilmesi,

Konularında Bilgi Edinme Hakkı Kanunu ilgili hükümlerince tarafımıza bilgi ve belge verilmesi hususunu bilgilerinize sunarız.

Saygılarımızla,

[redacted]

Tarih: 17.06.2017
Sayı: 07 / **896**
Konu: İller Bankasının yasa ve hukuka aykırı yıkımı hk**.**

T.C.KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI

Başkent Ankara'nın en önemli mimarlık eseri olması nedeni ile 1980 yılından itibaren kültür varlığı olarak tescilli **İLLER BANKASI** binasının 17.06.2017 günü ilk saatlerinde iş gücü makineleri ile yıkımına başlanılmıştır. Yapılan işlem 2863 sayılı yasaya aykırı ve hukuksuzdur.

Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi tarafından 06. 06,2017 tarihinde Bakanlığınız ilgili birimlerine hem yazılı hem de şifai başvuru yapılmış, İller bankasının yıkına ilişkin olası bir tehdit olup olmadı sorulmuş ve Koruma Kurulları Daire Başkanlığı şifai olarak İller Bankasının tescilinin kaldırılmasına ilişkin bir kararların, hatta başvurunun bile olmadığı bilgisini vermiştir. Yazılı başvurumuza halen bir yanıt alınamamıştır.

Tescili kararı kaldırılmamış ve hukuki tüm hakları üzerinde bulunan İller Bankası ile ilgili olarak bu gün karşılaştığımızı durumun yasa-hukuk ve etik hiçbir karşılığı bulunmamakta ve gayri meşru işlem tesisi edilmektedir.

Yıkım ihalesinin Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından yönetildiği bilgisi yıkım ekipleri tarafından verilmekte olup, yasalara aykırı işlem tesisi edenler hakkında yasal işlem başlatılması iş gücü makinelerinin ivedilikle alandan çıkarılması, ayrıca yapılan yıkıma, tekniğe aykırı, hiçbir önlem ve tedbir alınmaksızın yapılması, Atatürk Bulvarı üzerindeki taşıt-yaya can ve mal güvenliği ciddi tehlike altında olması sebebi ile ivedilikle müdahale yapılması hususunu önemle bilgilerinize sunarız.

Saygılarımızla

[redacted]

Tarih : 21.06.2017
Sayı : 07 / 910
Konu : Ankara 2 Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu'nun kültür varlığı olarak tescilli bulunan İller Bankası Binasının yıkımı ve aynısının başka yerde yapılmasına ilişkin kurul kararının 660 sayılı ilke karara aykırılığı hk.

T.C.
KÜLTÜR ve TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
Teftiş Kurulu Başkanlığı
Ankara

Ankara İli Altındağ İlçesi, Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezinde sınırları içerisinde 6953 ada 10 parselde bulanan İller Bankası binası, Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu'nun 12.04.1980 tarih ve A-2167 sayılı kararı ile Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'nun 10.07.1986 tarih ve 2458 sayılı kararı ile tescilli olup, 16 Haziran 2017 tarihinde Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı tarafından yıkımı yapılmış ve Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı'nın sosyal medyadan duyurusu da "*mülkiyet sahibini talebi üzerine"* yıkım yapılmıştır şeklinde olmuştur.

Ulus Gençlik Parkı karşısında yer alan İller Bankası binasının hemen arkasında başlayan cami inşaatı sırasında İller Bankası önce boşaltılmış sonra ise tamamen sahipsiz bırakılmıştır. Bu esnada İller Bankası binasının yıkılacağı duyumu alınmıştır. Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi yetkilileri, İller Bankası Binasının bulunduğu yere gitmişler ve 07.11.2016 tarihinde İller Bankası Binası etrafının paravanlarla kapatılmaya başlandığını tespit etmişlerdir. Aynı tarihte Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Koruma Uygulama ve Denetim Müdürlüğü'ne, Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Daire Başkanlığı'na yazı yazılarak İller Bankası binasının paravanlarla kapatılması ve binanın içindeki işlemlere ilişkin bilgi verilmesi talep edilmiştir. **(EK-1)** Yine 07.11.2016 tarihinde Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Ankara 2 Nolu Koruma Kurulu Müdürlüğü'ne, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'ne yazı yazılarak görselleri de gönderilmiş binanın paravanlarla kapatılmış olmasının ve bina içinde söküm işlerinin başlatıldığının tespit edildiği ifade edilmiş bu konuda müdahale edilmesi talep edilmiştir. **(EK-2)** 16.11.2016 tarihinde Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Ankara 2 nolu Koruma Kurulu'na yazı göndererek bilgi verilmesini istemiştir. **(EK-3)**

Ankara 2 Nolu Koruma Kurulu Müdürlüğü can ve mal güvenliği açısından ahşap kompozit levhaların konulmasına ilişkin 14.11.2016 tarih ve 2317 sayılı kurul kararı alındığını bildirmiştir. **(EK-4)** Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 01.12.2016 tarihinde Necmettin Erbakan camii inşaatında süregelen hırsızlık olayları ve ayrıca madde bağımlıları dolayısı ile bina etrafının güvenlik amacıyla kapatıldığını ifade etmiştir. Yine 07.11.2016 tarihinde binanın paravanlarla çevrilmesi işleminin Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Daire Başkanlığınca yapıldığı hususu Daire Başkanlığından gelen personelden öğrenilmiş ve gerekçe olarak Ankara Valiliğinin "*Ankara İl Uyuşturucu Koordinasyon Kurulu'nun uyuşturucu ile mücadele kapsamında metruk binaların denetimi ve kontrolü* " içerikli yazısı gösterilmiştir. **(EK-5)**

07.11.2016 tarihinde Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi tarafından İller Bankası binasının paravanlarla kapatılmış olması ve içeride söküm işlemlerinin başladığı, binanın tahrip edildiği gerekçesiyle Ankara Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'na başvurmuş, 03.01.2017 tarihinde 2016/157043 soruşturma dosyası üzerinden suça konu teşkil etmeyen iddiaya konu eylemden dolayı müştekinin dilekçesinin işleme konulmamasına kesin olarak karar verilmiştir.

Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi 17.01.2017 tarihinde tahribatın devam etmesi nedeniyle bir kere daha Ankara Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'na başvurmuş, tüm görseller ve bilirkişi tespit raporu dosyaya sonrasında sunulmuş ancak 2017/11459 sayılı soruşturma dosyası üzerinden "genel ve soyut nitelik arz eden dilekçenin işleme konulmamasına" kesin olarak karar verilmiştir

APPENDIX C

List of Informal Consultations Conducted During Archival Research

NO	NAME/ POSITION	INSTITUTION	DISCUSSION	NOTES
1	Anonymous, Demolition Directorate Offical	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Demolition Directorate	-building demolition; techniques reasons scrap value asbestos	- This information was shared verbally, as no written documents summarizing it were available.
2	Anonymous, Conservation Council Offical	Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ankara Regional Board of Conservation of Cultural Heritage	-reuse of: Tekel and Sümerbank -decisions -the process	- Documents regarding the process and decisions were available; however, some were only permitted for on-site examination, while others were explained verbally. The use of these documents within the thesis content was not authorized.
3	Anonymous, Ankara Provincial Directorate of National Education Construction and Real Estate Branch	Ministry of National Education	-renovation of: Cebeci Secondary School -decisions, date, process	- No information/documents were found regarding when, how, and under which decisions the renovation took place. - It was suggested that such documents might be available in the school's archive; however, they could not be accessed there either.