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Power and Visual Integration

A Comparative Study On The Relationship Between The Emergence of Political Power and The Spatial Configurations of Party Headquarters'

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ABSTRACT

A large proportion of the arguments on politics are based on political parties' ideologies. These assumptions are solely dependent on the parties' statements concerning how the party identity is presented (party constitutions, press briefs, speeches of the party chairperson, etc.). Even though these statements might be considered somewhat informative, they are not the only sources of information for power practices. This research investigates the relation between power and space to reveal implicit power practices via analyzing four political party headquarters in Ankara, Turkey using *isovist area, isovist perimeter, drift, connectivity, mean depth, integration,* and *intelligibility* values of where authority and visitors occupy by Syntax 2D software.

"To see" a wide range of areas in space and "to be seen" from anywhere in the space are important factors of being impotent or competent. Therefore, isovist-based syntax analysis (the area and perimeter of the isovist), and connectivity, mean depth, integration, and intelligibility values to understand the amount of control that the user is exposed to are analyzed. Especially drift value becomes an important tool because it is convenient for understanding central locations of the space which serves the purpose of "to be seen" and peripheries where the user has holistic perception, and thus the ability "to see".

Findings show that The Motherland Party (MP) and The Justice and Development Party (JDP) headquarters share the same characteristics that the visitors of the space are located in more controlled locations compared to the protocol members. They are more oppressed and under surveillance. However, the magnitude of this attitude is much higher at JDP headquarters. It is understandable since both parties are branched from the same ideological origin. The Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) headquarters shows exact opposite characteristics, and for The

Republican Peoples' Party (RPP) headquarters, there were no significant calculations differentiation for the function groups.

KEYWORDS

political power, architecture, control, drift, mean depth

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of political power is nearly as old as humanity itself. As opposed to the general understanding, it is not invented; rather, it is an implicit societal attribute. The routes of political power can be traced from most archaic societies until the most modernized societies. As Clastres (1987) identifies the difference between indigenous and modern society's power practices, indigenous societies have not 'institutionalized' their power mechanisms; which means, the society is not yet developed into two main bodies of groups: one group has the ability to perform power whereas the rest only receives the power acts (Clastres, 1987). Clastres (1987) clearly had a deep understanding of how the power is institutionalized however, considering the power practices as a sole act of domination of one group over another is disputable.

This conceptualization has a long past in the theory of power starting from Machiavelli (2005) and his seminal work *Prince,* which dates back to the 1530s. He argued that the legitimacy of the king had to be based on the citizens. He wrote *Prince* when continental Europe was in severely inconsistent and chaotic condition under feudality by means of power exercises. Later in the same century, Bodin (1992) was to enhance Machiavelli's work by introducing anonymity to the ruler, and La Boétie (1975) was the first to classify the sovereign not as an individual but as a hierarchical model that surrounds and passivates the society.

In the 17th century, and throughout the 18th century, the fabric of European society was transformed gradually by the rise of the bourgeoisie, and meanwhile, the modern thought of government was theorized. Citizens participate in the power exercises by commending their right to the government (Hobbes, 1994); that the government's power is limited to certain boundaries (Locke, 1986); and the will of the government has to be synchronic with the will of citizens as a social contract (Rousseau, 1947).

Following the bourgeois revolution, anthropocentric ideas and democratic systems gained prominence, thereby the notion of power was discussed rather in a rightful and institutionalized manner. In the 20th century, how power affects daily life and the distribution of power among the social classes were introduced to the power theories, and it became consistent in three main bodies of categories: economical-social approaches that discuss power as a social class conflict (Marx & Engels, 1967; Gramsci, 1971; Althusser, 1971), elitist approaches that embrace power as minorities' ability to perform (Pareto, 1968; Mosca, 1939; Mills, 1956; Schumpeter, 1951),

and pluralist approaches that consider power as a decentralized, multipartite act (Hunter, 1953; Dahl, 1961; Sartori, 1965). As an attempt to merge all these three approaches, Lukes (1974), have proposed a three-dimensional model, by which his works can be considered as an initial effort for enhancing the complexity of power practices. However, still, all these approaches consider power as a scarce resource, thus power practices become a zero-sum game between the actors. An acquisition of a group(s) have a negative impact on the ability to practice power of the other group(s). Besides, those theories conceptualize power as a very conscious and informed action its domain is highly apparent (Clegg, 1989).

Michel Foucault (1976) introduced the contemporary modality of power in which power has no limits; it is an innate act embedded in every structure of the society that even the human body becomes a subject to power practices (*biopolitics*). Thus; every discourse, institution, administrative decision, law, scientific, philosophical, and ethical postulates, and the products that emerge in between all these entities become techniques for performing power (*dipositif*) which includes the architectural realm of productions as well (Foucault, 1980). For Foucault (1982), administration and performing power means, structuring the possible domain of actions of free subjects, in other words, “acting upon actions of others” using these techniques.

Along with many explicit examples, power games reveal themselves as an ambition for constructing a narrative. The relationship between Albert Speer and the government is an example of nation-building practices. The great gentrification project of Rome by Pope Sixtus is also a very significant, yet very apparent example of how architecture and spatial configuration can be instrumentalized in favor of power and become a *dispositif*. Generally, the architectural aspect at the intersection of the power studies is more interested in what is directly visible by depending on the long-lasting traditional understanding of conceptualizing power as a visible act of domination.

In the scope of this research, the concept of power is understood and analyzed in a *Foucaldian* manner. It means that power already exists in many forms as an implicit act, which is immanent to the societal and architectural practices and therefore hard to decipher and trace. Space syntax is a very useful tool to reveal the implicit practices, –both by the theoretical and methodological aspects– that are embedded in the society and morphology of space. Because space syntax theories are based on the assumption that social structure is inherently related to space and there is a social logic at the base of the inhabited space (Hillier&Hanson, 1984; Bafna, 2003). In other words, the discipline of architecture is so concerned only with the visible and representational, that it neglects the deeper social structures because these structures are immanent to the space and cannot be easily identified (Dovey, 2008).

Structuring the daily life is organizing the continuous space as discrete units (Bafna, 2003). By creating some breaks, it is possible to configurate a hierarchical order in the overall space. An

attempt to understand this hierarchy leads us to uncover some extra information about the societal attributes that are embedded in the space. This understanding is successfully depicted by Hillier & Hanson (1984) by the duality of genotype-phenotype. These concepts coincide with their origins in biology. Phenotype refers to direct characteristics of the space that is visible in the first impression, Genotype, on the other hand, is the main logic underneath what is visible that structures all the attributes of the space including phenotype. Genotypes are spatial bits that are grouped according to the syntactic and neighbor relations and they are immanent to the space both institutionally and epistemologically (Dovey, 2008).

Therefore "by giving shape and form to our material world, architecture structures the system of space in which we live and move. In that it does so, it has a direct relation –rather than a merely symbolic one– to social life since it provides the material preconditions for the patterns of movement, encounter, and avoidance which are the material realization –as well as sometimes the generator– of social relations" (Hillier&Hanson, 1984).

This kind of an understanding of the space requires implementation of the different users, because "space was intelligible if it was understood as being determined by two kinds of relations, rather than one: the relations among the occupants and the relations between occupants and outsiders" (Hillier&Hanson, 1984) which is a crucial drive behind the methodology of this paper that will be addressed later on.

Before we proceed, it is important to highlight why political parties have an indisputable existence in today's governmental model and why they become important cursors for understanding different modes of power in the case of Turkey specifically. Developing an understanding of different modes of power also gains importance in the scope of this research.

1.1 Political Parties

Political parties are considered to be an essential attribute of healthy democracies, however, normally they belong to a rather young culture of state (Heywood, 1997). Political parties are embraced as the smallest bits of democratic formations, in other words, the *microcosmos* of nation-scale pluralist administrative behavior.

They operate at the intersection of public and state which gives them a *sui generis* status. Political parties are both responsible for offering a council of ministers to the government, therefore operating in a hierarchical order and at the same time representing as many pieces as possible of a heterogeneous society. Therefore, they have to resist the oligarchic tendencies (Michels, 2016) of neglecting the societal needs and interests.

As stated earlier, political parties have a vertical hierarchical order; not every member of the party is equally powerful in the administrative process. However, Central Executive Boards are responsible for sustaining the democratic order by electing the high-level administrators or

making important decisions regarding, for example, internal regulation of the party. These processes are pursued as a direct indication of the level of democratic behavior enhanced in the party. In the scope of this research, the floors that contain CEBMH are important because they demonstrate a unique intersection between the authority and the visitors of the space. The floors that contain CEBMH are used by the high-level members of the parties more frequently. Thus a spatial strategy is required to somehow arrange the spaces in-between the authorities and the less-frequent users (or the visitors) of these spaces.

After all, political parties have an important presence in Turkish politics as well with their checkered course. However, in Turkey, political parties tend to be understood mostly depending on their direct actions and statements about themselves. Although those are informative sources, architecture might provide novel and implicit knowledge about their power exercises.

1.2 Political Parties in Turkey

Currently, the Turkish parliament has 582 deputies, and approximately 80% of it is provided by the following parties: the Justice and Development Party (JDP) with 286 members, the Republican People's Party (RPP) with 135 members, and the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) with 48 members in the parliament. The JDP and the NMP are currently in coalition and form the majority, RPP is the main opposition party. Although Turkey has changed its form of government to the presidential régime in 2018, parliament maintains its existence. In the last general election, three of these political parties' votes constituted 70% of the total votes. Therefore they have to be taken seriously and analyzed in every possible way, including their architectural preferences.

Following the coup in 1980, the multi-party régime was interrupted for approximately three years. Under the rule of the military government, the constitution was severely changed/damaged including the law of political parties. Parties could be funded and at the same time receive governmental support. In fear of parties getting dependent on fundraisers and therefore losing their autonomy; the ratio of the governmental support in their overall budget, and the amount of support itself was increased, and more importantly, this support got highly proportionate (more than before) with the votes the parties received. These changes had two major outcomes: first, parties became highly dependent on the government –remember the *Iron Law* of Michels (2016)– and second, it gradually become more difficult for a new party to compete in the field. Existing parties became more and more advantageous about receiving and conserving the wealth.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that the first party to access enough resources to fund its headquarters was the Motherland Party (MP) in 1990. Until then, political parties were occupying rented office buildings as their headquarters, thus the architecture and configuration of the building is constructed beforehand. What is critical here is that until the MP –which has dominated the 1980s politics, however, could not continue as powerful, and merged with another party in 2009– parties could only make small changes in the overall configuration. The

headquarters of the MP is partially demolished, but it has become the precursor of the overall transformation.

Hence following the MP headquarters (Figure 1(a)), the Nationalist Movement Party in 2004 (Fig. 1 (b)), the Republican People's Party in 2006 (Fig. 1(c)), and finally, the Justice and Development Party in 2007 (Fig. 1 (d)) moved to their own headquarters to the same region of the capital, Ankara. It is important to emphasize each political party, –while occupying rented buildings that cannot be altered that much–, had accumulated know-how about their needs and expectations from a headquarter and applied this knowledge directly to their new buildings that they could configure from scratch. Thus, these headquarters became very unique indicators of the power modes –that carry significant information about the implicit power practices– of these political parties.

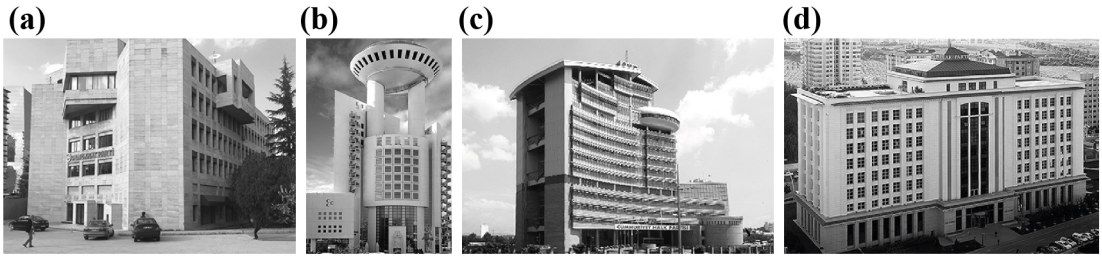


Figure 1: The headquarters of the political parties that are located in Ankara.

Ankara, the capital of Turkey, is itself a unique case of nation-building (Bozdoğan, 2015), a representation of power, and a showcase for architectural trials from the beginning of the foundation of modern Turkey. The city is planned multicentral and arranged as hubs that correspond to different functions (cultural, touristic, recreational, etc.) and all of the headquarters are located at "the public building's hub", attached to one of the two main arteries of the city in the East-West direction (Fig. 2). This axis is one of the main arteries that connects Ankara to the rest of the nationwide transportation network. Starting from the parliament building, many public functions –ministries, military zone, national library, educational buildings as well as hospitals– are articulated around this axis. It is an accessible sub-center that is directly linked to the administrative functions of the capital and thus it is not a coincidence that the headquarters are associated with this axis (Figure 1).

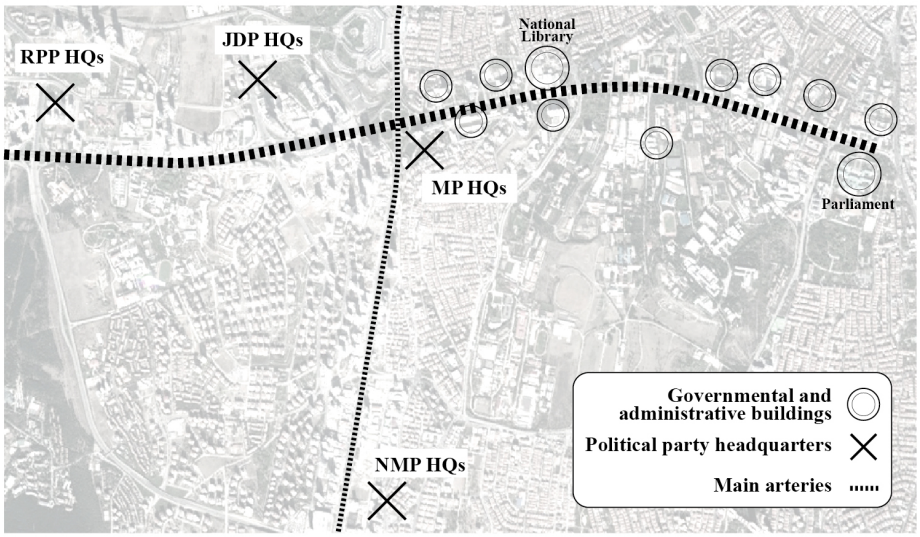


Figure 2: Map of Ankara and the location of the party headquarters.

(a) The MP headquarters –as the first one to be built– has comparatively a very humane scale and shows modest characteristics. It is a four-story-high building that settles on 13.500 m² consisting of three main blocks. The entrance floor is occupied mostly by public functions (library, commissions, press-related functions, cafeteria, and foyer+auditorium), especially the central and Northern blocks. Protocol entrance is located at the Southern block but it is not segregated from the public entrance as in the latter examples, neither in the context of accessibility nor visually. A simple staircase leads the high-level officers and the party leader to the fourth floor of the Southern block. The advisors' offices, party leader's office, the resting area, secretary and waiting room, and most importantly, CEBMH are located on this floor. (Fig 3 (a)). Since the intersection between the authority and the visitors is neglected on this floor, the visitors of this floor use the office of the General Secretary as a waiting area, because it serves as a transition space between two blocks.

(b) The NMP moved to its headquarters in 2004 and settles on a 4.000 m² parcel. The floor plans are inspired by three crescents which represent the Turkish nation that also inspired the emblem of the party. The three crescents became the three circular blocks that are mostly occupied by the offices. In the other examples, the party leader is located close to CEBMH, however, in NMP headquarters, the intersection between the public and the authority is completely neglected because the party leader's office is located in a completely segregated fourth block. The NMP headquarters is proportionally a very vertical building with 15 floors and a heliport on top, which emphasizes the verticality of the building even more. The verticality continues on the inside by the majestic atrium that connects almost all the floors vertically. The entrance floor contains public functions as in the other examples (cafeteria and service units, art gallery, and gift shop), whereas the CEBMH floor contains protocol functions (councilor's office and secretary, a smaller meeting room, general secretary's office, and its lobby, and a private room for CEBMH). As aforementioned, the office of the party leader is not located in this block (Fig. 3 (b)).

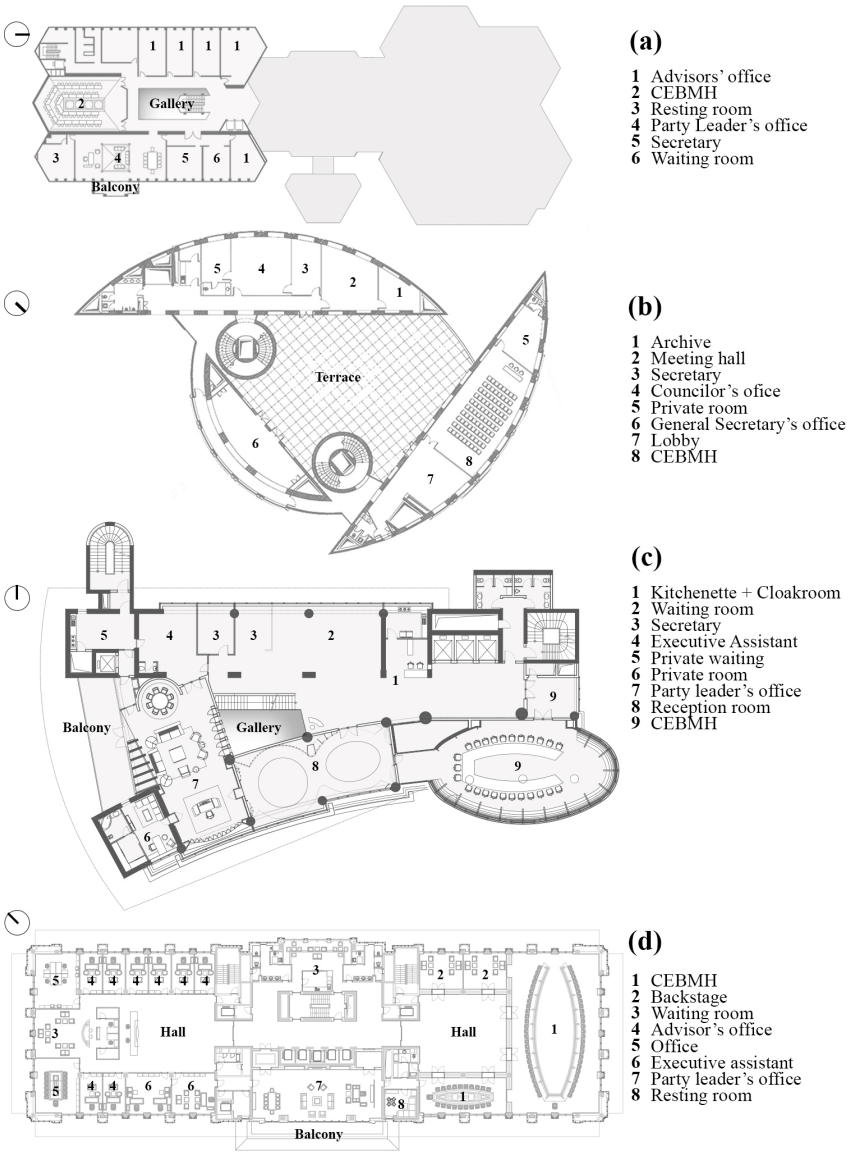


Figure 3: The floors plans of the political party headquarters that contain CEBMH. (a)MP Headquarters, (b)NMP Headquarters, (c)RPP Headquarters, (d)JDP Headquarters.

(c) The RPP is opened to use in 2006. It occupies a parcel that is 8.700 m² and it is 20-story high including the basement floors. The first four floors are occupied with public functions which are exposed to the facade by the material use. The entrance floors contain an entrance hall and help desk, sitting area, a niche for the press, museum, foyer and a conference hall with its corresponding backstage functions. Compared to the other three examples, the JDP headquarters' public functions are elaborated more abundantly. The CEBMH floor of the RPP headquarters contains, protocol functions as in other headquarters such as the party leader's office, reception room, executive assistant for the party leader, secretaries, waiting room, kitchenette and cloakroom, and finally a smaller CEBMH that is directly linked to the main hall. The area that serves the party leader is strikingly larger on this floor compared to the other headquarters. Moreover, the shortcuts that are completely segregated from the public circulation, link the party leader to the executive assistant, and to the CEBMH, through the reception room. When

considering how the party leader reaches his office (even if there is no additional entrance for the protocol members, he can directly use the vertical circulation from the car park area), the leader of the JDP has control over his public appearance may not appear to the public (Fig. 3 (c)).

(d) The JDP is a rectangular monoblock that is built in 2007 on a 2.300 m² parcel. It is almost perfectly symmetrical both planimetrically and on the facade. Two almost identical blocks are connected to each other with a central block that contains service functions, and vertical circulation elements. The entrance floor consists of public functions such as a multi-purpose hall, on one block, and press room, a communication bureau, public services, offices, public relations offices, and a cafeteria on the other block. The vertical circulation creates a major barrier between the public and protocol entrances. CEBMH is on the 8th floor along with a smaller CEBMH, backstage, waiting rooms, advisors' offices, executive assistant offices, party leader's office, and his resting room. As in the RPP headquarters, the party leader's office is connected with CEBMHs and the executive assistant's office with a secondary path. The visitor's waiting rooms are accompanied by additional secretary desks (Fig. 3 (d))..

2 MODES OF POWER

We will point out the distinctions between the modes of power. As aforementioned, two main groups of users gain importance in the theory of space syntax, in the case of the party buildings those two groups will be defined as the authority (protocol members including, high-level party members, private secretary, and the party leader), and the low-level officers, visitors of the spaces. The user profile and the syntactic characteristics of the space will be considered important inputs for the two-fold structure of this paper.

Two main attitudes can be defined regarding the syntax of the space in the repertoire of spatial gestures: "buildings can be shallow and integrated or deep and sequenced or tree-like which connects spaces together minimally or ringy/looped, which gives rise to route choice" (Hanson, 1996)" and the genotypes of spaces demonstrate three main characteristics according to the amount of control that they apply to the user, [1] linear syntax, [2] tree-like (fanned) syntax, and [3] looped/ringy configurations.

[1] *Linear* syntax are deep and sequenced spaces that are organized in a fair amount of linearity that each step of movement requires the previous step to be covered thus the movement of the user is fairly controlled and the overall space hierarchically deepens. It defines a strictly pre-defined route and does not allow the users to have a choice about the route they want to take.

[2] Likewise, *tree-like (fanned)* syntax does not offer many choices to the user –although not as restrictive as linear syntax– because all the sub-spaces are linked to one central space like branches, that are all connected to the trunk of the tree. So the user of the space has to go through

this cental space –the main hall– in order to navigate through other parts of the space. In this way, the hall becomes a very controlled space.

[3] On the contrary, shallower and *looped/ringy* configurations are linked to more informal and exploratory formations. Space allows users to have more power to choose which route to follow. Even the deepest point of the space is shallower, thus more accessible compared to other syntactic formations.

As it is seen, the hierarchy and relative depth between the parts of the space gain importance for accessibility and control and by which user group they are occupied. If the authority has the urge "to be seen" and therefore justifies its existence, despite losing the ability "to see and monitor" and occupy the deeper location of the overall space accordingly, the power attitude resembles *feudal power*. On the contrary, if a more controlled location is occupied by the visitors, and if the tendency is to take the visitors under surveillance, then the power attitude inclines to *disciplinary power*. In this section, these modes of power are going to be further explained.

2.1 Feudal Power

Visibility, "to be seen", is an important feature for the potent user groups in traditional power practices. Habermas (1989), attributes this type of power to feudality and traces its origin to Antique Greek societies by analyzing the distribution of publicity in the space. In Ancient Greece, the public and private spaces are strictly separated. Personal space belongs to the private realm and is free from politics, whereas the rest belongs to the public realm, thus it is public and open to every citizen, and it is where politics is performed.

However, with the feudality –by which every bit of the space belongs to the suzerain– the notion of private space evaporated. The most intimate spaces of the vassals were within the boundaries of the suzerain's rule. Reciprocally, this spatial uncertainty affected the notion of the suzerain's private space.

In this mode of power, authority is in constant need of displaying himself. Habermas (1989) coined the term "representative publicity" for this form of power attitude. The most private spaces of the suzerain, including his bedroom, became publicized. King began to take guests and even some receptions were held in his bedroom.

Habermas (1989) exemplifies this situation from *The Palace of Versailles,* and Dovey (2008), analyzes the spatial configuration of the palace syntactically. In Versailles, the suzerain was located at the end of the enfilade, at the least accessible and deepest point of the overall space, where his guests came to visit him. The priority of the authority is "to be seen" which is directly correlated with the need for justification of its existence (Arendt, 1958).

2.2 Disciplinary Power

Disciplinary power practices are, as Foucault asserted, focused on surveillance, the ability "to see". Foucault (1995) exemplifies this mode of power by using Bentham's (1791) writings about the ideal prison: the *panopticon*.

Panopticon is a thought experiment that investigates the ideal architecture of a prison. A potent figure of surveillance is located strategically where it can see every cell. The ability "to see" is the top priority for this mode of power. The space is configurated in such a way that even in the absence of authority, powerless subjects can not sense the difference and they feel constantly under surveillance.

Foucault (1995) uses it to explain how disciplinary power attitudes are performed implicitly in society. The illusion that people are being observed is enough to establish an institutionalized power mechanism. This approach is widely discussed in the digital age of contemporary societies. However, this is beyond the objectives of this particular research paper.

Those two modes of power reveal themselves in a completely opposite manner. In the feudal mode of power, "to be seen" is a priority, therefore the authority is situated hierarchically at the deepest or the least accessible locations of the space. In disciplinary power on the other hand authority's priority is "to see" rather than "to be seen", thus for this mode of power, visitors occupy the hierarchically deepest end of the space so that they can be easily observed.

This set of notions compromises the rhizome and striated spaces that Deleuze and Guattari (1988) formulated. However, as they asserted, in real life none of the spaces reveal merely tree-like or rhizome characteristics. Spaces tend to fold onto each other, real-life spaces are composed of a mixture and reciprocal relations of these characteristics. Therefore, it is important to determine how relatively close the spatial configurations of each headquarters are to any of these characteristics.

It is possible to represent the hierarchy, visual ability, and integration of a unit to the global structure, on a two-fold conceptualization. Syntactical translation of the power modes would be: if the spaces that authority occupies converge to hierarchically deep and visually limited locations, then the exercise of power shows more feudal characteristics. If on the other hand, visitors occupy deeper and visually controllable points of the space, this time the power attitude is more likely to show disciplinary characteristics. Finally, the more the difference between the two main groups of users, the more "purely" that space shows its characteristics (Fig. 4).

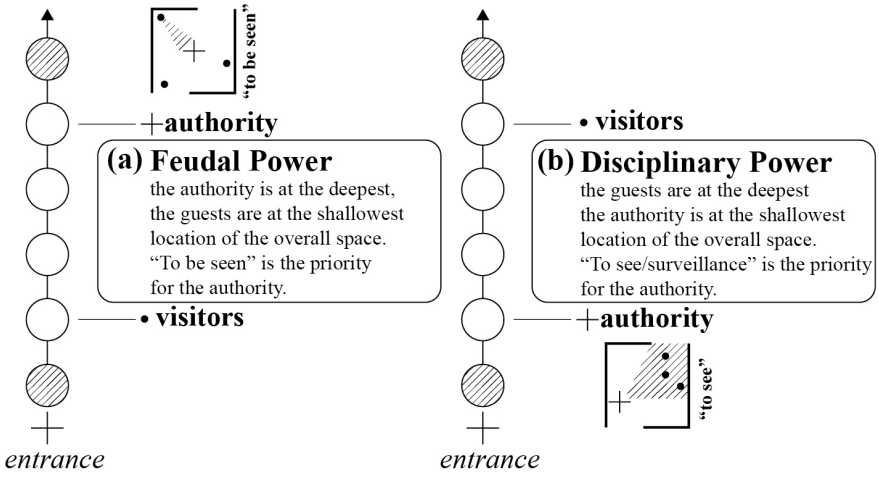


Figure 4: Power practices according to their spatial and social preferences.

3 METHODOLOGY AND DATASETS

As briefly explained in the previous sections, the aim of this research is to reveal implicit acts of power that are embedded in the architectural configuration. Thus, a tripartite methodology was designed.

3.1 Convex spaces and gamma maps

To reveal the genotype, gamma maps were used, and thus the characteristics of the space were analyzed according to the two main groups of users (authority and visitors). The party leader's office and CEBMH are used by high-level officers of the party. Visitors are either occupying waiting rooms or in the case of NMP, they are waiting at the general secretary's office. As aforementioned, the NMP building's case is different from the other headquarters, since most of the protocol functions are located in a completely different block. (Fig. 5).

The MP headquarters' CEBMH and visitors halls are occupying less deep locations of the overall space compared to the party leader's office. The party leader's office shows linear, controlled syntactic characteristics. The overall floor plan is deepening less than the other counterparts. On the other hand, the NMP headquarters has the least deep characteristics, however, it should be once more reminded that the authority-visitor tension is minimized on this floor. The RPP headquarters is the deepest structure of them all, and the deepest locations are occupied by the party leader's office which shows linear and branching characteristics. Visitors occupy the shallower locations of the overall plan. Finally, at the JDP headquarters, visitors are located at the deepest locations of the overall floor plan, on the other hand, party CEBMH and the party leader's office are located are more accessible compared to waiting halls.

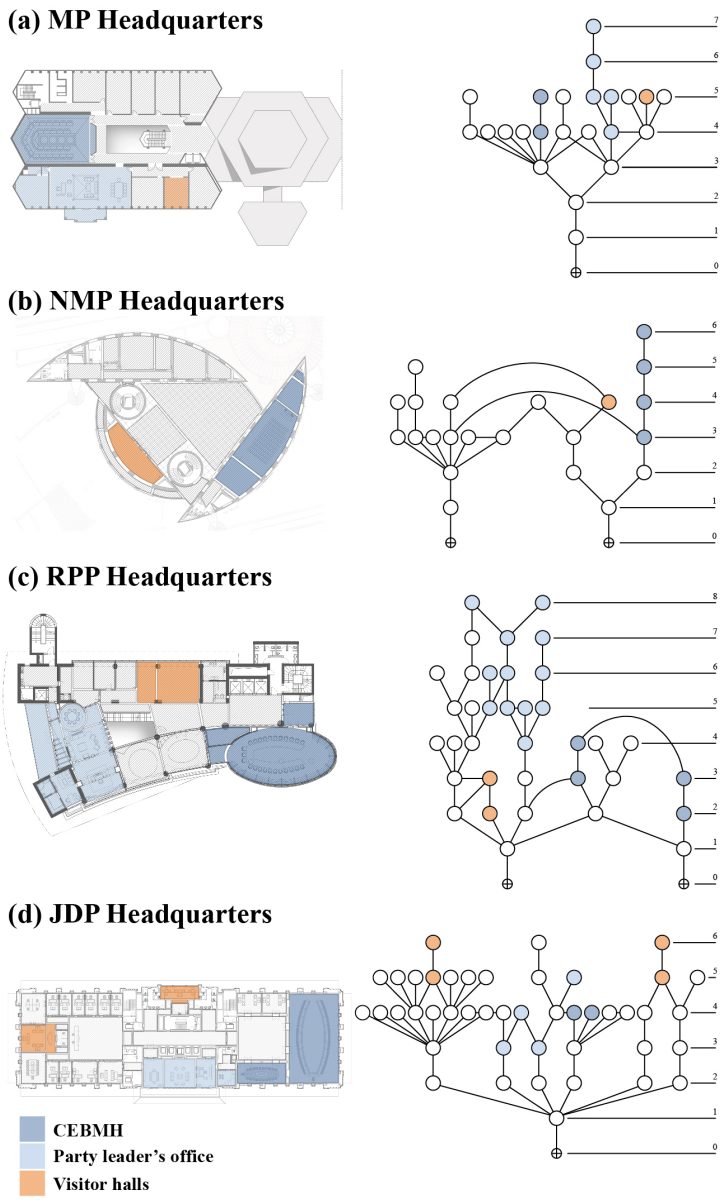


Figure 5: Gamma maps of the headquarters.

3.2 Visibility graph analysis (VGA)

The second step of the analysis was conducted using isovist-based VGA for the floor plans that consist of CEBMH for each headquarters using Syntax 2D, which is developed by the University of Michigan. Isovist is a hypothetical point that has the ability to see 360°. For VGA analysis, the planimetric attributes of CEBMH floor plans are transformed into the Syntax 2D environment via CAD-based software by considering any obstacles (walls, furniture, separators, etc.) that have an impact on the isovist values. Since the isovist can be affected by the configuration of the space, multiple isovists are generated to define a space exquisitely (Benedikt, 1979). All the plans are standardized in scale using gridiron by which, approximately 1 m² is represented by four units. Since "the ability to see/be seen" and "hierarchy" and "integration" are important aspects of power modes, the following values are calculated in order to deepen the understanding of the

genotype of the space: isovist area, isovist perimeter, drift, connectivity, mean depth, integration, and intelligibility.

Isovist area and perimeter are defining the isovist field's geometrical attributes. *Drift-isovist* is defined as the distance between the location from which the isovist is generated and the center of gravity of the isovist. It will tend to get a minimum value in the centers of spaces and vice versa (Dalton & Dalton, 2001). At the points where the drift value gets higher, the user of the space can see around without even turning his/her head, and on the contrary, where it takes smaller values, the vision of the user decreases. It means the different points of the space offer a different amount of ability "to see" and "to be seen" (Klarqvist, 1993), and drift value allows us to calculate these differences (Fig. 6).

Connectivity is in direct proportion to integration values; it measures the number of spaces immediately connecting a space of origin (Hillier & Hanson, 1984).

Mean Depth is calculated by assigning a depth value to each space, according to how many spaces it is away from the original space, summing these values and dividing by the number of spaces in the system less than the original space. (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). Therefore, it allows us to calculate the depth of space in accordance with the global structure (Fig. 6).

Integration defines the integration between the units of the space and it has an inverse proportion to the values of mean depth. Integration values decrease when the space gets deepening. *Intelligibility* is the ratio between "Integration" and "Connectivity", which measures how much information the parts of the space contain about the whole.

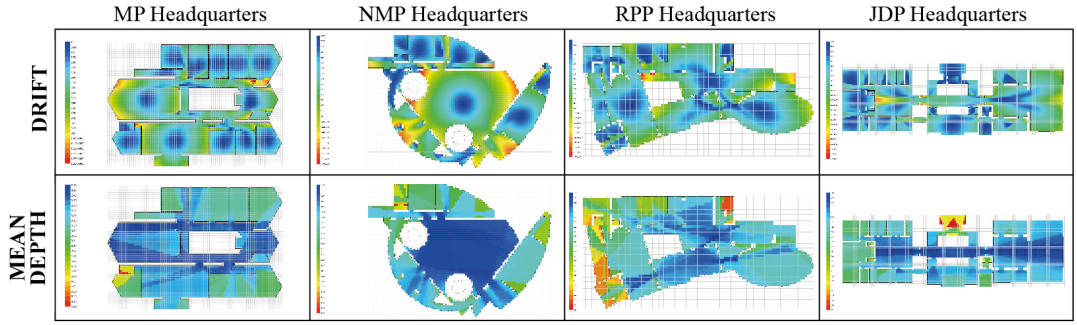


Figure 6: VGA analysis of headquarters for drift and mean depth values as an example.

3.3 The Comparison

VGA analysis consists of the functions that authority occupies most of the time (CEBMH and the party leader's office), and the convexes that are occupied by the visitors (visitor halls or in the case of the NMP headquarters, the office of the general secretary). The convex spaces that defined those functions are calculated for isovist area, isovist perimeter, drift, connectivity, mean depth, integration, and intelligibility. Additionally, all the parameters are calculated for the overall floor plans, all the dataset is compared accordingly All the values are simplified relatively

to make the calculations easier, therefore they do not contain metric information (Table 1). From now on, all the numerical data that refers to "Table 1" are going to be written in brackets "[ ]".

Table 1: Numeric data of Average CEBHM convex spaces, average visitor halls convex spaces, average total floor plans, and the relative values.

	Function	Area	Perimeter	Drift	Connectivity	Mean Depth	Integration	Intelligibility
MP	Average of the authorities locations	1.206	63.735	5.707	509	2.941	552.684	1.086
	Average of the visitors locations	396	33.551	2.303	152	3.247	126.448	830
	Average of the total floor plan	970	65.119	3.985	373	2.921	388.121	1.041

	Function	Area	Perimeter	Drift	Connectivity	Mean Depth	Integration	Intelligibility
NMP	Average of the authorities locations	5.680	46.071	3.993	227	3.035	249.682	1.100
	Average of the visitors locations	1.626	107.537	7.980	647	2.265	1.175.913	1.818
	Average of the total floor plan	1.984	102.622	6.164	791	2.266	1.557.007	1.969

	Function	Area	Perimeter	Drift	Connectivity	Mean Depth	Integration	Intelligibility
RPP	Average of the authorities locations	1.208	88.189	5.284	488	2.371	661.313	1.355
	Average of the visitors locations	1.531	116.759	5.635	610	2.068	940.682	1.542
	Average of the total floor plan	1.251	95.546	5.139	504	2.274	713.882	1.418

	Function	Area	Perimeter	Drift	Connectivity	Mean Depth	Integration	Intelligibility
JDP	Average of the authorities locations	2.595	121.054	6.435	1.030	2.549	2.330.590	2.263
	Average of the visitors locations	679	55.399	2.767	270	3.922	342.031	1.267
	Average of the total floor plan	2.017	111.726	6.497	801	2.661	1.832.803	2.287

4 RESULTS

To begin with, the gamma maps reveal that, all the headquarters demonstrate controlled, tree-like, and/or linear characteristics, however, there are nuances among them. The MP and the JDP headquarters have similar characteristics, closer to tree-like structures, whereas, the NMP and RPP headquarters show ringy characteristics. Considering the overall configuration, the MP and the JDP headquarters are more controlled compared to the latter two.

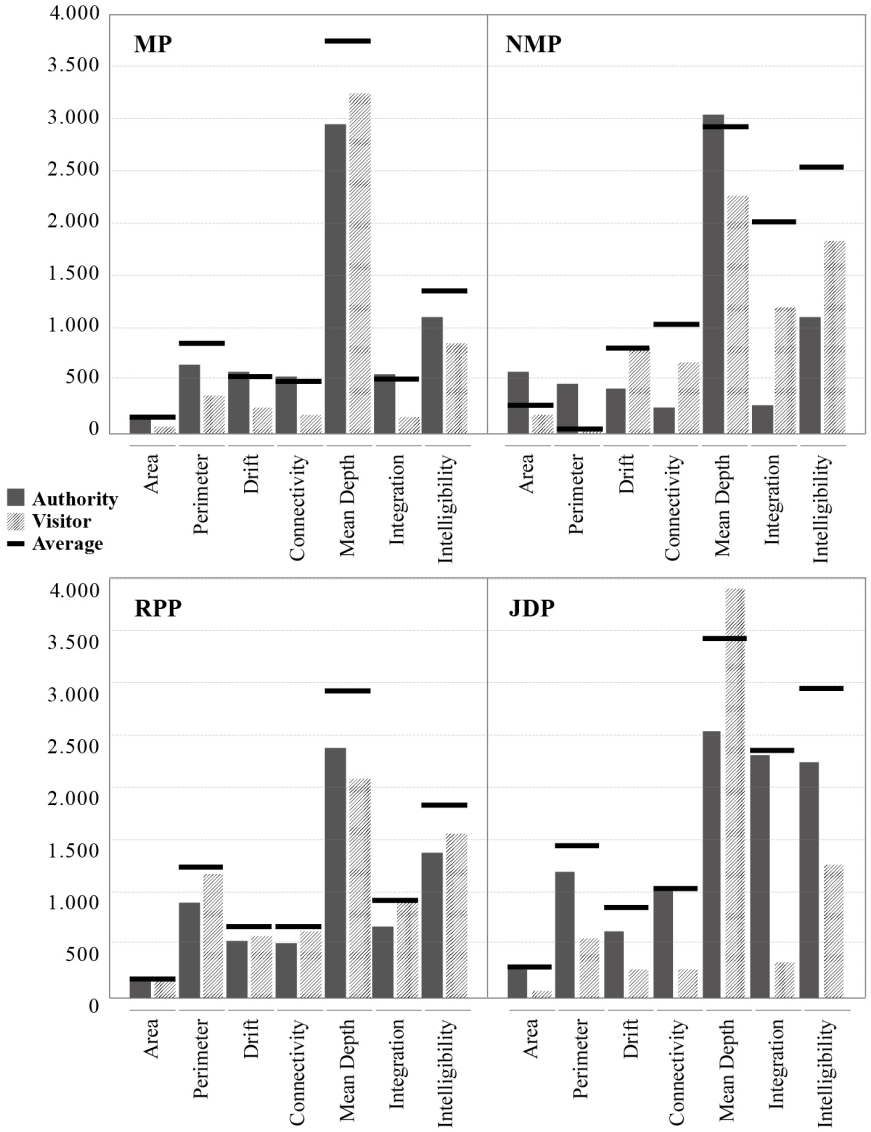
For the MP headquarters, both CEBMH and visitor halls are approximately on the same level of depth, however, the party leader's office shows linear and controlled characteristics. On the other hand for JDP headquarters, visitor halls are located at the deepest ends of the overall configuration, whereas the CEBMH and party leader's office are significantly more accessible. Despite the ringy structure of the overall configuration of the NMP headquarters, the CEBMH is structured in a significantly linear manner that shows high levels of control, whereas the visitors occupy a more accessible location in the overall plan. For RPP headquarters, both the CEBMH and the visitor hall are shallow; the convexes of CEBMH show ringy characteristics and

moreover, they have direct access from the main hall. However, the party leader's office is very linear and controlled and at the deepest position among its counterparts (Fig. 5).
These findings of gamma maps are verified and amplified by the VGA analysis (Figure 6). The numerical translation of the VGA data shows that (Table 1), the highest isovist area [5.680] is calculated at the NMP headquarters for authority, and the highest drift value [7.980] is calculated for the visitors of the NMP headquarters. The highest perimeter [121.054], connectivity [1.030], integration [2.330.590], and intelligibility [2.263] values are calculated at the JDP headquarters for authorities whereas the highest mean depth value [3.922] is calculated for the visitors again at the JDP headquarters. The lowest area [396], perimeter [33.551], drift [2.303], connectivity [152], integration [126.488], and intelligibility [830] values are calculated for visitors at the MP headquarters and the lowest mean depth value [2.068] is calculated at the RPP headquarters for visitors.

For the total floor plans, the MP headquarters has the lowest output for almost every measurand except mean depth. The NMP and RPP headquarters were calculated close to each other for mean depth and calculated lower compared to other buildings. On the other hand, the JDP headquarters get the highest values for almost every measurand however for the NMP headquarters connectivity value is significantly high as well (Table 1).

When relatively speaking (Table 2), at the MP headquarters, authority is significantly more integrated and connected compared to the visitors. Visitors are occupying more central locations of the overall space, however, both groups of users are still occupying shallower locations of the overall space compared to the average values of the total floor plan.

Table 2: The relative comparison of isovist area, isovist perimeter, drift, connectivity, mean depth, integration, and intelligibility values for both groups of users (authority and visitors) and for the total floor plan, for the headquarters.



At the NMP headquarters, visitors are significantly more integrated and occupy shallower locations of the overall space compared to the authority. Authority is located at the peripheries, and intelligibility value is significantly lower for authority. But both authority and visitors are occupying less intelligible and integrated locations of the overall space.

For the RPP headquarters, almost all the measurands converge on each other for authority and the visitors, and for the total floor plan. Only for mean depth and intelligibility values a relatively significant difference between user groups and overall plan. Both authority and visitors are occupying shallower locations of the overall space.

Finally, for the JDP headquarters, visitors are located significantly deeper, less integrated, and at a centralized position compared to the authority and the total floor plan. On the contrary, authority occupies a shallower location compared to the total floor plan (Table 2).

5 CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study, we tried to examine the different modes of power that are inherently embedded in the spatial structure. Political party headquarters are very abundant cases for examining different power attitudes for two main reasons. First, they have an in-between position between authority and the public; therefore, their power attitudes are more complex than for example a parliament building. Second, –although it is limited to Turkey's case– they are built after a sufficient amount of knowledge is accumulated about how headquarters should be. Along with many other reasons, these two facts about how power is spatialized in Turkey via the political party headquarters is a very unique case.

As analysis and calculations show, the power attitudes of the MP and the JDP are similar and convergent to the "disciplinary power" mode. The authority occupies less controlled spaces whereas the visitors are located in significantly controlled, deeper locations, and lost their ability "to see". In these cases, visitors are constantly under surveillance. For MP, however, this attitude is not as significant as it appears in the JDP headquarters. Considering the modest attitude and humane scale that the MP headquarters acquire, it is probably because, the MP belongs to another precedent era, that politics have not yet gained today's characteristics in Turkey.

In NMP, on the other hand, the authority is located in a more controlled location and it seems, the priority for the authority is "to be seen" rather than "to see". Considering the cases of the MP and more significantly the JDP, this attitude shows exact opposite characteristics. Visitors of the NMP headquarters are located in less controlled spaces with more ability "to see" thus its power mode converges to the "feudal power" mode.

The RPP has shown no specific spatial characteristics by means of power attitudes. Because all the measurands converge on each other. The authority and the visitors occupy quantitatively similar spaces however, those spaces are both under a fair amount of control. Further studies might include more data sets regarding different floor plans and convex spaces which may enrich the discussions. However, political parties are constricted cases because it is difficult to collect data about the daily life in the buildings, for many reasons. Apparently, they do not operate as complete public spaces. For this reason alone, they have to be analyzed profoundly to reveal the implicit power practices.

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