Rationalisation, Reconstruction and Reproduction of Vernacular

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Abstract: ‘Vernacular’ Turkish architecture has been subjected to various ‘understandings’ of its characteristics in contemporary Turkish architecture. The paper aims to question the changing understanding in using the vernacular as a source of modern Turkish architecture. The modern approach to vernacular architecture emphasized on its rational and functional principles rather than its form. In the non-west world, this accompanied with the making of a national identity which is well represented in Eldem’s works. 1980s was a turning point in the country’s history. After the coup d’etat, economic, social and political reorganizations have been made to join to the global system. The postmodern culture of the new era influenced the architecture in Turkey. The formalistic use of Turkish vernacular architecture formed an illusion of traditional settings for its inhabitants as well represented in the case of neo-traditional town of Kemer Country. Lately vernacular has been used to build an institutional identity of Koc University. This paper aims to investigate the different approaches to use the vernacular architecture to build an architectural identity for different historical periods of modern Turkish architecture.

Key words: Rationalisation • Reconstruction • Reproduction • Vernacular • Postmodernism

INTRODUCTION

Regional characteristics usually define the context of a cultural product and vernacular forms of a settlement reflect the identity of their inhabitants. But now interactivity between different locations created by various contemporary mediums such as virtual of the internet or increased mobility leads to a formation of a new context in which not the locality but multiculturality is dominant. AlSayyad indicates that “...culture has become increasingly placeless, urbanism will become its attempts to mediate global domination” [1]. The diversity of local culture is often a product of globalization itself. The new context of a world culture contains both local and global forms leading to a hybrid identity of global cities scattered in different parts of the world geography. It is not easy to identify true local forms in global representations. Increased geographical mobility, instant exchange of written and visual information, international flows of labor and capital refers to the characteristics of globalization and require a redefinition for the notion of ‘local’.

Traditionalist discourse since the Enlightenment used the notions of local, vernacular, domestic and regional to value the local parameters in architectural design. Definition and use of notions in architectural thinking and practice has been altered historically but each time raising problematic issues. Earlier approaches of modern age aimed to understand and rationalize the principles of vernacular architecture. However the new codes required a new life style which determined by the conditions of capitalism and industrialism. The parameters of new environment does not need to base on the natural, historical and cultural values but rather base on the abstracted knowledge of reality gained by scientific researches and inspired by the technology.

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Re-appreciation of cultural values influenced the architectural thinking and practice.

The world containing both traditional and modern at the same time forced to question the dilemma between modern and tradition to be able to propose a better built environment. Critical regionalism, one of responses to modern/tradition tension, attempted to invent an explanation of being modern and also the local at the same time with some references to Lewis Mumford’s idea that there is no an opposition between ‘the local and the universal’ [2]. Frampton [3] states that critical regionalism should “…mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place.” He emphasizes on essential qualities of a place such as topography, context, climate, light, tectonic form and the tactile sense rather than the visual. However the general approach to regional characteristics and the vernacular architecture today emphasizes the formal and visual characteristics which seem easy to circulate throughout the world [4]. Every region and case has its own characteristics but transition in the approach to vernacular is worth to analyze. This paper aims to display that vernacular architecture has not been a response to a particular place and its culture anymore but rather it is a formal repertoire to invent identities to emphasise the difference in the postmodern milieu. It outlines the Turkish historical context in which the search for a national architectural identity emerged as a tension between the modern and tradition but gradually was led by the postmodern developments.

**Search for a National Architectural Identity:** When the elements of architecture are disembodied from their content and meaning provided by a particular culture and time, they are reduced to forms that are easily dislocated from their original and become independent elements fixed to new compositions, which creates an eclectic, revivalist and pluralist manner in architecture in spite of having historical and cultural intentions behind. The First Nationalist Movement in Turkey, therefore, was the first evidence of a break with the past and a state of anxiety referring to the future’s turmoil. It was more than an architectural style that attempted to represent the emerging Turkish Nation’s cultural and political identity. The style also made clear that, after a period of break from tradition and its replacement with imported ideas, a distance was created between the past and the present. Insisting on the preference for Ottoman and Islamic architectural elements made the new architecture more familiar to the public. It also symbolized the political aura of the time but it failed to generate Modern Turkish architecture.

As in many non-western countries, modernity and nation building were collaborative pairs of an official program implemented by the bureaucrats. Modernization efforts had been taken place since the 18th century by the Ottoman elite but the secular nation state founded in 1923 advocated nationalist ideology and progress through modernization [5]. European type of modernization was adapted into legal, institutional, social and cultural areas. Historical relationship between Germany and Turkey took specific turn in the early years of Republic. German professionals were invited from different disciplines to found the country’s institutions until 1955 [6]. Various government offices invited numerous European particularly German architects to introduce the modernist ideas to architectural education and practice by the late twenties.

The beginning loss of faith in modernism and the new economic and political scenes in the world increased the nationalism and led to a ew demand for a national architecture in Turkey. Anatolia was a main source for the official and nationalist cultural perspectives for modern Turkey in the 1930s [7]. Architectural culture was inevitably affected by this new trend like the other branches of art such as music, literature, painting and sculpture.

Rejection of the Ottoman past had resulted in rapid reception of avant-garde European architecture as called ‘cubic architecture’ in the early 1920s and was very popular among young Turkish architects. Modern architecture began to replace the First National Style in institutional and gradually residential buildings. The manifestation of the Kemalist principle of populism was reflected in architecture in housing, which was declared as the subject matter of the new architecture [8]. Thus, a special emphasis was given to the house, which was also seen as a medium to introduce modern life to Turkish society [9]. Enthusiasm on the appropriateness of modern architecture for the Turkish Republic’s ideology began to lose its power after the death of Atatürk in 1938. The new Republic had rejected its Ottoman past but it was also against any imperialist European power. What source would generate a future architecture for modern Turkish society? Responses to this question of Modernity and
national identity would determine the main characteristic of the architecture to come.

The modernist vocabulary was challenged by the nationalist search for identity. Increasing concern on vernacular Anatolian architecture, particularly houses, generated a background in which a Second National Movement was rooted. The European architects invited by various government offices played a significant role in introducing traditionalism advocating the country’s vernacular tradition not only due to cultural and national concerns but also seeing it as a rational product of given physical environment [10]. Foreign architects, who were teaching young Turkish architects, called attention to the values of vernacular architecture interpreting Modern architecture in a regionalist and contextual manner [11].

European architects [12] encouraged the traditionalist discussion in education and practice [13]. Ernst Egli, Clemenz Holzmeister, Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz encouraged the studies of vernacular architecture [14]. Ernst Egli began to teach in the Academy of Fine Arts and was appointed to reform the architectural training program according to the modernism [15]. Egli’s appreciation and interpretation of traditional Turkish architecture in terms of the modern architecture became the leading discussion for further definitions [16]. He insisted on the locality and therefore emphasized the significance of the context. Egli’s contextualist and regionalist approach to the idea of contemporary architecture was inspired by the Anatolian vernacular, which also influenced his building practice in Ankara. The “cubic” form of traditional houses in Anatolia with its responsiveness to nature and context by use of courtyards, shaded porticos and cubic window projections, was seen a convenient model for creation of the ‘national’ modern architecture [17]. This understanding went parallel with the criticism of the Modern Movement by Bruno Taut who was the successor of Egli at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul.

Architect’s use of vernacular residential architecture as a means to affirm modernity rather than to counteract it was a modernist enterprise committed to internationalism, rationalism and scientific methods. Later, this theme of the 1930s was supported by young Turkish architectural graduates. In 1940, Sedad Hakki Eldem attempted to theorize the principles of a national architecture through the systematic and sophisticated study of traditional Turkish houses and their adaptation to the modern design [18] Sedad Hakki Eldem developed the discourse of traditional ‘Turkish house’ and translated it into a national architecture by using modern architecture’s measurements. He, being a member of an Ottoman elite family, was educated abroad [19] and initiated to resolve the dilemma of modernization in Turkey by claiming ‘modernity’ of the ‘Turkish house’ and the ‘Turkishness’ of the modern achievements of the western civilization [20]. Thus, the models for the Second National Architecture abstracted from the traditional, secular public sources rather than from Ottoman state architecture or pure European forms. The traditional Anatolian house was interpreted in accordance with the terminology of Modern Architecture and became a design source not only for modern housing designs but for public buildings as well. Interpretation of local architecture through the filter of Modern Architecture resulted in an hybrid architecture - the Second National Style-applied to many institutional buildings, as well as some individual houses, especially along the Bosphorus in Istanbul, but did not much affect the majority of the built environment.

Change in the country’s political history in the 1950s influenced the primary concerns in Turkey which was opened to international influences. Traditional and national perspectives in architecture were replaced by international ones. Prevailing international architecture was criticized in parallel with the world’s overall reaction to anonymous universalism. The ‘international’ character of civilization was questioned and local characteristics began to be appreciated. Architectural design disregarded the futuristic modern principal and established a relation with ‘reality’. This emerging pluralist manner arrived in Turkey in the second half of the 1960s, in which political changes resulted in a new kind of understanding about social problems [21] and the recognition of social parameters affected the architectural curricula. The emphasis was on the regional, cultural and historical characteristics in designing a contemporary building in the 1970s. Postmodern era has influenced inevitably the country’s history. However, pluralism, or rather a confusion in the agenda until the 1980s, led to the architectural discussion and tendencies based on “functional and programmatic constraints, consumer ideals, social imperatives, leftist criticism, historic and regional advocacies, scientific approaches and positivism in design, rationalist-irrationalist duality, authenticity versus eclectic choice” [22].

The 1980s has witnessed social, economic and political integration of the country to the global system. The liberalization and globalization of the Turkish economy gave entrepreneurs a chance to produce for the world market. The effects of popular culture created a consumer society as if capitalism has a great success in
Turkey [23]. This process made culture dependent on the market, something that had never happened before.

Architecture was largely driven by state or religion up to the 1950s but now tends to be driven by transnational capitalism in the global era in which the culture of consumerism forms the contemporary context [24]. The current understanding of vernacular architecture in architectural practice of Turkey is not free from the postmodern global milieu. The formalistic use of vernacular architecture without much effort to theorize the historicist and nostalgic approach formed an illusion of traditional settings for its clients and users. The cases of Kemer Country and Koc University are such examples and differ from Eldem’s interpretation of “Turkish House”. This paper illustrates the difference between three different cases with relation to their historical context. This analysis aims to show that an architectural thinking without a theoretical basis supported by history, philosophy and reality will not be able to generate a design approach responsive to the place’s characteristics. Formal interpretations of traditional, vernacular architecture will eliminate its historicity and authenticity leading to its hybrid illusions.

Rationalisation of Vernacular

The Case of Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Turkish and the German architects suggested that an appropriate modern Turkish architecture should be based on the study of the vernacular houses [25]. Understanding of vernacular architecture as an inspiration source of modern Turkish architecture was initiated mainly by Sedad Hakkı Eldem with references to the European modern architecture. He was trained at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in between 1924-1928 and the following year was sent to Europe to complete his architectural training. He was culturally ‘in-between’ the European and Turkish cultures that in fact deeply affected his position of architecture. He was critical in understanding the modern architecture questioning its universalist audacity and pointed out the significance of national values [26]. He believed that traditional Turkish house has same conceptions of the modern house (Figure 1) and stated that a style of national architecture should be taken from the Turkish local architecture by avoiding the imitation of the European style [27]. The contemporary Turkish national style would be in accordance with the modern architecture in terms of material and basic design characteristics. He proposed a new idea for modern Turkish architecture based on the interpretation of vernacular architecture to design a modern, national architecture in 1930s.

His aim of the national architecture based on the vernacular architecture resulted in abstracted and aestheticised forms derived from a Turkish house defining an architectural style of its period called the Second National Architecture [28]. He believed that the first step of creating a national and modern Turkish architecture is to study the vernacular architecture [29]. The traditional Turkish house should be an inspiration source for contemporary national architecture. He supported this idea claiming that Le Corbusier, was also deeply inspired by the Turkish house [30]. Le Corbusier praised the vernacular architecture due to its success for serving human needs and harmony with the environment [31]. He stated in his book of the Journey to the East that the konak, the Turkish wooden house is an architectural masterpiece [32]. Journey to the East by Le Corbusier or undecorated whitewashed houses of Santorini seem to provide some references for the architectural style of industrial culture together with the idea of industrial standardization, technical and functional success. Seemingly vernacular architecture was the interest of modern architecture due to its rationality to meet the requirements of climatic conditions, its responsiveness to use and use of materials with its reflection to the form without much embellishment. The vernacular was worth

Fig. 1: Buildings designed by S.H. Eldem
to study due to its similarities and characteristics easily adaptable to the modern architecture.

Eldem was also influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright’s prairie houses. He stated that he “...discovered some important elements of the Turkish house of the future in these designs. The long, low lines, the rows of windows, the wide eaves and the shape of the roofs were very much like the Turkish house I had in mind. These romantic, naturalistic houses were far more being attractive than the box-like architecture of Le Corbusier” [33]. He questioned the difference between the designs of Wright and Le Corbusier and came to conclusion that Wright finds his design inspirations in the indigenous cultures rather than America itself. This was the second confirmation to support his idea on an attempt to compromise the old and new.

Eldem became one of the the most important figures of the modern Turkish architecture that practiced, taught and researched architecture for more than fifty years. His understanding of vernacular architecture has a great impact on the architectural debate in Turkey and later approaches. The inspiration source of his designs continued to be surviving examples of historical architecture of the native culture until the 1950s when Turkey underwent major changes in political and economic spheres.

Reconstruction of Vernacular

Neo-Traditional Town of the Kemer Country: Popular culture became widespread after the 1980s when liberal economy was introduced in Turkey [34]. This helped to the emergency of a consumer society in the country. By this time a range of architectural styles started to be designed synchronously with Europe and postmodern architecture arrived as a buzz-word in the architectural publications. As regard to the residential architecture, general approach developed on eclectic references to traditional Turkish vernacular dwellings. During this process, not only the architectural styles peculiar to Turkey used, but also styles from the western countries, were imported as an indicator of prestige. Architects and designers were employed from other countries just to impress potential buyers. Kitsch forms of representation were introduced into Turkish housing architecture as an indicator of ‘being different’. Some housing typologies and architectural terminology became the objects of consumption. For instance, the Turkish word ‘konak’ - denoting a mansion, or large single-family house in traditional Turkish vernacular architecture -is used in housing developments to designate a privileged status of the house owner the society, rather than referring to a large house.

Postmodern understanding of the vernacular in Turkey is applied in the neo-traditional town of Kemer Country from 1986 in Istanbul in which an illusion of vernacular architecture rather than its original characteristics satisfied the costumers. It formed an illusion and theatrical visuality of a Turkish Mahalle by applying its formal characteristics. It is designed by a foreign architect and represented a post-modern condition where traditional styles and elements are consumed without having resemblance with the introduced lifestyle (Figure 2). At the beginning of the project, the developers of Kemer Country developed ideas about the concept and basic qualities of the residential area [35]. The developers inspired from the mahalle where they grew up and the project originated from the nostalgia of the residential, social and urban qualities of old Istanbul. They conceptualized the theme of the project that is 'not as an escape from the metropolis' but rather 'an arrival to the dream' [36]. The project was given to the American 'New Urbanism' architecture and planning firm of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (DPZ), known for their traditional neighbourhood development (TND) [37]. Their concept draws inspirations from townscapes of the past with emphasize on the neighbourhood (Ellin 1996: 94). The firm's first Traditional Neighbourhood Development (TND) was built in Florida, from 1978 and consulted by Leon Krier [38].

DPZ's designs for Kemer Country awarded in the exhibition of "Vision of Europe" organized by Prince Charles and Leon Krier. The architects, Duany and Plater-Zyberk came to Istanbul for an initial charette, which became the design forum for the appropriation of vernacular form by an international team of designers. Other Neo-traditionalist architects took part in the design works. For example, a well known Egyptian architect Abdel Wahed El-Wakil designed the Kemer Country Club. Participant designers were provided information on the characteristics of traditional Turkish houses.

A study tour of the designers to an exemplary and well-preserved town of a traditional settlement called Safranbolu, strengthened the ‘images’ in the minds of the designers (Fig. 3). However the program and the plan of the individual houses in the Kemer Country project did not resemble the characteristics of traditional
In contrast, the designs represented a type of a suburban house of the United States in various sizes. The houses have little in common with the Turkish vernacular, but one can get an illusion of its original appearance from the exterior by stylistic details such as projecting bays on upper floors (cumba), wide roofs (sacak), and round tiles (alaturka). The developers were satisfied by "... blending the modern necessities of the era with timeless traditional Turkish architecture" for a timeless style (www.kemercountry.com) [39]. The Kemer County development project promoted the formalistic use of vernacular architecture to generate an artificial identity, not as a significant part of the self but to 'sell' the houses as architectural commodities. This reminds the Second National Style in which, the 'traditional Turkish house' was a source for the new, but this time its motives the selling rather than forming a layout of a new architecture.

Reproduction of the Vernacular

Institutional Identity in the Case of Koc University: The third case is the architecture of Koc University's Rumelifeneri campus [40] which was constructed between 1997-1999 [41]. The architectural design of the project was given to ARUP and Payette both have international experience of designing the university campuses. ARUP's design was appreciated by the client.

The proposal of Payette was parallel with the desire of the client and approved due to its message and power to construct an institutional identity. The chief architect of Payette, Mozhan Khadem, an Iranian origin-American architect, used the regional and historical references in his project. The client, Suna Kırça, asked him to design buildings functional inside and traditional outside stating that "It should be as classical and traditional as if it were a cultural heritage" [42]. The architect was asked not to design a 'modern look' but relation to the history of the place in a 'classical' manner just like Oxord and Cambridge universities.

The architect and his office studied the history and culture of Turkey to be able to design 'culturally sensible architecture' and were informed about the Sedad Hakki Eldem's architecture. The client and the architect shared the same desire for a historicist architecture inspired from the vernacular architecture. Thus, the architectural style of Koç University expresses an eclectic interpretation of regionalist ideas but in the look of Eldem's style (Figure 4).

His proposal astonished the client not only due to its way of presentation but in fact due to its references to the architecture of Sedad Hakki Eldem which had made a significant contribution in constructing an institutional identity for the Koc Family [43]. The references to Eldem's various buildings such as Taslik Coffee House are clear but
influence of Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and Letters designed by the trio of Sedad Hakki Eldem, Paul Bonatz and Emin Ousat, in 1942-43 (Figure 5). The Faculty was a significant example of the reinterpretation of Ottoman-Turkish official style. Eldem had approached the official architecture with the similar romantic attitude that he applied for the vernacular architecture to identify a national architecture. He examined the basic architectural qualities of the Ottoman-Turkish architecture and derived abstracted principals to lead the new designs national in character. So, in this Koc University example, vernacular architecture is not used as in its original form or abused as in the case of Kemer Country but rather it is adapted directly from Sedad Hakki Eldem's interpretation of the traditional Turkish architecture to create an institutional identity.

CONCLUSION

The dramatic change on the regionalist concerns of architecture through time was the main theme of this article to understand the change in the cultural politics and the meaning of culture in the contemporary world. Since the 1980’s, although critical regionalism aims to show that there is a possibility of making architecture inspired from its place without being nostalgic about the history or tradition, architectural praxis in Turkey show the problematic situation of vernacular today. Three of the cases discussed in the article shows that the vernacular was used as a formal repertoire without much regard to local characteristics. The first case suggested that there are lessons to learn from the vernacular architecture and some of its aspects carried forward to the future. Eldem’s style of modern Turkish architecture was
an interpretation of vernacular in a rational way. He attempted to justify how in fact the Turkish house embodied the modern design principals. His aim was to invent an architectural language that is able to communicate with its public and also represents the national identity of Turkey in the modern world. Therefore, history and modernity was employed to understand the logic behind the vernacular architecture and create a mode of representation in a very utilitarian manner.

The two other cases discussed in the article showed the characteristics of the postmodern age where not the awareness but the production of plurality was the major focus of cultural industry. Vernacular lost its authenticity and reconstructed and reproduced according to the demand of the market. Different from the Kemer Country, in Koc University example, vernacular architecture is not used as in its original form but rather it is adapted directly from Sedad Hakki Eldem's interpretation of the traditional Turkish architecture to create an institutional image [44]. However, as in the last two examples discussed here, simulation of vernacular distances itself from the real and actual, turning into a new form called 'hyper-tradition'. According to Baudrillard [45], today there are only models that reproduce reality and simulation replaces reality. The use of traditional vernacular architecture in the case of Kemer Country and the Koc University is a result of postmodern conditions in which paradoxes and particularities supply the ongoing production. In the postmodern context, they are the good examples to examine dissolution of 'real' space and its transformation into an 'invented' space by their developers. In these examples actual history and tradition has been reconstructed and reproduced to create a trademark names and images that becomes an essential part of the identity of a 'consumer' [46].

Postmodern process unifies the modern dichotomies and makes possible to be a contemporary and traditional at the same time. Architecture as Lewis Mumford defined is a rational dialog between the earth and the people which undoubtedly contains the assets of the time without a need to repeat the tradition [47]. For him, regional architecture was a way to critique the international architecture with an emphasis on universal principles of design but not universal style. Vernacular architecture was valued as information to understand the ways of the dialog between the place and its community rather than an image repertoire. It is still valuable today not due to the forms but rather its power to represent the reality of the earth and mankind.

In spite of postmodern influences, it is a rational way of making architecture in any time due to its ability to create endless variety of representation modes for each relation of man and earth.

REFERENCES


12. In Europe especially in German-speaking world, the international cultural traditions was used to reinforce the self-image of individual nation-states in the early 20th century and the concept of Volk, was helped to idealise their own traditions (Canizaro, V.B. ed. 2007. Critique of Regionalism in Architectural Regionalism- Collected writings on Place, Identity, Modernity and Tradition, Princeton Architectural Press, New York. Post romantic German theory distinguished the culture and civilisation which referred to aristocratic materialism an superficially and was the result of German revolt against French cultural dominance (Canizaro, V.B. 2007, pp. 147-155.). Appreciation of vernacular culture was embodied in modern architecture as ideas and forms referring to a more socialist and democratic world instead of the aristocratic one. pp: 141-145.
29. In 1932. Sedad Hakki Eldem launched a phenomenal lecture series on the national architectural style at the Academy of Fine Arts. The main objective of Milli Mimari Seminerleri (Seminars on the National Architecture) was to encourage the development of a new, modern Turkish style based on the domestic architecture. The initial step was the extensive documentation of existing examples of traditional houses, in Istanbul and in various towns of Anatolia. Then he was able to abstract the underlying typological matrix of Turkish House from the hundreds of individual examples studied by him and by the students throughout 1930s and 1940s. The seminar was so influential that resulted in the development of a new architectural style commonly known as the Second National Architecture, which replaced the Cubist forms that had developed during the early republican period in Ankara.

37. American New Urbanists such as Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Robert A.M. Stern and James Kunstler introduced ‘traditional neighborhood development’ design codes (TNDs) at developments such as Seaside, Florida from 1978 and Kentlands, Maryland, 1988. Similar to New Urbanist developments, Prince Charles and Leon Krier initiated a neo-traditional architecture to revive Britain’s rural building traditions and developed Poundbury in Dorset with the concept of traditional architecture as a timeless, universal form (Ellin, 1996).


40. Sabancı and Koc families that hold the greatest companies in the country were keen to invest on education. They established universities carrying their names Sabancı and Koc. Although there are several examples of private universities founded during this time they are particular due to their deliberate preferences for the architecture of their university buildings and campus. They employed architecture to represent their institutional identity through the historical references. The architecture of Sabancı University, for instance, was designed by the explicit references to the Ottoman architectural past through its forms and materials (Ozaslan and Akalin 2009, p. 637).

41. The Project was designed by Boston Design Collaborative lead by Mohzan Khadem. Application Project was draw by Metela, Engineering Project was developed by the Istanbul Office of ARUP and Garanti-Koza was to construct all buildings and the site (Koc Universitesi, 2002, pp: 231).


43. Sedad Hakki Eldem had designed numerous residential and institutional buildings for the Koç Family as such Suna Karaç Villa that is one of the well-known examples of Eldem’s style.

44. Actually, institutional identity can be considered as a mass communication received by or used by a large audience (consumer) involving the public, consumers, competitors, suppliers and the government. According to Olin (Olin, W. 1989. Corporate identity: making business strategy visible through design, Thames and Hudson, London), it is the whole of the impressions that an institution makes on all its audience. Organizations are, most of the time, distinguished by their identities and users decide on a product or a service according to an organization’s identity.


46. The traditional architecture has been in the agenda of postmodern architectural practice but it is not due to its historic and authentic values, rather due to its potential for marketing. As Baudrillard (1998. The Consumer Society) describes this postmodern condition, the consumption of goods is a part of competition for prestige. It is a fact that consumption is a system of signs and consumers consume signs (or meanings) rather than actual commodities. In the conditions of consumer society, the tradition can be inserted into a system of exchange in which any element can be abstracted from its social and ceremonial context and assigned a monetary value (Root, D., 1996. Cannibal Culture - Art, Appropriation and the Commodification of Difference, Westview Press., Oxford UK, pp: 73). Thus tradition becomes a useful tool for the historicization and aesthetization of the modern world to sell more. Within the capitalist culture when the cultural materials sell, more and more components of cultures can be marketed as authentic and interesting pieces of consumption.