Reading Ideological Power Representations Through Space: the Tale of Two Cities Berlin and Ankara.

İdeolojik Güç Temsillerini Mekân Üzerinden Okumak: İki Şehrin Hikâyesi Berlin Ve Ankara

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Abstract

The study explores the entangled relationship between power dynamics and urban spaces, particularly governmental spaces. Drawing from Foucault's conceptualization of power as a nuanced interplay of social processes, the research explores Berlin and Ankara's governmental structures and regarding urban plans while unveiling how power is manifested in built environments. However, rather than a comparative analysis, the study presents narratives of these cities since each reflects unique historical contexts and power dynamics i.e. Berlin that is a historical centre of power, contrasting with Ankara, which presents republic's capital as a modernisation shift. The study uses, descriptive analysis and reveals how power is articulated within urban spaces and societal structures, while crystalising the shifts in political ideologies and their impact on governance structures. Therefore, study aims to investigate the role of urban planning and architecture in shaping power dynamics in relation to ideologies whether represented openly or subtle within the urban realm. The research, following descriptive analysis for the subjected cities, draws on secondary data as its primary source, and interprets the data through the lens of Lefebvre's dialectic of production of space and Dovey's investigations into power dynamics within the built environment, along with other contributions to the urban space and power literature. Ultimately, urban planning and architecture serve as representations of power, shaping societal narratives and identities. The study underscores the significance of understanding these narratives to comprehend the societal impacts of governance structures and power dynamics over time.

Keywords: Representation of power, governance structures, spatial representation, ideological space

Öz

Çalışma, iktidarın toplumsal süreçlerin incelikli bir etkileşimi olarak kavramsallaştırmasından yola çıkarak iktidar dinamikleri, kentsel mekânlar ve mimari tasarımlar arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Berlin ve Ankara'nın hükümet yapıları ve kent planlarının analizi yoluyla, iktidarın yapılı çevrelerde nasıl tezahür ettiğini ortaya koymakta ve karşılaştırmalı bir analizden ziyade, her biri kendine özgü tarihsel bağlamları ve güç dinamiklerini yansıtan bu şehirlerin anlatılarını ortaya koymaktadır. Tarihsel bir güç merkezi olan Berlin, bir cumhuriyetin başkenti olarak yeni kurulan Ankara ile tezat oluşturmaktadır. Betimleyici analiz, iktidarın kentsel mekânlar ve toplumsal yapılar içinde nasıl eklemlendiğini ortaya koymakta, siyasi ideolojilerdeki değişimlere ve bunların yönetişim yapıları üzerindeki etkilerine ışık tutmaktadır. Çalışma, kentsel planlama ve mimarinin kentsel alandaki güç dinamiklerini ve toplumsal normları şekillendirmedeki rolünü araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Mimari tarzlar siyasi ideolojileri yansıtmaktadır; Berlin'in Nazi dönemi mimarisi itaati vurgularken, Ankara'nın tasarımları modern kimliği sergilemektedir. Araştırma, birincil kaynak olarak ikincil verilerden yararlanarak bahsi geçen şehirler için betimsel analiz kullanmaktadır. Veriler, Lefebvre'nin mekân üretimi diyalektiği ve Dovey'in yapılı çevredeki güç dinamiklerine ilişkin incelemelerinin yanı sıra kentsel mekân ve iktidar literatürüne yapılan diğer katkıların merceğinden yorumlanmaktadır. Nihayetinde, kentsel planlama ve mimari, toplumsal anlatıları ve kimlikleri şekillendiren güç temsilleri olarak hizmet etmektedir. Çalışma, yönetim yapılarının ve güç dinamiklerinin zaman içindeki toplumsal etkilerini anlamak için bu anlatıları anlamanın önemini altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Gücün temsili, yönetim yapıları, mekânsal temsil, ideolojik mekân

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INTRODUCTION

Urban spaces narrate stories to us through the lens of the "spatial text." Architecture and urban design often provide the framework within which these stories unfold (Dovey, 2008). Power, as articulated by Foucault, is not simply a naked reality or an institutional right, but rather a complex interplay of meticulously crafted, transformed, and organized processes that adapt themselves according to the specific context (1982: 792). In this regard, the story conveyed through the manifestation of power in spatial formations consciously constructs a representation by reproducing power relationships. Consequently, the representation of power through urban space and architecture becomes intrinsically linked to the subject of the city and society. The emergence of power in space is frequently characterized by governance mechanisms assuming central positions and dominant architectural styles. Temporality also holds significance in this context. Just as each historical period molds its governance understanding through the cultural changes it undergoes, each governing culture manifests the imprints of its era on urban space through distinct stylistic variations expressing aesthetic values (Ashworth, 1998; Hall, 2002). Thus, it can be argued that there exists a relationship between these architectural spaces and the governance behaviours prevalent in their respective periods.

This research delves into the representation of power in urban formations, emphasizing the narratives conveyed through urban spaces and architectural designs. The study seeks to unveil the manifestation of power in built environments by examining the governmental structures and urban plans of Berlin and Ankara. Yet, it aims to provide narratives of these cities, each reflecting distinct historical contexts and power dynamics instead of building up a comparative analysis. Berlin stands as a longstanding centre of power, while Ankara contrasting with that represents the capital of the republic as a modernisation shift. Through interpreting and providing a descriptive analysis, the research elaborates on the question of how power is articulated within urban spaces and societal structures while crystalising the shifts in political ideologies and their impact on governance structures. Particularly, after presenting the literature on power built through urban space and representation of space, the study continues with an analysis of the spatial configuration of the Federal Assembly during Germany's Third Reich period. It investigates through the interventions, plans, and the historical progression of the Federal Assembly's renovated structure, which currently serves as both a museum and a parliamentary building in contemporary Germany, simultaneously presents the narrative for the never completed project of Hitler's Germania project. Furthermore, it investigates the spatial design representations of governance embedded within urban plans for Ankara, a city declared the new capital as a representation of a modernizing project of the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. These analyses are conducted in comparison to the representation of power in built environment particular to governing related to expectations prevalent during their era. The research, as a methodology, uses descriptive analysis to reveal the tale of two cities in this sense via using secondary data as the main source, while interpreting them through Lefebre's (1991) dialectic of production of space and Dovey's (2008) explorations on power in built environment as well as others contributed to the literature of urban space and power.

However, it is important to note that the paper does not aim to provide comparison between two cities but rather targets to provide narratives of them; both of which having immense differences of time, development and upholds contrast aims (one being the representation of newly found republic and passing from an empire to democracy and the other fascist propaganda of dictatorship), reveals strong reflections of power in built environment in two different directions. In other words, the case of Berlin represents a metropolis built for centuries as a centre of power, and Hitler sought to rebuild

Berlin in an anti-modern way, as a return to the "millennial "German Empire. On the other hand, the city of Ankara, which was newly founded as the capital of the country reflecting the transition from (and rejection of) centuries old Empire to new Republic based on the idea of republicanism and the modernisation of Turkish society. Therefore, the research aims to open up an interesting questioning through a descriptive analysis regarding the planning of parliament and the manifestation of power in the space of the city as a republican project or as a totalitarian autocratic regime. The study explores the shifts in political ideologies reflected through governance structures, and societal impacts encountered by the selected spaces over time. Accordingly, starts with the concept of power is dissected and examined in detail, followed by an exploration of how power is represented within the urban realm and society. Ultimately, the study endeavours to address the central issue of whether urban planning and architecture, serving as legal tools that demonstrate their agency in shaping space, function as parallel instruments in the continuous reconstruction of power's existence. Moreover, it investigates whether planning and architecture, as the articulation of spatial language, evolve into a representation of power, assuming the role of an urban arena for action.

1. Power and Space: Reciprocal Representation

"Architecture in us awakens a dreadful acceptance of the regime's political power, strength, and continuity" (Milne, 1981:134).

To analyse and comprehend the concept of power, it is crucial to examine it through a social lens rather than ascribed to an individual. In our societal experiences, power is often equated with "authority." Hannah Arendt (2018) introduces the idea of power as the capability of action, emphasizing that power belongs to a group rather than an individual; extends from tangible physical representations to conceptual relational ones (Massey 1995). This group endows a person in power with the ability to act on their behalf. Similarly, Dovey (2008) focuses on 'power over', highlighting dominant positions and relationships. Foucault's (1982) perspective on power suggests a manifestation not as a static reality or institutional right but as carefully detailed, transformative, and adaptable processes since power operates through processes that can be resisted or disobeyed. This underscores the need for an opposing force that power can interact with and shape, rather than relying solely on an individual. Therefore, power is not confined to a specific space or time but can manifest anywhere and at any time. Lukes (2005), additionally, argues that all individuals and institutions possess some form of power, which is often unequal and hidden as power's effectiveness is enhanced when it remains concealed therefore elusive as a concept (Foucault, 1994; Booher & Innes 2002). Power extends beyond temporal boundaries and is inherently public, involving both its source and recipients, and various factors such as religion, culture, economy, violence, and society contribute to the diverse manifestations of power. Thus, public space becomes the explicit stage for power's display, encompassing its capacity for concealment, adaptation, and renewal. If power manifests through public relations and representations, space becomes the visible or invisible stage for these relationships, concealing power exercises and differences among individuals (Landry 2006; Gregory et al. 2009). Spaces mediate power practices and become arenas for questioning and governing authority and reality. The meaning and interpretation of space diversify through power's quest for influence and the effects it aims to achieve in public perception and behaviour.

Implicitly, allocated space (expressed by Lefebre, 1991) represents the convergence and realization of power, often symbolizing unnoticed oppression (Prigge, 2008). Architecture spaces, due to their invisible nature, serve as essential components of power symbolism, materializing silent dictatorships. In this study, the experience of space will be explained through one of the fundamental dynamics of

spatial dialectics extensively addressed by Lefebvre. Lefebvre (1991) decodes the notion of space via production of space by illustrating three dimensions: dynamic 'spatial practices', 'spatial representations', and 'representational space', which are interconnected and continuous. In more detail, the spatial practice refers to the perceived condition reflecting the direct outcome of physical space co-exists with social manifestations (Ronnenberger 2008). Moreover, the representations of space refer to conceived condition of space by experts that can also be crafted by professionals through knowledge (smith 1998). Last but not least, the spaces of representation refer to the spatial condition that is inhabited by its users through 'moments of presence' (ibid.; Shields 1999:161). This triad not only facilitates the understanding of space production in every mode of production and society and the examination of spatial experience but also enables the examination of the reciprocal relationships, contradictions, and arrangements of Physical, conceptual, social spaces (Ghulyan, 2017:22). Within the continuous variability of space production, it is evident that space constantly changes as concepts, perceptions, and lived experiences change. The seminal work of Lefebvre (1991) presenting the above-mentioned triadic framework of spatial relations where each commence with the solid space, wherein the non-spatial condition together with the evident spatiality and experiences are delineated are in harmony and reframed through the prism of social production and socially and relationally produced spatial experience (Ronneberger 2008; Smith 1998). This approach transcends mere solid existence of spatial production by delving into social produced experiences. That further, argues for distinct dimensions of space and emphasizing the socially produced condition of space, that can also be present as experienced, conceived, and/or lived, which refers to Lefebvre's second triad in the same work (Lefebvre 1991). Nonetheless, in acknowledging the two different yet interrelated triads reflecting the conceptual realms of space, it is imperative to recognize that while each perpetually generates space, they also mutually engender one another, thus inseparable.

In other words, spatial practice emphasizes the more material and physical dimension of space, such as buildings, roads, green areas, public spaces, etc., while spatial representations involve specialization and planning aimed at designing space based on ideas, ideologies, and even power, essentially governing space from a spatial dimension. Representational spaces refer to the user's space containing a unique and subjective lived experience, distinct from other dimensions, often described symbolically without a definite basis. "Examples of representational spaces include LGBT marches, carnivals, and festivals, which represent the social production of space that is hardly observed in everyday life" (Ghulyan, 2017:24). In the production stage of space, it can be said that the production of spatial representations entails an ideology, a governance, or simply a power. The shaping of this power through spatial representations and the production of space through space will enable the representation of power. The dominant power of the era will create its own spatial practices, which will shape spatial representations and representational spaces. At this point, spatial representations produced by power may not always go beyond the intended representation space. This is because in representational spaces, representation refers not directly to the space itself but rather to the process of meaning-making through references to notions that connect it to symbols, such as divine power, logos, the state, masculine or feminine principles, etc. (Schimid, 2008), describing the symbolic use of physical space. The production of this symbolic use can arise from spatial representations but can also be influenced by the manifestation of social experience independent of the pronouncement of the built environment, as is often the case.

The rise of statist ideologies spurred a push for extensive state-backed construction projects. Whether led by democratic or totalitarian regimes, these initiatives were pivotal in addressing unemployment, enhancing infrastructure, and stimulating economic growth during the depression era. Notable for

their monumental scale and technological advancements, projects like parliament buildings, bridges, palaces, canals, and highways proliferated. These endeavours also served as vehicles for significant social engineering efforts, guided by abstract notions of society and space. Experts overseeing these projects were confident in their ability to shape desired outcomes through meticulous planning and architectural interventions (Hagen & Ostergren 2020). Therefore, architectural structures associated with governance and political regimes within a city are intrinsically linked to political culture. Parliament buildings and related spaces serve as expressions and preservers of specific governance systems, reflecting their political behaviours and values, while also contributing to the formation of political culture over time (Goodsell, 1988:287). These architectural structures, in the continuum of time and space, act as bridges between the past, present, and future. National parliament buildings and the governmental spaces, as hosts of government and prevailing forms of administration, acquire symbolic meanings that can be interpreted within the context of their physical aspects. As also mentioned By Dovey (2008), "The power of architecture to 'touch' us is a significant accomplice to the social mediation of power." (p.45)

Nevertheless, the extent of power over space encompasses both unparalleled access and formidable exclusion, where unlimited access devoid of exclusionary authority renders one susceptible to the spatial definitions dictated by others, thereby shaping representations and practices within that space (Killian 1998; Staeheli 1996). Throughout history, mechanisms of governance, as embodiments of power in space, have been constructed in central locations and dominant architectural styles. Centrality in spatial organization symbolizes physical presence at the heart of society and the exercise of "authority," as Dovey (2008) explores in the concept of "power over." Historical wars have often targeted buildings housing governance and power, such as fortresses, palaces, and parliaments. In contemporary parliamentary systems, resistance frequently arises near parliaments or public spaces representing the power of the people. Therefore, representation of power has been reflected through such spaces that in turn embodies the concealed exercises of power, possess the capacity to shape social perception.

2. The German Parliament in Historical Orbit: Ideological Architecture

> *"Whoever enters the Reich Chancellery Building should feel that they are visiting the ruler of the world." (Hitler, as cited in Dovey, K. 2008:61)*

The Nazi Germany, officially known as German Reich, was a period of authoritarian rule that began in 1933 when the National Socialist German Workers' Party seized power and Adolf Hitler became the German Chancellor. This era ended in 1945 with Germany's defeat in the Second World War and the subsequent occupation of Berlin by Soviet forces. The Nazi Germany, officially known as German Reich, was a period of authoritarian rule that began in 1933 when the National Socialist German Workers' Party seized power and Adolf Hitler became the German Chancellor. This era ended in 1945 with Germany's defeat in the Second World War and the subsequent occupation of Berlin by Soviet forces. The Nazi regime's (1933-1945, German Reich) building projects were designed to be grandiose and theatrical, serving as political tools to impress the world and assert the dominance of the Party and state over the German populace (Hagen and Ostergren 2020). They evoked a blend of awe and intimidation, characterized by massive and imposing structures that diminished individuality. Gigantism was a central theme, highlighted in propaganda comparing state-sponsored projects to renowned global landmarks. For instance, the Great Hall in Berlin was touted to surpass St. Peter's in Rome and St. Paul's in London. Similarly, the Triumphal Arch planned within Berlin aimed to be more

than double the size of the than the Arc de Triomphe located in Paris. Moreover, these structures to be enduring symbols of his movement's greatness, meant to inspire future generations as an intention of Hitler. Therefore, a need was risen for a unified parliamentary building in order to replace the existing fragmented and small assemblies. Following that need, an architectural design competition was held to obtain this representative space. Paul Wallot's design was ranked second yet was chosen for realization. By 1884 construction of the building was commenced and completed in 1894, aimed to serve as a powerful symbol of German democracy and national unity. However, the completion of the building coincided with the demise of the German Empire, which emerged defeated from World War I. This pivotal event took place in 1918 when Philipp Scheidemann proclaimed the republic from the Reichstag balcony.

Amidst economic crises and social unrest, the Weimar Republic emerged as a new government. The Weimar Republic, Germany's newly formed government, arose amidst economic and social upheaval. The Treaty of Versailles, signed after World War I, imposed severe war debts that Germany could not afford at the time. In this chaotic environment, the Nazi Party rose to prominence, promoting nationalist views and rejecting the Treaty of Versailles. In 1933, the party's leader, Adolf Hitler, was appointed Chancellor of Germany. Shortly thereafter, the Reichstag fire occurred, dramatically altering German political culture and the course of history. Symbolizing German democracy and unity, the burning of the Reichstag solidified the Nazi Party's power, particularly under Hitler's leadership. Within a month of the fire, on March 23, 1933, the Enabling Act was passed, resulting in the arrest of opposition party members and the suppression of the press and freedom of expression. While there are allegations that the fire was deliberately set by the Nazis to undermine the symbolic meaning of the parliamentary building and to replace it with theirs with a dramatic change in German political culture. At this point, it is a reality that a spatial entity, beyond being merely an architectural structure, can influence the fate of a nation or even world history.

Figure 1. Reichstag Building, Berlin, Germany, 1905 (Library of Congress)

The Reichstag building (Figure 1), although unused during the Third Reich and damaged in the Battle of Berlin, was restored after the reunification of West and East Germany. Reconstruction, led by Sir Norman Foster, took place from 1993 to 1999, returning the Reichstag to its parliamentary function. The building serves as the German Parliament today. Parliamentary structures, such as the Reichstag, are symbolic and powerful architectural representations. Neoclassical architects drew inspiration from ancient Greek and Roman civilizations to emphasize the authority, law, and representation associated

with these buildings. A brief chronological representation of the events following the Reichtag fire is visible at Table 1.

Table 1. The sequence of events following the Reichstag fire

Date	Events
February 27, 1933	Reichstag Fire
March 23, 1933	Enabling Act
July 14, 1933	The prohibition of political parties
June 30, 1934	Night of the Long Knives
1934	Adolf Hitler became Führer (Chancellor + President)
1936	Albert Speer – Germania Project

Power asserts and implements itself through spaces. This was no different for Nazi Germany. Adolf Hitler's interest in art and architecture can be traced through his attempts to enter an architecture school in Vienna, albeit unsuccessfully, and can be further understood through his Germania project during his leadership. Due to his admiration for the Roman Empire, Hitler developed an interest in the architectural structures built during the Roman era as well as the political, economic, and military systems implemented in Rome, drawing inspiration from them for his own political regime. Hitler's fascination with Roman architecture and civilization directly influenced the architecture of the Nazi era. The first example is the Reichskanzlei (Chancellery Building), which began construction shortly after Hitler became chancellor in 1933. Designed by Albert Speer, the Nazi Minister of Armaments and Hitler's right-hand man, the building aimed to convey Hitler's power to the public and visiting representatives of other countries. Hitler emphasized its significance by stating, "Whoever enters the Reich Chancellery must feel that they are visiting the master of the world" (Hitler, Dovey, K., 2008:61, as cited in the text). The architectural style of the building aligns with the Neo-Classical movement of the time and reflects Hitler's admiration for Rome. Despite being constructed entirely with German materials, the building did not survive beyond 1945, as it was destroyed after the war.

Adolf Hitler's interest in art and architecture, evident from his failed attempts to enter an architecture school in Vienna and his Germania project, influenced the architectural style of the Nazi era. Hitler's admiration for Roman architecture and civilization is particularly notable. The Reichskanzlei, designed by Albert Speer, aimed to showcase Hitler's power to both the public and foreign visitors. The building, constructed in a Neo-Classical style, aligned with Hitler's affinity for Rome but did not survive beyond the war as it was destroyed. Another example of Nazi architecture is the congress building, which resembles the Colosseum. However, this structure was never utilized due to unresolved issues with its roofing system. These buildings, despite their different fates, represented the symbolic and material embodiment of Nazi Germany. This semantic and material symbolization, expressed through the produced space, holds significant importance for Hitler in terms of representational spaces and spatial representations. In fact, in a speech following the Nazi occupation of France in 1940, he declared, "We will win the war and secure our victory through our buildings" (Narver, 1990, as cited in Velibeyoğlu, 2018:71). With the intention of creating a new national identity within a new ideology for a nation that had lost World War I, Hitler utilized art and architecture as a means to propagate his ideology and manipulate society. Hitler's idealization policy and the practices of the Nazi regime were geared towards creating a "Gemeinschaft" (community, unity, good society). Alongside architecture and art, spaces would be created to dictate his ideal society. At this point, architecture was intended not only to instill acceptance of political power among the public but also to foster a sense of national superiority.

"At this point, art became a tool that symbolized Nazi ideology. The architectural works and other buildings constructed during Nazi Germany were symbols of the rapidly growing power of the country and the government, and therefore, it was a natural expectation for them to be perceived in such a manner. Additionally, these ideological architectural works served as propaganda materials reflecting the atmosphere of optimism generated by early successes" *(Velibeyoğlu, 2018:77).*
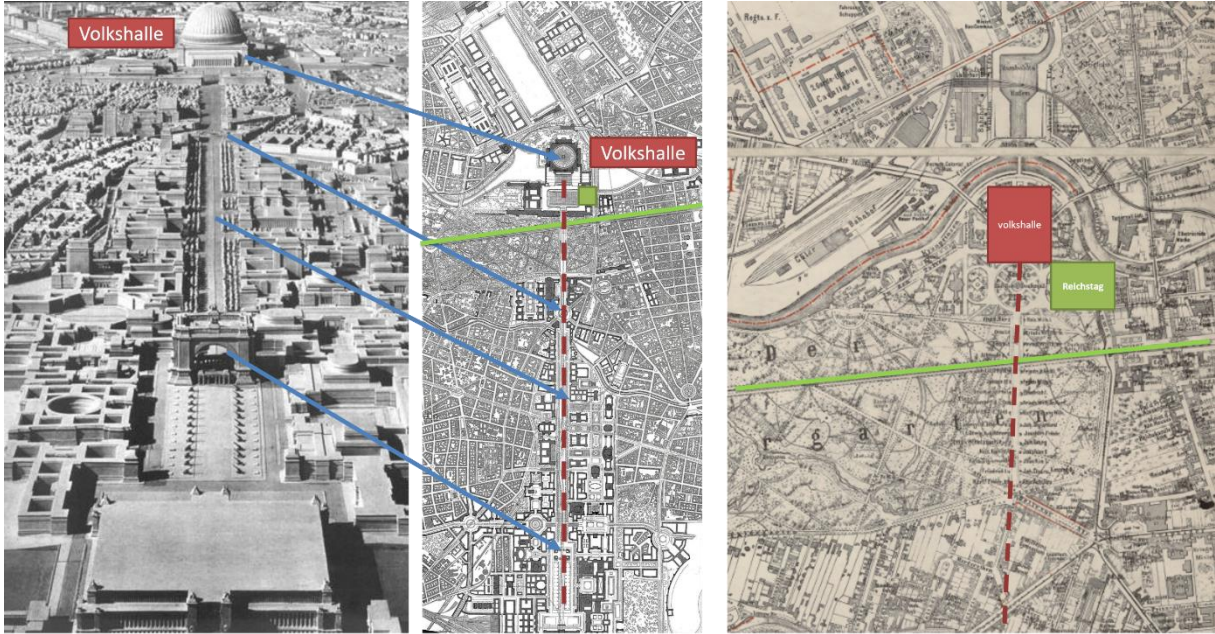

Figure 2. Germania project plan by Albert Speer and model (Source: URL 1; URL 2), 1905 Plan for Berlin, Green line representing Historical Paris Berlin axes and the green box representing Reichstag (Source URL 3)

The largest project of Hitler and Speer is undoubtedly the widespread urban-scale Germania project (Figure 2). The Germania project encompasses urban planning for the city of Berlin beyond the scope of a single structure. In fact, during his speech on the Germania model (Figure 1) with his architect and right-hand man Speer, Hitler stated:

"Only you and I knew that the Third Reich could not be realized through just markets, factories, skyscrapers, and hotels. The Third Reich will be the treasure trove of culture and art that will transcend the millennium. We see the ancient cities, the Acropolis. We see the medieval cities with their cathedrals, and we know that people need something like this, such a centre. This is my vision" ([in Downfall] Hirschbiegel, 2004, Germany).

Starting with the envisioned train station as the initial entry point to the city and constructed along the main axis that forms the backbone of the plan, the cultural and art structures, museums, schools, and ultimately the Volkshalle structure at the end of the axis, intersected the Berlin city and the Paris-Berlin axis determined as the main axis of the old German history within the city in the opposite direction (Figure 3). Hitler saw the Germania project as a symbol of his regime's continuity and power. Through this monumental endeavor in Berlin, he aimed to represent the rebirth of the nation and the supremacy of the Nazi dictatorship. In another conversation with Albert Speer, Hitler stated, "Seeing Paris was my dream. I frequently debate whether I had to destroy Paris, but when Berlin is finished, Paris will be nothing but a shadow. So, why should I destroy it?" (The Architecture of Doom, 1989),

emphasizing that Germania, with its grandeur expressing the neo-classical style on the largest scale, would surpass all other European cities.

Figure 3. Historical Paris-Berlin axis and the Germania project site indicated by the red framed area on a Google Earth satellite image (Modified by the author, accessed on January 15, 2022)

The defeat of Germany and the Nazi regime in World War II in 1945 marked the end of Albert Speer and Adolf Hitler's plans for a Greater Germany. Today, there are no significant remnants of Speer and Germania within the Berlin. Nevertheless, certain traces of Germania, such as 17. Juni street, Siegesäule, and Victory Column, have persisted to the present day.

Figure 4. The Hobrecht Plan 1862 (top), Overlaying the final revised 1900 plan onto the current Berlin cityscape (bottom), in each red rectangle represents Germania and green line refers to Paris Berlin axes (Source: URL 4)

3.The Birth of the Republic and Architectural Pronouncement through the New Capital in the Struggle of a Nation

Following the national liberation struggle, Ankara's establishment as the capital city held great significance in the transition from the empire to the republic. The city's representation of a "modern city" with planned, modern architecture set an example for other cities in the country. The construction of parliamentary buildings in Ankara needed to align with the city's development and reflect the purpose of the new era. Unlike Berlin, Ankara's transformation involved not only administrative buildings but also an overall urban planning approach. The need for the first Parliament (I. Meclis) arose during the ongoing national struggle when the Istanbul Government fell under the control of occupying forces. The original Grand National Assembly building opened in 1920 but became inadequate over time, leading to the usage of the second building in 1924. The design of the second building initially intended for the Republican People's Party (CHP) and a law school. However, it assumed the role of a parliamentary structure due to the prevailing conditions. Unlike the Germania

project, the Meclis buildings had no connection to the traces of the former German Empire or the Reichstag. Instead, they embraced a new design that disregarded the past and adopted an oppressive style. On the other hand, the decision to construct the third building, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (III. TBMM), was made in 1937 to ensure a strong representation of the will of the people and the republic. The III. TBMM building symbolized the new and democratic Republic of Turkey and the selection of Ankara as the capital city at the center of the country. It was planned with modernist principles of simplicity and functionality, representing the new movement and the new republic.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stated, "It is not just a necessity; it is the result of discipline" about the III. TBMM building (Semerci, 2016). Considering the period and the role it assumed, instead of the pompous expression of neoclassicism in the German example, the construction in Ankara, referred to as the old city (Ulus) and the representative of the New City (Yeni Şehir) extending to the south, was planned with the principles of modernism, simplicity, and functionality. Clemens Holzmeister, the architect of the III. TBMM building located at the center of the new center and government structures, representing the Ulus and the south, which are referred to as the old city and the new city, respectively, used the expression "My building should not be a burden on the magnificent yet serene, modest, and simple silhouette of Anatolia" (Semerci, 2016). Thus, he emphasized the functional simplicity that was necessary for representing the new movement and the new republic, drawing upon cultural norms.

3.1. Lörcher-Jansen Plans, Turkish Grand National Assembly, and the New Capital

The significance of Ankara city increased both politically and physically before it became the capital with the arrival of Atatürk to Ankara on December 27, 1919, and the opening of the National Assembly on April 23, 1920. The necessity to plan the city emerged due to its importance. Ankara was declared the capital on October 13, 1923. Subsequently, after emerging from the war and with the intention of carrying the traces of the national struggle into a new republic, urban planning efforts for the capital began. This period also witnessed the migration of many German scientists who escaped from Nazi persecution to other nations. During this period, many scientists and architects also came to Turkey and left their marks on the foundations of a newly born republic in terms of urban development, science, and education.

Figure 5. 1925 Lörcher Plan (left); 1928 Jansen Plan (right), (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, 2006)

Towards the end of 1923, an application was made to the "Exploration and Construction Turkish Joint Stock Company" for the planning of the city in line with the goals of the republic. The architect of the

company, Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher, presented the initial plan for the Ankara Citadel and its surroundings, which were defined as the old city, to the administration on May 30, 1924. However, the plan was deemed economically infeasible and rejected. Lörcher's development plan, which he presented in 1925 with a focus on the new city, was accepted and put into practice due to the urgent needs of the period. This plan not only brought physical solutions but also incorporated traces of modern planning concepts. In this approach, we can observe garden city influences, including houses with gardens and green areas, road axes, a government island, and squares. "The consideration of changes in the political field that can determine all three dimensions of 'life-production-expression' and the close observation of policies aimed at protecting social interests provide a dimension that can shed light on the qualitative improvement of physical space." (Cengizkan, 2018). The Lörcher plan (Figure 4) was not fully implemented. The reasons behind this include the requirements of low density and high cost. However, the development direction determined in the Lörcher Plan is also evident in the later Jansen Plan (Figure 4).

For a new Ankara Plan, a new competition was held. The participating architects were provided with maps showing the state of Ankara in 1925, as well as maps by Lörcher depicting the state of the city in 1924 and 1925, to serve as a basis for their plans. In addition to these, architects were advised to plan the city for a population of 250,000 to 300,000 people in 50 years, suggesting that the old city should be preserved in its current location but open to development and renewal (Tankut, 1993). In a sense, it was proposed that the old Ankara should not be considered as empty land like a field, but rather designed to facilitate the development of old settlements, with an emphasis on the city's growth towards Yenişehir (South), meaning new city, and special attention given to open and green spaces. This new and old rather than generating a dilemma provided a strong refection of the narrative of the city by generating spaces of representation through communication between plans and the ideological representation of the republic.

The buildings intended for ministries would be relocated to the Kızılay area (geographical centre of the plan), and the cemetery would be situated in the Cebeci region. The road from Ulus to Sıhhıye and Yenişehir (main axis from north to south) would be reserved for high-rise buildings. (Şenyapılı, 2004:62,63; Cengizkan, 2004:42,108) The competition concluded in 1928 with the selection of Hermann Jansen's design, assuming a density of 116 people per hectare on a total area of 1,500 hectares, accommodating approximately 271,000 people (Tankut, 1993) (Figure 4). According to the plan, the region where the old city is located would be preserved as it is, with Ankara Castle being treated as a central "cultural shrine" and adorned with a structure such as a museum or conference hall (Jansen, 1935). However, until recently that area had its own spatial practice of being deteriorated and therefore obtained an opposite representation differnt from intially aimed. Buildings dedicated to public services would be situated in the Yenişehir area, and the area behind the Ministry of the Interior would be transformed into a public square that demonstrates the power of the government to its citizens. (Duru, 2012:185 in Cantek, 2012). The Jansen Plan represented an important step towards the concrete realization of a Westernized and modern Turkish Republic, aimed at creating a new civic identity. The plan preserved the "old" city while transforming the new capital into a city with wide roads, modern buildings, and squares in line with the contemporary identity construction. The extensive damage caused by the Ankara fire in 1916, which destroyed two-thirds of the city, facilitated a more straightforward planning process. Additionally, as it is stated in a popular school song about Ankara, "the less there is in the place where the city will be planned, the greater the pride and honor to create the capital 'from nothing'" (Bozdoğan, 2020). Although Jansen's plan offered a more realistic approach to planning compared to the Lörcher Plan, considering the increasing population in the city

in the coming years, it proved to be insufficient due to the government's lack of a land use and planning policy and the demands of the rapidly growing population density in the new capital.
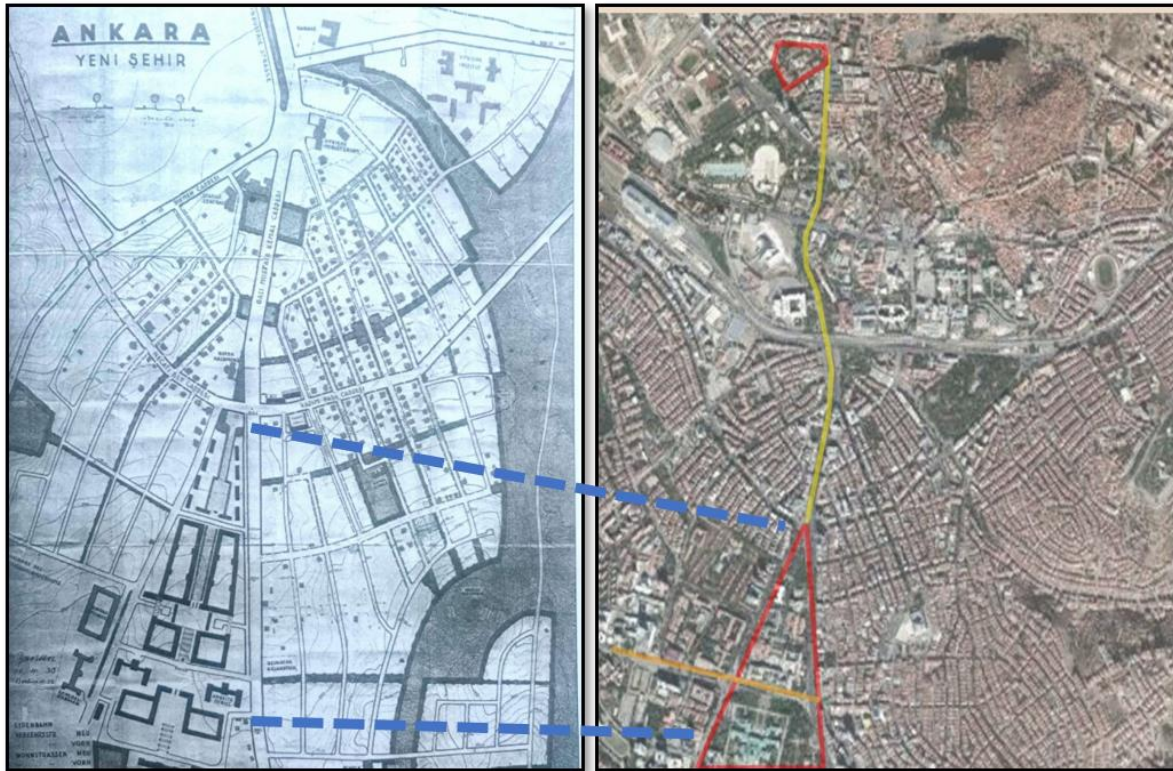

Figure 6: 'Ankara Yeni Şehir' plan and Government Charter by H. Jansen on the left (Cengizkan, 2018); Historical city center of Ulus and the current location of the new Yenişehir on the right (Google Earth satellite imagery access date: 10.12.2022, Modified by the authors)

Regarding the examination of the parliamentary buildings and the defined administrative center, which are the subject of our study, as seen in Figures 3 and 5, the Lörcher Plan creates a focus through defined axes and squares, while the Jansen Plan also emphasizes the dominance of a powerful administrative island created for the new state's governance structures, along with defined axes and squares. Within this island, the plan envisioned the presence of structures that would represent the new face of the Turkish Republic, such as the new Grand National Assembly building, alongside ministries. This design embodies a planning approach in which the old and the new are conceived in a kind of continuity, with the creation of new defined axes and "expression" areas extending from Ulus Square, where the I. and II. Grand National Assembly buildings are located, towards the south into the "Yeni Şehir" (New City). The 3rd Grand National Assembly building and the ministry buildings were designed and constructed according to this plan. The triangular superblock, which encompasses the ministries defined in both the Lörcher and Jansen Plans, converges with the Grand National Assembly at the end of the central axis (Figure 6). The design of this block (Figure 7), which would become the most significant symbol of the new Republic, was realized by the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister.
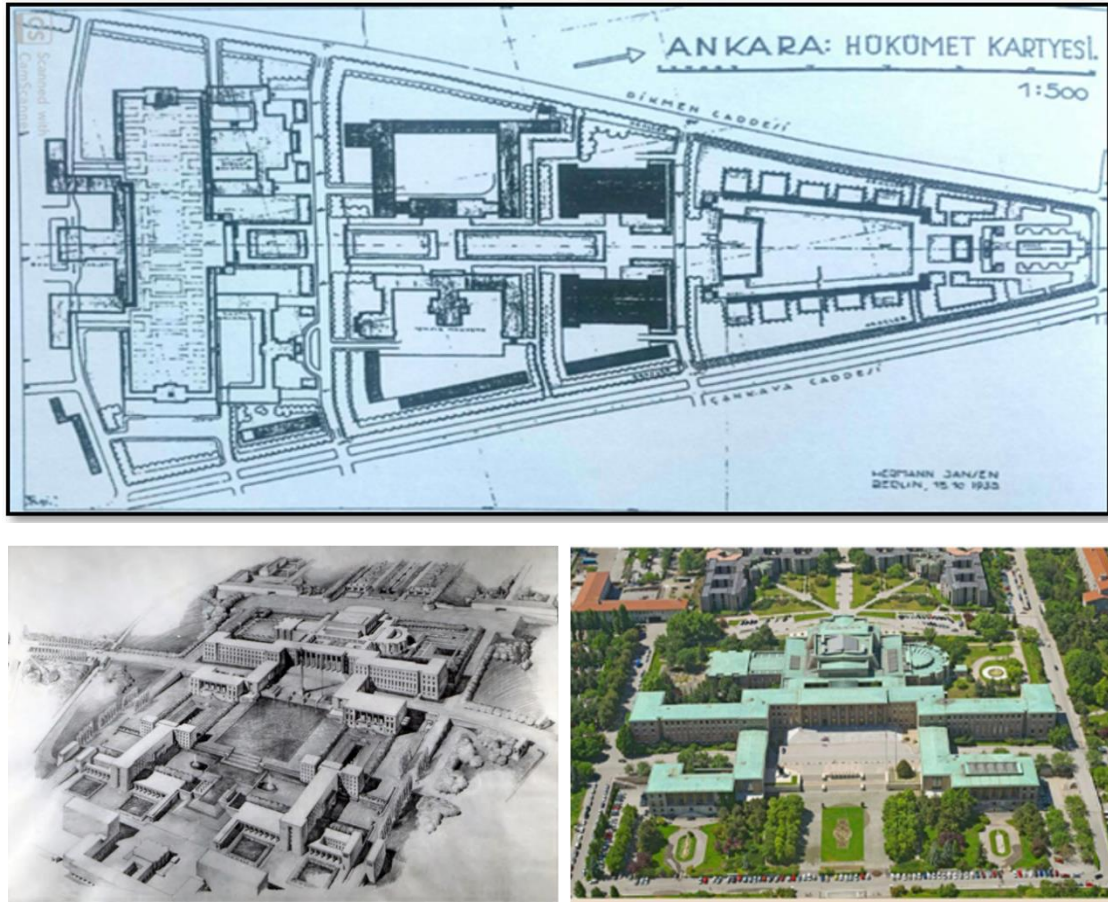
Figure 7. Government Charter (Cengizkan, 2018), Holzmeister's sketch from 1938 (Left) (Source: URL 5), current parliament building - TBMM (Right) (Source: URL 6)

"Mustafa Kemal Atatürk said to Holzmeister, 'We made a revolution, and you will design an architectural structure that suits the spirit of this revolution.' A unique and monumental city was established in the capital he founded, which is unparalleled in any other place" (Kuban, in Semerci, 2016). Both in the planning studies carried out for the city and in the design of public buildings at a smaller scale, the identity of the republic and the necessity of representing the new power were taken into account. While the old city was not disregarded, the modern and Westernized new Turkish Republic was concretized through the design and planning of representational spaces. At this point, the new state, which completely severed its ties with the Ottoman Empire, also expresses the permanence of its power through the medium of space. As a result of the realized plans and designs in Ankara, it assumed different roles beyond its spatial dimension. As the capital, it served as an example to other Anatolian cities as the center of the modern society and lifestyle aimed for by the republican reforms. The expression areas envisaged in the Jansen Plan served to include the people in the new capital, contributing to the goal of creating a modern-social society. Instead of a dominant representation of central power intended for the capital, the aim was to create a new republican city that emerged because of the people's own will. Between 1927 and 1939, Jansen's plans for Ankara and other Turkish cities left an enduring mark on urban development, influencing subsequent generations of planners. His strategies, rooted in thorough urban analysis, shaped Turkey's planning framework, amidst unique challenges faced by foreign architects. This period, marked by the founding of the Republic in 1923, prioritized the creation of modern cities, epitomized by Ankara's selection as the

capital. Under Atatürk's vision, Ankara became a model for Turkish urbanism, reflecting the aspirations of a modern nation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study set out to explore the representation of power in urban spaces, particularly through the governmental structures and urban plans of Berlin and Ankara. By drawing from the conceptual frameworks of Lefebvre's dialectic of the production of space and Dovey's investigations into power dynamics within the built environment, the research aimed to reveal how power is manifested in built environments and to underscore the role of urban planning and architecture in shaping societal narratives and identities. The rise of nationalism, followed by the neoclassical movement and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution in the early 20th century, significantly influenced the architectural and urban styles of the time. Therefore, in all the structures designed during the Nazi period, even if they were not completed, the propaganda of the governing power and the exaltation of the German nation were crystallized through urban space. For example, the Germania project illustrates how a new Germany, under specific leadership and architectural ideas, disregarded its past to shape its design. In contrast, even though nationalism was on the rise, Jansen's plan for the new capital of Atatürk's young nation maintained a strong connection to the past, serving as a continuation despite the dominant ideology's partial rejection of the Ottoman Empire's history due to its rulers' willingness to be under the protection of occupying states. This understanding of planning incorporated political and administrative development processes, focusing on representing the newly established Republic's urban development and emphasizing the era's functionality by reading the contemporary context. Continuing this approach, architect Holzmeister designed the 3rd Grand National Assembly building, integrating motifs and design elements specific to the Turkish nation, aligning them with the representation of the new republic in a modern and functional way, thus creating a representative structure that symbolized the new Turkish Republic. It is important to note that this study hesitates to directly compare the narratives of the two cities, as mentioned at the beginning, because such a comparison would be unjust and inappropriate.

During this process, although the architectural and planning styles implemented in Berlin and Nazi Germany period highlighted functionality, which was in line with the emergence of modernist architectural and planning styles of the era, we can still partially observe the influence of the educational background and culture of the architects who produced the projects in Ankara. Changes in power and political culture are reflected through architectural space. Urban planning and architecture speak the language of space. Power constitutes the grammar of this language. As Foucault (1982) mentions, power, a transformed and organized concept beyond institutional authority, is exempt from the need to hide itself with sufficient organization during the process. At this point, architecture and urban planning turn into a legal-institutional means of representing power, and through this transformation, the space in which architecture and planning manifest themselves becomes a representation of power. However, while the public's efforts to find representational spaces through democratic participation are in the hands of power, the transformation of these spaces into representational spaces is highly unlikely. As Dovey (2008) mentioned, the camouflage of power within space has not felt the need to hide itself when it comes to governance and parliamentary urban architecture and planning. Berlin and Ankara can be given as examples of this situation. While the Nazis used architecture and planning to create a compliant society against power, the new Turkish Republic used them to create a modern identity accepted by the whole world by leaving traces of the Ottoman Empire. This is because what keeps people together is their identity and belonging, and power creates this belonging through spaces. Therefore, the representations of space crafted by experts for Ankara were designed to embody and mirror the nation's progress, similar to Berlin's ideological representation of power evident in spaces of representation. However, they also aimed to empower

spatial practice for the public. In contrast, in Berlin's narrative, the incomplete Project of Germania sought to curtail such empowerment and spatial practice while representations of space obscured the power reflected in spaces of representation. Conversely, the story of the Reichstag serving as both parliament and museum demonstrated a robust ability to maintain the triadic relationship between representations and practices within space.

In conclusion, the intertwining of power and space transcends temporal and cultural boundaries, shaping the architectural and urban landscapes of different eras. From the monumental structures of Nazi Germany to the strategic urban planning of Ankara, the manifestation of power through space reflects the ideologies and aspirations of ruling regimes. By critically examining these intersections of power and space, we gain deeper insights into the complex dynamics that shape our cities and societies, underscoring the importance of understanding the role of architecture and urban planning in the negotiation of power relations and the construction of collective identities. This study reaffirms that urban planning and architecture are not just passive backdrops but active agents in the representation and perpetuation of power.

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