

## An Essay on the Relation between Ideology and Architecture: Case of Turkey

Atıl Cem Çiçek

Assistant Professor, Kafkas University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Science,  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration, atilcemcicek@yahoo.com

Melih Çağatay Artunay

Research Assistant, Kafkas University, Kafkas University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Science,  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration, mecagart@gmail.com/melih1699@hotmail.com

Doi:10.5901/ajis.2013.v2n9p241

### Abstract

*Ideology what is one of the controversial terms of political science, generally may be evaluated as a pattern that presents, evaluates and interprets the world in a particular form. Popularity of the discussions about "The end of the ideologies" do not change the reality of being the most important legitimacy for the powers. In this sense, while the ideological preferences are reproducing, it can be told, legitimacy is gained to the sovereign on the structural area by aestheticizing the objects. Ideologies beared missions about explaining and also changing the world, on the other hand architecture is born from the need of people about regulating the environment and the world, when these are thought together, some inferences can be set about the relation between ideology and architecture. Additionally, seperating this thought from the pure political ideologies, making sense of ideology as a perspective for the events and a though system which inscribed to the individuals' minds, can make easier of the detection of the relation between these two phenomenon. This study is going to try to point out, departing from usage of architecture by the ideologies as an area of 1 power and legatimacy, irrelevance with the property of the political regime, at all the political society that consist ruling and ruled, ideology makes reflects on architecture. For that, in historical context examples of Turkey will be utilized and as the method, descriptively and historically methods will be preferred.*

### 1. An overview of the ideology concept

The ideology notion what has a lot of disagreements about its definition and usage, is the most sliding notion in the field of social sciences according to the some (Mclellan, 2005: 1). It is firstly produced by the philosopher Destutt de Tracy as "the science that examine thought." by integrating two word : "idea" and "logos" (Bogdanor, 1999: 347). It's meaning changed by the time. Ideology that emerged as a science what examining intellectual roots with the Tracy, began to find a response as straining a social reality or a superstructure that existing by the effect of material circumstances with the clasical marxism. The notion, expressed as a system of thought that constituted by a particular class for protecting its own benefits, by the texts of Marks and Engels.

Ideology that seems one of the sources of legitimacy of the bourgeoisie in the classic marxism, covered negatively and defended as a notion that used for straining realities. However Lenin, mentions about the necessary of a working class ideology for stand up against ideology of bourgeoisie by loading a positive meaning to the ideology notion. Neo-marxists involved to the ideology arguments and carried the situation to different dimensions.

Antonio Gramsci defended superstructure is be able to determine infrastructure in particular terms by pulling out himself from the classical super-infrastructure analyses. Gramsci who believe it is wrong to see the state just a press agent, pointed out the persuasion factor about the directioning of mass. He expressed that the state can be form the public by the ideology that is stronger than hard power and press. The role of hegemonia that formed by though-consent composition is emphasized about making people adopted and internalized the ideology.

The other philosopher Althusser (2003: 129-212), deepened the arguemant a bit more and supported the view that ideology is a press agent of the state but handled the ideological agents that creates a consent area too. By the way, the though-press agents of the states and the ideological agents of the states came up. According to the philosopher, there are "ideological agents of the state" that make it hegemonic beside press agents like bureaucracy, army and the police.

The ideological agents of the state are religious, educational, familiuous, legislative, polittic, sendical, comunicational, and cultural forms. In that context, schools, political parties, radio and television, literature, beautiful arts, sports and etc. make the system sustainable, and load ideological functions to reproduce it. One more deepening

addition to the notion of ideology is from Karl Mannheim (1995: 77-101) The philosopher handled the notion as "partial" and "united". The increasing importance of the ideology maintained in the era of between two world war. Particularly in the Europe it seemed the existing of the states that formed by political ideologies. But the post World War II era, industrializing, economic growth and the welfare state applications decreased the disparities between social classes and it brought the "end of the ideologies" argument.

Aron (1962: 314) said that the ideological arguments circumstances gone away with the integration of working class to the system in the east and west too. Lipset (1960: 408) said democratic challenge will continue without ideologies by the similar reasons. Bell (2001: 393-407) defended the "end of the ideologies" assertion with the reasons about widespread welfare. However it does not mean the "end of the ideologies" arguments make the ideologies less important. Because, "end of the ideologies" assertion is also an ideology too, and supporter of this thought can not be underestimated. Additionally, not only class conflicts and class disparities can be solved in some societies but it is not an appropriate analyse to think all the problems are solved about human-nature, human-human and human-political power problems (Örs, 2009: 39). In some regions that are behind the western world on the development indicators, it is very clear, ideologies are determining about particular subjects.

After the development indicators increases a particular degree, identity challenges will be substituted with class conflicts similarly to western states.

The function of being an answer to the individuals about the questions on its personality and bring in an identity and give a meaning to the world where the individuals live there by including some internal consistencies of the ideologies, show us the importance of the notion.

As a result, like Örs (2009: 42) expressed too, the change in ideologies and carrier of the ideologies can be mentioned more than the end of the ideologies.

The ideology notion how must be handled? With a general definition, ideology is a symbol loaded belief and statement pattern that provides the world as a particular form, comments and evaluates, designed for forming the action styles and make the others unsuitable (Kettler, 1994: 393). But all the definitions of the ideology can be find as wrong, large, narrow, deficient, biased etc. Eagleton (1991: 18), made a sequences when handling the meaning variety about ideology.

- The meaning at the social life, the production process of the indicators and social values.
- A group of idea that owns a particular social coterie or a class.
- The ideas for legitimate a sovereign political power.
- Wrong ideas that are serving for legitimate a sovereign political power.
- The communication that strained systematically.
- A thing that provide a particular statue to the subject.
- Thought forms motivated by the social benefits.
- The idea of consubstantiality.
- Social obligatory illusion.
- Conjunction of statement and power.
- A place where the social actors with knowledge meaning their lives in it.
- A group of beliefs that aims action.
- Complication of linguistic and notional realities.
- Semiotic inclusion.
- An inevitable place where individuals live their relationships with the social structure in it.
- The process that social life transforms into the natural reality.

The fixing of Ball (Baradat, 2012: 16), about making the ideology far away from understanding if it defined exactly, because everybody has a description for ideology according to themselves. Because, rather than seeing ideology as a phenomenon that has exact contents, handling it flexably is healthier.

Eventhough there is no reconciling about the definition of ideology in the literature, as expressed by Ball, five basic feature can be agreed about definition of it. First of these features is being ideology a political notion. Secondly, ideology is being comprised with a future imagination that full of hopes and thoughts interested with current. Third feature is, additively to ideology is a promising a good future by defining reality, being action intended to reach it. Forthly, ideology targets the mass. Fifth and the last features is ideology can be expressed with simple terms that ordinary people could understand because of being targeted the mass.

After the general evaluations about ideology, it must be handled with a larger perspective because it can be thought the definitions and the notions prevents the exemption of movement. In that context, all the definon of ideologies that stated above, beside agreeing the analyses about the content of the ideologies, we support a more comprehensive

definition. This kind of definition corresponds with the definition of Eagleton (1991: 55). According to it, ideology is a general and material process that produces the ideas, beliefs and values at the social life.

## 2. Interpreting the relationship between ideology and architecture

In the present day, the transformations of the ideologies must be pointed out for making analyses about ideology and architecture. Actually for modern era that the positivism is dominant, it is easier. Regarding to this term, comprehensive/macro ideologies that seems dominant piece, internalized the mission for transformation of the society by effecting all the area at the frame of rational statement. It has no doubt, architecture took its own share from this situation. For post modernism era, rapidly developing micro ideologies can be mentioned as addition to the macro ideologies even their effects decrease in particular degree. This situation brings the view flexibility to the notion of ideology.

As Therborn (2008: 8) pointed out too, it is more suitable to see the ideologies as social processes rather than seeing them owned ideas as a property that owned. From there, that meaning coming out, ideologies are complicated "calling" processes which are directed to the society. "Complicated" term is meaning, all the symbols and voices dissonances in a random street of a city rather than a text that communicating a simple reader or than a tv character or speaker who is addressing the crowd. Architecture is a way of communication that is a "calling" by the symbols or visibility.

Already, visualities had a critical importance in all that three era, before modern, modern or post-modern. When the relationship between ideology and architecture wanted to mean, the statements like "architectural ideology" or "ideological architecture" comes out. Both of these statements emphasizes the dominance of the ideology, even though there are some who defend the differentiations between these statements. Because, when it handled at intellectual dimension, it is clear the dominant determiner is the ideology. In the background of both term, we can mention about a directly ideological imagination or a part of the ideological imagination. The importance of structure is emerging when we thought about the ideologies making macro programs for effective social and economic administration by targeting the public (Freedon, 2011: 51). All the constructs are may be not a reflection a direct ideology but it may be a reflection of a bigger ideological imagination.

Any ideology is science, art, philosophy or law and any ideology has a function of these notions. But that can be stressed the science, art, philosophy, and law notions born from ideological formings and have functions of the ideologies (Therborn, 2008: 13). Like nearly all the human activities, these notions covered with ideological nets too. It seems when the architecture handles, there is a constant relationship between lifestyles and culture and architecture. In that context architecture is representing lifestyles and culture beside that this culture and lifestyle are producing some object, symbols and languages as representors (Güzer, 2007: 8). It must not be pointed out that architecture is independent from ideologies and an autonomous notion from this production thought. Because, as Tafuri expressed too, architecture is a legitimacy product rather than an action that has the transformational strength. That is why, architecture is a reflection of ideological dominance. It means, ideology esthetize precursors of ideologies by determining the perception of architecture.

Exactly in that point, Althusser's analyse gains importance. Because there is a close relationship with power and architectural practices. The ideological agents of state enables forming the wanted architectural culture in the context of reproduction and consumption. As Sargın (2007: 22-23) expressed too about the two degrees of the importance of ideological representation and the reproduction of preferences. First one is the process of internalizing. In that process the ideological preferences of the power owners, became a piece of the ordinary people by the agency of agreed places with melting in the dynamics of life. It means the normalization of the ideological preferences interested with it. The second is the process of esthetizing of representations. In that process the preferences of the sovereigns legitimates at an important area. The sovereign ideology begins to send some symbols about the subjects of beauty and the ugliness and put this symbols to the day life with a mastery. That is why it does not face a situation of directly refusing. A "value" determined for several things from consumption good to the constructed environment and handled everything as beautiful or ugly by this context. The "thing" is internalized by liking it or refused and made the other.

The traces of the relationship between the ideology and the architecture can be observed sometimes clearly but sometimes covered. The important thing is pointing out the determining power of the ideology. When it examined historically, monumental architecture that composes the silhouettes of the cities are formed by the sovereign power's ideology. In that point it is possible to see the fetishism of silhouette in the cities. The fear mixed respect, adoration and esthetic interest transmitting structures of the public buildings, corresponds with the statements of "ideological architecture" or "architectural ideology".

It is a changeable but permanent situation that the determining the architecture by the ideology. The structures that are big, spectacular, adorable, giving legitimacy, referencing history and pointing the good and warning about bad, provides esthetized sides of ideologies. Apart from what is the features of regimes, it is possible to mention about relationship between the ideology and the architecture. Even its violence is changeable, the determining effect of the ideologies on the architecture is a base independent from the type of regimes, it does not matter it is authoriter, totalitarian or democratic.

### 3. The relationship of ideology, power and architecture: Turkey

The time and the place, enable new relationships or transform the existings like they provide opportunities to composing social relationships. There are several agents that forming the place. In this part, examining on the effect of ideology and the power about forming places will be tried.

Generally it can be said, "ideology; what is discrete thoughts that produced by referencing realities, when the architecture came word, transform into a whole systematic thoughts and notions which are controlling and regulating the environment that constructed to make the life meaningful, for benefits of humanbeing (Yüce, 1996: 115).

The ideologies are being transferred to individuals by the hand of "ideological tools of the state" which hiddenly carries the ideology of sovereign social class that handling power. We can add "place" to the group of physical tools that transfer ideologies which are identified by Althusser. Place; is a stage that the transfer materialized on it. Place is a tool that transmits the existing of power, legitimates the power and naturalizes the power (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 18-19). Currently, place is fairly transforming into a show area. Because of that it is impossible to interpret it, independent from the power and the ideology. "It is impossible to think about a physical environment apart from the culture of society which live there. That is why every mental and behavioral processes particularly ideology as elements of culture, inevitably effects the architecture as a concreting face of culture in the physical environment (Eyüce 1996: 115).

At that point, if it is necessary to look to Foucault, place is an area which the statements about power and information turn in to real power relationships.. The hierarchy that rests upon a power is being directly reproduced by the architecture however this is a particular example like every military thing -simple and particular in society- (Foucault, 1982: 12-17).

In the knowledge of architect or not, place is an ideological tool and organically tied up with the process of ideological transmitting realizes (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 19). All the forces, want to use the tools which underline its strength on the society that it liked to have control on that. The most important tool that is able to show this strength is the architecture on the spacial environment. Therefore, architecture is a tool that institutions which are handling the social, religious, administrative, economic power, for providing this force to the rest of society as a symbolised message. This form is a feature that determined by the semantic between meaning and content.

Architectural products have been expression agent of the social roles in the society, statue disparities, collectivities, social conditions, ideological approaches, culturel, economic and technological proficiencies, during the history (Cimcoz, 1996: 50). With another utterance, it seems the power oftenly transform their strengths into the symbols by the agency of architecture. The effect of the ideology on the architecture begins its producing phase. Ideologies are biased to put out some mottos about how to create a product. Mostly, that imagination motto is an answer pattern at the same time. For example, "form follows function" motto of the modernist ideology is a typical answer pattern and ideologic catchword and its aim is showing a direction to the architect about how to design – interpret the product.

Modernist ideology is telling us architecturel form must not be apart from function and must not be in only an esthetical composition. But, ideology is not able to determine "how to be", it is only able to determine "how not to be" (Tanyeli, 1984: 79).

N. Hadjinicolaou emphasizes "The sovereignty of rulling class and in all societies esthetical ideological area is determined by the rulling class." Thereby " esthetical ideology is determining by the dominant sovereign class" (1987: 23-26). And the other philosopher Tafuri says, shortly "Architectur is a reflection of the dominant class."

The most concrete examples of the relationship between ideology, power and the architecture can be observed clearly in the totalitarian regimes. Particularly, Stalin term Soviet Union and the Nazi term Germany, it worth to attention the applications of the power on its own ideology and architectural space. The most famous architect of Nazi term Albert Speer pointed the passion about making the biggest, as "Megalomania" can be seen in that regimes. The basic characteristic is devastatic sized and gigantic and monumental constructions.

As it is existing in Turkey too, the strength of power on the society is hidden at the basis of that devastatic sizes. This interesting and megalomaniac constructions have another effect beside proving the strength of power to the public.

The power which proving its strength to the public, at the same time it is effected by its own strength (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 21-26).

At the last years, we faced with examples of the megalomaniac architecture in Turkey too. All the strengthful powers in the Turkish political history, tried to create projects about recomposition of cities and design of places. As the early foundation years of the Turkish Republic, there are examples of place designing according to ideological context in following years too.

Especially, at last years devastating sized "Justice Palaces" that constructed in İstanbul are worth to attention. The power is opponent of itself at this subject. For example; this process starts with the Bakırköy Justice Palace, and then in the Caglayan the biggest Justice Palace is constructed after that it find a finale with the biggest Justice Palace in the World which will be constructed in Kartal. On the other architectural area particularly in the field of shopping malls and the skyscrapers, there is an assertion about being the huge or being the biggest in the Europe or the World. The states are using the art and architecture as a tool for solidifying their authorities on the public and the opponents. This situation enables new seekings and allows ceration of the spectacular monuments (Çam, 1996: 58-64). Architectural project that observed at the last decade in Turkey, are suitable examples of that.

The existing of the power, transmitting to the "soft curves of brains" by the "silent talkative" symbols and codes, in every corner of the cities. The power benefits from architecture for placing the bodies to the space (Foucault, 1992: 162). Particularly the power tries to express itself on the city space over the city squares. When the Turkey example examined, it can be observed, current power is trying to express and represent its own ideology and strenght over the city squares.

Taksim Square is the best example of it. The Taksim Mosque project from the days, the current prime minister was the mayor of the İstanbul, untill today "the square" developed as an important opposite represent area of the neo-ottomanist ideology of the power. When we look at the content of the projects about Taksim, there is no rehab or additions to the previous projects, they formed as an aim for totally demolition and erasing the traces (Akpınar and Gümüş, 2012: 38). This is recomposition of the space by the power and its ideology in other words.

At this point if it is necessary to look inside and detailed, Taksim Square from early years until now, took its current shape with the several designs and interruptions by the ideological position of the power. Early years of the Republic, the projects had been prepared for modernising the city by the modernator ideology. The first plan was prepared by the French Architecture and city designer Henri Prost. In that project, functional areas, large squares and the theme of rehab of eighteen parks connected with large boulevards was projected in a plan named as "plan de concentration". At 1930's, nation-state, sees the urbanising process as a transformation tool for the civilication therefore city bourgovasie's life. Some features of the type of "beautiful city" included by the Prost Plan but at the same time it can be put forward the public areas-public spaces as a free areas in the plan were connected with the secularizing reforms. Free areas at that plan are not just for vial beauty and connecting different spaces but being a powerful social agent and a politic tool for transformation of muslim Ottoman subjecter into the secular citizens. By the way İstanbul where the Capital of Ottomans would be transform into a republic city and secularized by the "free areas" of Prost. Taksim Gezi Park and the Culture Valley where are constructed according to this ideology, transformed into the Square of Turkey by the time (Akpınar and Gümüş, 2012: 38-41). The architecture and the place became tha basic arenas for visualizing the aim of ideologies.

Taksim Square became a conflict area from the early terms of modernizing process untill today. Particularly, newly announced Taksim Square project that includes restruction of "Topçu Kışlası" (a military building) concretes all that conflicts. After the case named 31 March 1908, this building was bombed by the Ottoman rebels, the riot resulted with resigning of Sultan Abdulhamid II. This building demolished by the power of its term at 1940's. Therefore, in that case we can see the conflict between modernists and conservatives.

Additionally, Taksim is the meeting place for different identities, classes, generations, sub-cultures that is why Taksim is an important place to represent and express its ideology for the power. On the other hand, public places like Taksim Square, with being the critical connection point past, now and the future, they point out the collective memory and knowledge of being citizen by being unieq life spaces. For that reason Taksim Square and projects of current power about it are important cases to give a meaning to the relationship between ideology, power and the place as an effort for transforming an important place of public memory.

As a result, the space is social, and the society is spacial. Furthermore, space is a notion about context of strenght relationship as well as contexted by them. The powers benefited the represent force of architecture at maximum degree. Utilizing from architecture for representing the existing of power is not a new case. It is certain, powers are going to use the space for representing their ideologies and forces in the future like now or the past. All the powers focuses the spaces that enables the reproduction of its own ideology.

#### 4. Conclusion

The ideologies provides opportunities to make meaningful the life by the function of mapping the social and political world. It can be evaluated from the frame of ideology, all the individuals make some analyses about the political organizations that they are companion, and find something positive or negative. When that kind of evaluation made, it can be said each of the individuals are an ideolog. Already, the irrevocably of the ideologies seems here. It is possible through the ideologies, the individuals find some meaning patterns and behave according to them. For that reason the ideologies are irrevocable.

It is suitable to mention about the micro ideologies what are changeable against situations and multi-directional rather than large sized macro ideologies when it handled with their transformation. The meaning modifications and the flexibility of the notion of ideology is not effective on the relationship between the ideology and the architecture. Because the determining effect of the ideology on the architecture is permanent.

The political force, by the agency of ideological agents, provides the reproduction and transformation, benefits from the space. It can be expressed the space is an ideological agent from the angle of the organic connection with the process of ideological transmitting, apart from the knowledge preception of the architect.

The sovereign ideology faces the composition of space when it is looking for some agents to stiffen its strenght and irrevocability and hardened its legitimacy on the controlled society. The most important agent is the architecture that can provide this legitimacy in the spacial environment. The sovereign ideology, firstly internalizes and esthetizes itself with the architecture. In other words, sovereignty styles of the powers and floor that putting forward its relationships take forms with the spacial compositions.

When the ideology and architecture relationship examined from the angle of Turkey, it is possible to see the determining of the ideologies on the composed spaces. It can be said the architecture is a mass communication style and a statement device. It is distinct, this situation not only for current time. When the Ottoman era examined, the palaces, "külliye", mosques that are constructed by the Emperors, the ideological backgrounds can be evaluated. This situation continued in the Turkish Republic which is took over the remainings of this Empire. In a particular term, architecture that formed by the modernist ideology, maintained the relationships with the ideology wavelly. Seeing this relationship over the justice palaces, squares, plazas is possible. This composition that tried to handled over the relationship between the ideology and the architecture, is not unique and not only for Turkey. In all the styles of regimes, authoriter, totalitarian or democratic, with some changes of their violence, there is a relationship between the ideology and the architecture by the determining of ideologies.

#### References

- Althusser, Louis (2003), *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, Trans. Alp Tümertekin, İstanbul: İthaki Publications
- Aron, Raymond (1962), *Opium Of The Intellectuals*, New York: W. W. Norton Company.
- Baradat, Leon P. (2012), *Siyasal İdeolojiler - Kökenleri ve Etkileri*, Trans. Abdurrahman Aydın, Ankara: Siyasal Bookstore.
- Bell, Daniel (2001), *The End Of Ideology*, USA: The Free Press.
- Bogdanor, Vernon (1999), "İdeoloji", *Blackwell'in Siyaset Bilimi Ansiklopedisi-1*, Trans. Bülent Peker, Erhan Yükselci, Leyla Keskiner, Ankara: Ümit Publications, p.347-350.
- Cimcoz, Nerime (1996), "Tito ve Mimarlık", *Symposium of Ideology, Power and Architecture*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University, p.43-49.
- Çam, Nusret (1996), "Dini ve Siyasi Düşüncenin İslam Mimarisine Yansımaları", *Symposium of Ideology, Power and Architecture*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University, p. 58-66.
- Eagleton, Terry (1991), "İdeoloji", Trans. Muttalip Özcan, İstanbul: Ayrıntı Publications.
- Eyüce, Özen (1996), "İdeoloji, Erk ve Mimarlık İlişkileri ve İzmir'de Mimarlık İdeolojisi" *Symposium of Ideology, Power and Architecture*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University, p.115-120.
- Foucault, Michel (1992), *Hapishanenin Doğuşu*, Trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, İstanbul: İmge Bookstore.
- Foucault ile Söyleşi (Interview with Foucault): *Mekân, Bilgi ve Erk*, söyleyişi yapan (Interviewer) Paul Robinow, (March 1982 Skyline Magazine) Trans. Mehmet Adam, *Mimarlık Dergisi (Architectural Journal)*, 1984/7-8, p.12-17.
- Freedon, Michael (2011), "İdeoloji", Trans. Hakan Gür, Ankara: Dost Bookstore.
- Güzer, Abdi (2007), *Mimarlık ve İdeoloji Paneli-1*, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, p.8-12.
- Hadjinicolaou, Nicos (1987), *Sanat Tarihi ve Sınıf Mücadelesi*, Trans. M. Halim Sorpatar, İstanbul: Kaynak Publications.
- Kettler, David (1994) "İdeoloji", *Blackwell'in Siyasal Düşünce Ansiklopedisi-1*, David Miller, Janet Coleman, William Connolly, Alan Ryan (Edt.), Trans. Bülent Peker, Nevzat Kırac, Ankara: Ümit Publications, p.393-398
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1960), *Political Man - The Social Bases of Politics*, London: Heinemann.
- Mannheim, Karl (1995), *İdeoloji ve Ütopya*, Trans. Mehmet Okyayuz, Ankara: Epos Publications.
- McClellan, David (2005), *İdeoloji*, Trans. Barış Yıldırım, İstanbul: Bilgi University Publications.

- Örs, H. Birsen (2009), "İdeoloji: Karmaşık Dünyayı Anlaşılır Kılmak", 19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler, H. Birsen Örs (Edt.), İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Publications, p.3-45
- Sargın, Arif (2007), Mimarlık ve İdeoloji Paneli-1, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, p.19-26.
- Tafuri, Manfredo (1980), Theories and History of Architecture, USA: Harper & Row.
- Tanyeli, Uğur (1989), Mimarlıkta İdeolojik "Amentü", Mimarlık, Vol. 1989/4, p.78-81
- Therborn, Göran (2008), İktidarın İdeolojisi İdeolojinin İktidarı, Trans. İrfan Cüce, Ankara: Dipnot Publications.
- Yeşilkaya, Neşe G. (2003), *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul: İletişim Publications.