

MOSQUES OF ANKARA:  
OBJECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION SINCE THE 1950S

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE  
IN  
ARCHITECTURE

JULY 2014



Approval of the thesis:

**MOSQUES OF ANKARA:  
OBJECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION SINCE THE 1950S**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **MOSQUES OF ANKARA: OBJECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION SINCE THE 1950S**

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July 2014, 142 pages

Political ideologies are often represented in architecture. This study discusses how politics shaped the architectural process of mosque production in Ankara after the 1950s and is limited to the construction of mosques in the Altındağ, Çankaya and Pursaklar districts in the 1950-2010 period. The primary aim is to decode the underlying issues in the power relations and shed light on the effects of political choices and ideological tendencies on the architecture of mosques. This is done through an analysis of the changes in the profiles of stakeholders involved, namely the associations, the state and the private sector. The role of the architects is also taken into account as they are a leading element of the entire mosque production process.

**Keywords:** Ideology, Political Representation, Mosque Architecture

## ÖZ

ANKARA’NIN CAMİLERİ:

1950’LER SONRASINDA İDEOLOJİK TEMSİLİYETİN NESNELERİ

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Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Temmuz 2014, 142 sayfa

Politik ideolojiler çoğunlukla mimaride de temsil edilmektedir. Bu çalışma, siyasetin 1950’li yıllardan sonra Ankara’daki mimari cami yapımı süreçlerini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ele almakta olup, 1950-2010 yılları arasında Ankara’nın Altındağ, Çankaya ve Pursaklar ilçelerindeki cami yapımına odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmanın temel amacı siyasi güç ilişkilerinin altında yatan hususları ortaya koymak ve siyasi tercih ve ideolojik eğilimlerin cami mimarisi üzerindeki etkilerine ışık tutmaktır. Bu amaçla, söz konusu dönemde cami yapım sürecinde rol alan dernek, devlet ve özel sektör gibi paydaşların profillerinde yaşanan değişimler incelenmektedir. Cami yapımı sürecinin önemli bir ögesi olan mimarların rolü de ayrıca ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İdeoloji, Siyasi Temsiliyet, Cami Mimarisi

*in loving memory of my mum and dad*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin for his guidance, contributions and patience throughout this study. I would be always grateful for having such a good advisor who has supported me throughout my studies.

I would like to thank the members of the examining committee, Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir, Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tomris Elvan Ergut and Assoc.Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacıoğlu for their valuable suggestions and comments.

I am truly thankful for Mr. Serdar Yıldırım' s tremendous support and excellent feedback on my thesis. I am thankful to all my friends, for their continuous encouragement and support through the most difficult times. I would also like to thank my fiancé Onur Binay, who always shared my excitement during the study.

I owe my deepest appreciation and thanks to my parents, Ece and Gündüz Karaelmas for their patience and trust throughout my life. Although I lost them three years ago, I know that they are following me at any moment.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my sister, Pelin Karaelmas Gülyuva. She has always been encouraging me, but especially throughout this study and my degree. I sincerely thank her for her endless support and love.



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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's Party
MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)	:	Nationalist Movement Party
MKP (Milli Kalkınma Partisi)	:	National Development Party
DP (Demokrat Parti)	:	Democrat Party
AP (Adalet Partisi)	:	Justice Party
İP (İşçi Partisi)	:	Workers' Party of Turkey
YTP (Yeni Türkiye Partisi)	:	New Turkey Party
CKMP (Cum. Köylü Millet Partisi)	:	Republic Peasant Nation Party
MP (Millet Partisi)	:	Nation Party
MNP (Milli Nizam Partisi)	:	Nation Regularity Party
Dev-Genç Partisi	:	Revolutionary Youth of Turkey
MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)	:	Nationalist Action Party
CGP (Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi)	:	Republican Reliance Party
MNP (Milli Nizam Partisi)	:	National Order Party
MSP (Millî Selâmet Partisi)	:	National Salvation Party
THKO (Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu):		People's Liberation Army of Turkey
RP (Refah Partisi)	:	Welfare Party
FP (Fazilet Partisi)	:	Virtue Party
MGK (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu)	:	National Security Council
DYP (Doğru Yol Partisi)	:	Right Path Party
SHP (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti):		Social Democrat Populist Party
DSP (Demokratik Sol Parti)	:	Democratic Left Party
KİT (Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsü)	:	State Economic Enterprise
İMF (Uluslararası Para Fonu)	:	International Monetary Fund
TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi)	:	The Mass Housing Administration
TSK (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetler)	:	The Turkish Armed Force







## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

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

The main objective of this study is to discuss mosques as representations of an ideology in the form of an architectural object. To understand the instrumental role of state agencies in representing the changing ideological formations, the study focuses on mosques built in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, since the 1950s. Taking a quick glance at the first examples of mosque architecture, the study discusses the implications of politics on the architectural environment and thus the mosque architecture in Turkey within the framework of Ankara between the years 1950 and 2010. To narrow the scale of this research, the study investigates primarily the mosques built after the 1950s in Çankaya, Altındağ and Pursaklar. The main aim is to investigate the role of the state as a patron and its ideology in the mosque production process by questioning the changing political identity of the patron who had a significant role in shaping the contours of architectural production after the 1950s. Within this conceptual framework, the mosque production process will be analyzed in two different periods: between 1950 and 1980, which is considered to start with the first breaking point in the political era with the transition to a multi-party system; and between 1980 and 2010, which is marked with the second breaking point following the military coup d'état.

As stated above, a comparison will be made of three districts to understand how the mosque production process was affected by the political upheavals that occurred within the temporal framework of this study. The comparison will focus on the two main actors in the architectural process of these specific mosques: the

patron<sup>1</sup> and the owner<sup>2</sup>, while the role of the architects will also be taken into account, as a leading element of the entire mosque production process.

Before clarifying the roles of these actors, there is a need to define the term “mosque”, as it is the main objective of this study. “Mosque” means “the act of collecting and bringing together” in the Arabic language, and is derived from “cem’an”, referring, in this case, to a place for the gathering of people for religious worship. The word was originally used as the shortened form of “El mescidü'l Câmi” (mosque which gathers people together), which was used for Friday prayers. Built at the outset of the Islamic faith, the first example of mosque architecture was the Prophet’s house in Medina, in front of which a square was marked out in the sand for the taking of communal prayers. One side of the house faced Mecca.

After the War, most Islamic countries gained independence and the rapidly changing conditions that resulted from this affected also the architecture of mosques. The effects of the internationalism and modernism could clearly be seen in the architecture of traditional regional mosques, although their styles changed in line with the trends of the period and to reflect the identity of the respective societies. As a result, elements such as minarets, domes and gateways gained importance.

Mosques serve many other functions for Muslim societies. They serve as libraries and schools, as meeting places and as landmarks, while also providing a sense of identity and place. Mosques bring together all elements of society: poor-rich, rural-urban, supervisor-clerk, official-civil, old-young, black-white, and foreign-domestic. Moreover, the mosque can serve as a public space for the men (sometimes the women) of a group, outside its symbolic and functional roles.

After defining the word “mosque”, its functions and role in society representing the ideology of the state will be discussed. The role of architecture as an

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, the word “patron” is used to refer to a client who has built a mosque with financial support from different groups.

<sup>2</sup> Owner refers to the owner of the land on which a mosque is built.

ideological apparatus is an often-discussed issue and this study draws upon Terry Eagleton's ideas of the ideologies as a representation of systematic knowledge in multiple forms. The studies of Fadime Yılmaz (*Architecture, Ideology, Representation: Party Headquarters as a New Mode in Representing Power Since the 1980s [2009]*) and Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya (*Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*) discuss ideology from Eagleton's perspective, while Hasan İşben Önen (*Locating the Structure-Agency Dichotomy in Architecture: Workers' Club As a Type of Social Condenser in the Soviets 1917–32*) discusses the workers' club as an architectural type in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, and evaluated the role of agencies in the production process. Yeşilkaya emphasizes in her book that the role of the state is critical in the production process, and in the same way, this study attempts to understand the role of state agencies and changing ideologies in the mosque production process as a new archetype.

For Eagleton, the term ideology itself should be regarded as an important element in understanding how architecture is conceived, produced and represented in any given social environment.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, architecture can be considered as a part of power relations, which, conversely, are best represented through architecture. In other words, the relationship between architecture and power is both mutual and reversible, having a two-fold structure. As Eagleton states:

“...the general material process of the production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life. Such a definition is both politically and epistemologically neutral, and is close to the broader meaning of the term ‘culture’. Ideology, or culture, would here denote the whole complex of signifying practices and symbolic processes in a particular society; it would allude to the way individuals ‘lived’ their social practices, rather than to those practices themselves, which would be the preserve of politics, economics, kinship theory and so on ...”<sup>4</sup>

The state has power over society, and ideologically represents itself using architecture as an apparatus. In this respect, we will draw from the thoughts of Althusser for his understanding of the terms “state” and “ideological apparatuses

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<sup>3</sup> Eagleton, Terry. “What is ideology?”, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London and New York, 1991, p.28.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

of the state”. According to Eagleton, the ideology is the ideas that help legitimize a dominant political power,<sup>5</sup> and this political power can use architecture as an apparatus for representing itself. Eagleton continues:

“Are ideas really so important for political power? Most theories of ideology have arisen from within the materialist tradition of thought, and it belongs to such materialism to be skeptical of assigning any very high priority to ‘consciousness’ within social life. Certainly, for a materialist theory, consciousness alone cannot initiate any epochal change in history; and there may therefore be thought to be something self-contradictory about such materialism doggedly devoting itself to an inquiry into signs, meanings and values.”<sup>6</sup>

Eagleton suggests in his book, “Ideology, An Introduction,” that ideological strategies are significant in their need to be unifying, action-oriented, rationalizing, legitimizing, universalizing and naturalizing. Ideologies often bring together different groups or classes, despite their different identities; and are not usually seen as speculative theoretical systems, but rather as action-oriented sets of beliefs.<sup>7</sup> The political structure of any state can be given as an example of the process of universalization, which is not always a speciously rationalizing mechanism. The state for some is fundamentally an instrument of ruling-class power, but it is also an organ by which that class must fashion the general consensus within which its own interests might best thrive.<sup>8</sup> Successful ideologies are often thought to render their belief natural and self-evident. These ideologies identify themselves with the “common sense” of a society, within which nobody could think that they might be different. This process involves the ideology by creating as tight a fit as possible between itself and social reality, thereby closing the gap into which the leverage of critique could be inserted.<sup>9</sup>

Before looking into the main subject of the study, the spatial-temporal framework of Ankara after the 1950s, the politics of the time period between 1923 and 1946

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.1-31.

<sup>6</sup> Eagleton, Terry. “Ideological Strategies”, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London and New York, 1991, p.33.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

in the capital city will be discussed. The Turkish Republic was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 after he rejected the Ottoman dynasty that had lasted for six centuries and wanted to set up a new secular regime.<sup>10</sup> After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Nationalists gained an important role in the Turkish revolution that occurred in many areas, such as education, health, architecture, agriculture and language. All these areas were in need of upheaval for the creation of a modern state, which was the intention behind Kemalist thought. The new modern state had to be secular, rational and in possession of an industrial economy, and political power had to be seized from the hands of reactionaries and conservatives. Although there were not many Kemalists in the Grand National Assembly, Mustafa Kemal founded the Republican People's Party (CHP) in April 1923 to lead the institutional changes.<sup>11</sup> Mustafa Kemal was selected as the party leader, and a new period began with the foundation of the new state. Istanbul had long been the center of the Ottoman Empire; however, Mustafa Kemal declared Ankara as the capital of the newly established Turkish Republic on 13 October 1923, which, according to Tekeli, was an ideological decision.<sup>12</sup>

According to Gönül Tankut, Turkey had long been regarded as “a country with two capitals”, and this predicament was most apparent at the end of World War I until the abolition of the caliphate in 1924.<sup>13</sup> This dual understanding, with Istanbul as the center of the Ottoman dynasty and the caliphate, and Ankara as the center of the War of National Independence, was partially resolved with the declaration of Ankara as the new capital city of the emerging nation state following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. As a result, the capital city of modern Turkey was decided to be re-located from Istanbul to Ankara with an increasing counter-argument for the lesser significance of this town of Central Anatolia. This transition was in fact one of the most significant events in contemporary Turkish history, because on the way to becoming a nation-

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<sup>10</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge, London&New York, 1993, p.15.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.53.

<sup>12</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. “The Social Context of The Development of Architecture in Turkey”, *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Holod, Renata and Evin, Ahmet, Univesity of Pennsylvania Press, p.23.

<sup>13</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Architecture of Revolution”, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, University of Washington Press, p.67–68.

state, the new governing body and the state *elite* were of the belief that all associations with the Ottoman past and Orthodox Islam needed to be reframed within the contours of the newly adapted patterns of Modern Turkey. In the following years, this small, undeveloped and forgotten town was forced into a new phase of transformation, from literally nothing into a modern capital city, akin to the examples in Europe that were experienced by the ruling elite during their diplomatic campaigns in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This new city, according to Zeynep Kezer, would “symbolize the breakaway from the Ottoman Empire and its heritage”.<sup>14</sup>

As claimed by Tekeli, Turkey faced a number of significant structural problems, both practically and ideologically, in the years between 1923 and 1927, and these problems had a negative impact on architecture as well.<sup>15</sup> In this period, architects borrowed much from the organizations and modern structural systems of the West, while retaining elements such as arches, columns, mouldings from classical Ottoman architecture. This style was known as the First National Architectural Movement, which was founded and led by Kemallettin Bey, and later by Vedat Tek. Turkish architects accepted the ideas of the movement, but used the style only in the design of public buildings. The mode was dominant in Ankara between 1923 and 1927, when many buildings were designed in line with this style. In this period, while designing their projects, architects borrowed much from the organizations and modern structural systems of the West, while retaining elements such as arches, columns and moldings from classical Ottoman architecture. It was accepted by the Turkish architects but they could use only in public buildings.<sup>16</sup> The First National Architectural Movement became dominant as an architectural style in Ankara between 1923 and 1927, and many buildings were designed according to this style.

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<sup>14</sup> Kezer, Zeynep. “Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara’s Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey”, *People, Power, Places*, S. Mc Murray and A. Adams, Ed., University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN, 2000, p.101.

<sup>15</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. “The Social Context of The Development of Architecture in Turkey”, *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Holod, Renata and Evin, Ahmet, Univesity of Pennsylvania Press, p.9.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p.13.



It is this breakaway that makes this research significant. Ankara, which was a significant breakaway modernization project for Republican Turkey, symbolized a new set of values in many fields, including architecture. Accordingly, the intention here is to investigate that moment of *tabula rasa* and its architecture in respect to one particular *archetype*, that is, the mosque. Ankara, as the new capital of the newly emerging Turkish Republic, has always been regarded as the center of the secular establishment since its foundation, and as such, the mosque was not considered an important archetype of the state elite while building the new capital city.<sup>17</sup> In the early years of the Republic, major investments were made into government facilities, as well as housing and infrastructure, and the building of mosques as grand architectures of the state was not even an issue for the ruling class. For some, Ankara was considered as “a city without minarets”, although historically the town had several religious buildings, including mosques, churches and synagogues. Small in scale and modest in practice, none of these historical religious buildings were effective either in defining the character of Ankara or in creating its architectural identity. The choice of Ankara as the new capital of the secular state, in this regard, was no coincidence. From a religious point of view, Ankara could be considered a *tabula rasa*, and thus was accepted as representing the new ideology of Turkish nationhood based on the principals of Enlightenment, akin to the cities of Europe.

Modernism gained a new perspective in the architectural culture of the early Turkish Republic, which can be understood from an analysis of the modernization movement. Sibel Bozdoğan claims that the architectural culture of the early Turkish Republic was interesting as an ideology for “planners, engineers, architects, scientists and technicians”, all of whom “wanted to use state power to bring about huge, utopian changes in people’s work habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldview.”<sup>18</sup> The new regime used modern architecture to rid the

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<sup>17</sup> Sargın, Güven A. “Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2004, volume 22, p.661.

<sup>18</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Avrupa’ nın Kıyılarında Modernizm”, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, November, p.18.

James C.Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), p.90.

country of its Ottoman and Islamic past, and in this way, a new, westernized, modern and secular nation was created.<sup>19</sup> The term “Concrete” could be used to describe the new architecture of the early Turkish Republic.<sup>20</sup>

According to Tekeli, the development of architectural production was affected by three factors.<sup>21</sup> First, architectural skills and functions were affected by the demands of society at different stages of the economic and technological process.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, the influx of local and international architectural ideas caused architects to gain an architectural ideology.<sup>23</sup> And finally, architectural ideologies changed as a result of improvements in professions.<sup>24</sup> The changes in the national economy also affected Turkey, bringing about a new class structure and lifestyle, and this led architects to try to find new architectural movements.<sup>25</sup> For Tekeli, the years between 1927 and 1939 saw a rise of what can be referred to as Ankara-Vienna cubism in functional architecture. Theodor Post, Ernst Egli, Clemens Holzmeister and Hermann Jansen came to Ankara and designed several buildings, thus changing the face of Ankara.<sup>26</sup> Tekeli included in his article a citation from Ahmet Haşım, the popular poet and critic, to criticize the years between 1923 and 1929.<sup>27</sup>

Ever since young poets have started to compose in the modern meter and ever since some have started to conduct the music of Turkish saz with a baton, a medrese architecture, to which we are unable to assign a name, has spread among our architects. Hotel, bank, school, port-house are each a caricature of a mosque, with a “minaret” missing on the outside, and a “minbar” on the inside. Our architects call this style of building “Turkish architecture”.

Bozdoğan claims that the Republican period ended with the death of Atatürk in 1938, while the unexpected death of Bruno Taut was also influential, given his

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. “The Social Context of The Development of Architecture in Turkey”, *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Holod, Renata and Evin, Ahmet, Univesity of Pennsylvania Press, p.8.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.18.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.15.

contributions to the modernization movement in Turkey. She claims that during this period, architectural culture became more nationalist, aiming to represent the power and ideology of the state,<sup>28</sup> according to which the state gained a new role in Turkish architectural culture. This period saw the construction of many monumental public buildings that were serious in appearance with imposing stone facades, and dominated by a simple classicism. At the end of the 1930s, Sedat Hakkı Eldem suggested that a national government should have a national architectural movement, based on his belief that a “national architecture” connoted a strong regime and state patronage. To this end, Eldem, Onat and Bonartz began designing more classic, sober and monumental buildings for Ankara in the 1930s. This architectural approach offers a clear indication that the government and political agencies affected the architecture. For Bozdoğan modern architecture underwent a transformation to monumental architecture after 1930.<sup>29</sup>

The Modern Movement had its influence on architecture in this time period. In 1927, the Association of Turkish Architects in Ankara and the Union of Fine Arts in Istanbul were founded, and in 1931 the country’s first journal devoted to architecture, *Mimar*, was published. In this period, the city plan gained importance, and the state launched a number of competitions to create cities that would be comparable to those found in the West.<sup>30</sup>

After the 1940s, Islam saw a re-emergence in Turkey, and a number of political parties were established that underlined the role of Islam in the transition to a multi-party system. The state used its power to build in the villages that had little money. In 1942, the rapid changes in the economy caused chaos in Turkey as prices and inflation increased dramatically. This “transitional period” was closely related to the latest political developments in the country. In 1945, unpopular government policies and poor economic conditions brought about the rise of a

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<sup>28</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Milliyetçi Devlet Anıtları”, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, November, p.292.

<sup>29</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Avrupa’ nın Kıyılarında Modernizm”, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, November, p.28.

James C.Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 90.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

number of opposition movements. In these years, monumental national symbolism and the power of the state gained importance in architectural discourse, with repercussions on Turkish architecture based on the patronage of the state.

Ankara, since its declaration as the new capital, has witnessed a very unique history, and one of the objectives of this thesis is to decipher the unique trajectory of mosque architecture in the city since then. The period up until the 1950s can be considered as the Golden Years of Ankara at the hands of such European masters as Bruno Taut and Clemens Holzmeister, who lived in Ankara for some years and designed many of the public buildings required to satisfy the demands of the revolution – including administrative facilities, as well as educational and cultural edifices. It is apparent that constructing religious buildings was not a priority for the ruling elite; such programs were limited in number and small in scale, and had little impact on the cityscape. However, for many, the 1950s are regarded as a breaking point in this trend. Supported by the increasing numbers of mosques that were emerging in the changing political climate, religion once again began to play a constitutive role in the shaping of public moral and cultural values, which led the nation's leaders to begin regulating this particular domain for political gain. There was of course a striking correlation between Turkey's new political agenda and the growing utilization of mosque architecture. Afife Batur claims in *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century* that the demand for the construction of mosques saw a radical increase in the new settlement areas that were developing around the city centers, mostly after the 1950s.<sup>31</sup>

This ideological choice was forced into a new paradigm in the 1950s under the political, social and economic pressures that were rising in the country, empowered by the surrounding international circles. As a result, mosque architecture once again became a choice of ideological representation in the hands of the new ruling elite. After the transition to a multi-party system, the first Grand Mosque of Ankara was built and put into service in *Yenişehir*, at the heart of the new city, under the administrative guidance of a state agency – the Religious

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<sup>31</sup> Batur, Afife. "The Post-War Period: 1950–1960", *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*. Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June 2005, p.59.

Affairs Directorate. This can be considered as a breaking point in Turkey's political history.

## **1.2. The Methods of Analysis**

The scope of this research is confined to the Altındağ, Çankaya and Pursaklar districts of Ankara, which were chosen from among the 25 districts that fall under the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, of which 18 can be considered as central. After clarifying the numbers of mosques in Ankara, the research continues with focus on the districts of Altındağ, Çankaya and Pursaklar. Altındağ is the oldest district in Ankara, and so was the first center of the government body. In the present day, Çankaya is home to many of the country's political, professional, economic and government bodies,<sup>32</sup> and houses the headquarters of Turkey's legislative, executive and judicial structures.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, all of Ankara's universities, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and most of the high courts, ministries and embassies are located in Çankaya.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Pursaklar is a new development district with a new residential area that is due for completion within the next five years.

This study uses data collected through a survey about mosques that have been built since the 1950s. The tables, which help provide a clear understanding of the current situation, have been compiled using data provided by the *Çankaya, Altındağ* and *Pursaklar Müftülüğü*. The tables list the mosques in Çankaya, Altındağ and Pursaklar, ordered according to their owners, the year of construction, the architects and their patrons; while the graphs show the ratio of patrons and owners. While analyzing the tables, the following criteria will be used:

- 1- Year of construction
- 2- Owners
- 3- Patrons
- 4- Architects

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<sup>32</sup> *Ankara: Kent Hizmetleri Merkezi, Çankaya*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 1991, p.7.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

- 5- Membership of Chamber of Architects
- 6- Built-up sites
- 7- Mosque area
- 8- Capacities

The rapid intrusion of mosque architecture into the cityscape was at large supported by both public bodies and civil organizations, with each playing a key role in the creation of a new perception of religion, and thus religious architecture. Each institution aimed to exercise its power by any means necessary, and it can now be argued that all of these bodies, whether social or state, can be regarded as new forms of “patronage” with ideological significance in the production processes. In this respect, patronage plays an intricate role in the establishment, sustainment and representation of power, and so it should be discussed in terms of power relations. This study discusses the system of patronage and the nature of contemporary patrons and/or clients, all of whom hold a certain degree of power. This suggests that the state itself, as well as associations<sup>35</sup> (*Cami Yapma ve Yaşatma Dernekleri*) of any form and even the private sector, can now be considered as key players in patronage. As Renata Holod and Hasan-Uddin Khan noted in *The Mosque and the Modern World: Architects, Patrons and Designs since the 1950s*, mosques can be classified according to their patrons, i.e., whether they are state mosques, personal mosques, or mosques of public or commercial institutions.<sup>36</sup> There may be several reasons why an agency chooses to act as the sole provider of the architecture of a mosque. For example, the motivation behind the construction of a state mosque may be related to the national identity. The leaders of any political establishment, on the other hand, may want to state their choice of ideological sentence in both modern and Islamic terms, and so may use architecture as an apparatus for exercising their goals. In this respect, one should question specifically the role of the state and its agencies in the creation of any

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<sup>35</sup> In this study the term “association” is used to refer to a foundation whose aim is to collect money and build a mosque.

<sup>36</sup> Holod, Renata and Khan, Hasan-Uddin. *The Mosque and the Modern World: Architects, Patrons and Designs since the 1950s*, Thames and Hudson Press, 1997, p.99-105.

architecture, in particular the architecture of a mosque. It is the aim of this study to draw a research path that will clarify the current situation in Ankara.

As mentioned earlier, the number of mosques in Ankara saw a rapid and dramatic increase after the 1950s, the underlying cause of which should be investigated in full. For Batur, for instance, the patrons of these mosques were mostly civil organizations such as the “*Camii Yapma ve Yaşatma Dernekleri*,” and their collective attitude certainly warrants critical analysis.<sup>37</sup> What happened before the 1950s is a major inquiry in itself. However, it is the post-1950s that are the focus of this study, with an intention to make a full analysis of Turkey’s changing ideological positions. From a critical point of view, the changing parameters can be attributed to Turkey’s forced political shifts, as embodied within the international conjuncture. This was, in fact, a new paradigm, and Turkey certainly witnessed its share. Güven Arif Sargin suggests that the late 1950s marked a new era by which the *Kemalist İnkılap* finally came to a partial end with the empowerment of “the conservative historical block,”<sup>38</sup> which disagreed with the Republican elite’s perception of Islam and the Ottoman heritage.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, “the spatial landscape of Ankara was transformed and organized around the retrospective images of the Ottoman heritage or a distinct Islamic ideology by counter reformists, conservative central governments and pro-Islamic local authorities”, argues Sargin.<sup>40</sup> Thereafter, mosques that mimicked the Ottoman Classical Period began to dominate the city landscape.

### 1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

As part of its premises, this study will provide a historical account of mosque architecture, for which two historical periods will be subjected to analysis. The second chapter discusses the 1946–1980 period, which witnessed an in-depth ideological formation of its own. According to Batur, the years between 1960 and 1980 marked a significant epoch that was characterized by a “search for the new”.

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<sup>37</sup> Batur, Afife. “The Post-War Period: 1950-1960”, *A Concise History: Architecture In Turkey During the 20th Century*. Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June, 2005, p.59.

<sup>38</sup> Sargin, Güven A. “Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2004, volume 22, p.661.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.661.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.662.

The formation of new economic functions, the foundation of new social formations, the changes in the class structure of Turkish society and the newly accepted codes of the market economy could be regarded as the nuclei of the new *ethos*. Accordingly, architectural culture also came under immense pressure from the international circles, forcing, in the fullest sense, architects to cope with new design forms. At this point it is necessary to mention the increasing power of the private sector, by which the new national bourgeoisie became an active agent in all architectural production alongside the still-powerful state agencies. In this respect, this period will be analyzed in three decades, taking into account the patrons, owners and capacities of the mosques in Ankara. Data will be presented in tables and graphs, with reference to which the patronage of these periods will be examined.

The third chapter will revolve around the 1980 and 2010 period, when the effects of the adapted political regimes became more widespread, permanent and profound.<sup>41</sup> The period between these two years is important in that architectural practice was no longer local/national; it tended to blend into the international market. As government investment decreased, the patronage profile changed drastically. The municipalities and the national bourgeoisie, as an increasing partner of the international market, went hand-in-hand, bringing the private sector to the agenda at various scales.<sup>42</sup>

This study aims to provide an understanding of the intricate relationship that exists between patronage and architecture within a specific archetype – mosque architecture. It is common knowledge that architects shape the environment for human beings, creating settings for work or worship, and for leisure or play.<sup>43</sup> However, a design process includes many parameters, including even a political aspect that affects the entire design process, including where to build a structure,

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<sup>41</sup> Batur, Afife. "The Post-War Period: 1950-1960", *A Concise History: Architecture In Turkey During the 20th Century*. Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June 2005, p.79.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.81.

<sup>43</sup> Jenkins, Frank. "Introduction", *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*, Oxford University Press, 1961. p.258.



how to design it and who to finance it.<sup>44</sup> As such, it is the intention here in to evaluate critically all of the procedures associated with the representation, building and use of mosque architecture over the last 60 years in Ankara, raising specific questions related to the changing identity of the state agencies in those procedures.

This study will provide a clear understanding of the instrumental role played by state agencies in representing the changing ideological formations in the processes of architectural production, and how the identity of the state changed in two particular periods. The programs of the Religious Affairs Directorate will be presented to show how the directorate's position has changed since the transition to the multi-party system, and how architecture has become a tool of ideological representation.

As mentioned previously, the state plays a critical role in the architectural production process, and in this context, the two periods spanning 1950–1980 and 1980–2010 will be analyzed in detail to give an idea of the true situation in three different districts of Ankara, namely Altındağ, Çankaya and Pursaklar. Furthermore, an understanding of the role of the state agencies in the process will be provided through an analysis of the patrons and owners in two periods. These two periods will be analyzed decade by decade.

The concluding chapter includes an evaluation of the last 60 years through the data presented in the graphs and tables, in which the changes of patronage and owners will be clearly identifiable. Furthermore, the role of the state in each period and how its role affected the position of the state as a patron in the architectural context will be examined. This thesis may serve as a guide in the future for further understanding the architectural production process within the political aspects and time periods.

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<sup>44</sup> Balamir, Aydan and Erzen, Jale. "Case Study IV: Turkey Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey", *Architecture of The Contemporary Mosque*, edited by Serageldin, Ismail with Steele, James, p.101-102.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE 1946-1980s: TRANSITION TO MULTI PARTY SYSTEM AND REVISITING ANKARA'S MOSQUES**

#### **2.1.1946–1950: Transitional Years**

In order to question the changing political identity of the patrons, who had a significant role in shaping the contours of architectural production, it is first necessary to understand the social, economic and politic structure of the period. It was in 1946 that the country saw its transition from a mono-party regime into a multi-party regime, and so can be considered a turning point in both the political and economic history of the Republic of Turkey. This transition began with the establishment of the National Development Party (MKP) on 5 September 1945, which was followed by the Democrat Party (DP) on 7 January 1946. On 21 July 1948, a single-stage election was held, despite all the oppression and corruption that marked the period, and this brought about a change of power on 14 May 1950.

The importance of this political transformation cannot be understated in any way. İnönü, a successful defender and maintainer of Atatürk's revolution and the leader of this political transition, was the most significant person, after Atatürk, in the political history of Turkey. While Turkey was going through a period of global isolation, İnönü believed that the country would benefit from the kind of political pluralism seen in European countries, and after a while, a relationship began to form with the West including the United States.<sup>45</sup> İnönü claimed that Turkey could

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<sup>45</sup> At the end of the World War II, the Soviet Union wanted to obtain the lands that it lost under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and Berlin Treaty. The Soviet Union tried to break the bond between the West and Turkey. In that period, Turkey was relatively isolated, but over time a relationship began to form with the West, including the United States. Missouri came to Istanbul at the beginning of

only enter under the Western protectorate if it had the same political vision, and the transition to a multi-party system would also be in line with the vision of the Kemalist concept. The opposition party that İnönü wanted was to be separated from the Republican People's Party (CHP), but would comprise a group of politicians who followed Atatürk's doctrines. In this way, a multi-party system would be adopted.

As Boratav claims in *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*,<sup>46</sup> these years of transition between 1946 and 1950 had both positive and negative impacts. It was at the same time a transition from an authoritarian regime to a populist one, while also being a transition from an independent national economic structure to a dependent economic structure. Similar to Boratav, Tekeli, in *Türkiye İçin Siyaset ve Demokrasi Yazıları*<sup>47</sup> refers to this period as the time of a “populist modernity project”. For him, politicians attributed importance to religion in order to gain political support, and so when the CHP came to power it supported the opening of vocational religious high schools.

The changes that were occurring in the political system were being accompanied by a rapid rise in the population of Ankara that was greater than the rate of urbanization in Turkey between 1927 and 1950.<sup>48</sup> This had a significant effect on the architectural production process, and, thus the organization of the districts and neighborhoods of Ankara, which can be understood from Table 2.1.<sup>49</sup>

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April 1946, which was symbol of this rapprochement. On March 12, 1947 U.S. President Truman announced the launch of the “Truman Doktrini” to protect Turkey and Greece from the Soviet threat. In the same year, an agreement was signed between Turkey and US Military, followed by an economic aid treaty with the United States in 1948. This was initiated by United States within the scope of the Marshall Plan. In 1949 Turkey became a member of the Council of Europe.

<sup>46</sup> Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*, Ankara İmge Kitapevi Yayınları, October, 2008, p.213-214.

<sup>47</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye İçin Siyaset ve Demokrasi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, April, 2011, p.297.

<sup>48</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.530.

<sup>49</sup> Yasa 1966, Şenyapılı ty: şekil 32, ek 31.

**Table 2. 1** Number of neighborhoods in Ankara between 1945 and 1981

Years	Number of neighborhoods
1945	77
1962	187
1965	201
1968	244
1970	235
1981	296

With the growth of the population, new districts were established in Ankara, including Altındağ in 1935, Çankaya in 1936, Yenimahalle in 1957 and Keçiören in 1983, when it separated from Altındağ. In the same year, Mamak separated from Çankaya and became a district in its own right, and Etimesgut became a district in 1990. The population and area of Ankara is presented in Table 2.2<sup>50</sup> from which it can be seen that the population growth was faster than expected.

**Table 2. 2** Population and area of Ankara between 1927 and 1985

Year	Population	Area (hectare)	Population/ Area	Name of Plan
1927	74,553	300	248	
1932	110,000	710	155	Jansen Plan 3,00,000 population, 2,000 hectares (150)
1944	455,000	3,659	124	1957 Plan 1 million population, 11,000 hectares (90)
1969	Over 1 million	14,000	71	
1985	2,250,000	27,000	83	

Although many changes were occurring in both political and social life, the architectural production of public buildings entered a period of recession between 1940 and 1950.<sup>51</sup> With the increasing population of the city, religious structures became more visible in the center of city, and this was confirmed in 1947 with the decision of the state to construct a large mosque in the center of Ankara. An association founded in Yenışehir was accepted as a for-profit organization by the Council of Ministers on 29 May 1947. At that time, Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti

<sup>50</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.543-544.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.531.

said in his book “*Mabetsiz Şehir*” that a huge mosque should be constructed that could be seen from anywhere in Ankara. It is obvious that the state had the power to found an association and build a mosque in that period; and in 1948, 10-month courses were opened for the training of Imams. These were transformed into schools after 1950.

## 2.2. 1950–1960: Revival of Conservatism

The second period was marked by the coming to power of the DP, which took over from the CHP.<sup>52</sup> Turkey had been experiencing steady economic growth since 1950 and that was two or three times greater than the population growth. This brought new job opportunities to the city, and resulted in the rapid migration of people from the countryside to the city. These new arrivals began settling in new areas of squatter housing around the perimeter of the city. For these people, religion was the center of life, and so many mosques were built through the help of voluntary organizations in these areas. Meanwhile, religion also started to be used as an ideology by politicians after the transition from the mono-party to multi-party system.<sup>53</sup> For Yücekök, religion was an important “weapon” for merchants, artisans and small farmers.<sup>54</sup>

As mentioned previously, the number of mosques in the city proliferated after the 1950s and the reason for this should be investigated in greater detail. For Batur, for instance, the patrons of these mosques were mostly civil organizations such as voluntary organizations, and their collective attitude certainly needed critical perspectives.<sup>55</sup> Yücekök claims that the voluntary associations were established to

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<sup>52</sup> Mardin, Şerif. “Bediüzzaman Said Nursi(1873–1960) Bir Tebliğin Şekillenışı”, *Türkiye’ de Din ve Siyaset Makaleler 3*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.170.

<sup>53</sup> Mardin, Şerif. “2000’e Doğru Kültür ve Din”, *Türkiye’ de Din ve Siyaset Makaleler 3*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.221.

<sup>54</sup> Mardin, Şerif. “Bediüzzaman Said Nursi(1873–1960) Bir Tebliğin Şekillenışı”, *Türkiye’ de Din ve Siyaset Makaleler 3*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.137–138.(Ahmet N.Yücekök, Türkiye’de Örgütlenmiş Dinin Sosyo-Ekonomik Tabanı 1946–1968, Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası, 1971, p.235.)

<sup>55</sup> Batur, Afife. “The Post-War Period: 1950–1960”, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, İstanbul, June 2005, p.59.

support the revival of religion in many parts of Turkey, which is apparent from the growth in the number of associations, up from 237 in 1957 to 510 in 1967.

What happened before the 1950s is one major inquiry; however, it is necessary to understand the post-1950s in Turkey to appreciate the country's changing ideological positions. From a critical point of view, the changing parameters could be attributed to Turkey's forced political shifts, all of which were embodied within the international conjuncture. It was, in fact, a new paradigm, and Turkey certainly had its share. Sargin suggests that the late 1950s could be considered as a new era, when the Kemalist Revolution (Kemalist İnkılap) finally came to a partial end with the empowerment of "the conservative historical block"<sup>56</sup> that rejected the Republican elite's perception of Islam and the Ottoman heritage.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, "the spatial landscape of Ankara was transformed and organized around the retrospective images of the Ottoman heritage or a distinct Islamic ideology by counter reformists, conservative central governments, and pro-Islamic local authorities", argues Sargin.<sup>58</sup> The first examples, as mere replicas of the Ottoman Classical Period, began to dominate the city landscape.

Ideological choice was in fact forced into a new paradigm in the 1950s under the political, social and economic pressures that were being placed on Turkey by various international circles. As a result, mosque architecture, once again, became a choice of ideological representation in the hands of the new ruling elite. This was in fact a breaking point in Turkey's political history, with the first Grand Mosque built and put into service, right in the heart of the new city in *Yenişehir*, under the administrative guidance of a state agency – the Religious Affairs Directorate. Despite the secular nature of the new Republic, the Directorate of Religious Affairs was established and given two important responsibilities<sup>59</sup> – to enlighten society about Islam and to manage the places of worship. Akşin claims that it was a task of the Directorate of Religious Affairs to ensure mosques remained unbiased

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<sup>56</sup> Sargin, Güven A. "Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2004, olume 22, p.661.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p.661.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.662.

<sup>59</sup> <[www.diyaretisleri.gov.tr](http://www.diyaretisleri.gov.tr)>

and not aimed at one particular sect (*tarikat*).<sup>60</sup> Tekeli also claims that the state defined in the modernity project was secular, making a clear separation between religion and the state.<sup>61</sup>

It is a well-known fact that the revival of Islam in Turkey occurred after the 1950s,<sup>62</sup> when a number of laws were changed, including one allowing prayers to be read in Arabic.<sup>63</sup> The prohibition on religious program broadcasting on the radio was also removed<sup>64</sup> and religious education became compulsory in primary and secondary schools.<sup>65</sup> The government began recognizing the importance of the Order of Dervishes and other religious communities, and resources of the Directorate of Religious Affairs were redirected to these local associations.<sup>66</sup> In a very general manner, politics used religion as an ideological tool to gain more power, revealing another populist quality of the regime in Turkey.

In this chapter, an analysis will be made of the mosques that were built between 1950 and 1960 in two important districts of Ankara: Çankaya, which was the center of the political regime; and-Altındağ, which was the center of the old city. Table 2.3 lists all of the mosques recorded by the Çankaya Müftülüğü between 1950 and 1960, while Table 2.4 lists the same data for Altındağ.

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<sup>60</sup> Akşin, Sina. "Siyasal Tarih (1908-1923)", *Türkiye Tarihi: 4 Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980*, Cem Yayınları, April, 2000, p.119-120.

<sup>61</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye Bağlamında Modernite Projesi ve İslam", *Türkiye için Siyaset ve Demokrasi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, April, 2011, p.299.

<sup>62</sup> Mardin, Şerif. "Türkiye’de Dini Sembollerin Dönüşümü Üstüne Bir Not", *Türkiye’de Din ve Siyaset Makaleler 3*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.194.

<sup>63</sup> Anadolu Ajansı, p.147.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p.147.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.148.

<sup>66</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye İçin Siyaset ve Demokrasi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, April, 2011, p.310.



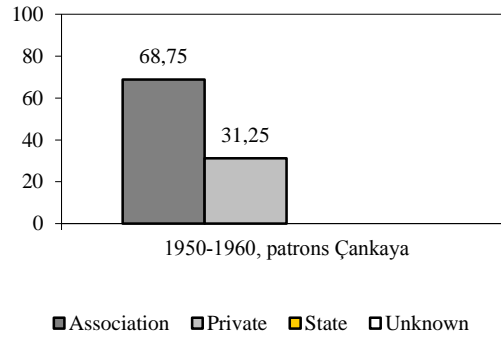
**Table 2. 3** Mosques built in Çankaya between 1950 and 1960

Years	Names of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1950	Bahçelievler Central Mosque	A	A	Güven mim. ve inş. (const. firm)	2,626	1,000	3,000
1950	Cebeci Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	2,000	1,650	3,000
1950	Dikmen Central Mosque	A	A	–	2,500	1,000	1,500
1950	S.Bağları Durmaz Mosque	A	A	Mustafa Balıkcıoğlu*	511	310	400
1951	2.İmrahor Mosque	P	P	–	1,000	300	300
1953	Balgat Central Mosque	S	A	–	2,600	260	1,000
1953-1956	Dikmen Yusuf Karaman Mosque	S	P	–	500	195	200
1954	Topraklık Central Mosque	S	P	Recep Gümüş*	1,070	220	1,000
1955	İncesutepesi M.	A	A	–	600	300	600
1955	K.Esat Central Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	1,350	775	2,000
1956	Yeşilkent Mahallesi Eski Mühye Köyü Mosque	P	P	–	579	135	300
1958	Beytepe Köyü Mosque	P	P	–	4,000	112	150
1959	Dikmen Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Mosque	A	A	–	2,450	360	3,000
1959	Dikmen Yeşilova Mosque	A	A	–	817	65	100
1959	Maltepe Mosque	S	P	Recai Akçay*	7,000	800	2,000
1960	Çankaya Central Mosque	A	A	Hayati Tabanlıoğlu*	3,800	661	1,500
1960	Seyranbağları Zafertepe Minaresiz Mouse	A	A	–	815	150	100

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

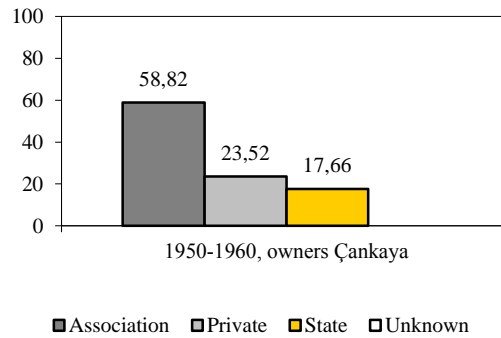
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

In the table above it can be seen that 17 mosques were built in Çankaya in this period, with most being built by associations. As mentioned previously, patrons played a significant role shaping architectural production, and so the patrons of these 17 mosques will be analyzed. The majority of patrons were the associations themselves (68.75 percent), which collected money from various sources and found volunteers to build the mosques. For the remaining mosques (31.25 percent), the patron was the private sector. According to Graph 2.1, associations played an active role in architectural mosque production in this period, and although they were active, they took state support for the building of mosques in this period.



**Graph 2. 1** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

Besides the patrons of these mosques, the owners and architects also influenced architectural production. Graph 2.2 shows how the ownership of these mosques is shared among the institutions. The associations had 58.82 percent of the mosques, the private sector had 23.52 percent of the mosques, and the state had 17.66 percent of the mosques. These 17 mosques had a combined capacity of 20,150 people, and were built on sites totaling 34,218 m<sup>2</sup>, with a floor area of 8,293 m<sup>2</sup>. It can clearly be seen that the owners and patrons of these mosques were the same.

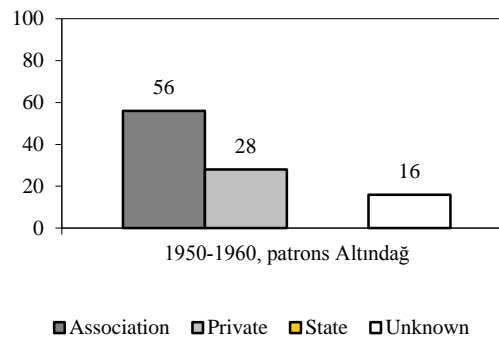


**Graph 2. 2** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

In addition to the owners and patrons, the architects of these mosques were also significant. From Table 2.3 it can be seen that the architects of most mosques were unknown. Only half listed an architect, and only five of these were members of the Chamber of Architects. The architects that are listed were quite popular in that period.

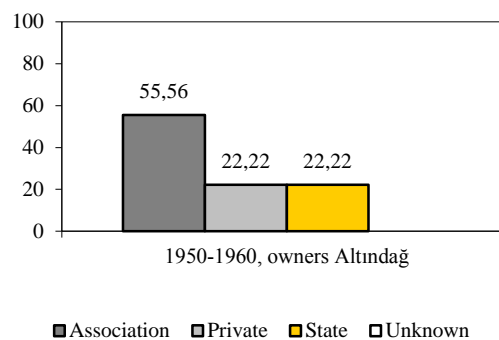
The number of mosques in Altındağ is similar to that in Çankaya. A total of 18 mosques were built in Altındağ between 1950 and 1960 by associations, the state and the private sector. In this period, it was the associations that were the leading

patrons of mosques in Altındağ. Of the total, 56 percent were built by associations and 28 percent were built by the private sector. The patrons of the remaining 16 percent were unknown. Graph 2.3 reveals that associations were actively involved in the building of mosques.



**Graph 2. 3** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

As to the owners, the private sector and the state each owned 22.22 percent of the mosques, with associations owning the largest share, at 55.56 percent. It is clear from Table 2.4 that the architects of these mosques were mostly unknown, and none were recorded as members of the Chamber of Architects. The total capacity of these 18 mosques was 6,986 people; the total built-up area was 15,795 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 3,598 m<sup>2</sup>.



**Graph 2. 4** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

**Table 2. 4** Mosques built in Altındağ between 1950 and 1960

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1951	Hıdırlıktepe Mosque	A	A	–	189	149	198
1951	Beyazıt Mosque	A	–	–	108	208	266
1952	Yenidoğan Tepe Mosque	A	A	–	600	300	400
1953	Aktaş Atilla Mosque	S	A	İzzet Ankaralı	700	150	200
1953	Enğuru Mosque	S	A	–	1,000	135	180
1954	AydınlıkevlerCenter Mosque	A	A	–	2,600	500	666
1954	Şükriye Mosque	A	A	İsmet Kır	307	208	373
1955	Altınova Organgazi Mah. Mosque	P	–	–	125	100	137
1955	Kazıkiçi Bostanları Mosque	S	A	–	–	200	266
1955	Sultanmurat Mosque	S	A	–	1,295	320	426
1957	Türk Yenice Mosque	A	P	İdris Usta	129	129	172
1957	Yukarı Peçenek Mah. Mosque	P	P	–	175	135	235
1958	İskitler Mosque	A	A	–	2,768		2,000
1958	Server Somuncuoğlu Mosque	A	A	A.Grup (const. firm)	1,556	220	295
1958	Yeni Turan Köprübaşı Mosque	A	–	–	1,115	250	400
1959	Hanifoğlu Mosque	P	P	–	1,500	170	227
1959	Seyranbağlarıiçi Pınarbaşı Mosque	A	P	–	250	110	145
1960	Kavaklı Mah. Mosque	P	P	–	400	250	400

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Members of the Chamber of Architects.

Habermas claims that religious buildings serve as a public sphere for society<sup>67</sup> and in this respect; mosques often become landmarks in a city. Tables 2.5 and 2.6 present the landmark mosques in Çankaya and Altındağ. In the Çankaya district there were five landmark mosques, with a capacity of between 1,500 and 3,000 people. While four of these were built by associations, the Maltepe Mosque was built with private funding.

<sup>67</sup> Habermas, Jurgen. *The Public Sphere*, p.1.

**Table 2. 5** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1950	Bahçelievler Central Mosque	A	A	Güven mim.ve inş. (const. firm)	3,000
1950	Cebeci Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	3,000
1955	Küçüksat Central Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	2,000
1959	Maltepe Mosque	S	P	Recai Akçay*	2,000
1960	Çankaya Central Mosque	A	A	Hayati Tabanlıoğlu*	1,500

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

All five of these mosques were designed by notable architects of the period, such as Nedim Onat; Recai Akçay (1909–1967), who worked as an architect in the Bank of the Provinces from 1950 to 1967<sup>68</sup> and Hayati Tabanlıoğlu (1927–1994), who was the biggest name in contemporary Turkish architecture and was the architect of the Atatürk Kültür Merkezi. In addition to these features, these mosques were valuable in terms of architectural production in these years.

**Table 2. 6** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1958	İskitler Mosque	A	A	-	3,000

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

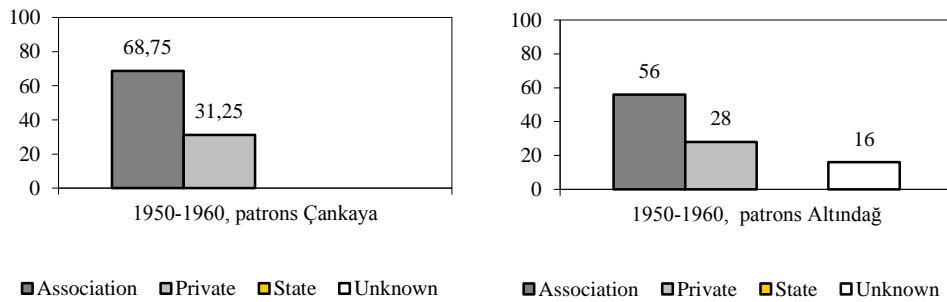
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

The Altındağ district had only one mosque that could be referred to as a “landmark”. İskitler Mosque, which had a capacity of 3,000 people, stood out among the many mosques built in the Altındağ district in this period, as the rest were mostly small neighborhood mosques with relatively unknown architects. In this period the patrons and owners of mosques tended to be the same, and were mainly associations.

The number of landmark mosques was higher in Çankaya than in Altındağ, indicating that religious buildings were more important in the Çankaya district. These landmark mosques had capacities ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 people. Most were built and owned by associations.

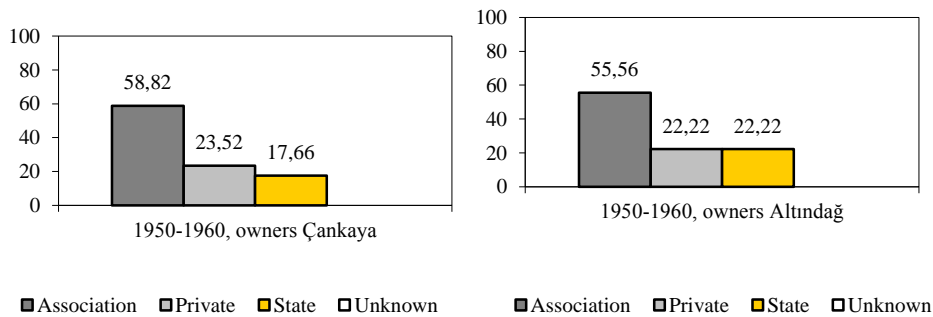
<sup>68</sup> <[http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/Collection/Detail\\_recai-akcay\\_145.html](http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/Collection/Detail_recai-akcay_145.html)> (accessed on 22.01.2012)

The patrons of the mosques were similar in the two districts during this period, with associations ranking first in both the Çankaya and Altındağ districts. In this period it is known that many associations were established by both volunteers and the state, providing a strong indication that the state used associations as agents for the building of mosques, although from the Graph 2.5 it would seem that the state had no role in the process.



**Graph 2. 5** Patrons of mosques in Altındağ and Çankaya

The owners of mosques were similar for the two districts, being mostly the associations. In contrast to having no involvement as a patron, the state can be seen to be an owner in these two districts. While the associations can be said to have dominated in this period, the state also revealed itself as an owner.



**Graph 2. 6** Owners of mosques in Altındağ and Çankaya



**Figure 2. 1** Bahçelievler Central Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 2** Cebeci Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 3** Küçükesat Central Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 4** Maltepe Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 5** Çankaya Central Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 6** İskitler Mosque, Altındağ (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosques in Çankaya and Altındağ



In this period, while the army and intelligentsia lost power, the bourgeoisie and landowners were gaining strength. In the wake of World War II this transfer of power began to show itself on the political landscape of Turkey.<sup>69</sup> For Sargın, “economic liberalism” and “cultural conservatism” found an opportunity for expression through politics, and the discussions related to the construction of a big mosque in the center of Ankara were high on the agenda.<sup>70</sup> The project to build a mosque in the center of Ankara contradicted the political mission of Ankara as the city of the Kemalist state, and in this context, Tekeli refers to the period between 1950 and 1960 as the populist years,<sup>71</sup> when religion was used as a tool for attracting more votes to the ruling party. The state also began attributing more importance to society to get more votes, and this period was also marked by Islamic revivalism. For this reason, the state supported many associations in their efforts to build mosques, and the strength and dominance of these associations can clearly be understood in the graphs. Graphs 2.5 and 2.6 reveal that most of these mosques were built and owned by the associations based in each district.

After 1945, Yenışehir gained importance for the high income group as the city’s population increased, while Ulus (a district of Altındağ municipality) flourished as the shopping center for the low-income group of the period. As a result, all public investments and high income groups began moving towards Çankaya.<sup>72</sup>

After 1950, a particular financial property development model began to take root in Turkey that resulted in the neglect of social and cultural development.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, a modernization program was launched. The program began with the mechanization of agricultural production and was accompanied by a change from the limited production structure to specialized production. This led to a

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<sup>69</sup> Tekeli, İlhan and İlkin, Selim. “Türkiye’de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş (1923–1957)”, *Cumhuriyet’in Harcı Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, September, 2004. 1. baskı, p.402.

<sup>70</sup> Sargın, Güven A. “Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2004, volume 22, p.664.

<sup>71</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. *Modernite Aşılırken Siyaset*, İmge Kitabevi, February, 1999, 1.baskı, p.16.

<sup>72</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya’nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.546.

<sup>73</sup> Akşin, Sina. “Siyasal Tarih (1908-1923)”, *Türkiye Tarihi: 4 Çağdaş Türkiye 1908–1980*, Cem Yayınları, April, 2000, p.117.

strengthening of the Turkish economy in the international arena<sup>74</sup> and was a clear indication of Turkey's growing reliance on the private sector.<sup>75</sup> The private sector was the second largest owner of mosques in this period, as can be seen in Graphs 2.5 and 2.6, and was also a significant patron. Despite the support provided by the state to most of the associations in this period, the number of private sector owners saw an increase.

These developments caused many people to migrate from rural areas to the city after WWII. Before the war, the population of Ankara was increasing by around 6 percent per year, and similar increases were seen in all cities of Turkey. The government at the time made five major institutional arrangements to control development in the cities, the first of which was the establishment of the Bank of the Provinces in 1945. The aim of this institution was to assist municipalities in the development of city plans and infrastructure projects, and although the bank was unable to keep up with the rapid transformation, the assistance it provided was a great asset to the city. The second implementation was the Law on Municipal Revenues. Although this law provided more financial support to the municipalities, it was not sufficient to keep up with the rate of transition. The third progression was the establishment of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects in 1954, which would play a critical role in the future as a civil organization. The fourth was the Construction Law, which was intended to bring Turkey in line with the new global planning style, and the final step was the establishment of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing. These five government implementations aimed to improve the situation of Turkey, and brought much of the architectural process under the control of the state, spurring rapid development in the city in the form of new houses, industrial facilities and religious buildings.

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<sup>74</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, November, 2009, p.116.

<sup>75</sup> Tekeli, İlhan and İlkin, Selim. "Türkiye' de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş (1923–1957)", *Cumhuriyet'in Harcı Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, September, 2004, 1.baskı, p.370.

Tekeli considered this period to be marked by “the search for international solutions through forms”.<sup>76</sup> The government at the time chose to give the private sector a more prominent role in the growth process.<sup>77</sup> In the DP period, the meaning of the term “West” changed. Before World War II, the terms “West” and “Europe” were interchangeable, but after War, the DP wanted Turkey to become a smaller version of the United States. Architecture was also affected by this, with the first US influence seen in the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, which was designed by a US architect. Here, it is easy to see how architectural trends were affected by government policies, and the International Style would go on to win many tenders for government buildings after 1952. The Chamber of Architects was founded in 1954, with the main task of controlling the tenders, and directing and reinforcing the architectural style. This resulted in the state losing control of public architectural production, and saw the social-economic status of architects increase.

Besides the changes in architectural styles and the status of architects, rapid urbanization also left its mark in this period. Tekeli highlighted two main processes in this context: The first was the spread of *gecekondu* housing – low-quality houses built at low cost by rural migrants around the perimeter of the city on state-owned land. The second process was the commercial development of the “*yapsatçılık*” (build-to-sell) model. In this period, the middle classes were unable to buy houses of their own due to the high land prices brought about by increasing urbanization, leading contractors to begin building apartments and some architects to launch construction projects. The state made attempts to control the unplanned urban growth, while the existing squatter houses were declared legal by the government for political gain. Amid the rapid urban growth, the architects of this period voiced their opposition to the government’s actions, believing that this architectural production process had only political motivations and did not resolve the urban problems.

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<sup>76</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. “The Social Context of The Development of Architecture in Turkey”, *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Holod, Renata and Evin, Ahmet, University of Pennsylvania Press, p.23.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

### 2.3. 1960-1971: First Breaking-point & the Search for a New Form of Conservatism

A military intervention occurred in Turkey on 27 May 1960, which would be followed by two more, but less severe, interventions in the next two decades.<sup>78</sup> The first and last military intervention was a critical point in the political and social life of Turkey, and saw the entry of the military into the political arena.

After the 1960 military intervention, a new period began in Turkey. Alsaç referred to this era as the “planned period” due to the many changes that occurred, both politically and socially.<sup>79</sup> The government drew up five-year plans to revive the economy, control urbanization and promote the industrialization of the country. Architects of the period began to think for the society. Meanwhile, Turkey’s architects increased their social consciousness and began to organize themselves. Many panel discussions were arranged for the discussion of different subjects, including earthquakes, elementary schooling, housing and architecture. At the same time the government established a number of institutions, including the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, the General Directorate of Soil and Water, and the Turkish Electricity Administration. The squatter housing problem began to be discussed at an academic level, pre-fabricated houses started to be produced for earthquake zones and infrastructure services were expanded to all areas.<sup>80</sup> Alsaç claims that it was in this period that architects began to concern themselves with social issues, and attempted to resolve architectural problems using mathematical and scientific methods. Attempts were also made to resolve the problems of industrialization through architecture and urbanization.<sup>81</sup>

The Constitution was changed in 1961, guaranteeing the rights of the individual,<sup>82</sup> and this period also marked the beginning of a period of freedom of thought, expressions and organization. Political and intellectual liberalism became

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<sup>78</sup> The other interventions occurred on 12 March, 1971 and 12 September, 1980.

<sup>79</sup> Alsaç, Üstün. *Türkiye’deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*, KTÜ Baskı Atelyesi, Trabzon, 1976, p.46-49.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.156.

widespread and caused a “left-right” to emerge in socio-cultural life.<sup>83</sup> As liberalism spread across the whole country, architectural production was also affected. Intellectual groups and socialist theories gained importance for architects, who started to question the positions, roles and social status that had been determined for them in the previous period.<sup>84</sup> The discipline of architecture was re-organized, along with the theories, organization, institutionalization and professional practices. The universities and the Chamber of Architects arranged seminars about Turkish architecture,<sup>85</sup> and architectural discourse began to take a different path. Moreover, the patrons also started to change. As one example, the Army Mutual Assistance Association was founded in 1961,<sup>86</sup> giving the military an active role in the business and industrial sectors.<sup>87</sup> A steady increase occurred in the construction sector,<sup>88</sup> while the private sector surpassed the public sector in industrial output in Ankara between 1950 and 1970.<sup>89</sup> As industrialization increased, the country was transformed into a consumer society,<sup>90</sup> and migration of man power to Europe speeded up.<sup>91</sup> The radio began being used as a political tool by the new political parties.<sup>92</sup>

Until the 1965 elections, the country went through a period of many coalition governments, the first of which was formed by the Republican People’s Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP) on 11 February 1961. The aim of coalition was to capture all of the votes of the DP. The coalition pledged to revive the economy; however, its efforts were hindered as it was forced to confront an attempted uprising on 22 February 1962 and it was closed by the military in June the same

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<sup>83</sup> Batur, Afife. "The Post-War Period: 1950-1960", *A Concise History: Architecture In Turkey During the 20th Century*. Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June, 2005, p.53.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.53-54.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p.54.

<sup>86</sup> Founded in 1961, OYAK is Turkey’s first and still its biggest privately-owned pension fund. OYAK (Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu / Turkish Armed Forces Assistance -and Pension- Fund) is a corporate entity subject entirely to the provisions of private law and is financially and administratively autonomous. Its structure and activities are governed by its law of incorporation (Law 205). <<http://www.oyak.com.tr/EN/corporate/oyak-in-brief.html>>, accessed on 20.05.2014.

<sup>87</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.156.

<sup>88</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya’nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.531-532.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.531.

<sup>90</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.162.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.160.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p.163.

year. The second coalition was formed by the CHP-YTP-CKMP-Independents, and as part of this new government's agenda, 55 Aghas (large landowners and tribal chiefs of Eastern Anatolia) were allowed to return to their home towns after Parliament passed the law on 10 September.<sup>93</sup> After the resignation of İnönü, the prime minister, the second coalition also came to an end on 2 December 1963, and İnönü went on to form the third coalition with Independents on 25 December 1963. In 1964, the government concentrated on the resolution of the Cyprus problem, and so failed to address the country's economic problems, leading İnönü once again to resign. The last coalition was DP, YTP, CKMP and MP, which held onto power until the 1965 elections.

The AP was able to form the government in 1965 as a single party,<sup>94</sup> with Süleyman Demirel at the helm. Ahmad Feroz claimed in his book that a group of people representing the traditional lower-middle class in the party criticized Demirel for engaging in nepotism, going against the AP and adopting Islamic rhetoric.<sup>95</sup> The AP again won the 1969 election, but with a decreased majority, and this spurred Necmettin Erbakan to establish the MNP in 1970.<sup>96</sup> The increasing political tension in the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s, bolstered by the social upheavals that were occurring around the world, created an explosive situation.<sup>97</sup> The military regime failed to exert its agenda on the right-wing parties. Although the generals continued to dominate the AP, the DP refused to cooperate with governments involving the military, and represented the opposition.<sup>98</sup>

Although this period brought chaos to social life, architectural production continued. Many mosques were built in the years between 1960 and 1971, and those built in Çankaya and Altındağ can be seen in Tables 2.8 and 2.9 respectively.

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<sup>93</sup> <<http://www.tarihonline.com/k196-turkiye-de-1961-82111965-koalisyon-hukumetleri.html>> Accessed on 06.05.2014.

<sup>94</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.170.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p.171.

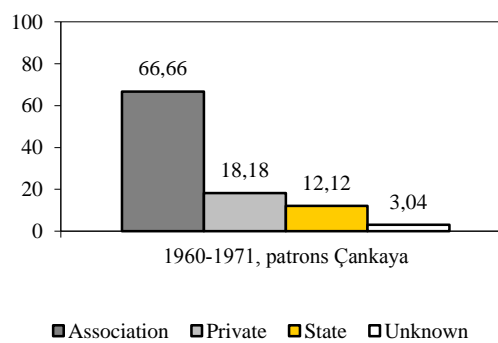
<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p.172.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p.188.

The most important mosque constructed in this period was the Kocatepe Mosque, as the Grand Mosque of Ankara. Following a two-stage competition in 1957, Vedat Dalokay and Nihat Tekelioğlu were selected to come up with the design. After experiencing problems in the design of the shell, Dalokay went to Spain to consult a famous engineer, but in his absence, the political system changed once again in Turkey. Not only was there a new government, the AP, but also the association in charge of managing the construction of the mosque changed. When the governments gave importance to reactionaries, it suggested the use of Hagia Sophia as a mosque, and Dalokay was the leading voice in opposition to this subject. For Maruf Önal, in the mixed political period, the new government took the mosque project from Dalokay due to his political views, and gave it to Hüsrev Tavla-Fatih Uluengin. The Kocatepe Mosque that stands today was designed by these two architects as a copy of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque in Istanbul.

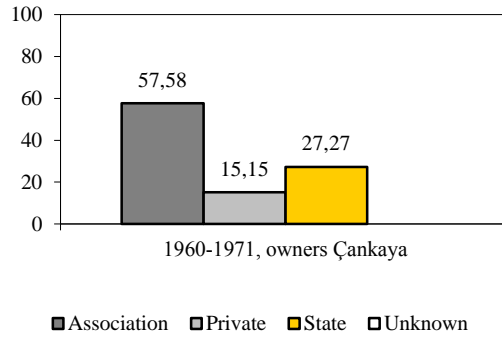
Table 2.7 shows that between 1960 and 1971, 34 mosques were built by the associations, state and private sector in Çankaya, which represents a two-fold increase on the previous period. In all, two-thirds (66.66 percent) were built by associations, which, like in the previous period, were also the main patrons. Marking a change from the previous period, the state had the role of a patron in this period, and was responsible for building 12.12 percent of the mosques. The private sector share, on the other hand, decreased to 18.18 percent.



**Graph 2. 7** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

Although the patron profile of these mosques changed from the previous period, the owner profile was nearly the same. Associations owned 57.58 percent of the

mosques, as they did the previous period, while the private sector had 15.15 percent and the state had 27.27 percent. The number of projects run by the state saw a slight increase, while those of the private sector decreased by the same percentage. The total capacity of these 34 mosques was 38,625 people, the total built-up site area was 54,162 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 18,960 m<sup>2</sup>. The architects were mostly unknown, as can be seen from Table 2.7. Only 11 mosques named an architect, and of these, only three were members of the Chamber of Architects.

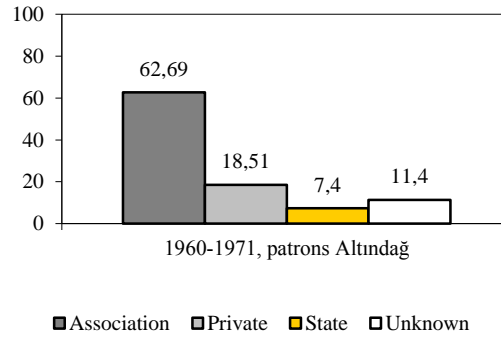


**Graph 2. 8** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

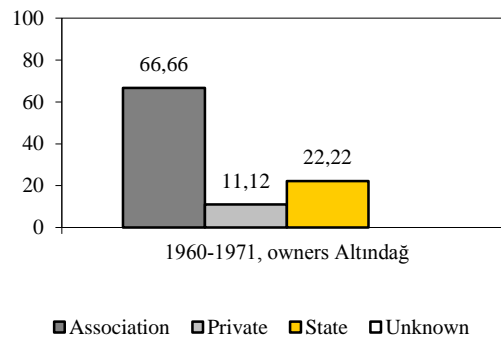
As for Altındağ, mosques were fewer in number than in Çankaya. Between 1960 and 1971, 27 mosques were built in Altındağ, of which 62.96 percent were built by associations. In this period, as in the previous period, most of the patrons were associations. Different from the previous period, the state took on a role as a patron, with 7.40 percent of mosques built by the state, at the expense of the private sector, whose share decreased to 18.51 percent.

The ownership profile of these mosques also changed, with the associations now holding 66.66 percent, increasing from 55.56 percent in the previous period. The share of the state was the same (22.22 percent) as the previous period, while the share of the private sector fell from 22.22 to 11.12 percent. The total capacity of these 27 mosques was 13,302 people, the built-up site was 29,897 m<sup>2</sup> and total floor area was 15,921 m<sup>2</sup>. Although many mosques were built in this period, the architects were mostly unknown, with only six mosques designed by a well-known architect.





**Graph 2. 9** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ



**Graph 2. 10** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

**Table 2. 7** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Names of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1964	Emek Mosque	P	P	Mehmet Armutcuoğlu	3,000
1967	Kocatepe Mosque	A	A	Hüsrev Tayla *	20,000
1969	Seyranbağları Central Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	2,500

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

The Çankaya district had three landmark mosques. While the Emek Mosque and the Seyranbağları Central Mosque were neighborhood mosques, the Kocatepe Mosque can be referred to as a state mosque. It is a well known fact that though the Kocatepe Mosque was built by associations, it was largely supported by the state. The architects of the Çankaya Mosques are generally unknown, but these three landmark mosques were designed by architects (Mehmet Armutcuoğlu, Nedim Onat, and Hüsrev Tayla respectively) who played a significant role in the architectural production process as much as the patrons and owners.

**Table 2. 8** Mosques built in Çankaya between 1960 and 1971

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m2	Floor area-m2	Capacity
1962	Balgat Köprülüpaşa Mosque	A	A	–	966	300	500
1962	Dikmen Yeşilvadi Mosque	A	A	–	450	130	300
1962	Dikmen Orta Öveçler Yeni Mosque	S	A	–	1,201	675	400
1962	SSK Genel Müd. Mosque (under a building)	S	S	–	–	220	500
1963	Çukurambar Central Mosque	A	A	–	1,439	244	300
1963	Kızılay Fethiye Mosque	P	P	–	–	310	700
1964	Balgat Kızılırmak Mosque	A	A	Mehmet Armutlu, Muharrem Çetin	600	300	500
1964	Balgat Torunlar Yeni Mosque	A	A	–	1,200	200	275
1964	Çamlıtepe Mosque	A	A	–	1,455	272	1,500
1964	Emek Mosque	P	P	Mehmet Armutcuoğlu	875	450	2,000
1964	İncesu Hüdaverdi Mosque	A	A	Talat Bey	850	650	1,000
1964	S.bağları Zafertepe Minareli Mosque	P	A	–	700	150	200
1965	Büyükesat Çukurca Birlik Mosque	S	A	–	615	200	250
1965	Dikmen Yalınca Mosque	S	A	–	1,000	200	250
1965	Küçükesat Dörtüol Yeralı Mosque. (under a building)	P	P	–	–	500	1,200
1965	Yakup Abdal Köyü Mosque	P	P	–	484	150	350
1966	Kızılay Ülkealan Mosque	A	P	–	–	420	800
1966	Türközü Bağcılar Yeşil Mosque	A	A	H.Gan Taşaran	600	160	500
1967	Balgat Bağlarbaşı Mosque	A	A	–	850	350	350
1967	Kızılay Örnek Pasajı Mosque (under a building)	A	–	Reşat Erkmen	–	100	200
1967	Kocatepe Mosque	A	A	Hüseyin Tayla*	34,000	10,000	20,000
1967	Yukarı Öveçler Ata Mahallesi Mosque	A	A	–	750	240	300
1968	A.Ü.Müh.Mim. Fak. Mosque	S	S	–	–	150	200
1968	Dikmen Yukarı Öveçler Ulu Mosque	S	A	–	1 026	400	300
1968	Yıldız Şafak Mosque	A	A	Hakkı Kalfa	500	240	300
1969	Büyükesat Hz. Ebubekir Mosque	S	A	B.Asena	300	150	300
1969	Seyranbağları Merkez Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	1 447	700	2 500
1970	Balgat Bağlarıçı Ehlîbeyt Mosque	A	A	Tahir Atilla	200	200	700
1970	Çukurambar Şenevler Mosque	A	A	–	500	180	200
1970	D.S.İ. (under a building)	S	S	Abdullah Demir*	216	–	500
1970	Hıfzıssıhha Enstitüsü Mosque (under a building)	S	S	–	250	200	150
1970	M.Kemal Hüdaverdi Mosque	A	A	–	300	135	200
1970	Y. Ayrancı Hoşdere Yeralı Mes. (under a building)	P	P	–	280	170	300
1971	Balgat Hacı İsmail Mosque	A	A	–	1 108	214	400

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

**Table 2. 9** Mosques built in Altındağ between 1960 and 1971

Years	Name of Mosque	Owners	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1962	Hacılar Mah. Mihraç Mosque	S	A	–	800	510	680
1962	Hasköy Güneşevler Mosque	S	–	–	2,000	300	500
1962	Sığınaklar Mosque	A	A	–	1,000	500	666
1963	Site Keresteciler Mosque	A	A	Tahsin Acar	2,400	1,200	1,600
1964	Çalışkanlar Sondurak Mosque	A	A	–	540	120	160
1964	Gül Mescidi	P	P	–	–	350	–
1964	Y. Karakum Dua Mosque	A	A	–	1,004	300	400
1965	Aydınlıkevler Pazar Mosque	A	–	–	900	500	950
1965	Çalışkanlar Yenievler Mosque	A	A	–	2,000	400	534
1965	Önder Ören Mosque	P	P	–	1,800	–	400
1965	Yıldıztepe Mosque	A	P	–	1,400	380	501
1967	Önder Hacı Musa Mosque	A	A	–	1,400	270	360
1967	Ulubey Şirin Tepe Mosque	A	A	–	800	300	400
1968	Doğu Mah. Köprübaşı Mosque	A	–	–	419	140	120
1968	Site Kudret Mosque	A	A	–	3,000	450	600
1968	İbrahim Halilullah Mosque	A	A	–	400	240	320
1968	Taşocakları Kayabaşı Mosque	S	A	–	160	100	133
1968	Yeni Ziraat Örnek Ulu Mosque	A	A	Ahmet Avcı*	2,713	7,051	1,000
1969	Sanayi Han Mosque	A	P	Hacı Akif Akbıyık	290	290	386
1970	Bağlarbaşı Karacakaya Mosque	A	P	–	1,500	250	333
1970	Hüseyin Azi Ortatepe Mosque	S	A	–	850	200	500
1970	Köy. Hiz. İl Müd.	S	S	–	500	200	267
1970	Numune Hastanesi Mosque	S	S	–	–	200	267
1970	Site Marangozlar Mosque	A	A	Tahsin Kahraman	–	500	666
1970	Ulubey Ulu Mosque	A	A	–	985	350	466
1970	Yıldırım Beyazıt Yeni Mosque	A	A	İbrahim Akın	1,780	600	800
1971	Aydınlıkevler Ahiler Mosque	P	P	Sabit Gerede	–	220	293

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects



**Figure 2. 7** Emek Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 8** Kocatepe Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 2. 9** Seyranbağları Central Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosques in Çankaya

**Table 2. 10** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Names of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1963	Site Keresteciler Mosque	A	A	Tahsin Acar	1,600

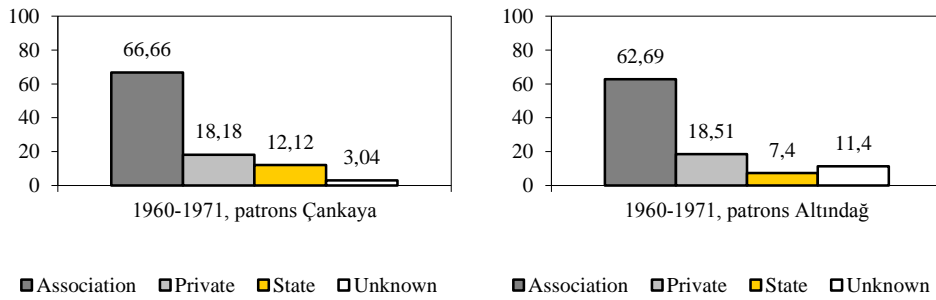
A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

Table 2.10 indicates that only one mosque of the 27 could be considered as a landmark in Altındağ at the time. This mosque had the greatest capacity among the others in Altındağ, making it a landmark. The architect was Tahsin Acar.



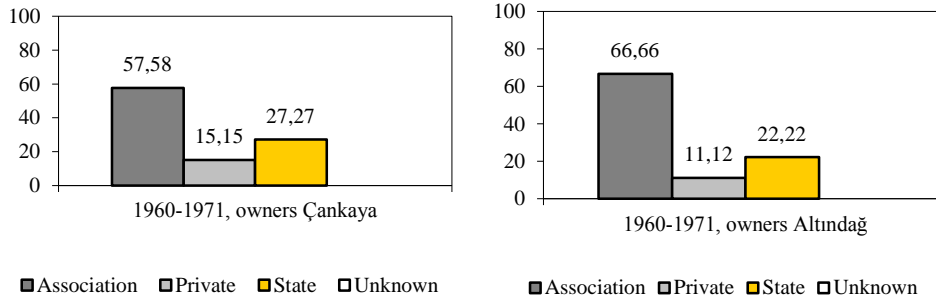
**Figure 2. 10** Site Keresteciler Mosque, Altındağ (from google photos)  
Landmark mosques in Altındağ



**Graph 2. 11** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ and Çankaya

The number of mosques built in Altındağ in this period was almost the same as that in Çankaya, although the total floor area was greater in Çankaya, indicating that the population of Çankaya was greater. Çankaya developed rapidly, and so many activities were centered there. While Ulus retained a level of importance, Kızılay emerged as a new center of businesses, but with only limited residential use.<sup>99</sup> At the end of this period, a class difference emerged between Çankaya and Ulus, with Çankaya attracting the richer classes, in contrast with Altındağ. Ulus was considered the poor part of the city.

<sup>99</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.546.



**Graph 2. 12** Ratio of owners in Altındağ and Çankaya

To summarize this period, there were some changes regarding the identity of the patrons and owners. The state was seen as an actor in the architectural production process after the 1960s. In the 1960s, architectural production process had been adopted as a requirement to define the relationship between the city and its residents. The local culture was adopted instead of a universal culture. In this context, when a street gained an identity, the city also gained an identity.<sup>100</sup> In that period the street was important for architecture; the buildings' façade was free and the cultural images could be expressed easily. All of them can be considered as a tool for public function. The mosque architecture also started to represent itself as a public space. To illustrate, building a big mosque in Çankaya created a big public space for the society. This mosque was a big landmark for its environment and it created a big square for the societal facilities. In this respect, it differed markedly from Altındağ.

As far as architectural production is concerned, it can be noted that the most significant mosques were built in Çankaya. In this period not only was a huge mosque built in Çankaya, but also many neighborhood mosques were built. This situation showed that Çankaya was the center of power. In the Graphs 2.11 and 2.12, the ratio of state-employed and state-owned mosques was more in Çankaya than in Altındağ.

<sup>100</sup> Tekeli, İlhan. "Önür, Selahattin : Savaş Sonrasında Günümüze Kentsel Kamu Mekanına İlişkin Deneyim ve Denemeler", *Kent, Planlama Politika*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1994, p.470-472.

#### 2.4. 1971-1980: Second Breaking-point & Combination of New and Old

On 12 March 1971 the second military intervention occurred in Turkey, to nobody's surprise.<sup>101</sup> According to Feroz Ahmad, the reason for the intervention was the anarchic situation in the country, and so the military commanders sought to establish a strong and credible government.<sup>102</sup> Ahmad summarized the chaotic situation in Turkey at the time, claiming that universities had lost sight of their function, with students engaging in such acts as bank robberies and the kidnapping of US officials. Furthermore, factory workers went on strike, and the Islamic movement was becoming more aggressive, and was denouncing Atatürk and Kemalism. This situation was unacceptable to the Armed Forces.<sup>103</sup> The public prosecutor made efforts to close down the Workers' Party of Turkey (İP) for making communist propaganda and advocating Kurdish separation, and also sought to close all youth organizations that had been established by the federation of the Revolutionary Youth of Turkey for their left wing views.<sup>104</sup> The main aim of the military was to suppress the left.<sup>105</sup>

On 19 March 1971, the pashas asked Nihat Erim, the symbol of the conservative and oppressive regime, to form a government.<sup>106</sup> This period saw the rise of terrorism in the country, instigated by the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO), bringing a halt to political life in Turkey. The state blamed the left for the chaotic situation, and democracy took a significant hit with the banning of publications by left-wing groups.

The state was strengthened against civil society with changes to the Constitution. After the İP was closed on 20 July 1971, a deep ideologically political vacuum emerged on the left. The İP had been reformist party and renounced violence. After its closure, a new party was needed to fill the political vacuum, and this was to be the left-of-center CHP in the 1960s. There were some divisions in the party

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<sup>101</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye' nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.177.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p.365.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p.175.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p.177.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p.178.

<sup>106</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge, London&New York, 1993, p.149.

in 1969, and İnönü resigned from his post as leader, to be replaced by Ecevit, thus launching the social democrat period of the party. Although Süleyman Demirel was not in politics, the AP remained under pressure from the pashas. Meanwhile, the DP sought to represent the political right; the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the Republican Reliance Party (CGP) were not ready for the elections, while the National Order Party (MNP) was closed on 20 March 1971 by the Constitutional Court due to its stand against secularism. In October 1972, Necmettin Erbakan, the Islamist leader, was allowed to establish a new party for the general election, which was known as the National Salvation Party (MSP). Although the MSP defended Islamic socialism, they refrained from using the term. The MSP came third in the 1973 general election, indicating clearly the resurgence of Islam. The CHP was the unexpected winner of the 1973 elections.<sup>107</sup> The conscience of the electorate was changing ideologically, and the public began to see social democracy as the best way for Turkey.

The same year saw also presidential elections after the completion of Cevdet Sunay's term in office. After many conflicts between the politicians and pashas, retired admiral Fahri Korutürk was elected as president by the assembly. In 1973, the University Law was passed, according to which all universities in the country were brought under the control of the Higher Education Council, which was under the Prime Ministry. In this regard, the universities lost their autonomy, and political parties were able to get involved in university affairs.

In Turkish political history, parties are generally known for their leaders rather than their ideological ideas. For example, Demirel's party was the AP; İnönü's party was the CHP, Türkeş's party was the MHP and Erbakan's party was the MSP. After the 1973 elections, Ecevit was asked to form a government by Korutürk. Rather than joining a coalition government, Demirel, seeing the upcoming economic crisis, chose to remain in opposition in order to garner more votes.

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p.189.



The CHP and the MSP shared some common ideas –both wanted a democracy that guaranteed fundamental rights and freedoms, and a mixed economy in which both the state and the private sector would play a vital role in the economy. In addition to these, both sought to encourage small enterprises, and believed that the major international resources should be under the control of the government. On the other hand, they did not agree on all issues. The MSP was the party of small enterprises in Anatolia, and the party supported these businesses. Moreover, the MSP believed that there should be an Islamic Common Market with Turkey at the helm. In addition, they did not want relations with the West, fearing a lack of economic freedom. In contrast, Ecevit admired the West, and wanted Turkey to play the role of a bridge between the East and West.<sup>108</sup> Although their political ideals were totally different, the two parties formed a coalition government on 25 January 1974.

After Turkey's intervention in Cyprus, the country's political landscape again changed. Ecevit believed that his party would win if he called an early election, and so he resigned from his post on 18 September 1974. After 241 days of crisis, Demirel founded a coalition government with the right-wing parties to avoid early elections, and as a result, the Islamists and neo-fascists became more prominent. 1976 was a difficult year for the CHP, as the party lost many votes and lost control of the government.

The 1970s saw a great deal of political violence that reached a peak in May 1977, four weeks before the election, and this cost the Islamists many votes in the 1977 election, indicating that religion was considered a minor election issue. After the 1977 election, Ecevit was unable to form a government, which was critical for the history of Turkey. The country was witnessing two forms of terrorism. On the left, there was talk of revolution in the early 1970s, and a number of American soldiers and important public figures were kidnapped. The second form of terrorism was the attempts of the opposition parties to try to bring down the coalition government, claiming that the Islamists were under pressure from the leftists and secularists in the coalition. In 1979, the political terrorism abated.

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<sup>108</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Routledge, London&New York, 1993, p.162.

The structure of the society and the economy changed in this period,<sup>109</sup> with construction as a private sector in particular gaining importance in architectural activities. Different from the previous periods, it was the private sector that shaped architectural production rather than the state, which was starting to lose its leading role in architectural production.<sup>110</sup>

For Afife Batur,<sup>111</sup> there were two significant events in architectural production in the 1970s. In the 1970s, a group of young architects attempted to create a new, national and “gauchiste” architectural trend, which they referred to as the new national architecture, and which was based on economic policies and social content. This effort failed in practice, remaining only as a theory. A second issue, discussed by Batur in her book, was related to the attitude of the rightwing religionist ideology, which was closed to all types of innovative interpretation in the subject of mosque design. The proponents of this ideology demanded the use of classical Ottoman forms in architectural production, and defined themselves as the owners of nationalistic religious thought. Meanwhile, patrons and contractors were looking for innovative designs for mosque architecture, and it was at that time that Dalokay presented his modernist design for Kocatepe Mosque. Although construction of the mosque started in line with Dalokay’s design, the prevalent right-wing ideology prevented it from being built, as the prevailing powers wanted a large Ottoman mosque that represented their ideology. In the end, Dalokay’s project was shelved and the mosque was redesigned as a classical Ottoman mosque by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatih Uluengin.<sup>112</sup>

At the end of the 1970s, the building capacity of Kızılay had been exceeded, increasing the importance of Çankaya as the center of business, hotels and culture. The Kızılay axis developed towards Gaziosmanpaşa-Çankaya, while Ulus

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<sup>109</sup> Batur, Afife. *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century*, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June 2005, p.63.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p.65.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p.66.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p.66-67.

developed towards İskitler, although some streets in Ulus (Kazım Karabekir Avenue and Rüzgarlı Street) maintained their importance.<sup>113</sup>

The mosques built between 1971 and 1980 in the two districts are presented in Tables 2.11 and 2.12, with information collected from the Altındağ and Çankaya Müftülüğü.

Between 1971 and 1980s, 44 mosques were built by the associations, the state and the private sector in Çankaya, and in this period, as in the previous period, most of the patrons were associations. In contrast, different from the previous period, the associations' contribution to mosque production decreased to 55 percent, while those of the state and private sector increased to 18 percent and 27 percent, respectively. Generally, the process for the construction of a mosque began with the demands of the people living in that area, and so these mosques tended to be built by associations with the help of volunteers.

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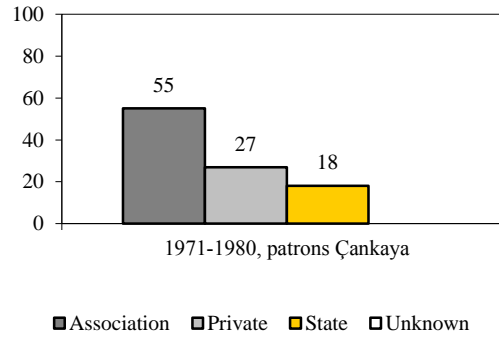
<sup>113</sup> Aydın, Suavi and Emiroğlu, Kudret and Türkoğlu, Ömer and Özsoy Ergi D., “Ak Devrimden Darbelere”, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 2005, p.546.

**Table 2. 11** Mosques constructed in Çankaya between 1971 and 1980

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1972	A.Ayrancı Dörtüyl Yer altı Mosque .(under a building)	P	P	Asil Türk Mir. (const. firm)	216	195	350
1972	Dikmen Huzur Mosque	A	A	—	1,709	280	250
1972	Yıldız Orta Mosque	A	A	İbrahim Akın	1,818	300	700
1973	B.Esat .Konaklar Halilullah Mosque	A	A	—	1,150	350	350
1973	Sanayi Bakanlığı Mescidi (under a building)	S	S	—	—	300	350
1974	Dikmen Hüdaverdi Mosque	S	P	Fehmi Şirin	1447-668	438	760
1974	Dikmen Kuyubaşı Birlik Mosque	S	S	—	1,088	300	500
1974	Dikmen Mollaoğlu Mosque	S	A	—	925	120	200
1974	İ. İmrahor Mosque	S	P	—	550	160	200
1974	Türküzü Boztepe Mosque	S	A	—	350	240	500
1975	A.Paşa Köşk Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	1,619	600	3 000
1975	B.Esat ÇukurcaMah.Halilullah Mosque	S	A	—	1,500	300	500
1975	D.İ.E. M. (under a building)	S	—	—	—	80	90
1975	Dikimevi Hacı Erşanlı M. (under a building)	A	P	—	500	400	450
1975	Dikmen Ata Mosque	S	A	—	1,406	168	300
1975	Cevizlidere Merkez Mosque	S	S	—	1,476	359	500
1975	Dikmen Elif Mescidi (under a building)	S	—	—	—	120	100
1975	Dikmen Talatpaşa Mosque	S	A	—	852	120	200
1975	Mebusevleri Mosque	A	A	Yaşar Özdüzen	78	78	200
1975	Türküzü Bademlidere Mosque	A	A	Erol Ünar	1,000	350	200
1975	Y.Ayrancı 6. Durak Mosque	A	A	—	1,000	240	600
1976	B.Esat Çukurca Mah. Fatih Mosque	A	A	—	1,355	240	500
1976	Emek Köşe M. (under a building)	A	P	Dikmen Kooperatifi (association)	1,555	125	130
1976	M.T.A. Çiğdemtepe Mosque	A	A	İbrahim Fikri Akın	300	250	1,000
1976	S.Bağları Osmanağa Mosque	A	A	—	540	250	500
1976	Tarım Vakıf M.(Under a building)	S	S	—	—	200	350
1977	Afet İşleri Gn.Md. M. (under a building)	S	S	M. Enis Süzer	1,000	200	400
1977	Akdere Fazilet Mosque	S	A	Faik Kanoğlu	350	280	500
1977	Dikmen Hacı Osman Erdem Mosque	S	P	—	1,402	352	600
1978	Balgat Saray M.	A	A	—	500	400	600
1978	Dikmen Hacı Derviş Mosque	A	A	Selahattin Karababa	1,500	500	1,000
1978	Dikmen İlker Süleymaniye Cad. Mosque	A	A	Şahin mimarlık (firm)	781	190	250
1978	Dikmen Mevlut Meriç Mosque	S	A	—	940	600	500
1978	Karayolları Genel Md. Mosque	S	S	—	—	300	500
1978	Kızılay Halilbey Pasajı Mosque	A	P	—	—	50	80
1978	Yıldız Köşk Mosque	S	P	—	4,000	250	300
1979	B.Esat Kırkkonaklar Yeşil Tepe Mosque	A	A	—	300	120	220
1979	Dikmen Hicret Mosque	S	A	Ziya Kahraman	1,027	173	400
1979	M.Rüştü Argıt Mosque	A	A	—	591	300	500
1979	Vakıflar Genel Md. Mosque	S	S	—	—	150	250
1980	Dikmen H.Abdurrahman Mosque	A	P	Emin Eren-Enver Eren*	1,105	130	250
1980	Dikmen Köyü Mosque	P	P	—	350	120	350
1980	Milli Eğitim Bak. Mosque	S	S	—	—	110	120
1980	Yıldız Güneytepe Mosque	S	A	—	200	100	120

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

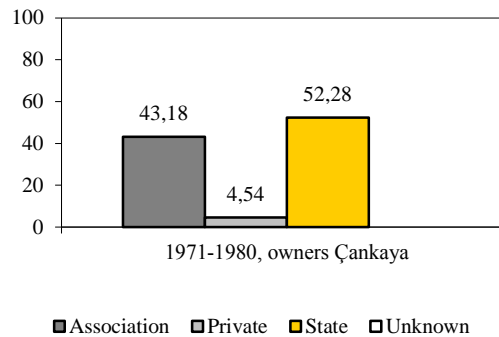
\* Member of Chamber of Architects



**Graph 2. 13** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

Besides the patrons, the ownership of these mosques changed in this period. Associations owned 43.18 percent of the mosques, while the private sector had a 4.54 percent share and the state had a 52.28 percent share. The state owned most of the mosques, which was a change from the previous period, and it is highly possible that the state supported their construction through the donation of land.

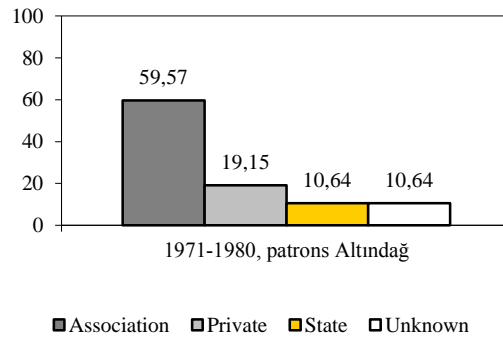
The total capacity of these 44 mosques was around 14,720 people in this period, which was much lower than the capacity of those built in the previous period (38,625). The reason for this was the construction of the Kocatepe Mosque in the previous period, and for the same reason, the built-up site area decreased to 9,428 m<sup>2</sup> and total floor area decreased to 10,888 m<sup>2</sup>. Of the total, 14 of the mosques were designed by an architect, although only two were members of the Chamber of Architects. In this period, like in the previous period, the identity of many of the architects of these mosques was unknown.



**Graph 2. 14** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

Although Altındağ was appointed as the city's business center in the Jansen Plan, after the construction of the ministries in Kızılay, its importance in this regard was decreased. This resulted in a rise in the number of squatter settlements in the Altındağ district, and increased income disparity between Altındağ and Çankaya. In Altındağ, the income of the population fell, preventing them from moving from the district in this period. While Altındağ saw little development, Kızılay and the axis along the Eskişehir Road saw a construction boom, and consequently, an increase in population, spurring further mosque production.

During these years, 47 mosques were built by associations, the state and the private sector in Altındağ, doubling the number from the previous period. Although the associations were active in the architectural production process, the role of the state increased in this period. As shown in Graph 2.15, associations continued to be the most active of all stakeholders<sup>114</sup> in this period, while the state managed to increase its share to 10.64 percent.



**Graph 2. 15** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

<sup>114</sup> “Stakeholders” in this context are the associations, the private sector and state.

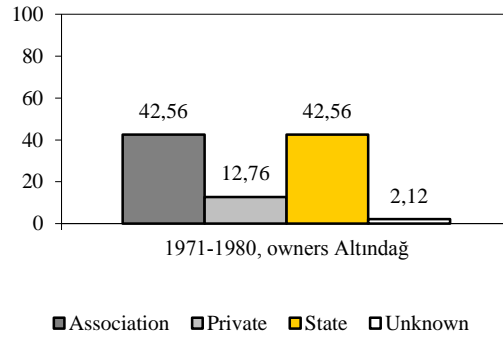
**Table 2. 12** List of mosques built in Altındağ between 1971 and 1980

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1972	Barbaros hayrettin Paşa	A	A	Cahit Çelik	1,300	250	333
1972	Celal Kaddani Mosque	S	—	—	145	140	193
1972	Dağantepe Kayabaşı Mosque	A	A	—	796	450	600
1972	Ferudun Çelik Merkez Mosque	A	A	—	1,200	280	373
1972	Hasköy Alacaçşmeüstü Mosque	—	A	Hilal Okutan	1,657	462	562
1972	Hasköy Aşar Mosque	A	A	—	2 000	800	1,066
1972	Hasköy Savaştepe Mosque	A	A	—	280	180	200
1972	Hasköy Selamet Mosque	S	P	—	1,056	396	528
1972	Kökertepe Mosque	S	A	—	835	150	200
1972	Önder Abdullah Tokur Mosque	P	P	—	1,000	300	500
1973	Hasköy Gülpınar Mh.Merkez Mosque	A	A	—	1774	260	347
1973	Hüseyin Gazinurlu Uluyol Mosque	A	A	Fahrettin Kal	1,000	1,000	1,500
1974	Battal Gazi Münevver Mosque	A	A	—	900	200	500
1974	Boyacı Ali Mosque	S	A	—	217	300	400
1974	Gültepe 50. Yıl Mosque	A	A	—	637	143	190
1974	Önder Sultan Mosque	A	A	—	500	350	467
1974	Solfasol Mah. Karakum Şafak Mosque	A	A	—	900	300	400
1975	ÇevikKuvvet Toplum Polis Mosque	S	S	—	150	150	200
1975	Doğantepe Uğurlu Mosque	P	P	—	700	182	243
1975	Örnek Telsizler Fatih Mosque	S	A	Yavuz Türel	1,200	400	1,200
1975	Site Malazgirt Mosque	A	A	—	1,500	800	1,066
1976	Büyük Sanayi Mosque	P	P	Münif Ezberci	160	160	213
1976	Doğu Mah. Yeşil Mosque	A	—	—	1,427	216	288
1976	Kurtuluş İtfaiye Mosque	S	S	—	50	50	66
1976	Site Hüdaverdi Mosque	A	P	—	600	252	336
1976	Site İtfaiye Müd.	S	S	—	—	90	120
1976	Site Yavuz Mobilya Çar. Mosque	P	P	Ercan Ergül	35	35	46
1976	Yıldıztepe Hacıbayram Mosque	S	A	—	1,000	192	256
1976	Yıldıztepe Tükoğlu Mosque	A	A	—	636	350	467
1977	Desiyap Bankalar Mosque	S	S	—	200	140	186
1978	Anaf. Cad. Sarraflar Çar. Mosque	S	—	—	—	250	400
1978	HüseyinGazi Gürleyik Saadet Mosque	S	P	H.Mustafa Parlar	2,000	143	190
1978	Papağanı Mosque	S	P	—	175	175	233
1978	Yıldıztepe Güldere Mosque	S	A	—	2,000	150	200
1979	Ali Ersoy Mah.Kültür Çarşısı Mosque	S	A	—	3,000	320	1,200
1980	Ankara Doğumevi Mosque	S	A	—	60	60	80
1980	Aydınlıkevler Süphan Mosque	A	A	Hacı Canatan*	500	250	333
1980	Başpınar Mah. Yeni Mosque	S	A	—	1,780	500	600
1980	Battal Gazi Yüce Mosque	S	A	Ahmet Ertürk	700	162	300
1980	Çamlık Mah. Birlik Mosque	A	A	—	945	204	272
1980	F. Çelik Ümraniye Mosque	A	A	—	400	240	320
1980	Gülpınar Çamlık Fatih Mosque	A	A	—	2,300	192	400
1980	Hacılar Mah. Gülpınar Mosque	A	A	—	1,700	800	1,066
1980	Karayolları 4.Bölge Müd. Mosque	S	S	—	205	200	273
1980	Site Ubeyd Efendi Mosque	P	—	—	280	100	133
1980	Yıba Çarşısı Mosque	P	P	—	75	75	100
1980	Alemdağ Mah. Karapınar Mosque	S	—	—	1,405	1,000	1,000

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Members of the Chamber of Architects.

The associations owned 42.56 percent of mosques, different from the previous period, while the private sector had 12.76 percent and the state had 42.56 percent. The private sector figure was almost the same as that in the previous period.



**Graph 2. 16** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

The architects of these mosques were mostly unknown; of the nine that were known, only one was a member the Chamber of Architects. This was a controversial situation for the architectural production because, although architect played a critical role in the architectural production, the architects of most mosques were unknown.

The total capacity of these 47 mosques was around 12,048 people, the total built-up site was 12,855 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 10,888 m<sup>2</sup>. The capacity of the mosques was directly related to the size of the neighborhood in that the number of neighborhood mosques was required to satisfy the neighborhood needs. The scales of these mosques were also important for the district, as they would host many social activities, as well as funerals and Friday prayers, and such were a point of attraction for the local population.

**Table 2. 13** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1975	A.Paşa Köşk Mosque	A	A	Nedim Onat*	3,000

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

The period between 1973 and 1980 were the worst for Turkey, in both politics and the economy, although mosque construction was maintained to create a public sphere. In the Çankaya district, there was only one mosque built in this period that could be considered a landmark – Abidin Paşa Köşk Mosque, which was built in 1975 by an association. The capacity of this mosque was around 3,000 people, and the architect was Nedim Onat.



**Table 2. 14** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1973	Hüseyin Gazinurlu Uluyol Mosque	A	A	Fahrettin Kal	1,500

A: Associations, S: State, P: Private  
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

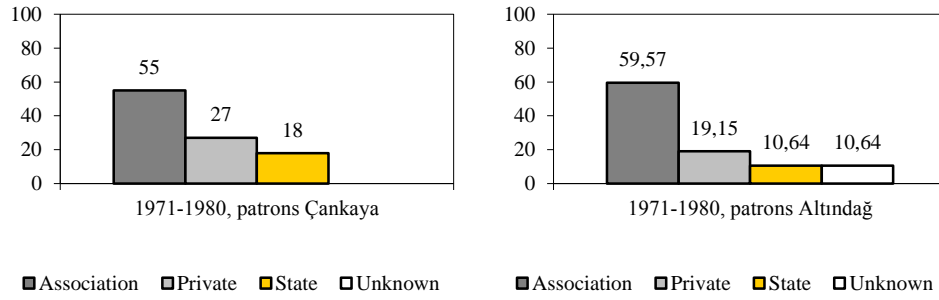


**Figure 2. 11** Abidin Paşa Köşk Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosque in Çankaya

There was only one mosque built in Altındağ that could be considered a landmark – Hüseyin Gazinurlu Uluyol Mosque. It was designed by Fahrettin Kal and funded by associations and it had a capacity of around 1,500 people. Fahrettin Kal was one of the most popular architects of that period, but unlike Nedim Onat, he was not a member of the Chamber of Architects.



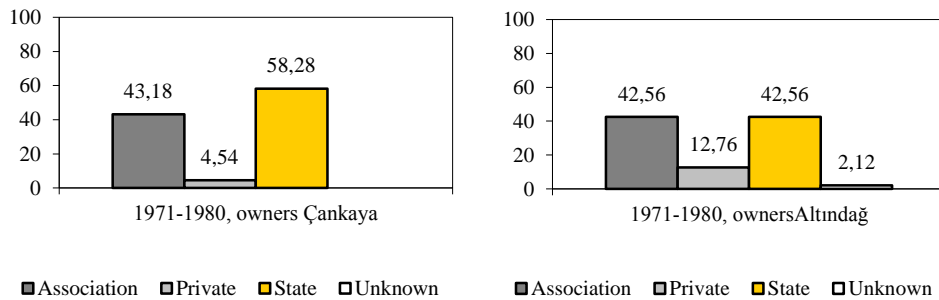
**Figure 2. 12** Hüseyin Gazinurlu Uluyol Mosque, Altındağ (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosque in Altındağ



**Graph 2. 17** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ and Çankaya

When compared to the previous period, the architectural production process decreased in this era as a result of the economic depression of the late 1970s. Furthermore, the demand for Turkish labor in Europe dropped, and the Cyprus invasion was also a critical point for Turkey in both economic and political terms. These years can be considered as the worst for Turkey, both politically and economically.

Although architectural production decreased in this period, the number of mosques constructed in Altındağ and Çankaya increased as a result of the rising population. The ratio of patrons and owners are presented in Graphs 2.17 and 2.18 for the two districts. For both districts, the majority of patrons were the associations, with the private sector taking second place, followed by the state. The ratio is nearly the same for both districts.



**Graph 2. 18** Ratio of owners in Altındağ and Çankaya

Graph 2.18 shows that the state owned most of the mosques built in both districts in this period, indicating an active role of the state in the architectural production process. İmamoğlu suggests that the state had always been the leading actor in the

production of the built environment in Turkish history, starting in the Ottoman era and continuing into the 1980s.<sup>115</sup> The state owned most of the mosques in Çankaya, while for Altındağ, the state and the associations had an equal number of mosques.

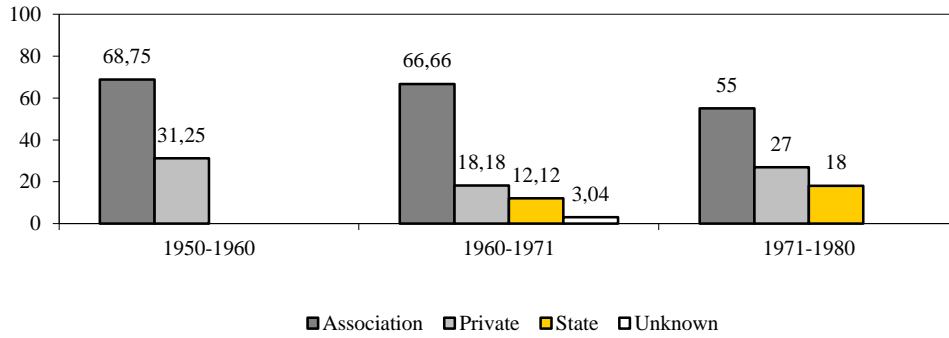
## **2.5. Epilogue to the Chapter:**

In this chapter, the identities of the owners, patrons and architects of these mosques have been studied for three decades, dating from 1946 to the 1980s. The graphs show that the patrons of mosques changed in every decade, and although the number of associations decreased each decade, they retained their dominance as a patron for these years. While the associations and the private sector were seen as patrons in the years between 1950 and 1960, the state had little direct influence in this regard, but after 1960, the state suddenly emerged as a dominant patron in both Çankaya and Altındağ, increasing its ratio each year thereafter.

As Graph 2.19 shows, most of the patrons were associations in Çankaya, and although they remained active, the share of the private sector changed in every decade. Most notable was the position of the state as a patron. In the first period (1950–1960) it was not active, emerging as a patron only in the second period (1960–1971) and continuing in the following period (1971–1980). The main patron in the architectural production process was the associations. These organizations were founded to collect money to construct mosques. In this time period, the state decided to build a new big mosque in Ankara, namely the Kocatepe Mosque. Upon this decision, an association was founded soon after to provide financial support for the construction. The patron of this mosque appears to be an association; however, it is known by all that it was the state that organized everything in this process. These results show us that the state began to control the production process.

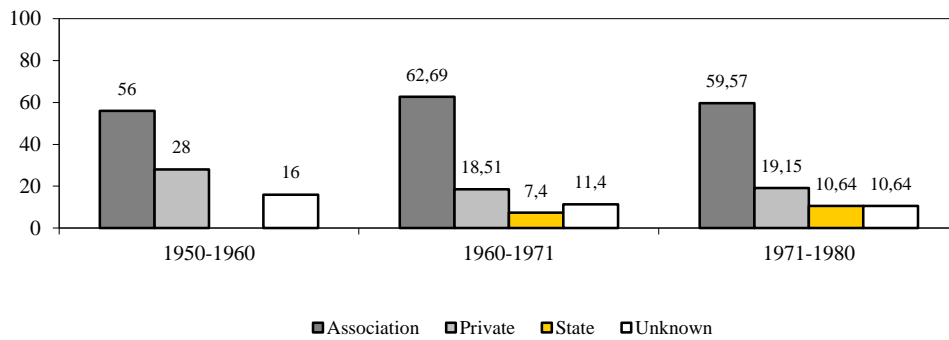
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<sup>115</sup> İmamoğlu, Bilge. *Architectural Production in State Offices: An Inquiry into the Professionalization of Architecture in Early Republican Turkey*, Publikstieburow Bouwkunde, TU Delft, 2010, p.9-10.



**Graph 2. 19** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

According to Graph 2.20, most of the patrons were associations in the Altındağ district, and similarly, in Çankaya. In contrast, the private sector and the state were relatively inactive. In the first period (1950–1960) the role of the state was not active as a patron, but took on as a patron role in the second period (1960–1971) that carried over into the final period (1971–1980). As mentioned previously, the state had an active role in the architectural production process, which is shown in Graphs 2.19 and 2.20. If we compare the two districts, the ratio of state involvement was lower in Altındağ than in Çankaya, suggesting that Çankaya had more political power.



**Graph 2. 20** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

The dominance of religion became increasingly apparent after the transition to the multi-party system. As it was mentioned earlier, Ankara was the symbol of the secular state, but the image of the city began to change with the rapid mosque construction after the 1950s. The religion became an important tool for the politicians to gain more votes. In this time period, the profile of the patrons also

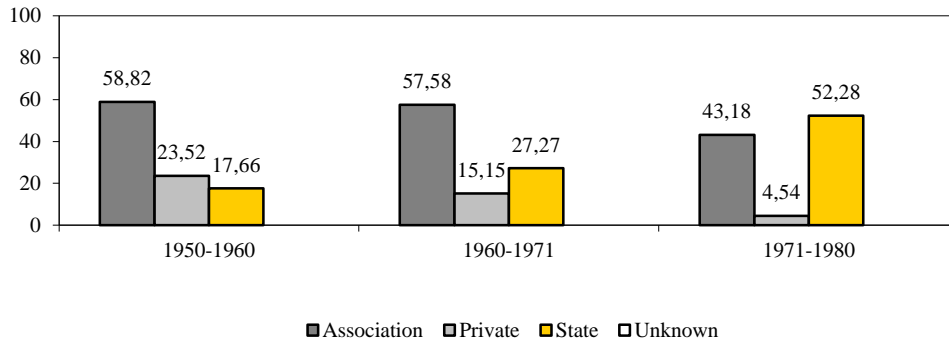
changed. The role of the state as a patron was more dominant in the Çankaya district than it was in the Altındağ district. This proves that the state had a power to control the process and to create a public sphere using the religion.

The state began to represent itself in this period, using mosque architecture as an apparatus. Although the associations were dominant in both districts, the state had a symbolic role as a patron. İmamoğlu states that the state played a major economic role in politics between 1933 and 1950s, and that it was in the 1950s that the mono-party regime ended and that liberal politics gained strength with the election of the DP. The period of liberal policies was followed by an era of state-oriented economic development policies that remained until the intervention of 1960.<sup>116</sup> It is worthy of note that it was after the intervention that the state suddenly began to represent itself.

Besides the patrons, the identity of the owners also had a major role in the mosque production process. Although the number of owner associations changed very little over the three periods, the figure for the state changed in every period. In the final period, the state was dominant, which corresponds to the many changes in political life in Turkey, which affected the architectural production process. The state had an important role at the end of 1970s as an owner in Çankaya, which can be attributed to the fact that the state took control of the architectural production process as an owner after the crisis years. From Graph 2.21, it can be understood that the state provided construction sites for the building of mosques through its institutions, such as municipalities and other local government bodies. The best example of this process was witnessed in the Kocatepe Mosque. In the following chapters, the Kocatepe Mosque will be discussed in detail.

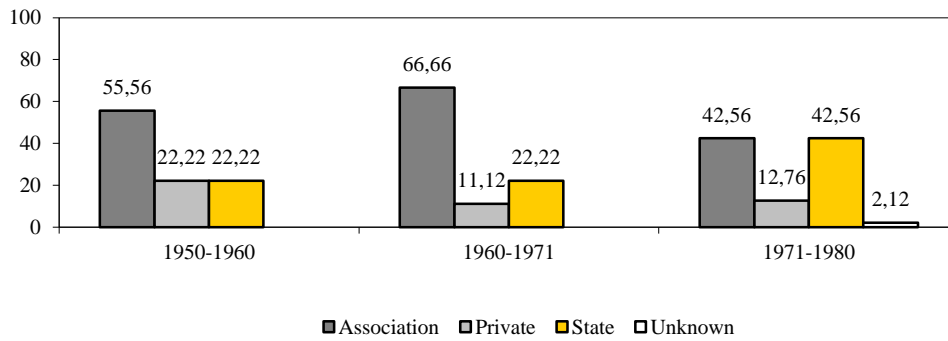
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<sup>116</sup> İmamoğlu, Bilge. *Architectural Production in State Offices: An Inquiry into the Professionalization of Architecture in Early Republican Turkey*, Publikstieburow Bouwkunde, TU Delft, 2010, p.9-10.



**Graph 2. 21** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

For Altındağ district, the number of the associations changed in all these three periods. On the other hand, the numbers of the state increased at the end of the period as was the case in the Çankaya district. In addition to this, the private sector's share increased in comparison to the Çankaya district. It can be said for this period that the state was dominant in political life and and it supported the architectural mosque production process by providing land.



**Graph 2. 22** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

In this period, the associations had a major role in the architectural production process as both patron and owner. Table 2.15 presents information from Ankara Governorship about the number of associations in Ankara between 1950 and 1980. It can be seen from this table that the number of the associations involved in the building of mosques increased sharply in the years between 1950 and 1980. As described and discussed in this chapter, 27 May 1960 was a turning point in the history of the Republic of Turkey as the date of the first military intervention. The 1960s were the liberal years, when many associations were established, with most being established in Keçiören, Mamak, Altındağ and Çankaya respectively.

**Table 2. 15** Number of associations in Ankara between 1950 and 1980<sup>117</sup>

Years	1950-1961	1961-1970	1971-1980
Altındağ	5	25	34
Beypazarı	0	1	1
Çankaya	5	25	32
Elmadag	0	2	6
Etimesgut	0	2	6
Gölbaşı	0	0	1
Kazan	0	0	1
Keçiören	3	25	36
Kızılcahamam	0	0	4
Mamak	2	27	44
Polatlı	0	3	6
Pursaklar	0	0	1
Sincan	0	2	8
Şereflikoçhisar	0	1	2

It was in this period that most new mosques were built by public associations. The need for mosques increased with the rising population, and these associations were established to satisfy the needs of the public. Türkantoz suggests that these mosques were built by the public and contractors in the 1950s,<sup>118</sup> and so most had no architect. On the whole, they were similar in character to those of the Ottoman architecture, largely imitating the Sultan Ahmet Mosque. The associations dominated in this period, and it wasn't until after the first military intervention that the state started to represent itself. In this way islamification as an ideology used as the policy for the politicians.

In the following chapter the mosque production process will be analyzed for the years between 1980 and 2010 to understand how the role of the state affected the mosque production process, and how the owners and patrons of the mosques changed in this process after the 1980s.

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<sup>117</sup> *Ankara Governorship.*

<sup>118</sup> Türkantoz, Kayahan. "Türkiye' de Çağdaş Cami Mimarisinde Eğilimler" başlıklı konferans, accessed on 22.12.2011





## CHAPTER 3

### THE 1980–2010: FRAGMENTED PERIOD

#### 3.1. 1980–1990: Neoliberalism in Architectural Practice and the Transformation to Postmodernism

The aim in this section is to understand architectural practices in the mosque production process in the Çankaya and Altındağ districts of Ankara between 1980 and 1990. The political and economic situation in Turkey will also be analyzed for this period. After the 1970s, neoliberalism was gaining in popularity around the world, and Turkey was no exception. Accordingly, the effects of neoliberalism in Turkey will be discussed in this section, with particular focus on architectural practice. According to David Harvey:

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>119</sup>

Harvey defines neoliberal states as those that apply substantial rules to support individual private property rights, the rule of law and institutions to support freely functioning markets and free trade.<sup>120</sup> To encourage the free mobility of capital between sectors, regions and countries, obstacles such as tariffs, punitive taxation arrangements, planning and environmental controls or other locational

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<sup>119</sup> Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.2.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p.64.

impediments are removed, so long as national interest is not at stake.<sup>121</sup> All states sought to reduce these obstacles,<sup>122</sup> while privatization and deregulation aimed to decrease costs and increase the quality, efficiency and productivity of industry.<sup>123</sup> Neoliberalisation required the creation, both politically and economically, of a neoliberal market-based populist culture of differentiated consumerism and individual libertarianism.<sup>124</sup>

Prime Ministry Undersecretary Turgut Özal, acting on orders from Süleyman Demirel, prepared a program of neo-liberalization for Turkey that was launched on 24 January 1980, bringing about a structural transformation in the economy. Boratav, describing the 24 January decisions, argued that<sup>125</sup> the “shock treatments” such as devaluation, the increase in the number of the state economic enterprises (KIT) and the removal of price controls went beyond the demands of the IMF in the previous three years. He also noted that it was not the only consistency program in the economy, but helped to develop a free-market economy that strengthened capital through the labors of the working class.

On 12 September 1980, a breaking point was reached in Turkish history with the third military intervention, by which Süleyman Demirel’s government was dismissed and the country saw a regime change with the re-entry of the military into political life. Ahmad claims that this period was rife with arrests and legal judgments.<sup>126</sup> The main reason for the military intervention was the Islamic revival and the fear that Turkey was losing the secular status upon which the Republic had been established. The resurgence of Islam began in 1950, but it was in the 1960s that conservatives began using religion as an ideological tool against the socialist and democratic parties.<sup>127</sup> After the intervention, the National Security Council (MGK) was established to rule Turkey until the general election of November

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p.66.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p.65.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.42.

<sup>125</sup> Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908–2007*, Ankara İmge Kitabevi Yayınları; October, 2008, p.147.

<sup>126</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye’ nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.219.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p.256.

1983.<sup>128</sup> The MGK promised deep and wide-reaching changes to Turkish political life, such as the decision to close parties, leaving the Constitution hanging. Only two activities were left unchanged: foreign policy and Demirel's economic stabilization program.<sup>129</sup>

According to Kahraman, the 1980 coup d'état was different from the previous in that it was not launched by the military. Rather, it was Demirel, the conservative leader of the Democrat Party (DP) and the president of the Republic that instigated the coup d'état, collaborating with the military against Political Islam. After 1955, a period began that witnessed an ongoing conflict between political Islam and the political system in Turkey, and first the Welfare Party (RP) and then the Virtue Party (FP) were closed by the Constitutional Court.<sup>130</sup> This brought about the foundation of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) as a new political entity. Kahraman suggests that the AKP was founded not to oppose the prevailing political agenda, but to address the needs of society. The main goal of the party was to play a more active role against the central administration and take a share of the land rents.<sup>131</sup>

Boratav claims that the most important transformations that occurred in the 1980s were the gradual changes in the meaning of public service and public purpose; and the reason for these transformations was to allow the state to get back to doing the job it was set up to do and to avoid any unnecessary spending. At the end of this transformation, a number of public services were sold to the private sector, including those related to health and social security.<sup>132</sup> According to Boratav, this transformation was aimed at diminishing the power of the state by restricting its ability to take rents, leading to increased lawlessness in the country. The results of the liberal policies were opposite to what was expected. The changes that were intended to eliminate bureaucratic intervention into economic life were interpreted rather as bolstering the relationship between political cadres and interest groups. The state's ability to create rents, rather than getting reduced, was only moved to a

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p.214.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p.216.

<sup>130</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *AKP ve Türk Sağ*, Agora Kitaplığı, February, 2007, p.xiii.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Boratav, Korkut. *Yeni Dünya Düzeni Nereye?*, İmge Kitabevi, 2004, p.24–25.

different area. Export incentives turned into fictitious exports, urban planning was shaped to raise urban landed property rents and privatizations were made at the expense of public property. These transformations indicated clearly that Turkey's political and economic life was dominated by corruption.<sup>133</sup>

Göle summarized that popular culture changed in three ways after the 1980s: 1) in political discourse; 2) in the quality of the relationship between the actors of society and the state; and 3) how political parties expressed and shaped these changes in the relationship between the state and society.<sup>134</sup> These changes also created a new society in many fields, such as in architecture, language, music and lifestyles.<sup>135</sup> Kahraman claimed that religion began to be used as a tool in the creation of a new cultural identity, and was trying to renew itself and gain independence under these new aspects and tendencies.<sup>136</sup> In addition, the economic model of the 1980s brought about a decrease in the role of the state in the economy. The bourgeoisie assumed the role of the state, and would lead the development of society in the future.<sup>137</sup> For Kahraman, the bourgeoisie drifted away from state in this period, gaining self-determination, and created a new culture using aspects of the old culture.<sup>138</sup> The 1980s saw two major developments in religion all around the world: one was the strengthening of religion and the other was the increasing power of Islam in the political and social arenas.<sup>139</sup> The return of religion to daily life was a major phenomenon in Western political life in the 1980s, deeply affecting social thought, limiting it to the political milieu.<sup>140</sup>

Ahmad claimed that some military commanders had a significant role in strengthening religion in the society,<sup>141</sup> using government resources to launch religious lessons in primary and secondary schools. The number of Imam Hatip

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p.25–26.

<sup>134</sup> Göle, Nülüfer. “80 Sonrası Politik Kültür Yükselen Değerler”, *Melez Desenler İslam ve Modernlik Üzerine*, Metis Yayınları, 2000, p.37.

<sup>135</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye*, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul, 2007, p.122.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p.79.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p.96.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.54–55.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p.58.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.59.

<sup>141</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.257.

schools increased from 258 to 350 in three years, and the number of students in these types of schools also increased rapidly to 270,000, 40,000 of whom were female. The students who graduated from these type schools usually found jobs in mosques and received salaries as public servants. When the preacher graduates applied to go to university or started seeking jobs in the civil service, alarm bells started to ring. These students were not allowed to enter the military due to their conservative thoughts, and those that had joined were dismissed. The leftist discourse especially among young people was also a source of worry for the generals. A strong social outcry was heard related to income inequality between the rich and poor, the exploitation of workers and peasants and the struggle for equality and social justice. Schools and universities were blamed for lack of a religious culture, and many liberal or leftist people were dismissed from their jobs. The generals believed that the 1961 Constitution had led to the creation of a faithless youth, and so the MGK decided to launch religious education at school. The generals and their supervisors believed that if Islam operated appropriately, the separation would decrease in Turkey. The Motherland Party (ANAP) took on this task in 1983.<sup>142</sup>

The Constitution was the subject of much public discussion for several months, and after a referendum, the Constitution was adopted. Kenan Evren, who had been the head of the MGK, automatically became president of the Republic of Turkey on 9 November 1982. After the banning of several political parties, many new parties were established for the 1983 elections.

In the 1983 election, the ANAP won with 45.15 percent of the vote, and Göle claims that a new relationship began between the conservatives and liberals with the selection of the ANAP.<sup>143</sup> According to Göle, the state-oriented modernization was replaced with society-oriented modernization in this period.<sup>144</sup> The ANAP held on to power between 1983 and 1993, while the RP remained at the edge of the system. With the 1983 elections, the right gained strength, with both the party in

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p.256.

<sup>143</sup> Göle, Nilüfer. “80 Sonrası Politik Kültür Yükselen Değerler”, *Melez Desenler İslam ve Modernlik Üzerine*, Metis Yayınları, 2000, p.54.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p.48.

power and the opposition being from the right. This gain in power was due to the weakness of the social democratic parties and the new values of the ANAP.<sup>145</sup> The ANAP identity was based on three issues and its ability to represent the new social awareness.<sup>146</sup> Firstly, the party tried to resolve problems through détente policies, such as in the approach to the student movements and their radical ideologies.<sup>147</sup> Secondly, the party advocated a pragmatic approach, and dealt with the matters closest to the hearts of the electorate, particularly tax rebates and municipal services.<sup>148</sup> Lastly, the ANAP attempted to compose syntheses between the conservatives' and others. The party saw themselves as modern conservatives.<sup>149</sup>

The ANAP leader Turgut Özal, a liberal and anti-statist leader, used Islam against the left, and adopted an Islamist way of thinking for his party. The main support of Özal's party came from the lower-middle class, who were at the edge of the Kemalist revolution and Westernization. This section of society saw Westernization as an appropriate solution to the financial situation. Moreover, they believed that they held higher social and moral values than the West, and that the Kemalist regime was insufficient for the creation of a new identity for Turkey, seeing the revival of Islam as more appropriate to their real identity.<sup>150</sup>

During the Özal years, the styles of cultural expression, the proliferation of buildings and the rapid changes that occurred in urban settings demonstrated different aspects of postmodernism. The elite class began to pay attention to the sub-culture class, including elements of popular culture. Many people began to show their displeasure at such things as squatter housing, arabesque music, kebab shops, bus termini, and small and cheap aluminum-domed neighborhood mosques. This situation was affecting architecture, once considered to be a discipline of the elite, and saw the proliferation of many poorly designed mosques that were part of a complex that included also shopping malls and offices. Bozdoğan claims in her article that these buildings which were disliked by architects, were products of the

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p.45.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p.46.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye' nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999. p.257.

economic, social and politic process of that period.<sup>151</sup> At the same time, they were a result of the fact that architects attributed no importance to the archetype, meaning that mosque production fell into the hands of uneducated and populist groups, supported by the arrival on the news stands of many new magazines, as well as office equipment and professional design tools, such as CAD.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, architecture began to ignore social ideologies, and began to create new forms aimed at the private sector and rich clients.

Religion became a political tool, and began to be used as an apparatus for finding a job and educating people from the lower-middle class,<sup>153</sup> and subsequently, the number of employees at the Directorate of Religious Affairs increased from 50,765 to 84,712. The income of this institution was around \$115 million, and 1,500 mosques were built every year on average during these years. Numbering 54,667 in 1984, they increased to 62,947 in 1988, with one mosque built for every 857 people.<sup>154</sup> There was also a marked increase in the number of Imam Hatip High Schools and Koran courses, where students learned both Arabic and basic Islamic law. There were 2,610 such courses being run prior to the 1980 intervention, but this number increased to 4,175 in the aftermath to accommodate the rising number of students, who rose in number from 68,486 to 155,403, and of these, 58,350 were female. The number of people making the pilgrimage to Mecca also increased, from 10,805 in 1979 (3,409 women) to 92,006 (40,057 women) in 1988. The Directorate of Religious Affairs had also maintained an active role among the Turkish communities abroad, with the number of workers increasing from 20 in 1980 to 628 in 1989.<sup>155</sup>

Taking the above factors into consideration, it is clear that religion was becoming an important actor in social life, and it is no surprise that the economy was affected

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<sup>151</sup> Kasaba Reşat and Bozdoğan Sibel. *Türkiye' de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010, p.148-150.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye' nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.257.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.258.

by this new situation,<sup>156</sup> particularly in the globalization of finance capital and the activation of multinational corporations. As a result of this development, the nation state became less effective in many fields. This led to a new search for solidarity that led to religious organizations gaining power and attracting more adherents.<sup>157</sup> In this way, religion came strongly to the agenda, and as Göle emphasizes, Islamic movements took on an important role in societal relations.<sup>158</sup>

Bozdoğan, summarizing the general view of Postmodern Turkey in the 1980s, claims that a variety of groups, such as civil society, feminists and Muslim intellectuals, opposed the traditional ideology of the left and the thoughts of the Republican elite,<sup>159</sup> and this also affected modernist architects during this period. The architects of the period began to use traditional, regional styles and forms in their projects, borrowing much from Islamic forms and patterns in their designs. The term “post modernism” was adopted by architects all around the world as a result of the economic, political and cultural developments.<sup>160</sup>

The tables presented in this section provide information on the mosques built between 1980 and 1990 in Çankaya and Altındağ. Table 3.1 lists all of the mosques recorded by the Çankaya Müftülüğü in this period, while Table 3.2 provides the same information for Altındağ Müftülüğü.

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<sup>156</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye.*, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul, 2007, p.65.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, p.66.

<sup>158</sup> Göle, Nülüfer. “80 Sonrası Politik Kültür Yükselen Değerler”, *Melez Desenler İslam ve Modernlik Üzerine*, Metis Yayınları, 2000, p.44.

<sup>159</sup> Kasaba Reşat and Bozdoğan Sibel. *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010, p.147.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p.148.



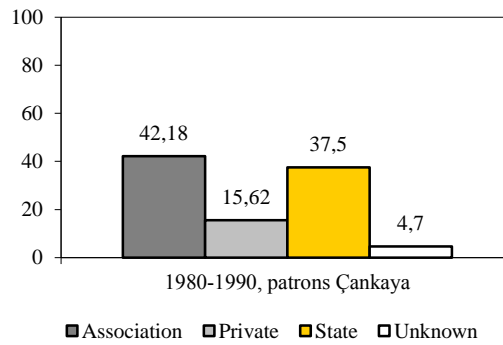
**Table 3. 1** Mosques built in Çankaya between 1980 and 1990

Years	Name of Mosque	Owners	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1982	Y.Ayrancı Ahi Evrani Veli Mosque	F	P	-	225	200	250
1982	B.Esat Çukurca Mah. Halifeler Mosque	A	A	-	832	260	500
1982	B.Esat Kırkkonaklar Berat Kandili Mosque	S	A	Ali Öztaşkın	1,246	169	170
1982	Dikmen Gültepe Mosque	L	A	-	724	100	80
1982	Dikmen Sunay Mosque	S	A	-	350	140	250
1982	ODTÜ Mosque	S	S	-	350	300	400
1982	TSE Mosque	S	S	Vedat Dalokay*	150	300	-
1983	A.Ayrancı Özşerbetci Mosque	F	P	Mehmet Köroğlu		175	275
1983	Balgat Tarık Mosque	L	L	-	1,000	700	500
1983	Başbakanlık Yeni Bina Mosque	S	S	-		750	1,000
1983	EGO Genel Müd. Mosque	S	S	-	1,000	500	600
1983	Hacı Reşit Şengel Mosque	F	P	-	300	300	200
1983	Sağlık Bakanlığı Mosque	S	S	-		150	280
1983	TOBB Mosque	S	S	Melih Polat*		80	150
1984	Beytepe Kampüsü Mosque	S	S	Levent Poyraz*		373	550
1984	SSK Rant Tesisleri Mosque	S	S	-		280	500
1984	TBMM Mosque	S	S	Behruz-Can Çinicici*	300	500	
1984	Yem Sanayi Mosque	P	P	-	500	250	350
1984	Yıldız Birlik Mosque	S	A	-	1,000	130	150
1984	Yıldız Göltepe Mosque	A	A	-	388	240	400
1984	Yıldız Ömer Pınar Mevki Mosque (Hasan Akdoğanlar)	S	A	-	912	100	120
1985	Belediye Hastanesi Mosque	L	L	-		30	50
1985	Kızılay Büyük Çarşı Mosque	P		Osman Özkök		220	250
1985	Söğütözü Hz. Ali M.(Başyazıcıoğlu)	F	A	-	480	300	250
1985	Şeker Fab. Gen. Müd. Mosque	S	S	-		120	150
1985	Tarım Kredi Koop. Mosque	S	S	-		150	200
1985	Tarım Destekleme G.Md. Mosque	S	S	Mehmet Akmen		80	150
1985	Türküzü Yunus Emre Mosque	A	A	Mustafa Akçelilgil	500	455	900
1985	Yeni Ankara Sokak Mosque	P		-		50	60
1985	Yıldız Sancak Mosque	A	A	-	1,000		
1985	Yıldız Tepebaşı Center Mosque	S	A	-	2,760	260	500
1985	YÖK Mosque	S	S	-	320	320	400
1986	Çimento Sanayi Mosque	P	P	-		250	300
1986	Dikmen M.Ertuğrul Mosque	F	P	-	600	150	150
1986	Dikmen Rıfat Börekçi Mosque	F	F	Sistem planlama (const. firm)	2,000	1500	1,500
1986	Y.Ayrancı Uçarlı Hicret Mosque	S	A	Mehmet Emin Tuna	924	380	1,500
1987	Adalet Bakanlığı Mosque	S	S	-		90	150
1987	Balgat Hamidiye Mosque	S	S	Etaş A.Ş. (const. firm)	500	140	350
1987	B.Esat Coşkunlar Mosque	F	P	-	1,088	100	250
1987	Çevre ve Orman Bak. Mosque	S	S	-		100	100
1987	Çukurca Çamlık Mosque	A	A	-	1,200	250	300
1987	Çukurca Önder Mosque	A	A	Tuna müh. (const. firm)	1,700	350	400
1987	Dik Akpınar Mh. Mosque	S	A	-	475	265	350
1987	Dikmen Mürsel Uluç Hacılar Mosque	A	A	-	749	45	70
1987	E.İ.E. Mosque	S	S	-		120	150
1987	Emniyet Genel Müd. Eski Bina	S	S	-		160	250
1987	Kızılay Yüksel Çarşısı Mosque	P	-	-		200	400
1987	Köy Hizmetleri G.Md. Mosque	S	S	-		210	200
1987	TEDAŞ G.Md. Mosque	S	S	-		200	250
1987	Türküzü Ehlîbeyt Mosque	A	A	-	913	110	200
1987	Ulaştırma Bak. Mosque	S	S	-		250	400
1988	Bahçelievler Semt Hali Mosque.	L	A	-		150	300

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

Table 3.1 shows that between 1980 and 1990, 54 mosques were built by the associations, the state and the private sector in Çankaya. When compared with the previous period, the number of mosques increased from 44 to 54 in Çankaya. Graph 3.1 also shows that 42.18 percent of the mosques were built by associations, 37.5 percent by the state and 15.62 percent by the private sector. It can be seen that associations had an active role in the architectural production process in this period, similar to the previous period. Furthermore, the role of the state as a patron increased in this period when compared to the previous period, and although the private sector gained importance, the state had a larger role as a patron in the architectural mosque production process. It can be evaluated from this data that the state was becoming more involved in the process of mosque architecture, implying that religion was gaining in importance for the state as a political tool. Bilsel and Sargin suggest that the Kocatepe Mosque, the construction of which was completed in this period, can be put forward as an outcome of these economic and political transformations.<sup>161</sup> The Kocatepe Mosque complex included the largest shopping mall in Ankara at that period, which for Bilsel and Sargin was a consequence of the transition to a free market economy and the opening up of the country to the international market in the 1980s.<sup>162</sup>



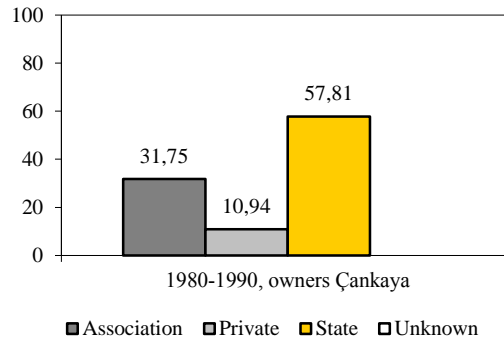
**Graph 3. 1** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

Graph 3.2 shows that the state was the owner of most of the mosques in this period, with 57.81 percent of the total, followed by associations, with 31.75

<sup>161</sup> Bilsel, Canan. Sargin, A.Güven. Turan, Belgin. *Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Public Realm in Turkey. The Kocatepe Complex of Ankara.*

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

percent, and the private sector, with 10.94 percent. This is further evidence that the state was attributing more importance to religion as a result of popular culture, and in many districts neighborhood mosques were built for this reason.



**Graph 3. 2** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

Of the 13 mosques with a named architect, only five were designed by architects who were members of the Chamber of Architects. The total capacity of these 54 mosques was 23,780, up from 14,720 in the previous period, which was in line with the population increase in the district. While the built-up site area increased from 9,428 m<sup>2</sup> to 36,092 m<sup>2</sup>, the total floor area increased from 10,888 m<sup>2</sup> to 16,318 m<sup>2</sup>.

The desire for mosques with a national identity dated back to the period between the 1960s and 1980s. After the 1980s, a number of Islamic countries gained independence and wanted to build what can be referred to as state mosques. In this way, the patronage of these mosques changed, passing into the hands of provincial authorities, municipalities and institutions. The Turkish Parliament wanted to build a mosque as a part of its Public Relations Building, known as the Grand National Assembly Mosque, which was designed by Altuğ, Behruz and Can Çinici and was constructed between 1987 and 1989. The client originally wanted only a prayer hall with a capacity of 500 people. However, the final design incorporated the idea of “Ottoman Külliye” as an organizational device.<sup>163</sup> The modern design of the mosque was intended to symbolize modern Turkey, and it would go on to win

<sup>163</sup> Holod, Renata and Khan, Hasan-Uddin. *The Mosque and the Modern World: Architects, Patrons and Designs since the 1950s*, Thames and Hudson Press, 1997, p.101.

the Aga Khan Architecture Award in 1995,<sup>164</sup> representing a new concept in modern mosque architecture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When designing the mosque, Behruz and Can Çinici took inspiration from the first mosque, the Prophet Muhammad's house in Medina. The design contained none of the usual elements found in a traditional mosque, like a dome, a square plan or one or more minarets, there being no religious justification for such elements. For Islam, all that is required is that prayers are made facing Mecca,<sup>165</sup> and in this way, the mosque represents the breakaway from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>166</sup> Can Çinici, Behruz Çinici's son, speaking at the Contemporary Mosques 2 symposium in Istanbul on 5 October 2012, said that for him the story of the Grand National Assembly Mosque was the story of a debate between a father and son. While he had studied modern architecture, his father had studied romantic architecture, and the main issue of the debate was "formalism". When asked why the mosque had no minaret, he said that they had resolved to plant a tree instead.



**Figure 3. 1** The Grand National Assembly Mosque (Source: <http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/p94-tbmm-camii-kompleksi.html>)

<sup>164</sup> Behruz Çinici. "Mimar Behruz Çinici, Mimar Kendini Anlatıyor", "TBMM Camii Ankara, Can Çinici ile Birlikte", "TBMM Camii", "Geleneğin Kırılması", *Çağdaş Türkiye Mimarları Dizisi-3*, Boyut Press, July 2001, p.114.

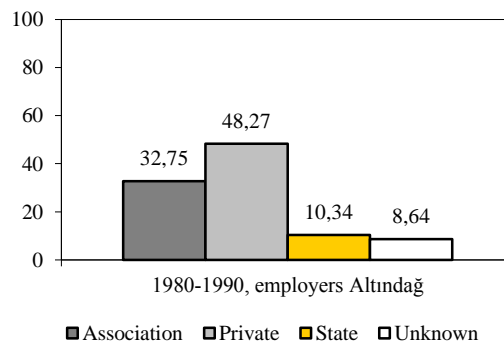
<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 3. 2** The Grand National Assembly Mosque (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

In Altındağ, a total of 58 mosques were built in the district between 1980 and 1990, increasing from the 47 of the previous period. Unlike in Çankaya, most were built by the private sector, whether by individuals or communities, accounting for 48.27 percent of the total. Of the remaining, 32.75 percent were built by the associations and 10.34 percent were built by the state. As can be seen in Graph 3.3, whether neighborhood communities or individuals, the private sector played an active role in the architectural production of mosques in Altındağ in this period, increasing its share from the previous period. It is clear that the role of the state was much greater in Çankaya than in Altındağ, where requirements for mosques were resolved by the private sector.



**Graph 3. 3** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

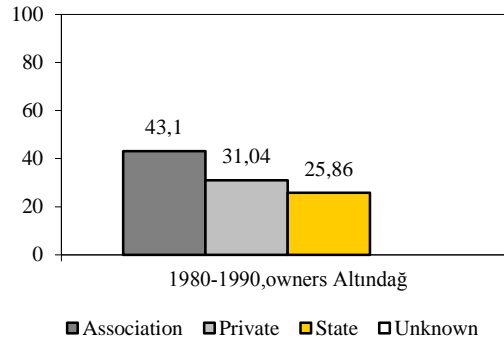
**Table 3. 2** Mosques built in Altındağ between 1980 and 1990

Years	The Name of Mosque	Owners	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1981	Başpınar Mah. Altıntaş Mosque	S	P	-	1,220	242	323
1982	A.Morfoloji Mosque	S	S	-	300	300	400
1982	Anafartalar Çarşısı Mosque	S	P	-	106	100	141
1982	F. Çelik Süleymaniye Mosque	A	A	-		733	380
1982	Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı Mosque	P	-	-		100	133
1982	Karacaören Mah. Mosque	P	P	-	2,200	200	266
1982	Karakum Mah. Fatih Mosque	A	A	-	1,000	175	233
1982	Nizamoğlu İşhanı Mosque	P	P	İlhan Taşdelen*	220	220	350
1983	Battal Gazi Hüda Mosque	A	A	-	620	310	415
1983	Ferudun Çelik Hz. Bilal Mosque	A	A	-	1,450	266	355
1983	Ferudun Çelik Tekbir Mosque	A	A	Halk			
1983	Site Kartalçık Muradiye Mosque	F	P	H.Hüseyin Kara	226	180	240
1983	Site Muradiye Mosque	P	P	-	160	160	213
1983	Ulubey Hicret Mosque	A	P	-	700	320	426
1983	Nuh İşhanı Mosque	P	P	Zeki Gökay*	500	500	666
1984	Belediye Trafik Mosque	L	-	-	30	20	26
1984	Doğu Mah. Doğu Mosque	F	A	-	650	200	267
1984	Öğünhan Mosque	P	P	-		40	52
1984	Sırataşlar Güneş Mosque	P	A	-	1,240	195	260
1984	Site Fatih Mosque	F	P	Sabri Özdemir	300	200	266
1985	Beşikkaya Mah. Anahatun Mosque	S	P	-	680	280	400
1985	Hasköy Yunus Emre Mosque	S	A	-	1,100	300	300
1985	Sonborsan İşhanı Mosque	F	P	Hadi Emiroğlu*	60	60	80
1985	İbni Sina Hast. Mosque	S		-		130	175
1985	Sütçü Oğlu İşhanı Mosque	S	P	-	3,600	150	100
1985	TCDD Genel Müd. Mosque	S	S	-	200	200	266
1986	Altındağ Beş. İşl. Mosque	L	L	-	200	200	266
1986	Çapar İş. Mescidi	P	P	Sait Bezci*	2,069	80	106
1986	Deveci Oğlu Mosque	F	P	-	225	225	300
1986	Ferudun Çelik 8. Cad. Mosque	A	A	-	1,000	300	400
1986	Hasköy Şehitler Mosque	S	A	-	300	251	335
1986	Işıklar Cad. Sarraflar İşhanı Mosque	P		-	50	50	66
1986	Kazım Karabekir Aydoğanlar M.	P	P	-		15	200
1986	Posta Çekleri Mosque	S	S	-		250	333
1986	Site Hanife Hatun Mosque	P	P	Aykut Toyğan	165	165	220
1986	Site Yurtoğlu Mosque	P	P	-	160	140	186
1986	Ulubey Fatih Mosque	A	A	Osman Tombul	350	350	466
1986	F. Çelik Yanus Emre Mosque	A		-	400	200	150
1987	Batta Gazi Bağlarbaşı Mosque	A	A	-	6,740	500	500
1987	Ferudun Çelik Ahmediye Mosque	A	A	-	1,000	150	200
1987	Site Semarkant Çamlıtepe Mosque	F	F	Musa Mollu	450	364	485
1988	Başpınar Mah. Güllübağ Mosque	A	A	-	980	130	173
1988	Beşikkaya Mah. Faith Mosque	A	A	-	600	250	333
1988	HZ.Ebubekir Mosque	A	A	-	706	200	267
1988	Kazım Karabekir Kültür Çarşısı Mosque	P	P	Faruk Kavkarap	98	98	200
1989	100.Y.Çarşısı	S	P	-		75	100
1989	Adliye Sarayı Mosque	S	S	-	300	300	400
1989	Deveci İşhanı Mosque	P	P	-		198	264
1989	Önder Merkez Mosque	A	A	-	700	250	335
1989	Şahinler Mosque	P	P	-	500	150	200
1990	Baraj Mah. Serpme Evler Mosque	P	P	-	2,000	250	335
1990	Ferudun Çelik Mehmetçik Mosque	A	A	-	735	208	278
1990	H.Mustafa Maşlak Mosque	F	P	H.Mustafa Maşlak		154	205
1990	Kale İşhanı Mosque	F	P	-		50	66
1990	Katar İşhanı Mosque	P	P	Salih Bezci*	100	90	130
1990	Seyit Ali Bayanlioğlu Mosque	F	P	-	80	80	106
1990	Site Altınay Mosque	P	P	Salih Özlü	80	70	94
1990	İtfaiye Mosque	L	L	-	1,000	500	800

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\*Member of the Chamber of Architects.

This period also saw a change in the mosque ownership profile in Altındağ. Graph 3.4 reveals that associations were the owners of most of the new mosques in this period, in contrast to Çankaya, with associations holding 43.1 percent of all mosques, followed by the private sector (31.04 percent) and the state (25.86 percent).



**Graph 3. 4** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

The total capacity of these 58 mosques was around 15,232 people, the built-up site area was 34,130 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 11,874 m<sup>2</sup>. Of the total 58 mosques, 13 had a named architect and of these only four were members of the Chamber of Architects.

**Table 3. 3** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1984	TBMM Mosque	S	S	Behruz-Can Çinici*	-
1986	Dikmen Rıfat Börekçi Mosque	F	F	Sistem Planlama (const. firm)	1,500
1986	Yukarı Ayrancı Uçarlı Hicret Mosque	S	A	Mehmet Emin Tuna	1,500
1990	Balgat Karakusunlar Mosque	A	A	Orhan Cezmi Tuncer*	1,500

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

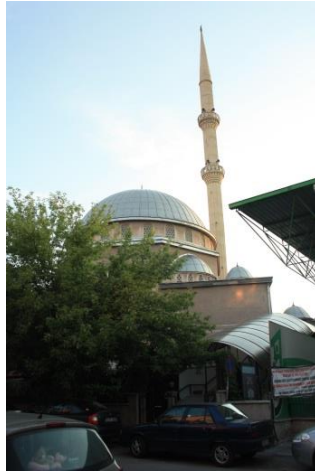
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

There were four landmark mosques built in Çankaya in the period in question: TBMM Mosque, Dikmen Rıfat Börekçi Mosque, Yukarı Ayrancı Uçarlı Hicret Mosque and Balgat Karakusunlar Mosque, each of which had a capacity of 1,500 and were sited in important locations. Three of them were neighborhood mosques, and only TBMM Mosque was a state mosque. The architects of these mosques were all known. Although Orhan Cezmi Tuncer and Behruz-Can Çinici were a

member of the Chamber of Architects, Mehmet Emin Tuna was not. For Çankaya district in this period, neighborhood mosques were built by the associations.



**Figure 3. 3** Dikmen Rıfat Börekçi Mosque, Çankaya (Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/86676779>)



**Figure 3. 4** Yukarı Ayrancı Uçarlı Hicret Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 5** Balgat Karakusunlar Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosques in Çankaya



**Table 3. 4** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Names of Mosques	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1990	İtfaiye Mosque	L	L	-	800

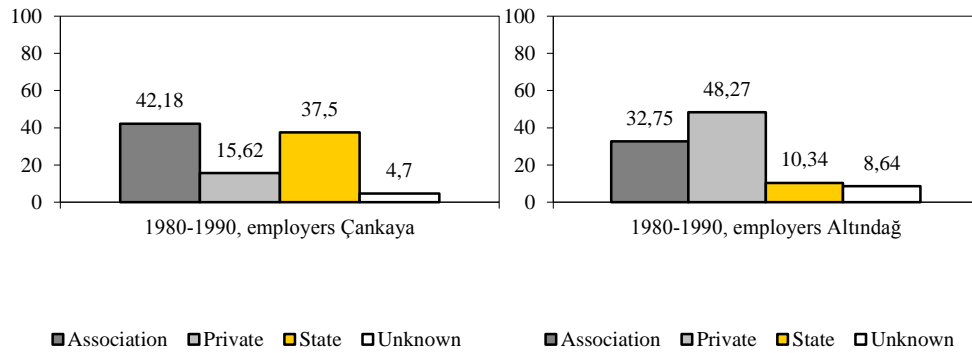
A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private  
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects

There was only one landmark mosque, namely the İtfaiye Mosque, built in this period in Altındağ by the local government, which was also the owner. The mosque had a capacity of 800 people.



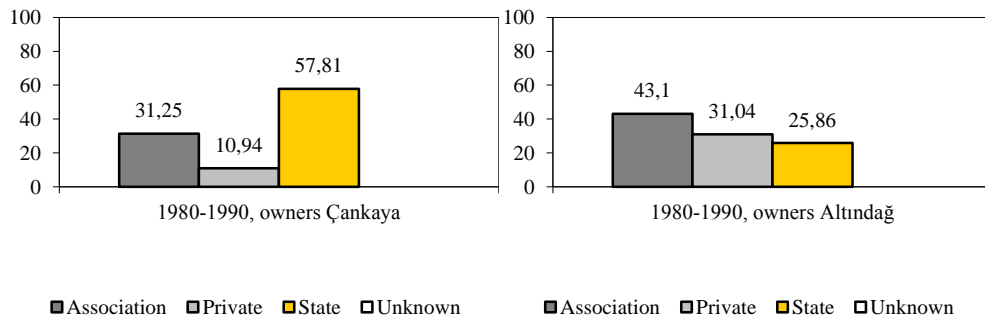
**Figure 3. 6** İtfaiye Mosque as a landmark mosque in Altındağ (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

The patron profiles in Altındağ and Çankaya were different, with associations being the most active in Çankaya between 1980 and 1990, compared with the private sector in Altındağ. The state was active in both Çankaya and Altındağ, being responsible for the construction of 37.5 percent of the mosques in Çankaya, and 10.34 percent in Altındağ. The reason of the increased activity in Çankaya was due to its being the center of the state.



**Graph 3. 5** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ and Çankaya

The owner profiles in the Altındağ and Çankaya districts were also different. While in Çankaya the state owned the most mosques, it was the associations that had the most in Altındağ. Graph 3.6 shows the dominance of the state in Çankaya in this period, where it donated land to associations or private investors for the construction of mosques. In this way, state lands could be used for the construction of mosques if there was a need for more mosques.



**Graph 3. 6** Ratio of owners in Altındağ and Çankaya

### 3.2. 1990–2000: New Patronage in the Architectural Production Process

The main aim of this section is to question the changing political identity of the patrons and owners, who played significant roles in mosque production between 1990 and 2000. The changing political and economic situation of Turkey in this period will be also discussed. When attempting to analyze architectural mosque production in these years, it is necessary to understand the changes in economic policies in Turkey.

Boratav claims that the Turkish economy was affected by international politics and the new global economy,<sup>167</sup> leading to economic crises in the country in 1994, 1999 and 2001. The national income shrank by between 6 and 9.5 percent; although after the 2001 crisis it rose by around 7.2 percent. At the end of the 2007, a global economic stagnation occurred, and the effects were seen also in Turkey. The 1990s brought balance to the foreign trade regime, and the global economy remained level, leading to economic growth in Turkey of around 5–6 percent with an acceptable current account deficit. In the years that followed, the private sector turned increasingly to foreign loans, and before long, Turkey ranked first among developing countries as regards its level of foreign debt.<sup>168</sup> In this period, the management of the Turkish economy and some institutional organizations came under the control of the IMF after the crisis of 1994 and this continued until the end of 1995.<sup>169</sup>

The transformation from a mixed economy to a free-market economy required many innovations, and so the state made several reforms, including withdrawing from the production area to concentrate on renewing infrastructure, meeting increasing energy demands and constructing highways, communication lines and dams. The benefits from the state's withdrawal from these areas of specialization were limited owing to the absence of a private sector to pick up the reins, although some profitable enterprises, such as the construction of Bosphorus Bridge, were privatized, and supported by the state.<sup>170</sup> The private sector gained importance, particularly among the young. Free enterprise with liberalism gained in popularity,<sup>171</sup> and higher education was reorganized to serve the private sector.<sup>172</sup>

The poor performance of the ANAP in the elections brought an end to policies that worked against the working class between 1980 and 1988. The ANAP had to raise the salaries of the working class to improve the working conditions. In 1989,

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<sup>167</sup> Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908–2007*, Ankara İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, October, 2008, p.172–173.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye' nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, December, 1999, p.240.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p.246.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p.247.

which was an important year for the working class, Özal lost a great deal of support to the left.<sup>173</sup>

The rise of political Islam in Turkey was a matter of identity and social conditions; therefore, people tried to apply political Islam to their social area and expand it into the private lives, making it a political issue. This was a specific modernity situation. Kahraman claims that this approach contributed to an expansion of the boundaries of democracy, the creations of new positions through the separation of the public and private realms in the 1990s.<sup>174</sup> Holod claims that by the early 1990s, many countries were using mosques as symbolic landmarks in their larger cities, and that traditionalist and Islamist thinking accepted these mosques as their ideological spaces,<sup>175</sup> and this was mirrored also in Turkey in the same period.

Kahraman suggests that 28 February 1997 was a turning point for Turkey,<sup>176</sup> when the military issued an e-memorandum following a decision by the MGK. The resignation of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan brought about the need for a change of government, and this was referred to as a post-modern coup d'état by Salim Dervişoğlu.<sup>177</sup> Betül Akkaya Demirbaş, from *Today's Zaman*, said in 2009:

“Though 12 years have passed since the postmodern coup d'état of 28 February 1997, in which the military overthrew a coalition government led by a now-defunct conservative party, the coup d'état era seems to have maintained its grip on Turkey in that almost all decisions made then by the MGK are still in effect in the country.”, She re-emphasized this viewpoint in 2010: “Turkey has painful recollections of the 28 February period because it was a blow to fundamental rights and freedoms. However, the country is seemingly more hopeful about its future, particularly in terms of a strong democracy and the supremacy of the rule of law. What has led to such optimism is an attempt by judicial bodies to settle accounts with the coup d'état instigators of the recent past. Turkey woke up to a pretty lively week on 22 February. A total of 49 retired and active duty members of the

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p.178.

<sup>174</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye*, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul, 2007, p.73-74.

<sup>175</sup> Holod, Renata and Khan, Hasan-Uddin. “*The State as Client*”, *The Mosque and the Modern World: Architects, Patrons and Designs since the 1950s*, Thames and Hudson Press, 1997, p.11.

<sup>176</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *AKP ve Türk Sağı*, Agora Kitaplığı, February, 2007, p.125.

<sup>177</sup> [http://enn.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_military\\_memorandum\\_\(Turkey\)9](http://enn.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_military_memorandum_(Turkey)9), retrieved 10.11.2012.

military were taken into custody as part of a civilian investigation into alleged coup d'état plots entitled Balyoz (Sledgehammer) and Kafes (Cage). This was the highest-profile crackdown ever carried out against the military.”<sup>178</sup>

Demirel founded a new coalition government on 30 June 1997 with the DSP, led by Bülent Ecevit, and the DTP (founded after the 28 February Process by former DYP members) under Hüsametdin Cindoruk. The RP was closed, while the FP was founded by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In the 1999 elections, the FP gained many votes, but the party was closed by the Constitutional Court in 2001 after Merve Kavakçı entered Parliament wearing an Islamic headscarf. After this, Erdoğan established the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which was a reformist party that, after winning the 2002 elections, would lead the country to the present day.

Kahraman refers to political Islam in Turkey as an identity phenomenon, and this Islamic identity has been carried over into social fields. In other words, the Islamists have tried to extend their private area by making their Islamic identity a political issue. This approach contributed to the expansion of the boundaries of Turkish democracy, separating the public and private sectors and creating new positions for the private realm in the 1990s.<sup>179</sup>

After bringing to light all of these changes in the economy and political landscape in Turkey, an analysis will be made of the mosques built between 1990 and 2000 in Çankaya and Altındağ. Table 3.5 lists all of the mosques recorded by the Çankaya Müftülüğü between 1990 and 2000, while table 3.6 lists the same for the Altındağ district.

In Table 3.5 below, it can be seen that 34 mosques were built in Çankaya in this period by associations, the state and the private sector, which is less than that in the previous period. Most were built by the state and the local government, which is also different from what happened in the previous decade. According to Graph

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<sup>178</sup> <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/70363/what-happened-on-february-28-process-in-turkey>, accessed on 09.05.2014.

<sup>179</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye*, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul, 2007, p.73-74.

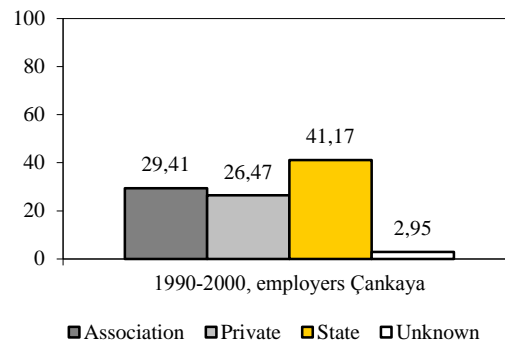
3.7, the state played an active role in the architectural production process in this period, accounting for 41.17 percent of the total mosques built, while 26.47 percent were built by the private sector. It can clearly be seen that the private sector had increased its role in the architectural production process at the expense of the associations and foundations, whose ratio decreased from 42.18 to 29.41 percent. The role of the associations and foundations as patron decreased in this period when compared with the previous period. Although in this period the private sector gained importance, it was the state that was the leading patron in the mosque architectural production process.

**Table 3. 5** Mosques built in Çankaya between 1990 and 2000

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	The Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1991	Bagkur Genel Müdürlüğü Mosque	S	S	-	-	80	100
1991	Etiholding Mosque	S	S	-	-	100	150
1991	İnanç-1 Yapı Koop Mosque	F	F	Uğur Turgut*	400	40	600
1991	Köy Hizmetleri Yeni Bina Mosque	S	S	A. Ferah Kaynak	3,000	180	300
1991	Öveçler Ensar Mosque	P	P	Menekşe İnş. (const. firm)	-	120	250
1991	Söğütözü Esentepe Mosque	A	A	-	1,000	450	350
1991	TRTGn.Md. Mosque	S	S	-	-	150	200
1992	Balgat Aliğa Mosque	P	P	Hasan Uçar*	200	200	200
1992	Cevizlidere Fatih Mosque	A	A	Mustafa Doğan*	735	315	465
1992	TEDAŞ Genel Müd. Maltepe Ek Bina Mosque	S	S	-	-	220	300
1993	Balgat Barboros Mosque	S	-	Servet Kılıç	4,000	400	1000
1993	Dikmen Seyit Ali Mosque	P	P	Zihni Yaman	-	300	500
1993	Emniyet Gn.Md.Yeni Bina Mosque	S	S	-	-	100	400
1993	ŞAP Ens. Mosque	S	S	Ali Yılmaz*	1,372	220	400
1995	Başbakanlık Merkez Bina Mosque	S	S	-	-	300	500
1995	Dikmen Sokullu Fatih Mosque	S	A	Ömer Faruk Summak*	908	380	1000
1995	Yıldız Fatih Mosque	A	A	Gozlar inş. (const. firm)	1,240	80	100
1996	Beysukent Mosque	S	A	Mahmut Tuna*	2,961	192	460
1996	Varol Ünlü Mosque	F	P	-	-	250	200
1997	Balgat Fetih Mosque	P	P	Mesut Gümüş Doğrayan	-	200	200
1997	K.Esat Bağcılar Birlik Mosque	L	P	Ahmet Ünal*	824	150	120
1997	K.Esat Bağcılar Mosque	L	A	Mehmet Tezel*	792	300	800
1997	Karataş Köyü Mosque	P	P	-	720	300	300
1997	Yukarı Ayrancı Muhammed Maşuk Mosque	L	L	Bülent Karaca	2,210	900	1,000
1998	Dikmen İlker Fatih M.	A	A	Asil Türk Proje (const. firm)	1,259	400	1,000
1998	Kızılay Tiryaki İş Merkezi M.	P	P	-	-	400	300
1998	Metro Şeyh Şamil Metro Mosque	L	L	Ali Ragıp Buluç*	-	250	400
1998	Sıhhiye Çokkathlı Otopark Mosque	L	L	-	6,000	700	400
1998	Sıhhiye Osmanlı Fuar Çarşı Mosque	L	L	-	-	900	1,000
1999	Tüközü Kalıpçılar Mosque	A	A	Aykut Tolga	640	200	300
1999	Yakup Abdal Köyü Hikmet Ayberk Mosque	P	P	-	3,000	1000	1,000
1998	Sıhhiye Osmanlı Fuar Çarşı M.	L	L	-	-	900	1,000
1999	Tüközü Kalıpçılar Mosque	A	A	Aykut Tolga	640	200	300
2000	TBMM Matbaa Mosque	S	S	-	-	200	100

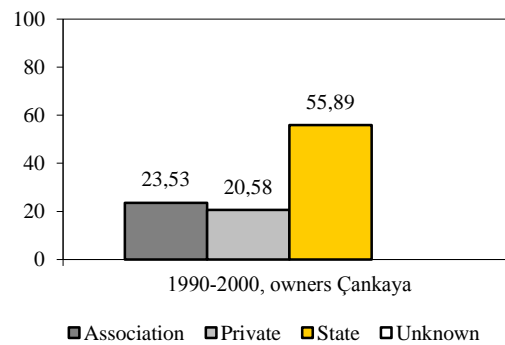
A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\* Members of the Chamber of Architects.



**Graph 3. 7** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

As far as the owner profile is concerned, it can be seen from Graph 3.8 that the state owned most of the new mosques in this period, accounting for 55.89 percent of the total, followed by associations (23.53 percent) and the private sector (20.58 percent). In this period, the share of the private sector doubled from the previous period, due likely to the growing influence of religion in politics. Although the percentage of the state and local government decreased a little, they remained as the leading patron in new mosques. Finally, the shares of associations and foundations decreased from 31.25 percent to 23.53 percent.

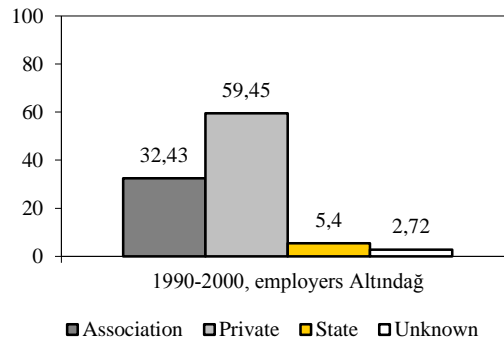


**Graph 3. 8** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

The total capacity of these 34 mosques was around 15,695, the built-up site was 31,901 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 11,077 m<sup>2</sup>. 19 of these mosques had a named architect, and of these architects only nine were members of the Chamber of Architects.



In Altındağ, a total of 37 mosques were built by associations, the private sector and the state between 1990 and 2000. The number is much lower than that in the previous decade. Unlike the case in Çankaya, most were built by the private sector (59.45 percent), either through individual investments or by neighborhood communities, while 32.43 percent were built by associations, similar to the previous period, and 5.40 percent were built by the state. Graph 3.9 shows that the private sector continued to play an active role in architectural production during this period, as had been the case in the previous decade.



**Graph 3. 9** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

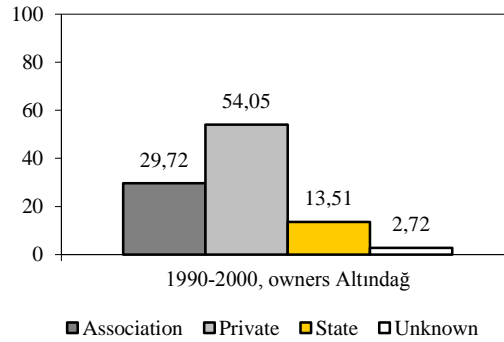
The ownership profile of these mosques also changed. Graph 3.10 shows that the private sector owned most of the new mosques in this period, with 54.05 percent, unlike in Çankaya. Of the remainder, associations and foundations owned 29.72 percent and the state owned 13.51 percent. A comparison of Graphs 3.10 and 3.20 reveals that the government attributed importance to Çankaya as the central district of Ankara, in parallel with the political situation. It is for this reason that the private sector owned more mosques than the state in Altındağ.

**Table 3. 6** Mosques built in Altındağ between 1990 and 2000

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1991	Alibey İşhanı Mosque	P	P	Salih Bezci*	160	112	149
1991	Altıntop İşhanı Mosques	F	P	-	-	80	107
1991	Karacakaya Seher Hatun Mosque	F	P	Arif Ulu	1,000	110	180
1991	Karaköy Mah. Mosque	A	A	-	1,750	210	280
1991	Kikazlıtepe Fatih Sultan Meh. Mosque	A	A	-	500	120	160
1992	Beşikkaya Mah. Abdurrahman Mosque	A	A	-	1,100	1100	750
1992	Darüsselam Mosque	P	P	-	-	70	93
1992	Dörtdivan Mosque	P	P	-	217	217	289
1992	Hacı Mehmet Memiş Oğulları Mosque	P	P	-	1,525	650	866
1992	Site Uğurlu Mosque	P	P	M.Ziya Kahraman	850	500	666
1992	Uçar Ticaret Mer. Mosque	P	P	Salih Bezci*	-	200	266
1993	Babüsselam Mosque	P	P	-	-	75	100
1993	Başpınar Mah. Nur Işık Mosque	S	A	-	1,200	600	800
1993	Kılıç Mosque	A	P	Mustafa Ilgın*	1,170	150	250
1993	Özerhan Mosque	A	P	-	-	80	90
1993	Tahsin Piyale İşhanı Mosque	P	P	-	400	120	160
1993	Türk Telekom Mosque	P	P	-	335	330	440
1994	Ego 4.Bölge Müd. Mosque	L	L	-	100	100	135
1994	Murat Çarşısı Mosque	P	-	-	-	65	100
1994	Öz İhlas Mosque	L	L	-	-	150	200
1994	Veysel Karani Mosque	P	P	-	3,000	2,000	275
1994	Karacaören Mah. Veysel Karani Mosque	P	P	-	3,000	200	266
1995	Site Kuba Mosque	P	P	Asil Türk Proje (const. firm)	600	600	800
1996	Çamlık Mah. İhlas Mosque	A	A	İsmet Şahin	1,200	800	750
1996	Ferudun Çelik Divan Mosque	P	P	Halit Kırıkoğlu	400	370	500
1996	Karacaören Mah. İmamlar Mosque	P	A	-	5,000	450	600
1996	Karacaören Vakıf Sitesi Mosque	P	A	Hüsnü Demir	10,000	375	500
1996	Karapürçek Mah. Tevhit Mosque	P	A	-	1,430	600	800
1996	Site Güleser Mosque	P	P	-	1,430	300	400
1996	Site Seven Mosque	P	P	-	-	375	500
1997	Doğantepe Emir Sultan Mosque	L	P	-	2,000	320	500
1999	Başpınar Mah. Fatih Mosque	A	A	Nihat Kalem	2,000	625	833
1999	Karapürçek Mah. Haz. Yakup Mosque	A	A	-	2,900	110	146
1999	Özcan Plaza Mosque	P	P	-	-	40	55
2000	Peyami Tepefetih Mosque	S	A	-	1,162	500	1,000
2000	Salihler Mosque	-	P	Sapri Çoşal	1,000	200	300
2000	Site Esnafları Süleymaniye Mosque	A	A	-	800	500	800

A&amp;F: Associations and Foundations, S&amp;L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\*Member of the Chamber of Architects.



**Graph 3. 10** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

The total capacity of these 37 mosques was around 15,106 people, the built-up site area was 36,239 m<sup>2</sup> (similar to Çankaya) and total floor area was 13,404 m<sup>2</sup>. Of the total, 11 mosques had a named architect, but only three were members of the Chamber of Architects.

**Table 3. 7** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1995	Dikmen Sokullu Fatih Mosque	S	A	Ömer Faruk Summak *	1,000
1998	Dikmen İlker Fatih Mosque	A	A	Asil Türk Proje (const. firm)	1,000

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

Only two of the new mosques built in Çankaya could be referred to as landmark mosques in this period, both of which had a 1,000-person capacity and a named architect, and both were built by associations.



**Figure 3. 7** Dikmen Sokullu Fatih Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 8** Dikmen İlker Fatih Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

**Table 3. 8** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
2000	Peyami Tepefetih Mosque	S	A	-	1,000

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

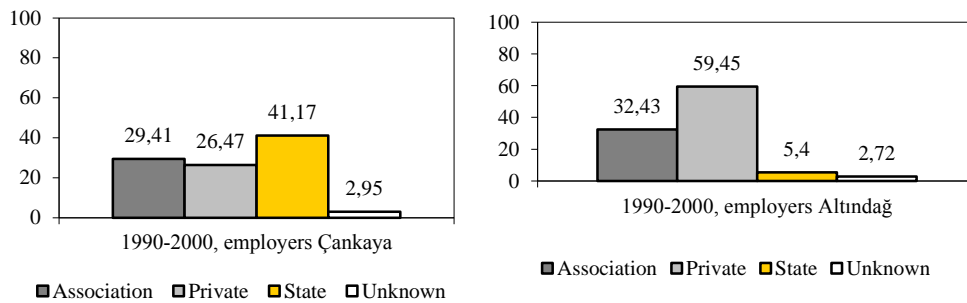
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

Altındağ had only one new mosque that could be referred to as a landmark mosque – Peyami Tepefetih Mosque – which had a 1,000-person capacity. In this period, many mosques were built, but almost all were small-scale neighborhood mosques, designed generally by unknown architects. Most were small and traditional in design, featuring a dome and/or a classical minaret. From this it can be implied that the state had little interest in the mosque production process in Altındağ, based on the fact that this old neighborhood had lost its importance.



**Figure 3. 9** Peyami Tepefeth Mosque, Altındağ (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

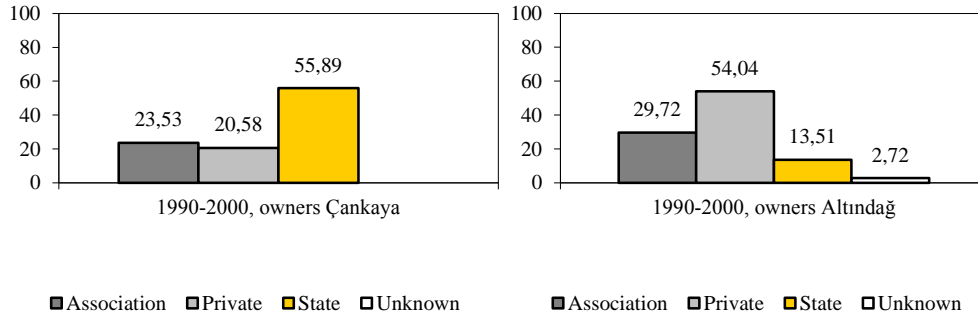
The main patrons of the mosques were different in the two districts during this period. While the private sector ranked first in Altındağ, it was the state and state agencies that ranked first in Çankaya. Again, this can be attributed to the greater interest of the government in Çankaya in this period, which left the private sector to take the lead in Altındağ. This period was different for Çankaya, where the associations were the leading patrons of the mosques between 1980 and 1990. For Altındağ, while the share of the private sector increased from 48.27 percent to 59.45 percent, the state's share decreased.



**Graph 3. 11** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ and Çankaya

The owner profiles were similar to those of the patron for both districts. Although the state owned most of the new mosques in Çankaya, it was the private sector that

had most in Altındağ. It can be seen that the state was the dominant owner of new mosques in Çankaya in this period, similar to the previous decade. In contrast, the ratio owned by the private sector saw an increase (from 31.04 percent to 54.05 percent), but at the expense of the associations (decreased from 25.86 percent to 13.51 percent).



**Graph 3. 12** Ratio of owners in Altındağ and Çankaya

### 3.3. 2000–2010: Redefined Conservatism

As stated in the previous chapters, the involvement of the three stakeholders — the state, the private sector and the associations— in mosque production, either as owners or patrons, was affected in general by economic and political changes. To better understand the situation, the economic and political structure of Turkey will be analyzed for the 2000-2010 period, after which the role of the patrons and owners in the architectural mosque production process will be discussed in detail for the two districts: Çankaya and Altındağ.

A new era began for Turkey with the landslide victory of the AKP in the 2002 elections, in which the CHP took second place. The AKP was associated with “innovation”. Kahraman claims that the 2002 elections brought about a polarization in the Turkish political landscape,<sup>180</sup> which, he claims, was a reaction to the previous period. He highlighted the contrasting standpoints of the first and

<sup>180</sup> Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Türk Siyasetinin Yapısal Analizi-I*, Agora Kitaplığı, September, 2008, p.231.

second parties, with the AKP's Islamic tendency and the CHP's secular roots.<sup>181</sup> The 2007 elections five years later saw the AKP retain power with an increased majority,<sup>182</sup> reflective of its dominance over the Turkish political scene.

Ekzen argues in his book that after the 1980 coup d'état, a liberalization in foreign trade was witnessed,<sup>183</sup> particularly between 1983 and 1989, when restrictions on capital movements were eased. This was further bolstered with the signing of the Customs Tariff Treaty, which came into force in 1995 and opened the Turkish economy to foreign trade without any protection. As further steps, the financial system underwent liberalization, while public economic activity shrank. This process began in the early 1980s with the falling into abeyance of all investments of the public economy. In further stages, the public economy was assigned to the private sector, and between 1983 and 2003, a total of \$6.2 billion was raised through privatizations, which were accelerated with the 2000–2002 programs, culminating in total privatization revenues of \$29 billion by the end of 2008. In this way, \$35.2 billion of public capital stock was assigned to the private side.<sup>184</sup>

Ekzen suggests that on 24 January 1980, economic decisions were taken by the left wing, but that it was the right wing that applied them.<sup>185</sup> The AP, a conservative party, was brought to power in the 1979 by-elections and decided to approve the program, but felt it necessary to change the name of the program to “the 1980 coup d'état.”<sup>186</sup> Ekzen referred to the years between 1980 and 2008 as “adaptation period” during which public economic activities were reduced, and public activities such as investment, production and industry were stopped completely. Moreover, all public assets were stripped through privatization, as well as most of the public resources.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p.232-233.

<sup>183</sup> Ekzen, Nazif. *Türkiye Kısa İktisat Tarihi 1946'dan 2008' e*, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2.baskı, November, 2009, p.105.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., p.113-114.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p..114.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p.134.

In Turkey, Islamification was a discourse. Kahraman argues that Islamification transformed rural Islam with different codes, and that the AKP used this ideology to express itself ideologically. In this context, the politicization of Islam became an apparatus for the AKP at the time.<sup>188</sup> The 1991 elections can be understood as a search for democratization, in which the DYP applied an economic plan while the SHP applied a political plan. In the 1995 elections, the search for identity politics continued, while in the 1999 elections it was all too apparent that religion had gained importance, and this was proven in the results of the 2002 elections.<sup>189</sup> By the end of 2002, the left-wing parties were proposing adjustment policies that would benefit the working class. In the aftermath of the 2001 social crisis, the reactions of the CHP to society were significant for the 2002 elections, which abandoned its left-wing roots in an attempt to gain authority through crisis management.

On 27 April 2007, a key date in Turkish political history, the Chief of General Staff issued an e-memorandum in which the General Staff pledged to oversee the upcoming Presidential Elections in a bid to protect the secular state.<sup>190</sup> The reason behind the General Staff decision was that Abdullah Gül, a presidential candidate, had a wife who wore an Islamic headscarf, indicating an Islamic political view. After the crisis, Gül was elected as president of the Republic of Turkey, replacing Ahmet Necdet Sezer. According to a TSK statement in April 2007:

“The problem that emerged in the presidential election process is focused on arguments over secularism. The Turkish Armed Forces are concerned about the recent situation. ...The Turkish Armed Forces are a party in those arguments, and an absolute defender of secularism. Also, the Turkish Armed Forces is definitely opposed to those arguments and negative comments. It will display its attitude and actions openly and clearly whenever necessary ... Those who oppose the Great Leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s understanding, “Happy is a man who says I’m a Turk” are enemies of the Republic of Turkey and will remain so. The Turkish Armed Forces are determined to carry out their duties stemming from laws to

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p.154.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., p.174.

<sup>190</sup> <[http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/27\\_Nisan\\_Genelkurmay\\_Başkanlığı\\_Basın\\_Açıklaması](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/27_Nisan_Genelkurmay_Başkanlığı_Basın_Açıklaması)>, accessed on 21.20.2012.



protect the unchangeable characteristics of the Republic of Turkey. Their loyalty to this determination is absolute.”<sup>191</sup>

Although there were many changes in Turkish political and economic life between 2000 and 2010, the construction of mosques continued, with many old mosques being rebuilt or renovated. Many issues related to religion entered the agenda, including the construction of mosques, the launching of Koran courses and contemporary mosque architecture. In this context, a symposium was arranged by *Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts and Directorate of Religious Affairs* on 2 October 2012, entitled “*From Tradition to Future, Contemporary Design and Technology in Mosque Architecture*”. The aim of this symposium was to discuss contemporary mosques, and many notable architects participated as lecturers, including Nevzat Sayın (NSMH), Can Çinici (Çinici Mimarlık), Nil Aynalı (EAA), Adnan Kazmaoğlu (MAM), Salip Alp, Prof.Dr. Mehmet Çubuk, Prof.Dr. Ahmet Vefik Alp, Cengiz Bektaş, Hilmi Şenalp, Semih İriteş, Hüseyin Kutlu and Zeynep Fadılhoğlu. These architects shared their experiences while designing and constructing mosques.



**Figure 3. 10** Screenshot of the E-memorandum (27 April, 2007) <sup>192</sup>

Aykut Köksal, the chairman of the symposium, claimed that contemporary mosque architecture transformed in different periods. According to Köksal, an evaluation of contemporary mosques should consider the crisis factor and modernization. For

<sup>191</sup> <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E-memorandum>>, accessed on 11.11.2012.

<sup>192</sup> <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E-memorandum>>, accessed on 11.11.2012.

him, mosque architecture followed modernization from the beginning of the Ottoman era until the establishment of the republic. After the foundation of the republic, mosque construction went through a hiatus for a few years under the new regulations of the state in relation to religion, and it was for this reason that associations began to build mosques. According to Köksal, today, the mosque architecture has gained importance under the influence of the conservative government.<sup>193</sup>

Nevzat Sayın claimed in his speech that there is no difference between mosque architecture and factory architecture for an architect, while Nil Aynalı said that many ugly mosques had been built in Turkey, and that debates related to mosque architecture are related to shape and form. Aynalı argued that Islamic architecture is related to the self, and that it can be said that modern mosques have become ugly due to strict adherence to shape and form.

Adnan Kazmaoğlu claimed that few architects designing modern projects are involved in mosque architecture, and that studying in this field is hard due to lack of knowledge and experience.<sup>194</sup> He claimed that mosque architecture for the future was not set in stone, as the only fixed feature is the prayer hall.

In Turkey, according to a government declaration, a transformation will begin with particular focus on earthquakes. Municipalities have prepared projects and presented them to the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, and these projects also include mosques. According to the Directorate of Religious Affairs, Turkey has 36,000 mosques, 10,000 of which have architectural and structural problems. For this reason, the Directorate of Religious Affairs wanted to build new mosques to replace those destroyed within the framework of urban regeneration. These include approximately 6,000 mosques that were in the basements of apartment buildings, which the government now deems significant. The first transformation will begin in Kartal, Istanbul. The Hicret Mosque and the Soğanlık

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<sup>193</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/cagdas-camiler-panelinin-ikincisi-yapildi/10248>>, accessed on 08.11.2012.

<sup>194</sup> <[http://www.yapi.com.tr/Haberler/ulusal-cami-mimarisi-sempozyumunda-cami-mimarisindeki-bicimcilik-ve-kriz-konusuldu\\_102344.html](http://www.yapi.com.tr/Haberler/ulusal-cami-mimarisi-sempozyumunda-cami-mimarisindeki-bicimcilik-ve-kriz-konusuldu_102344.html)>, accessed on 24.10.2012.

Center was demolished and rebuilt by Kartal Municipality.<sup>195</sup> A similar renewal project will take place in Çankaya, Ankara. The Center Mosque was built by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu in 1960, but will now be rebuilt under a project prepared by the Tabanlıoğlu architectural firm, which is owned by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu's son, Murat. The old mosque has been designed taking into account the present day needs and requirements.

According to the Directorate of Religious Affairs, architects have taken offense at mosque architecture for the last 80 years.<sup>196</sup> Mehmet Görmez, the Director of Religious Affairs, claimed that the Republican period has not one example of mosque architecture, but that he is now hopeful owing to the coverage of architectural aesthetics in current debates. He argues that architects did not create an archetype that reflected the Republican period. For example, the Ottoman period is considered as the most valuable for mosque architecture. Correspondingly, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Vefik Alp claims that the architecture of Mimar Sinan has been copied in many other mosques, such as the Ataşehir Mosque in Istanbul. As Alp states, architecture should reflect the technology and culture of the day.

Hasol argues in his article that debates related to mosque architecture have increased, and that while the number of mosques is high, their designs are nothing more than “ordinary”. The reason for this, he claims, is that architects were excluded in the construction process. Responding to criticism by Mehmet Görmez, Hasol noted that it is not the architects but the patrons to blame. He suggested that architects do not have the freedom to design as they wish, unlike a painter, who works on his own. Patrons choose the architect who agrees to act the way they wish. As such, the level of understanding and experience of the patron determines the result, as much as the ability and effort of the architect, and that the same can be said for the level of knowledge and experience of society.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/binayla-birlikte-cami-dedonusecek/10224>>, accessed on 18.10.2012.

<sup>196</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/mimarlar-80-senedir-camiye-kus/9719>>, accessed on 30.09.2012.

<sup>197</sup> Hasol, Doğan. “Camiler ve Mimarlık” *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*.

In contrast to much discourse, Hasol claims that many mosques were built in the Republic period, and gave examples such as the Şişli Mosque (Istanbul), the Maltepe Mosque (Ankara), the Kınalıada Mosque (Istanbul), the Kocatepe Mosque (Ankara) and the TBMM Mosque (Ankara). Mosques were built both before the Republic and after the Republic. According to former Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdağ, 7,727 were built in the last 10 years, and the number of mosques in Turkey today is 84,000. From this it can be understood that 76,000 mosques were built prior to 2004.

The mosque production process is a multi-dimensional trade area. First, an association is founded, and people collect donations on behalf of the association. A certain percentage of donations go to the people collecting the money, while the rest is managed by the association. After construction is completed, commercial retail units and trade areas are opened under the mosque. Nobody gets permission from an architect for this, as architects have no involvement in this system. Hasol claims that faculties of architecture incorporate mosque design in their curricula and many students design mosques during their studies.

The mosque production process continues in many ways, as can be understood from the new mosque that is planned for construction in Karakusunlar, Çukurambar, Ankara, which is a green area on the ring road. The mosque has been built by the Metropolitan Municipality despite the cancellation of the project for the seventh time in various courts.<sup>198</sup> According to the news, local residents wanted the area for a park, but the municipality refused, saying that the owner of the land was the Treasury, and that a mosque would be constructed on that site.<sup>199</sup> The residents opposed the mosque, because they thought that it would include also trade facilities. There were already five mosques in the area, and so a new mosque was deemed unnecessary. Accordingly, the main issue is that Ankara Metropolitan

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<<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/camiler-ve-mimarlik/9808>>, accessed on 30.09.2012  
<sup>198</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/cukurambara-dini-tesis--mahkeme-7-kez-iptal-etti-ama-gokcek-yilmadi/9944>> resources: sol haber , accessed on 29.09.2012.  
<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

Municipality used its power to gain money through the construction of trade facilities, destroying the only green area in the location.<sup>200</sup>



**Figure 3. 11** Sabahattin Yıldız Mosque, Karakusunlar, Ankara (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

Mehmet Görmez states that big-budget mosques are being built today, but that they are far from reflecting the atmospheres of the mosques built centuries ago. He says that the Directorate of Religious Affairs is trying to control the current state of mosques in the country, summarizing its current mission as being limited to the appointment of imams.<sup>201</sup>

In this part, the mosques listed between 2000 and 2010 in Çankaya and Altındağ are presented in Tables 3.9 and 3.10, based on information collected from the Çankaya Müftülüğü. The available information does not yet cover mosques that are currently under construction. Also, the information provided by the Çankaya Müftülüğü is incomplete for those built after 2010, and so some of the mosques that were significant for this period are not included in the list. The list does not include those that are not finished and registered with the Çankaya Müftülüğü, either.

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/i-ulusal-cami-mimarisi-sempozyumu-basladi/10189>> , accessed on 18.10.2012.

**Table 3. 9** Mosques built in Çankaya between 2000 and 2010

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
2001	Kırkkonaklar Bilal-i Habeşi Mosque	S	A	Mehmet Tezel*	1,429	400	600
2002	Yakup Abdal Köyü Yeni Mosque.	P	P	-	3,000	900	800
2003	D.S.İ. 5.Bölge Müdürlüğü Mosque.	S	S	-	400	450	-
2003	Dikmen Deresi Yeni Mosque.	L	L	Metropol A.Ş. (const. firm)	-	120	150
2003	Yıldız Murat Mosque	S	A	Mustafa Şahin*	824	2500	300
2004	Dikmen Malazgirt Eser Mosque.	S	A	-	1,434	410	300
2005	Çalışma ve Sosyal Güv. Bak. Mosque.	S	S	-	-	250	400
2005	Dikmen 9. Km. Mosque	A	A	İrfan Sezer-Mustafa Şahin*	1,700	1,250	2,000
2005	Dikmen A. Öveçler Kandil Mosque	S	A	Namık Erkal	1,397	700	1,500
2005	İlker Selimiye Mosque	S	A	Kadir Oral*	824	240	350
2005	Kuşkondu Mosque	L	L	-	-	400	750
2005	Yıldız Hüdaverdi Mosque	S	A	İkram Çetin*	2,129	1,000	1,000
2005	Yıldız Selman Mosque	A	A	Mahmut Tuna*	1,878	250	500
2005	Adalet Akademisi Mosque	S	S	-	-	300	400
2006	Fatma Eren Mosque <sup>202</sup>	L	P	Tuna A.Ş. (const. firm)	1,178	250	700
2006	Cevizlidere Merkez Mosque	L, P, S	-	-	1,320	-	700
2006	Doğramacızaade Ali Paşa Mosque	F	F	Erkut Şahinbaş*	15,120	4,500	1,200
2007	Tuğba Altınok Mosque	A	-	-	1,439	400	600
2008	Başıyazıcıoğlu Mosque <sup>203</sup>	S	A	-	5,000	-	-
2008	Hasan Akboğ. Mosque	A	-	-	912	250	700
2008	Metro Beşevler İstasyon Mosque	L	L	Bayındır İnş./Yüksel Pr. (const. firm)	-	300	400
2009	Emir Sultan Mosque <sup>204</sup>	S	-	-	1,174	940	600
2009	Kırkkonaklar Berat Kandili Mosque	S	-	-	1,246	300	300
2009	Firdevs Mosque	A	L	-	2,477	625	1,600
2009	Neriman İslamcıoğlu Mosque <sup>205</sup>	S	A	-	1,883	191	-
2010	Yıldız Ersin Mosque.	S	-	-	1,088	400	500
2010	Sadık Kalemci Mosque.	S	P	Taylan Güyer*	2,502	1,500	3,000
2010	Öveçler Gülser Mosque <sup>206</sup>	S	A	Recep Keskintaş*	2,452	635	350
2010	Tarım ve Kırsal Destekleme Mosque	S	S	-	-	150	300
2010	Devlet Malzeme Ofisi Mosque	S	-	-	-	-	350
2010	Hasan Tanık Mosque <sup>207</sup>	A	P	Nata Holding (const.firm)	4,360	800	2,000

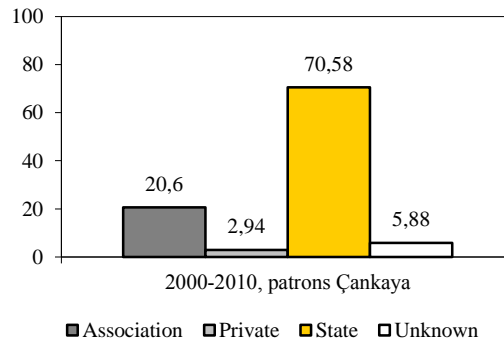
A&amp;F: Associations and Foundations, S&amp;L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\*Member of the Chamber of Architects.

Table 3.9 reveals that 31 mosques were built by associations, the private sector and the state in Çankaya between 2000 and 2010, and as in the previous period, most were built by the state and the local government. The ratio of patrons can be seen

<sup>202</sup> Fatma Eren Mosque was built in place of Yıldız Salman Mosque.<sup>203</sup> Başıyazıcıoğlu Mosque was built in place of Hz.Ali Mosque.<sup>204</sup> Emir Sultan Mosque was built in place of M.Meriç Mosque.<sup>205</sup> Neriman İslamcıoğlu Mosque was built in place of Öveçler Ata Mosque.<sup>206</sup> Öveçler Gülser Mosque was built in place of Salıpazarı Mosque.<sup>207</sup> Hasan Tanık Mosque was built in place of Çankaya Köşk Mosque.

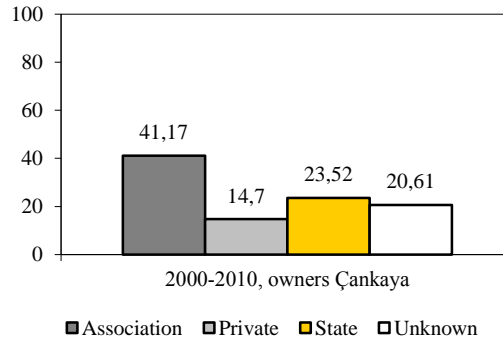
in Graph 3.13 below, from which it can be understood that 70.58 percent of mosques were built by the state and local government and 20.6 percent were built by associations and foundations. The contribution of the private sector in this period was negligible, accounting for only 2.94 percent, representing a marked decrease from the previous period. According to Graph 3.13, the state and local government increased its activity in the architectural production process of mosques in this period, like in the previous periods.



**Graph 3. 13** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

The owners of these new mosques were also different from the previous period. Graph 3.14 shows that the associations owned most of the mosques in this period, accounting for 41.17 percent, while the state had 23.52 percent and the private sector had 14.70 percent. In this period, the associations and foundations increased their share from 23.53 percent to 41.17 percent, while the share of the state decreased distinguishably from 55.89 percent to 23.52 percent. It can be understood from these figures that the state played a passive role as an owner in this period.

The total capacity of these 31 mosques was around 22,350 people, the built-up site was 57,535 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 21,211 m<sup>2</sup>. Of the total, 13 mosques had a named architect. And of these, only four were designed by architects who were members of the Chamber of Architects.



**Graph 3. 14** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

**Table 3. 10** Mosques in Altındağ between 2000 and 2010

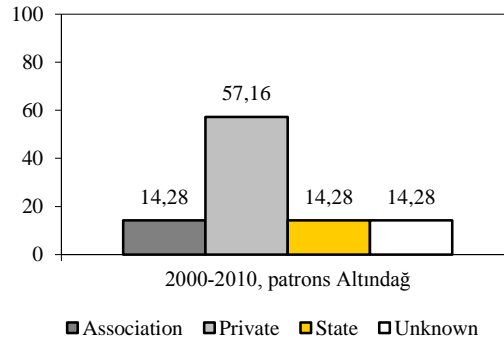
Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
2001	Ali Özpişkin İşhanı Masjid	S	S	Sabuncu Ulaşanlar	-	80	106
2002	Karapürçek Mah. Arafat Mosque	L	A	Mustafa Çetin*	3,700	572	762
2003	Karapürçek Mah. Esenkent M.Masjid	P	P	-	350	150	200
2003	Site Nebi Oğlu Masjid	P	P	-	-	400	533
2004	Aydınlıkevler Hızırbey Mosque	P	P	Fazlı Oğlu Mimarlık (const. firm)	-	150	200
2005	Doğan Tepe Hacı Baki Şahin Birlik Mosque	F	P	-	3,500	700	1,500
2006	Buhara Masjid	P	P	-	-	350	466
2006	Site Buhara Masjid	P	-	-	180	150	170
2007	Karapürçek Mah. Eyüp Mosque	A	A	Emine Yıldırım	3,150	650	876
2007	Karapürçek Mah. Miraç Mosque	F	P	Muammer Koç	3,345	418	583
2008	Aktaştepe Mosque	A	S	TOKİ (const. firm)	3510	640	1,500
2010	Yunus Emre Halk Çar. M.	L	-	-	60	60	80
2010	Karapürçek Mah. Aydınlar Masjid	P	P	-	1,080	200	266

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\*Member of the Chamber of Architects.

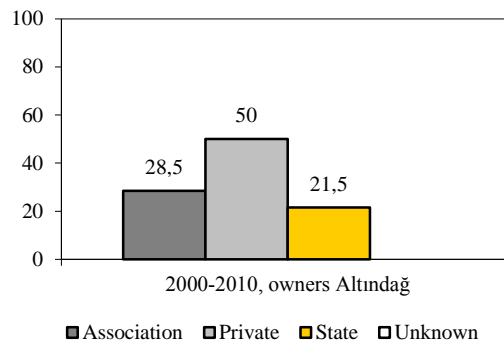
In Altındağ, 13 new mosques were built between 2000 and 2010 by associations, the private sector and the state, which represents half the number that were built in the previous decade. Most were built by the private sector (57.16 percent), either by individuals or neighborhood communities; 14.28 percent were built by associations and 14.28 percent were built by the state. According to Graph 3.15, the private sector continued to play an active role in architectural mosque production in this period, as had been the case in the previous decade. In contrast, the role of the associations decreased.





**Graph 3. 15** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

Besides the patrons of mosques, the ownership profile also changed. It can be seen from Graph 3.16 that the private sector owned most of the new mosques in this period, with a 50 percent share, followed by associations and foundations with a 28.5 percent share, and the state with a 21.5 percent share. This graph closely resembles one of the graphs in the previous period, presenting a similar ownership profile. The one thing that was different was the ratio of the state, whose percentage increased from 13.51 percent to 21.5 percent.



**Graph 3. 16** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

**Table 3. 11** Landmark mosques in Çankaya

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
2005	Dikmen 9km Mosque	A	A	İrfan Sezer-Mustafa Şahin*	2000
2005	Dikmen A. Öveçler Kandil Mosque	S	A	Namık Erkal	1500
2005	Yıldız Hüdaverdi Mosque	S	A	İkram Çetin*	1000
2006	Doğramacızade Ali Paşa Mosque	F	F	Erkut Şahinbaş*	1200
2009	Firdevs Mosque	A	L	-	1600
2010	Hasan Tanık Mosque	A	P	Nata Holding (const. firm)	2000
2010	Sabahattin Yıldız Mosque	S	P	-	1000

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

In Çankaya, seven new mosques that could be described as landmarks were built. As Table 3.11 shows, the number of new landmark mosques increased in this period when compared to the previous periods, and with the increasing population, the capacity of these mosques also increased. The most significant landmark mosque was the Doğramacızade Ali Sami Paşa Mosque.



**Figure 3. 12** Dikmen 9. Km Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 13** Dikmen Aşağı Öveçler Kandil Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 14** Yıldız Hüdaverdi Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



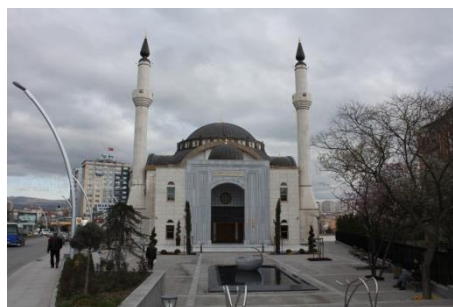
**Figure 3. 15** Doğramacızaade Ali Paşa Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 16** Firdevs Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 17** Sabahattin Yıldız Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)



**Figure 3. 18** Hasan Tanık Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)  
Landmark mosques in Çankaya

The Doğramacızade Ali Sami Paşa Mosque stood out from the other landmark mosques in its accommodation of three different religious faiths: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. The mosque was commissioned by Bilkent University Rector Ali Doğramacı, and the architect was Erkut Şahinbaş. Construction started in 2006 and the doors opened in 2008. The mosque serves at the same time as a mosque, a church and a synagogue, and as such is quite controversial due to some recent events such as the killing of a number of Turkish Christians in Malatya and a priest in Trabzon. These incidents suggest that some people in Turkey are not quite ready to pray in a mosque where there is a synagogue or a church nearby.

It can be said that the 2000-2010 period was marked by a redefinition of conservatism. The AKP, the incumbent party, portrays itself as moderate, conservative and pro-Western, and advocates a liberal market economy and Turkish membership of the European Union.<sup>208</sup> Although the AKP is a conservative party, building a multi-faith place of worship was a critical decision, and its modern design sought to portray Turkey as a modern Islamic country. That said, questions have been raised as to whether the intention is to be a modern country or to pretend to be one. In addition to this, discussions were also raised at the time related to the wearing of headscarves in the universities. How these two issues were handled was indicative of the government's approach, representing ideologically that everybody has their own religion and that everybody must respect the religions of others.

Considering these differences from the perspective of religion, it becomes easier to understand why mosque architecture underwent change. As religion has a big and direct effect on society, the government imposes its own ideologies through architecture, often with its underlying intentions going unnoticed by the society.

For Eagleton, the term “ideology” has several meanings: a process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life; a body of ideas, characteristic of a particular social group or class; ideas that help legitimize a dominant political power; false ideas that help to legitimize a dominant political power; a

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<sup>208</sup> <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adalet\\_ve\\_Kalkınma\\_Partisi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adalet_ve_Kalkınma_Partisi)>, accessed on 24.04.2012

systematically distorted communication; forms of thought motivated by social interests; identity thinking; a necessary social illusion; the conjuncture of discourse and power; the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world; action-oriented sets of beliefs; the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality; semiotic closure; an indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure; and the process whereby social life is converted into a natural reality.<sup>209</sup> Eagleton, clarifying Althusser's theory of ideology, says:

“Althusser may be right that ideology is chiefly a question of “lived relations”; but there are no such relations which do not tacitly involve a set of beliefs and assumptions, and these beliefs and assumptions may themselves be open to judgments of truth and falsehood.”<sup>210</sup>

Moreover, Eagleton claims that ideology expresses a will, a hope, rather than describing a reality, and suggests an affective theory rather than a cognitive theory.<sup>211</sup> Like Kant's aesthetic judgments, ideological utterances are both subjective and universal,<sup>212</sup> presenting themselves as if they are a universal truth and building the identity of subjects as solidly as a wall. The author claims that the Althusserian, rather than sweeping away the truth-falsehood duality, places more emphasis on the “practico-social” rather than theoretical knowledge, believing that ideology is a matter of “lived relations”.<sup>213</sup>

Eagleton pointed that ideological strategies should be unifying, action-oriented, rationalizing, legitimating, universalizing and naturalizing. Ideologies are often thought to lend coherence to the groups or classes that hold them, welding them into a unitary identity, and perhaps thereby allowing them to impose a certain unity upon society as a whole.<sup>214</sup> Ideologies are often seen as peculiarly action-oriented sets of beliefs rather than speculative theoretical systems.<sup>215</sup> A successful ideology must work both practically and theoretically, and discover some ways of

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<sup>209</sup>Eagleton, Terry. “What is ideology?”, *Ideology, An Introduction*, Verso, London and New York, 1991, p.1-31

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p21.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p.33-61.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

thinking.<sup>216</sup> Rationalization is described by J. Laplanche and J.B. Pontalis as a procedure whereby the subject attempts to present an explanation that is either logically consistent or ethically acceptable for attitudes, ideas and feelings whose true motivations cannot be perceived.<sup>217</sup> The concept of rationalization is closely allied to that of legitimation, and refers to the process by which a ruling owner comes to secure from their subjects consent for his/her authority, and like “rationalization, it can have something of a pejorative smack about it, suggesting the need to make respectable otherwise illicit interests”.<sup>218</sup> Universalization is not always a speciously rationalizing mechanism, and useful example of this process is the political state. For Marxism, the state is fundamentally an instrument of ruling-class power; but it is also an organ by which that class must fashion the general consensus within which its own interests might best thrive.<sup>219</sup> Successful ideologies are often thought to render their belief natural and self-evident to identify them with the “common sense” of a society so that nobody could imagine how they might ever be different. This process involves the ideology of creating as tight a fit as possible between itself and social reality, thereby closing the gap into which the leverage of critique could be inserted.<sup>220</sup>

Another significant mosque was constructed on the Eskişehir Road after 2010, not far from the Doğramacızade Ali Sami Paşa Mosque. The Directorate of Religious Affairs believed that the Kocatepe Mosque was insufficient to meet the needs of the city, and so a new mosque was planned. Built on Eskişehir Road, the new mosque has a capacity of 15,000 people and contains special facilities for accommodating VIPs, including special ablution areas and recreational spaces, and an elevator to carry them directly into the mosque. Besides these facilities, the mosque is to be used for the funerals of famous people. The diameter of the dome is 31 meters and the size of the enclosed area is 54x54 meters. The patron is the Directorate of Religious Affairs, and the budget of the construction of the mosque is \$15 million dollars. In contrast to the Kocatepe Mosque, the new mosque has

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Eagleton, Terry. “Ideological Strategies”, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London and New York, 1991, p.33-61.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

parking space for 4,000 cars, and has been designed with both modern and classical styles.<sup>221</sup>



**Figure 3. 19** Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque, Çankaya (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

Providing VIP services at the mosque was a controversial issue, in that in Islam, all people are equal; however, the patron of the mosque, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, refused to engage in debates related to this issue. The Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of City Planners both criticized the new mosque, claiming that there was no justification for it in that location due to the Bilkent Mosque being only 500 meters away. Former Chamber of Architects Chairman Nimet Özgönül argued that the city already had three large mosques (the Kocatepe, the Maltepe and the Hacı Bayram Mosques), and so did not need another, claiming that this one was built only for the prestige. The mosque cost approximately \$15 million to build, and there was a lot of criticism that for many years the government claimed not to have enough money to build an opera house, but somehow managed to find the funds for another huge mosque in Ankara.<sup>222</sup>

**Table 3. 12** Landmark mosques in Altındağ

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
2005	Doğan Tepe Hacı Baki Şahin Birlik Mosque	F	P	-	1,500
2008	Aktaştepe Mosque	A	S	TOKİ (const. firm)	1,500

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private  
 \* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

<sup>221</sup> <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/9657553.asp>>, accessed on 14.11.2012.

<sup>222</sup> <[http://haber.gazetevatan.com/VIP\\_Cami\\_tartismasi\\_194352\\_1/194352/1/Haber](http://haber.gazetevatan.com/VIP_Cami_tartismasi_194352_1/194352/1/Haber)>, accessed on 14.11.2011.



**Figure 3. 20** Doğan Tepe Hacı Baki Şahin Birlik Mosque, Altındağ (from Altındağ Müftülüğü)



**Figure 3. 21** Aktaştepe Mosque, Altındağ (taken by Elif Karaelmas)

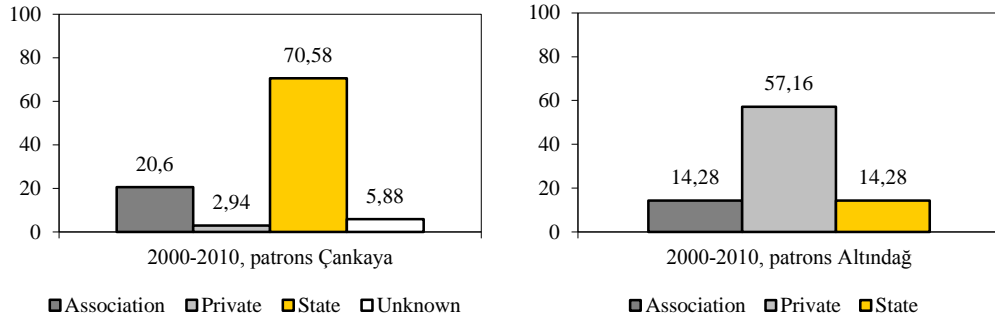
In the Altındağ district, two new mosques were built in this period that could be described as landmarks: The Doğan Tepe Hacı Baki Şahin Birlik Mosque and The Aktaştepe Mosque. Both mosques had a capacity of 1,500, but only one had a named architect, as the other was built by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ). TOKİ was founded in 1984 by the government due to the need for social housing, and was charged with building houses for middle-income groups, although after 1984, the name and the scope of its operations changed.<sup>223</sup> The agency began to dominate the architectural process in many fields after 1984, and today it leads the construction sector in many fields. It can clearly be seen from the lists that the production of mosques is a significant field of operation for this institution.

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<sup>223</sup> <<http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/TOKİ>>, accessed on 24.04.2014.

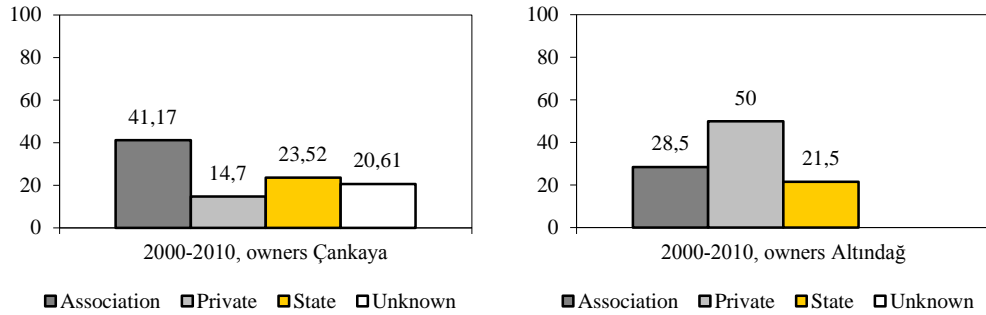


The main patrons of the mosques were different in the two districts during this period. While the private sector ranked first in Altındağ, it was the state and state agencies that ranked first in Çankaya. The role of the state as a patron of the mosque production has the highest ratio (70.58 percent) by comparison to the other periods, proves that the state is taking most active role mosque production in Çankaya.



**Graph 3. 17** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ and Çankaya

Although the associations owned most of the new mosques in Çankaya, it was the private sector that had most in Altındağ. It can be seen that the associations was the dominant owner of new mosques in Çankaya in this period.



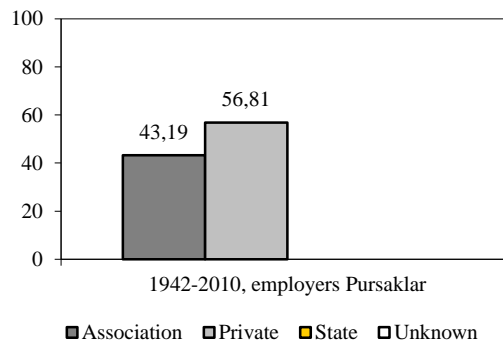
**Graph 3. 18** Ratio of owners in Altındağ and Çankaya

### 3.4. Pursaklar: A New Urban Transformation Area of Ankara

In this part of the study, in addition to the analysis of the Çankaya and Altındağ districts, the district of Pursaklar was analyzed. The reason for including Pursaklar in this chapter was that it is a new conservative district of Ankara. The residents are generally of lower socio-economic status, and in this regard, the Pursaklar district should be evaluated differently from both the Çankaya and Altındağ districts.

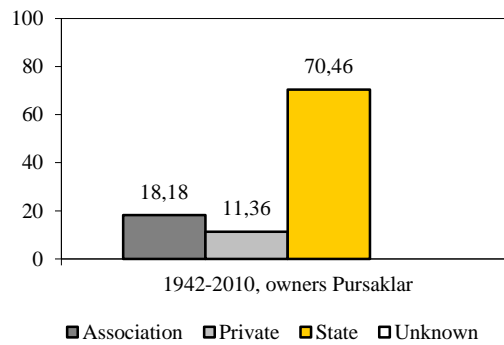
Pursaklar is 12 km from Ulus to the north of the city, and is considered to be the oldest village of Ankara. It became a district on 6 March 2008, and is currently subject to a new urban transformation project known as the “North Ankara Project”, being jointly conducted by TOKİ and Ankara Municipality. Once upon a time, the area was a squatter settlement, despite being considered one of the gateways to the city due to the proximity to the airport. The area is being transformed into a modern district with the new urban transformation projects that include social areas, car parking areas and social housing with total floor area of 650,000 m<sup>2</sup>, which has led to a population increase.

In this part, the mosques built in Pursaklar between 1942 and 2010 will be analyzed, based on data obtained from the Pursaklar Müftülüğü. In the defined period, 44 new mosques were built in Pursaklar. Most were built by the private sector (56.81 percent), while the remaining 43.19 percent were built by associations, as can be seen in Graph 3.19.



**Graph 3. 19** Ratio of patrons in Pursaklar

The owner profile of the mosques was somewhat different from that of the patrons. Although the state had no involvement as an patron, it owned most of the new mosques in Pursaklar, accounting for 70.46 percent of the total. This was followed by associations, which owned 18.18 percent, and the private sector, which owned 11.36 percent. The total capacity of these 44 mosques was 31,579, the built-up site area was 55,635 m<sup>2</sup> and the total floor area was 19,338 m<sup>2</sup>. Table 3.13 reveals that 24 mosques had a named architect, but only the architects of 12 mosques were members of the Chamber of Architects.



**Graph 3. 20** Ratio of owners in Pursaklar

In the period in question, 12 mosques that could be considered landmarks were built in Pursaklar. All of these mosques had capacities of more than 1,500 people, and most of them were built by the state, and designed by named architects.

**Table 3. 13 Mosques built in Pursaklar between 2000 and 2010**

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Built-up site-m <sup>2</sup>	Floor area-m <sup>2</sup>	Capacity
1942	Sirkeli Aşağı Mosque	S	P	-	1,882	273	300
1953	Sirkeli Yukarı Mosque	S	P	-	362	200	250
1959	Gümüşayla Mosque	S	P	-	220	180	180
1965	Eskiköy Mosque	S	A	-	150	150	500
1967	Kösrelilik Kızıği Mosque	S	P	-	1,700	200	250
1967	Gümüşoluk-1 Mosque	S	P	-	1,840	150	450
1970	Altınova Merkez Mosque	S	P	Halil İbrahim*	1,802	400	450
1972	Peçenek Mosque	A	P	-	1,241	285	450
1980	Saray Merkez 1 Mosque	S	P	Fahrettin	1,200	320	400
1984	Yuva Mosque	S	P	-	500	120	200
1987	Gümüşköy Halidiye Mosque	S	A	-	600	300	300
1990	Merkez Mosque	S	A	İrfan Sezer*	2,067	976	3,500
1992	Gümüşayla Taşkesen Mosque	S	P	Mehmet Doğan*	1,500	110	115
1992	Er Rahman Mescidi	A	P	Cemal Baysal	300	300	400
1994	Abadan Mosque	S	P	Cemil Vedin	396	11	300
1994	Kurusarı Mosque	A	P	-	1,470	200	200
1995	Eyüb El Ensari Mosque	P	P	Eyüb Doğanay	100	100	250
1995	Kasrı Şirin Mosque	P	A	İrfan Eser	1,804	600	1,000
1996	Fatih Mosque	L	A	Eyüb Doğanay	400	330	550
1997	Karşıyaka Mosque	S	P	-	500	300	280
1997	Saray Süleymaniye Mosque	S	P	Ortalı Mahmut	860	400	1,500
1997	Alacaören Mosque	S	P	-	800	170	300
1999	Hicret Mosque	A	A	Mustafa Çetin*	1,757	528	1,000
1999	Saray Fatih Mosque	P	A	Zeynel Yetkin*	2,251	400	400
1999	Keçiörenliler Mescidi	F	P	İbrişoğlu İnşaat (const. firm)	200	200	200
2000	Hız Ebubekir Mosque	L	A	-	1,705	450	1,000
2000	Gümüşoluk-2 Mosque	S	P	Hayri Kazdal	1,300	450	750
2000	Nuryağdı Mosque	S	A	-	1,480	830	250
2000	Özyel Mosque	P	P	-	180	180	200
2000	Karaköy Mosque	S	P	-	100	100	120
2003	Karyağdı Mosque	L	A	-	447	200	300
2004	Mimar Sinan Mosque	S	A	Hatice Yıldırım*	2,085	742	2,000
2005	Göçmenevleri Barbaros	S	A	Murat Demircioğlu	1,600	1,000	1,200
2006	Süleymaniye Mosque	S	A	Bayram Boyzığit, Serdar Öztürk	1,200	900	500
2006	Sultan Selim Mosque	S	A	Hakan Bülbül*	2,276	650	1,100
2006	Kösreli Kızıği Mosque	S	P	-	1,500	200	1,000
2006	Ulu Mosque	S	A	Hatice Yıldırım*	2,335	735	2,000
2006	Özlem Sıla Mescidi	P	P	-	180	180	160
2007	Miraç Mosque	S	A	Seyit Yurttaş*	1,308	400	1,000
2007	Mevlana Mosque	S	P	Mustafa Şahin*	3,700	2,700	1,800
2009	Niyaz Mescidi	F	P	Alican Candan*	649	168	224
2010	Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque	A	A	Ercan Yozgatlı	2,105	500	650
2010	Hidayet Mosque	L	A	İlker Tamer	2,653	1,200	2,000
2010	Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mosque	F	A	Mustafa Kaya*	2,930	550	1,600

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

\*Member of the Chamber of Architects

**Table 3. 14** Landmark mosques in Pursaklar

Years	Name of Mosque	Owner	Patron	Architect	Capacity
1990	Merkez Mosque	S	A	İrfan Sezer*	3,500
1997	Saray Süleymaniye Mosque	S	P	Ortalı Mahmut	1,500
1999	Hicret Mosque	A	A	Mustafa Çetin*	1,000
2000	Hız Ebubekir Mosque	L	A	-	1,000
2004	Mimar Sinan Mosque	S	A	Hatice Yıldırım*	2,000
2005	Göçmenevleri Barbaros Mosque	S	A	Murat Demircioğlu	1,200
2006	Sultan Selim Mosque	S	A	Hakan Bülbül*	1,100
2006	Kösreli Kızıği Mosque	S	P	-	1,000
2006	Ulu Mosque	S	A	Hatice Yıldırım*	2,000
2007	Miraç Mosque	S	A	Seyit Yurttaş*	1,000
2007	Mevlana Mosque	S	P	Mustafa Şahin*	1,800
2010	Hidayet Mosque	L	A	İlker Tamer	2,000

A&F: Associations and Foundations, S&L: State and Local Government, P: Private

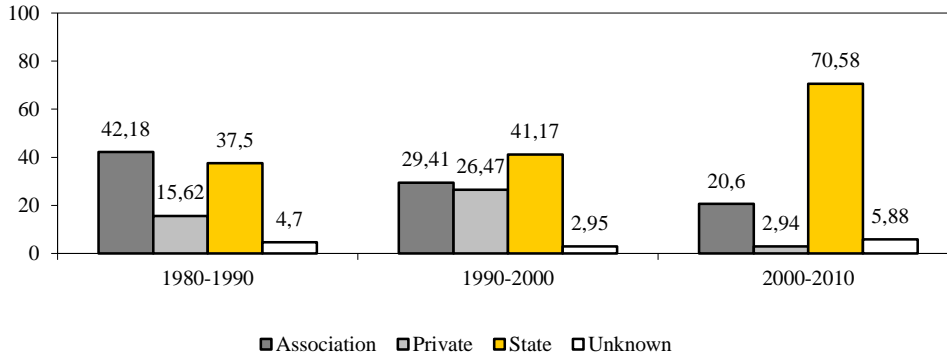
\* Member of the Chamber of Architects.

### 3.5. Epilogue to the Chapter:

In this chapter, the results point to the occurrence of an Islamic revolution in Turkey after the 1980s. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, a new era began with the election of a conservative party, the AKP, in the 2002 elections, which had resulted from polarization in the Turkish political landscape. The country had seen a degree of Islamification that affected also architectural production because, although many architects preferred to use modern symbols in their designs, their patrons wanted more Islamic elements or Seljuk patterns on the facades of their projects. In this period, the government saw mosque architecture as the best means of representing their ideology, which is why the state chose to build mosques.

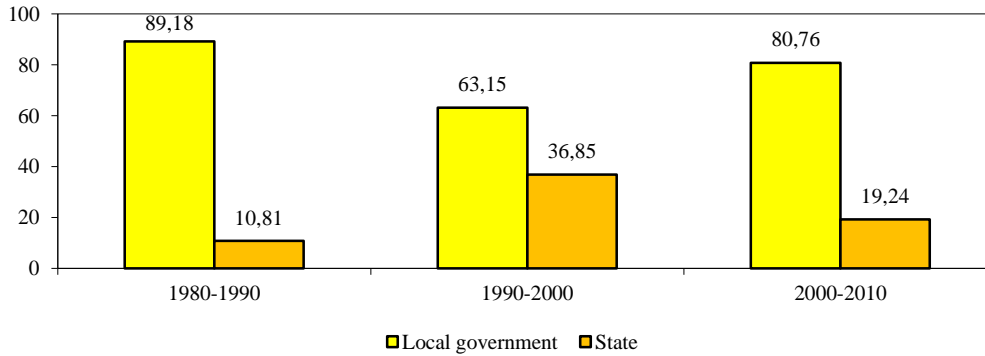
For the three periods in question, the profile of patrons changed considerably in the Çankaya district, with the shares of both the associations and the private sector falling in each period, while the share of the state saw a rapid increase – doubling over the last decade. As Graph 3.21 shows, the state played an active role in the

mosque architectural production process after the 2000s. Ankara changed in time from a secular city to a conservative one with the increase of the visibility of the religion in daily life. In this context, religion affected the architecture as well, with the state using architecture as a reflection of its political power.



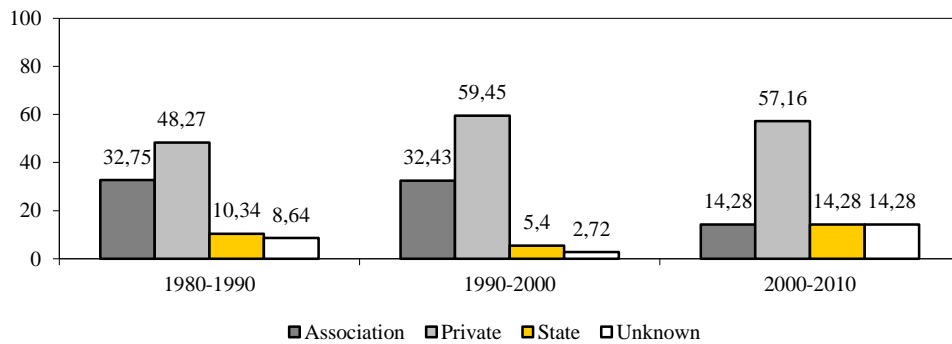
**Graph 3. 21** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya

As stated earlier, the state agencies changed in parallel with the political and social changes. The state has many institutions, an important one of which is the municipalities. The municipalities played a significant role as a patron in the mosque production process in this period, which can be seen in Graph 3.22. In the first of the decades in question, the municipalities were dominant, when Islamic thought was growing in popularity in the country. After the first decade, the share of these municipalities decreased, and in the last decade the share of local government increased suddenly, and returned to dominance in the last decade. This is a clear indication that the state passed responsibility on to local government.



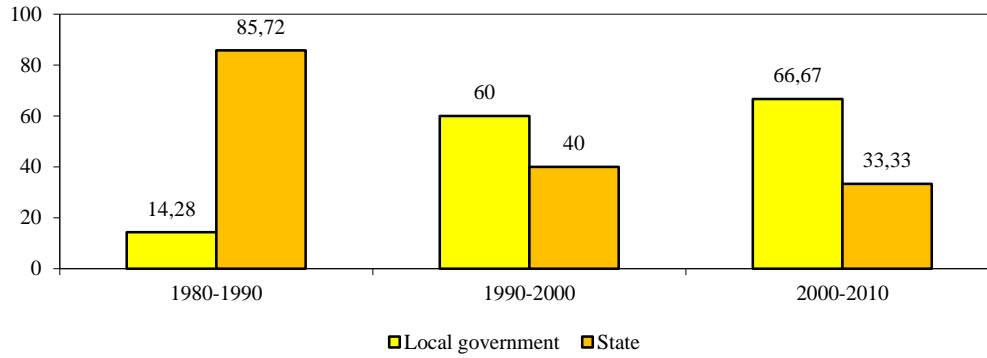
**Graph 3. 22** Ratio of state agencies as patrons in Çankaya

According to Graph 3.23, the patron profile changed in every decade in the Altındağ district. The private sector played the leading role in the first decade, but after the 1980 coup d'état, all public tenders were cancelled, and privatization came to the agenda. Furthermore, all public construction and production activities were reduced, further empowering the private sector. The share of the private sector patrons decreased from 48.27 to 31.04 percent, while the share of the state increased from 10.34 to 25.86 percent. In addition, associations increased their share from 32.75 to 43.1 percent in the second decade, becoming the largest patron. After this decade, in the 2000s, the private sector share increased rapidly from 31.04 to 57.16 percent, constituting a major role in the architectural production process in that period in the Altındağ district. It can be said from this graph that the state was relatively inactive in this district in this period. Although in the second decade the share of the state saw an increase from the first decade, it decreased again in the last decade.



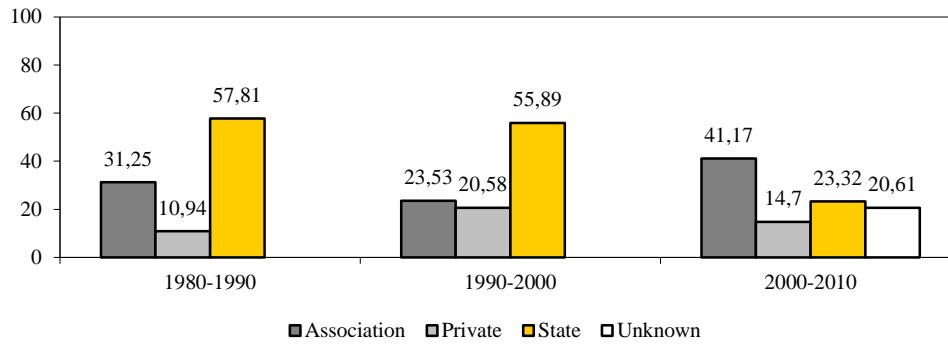
**Graph 3. 23** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ

When comparing the two districts, it can be seen that the ratio of the state was lower in Altındağ than in Çankaya, indicating that the state was more active in Çankaya in this period. This situation can be attributed to the fact that Çankaya was the center of government and political life in this period. With the construction of more mosques after 1980, islamification became more visible in Çankaya. This is indicative of the transformation from secularism to conservatism.



**Graph 3. 24** Ratio of the state agencies as a patron Altındağ

Just like in Çankaya, the municipalities were significant as a patron in the Altındağ district. Graph 3.24 shows the ratio of municipalities as a patron in this period. It can be seen that the state was the dominant player in the first decade, but after this, the share of the municipalities increased, in contrast to the Çankaya district. In the last decade, the share of the local government increased, making it the second largest builder of mosques. Finally, local government came to dominate mosque construction in the last decade.

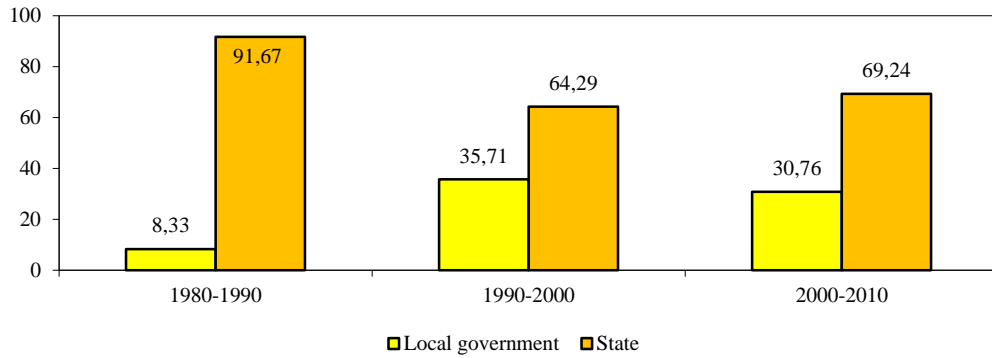


**Graph 3. 25** Ratio of owners in Çankaya

The significance of the owners in the mosque architectural process in this period is well recognized. The state was dominant as an owner between 1980 and 2000 in the Çankaya district, retaining a similar share in new mosques over the two decades. The share of the private sector doubled in the same period, while the share of associations decreased from 31.25 percent to 20.58 percent between 1990 and 2000. After 2000, local associations came into prominence as owners. As can be seen in Graph 3.25, the associations took an active role in the mosque production process after 2000 in Çankaya, when the state ranked in second place.

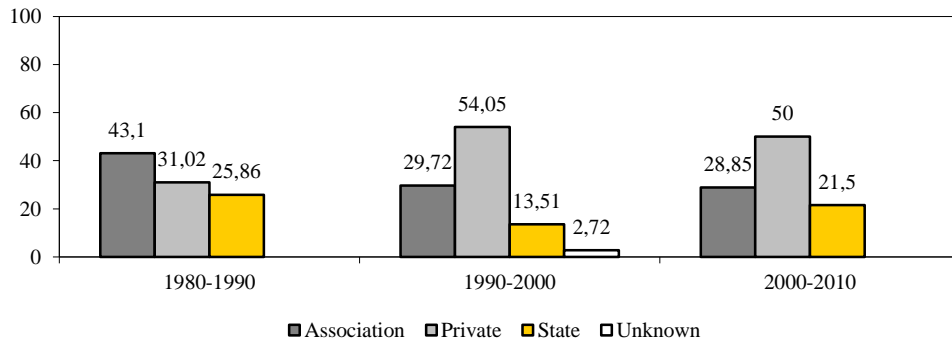


This indicates that the state was relatively inactive in the production of mosques in Çankaya in this period.



**Graph 3. 26** Ratio of the state agencies as owner in Çankaya

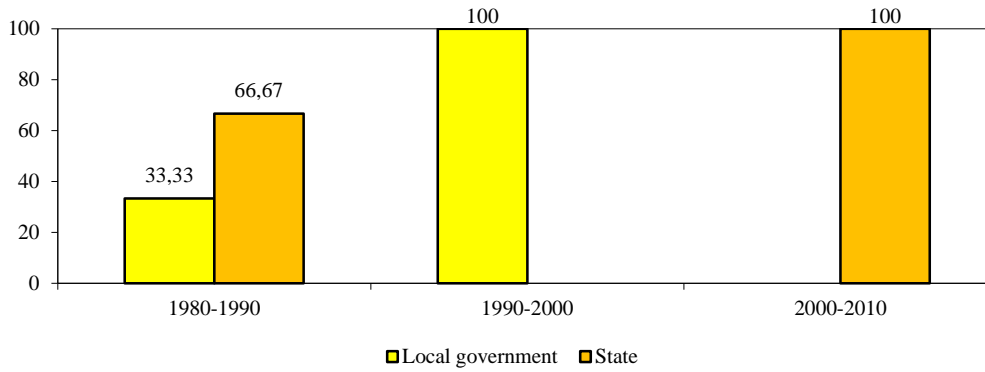
Graph 3.26 shows the ratio of state agencies as owners of new mosques in Çankaya, in which it can be seen that the ratio of local government changed in every period, but that the state was dominant in all three periods. Although the state was dominant, its share as an owner increased over time.



**Graph 3. 27** Ratio of owners in Altındağ

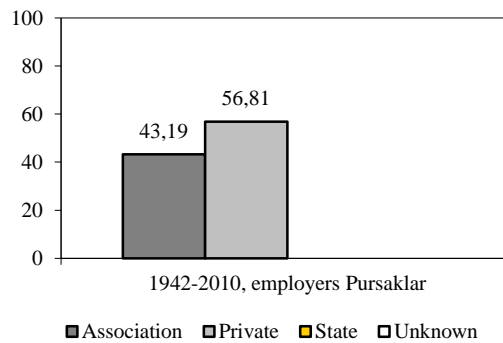
For the Altındağ district, the share of the associations, state and private sector changed in all the three periods in question. It can be seen from Graph 3.27 that the state was relatively inactive as an owner across the three decades in this district, which may be attributed to the loss of political importance of this district. The associations were dominant in the years between 1980 and 1990, but after that, their share decreased from 43.1 to 29.72 percent, while the share of the

private sector increased from 31.04 percent to 54.04 percent. These years saw the private sector gain importance in many fields, including the construction of mosques, parallel with the economic policies of the period.



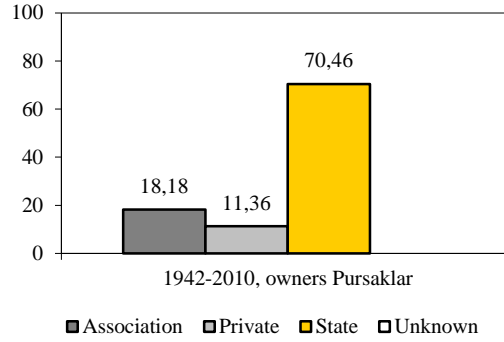
**Graph 3. 28** Ratio of state agencies as owners in Altındağ

Although the state was inactive in this period in Altındağ, the share of local governments changed in every period, and was dominant in the years between 1990 and 2000, while it was the state that was dominant between 2000 and 2010.



**Graph 3. 29** Ratio of patrons in Pursaklar

Pursaklar, as a relatively new district of Ankara, has become a new urban transformation area that connects the airport to the city center. There are many plans for the reorganization of the Pursaklar district, and many buildings are planned for construction over the next five years. The mosque production process is being maintained by the private sector and associations, and despite the conservative profile of the area, the state has had little involvement as a patron in the district.



**Graph 3. 30** Ratio of owners in Pursaklar

The profile of the owners of the new mosques in Pursaklar was different to that of the patrons. Although the state had little influence as a patron, it owned the most new mosques in Pursaklar, accounting for 70.46 percent, followed by the associations with 18.18 percent and the private sector with 11.36 percent. These graphs demonstrate that the state supported the architectural mosque production, and that the associations and the private sector contributed to the process.

Table 3.15, which details the number of associations in Ankara between 1980 and 2010, has been compiled using data from Ankara Governorship. It can be seen from this table that the number of the associations increased dramatically in many of Ankara's districts after 2000, particularly in Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle and Çankaya. Although the number of associations was more in Çankaya than Altındağ, they were more dominant in Altındağ than in Çankaya. It can be summarized that in this period the actors in the construction of new mosques changed according to the districts and period. The significant involvement of the state in Çankaya is indicative of the district's increased political meaning for the government, and the construction of a huge new mosque there was clear evidence of its political ideology. The state continues to use architectural mosque production to represent its ideology.

**Table 3. 15** Number of associations in Ankara between 1980 and 2010.<sup>224</sup>

Districts	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Akyurt	0	4	6
Altındağ	2	20	22
Ayaş	1	1	2
Bala	1	0	5
Beypazarı	2	4	4
Çankaya	33	20	34
Çamlıdere	0	0	1
Çubuk	0	5	5
Elmadag	5	5	10
Etimesgut	13	7	32
Evren	0	1	0
Gölbaşı	1	1	10
Güdül	1	3	2
Haymana	0	2	7
Kalecik	0	1	6
Kazan	1	1	9
Keçiören	61	34	42
Kızılcahamam	1	1	5
Mamak	56	25	11
Nallıhan	4	9	6
Polatlı	5	21	19
Pursaklar	4	5	13
Sincen	13	33	20
Şereflikoçhisar	2	3	3
Yenimahalle	38	44	56

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<sup>224</sup> *Ankara Governorship.*

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this thesis, the representation of ideology through architectural objects has been discussed, in particular, the mosques of Ankara built since the 1950s. The conceptual framework of this study focuses on the processes of architectural mosque production, and how this process has been affected by the political changes in Turkey since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. To this end, an analysis of the mosques built in the districts of Çankaya and Altındağ in two periods has been made. The Pursaklar district has also been analyzed in chapter three.

The first period of study was the years between 1946 and 1980, which were characterized by the transition to a multi-party system and an upsurge in mosque production in Ankara. This was followed by an analysis of the years between 1980 and 2010. These two periods can be described as critical milestones in Turkish political history. Data about the identity of the patrons, owners and architects of these mosques were obtained from the Çankaya, Altındağ and Pursaklar Müftülüğü and were presented in tables and graphs to provide a quick understanding of the changing identity in these actors. More current information, such as data on mosques that are now under construction is yet to be recorded. It is the intention in this thesis to help understand the current situation in the mosque production process and to show how the stakeholders in this regard changed in these districts. Adding to the numerous current debates on architectural mosque production, this thesis sheds light on the context of the stakeholders in the mosque production process in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As mentioned previously, a number of different stakeholders were involved in the mosque production process in the two periods in question, and data related to the

extent of their involvement was collected and summarized in both graphs and tables from two perspectives: as patrons, and as owners. From an analysis of available data it is readily apparent that changes in the political landscape affected the level of involvement of the different actors in this production process in each period.

The introduction part of the study presents in detail the justification for choosing Ankara, the capital of the Republic Turkey, for analysis. For Tankut, the relocation of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara was a significant event in Turkish history. It was the belief of the new governing body and the state *elite* that whatever was associated with the Ottoman past and Orthodox Islam must be reframed within the boundaries of the newly adopted patterns of modernity. These years were also important for architectural practice, and have even been described as the golden years of the architectural production process, when many architects came to Ankara from Europe and designed many modern public buildings. Religious buildings were a low priority for the ruling elite prior to the 1950s, corresponding to a modern era in the architectural process. Architects sought to design modern new buildings for the secular state, to promote Turkey as a modern country.

In the second chapter, the period between 1946 and 1980 is analyzed. The period was marked by the transition to a multi-party system, and saw mosque architecture become a means of ideological representation in the hands of the new ruling elite. It was a further milestone in Turkey's political history when Ankara's first Grand Mosque was built and put into service in *Yenişehir*, the heart of the new city, under the administrative guidance of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. It is the main aim of this thesis to question the changing political identity of the patrons who played a significant role in shaping the contours of architectural production following the transition to multi-party system. To this end, the research, at this point, makes an explanation of the significance of mosque architecture in Turkey's changing ideological preferences.

Following the political transition, the number of mosques in the city saw a rapid increase. This was a new era for Turkey, with many political and social changes

affecting the mosque architectural production process as well. In this context, the architectural transformation in this new era reflects the onset of islamification in Turkey. This Islamic thought used architecture as an apparatus and the image of the city began to change. The first examples of new buildings began to replicate classical Ottoman architecture, and came to dominate the city landscape. The architectural trends changed then, with the state adopting the Ottoman style to represent itself.

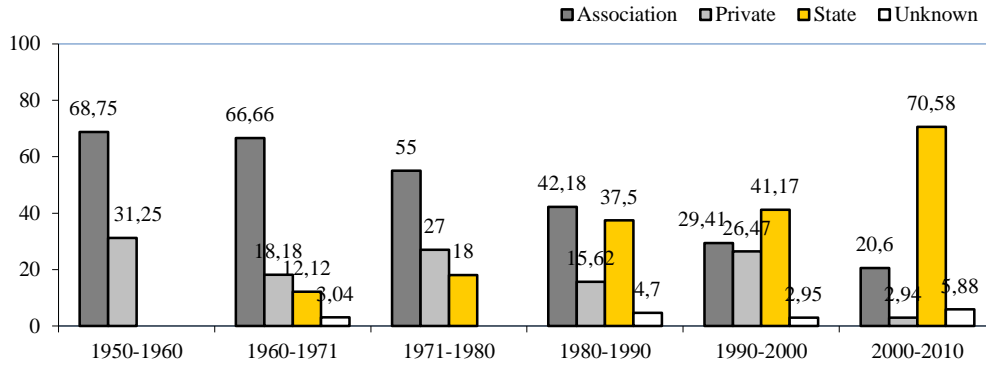
The third chapter focuses on the years between 1980 and 2010, when the effects of the adopted political regime became widespread, permanent and profound.<sup>225</sup> In this period, architectural practice moved away from being local/national, tending to blend with the international market more closely. Government investment decreased, and so the patron profile changed drastically. The municipalities and the national bourgeoisie, as a growing partner of the international market, went hand-in-hand, bringing the private sector to the table at various scales.<sup>226</sup> This new era began with the election to government of a conservative party in the 2002 elections as a direct result of the polarization in Turkish political life. Turkey entered a period of Islamification that also affected architectural production, and although many architects tried to use modern symbols in their designs, patrons sought more Islamic elements or Seljuk patterns in the facades of their projects. In this period, mosque architecture was the best way for the new government to represent their ideology, which is why state involvement in the mosque production process increased so rapidly in this period. The most recent and most blatant example of this is the VIP mosque that was built near the Directorate of Religious Affairs in Ankara. Although in Islam, all people are the same under God; this mosque distinguishes between VIPs and members of the general public, which is contradictory.

There were also changes in the profiles of the patrons and owners in these two periods. The following bar charts presents an analysis of the patron and owner profiles in the Çankaya, Altındağ and Pursaklar districts during these periods.

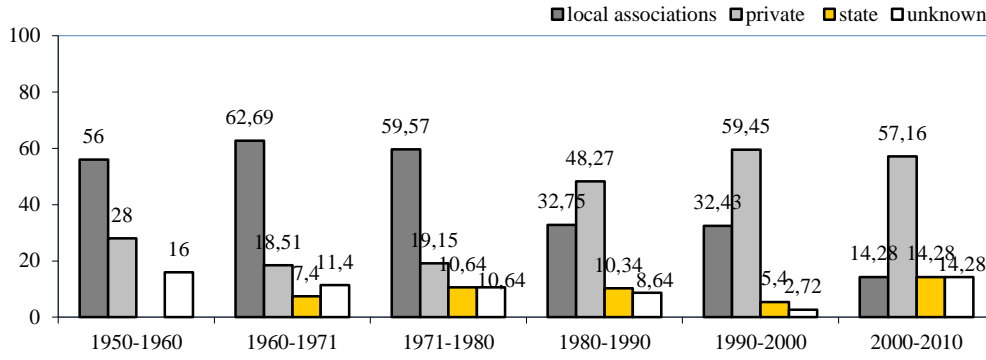
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<sup>225</sup> Batur, Afife. "The Post-War Period: 1950–1960", *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century*, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Istanbul, June 2005, p.79. Batur, Afife.

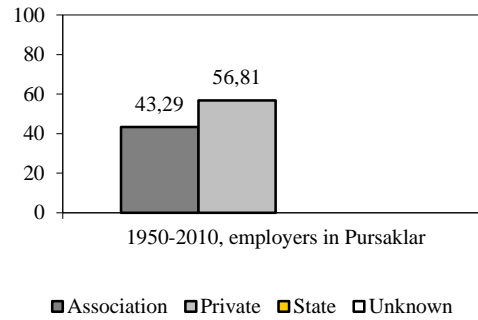
<sup>226</sup> Ibid., p.81.



**Graph 4. 1** Ratio of patrons in Çankaya



**Graph 4. 2** Ratio of patrons in Altındağ



**Graph 4. 3** Ratio of patrons in Pursaklar

Graphs 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 reveal that the role of the state as a patron in the Çankaya district increased over time after the 1950s, but maintained a lesser role in Altındağ and Pursaklar. Given that the district of Çankaya was home to more political power, the role of the state is readily apparent in these results. It is a well-known fact that governing parties have long used architecture as an apparatus to symbolize themselves around the world, and from these results, it can be summarized that the Turkish government began to represent itself through mosque



architecture. Although the associations were dominant in the Çankaya and Altındağ districts, the state began to have a symbolic role as a patron in Çankaya at the end of this period.

Here, we should note that the political movements which are based on religion became widespread all over the world in the last two decades.<sup>227</sup> Ankara, the capital, was transformed from a secular city to a conservative one in time. The changes in the ruling party also speeded up this transformation. Religion became the center of daily life after the 1980s and the number of the mosques increased. The control of the religion was, and still is, in the hands of the state. The state represents itself using the architecture in Turkey. In this context, the state appears as a patron in the mosque production process.

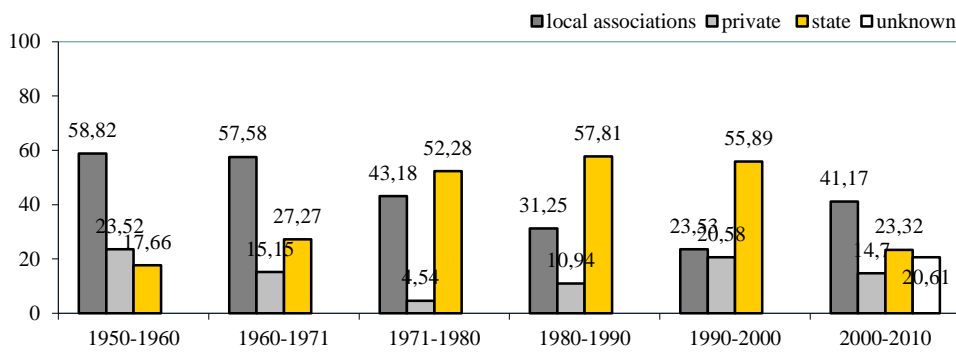
The graphs and tables reveal that most mosques were built by public associations that were established to satisfy public need, and indicate also that the patron profile changed visibly in Çankaya after the 1980s. The share of the associations, the state and the private sector changed every decade, with the state gaining ground against the associations and private sector after the 1980s, and doubling its share in the last decade. The state continued to play an active role in the mosque architectural production process after the 2000s. Furthermore, political changes affected mosque architecture in this period, as had been the case in the previous period, with the new conservative government symbolizing itself through religion.

In addition to the patrons of the mosques, the owners also played a major role in the mosque production process, which has also been analyzed in this thesis. The results of the survey reveal that the owners of these mosques changed in every period in question. While local associations dominated as owners after the 1950s, it was the state that would take the lead after the 1970s in Çankaya until dominance returned to the local associations after the 2000s. Accordingly, after 2000 it was the state that controlled the mosque production process in Çankaya as

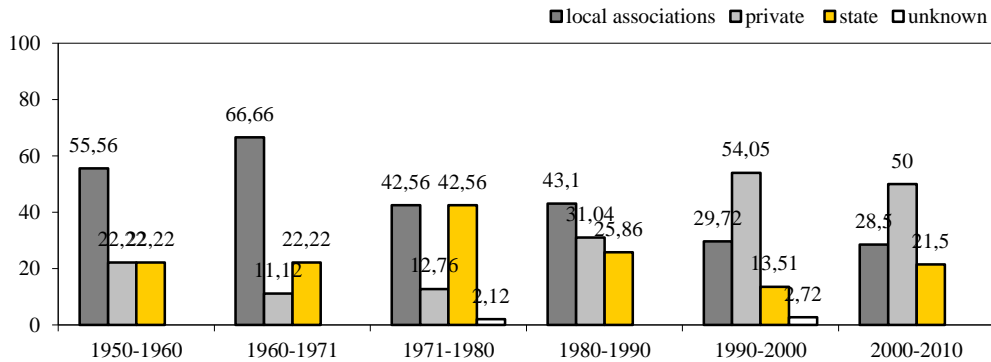
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<sup>227</sup> Çınar, Alev. Roy, Srirupa and Yahya, Maha. "Introduction: Religion Nationalism as a Consequence of Secularism", *Visualizing Secularism and Religion: Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, India*, the Univesity of Michigan Press, 2012, p.1.

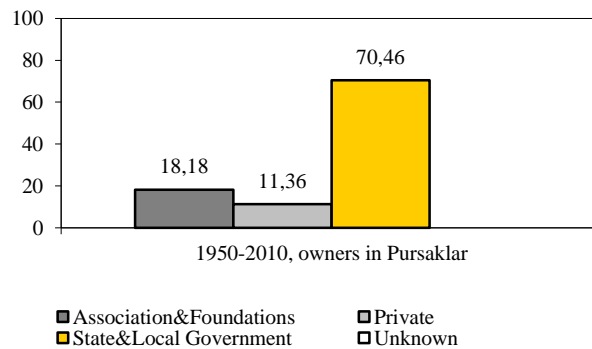
an owner after the crisis years, assigning areas for the building of mosques through such institutions as the municipalities and local government. It can be seen from Graph 4.5 that the local associations were dominant in this regard after the 1950s until the 1990s in the Altındağ district, after which, the private sector became the most dominant stakeholder. The state was relatively inactive as an owner in the Altındağ district, which is indicative of the district's lack of political significance.



**Graph 4. 4** Ratio of owners in Çankaya



**Graph 4. 5** Ratio of owners in Altındağ



**Graph 4. 6** Ratio of owners in Pursaklar

Pursaklar, a new district of Ankara, is undergoing urban transformation as the gateway between the airport and the city center. There are many organizational plans for this district, and many buildings are to be built over the next five years. The mosque production process is maintained by the private sector and the associations. Although the population is politically conservative, the state has had little involvement as a patron in this regard. As with the profile of the patrons, the owners of the mosques also differ. Although the state has been relatively inactive as a patron, it owns the most mosques in Pursaklar. The graphs reveal that the state supported mosque architectural production, and that the associations and the private sector contributed to this process.

To sum up, the graphs reveal much about the mosque production process in Ankara since the 1950s. It is obvious from the graphs that the share of associations in new mosques in Çankaya decreased steadily after the 1950s, while the share of the state as a patron increased at the same period. Furthermore, it can be seen that the state had an active role as a patron after the 2000s, increasing its share in every period.

The aim of this study is to initiate a new discussion on the role of the state in the architectural production process and how architectural practice will be shaped in the future. The Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ), as a state organization, has been responsible for the construction of different buildings, including social housing, public parks, schools and mosques. The designs of all these buildings have followed certain trends, including, for example, some classic Seljuk elements. The intention has been to create new archetypes and then to construct the buildings easily and quickly, which has had a marked but negative effect on the architectural production process, and architects have had to make some difficult decisions when designing these buildings to please the patrons or the clients.

This thesis has so far discussed the mosque architectural production process for Ankara, but looking at the country as a whole, it can easily be seen that there are many mosques of different styles and scales. Istanbul, Turkey's largest and most

populous city, and also the former capital of the Ottoman Empire, has been earmarked for many new mosque projects by the government in locations deemed important for the city. The most recent of these are those in Taksim Square, Çamlıca and Göztepe Park, all of which are to be landmarks for the city, and will affect its silhouette considerably.

The Çamlıca Mosque project is particularly controversial in that the Çamlıca Park in Istanbul on which it is to be built was previously a protected area. To make the construction possible, the Istanbul Municipality changed the rules of the plan, leading the Chamber of Architects and many architects to raise their voices against the project. Under these chaotic conditions, a project tender was organized; however, the jury declined to award first place to any of the submissions, and in the end the project was awarded to a second rank submission. The selected project will reflect both Ottoman and Turkish styles on a parcel of 57,511 m<sup>2</sup>. The building includes areas for prayer, education and social activities, and it will have a capacity of 30,000 with a courtyard. The floor area of the building will be 15,000 m<sup>2</sup>. For education needs, the complex contains 10 classes for 50 people, a conference hall for 750 people, meeting rooms, exhibition halls, a library, a museum to house historical Turkish and Islamic artifacts, and also a car park for 3,500 vehicles. Construction will cost an estimated 100 million liras.<sup>228</sup> By commissioning such complexes, the government is able to build many facilities together at the same time, and create new areas for social activities. In this way, the general public will be encouraged to use these mosque complexes in different ways, and will also enable a group of people to financially benefit from the additional facilities.

Just like what happened in the Çamlıca Mosque tender, the jury gave first prize to none of the entrants in a competition for the design of the Central Mosque of Prishtina in Kosova. The architects of the projects selected from the second rank were asked to amend their designs taking into account suggestions of the jury. After this process, the Islamic community of Kosova will select one of the designs. In this context, when compared with the Çamlıca Mosque project, this decision

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<sup>228</sup> <<http://haber.tr.msn.com/ntv/Çamlıca-camiinde-hafriyat-başladı>, >, accessed on 30.03.2012.

shows us that the Kosovan government gave the importance to religious architecture, and that it has an active role in this process in the world.<sup>229</sup>



**Figure 4. 1** Çamlıca Mosque, planned to be built in Çamlıca

At a panel organized by the Architects and Engineers Group (MMG) in Marmara University, Prof. Dr. Ali Köse, the Dean of the Marmara University Faculty of Divinity, highlighted the relationship that exists between economy and religion. He emphasized that there had been many debates on mosque architecture during his student years, and claimed that the modern perception of design was false, which is why the main problem was whether the design should be modern or more in line with traditional mosque architecture.<sup>230</sup>

Üsküdar Mayor Mustafa Kara claims that the duration of the Çamlıca Mosque competition should have been longer, emphasizing that Islam has long been the symbol of Istanbul, and is at the heart of Turkish culture, and for this reason, its codes required a careful reading. MMG General Director Avni Çebi claimed that it is very hard to resist the potential rent incomes due to the fluctuations in the national economy, which is why priority should be given to the urban plan. Kara went on to explain that the municipality asks how culture can be protected and how this culture can be adapted to the modern world through the government's

<sup>229</sup><<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/bir-cami-yarismasindan-daha-birincilik-cikmadi/13502>>, accessed on 04.12.2013.

<sup>230</sup><<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/peygamberimizin-sehircilik-ve-mimarlik-alanindaki-uygulamalari-yeniden-incelemeliyiz/12417>>, accessed on 04.12.2013.

plan for the urban area. From this explanation, we may conclude that the municipality, as a government agency, intervenes in the architecture production process. In addition to this, he mentioned that the Prime Minister had wanted to build a mosque in this area, and that the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning worked out the plans. He added that the Prime Minister had wanted a new classic mosque that would remind society in the future that Istanbul is an Islamic city, which indicates that the government plays a critical role in architectural production. Kara said that they need more time to evaluate and discuss the competition projects.<sup>231</sup>

Prof. Dr. Saadettin Ökten claims that architectural works that are to be a symbol of a city should be built at its center, otherwise it will lose its value, and thus is critical of the Çamlıca Mosque project. Furthermore, he considers it not as an imitation, but as a repetition, saying that there is a big difference between the two. For him, imitation means adapting elements of other civilizations to our culture; while repetition means reproducing elements of our own civilization in different time periods. In this regard, the Çamlıca Mosque can be evaluated as a repetition of the old times of Turkey, intending to pass on a message to future generations that this city is an Islamic city. This is a clear example of the patron or government using architectural production as a tool.<sup>232</sup>

Prof. Dr. Tahsin Gürgün claims that people try to make money the easiest way possible and that this is the primary aim of the architectural production process these days in Istanbul. He said that there is no need for a new mosque in the area allocated to the construction of the Çamlıca Mosque and the area would benefit more from an urban transformation project. He also claims that even conservative people oppose the building of a mosque in this area. As the main aim is to gain money, the project can be evaluated as a commercial venture.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/peygamberimizin-sehircilik-ve-mimarlik-alanindaki-uygulamalari-yeniden-incelemeliyiz/12417>>, accessed on 04.12.2013.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

The person behind the idea to construct the mosque is Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, indicating that the government has a leading role in the architectural production process. While the foundations of Çamlıca Mosque have already been laid, a lawsuit has been opened against the project by the Chambers of Architects and Urban Planners, claiming that the site should be a public area and does not need a new mosque. They also believe that the silhouette of the city will be damaged with the construction of this huge mosque, and that there are already 14 mosques nearby. The winning entry was selected based on its symbolism of Anatolia, as the face of the West, and for its exemplification of modern Islamic architecture. Following the demands of Prime Minister Erdoğan, a number of changes will be made to the project,<sup>234</sup> indicating the ability of the government to influence architectural production.

Another controversial project is the “Mosque of The Republic & Museum of Religions” in Taksim, Istanbul. Architect Ahmet Vefik Alp, who is a former candidate of the MHP for Istanbul, states that the capacity of the mosque is 1,450. He claims that architecture should reflect its time, and so the project is a contemporary design rather than an imitation of the Mimar Sinan Mosque. He added that the four crescents at the top of the minaret symbolize the four caliphs, with the largest one symbolizing the Islamic religion and culture. The interior lighting of the main dome resembles the sky, with many stars bringing to mind God’s place. The mosque resembles a sun from the perspective of Taksim Square in the day, and moonlight in the night. From the top, the mosque resembles a crescent moon and star, and the name of God is hidden in three different locations. Alp says that while designing a contemporary mosque, they also protected the symbolic value. The mosque complex will contain also a religious museum and a tourist cultural center, although separated from the main mosque.<sup>235</sup> After many discussions, Prime Minister Erdoğan wanted the architect to design two different mosque projects, seeking a more classically designed mosque for the area. The demands of the patron are enough to change the design of an architect, and can

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<sup>234</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/davasi-suren-camllica-camiinin-temeli-atildi/16476>>, accessed on 04.12.2013.

<sup>235</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/taksim-camii-basbakanda/10227>>, accessed on 18.10.2012.

have a marked effect on the architectural production process. From this it can be understood that architectural production is a complex, social and political process.



**Figure 4. 2** Taksim Mosque, planned for construction in Taksim

The final project in Istanbul to be mentioned is the Sancaklar Mosque, which was designed by Emre Arolat, and won the first prize in the Religious Building category at the World Architecture Festival in Singapore.<sup>236</sup> The materials used and the use of light were considered commendable by the jury. This project was designed only as a religious building, not as a symbol or form, and can be considered as a departure from the common trends in religious architecture. In this regard, the project will lead debates related to mosque architecture in Turkey.<sup>237</sup> The patron of Sancaklar Mosque said that they had built eight mosques and almost 20 hospitals, and pursued modern designs for all. In this mosque project, they wanted to build a mosque that would be an example for the future. Arolat said that designing a religious building is not easy, especially for his generation, and designed it as a public space.<sup>238</sup> This project stands out among the current mosque production projects, opting for a modern design rather than an Ottoman-style mosque. The patron of this mosque is the Sancak family, who did not interfere in the design.

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<sup>236</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/emre-arolattan-dunyanin-en-iyi-camisi/17766>> accessed on 10.10.2013.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> <<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/sancaklar-camisinin-temeli-atildi/8537>>, accessed on 10.10.2013.





**Figure 4. 3** Sancaklar Mosque

The two breaking points in Turkish history detailed in this thesis are 1946, when the transition to a multi-party system occurred, and 1980, the year of the military intervention. These political changes affected the mosque production process as well. After the 1950s, as religion began to regain significance in the society, the role of the state in the building of mosques increased and the religion began to be visible in the city center. In the years that followed, many mosques were built, and the state always had a controlling stake in the process. This shows that in the future, the state can continue to build mosques wherever they want to, and in doing so, can continue to represent itself through architecture.



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