

ARCHITECTURE, IDEOLOGY, REPRESENTATION:  
PARTY HEADQUARTERS AS A NEW MODE IN REPRESENTING POWER  
SINCE THE 1980'S

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POWER SINCE 1980'S**

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## ABSTRACT

### ARCHITECTURE, IDEOLOGY, REPRESENTATION: PARTY HEADQUARTERS AS A NEW MODE IN REPRESENTING POWER SINCE 1980'S

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The main objective of this study is to question the potential of architecture as a representational medium of ideology. In order to exemplify this overlapping relationship between ideology and architecture, this study focuses on the headquarters erected by major parties of Turkey since the 1980's. Having a significant position within society and particularly being a part of political system, parties obviously define ideological formations in order to preserve their existence and also strengthen their position within society and the material existence of architecture is manipulated by the parties as an important tool for representation. Thus these headquarters, which are certainly virile tools in the process of aesthetization of ideology, constitute a model to comprehend this relation of architecture and power.

All buildings concerned are erected after 1980 which marks another objective of this study. The ongoing period after 1980 under the influence of Neoliberalism

offers substantial changes in political, social and economic domains in world-wide scale. Obviously, political agents in Turkey were also forced to experience such significant changes and redefined their ideological formations. Thus, these buildings can be considered as the concrete example of how architecture responded the newly emerging need refined due the neoliberal changes. Departing from that, the aim of this thesis can be defined as to discuss the role of the work of architecture in the representation of ideology, but also to question to what extent the alterations in this potential of representation has initiated by the changes brought by Neoliberalism. Lastly, the study will discuss the results of these changes within the sphere of ideology of architecture in order to map the transformation occurred within. This study will finally question what kind of transformations within the sphere of ideology of architecture has been triggered by the above mentioned changes.

**Keywords:** Ideology, Representation, Neoliberalism, Aesthetization of Ideology, Political Party Headquarters

## ÖZ

### MİMARLIK, İDEOLOJİ, TEMSİLİYET: 1980'LER SONRASINDA GÜCÜN TEMSİLİYETİNİN YENİ BİR FORMU OLARAK PARTİ MERKEZ BİNALARI

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Bu çalışmanın esas amacı, mimarlık ürününün ideolojik temsiliyet potansiyelini sorgulamaktır. 1980 sonrasında Türkiye’de partiler tarafından inşa edilen merkez binaları ise mimarlık ve ideoloji arasında varolan bu almaşık ilişkiye örnek oluşturmaları açısından tezin çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Politik partilerin hem toplum içinde işgal ettikleri konum gereğiyle, hem de politikada etkin rol almalarından dolayı ideolojik bir söylem oluşturdukları; mimarlık ürününü de bu söylemin bir parçası olmak üzere yönlendirdikleri açıktır. Bu nedenle ideolojinin estetize edilmesi sürecinde etkin bir eleman olarak yer alan mimarlık ürünü, politik parti merkez binaları özelinde de mimarlık ile politik gücün ilişkisinin okunabileceği bir örnek oluşturur.

Adı geçen binaların 1980 sonrasına ait olmaları da bu çalışmanın bir diğer araştırma alanını tanımlar. Neoliberalizmin etkisi altında şekillenen bu dönem, sadece Türkiye için bir kırılma noktası olmakla kalmamış; dünya çapında da politik, ekonomik ve sosyal değişimleri tetiklemiştir. Politik partilerin de bu evrilen çevreye ayak uydurmak adına değiştiği açıktır. Bu noktada parti merkez

binalarının bu deęişen ortamın fiziksel temsiliyeti olduęu savunulabilir. Bu önermeden yola çıkarak, tezin amacı hem mimarlık ürününün ideolojik temsiliyetteki rolünü araştırmak, hem de binaların özelinden yola çıkarak mimarlığın ideolojik temsiliyet için taşıdığı anlamdaki deęişiklikte neoliberal politikaların aęırlığını tartışmaktır. Son olarak tartışmaya açılacak nokta ise bütün bu deęişimlerin mimarlığın ideolojisinde ne gibi bir dönüşümü tetikledięi olacaktır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** İdeoloji, Temsiliyet, Neoliberalizm, İdeolojinin Estetize Edilmesi, Politik Parti Merkez Binaları

**to my family**



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP.....	Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi ( Justice And Development Party)
ANAP.....	Anavatan Partisi ( Motherland Party)
CHP.....	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi ( Republican People' Party)
MHP.....	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

There is no power that is exercised without a series of aims or objectives.<sup>1</sup>

Michel Foucault

#### 1.1. Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study focuses on the tripartite relationship between architecture, representation and power which stimulates a wide study area within the discourse of architecture. Besides many associated meanings the work of architecture is also considered as a tool for the representation of power, which in fact constitutes the main argument of this study. Focusing on this potential, the chief aim of this study is to conduct a critical inquiry into this role of architecture, which in turn brings architecture in relation with ideology as well.

Despite of this particular interest on the topic, this study was not originated from an urge to study a definite architectural object or from curiosity about a particular ideological formation or a belief. On the contrary, what defines the general framework and the structure of the work is the rejection to follow these research tracks and should be pointed out here in order to define the organization and the aim of the study.

First and foremost, this study rejects to dwell on a particular work of architecture and investigate this entity within a framework based on architectural discourse

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault. *The History Of Sexuality. Vol.1* (originally published in French "*Histoire de la sexualité*"), New York : Penguin Books 1990, p.95

which could end up with a review text, isolating the building from its surroundings. On the contrary, the study is based on the dialectic relation between social realm and architecture which also covers the discussions about ideological potential of architectural objects.<sup>2</sup> Architectural objects are not primarily art, technical or investments objects but social objects and only by a critical reading of this social aspect it is possible to question any potential of an architectural object. Following this idea, the general framework of the study is organized in order to locate the work of architecture within its social context; thus to investigate the intricate relation between these domains.

Following this conceptual framework, this study aims to understand the ideological potential of architectural objects. But this study does not intend to dwell on a particular ideology of belief and to list its physical representations, which also has the potential of idealizing a certain type of representation for a particular ideological formation. On the contrary, rather being an introverted entity, ideology itself is a social process conducted by the sources of power in order to maintain their position within society. Architecture, as a representative tool, is certainly needed by ideology in the process of maintaining power. This study intends to question this need of representation, the outcome of ideological processes, in order to understand how and by what means ideologies defines, utilizes and appropriates a work of architecture as a medium for its representation. At the same time, the critical reading of both this need and the related architectural responses enables this study to draw a general perspective of the current social, political and economical environs within which these socially produced realities took place.

To the heart of the matter, all these discussions still count on one particular fact that is architecture is capable of inheriting the traces of economy-politics and

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<sup>2</sup> Georges Politzer. Felsefenin Temel İlkeleri. transl. M. Erdost (originally published in France, “*Principes fondamentaux*”, 1954) Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1994, p. 60

social processes in its physical body. Thus all kind of dialectic relations can be found in the fabric of the work of architecture, which also enables to trace back the vestiges of ideology and all types of social processes in the body of architectural objects. Architecture, more widely space, owes this property of inheriting these processes its being a social product, which also drives our inquiry to conduct a dialectic reading.

To elaborate this, it is wise to turn back to Henry Lefebvre's seminal book "The Production of Space", in which he set forth this property of space explicitly. Considering the fact that space is "colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated and fought over"<sup>3</sup>, Lefebvre states that "(social) space is a (social) product"<sup>4</sup>. By choosing the word 'production', Lefebvre indicates its willingness to dwell on the issue of space from a Marxian perspective, which aims "to go beyond the fetishism of observable appearance, to trace out the inner movements holistically, in all its gory horror."<sup>5</sup> He denies the understanding of things in space which assigns space the role of an empty container, and rather concentrates on "the production of space and the social relations inherited to it."<sup>6</sup> From his perspective, space, like every produced reality, serves in fact to implement the hegemony of those have the power to command. As we will discuss in detail in the related section, space is operationalized by this dominant class both instrumental and operational in the process of keeping up hegemony "over society as a whole".<sup>7</sup> For this point, it is fair to state here that the production of space, including the production of architecture, embeds these social relations within its body; a fact that legitimizes

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<sup>3</sup> Andy Merrifield. Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the the City. New York: Routledge 2002, p. 89

<sup>4</sup> Henry Lefebvre. The Production of Space. transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith (originally published in France, "*a Production de L'espace*") Oxford:Basic Blackwell,1991, p. 26

<sup>5</sup> Andy Merrifield, Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City. New York: Routledge 2002, p. 89

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Lefebvre. The Production of Space. transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith (originally published in France, "*a Production de L'espace*") Oxford:Basic Blackwell,1991, p. 10

our research that aims to trace back these social processes within the context of buildings.

Taking it for granted that space inherits social processes, another question raised up from this discussion related to our concern is how the particular process of ideology get embedded in the work of architecture, in order to manipulate it as a representational medium. However, this issue of representation of ideology is not limited with the work of architecture, rather dominates all types of art work. Here, the issue of ‘the aesthetization of ideology’ as clearly defined by Terry Eagleton will be given a particular attention throughout this study, which critically dwells on this process of embedding any ideology into the artifacts. According to Eagleton, every work of art can be a representative tool for ideology and ideologies that are to conceal the work of art is an operative tool itself.<sup>8</sup> His assertion calls back the critical Marxist understanding of need and applies this critical framework to the process of artistic production, in order to reveal how the hegemony manipulates the work of art as a medium for representation. He asserts that ideologies, by creating a mystified conception of need, indirectly define the production process and its outcomes for its own sake. At this point, it could be claimed that the work of architecture is subjected to this process of aesthetization of ideology; a fact that defines another guideline of this study.

## **1.2. The Scope of The Study**

In order to exemplify this overlapping relationship between ideology and architecture, this study will focus on the headquarters of Turkey’s political parties erected after 1980’s, namely the headquarters of ANAP<sup>9</sup>, CHP, MHP and AKP. At this point, discussing the reasons of this confinement both in building type and time span helps us to border the scope of this work.

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<sup>8</sup> Terry Eagleton. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Oxford;New York: Blackwell, 1992, p. 202

<sup>9</sup> The name ANAP is changed as ANAVATAN in 2005. However, it will be used as ANAP throughout the study.

The reason for choosing these headquarters as a study area originates from the particular position of the patronage of these buildings, which have a remarkable effect on the work of architecture for certain. Although architecture is considered merely as a design issue, in which the autonomy of artistic expression is present, due to the extensive expense it entails, architecture differs from any other types of artistic production processes.<sup>10</sup> The pressure on the work of architecture due to the this need for the sources of income and power affects the work of architecture in every level of the design process and in different facets including “the choice of the site, the budget, materials and production schedules.”<sup>11</sup> This dominance of the power source and income certainly establishes a kind of hegemony over the work of architecture. Owing to that, it would not wrong to state here architecture inherits the implications of the patronage more than any other kind of artistic production and connotes certainly the ideology of its patronage.

The patronage concerned in this study is that of parties. A party can be defined as an “organization of society's active agents, whose concern is to control of governmental power and to compete for popular support with the contesting groups, holding divergent views”.<sup>12</sup> Having a significant position within society and being a part of political system, political parties obviously define ideologies to preserve their existence and also to strengthen their position within society. The material existence of architecture is manipulated by the parties as an important tool of representation in their competition for electors’ support. Thus the headquarters of political parties, which are certainly subjected to the process of aesthetization of ideology, constitute a model to comprehend this relation of architecture with political power.

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<sup>10</sup>Mary Mcleod. "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism." Assemblage No.8 (Feb., 1989), pp. 22-26

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Sigmund Neumann. Modern Political Parties. University of Chicago Press, 1956. p. 12

Besides this particular position of their patronage, the fact that all these buildings are erected after 1980 also marks another objective of this study. The ongoing period after 1980's means a breakpoint and offers changes in political, social and economic domains in world-wide scale. In this process, Neoliberalism extensively mobilized space in its attempts of social conditioning. This can be considered as the main reason for neoliberal urbanization to become the dominant pattern within cities in world-wide scale. In order to understand this, we can revisit the David Harvey's statements in which he delineates the difference between the modern and postmodern understanding of space. He states that modern space is a social space, which is shaped according to social aims. However, postmodern paradigm does not offer such conditioning of space; rather leaves space aside in some manner autonomous and only considers its profitability.<sup>13</sup> At this point, it could be asserted that the remarkable effort of Neoliberalism to condition space is an attempt to solve this problem of space created by its foregoer. As a matter of fact, especially dominating the social space is a very virile strategy of Neoliberalism in its attempts to construct and preserve its hegemony over the social sphere.

Turkey, in particular, is also listed as one of the countries being experienced this neoliberal transformation both in economy politic and social spheres. To date this change, the period of civic turmoil since the late 1960's ended up with a *coup d'etat* which lasted for the next three years. After the election of 1983, Turkey went through a series of economic changes as well as a social transformation along with it. Turkey's political parties were also forced to experience substantial changes within this evolving context and redefined their ideological formations. This fact also applies to their representations. These buildings are the outcome of this revolving ideological formation of political parties, thus constitute a concrete example of how architecture responds the newly emerging needs refined due the neoliberal changes.

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<sup>13</sup> David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, pp. 66-67

### **1.3. The Contend of The Study**

Insofar, we have highlighted some points in order to define the scope and the structure of this study. In the following chapters, a general perspective for this specific era and for the process of aesthetization of ideology will be drawn in order to construct the framework of the study to question the abovementioned buildings.

This study will start its inquiry by a chapter dwelling on Neoliberalism, both as an economy-politic orientation and as a social project. In the first section of this chapter, Neoliberalism as the current mode of production will be explored in order to delineate its dynamics and its structure by revisiting its historic background and also by questioning major agents' roles in the system within this period. Departing from this substructure, the following section of the chapter will put its effort to understand the changes in social sphere offered by Neoliberalism; thus focuses on the changing meaning of individual in the era of Neoliberalism in order to understand the neoliberal society. Following that, these points highlighted through the chapter will be assessed within the context of culture. As a coda, the reflections of both these economy-politic and social changes will be sought in the particular example of Turkey.

The following chapter, chapter 3, will revolve around the relation between ideology and architecture. To start with, the chapter includes the definition of the term ideology and then dwells on the relation between architecture and ideology and the operative ways of ideology mobilized in the process of establishing hegemony. After that, space as a social product will be discussed and particularly the production of the work of architecture will be explored. Particularly, this section aims to delineate how ideology intervenes to the production of space, which in fact requires a degree of aesthetization. The last section of the chapter elaborates this topic of aesthetization of ideology in order to reveal how ideology manipulates the work of architecture as a representational medium.

Departing from this critical framework, in the last section a critical inquiry will be conducted into the abovementioned buildings in order to question the role of the work of architecture in the representation of ideology and also to interrogate to what extent the alterations in this representative potential of the architecture has initiated by the changes brought by Neoliberalism. This inquiry will be conducted under two main titles, which are ‘the representation of ideology in material practices’ and ‘the representation of ideology in hermeneutical practices’.<sup>14</sup> Following that, an assessment of these two sections will be included in order to decipher our inferences in varying scales in order to sum up our points related to the buildings in order to place them within the discourse of political parties and to locate all these changes within the course of neoliberal culture.

From a broader perspective, the aim in conducting this study is to investigate the changing nature of representation of ideology within the context of headquarters by discussing the nature of that emerging new archetype<sup>15</sup> as part of an ongoing process of representation, needed by political parties. Here, what is intended in proposing this inquiry is to reach an evaluation of to what extent all these examples can be considered as the embodiment of the new organization proposed by Neoliberalism and by its ideological formations. By a close examination of them, this study intends map the changing role of architecture in representing power due to Turkey’s transforming political context.

As a final remark, we can assert here this changing role of architecture in the representation also marks a radical shift in the very own discursive formation of architecture. It is to say that, beyond the points we have highlighted as the external reasons for the changing nature of ideological representation, such as

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<sup>14</sup> Stan Allen. “[Article by Stan Allen]”, *Assemblage* No. 41 (Apr., 2000), p. 8

<sup>15</sup> *Throughout the study, the term ‘archetype’ used to refer to “the original pattern, or model, from which all other things of the same kind are made”.* see The new international Webster’s dictionary & thesaurus. Trident Press International, 2000



changes in patronage or alterations in society, the very own dynamics of architecture also evolved into a new phase which is significantly affected this issue of representation as well. As we will lubricate, this shift results in fundamental changes in the ideology of architecture. In order to clarify our point, the last chapter of the study will dwell on this subject by revisiting earlier examples and highlighting the differences between these two cases. At the end, what is aimed is to delineate the evolution of the ideology of architecture in the course of time. Moreover, this critical inquiry by revealing both the reasons and results of this shift in the ideology of architecture will also enable us to position these buildings within the contemporary discourse of architecture.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **NEOLIBERALISM AS THE CURRENT MODE OF PRODUCTION**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

The main aim of this section is to conduct a critical inquiry into the Neoliberalism as the dominant mode of production. Every mode of production creates its own spaces and social organization for the sake of the system; thus for its comprehension a parallel reading of these two domains is necessary. Consequently, with an aim of explaining the nature and the operation of Neoliberalism, this chapter will conduct a parallel research under two main titles. The first section will be dealing with the economy-political changes offered by the Neoliberalism, whereas the second will focus on the changes occurred in the social domain. At the end, this chapter aims is to understand how Neoliberalism as an economic theory is created and functions and following that, to question the social structure enabling the Neoliberalism to proliferate as a worldwide discourse.

The first section will focus on Neoliberalism as an economy-political theory accepted in a worldwide scale. For this, the former organization of capitalist system, namely the Keynesian Period will be discussed. After that, the neoliberal economy-political theory will be in the scope of the chapter. However, the aim is not to conduct a detailed study to this changing nature of current mode of production, but to delineate how and by what means this transformation in the current mode of production is executed; thus to establish a substructure which enables us to build up a debate related to the changes in the social sphere.

In the second section, the Neoliberalism will be discussed as a social project. As we will discuss later in this chapter, the success of the Neoliberalism in dominating globe as the current mode of production lays on its success to create such synchronized social structure that no former mode of production was able to reach. Departing from the economy politic conditions offered by neoliberal operation, this section aims to delineate how these changes result in the sphere of culture. Nevertheless, due to the impossibility of covering the wide study area of social sphere, this study will conduct its research on culture around the issue of individual. Considering the social sphere as the collective production of individuals, this study bases its research on examining the changing role of the individual and its evolving meaning for the current mode of production in order to map the changes in the sphere of culture.

## **2.2 Neoliberalism as an Economy-Political Theory**

### **2.2.1. Neoliberal Order as the Current Mode of Production**

To give a brief definition, one can argue that Neoliberalism is a economy-politic theory of late-capitalism, which advocates the idea that the well- being of people and the market can only be achieved by the ultimate freedom of these two concepts. This new organization of economy-politic is defined by David Harvey's as follows:

Neoliberalism is in the first place a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve the institutional framework appropriate to such practices.<sup>16</sup>

In this new order of capitalist system, the main aim is to establish a free market in which the capital will be able to circulate in a global scale, thus proposing the

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<sup>16</sup> David Harvey. A Brief History of Neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 2

riddance of nearly all trade barriers where the people can freely circulate.<sup>17</sup> In the following section, what is meant by the term ‘border’ will be discussed elaborately, since it is believed that the term border is one of the terms forced to undergo substantial changes in neoliberal period.

In this new organization of economy, the state is destined in a new way. The main aim of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework to secure the private property rights and to enable a free environment for the markets. Thus, the state interventions should be kept in minimum and let the market to have its own balance and regulations in course of time.<sup>18</sup>

Actually, emergence of Neoliberalism as a new order for the capitalist system is not a coincidence; rather like every break in the capitalist system, the emergence of neoliberal order marks a crisis of the system. As Harvey explicitly set forth, by referring to Marx, capitalism is a “crisis-prone” organization and its success mostly lies on its ability to adapt to such crisis by reorganizing the relationship between the agents of the system.<sup>19</sup> Such a cause-and-effect relation between the phases of capitalist system certainly exists between the Neoliberalism and its foregoer. Thus, it is necessary to question this former organization of the capitalist mode of production necessitated the restitution of the system in order to illuminate what is proposed by neoliberal policies.

### **2.2.2 A Brief History of Neoliberalization**

The particular crisis of capitalism led to the birth of neoliberal policies originates from the order which dominates the globe after the World War-2. Called as The Keynesian Period, this organization of capitalist system, unlike Neoliberalism,

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<sup>17</sup> David Harvey. “Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction.” *Geografiska Annaler* Vol.88 (B2, 2006), p.145

<sup>18</sup> David Harvey. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. New York and London: Verso, 2006, p. 25

<sup>19</sup> David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, p.180

offers an interventionist state paying a great attention to the social welfare and the individual wage. The Keynesian Period can be considered as the peak point of the system initiated by the Fordist deconstructive production lines. With the booming effect of World War 2 in consumption, the system was scattered through the America and the Europe at the end of the 1960's. During this period, the agenda of the state is designed to create full employment and welfare of citizens, as well as to stabilize the economic growth. For this, the state did not hesitate to intervene, even to substitute the organization of the market in order to maintain the equilibrium between the market profits and social welfare. Moreover, the state both by constructing standards and actively participating in the application of these regulations put a remarkable effort for the rehabilitation of the social welfare systems.<sup>20</sup>

Although the system served well during the early decades of its life, namely in the 1950's and 1960's; at the end of the 1970's the system had fallen in disrepute and the high-rate profits gained in the previous decades started to decay. Followed by the oil crisis in 1973 and the subsequent world-wide recession; another major breaking point the breaking of Bretton Wood Agreement which means the demolition of the dominance of USA over global economy. The diminishing hegemony of USA over global markets, global recession and the low profit rate offered by the system resulted in the demolition of the Keynesian order. For the survival of the system, a new approach was called for and what is proposed as a solution for these problems originated from the Keynesian policies was the Neoliberal Order, which later on will be dominating the globe.<sup>21</sup>

However, the dominance of Neoliberalism over the system is not a momentary action, on the contrary requires a series of operation to be executed in varying scales in a sequential order. Actually, Neoliberalism started as a peripheral

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<sup>20</sup> David Harvey. "Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction." Geografiska Annaler Vol.88 (B2, 2006 ), pp. 148-149

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 151

movement and then become globalized.<sup>22</sup> First neoliberal operation was started in Chile by the taking over the elected left government by means of a *Coup D'état* in 1971. After this, for the recovery of the economy of Chile a new economic program was prepared by a group of academicians known as Chicago Boys and put into action. What they have proposed for the recovery of the Chilean economy is the privatization of public assets in order to create funds for the state, open up the natural sources to private entrepreneurships, privatizing the social welfare programs which were considered as the hunchback of the state. At the outset of this process, the feedback of such interventions was a high-rate of economic growth but actually this process helps to open the national market to international exploitation, which results in high profit for the foreign investors and elite group of the country whereas the middle-class and the lower classes' income is diminished either due to inflation or by directly cutting of the wages.<sup>23</sup>

After the experimental application of neoliberal strategies, this market-based economic order was also impelled in USA and UK. And by the end of the periods of Thatcher and Reagan, these two countries become firmly committed to Neoliberalism.<sup>24</sup> However, Neoliberalism cannot and did not stop within these national borders. In order to accomplish the mission of creating a global market; countries, either by being manipulated by the IMF or World Bank, or by being forced to undergo substantial changes by means of military interventions like in the case of Chile, are impelled to apply the neoliberal policies.<sup>25</sup> At the end of the century, Neoliberalism becomes the hegemonic order of the global market which it created.

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<sup>22</sup> David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. New York and London: Verso, 2006, p. 12

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p.13-16

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.17-19

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p.25

### **2.2.3. The Assessment of Neoliberalization: The Roles of the System' Agents Revisited**

At the end of the above mentioned process, Neoliberalism becomes the dominant mode of production in a world wide scale. In order to draw a general perspective of this order of global economy and its consequences, the roles of the major agents of capitalist system in neoliberal era can be delineated. These agents are namely 'the capital', 'the state' and 'the individual', each of which evolved into a new phase with the operation of neoliberal policies.

#### **2.2.3.1. Capital in Neoliberal Period**

As mentioned earlier, the discourse of Neoliberalism tones over a barrier-free global market. At the end of Neoliberalization, what is achieved is a unified market structure in a global level proposing a transnational capital flow within the countries. The global market secures much more portable investment abilities enabling the entrepreneur to follow the highest profit rate throughout the globe.<sup>26</sup> These rapid and profound changes in the international economy created the term 'globalization', which implies the emergence of global networks of production, finance and trade that have deeply affected all countries in the international system.

The most remarkable change occurs in the representation and fixation of the capital. As a matter of fact, what is meant by the concrete representation of capital is money and consequently gold. However, this concrete representation of capital related to gold, consequently to money is replaced in the neoliberal period with a new kind of representation based on the papers, which is called 'paper entrepreneurship'.<sup>27</sup> This breaking of the logical sequence between the capital and its representation is not in the scope of the study, but it should be mentioned here

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<sup>26</sup> David Harvey. "Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction." *Geografiska Annaler* Vol.88 (B2, 2006 ), pp. 148-149

<sup>27</sup> David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, p.163

that the creation of such ephemeral bonding is a key feature of neoliberal culture. Thus, the loose of money of its concrete representations is important and will be referred in the following sections.

#### **2.2.3.2. State in Neoliberal Period**

What neoliberal policies offer for the state within this organization is to create a safe environment for the global capital and transnational entrepreneurship. Actually, as stated by Harvey, this crisis of capitalism was introduced to public as a crisis of governance.<sup>28</sup> Being blamed of leading to this worldwide crisis, the nation state was impelled to evolve into a new phase in which its organization and responsibilities are reorganized. Harvey defines the proposed role of state in neoliberal era as follows:

The fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state is to create a “good business climate” and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social well-being.<sup>29</sup>

The neoliberal state looks further to facilitate and stimulate all business interests at state expense if necessary, arguing that this will foster growth and innovation and that is the only way to eradicate poverty and to deliver, in the long run higher living standards to the mass of the population.<sup>30</sup>

As a result, in order to ensure the free movement of capital, neoliberal state operates both in national and international scale. For the national scale, the state divorced from many of its social responsibilities in such fields of public transportation, health care services, education, and many other similar areas. Here the aim is to open up these sectors to competition of entrepreneurs which was considered in neoliberal period as the key motivating factor for the quality of

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<sup>28</sup> David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. New York and London: Verso, 2006, p. 16

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 25

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.



services.<sup>31</sup> However, behind the superficial reason, these re-handling of public services led to opening up more markets to global capital flow and resulted in the privatization of the public assets. Coming to the interventions of neoliberal state in the international scale, this aim of creating a global barrier-free trade market requires diminishing or replacing the existing borders of nation states with more permeable ones in physical and economical terms, for example, by means of trade unions. Behind all these legislative and commercial regulations, this need of deregulation becomes in some case so intense that cannot be operated under the reign of neoliberal state. In other words, it can be asserted that this friction between the internal dynamic of nation-state and neoliberal policies is so harsh and impossible to overcome, that the reign of state should be suspended by means of armed forces in order to operate the neoliberal policies, like it occurred in the case of Turkey in 1980.

On the other hand, neoliberal state was also mobilized in redefining the social organization of society to diminish the social solidarity. To do this, neoliberal state drops down its interventions to minimum in welfare programs such as health care, public education and social services. It is obvious that the social state is not desired in the neoliberal era, on the contrary state become a penal one which strictly controlled any kind of social movement and puts a remarkable effort to demolish any type of social solidarity by mobilizing its operative tools. To the point of fact, what is proposed for the society by neoliberal state is summarized by Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, in their article “NewLiberalSpeak :Notes on the new planetary vulgate” as follows:

This is a society characterized by the deliberate dismantling of the social state and the correlative hypertrophy of the penal state, the crushing of trade unions and the dictatorship of the ‘shareholder-value’ conception of the firm, and their sociological effects: the

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<sup>31</sup> Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, “Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism”, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p. 3

generalization of precarious wage labour and social insecurity, turned into the privileged engine of economic activity.<sup>32</sup>

Parallel to these regulations that reduce the social safety into a minimum level, neoliberal order still flourishes an effective and active state capable of regulating the system integrity and ensuring its accountability. Thus, the neoliberal state insists on creating intuitions which governs and controls the financial system for the sake of the controlled flow of capital around the globe.<sup>33</sup> In other words, the capitalist system still relies on the regulative force of state to establish and enforce the regulation of the process of maximizing the capital flow.

### **2.2.3.3. Labour in Neoliberal Period**

As discussed, Neoliberalism is based on maximizing the freedom for the well-being of individuals and the system. A fundamental concept for neoliberal period is individual, which also bases other key concepts such as ‘personal development’ or ‘personal entrepreneurship’. However, another key term for Neoliberalism is flexibility, and the emphasis on flexibility and mobility also applies for labour power. Neoliberal policies proposes flexible and rapid changing patterns for employment and argues that these pliable patterns enables workers with flexible working times and more competitive working environment where the labour is able to propose its own value.<sup>34</sup> However, just the opposite of what is proposed by Neoliberalism, the current mode of production creates a highly insecure labour market due to the world-wide competition and the ease of transporting the productive facilities from one location to another. Moreover, along with these transformations in the structure of labor market, the social organization and class solidarity of working class is diminished which created a major setback in the

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<sup>32</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant. “Neoliberal Speak: Notes on the New Planetary Vulgate”, 2001. *Radical Philosophy Journal*, accessed on 12.04.2009.

< [http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel\\_id=2187&editorial\\_id=9956](http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2187&editorial_id=9956) >

<sup>33</sup> Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, “Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism”, *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.9

<sup>34</sup> David Harvey. “Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction.” *Geografiska Annaler* Vol.88 (B2, 2006 ), p. 147

ability of unions to organize workers in order to defend their rights. Moreover, these institutions lack the transnational solidarity to compete with the capital's mobility. As a result, the strikes lose their effectiveness under the threat of being replaced by another competitive workforce. As a coda, one can argue that the organized labour of the previous Keynesian Period is demolished by the intervention of Neoliberalism, which considered this solidarity nothing but a market rigidity to be surpassed for the sake of a barrier-free global market.

### **2.3. Neoliberalism as a Social Project**

As discussed in the introduction section of this chapter, Neoliberalism differentiates itself from the former organization of capitalism in its success to regulate the social life in a synchronized manner with the economy-political changes it offers. To the point of fact, Harvey states:

For any system of thought to become hegemonic requires the articulation of fundamental concepts that become so deeply embedded in common-sense understandings that they become taken for granted and beyond question. For this to occur not any old concepts will do. A conceptual apparatus has to be constructed that appeals almost 'naturally' to our intuitions and instincts, to our values and our desires, as well as to the possibilities that seem to inhere in the social world we inhabit.<sup>35</sup>

Departing from there, this section of the chapter will be dealing with the conditioning of the social sphere by neoliberal policies in order to legitimate the new order of the economy-political sphere and to assure its dominance. As discussed by many scholars, Neoliberalism executed a twin process of a theory proposing a new organization for economic policies and a social policy aiming to reorganize and reproduce the social sphere in order to create a proper milieu for the dominant discourse to flourish.<sup>36</sup> Harvey states that Neoliberalism's dominance over the discursive formations creates a completely new way of "perceiving, understanding

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 146

<sup>36</sup> Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space", Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p. 44

and acting”. This dominance is such dense that it replaces our understanding of the surrounding world with “the common-sense that we use to interpret, live in and understand the world” and he claims that the success of Neoliberalism in being the dominant mode of discourse lies in its ability in creating this common sense which bases the social project of Neoliberalism.<sup>37</sup>

The social project of Neoliberalism creates a discourse generally tones over the term individual or other terms related to individual such as freedom or self-esteem. Again Harvey delineates the particular attention of Neoliberalism on the term ‘individual’ as follows:

The founding figures of neoliberal thought took political ideals of individual liberty and freedom as sacrosanct, as ‘the central values of civilization’, and in so doing they chose wisely and well, for these are indeed compelling and great attractors as concepts. These values were threatened, they argued, not only by fascism, dictatorships and communism, but by all forms of state intervention that substituted collective judgments for those of individuals set free to choose. They then concluded that without “the diffused power and initiative associated with (private property and the competitive market) it is difficult to imagine a society in which freedom may be effectively preserved.”<sup>38</sup>

One important point to underline here that the term individual does not correspond to labor power for the system anymore. Actually, this shift in the paradigm marks a crucial change, which also is an important factor in the success of Neoliberalism. Owing to that, this chapter will focus on this changing definition of individual and departing from the singular example of individual aims to map the structure of society in neoliberal era.

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<sup>37</sup> David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. New York and London: Verso, 2006, p. 3

<sup>38</sup> David Harvey. “Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction.” Geografiska Annaler Vol.88 (B2, 2006 ), p. 146

### **2.3.1. Beyond Labour Power: Individual as Consumer**

As mentioned above, Neoliberalism seeks to discipline the individual for the sake of its economy-political operations. However, this tendency of conditioning the individual is not specific to Neoliberalism but it has been in the agenda of capitalist system long before Neoliberalism. A major breakpoint in the understanding of labor and thus individual occurred in the era of Fordism.

Fordist production can be defined as organized frameworks of work tasks according to rigorous standards of time and motion study. The main driving force of capitalism is production. However, in Fordism, this property was replaced with consumption, thus this fragmented and well defined organization covers not only the production line but also the whole system of economy, politics and even culture. Harvey defined this period “as less as mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life” and quotes from Gramsci who described this exertion as “the biggest collective effort to date to create with unprecedented speed and with a consciousness of purpose unmatched in the history, a new type of worker and a new type of man.”<sup>39</sup> Obviously, this shift proposes a twofold role for the individual in the system, as ‘labour’ and as ‘consumer’. More explicitly, capitalism created an organization for the production of a new type of labour class which is capable of both satisfying the specific kind of labour power as well as creating continuous demand.

What marks this shift as a remarkable point is that redefining the role of individual as consumer opens up a new way in conditioning the social sphere for the sake of system. This operation of conditioning the labour power; named by Harvey as “labour control”, is executed by the means of socialization of the worker.<sup>40</sup> By controlling the social life, the Fordist System created a standardized and continuous demand which flourished system for several decades.

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<sup>39</sup> David Harvey. The Condition of PostModernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, p. 135

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p.123

Nevertheless, the hegemony of the Fordist system failed due to this standardized and continuous consumer habits. However, one of the main reasons behind this failure was this particular consumption habit created by the Fordist system. Although capitalist system discovered the importance of manipulating the consumption, still very naively assumed that labour class equipped with money and enough leisure time is able to create adequate consumption. On the contrary, standardized high modern Fordist style created mass consumption totalizing the needs of public but unable to respond the rapid changes in the tastes and also unable to respond to new emerging styles in mass production. At the end, Fordist system faced with the saturated markets which in time caused recession and at the end led the system to failure.<sup>41</sup>

In order to survive this problem of stable consumption, capitalist system evolves into a new phase both in production and labour control. Defined by Harvey as ‘flexible accumulation’, the main property of this period is “resting on flexibility with respect to labour process, labour markets products and consumption”.<sup>42</sup> With flexibly policies, the production changed its scale from mass production to small-batch production and sub-contracting which creates highly specialized small market niches capable of responding quick changing market conditions and of surviving from the high competition within numerous producers.<sup>43</sup>

Besides all the changes offered in the production process, the problem of stable and limited consumption still exists. At this point, the problem of capitalist system is not in maximizing the profit or the rationalization of production as in the Fordist period but rather in a contradiction between a virtually unlimited (with the advances in technology) productivity and the needs to dispose of this plentiful

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<sup>41</sup> *ibid*, p.138-140

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*, p.147

<sup>43</sup> *ibid*, p.156

product.<sup>44</sup> In order to overcome this problem, system proposed a new pattern for consumption. By putting such social goals, capitalist system define needs not related with natural limited demands of human beings but needs related with unlimited fictional and narrative myths created by the system itself. Baudrillard explains this by quoting from Galbraith as:

The infernal round of consumption is based on the celebration of needs that are purported to be “psychological“. These are distinguished from “physiological income “and the freedom of choice, and consequently manipulatable at will.<sup>45</sup>

Since these needs are not based on truths or facts, they are open to speculation, can be reorganized and manipulated according to the desires of the system. Reiterating that, the society became a totality composed of individuals whose consumption patterns are indeed fictional behavioral patterns which can easily be manipulated, deregulated and redefined for the sake of the system.

### **2.3.2. Individual as Spectator:**

Taking it granted that the term need is subjected to manipulation by the system with an aim of sustaining a certain level of demand for the sake of the system, the main question for this section will be to understand how and by what means late capitalism including Neoliberalism conditions the need of individual in a certain direction which in turn flourishes the system. As mentioned before, the system replaces the bodily needs of individuals with fictional ones. For this, as Marx explicitly delineates, the physical relation of individuals to their surroundings established by means of their bodily organs consequently their own experience should be replaced with a ‘perception of the environment’ created by means of the

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<sup>44</sup> Mark Gottdiener. The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments. Cambridge: Westview Press, 2001, p. 65

<sup>45</sup> Jean Baudrillard. “The Consumer Society”, Jean Baudrillard- Selected Writings. ed. Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, 1988, p.39

system.<sup>46</sup> We can assert here, today this replacement of physical experience is made with visual experience which is believed to have a potential of inheriting the ideology of the system within itself.

The first scholar who mentioned a distinguished potential in visuals is Walter Benjamin in his widely read essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” of 1936. In it he ponders new kinds of images available to the world, taking an optimistic stance on the issue of film. He sees the world and politics becoming increasingly inaccessible, until “Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling”.<sup>47</sup>

However, in the course of time Benjamin’s naive view about revolutionary potential of images torn off and become a highly criticized way of perceiving the world surrounding us which in fact serves to deliver the condition of subjectivity. For this new way of perceiving, Guy Debord states in his book “Society of Spectacle” that life and politics become static, aestheticized into “an object of contemplation” in which perceiving is taken as experiencing: “All that was once directly lived has become mere representation.”<sup>48</sup> This new society is based upon a material reality lacking all traces of content, abstracted, valued solely for its form and experienced spectacularly. For Debord, “spectacle epitomizes the prevailing model of social life”, that is, cultural and social experience is built by the accumulation of such visuals, or constructed images. Within this context, the once glorified visual communicative tools, namely mass communication, become

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<sup>46</sup> Karl Marx. Early writings / Karl Marx, introduced by Lucio Colletti, translated by Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (from the original manuscripts in German), Harmondsworth; New York : Penguin (in association with New Left Review), 1992, p.353

<sup>47</sup> Walter Benjamin. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”, Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt, New York: Schocken Books, 1968, p.236

<sup>48</sup> Guy Debord. The Society of Spectacle, New York: Zone Books, 1995, p.12



the very basic tool of this conditioning of social life in this new organization of society.

Actually, by replacing the experience with images, Neoliberalism offers a separation of individual not just from the psychical reality, but also from one another and its own material and conceptual conditions in order to assure the visual reproduction of the political, economical and cultural world in which we live. At this point it is highly crucial to underline that by this way the system does not only manipulates the consumer and creates endless demand, but also proposes a new role for it within society. 'The individual' becomes 'a passive spectacle' where he/she cannot actively take part in any kind of activities of social life, and yet by visually participating become responsible for the results of social processes.

### **2.3.3. The Assessment of the Changing Paradigm of Individual: the Neoliberal Culture**

As the previous sections covers how the assigned role of the individual in the capitalist system evolves, this section will puts its effort to draw a wider perspective to this issue of the social sphere offered by Neoliberalism and particularly to delineate the society of neoliberal culture by referring the key concepts proposed by many different scholars.

One of the most important points underlined by scholars related to this issue is that, like individual the term culture is highly manipulated by late capitalism. To the point of fact, Fredric Jameson states that in the world of late capitalism culture finally has lost its autonomous status that it once enjoyed. He claims that this dissolution of the autonomous sphere of culture not as "a mere disappearance or extinction, but rather as a kind of explosion".<sup>49</sup> For him, culture expands

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<sup>49</sup> Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. London and New York: Verso, 1991, p. 48

throughout the entire area of society at a point that the life surrounding individual, from economics to state power or all other domains, has become a part of this phenomenon of culture. About this domination of culture, Eagleton also underlines that culture permeates the society like religion does in the Middle Ages.<sup>50</sup> The reason behind this expansion of the sphere of culture lies on the fact that culture in itself is a self-referential term. Due to this self-referentiality, this term is able to define, objectify, normalize and mystify itself.

At this point, it is not hard to grasp that the culture dominating the social sphere is a creation of the system, which enables it to control this sphere. Departing from this, as mentioned by many scholars, the distinction between a market economy and a market society in Neoliberalism ceased to exist, on the contrary there only exists market society, market culture and market values. About this issue of the dominance of market over the sphere of culture, Foucault states that Neoliberalism transposes economic analytical readings and criteria onto spheres which are not belong to economics at all. It would not wrong to claim here that by this way, the market replaced the social forms as well as the concept of private life with economic readings by conditioning the very individual along with the surrounding social organizations. Foucault defines this process of manipulating individuals as “bio-politics” and states that “biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power’s problem.” Foucault sees the biopolitic organisation as an attempt to ensure the profitability of system’s investments in the population.<sup>51</sup>

At the end, what it creates is a philosophy in which the existence and the operation of the market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous

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<sup>50</sup> Terry Eagleton. The Idea of Culture. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, p. 126

<sup>51</sup> Michel Foucault. Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76, ed. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, general editors Francois Ewald and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey, New York: Picador, 2003, p. 244

relationship with the production of goods. For this discursive organization of Neoliberalism, Bourdieu uses the term 'strong discourse' due to its self-actualizing nature and states:

((t)his initially desocialized and dehistoricized "theory" has, now, more than ever, the means of the *making itself true*...for neoliberal discourse is not like the others. like psychiatric discourse in the asylum... it is a "strong discourse" which is so strong and so hard to fight because it has behind it all the powers of a world of relations which it helps to make as it is, in particular by orienting the economic choices of those who dominate economic relations and so adding its own-specifically symbolic- force to those power relations."In this organization market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs. From this point on, the system is able to rewrite this sphere of culture for the demand of the market structure when necessary. As a coda, this speculativeness is the reason behind the boundlessly expansion of sphere of culture during the late capitalism to cover each and every "symbolic activity".<sup>52</sup>

This expansion of the sphere of culture certainly covers the sphere of politics. More explicitly, politics also exposed to the strategy of the culturalization. What it indicates is less an almost total breakdown of the 'political sphere' in its modern sense, but more its significant transformation. The articulation of political struggles and social enmities have moved from the classical domain of the state apparatuses such as political parties, the parliamentary system but culturalization exceeds the simple translation of political issues to cultural ones.

From this point on, we can also propose a new definition of society. The society in neoliberal order is not an entity composed of classes or clusters of peoples, but individual get together due to their conditioned needs and realities. Especially the social classes which are present in every society and defined their existence due to their role in the dominant mode of production was considered as the main thread

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<sup>52</sup> Pierre Bourdieu. Acts of Resistance : Against the Tyranny of the Market transl. by Richard Nice, New York : New Press, 1998, p.95 *cited in* Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space", Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe. ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p. 44

for the system as discussed earlier. Thus, in the neoliberal era these material reasons around which these social classes congregate are replaced with fictional cultural ones. To the point of fact, Richard Sennett states that in this period, Neoliberalism introduced *gemeinschaft* as the only possible way of socialization, whose critical reason is worn off, and replaced by easily manipulatable ones. In the absence of critical reasoning, the fragmentation and passivization dominate over the society, which in fact the arrival point of Neoliberalization of society in order to diminish all types of rigidities within society as well as to avoid any kind of social resistance to the policies offered by the system. In fact, the reason for this shift is also not a side product of the neoliberal processes but on the contrary is a constructed operation to the society in order to demolish the highly organized classes created during the Keynesian Period. By breeding the individual, whose material reason is replaced with fictitious ones, by fragmenting the social classes and by fostering the depolitization, the social organization is opened up to maximum mobilization of the system.<sup>53</sup>

#### **2.4. The Spatial Organization of Neoliberalism**

At this point, there remains the question of how space takes place in economy political theory and social project of Neoliberalism. What is certain is that, as Henry Lefebvre states in this book “Production of Space,” space as both as an instrumental and an operational tool is surely manipulated by the dominant mode of production for to create and sustain the hegemony, which is implemented over “society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, as also a good many intellectuals and experts.”<sup>54</sup> Obviously, neoliberal order as the current mode of production seeks its fixation and representation in the medium of space for the reproduction of the relations of production.

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<sup>53</sup> Richard Sennett. *The Fall of Public Man*. New York, London: W.W. Norton, 1992, p.221

<sup>54</sup> Henry Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith (originally published in France, “*a Production de L’espace*”) Oxford:Basic Blackwell,1991, p.10

Actually, capitalist system' relation to space is crucial since the circuit of production in capitalist system relies on accumulation which is the materialization of the surplus value. Besides this space-dependent property of capitalism, As Harvey once remarks, space or particularly the cities are the mediums where other types of accumulation takes place, namely the accumulation by dispossession or accumulation through expanded reproduction, which highly depends on social networks; underlining the importance of space or spatiality for capitalist system.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, Neoliberalism also seeks for its representation in these socially potent urban fabrics, namely in city, which underlines the issue of neoliberal urbanization.

As a matter of fact, Neoliberalism offers its own spatiality. However, as discussed by many scholars, what Neoliberalism offers for this spatiality is far more different from the older orders of capitalism. To the point of fact, Peck and Tickell states that, "...the deep Neoliberalization of spatial relations represents a cornerstone of the project itself."<sup>56</sup> However, along with other scholars, they also underline the impossibility of conceptualizing the neoliberal strategies under the title of a definite spatial pattern due to the endless space-, place-specific spatial proposals that the neoliberal order produces.<sup>57</sup> This exertion remarks another characteristic of Neoliberalization actually; Neoliberalization is a project-base operation which produces particular processes for each situation in various scales and places. Thus, in order to delineate the neoliberal urbanization it is necessary to deconstruct the characteristic of this process rather than focusing on specific examples of it.

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<sup>55</sup> David Harvey. Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. New York and London: Verso, 2006, p.75-77

<sup>56</sup> Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space", Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe. ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.44

<sup>57</sup> Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism", Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.7

David Harvey defines Neoliberalism as creative destruction which basically originates from replacing the existing structures in every aspect with new ones in order to define a new phase in capitalism and asserts:

The creation of this neoliberal system has obviously entailed much destruction, not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (such as the supposed prior state sovereignty over political-economic affairs) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life, attachments to the land, habits of the heart, ways of thought, and so on.<sup>58</sup>

This exertion also covers the issue of neoliberal urbanization. In other words, neoliberal urbanization needs consecutive destruction and creation processes. Similarly, Brenner and Theodore states that neoliberal urbanism is executed in two phases which are destruction and creation.<sup>59</sup>

Here destruction does not only correspond to the abolition of the existing urban tissue but also covers the redefinition of regulations and legislations related to space and its production processes. From this point of view, this destruction process covers tearing off the existing regulation and rules of urban governance in order to replace them with new ones. Besides this legislative one, neoliberal urbanization executes a spatial deconstruction, which in fact aims to open up spaces for new accumulation patterns within cities.<sup>60</sup> This process requires certainly devalorization realized by means of creating a discourse which glorifies such concepts of 'revitalization', 'reinvestment' and 'rejuvenation'.<sup>61</sup>

Creation process similarly covers production of new spaces capable of inheriting the neoliberal order and its power relations, as well as the legislative and

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<sup>58</sup> David Harvey. Neo-liberalism as creative destruction. *Geografiska Annaler* vol.88 B (2), p. 145

<sup>59</sup> Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, *Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.22-25

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p.25

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

regulative framework to ensure the survival of this production process. Like destructive operations, the creative one also proposes a new organization of space capable of inheriting the neoliberal order in itself, and the regulative and the legislative changes to normalize these spatial interventions. Some of the outcomes of this creation process are defined as “elimination and intensified surveillance of urban public spaces, destruction of traditional working class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment, retreat from community oriented planning initiatives”.<sup>62</sup>

For the particular of state, the state power is operationalized by neoliberal order as a regulative force in these processes of Neoliberalization. Brenner and Theodore again underlined the uneven geographic spatial development that Neoliberalism proposes and states that the state power are mobilized to regulate this uneven development and to overcome the problem arising from this development pattern.<sup>63</sup> Here, the role of state can be observed in two different scales. The first one covers the intervention of state in national level and is related to the regulative issue in general. In order to give a short list of these interventions we can mention here “the dismantling of traditional national relays of welfare service provision, hollowing out of national state capacities to regulate money, trade and investment, de-centering of traditional hierarchical bureaucratic forms of governmental control, undercutting of regulatory standards across localities, regions, national states and supranational economic zones, selective withdrawal of state support for declining regions and cities, destruction of traditional relays of compensatory, redistributive regional policy (spatial Keynesianism)”.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, Brenner and Theodore defines the alterations of state in the local level as “dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities, imposition of fiscal austerity measures upon municipal governments”,

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, “Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism”, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden and MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.8

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p.18

which results in the focusing of power in municipality. In the absence of the central authority, whose power is diminished also by means of neoliberal intervention, municipalities become important entrepreneurs in cities.<sup>65</sup>

Up to this point, the debate on neoliberal urbanization is discussed as the result of capital' accumulation pattern, which results in a reading of neoliberal urbanization based on the economy-political theory of Neoliberalism. However, as it was mentioned, Neoliberalism like every phase of capitalism, proposes a parallel operation in the economic and social spheres. Certainly, Neoliberalism inherits these social aspects in its spatial operations. On the urban scale, the outcome of these spatial operations is the redefinition of public space. As mentioned by many scholars, by proposing a new public space which does not allow any kind of physical interaction between the citizens, neoliberal urbanization both serve to diminish the solidarity in society as well as establishes surveillance in the city, parallel to the aims of Neoliberalism.<sup>66</sup>

Although these propositions delineate the role of space especially in an urban scale in the process of Neoliberalization in detail, there still remains the question of what is the role of the work of architecture, namely the buildings in Neoliberalization. What is obvious is that, neoliberal changes are not proposed particularly in the scale of buildings but in urban scale. However, this social discontent is not particular to the neoliberal period. As Harvey states in his book "The Condition of Postmodernity", the modern understanding of space is inextricably related to social aspects. In other words, the modern space is shaped with social purposes.<sup>67</sup> However, in the course of time, this social context is detached from the space, leaves space as an aesthetic object. Following to that, Neoliberalism also did not choose the buildings as a particularly operative tool.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Setha Low and Neil Smith. "Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space", The Politics of Public Space. New York: Routledge, 2006, p.15

<sup>67</sup> David Harvey. The Condition of PostModernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, pp.66-67



Actually, the operation of late capitalism regarding space is not limited to urban-scale transformations. Another strategy of late capitalism can be seen is the commodification of ‘ideal house’, which dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century America where the middle and upper middle class started to be seen.<sup>68</sup> However, in the era of late capitalist, where the individualism is exalted, owning a distinct and glorified space has become a very dominant motive in neoliberal culture. From this point of view, the intervention of late capitalism executed in scale of private space by means of manipulating the definition of ideal house, more generally ideal space.

## **2.5. Neoliberal Transformations in Turkey**

### ***A Brief History***

For a brief introduction, the first attempt for Neoliberalization was the announcement of a bundle of economic precautions and regulations. The 1970’s, parallel to the world’ economic conjuncture, was a troubled time for Turkey’s economy. Besides this economic trajectory heading downwards, the society was also experiencing a heavy civic turmoil.<sup>69</sup> Within these economic and social conditions, this bundle -24<sup>th</sup> January decisions- was announced to recover from this unstable situation of the country at January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1980. However, neither the economic difficulties nor the civil turmoil had decreased by these precautions, and in 1980 the military seized the administration of the country due the period of civic turmoil since the late 1960’s.

However, to the point of fact, Korkut Boratav claims that the literal reason for the intervention of army to democracy was not the civic turmoil as it was claimed to be. On the contrary, this intervention is a part of a world-wide operation for

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<sup>68</sup> Ayşe Öncü,2005, “İdealinizdeki Ev Mitolojisi” Kültürel Sınırları Sınırları Aşarak İstanbulla Ulaştı, Ayşe Öncü, Petra Weyland (edt.), *Mekan , Kültür, İktidar, Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler* ,İstanbul , İletişim Yayınları, p.91

<sup>69</sup> Taner Timur. “12 Eylül, Özal ve Liberalizm”, *Türkiye Nasıl Küreselleşti?*.Ankara:İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2004, p. 50

Turkey to be attached to the global market. Moreover, this attempt was a political concealment of deregulation of the labor force in order to demolish the well organized class structure by means of armed forces and extraordinary juridical interventions, as well as to open up the local markets to the global capitalism.<sup>70</sup> Initiated with this intervention, the process of Neoliberalization of Turkey is executed step by step by means of the economic programs proposed by IMF. The last step in the Neoliberalization process of Turkey is accomplished by the agreement of trade union with EU in 1996.<sup>71</sup> Throughout this process, similar to the aforementioned countries, Turkey experienced a deregulation of all social and political systems, the freeing of trade, privatization of public assets, diminishing of social organizations.

### ***The Social Transformation***

As stated before, what is experienced in the neoliberal period is a parallel execution of an economy-political transformation along with a cultural one. While the economy-politic transformation purported to replace the nation state and its regulations, social transformation also aimed to torn out the social organization of this period from the tissue of the society. This assertion also applies for the case of Turkey where the neoliberal break corresponds to a significant rapture in the social organization.

In fact, while defining Turkish Modernization, Hasan Bülent Kahraman indicates the Neoliberal Turn as one of the major breakpoint within this process.<sup>72</sup> Actually, what is aimed by the neoliberal rapture in Turkey is to destroy the social organization created by the modernity project. To be more specific, the literal

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<sup>70</sup> Korkut Boratav. Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2005. Ankara:İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007, pp. 150-152

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 169

<sup>72</sup> *The first point Kahraman's Periodization of Turkish modernization project is the announcement of Tanzimat and the second is the announcement of the republic in 1923 which proposed a sharp rapture of the ottoman institutions and traditions. for further information see Hasan Bülent Kahraman, Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye, \_Istanbul: Everest, 2002, p.41*

reason to trigger a transformation is to replace of the *citizen* of the nation state with the individual.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to that, Alev Özkazanç underscores another property of this transformation by stating that this replacement is executed in every aspect of social life by mobilizing numerous agents.<sup>74</sup> Due to this fact, she asserts, the Neoliberal Organization is internalized by the society far more than any other organization of capitalism. These operative ways on neoliberal project includes “the manipulation of individual (by glorifying terms such as individualism, consumerism, private life, and moral values), the conditioning of labour (by reorganizing relations and by assuring the dominance of state over the labour power) and the control of communities over individuals.”<sup>75</sup> As a last word, she states that “*neoliberal society*, which is composed of economy-driven individual of market-society and the individuals of *cemaat toplumu* (community-society), is no longer a society based upon the equal right and freedom.”<sup>76</sup>

Another important tool indicated by Özkazanç is media. She claims that, especially in the beginning of the 1990’s, the media in Turkey gained a considerable power.<sup>77</sup> In the new organization of the society, the media replaces the intellectual, who shapes the sensitivity, consciousness and the responsibilities of the society. Departing from that, Özkazanç claims that media is the only

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<sup>73</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman. Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye. Istanbul: Everest, 2002, p.62

<sup>74</sup> Alev ÖZKAZANÇ. “Türkiye’nin Neo-Liberal Dönüşümü ve Liberal Düşünce”, Ankara University Working Paper Series, accesses on 17.07.2009  
[http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma\\_metinleri.php](http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma_metinleri.php)

<sup>75</sup> “Bireyin kendisi üzerindeki yönetimi, (bireyciliğin gelişimi, tüketim davranışları, mahremiyet, özel yaşam, dinsel ahlâk) üretim alanında işverenlerin çalışanlar üzerindeki yönetimi (kamu düzeni ile çalışma düzeni arasındaki bağlantının sıkıca kurulması), cemaatlerin birey üzerindeki yönetimi gibi farklı yönetim türleri siyasi anlam kazanırlar.” For further information see Alev ÖZKAZANÇ. “Türkiye’nin Neo-Liberal Dönüşümü ve Liberal Düşünce”, Ankara University Working Paper Series, accesses on 17.07.2009  
[http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma\\_metinleri.php](http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma_metinleri.php)

<sup>76</sup> “Piyasa toplumunun ekonomik bireyi ile cemaat toplumunun kültürel bireyinden oluşan neo-liberal toplum, artık eşit hak ve özgürlüklerle bağlanmış bir siyasi toplum değildir.” see Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

possible mean in neoliberal Turkey which is capable of organize, manipulate even provoke the society.<sup>78</sup>

As a last word, the particular position of religion can be underlined. To this point; Kahraman states that in the neoliberal period, by redefining Islam as a paradigm or a life style, which is used to be defined as a system of religious thought; neoliberal transformation created focal points for the individual to aggregate.<sup>79</sup>

### ***The Spatial Transformations***

Before examining the spatial transformation related to Neoliberalization in Turkey, we can locate the changes in legislative area necessitated from the Neoliberalization. As mentioned before, one of the characteristic of neoliberal regulations is to widen the power of municipalities in order to diminish the power of the central government and to create a legal partner in the spatial organizations as well. A similar approach of underlining the power of municipalities can be observed in Turkey starting from the mid 1970's. In the course of time, the roles of municipalities become more dominant by the help of changes occurred in the regulations and laws. During the 1980's, the rights of urban planning, which actually defines the cities' use patterns as well as their physical shape, was handled over from the central government to the local ones.<sup>80</sup> As a last step in this process of transferring the power to municipalities, in 2004-2005, The Local Administration Law was launched by which in fact the municipalities were announced as the single authority in the area of planning rights of cities.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman. Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye, İstanbul: Everest, 2002, p.65

<sup>80</sup> İlhan Tekeli. Belediyeçilik Yazıları. (*Essays on Local Administration*), İstanbul: IULA-EMME,1992, pp.138-139.

<sup>81</sup> *For a detailed history of neoliberal transformation in local governments and its assessments in economic and social spheres see Sinem Yardımcı. "Transformation of Urban Sphere: Hacibayram Square and Its Environment."* Master's Thesis, supervised by Güven Arif Sargin, Ankara : METU, 2008.

Certainly, these regulative changes are followed by spatial interventions. As mentioned earlier, different from the totalizing approach of modernist city planning paradigms, neoliberal urbanization is executed in limited areas. Consequently, like the similar operations in other countries, the neoliberal urban operation of in Turkey is also executed in project scale. For the example of Turkey, we can here clearly state that the last five years, most cities are subjected to such local projects under the title of “urban regeneration project” parallel to the neoliberal urbanizations’ premises. An important point to underline related to these urban projects is that their mostly designed to alter the city centers, or inner areas within cities.

### ***Turkey’ Parties in Neoliberal Period***

Coming to the particular case of parties, the most important problem of Turkey political life in neoliberal period is introduced as *the lack of institutionalization of political parties and continuity*.<sup>82</sup> However, it should be state here the lack of institutionalization in Turkey’s political parties is not a newly emergent fact; rather, goes beyond to the 1950’s, in other words, to the first years of multi-party rule. However, it is true that this lack severed due to several interruptions in democracy, namely due to the *Coup d’etat* in several times. Nevertheless, problems of the current political organization are not limited only to these facts.

To the point, as Alev Özkazanç underlines that unlike other countries, the role of the state in the neoliberal transformation of Turkey cannot be reduced to a regulatory mechanism; rather the most of the changes both in the legislative areas and cultural domain has been initiated and supported by state.<sup>83</sup> In other words, the neoliberal transformation in Turkey both in economy-politic and cultural

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<sup>82</sup> Birol Akgün,. “Türkiye’de Siyasal Partilerin Kurumsallaşma Sorunu ve Demokratik istikrar”, Türk Harb-is Dergisi, Subat 2007, accesses on 17.07.2009  
[www.harb-is.org.tr/dergi/wordler/subat07/dosya3.doc](http://www.harb-is.org.tr/dergi/wordler/subat07/dosya3.doc) lastly accessed on 30.05.2008

<sup>83</sup> Alev ÖZKAZANÇ. “Türkiye’ nin Neo-Liberal Dönüşümü ve Liberal Düşünce”, Ankara University Working Paper Series, accesses on 17.07.2009  
[http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma\\_metinleri.php](http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/tartisma_metinleri.php)

sphere was not executed by bypassing the state, yet by mobilizing it. In this regard, the political parties are also dominated by state power due to its urge to reign the social life. Parallel to these premises, the period since the 1980's introduced several constitutional and legislative changes aiming to establish dominance over political parties.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, these changes are not the only strategy in this process but coupled with other interventions especially with economical ones. Among them, the state funding is highlighted by many scholars as one of most effective interventions. The first legislative changes for funding introduced in 1984, and in the course of time the amount of the funding has increased constantly, and finally the funding has reached to a level where it constitutes 90% of the total income of the parties.<sup>85</sup> The results of this state funding are listed as<sup>86</sup>:

- This emphasis on money in politics transformed politics into a competitive profession based on managerial skills.
- Politics evolved in a capital-based profession.
- Parties become dependent to this funding; hence become a part of the state.

As a result, parties, which are already lacking institutionalization and political continuity, forced to obey the ideology of state, which is in fact shaped by neoliberal policies. Under the sway of these facts, parties lost their critical reasoning and become more and more alike. Obviously, this likeness becomes a major challenge to overcome when shaping their discursive formations.

As a coda, we can highlight two major points in this chapter in order to relate them with the main concern of this study, namely the headquarters. As mentioned

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<sup>84</sup> Arslan ERKAN. "Siyasi Partiler Ve Hazine Yardımları", Bütçe Dünyası, vol:3 ( 28, winter 2008) Cilt 3 Sayı 28 Kış 2008, p.67

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. p.65

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. p.70

earlier, these headquarters can be seen as the concrete representation of the changes occurred in the organization of political parties due to the neoliberal policies. To start with, it should be stated here, the changing financial organization of parties is an important factor in the realization of headquarters. As mentioned before, the increasing funding of parties by state and the effective managements of these resources due to the financialization of politics enable the parties to afford such huge constructions.

In addition to that, the existence of these headquarters can also be explained as a solution for the problem of likeliness, which is the main problem of Turkey's political parties. To compensate this failure of their ideological formations, parties aim to establish strong identities and images. In this regard, these headquarters are erected to ensure the visual availability of the political organization. Moreover, erecting these headquarters can also be read as to create an 'ideal home' for that the political organization, and like ideal house, these headquarters aims to associate a definite sign and symbol system to its user.

However, as we will discuss in the following chapter, beyond this superficial reading of architectural objects, buildings inherit and veil the social processes within their physical existence. Departing from this fact, the following two chapters of this study will put its effort to reveal this process of embedding the social relations in the work of architecture by proposing a critical framework. After that, by applying this critical framework to the headquarters of Turkey's political parties, this study aims to reveal this embedded properties of Neoliberalism in the medium of these buildings.

## CHAPTER 3

### ARCHITECTURE AS THE REPRESENTATION OF IDEOLOGY

#### 3.1. Introduction

So far in the study, Neoliberalism has been discussed both as an economy politic organization and as a social project. As a final remark, it has been concluded that neoliberal order penetrates the domain of space where it appropriates economically and socially. From this point on, this study will focus on particularly how space becomes subjected to such operationalizations of the dominant mode of production by means of ideological constructions. With such goal in agenda, this chapter scrutinizes on the relation between ideology and architecture – space in general - which has always been a cynosure issue for the discourse of architecture. Although, the potential of architecture as an ideological tool has concurrently been discussed by scholars; the aim of this chapter is to make a brief outline within this extensive field and establish a general framework for the case in the following chapter about party headquarters.

The first section of the study focuses on the term ideology. To begin with, the first section of the chapter will scrutinize on the definition of the term ideology under the rubrics of the neutral definitions of ideology and the negative definition of it. Particularly, ideology will be based on the negative connotation of the term, which proposes a critical approach to ideology. In this regard, Thompson's definition of ideology departing from a Marxian understanding will be given as a point of emphasize throughout the study. In fact, operative ways of ideology in terms of Thompson, namely legitimation, dissimulation, unification,



fragmentation, reification,<sup>87</sup> are included in order to understand how ideology engages itself with other domains including sphere for its prolongation.

Considering space as one of these domains subjected to such operationalizations of ideology, the next section of the chapter focuses on the relation of space with ideology. Henry Lefebvre's remarks proposing that space is a production of social processes are instructive for this part. Thus, in light of Lefebvre, how ideology is involved in the process of production and how this process serves to mobilize space as a representational medium for ideology will be analyzed.

Finally, the issue of 'the aesthetization of ideology' defined by Terry Eagleton will be highlighted to understand under what circumstances and for what reasons space and architecture are used as representative tools of any ideology. The concept of aesthetic is regarded as a way of embedding and concealing ideology in the work of art. As Eagleton argues, every work of art can be a representative tool for ideology and yet, an ideology concealing the work of art is an operative tool by itself.<sup>88</sup> In fact, Eagleton particularly emphasizes that the term *need* as being a self-referential and thus manipulatable fact is the key agent issued by ideology in its aesthetization process.

This operation of ideology also applies to the work of architecture which constitutes the main object of this chapter. Regarding the work of architecture, the need corresponds to the function that defines the building program together with the aesthetic decisions. Every part in the building program is the realization of a social process which has normalized the inclusion of that particular part in the building program. Therefore, the principal purpose is to develop a strategy to deconstruct the building program so as to be able to decipher the processes including ideology which is embedded in the buildings.

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<sup>87</sup> John. B. Thompson. Ideology and Modern Culture: A Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p.59

<sup>88</sup> Terry Eagleton. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1992, p.202

### 3.1.1. Defining Ideology

What should be underscored at the very beginning of this section is that it is almost impossible to make a concrete definition of ideology. As stated by Terry Eagleton, “ideology has a whole range of useful meanings which are compatible to each other and cannot be compressed into a comprehensive definition.”<sup>89</sup> Thus, the aim of this section is not to give a detailed list of the definitions of ideology but to draw a very broad perspective of the topic. Departing from that, this section will analyze the subject ideology from its emergence in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, the evolving nature of ideology will be deciphered by following a chronological order in its inquiry.

The word ideology is first used by Destutt de Tracy in order to entitle a new branch of science which exactly supposed to deal with the ideas, as the descriptive deconstruction of the term obviously conveys. For Destutt de Tracy, ideology is the science of ideas; indeed ideology is the primary science “aiming to provide a basis for all scientific knowledge by analyzing the ideas and sensations in a systematic way.”<sup>90</sup> In that regard, Tracy argues that ideology should be “positive, useful and susceptible of exactitude.”<sup>91</sup> In early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the definition of ideology in terms of Destutt de Tracy is forced to go through a change due to the political changes in France. Accused by Napoleon of undermining the state and the rule of law, ideologists were considered as recusants and the ideology became the main enemy of the emperor in his fight with the opponents to endure the unsteady politics. With the abdication of Napoleon, the condemnation of ideology turns into the glorification.<sup>92</sup> From that day on, ideology is accepted as an organized system of thought with a certain aim and direction instead of being a branch of positive sciences.

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<sup>89</sup> Terry Eagleton. Ideology, an Introduction, London and New York: Verso, 1991, p.1

<sup>90</sup> John. B. Thompson. Ideology and Modern Culture: A Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1990, pp.29-31

<sup>91</sup> John. B. Thompson. Ideology and Modern Culture: A Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1990, pp.29-31

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

### 3.1.2. Neutral and Negative Conceptions of Ideology

However, this shift in the definition of ideology from being a science branch to a system of thought means more than a transformation in the structure of the domain of ideology. For John B. Thompson, this is not only a semantic displacement of the word but corresponds to a crucial break in the conception of the term. Thompson delineates this by saying that

It (ideology) ceased to refer only to the science of ideas and began to refer also to the ideas themselves, that is, to a body of ideas which are alleged to be erroneous and divorced from the practical realities of political life.<sup>93</sup>

From this point on, argues Thompson there exist two types in the definition of ideology, and distinguishes two cases of conceptions of ideology. One general type of conception is neutral conception of ideology which tends to define ideology as a natural aspect of social life present in the everyday practice “without being necessarily misleading, illusionary or aligned with the interest of any particular group”.<sup>94</sup> The initial definition of ideology made by Destutt de Tracy can be listed among such neutral conceptions as well. On the other hand, there exists another general type described by Thompson as ‘the critical conceptions of ideology’. These conceptions are those convey a “negative, critical or pejorative sense.”<sup>95</sup> Unlike neutral conceptions, critical conceptions entail that the ideological formations necessarily and consciously misleading, erroneous and one-sided.

The first attempt to define ideology with a critical conception belongs to Karl Marx. As being a key agent in his reading of social life structured upon pure class struggle, Marx’ definition of ideology is defined by Thompson as “a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but which represents class relations in an illusionary form” which helps to veil the operations and even

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid. p.32

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p.53

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

the existence of dominant groups.<sup>96</sup> Besides this, Marx claims that the ideas composing ideology are not eternally true, on the contrary heavily conditioned through the social and historical forces. Later on, Louis Althusser describes the Marxian definition of ideology as “an empty, vain and pure drama constituted by the day’s residues from the only positive reality that is the concrete history of the concrete material individuals, who materially produces their existence.”<sup>97</sup>

Departing from a Marxian framework, Thompson, as well, formulates a critical conception of ideology. For Thompson, different from Marx, it is impossible to study ideological phenomena as purely ideational. On the contrary, unlike philosophies, ideology is not a conception isolated from real-world. Thus, he defines ideology as a set of actions or “the ways in which the meaning serves to establish and sustain the relation of power”<sup>98</sup> and states:

The analysis of ideology,..., is primarily concerned with the ways in which symbolic forms intersects with the relations of power. It is concerned with the ways in which ‘meaning’ is mobilized in the social world and serves thereby to bolster up individuals and groups who occupy positions of power.<sup>99</sup>

In order to elaborate his reformulation of the critical concept of ideology, Thompson explains particularly three aspects present in his definition of ideology, which are the ‘meaning’, ‘the concept of domination’, and ‘the particular ways of ideology’. Here the word meaning for Thompson is “the meaning of symbolic forms which are embedded in social context and circulating in the social world.” By symbolic form, he means “a broad range of actions and utterances, images and texts, which are produced by subjects and recognized by them and others as meaningful constructs.”<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid. p.37

<sup>97</sup> Louis Althusser. “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus”, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, transl. from french by B. Brewster, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971, p.160

<sup>98</sup> John. B. Thompson. *Ideology and Modern Culture: A Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1990, p.5

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p.59

The second aspect requires elaboration in Thompson's formulation is *domination*. Thompson defines domination as an uneven distribution of the power to act within society. This power enables individuals, or a group of them, to make decisions, to pursue ends or to realize interest. He continues:

We can speak of domination when established relations of power are 'symmetrically asymmetrical', that is, when particular agents or groups of agents are endowed with the power in a durable way which excludes, and to some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other agents or groups of agents, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out. In such cases we can speak of 'dominant' or 'subordinate individuals or groups, as well as those.'<sup>101</sup>

From a Marxian understanding, a society is composed of groups of people (corresponding to the classes of Marx) "having varying degrees of power, where this degree may stand in determinate the social relations with one another". In other words, certain groups ensure their position within society by enforcing others an exclusion of domination by all applicable means.<sup>102</sup>

### **3.1.3. Operative Ways of Ideology**

This section will scrutinize the last aspect of Thompson formulation, namely the operative ways of ideology. Our particular interest on these operative ways lies on their potential to link the ideology as a non-physical phenomenon with the material practices including the work of architecture. As we have mentioned, Thompson argues that ideology cannot be limited to ideational practices rather it includes material practices as well and by means of these operative ways, it is possible to follow the traces of ideology within material practices. Thus, it is insightful to delineate these operative ways which will constitute a framework to our inquiry into the buildings in concern.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

As stated by Terry Eagleton, this definition of Thompson's definition of ideology was considered as a widely accepted one, due to this particular attention to the operative ways of ideology. Thompson argues that to understand the ideological phenomena is not to dwell on this socio-historical context or symbolic phenomena or the meaning but to concentrate on the particular ways of ideology. For him, ideology is composed of processes of whereby interest of a certain kind became masked, rationalized, naturalized, universalized, and legitimized in the certain forms political power. Thompson underlines this in his own words as follows:

Whether symbolic phenomena do or do not serve to establish and sustain relations of domination is a question which can be answered only by examining the interplay of meaning and power in particular circumstances, only by examining "the ways" in which the symbolic forms are employed, circulated and understood by individuals situated structured social contexts.<sup>103</sup>

At this point, it is crucial to underline that, although Thompson placed these ways of ideology in the center of its assertion, he also adds that these ways are not intrinsically ideological.<sup>104</sup> What should be questioned here whether the symbolic form constructed by these means is used to sustain the relations of domination, which leads the inquiry to questioning how these operative ways are impelled by the sources of power through the social networks, rather than questioning each of these operative ways as introverted concepts.<sup>105</sup>

Although it is impossible to make a clear distinction between these operative ways, Thompson roughly defines five main types of modus operandi of ideology which are legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation, reification, which serves to link the symbolic forms with meaning. In spite of this classification, Thompson still asserts that there exist no tangible boundaries between these operative ways of ideology, and there should be fluid and

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p.67

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. p.60

permeable.<sup>106</sup> On the contrary these ways overlap, reinforce each other and establishes ephemeral relations with any ideology. Each of these operative ways operates by different strategies yet these strategies are neither concretely bounded to certain operative ways and nor congenitally ideological.

### **3.1.3.1. Legitimation**

The first operative tool mentioned by Thompson is *legitimation*. Referring to Weber, Thompson states that “relations of domination can be established and sustain by being represented as legitimate” and “worthy of support”. Legitimation is assured by being based on concrete grounds and represented in certain symbolic forms under given circumstances. Again quoting from Weber, Thompson mentions three different types of grounds on which legitimation process defines itself. These grounds can be listed as rational grounds, traditional grounds and charismatic grounds. Rational ground “appeals to the legality of enacted rules”, where traditional ground appeals to the “sanctity of immemorial traditions”. Charismatic ground, on the other hand, “appeals to the exceptional character of an individual person who exercises authority”.<sup>107</sup>

Procedures of legitimation on such grounds are operationalized by certain types of strategies of symbolic construction. Claims to legitimacy may be expressed by means of rationalization. For rationalization, the producer of symbolic form creates “a chain of reasoning” in order to “persuade the audience”. Here the main aim is to defend or justify a set of social relations and institutions. Another typical strategy for legitimation is universalization, whereby “institutional arrangements which serve to the interests of some individuals are represented as serving the interest of all.” Moreover, these arrangements are represented as being open to anyone. The last strategy of legitimation is narrativization. Narrativization embeds in stories “which recount the past and treat the present as part of a timeless and

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. p.61

cherished tradition”, although the term tradition is in itself very confusing since sometimes “they are invented in order to create the sense of belonging to a community or to a history”. Narratives portraying social relations are constructed as speeches documentaries, novels, or films and such. By dispersing these narratives or by receiving, it is possible to establish a symbolic process securing the relations of dominations.<sup>108</sup>

### **3.1.3.2. Dissimulation**

Dissimulation is another mode of operation of ideology which establishes and sustains relations of domination by concealing, denying, obscuring or “representing in a way which deflects attention from or glosses over existing relations of domination”. Two strategies of this modus operandi of ideology are displacement and euphemization. The former one can be defined referring to someone or something on behalf of something else so that “the positive and negative connotations of the term reassigned to the other object or individual”. The latter one refers to a process where actions, institutions, or social relations are defined or redefined to evoke positive valuations. Besides these strategies, there exists another cluster of actions mobilized by ideology as a strategy under the title of trope. Here trope covers the figurative usage of language, especially as symbolic forms. In different forms, such as synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor, trope serves to refer a part of something to refer to the whole, to refer without explicitly saying it or to draw a stress or an enduring sense between two different terms belonging distinct fields. Although such figurative language is not necessarily ideological, it would not wrong to claim here this use of semantic field is a virile tool to mobilize meaning in order to create, sustain and reproduce relations of power.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid. pp.61-62

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. pp.62-64



### **3.1.3.3. Unification**

Thompson continues his discussion on operative ways of ideology with defining unification. This operative way of ideology is used to construct a form of unity which embraces individuals for a collective identity, irrespective of the differences and divisions that may separate them. Unification mobilizes such fields as standardization and symbolization of unity to define the borders of collective identity. In standardization the main aim is to create a framework promoted as a “shared and acceptable basis used for symbolic exchange”. On the other hand, symbolization of unity involves construction of symbols of unity, of collective identity and identification, which are diffused throughout a group or plurality of groups. Symbolization is important to create a shared memory and to project a collective fate or holding individuals together in a way which surpass differences and divisions, within very large scale social organization such as nation-state or smaller fraction within societies.<sup>110</sup>

### **3.1.3.4. Fragmentation**

The fourth modus operandi of ideology is fragmentation. Fragmentation helps to maintain relations of domination not by defining a collectivity between peoples but underlining the differences. The main aim in creating such fragmentation between individuals is to avoid construction of such groups having a potential of defining a contesting idea or to put off a challenge to the dominant group. Typical strategies by means of which this mode is expressed are differentiation and expurgation of others. Differentiation, as the term obviously conveys, operates by accentuating the differences, distinctions and divisions between individuals or groups, or underlines the characteristics which might disunite them in order to prevent them from "constituting an effective challenge to existing relations or an effective participant in the exercise of power". Likewise, the other strategy of fragmentation, expurgation of other relies on construction of an enemy, which is portrayed as threatening and which individuals are called upon collectively to

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid. p.64

resist or to expurgate. This strategy often synchronized unification, in order to create a common enemy against whom people may unite. <sup>111</sup>

### **3.1.3.5. Reification**

The last operative way of ideology expressed by Thompson is reification. He states that “relations of domination may be established and sustained by representing a transitory, historical, state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time”. Reification mainly aims to “eliminate or obfuscate the historic and social character of things, while representing them as a rude outcome of natural processes”. An immediate strategy of reification is naturalization defined by Thompson as treating a state of affairs created socially and historically, as a natural event or as the inevitable outcome of natural characteristics. A similar strategy, externalization, again disconnects social-historical phenomena from its context “by portraying it as permanent, unchanging and everrecurring”. What externalization creates are phenomena embedded in the history, which roots are lost in the time, which future is unimaginable, thus they have an unquestionable rigidity, become an ahistorical part of social life. Besides this, reification mobilizes strategies based on some grammatical and syntactic devices, such as nominalization and passivization. Both of these strategies blur the attention of readers or audiences from certain themes. Mostly they delete the actors or agency while making things or events taking place in the absence of the subject who produces them. They also tend to represent things not in the past tense or in future but in a present tense which also helps to represent things in an ahistorical state of affairs. <sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid. p.65

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. pp.65-66

## **3.2. Revealing Relations: Ideology, Space and Architecture**

### **3.2.1. Producing Space**

Having discussed definition and the operative ways of ideology, this section of the chapter will focus the question of how ideology relates itself to the physical body of space. As we have mentioned in the introduction part, it is obvious that space is subjected to ideology. As Henri Lefebvre asserts in his seminal book 'The Production of Space', space is not leaved untouched by ideology and has both "operational" and "instrumental role" as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production.<sup>113</sup> For him, space serves in the establishment of a system justifying hegemony with help of knowledge and technical expertise.

#### **3.2.1.1. Space as a Social Product**

In order to delineate this role of space, Lefebvre proposes a new understanding of the term. He states that "space is neither a subject nor an object, but rather a social reality that is to say, a set of relations and forms". For him, our conception of space is a disintegrated perception, which in fact should be a single unity composed of the physical, mental and social spaces. Thus, it is needed a unitary theory which combines these physical, mental and social aspects of space. He particularly dwells on the subject of social space due to his strong affiance to the potential of social space to connect these disintegrated conception of space.<sup>114</sup> By social space, he describes the space of "social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects, symbols and utopias."<sup>115</sup> For him (social) space is neither an empty container to fill nor only a mental construction, but a (social) product". He continues:

...(social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and

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<sup>113</sup> Henry Lefebvre. The Production of Space, transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith (originally published in France, "*a Production de L'espace*") Oxford:Basic Blackwell,1991, p. 11

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p.73

encompasses their interrelationship in their coexistence and simultaneity ...<sup>116</sup>

...their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object....<sup>117</sup>

Lefebvre particularly emphasizes that if space is a social product, then knowing space assumes the reconstruction of the production of space. This social space embraces a multitude of intersections, which gives meaning to place and implies a great diversity of knowledge. Similar to all socially produced realities, space as well conceals the truth about itself but at the same inherits the traces of such social processes. However, Lefebvre critically states that our current comprehension of space constrains us from discovering this inherited knowledge. He puts it explicitly as:

“It (ideology) bases its image of the forces occupying space on the idea that space is a passive receptacle. Thus, instead of uncovering the social relationships(including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it - relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production, so echoing the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces- we fall into the trap of treating space ‘in itself’ , as space in such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so to fetishize space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider ‘things’ in isolation, as ‘things in themselves’ .”<sup>118</sup>

Nevertheless , Lefebvre still argues that, to unveil the knowledge of space, we need a theory of space linking fields that are constructed separately as physical space (nature), mental space (the discursive construction of space), and social space (or experienced, lived space), where social space becomes indistinguishable from mental and physical space. The aim, however, is not to construct a discourse

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p.90

of space but to expose the actual production of space by bringing together these various kinds of space, in other words conceptualizing the production of space which is crucial for him in order to unveil the embedded knowledge, including the ideology and map the operative ways of social processes.

### **3.2.1.2. Architecture as a Social Product**

Taking it for granted that space is manipulated by ideology and this ideology is embedded in space, the question moves to the subject of whether this process of ideology can be observed through the production of architecture and if so, how this process is executed by means of architecture. Since the ideological potential of space arises from its being a social product, architecture as well should be questioned whether being a social product or not.

A similar inquiry related to the social potential of architecture is made by Thomas A. Markus in his book “Buildings and Power” where he contends that architectural discourse has neglected the larger social spaces in which buildings are situated and as well geographers, in their analyses of social space, have similarly neglected buildings as spatial configurations which contribute to the structuring of society.<sup>119</sup> This underestimation of social role of buildings originates from the problematic understanding of architectural objects. Rather than being art objects, technical or investment objects, buildings are a part of the social processes.<sup>120</sup> Thus, it can be asserted here that every property gained by the space as being a social product is present in the work of architecture as well and buildings are the very concrete representation of such social processes including ideology.

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<sup>119</sup> Thomas A. Markus. Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin Of Modern Building Types. London: Routledge, 1993, p. 3

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

Departing from this point in his book Markus discusses the embedded social relations within the work of architecture, especially he scrutinized on the particular topic of how different types of power (political or ideological), in other words different patronages can lead to the establishment of different buildings types.<sup>121</sup> Throughout his book in order to exemplify this relation of power to the physical body of a work of architecture, there exists a spatial critique of some of the most representative building types produced by a new regime of social and economic power, where the structure of social relations is the basic productive force. He originates this research from German idealism:

“...Mainstream German idealism held that the truths embodied in a building are in its forms, and that these truths exist whether an observer is there to experience them or not. Moreover though the forms were produced at a historical moment, their meaning was and would remain, universal and accessible for all time to intelligent and sensitive subjects. This permanently embedded ‘truth’ was the entire content of form.”<sup>122</sup>

Considering the form as the materialization of truth, Markus redefines the production of architectural objects as “the materialization process of three distinct domains which he calls as generative forces”. These generative forces are “the ideas of material technology, functional needs and social forces.”<sup>123</sup> A building is the manufacture of material technology which satisfies the functional needs under certain social forces. Thus, the function, consequently the building program reveals the purpose of the work of architecture or can be considered a summary of what a building meant to represent both in physical and social realms.

Paul Frankl conducted such reading of buildings, where he placed the functional program at the center of the dissertation. He states that “as the purpose is the essence of architecture, architecture is purpose’s manifestation and the meaning of

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid. p.23

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p.27

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. pp. 28-29

a building cannot be unraveled without analyzing the program which arises from purpose.”<sup>124</sup> However, his approach was criticized because of its consideration of the functional program as a continuous, unchanged, and ever-present more explicitly as ‘a-historical phenomena’. On the contrary, claims Markus, programs are created to fulfill spatial requirements for a specific time and place, which is defined above as social forces. Thus, it can be asserted here besides this physical function there exists a social function originating from the history of the program.<sup>125</sup> Thus, every work of architecture is the embodiment of a unique architectural program shaped under certain social and physical functions.

Marcus elaborately discusses the importance of social function and the functional program; he states that there is no predetermined form for any particular social or physical function. This relation of function to form is reproduced again and again due to the history of the program. Although he underlines this ever-changing nature of the connection between form and function, he avoids explaining how this relation is established. This aspect of his study, the topic of how social and physical processes determine the forms to fulfill their needs begs for clarification.

### **3.2.2. Embedding Ideology in the Work of Architecture: Aestheticization of Ideology**

In so far we have discussed that every building program is the production of an architectural function present for certain social conditions where architectural function stands for “a group of spatial solutions for a definite set of spatial needs”.<sup>126</sup> However, as we have mentioned, these needs are not limited to physical requirements but also corresponds certain social necessities which we have named

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<sup>124</sup>Paul Frankl. Principles of Architectural History: the Four Phases of Architectural Style. 1420-1900, translated and edited by James F. O’Gorman, (originally published in German, “*Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst*”.) Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968, pp. 160-164

<sup>125</sup> Thomas A. Markus. Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin Of Modern Building Types. London: Routledge, 1993, p.28

<sup>126</sup> Thomas A. Markus. Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin Of Modern Building Types. London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 33-39

as physical and social functions. As a coda, it can be asserted here that ideology as a social function is among these architectural functions, a fact that enables ideology with its concrete representation within the medium of buildings.

Ideology as a social function intervenes in this mediation between form and function, or buildings and architectural program respectively and by this way ensures its representation to be included within buildings. To further this study, our objective for this section is to dwell on this intervention process of ideology to architectural program consequently the production of architecture. Correspondingly this process is critically deconstructed by Terry Eagleton under the title of Aesthetization. For him, aesthetization is an operation of ideology in order to normalize, materialize and veil its existence within every work of art as well as all kind social production.<sup>127</sup> Before discussing this issue of the aesthetization of ideology, it is wise to visit the definition and a short history of the term.

### **3.2.2.1 Aesthetics**

The terms aesthetics has a long history as a discussion topic for social sciences. The first scholar, who attempt to establish a discourse related with aesthetics, was Alexander Baumgarten. Baumgarten defines aesthetic as “a science of how things are to be known by means of senses.”<sup>128</sup> In other words; for him aesthetics is born as a discourse of the body, meaning a philosophical way of accommodating the needs of the body to the dictates of reason, or “the mediation between the generalities of reason and particulars of sense”.<sup>129</sup>

However Baumgarten marks that the changes brought by enlightenment transforms aesthetic. He states that with the enlightenment the existing moral values based on

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<sup>127</sup> Terry Eagleton. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1992, p.203

<sup>128</sup> Paul Guyer. Values of beauty : historical essays in aesthetics. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 3

<sup>129</sup> Terry Eagleton. “The Ideology of the Aesthetic”, Poetics Today. Vol. 9, (No.2, 1988), p. 324



religion were demolished. In the absence of this governing rules reigning over the society until that time, in the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie by diminishing the tangible power of state sets about the construction of 'civil society' which in fact aims to create an misconception proposing that the “civic society” is capable of governing itself in order to veil the dominance external authority over society.<sup>130</sup> As a part of this operation, aesthetics is mobilized in order to help the new bourgeois state ideologically to replace this disappeared absolutism offered by religion with an authority of a new kind, one that is “domesticated, mediated and internalized through the aesthetic categories of grace, dignity and beautiful appearance (*schönerschein*)”<sup>131</sup>. Thus, aesthetization becomes more and more a social and political strategy as the French Revolution approaches and materializes.

### **3.2.2.2 Aesthetization of Ideology**

Terry Eagleton summarizes that Baumgarten’ aesthetic “partakes in the perfection of reason but in a confused mode”<sup>132</sup> mobilized in order to replace the religious or monarchic narratives in the era of Enlightenment. A very important point to underline in this definition is although this approach is critical in the mobilization of aesthetic, it is not interrogates the term aesthetic itself. However, besides this definition of term a critical approach also developed based on the idea that aesthetic itself is an erroneous and illusionary fact. In other words, a division in the definition of the term as neutral and negative connotations, that we pointed out while discussing the issue of ideology, is also present for aesthetics. Our account again will follow the negative connotation of term which critically focuses on how aesthetics is created in order to sustain and reproduce relations of domination.

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<sup>130</sup> Stanley Mitchell. The Return of the Aesthetic, Oxford Art Journal. Vol. 14, (No. 1, 1991), p. 92

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Terry Eagleton. “The Ideology of the Aesthetic”, Poetics Today. Vol. 9, (No.2, 1988), p. 328

Again, this critical approach belongs to Karl Marx who particularly dwells on the term need. He asserts that the term need itself is indeed a conditioned reality, thus aesthetics based on these conditioned needs is completely erroneous. Firstly, Marx states the more humans place themselves within the productive process of capitalist system, the more they lost their ability to sense. This problem of losing the sense, originates from the fact that in the capitalist system humans are no longer connects with the nature by their own sensations but by the means of the system.<sup>133</sup> With the increasing instrumentalization of nature and humanity under capitalism, the labour process comes under the sway of an abstract law which dismisses from all corporeal pleasure. In this process, the body's productive power' are rationalized and commodified; the very own body of the human turns into a web of abstractions. Terry Eagleton states that, at the end of this process, "capitalism reduces the bodily fullness of men and women to a crude and abstract simplicity of need."<sup>134</sup> Here, abstract need corresponds to an imaginary appetite which is not originated from the sensual, practical needs of people but originates from values established under the conditions of precise selection and control. This abstract need, with its self-referential definitions, blurs the difference between aesthetic and practical terms and is the very operation of system in order to manipulate the labor. For Marx all kind of personal possession, including money, originates from this process and ensures its existence by means of these constructed abstract needs.<sup>135</sup>

Although Marx discussion of constructed need and alienation is limited on bodily alienation of labour and on fetishism, Terry Eagleton continues this discussion of aesthetics by stating that aesthetization is operationalized by ideology in the other domains of everyday life as well. For him, (bourgeois) aesthetics in fact articulated and disseminated ideals of beauty and behavior projected a particular

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<sup>133</sup> Elaine Scarry. The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985,p.244-247 *referred in* Terry Eagleton. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1992

<sup>134</sup> Terry Eagleton. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1992, p.199

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p.200-201

network of interests, and that asserted a particular hegemony over the realm of daily life. Ideology creates meanings justifying the conditioned realities in a utilitarian way to operate within everyday life, which corresponds to the abstract need of Marx. These meanings are labeled in the names of beauty, reason or necessity which are actually driven for the representation of power and the fixed relations of power.<sup>136</sup>

Eagleton also underlines that ideology puts a remarkable afford to separate itself from aesthetics and calls this strategy as "the aestheticization of daily social life", by which he means "something like the cultivation of manners as if manners were not politics extended into the realm of the quotidian."<sup>137</sup> At the end, the power is domesticated within the daily practice, and it should not be hard to see that ideology, including all kind of politics, can be mystified (to good or ill effect) by being aestheticized, romanticized and materialized. He puts it as follows:

"...the aesthetic signifies what Max Horkheimer has called a kind of "internalized repression, "inserting social power more deeply into the very bodies of those it subjugates, and operating as a supremely effective mode of political hegemony."<sup>138</sup>

Coming to art, Eagleton states that ideology mobilizes again conditioned terms of *beauty* and *function* which drives the work of art, whose production process is manipulated in order to satisfy these mystified needs of ideology. By means of this process, ideology embeds itself within the work of art by mobilizing the own productive processes of it. For the subject of architecture, it would not wrong to say that the social function of buildings is part of this aesthetization process for their role in manipulating the physical function. Social function creates the needs, in other words defines the functional program and thus normalizes the existence of forms and architectural parts representing this ideology. What defines the physical body of the final product is not constructed upon the immediate needs of

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<sup>136</sup> Stanley Mitchell. The Return of the Aesthetic, Oxford Art Journal. Vol. 14, (No. 1, 1991), p. 93

<sup>137</sup> Terry Eagleton. Criticism and Ideology. London: Verso, 1978, p.64-73

<sup>138</sup> Terry Eagleton. The Ideology of the Aesthetic, Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1992, p.281

the users but upon the conditioned needs of the socio-economic context in order to reproduce the relations of power. This process perfectly corresponds to the concept of “aestheticization of daily social life” as well, since the ideology detaches itself completely from its representations by operating consequently the process of mobilization and normalization. By this way, ideology ensures its representation within buildings and yet conceals itself in the production process of architecture.

In order to delineate our framework, we can here summarize our points in this chapter one more time. This chapter focuses on the relationship between ideology and architecture. Following the negative connotation of the term, ideology can be defined the ways of sustaining the hegemony of the dominant class. Since these processes of sustaining hegemony are created through social processes, space, as a condenser and container of social relations is certainly subjected to ideology. Ideology as a social process involves in the production process of ideology, in order to embed itself within the tissue of space. Consequently, architecture is manipulated by ideology as a representational medium in order to sustain the relations of hegemony. The particular operation of ideology in order to create operative tools is defined as the aesthetization of ideology by Terry Eagleton who explains the artistic production as the processes of fulfilling certain needs. Departing from that, he asserts that ideology by defining these needs intervenes and mobilizes the production process of the work of art, which at the end becomes a representative tool of any ideology. Coming to the particular case of architecture, this term need corresponds to the architectural program. As we have mentioned, parts of architectural programs are the concretization of certain social processes. Among these social processes we can also list the processes of ideology seeking for representation, thus the building program includes certain parts representing ideology for certain.

Keeping these points, our aim in the next chapter is to reveal such parts in the architectural programs of the buildings in concern. Here what is intended is to reveal these parts along with the social processes which normalized the existence of these parts within headquarters. Following that, another objective of our study will be to place these social processes within the evolving context of Turkey due to neoliberal changes. At the end of this survey, the aim is to understand to what extent the ideological formation of Neoliberalism is represented by being embedded in the tissue of these architectural entities.

## CHAPTER 4

### PARTY HEADQUARTERS IN TURKEY ERECTED AFTER THE 1980'S

#### 4.1. Introduction

This part of the study is aimed at initiating a discussion about the headquarters of Turkey's major political parties erected after 1980. These buildings constitute a prosperous *milieu* in order to question the advent changes in the representation of ideology, which brought forth a new organization of politics in the neoliberal era. As stated in the previous chapter, these ideological representations require a degree of aesthetization and thus, every work of art - including architecture - can be an ideological tool through this process of aesthetization of ideology based on creating a misconception of need. By redefining this need, ideology manipulates works of art in order to recruit them as representational media. In the case of architecture, "need" corresponds to the function, which fulfills both the physical as well as the social requirements for a work of architecture. While defining these physical and social functions based on misconceptions created by ideology, the work of architecture becomes a means for ideological representation. Due to the fact that the building program, which is shaped according to these needs conditioned by ideology, inexorably becomes a basic medium with which to question how the aesthetization of ideology is brought about through these buildings.

Departing from this critical framework, the main objective of chapter is to form a critical inquiry into these headquarters under two subsections. As stated by Stan Allen, there are two types of practice presented in a building: "material practices",

which stands for the material and instrumental properties of architectural entities, and “hermeneutical practices”, which correspond to the analysis and the critique of the buildings as texts within a language, commentary or other discursive formations of the social sphere.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, Allen emphasizes that there exists no tangible boundaries between these two domains; rather, they are two overlapping spheres flourishing because of each other. From this point of view, the twofold property of architecture applies also to the representation of ideology, which requires a parallel reading for understanding this potential of the work of architecture.

Departing from this statement, under the rubric of the representation of ideology in material practice, this chapter aims to particularly focus on and propose a critical reconsideration of the common elements existent in the building programs of these headquarters. The reason behind this confinement is the fact that these programs constitute a unique combination of different architectural components whose existence is rationalized by social processes. As has been discussed explicitly in the previous chapter, ideology operates throughout the production process of architectural objects by manipulating such social processes in order to ensure the presence of its physical representation within the work of architecture. Thus, it can be stated that fractions of architectural programs are the materializations of certain social processes. Therefore, the first and foremost aim of this chapter is to distinguish the social processes of ideology that are reified within the mentioned building programs, then to map their material representations in the buildings concerned correspondingly. Subsequently, a critical inquiry into these social processes will be formed in order to place them within the overall ideological formation of the political parties.

Besides analyzing particular elements of the buildings, which concretize the processes of ideology, another concern of this study is to question the

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<sup>139</sup> Stan Allen. “[Article by Stan Allen]”, *Assemblage*, No. 41 (Apr., 2000), p. 8

representational potential of these buildings in other discursive formations. Under the title of “The Representation of Ideology in Hermeneutic Practice”, this study will question how these buildings as entities in discursive formations represent and inherit ideology and by what parts of the building program this representation of ideology is ascertained.

As important agents of the social *milieu*, political parties react, adopt and reflect changes in social life, and so do their representational mediums . Accordingly, another objective of this chapter is to discuss to what extent the changes observed through the aforementioned buildings have been initiated by the transformations in Turkey’s political and social *milieux*, which are in fact triggered by neoliberal policies. In order to prove the existence of such causality between these two domains, this chapter will include a parallel reading of the social processes solidified within these party headquarters and Turkey’s transforming social and political context under the sway of Neoliberalism. Moreover, this chapter also aims to reveal how this cause-and-effect relationship between the representation and neoliberal policies is veiled and normalized by mobilizing other operative tools of ideology – such as the media. Finally, by critically revisiting what the new organization of politics has built, this study will both map the changing role of architecture in the process of the representation of political power due to Turkey’s transforming political context, and delineate to what extent worldwide neoliberal policies are responsible for these transformations in such representational media.

#### **4.2. Party Headquarters as Part of the Ideological Discourse of Political Parties**

The reason to choose these headquarters as a study area –questioning the ideological and representational potential of buildings – arises from the particular position of their patronage. Holding a significant position within society for being



a part of political system and as being a source of power in itself demanding power and authority, parties visibly define their ideologies in order to preserve their existence and to strengthen their position in society. For a party, as a feature of democracy, the aim of the process of gaining power corresponds more and more to persuading voters to choose a particular political organization in order to pursue their decision making positions. Anthony Downs in his book “An Economic Theory of Democracy” defines the ideology of parties as the sum of such attempts and states:

...This ideology (of parties) must be both internally consistent and consistent with the party’s concrete policies... In our model, each party designs its ideology to appeal to that combination of social groups which it feels will produce the most support. If its design is accurate, policies chosen for their consistency with the ideology will automatically please the citizens being courted by the party.<sup>140</sup>

As stated above, the success of ideologies for parties lays significantly in the consistency of its content. When it comes to their headquarters, these buildings can be considered as a part of their ideology as long as they are capable of synchronizing with the ideology overall. At this point, it can be fairly stated that parties intervene in the production process of architecture in order to ensure the compatibility of the headquarters with the general ideology.

#### **4.3. Buildings on Focus: Party Headquarters in Turkey Erected After 1980**

As mentioned earlier, the buildings concerned mark a newly emerging archetype. This statement originates from the idea that these buildings propose a new pattern regarding the satisfaction of the spatial requirement of parties. That is to say, these buildings concretize a new tendency of commissioning a building rather than renting one in order to satisfy accommodation needs. Nevertheless, by highlighting other cases, the assertion that these headquarters are the only

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<sup>140</sup> Anthony Downs. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper, 1957, p.102

buildings erected by political parties can be dismissed. One particular case is the *Halkevleri* (People's houses) erected by the CHP in several cities during early years of the Turkish republic.<sup>141</sup> However, it should be kept in mind that these *Halkevleri* belong to the period of single-party rule, in which the CHP was not just a political organization but was the representative power of the state.<sup>142</sup> These buildings' role was to represent the state rather than accommodate the party.

The headquarters erected by Turkey's political parties after the 1980s were: the ANAP building, designed by the Tekeli-Sisa Architectural Partnership and completed in 1989; the MHP building, designed by Ahmet Vefik Alp and completed in 2004; the CHP building, designed by Kadri Atabaş and completed in 2006; and the AKP building, designed by Can Gököğuz and completed in 2007.

Before starting the discussion on the ideological potential of these buildings, it is crucial to emphasize the fact that the aim of the chapter is neither to deliver quantitative data on the buildings themselves nor is it to list their architectural programs in detail; but to concentrate on particular elements within their programs that are believed to have potential in representing an ideology.

Similarly, the study does not intend to label these buildings with certain architectural styles. The reason why this study refrains from scrutinizing the issue of style is the fact that the physical body of a work of architecture, or the form, cannot be regarded as purely ideological. Indeed, Neil Leach states in his article "Architecture or Revolution?" that none of the architectural forms or styles – or

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<sup>141</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), pp.98

<sup>142</sup> *Between the years of 1938- 1946, the establishment of new parties was prohibited. During this period, political organizations were founded as associations.*

collection of architectural forms – can be associated with a single ideology.<sup>143</sup> In order to explicate his assertion, Leach highlights how different political movements have manipulated classical architecture in different eras. Leach states classical architecture in ancient Greece was utilized to symbolize democracy. Yet in 1930s Italy, classical architecture was employed to symbolize the hegemony of the single-handed power of Mussolini and the fascist regime. As far as these examples are concerned, it is obvious that the ideological potential of a work of architecture does not originate purely from its physical body.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, it is impossible to assert that styles are shaped only by ideologically driven decisions. In other words, neither buildings nor their parts are intrinsically ideological; rather, they gain an ideological content only when they are used in order to convey, veil or unveil ideology. Considering these ideas, what the following sections aim at is neither to list material properties nor to delineate hermeneutical practices, but to decipher how and by what means these two are utilized for the promulgation of ideology.

#### **4.3.1. The Representation of Ideology in Material Practice: Common Elements within the Headquarters**

##### **4.3.1.1. Parts for the Private Use of the Leader**

To begin with, the parts of the building for the private use of the party will be questioned as the first common element in the building programs of these headquarters. Even though political parties are intrinsic features of democracy – which is based on the fact that all members of a society (its citizens) have equal access to power – there is still a great deal of emphasis on the party leader. It has been previously discussed by many that within the complex organization of today's society, parties empower “individual political figures at the expense of the

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<sup>143</sup> Neil Leach. “Architecture or Revolution?”, Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe. Ed. Neil Leach, London and New York: Routledge, 1999, p.112

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. p.114

authority of the parties within which these figures operate, as the diverse social groups tend to aggregate around a single political leader”.<sup>145</sup>

Certainly, this central role of party leaders is by no means new, but it could be claimed that the contemporary exaggerated emphasis on the leaders of Turkish political parties is the result of changes in the sphere of culture brought on by neoliberal policies. As mentioned in the previous chapter, under the influence of Neoliberalism, cultural and social structures become more and more complex, creating splintered social sub-classes. Once based on class-consciousness and solidarity, the new emerging structure of society is now based on fragmentation and individualism.<sup>146</sup> Within this new structure of a society where individuality and self-expression are exalted, people tend to gather around leaders who are imbued with identities composed of easily consumable images. Moreover, in a society whose critical reasoning is being replaced by cultural values, the electorate shows a tendency to vacillate. In this regard, fostering the image of the leader and organizing the party’s administration around this person can be redefined as an attempt by parties to develop a flexible way to communicate with their support base. It is flexible since this image of the leader is able to absorb all cultural values that the public is prone to and is able to quickly transform itself according to these changing tendencies.

At the core is that all these attempts by parties aim to build up “charismatic grounds”, which are explicitly explained in the previous chapter in reference to Thompson. These grounds are established by “appealing to the exceptional character of an individual person who exercises the authority”. The main purpose of creating these grounds is to mobilize the strategy of unification, which aims to “construct a form of unity which embraces individuals for a collective identity,

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<sup>145</sup> “Introduction”, Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy : an international study of innovations in electoral campaigning and their consequences, ed. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, Westport, Conn. : Praeger, 1996, p.10

<sup>146</sup> Mark Gottdiener. The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments. Cambridge: Westview Press, 2001, p. 69

irrespective of the differences and divisions that may separate them”. As mentioned, this strategy is utilized by the operative way of legitimization, which sustains the relations of power by representing them as “legitimate and worthy of support”.<sup>147</sup> Referring to the particular example of parties, their aim to mobilize the operative way of legitimization is to normalize and strengthen their political orientation. Yet, due to the aforementioned facts, in the current situation, this construct is forced to be based on such charismatic grounds.

When it comes to Turkey, legalization was a much more problematic issue for political parties. In fact, this was considered to be the major crisis in politics during the period that started with the *coup d'etat* in 1980. As discussed in the previous chapter, Korkut Boratav contends that this interruption of democracy has initiated a premeditated sequence of operations that aim to demolish social classes and class-consciousness for the sake of neoliberal policies.<sup>148</sup> The fact that Turkey experienced such interruptions in democracy several times before the 1980 coup has aggravated this problem in the continuity and consistency of political structures. As Nuran Yıldız explains, within this social structure, Turkey’s political parties were not able to maintain a definite ideological ground based on mainstream political orientations<sup>149</sup> and to some extent indirectly focused the definition of their organizations around the chairman.<sup>150 - 151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> for further information see 3.2.2.1

<sup>148</sup> Korkut Boratav. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2005*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007, pp. 150-152

<sup>149</sup> Nuran Yıldız. *Türkiye’de Siyasetin Yeni Biçimi: Liderler, İmajlar, Medya*. Ankara: Phoenix, 2002, p. 89-90

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. p. 95

<sup>151</sup> Richard Sennett also elaborates the emphasis on leadership by considering it as a created identity. He claims that leaders are “stars” substituting only the representation of power but not the source of power, which in fact is under the possession of other groups (sponsors of political parties). These groups actually tend to “create” stars (leaders in this case) in order to disconnect themselves from the representation of power, and moreover, this focus on a “star” enables them to control the political organizations from this single intervention point. See Richard Sennett. *Otorite*, translated by Kamil Durand (originally published in English as “Authority”) İstanbul: Ayrıntı, pp. 337-342

A parallel emphasis on the party leader can be noticed through their headquarters, both in spatial and representational terms. As we will discuss, all buildings include visually distinguishable architectural sections that serve only for the private use of the leader and his immediate *entourage*. In fact, other architectural parts of the building are designed in order to ensure the supremacy of leaders within the buildings.

In the ANAP's headquarters, the first building in the list to be finished, there is a separate entrance and a private office located on the top floor for the leader of the party. These private spaces are designed to project out, disturbing the clear-cut form of the building. By means of this protrusion from the main body, these sections symbolize the leader's distinct and elevated position (Figure 4.1).



**Figure 4.1:** ANAP headquarters: presidential chambers projecting from the main body of the building

In the subsequent headquarters, sections serving the chairman are far more noticeable, even exaggerated. In the CHP building, a wide area of the 12<sup>th</sup> floor is occupied by the party leader's private spaces. The rest of the floor has the party's plenum hall and a press conference room, both of which can be accessed directly

from the leader's private office. Furthermore, there is a private entrance to the building from a closed parking area and a private lift only for the use of the leader.

In the case of the AKP building, the presidential spaces occupy the top three floors, and similar to the CHP building, there is a private lift. Lastly, the most dramatic part of the building for the exclusive use of the leader is the entrance gate, with a public entrance elsewhere in the building. The architect of the building, Can Gököğuz, states that the reason why there are two entrances is simply for security and utilitarian purposes.<sup>152</sup> However, it can be stated that designing this gate as a separate architectural component, which dominates the front elevation of the building on an enormous scale, is an attempt to materialize the dominant role of the leader (Figure 4.2).



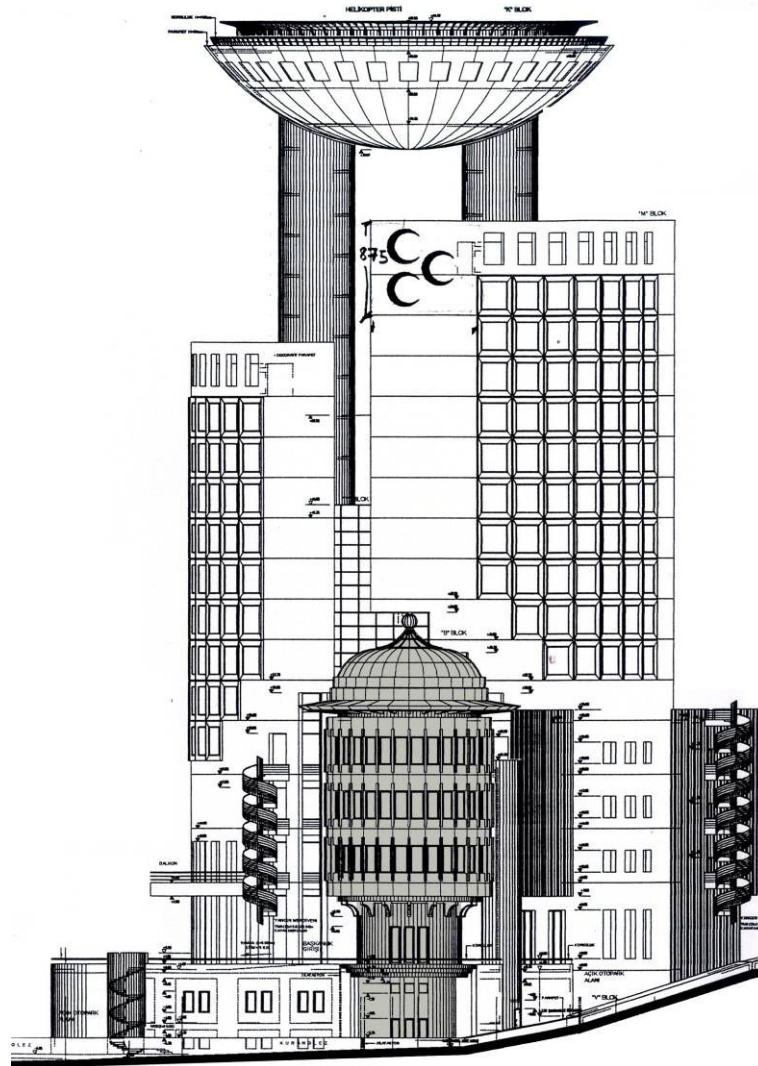
**Figure 4.2:** AKP headquarters: the entrance emphasizing the presidential floors

In the MHP's headquarters, the party leader's quarters are in a separate presidential block projecting from the main part of the building, which can only

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<sup>152</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), pp. 93

be reached by bridges. This five-storey block houses, from bottom to top, the VIP entrance hall, the VIP foyer, the party leader's private chambers and the private dining hall. Similar to the other headquarters, there is a private lift connecting these spaces to the VIP entrance and to a closed parking area (Figure 4.3-4.4).



**Figure 4.3:** MHP headquarters elevation drawing: presidential block in the middle (highlighted in grey) and the heliport placed above the atrium

Evidently, these architectural sections underline the position of the leader within these organizations and help political parties to strengthen the image of their leaders in the eyes of the electorate. As it has been discussed, parties need strong



images of their leaders in order to legitimize their political orientations. Apart from that, it can be concluded that these architectural elements are concrete manifestations of the hegemony of the leader, where the operative tool of legitimization is employed.

Moreover, these parts also constitute examples of the execution of the operative way of dissimulation, which is based on “establishing and sustaining a relationship of domination by being concealed, denied or obscured, or by being represented in a way which deflects attention from or glosses over existing relationships or processes.”<sup>153</sup> Particularly, what is employed within these presidential sections is the strategy of displacement, which is defined as “to refer to one object or individual is used to refer to another, and thereby the positive or negative connotations of the term are transferred to the other object or individual.”<sup>154</sup>

A concrete example of dissimulation can be seen in the MHP building. The architect, Ahmet Vefik Alp, states that originated from the conjecture of Turkey’s political life, there is a dominance of the leaders in parties in which they were once treated as “emperors”.<sup>155</sup> In accord with Alp’s point of view, the presidential block of MHP headquarters resembles a sultan’s *loggia*. A similar attempt can be seen in fascist-era in Italy, where Mussolini himself demanded that most public buildings feature a speaking platform, like the papal benediction *loggia* in St. Peter’s Church in the Vatican. In that regard, Mussolini attempted to make his power equivalent to the Pope by internalizing the gesture of the building.<sup>156</sup> Similarly, the intention in the MHP building is not only to distinguish the

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<sup>153</sup> For further information see 3.2.2.2.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. “Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP”, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Nove. 2008), pp. 99

<sup>156</sup> Dennis P. Doordan. “The Political Content in Italian Architecture during the Fascist Era”, *Art Journal*, (Sum. 1983), pp. 121-131

chairperson from the rest of the party members but is also to compare the chairperson's power with that of a sultan, albeit symbolically (Figure 4.3-4.4).



**Figure 4.4:** MHP headquarters: view from Konya road, the presidential block on the left

Finally, it can be stated that the architectural features only serving the chairman – such as a private entrances and lifts connecting this entrance to the presidential floor as well as to other parts of the building – are also subjected to and manipulated by other operative tools of ideology. The operations of ideology mobilizing these architectural entities – especially the ones related to the circulation of the building – will be looked at under the rubric of accessibility.

#### **4.3.1.2. Museums**

Another common element in these building's program is the inclusion of a museum. In the ANAP building, there is a museum located on the mezzanine floor of the main atrium (Figure 4.5), whereas in the MHP building, the museum

is part of the main atrium on the ground floor. Lastly, in the CHP building, the museum was designed as a detached block situated next to the main entrance (Figure 4.6).



**Figure 4.5:** The ANAP Headquarters' Museum



**Figure 4.6:** CHP Headquarters: museum block on the right-hand side next to the main entrance

Museums are considered as distinct architectural entities due to their potential to drive particular social practices. More explicitly, they are not repositories or showcases but are didactic spaces for indoctrination. As underlined by many

scholars, collecting and exhibiting artifacts is an expression of a definite consciousness, and because of that, from the nineteenth century onward, museums were used as major instruments for orienting moral and aesthetic values. In other words, by selecting and introducing the artifacts, museums define history.<sup>157</sup>

In this regard, the inclusion of a museum within a party's headquarters clearly highlights their urge to mobilize this potential to create a history. As discussed earlier, a major challenge for Turkey's political parties in the neoliberal period is establishing the grounds of their political organizations. To overcome this problem of legalization, as Thompson states, ideological formations also specify *rational backgrounds* that enable them to define their existence as the natural result of conjuncture. Particularly, the strategy of rationalization is used to define such historic grounds, by "creating a chain of reasoning in order to persuade the audience that the present is the inevitable outcome of social processes".<sup>158</sup> As a result, parties seeking the approval for their existence mobilize the operative way of legitimization in order to define the background of their political orientation, which helps them establish a mutual empathy with their supporters by accentuating a shared history and common destiny. Returning to our case, it can be stated that the reason to include these spaces in headquarters is to define such rational backgrounds that accommodate the parties with affirmation.

In order to understand how this legalization is executed through the medium of a museum, we shall take a closer look at the museum in the CHP building. In the party declaration, the CHP claims that the history of party is the history of the republic, thus defining the starting point of its history as the inception of the republic.<sup>159</sup> In parallel, the museum covers a clear-cut time line starting from that

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<sup>157</sup> Zeynep Kezer. "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey", *People, Power, Places*. Ed. Sally McMurry and Annmarie Adams, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000, p. 107

<sup>158</sup> For further information see 3.2.2.1.

<sup>159</sup> CHP Program 2008. *CHP Official Web Site*, accessed on 24.06.2009.  
<<http://www.chp.org.tr/Files/chpprogram.indd.pdf>>

date. In addition to the temporal implementations of ideology, how the artifacts in the museum are introduced is another domain subject to the processes of ideology. To be more specific, there is distinct tendency to limit the information in descriptive texts, especially in those belonging to the important figures in Turkish history, such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the republic of Turkey and İsmet İnönü, who also had a significant role in the republic's foundation. What is highlighted in the texts is not their accomplishments related to the republic, but their involvements in the party. (Figure 4.7) By the exclusion of artifacts and the organization of information, the party associates its history with the history of republic and more significantly underscores its proposition that it is the founder of the republic.



**Figure 4.7:** CHP Headquarters: museum

#### **4.3.1.3. Media Centers**

Party headquarters' media centers are also worth noting. They include spaces and technical facilities dedicated to broadcasting and to some extent to publishing. In the MHP's headquarters, the press center is equipped with extensive technical facilities, including live broadcasting and simultaneous translation, and there is

also a private entrance for the members of the press. Moreover, this center is directly connected to the presidential block.

The CHP's headquarters houses a similar press center. The building also includes two separate press conference rooms located on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> floors. The press conference room on the 12<sup>th</sup> floor is connected directly to the plenum hall and the private chambers of the party leader.

In the AKP's headquarters there is different set up for the media. The building has a media center used by the organization themselves in order to monitor print and visual media. It is in this center that the party also produces its own print and visual communiqués, such as party-political broadcasts, pamphlets and flyers. Other than the media center, the building includes a hall on the ground floor for members of the press, which was requested by the leader of the party.<sup>160</sup>

As far as these sections are concerned, the desire to accommodate the media is evident. This desire is relates to the particular role of the media in the neoliberal period. As discussed in the previous chapter in detail, the media has a role that extends beyond simply communicating news; rather, the means of communication has evolved into a tool for sustaining and securing the relationships of dominance. As derived in the previous chapter from Guy Debord's statements in "The Society of Spectacle", in the current social organization, people's understanding of their surroundings is not based on physical experience but on perception, which therefore can be manipulated by the media. This enables culture to construct its realities and thus to promote ideologies to secure the relationships of dominance.

Similarly for political parties, the media is a key feature for their acquaintance, as well as for the consistency of their discursive formations. In politics, Swanson and

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<sup>160</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), pp.93

Mancini underlined the increasing potential of the mass media. They claim that it has become “another independent source of power with its own economic and political logic.” The media has become an indispensable part of political practice.

As a consequence of this requirement and the dependency on the media, political parties are compelled to house these extensively equipped media centers, which is clearly underlined when these buildings are introduced to the public. The pamphlets, advertorials and periodicals these media centers produce are augmented by other introductory documents about the achievements of the party and its organization. Due to the variety of this output, it is very difficult to list every example in which the media was mobilized by the operative tools of ideology.

Nevertheless, in order to exemplify this potential, it is prudent to highlight some of the particular processes that legitimize the properties of the headquarters. The controlled access and its introduction to the public is a very virile area to demonstrate such operations of ideology where the tool of dissimulation is mobilized by operating the strategy of “euphemization”. This strategy can be defined as the process of “describing or redescribing actions, institutions, or social relationships in terms that elicit a positive valuation,” mostly executed by means of mass communication tools, such as speeches, the written documents printed by the party or news content generated by the media.<sup>161</sup> Coming to the case in hand, as mentioned before, these buildings offer highly controlled circulation and accessibility due to the need for security. On the other hand, we can particularly point out a distinct tendency in the publicity pamphlets and periodicals issued by the party. All these media emphasize the system regulating the circulation within the building as advancements and thus introduce the headquarters as “smart buildings”. They emphasize the highly controlled security centers, which are used

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<sup>161</sup> *For further information see 3.2.2.2.*

to organize the level of access for employees as well as to plot their timetables.<sup>162</sup> Hereby operating this strategy of euphemization, the controlled and mostly restricted access in headquarters is normalized by underlining the need for security and the systems used to regulate circulation within the building are introduced as advancements.

#### **4.3.1.4. Educational Blocks:**

Another section of party headquarters that requires attention is the educational blocks. In the MHP building there is a separate block for educational activities situated next to the main entrance of the building. In the CHP and AKP buildings, there are lecture rooms also given over to educational activities.

Parties rationalize their urge to include these spaces as a need “to navigate the members of the party” in the wide field of politics and to establish more “conscious individuals and definite political orientations.”<sup>163</sup> Within these statements, two points can be questioned in order to shed light on the reason why these educational facilities are included in the building scheme in the first place.

At the outset, it could be claimed that educating the members of the party is a newly emerging need, brought about by changes in the people’s perception of politics. One of the main aims of the changes offered by Neoliberalism in the spheres of culture and politics is to demolish solidarity and political consciousness that were considered to be an obstacle or inflexible, as discussed earlier while visiting Harvey’s points. The result of these attempts is a depoliticized society in which politics is not considered to be a social activity; rather, it is dismissed as a

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<sup>162</sup> “Genel Başkan Baykal CHP Genel Merkezine Emeği Geçenlere Kokteyl Verdi”, CHP Official Web Site. accessed on 11.06.2009.

<[http://www.chp.org.tr/index.php?module=news&page=readmore&news\\_id=3068&sid=659fca06ae77d6cb328ba5cc21546d40](http://www.chp.org.tr/index.php?module=news&page=readmore&news_id=3068&sid=659fca06ae77d6cb328ba5cc21546d40)>

“Akıllı bina’ da buluşular”, Tüm Gazeteler . accessed on 12.06.2009.

<<http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=1588477>>

<sup>163</sup> “Hakkımızda/Genel ” Academy of Politics . accessed on 20.04.2009.

<<http://www.siyasetakademisi.org/hakkimizda> >



professional occupation. While these changes had led to an estrangement from politics and created a society ignorant of its political potential – which in fact diminishes criticism – at the same time they necessitated a degree of education for political involvement.<sup>164</sup> Thus, this need of educating party members can be considered as an attempt by parties to compensate for this missing intellectual base in their members.

Although the MHP, CHP and AKP buildings house sections dedicated specifically to education, the only party that has an educational organization with a concrete curriculum is the AKP. The curriculum also points to another reason why these educational facilities are located within party headquarters. Called *Siyaset Akademisi* (the Academy of Politics), this organization offers seasonal educational camps that focus on a variety of political issues. The content of the curriculum is grouped around three main areas: theoretical courses on current political issues, lectures and courses on self-improvement.<sup>165</sup> As discussed before, self-improvement has become culturally popular under neoliberal policies, which underline the importance of the individual and entrepreneurialism. This social structure, which glorifies self-development, is the reason why the party includes this kind of course in its curriculum. These two issues – the estrangement from politics necessitating the education of party members and the emphasis on self-improvement – originate from and are served by neoliberal policies. Including educational spaces inside party headquarters concretizes these attempts.

#### **4.3.1.5. Women’s Branches**

Women are represented as separate organizations in the buildings and party structures, and are called “Women’s Branches” in all parties concerned. At first glance, this subgroup in the party has the mandate of protecting women’s rights in

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<sup>164</sup> *The topic of professionalization of politics will be dealt in the rubric of “office blocks” of this chapter in detail.*

<sup>165</sup>“Eğitim Programları/ Genel Siyaset”, *Academy of Politics* . accessed on 20.04.2009.  
<<http://www.siyasetakademisi.org/programlar/detay.aspx>>

both the labor market and in social life, which are largely neglected in Turkey's male-dominated society. (The prevalent acceptance of a gender inequality is rooted in essentialist notions about the inherent biological differences between men and women, from which all kinds of negative social consequences follow.) Indeed, rather than protecting women, women's branches sanction the dominant political role of men in public and private. In the particular case of politics, the separation of women from the main administrative system of the party tacitly implies male hegemony as well as sidelines the "problem" of women from the main agenda.

But this emphasis on women's rights is not particular to Turkey, and it could be claimed that the transformation of the role of women in politics is in parallel with other neoliberal policies that attempt to redraw class and social barriers as well. As David Harvey sets forth, in the neoliberal period the main ground of this male-female division is to diminish the solidarity of the working classes by proposing another fracture axis.<sup>166</sup> In other words, it can be stated that male-female separation is used by the operative way of fragmentation. Indeed, by housing spaces such as meeting rooms for women's branches, party headquarters demonstrate this tool of ideology with a concrete representation.

#### **4.3.1.6. Office Blocks**

Another feature worth noting in these party headquarters is the crowded office blocks, insomuch as these huge stacks of offices are considered to be one of the significant reasons for erecting a headquarters in the first place. These offices spaces dominate the main mass of the ANAP, CHP and AKP buildings, while in the MHP's headquarters there are three blocks surrounding the atria (called M, H and P blocks) that are used for offices.

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<sup>166</sup> David Harvey. A Brief History of Neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 50

This newly arising requirement for large amounts of space obviously originates from the need of parties to institutionalize, which requires a crowded bureaucracy and more complicated organizational schemes. However, the expansion of offices and their service spaces marks other changes in the nature of politics as well.

What should be underscored here that in the current social organization, political activity is no longer a part-time public service that can be conducted alongside the activities of private life. Now political participation requires a full-time commitment to political life. In other words, politics is becoming professionalized more and more. That is to say, ordinary citizens no longer consider public service to be a short-term voluntary responsibility; instead they see it as having evolved into an elite recruitment. Formerly, party headquarters represented a gathering place for likeminded individuals and activists. But in the latter case, headquarters have become administrative centers for professionalized politics.<sup>167</sup>

At this point, it would be wise to suggest that the reason for the changes in the definition of political participation is outside the scope of this study. In short however, besides this need for institutionalization, the prevalence of professionals in party politics can be based on parties' leader-oriented organization. For the sake of the leader's hegemony, parties find it difficult to tolerate other charismatic figures with distinct political visions, which could undermine the power of the leader. Instead they recruit experts to serve the party professionally rather than recruiting activists to administer the party's headquarters and who feel a political responsibility to assist the leader.<sup>168</sup> As far as their daily activities are concerned, we can say that these professionals inhabit the buildings on an occupations basis, which in the end necessitates the inclusion of other service spaces satisfying their

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<sup>167</sup> Juan J. Linz. Parties in Contemporary Democracies, Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges, ed. Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montéro, and Juan J. Linz. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 303-306

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. p. 304

day-to-day needs in the building scheme as well. One can highlight the busy cafeterias, cafes, restaurant, hairdressers and drycleaners as examples of such service spaces. By way of a coda, one can assert this section of inhabitants is composed of experts, and the changing pattern of political participation augments the aforementioned need for office space as well as for various service spaces within party headquarters.

#### **4.3.2. The Representation of Ideology in Hermeneutic Practice within Headquarters**

In the previous section of this chapter, the ideological potential of the buildings concerned is questioned by critically revisiting their construction programs. However, as the introduction to this chapter, there are two types of practices present within the production process of architectural entities: physical and hermeneutical. Hermeneutical practices can be described as attempts to define the meaning of the building, which in fact represents this physical entity within other discursive fields. In other words, it can be contended that hermeneutical practices include the interpretation of the physical existence of the work of architecture that contribute to what is represented within the architecture's materiality.

Further to this point, Frederic Jameson also contends that architectural objects inherit a meaning contextualized by society, in other words, created by hermeneutical practices.<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, it is crucial to underline that *meaning* in this context does not correspond to the semantic reading of signs associated within the architectural object but includes questioning of the social and political contexts determinant in the creation process of the physical entity. Besides, the questioning of contextual conditioning is important because this framework is also the very same environment in which people (as users or readers) experience and understand these buildings and construct their conceptions about them.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Frederic Jameson, "Is Space Political?" , *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Ed. Neil Leach, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 192-205

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 258-259

Likewise, ideology is certainly inherited within this meaning in different discursive formations. Thus, the following section of this study focuses on such meanings within certain contexts in order to question their potential to inherit ideology.

#### 4.3.2.1. Style

The first point to question in the potential ideological representation of the hermeneutical practices is the style of these buildings. The aim in questioning these buildings' styles is not to ascribe them certain architectural labels, where the style stands for a definite architectural genre. On the other hand, style can be redefined as a collection of different architectural parts with various representational potentials. From this idea, it can be asserted that what is ideological in the issue of style is not embedded in the definite genre; rather, ideology is implanted in the consciousness displayed when choosing parts that comprise the style, similar to the building program where the ideology is inherited in the normalization of certain architectural sections. Consequently, the aim is to question this consciousness present in decisions.

As mentioned, the first building is the ANAP's headquarters completed in 1989. The ANAP was the first democratically elected party after the 1980 coup. In its literature, the party underlines the economic problems of Turkey and states that, regardless of social class and beliefs, economic difficulties are common to all. The party criticizes what it sees as the former political agencies responsible for economic failure and civil unrest. The party introduced itself as a new force for economic development, proposing that social welfare can only be achieved by economic development.<sup>171</sup> By using economics as a unifying factor in a fragmented and highly individualized society, the ANAP garnered a wide electoral base.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, the building does not include any direct visual

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<sup>171</sup> ANAP Program 2008. [ANAVATAN Official Web Site](http://anavatan.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=35), accessed on 24.06.2009.

<[http://anavatan.org.tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=35](http://anavatan.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=35)>

<sup>172</sup> Ali Akay. *Kapitalizm ve Pop Kültür*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2002, p.49

reference to a distinct social class or belief system. However, the architect's intention to use Ankara stone cladding points out the fact that the party still aligns itself with Ankara and thus to Turkey's political establishment (Figures 4.8 and 4.9).<sup>173</sup>



**Figure 4.8:** ANAP Headquarters: view towards the main entrance



**Figure 4.9:** ANAP Headquarters: rearview

<sup>173</sup> "Anavatan Party Headquarters, Ankara, Turkey", Tekeli-Sisa Architecture Partnership, accessed on 20.06.2009.  
<[http://www.tekelisisa.com/y\\_ANAP/sunum.html](http://www.tekelisisa.com/y_ANAP/sunum.html)>

Moreover, one of the building's aims is to concretize the new reference system of the party. The most concrete example of this is the hexagonal-shaped main hall and its concrete and glass-frame cover. The hall's structure is designed to resemble a honeycomb, which is a feature of the party's emblem. However, this example will be discussed at the end of this section again, while questioning the ephemerality of the associations between form and ideology.

On the other hand, the MHP structures its ideology around the idea of "Turkishness" with particular reference to historic Turkish culture in central Asia.<sup>174</sup> The architect, Ahmet Vefik Alp, defines the building as an attempt to underline the influence of Turkish culture within the creation process and as a modern interpretation of the *Türk otağı* (a kind of circular tent) where the members of the party gather.<sup>175</sup> This tent motif is taken up by the main atrium, with a single entrance, and the office blocks situated around it. (Figure 4.12-4.13)<sup>176</sup> Another figurative representation in the building can be observed in the position and form of the office blocks. The architect also asserts that the office blocks situated around the atrium (called M, H and P blocks) are intended to represent the three crescents in the party emblem (Figure 4.10).<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> MHP Program 2008. MHP Official Web Site, accessed on 24.06.2009.

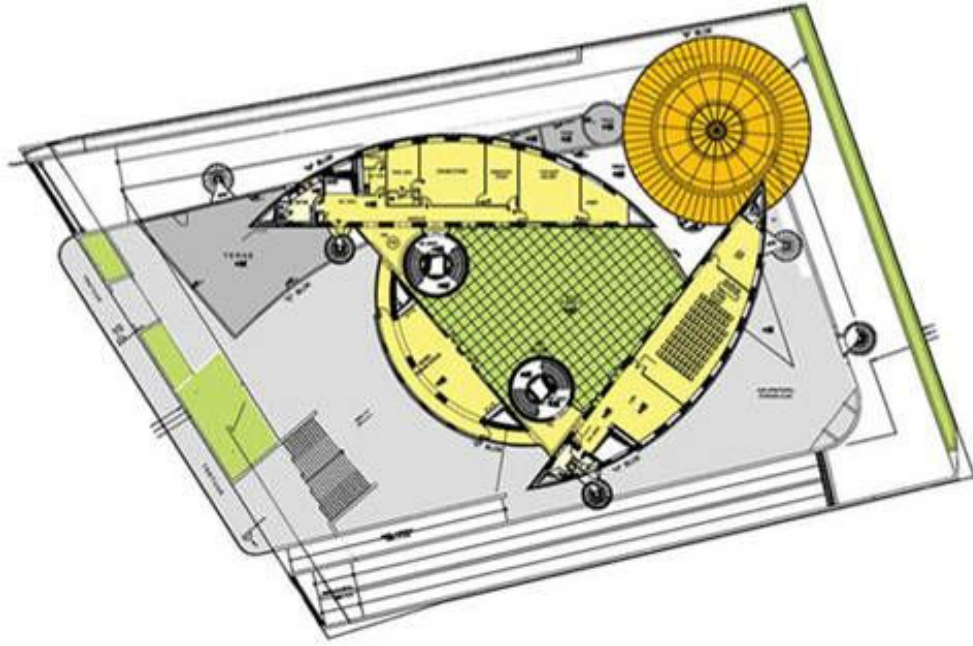
<[http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp\\_parti\\_programi.php](http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp_parti_programi.php)>

<sup>175</sup> "Siyasi Parti Genel Merkez Binası Ankara, Türkiye" ALP Mimarlar, accessed on 24.06.2009.

<[http://www.alparchitects.com.tr/proje\\_detay.asp?id=3](http://www.alparchitects.com.tr/proje_detay.asp?id=3)>

<sup>176</sup> Kemal Akdere (The Former Construction Supervisor of MHP Headquarters and Current Manager of Technical Affairs). Personal Interview. 05.01.2008

<sup>177</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", Arredamento Mimarlık, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), pp.99



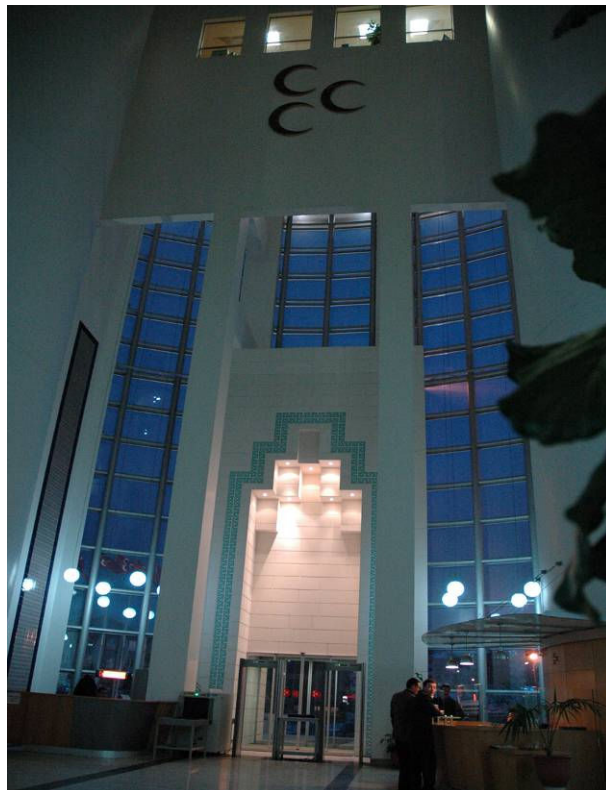
**Figure 4.10:** MHP Headquarters: ground floor plan showing three office blocks (M, H and P blocks) representing the crescents in the party emblem, the presidential block on upper-right corner

The MHP building is distinct in its extensive use of ornaments and symbols originating from before the republican, especially from the Seljukid and the Ottoman period.<sup>178</sup> The main entrance resembles a Seljukid entrance and the presidential block is similar to a sultan's *loggia*, as mentioned earlier (Figure 4.11, 4.3 and 4.4). Kenneth Frampton has discussed this extensively in his book "Modern Architecture". Frampton claims that the artistic abstraction in a work of architecture can cause communication problems. Especially the abstract, pure and non-historic forms of the modern movement were accused of failing in the representation of historic references. Frampton highlights the extensive use of

<sup>178</sup> Neşe Gurallar and Esin Boyacıoğlu state that the use of the Seljukid and Ottoman references in the MHP building, which claims ideological roots in Central Asian Turkish culture, highlights confusion in the party's ideology. However, this tendency can be considered as an obligation, due to lack of such references belonging to this former period. In other words, the nomadic Turks in Central Asia obviously produced no permanent works of architecture, and therefore no architectural style, which necessitates the invention faux Seljukid and Ottoman references in the building. For the statements of Neşe Gurallar and Esin Boyacıoğlu see Neşe Gurallar and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Üç Parti-Üç Bina Farklı Siyasi Kimliklerin Başkent Ankara'da Temsili" in *Türkiye'de tasarım tarihi ve söylemi : Sunumlar 1*. İzmir : İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar ve Tasarım Fakültesi, 2006, pp. 94



ornamentation within the New Tradition in Italy to create a referential system.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, unlike the other headquarters, the over-use of the party emblem on facades and throughout the MHP building can be regarded as an attempt to include historic references, which constitutes an important foundation of the party's ideology. More explicitly, in the MHP building the modern stands for the contemporary embodiment of the party and the Ottoman and Seljukid motifs refer to the imperial history and power of the old regime, heralding the party as a continuation of the old empire.



**Figure 4.11:** MHP Headquarters: the main entrance resembling a Seljukid entrance

However, this tendency to include a symbolic reference system does not only apply to the representation of the historic background of the party, but can also be seen in the attitude of the party on contemporary issues. In order to exemplify this,

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<sup>179</sup> Kenneth Frampton. Modern Architecture: A Critical History, London: Thames and Hudson 1992,p.210

one can mention the heliport placed on two huge pillars located above the main section of the building. It could be claimed that the intention to including this exaggerated structure is to symbolically represent the esteem of party in terms of technology and development.

Related to the CHP building, the party asked the architect to design a building capable of representing the party's reformist attitude. In order to convey this idea, the party gave the architect a series of principles to be represented by the building. According to these principles, the building should be open and transparent, sensitive to ecology and represent the social democracy and the identity of the CHP. Here the issue of the identity of CHP begs for clarification, which can be found in the party's literature. The CHP defines itself as "the continuation of the group who conducted the war of independence".<sup>180</sup> It claims that the history of CHP is synonymous with the history of the republic, and by doing so it limits its history to the beginning of the republic, refuting the former movements in the history of Turks. There is a great deal of emphasis on the party's reformism, announcing itself as the defender of Atatürk's reforms and of modern Turkey.<sup>181</sup>

As a result, the building was designed to represent these properties. According to the architect, Kadri Atabaş, the CHP building represents transparency by using non-reflective glass cladding. By including these glass sections, Atabaş's aim was to establish a relationship between the people and the party. Ecologically, the building attempts to use less energy and water, with both passive control systems and recycling. Lastly, related to the reformist concept of the building, it could be stated that the urge of the party to have a technological headquarters can be explained as an attempt to emphasize the reformist ideology of CHP. Moreover, the association of the CHP with the republican period is also another point that is concretized in the building by excluding any reference to the pre-republican area.

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<sup>180</sup> CHP Program 2008. CHP Official Web Site, accessed on 24.06.2009.

<<http://www.chp.org.tr/Files/chpprogram.indd.pdf>>

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

Instead, Atabaş states that by using Ankara Stone, the building aims to foster the relationship of the party with Ankara, ergo with the republic, in accord with the statements in the party program (Figure 4.12).<sup>182</sup>



**Figure 4.12:** CHP Headquarters

Another parallel relationship between the party program and its headquarters applies to the AKP. Generally, their program stresses two main ideas that define the political organization of the party. On one hand, unlike the programs of other parties, it stresses international regulations and norms, such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the Paris Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. While on the other hand, it represents a conservative approach in terms of social issues. Anatolia’s historical background

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<sup>182</sup> “Halk” Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Genel Merkezi Yayın Organı, vol. 60, p.2. *The building was introduced as a “modern building” representing the approach of the party.*

is cited as one of the origins of the party.<sup>183</sup> A prevailing idea in the party's program is democracy, which they consider to be "the most valuable heritage of human culture".<sup>184</sup>

At the same time, the main section of the building is formed by a clear rectangle resembling an ancient Greek temple, a comparison that is reinforced by a colonnade on ground level.<sup>185</sup> This gesture can be considered to be an attempt by the party to emphasize its self-confessed interest in democracy by referring to ancient Greece, which is widely held to be the origin of democracy. And by applying universally recognized aesthetics, the party aims to represent itself as a part of this universality. However, this block is ornamented with an eight-sided star, which is an ornament with religious connotations found on buildings of the Seljukid period. The Seljukid period is evoked again by the projecting lead-clad part of the roof with a lightning conductor placed on top of it, which resembles an *alem* (the ornamental metal finial on the domes of mosques, tombs or minarets).<sup>186</sup> By including elements with different cultural reference points, the party attempts to represent its own hybrid reference system with the building. (Figures 4.13 and 4.2)

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<sup>183</sup> AKP Program. [AKP Official Web Site](http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html), accessed on 24.06.2009.

<<http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html>>

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> H. Günseli Demirkol. "Erk ve Mimarlık İlişkileri Açısından Parti Merkez Binaları" 20<sup>th</sup> International Building And Life Congress, Power And Architecture.

<sup>186</sup> *More interestingly, the president of the party defined the headquarters as a contemporary example of Seljukid architecture; see "AKP'nin yeni genel merkezi basına tanıtıldı" accessed on 12.06.2009. <http://www.flasgazetesi.com.tr/haberDetayMiddle.asp?ID=27>*



**Figure 4.13:** AKP Headquarters

Finally, it should be emphasized that the representation of ideology by means of symbolic contraction is highly ephemeral. For instance (as mentioned above) the hexagonal hall and its roof structure in the ANAP building are designed to represent the honeycomb shape in the party emblem (Figures 4.16 and 4.17). However, the ANAP party emblem (Figures 4.14 and 4.15) was redesigned between 2005 and 2008, and did not include this shape. (In 2008, the party decided again to use the original emblem design.) Obviously, the ideological representation and relevance of referring to the honeycomb form in the party emblem has fluctuated over time.



**Figure 4.14 (left) :** Current emblem of ANAP designed in 1986



**Figure 4.15 (right):** The emblem of ANAP between the years 2005-2008



**Figure 4.16:** ANAP Headquarters: hexagonal-shaped main hall



**Figure 4.17:** ANAP Headquarters: roof structure detail

Another point that can be criticized for its varying potential in representing political ideology is the names given to architectural sections in order to recall the discursive formation of the party, for example, the meeting hall in the MHP building (Figure 4.18). The architect of the building wanted to call this section the *divan* – a direct Ottoman reference – whereas the party itself calls this section the *otağ* – a Seljukid reference.<sup>187</sup> This mismatch, which represents the often seen

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<sup>187</sup> Neşe Gürallar and Esin Boyacıoğlu. “Üç Parti-Üç Bina Farklı Siyasi Kimliklerin Başkent Ankara’da Temsili” in *Türkiye’de tasarım tarihi ve söylemi : Sunumlar 1*. İzmir : İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar ve Tasarım Fakültesi, 2006, pp.89

friction between architects and end users of a building, also connotes the ephemerality of symbolic reference systems.



**Figure 4.18:** MHP Headquarters: meeting hall

#### **4.3.2.2. Accessibility**

Again, the representation of ideology can be discussed in terms of accessibility. Accessibility is crucial to understanding the potential of a building in every discourse, because access in both visual and physical terms is the way people relate themselves to a building. Thomas Marcus claims that the representation of power is based on disrupting the homogeneity of access within a building.<sup>188</sup> For this, architectural objects define a source of power and by defining different levels of visual and physical access with this source; they establish fragmentations within their users and force certain behavior patterns. The main division created

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<sup>188</sup> Thomas A. Markus. Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types. London; New York: Routledge, 1993, p.12 *Marcus structures this reading of buildings around the “the space syntax method” of Hillier and Hanson, who propose a representation of spatial organization in terms of the standard method of graphs. For further information see Bill Hillier, Julienne Hanson. The Social Logic of Space. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1984*

by delineating different levels of access is used to define the inhabitants and the visitors of the building, yet such divisions are present within the inhabitants as well.<sup>189</sup>

The first division is used to define the very organization of the parties. As mentioned, the building defines different levels of access for inhabitants and visitors, where the inhabitant represents a member of the institution. Basically, this division is executed by strictly limiting the entrance to the headquarters complex, which privileges party members by differentiating them from visitors. However, this tool is also applied to the members of the party in order to exclude the protest members, for example, as we can observe in the case where the CHP avoids the remonstrations of some protest members of the party by prohibiting them from entering the headquarters' courtyard.<sup>190</sup> Advocated as an attempt to maintain constancy within the party, this exclusion of dissenters actually serves to further empower the leader and his supporters and to suppress criticism.

As we move deeper into the building, we can distinguish other patterns in the access-gaining power relationship on a different scale. As mentioned, the parties' current organization revolves around the leader. Thus, we can assert the leader of the party is the source of power within the organization and the position of individuals within the organization of the party is represented by their proximity to this source.<sup>191</sup> The other sections of the building serving only the chairman, such as the private entrance or the private lift connecting this entrance to presidential floor and with the other parts of the building, help to organize this scheme of accessibility.

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid. p.13

<sup>190</sup> "CHP'de protestolu aday tanıtımı" NTVMSNBC. 2004, *accessed on 12.06.2009*.  
< <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/258562.asp> >

<sup>191</sup> Thomas A. Markus. Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types. London, New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 12



Returning to the operative ways listed by Thompson, by defining these differences in the issue of accessibility, the building mobilizes the operative way of fragmentation. Subgroups on different scales and with different levels of accessibility are created by the praxis proposed by the building. Here, the first division proposed by the building helps to differentiate the members of the party from the rest of the electors, thus privileging the members. Similarly, members' different levels of accessibility concretize the level of power of individuals, which in fact serves to assert the hierarchy within the organization.

#### **4.3.2.3. Publicness**

“Publicness” can be redefined as a particular pattern of accessibility and is another important point when considering these buildings. It is important since public spaces within buildings are actually built-in envelopes for individuals in which to congregate in order to discuss party matters. Moreover, the publicness of buildings is one of the factors that define the interfaces of the relationship of parties with society. Being aware of this potential, all the buildings discussed here aim to acquire this potential either by including potent spaces or by their definition of boundaries.

In the ANAP building, the entrance hall serves as a public space, which is designed as a congregational environment for the members coming from various regions of the country.<sup>192</sup> In the CHP building, again the ground floor houses a waiting hall and a coffee bar, which are intended for the public. In the MHP building, the main atrium, which is defined by the architect as a reinterpretation of the inner courtyard on an urban scale, is meant to be party's public space. Finally, in the AKP building, similar to the CHP, the ground floor is intended for public use.

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<sup>192</sup> Anavatan Party Headquarters, Ankara, Turkey”, Tekeli-Sisa Architecture Partnership. *accessed on 18.07.2009*.  
<[http://www.tekelisisa.com/y\\_ANAP/sunum.html](http://www.tekelisisa.com/y_ANAP/sunum.html)>

However, an important point to underline is that all these public spaces, which are included to create social interaction, offer a very limited social potential and are controlled by the party. To be more specific, by controlling accessibility to these spaces by means of surveillance systems, the political party reigns over these public spaces. The reason behind this urge to control these spaces is to ensure the dominance of the party over its inner organization. In other words, the absence of a truly free public space helps parties avoid possible objections that would arise from a dissenting membership.

On the other hand, the publicness the buildings are also important in terms of defining the relationship between parties and society. To start with, it could be argued that the locations of these buildings are fudged by the ideology due to the potential of defining this relationship. Unlike the early examples, which are located in the city center in close proximity to everyday life, all these newly erected headquarters are located in parts of the city at some distance away from the center. Aside from their location, physical access to these buildings is further limited by surrounding walls, which in fact separates them from the city in a concrete physical sense. With these facts in mind, it could be stated that the early examples represent a public focal point or accessible gathering place for party supporters; while the contemporary headquarters are privatized, estranged from supporters and have become only a visual node only to be observed from a distance. In other words, this setback means parties convey a new yet more vague sense of welcome that results in subtle changes in the boundaries between public and private space.

Actually, the diminishing publicness of these buildings marks a new paradigm in politics triggered by Neoliberalism. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Neoliberalism aims to replace people's understanding of their surroundings based on physical experience with a visually constructed conception. In parallel to this, these buildings aim to reduce physical accessibility while emphasizing visual

access, which in fact helps to transform the pattern of political interest from a physical interaction to a visual experience.

Finally, it could be also claimed that, these buildings also inherit new types of publicness. Regarding this issue, the usage of the MHP building's atrium constitutes a concrete example of this new pattern. As mentioned earlier, the entrance to this space is controlled by the party. However, this space is open to the public for Friday prayers (a weekly prayer in Islam only compulsory for men). Instead of a mosque, the members as well as people in the neighboring area congregate to pray in this space. A similar example can also be seen in CHP building, where the party organized a ceremony for *Aşure Günü*.<sup>193</sup>

These examples mark a shift in the definition of publicness. As discussed in the related section, the result of neoliberal changes in the sphere of society is the replacement of the idea of citizen with individual. As we have mentioned while looking at Kahraman's points on this transformation, it was highlighted that in the new structure of society, religion becomes a major influence.<sup>194</sup> Kahraman continues this debate by asserting that this tendency is also produced public space in which a new publicness is defined around religious values. In this regard, it could be claimed that this use of the MHP building's atrium and CHP entrance hall constitutes a concrete example of this new publicness revolving around religion.<sup>195</sup>

#### **4.3.2.4. Linear and Non-linear Hierarchy**

As mentioned, the organizational scheme becomes embedded in the fabric of the building due to variations in accessibility. In other words, it can be asserted that

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<sup>193</sup> *Aşure Günü* is a annual religious celebration, on which people prepare a traditional dessert (Noah's puddings) and deliver it. see "Halk" Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Genel Merkezi Yayın Organı, vol. 95, p.12. the news is published under the section of "inanç"(means mostly religious belief)

<sup>194</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman. Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye, İstanbul: Everest, 2002, p. 65

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

the circulation scheme also inherits the ideology since this scheme has pre-designated the relationship of the inhabitants with the building. Michel Foucault states in a published interview called “Space, knowledge and power”<sup>196</sup>, that buildings can only be ideological when they became a stage for the practice of ideology itself. He emphasizes that a work of architecture compromises with ideology not by repeating a single form but by creating a proper layout where the ideology can operate. So, the ideological identity of a building is an association established between the form of the space and the ideological praxis within that space.<sup>197</sup>

Departing from this framework, what is implemented by the circulation scheme can be scrutinized in order to question the organizational scheme of the parties. As mentioned before, in all the headquarters the ground floors are designated as public spaces. However, publicness is reduced as one moves higher in the buildings, in other words, gets closer to the source of power. The least public parts in these headquarters are the presidential chambers, which are located at the top floor in the ANAP and CHP buildings, whereas in the AKP building, the last three floors serve this purpose. This publicness, diminishing from bottom to top, offers a linear hierarchy in which the leader is symbolically and literally on top. It can be fairly asserted that this is counter to one of the tenets democracy – equality. This organization proposes an exaggerated sense of single-handed power for the leader, as mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. If one moves toward the lower levels of this hierarchy, power decreases while the control over the person increases.

On the other hand, the MHP building offers a completely different scheme in terms of hierarchy. The building comprises three office blocks positioned around

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<sup>196</sup> Michel Foucault. “Space, Power, Knowledge (Interview Conducted with Rabinow)” *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Ed. Neil Leach, (London and New York: Routledge), 1997, p.371

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

an atrium, which is intended to be the public space of the building. What was proposed for the leader in the MHP building is a separate block that resembles a sultan's lodge. This building differs from the others with this architectural gesture – the leader of the party is symbolically distinct from the rank and file of the party and is physically detached from the organization altogether. However, it puts forth a very radical circulation scheme in which these presidential sections can only be reached via bridges located on different levels (Figures 4.19). This spatial organization also does not allow for a continuous vertical movement from bottom to top. This organization again proposes hegemony, but this time there is a radical and distinct disruption to linear movement, which in fact defines another source of power.



**Figure 4.19** MHP headquarters: view toward the Presidential block entrance

Departing from this idea, what can be argued is that the place of the leader within the party is not the end point of a sequential order but requires a different social process to facilitate this rupture and to ensure its existence. A similar non-linear organization of power distribution can be observed in monarchy, in which the source of power is not the end point of the social processes of democracy, rather, it originates from heritage or is handed over by means of armed force. What is revealed by the organization of the MHP building is that party democracy is subject to such outside processes for the affirmation of the power of the leader, a fact concretized by this interruption in linearity.

Actually, interruptions in this continuous hierarchy illuminate other issues as well. A particular example of such irregularities is present in the CHP building, which has a press conference room on the 12<sup>th</sup> floor. As mentioned, this floor has is of particular importance since it includes the meeting hall of the party administration and more importantly the private chambers of the leader. In other words, it substitutes the source of power. Evidently, the proximity of this conference room to this highly private section of the building reveals the importance of the media for all parties. It could be claimed that the power of the media is strong enough to interrupt this hierarchy and place itself close to the heart of the organization.

#### **4.3.2.5. Transparency**

Before discussing transparency within the context of these buildings, some definition is necessary. Transparency is widely used in daily life in almost every discourse with varying definitions. Likewise, the meaning of transparency is not unique in the discourse of architecture. Literally, transparency corresponds to the properties of the building materials and is defined as the ability to allow light to pass through.<sup>198</sup> However, Rowe and Slutzky in their essay “Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal” proposed two types of transparency in architecture, which are

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<sup>198</sup> The new international Webster's dictionary & thesaurus. Trident Press International, 2000

the literal transparency already described and “phenomenal” transparency, described as the perceptual quality that allows the mind to discern the underlying governing concept or spatial concept.<sup>199</sup>

What is offered by literal transparency corresponds to some extent as the building’s glazing in order to allow in sunlight. However, as stated by Anthony Vidler in his essay “Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal”, transparency, behind the utilitarian usage, was seen “largely as a literal, visual attribute of the modern, a virtue, equivalent to social democracy, displaying the ‘open society’ from outside to inside.”<sup>200</sup>

On the other hand, Rowe and Slutzky scrutinized this topic of phenomenal transparency particularly, which transcends the physical properties and the cultural values attached to them. They claimed that this phenomenal transparency includes the “moral and ethical imperative”.<sup>201</sup> Their explication of transparency is in part to counter what they saw as the one-dimensional understanding of the term in architectural circles, namely the obsessive use of transparent materials and the neglect of perceptual or intellectual transparency.

To start with, one can question the potential of the buildings for housing literal transparency. A concrete example of this kind of transparency is the CHP building. As mentioned before, transparency is demanded by the party in order to represent social democracy within the building. In this regard, the architect’s interpretation of transparency was to use non-reflective glazing for the entry building, except the first four floors, which are clad with Ankara stone. Besides this, the architect stated that the inclusion of the transparent west elevation facing toward Anadolu Boulevard was to relate the people with the party by revealing

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<sup>199</sup> Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky. “Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal”, Perspecta, Vol. 8 (1963), p. 46

<sup>200</sup> Anthony Vidler. “Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal”, Journal of Architectural Education, Vol. 56 (May 2003) pp. 6 – 7

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. p. 47

the inside of the building and by allowing visual access inside the organization of the party (Figures 4.20).<sup>202</sup>



**Figure 4.20:** CHP Headquarters, view of transparent west elevation from Anadolu Boulevard

Nevertheless, it could be argued that these literally transparent sections do not have any phenomenal transparency. To be more specific, the attempt to open up the party's inner workings does not apply to the public spaces in the building, such as the meeting halls, or the plenum hall, whose entrances are strictly controlled. It could be claimed that the transparency offered by the building applies only a selective framework defined by the party, which aims to represent a visual evidence for the existence of the party by screening the circulation areas. However, it does not offer any transparency that allows spectators to gaze in to the administrative sections of the party, which are also not physically accessible due to security restrictions. Thus, we can state that despite of the existence of material transparency in the building, this transparency does not propose any phenomenal transparency.

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<sup>202</sup> “Atabaş Mimarlıkla CHP Projesi Üzerine Söyleşi”. Pimeks Bülten. oct.2006. p.4



Another architectural section that proposes literal transparency is the atria in these buildings. The ANAP<sup>203</sup>, CHP<sup>204</sup> and MHP<sup>205</sup> buildings include atria around which mostly office blocks are located. Among these examples, the atrium in the MHP building deserves further discussion. Besides including circulation elements, such as elevators and stairs, this atrium is designed to be an inner courtyard towards which the offices are facing. This was a particular demand of the current party leader and is claimed to be included in order to create an intimate environment and a transparent space where the members of the party can visually interact with each other.<sup>206</sup> However, contrary to what was intended, this section of the building is criticized for invading the privacy of the offices and is accused of providing a form of surveillance on the workers.

Beyond this, another significant point related to this atrium deserving further inquiry is that the concept of facing toward the atrium does not apply to the offices of high-ranking party members, such as the vice presidents. Similarly, the presidential block placed around this atrium also does not follow this concept and even with its closed walls, is the only solid section around the atrium, which again helps to distinguish the leader from the rest of the a non-linear organization. For this reason, it can be concluded that although there exists no literal transparency in aforementioned parts of these atria, and these parts constitute an example of phenomenal transparency reflecting the hierarchical organization of the party and the position of the leader.

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<sup>203</sup> “Anavatan Party Headquarters, Ankara, Turkey”, Tekeli-Sisa Architecture Partnership. Accessed on 20.06.2009.

<[http://www.tekelisisa.com/y\\_ANAP/sunum.html](http://www.tekelisisa.com/y_ANAP/sunum.html)>

<sup>204</sup>“Atabaş Mimarlıkla CHP Projesi Üzerine Söyleşi”. Pimeks Bülten. oct.2006. p.4

<sup>205</sup> Kemal Akdere (the former construction supervisor of the MHP’s headquarters and the current manager of technical affairs). Personal interview. 05.01.2008

<sup>206</sup> Kemal Akdere ( The Former Construction Supervisor of MHP Headquarters and Current Manager of Technical Affairs). Personal interview. 05.01.2008

### **4.3.3. The Assessment of Material and Hermeneutical Practices within Headquarters**

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this chapter aims to reveal the relationship between the work of architecture and the economic, political and social spheres. It is believed that buildings are socially and politically engendered. This critical revisiting of the buildings' programs aims to reveal the implementation of social and economic/political factors upon architecture, which requires a degree of aesthetization. This aesthetization of ideology is realized in the buildings by the inclusion of common elements, whose existence within the buildings is necessitated by neoliberal policies and by the changes brought by them to the social sphere.

Methodically, this study deals with the representational potential of these headquarters under two main headings: the representation of ideology in material practices and of the representation of ideology in hermeneutical practices. In the first section of the study, under the rubric of "The Representation of Ideology in Material Practice", six common elements are critically revisited in order to delineate the reason behind including these architectural sections in the body of these headquarters. On the other hand, under the rubric of "The Representation of Ideology in Hermeneutic Practice within Headquarters", the ideological practices acquired by further readings of the physical properties of these headquarters are questioned.

What we can interpret from this critical reading can be summarized under three more headings. First of all, as stated at the beginning of this thesis, this newly emerging archetype marks a new structure in patronage – that of political parties. More explicitly, parties were forced to evolve into a new phase in which the organizational scheme of the party revolves around a charismatic leader whose personality surpasses political orientations and actions. This hegemonic power leads to the redefinition of political involvement. Political participation evolved

into political careerism, thus increasing of the distance between politics and the public, which results in an estrangement of politics from public life. Due to this estrangement, parties mobilize other tools for communication with the public, such as the media. After that, politics becomes a visual performance spectacle, whose active participation is already cropped by means of social and political changes.

What concerns this study, regarding transformations in politics and political involvement, are the spatial necessities of this newly emergent organization of politics. At the outset, it can be stated that the main reason for parties to erect new headquarters is basically to satisfy the need of housing their expanding organization due to the professionalization of politics. However, these newly erected headquarters do not only satisfy the spatial requirements of this expansive bureaucracy. A crucial area within these headquarters is the part of the building that serves the private use of the leader, which cement the dominance of the leader over the party. This dominance does not only lead to the insertion of some architectural elements in the building program but also seriously determines the circulation pattern of the buildings, by which these headquarters enjoin certain behavior patterns in their users, and which presupposes some sort of social conditioning. Besides this, these headquarters have followed the same trajectory as the parties themselves in redefining the terms of public and private (regarding the relationship between parties with their electors). Expected to be a public space to house political debate, these buildings, with their circulation schemes and their limited physical accessibility, instead propose a highly controlled and privatized space that does not allow any potential for social interaction. Contrary to this limited physical access, these headquarters are designed to become landmarks on the Ankara skyline, which underscores a high level of visual access. At this point, one could claim that, similar to circulation, this newly defined boundary between public and private impels a new relationship pattern between electors and the party that avoids a physical relationship with the organization and consequently

results in the reduction of political involvement. With an emphasis on visual access, they force society to become the spectators of political organization.

Finally, we can summarize what can be read in relation to neoliberal policies through these transformations in politics and through the medium of the buildings concerned. An important point to make, related to this new organization of the neoliberal period, is that society has started to be a cluster composed of individuals who behave not in their material, economic and or class interests, but rather congregate around cultural, nationalist or religious flagpoles. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the absence of grand narratives and class solidarity, parties' organizations concentrate around a leader, whose image has the ability to absorb all the cultural values that the public espouse. Aside from that, it can be argued that attempts to foster the image of leader and its personal appeal are the parties' solution to problems originating from the new organization of society in the neoliberal period, based on individualism. This new social organization can be considered to be the result of the attempts of neoliberal policies to fragment society in order to undermine class-consciousness, and consequently its political representation for the sake of capital. Considering this, it can also be argued that the changing pattern of political involvement is the result of the depoliticization process of society in order to silence dissenting voices. Obviously, these headquarters, with their limited and privatized accessibility, certainly propel the current political orientation, which avoids active participation but places merit on the passive support of electors, parallel to the aims of neoliberal policies to lessen active and determinant political organizations. It can also be claimed that their strong visual image is manipulated in order to conceal this absence of interaction, like the other examples in neoliberal society where the image replaces reality.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CHANGING ROLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN REPRESENTING POWER

This study is based on a parallel inquiry into two different and widely discussed academic fields. The first is the representation of ideology and power, and the second covers Neoliberalism in general and its repercussions in the other fields of the social sphere in particular. Regarding the work of architecture as a conjunction of these distinct fields, this study basically proposes a critical reading of some particular architectural examples in order to deconstruct the intricate relationships between power, ideology, architecture and the current mode of production.

The reason behind choosing a work of architecture as a study area to uncover these complicated relationships originates from the idea that a work of architecture is a social product. Being a socially produced reality – as discussed several times throughout this study – a work of architecture transcends its physical properties and is subject to the processes of ideological representation as well as being involved in the circuits of production, including Neoliberalism. However, before discussing this change in the role of architecture in the representation of power, it is necessary to delineate the general outline and reiterate the points of the study.

Considering the social potential of architecture, the context for this research is the headquarters of Turkey's major political parties erected after the 1980s, a decade that started with a *coup d'état*. The reason for choosing these buildings for this study originates from the particular position of their patronage within society. Namely, political parties, as significant organizations within democracies, are

interwoven with power relationships, and obviously the headquarters of these organizations are subject to these power relationships as well. Also, it is apparent that political parties are agents of the social sphere, which is dominated by the neoliberal order. Thus, these architectural entities simultaneously house the vestiges of these power relationships and the current mode of production.

With the aim of locating a work of architecture within these aforementioned fields, this study firstly aims to delineate the properties of Neoliberalism as the current mode of production with a retrospective section. Following that, there is a section scrutinizing the socialization offered by Neoliberalism, for it is believed that this particular social organization is how Neoliberalism gained worldwide acceptance.

After the discussion on Neoliberalism, the argument moves onto the topic of ideological representation in order to define a critical framework that will reveal how economic and social processes are embedded into the fabric of space and consequently into the body of a work of architecture. Following the statements of Terry Eagleton, as mentioned earlier, this process of embedding such relationships into a work of art (including architecture) requires a degree of aesthetization, which is based on manipulating the needs a work of architecture fulfills. Similarly, in the particular case of architecture, this need corresponds to the building program, whose components are included in order to satisfy these physical needs and social processes, and realizing these physical needs where the economic and social processes embed themselves in the body of architecture.

Departing from this critical framework, the last chapter conducts an inquiry into the headquarters of Turkey's political parties in order to reveal these embedded processes of economy politics and social spheres, particularly those related to the representation of ideology. This inquiry continues under two rubrics, namely the representation of ideology in material practices and the representation of ideology

in hermeneutical practices. The former is based on a critical revisiting of common elements present in these headquarters, which are believed to represent certain social processes of ideology. This critical reading aims to delineate these social processes of ideology that necessitate the existence of these architectural components in the building program. In other words, to distinguish the concrete materializations of these processes present in the body of these works of architecture. Following that, a similar reading is conducted into the hermeneutical practices within these buildings, which aims to delineate how they can be read in other discursive fields.

In order to conclude this thesis's inferences, the points of the critical readings of material and hermeneutical practices can also be reiterated, first with the organizational scheme of political parties materialized within the body of the buildings. All the buildings under discussion bolster the power of the leader both by increasing their physical privacy (in some manner, sanctifying and separating them), and at the same time visually emphasizing them, which sets out a new organizational scheme of political parties that explicitly revolves around the leader's charisma. Not only the parts of the buildings serving the private use of the leader, but also their circulation schemes are also in accord with this new tendency, which impels the hegemony of the leaders upon the members of the party through the media of circulation and accessibility. Another important point related to these buildings is their new assertion to redefine public and private, in terms of the relationship between parties and their members. As mentioned, these buildings were expected to be public spaces in which party members congregate rather than becoming a strictly controlled private space that does not offer any kind of social interaction. On the other hand, it would not be wrong to claim that political party headquarters, by being physically inaccessible but with their emphasized visuality, define a new pattern for the relationship of parties with their electors. It can be asserted that these buildings do not promote social interaction, politics or political involvement, but serve to strengthen the image of the parties

inside them. Actually, this process of forming the identity of parties, and in some way, the attempts of communication, are not and cannot be limited by making the buildings become landmarks in the cityscape. The tools of the media are certainly utilized by parties in the formation of this image of the organization, and the existence of large media centers in these buildings becomes normalized. Also, where communication is concerned, we can mention the educational facilities where parties set out common terminology, ideology and a theoretical substructure of their communication with the membership.

As mentioned, in a broader perspective these points can also be grounded in neoliberal policies. To start with, the new organization of political parties is an explicit representation of the neoliberal society composed of individuals whose critical reasoning is replaced by ideas that are ephemeral and conditioned. As explained in detail in the related section, all these attempts at replacement originates from the urge of Neoliberalism to fragment society and to penetrate the social organization at the smallest scale, namely at the scale of the individual. As the predominant political organizations in this society, political parties also revolve around individualism and lack critical reasoning, which in turn attempts to totally demolish class structure and class-consciousness. In addition, due to the lack of critical reasoning of both parties and individuals, politics has become estranged from social life, which destroys the relationship between society and politics and which is also demonstrated in party headquarters with the absence of public spaces and in emphasized privacy. Again, parallel to neoliberal policies, parties have replaced the physical relationship with individuals with a visual relationship, which one can is literal reason behind the emphasized visibility of these buildings.

Finally, it can be asserted that these buildings also mark substantial changes in the discourse of architecture. As stated, one particular concern of this study is to discuss the changing role of architecture within the context of party headquarters.



However, at this point a possible objection to the methodology of this study could be made due to the absence of a comparison of these contemporary buildings with earlier examples. Obviously, neither political parties nor their headquarters are new concepts. Especially with the rise of the nation state, political parties have become key agents of the political and social domain. Likewise, the buildings in this study are not the first and only buildings erected by political parties. In Italy there are some outstanding examples of political spaces from the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, what will be discussed in this section is the impossibility of proposing such a comparison. It is impossible because of the fundamental changes in the representation of power seen in the context of these buildings due to transformations in the economy, politics and culture, but most significantly due to the changes in the discursive formation of architecture.

In order to clarify this proposition, we can mention a dual position present in the relationship between architecture and ideology. As Hal Foster states, two types of operation between ideology and architecture can be distinguished.<sup>207</sup> These are the architecture of ideology and the ideology of architecture. The former one dwells on architecture as a tool utilized by an ideology for its promulgation and prolongation. On the other hand, the ideology of architecture refers to the internal dynamics and occupational applications of the profession of architecture, which are created by architects in a collective manner, legalized and internalized. As we will discuss, although considered as an autonomous entity, the ideology of architecture is highly subjected to the processes of the social sphere and is shaped accordingly. It is certain that these two relationships are present in every work of architecture. The architecture of ideology is the product of an approach that very simply concerns ascribing an ideology to a work of architecture. The ideology of architecture, on the other hand, defines a perceptual framework within which an architect not only produces but also perceives problems necessitating a work of architecture and yet by this very framework defines the architects' perception of

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<sup>207</sup> Hal Foster. "Postmodernism in Parallax", *October*. Vol. 63 (Winter, 1993), pp. 6-8

their own work as well.<sup>208</sup> Turning back our proposition, we can assert that the changing role of architecture in representing power originates from an evolution in this relationship pattern between ideology and architecture.

Among many buildings erected to serve political parties at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a well-known and good example is the Casa del Fascio in Como, designed by Giuseppe Terragni (Figure 5.1). Before discussing this building in detail, delineating the context in which the building was produced is necessary in order to understand how the building served as a representative tool for an ideology (in this case fascism). Giuseppe Terragni was a key member of a group of Italian architects who pioneered the Italian Rationalist architecture movement. The official body of this movement was constituted under the title of *Movimento Italiano per L'architettura Razionale* (MIAR) and the group soon grew into an informal network of progressive architects throughout Italy.<sup>209</sup>



**Figure 5.1:** Casa del Fascio in Como by Giuseppe Terragni: facade

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<sup>208</sup> Mary Mcleod. "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism." *Assemblage* No.8 (Feb., 1989), p. 24

<sup>209</sup> Kenneth Frampton. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, pp. 203-204

What was significant about MIAR is their commitment to the Italian Fascists and their attempts to materialize their revolution. As Kenneth Frampton asserts, MIAR also put considerable effort into represent itself as the official architecture of the Italian Fascists. The group claimed that the aims of revolutionary architecture and fascism in Italy coincided in their urge to create a social revolution. The Rationalist architect Ernesto Rogers clarified this by saying that “fascism is a revolution, modern architecture is revolutionary; it must be the architecture of fascism.”<sup>210</sup> Similarly, Pietro Maria Bardi explained this relationship between the fascists and Rationalists by stating that these two movements were the results of corresponding modernity in politics and architecture.<sup>211</sup> The main aim of the Rationalists, therefore, was to produce a style capable of representing the fascist’s revolution. In a MIAR declaration, this aim was underlined as: “Our movement has no other moral aim than that of serving the (fascist) revolution in the prevailing harsh climate. We call upon Mussolini’s good faith to enable us to achieve this.”<sup>212</sup> The main desire of the Rationalists was to bring about an integration of architectural and political ideologies. In the following years, this relationship evolved into a new phase in which the Rationalist’s architecture was considered to be a tool in the revolutionaries’ “struggle” against an “anti-modernist” majority.<sup>213</sup>

However, the collaboration between the modernist Rationalist architecture and fascism was no coincidence, but it was largely driven by the fascist regime. That is to say, the fascists embraced modernist architecture because of its potential for social conditioning as a way of embedding the revolution into the physical fabric of society. Fredric Jameson underline this property of modern architectural space – as a driving force of social change – as:

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<sup>210</sup> Dennis Doordan P. “The Political Content in the Italian Architecture during Fascist Era”, Art Journal. (Sum. 1983), p.127

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.* p.128

<sup>212</sup> Kenneth Frampton. Modern Architecture: A Critical History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 204

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.* p. 205

At any rate, the very concept of space here demonstrates its supremely mediatory function, in the way in which its aesthetic formulation begins at once to entail cognitive consequences on the one hand and socio-political consequences on the other...<sup>214</sup>

Because of this potential, and in parallel with these architects' involvement with the fascist movement, Mussolini tried to promote Rationalist architecture as a way of representation by proposing a general character for building schemes. In the end what was created was "not a architecture but a state that establishes definite and strict norms regarding architecture."<sup>215</sup> Obviously, these architects produced architecture of ideology or buildings that served to sustain the fascist regime. However, if we turn to the dual position between the ideology and architecture it could be claimed that what they produced was an ideology of architecture, which correlates with the architecture of ideology, even becoming dominated by it. As stated, modern space always impels a social function; in the case of Italy, this social content was the ideology of fascist Italy. So, it is fair to say that the Rationalists established an ideology of architecture, or a professional practice, dominated by the prevailing ideology of the time. One more point to add is that in this situation, although the ideology of architecture was dominated by a political ideology, and was even subsumed by it, the architects were still actively involved in the production of this ideology by creating such didactic spaces. Following these premises of a modern paradigm, Terragni's design for Casa del Fascio was based on the idea that the building should not only represent the fascist ideology but also to impose the ideology upon its users by means of tectonic, symbolic and structural properties.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Jameson, Fredric. Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. London and New York: Verso, 1991, p. 104

<sup>215</sup> Dennis Doordan P. "The Political Content in the Italian Architecture during Fascist Era", Art Journal. (Sum. 1983), p.129

<sup>216</sup> Kenneth Frampton. Modern Architecture: A Critical History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p.207

Moreover, the relationship between fascism and modern space did not only exist in Mussolini's Italy. Other totalitarian regimes have also utilized modern space and modernist architecture because of its potential to acquire social processes and to promote transformation offered by the ruling elite –Nazism made particular use of modern space for propaganda.<sup>217</sup>

However, over the course of time, this relationship was redefined by changes effecting both modernism and politics. As mentioned earlier, the nation-state and its totalitarian regimes have been subjected to erosion from the changing pattern of economics and society. More significantly, the social potential of modern space ceased to exist in the subsequent periods. As Fredric Jameson states, creating a new kind of modernism, which was produced only by imitating the socially more potent Modernism, tore off its didactic and totalitarian potential. He clarifies thus:

The political elements of "original modernism" in its historical emergence were left out in this process of transplantation so that the various modernisms have been read as subjectivizing and inward turning. Other features vanished too. The whole utopian and aesthetic-political element in modern architecture, Le Corbusier for example, is no longer visible when we are talking about great monuments and conventions imitated in the schools. At the same time one must say that this modernism was no longer being produced: there was not a living modernism that could have been encouraged in a different way.<sup>218</sup>

Certainly, in spite of all these changes, ideology still needs architecture as a representational medium, but these changes propose a new pattern in this relationship. Jameson again delineates this new pattern while discussing the postmodern culture as the predominant social organization of late capitalism. For him, this period longs for breaks, changes and enumerations, whereas modernism urges singular, essentialist and totalizing grand narratives. In terms of artistic production, Jameson states that the production of artifacts becomes the

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<sup>217</sup> Leon Krier, "An Architecture of Desire," *Architectural Design* April 198, pp.30-37

<sup>218</sup> Fredric Jameson. interview with Anders Stephanson. *Social Text* No. 17 (Autumn, 1987), p. 47

satisfaction of aesthetic populism, unlike the modern understanding, which aims to substantially create transformation in the medium of space as well. In this late capitalist era, a work of art becomes a collage or a collection that distracts all kinds of temporal and local relations, but which creates a timeless and placeless entity. He continues:

The contemporary poststructuralist aesthetic signals the dissolution of the modernist paradigm – with its valorization of myth and symbol, temporality, organic form and the concrete universal, the identity of the subject and the continuity of linguistic expression and foretells the emergence of some new, properly postmodernist or schizophrenic conception of the artifact – now strategically reformulated as a text, or *écriture*, and stressing discontinuity, allegory, the mechanical, the gap between signifier and signified, the lapse in meaning, the syncope in the experience of the subject.<sup>219</sup>

In these remarks, Jameson highlights a major break in theoretical definition of the artifact. He claims that a modernist *work* become a postmodern *text* and in this collection, the modernist styles that once governed the whole work of art become only codes of postmodern collages.<sup>220</sup> Hal Foster explains Jameson's point as follows:

This theoretical redefinition of the artifact can also be seen as a historical passage from modernist work to postmodernist text. I use these terms heuristically work to suggest an aesthetic, symbolic whole sealed by an origin (the author) and an end (a represented reality or transcendent meaning); and text to suggest an a-aesthetic multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The difference between the two rests finally on this: for the work, the sign is a stable unit of signifier and signified (with the referent assured or, in abstraction, bracketed); whereas the text reflects on the contemporary dissolution of the sign and the released play of signifiers.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Fredric Jameson . Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p.20 *cited in* Hal Foster. “(Post) Modern Polemics.” Perspecta. Vol. 21 (1984), p.150

<sup>220</sup> Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. London and New York: Verso, 1991, p.17

<sup>221</sup> Hal Foster. “(Post) Modern Polemics.” Perspecta. Vol. 21 (1984), p.150

This proposition also applies to a work of architecture. More explicitly, from this point on, architectural production requires a collection of parts in order to create a *text* but not a complete *work*. Returning to the relationship between architecture and ideology, certainly a work of architecture is still subject to the manipulation of an ideology in order to ensure its dominance. However, the dominance of ideology over the ideology of architecture, which is the case in modern space and modern thought, ceases to exist. Instead, what is proposed is an ideology of architecture, which aims to create such texts, composed of a collection of modern codes separated from their contexts. Moreover, one of the departure points of postmodernism in criticizing modernism in the field of art and architecture is its canonical way of combining form with politics. The postmodern paradigm aims to distinguish these issues, which also disassociates social potential from the artifact. Mary McLeod clarifies this disinterest of postmodernism in politics and its consequences as follows:

Both the historicist and poststructuralist tendencies correctly pointed to the failures of the modern movement's instrumental rationality, its narrow teleology, and its overblown faith in technology, but these two positions have erred in another direction: in their abjuration of all realms of the social and in their assumption that form remains either a critical or affirmative tool independent of social and economic processes. That contemporary architecture has become so much about surface, image, and play, and that its content has become so ephemeral, so readily transformable and consumable, is partially a product of the neglect of the material dimensions of architecture -program, production, financing, and so forth-that more directly involve questions of power.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Mary McLeod. "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism." *Assemblage* No. 8 (Feb., 1989), p. 59

Considering these two propositions related to the changing paradigm in the relationship between ideology and architecture, we can once more evaluate aforementioned examples in order to locate these propositions. Considering the particular example of Terragni's Casa Del Fascio, it can be stated that the aim of the architect was to design a space, or a work, that rationally codes the ideology of fascism, or a space that inherits a total integration of the conceptual, structural and symbolic forms of fascism in its body. Therefore, it is possible to trace back this single overruling ideology in all the aforementioned spheres.<sup>223</sup> Structurally, the building is composed of a repetition of a single rectangle in both vertical and horizontal axes. Conceptually, the political aim of the building was to represent transparency, which governs the envelope of the building, again in all directions. The glass doors and glass cladding (as interior walls) in the vertical axis, and the glass roof and glass decorated ceiling in the horizontal axis, expresses the idea of transparency. As Frampton states, "the building is treated as though it were a continuous spatial matrix, without any particular orientation, such as up, down, left or right" – a homogeneity not only in terms of spatiality but also in terms of ideology represented by an infinite space.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, as Hal Foster states, this ideology is what creates this building or work whose signs are stable units and whose presences are assured and bracketed in the body of the work.<sup>225</sup>

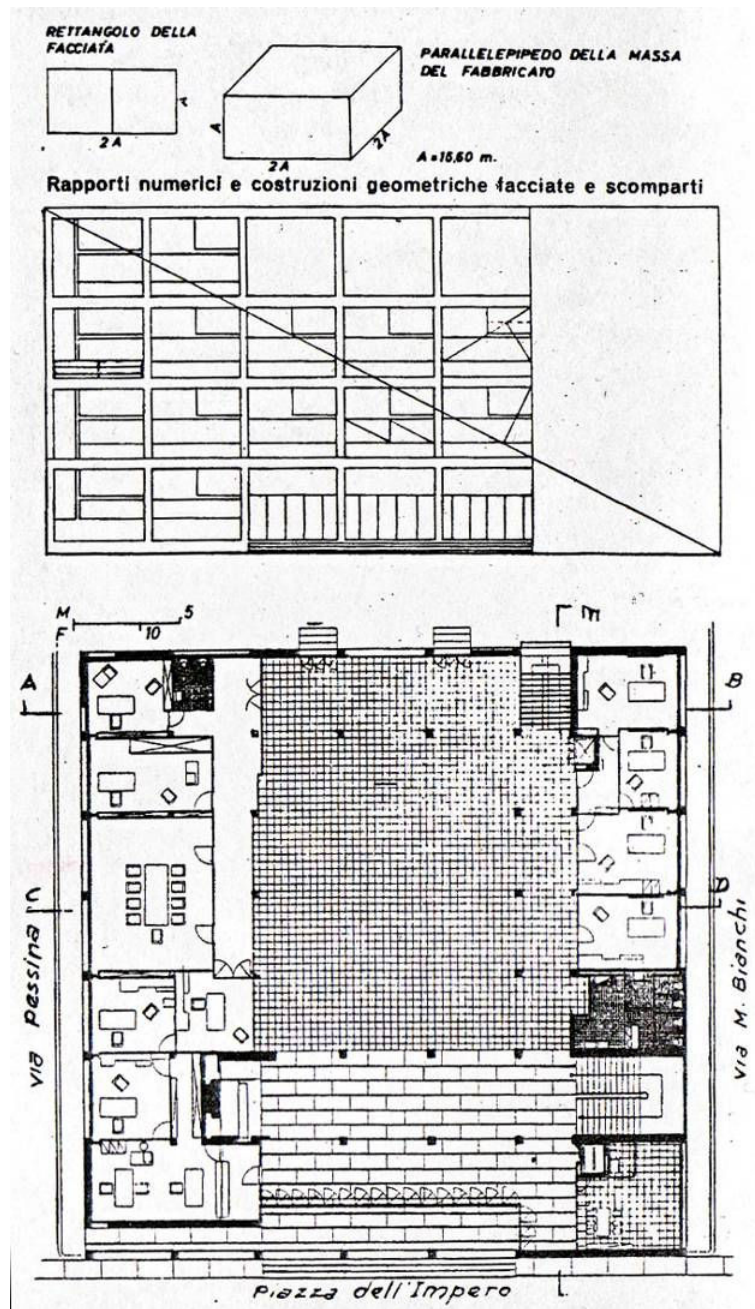
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<sup>223</sup> Kenneth Frampton. Modern Architecture: A Critical History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 205

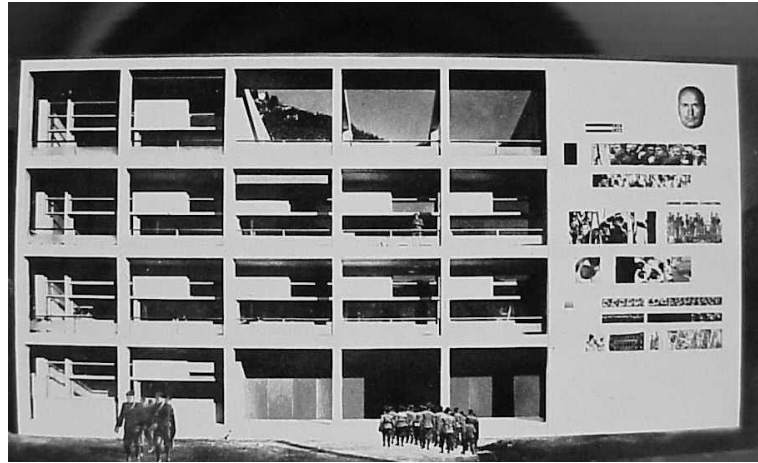
<sup>224</sup> Ibid. p. 206

<sup>225</sup> Hal Foster. "(Post) Modern Polemics." Perspecta. Vol. 21 (1984), p.150





**Figure 5.2:** Casa del Fascio, Como: proportional system of elevation and plan. The structural system is derived by repeating a simple rectangular both in vertically and horizontally.



**Figure 5.3:** Casa del Fascio at Como, front elevation with photomontage



**Figure 5.4:** Casa del Fascio in Como, with an assembly of people outside, May 5, 1936. The inner courtyard is separated from the piazza by means of glass doors. When opened, they propose a continuous flow of masses from the piazza to the inner courtyard

However, if we turn back to our reading of the contemporary examples, it is not possible to find such a consistency in conceptual, structural or symbolic forms and the buildings' potential to represent ideology is not related to a totalitarian understanding of the work. As we have observed through this inquiry, what *is* proposed is a collection of parts inheriting ideology by addressing different sub-spheres of culture. Structurally, the buildings include a collection of different techniques due to the necessities of function. Conceptually, the aim of the buildings is to include as many references as they can in order to invoke the widest possible section of a fragmented society in the neoliberal age. And symbolically, these buildings house various symbolic meanings belonging different culture spheres. Again, returning to Hal Foster, the ideological potential of a building is included within a building's text, which proposes "dissolution of the sign and the released play of signifiers."<sup>226</sup> It could also be claimed, in the neoliberal period in particular, that the creation and consumption of this text is executed visually, as we have explained in the related section of this study.

Similarly, the relationship between the architect, buildings and patronage has also evolved in to a new phase. Related to the buildings concerned, it can be stated that Turkey's political parties prefer to work with people that have a prior history with the organization. However, the main thrust of the relationship is still based on fulfilling the parties' spatial needs and not to create a space impelling its ideology per se. For instance, the architect of the CHP building states that from his point of view, there is no difference between designing a party headquarters and an administrative center, and the only difference he mentions is that excessive need for meeting halls within these buildings.<sup>227</sup>

The design process of the AKP building also constitutes a very dramatic example of this issue. From the outset, an architectural firm (The name of the firm is not

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid. p. 206

<sup>227</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), p. 95

mentioned in related text) created the conceptual design, including only perspectives and elevation drawings, and later Can Gökoğuz (introduced as the architect of the building) finalized the design by filling in this empty box, as it were.<sup>228</sup> Obviously, within these conditions, where even the design process of the building was fragmented, it is impossible to trace back a totalitarian consciousness aimed to imbue ideology into the fabric of the building.

Returning to our proposition once again, the main difference between earlier examples of party buildings and contemporary ones originates from this varying relationship pattern present in the ideology of architecture. To reiterate, the earlier examples were the production of a mind oriented by the idea of creating the architecture of ideology whereas later examples represents an ideology of architecture, which aims to house or accommodate an ideology in its work rather than producing a didactic structure by means of architecture. In other words, beyond the changes in the patronage of the buildings or the formation of ideology, the main reason for distinguishing between these two examples of this type of building is this shift in the relationship of ideology and architecture. It would be fair to say that this shift is substantial enough to avoid referring to these buildings as ancestors and successors of the same archetype.

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<sup>228</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya and Esin Boyacıoğlu. "Parti için Tasarlamak Genel Merkez Binaları: AKP, CHP, MHP", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Vol. 218 (Now. 2008), pp. 93-94

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