

URBAN - PUBLIC AREA ARCHITECTURE AS THE OBJECT OF THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: ANKARA EXAMPLE

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ABSTRACT

Ideology is accepted in many studies as a notion, which tallies one-to-one with politics. That's because politics points out a situation that is instrumentalised by the ideology for the implementation. The governing power implements its own ideological structure with political decisions. And the objectivation of these political decisions in the public area, its transmission to the society and the individual is performed through architecture.

Tanyeli (2015) explains the relation between architecture, politics and ideology as follows; "The habitual historiographic approach is that first definitions are brought forward on the ideological and political platform and architecture establishes spaces based on these". Considering the fact that the general fiction of architecture is built on the space; then is the space, particularly the public space, a stage, where the political ideologies of the government are presented. The government applies on this stage the architectural style it has created and supports this style with laws.

In this context, when we examine the Turkish political history attract the 2000s the attention as a period, where the efficiency of political ideologies were felt intensively. That's because the 2000s point on a period, where the modernist republican ideology was intensively criticized and a relative break from the republican ideology was experienced by time. This period has a more differentiated appearance compared with previous period in political, economic and socio-cultural aspects. These differences are lead by the policies applied since more than ten years by a political party, which describes itself as conservative democrat but is associated by some researchers with the idea of Political Islam and has an Islamic and conservative approach. And the attention attracting feature of the policies in question is that it prefers a historicist and able to be defined as Neo-Ottoman approach instead of the modernist republican ideology. These preferences, able to be seen intensively in the social and cultural area, can also clearly be seen in the architectural character of the public spaces.

The policies in question are being intensively observed particularly in Ankara, which is the urban, public space of the republican ideology. Ankara is a republic city; it is planned according to the policies of the modern republican ideology. It attracts the attention with its urban-public spaces, where the reflections of the political

ideologies of every period on architecture are intensively and primarily observed. While this trend was followed from the planning of the whole city to the design of public buildings with the modernist ideology during the first years of the republic, the construction of the first commercial skyscraper building, the Emek Building (1950), representing a Turkey with changing expectations and world-view with the transition to the multi-party period can be shown as a sample for this situation.

Therefore, the study aims to examine the urban-public space architecture as an object of the political ideology specific to Ankara. It will be dealt with the evolutionary process Ankara experienced from the modernist republican ideology until present and what changes the ideologies dominating the last period caused on the architecture of the public space.

The study in question includes a two-dimensional assessment of the change of the urban-public space. The first of these is the examination of the architectural attitude dominating the public buildings of the last period, and the second is the assessment of the background of the destruction of modernist building, of which the most were constructed during the first years of the republic. (It will not be dealt here with the central and local administration dimension of the implementations. That's because the same conception is dominating the process in question.) It will be tried as a result of the conducted assessments to determine the changes to the architectural features of the urban-public spaces and policies in Ankara and evaluations regarding the future of the city in social, cultural, economic and political terms will be made.

Keywords: *Ideology, politics, architecture, Turkey, public buildings, with 2000*

Word Count: *6788 words*

1. INTRODUCTION

Ideology is a versatile notion, which is defined by many researchers with its different aspects and includes different definitions. In the scope of this study is ideology handled as an "ism, which, as stated by Alvin Gouldner in his works, expresses the opinions of political movements trending to establish a new social structure; which explains what for a society the new society shall be (Oskay,1980).

Ideology, which is tallied one-to-one with politics by many researchers, is being objectivised with political decisions which express the attitude and actions foreseen by the power. In this sense tries the governing power to impose its ideology by instrumentalising the political decisions. There is no doubt that architecture is one of the most efficient tools for transmitting these political decisions to the society and the individual. As noted by Tanyeli (2015) have ideologies always been eager to establish and to impose their specific architecture; they have disguised in a shape and became objective through architecture. Ideology, which disguises to a shape with architecture, lets its existence always feel with the unintentional interaction with human.

But the buildings generated by individuals or public associations are rarely as overwhelming/strong as the buildings applied by the political power in terms of ideology, and no matter how far individuals participate to the political power, some individual preferences add the building more humane features; though this have buildings implemented by the state in any case the feature of being overwhelming/strong (Erzen, 2016). Consequently, power is, as stated by Habermas, expressing itself much more efficient in the public space, which defines the representation force of the political power.

Particularly the capital cities, the headquarters of the administration, hold the status of a stage, where the government imposes its own ideology with its urban-public buildings. Capitals, the stage of bureaucracy, are the reflection of the economic, social, political power of the society with the symbols of their states, their physical appearance, too (Uluğ, 2004).

In this context can it be assessed as an entirety of urban-public buildings, where the ideological structure can be observed. As it is known, Ataturk thought that the best way to reflect the idea of modernization on the society would be the erection of a new capital city, constructed with modern architecture; and the first he did was to declare Ankara, a rural town, as the capital able to be built from the scratch instead of Istanbul, which was tightly bound to its Ottoman history. There is no doubt that the strongest tool for the changes of the political model, which resulted in the rise of a new nation, and the existence of the new nation, risen in mind, also in the reality, is a new capital city to be built (Tankut, 1988).

The capital Ankara is a republic city; it is planned pursuant to the policies of the modern republic's ideologies and holds a distinct place in the history of Turkish Architecture with its firsts. Falih Rifki Atay (1935) expresses the role foreseen for Ankara with *"Ankara was for us not only a center, it was a school which taught us the construction, possibilities and methods of Anatolia in all aspects. Everything we succeeded in Ankara can be realized easier in all Turkish grounds outside Ankara... We had forgotten city planning and architecture until we came to Ankara. We revived here the constructiveness feature of the Turkish nation... Ankara is really a symbol."* (Çağlar and Uludağ and Aksu, 2006).

Therefore, within the scope of the judgement, the interaction of the political ideologies with the urban-public space architecture in the historical process via the public buildings in the capital Ankara will be examined and the change it experienced from the first years of the republic until the 2000s will be discussed. In this context will an answer be searched for the question how the ideological structure of the political context in the 2000s influenced the architectural structure based on the architectural spaces in Ankara.

2.THE URBAN-PUBLIC SPACE ARCHITECTURE IN ANKARA IN HISTORICAL PROCESS

2.1. The public architecture in Ankara during the first years of the republic

A radical modernization project was initiated during the first years of the republic and the ideologically accepted notion of a modern society found its response with modern architecture in the field of architecture (Tekeli, 1998). The modern architecture was used at the design of all new public buildings needed by the new state, and it is tried to establish a new architectural sense disconnected from the Ottoman.

Ankara, which looked like a rural town, became the capital of the new state with the declaration of the republic and concerted to a symbol city with its spaces designed in order to provide the citizens of the young Republic the identity of a modern society. With the declaration of the republic and the conversion of Ankara into the capital city it was started to construct public buildings, particularly on Ataturk Avenue, in order to meet the needs of the new state and of which the most had monumental features.

In the Heussler Plan, established in 1925 (1/ 4000), in the section from Taşhan until the Station was a planned development needed after some resolutions in a road-direction-plan approach and the Karl Lorcher Plan (1927) was established for Old Ankara and Sıhhiye during the period of Şehremini Asaf Bey (1927). But the Old Ankara Plan was rejected for being not possible to implement and the Prof. Hermann Jansen Plan, which won the initiated Ankara City Development Plan competition in 1928 started to be implemented in 1932. In this plan; one of the most important resolutions was that Old Ankara shall not be harmed that much, and that a city, not on the old, next to the old shall be erected (Tuncer, 2011). In March 1925 is the empty area in the south of Ankara's urban settlement area, beyond the railway expropriated and the first step for the construction of Yenışehir was made. As the centre of the capital would Yenışehir represent the will and ideals of the young nation and be at the same the space of the new administration method and the new life style (Batuman, 2012). The area expropriated between Ankara-Çankaya in order to provide area for Yenışehir has determined the road

that would establish the connection between old and new Ankara as much as it determined the development direction of Ankara. Thus, the direction of Ataturk Avenue, reaching from Ulus to Kızılay, was drawn in 1925. The term Republican Period Architecture reminds in Ankara primarily the public buildings on Ataturk Avenue and the Assembly and Ministries' buildings (Fig. 1) (Tuncer, 2011).



Fig 1. Atatürk Avenue, 1930s

Looking at the architecture of the first years, we see Ankara was shaped by the First National Architecture Movement and that this practice was supported by the state. Two or three storey public administration and service buildings, designed by this style, show an arrangement where the stringent rules of the western academic tradition related to mass are applied (Aslanoğlu, 2011). The New Assembly Building designed by Vedat Tek (Fig. 2) and the Ankara Palas Hotel, which he started to design but was completed by Kemalettin Bey, are the prominent works of the period. Ankara Palas Hotel among these buildings is deemed as the representation of modernism and civilization, its interior and utilization was modern; but the look of the façade was constructed such to exhibit a nationalist building (Fig. 3). With this feature, it can be stated that the building also reflects the political perspective of the period. Except these buildings, buildings like the School of Fine Arts, Ziraat Bank, Is Bank, Tekel Head Directorate of Mongeri, the Ethnography Museum, Turkish Hearth, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry for Monopoly and Customs of Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu are attracting the attention as new institutions built as a necessity of the republic (Yavuz and Özkan, 2007).



Fig. 2. II. Turkish Great National Assembly, Vedat Tek, 1925



Fig. 3. Ankara Palas Hotel, Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey, 1927

The Liberty Square is one of the prestigious urban social spaces of the capital Ankara during the early period of the Republic of Turkey which represents the ideology of the republic and its national ideals. That the square generated a new spatial and social experience is associated with the identity of the new constituted state, of the new capital and points on the development of a new social culture. With the movement of the Kızılay (Red

Crescent) Headquarters to its new building at this square in 1929 is this park started to be called Kızılay Park, the square Kızılay Square and the name of the quarter started to be called Kızılay instead of Yenışehir (Çağlar et.al., 2006). The Güven (Trust) Park within the square is one of the important social spaces of Ankara with its wide, open park areas reflecting the ideology of the period, and the Güven Monument/Emniyet (Security) Memorial associated with the park. This park, designed by Holzmeister, is erected between 1932-1936. This park with the Güven Monument at the head of a rectangular pool is a quite important “urban symbol” (Çağlar, 1986).

The base of the monument, which was completed in 1935, is 37 metres wide. The the central block is 8 metres high, the lateral wings 2 metres and the bronze figures are 6 metres high. There two, one young and one old bronze figures to be seen on the side of the monument facing towards Kızılay. The stick in the hand of the old man, representing confidence, is about to fall and the young man, depicted with a strong structure, takes the stick and represents the Protection from generation to generation. Hereunder are the words of Atatürk “Turk, Be Proud, Work and Trust” written with bronze letters. Two naked men on the back side of the monument represents the heroes relieving the nation. The one on the right among them represents the trust in modern time and the one on the left the unity. The areas except these are filled with constructive and creative people, groups representing the villagers and farmers (URL 1) (Fig. 4).

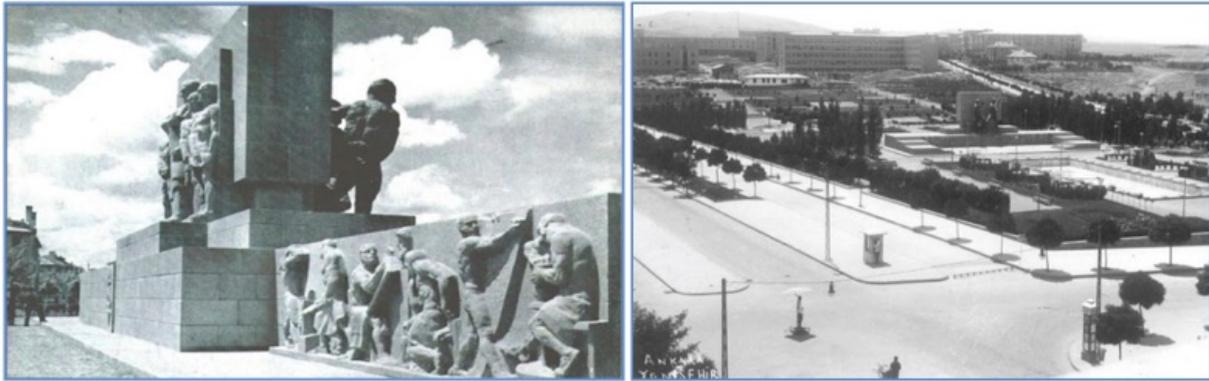


Fig. 4. Güven Park and Güven Monument Emniyet Memorial, Holzmeister

The 1930s, where “Modern” and “National” entered into an interaction by specific means in architecture, point on a period, when the necessity for that modernism should be in relation with our own culture was felt. The Exhibition Hall project of Şevki Balmumcu is a building constructed in Ankara, which represents this period (Fig. 5). The Ministry for National Defence designed by Holzmeister (1927-30), Presidency of the General Staff (1928-30), Ministry for Internal Affairs (1932-1934) (Fig. 6), Ministry for Public Works (1933-1934), Ministry for Economy and Trade (1934-1935), the Supreme Court building (1934) and the building of the TGNA are the other building coming to the forefront of the period. These buildings with their plain masses are the symbols of the period’s modern architecture.



Fig. 5. Ankara Exhibition Hall, Şevki Balmumcu



Fig. 6. Ministry for Internal Affairs, Holzmeister

The buildings of the ministries are symmetric buildings consisting of plain geometric shapes with precise lines and were for those years prestigious buildings with quite monumental appearance in the emptiness of the environment (Aslanoğlu, 2011). Large filled spaces (buildings) and free spaces for the people were created without losing the human scale (Tankut, 1988). It was tried with the general look of the capital to represent the modest attitude of the government. Beside this, the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the most important unit of the government, was located at the highest point of the terrain (Uluğ, 2004) (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Bakanlıklar (Ministries), 1930s, Holzmeister

The economic burden, socio-psychological pressure and the danger atmosphere caused by the war in the 1940s, increased the trend for national solidarity and self-sufficiency as an instinct of defence (Batur, 1988). As a result of this, the idea that west rooted modernism should be left and that a style to reflect the Turkish spirit, supported by the state, a style specific to the nation should be found started to emerge. The reflection of this opinion on architecture is defined as the 2nd National Architectural Style. But there were also different trends which shaped the period. The first formation during this period, defined as post-modern, is the western neo-classical style seen at public buildings (Aslanoğlu, 2011). While a monumental style is being observed at public-building, a more cosmopolite approach is followed at dwellings and commercial buildings. This trend, defined with its nostalgic, local, populist and chauvinistic features, started to loose its influence in the mid of the 1940s (Sey, 1998). It can be stated that Anıtkabir (Ataturk's Mausoleum) is the most important building representing this period in Ankara (Fig. 8). Anıtkabir is a building which, as much as it is modern, bears also the traces of traditional architecture. It is tried to generate a specific universality by referring to earlier periods of Anatolian cultures in order to establish its own architectural language in a conscious manner.



Fig. 8. Anıtkabir, E. Onat ve A. O. Arda

2.2. The public architecture in Ankara during the multi-party period

The 1950s are a period, where the transition to the multi-party period was experienced. With the elections has is the presence of democracy fully experienced in the country both in the political, economic and cultural area. DP got at the elections the power with a large vote ratio. The country turned its face towards the USA with the new political ideology, the capitalist regime and liberal economy policies were adopted. As noted by Özorhon (2008), the sense for modernization shifted from a cultural modernization to a modernization sense with economic priority. These new requests due to the political change in Turkey and the country's aim to integrate into the world within the frame of the capitalist system resulted in the search for an international style in architecture and thus caused a waiver from the search for a national architectural sense (Tanyeli, 1998).

In this period are the façades of the buildings now plain and rational. The architectural sense of the international style is being closely followed. Plan and shape solutions are based on prisms. The layout plans are dominated by rectangles and squares, which are functional geometric elements. Mainly the grid system is applied at the façades. Turkey's first commercial skyscraper, Emek Building (1959), which reflects this concept in Ankara, is attracting the attention as a prominent building in this sense (Tapan, 2007) (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Ankara Emek Commercial Complex, Enver Tokay, 1965

The status of the profession in the society strengthened with the Foundation of the Chamber of Architects in 1954 and the authorizations granted to the Chamber by law provided the opportunity for professional supervision. This ended the conduct of public architecture only by the state; a professional independence started to be gained with architectural competitions. The architects entered into new pursuits with the project

request of the private enterprises and tried to implement the projects they saw in foreign countries. But that the construction sector much behind with regards to materials and techniques compared with the West resulted mostly in that unsuccessful samples were implemented. However, though everything, multi-storey reinforced concrete buildings started to be constructed, particularly in Istanbul and Ankara (Sey, 1998).

2.3. The public architecture in Ankara in the changed political environment after the military interventions

1960-80 points on a period, where military interventions and memorandums interrupted democracy and the political environment was suppressed. Changes were experienced in the political area, the public field is reconstructed under this pressure after any type of intervention to democracy and found its response in the architectural environment with different trends.

The 1960s point on a period where the faith in the multi-party system was shaken. The democratic environment thought by the society to be established with the multi-party system couldn't be provided, a welfare in economic terms couldn't be achieved. The military intervention on May 27th ended this process and initiated a new political era in the country. After the intervention was relative more liberal constitution prepared and steps started to be made on the path of converting into a social state. Architecture, which broke its relation to political discourses in the 1950s, is considered again under the conditioning influences of the political discourse between 1960 and 1980 (Tanyeli, 1998). In this sense is the interaction of the architecture-policy relation shows itself both in the ideational and the implementation area.

During this period, where the number of architects and engineers reached thousands, a pluralist approach involving different styles started to be followed in architecture. The architectural forms are diversified with the increasing industrialization, diversification of the construction materials and new technologies. But it cannot be stated that the buildings stayed except the modernist theory even in this pluralist environment. The prominent public buildings constructed in this environment in Ankara are the Ankara Anatolian Club Building (Fig. 10) and the Turkish History Society Building (Fig. 11). It can be stated that also METU in whole represents the trends of the period (Tanyeli, 1998).



Fig. 10. Ankara Anatolia Club, Yener



Fig. 11. Ankara Turkish History Society, E.Yener and T. Cansever

An expansion of the state occurred after the military interventions in 1960 and 1971 and huge public buildings are constructed along with this. But the public buildings, expected to be open and accessible to everybody started to be built in a temple monumentality and in a protected manner like private properties (Balamir, 2003). The trend, which started in the 60s and reached its peak in the 1970s was the effort to eliminate the "reactionary" obstructions in front of the attempt to realize the solutions in question (Tanyeli, 1998). One of the public buildings of the period is the building of the Turkish Language Society (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Turkish Language Society, C. Bektaş

Tanyeli (1998) defines the 1980s as a period, where the organic bond between architecture and political ideologies broke up. In this period, where identity loss discussions were faced in every area of the society, was modernism accepted to be the responsible for this identity loss and this situation found its response in style liberty in the architecture. The period after 1980 defines a period, where pressure on the politics by the effect of the coup, and exteriorisation by the effect of liberalism in the economy was experienced. Güzer (1996) defined this period, where the nationalist development approach was abandoned, as a period of elaboration, search and diversity. And the trend to conservatism as a search against the identity discourse is reflected on the architecture by the design of buildings, which emphasize the Ottoman/Islam component, and the rise of postmodernism (Balamir, 2003). Postmodernism concretized in architecture with the return to the roots, meaning with historical, local or traditional searches by buildings referring to the Ottoman-Seljuk architecture.

The central administration has alienated a part of his authorizations after 1980 to local administrations in order to facilitate the control in the country's administration. This fact granted all local administrations, as it was the case for Ankara, to make the decisions with regards to the city on their own. Thus have the local administrations in Ankara started to reflect their own ideologies with the architectural images they created.

The building of the Ataturk Culture Centre can be indicated as a sample reflecting the period after 1980 in Ankara. The building designed on the 100th birthday of Ataturk with the mission to be "a symbolic and monumental building as the symbol of his greatest work, the Republic, and in order to present it to its Memory" and realized as a result of the free National Architectural Project Competition, is designed by Filiz and Coşkun Erkal (URL 2) (Fig. 13). Another public building constructed in Ankara in the 80s is the Batikent Arcade. The arcade includes a series of quite eligible references from the Seljuk cupola to the narthex of Ottoman mosques (Tanyeli, 1998) (Fig. 14).



Fig. 13. Ankara Ataturk Culture Center, F. Erkal, C. Erkal

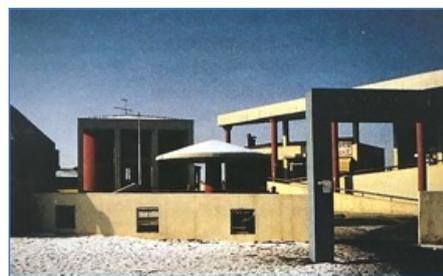


Fig. 14. Batikent Arcade, M. Karaaslan

The Ankara Court Palace constructed in Sıhhiye, completed in 1987, designed by Umut İnan, Yüksel Erdemir and Edip Önder Us and the World Trade Center Building, designed by Şevki Vanlı and attracting the attention with its modernized stalactite form are the other samples of the period (URL 3) (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15. Ankara Court Palace, U.İnan, Y.Erdemir, E.Ö.Us

Fig. 16. World Trade Center, Ş.Vanlı

2.4. Begin of the Islamist populism and public architecture in Ankara

In the 90s has the government reflected its own identity and differentness on many areas, from the built environment to political decisions and showed this effect sometimes with a stiff attitude (Çalikoğlu, 2008). Beside this, with the words of Yücel (2007), were the 90s the years, where the first globalisation wave was experienced. The increasing communication possibilities along with the globalisation, the idea that the notions Islamic-modern could be used together, have shaped the architecture of the 90s depending on the dynamics indicated and gave it a pluralist and eclectic appearance. The National Security Board's Secretary Building designed by Orhan Şahinler, Fehmi Kızıl, Muhlis Türkmen (Fig. 17) and the Assembly Lodgement designed by Behruz Çinici (Fig. 18) are among the public buildings, which reflect this pluralist approach.

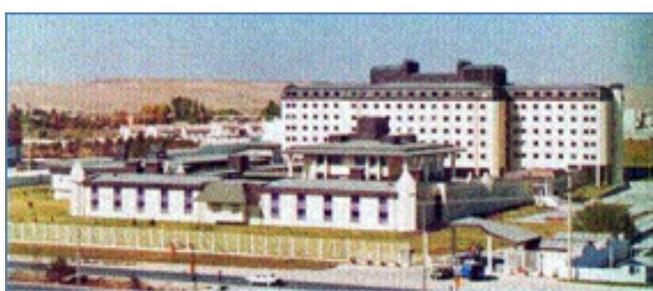


Fig. 17. National Security Board's Secretary Building, O.Şahinler, F.Kızıl, M.Türkmen

Fig. 18. Assembly Lodgements, B.Çinici

Particularly the fact that the Welfare Party (Turkish: Refah Partisi, RP) won the administration of the capital city along with the municipalities of the other large cities during the second half of the 90s resulted in that the Islamic identity mobilized towards stepping out to the social area. The first indications for that the political Islam gets stronger and gets closer to the power revealed in this period.

From Keçiören to Sincan, the monuments created by the municipalities, landscaping and the social rules tried to be implemented directed with its now legitimated Islamist identity towards the city centre. In this sense

points the period between 1997-2002 particularly in Ankara on an era where the Islamist ideology started to spread with populist policies (Batuman, 2012). It can be stated that the ideological trends in question remained relatively at an interpretation level at the structures designed and built during this period. The Presidential Guardsmen Troop Command designed by Umut Inan (Fig. 19) and the Ankara Trade Chamber Campus designed by Haluk Pamir (Fig. 20) and the Halkbank General Directorate Building designed by Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa (Fig. 21) are some of the other public buildings of the period.



Fig. 19. Presidency Gurtadsmen, Corp Commandi, U.İnan

Fig. 20. Ankara Trade Chamber Campus, H. Pamir

Fig. 21. Halkbank Gen. Dir. D.Tekeli, S.Sisa

2.5. Political environment established by conservative ideologies and the public architecture in Ankara

The dissatisfaction experienced in the country by the end of the 90s both in the economic, and the social and the societal area has prepared the necessary base for the development of political Islam; in the 2000s constituted in Turkey a party, which defines itself as conservative democrat, the government alone. It is since more than 10 years in power. As Bozdoğan and Kasaba (2010) noted, it is not possible to evaluate this success of the present power independent from the general situation in the world. The 2000s point on a period, where developments like globalization, rapid developing technology and increase of communication opportunities were experienced, but where also local and cross-border wars increased, massacres based on ethnic and religious identity were experienced, and where hostility has increased. The economic crisis, integration and dissolution process faced in the world during this period, resulted in the collapse of many systems and the people started to seek shelter under religious and nationalist ideologies (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 2010). Also in Turkey were the political orientations in this direction and conservative ideologies started to receive demand.

That the government has a liberal, market economy centred and for entrepreneurship open appearance in terms of economy, but a conservative, patriarchal and religious appearance in terms of culture and believes that the solution of social problems, economic problems and even cultural problems requires a rapid growth are the basic political trends which shape the period (URL 2). And the attention attracting feature of these policies in question is that it prefers historicist and able to be define as Neo-Ottoman approaches instead of the republican ideology. These preferences, which are to be seen intensively in the social and cultural area, are able to be observed in a characteristic manner at the architectural components of public spaces. This architecture with Seljuk-Ottoman breezes, which was defined by Peker (2015) and “AKP period public architecture”, can be seen as a symbol for that the government took hold of the urban borders (Peker, 2015).

Recently, the demolition decisions in addition to construction of new structures may be considered as an interference in the urban public space architecture by the political ideology. It is beyond doubt that

demolishment of old structures were observed in all periods during the architectural history of Turkey; many structures were demolished by ignoring their historical and cultural value, their contribution to the urban perception and urban memory and the meaning that they bear; on the other hand, the efforts of protection often resulted in malpractices. In this sense, perception and absorbance of the concept of protection is problematic. One of the most important grounds for it is nonformation of a long-established bourgeoisie concept in Turkey. There is no bourgeoisie culture that will hold all the branches of art and architecture let alone extolling them is present. Therefore, we cannot make a mention of a structure leading and backing the political ideology in the field of art. However, the political ideology all the time had the tendency to demolish the architectural structures that are defined as the symbol of the former ideologies and to ignore their historical past.

It is possible to observe the architectural reflections of all the given ideas that shape the public structures of the period and that have been mentioned in the capital Ankara where public structures are densely observed. In this context, some of the public structures that have been constructed and demolished in Ankara, are given below (Table 1).

Table 1. Assessment of the public architecture in Ankara in the 2000s through sample buildings

ANKARA CITY GATES	
 <p>Konya Road Gate</p> <p>Esenboğa Road Gate</p> <p>Eskişehir Road Gate</p> <p>Samsun Road Gate</p> <p>Istanbul Road Gate</p>	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Konya Road Gate</i>: On the road to Konya, on Mevlana Avenue, construction made with mechanical mounted stone cladding decoration elements on a steel construction; 25 metres high, 58 metres wide. The construction is completed in 60 days • <i>Esenboğa Road Gate</i>: On the road to Esenboğa, on Özal Avenue, construction made with mechanical mounted stone cladding and aluminium decoration elements on a steel construction; 26 metres high, 60 metres wide. The construction is completed in 60 days. • <i>Eskişehir Road Gate</i>: On the road to Eskişehir, on Dumlupınar Avenue, construction made with mechanical mounted stone cladding and aluminium decoration elements on a steel construction; 25 metres high, 66 metres wide. The construction is completed in 60 days. • <i>Samsun Road Gate</i>: On the road to Samsun, on Turgut Özal Avenue, construction made with mechanical mounted stone cladding and aluminium decoration elements on a steel construction; 30 metres high, 58 metres wide. The construction is completed in 60 days. • <i>Istanbul Road Gate</i>: On the road to Istanbul, on Fatih Sultan Mehmet Avenue, construction made with mechanical mounted stone cladding and aluminium decoration elements on a steel construction; 29 metres high, 70 metres wide. The construction is completed in 60 days (URL 5). • Completion Year: 2014 • Design: Saha Tasarım
ASSESSMENT	
<p>These are buildings designed with the aim to symbolize the ideology of the public architecture. The gates, reminding the old triumphal arches, have further elaborated the Ottoman-Seljuk synthesis. The traditional building elements gained much elaborated look by combining these with Roman triumphal arches; the new capital city look aimed to be established with the city gates, a representation of political Islam, is completed.</p>	
ANKARA TEVFİK İLERİ İMAM HATİP HIGH SCHOOL	
	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building's plot is 21 thousand 121 m², its sitting area is 6 thousand 750 m², and the yard area is 14 thousand m² dir. • The high school consists of two block. Education is provided in both blocks. • The project is conducted and completed by TOKİ. • It includes a boarding house for 300 students with 2-3 person rooms, working and diwan room on every floor, a mosque for 1600 persons (URL 6) • Completion Year: 2015
ASSESSMENT	
<p>Sharp coves, wide eaves, exedra like protrusions, Ottoman and Seljuk ornaments etc. are used together at the building, these elements are applied with new technologies and materials. The existing government tries to establish a national style by using these elements in different combinations at the school typology and is defined as the ideological representation of the political Islam, as the "new Ottoman-Seljuk" architecture. It somehow reminds the 1st national architecture period.</p>	
PRESIDENCY CAMPUS	
	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is constructed in Beştepe, on the terrain of the Atatürk Forest Farm. • It is constructed on an area of 450 000 m². • In has total 1.150 rooms. • While it is alleged that "the Seljuk architecture is modernized" at the building, the architect Şefik Birkiye states the style of the building with 'we were inspired from Turkish motives, have modernized and adopted them to our own style and spread them everywhere like a symphony" (URL 7). • Completion Year: 2015 • Design: Architect Şefik Birkiye
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The buildings in the Presidency Campus are the representation of a strong government's architecture. The power needed a new space in order to express itself. The building is designed by adhering to an order established with column rows of the building and the dominance of the wide eaves. Different from the Seljuk-Ottoman architecture synthesis of the period, the fact that no coves were used at the building is attracting the attention. Beside this, the campus is in the focus of the architectural disputes of the last period with its project, size and costs. The fact that building is designed in accordance with the needs of a presidency regime, which is not set over yet, that this is first concretized through architecture before transiting to a new regime, indicates that the relation between architecture and ideology is much stronger at present. That this defined as a "Külliyeh" (Social Complex) is also a result of this trend.</p>	

ANKARA METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY SSI ANKARA PROVINCE DIRECTORATE BUILDING FAÇADE CLADDING

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is one of 7 buildings with performed façade cladding works on Ataturk Avenue. • The façade is renewed with 10-15 mm thick produced, alkaline resistant glass fibre reinforced concrete. • Completion Year: 2014 (URL 7)
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ASSESSMENT

The building on Ataturk Avenue gained a different identity with the new façade cladding. The new façade, designed by using glass and concrete, is decorated with Ottoman-Seljuk motives and finalized with coves. It could be assessed as an architectural “kitsch”.

ANKARA ESZTERGOM CULTURE CENTRE

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has a covered area of 410.650 m² • It has a steel construction roof with reinforced concrete application. • It is a culture centre building with a restaurant, museum and exhibition halls, where artistic decorations are applied. • Completion Year: 2005 (URL 8)
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ASSESSMENT

The building is constructed as an imitation of Esztergom Castle at the shore of the river Danube in Budapest. Beside the architectural elements of Esztergom Castle are many Turkish architectural elements used at the building. In this sense may the building be defined as a kitsch”.

NECİP FAZIL YOUTH AND CULTURE CENTRE

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is built on a construction area of 10.000 m². • It is located in the Quarter Başak in Mamak. • It includes a wedding hall for 370 persons, a kindergarten, 2 wedding-ceremony halls, dining hall, exhibition hall, a multi-purpose hall, a youth centre and a culture centre. • It is designed by inspiration of the Seljuk architecture. • The structural landscaping works of the project are commencing (URL 9).
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ASSESSMENT

The building is designed with a style asserted to be a new interpretation of the Seljuk architecture with its windows, doors in cove shape, its symmetric arrangement, its re-interpreted cove gate. This style, established as a representation of the nationalist-conservatism and a national architecture, is being applied with new materials and new technologies, it is being tried to establish a new urban identity.

ANKAPARK

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It will be with an area of 1 million 200 thousand m² one of the world’s largest theme-parks. • The project has a covered area of 100 thousand m² and an open area of 1 million 100 thousand m². • There will be samples of Turkish architecture at the entrance of Ankapark. • There will be 1.217 smaller and larger toys in the park. • The opening of the project is scheduled on April 23rd 2018 (URL 10)
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ASSESSMENT

There are many architectural elements of the Ottoman-Seljuk are used at the park area, emphasized to be one of the largest entertainment centres in the world, and it got much more elaborated by a complex arrangement colour utilization and the material diversity. The existence of a large number of dinosaur sculptures in the park, which was subject to deep discussions with regards to its architectural quality, converts the meaning of the space further problematic.

MAMAK İMAM HATİP BUILDING

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is located in the Quarter Karaağaç in Mamak. • The project is conducted and completed by TOKİ. • The 4 storey building includes 3 science laboratories, 32 classrooms, 1 computer room, 1 library, 1 conference hall, 1 workshop, 1 canteen. • Completion Year: 2014(URL 11)
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ASSESSMENT

The meaning of the building is reduced to cove shaped jambs, balcony protrusions and façade elements consisting of cove-like motives. Symmetry is the most dominant design rule, which forms the structure. The school buildings, of which the ordinariness is tried to be eliminated with eaves, converted into projects realized in hundreds across the country and constituted the first samples of the “Ottoman-Seljuk” representation.

MINISTRY FOR FINANCE – ADDITIONAL SERVICE BUILDING (IN CONSTRUCTION)

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project includes 234 offices, 6 meeting rooms, 14 working rooms, 33 Department Presidencies; 35 Secretaries; archives, an exhibition hall, visitors’ waiting hall. • The building consists of 2 basement floor, the ground floor and 3 storeys. • The project is designed on an area of 30.726 m². • The project includes a minister’s office, minister’s counsellor rooms, secretaries, offices, meeting halls, a special meeting room, foyer, archive, exhibition hall, covered and open car parks. • The construction of the project is commencing (URL 12)
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ASSESSMENT

The language of the building, where Ottoman-Seljuk forms and modern, plain lines are used together, and where material diversity is used as a design element, is not clear. Here is irresoluteness with regards to the architectural style/the search for a different synthesis the case.

MINISTRY FOR SCIENCE, INDUSTRY, TECHNOLOGY

	<p>Technical Features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building is constructed on the 7th km of the Eskişehir Road. • The façade is made by glass cladding. • The building has 8 storeys. • Completion Year: 2014(URL 13)
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ASSESSMENT

The façade established with crown gate like niches, columns, column heads, has an arrangement where the full-empty balance is provided with the use of glass-concrete. This situation is a reflection of the “new Ottoman-Seljuk” architectural sense of the government.

Table 2. Assessment of the public architecture in Ankara in the 2000s through sample demolished buildings

MALTEPE ELECTRICITY AND COAL GAS PLANT	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is one of the industrial facilities of the Republic. It is defined as an industrial heritage. • It was located in Maltepe between Gazi Mustafa Kemal Avenue and Celal Bayar Avenue. • It was Ankara's first electricity generation facility, operating with coal gas and coke. • It was registered on November 13th 1990 as a Culture Asset. • In 1928, a power plant, its buildings and chimneys, and in 1929, coal gas ovens were built in Ankara. • Design: Architect Werner Issel • Destruction Year: 2006 (URL 14)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The building, one of the industrial heritages of the republican period, got old, but didn't lose its characteristic features, its historical authenticity. The building is destroyed with the assertion of asbestos gas emissions though it was registered as a Culture Asset. It is thought that the building located next to Gazi University, Faculty for Engineering-Architecture, had an important potential for cultural purposed usage even alone for its location.</p>	
ETIBANK BUILDING	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is built in the 1960s in Sıhhiye. • It is described as one of the important office buildings of the republican period. • Design: Architect Vedat Özsan, Toğrul Devres and Yılmaz Tuncer • Destruction Year: 2013 (URL 15)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The building, designed as a qualitative symbol of an important institution for the industrial history and development of the country, is designed with a pluralist approach adhered to the modernist theory nestling different architectural styles in the 1960s. The architectural form is became diversified with the increasing industrialization, diversification of the construction materials and new technologies. The Etibank building is in this context important as a modernist republican building, reflecting the architectural characteristic of the period.</p>	
WATER STRAINER BUILDING	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is one of the important industrial buildings of the republican period. • It is constructed in Dışkapı. • It was designed as a strainer, pumping the water from Çubuk Dam to Ankara. • It is completed in 1936 in order to meet the water need of the capital. • The facility includes along with the main building and administrative section, director's, machinist's and workers' dwellings, a warehouse, a water measurement building and a storage. • Design: Hochtief • Destruction Year: 2013 (URL 16)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The building is designed with a modern architectural sense. The building is accepted to be one of the rare samples designed in the horizontal plane as the Exhibition Hall. The building is with its straight lines, plain geometry and wide concrete surfaces one of the architectural heritages of the Republic.</p>	
MARMARA MANOR	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is one of the first buildings of Ataturk designed on the terrain of the AFF. • The construction was completed in 1928. • The building is registered as a cultural heritage. • Design: Ernest Egli • Destruction Year: 2016 (URL15)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The building, one of the symbolic spaces of the Republic in Ankara has, beside an architectural cultural value, also a memorial value. The fact that the building is a registered building and the idea that, in case of a risk with regards to its stability, the first option should be its repair, became a subject for diverse discussions in architectural environments.</p>	

STATE COUNCIL BUILDING	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is constructed in Çankaya. • The building is completed in 1978. • It is a building constructed as a result of a competition. • Plaster is used at the façade of the building, which was planned to be built as exposed concrete. • Design: Tekeli-Sisa Architecture • Destruction Year: 2016 (URL 15)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The State Council Building is one of the symbolic building of Ankara of the 70s. The building in questions holds an important place in the corporate history of the city. While the State Council Building, reflecting the modernist architectural sense of the period, is a building constructed as a result of a competition, it holds also an important place in the city's memory.</p>	
ILLER BANKASI BUILDING	
	Technical Features <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project, which won the 1st price at the Iller Bankası (Municipalities) Architectural Project Competition is implemented. • Iller Bankası was founded in order to finance the planned city development works. • While its was a registered building to be preserved as a 1st Grade Cultural Asset, the registration was cancelled in 2016. • Design: Seyfi Arkan • Destruction Year: 2016 (URL 15)
ASSESSMENT	
<p>The building, designed by Seyfi Arkan, one of the important architects of the Early Republic Period, is one of the architectural and cultural heritages of the period. The building, shaped with the modernization ideology of the republic, has gained a place in the city's memory with its modest and innovative design. The building has an authentic character with the rich material diversity, the circular shapes, decorative stone cladding façade, wrought iron application used at the design. The destruction of the building, which was a 1st grade cultural asset, resulted in intensive disputes.</p>	

3. PUBLIC SPHERE ARCHITECTURE AS A FORM OF AN IDEOLOGICAL EXISTENCE TOGETHER WITH ANKARA

As can be deduced from the assessments carried out up to this point, Ankara has organized spatially as the public sphere of the republican ideology. The architectural steps that have been taken from the historical perspective are an indication of this fact.

While some steps that were taken in the first years of the Republic within the context of establishing a modern public sphere bore the traces of Seljuk and Ottoman architecture (the 1st National Architecture Period), they were not adopted by the political power and the founding government representatives of this period and instead the modernist tendencies that were defined particularly by the hand of the architects coming from abroad were adopted as an architectural attitude. Particularly the formations at the central management axis and perimeter of Ankara are an indication of this fact. Subsequently, the Turkish architects that were educated abroad constructed avant-garde modernist buildings after returning to the country.

We observe that the modernist ideology and the conservative style coincide deeply upon embarking on the multi-party political life in the 1945's. This fact is evident in both the political decisions arranging the public sphere and the spatial organization. Thus, the second National Architecture Period of which Sedat Hakkı Eldem was the pioneer though not bearing the quality of the classical Seljuk and Ottoman architecture, represent a period in which the traditional civilian architecture types were assessed typologically and found a presence in the public sphere.

In this sense, the traditional conservative tendency of the political life in Turkey made its impact felt densely in all the historical periods. This powerful feeling went together with modernism depending on the power of the political structure or dismissed it totally. Nevertheless, the 2000's became a stage to a robust and long-lasting

conservative political representation. This robust representation almost dismissed modernism with the architectural existence of the public sphere as relatively. The public open spaces and the structures possessing a public architectural plan that were built during this period started to make use of the Seljuk and Ottoman architectural ways most of which are superficially historicist. What stands as striking at this point is demolition of the structures representing the public architectural mentality of the initial period's founding state policies for ordinary reasons. Demolishing a robust architectural memory instead of assessing or considering it as an architectural heritage is a result of the ideological coinciding that constitutes the title of this section. On the other hand, the discourse that was put forward and those erected in their place further strengthens this mentality.

4. CONCLUSION

Architecture is, as it was in the past, also today a tool which fills the ideological structure of the political power, concretizes it, makes it visible and even offers the opportunity to experience it in the political, social, cultural and economic sense. The effects of the power in the field of architecture are clearly able to be seen, particularly on the urban-public spaces. The experienced social, economic, cultural and political preferences during the transition from the Ottoman period to the republic, the ideal to create a modern and democratic nation have shaped the urban-public spaces.

As one of the cities, where this is experienced the best, bears Ankara, a republican city, the feature to constitute a model for whole Turkey. The constructed environment of the city is also at present loaded with strong meanings, as it was in the past. In this context, it is possible to read the reflections of the city's societal history through the public architecture of Ankara. These buildings are important witnesses of the close period history of the country. Each building constructed in Ankara as of the first years of the republic is the spatial reflection of the Republic's ideals and the societal order aimed to be achieved, briefly, of the modernization program. Along with this, it is to be seen that any event experienced during the democratization process of the country is embodied in public spaces in terms of architecture. For example, while an international style search as a reflection of globalization and exteriorization is to be seen at the buildings constructed in Ankara during the multi-party period, the liberal atmosphere, established after the military intervention in 1960, was concretized in architecture with a pluralism adhered to the modernist theory, and the identity search at any field of the society established after the military intervention in 1980 found its response in style freedom.

On the other side, the fact that the ideology of a republic wasn't a strong civil movement from the bottom always converted an issue like laicism, one of the basic principles of modernization, disputable. Therefore, particularly as conservative defined structures, have used the religion as a strong discourse. As a result of this has political Islam, particularly in the 90s, found its response in the societal and cultural life with a populist attitude. And this gained in architectural field a pluralist and eclectic look with globalization and post modernist discussions.

It is seen that the political power prioritized in the 2000s, in the context the ideological frame adopted by it, an architectural style at public architecture, which can be assessed as an imitation of the Seljuk-Ottoman architecture. This shaping sense, defined by the government as Islamic and modern, of which it thinks that it allows the achievement of modernity at a local level, is being used by the government at the cultural, educational buildings of the period and, as to be understood from the samples provided in the study, a new public architecture is being established.

Another application to strengthen this determination is the demolition of the modernist buildings constructed during the first years of the republic. Behaviors like the victory sign made by the Mayor of the Ankara

Metropolitan Municipality after the demolition of the İller Bankası Building strengthens this judgement. These buildings, of which the most are registered, are being demolished by asserting either that their architectural life were expired or that there is need of a new space; though it would be more advantageous in economic terms, the fact that they could be repaired is being ignored. The evaluations as a result of the respective profession organizations, universities, specialists are not taken into consideration. It is tried to give a new meaning to spaces and the former meaning is tried to be eliminated with the decisions on demolition. But these buildings are the best samples for the country's modern architectural heritage. There is no doubt that there many other buildings of the republican period in Ankara. At least the protection of these is important in architectural heritage aspects.

Architecture has always been considered as the representation instrument of the political power in all periods as a matter of fact. If democracy and democratic opinions become predominant in the social life in real terms, the public spheres coming to existence with differing ideological ideas will take their place in social and cultural memory together with their architecture.

As a result, architecture creates always an indispensable area for the power holders. That architecture generates permanent values compared with the temporariness of human being and life is the most basic reason for this. It is therefore in the focus of the interest of the power and the ideologies shaping the power. The important point here is to give architecture the opportunity for urban-public spaces for cultural continuity and which reflect the spirit of the era.

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