A STUDY ON THE

URBAN/ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

IN KEÇİÖREN AFTER 1990s

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A STUDY ON THE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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Ankara, being the capital, has been the most important city for the New Modern Turkish State on its way of establishing the modernity project of Turkey. The development of the urban planning projects proceeded on the basis of this aimed concept of the new society, carrying the privilege of being the symbol of the modern republic, prosperity and wealth.

Keçiören is one of the main districts of Ankara. The main aim of this study is to analyze and describe the ideological departure of Keçiören from the concept of the "modern" Ankara, within the last ten years. Here the attitude of the municipality and its role as the agent of civil power leading the architectural and urban transformation of Keçiören from a district full of *gecekondu* to one full of "decorated sheds" will be discussed. Here, the term "decorated shed", introduced by Robert Venturi, will be used for the explanation of the new architectural and urban elements Furthermore, the attitude of the society and the architects and contractors who are responsible for the actual case will be brought into argumentation. In this sense, other subsidiary terms will be used to explain the process of the case are ; **populism** and politics, **nationalism**, the ideology of the Turkish nation (**Türklük**), **Turanism**, **Islamism** and **orientalism**. Additionally, an important building in the district, the

Estergon Castle, which has different characteristics from the other parts of the district, will be explained with the terms "**hyper-reality**" and "**kitsch**" by the explanations of Umberto Eco and Dorfles.

Keywords: Decorated shed, image production, eclecticism, kitsch, hyper-reality.

ÖZ

1990 SONRASI KEÇİÖREN İLÇESİNDE OLUŞAN
KENTSEL/MİMARİ DÖNÜŞÜM ÜZERİNE
BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Türkiye'de "Modern Hareketin" gerçekleşmesi yolunda, Ankara başkent olması ile beraber yeni kurulan modern Türk Devleti için en önemli şehir olmuştur. Ankara'nın kentsel planlama projeleri refah içinde ve modern bir sosyal toplum düzeni oluşturmayı amaçlamış bir ideolojiye simge olma temeli üzerine oluşturulmuştur.

Keçiören, Ankara'nın belli başlı önemli ilçelerinden bir tanesidir. Bu çalışmada ana amaç Keçiören ilçesinde son on yılda gerçekleştirilen ve Ankara ile bütünleşmiş ideolojiye ters düşen kentsel ve mimari dönüşümü analiz etmektir. Burada belediye yönetiminin tavrı ve bu tavrın Keçiören'deki mimari ve kentsel dönüşümdeki rolü, bir gecekondu şehri olan Keçiören'i "decorated shed" örnekleriyle dolu olan bir kente dönüştürmüştür. Robert Venturi'nin oluşturduğu "decorated shed" terimi, bu on yıllık dönemde oluşturulan yeni mimari ve kentsel öğeleri açıklamada kullanılacaktır. Ek olarak bu duruma karşı tavırlarıyla ilçe sakinleri, müteahhitler ve mimarların konumu ve dönüşüme olan katkıları tartışmaya açılacaktır. Bu dönüşümü açıklayabilmek için başka yardımcı terimlere başvurulacaktır. Bunlar; **populizm**, Türkiye'de yıllardır tartışma konusu olan **ulusalcılık,** durumdaki süslemeler, dekoratif ve anıtsal üğelere konu olan ideolojinin

temelini oluşturan **Türklük, Turancılık, İslamcılık ve oryantalizmdir.** Keçiörende yapılan önemli bir yapıda Estergon Kalesi'dir. Bu bina ilçenin geri kalanı göz önüne alındığında farklı bir karakter yapısına sahip olması nedeniyle, bu yapının analizi Eco ve Dorfles'in tanımları çerçevesinde "kitsch" ve "hyper-reality" terimleri ışığında ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Decorated shed, imge üretimi, seçmecilik, kitsch, hyper-reality.

To My Parents,
        whose love and trust is always with me

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

Ankara, being the capital city of The Republic of Turkey, has been attributed a major symbolic meaning on the way of establishment of the New Modern Turkish State. Ankara has constituted the architectural and urban part of the revolution based on the formation of a new modern and secular nation-state. The convenience of Ankara for creating a new identity and ideology for The New Turkish State had given the opportunity of creating a sample urban life which would spread all over the country. Thus, Ankara has been chosen for the creation of the urban and architectural setting of the new ideology.

Ankara had several urban development plans after being the capital city of Turkey. In these projects, we observe Keçiören and surrounding zones as low-density residential areas. However, we observe a lack of necessary precautions taken for preventing the illegally constructed gecekondu type housing settlements which emerge as a result of rapid migration. In this process of city development, Keçiören became one of the biggest residential zones of Ankara. The migration to Ankara from its surrounding less developed provinces has resulted in an increase of the population of Keçiören, especially from 1950's. As a result, it has been one of the crowded and biggest districts since 1983, when Keçiören had a municipality. Thus, the district houses zones for residential purposes more than zones for social activities.

However, by 1994, a nationalist political party[1] took the municipal power of Keçiören. Then we observe a new ideology governing the municipality different from the ideology that had constructed the state and the capital city, Ankara. The transformation of the district on the basis of this political ideology has started. In this study, we will get an analysis of this transformation in several aspects. We will firstly show the new ideology opposed to the ideology upon which the New Modern Turkish State was based. Then the use of some architectural and urban design elements for promoting the ideology of the politicians governing the municipality will form the case to be analyzed in this study. What will be analyzed in this study is the urban and architectural transformation that has resulted in the deterioration of the modernist ideology within the last ten years, in a district of Ankara; Keçiören. For the explanation of this transformation the term "decorated shed", introduced by Robert Venturi, will be the main keyword.

In the Keçiören district, we meet two dominant formations. The first has taken place in the area around the Municipality Building, which is called the entrance zone of the district, and the other, which is much more extensive, is realized by the application of the new housing policy of the municipality, that is, by regulating the facades of apartment blocks. Here we meet an ornamental architecture applied all over the district. Taking into consideration the usage of eclectic architecture in the case as a communication tool for the sake of publishing or expressing the ideology of the government of the municipality, the arguments related with the term "decorated shed", or "the ugly *and* the ordinary" by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown is matching the examples explained in the argumentations with the eclectic manner used for the production of architecture and urban elements in Keçiören.

In addition to the "decorated sheds"*,* which constitute the majority of the built environment in Keçiören, within the urban transformation of the district, there are several monumental buildings and sculptural urban elements constructed, especially in the zone around the municipality building, which they prefer to call "entrance zone of Keçiören". For the explanation of these products of the case we will use the terms "kitsch" and "hyper-reality" by the definitions of Dorfles and Eco.

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[1] Nationalist Action Party (M.H.P.)

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The reason what makes us consider the case problematic is the symbolic importance of Ankara in the Modernity project of Turkey and the erosion of this project as a result of the ideological transformation led by politicians governing the municipality since 1990's. Actually, the erosion of the modernist project had already begun in 1950's, when migrations and construction of illegal free constructed housing type settlements, called *gecekondu,* emerged and began to dominate the development process of the city. But it was after 1990's that this trend shifted towards image production that totally changed the appearance of the district. The municipality's use of architecture as a medium for representing its ideology by means of images, ornamental decorations applied on the facades of the buildings constructed for the sake of rehabilitating the *gecekondu* zones, constitutes the main problem of this study. In fact, the fakeness of the architectural and urban elements applied in a decorative manner for the sake of representing the nationalist ideology, the municipality announcing is the main denominator of this study.

Figure 1.1 Apartment blocks with decorated facades, reminds us the term "decorated shed" introduced by Venturi. Because, the architectural program behind these ornaments, has nothing to do with the facade observable from the street.

Figure 1. 2 Exhibition area in the district full of monuments, such as; Orhun Inscriptions",
Martyr's monuments …

Figure 1. 3 The Estergon Turkish Cultural Center in Keçiören district. Here the terms
"kitsch" and "hyper-reality" will be the main terms for the explanation of the architecture.

1.2 Aim of the study

This study aims to provide an academic ground of discussion in order to understand the architectural and urban transformations that have been taking place in the last ten years in Keçiören district. The serious transformations or the new identity which is tried to be imposed is perceivable at a first glance in Keçiören. When we get into the details of the case, we observe that the Keçiören case is more complicated than it looks like from outside. To be able to put forward the complexity, this study will not just deal with a district in the process of transformation but also an analysis of political, architectural and social developments after 1990s in Turkey. As we get into the details of the case we will observe that the urban transformation of the district from a *gecekondu* zone to a zone of apartment blocls is creating a unique case, which can be considered as a sample for the phenomenon "decorated shed". Here the attitude of the municipality and the role of it through the transformations, and the reaction of the society and the architects to this sanction constitute a unique case. In the following parts of this study, we will get into the details of the process of this case.

When we analize the process of the case, it will be necessary to study the parties involved, or took role in. These are: the **municipality,** which holds major responsibility for the establishment of the new ideology, the **architects and contractors** who are responsible for the building practice of the actual case; and **society,** as the user and observer. In this transformation, the importance of the year 1994, as the breaking point of this process, the 10 year period, which is also continuing today, will be explored in detail. The Keçiören case has appeared as a subject in several articles on architecture in this period of ten years. Especially, in the magazines published by The Chamber of Architects in Turkey the Keçiören Case has been a subject of several articles. Mimarlık 309 (January – Februay 2003)[2], Bülten

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[2] AYDIN, Ö., BAYRAKTAR N., TEKKAYA E., (2003), "Cumhuriyet Başkentinde Aykırı Bir İlçe: Keçiören", Mimarlık, Ocak-Şubat, pp. 56-59.

18 (February 2004)[3], Bülten 07 (December 2002 – January 2003)[4] are some of the magazines in which we can meet some articles. However, the aim of these articles was just to show the picture that resulted as the product of architectural and urban elements. None of them could be able to explore the process and its components constituting the case. The main aim of this study will be to explore the basis of the case, and the formation beneath this new ideology. By getting into the details of the process, factors and agents composing the process and the reasons beneath the case will be clarified.

This study aims to be a reference for the following researches aiming to explain the Keçiören case or similar cases probable to take place in the near future in Turkey. Because, the political situation in Turkey today is showing us that Keçiören case is just a beginning of a more comprehensive transformation aimed to take place in Turkey. Especially, there have been new urban projects developed for several districts and cities in Turkey, under the name of urban transformation and development projects. The most important point for us is that the transformation taking place in the district of Keçiören has been pointed out by the prime minister of Turkey in a national newspaper[5] as a sample for the future urban development projects in other parts of Turkey. Thus, by analyzing the details of the case, this study aims to clarify the process of transformation and to be a warning against possible similar developments in the future.

1.3 Concepts and Definitions

As we get in touch with the process, we will analyze the case or the product on the basis of some established concepts and definitions. The main keyword of this study will be the term "decorated shed" introduced by Robert Venturi in his book "Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form" Venturi et al. delineate two contradictory building types; in the first, "the

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[3] ŞENTÜRK, Levent., (2004), "Karamizahın Başkenti: Keçiören", TMMOB mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülten 18 Şubat, pp. 6-11.
[4] CENGİZKAN, Ali, (2003). "Ankara'yı Konutla Varetmek", TMMOB mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülten 7 Aralık - Ocak, pp. 6-11.
[5] Hurriyet newspaper, 27-2-2005 (Appendix A)

architectural systems of space, structure, and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form. This kind of building is called the duck". In the second type, "systems of space and structure are directly at the service program, and ornament is applied independently of them. This is called the "decorated shed" by Venturi.(VENTURI, R., 1997, 88). Here the building does not itself become a symbol, but symbols are applied (either as local decoration, iconographic addition, or words). They go on to argue for the symbolism of the ugly and ordinary in architecture and for the particular significance of the decorated shed for architecture as shelter with symbols on it.

Here the authors state that they "... *emphasize image - image over process or form - in asserting that architecture depends in its perception and creation on past experience and emotional association and that these symbolic and representational elements may often be contradictory to the form, structure, and program with which they combine in the same building.*" (Venturi, R., 1997: 88)

Specifically, the authors state that architectural signs, "*through their sculptural forms or pictorial silhouettes, their particular positions in space, their inflected shapes, and their graphic meanings ... identify and unify the megatexture. They make verbal and symbolic connections through space, communicating a complexity of meanings through hundreds of associations in few seconds from far away. Symbol dominates space. Architecture is not enough. Because the spatial relationships are made by symbols more than by forms, architecture in this landscape becomes symbol in space rather than form in space.*" (Venturi, R., 1997: 13)

As a result, the term, "decorated shed" refers to a condition where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them. Today, the term "decorated shed" is most clearly represented by the sea of cheap commercial and industrial buildings that surround us.

It is only too rare that the envelope of a building truly serves an architectural purpose. A new type of building has emerged which is so massive in scale that the

exterior has little or nothing to do with the interior. In Keçiören we observe the apartment blocks as commercial elements constructed and sold by the contractors. Additionally, the municipality had the power to spread the ideology they are proud of all over the district, by means of architectural ornamentations over the facades applied. In this approach, we meet other subsidiary terms for the explanation of the process on the way of establishing the decorated sheds. For instance; populism, which can be accepted as one of the major denominators of the case; nationalism, the ideology of Turkish nation (Türklük), orientalism and Islamism, which constitute the fundamentals of the ideology and the subject for the decorations, ornaments and monuments in the case.

Figure 1.4   An apartment block in the district with a decorated facade..

Figure 1.5   Detailed view of decoration on the facade.

Figure 1.6   An apartment block with a decorated facade, in the district.

Figure 1.7   An apartment block with decorated facades, in the district

In this study the main debate that is dealed with is the fakeness of the products and the aim of commercialization of the ideology created within the case, reminds us of the terms "kitsch" and "hyper-reality". As a sample for these terms, one of the most important performances of the municipality, the Estergon Turkish Cultural Center or the Estergon Castle, which is designed by İbrahim Terzioğlu, assistant president in the municipality, as a cultural and shopping center on the hill at the back of the Municipality Building, is very important. When we view the castle within the case, it is an exception and can not be simply categorized with the "decorated sheds" in the case. Although the fakeness and the ideology tried to be presented are common points in both cases, considering the district as a whole, the terms "hyper-reality" and the "kitsch" would be more suitable for the explanation of the castle and the urban elements within the entrance zone of the district.

1.4 Limits and Deficiencies

The objective of this study, analyzing the case as a process and product, is not to judge any institution, a person, a group of profession or a society but to get an answer to the questions for understanding the causes and reasons underlying the case. The way architecture and urban planning is used as a tool to impose the aimed identity or culture to the society, is the main subject of this study. The term "decorated shed" will be the main keyword of this study, and the analysis of the buildings will be formed around this topic. Additionally, there will be used some subsidiary terms as; "kitsch", "hyper-reality", nationalism, the ideology of Turkish nation (*Türklük*), Turanism, Islamism and orientalism. However, this study will not aim to look for definitions of these phenomena but to use the already made explanations of some authors to explain the case and identify the products. Although, none of these terms will be enough to get an answer for the question over the case alone, each of them will give a clue for the peculiarity of the case. The terms, which are used to clarify the case, will give us the needed explanation not alone but all together.

Briefly, this study aims to enlighten the discussions over Keçiören or the similar ones apt to take place in Turkey in near future by putting forward an analysis of the transformations in Keçiören district.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1 Ankara

2.1.1 History of Ankara

Ankara is situated upon a steep and rocky hill, which rises 500 ft. above the plain on the left bank of the Enguri Su, a tributary of the Sakarya (Sangarius) river. The hill is crowned by the ruins of the old castle, but the town was not well built, many of its houses constructed of sun-dried mud bricks and the streets are narrow. The geographical location of the city, which had given several advantages, made the city achieve strategical importance in different times of history. In other words, we meet Ankara as an important center for several civilizations from ancient times till today. (Kaya, 2002: 5,6)

Being, an important trade center in Anatolia, made Ankara get the communication and transportation lines intersecting. Thus, we meet railway and telegraph networks already established in the 19th century. The time, when Ankara was chosen as the administrative center of the Independence War, was a turning point in the history of the city on the way of gaining importance as the city had in the past. The city had been chosen due to convenience of controlling all over the Anatolia for the sake of getting independence of the Turkish State. (Tekeli, 1982) As a result, Ankara gained prominence under the leadership of Ataturk during the national resistance which followed World War I. In 1923, after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk moved the capital from Istanbul to Angora, a move intended to break with tradition and to establish a central location for the capital. It

was declared the capital of the new Turkish Republic on October 13th 1923 when the National War of Independence freed Turkey from foreign occupation.

Afterwards, Ankara has been planned as a very modern city by Turkish standards, spacious and well planned, with wide boulevards with many green regions, parks and recreation areas in the outskirts. The city grew rapidly in the ensuing decades and soon became one of Turkey's major urban centers. In the recent years, the city has worked to incorporate its expanding outskirts and to deal with the ring of shantytowns that house migrants who arrive each year from the country's less developed areas.

2.1.2 Modernity Project of Turkey

On assuming office, Atatürk initiated a series of radical reforms in the country's political, social, and economic life that aimed at rapidly transforming Turkey into a modern state. The ideological foundation for Atatürk's reform program became known as Kemalism. Its main points were enumerated in the Six Arrows of Kemalism as republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism, statism or etatism, and secularism[6]. These were regarded as fundamental and unchanging principles guiding the republic, and, as such, they were written into its constitution. The principle of republicanism was contained in the constitutional declaration that sovereignty is vested in the nation and not in a single ruler. **By republicanism**, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk aimed the achievement of a democratic structure for the future, as he openly stated that a republican regime means the administration of the State through a democratic system. Founding the new state as well as its regime, Ataturk made the Turks change into a nation from a religious community. In Ataturk's **Nationalism** the "Turk" was defined as anybody who lives within the borders of the Turkish Republic. In the official explanation given to the principle of **populism**[7] it was stated that Kemalism was against class privileges and class

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6   For the explanation of these terms, The Ottomans Org. Web Page (http://www.theottomans.org/english/index.asp , April 2005), which is linked from the web page of The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Turizm, is referenced.
7   In this study there are two phenomena named "populism", which are completely different from each other. One is the one of the principles of Kemalism, and the other is a political strategy based on a calculated appeal to the interests or prejudices of ordinary people.

distinctions and it recognized no individual, no family, no class and no organization as being above others. **Secularism** meant the separation of religion from legal, educational and cultural life. In other words, it meant independence of thought and independence of institutions from the dominance of religious thinking and religious institutions. **Statism or Etatism** was a means of building a national economy based on private enterprise, through the protection and support of the state.

One of the most important principles that Atatürk formulated was the principle of **reformism** or **revolutionism**. This principle meant that Turkey made reforms and that the country replaced traditional institutions with modern institutions. Reformism (revolutionism) also lent its nature to the other five principles. It was an indispensable principle for Kemalism, which in itself was a reaction to the old structure. Thus, reformism (revolutionism) can be viewed as the mainspring of the new cultural synthesis sought for the young Republic.

2.1.3 Ankara – The Modern City – Concept of Modern Life

Modernization of society was tried to be established by creating modern individuals. Individuals are plucked off from their niches in the traditional society and re-defined as individual-citizens; the preconditions to move to a democratic society will be established. The individual as a unit of social action is a new type of person who is free from traditional binds and who can direct himself and herself in life on the basis of his own rational choices and informed decisions. These individuals are highly trained and mobile, who can move from one city and country to another and adapt successfully to their new surroundings. They are a part of a new public sphere as citizens of a non-local and autonomous political entity.

What Ataturk wanted to achieve by his principles and reforms on the way of creating a new society over a collapsed Ottoman empire, was based on some principles which are acceptable in the Modern World concept. Thus, the New Turkish State is based on a radical "modernity" project in an enlightenment tradition. It was aimed to establish a secular and modern nation-state which sought for

development under the light of positive sciences and to maintain citizenship, which would be conscious of all these values.

> *"The capital of a country certainly is not an ordinary city. It is the leader city among all cities of the country. In this city, leaders of administration, politics, trade, art and science will meet, will give important decisions or will effect these decisions."*
>
> *"The capital is a symbol of our hopes; is a mirror of our expectations. So the physical appearance of a capital has a vital importance, because, it is the guarantee of the national liveliness and continuity. "* (Doxiadis, 1960: 160 cited in Tankut, 1993: 21)

> *"The decision of making Ankara as the capital city of the new Turkish State, has very considerable meaning on the way of establishing a new ideology of leaving the historical identity of society in the past and creating a new culture."* (Bozdoğan, 1997)

The Republic wanted to establish a capital through which an example of contemporary and Western way of living was created. The aim was to set an example to other Turkish cities through the envisioned physical environment, scenery and social life, all of them being entirely new concepts for long footed people. (Kaya, 2002: 1)

> *"In 1930, the arrival of the modern movement in Turkey was celebrated in the official republican daily Hakimiyet–i Milliye: "In the last few years, the new architecture of the new age has been forming in all parts of the world. Young architects are breaking through old mentalities and traditions and marching toward the truth. We are proudly happy that some of the new construction in Ankara is a manifestation of this new architecture." The basic principles of this "yeni mimari" (new architecture), as the modernist avant–garde was then called, were captured in three words: rationalism, functionalism, and simenarme (reinforced concrete), uttered with all the quasi–religious zeal and*

optimism of Kemalist "nation building," in both the literal and the metaphorical senses of the term." (Bozdoğan, 1997)

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk moved the government to Ankara from Ottoman Istanbul to give The New Turkish State a western orientation. Then Ankara started to mobilize the construction process on the way of being a cultural center, because the modernization process of the society was going to spread over the country from this area. New buildings had been built to perform cultural activities such as; theater, opera, library, schools and university buildings, etc. thus the city of Ankara was shaped according to a project that could modernize the society, i.e., a society which had been conditioned to be conservative in the past. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the city of Ankara has been figurative reflection of the modern ideology of Turkey with its architectural and urban transformations. (Bozdoğan, 2002) We can observe the image of Ankara aimed at that time on the illustration below.

"The Republic of Turkey was going to be a nation state, so the protagonists accepted and complied with a radical modernization approach. In such a formation, the establishers of the republic would create the consciousness of a nation." (Tekeli, 1998: 4)

The governors wanted a city, which would symbolize the young, modern, secular society, and a city which would be a sample for the cities constructed in Anatolia, which has just got out wars. Thus, Ankara was convenient for constituting a new city form the start, because of the disasters in the last decades, socially and culturally nothing significant existed there. This aim was figured by *representations of the construction of Ankara as the modern capital of Kemalist Turkey in the 1930s – in the case, an architectural collage showing a futuristic city of abstract, purist buildings reminiscent of the tectonics of the Russian constructivist avant-garde."* (Bozdoğan, 1997)

Figure 2.1 "Ankara Construit." (Reproduced from La Turquie Kemaliste, Ankara, 1935.)

The uncontrollable development of the city by the migrants, made the state to obtain urban planning projects from professionals as soon as possible. For this aim, a restricted project competition was organized in 1927. The city planning projects would be selected for obtaining a capital, modern secular, humane city with wide boulevards, beautiful civic buildings, attractive parks, planned housing, and western civic services. Then, famous city planners were called for projects of Ankara. The project of Prof. Jansen was selected for the construction of this new modern capital, Ankara.

> *"Republican Ankara in the 1930s was one of the earliest manifestations*
> *of the historical alliance of modernism with nation building and state*
> *power."* (Bozdoğan, 2002: 17)

All the efforts with the urban planning project of Jansen and the projects in the following years were directed to construct the capital with an image for the modern Turkish State.

"The Modern Movement may have been conspicuously out of place in a war-torn, traditional Muslim society without the industrial infrastructure to justify its aesthetic and constructional precepts. Yet its introduction into Turkey was elevated to epic proportions in the architectural culture of the 1930s. It was hailed as the visible proof that Turkey was a modern European nation with no resemblance to the exotic and orientalist aesthetic tropes by which the Ottoman Empire had typically been represented in the past." (Bozdoğan, 2002: 24)

Figure 2.2   Ataturk Boulevard in 1930s.

Figure 2.3   Ataturk Boulevard in 1930s.

2.2 Keçiören

2.2.1   History of Keçiören

Keçiören, which is one of the biggest districts of Ankara and Turkey, had been a green yard of vineyards for centuries. In history, we meet Keçiören as a small town, where agriculture is common. Thus, characteristic of the district was a rural life with low-density housing settlements rather than an urban life with high-density housing settlements. There were small houses in large green areas of vineyards. In fact, the district was used by middle and high income people as a summer residence, where they rest for holiday times. The district had preserved its characteristics till 1950s, when migrations and construction of illegal free constructed housing type settlements, called "gecekondu" has started to emerge. Then we observe a rapid increase in the population of the district. In addition to these illegal housing settlements, there are several housing zones constructed by the government to control the city development and the disordered settlements created by migrants. By the end

of 1966, in Etlik and Aktepe, which compose some part of the district now, there are several housing zones constructed by the government. (Fig.2.5 and 2.6) They are called as lower income housing, and the main aim was to prevent the rapid increase of the construction of gecekondu type illegal housing settlements. Thus, we can say that the main deterioration of Keçiören had already started by 1950s and onwards.

"Before 1950s, Keçiören was a place to come for its sake of clean atmosphere. There were houses within orchards. In these gardens, there were trees with several fruits, poultry-houses, small pools and wells for getting water. The residents were cultivating their fruits and vegetables within their garden, obtaining water from their well and several family coming together for a few days to cook their bread in small bakeries. Keçiören was famous for its vineyards, grapes and pears. The Non-Muslim people controlling the power of commerce in Ankara were living in Keçiören. Because of that they were wealthy, their houses and gardens were clean and well-kept. The Non-Muslims, who had very good living zones, left Keçiören one by one and sold their homes, Afterwards, Keçiören had been a green zone in Ankara, The middle and high income groups were coming to spend their weekends and holidays there. The first gecekondu type housings started to be constructed at 1956 and 1957. Then we observe the deterioration of the district from a green yard to a district full of irregular housing settlements. The first gecekondu type housing was in Sanatoryum, Taşocağı and the area around the graveyard. The first apartment house was constructed in 1949. Then, a city plan was made for the irregular developing zones. And there are settlement zones like Aktepe, constructed by the government in order to control the development of the district. By 30th of November of 1983 Keçiören had a municipality by government. The population of the district in 1985 was 433.559. According to the census in 2000, the population in the district today is 625.167, and the total area of the district is 58,66 kilometer square."[8]

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[8] Keçiören Municipality webpage, *http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/dosya.asp?ID=1, August 2005.*

Figure 2.4 Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center (VEKAM) One of the last traditional orchard houses in Keçiören used to be residence of Koç family.

Figure 2.5 Typical housing blocks constructed in 1960s in Aktepe.

After Keçiören became a municipality, several laws were made by the municipality for excusing the illegally constructed housing and for making way to construction of new housing. This was the starting point of making the district full of concrete blocks, and deterioration of green areas.

Figure 2.6 Typical housing and urban characteristic of Keçiören after 1970s till 1990. Three to four floor apartment houses with green spaces around them.

2.2.2 Keçiören after 1994

The political parties, governing the district before 1994, were trying to control land speculation and construction of gecekondu type housing settlements in similar ways practiced in other districts in Turkey. That is, they didn't allow new constructions, and they tried to bring order to the already constructed areas. Furthermore, construction of new housing blocks were organized in a way that green areas of the district and constructed areas were balanced.

The year 1994 is the starting point of the ideological departure of Keçiören from the modern Turkish state ideology that characterized the city of Ankara. In other words, we observe the new architectural and urban characteristics started to emerge all around the district. In this study, the term "decorated shed" will be used for the definition of this new architecture, which is foreign to the other parts of the city. By the local election in 1994, a political party called The Nationalist Action Party (MHP), which is famous for its nationalistic ideology, took the power of the municipality. They first changed the way of practicing the public improvements of

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construction regulations in accordance with their ideology. That was the starting point of transforming the district's urban and architectural identity.

They started to change the surrounding areas of the municipality building. There have been constructed several monuments symbolizing nationality, the quality of being Turk or Turkism. (Fig.2.7, 2.8 and 2.9) Furthermore, they took control of the architecture of new constructed buildings by regulating their façades. By means of controlling the facades of buildings, the transformation process of the identity of the district has been so rapid, as well. In this 10 year period, there have been two elections in 1999 and 2004. Although different political parties have got the power of municipality, the person, Turgut Altınok, chosen as president of the municipality in these elections. Because of this, the transformation process would be able to continue by the same power without interruption. Every time, there had been new projects on the way of new ideology. Such as; the Estergon Castle or the Estergon Turkish Cultural Center, the Tower of Republic, Ottoman fountains, waterfalls and small lakes. All of these projects were designed on the basis of the cultural ideology of Turkism and Islam synthesis.

Figure 2.7 The Keçiören Municipality building with a portrait of Fatih Sultan Mehmet in the middle of a portal entrance and busts of several Turkish ancestors in front of the building.

Figure 2.8 The Estergon Turkish Cultural Center and an artificial waterfall on a side of crossroads around the municipality building.

Figure 2.9 Orhun statues placed on an open space in front of the municipality building. In this area there are several statues symbolizing Turkish nationality.

2.3 The Case : The Transformation Process

2.3.1 The Case

The district of Keçiören has been a residential area in Ankara for years. Thus the area was affected by the migration and the rapid increase of population due to *gecekondu* type settlements or illegally constructed housing settlements that had spread out all over the city. The disordered settlements constitute an unplanned residential city characteristic. Today, the residents living in the districts are from mostly in low income group of people in the society. This peculiarity of the district has been used by the politicians during elections for the local government. Their first action was to generate the ground for creating an urban and architectural transformation. By creating a new environment in the district by means of architectural and urban elements they first declared the new ideology to the residents and then to Turkey. For this aim, they made use of visual elements by displaying them in all around the district. Here the eclectic manner as "decorated sheds" in the district noticed shows an aspiration of Turkish Islamic ideology with orientalism.

Figure 2.10   Gecekondu settlement in Keçiören, disordered, unplanned city characteristic.

Figure 2.11 The new emblem of Keçiören Municipality.

The first action was changing the emblem of the municipality to a symbol having a composition of crescent and minarets. (Fig.2.11) Then they replaced the names of several streets, with the names of famous Turkish ancestors or that of people who died in the war against PKK which was so active and was hated by the residents at that time. This was in a way nationalist and populist behavior of the politicians by making use of social and historical values of the residents.

In front of the municipality building they put the busts of famous ancestors with a statue of M. Kemal Ataturk. (Fig.2.7) They also made some changes over the municipality building. Firstly, in the middle of the entrance portal of the building a relief of Fatih Sultan Mehmet was placed. (Fig.2.12) Then a saying of the Prophet Mohammed is written over the entrance portal. Inside of the building they covered some walls and parapets of the gallery with ceramics which are imitations of famous Iznik type ceramics with historical patterns. (Fig.2.13)

Figure 2.12 They have placed a relief of Fatih Sultan Mehmet in the middle of the glazing part of the entrance and a religious saying on the top of the portal.

The ideological cultural transformation of the district was started by some urban arrangements around the municipality.[9] All of the arrangements in the area were done on the basis of this ideology.

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[9] This zone was considered as the gate of the district and called as the entrance zone. In this study this area will be called as the entrance zone of Keçiören district, as well.

Figure 2.13 The entrance portal glazing of the municipality from inside.

Figure 2.14 The open exhibition area in opposition to the municipality building.

In the area on the other side of the street, in front of the municipality building, an open exhibition area is designed. (Fig.2.14) In this exhibition area, they placed copies of Orhun Inscriptions, which are examples of the first Turkish writing that we know, were in fact monuments erected to Bilge (716-734) snf Kul-Tigin (685-731), the sons of Kutlugh Ilteris Kaghan (661/2-690/1) of the second Eastern Gokturk Kaghans. (Fig.2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, 2.19, and 2.20)These inscriptions are so important for Turks, because they are accepted as the roots of Turks. They claim that the one they exhibited in the area are exactly the same as the original ones in Mongolia Orhun Inscriptions. This reminds us the term hyper-reality, used by Eco. This term will be used in the explanation of the case in the fourth chapter of this study.

Figure 2.15 The historical inscriptions haphazardly placed in front of an ordinary apartment with signs of rural domestic life, looks awkward and ridiculous, it is totally out of context.

Figure 2.16 The relief is showing the Oguz Khan.

Figure 2.17 The relief is the description of a war scene, and an enscription over it:

"Ey Türk Üstte gök çökmedikçe Altta yağız yer delinmedikçe

Senin ilini ve töreni kim bozabilir."

Figure 2.18 The relief above: A soldier over a horse holding a flag.

Figure 2.19 A figure from the area.

Figure 2.20 One of the inscriptions which has been translated into Turkish.

Figure 2.21 A writing showing the name of the president of the municipality, who is responsible from the construction of these monuments.

Another monument, a crescent, which is an important symbol in Islam, covering the world, is a symbol of the aim of taking the power of the world, or making Islam the dominant religion all around the world. (Aydın, Bayraktar, Tekkaya, 2003, 57) (Fig.2.22, and 2.23)

Figure 2.22 The monument, the globe covered by a crescent over three columns.

Figure 2.23 Detailed view of the monument in Figure 2.22.

In addition to these, there is a monument for the martyrs who died in the war against the terrorist group P.K.K. which has been so active in the eastern part of Anatolia for years. (Fig.2.24) On this monument, there are the names of the martyrs and over the monument there is a model of the globe, on whose top a flag is placed. The landscape arrangement of the area is not intended to make people stay and rest for a while but to visit for a while. Furthermore, the artificial lake and the landscape around this lake and fountain are designed according to this concept. Because of this, the area is a monumental zone rather than an urban park or a recreational area. (Fig.2.25) Considering this peculiarity, the area is far away from being part of the city. Thus, the quality within the explanation of urban design field, which will be clarified within the following section of this study, is the argumentative topic here.

Figure 2.24 Martyr Monument in the open exhibition area, an element of bad taste.

Figure 2.25 The exhibition area and the landscape design around the artificial lake designed as a show case, rather than an urban recreational space for residents.

Additionally, the municipality designed a figure, which is designed so accidentally that you do not feel any reference to the history and no one in the municipality knows the meaning aimed by, and it is obligatory to use this figure on the facades of the buildings facing the entrance zone of the district. (Fig.2.26) All the constructed buildings, such as a restaurant on the one side of the lake, apartment blocks nearest to the zone and several shopping buildings, whose facades face the street other than the facade facing the entrance zone, and which have been designed in a much more modern concept, have to use this figure as an ornamental element on the facades facing the area. (Fig.2.27, 2.28 and 2.30) That is, the "decorated shed" which dominates all around the district by the help of facade designs of apartment blocks, characterized the zone.

Figure 2.26 The figure, which is designed to be used on the buildings constructed in the entrance zone of the district, has nothing to do with the architectural program of the building, on whose façade it is applied.

Figure 2.27   "Decorated sheds" in the entrance zone of the district.

Figure 2.28   The shopping buildings, whose facades facing the zone have the figure.

Figure 2.29 The shopping buildings, whose facades face the street show different characteristics from the other façade.

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Figure 2.30 The apartment blocks, and the shopping buildings whose facades face the zone have the same figure on the facade.

Figure 2.31 The waterfall on the opposite side of the municipality building.

In this zone, called as the entrance area of the district, there have been constructed several artificial waterfalls, which the politicians governing the municipality are proud of. (Fig.2.31 and 2.32) Considering the climatic conditions of the city, Ankara, the feasibility of these ornamental water elements are under debate.

In addition to the problem of freezing in cold times of the year, the placement of the waterfall, claimed to be the biggest artificial waterfall of the world, by the municipality on the side of a street which is one of the major traffic arteries of the district, results in dangerous situations sometimes. Furthermore, it interrupts the flow of the traffic, by taking attention of the drivers.

Figure 2.32 The painting, having a composition of Turks in Ottoman period, is placed on the waterfall.

There are also two big projects, one has been constructed and the other is being constructed today. The first one is called as "The Estergon Castle"[10] and the other one is "The Tower of Republic"[11]. (Fig.2.34 and 2.37)

The Estergon Castle

The original Estergon Castle is located in Hungary and very famous in the history of Ottoman Empire.[12] There are several Turkish heroic songs about this castle. (Fig 2.33) The Estergon Castle in Keçiören is designed by İbrahim Terzioğlu,

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[10] "Estergon Castle" is designed by İbrahim Terzioğlu, who is also the assistant president in the Municipality of Keçiören

[11] "The Tower of Republic" is designed by Architect Ragıp Buluç, who has designed the Atatower in Ankara in the past.

[12] The Original Esztergom Castle is in Hungary. The city Esztergom has been the capital city of Hungary for centuries. In the 16th century, the castle is occupied by Ottomans for about fifty years. Because of that the city was so famous for centuries in Europe, the wars in this area was so important, too. The war in 1595 and the heroic brave defence of the Ottomans in that war makes the Esztergom Castle famous and important in Otoman history. There are heroic songs composed for this castle for the sake of this historical importance.

who is assistant president in the municipality, as a cultural and shopping center on the hill, at the back of the Municipality Building. And the name of the building is told as "Estergon Turk Cultural Center". (Fig.2.34, 2.35, and 2.36)
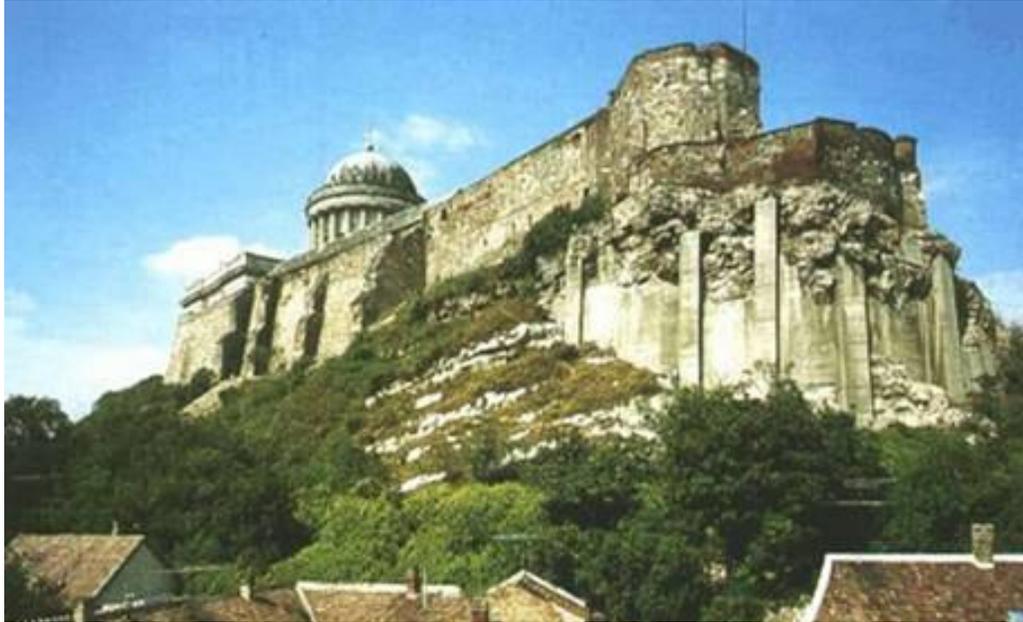
Figure 2.33 The Esztergom Castle in Hungary.

Figure 2.34 The Estergon Castle in Keçiören

"Estergon Turk Cultural Center

The Estergon Castle, constructed by the Keçiören Municipality in the entrance of the district, is finished in a very short period of time. By the time the construction is over, Keçiören will get a beautiful vista in the entrance of the district , in addition to get rid of an ugly view used to be there, before. The residents of Keçiören, will have a new shopping center. The castle is designed on the basis of a concept, symbolizing the Turkish history and cultural values. Estergon Castle, which is constructed by regarding Ottoman and Seljukid Architectural characteristics, will be a place where the culture of Turkish nation will get life."[13]

Figure 2.35 Keçiören Estergon Turk Cultural Center or The Estergon Castle entrance view.

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[13] "ESTERGON TÜRK KÜLTÜR MERKEZİ PROJESİ

Keçiören Belediyesi tarafından ilçe girişine yaptırılan Estergon Kalesi'nin yapımı hızla tamamlanıyor. Kalenin tamamlanmasıyla bir taraftan kötü bir görünüme sahip olan ilçe girişi güzelleşirken, diğer yandan da Keçiörenliler yeni bir alış-veriş merkezine daha kavuşmuş olacak. Kale, Türk tarihi ve kültürel değerlerini yansıtacak şekilde inşa ediliyor. Selçuklu ve Osmanlı mimarisinden örnekler alınarak yapılan Estergon Kalesi, Türk kültürünün yaşatıldığı bir mekân olacak. Yakın bir zamanda hizmete açılacak kalenin çevre düzenlemesine devam ediliyor. "

Keçiören Municipality webpage,
http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/projelerimiz.asp?projeler=Devameden ,August2005)

Figure 2.36 Keçiören Estergon Turk Cultural Center inside view.

The Tower of Republic
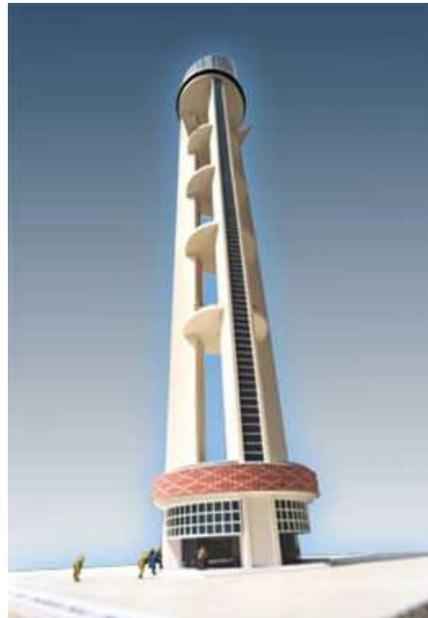
Figure 2.37 The Tower of Republic

The second biggest project in the entrance zone of the district is the Republic Tower, which is placed near the castle. (Fig.2.37 and 2.38)

Figure 2.38 The Tower of Republic
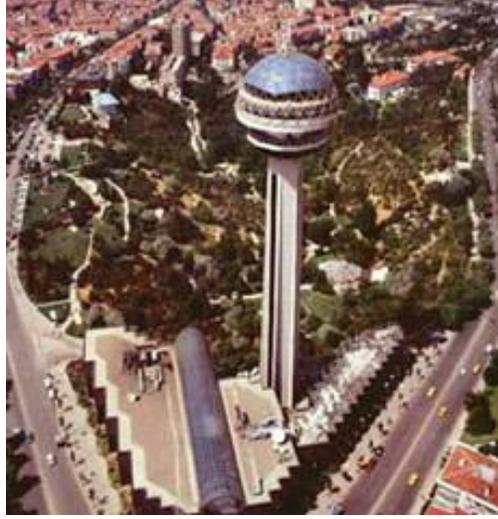
Figure 2.39   Atakule Tower in Çankaya District

"Republic Tower in Keçiören

A rival is coming to the Atakule Tower, which is the highest tower of Turkey and one of the symbols of Ankara. The tower going to be constructed by the Keçiören Municipality, will change the view of Ankara. The Republic Tower, which is going to be constructed near the Estergon Castle, will be 166 meters in height. The tower will be observable from everywhere in Ankara and people will be able to see all around Ankara from the tower. In this tower, there will be exhibition halls, cafeterias, restaurants, viewing terraces and a space terrace which will make the visitors, especially children, feel the atmosphere of space. The construction, which will start soon, will take 1,5 years to finish. By the help of the tower, the municipality will make progress in achievement on the way of making Keçiören a tourism center. As a result, Keçiören will get a new value."[14]

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[14] "KEÇİÖREN'E CUMHURİYET KULESİ
Ankara'nın simgelerinden biri olan Türkiye'nin en yüksek kulesi Atakule'ye rakip geliyor. Keçiören Belediyesi tarafından yaptırılacak Kule Ankara'nın çehresini değiştirecek. Estergon Kalesi'nin yanıbaşında inşaa edilecek Cumhuriyet Kulesi 166 metre yüksekliğinde olacak. Ankara'nın her tarafından görülebilecek ve Ankara'yı görebilecek kulede sergi salonu, kafeterya, restoran ve seyir türübinlerinin yanı sıra özellikle çocukların ilgisini çekecek uzay görünümünü andıracak uzay terası yer alacak. Yapımına yakında başlanacak proje 1.5 yıl içerisinde tamamlanacak. Kule sayesinde son yıllarda belediyenin yaptığı hizmetlerle turizm şehri olma yolunda büyük mesafeler alan Keçiören yeni bir özellik daha kazanacak."
Keçiören Municipality webpage,
http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/projelerimiz.asp?projeler=Devameden ,August2005)

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The tower is designed by the architect, Ragıp Buluç, who had designed the "Atakule Tower" in Çankaya. Atakule Tower is a shopping center and has brought an active role to the area in terms of shopping facility. (Fig.2.39) Atakule tower was constructed for commercial purposes at that time. In fact the aim of the Keçiören municipality is similar in this case, to attract the people in the city.

In addition to local interventions by architectural and urban alterations in the district, in fact the most effective movement was to take control of the housing developments in the district, which caused Keçiören become a district of "decorated sheds". By letting people live in squatters or *gecekondu* type illegally constructed housing on occupied national property, they made contract with firms for the construction of apartment blocks instead of the houses; they have speeded up the transformation of the district from an area full of squatters to apartment blocks. Then, they bring new regulations for controlling the facades of the new apartment blocks. By the help of these regulations they are able to check the projects and have right to make alterations on the facades as they wish. By this power of sanction they enforce the architects to use Ottoman, Seljukid or Islamic elements on their projects. Then we observe rapid transformation of a district from a zone full of *gecekondu* type housing blocks to a zone full of apartment blocks with decorated facades.

Figure 2.40 The disordered city characteristics generated over the old disordered city condition of squatters.

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Figure 2.41 High rise apartment blocks constructed on the site of squatters generate unhealthy urban quality.

Figure 2.42 High rise apartment blocks constructed on the site of squatters generate an unhealthy urban environment.

By the help of regulations prepared to get rid of the squatters in the district in a very short period of time, the residents living in those *gecekondu* type housing were allowed to make 4 floored apartment blocks without any necessity of a project of urban planning. This process transformed the district full of *gecekondu* type low rise housing settlements in disorder into a district full of apartment blocks in high density arrangement based on the disordered city characteristic of *gecekondu* type settlement. (Fig.2.40, 2.41 and 2.42) In fact, this was a process of legalization of *gecekondu*, which is mainly an illegally constructed building. This constructed the case with architectural and urban quality which is problematic.

The Keçiören Municipality, enforcing these regulations to be applied all over the district, claims that they have beautified the city. By the help of eclectic architecture the city has gained an identity, which they believe is a necessity. As a result, the unconsciousness of the residents and the municipality created "decorated sheds" constructed by the contractors. (Fig.2.43, 2.44, 2.45, and 2.46)

Figure 2.43 An apartment block with three columns attached on the facade and a figure of eagle which has been used as a symbol of power in history is placed on the column in the middle.

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Figure 2.44   Detailed view of the eagle on the facade.

Figure 2.45 An apartment block with the Ottoman imperial seal on top.

Figure 2.46 Detailed view of the Ottoman imperial seal on top of the facade.

The politicians governing the municipality are proud of the fact that the transformation of the district of Keçiören by means of architectural and urban elements has been realized in a very short period of time. In fact the architectural and urban products, as "decorated sheds" or "kitsch[15]" products, with a controversial aesthetic understanding dominating the district are praised and propagated by the politicians governing Turkey, as well. The questionable aesthetic quality of these architectural and urban elements is favored by the prime minister in a national newspaper.

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[15] Kitsch and hyper-reality terms and the related architectural and urban products in the district will be analyzed in the thirth chapter of this study.

"The prime minister yesterday also met Ankara's Kecioren district Mayor Turgut Altinok for breakfast at the historic Estergon Castle. Erdogan complained about illegal and improper settlements, particularly in big cities. "Ensuring the aesthetics of cities is one of the most important tasks of our municipalities," he added. "City governments have broad powers on this issue, so they must exercise them to stop illegal settlements. Every city and building should have its own spirit and style." For his part, Altinok said that the restored Estergon Castle was one of the capital's most attractive sites, and had drawn considerable attention from foreign tourists and diplomats."[16]
(Hurriyet newspaper, 27-2-2005) (Appendix 1)

The prime minister's declaration which praises the transformation of Keçiören pointing it out as an example for the developments apt to take place in other places of the country, makes us worry about the future urban developments in Turkey. Within the last few years there have been several attempts to make urban development and transformation projects for different cities and districts in Turkey. Taking into account these attempts with the declaration of the prime minister, we can say that there are several similar "decorated shed" cases apt to take place in the near future. What is disturbing in the case of Keçiören is the false consciousness created by the politicians on purpose. Although we observe an innocent effort made for creating a better city environment under the name of an urban transformation project, we meet the efforts of politicians for creating identity by using architectural and urban elements without the assistance of professionals, that result in nationalist and Islamic attitudes dominating the characteristic of the environment in the district. Understanding that all these are done to conceal the real social problems is not so difficult for the person who analyzes the case in detail. In fact, the technical problems as a result of this cosmetic transformation in the urban space are so apparent in bad weather conditions, especially in rainy days. The establishment of similar cultural transformations spreading all over Turkey will result in serious possible consequences.

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[16] Translation is done by Mehmet Pınarevli.

2.3.2 Parties responsible for the case

As the case is tried to be described in the previous section, we meet two dominant aspects in the transformation. The first has taken place in the locality surrounding the municipality building, which is called as the entrance zone of the district. Much more importance is given to this area than the other parts of the district. The second one, which is much more extensive and effective, is realized all around Keçiören. This was called an improvement process of the *gecekondu* in the district and beautifying the district. In both of these actions the problem hidden beneath the operations of the politicians which look as if innocent and necessary for the district, is the ideology and reflection of this ideology in the district by means of architectural and urban elements.

Both of these actions can be defined as examples of populist performance of politicians as well as a result of the attitude of the residents supporting the process taking place in the last ten years. Furthermore, the awareness of the residents in this respect is very important, because having a large portion of the district composed of *gecekondu* settlements and the profile of the people living in these zones, is supporting the transformation of the district rather than discussing the legalization of the deformity in the results. In other words, underlying the case, is the socio-cultural make-up of Keçiören where a large portion of the population lives in illegal housing, or *gecekondu* settlements, and mostly composed of uneducated and low income social profile. Thus, the populist actions of the politicians did not meet any reaction from the residents. On the contrary, the politicians got supporters because of self-seeking situation created and presented as the improvement process of the *gecekondu* in the district. When we get into the details of the factors preparing the foundation and formation of the case, we get the *gecekondu* problem and the cultural profile of the dwellers, the political parties who hold the power within the ten year period and the attitudes of the architects and contractors who are the people constructing the case in a way.

2.3.2.1 Society

The dominance of the *gecekondu* settlements is very important in the examination of the social profile in the district. As we have stated above, the main voters of the politicians responsible from the transformation are living in *gecekondu* settlements. Furthermore, the main part of the district has been transformed to zones full of "decorated sheds" under the name of regulation of *gecekondu* settlements. Today the inhabitants of squatter settlements constitute 60-70 percent of the population of Ankara.

In Ankara, as in all big Turkish cities, there have been mass migrations of rural people seeking employment, education for their children, and so on. The *gecekondu* settlements have been generally perceived as 'shelter for the poor' up until the late 1980's, a perspective that does not make so much emphasis on the illegal qualities of these settlements. (Arslan, 1989, 36) However, after that period because of the changing qualities of *gecekondu* settlements mentioned above and their transformation into a real estate market which provides some of its inhabitants and other actors included in the production of land housing with undeserved earning, large numbers of *gecekondu* dwellers had a significant bargaining power vis-à-vis politicians, who were after their votes. They would promise to vote for the party who promised them to legalize their houses and bring such services as roads, electricity and running water to the neighborhood. Today permission to the construction of four story houses on *gecekondu* land by the owners turns some *gecekondu* owners into profit seeking *gecekondu* traders. Today the city of Ankara is in a transformation process, the city is expanding towards its periphery and the *gecekondu* settlements are in a transformation to low quality – but profitable - apartment housing settlements.

Gecekondu dwellers, coming from rural life have problems of integration to urban life. Culturally these settlements are distinguished with their combination of rural and urban characteristics. In other words, *gecekondu* people were those who failed to free themselves from their rural characteristics and who constituted an

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obstacle to the development of modern cities and, more importantly, to the social transformation of the society into a modern one.

> *…The gecekondu family, having one end in the village and the other end in the city, displays the characteristics of a transitional family… (Yasa, 1970: 10).*

> *…Since the gecekondu family has not finished its adaptation process and has not yet reached the level of urban families, it faces material and emotional problems… (Yasa, 1970: 14).*

> *…The gecekondu person, while on the one hand tries to grow vegetables and trees in his garden as he does in the village, on the other hand, hopes to become a worker in a factory in the city… (Yasa, 1970: 15)*

Considering that the *gecekondu* areas are under an unplanned development, these zones lack most urban infrastructure, transportation and communication services. Accommodating dwellers from rural areas, *gecekondu* zones behave like a transitional environment from rural to urban life. Legalizing *gecekondu* settlements became a populist policy of both central and local governments. In the pre-election speeches of almost all the political parties this favor was promised. Thus, as the electors became aware of the weakness of political parties on this issue, they came to see that the best period in which to construct a *gecekondu* was just before an election.

The tolerant attitude of the politicians against *gecekondu* settlements and their dwellers can be regarded as populism[17]. The neo-liberal policies of the politicians to

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[17] Definitions of **populism** vary considerably from a simple description of the folksy appeal of a particular leadership style to a more elaborate description of a political movement that emphasizes the worth of the common people and advocates their political supremacy. In this study, we will use the word populism as a political strategy based on a calculated appeal to the interests or prejudices of ordinary people, who may certainly be poorly informed about the long term consequences of different policies. Thus, populism is concerned primarily with the well being of ordinary people, and is especially keen to invoke the popular will as the chief virtue of a political position.

get vote, bribed them by passing laws which allowed for the construction of buildings up to four storeys on *gecekondu* land. The objective was to integrate *gecekondu* settlements, which were informal in nature into the formal housing market, and in this way, get support of the lower classes in the implementation of the liberal policies, or at least prevent their upraising. The populist policies of the municipality through legalization overlapped with the formalization efforts of *gecekondu*s by using the power of governing. Being a municipality provides these settlements to be included in the formal urban system and provides additional cleavages such as being legalized and being able to benefit from some of the state services. Within this mentality of municipal practice, 'planning' means the clarification of construction rights and consolidation of the status quo. In addition, this municipal practice does not encompass any supervision and reorganization of the land market through the zoning mechanism.

At this point we come up with an interesting phenomenon. The establishment of the local or the social construction of the *gecekondu*s heavily relies on the municipalities in order for them to be formalized and legalized. (Arslan, 1989, 36)

In Turkey, by 1980s we observe legal approval as 'apartmentalisation' of *gecekondu*s which became a widespread phenomenon. Thus, the once-owner-occupied/owner-built *gecekondu*s were being replaced by high-rise apartment buildings in which the owner of the *gecekondu* land owned several apartments. This results in an unfair economic development in favor of the *gecekondu* owners. By the help of the apartmentalisation process, rural migrants/*gecekondu* people rapidly jump up to a higher economic stratum, but also they could shape the city by creating their own ways of life and sets of values, which were surely different from those of the modernizing urban elites. Those who became better-off through the commercialization of the *gecekondu* left their *gecekondu*s and moved to apartments, yet they preserved their previous life styles. Here, local political institutions such as the municipality has become more important than ever in the lives of the *gecekondu* people. Services to the neighborhood, the legalization of *gecekondu* land by distributing titles and the development of a master plan for the neighborhood thus

opening the way to the apartmentalisation process and meaning high profits all depend, to a large extent, on the political party which wins the local elections.

In fact the problem of *gecekondu* settlements, their social profile, the attitude of the government or the state towards the problem and their impact on urban growth, is much like the Keçiören case as well. In other words, we can say that the political ideology that has dominated the district within the last ten year period and going on today has got power by the voters living in *gecekondu* settlements. Because, as I have indicated in the previous section, *gecekondu* areas have been very effective in determining the local election results, by 1994.

2.3.2.2 Municipality (Politicians)

Three political parties have got the power in the district in this ten year period, which are MHP (Nationalist Action Party), FP (Virtue Party) which was a party set up after the RP (Welfare Party), and AKP (Justice and Development Party). When we analyze the features of these political parties we meet the origin of the ideology transforming the district within the last ten years.

By 1990s, there was a problematic situation in Turkey related with Europe and The Kurdistan Workers' Party (P.K.K.), which fostered the nationalist and conservative traditionalist ideologies. In this political climate, MHP has been very successful at elevating their discourse concerning this problematic situation to the center of the political party programme. Thus, MHP was successful in generating the feeling in the Turkish community that it was the only party that could solve the problems associated with terrorism. As a result, when they got power in the district of Keçiören, they demonstrated their political ideology by locating nationalist figures on the municipality building and in the surrounding sites. The major ones are the Estergon Castle and the open exhibition area, which are created by nationalist ideology[18].

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[18] In recent years scholars have defined the term nationalism in several different ways. In his influential study *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism is a process of

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In 1990s, another popular political party in Turkey was Welfare Party (RP), which is a pro-Islamists political party. In 1994 municipal elections, the pro-Islamists' rising power became apparent and the biggest cities as Ankara and Istanbul was taken by this political party. In Keçiören, the political party which has won the next local elections in the district, Virtue Party (FP) is the party set up by the founders of the RP after being closed by the Court of Constitution because it was accused for their anti-laicist activities. The ideology of these islamist political parties can be observable from their names, as well. Whereas the names of the other current political parties in Turkey are purely Turkish in origin, not only the present name of the party but the names of its two Islamist predecessors, Milli Nizam Partisi (National Order Party) and Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party) use words borrowed from Arabic, even though "Turkic" synonyms for those words exist. Thus the party's very name subliminally underlines its Ottoman-Islamic roots, since the aggressive use of pure Turkish vocabulary is a basic creed of secularist Turkish nationalism.

Then, the president of the Keçiören Municipality, who had changed his political party before the elections, was chosen by the residents for the third time by the election in 2004. Although three different political parties got the power in these three elections within the ten year period, we notice that the ideological motivation behind the case is the same.

Keçiören municipality, in addition to the *gecekondu* regulations, has prepared regulations for controlling the aesthetic aspects of the buildings to be constructed as

imagining nations, or political communities, that offered secular continuity and meaning to life after a radical change in the apprehension of time and space transformed the way people conceptualized the world. (Benedict, 1991) Anthony D. Smith calls nationalism an ideological movement that extends and intensifies the meanings and scope of historic *ethnie*, those named communities whose members share ancestry myths, histories, cultures, and a sense of solidarity. (Smith, 1991) Ernest Gellner delineates nationalism as a theory of political legitimacy based on the correspondence of ethnic and state boundaries. (Gellner, 1983) Finally, John Breuilly advocates restricting the term to political movements which aim to acquire state power on the basis of a distinct cultural identity. (Breuilly, 1985)

well as for the maintenance of those buildings already constructed. In this respect, the architectural and urban transformation all around the district creates "decorated sheds" and "kitsch" products or the products which can be subject for the term "hyperreality"[19], aimed to be explained in this thesis. The aim and the method used by the municipality in this case are observable in the web page of the municipality and the declarations in the municipality building, as well.

> *"__30 year longing has been ended__*
>
> *... By the help of the planning we have done, this area will be a modern city, and __several contractors will have desire to buy sites in return for__. ...*
>
> *...In all of the gecekondu settlements, __modern[20] apartment blocks have been constructed in a very short period of time__. Modern housing blocks have been constructed, nowadays, in the areas, where there were no apartment buildings in the past. So on, we are regulating the gecekondu zones. Keçiören is under transformation and being beautified. Keçiören Municipality is the model municipality in Turkey, today. ...*
>
> *...The citizens of Keçiören have indicated their trust in the election on the 18th of April by voting to us. ..."[21]*

The municipality has carried out a much more severe and powerful method in terms of sanction on the way of applying the aesthetization or regulation activities of *gecekondu* settlements, considering similar attempts performed by the other municipalities all around Turkey. As they have declared on the webpage of the

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[19] The general urban transformation as the rehabilitation of the gecekondu zones by constructing apartment blocks with decorated facades named as "decorated sheds", and the urban arrangements round the muniicpality builidng and the Estergon Castle in this area is considered as "kitsch products" or the products can be axplained by the term "hyper-reality". This debate is cleared out in the following chapter of this study in more detail.

[20] In this text, the term modern is used by the municiplality to point our the life conditions in an apartment block as comparing the ones in gecekondu housings.

[21] "30 Yıllık Hasret Sona Erdi

Yapmış olduğumuz planla bu bölge modern bir şehir haline gelecek, birçok müteahhit kat karşılığı yer almak isteyecek. … Keçiören'deki bütün gecekondu semtlerinde mantar gibi modern binalar yükselmeye başladı. Bir tane bile apartmanın olmadığı mahallelerde bugün modern inşaatlar yapılıyor. Böylece Keçiören'i gecekondulardan arındırıyoruz Keçiören değişiyor ve güzelleşiyor. Keçiören Belediyesi şu an Türkiye'nin örnek belediyesi konumunda. …

Keçiörenli bize olan güvenini 18 Nisan seçimlerinde oylarımızı katlayarak göstermiştir. …"

Keçiören Municipality webpage,

http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/projelerimiz.asp?projeler=Devameden ,August2005)

municipality, they get into contact with the architects and the contractors, as the designers and the constructers of the buildings, and give catalogs including the sample projects and ask them to obey the regulation codes. Although, the municipalities have got the rights to perform such sanctions according to laws, this is under debate, which is whether it is acceptable to dictate an autonomous profession in this way, in the context of a modern society. Furthermore, the conflicting situation with the modernist ideology of the Turkish State and Ankara, as the symbol of this ideology, is another point to be argued.
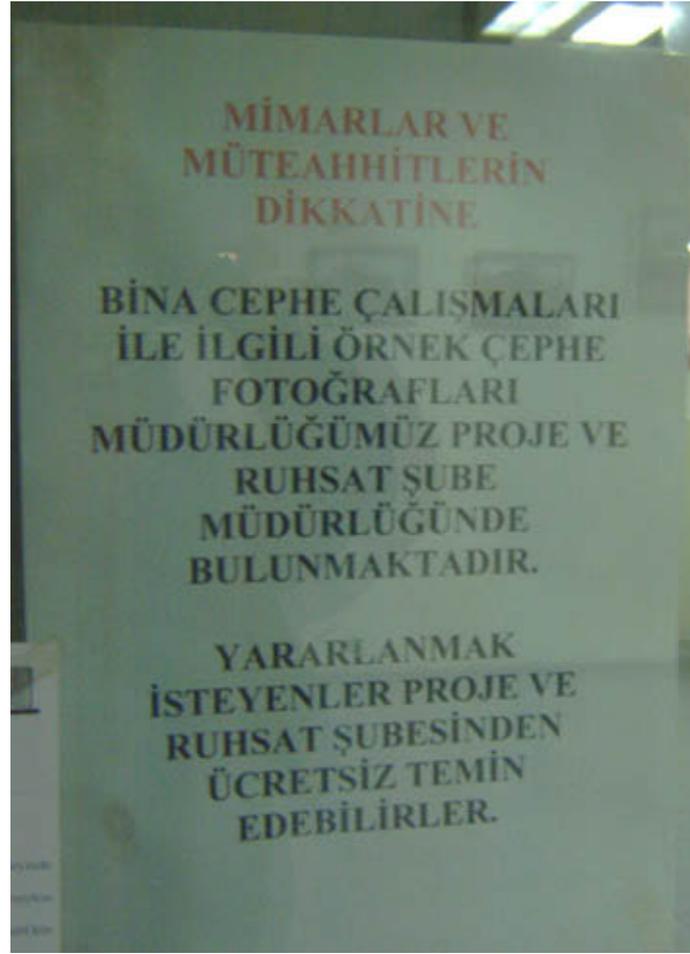

Figure 2.47 Declaration of the municipality about the sample projects, which must be taken as the models for the architects and the contractors willing to construct buildings in the district.

*"**Regulations for the aesthetics of buildings**

*Keçiören Municipality, who has solved the problem of public works mostly in the district, has started a series of projects on the way of a more beautiful district. The Public Works Management department of Municipality, who has got into contact with the architects working in the district, and prepared a catalog which includes the **sample projects** for the architects. Keçiören Municipality, providing suggestions for the buildings to be constructed, has warned the administrators of the buildings in the district for the maintenance and the renovation of the facades to get rid of the ugly views in the district. **Beautified and aesthetically good looking** buildings will have contribution to the projects for a better Keçiören district. Thus, the views disturbing the residents will be removed. The work of the Keçiören Municipality **to get rid of the visual ugliness** in the district is the first and unique in Turkey. No association has been able to dare such an enterprise in Turkey, till now. Nowadays, Keçiören, which looked like a village in the past, has got the view of a **district housing modern buildings**. Keçiören is approving around 500 construction license in a year and the number is expected to be increased in the following years."[22]*

There is a corridor in the municipality building at the floor where the management public works of municipality are located. In this corridor, the declarations of the municipality and the pictures of the sample projects, which we

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[22] "Binalara Estetik Şartı

Keçiören'in imar problemini büyük ölçüde çözüme kavuşturan Keçiören Belediyesi, daha güzel bir Keçiören için bir dizi çalışma başlattı. Keçiören'de faaliyet gösteren mimarlarla görüşmeler yapan Keçiören Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü, mimarlar için örnek teşkil edecek kataloglar hazırladı. Yeni yapılacak binalarda uyulacak şartlar konusunda mimarlara öneriler getiren Keçiören Belediyesi, eski binalarda meydana gelen yıpranma ve çirkin görüntülerin ortadan kaldırılması için de bina yöneticilerini uyararak onarım ve boyaların yenilenmesini istiyor. Güzel ve estetik görünümlü binaların Keçiören'in daha da güzelleşmesine büyük katkısı olacak. Hızlı bir yapılaşma yaşayan Keçiören'de, belediyenin bu girişimiyle göze hoş görünmeyen ve tüm Keçiörenliler'in rahatsız olduğu görüntüler ortadan kalkacak. Böylece Keçiören daha da güzel bir ilçe haline gelecek. Keçiören Belediyesi'nin görsel kirliliğe son vermek amacıyla başlattığı bu çalışma Türkiye'de ilk. Şimdiye kadar Türkiye çapında hiçbir belediye şehrin güzelleşmesi için bu tür girişimler başlatmaya cesaret edemedi. Bu arada 5-6 yıl öncesine kadar büyük bir köy görünümünde olan Keçiören bugün modern yapıların bulunduğu güzel bir ilçe haline geldi. Keçiören Belediyesi her yıl ortalama 500 dolayında inşaat ruhsatı veriyor. Bu sayının önümüzdeki yıllarda daha da artması bekleniyor."
Keçiören Municipality webpage,
http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/projelerimiz.asp?projeler=Devameden ,August2005)

can call as the sample for "decorated sheds", approved by the municipality are displayed to the architects and the contractors who want to design or construct a building within the boundaries of the district. (Fig. 2.47, 2.48, 2.49, 2.50, 2.51, 2.52, 2.53, 2.54, 2.55) The saying of the municipality, "*if you want your project to be approved by us you have to use similar design principles that we prepared for you*", is demonstrating the problematic situation of autonomy of architecture in the district. In this respect the corridor, which is used as a declaration platform of the ideology, has got a very symbolic meaning within the case. Additionaly, there have been debates between the chamber of architects in Ankara with the municipality about the approval procedures of the construction licence in the district. According to the writings[23] published in the webpage of the chamber of the architects, the municipality is refusing the agreement of approval of construction licence by the chamber is thought-provoking. When we deal with the performance of the municipality in the district within the case, we can feel that such a correlation would interrupt the establishment of such an architectural and urban transformation take place in such a short period of time.

Figure 2.48 The corridor in the municipality building, in which the sample projects and the declarations are posted on the walls.

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[23] The application of the chamber of architects of Ankara is at
http://mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=671, 2005 (Appendix C)

Figure 2.49   The sample project facades posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.50 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.51 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.52 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.53 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.54 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

Figure 2.55 One of the sample project facade posted on the walls in the corridor.

2.3.2.3 Architects and Contractors

By 1970s, as all over the world the consuming standards and concepts changed rapidly, a new typology of housing arrived. New materials, new designing concepts and interiors have been a pulling factor especially by the trends of the middle class. Meanwhile there appeared a new professional group in the building sector which is the building contractor. This period has really had a considerable negative impact on the city, as it allowed old big buildings in gardens to be replaced by new and comfortable apartments. As a result of this, the ecology of the city changed rapidly.

The liberalization of the economy and the involuntary and partial retreat of the politicians from populist, centralized social policies necessitated the establishment of a self regulating market. In terms of the production of space, the manifestation of this condition brought about the necessity to allocate new land for

legal construction. This necessity also created incentives for the capitalist organizations and increasing number of construction firms. The marketing of *gecekondu* land or in general peripheral land by the dwellers to the contractors provided them access to enormous sources of revenue.

The urban improvement plans by municipalities involve a wholesale clearance and redevelopment from 1-2 storey squatter houses to 4 storey apartment blocks on regular plots with the help of small contractors. In other words, the sector of apartmentalisation of *gecekondu* settlements by the help of small contractors with an agreement with the dwellers of the squatters has been supported by the municipality in accordance with their populist policies. In this case we meet an economic and political agreement between society, municipality and the association of architect and contractor, in which the contractor plays a dominant role. Because, as indicated in the previous section, the municipality has predetermined all the architectural decisions to be made by the architect and the aim of the contractors is to obey every regulations. Thus we meet architects' role in this case: a technical office much more than a designer.

In Turkey we meet the failure of reinforced-concrete buildings at earthquakes due to improper construction and sometimes without any external impact on the building. Here we meet the approach of small contractors constructing substandard shelter, sold to the dispossessed in order to make a quick profit. This results in buildings with poor quality and as presented in this study, tasteless architectural products as "decorated sheds".

When we take into account the role of the designers as architects in this case, we meet another problematic situation as well. In an urban and architectural level of a city, designers should play a responsible role in the urban planning process. They should feel the problems within the existing situation of the city before everyone else, and propose answers for better urban and architectural quality for the case. The designer should get the responsibility of obtaining the continuity of the characteristics of the city, and should find the correct solutions within the context of urban quality and be against the faults that disturb this quality. In other words,

architects and urban designers are responsible for making the decisions as the professional group responsible for the environment.

However, within the case of urban and architectural transformation of Keçiören district, we observe the architects or the designers as a part of the case, composing the situation. When we have a look at the buildings, which are supposedly designed by an architect, we observe the aim of commercialization or making profit more than the aim of designing housings in which people would live in good condition. Being constructed over the irregular urban characteristics, the urban quality is worsened because the low rise settlement has become a settlement of four storey apartment blocks on the same parcels facing the main street without any change. As a result, in this respect, the designers who do not show any critical response to the case are as responsible as the government who approved the situation.

Consequently, when society, the market, and the state are of the same opinion, no policy to reduce or remove informal activities from the system can work. In such situations the system has internalized informality as a mechanism, which is constituted with a self-seeking situation created and presented by the dwellers of *gecekondu*s, the political parties, contractors and architects who are those constructing the case in a way.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANALYSIS OF DECORATED SHEDS
Consequences of the Transformation

3.1 Urban Quality

In this part of the thesis, the resultant urban quality will be discussed in terms of planning and design quality related with the case. Before analyzing the urban quality resulting from the process or the ongoing transformation in the district of Keçiören, we should be informed about the terms; urban design and urban planning. Although these two professions look similar in dealing with the same problem of urbanism, they differ from each other on the basis of their effect on urban quality.

Urban planning encourages the systematic development of a city. It is a system through which comprehensive plans that guarantee people a healthy, cultural lifestyle, the rational use of the land and facilities which from the city's core, and the development of an orderly urban landscape, can be effectively achieved. Specifically, urban planning deals with, among other things, urbanization zones, zones to be urbanized in a regulated fashion, land use in zoning areas, roads, parks, sewerage, other urban facilities, land readjustment projects, urban renewal projects, other urban development enterprises, and district planning to make the best use of an area's special characteristics in order to develop a favorable urban environment. In other words, urban planning is a professional field concerned with addressing the health and welfare of urban areas. The potentials and problems of urban areas relate to the built environment and its underlying social, economic, political, and legal structure and related public policies. Thus, the aim of urban planning in cities is to provide land development and to regulate the use of private and public land for public interest. The other important objective is to prevent sprawl of city and chaotic

growth. Especially, subdivision is an important tool for the application of physical planning decisions in the urban space in Turkey. In this respect, "*urban planning*" is a "*scientific field*" dealing with the future of the city on the basis of "*rational*" and technical aspects. In Turkey, the municipalities are responsible for the application of local physical urban plans. (Tekeli, 1994, 593)

An urban planner is primarily concerned with the allocation of resources according to projections of future need. Planners tend to regard land use as an allocation of resources problem, parceling out land, for zoning purposes, without much knowledge of its three-dimensional characteristics, or the nature of the building that may be placed on it in the future. The result is that most zoning ordinances and official land use plans produce stereotyped and unimaginative buildings. (Tekeli, 1994, 593)

On the other hand, some one is needed to design the city in the third dimension. Therefore, there was a need for someone who could be called an urban designer, to deal with the problems of the city in a smaller scale.

"Urban design is the generally accepted name for the process of giving physical design direction to urban growth, conservation, and change. It is understood to include landscape as well as buildings, preservation and new construction, and rural areas as well as cities." (Velibeyoğlu, 1999) Public spaces – squares, streets, parks – make the scene for urban life. It is in the public domain that we meet and interact with other people, and that we experience common values, tradition and culture. But public space is also where we spend time outdoors, where we enjoy the passage of seasons, and where we experience the natural as well as the man-made flora, the domestic as well as the wild fauna. Thus, public space is a prerequisite for quality of life, for identity and for sustainable social and environmental development.

The difference of design from planning is the aesthetic and symbolic criterions on the basis of judgment procedure. (Tekeli, 1994, 595) In this sense urban design is perceived as the return of aesthetics to city planning. Urban Design and

aesthetics are important in creating a high quality of life for a community. The quality of the built environment will have important implications for the natural environment. Urban design largely deals with the quality of the built environment that is vital for preserving the natural environment. Thus, designing of cities in terms of its environmental quality and the integrity with their users' needs are the most common issues

As a result, taking the differences between the fields of urban planning and urban design into consideration, the urban decorations constructed in the entrance zone of the Keçiören district, which takes place around the municipality building, and the "decorated sheds" created all around the district under the name of establishing identity for Keçiören, will be analyzed from the point of view of urban design, and the deformations obtained by the rehabilitation of gecekondu zones from that of urban planning. Then we will get a total answer of the question concerning the urban quality obtained as a result of the transformation.

In Keçiören, it appears that *"urban design is seen merely as a visual concern masking the social concerns…"*. By the help of the "decorated sheds" there is an ideology which is dictated by the municipality to the residents as the architecture of nationalist Turkish architecture. In this sense, *"city space and architectural forms became consumer items or packaged environments that support and promote the circulation of goods"*. (Velibeyoğlu, 1999) The Estergon Castle, monumental architectural and urban elemnenst around the entrance zone of the district, and several "decorated sheds" all aound the district have been constructed on the basis of this understanding. Furthermore, the eclectic manner of the ideology leading the transformation is creating a problematic situation concerning urban aesthetics. On the basis of the ideology referred in the case, we meet regionalism which is practiced by creating a new environment foreign to the established one in Ankara, anti-universalism, collage or eclecticism, preoccupation with image/decor scenography, fragmentation, populism and commercialism. In the case of Keçiören the urbanity based on historical eclecticism has become misguided because of the ignorance about the contemporary context. Especially, in the facades of the "decorated sheds" or apartment buildings constructed, we meet unconscious applications of an eclectic

manner carried out by the municipality. We can observe this failure on the images in the previous chapter. For instance, a Greek architectural figure is used as a national element on the facade. (Fig. 2.43 and 2.44)

> *"**Keçiören has been a touristic city,***
>
> *The Keçiören district which was known to be a gecekondu zone ten years ago is now a tourism center. In the district, firstly the waterfalls and the Estergon Castle constructed by the municipality, the natural beauties as the Ataturk Botany Garden, the Valley of Kalaba are all full of visitors during the weekend. In addition to the tourists form different places of Europe, there are Arabic and Persian tourists coming to see the beauties of Keçiören. The president of the Keçiörene district, Turgut Altınok, who points out that , says that "The district has been transformed within the eleven years, that we are working as the municipality". By the help of the fast building process for rehabilitating the gecekondu settlements, today the ratio of gecekondu zones to the entire district is one to six. Our city, with the projects and beauties as Keçiören waterfalls, The Estergon Castle, Ataturk Botany Garden and The Valley of Kalaba, became a modern and peaceful land and an attraction zone. Furthermore, these projects have made our district a tourism center. By the help of future projects such as the Republic tower, which is going to be 166 meters high, the cable railway and the sea world projects, its popularity as an attraction point for tourists visiting Ankara will increase in time. "[24]*

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[24] "10 yıl öncesine kadar gecekondularıyla anılan Keçiören günümüzde Ankara'nın turizm merkezi haline geldi. İlçede belediye tarafından inşa edilen şelale, Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi başta olmak üzere Atatürk Botanik Bahçesi ve Kalaba Vadisi gibi doğal güzellikler özellikle hafta sonları yerli ve yabancı ziyaretçilerin akınına uğruyor. Avrupa'nın değişik ülkelerinden gelenlerin yanı sıra Arap ve İran'lı turistler de ilçedeki güzellikleri görmeye geliyor. Göreve geldikleri 1994 yılında Keçiören'in 6/5'i gecekondulardan oluşan üçüncü sınıf bir ilçe olduğunu vurgulayan Keçiören Belediye Başkanı Turgut Altınok, "Görevde bulunduğumuz 11 yıllık dönemde Keçiörenimiz büyük bir değişim ve gelişme yaşadı. İlçemizde belediye olarak yaptığımız hizmetlerle yaşanan çok hızlı bir yapılaşma ile gecekondu oranı 6/1'lere düştü. Modern ve huzurlu bir kent haline gelen Keçiörenimiz şelale, Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi, Kalaba Vadisi ve Atatürk Botanik Bahçesi gibi projelerle bir cazibe ve güzellikler merkezi halini aldı. Bu güzellikler aynı zamanda ilçemizin bir turizm merkezi haline gelmesini de sağladı" dedi.166 metre yüksekliğindeki Cumhuriyet Kulesi, teleferik ve deniz dünyası projeleriyle Keçiören'in vizyonunu daha da değiştireceklerini kaydeden Başkan Altınok, bu sayede turist sayısı bakımından bir hayli geri kalan Ankara'ya daha fazla turistin gelmesinin sağlanacağını sözlerine ekledi."
Keçiören Municipality webpage, http://www.kecioren.bel.tr ,August2005)

Figure 3.1 Gecekondu settlement in Keçiören, disordered, unplanned city characteristic, which rather looks like a village.

Figure 3.2 Gecekondu areas in the district, in which we observe still green areas. Today all of these green but gecekondu areas are transformed to zones apartmen blocks, which lack of green.

Figure 3. 3 The apartmentalisation of gecekondu settlements result in unplanned urban quality.

Figure 3.4 Apartmentalized gecekondu areas in ten year period. There is lack of green areas.

When we get into the details of urban planning efforts by the municipality, the main problem faced by the government is the housing units and settlements which are unplanned developments usually constructed by the migrants themselves. (Fig. 3.1 and 3.2) The district's municipality has built new settlements over the gecekondu sites, without changing the unplanned, arbitrary order established by the dwellers. (Fig. 3.3 and 3.4) The municipality has preferred the easiest way, instead of demolishing the gecekondu zones and creating a new planned area on the basis of rational and scientific norms of modern city for a much more livable city life. In fact considering the populist attitudes of the politicians aiming to satisfy all the residents without losing any supporter or voter, demolishing and planning the city form the start is so difficult. Because, this requires struggling with several factors and venturing the risks of unsuccessfulness. Thus, the politicians, assuming a populist stand in every action for the solution of social problems, use the laws approved in 1980s by the government for the regulation of gecekondu settlements by simply legalizing them by allowing four storey apartment blocks or "decorated sheds" as defined in this study. In this case we meet a much worse situation concerning urban quality.

Urbanization developments in the district did not make any reservations for public institutions and preservation of green areas in cities possible, it has prevented the establishment of green zones. This kind of development has created an insufficiency of public service areas. The idea of development which principally accommodates the rental value of cities results in a retreat of the quality of urban life.

As a result, we can analyze the urban quality proposed within the case. The one is on the basis of urban design as aesthetics and evaluation of public spaces created by the municipality. And the other is in a more technical aspect, the planning performance of the city. We get controversial urban spaces created by the municipality on the basis of a nationalist ideology, which is also under argumentation because of the unconscious eclectic usage of the forms obtained from the history. In addition to this, we meet the same manner on the facades of the buildings spreading all over the district, as "decorated sheds". On the other hand, when we approach the case considering the planning performance within the development in the last

decade, we meet a much more technical failure. Because, the district has grown up without a development of infrastructure, which has already problems for one housing site, where an apartment block houses ten to twenty flats. Especially, on rainy days the failure is clearly observable. This is just for giving a simple example for showing the defective consequences of an unplanned development. In the past we used to attribute these failures to gecekondu settlements, today however, by the way of apartmentalisation of these sites the situation is worsened by the help of governments. (Fig. 3.3 and 3.4)

Figure 3.5   A street in Keçiören district, in which we can feel the characteristics, established by decorated facades, constructed within the case.

3.2 Architectural Quality

The problem in the urban and architectural transformation case in the district of Keçiören, is that as architects in the district have become less involved with the space, structure, and program of a building, they have focused primarily on the ornament, or the design process of "decorated sheds" as designing just the facades or the envelops of the buildings, because of the position of the design under strict

control of the municipality. As a result, considering widespread standardization and unquestioning pragmatism, the program, sitting, massing, structure, and general floor layout for an apartment block which are neglected by society and the contractor especially, and architect is hired to decorate the building façade in the way the government dictated it to be. Thus, the architects in the district deal with populist sentiments and ideologies of the politicians governing the municipality, through sub-themes such as: group and corporate identities, representations and spaces of the people in the district, religious and moral controversy in which morality in society is shaped around religious norms, nationalism, Islamism and historicism. This is the starting point for the creation of "decorated sheds" in the district.

When we get into the details of the architectural quality in the sense of suggested usage quality for the dwellers we meet another problematic situation, as well. Because, the lack of a critical response to the public realm of architecture created by the government and applied by the architects in the district stems in part from a failure to represent architecture equally as both utilitarian and art object. In this sense we get the value of architecture as a profession within the case, a consumer product or a tool, made use of by the municipality. Thus the social values and architectural quality here are composing another part of the problematic situation.

The design of our home environment is decisive to our level of independence and quality of life, and the need to design accessible and inclusive housing is urgent and rapidly growing. Architects and design practitioners need to assume responsibility for this important design issue, as well as strengthen their understanding and knowledge of the individual needs of users. In other words, the responsibility of an architect shouldn't be just designing the envelope but designing the life quality inside the building as the performance of the building.

Hundreds of people who know nothing about constructing a building chose to start construction companies by getting a contractor license. In a wide-open economy that was growing at dizzying rates, many of these do-it-yourself contractors quickly became rich, although they are not qualified in construction. As a result they are not interested in the quality of architecture they are dealing with. The main aim for them

is to finish the building and sell it to prospective users in the shortest period of time. In this sense the decorations on the facades are just for attracting the people for selling the product. The aim of the municipality in this capitalist market is to achieve apartmentalization in the shortest period of time; the chain established in self-seeking relations is unbreakable.

In the case of the urban and architectural transformation of the Keçiören district, forms of populism promote themselves and their quest for mass appeal through a stylistic and aesthetic consciousness. Within the case what we are interested in, is the use of urban planning, urban design and architectural professions for the application of the ideology in the district, which reminds us of another controversial topic, popular architecture, which brings us to another debate, popular taste. We meet the popular as something transient, expendable, low cost and mass produced. The temporariness of the product in terms of taste is important in this respect as well. Then we meet the architectural products, "decorated sheds" in the case, as commercial products neglecting ethical norms of the profession. Here the commercial means are in touch with what people want. Thus the ephemeral characteristic of popular culture is the point in the temporariness of taste and fashion. This debate will be expanded in the following sections under the concepts of hyper-reality and kitsch, as well.

As a result, when we try to analyze the architectural quality of the products in the case of Keçiören, we meet two problematic conclusions. One concerns the aesthetic manner of eclecticism by creation of "decorated sheds", which is used for the reflection of the ideology under debate in this study. And the other one is much more related with the technical context of the products within the profession of architecture. In other words, the visual/material and planning performance of the architectural products obtained within the case and the quality presented to the users for their life expectancy from architecture.

3.2.1 Analysis of the Case on the Basis of Some Related Concepts

Taking into account, the Keçiören district has been a city, whose eighty percent is composed of migrants from rural areas and live in the gecekondu settlements, where cultural transformation took place in the district, the cultural transformation faced within the case is mainly an acculturation process of the residents living in this part of the district. Because of that, the social analysis of the gecekondu dwellers within this ten year period will help us to understand the cultural transformation.

In this cultural transformation we do not meet an actual acculturation of these migrants with modernization of the personality by the way of changing beliefs, attitudes and behavioral tendencies, but a resistance trying to establish their rural ideologies by altering the modern ideology of Ankara, which sustained the construction of the capital. By the help of the apartmentalisation process, rural migrants/gecekondu people rapidly jump up to a higher economic stratum, but also they get the chance for shaping the city by creating their own ways of life and sets of values, which are surely different from those of the modernizing urban elites. In fact the populist attitude of the politicians for the sake of vote in the elections is the main denominator of this process. Cities have come to a point of losing their identities and function as social meeting and living spaces due to the culture and way of life produced by this process of destroying the environment.. This is the way how ideological departure of Keçiören has taken place.

In addition to term, **decorated shed**, which is accepted as one of the major denominators of the case, there are other subsidiary terms which will be analyzed to clarify the controversial transformation and the ideology beneath the case. These are **populism**, **nationalism**, the ideology of Turkish nation (**Türklük**), **Turanism**, **Islamism** and **orientalism**, which constitute the fundamentals of the ideology; and fascism and totalitarianism, which are used to explain the method of the politics for establishing the aim of transformation.

There created some symbols, myths and rituals by the society by interpretation and internalization of history. The shared symbols, myths and rituals have always had a vital importance in the establishment, organization and maintenance of popular nationalist movements.

Figure 3.6 The open exhibition area in opposition to the municipality building.

In fact, the nationalist symbols, rituals and myths utilized in Turkish nationalism vary according to the political ideology with which Turkish nationalism integrated itself. In this sense, The Nationalist Action Party (MHP) or the idealist movement (*ülkücü hareket*) in the popular language, which has taken part in the case, is one of the political and social movements who adopted and developed a distinct understanding of Turkish nationalism. The sentiment of the superiority of the Turkish nation and of Turkish culture constituted the essence of *ülkücü* movement's Turkist outlook. *Ülkücüs*, as most of the Turkists do, have looked for the origin, sources and the purest forms of Turks' superior national and cultural characteristics in the pre-Islamic and societies with allegedly Turkish origin or tribes in the Central Asia. (Fig. 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20 and 3.6) By exhibiting the rapid social changes in Turkish social culture as moral degeneration of the original Turkish

culture and by presenting the Turkist solution of "return to essence" (*öze dönüş*) against the threat of degeneration, they, in a Turkish nationalist line, succeeded to politicize and mobilize those people in Turkist and nationalist lines.

The construction of these alleged essentially superior characteristics of Turks was, most of the time, produced through a reinterpretation of existing scientific and historical research over the pre-Islamic, Central Asian Turkish tribes or civilizations. As a result, Turkish myths were reproduced in an exaggerated and mystical manner. In this context, we meet another term Pan-Turkism and Turanism.

"Pan-Turkism is a political movement aimed at uniting the various Turkic peoples into modern political states, closely related to Turanism."[25] Here the aim is uniting the various Turkic peoples into political states. Thus, Turanism, which is the ideal of unifying the Turkic world under one political entity, has been the vital component of the party's Turkism.

The articulation of Islamic elements into the Turkish nationalist ideology is rationalized with the idea that Islam is commensurable with Turks' essential characteristics and their omnipresent monotheistic beliefs. In fact, "Islam dominated all areas of social, political, cultural and economic spheres at the time of Ottoman Empire, not only as a religion, but also as a way of living"[26]. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his friends attacked religious dogmatism in order to launch a new socio-cultural reform program.[27] In this manner, we will try to examine the other factors in the ideology of the Keçiören case, as orientalism and Islamism, which has been as important as the Turkish nationalism or Turanism for the selection of elements as the signifier of the transformation.

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[25] http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Pan-Turkism

[26] Emre Kongar, "Turkey's Cultural Transformation", in Gunsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter, ed., The Transformation of Turkish Culture, The Ataturk Legacy, (The Kingston Press. Inc. Princeton, New Jersey, 1986), pp. 19-68. , http://www.kongar.org/aen_tr.php, August 2005

[27] http://www.theottomans.org/english/index.asp , August 2005

Figure 3.7 One of the apartment blocks with Islamic architectural elements as windows and the figures on the roof.

When we look at the Islamic images in the district, the most noticeable one is the emblem of the municipality, a symbol having a composition of crescent and minarets. (Fig.2.11) Furthermore, we meet some architectural elements on the buildings, constructed in the district. (Fig. 3.7) Additionally, the names given to some public buildings are chosen on the basis of this ideology. (Fig. 3.8 and 3.9)

Figure 3.8 A mosque, which was constructed a few years ago, is named Pir-i Türkistan Camii ve Külliyesi.

Figure 3.9 Pir-i Türkistan Camii ve Külliyesi

Maybe one of the most interesting buildings which would be shown as a sample for nationalist and islamist attitude of the municipality would be the municipality building in the district. The politicians governing the municipality made some changes over the municipality building, when they get the power. In front of the municipality building they put the busts of famous ancestors with a statue of M. Kemal Ataturk. In the middle of the glazing part of the entrance, they have placed a relief of Fatih Sultan Mehmet and a religious saying of the Prophet Mohammed is written over the entrance portal. Additionally, the famous saying of M. Kemal Atatürk, "Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene!" is placed on the portal, as well. (Fig. 2.12, 3.10)

Figure 3.10 The Keçiören Municipality building.

3.2.1.1 Kitsch and Hyper-reality

For the explanation of the urban and architectural transformation in Keçiören district, the term "decorated shed", which is defined by Venturi, is used mainly in this study. By the help of the term "decorated shed", the characteristics of the new architecture applied by the help of construction of apartment blocks, in which "systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them", is stressed. (Venturi, R., 1997, 88) However, taking in to account the arrangements done in the entrance zone of the district, "decorated shed" is not enough to explain the Estergon Castle and the open exhibition area in the zone. The terms, "kitsch" and "hyper-reality", will be used for the explanation of this architectural and urban arrangements performed by the municipality in this study.

The authorities writing on art and aesthetics have been searching for the etymology of the word kitsch, before understanding its position in the world. Here we meet Ludwig Giesz, who is known with his research on kitsch. Here he says that the word kitsch can be a derivation of "sketch", which he also claims, is a German word used for the cheap copies of famous artists' paintings. Furthermore, he also indicates another possible word "verkitschen", whose meaning is "collecting garbage or mud", as the origin of "kitsch". With the help of this play on words, we can get some clues on kitsch and its position within the world or art.

There are several authorities trying to point out kitsch in several ways;

Herman Broch (1933, 1951) claims that kitsch is as old as the human being. Thus he presents another term kitsch-man, which refers to the person, responsible from kitsch. He outlined an ethically-oriented theory of kitsch that reaches beyond aesthetic criticism and classifies kitsch as a social and political phenomenon. For Broch Adolf Hitler was the prototypical "Kitsch-Mensch" (kitsch man).

Gillo Dorfles (1969), defines kitsch as bad taste and relates it to consumer society, which is the outcome of bourgeois society and capitalist society, i.e., the society, we live in today. Furthermore Gillo **Dorfles** goes on to state that much of the love of kitsch is due to a misunderstanding of modern art by the kitsch man who lacks education and habit.

Clement Greenberg (1939), gets at another point comparing kitsch in respect of the aim of avant-gardism. He claims that being an avant-garde does not mean escaping from kitsch, here the goal or purpose of art becomes an important factor.

> *"Where there is an avant-garde, generally we also find a rearguard. True enough simultaneously with the entrance of the avant-garde, a second new cultural phenomenon appeared in the industrial west: the thing which the Germans gave the wonderful name of the Kitsch… Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensation. Kitsch changes according to style, but remains always the same. Kitsch pretends to demand nothing of its customers except their money – not even their time.* (Greenberg, C., 1959)

Calinescu (1966), also connects kitsch to consumer society and presents it as fake art. Furthermore he indicates kitsch as an inescapable phenomenon.

Umberto Eco (1962, 1989), who has several essays defining the kitsch in contemporary life, discusses kitsch in relation to mass culture and its way of using fake art to make its products consumed.

Additionally, we get another important phenomenon "Kitsch-Mensch" which is translated to English as "kitsch man". The concept of kitsch man was firstly expressed by Hermann Broch, later adopted by Ludwig Giesz. Broch, points out the kitsch man as the person responsible from the problem of kitsch. Here we meet kitsch man not as just the consumer but the producer of kitsch as well.

> *"Kitsch could not, in fact, either emerge or prosper without the existence of kitsch man, the lover of kitsch; as a producer of art he produces kitsch and as a consumer of art is prepared to acquire it and pay quite handsomely for it".* (Broch, 1959, 49)

But, why is there kitsch man, and why does he promote for kitsch? Here, Dorfles points out a misunderstanding, related with modern art because of lack of education and habit.

> *"... Very often the misunderstanding of modern art, of difficult, abstract, hermetic work (this covers much modern poetry, music, or painting) is not due to an incompatibility between the public and art, but merely to al lack of preparation. It has often been proved (although we do not, and would not need proof) that the average man, the man without prejudices, unaffected by the bug of 'mid-culture' and, above all, confronted by works of art continuously and patiently, will soon not only understand them but also love them."*
> (Dorfles, 1959, 15)

Then we can say that the kitsch man, who does not have an idea about real art and aesthetics, is one of the major points on the way of kitsch. According to Milan

Kundera the real opponent of kitsch is a thinking person and/or one who asks questions which is a characteristic of individualism.

> *"The true opponent of totalitarian kitsch is the person who asks questions."* (Kundera, 1984, 254)

Kundera points out totalitarian kitsch as something whose identity is bound up with common social system. This system can be defined by several inferior phenomena such as politics, economics, beliefs and somehow aesthetic or understanding of taste. And kitsch always uses these to perform its intention. Thus we can conclude that an aspect of the kitsch man is that he is not an individualized person with a freedom of mind but a totalitarian thinker. Here we meet kitsch as a product of totalitarian ideology in the definition of Kundera.

Defining kitsch in terms of totalitarianism, and kitsch man as the agent of this totalitarian phenomenon, we look for the tools that totalitarian ideology exploits to perform its aims in the society. Here we can list tools as common beliefs in society such as: religion, tradition, sociological elements as: politics, aesthetical norms, which can be noticed in the study of tradition, and so on.

> *"Kitsch is the aesthetic ideal of all politicians and all political parties and movements."* (Kundera, 1984, 257)

Because to influence a group of people and make them give the power to you, you should find the common values important for that society and make use of them. In other words, the actual aims of the politicians and the way of achieving them are concealed beneath populism. We can see several examples of such an attitude in the history such as Hitler's Germany, Saddam Huseyin's Iraq, or Stalin's Soviet Union. Furthermore, we can increase the number of samples by researching the history. Although, we observe different values and maybe different attitudes in these samples, we can feel the totalitarianism of the governors. As examples for these values we can mention nationalism, racialism, mysticism, romanticism, historicism, love, fear, sentiment, nostalgia, and so on…

Today, there are several authorities conceiving kitsch as a problem in the world with reference to the philosophers above. Although we meet different ideas defining kitsch from different perspectives, we can take out some common points within these. We can talk about fakeness, when we consider kitsch and its way of using its aesthetic understanding. Within this point of view defining kitsch we meet Eco writing several essays about. He also brings another concept "hyper-reality" within this view, in which he discusses consumer society and popular art, which is another important point on the way of defining kitsch, taking place in the capitalist society. Here we meet popular art as an important element in capitalist society on the way of making people consume the produced.

Umberto Eco's "Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality" explores the human fascination with fake reality. We surround ourselves with 'Hyper Reality', where we allow our minds to wander into fake worlds and accept these falsities as being real. Whilst essentially discussing reality in the deepest of terms, Eco refers to modern examples in an attempt to discover the meaning of 'hyper reality' and its influence on society. The term 'hyper reality' reflects upon falsities that humans create and attempt to sell as realities. These hyper realities, while fake (often admitted as such by the creators), are welcomed by the consumer as real or even as a preferred substitute for what we conceive as being real. In fact, the hyperreal object, or situation, claims to be more real than the actual object, or situation, which it replaces. The intense experience of the reproduction often surpasses the value of the original. The idea of something beyond real is quite interesting.

Figure 3.11 The Estergon Castle is the perfect example for the term hyper-reality of Eco. (Fig. 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.30, 3.34)

In this case this term is selected to explain the attitude of constructing Estergon Castle like buildings and the open exhibition are full of fake historic imitations symbolizing the Turkish nation, for the sake of capitalist aims beneath an ideology based on nationalistic manner.

> *"The Estergon Castle in Keçiören district, taking its name from a historical castle, which had a very important role in the history of Turkish nation, and containing an ethnography museum, shops, Asian gardens and decorations with Turkish patterns, is a **Turkish cultural center** which has been an important mark in the history of Rapublic of Turkey.*[28]

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[28] "Adını, Türk Tarihi'nde önemli bir yer tutan Estergon Kalesi'nden alan ve Etnografya Müzesi, Aktar Dükkanları, Asya Bahçeleri ve nakış nakış işlenmiş Türk motifleriyle Cumhuriyet tarihine damgasını vuran Türk Kültür Merkezidir." *(Appendix 2)*

With the declaration of the municipality in their webpage defining the castle like building named Estergon Turkish Cultural Center, the irony of accepting a building constructed just in a few years as an important architectural product in the history of the Turkish State makes us to get the relation between the term "hyper-reality" defined by Eco and the case. Because, they claim by the construction of such a building they have succeeded to gather several values of Turkish nationality in a building. Thus, the Estergon Castle which has a composition of several values from different important architectural products, has got much more value than each one, imitated from.

In the webpage of the municipality, they have explained the architectural concept of the building. According to declarations, the octagon-shaped body and the columns on the facade are imitated from the "Red Tower" in Alanya Castle, the entrance gate (portal) is constructed similar the one of "Karatay Madrasa" in Konya. Furthermore, some decorations on this gate are taken from "Sivas Divriği Ulu Mosque". In addition to these, in the text published on the webpage of the municipality, they say every part of the castle is imitated from a famous historical building or a pattern or stone which they think is a characteristic of Turkish culture. *(Appendix 2)* Taking this eclectic architectural end product into consideration, they are proud of that, this building has been as important as the original ones whose parts they have imitated. The created fake reality in this case is presented by the politicians as a product with which everyone, who feels himself as Turk must be fascinated. And they make you feel Turk in one space, which is created by imitation of several architectural and cultural symbols or elements which the person can not see or live without visiting them all. In a way, we can say that the collection of several images from different but real and original cultural artifacts makes this building appear better than all. Because that is the success of collecting and symbolizing a culture, as Turkish nationality, in a space to make you feel Turk.

Figure 3.12 The Estergon Castle sign. Almost on all of the signs in the district we can notice the name of the president of the municipality.

Figure 3.13 The Estergon Castle with octagon shaped body, which is told to be inspired from the Red Tower of Alanya Castle.

Figure 3.14   Red Tower of Alanya

Figure 3.15 In front of the entrance portal of The Estergon Castle there is a
hearth shaped middle space with red flowers welcoming the visitors.

Figure 3.16 Entrance portal of The Estergon Castle, which is almost an imitation of the entrance portal of.Karatay Madrasah in Konya. In the webpage of the municipality, it is claimed that there is so little difference from the original portal in Konya.

Figure 3.17 The entrance portal of.Karatay Madrasah in Konya. This building is constructed by Seljukids in the 13th century.

Figure 3.18 The entrance hall of the Estergon Castle. In this floor there are shops selling carpets, jewellery, gifts…
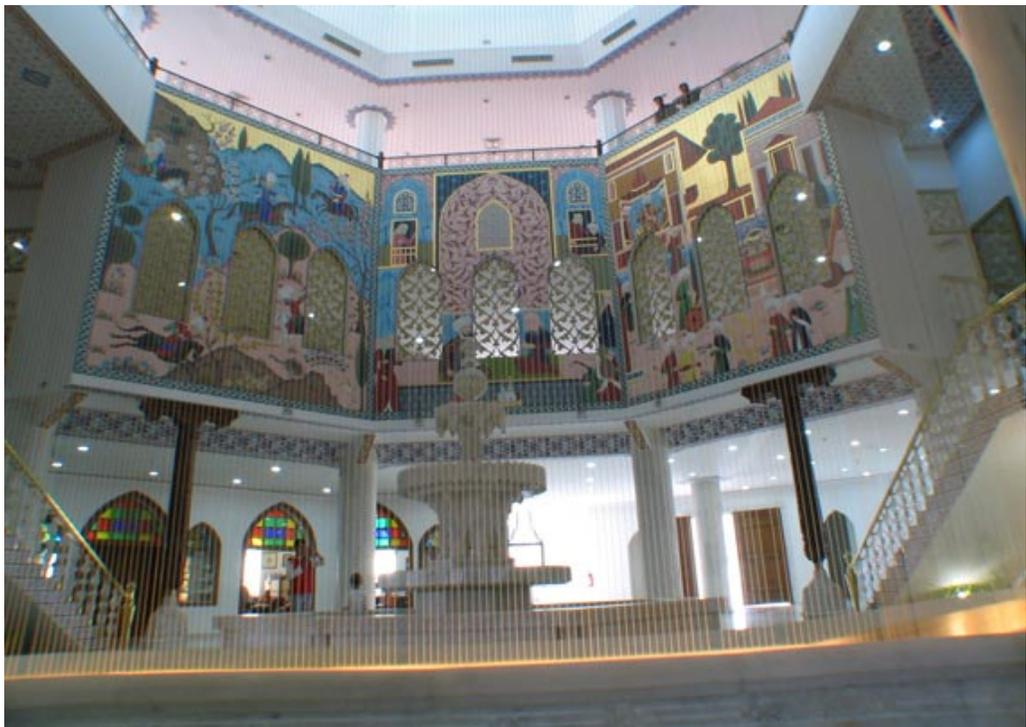
Figure 3.19 In the entrance hall, there is a fountain of imitation of the one in the Topkapı Palace in İstanbul.

Figure 3.20   The original fountain in the Topkapı Palace in İstanbul.

Figure 3.21   There is an octagon shaped 3 floor high atrium in the castle. The second floor is used as an etnogrphy museum and the entrance is by the staircase on the side of this atrium space. At the third floor there is a restaurant and a big aquarium is placed.

Figure 3.22 One of the three side of the octagon shaped atrium space, the walls are decorated with iznik tiles.
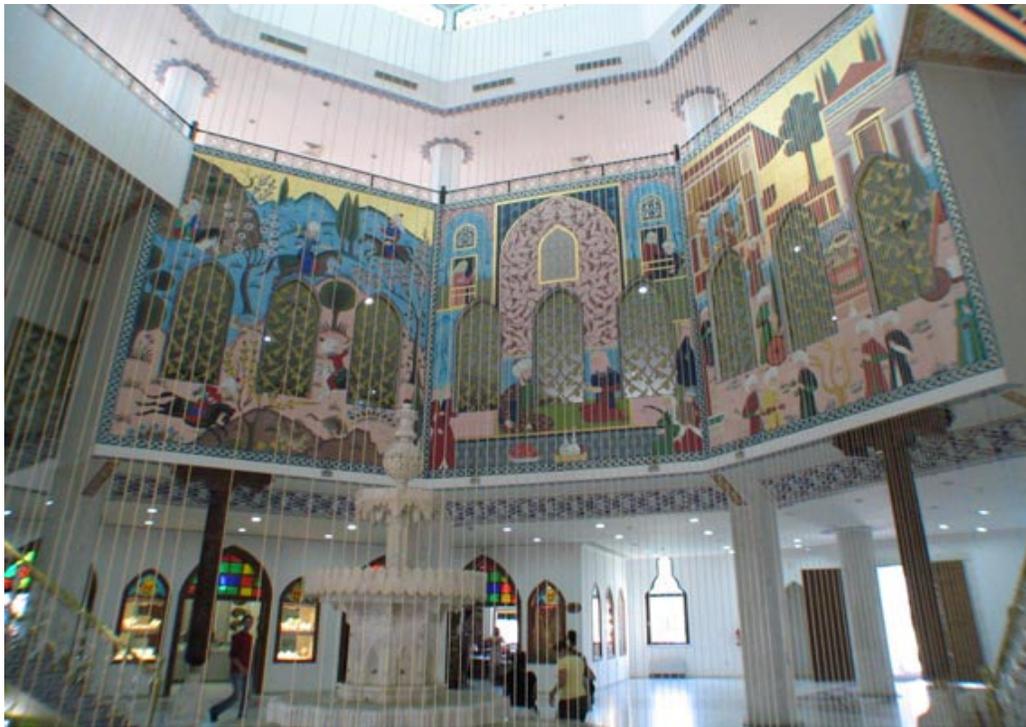
Figure 3.23 On the other side of the three side of the octagon shaped atrium space, the walls are painted with ottoman miniatures.

Figure 3.24 The top of the atrium space is closed with kumbet shaped roof, and this ceiling is decorated with patterns from Uzbekistan.
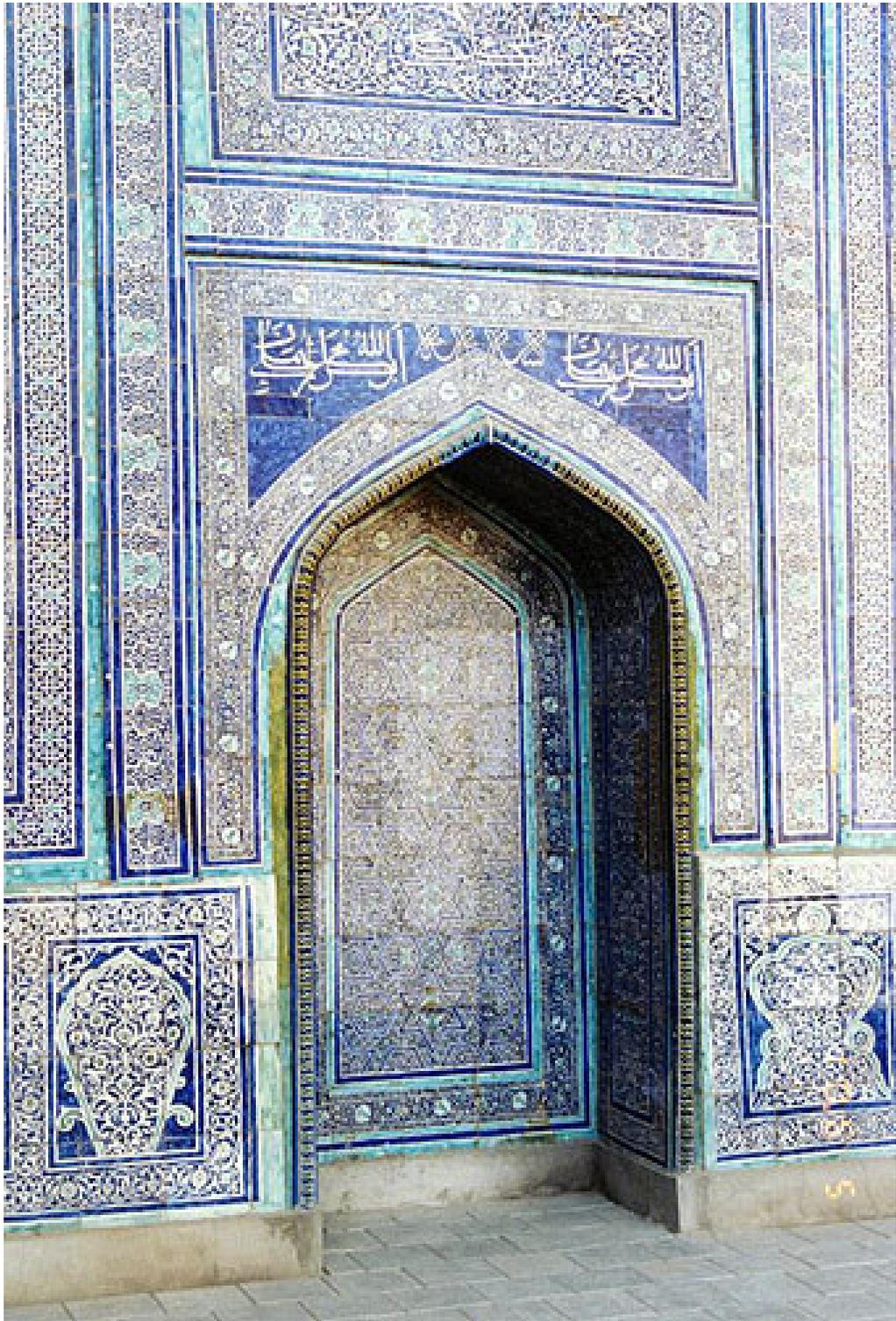
Figure 3.25 The original historic painting and tiles in "Tash Haule Palace" in Khiva, Uzbekistan, which are somehow imitate in the Estergon Caste in painting.
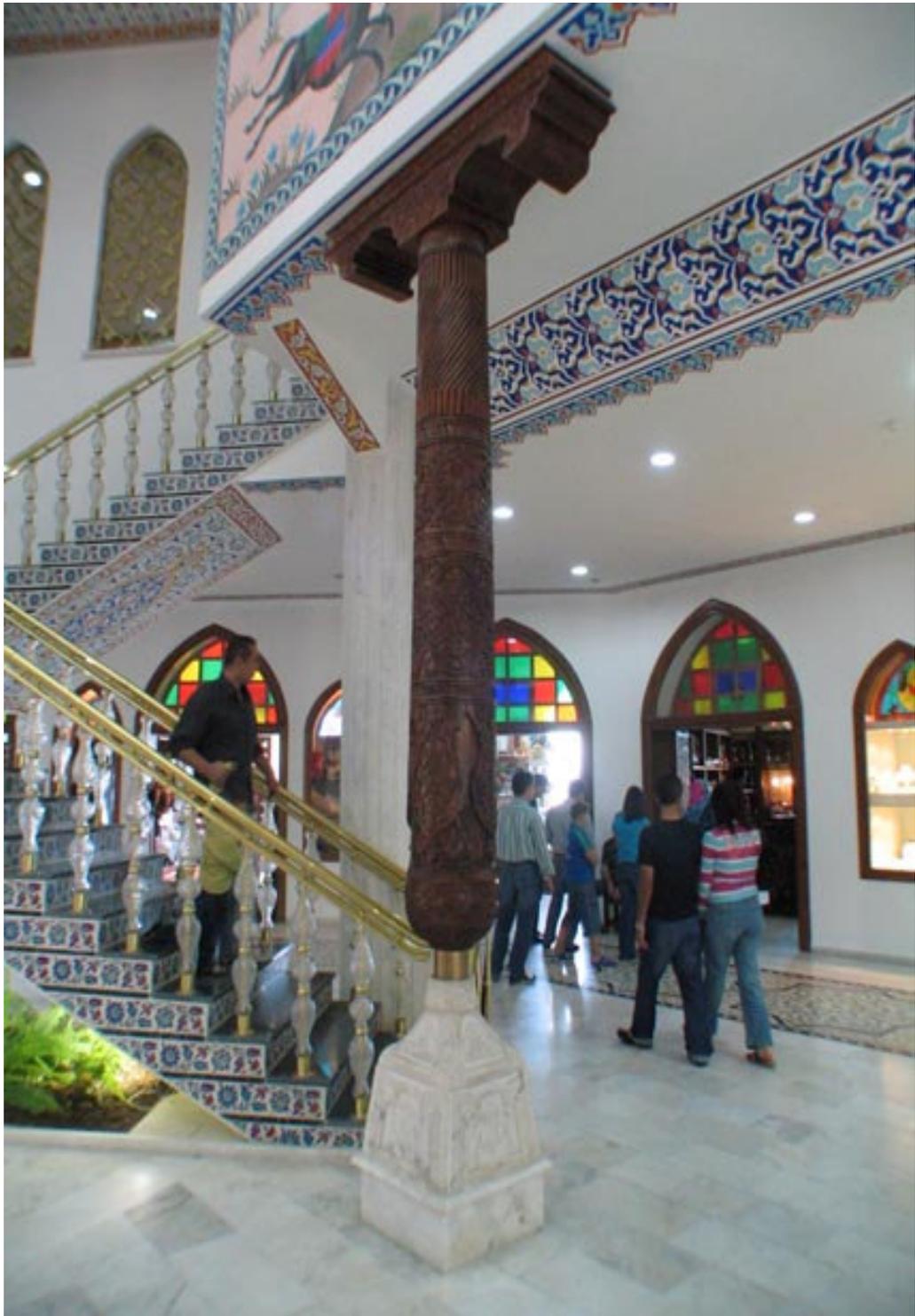
Figure 3.26 There are wooden columns placed on the side of the atrium space. These columns in wood are also imitated from the originals in Uzbekistan.
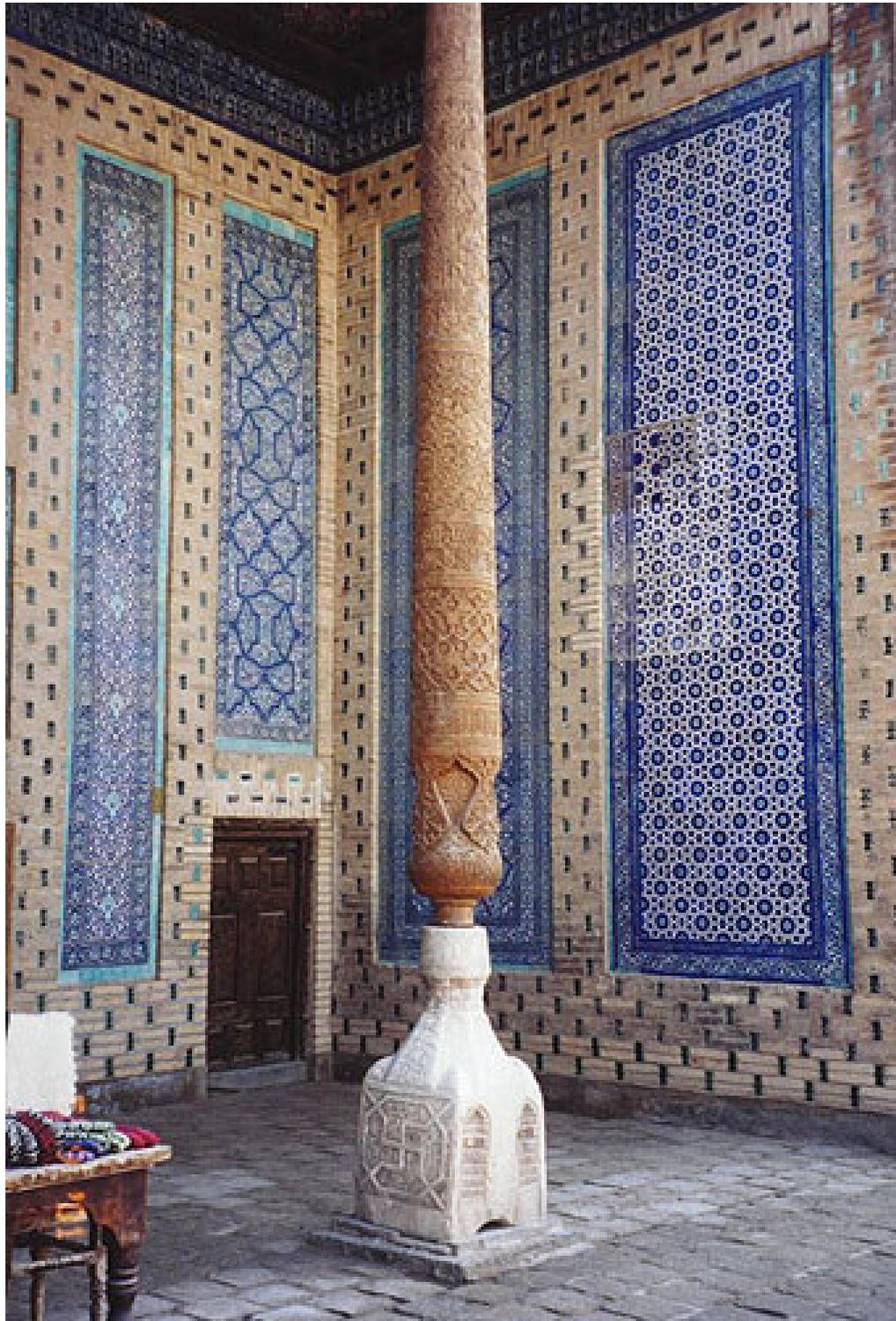
Figure 3.27   The original wooden columns in **"Tash Haule Palace"** in Khiva, Uzbekistan.

Figure 3.28   The wooden doors of the shops in the entrance floor of the Estergon Castle are also imitation of the doors from Uzbekistan. There are several doors, of whom the patterns are different from each other.

**Figure 3.29**   Another wooden door in the entrance floor of the castle.

**Figure 3.30**   An original wooden door in Uzbekistan.

Figure 3.31 The balustrades of the stair cases in the atrium space are made of crystal. These balustrades are the imitation of the ones in the Dolmabahce Palace in İstanbul.

Figure 3.32 There is an Asian Garden is placed near the castle. In this area there is also a restaurant named as "Özbek Sofrası".

Figure 3.33   "Özbek Sofrası" in the Asian Garden.

Figure 3.34   "Özbek Sofrası" in the Asian Garden.

In this chapter, the case of Keçiören is analyzed from the perspective of the products as the results of the ten year's architectural, urban and cultural transformations after 1994. The cosmetic approach, transforming urban space into an exhibition zone for the ideology, which we think, displays the situation by creating a position contradictory to the ideology of the Modern Turkish State at the beginning of the 20th century, is the visual fakeness established by the politicians to conceal the real problems in the district. By these seemingly performances of the municipality, constructing buildings or spaces appealing to the senses of the people by way of populist attitudes, prevents them from observing the illness of the situation clearly. In the first section of this chapter, the part about the consequences of the transformation, this problematic situation is put forward under the name of urban, architectural and cultural transformation. This transformation enlightened by some related concepts, about the ideology, aimed to be put into place by politicians and the attitude of the society and politicians in the process of the case. As a result, the situation, composed of fake values in this case is the main problem, which is apt to spread all over the country by a declaration of the government, as the prime minister favored the situation.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

What has been tried to be analyzed in this study is the urban and architectural transformation after 1994, which resulted in the erosion of the modernity project of the New Turkish State and the capital city, Ankara, led by politicians governing the municipality. The ideological departure of Keçiören from the concept of modernity through a process of transformation is studied by an analysis of the political, architectural and social developments in Turkey after the 1990's. Here the attitude of the municipality and the role of it through the transformations, and the response of the society and the architects to this sanction constitute the unique case.

Behind the question how the politicians get the power over society lies the exploitation of the value system of the society, by using art, architecture and similar phenomena usable to express sentimentality much effectively. In other words, here we meet art and architecture as the main channels to reach the society and affect them in accordance with their concealed real aims. Thus there is manipulation under consideration, and similarly in the Keçiören case. In the district, the municipality, adopting a nationalist discourse, has tried to shape architectural and urban characteristics with eclecticism and collage, and created a district full of "decorated sheds". The gecekondu environment of the Keçiören prepared the condition for this case. And the residents of that environment, having a desire for better living conditions accepted the situation suggested by the municipality without interrogating the ideological and aesthetic manner. This resulted in the present case with products as "decorated sheds" and kitsch in the district within this ten year period. In fact, what enables us to call the built environment in Keçiören as kitsch, is the fakeness in the environment shaped by municipality. In other words, the service (but not the functional and the observable from outside) that the product accomplishes becomes

the critical element which should be taken into consideration in the analysis of the kitsch. Within this definition, we can say that, anything can show itself as a kitsch product in mass culture.

What is disturbing in the case of Keçiören is the false consciousness created by the politicians on purpose. Although we observe an innocent effort made for creating a better city environment under the name of an urban transformation project, we meet the efforts of politicians for creating identity by using architectural and urban elements without the assistance of professionals, that result in nationalist and Islamic attitudes dominating the characteristic of the environment in the district. In the case of Keçiören the urbanity based on historical eclecticism has become misguided because of the ignorance about the contemporary context. Especially, in the facades of the "decorated sheds" or apartment buildings constructed, we meet unconscious applications of an eclectic manner carried out by the municipality. We can observe this failure on the images in the previous chapter. For instance, a Greek architectural figure is used as a national element on the facade. (Fig. 2.43 and 2.44)

The main problem in the case is that as architects have become less involved with the space, structure, and program of a building, they have focused primarily on the ornament for creating "decorated sheds". In our time of widespread standardization and unquestioning pragmatism, the program, sitting, massing, structure, and general floor layout for a building are already decided by the time an architect is hired to finesse the details of the envelope of the buildings.

The relationship between politics and design in housing production has been evaluated by showing the housing sector in Turkey as working architects/without architecture. In other words, the role of the architects in the housing production is minimalized, so that architectural quality in these buildings is decreased. As a result, considering widespread standardization and unquestioned pragmatism, the program, sitting, massing, structure, and general floor layout for an apartment block are not considered by society as the user and the contractor especially, and the architect is hired to decorate the building façade in the way the local government dictated it to be. Thus we meet that there is a lack of authority of the architects and the

competence of the architects in the case. Because, when we take into account the role of the designers as architects in this case, we meet the problematic situation as, in an urban and architectural level of a city, designers should play a responsible role in the urban planning process. In other words, architects and urban designers are responsible for making the decisions as a professional group responsible for the environment. However, in the case of the urban and architectural transformation of the Keçiören district, we observe the architects or the designers as a part of the case, composing the situation. Because the municipality has predetermined all the architectural decisions to be made by the architect and the aim of the contractors is to obey every regulations stipulated by the municipality just for the sake of ensuring the approval of the construction. They took control of the architecture of new constructed buildings by regulating their façades. In this sense we observe the denigration of the value of architecture as a profession within the case, as architecture becomes a consumer product or a tool made use of by the municipality. Thus the social values and architectural quality here are composing another part of the problematic situation. As a result, we meet architects' role in this case: a technical drawing office much more than a designer. This can be pointed out as a demonstration of the problematic situation of autonomy of architecture in Turkey. A very significant implication of the case of Keçiören as a whole is that it should directly lead to a discussion concerning the autonomy of architecture as a profession.

Autonomy is defined in dictionary "*as the condition of something that does not depend on anything else*".[29] *"Autonomy status made possible the development of architecture as an independent discipline, granting the artist/architect a freedom for creative experimentation."* (Öğüt, 1999,2) In this concept, the discussion of the autonomy of the architectural profession has been under debate for centuries. Especially, by the modernity project, there is a problem of architecture's alienation from everyday life is taken into consideration with the questions of autonomy. "*Art's autonomy in the bourgeois society had brought architecture into a double confrontation with society: as in the other arts, in defense of its autonomy against industrial modernity's increasing instrumentalization of everyday life, architecture*

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[29] The Free Dictionary webpage, (http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Ideology), August 2005

had to retreat into the confines of an academic institution (Aestheticism). ... the legitimacy of architecture as an art caught in the net of everyday practice depended upon its effectiveness in finding creative solutions to the problems (technical, social, symbolic) that fall under the scope of its professional responsibility." (Öğüt, 1999,7) Although the autonomy problem of architecture within the Keçiören case can be discussed under this topic, the main problem is the attitude of the municipality through the practice of architecture in the district. The relation between architects in the municipality and the attitude of the politicians towards architecture as a profession bring about a critical point. By taking the control of architecture in the transformation period, the politicians enforce the architects to obey the established ideology: this presents us with a problem of autonomy in practicing architecture. Viewing the case from this perspective, we meet the problem of autonomy of architecture as one of the most effective denominators of the cultural transformation in the district.

In the idea of autonomy in architecture, architecture is accepted as a discipline independent of any other concern having its own problems and its own way of thinking as a profession. Taking the role played by architecture in the case of Keçiören, it is hard to say that architects have practiced this autonomy in their designs freely. As we have indicated in the previous chapters, the regulations in the Turkish law give municipalities responsibilities and rights about local services in the district. In this manner they have also rights to control the architectural products in the district. When we look at the case of Keçiören, the disturbing point is not the aim of controlling the urban and architectural characteristics of the district, but the use of architecture for imposing an ideology, full of fake values, which are presented as something to be accepted for the sake of achieving identity dictated by the municipality. Thus, more than an urban transformation and aesthetic problem in the district, there is an ethical problem behind the case. The case in the district is named by the politicians governing the municipality as "return to essence" (*öze dönüş*), and they think that, this great idea gives them the right to control the architecture of the district as the chief authority. In other words, they usurp the professional rights of architects and violate their disciplinary autonomy by means of bureaucratically generated rules. However, the idea of autonomy in architecture identifies the

architect as an autonomous agent seeking aesthetics in buildings, and the person who makes architectural organization of buildings by abstracting and analyzing in terms of autonomous attributes. In the case of Keçiören, municipality take architects as a group, who should obey the norms generated by means of regulations, servicing for establishing the controversial ideology in the case.

In this perspective, the municipality applied an architecture which talks too much for the sake of spreading its ideology pretentiously all around the district, by the help of "decorated sheds" in the form of "apartmentalization" and urban and architectural transformations. It came from the social need to recognize the sign of identity within the city, the "talking architecture" as it was called by the eclectic manner.

This research is done with the hope of having a contribution to debates on architectural and urban transformations apt to take place in the future, in Turkey. We hope, that architects and the intelligentsia in Turkey will have sufficient consciousness for developing critical responses to possible similar sanctions that are to take place in the future. Because, the only group who has the ability to prevent an unhealthy situation that is going to take place in the society, is the people who have the ability to feel the disturbing consequences before they take place unexpectedly.

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APPENDIX A

Declaration of the Prime Minister about Keçiören

The premier yesterday also met Ankara's Kecioren district Mayor Turgut Altinok for breakfast at the historic Estergon Castle. Erdogan complained about illegal and improper settlements, particularly in big cities. "Ensuring the aesthetic of cities is one of the most important tasks of our municipalities," he added. "City governments have broad powers on this issue, so they must exercise them to stop illegal settlements. Every city and building should have its own spirit and style." For his part, Altinok said that the restored Estergon Castle was one of the capital's most attractive sites, and had drawn considerable attention from foreign tourists and diplomats."

(Hurriyet newspaper, 27-2-2005)

KALEDE ANLATTI

Başbakan Tayyip Erdoğan kentteki mimari kirlilikle ilgili görüşlerini Keçiören Belediye Başkanı Turgut Altınok ve partili arkadaşlarına, Estergon Kalesi'nde anlattı. Erdoğan, çarpık yapılaşmaya ilişkin bu görüşlerini aktarırken, belediye başkanlığı yaptığı İstanbul ve iki yılı aşkın bir süredir oturduğu Ankara'dan yola çıktı. Erdoğan, İstanbul ve Ankara başta olmak üzere Türkiye'deki bütün kentlerin ortak sorununun çarpık yapılaşma ve mimari kirlilik olduğunu ifade etti.

BAŞBAKAN Tayyip Erdoğan, 'çarpık yapılaşma' ve 'mimari kirlilik'ten yakındı. Kent estetiği için mimari projelere önem verilmesini isteyen Erdoğan, 'Kentin bir kimliğinin, bir ruhunun olması gerekir' dedi.

'Her bina bir sanat eseri, bir tablo gibi güzel olmalı' diyen Erdoğan, 'Kent estetiği belediyelerin en önemli görevlerindendir' dedi ve belediyelerden bu konudaki yetkilerini sonuna kadar titizlikle kullanmalarını istedi.

ESTERGON'DA KAHVALTI

Erdoğan, dün güne, evinin bulunduğu Keçiören'de, belediyenin yaptırttığı Estergon Kalesi'nde kahvaltı ederek başladı. Erdoğan, bu konudaki görüşlerini de, Keçiören Belediye Başkanı Turgut Altınok'un da aralarında bulunduğu partili arkadaşlarıyla kahvaltıda dile getirdi.

Erdoğan, çarpık yapılaşmaya ilişkin bu görüşlerini aktarırken, belediye başkanlığı yaptığı İstanbul ve iki yılı aşkın bir süredir oturduğu Ankara'dan yola çıktı. İstanbul ve Ankara başta olmak üzere Türkiye'deki bütün kentlerin ortak sorununun çarpık yapılaşma ve mimari kirlilik olduğunu belirten Erdoğan, bu konuda belediyelere büyük görevler düştüğünü söyleyerek, şöyle devam etti:

KEÇİÖREN'İ ÖRNEK GÖSTERDİ

'Belediyelerin bu konuda geniş yetkileri var, yetkilerini bu yönde sonuna kadar titizlikle kullanmaları gerekir' diyen Erdoğan, 'Kent estetiği için mimari projelere önem verilmesi gerekiyor. Her kentin bir kimliği, bir ruhu olmalıdır. Aynı şekilde binaların da ruhu olmalıdır. Mimari de buna özen gösterilmesi gerekir.'

'Her bina bir sanat eseri, bir tablo kadar güzel olmalıdır. Bunu sağlamak da belediyelerin görevidir. Bu hem de en önemli görevlerindendir.

Belediyeler mutlaka bunun üzerinde ciddiyetle durmalıdırlar' diyen Erdoğan, belediye başkanlığından gelen bir başbakan olarak bu konuya bu güne kadar olduğu gibi bundan sonra da gereken önemi vereceğini de söyledi.

'Belediye başkanlarına bunu hep söylüyorum, bundan sonra da hep söylemeye devam edeceğim' diyen Erdoğan, bu konuda Keçiören'i örnek gösterip, Altınok'un çalışmalarından övgüyle söz etti.

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SİZİ BÜYÜLEYEN MİMARİDİR

Keçiören Belediye Başkanı Altınok da, çalışmalarına ilişkin bilgi verirken, 'Binaların düzgün yapılması, her birinin bir ruhunun olması gerekir' dedi. 'Çünkü, mimari proje kentlerin gülen yüzü ya da somurtan yüzüdür' diyen Altınok, 'Bir kente gittiğinizde parklar bahçeler, kentin temizliği, düzenliliği tamam ama sizi asıl büyüleyen mimari yapılardır. Bunun içinde mimari projelere önem verilmesi gerekiyor' dedi.

Doğal güzelliği bulunmayan bir çok Avrupa kentinin mimarisi ve kent estetiği ile milyonlarca turisti çekebildiğini belirten Altınok, 'Kimliği ve ruhu olan kentler kültür turizmi için gerekli' dedi. Keçiören'de buna önem verdiklerini belirterek, Estergon Kalesi'ni örnek gösteren Altınok, 'Keçiören bugün kent estetiği ve proje mimarisiyle bir model oluşturdu. Onun için de bir çok belediye bugün Keçiören'e, burada yaptıklarımızı görmek için turlar düzenliyor' dedi.

EDELMAN'DAN ESTARGON ÖVGÜSÜ

Keçiören'de yaptırdığı Estergon Kalesi'nin büyük ilgi gördüğünü anlatan Altınok, 'Ankara'da görev yapan büyükelçilerin hemen hemen tümü gelip burayı gördü. Son olarak AB Büyükelçilerinin eşlerini burada ağırladık. Burayı gelip görenlerin hepsi de çok beğendi ve beğenilerini de bize ilettiler. Hatta yurtdışından gelip burada çekim yapan televizyon kuruluşları bile oldu' dedi.

Bazı büyükelçilerin resepsiyonlarını da burada verdiklerin belirten Altınok, ABD'nin Ankara Büyükelçisi Eric Edelman'ın da bir büyükelçilik resepsiyonu için geldiği Estergon Kalesi'ni çok beğendiğini söyledi. Altınok, 'Sayın Büyükelçi, Türkçe olarak bana 'Tebrik ediyorum, muhteşem olmuş' dedi ve en kısa zamanda eşiyle birlikte gelip kaleyi gezeceğini söyledi' dedi.

Turan
YILMAZ

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APPENDIX B

ESTERGON TÜRK KÜLTÜR MERKEZİ [30]

Adını, Türk Tarihi'nde önemli bir yer tutan Estergon Kalesi'nden alan ve Etnografya Müzesi, Aktar Dükkanları, Asya Bahçeleri ve nakış nakış işlenmiş Türk motifleriyle Cumhuriyet tarihine damgasını vuran Türk Kültür Merkezidir.

Yapım Çalışmaları...

Giriş katı (Dükkanlar) Müze, Restoran Teras ve Asma katlı Kümbeti'nden oluşmuştur. İnşaat çalışmaları 6 yılda tamamlanmıştır. Sanatsal işçilik ve büyük titizlik gerektiren imalatı, yapım süresinin gecikmesine neden olmuştur. Geleneksel Türk sanatının hakim olduğu projede aynı zaman da dünya sanatının evrensel çizgilerinden de yararlanılmıştır.

KALE GÖVDESİ

1221'de Selçuklu Sultanı 1. Alâaddin Keykubat tarafından fethedilen Alanya, Kalesi'nin de yenilenmesiyle bir tersane şehri kimliğine bürünürken, Alanya Kalesi'nin surlarında yükselen Kızıl kule, zerafet ve güzelliği ile Akdeniz'e nazire yapmaktadır. İşte bu güzel Kule'nin sekizgen gövdesini örnek alarak sekiz köşesinde oluşturulan yuvarlak sütunlarını tıpkı Selçuklu sultanlarının saç örgüleri gibi Selçuklu desenleriyle süsledik. Pencere kenarlarındaki işçilik ve nişler, rozetler aynı dönemin günümüze yansımasıdır. Restoran katımızdaki geniş seyir imkanı sağlayan pencerelerin arasında oluşan kısa sütunlarda yine aynı saç örgüsü ile süslerken, bu sütunların alt bitişlerine kuş evlerini yerleştirdik. Çünkü asırlardır Türkler yapmış oldukları; cami, medrese, külliye

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[30] Keçiören Municipality webpage, http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/estergon.asp, August 2005

ve hanların duvarlarına çok ince zevkle bezenmiş kuş evlerini kondurmayı ihmal etmemişlerdir. İşte en çok değer verdikleri binaların duvarlarına bu evleri kondurarak da hayvan severliğin yüceliğini ve hassasiyetini bugüne kadar taşımışlardır. Bu büyük düşünceyi gelecek nesillere taşımak için şirin kuş evlerini binanın sekiz kenarına yerleştirdik. Ne kadar tesadüftür bilinmez ama, mimari çizgi olarak Antalya-Alanya Kızıl Kule örnek alınırken, Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından onlarca taş getirilmesine rağmen, Sayın Başkan Turgut Altınok tarafından Antalya Korkuteli Taşı beğenilen Antalya-Korkuteli taşıyla kaplanan Kale, yeşil Keçiören'de beyazlar giyinmiş bir gelin gibi süzülmekte ve bakanların gözünü kamaştırmaktadır. Estergon-Türk Kültür Merkezi'nin giriş Taç Kapısı (portal) Selçukluların 1251 yılında Konya'da yaptırdıkları Karatay Medresesi'nin çok ufak değişiklik yapılmış bir versiyonudur. Taç Kapı tamamen mermerden el işçiliğiyle yapılırken bazı detay motifler de Sivas Divriği Ulu Camii ve Şifahanesi'nin Taç Kapısı'nın motiflerinden de yararlanılmıştır. Kültür Merkezimiz üç kat ve bir kümbetten oluşmaktadır. Dört bin metre kare kapalı alana sahiptir.

GİRİŞ KATI

Görkemli ve zarif işçiliğiyle Taç Kapı'dan girenleri karşılayan ahşap kapı bugünkü Özbekistan Cumhuriyeti'nin Hiva şehrinde bulunan İsfendiyar Han'ın yazlık sarayının dış kapısının ikiz kardeşidir. Giriş katında 14 dükkandan oluşan çarşı katı, Anadolu'dan kasaba, köy, Mahmut Bey Cami ve yine Kastamonu'da bulunan İbn-i Neccer Camii kapıları birebir örnek alınırken diğer kapılar; Semerkant, Buhara, Hiva ve Merv'de orjinali bulunan bin yıllık kapıların motifleri, Kastamonu El Sanatları Müdürlüğü'nün himayelerinde, Kastamanolu ustaların el emeği ve alın terleriyle ortaya çıkarıldı. Her biri bir başka şaheser olan bu kapılardan dükkanlara girip altın, gümüş, ipek, antika vs. değişik el sanatlarının satıldığı bu güzel arastalardan alış-veriş yapmanın keyfini yaşayacağız. Çarşı katının koridorlarını gezerken ayaklarınızın altında uzanan, Özbekistan Hiva'nın mavi beyaz dünyaca meşhur çinilerinin mozaik tekniği ile yapılmış mermer halı üzerinde yürürken; bazen gözleriniz Orta-Asya'ya özgü Buhara-Hiva sütunları olarak bilinen ahşap sütunlara ilişecek ki, bu sütunların motiflerinin orjinalleri Hiva Han Sarayı Müzesi'nde teşhir edilmektedir. Bu sütunların 7 tanesi 1995'te Paris'e götürülmüş UNESCO tarafından restore görmemiş dünyanın en eski ahşap eseri olarak ödül almış ve sergilendikten sonra yine eski yeri olan Hiva Han Sarayı'na taşınmıştır. Dükkan katımızın merkezindeki mermer fiskiye, büyüleyici mermer işçiliği ve şırıl şırıl akan su sesiyle Osmanlı'dan bizlere sesleniyor. Bugün aslı Topkapı Sarayı'nın Revan ve Bağdat Köşkü'nün arasında bulunan bu fiskiye aslına uygun olarak Marmara Mermeri'nden blok parçalar halinde aylar süren bir çalışma ile oyulmuştur. İç bedesten boşluğunda sekizgen olan bu güzel yapının restoran katında bulunan gerçek akvaryum, her biri beş metre olan üç kenara oturarak 15 metre boyunda bugün Türkiye'de bulunan en büyük boyutlu akvaryumdur. Üstünden akan misinali şelale, akvaryumu geçip 16. yüzyıl alt yapı tekniğiyle deniz altı görünümünde özgün bir çalışma olan İznik

Çinisi'nin önünden akarken, bu güzel çinilerin ışıltısı ve sıcaklığıyla kalbiniz turkuaz mavisinin verdiği özgürlük hissiyle coşacaktır. Müze katının bedesten boşluğuna bakan "rumi" desenli kafes pencereler, mekanı bir başka mistik havaya büründürürken, çinili üç kenarın karşısında bu rumi desenli kafes pencereleri de içine alan Türk-İslam el sanatlarının şaheserlerinden minyatürler, av sahnesi, aşk sahnesi ve günlük hayattan betimlemeler göz dolduruyor. Başınızı ta tepeye diktiğinizde sizi 32 kenarlı pervari kubbe karşılar. Rumi desenler ve altın varaklardan gözlerinizi biraz aşağı kaydırdığınızda yine rumi desenlerle süslenmiş tifani tekniğiyle yapılmış beş kenarlı vitray pencereler gözünüzü kamaştırır. Bedesten boşluğunda gezinirken elleriniz kristal korkuluklara ilişecek ve ayaklarınız merdiven alınlıklarındaki Kütahya çini desenleri taşıyan, porselen fırça dekorlu basamaklarla bizleri müze katına çıkaracak. Bu kristal korkulukların orjinalleri Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nın Muayede Salonu'nda üst kata çıkışlarda kullanılmıştır.

İKİNCİ KAT

İkinci katta bir müzemiz yer almaktadır. Bu Etnoğrafya Müzesi Kültür Bakanlığı'na tahsis edilmiş ve düzenlenmiştir.

RESTORAN KATI

Restoran katı olan üçüncü katta, pencereler özellikle panoramik seyir sağlamak için alabildiğince yırtılmıştır. Osmanlı desenleri ile döşenmiş sedirler ve Selçuklu desenli kadife ipekli fon perdeler rengarenk vitrayların ışığı altında Ankara'yı seyretme imkanı sağlıyor. Burada kullanılan kumaşlar Vakko'nun sanatsal kreasyonundan yararlanılarak hazırlanmıştır. Restoran katının en büyük özelliği oturma mekanlarının üç değişik kompozisyonda dekore edilmiş olmasıdır. Yerden 40 cm kaldırılarak oluşturulan platformda büyük bakır siniler içinde yer minderlerinde oturularak servis yapılırken, pencerelerin genişlik boyutlarına göre oluşturulan U sedirlerle aynı boyutlardaki sehpalarda ikram verilirken, isteyen misafirler de bedesten boşluğuna ve akvaryuma nazır masalarda neşe ve mutluluk içinde keyifli anlar yaşayacaktır. Bütün bu sedirler, sehpalar, masalar bazen yoğun, bazen stilize edilmiş geleneksel ahşap işçiliğinin güzelliklerini de sergilemektedir. Restoranın hemen girişinde yer alan ve Anadolu'da "yüklük dolabı" olarak bilinen ulusal şöminedeki dolap, heybetli görünümüyle göz doldururken odun ateşinde pişen Türk Kahvesi sevenlerin yüreğine sonsuz bir mutluluk izini çizecektir. Ne demişler... "Bir fincan kahvenin kırk yıl hatırı vardır" Restorandaki bu güzellikler yanında tavanlardaki sade bordur kalem işlerinden de söz etmeden geçmeyelim. Restoran katının üzerinde bin metre kare açık terası, terasın merkezinde göğe doğru yükselen kümbet kafeteryamız bulunmaktadır.

KÜMBET

Orta-Çağ Türk-İslam sanatının en bol ve çeşitli örnekleri türbe olarak kullanılan kümbetlerde görülür. Orta-Asya ve İran'da tuğlanın sırlı çinilerle karma dekoratif işlenişiyle oluşan bu yapılar, Anadolu'da biraz daha mütevazi taş yapılara dönüşmüştür. Bu yapılar altta genellikle kare plan üzerine çeşitli silindirik, sekizgen gibi plan kesitleri gösteren içten kubleli dıştan piramidal külah çatılı çift katlı yapılmıştır. Uzaktan bakıldığında çadırı anımsatır. Bu Selçuklu türbelerinin Türklerin Orta-Asya mezar çadırı geleneğinden etkilendiğini gösterir. Selçukluların türbeleri silindirik, kare, çokgen şekillerde yapılmıştır. Sekizgen türbe örneklerine bütün Anadolu'da rastlanılmaktadır. Tokat Ebul Kasım, Kırşehir Melih Gazi, Amasya Halifet Gazi, Divriği Sitte Melik ve Kemereddin, Erzurum Emir Saltuk türbeleri bunlardan birkaç örnektir. İşte geleneksel ve ulusal kümbet mimarisi, Kültür Merkezi'nde kafeteryanın mimarisine ilham kaynağı oldu. İç tezyinatında ise yine Selçuklu ve Osmanlı motiflerinden esinlendi. Bu renk armonisine, camın ışıltılı renkliliği, rumi, art noveau (yeni sanat) dönemi tifani tekniği vitraylar eşlik ederken, ziyaretçiler Ankara'yı bir başka mekandan seyretme imkanı bulur. Bu mekandaki saray tipi avizenin ışıltısı ise bizleri değişik atmosferlerin duygu alemlerine taşıyacaktır. Teras katımızın sur gediklerine yaklaşıp surlar içerisindeki açık teras aralarındaki Botanik ve Gül bahçelerini; ladinler, selviler, kadife çamlar, şimşirler, altuni leylandiler, lavozontlar, top akasyalar, akçaağaçalar, kestane-ler, erguvanlar, mevsimine göre lale, sümbül, nergiz, çiğdemler, çuha çiçekleri, beyaz papatyalar, hercai menekşeler ve yalçın kayalıklar arasına yayılıcı ardıç ile bezeli bahçelerin keyfini sürüp gelecek günlerimize bugünün taze bir hatırası olarak birer kare resim çekmekten ve çektirmekten kendinizi alamayacasınız. Ve inanıyoruz ki, 80 yıllık Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün "Kendi kültürüne sahip çıkmayan toplumlar başka kültürlerin avı olurlar" sözünü hatırlayacak ve bu büyük Türk milleti bu kültür merkezine emeği geçen başta Belediye Başkanı Turgut Altınok'a ve tüm çalışanlarına bir kürek harç koyarak, bir fidan dikerek emek veren işçisine bile teşekkür etmeyi kendisine bir borç sayacaktır.

TAŞ İŞÇİLİĞİ

Kale kapısı, Selçuklu taş sanatının şaheserlerinden Konya Karatay Medresesi, taş kapıda bir bir uygulanarak inşaa edildi. Sekizgen plan üzerine oturan ana gövdenin her köşesinde saç örgüsü sütunları göğe yükselirken, kısa sütunlar altına yerleştirilen kuş evleri ayrı bir güzellik katıyor.

AHŞAP KAPILAR

900'lü ve 1000'li yıllarda Orta Asya'nın kadim şehirlerinden Semerkant, Buhara ve özellikle Hiva'da yaptırılıp, camilerde, bilim kaynağı medreselerde, hayatın tayfi olan Han Saraylarında oyma sanatı olarak ahşaba el emeği ile can veren, binbir deseni ile insanı büyüleyen o görkemli kapılar bugün Keçiören Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi'nde ana mekanlara açılıyor.

1000 YILLIK HİVA SÜTUNLARI DA ESTERGONDA...

Hiva Sütunları, Orta Asya'da kadim Türk tarihinin en büyük eserlerinde, tonozlu yapıların çok olması sebebiyle destekleyici malzeme olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu sütunlar, bölgede yetişen, baharın en son yapraklanan kara ağaçlarından yapılmaktadır. Bu ağaçlar, naturel yapılarında motiflendirilerek ve geometrik desenlerle elma çiçeği ve rumi tarzında oyma tekniğiyle yüzyıllar boyu işlendi. Bu sanat dünyada ilk defa Orta Asya dışında Ankara Keçiören'de, Estergon Türk Kültür Merkezi'nde yeniden hayat buldu.

VİTRAYLAR ve KALEM İŞLERİ

Kümbet kafetarya pencereleri, restoran katı pencereleri, müze katı pencereleri ve dükkan katı pencereleri art-noveau ve rumi tarzda vitray pencerelerle süslendi. Kümbet kubbesi ve bedesten boşluğu kubbesi ise Osmanlı tezyinat sanatının şaheserlerinden altın varaklarla süslendi.

İZNİK ÇİNİLERİ

16. yüzyıl İznik Çinileri'nin örnekleri, kale tezyinatında kullanılmak üzere, aynı teknoloji kullanılarak, mo-dern bir kompozisyonla İznik Vakfı'na yaptırıldı. Böylece hem Vakfın güçlenmesine ve bu güzel sanatımızın dünyaya yeni örnekleriyle tanıtılmasına vesile olundu, hem de o güzel renk cümbüşü Keçiörenlilerin beğenisine sunuldu.

AKVARYUM

Restoran katında, bedesten boşluğunu seyrederken, denizaltı akvaryumunun önünden büyülü bir şekilde akan şelalenin avludaki Osmanlı Tarzı mermer havuzda toplanışı ve fışkıran sular her gelen misafiri yüzyıllar öncesine götürecek.

MİNYATÜRLER

Bedesten boşluğuna bakan müze katının duvarları Sümame'den alınan av sahnesi ve sünnet düğünü ile Herat minyatürlerinden aşk sahnesi sergileniyor.

ŞÖMİNE, SEDİR, PERDELER...

Anadolu'nun ocaklı yüklük dolapları Orta Asya motifleriyle beraber pencerelerde, Osmanlı Sultanlarının kaftanlarının deseni sedirlerimizde kullanılırken, Selçuklu Kubadabad Sarayı'nın duvarlarındaki rölyefler kadife tüllerle bezendi.

YER DÖŞEMELERİ

Özbekistan'ın dünyaca meşhur Hiva mavi-beyaz çinileri, mermer-mozaik tekniğiyle bedesten boşluğunun koridorlarını süslemektedir.

GELENEKSEL ASYA BAHÇELERİ

Bugünün park bahçe peyzajında Hollanda, Fransa, İngiltere bahçeleri örnek alınarak dizayn edilmiştir. Ancak şu gerçek unutulmamalıdır ki, dünyanın yedinci harikasından biri olan Babil'in Asma Bahçeleri Asya'dadır

APPENDIX C

The Writing of the TMMOB Chamber of the Architects to Keçiören Municipality[31]

Tarih   : 25.03.2003

Sayı   : 07 / 444

T.C. KEÇİÖREN BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI

(İmar ve Yapı Denetim Müdürlüğü'ne)

İlgi   : 1) 26.06.2002 tarih ve 07/494 sayılı yazımız.

        2) 04.10.2002 tarih ve 07/732 sayılı yazımız.

        3) 18.10.2002 tarih ve 2011-8264 sayılı yazınız.

        4) 12.11.2002 tarih ve 849 sayılı yazımız.

Tüm yazışmalarımıza rağmen; ruhsat öncesinde, proje onay aşamasında "SİCİL DURUM BELGESİ" istenmesi ve "RUHSATLARIN BİR KOPYASININ" Odamıza gönderilmesi hususlarında Belediyenizle yaşadığımız sorunları çözebilmiş değiliz.

Mimarlar ve onun meslek kuruluşu olarak; şekillenmesinde, yaşamında ve gelişiminde önemli roller üstlendiğimiz Kentin yönetiminden 1. derecede sorumlu ve yetkili olan Yerel Yönetimlerle, tam bir iletişim ve işbirliği içerisinde olmamız gereğine inanıyoruz. DÜNYANIN PEK ÇOK ÜLKESİNDE DE BÖYLEDİR. Buna rağmen konularımızın bu denli sürüncemede kalması, bir araya gelerek toplantılarda çözülememesi üzücüdür.

Konunun kısa sürede çözümüne ve kusurlu durumların giderilmesine katkısı olur inancı ile, tüm değerlendirmeleriniz ayrıntıları ile irdelenmiş ve hazırlanan rapor ekte sunulmuştur. Raporun incelenmesiyle görüleceği gibi; YASA VE YÖNETMELİKLERLE TARİFLENMİŞ GÖREVLERİMİZİ YERİNE GETİRMEMİZİ FİİLEN ENGELLEMEKTE, KUSURLU DURUMA DÜŞMEKTESİNİZ. YANLIŞ VE EKSİK BİLGİLENME SONUCUNDA, BELGELENMEMİŞ İDDİALARLA GEÇERSİZ İŞLEMLER YAPMAKTASINIZ.

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[31]TMMOB Chamber of the Architects webpage, http://mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=671, August 2005.

VERDİĞİNİZ RUHSATLARIN GEÇERSİZ OLMA RİSKİNİ YARATIYOR VE BİNLERCE İNSANIN MAĞDUR OLMA İHTİMALİNİ YARATIYORSUNUZ. KENDİNİZİ MİMARLAR ODASI YERİNE KOYUYOR, ÜYELERİMİZLE İLİŞKİLERİMİZE MÜDAHİL OLUYORSUNUZ. Ayrıntıları ekli raporda yer alan bütün bu olumsuz tavırlarınız için; rasyonel bir açıklama bulamamaktasınız ve kimse de bulamamaktadır. İlgili kamuoyunda; içerden birilerinin piyasaya iş yapma düzeni kurdukları ve bunu devam ettirme çabalarının Belediyenizi bu tutarsızlığa ittiği değerlendirmeleri yaygınlaşmaktadır. Konuyla bizzat ilgilenmesini, bilgilenmesini, müdahalesini ve bu tutarsızlığa bir son vermesi gerektiğini düşündüğümüzden, bu ve benzeri yazılarımız hep Sn. Turgut ALTINOK' un şahsına ayrıca sunulmaktadır.

Tüm sorunlara ortak çözüm bulunması yönündeki dileğimiz ve çabamız hep sürecektir. Buna rağmen takdir edersiniz ki; Anayasal bir kuruluş olan Mimarlar Odası ve onun sorumluluk üstlenmiş yöneticileri olarak; yetkilerimizin kullanımının engellenmesi, sorumluluk alanımıza müdahale edilmesi karşısında sessiz kalmamız beklenemez. İşimizi düzgün ve eksiksiz yapmak istiyor ve bunun için çok çaba sarfediyoruz. Lütfen hukuki süreçlerde harcayacağımız enerjiyi, kentsel sorunların çözümünde harcamayı tercih edeceğimizi gözetiniz.

Konuların ivedilikle çözümü için, gereğinin yapılmasını arz ederiz.

Saygılarımızla,

Şekibe ASLAN KÖKSAL

Sekreter Üye

Ekler   :

1. Rapor (7 Sayfa)
2. T. C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Teknik Araştırma ve Uygulama Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 13 Kasım 2002 tarih ve 22023 sayılı görüş yazısı (2 Sayfa)

Dağıtım   (Gereği İçin)   :

*   T. C. Keçiören Belediye Başkanlığı İmar ve Yapı Denetim Müdürlüğü

*   Sayın Turgut ALTINOK (Belediye Başkanı, Kişiye Özel)

*   Sayın İbrahim TERZİOĞLU (Başkan Yardımcısı, Kişiye Özel)