

**THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE ON AND AT PUBLIC SPACE:  
THE CASE OF KIZILAY SQUARE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE *ON* AND *AT* PUBLIC SPACE: THE CASE OF KIZILAY SQUARE**

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In Turkey, by 1980, a transformation has been observed on both the character of the societal opposition and the meaning, function, and spatial form of public spaces, which were characterized to be essential political spaces of a period. Kızılay Square was ‘the preferred space’ by the opposition during the struggle against Democrat Party in 1960’s; however demonstrations were expelled out of the square by legal regulations and sanctions. On one hand, legally, Kızılay Square could not be the scene of societal opposition; on the other hand the meaning on the base of being a ‘political scene’ has continued. However, spatial implementations, regulated by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, occurred as an attempt to turn the square from a possible pedestrian zone to a junction.

Since the period it has been conceived and designed as a socio-spatial project of new established republic in 1925, Kızılay Square has been transformed within its (historical) meaning, (urban) function and (spatial) form through changing contradictions and actors within political, social and economic context. This transformation has been experienced through political contradiction and struggle. Between the years 1960 and 1980, during which the societal opposition arouse, with

respect to differentiating actors and movements, the conflict over meaning, function and form of the square also has differentiated from the meaning, form and function determined in the nation state construction process. Through this research, it is aimed to examine how the political contradiction and struggle on three dimensions of Kızılay Square has been transformed, within a historical perspective.

**Key Words:** public space, social movements, conflict/contradiction, (historical) meaning, (urban) function, (spatial) form, Ankara, Kızılay Square

**ÖZ**  
**KAMUSAL MEKÂNDA POLİTİK MÜCADELE: KIZILAY MEYDANI**  
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1980 sonrası Türkiye’de gerek toplumsal muhalefetin niteliği, gerekse önemli politik mekânlar olagelmiş kamusal mekânların anlam, işlev ve mekânsal formunun dönüştüğü gözlenmektedir. 1960’larda DP karşıtı politik mücadelenin öncelikli mekânlarından biri olmuş Kızılay Meydanı, yapılan düzenlemeler ve yasal yaptırımlarla, toplumsal muhalefetin bir sahnesi olmaktan çıkarılmak istenmiştir. Kızılay Meydanı, bir yandan yasal düzenlemelerle resmi olarak gösterilere kapatılmış; ancak diğer yandan simgesel olarak ‘politik bir sahne’ olma anlamını korumuştur. Ancak, özellikle 1980 sonrasında, yerel yönetimin mekânsal düzenleme girişimleriyle bir kavşak halini aldığı gözlenmiştir.

Ulus devletinin mekânsal bir projesi olarak 1925’te kurgulanıp, tasarlandığı dönemden bu yana, ekonomik, sosyal ve politik örüntü bağlamında değişen aktör, çatışma ve mücadelelerle birlikte Kızılay Meydanı’nın (tarihsel) anlam, (kentsel) işlev ve (mekânsal) formunun da dönem dönem dönüştüğü gözlenmiştir. Bu dönüşüm politik mücadele üzerinden gerçekleşmektedir. Toplumsal muhalefetin yükseldiği 1960–80 yılları arasında mekânın bu üç boyutunun (anlam, işlev ve form) ve üç boyut üzerindeki çatışmanın, farklı aktör ve hareketlerle, Kızılay Meydanı’nın

kurgulandığı ulus devletin kurulum sürecindeki anlam, işlev ve formdan farklılaştığı gözlenmiştir. 1980 sonrasında ise ekonomik ve politik yeniden yapılanmayla kent merkezlerinin yaşadığı ekonomik çöküntüleşmeden Kızılay Meydanı'nın da etkilendiği gözlenmiştir. Ancak meydanın politik niteliği dönüşerek önemini korumuştur. Bu çalışmada Kızılay Meydanı üzerindeki politik mücadelenin, bu üç boyutuyla nasıl bir dönüşüm geçirdiği irdelenecektir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** kamusal mekân, sosyal hareketler, çelişki/çatışma, (tarihsel) anlam, (kentsel) işlev, (mekânsal) form, Ankara, Kızılay Meydanı

**To the memory of my dear grandfather,**

**A. Fikret ARAS**

**(1931 – 2007)**

**who always accompanied me through the turning points of my academic life**



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Urban* is a kind of social, economic, political and spatial scale which has a potential and density for different groups coming together and getting organized. *Public space* is the nucleus/core of this density; as it enables citizens to interact and influence each other. *Knowledge* on something turns to be ‘public knowledge’ – comes to everyone’s knowledge – by transferring it from one person to another. Knowledge, through being public, reveals the differences in the society with respect to class, and identity; therefore societal contradictions become visible.

Squares, in the shape of (open) public spaces, have been the places where daily routines and activities of urban life are experienced by most of the citizens. Therefore, squares have been considered as urban spaces where *public is visible*, in both transferring and gathering the knowledge. Since they have become subjected to political conflict and power struggles, with respect to the aim of transferring political knowledge and capturing the space – politically and symbolically; squares appear to be both the subject of power struggles and stages of the conflict used by both the ruling party/Government and the Opposition.

In my thesis it is aimed to analyze and formulate the transformation of the *political struggle on* and *at* public space before and after 1980. The main question is whether open public space has still a political essence after the transformation – economic fall of city centres – experienced in 1980’s. This question will be examined through a twofold analysis: one is the analysis of political struggles experienced *at* open public space, Kızılay Square in Ankara, during 1960’s, 70’s and during the period after 1997; and the other is the analysis of spatial policies, implementations and political contradictions *on/over* Kızılay Square. Protests, demonstrations and meetings can be

regarded as the political struggles experienced *at* open public space. On the other hand, power contradictions and struggles *on* open public space appear to define the *historical meaning, spatial form* and *urban function* of the space, in the form of legal regulations, spatial regulations and discussions for appropriation of space for definite functions. Through this analysis, related with socio-spatial, socio-economic, and political context, the major dynamics of the political struggle which is thought to affect the meaning, function and form of Kızılay Square will be examined within a historical frame of reference, especially focusing on the differentiation of the two periods. The first period is consisted of the years between 1960 and 1980; and the second indicates the two decades onwards.

### **1.1. Problem to be Investigated**

Public space inevitably changes through societal transformation. In historical period, within different economic, social and political contexts, definition (meaning), function, forms of public space have transformed; each transformation resulted in a change of influence in urban life. Examining the transformation of European public spaces, *Agora* appeared as the essential public space of Ancient Greece, both politically and socially. ‘Assembly’ came together to discuss the political issues at *Agora*; and added to that, citizens came together to discuss political and social issues; commercial life also flowed at *Agora*. However, women, slaves and immigrants, who were not regarded as citizens, were pushed out of *Agora*. *Roman Forum*, as a continuation of *Agora*, merged the Greek Acropolis and *Agora* on oneself. Added to the religious and commercial functions; both the political activity and daily activities, such as informal meetings of citizens and sports facilities were all being performed at *Forum*. *Market places* of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance *Plazas* were similar places of *agora* and *forum*; they were used for both economic and political aims. The streets and cathedrals also occurred to be the places where citizens from different classes came together.

Public space got its modern meaning through seventeenth and eighteenth century; by the differentiation of working place and living place (home). Added to that, parks, cafes, buildings of theatre had been added to the context of public spaces in this period. At these places, citizens were meeting with the strangers, and being

socialized. In nineteenth century, new kinds of consumption and shopping places, which were semi-public spaces, appeared. Arcades with shops and streets of shopping occurred in the boundaries of this definition; women, who were extracted from the public spaces of eighteenth century, were observed to possess these spaces.

In twentieth century, spaces like restaurants, cinema, zoos, and theatres presented new opportunities for entertainment, recreation, feeding and consumption. These occurred to be owned privately, but used publicly. Recently, three essential points (by Cybriwsky: 1999) can be put with respect to the observation on transformation of public spaces. Public spaces have been observed to be under a privatization process; they have occurred to be controlled and to be restricted denser with increasing technological possibilities; the historical meanings of the public spaces have been seen to be degenerated.

The period after 1970's is regarded to be a period of radical changes having economic, political, social, cultural and spatial dimensions. The period since 1970's indicates a process during which some kind of economic, social and spatial transformations have been observed. This process has brought new concepts, and made new definitions inevitable. World economic system – *globalization*; *capital's* gaining more *flexibility*; with 1971's petroleum crisis in the west the *decline of welfare state*; and the tendencies such as increase of privatization, are the ones most attract attention. Some of the economic, social and spatial extensions of these tendencies are departure of production industry from the great cities leaving the service sector behind, formation of the “*world city*” concept, the change of the city's middle and lower class concepts' definitions, gated communities and under – class formations, and developing a fragmented pattern of urban social and spatial structure as some classes are excluded from some districts, activities or places.

These transformations have become more evident since 1980's in Turkey. Although the process was not experienced exactly the same as western world, Turkey has been affected similarly from the transformations. For example; although it can not be said that an exact underclass group had developed in Turkey, after 1980 some transformations are seen in the concepts of lower-class, squatter formations and

related marginal sector, which is economic extension of lower-classes. The squatter's being subjected to the Mafia relations (the transfer from an object having a use value to survive to an object of exchange value and the process of getting share from the Mafia rent) and transformation to apartments are some of these changes (Işık, Pınarcıoğlu,2002). The middle class movement towards the outside of the city, sub-urbanization and the increase in the shopping malls are the developments seen parallel to the ones in the west.

Urban poor are obliged to live in limited areas, so to create their own limited public spaces. This seems to lead a fragmentation in urban space and urban social structure which leads to limited and fragmented cognitive maps and public realm in individuals' conscious.

By the spatial implementations and prohibitions, Kızılay Square, which had become an essential public space since the establishment of Turkish Republic, has transformed to be a junction point where people and vehicles passing through. Thought to be on one hand the catalyst and on the other hand stage of protests and meetings, Kızılay Square has been discussed to turn to a space in the form of a junction where pedestrians are intended to be got out and vehicles are motivated to pass faster by the spatial implementations and new traffic orders. Added to that, Kızılay Square is closed / forbidden generally to the protests in great size for the sake of citizens passing through the space.

## **1.2. Theoretical Framework of the Study**

Both '*time*' and '*space*' are critical concepts for the thesis. Societies are inevitably assumed to survive through space and time. Therefore, the transformation, which societies have experienced, also impacted on their spatial organization. The meaning, function and form of space have been defined several times again and again within this transformation. The mechanisms of transformation on these three dimensions, is embedded in the social change.

Through defining the relationship of space and social phenomena, space has been placed basically in three different locations within this relationship. In Absolute

Space Approach, space is regarded to be the scene of the social organization, change and action; in other words it is external. Relative Space Approach rejects this idea of being external; rather space is put forward to be formed by social phenomena and processes; which would result in reduction of space to what is social. Relational Space Approach argues that at first, space is defined through social phenomena; however once produced it can not be defined as what is social; rather it occurs to have a power and potential to impact on what is social.

More specifically, the perspective named as Socio-Economic Approach – in Gotdiener and Feagin’s article – would present a meaningful frame and an effective set of theoretical tools to examine the transformation of space with respect to social phenomena. In their article, Gotdiener and Feagin examine different theoretical frameworks in urban studies with respect to the major concepts, main and related major questions, assumptions, and theories. In the Socio-Economic Approach, spatial transformation is held as a part of a comprehensive social theory, which examines social phenomena and processes. *The relationship between structure and agents, capital accumulation processes, reproduction and control of labour power, socio-spatial relations, concepts of power relations and inequality, and class conflicts* are some of the basic concepts which are interrelated with each other and provide a dynamic frame to examine the social contradictory processes. The theories of Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey within this approach will enable us to frame the transformation of both the conflict/contradiction and the space.

Urban space is both the scene and the subject of the contradiction. Each theory defines a different focus within this contradiction (Şengül, 2001). Lefebvre mentions the distinction of abstract – concrete space, and the distinction of exchange value and use value of space. Harvey determines the capital accumulation process as the focus of the conflict. Castells argues that the class relations and urban social movements are at the focus of conflict. All these theories examine both the society and space to be transformed within the dynamics embedded in oneself, rather than being shaped by the external processes; which enables the researcher on one hand to capture the reality and on the other hand to search for alternative ways to change what is happening.

Space is both a social and a historical product; it is socially produced through the conflicts of societal actors and elements of economic, political structures, framed within a social, political and economic context – through societal practices. Capital accumulation process is assumed to be the basic factor of producing, reproducing and transforming space; since (re)production of space basically refers to building or rebuilding a (built) environment through the ‘precipitation’ of capital (Şengül, 2001) at space. Added to capital, state may be regarded as an essential actor, to impact on space. Within this respect, (re)produced within the capital accumulation processes, and regarded as the state’s space, an *abstract space* can be examined. On the other hand, the concept of *concrete space* indicates the space of citizens, inhabitants; they use the space through their daily life. Added to that, another differentiation can be made between *use value* and *exchange value*. These differentiations result in a conflict among the *capitalism/capitalists*, which/who see(s) space as a commodity; *citizens/working classes*, who regard space as their living places where they are refreshed and where they have daily experiences; and *state*, who sees space as a tool to express its authority, and values and provides its control over society by organizing spatial pattern. These three main categories of actors are also not homogenous. Their being placed at different locations with respect to each other also changes the character of the conflict and so the struggle on/over and at public space. Changing values and interests within different locations of the actors result in transformation of the conflict.

Urban (space) is shaped, produced and reproduced through conflicts and struggles of societal actors within their contradictory values and interests. As a social product, space becomes the subject of conflict within three dimensions. ‘Conflict over historical meaning’, ‘conflict over urban function’ and ‘conflict over spatial form’ (Castells, 1983) would lead to struggles and transformation. These three dimensions of space (meaning, function and form) change not only by the institutionalization of hegemonic values and interests, but on the contrary the oppositional values coming from ‘the grassroots’ also impacts on this transformation. Added to that, public space, like all other urban spaces, is also a historical product; with respect to both the physical and social (cultural) dimensions. The meaning of a space is constructed and

transformed through changing the functions, meanings and forms assigned to that space by the different groups of values and interests, and within different contexts.

Public spaces have been places which enable social interaction; knowledge has been transferred among citizens, social and political rights have been sought within societal opposition and the contradictions have been made explicit at public spaces. This resulted in public space being both the subject and scene of the conflict and struggles; and so power relations. Five categories can be examined as both the measures of publicity of the space and the features which provides the connection of the space to power relations. These categories are also defined as rights (by Carr, et al; 1992): ‘accessibility’, ‘freedom of action’, ‘claims to space’, ‘change’ and ‘disposition’.

### **1.3. Historical Framework of the Study**

Since the political and historical character of a public space is shaped through the main societal contradictions of the society; these contradictions are added over and over; hence construct the layers. The historical meaning of a public space is defined and redefined within these differentiated societal and spatial layers. The transformation of the political struggle on the meaning, form and function of Kızılay Square will be examined under differentiated historical periods all of which indicate a special societal and spatial conflict and ‘societal layer’; which are shaped with respect to the changing characteristics of economic, political context and social, spatial organization of Turkey.

After the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, three major periods can be distinguished; a societal contradiction has been witnessed during each period. First one is experienced between the years 1923 to 1950; the basic contradiction occurred between the values and projects of new established nation state and the socio-spatial inheritance of Ottoman Empire (Şengül, 2003, b; Tekeli, 1998). This period is named as ‘*urbanisation of state*’, by Şengül (2003, b). Kızılay Square occurred as a spatial project of this period; implies both the imposition of values and power by nation state and the construction of a new life style for the arising bourgeoisie of new established state.



By 1950's, migration from rural to urban would result in a new contradiction, with the new layer of actors added to the societal structure. Values of working class occurred in contradiction with the values and interests of the state and bourgeoisie. This contradiction had several dimensions, one of which was spatial; and would lead to a societal opposition between the years 1960 and 1980, the period of '*urbanization of labour power*' (Şengül, 2003, b). This period is between two coup d'états (27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960; 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980) and also includes a memorandum (at 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1970). Kızılay Square occurred to be political space of this opposition. In the thesis, this period is examined within three sub-periods distinguished according to density of the political character of the periods with respect to the newspaper analysis: between 1960 and 1964, arising of an opposition of DP (Democrat Party); between 1968 and 1971, arising of a student movement with an organized societal opposition with labour power, teachers, and some other parts of society; between 1977 and 1980, appearance of chaos and anarchy.

After 1980, the arising value occurred to be 'capital'; this period is named by Şengül (2003, b) as '*urbanization of capital*'. Public space was not the scene of the opposition anymore. The content of the conflict has been emptied; and the conflict *on* space occurred to be more emphasized. On one hand, at the focus of the concept 'laicism', a contradiction between the mayor of Metropolitan Municipality and the mayor of the district municipality was experienced; and on the other hand the spatial regulations, projects have been densely discussed implying a contradiction between vehicles and pedestrians.

Examining the transformation of the conflict and struggle on Kızılay Square, meaning, function and form can be observed to change parallel to each other in certain cases; however in some of the other cases, these three dimensions transformed separately. For example, in 1960's, the meaning of nation state had been still emphasized through the demonstrations; however a new function was arising.

The thesis will enlighten the characteristics of these three periods with respect to political and economic context (political-economic transformation) both in the world; and in Turkey; and (on the base of this context) the issues of urbanisation and

planning (spatial transformation), social and institutional transformations will be discussed. These features of each period will help to examine the transformation of the political and economic character of the open public space, Kızılay Square.

#### **1.4. Methodology of the Study**

To define the issue more clearly, before starting to write, a general review of sources had been done with respect to the concepts and fields mentioned before. There are studies, reports and thesis on transformation of (public) space, transformation of Kızılay Square, and transformation of legal, political and economic backgrounds of Turkey in the literatures of academic studies and archives of NGOs – such as *Şehir Plancıları Odası* and *Mimarlar Odası*. Also the articles, news in the media is an essential source to examine with respect to the issue held in the thesis.

Since the contradictions between the demonstrators and the government were thought to give an effective perspective to examine the political struggles over public space; it was attempted to get data on the changes of demonstrations' space (recommendations and preferences), from the Governorship<sup>1</sup>. However it was informed that in five years time, government destroys the data, documents on the demands of demonstrations' space. So firstly, newspapers' archives and then syndicates', occupational (architects, city planners) institutions' archives were attempted to be benefited from, to construct such an aimed perspective. Added to this inventory, the projects and spatial strategies which have been generated to (re)produce the public spaces – Kızılay Square – especially used for demonstrations also was evaluated.

The case study is aimed to present the changing contradictions to define the meaning, form and function of Kızılay Square. Within this case study, both the changes in contradictions, oppositional actors can be pursued and the transformation of the space with its meaning, function and form can be seen. Explained deeply in third chapter, for each of the period, a case on Kızılay Square will be held in the fourth chapter. For the first period (1923 – 1950: *urbanization of state*), the design and construction of Kızılay Square will be examined briefly, with respect to previous

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<sup>1</sup> See also *Appendix F - Demanding Knowledge from the Governorship*.

studies on the issue and archive of Municipality. For the second period (1950 – 1980: *urbanization of labour power*), newspaper analysis will be used to clarify Kızılay Square being a political space during the societal opposition of the years between 1960 and 1980. For the third period (1980 and onwards: *urbanization of capital*) spatial projects on Kızılay Square will be examined. Added to that, within another newspaper analysis, the conflict between the pedestrians and vehicles and among the mayors of Metropolitan Municipality and district municipality will be evaluated.

Through the newspaper analysis, approximately 4380 daily newspapers were examined; about 1740 newspapers (Ulus in microfilms) between the March of 1960 and December of 1964, about 1290 newspapers (Ulus in microfilms) between January of 1968 and July of 1971, and about 1350 newspapers (Cumhuriyet in hardcopies) between January of 1977 and September of 1980. These years and periods are distinguished with reference to the differentiation of both the density and the shape of the societal opposition on the base of the political, economic context and socio-spatial patterning. Some of the essential concepts concentrated while examining the newspapers are, *Kızılay Square, political struggle, demonstrations, public space, square, and public meetings*. Kızılay Square is considered to be at the focus of this study; besides the economic and political context at national and international levels is looked over to get an idea about the political-economic developments which are possible to affect the political character of Kızılay Square. Through examination of approximately 4380 newspapers, approximately 271 news<sup>2</sup> (of hardcopy) and 29 news<sup>3</sup> on internet were analysed and systematized to produce the knowledge on the transformation of demonstrations and political character of the square between the years 1960 and 1980.

However, as a result of the scarcity of time, although it was planned to interview with the possible actors of the demonstrations during this period, deep interviews can not be handled. As a result of the lack of deep interviews, the political meaning of the space is derived from the news, headings, emphasized issues and concepts of the newspapers and reports prepared before. Deep interviews would enable to achieve

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<sup>2</sup> See also Appendix B and C – News Index in Ulus and Cumhuriyet.

<sup>3</sup> See also Appendix D – News Index in Hürriyet and Evrensel.

and capture a more accurate model of the cognitive maps related with the political character and spatial meaning of Kızılay Square; however this can not be achieved. The evaluation is formed on the base of the concepts and issues emphasized by the newspapers and the reports, studies produced.

### **1.5. Content of the Study**

The thesis is planned to consist of five chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter will concentrate on conceptualizing the problematic within basic concepts and a related theoretical framework. In the third chapter of the thesis, a historical framework will be constructed on the basis of examining urbanization, planning and local-central government relations within the Turkish social, economic and political context. In the fourth chapter, case study on demonstrations taken place at Kızılay Square and the political struggles will be discussed. The fifth chapter is planned to be a conclusion part including an evaluation with proposals.

*Second chapter (THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF SPACE AND CONTRADICTION)* will first concentrate on the relationship of ‘space’ and ‘social ‘phenomena’ which will be held briefly to give a possibility to deepen the political character of public spaces and their relationship with social movements. ‘Space and power’ is the second focus of the theoretical framework. Under this focus, two issues will be examined, ‘production of space’ and ‘conflict over space’. The third concept to focus on is ‘public space’. Definition, value, features and transformation of public space with reference to the economic and social context constitutes the first issue of this focus; and conflict on and at public space is the second issue. Conflict on public space is the power relations and struggles performed to transform the public space; and the conflict at public space refers the social movements and struggles that take place at the squares.

*Third chapter (HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONFLICT ON & AT PUBLIC SPACE)* presents a historical framework to evaluate the conflict on urban public space in Turkey. Within these time periods, the urbanization, planning techniques and approaches in Turkey will be examined with respect to the defined time periods, political, economic and social contexts. Added to that, the legal and

administrative transformation will be held within the same periods to enlighten the legal tools to (re)produce urban space. Thirdly, the spatial policies will be examined in three time periods with respect to the political and social contexts defined.

***Fourth chapter (CASE STUDY: CONFLICT ON & AT KIZILAY SQUARE BEFORE AND AFTER 1980)***, will be concentrate on the political struggle over and at the square since its construction in 1925; the conflict on and at Kızılay Square will be held in three periods. During the first period, the construction of Kızılay Square as a public space is emphasized; during the second period, social movements and Kızılay Square's being a scene for this movement is emphasized; and during the third period the spatial projects and conflicts, which have been experienced between local authorities and between local and central governments, are examined.

***Fifth chapter (CONCLUSION)*** is planned to conclude how the mechanisms have transformed Kızılay Square with respect to the political struggle on and at urban space. And on this analysis, the proposals for policy implications to transform the urban public space will be presented.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF SPACE AND CONFLICT

Space is considered to be inevitable for both individuals and societies. Beyond being a geographical location or a piece of real estate, space is both the place/site of the action and also it gives possibility of social engagement to actions. With respect to these ideas, space is assumed to be related with social phenomena. Different approaches explain this relation through differentiated definitions of space and identifications of relations between space and social object.

Space seems to be a part of the grand social theory; since it is related with both the individuals and society. Space is produced by not only the components of the political and economic systems, but also the societal processes and practices created on the base of these systems. Both the *capitalism* and the *hegemony* affect on shaping urban space through physical, mental, and social processes. Through this production process, space occurs to be contradictory on the base of the *binaries* it consists of. Since it is neither totally a mental nor a physical category; space, is on one hand an abstract issue; and on the other hand, it is concrete. In other words, there is always a distinction between ‘ideal space’ and ‘real space’; space is coded and recoded through developing abstract representations. Hence, urban space is one of the essential fields for ‘the exercise of hegemony’ through both *knowledge* and *action*. Space is both a tool of ideas and actions; and a means of control, power, and domination. Public space occurs to be at the core of ‘the exercise of hegemony’. Through contradictions and struggles, the *meaning*, *form* and *function* of public space is redefined several times; which also indicates both the transformation of political struggle over/on the space and the transformation of the space oneself.

This chapter aims to present both conceptual and theoretical tools to examine and explain the mechanisms of political conflict and the transformation of political struggles on and at public space. Under the first subheading, the relationship between space and social object will be generally conceptualized and discussed. Under the second subheading, the problematic of ‘why space is political?’ will be examined through conceptualizing and theorizing ‘space and power’. And finally, in the third subheading why and how public space is political will be examined.

## **2.1. SPACE AND SOCIAL PHENOMENA**

Space is regarded to be *inevitable* for both human existence (Harvey, 1999) and societal existence (Castells, 1983). Though being one of the main categories of human existence, ‘space’ is usually regarded to be a given concept; therefore it is not usually thought over and not discussed deeply. Rather it is considered as a social phenomenon which is naturalized through the *daily routines* and *meanings*. Direction, distance, area, form, repeated pattern, and volume are some of the concepts which naturalize and concretize the phenomenon of space (Harvey, 1999). Added to that, ‘space’ is also regarded to be inevitable for societies to exist. The structure of the society influences its *spatial form*; hence urban change is closely related with ‘historical evolution’. Spatial structures are transformed and *urban meaning with its functions* is redefined through mechanisms, which should be determined to examine cities and their connection to social change (Castells, 1983: 301).

### **2.1.1. Space and Social Object**

Space is related with social object through both being the scene of the social action and enabling or encouraging social engagement to actions (Gottdiener, 1985: 121, cited in Wright, 2000: 46). Examining the space as being the stage, scene of the action, Wright argues that space can not be thought as a container; it is a ‘constitutive feature’ of social action and identity (Wright, 2000: 43). Beyond being the place of the action, space can be argued to enable or disable social engagement of social action through its boundaries, features, and meanings. Although the space (the built environment) does not directly determine the social phenomena, it may discourage or encourage actors to behave in a certain manner. Dijkstra gives the example of the

Berlin Wall. It was not able to stop people who tried to cross it; however for a while it discouraged many people from a trial (Dijkstra, 2000: 5).

On the field to establish relations between space and social processes, there are 3 main theories; which are **Absolute Space Approach**, **Relative Space Approach** and **Relational Spatial Approach** (Şengül, 2000). Theories can be identified through analyzing their definition of space; and their frame to construct relations with social objects.

**Absolute Space Approach** defines ‘space’ as a container which includes the social objects inside and as a stage where social processes and phenomena take place. **Relative Space Approach**, defines ‘the concept of space’ as the social objects, and the differentiation of their locations. The third approach, in the attempt to cover the previous ones, **Relational Spatial Approach**, ‘grasps the space as the relation among the social units’ (Şengül, 2000).

On the base of these definitions, examining the relationship between space and social object, **Absolute Space Approach** is observed to argue that space and social objects are separated from each other. Appeared as a reaction to Absolute Space Approach, **Relative Space Approach** rejects the idea that space is independent from the social processes and phenomena. On opposite, this respect puts forward that space is constructed by social objects’ being located with reference to each other (Şengül, 2000). **Relational Spatial Approach** proposes that once the relation among the social units – the space – appears then it would not be correct to reduce the space to those units. Namely, the Relative Space Approach proposes that, the space is constructed by the relationship of social units, and once it is produced, it would not be made up of just them, rather it would have a power to transform these units reciprocally (Sayes, 1985; Urry, 1981: cited in Şengül,2000).

Through examining the inadequacies of the approaches, an evaluation and a comparison can be reached. Within **Absolute Space Approach**, the space and social objects are argued to be separated from each other and space is reduced to be a scene or a container of the action. **Relative Space Approach** provides a wider view than



the previous one, but a risk of reducing space to the social phenomena occurs. Moreover by this way of thinking, space is considered to be ‘ineffective’ (Şengül, 2000: 123). **Relational Spatial Approach** is seen to present a more extensive framework. In the process beginning with the social units’ interaction, space then positioned to a point to have power to change or affect the process and units (Şengül, 2000). For example, Marx thought that the peasants – who could not come together, because of living in separate districts, and villages – could not construct a class conscious. And he gave a ‘positive moment’ to the urban area, as the workers were able to get organized, because of *concentration* and *spatial proximity*, different from peasants (Saunders, 1986). Space could not directly (or only itself) lead workers’ to come together and get organized; however it acted as a contingent factor on the process of relationship between the capital and workers. Once this process started, the concentration and spatial proximity helped the process work faster (Şengül, 2000).

### 2.1.2. Space and Society

Since the concept of urban space is a part of the general social theory; it should be examined within this grand theory (Castells, 1983). The concept of *urbanization* occurs to be one of the key concepts, examining the relationship between space and society. Castells examines the definition of this concept in the very beginning of his book, *Urban Question*. One of the possible definitions focuses on ‘the spatial concentration of a population’; the other, which seems to be more emphasized, is related with ‘the cultural diffusion of the system of values, attitudes, and behaviour’ – this system is called ‘*urban culture*’ (Castells, 1977: 9). Therefore, the concept of urbanization implies both the *spatial organization* of human societies – with respect to the concentration of specific human activities and populations – and the *diffusion of an urban culture*. This diffusion of culture is provided through both constructing a correspondence between the ‘natural forms’ and ‘cultural values’, and proposing ‘an ideology of the production of social values’ with respect to the densification of social phenomena on the base of natural phenomena (Castells, 1977: 15).

The issue of ‘social production of spatial forms’, which is inherited from Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) and mentioned in *Urban Question* (Castells, 1977: 17), has an

essential role in the organization of this thesis. Examining urban space four basic groups of activities can be distinguished to be located within a scarce urban space: production (for e.g. industry, offices), consumption (in other words the reproduction of labour power, for e.g. housing, public amenities), exchange (for e.g. traffic, commerce) and administration (for e.g. municipal administration, urban planning). These activities have been observed to concentrate on certain regions or 'zones' of urban space, with respect to the changing economic and political structure (Castells, 1977: 20; 126-7), in other words mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991: 26, 31). For example, the head offices of the firms being located at the city centres. On the other hand, some of the other spatial functions such as housing are distributed within variable densities (Castells, 1977: 20). This distribution and zoning constitutes a 'specific' spatial organization which is a 'specific' production of social structure (Castells, 1977: 21). Lefebvre proposes the concept of 'social space' as a 'social product', and he argues that every mode of production produces its own space (Lefebvre, 1991: 26, 31).

Space can be examined as the expression of societal structure, within two sub-issues. Firstly, space is produced by the components of both the economic and political systems; and secondly, space is produced through the societal practices which are formed by these components (Castells, 1977). This will be enlightened and deepened in the next subheading through the issues of power relations, production of space and conflict over space.

## **2.2. SPACE AND POWER**

Beyond its meaning, space did not exist before matter existed, according to physicians. Therefore, the attempt to examine the physical dimensions of space separately from the matter is an irrelevant trial. Moreover, the meanings attributed to space have been redefined several times within the material practices and processes which produce the societal life (Harvey, 1999). Hence, space has both economic and political dimensions, added to relations with social (and so historical) phenomena (Lefebvre, 1991: 10, 11). Each mode of production and societal pattern would produce both the spatial practice of oneself and the perception of space (Harvey, 1999). Capitalism can be said to influence the 'practical matters related with urban

space', in the form of 'construction of buildings', 'distribution of investments' or 'division of labour'. However, added to that, hegemony – the concept introduced by Gramsci, referring to one class's domination over another one – implies a more 'violent' affect on space, than 'influence' (Lefebvre, 1991: 10, 11). Through capitalism both the physical features and meanings of space alter rapidly parallel to its character as a mode of production. Moreover, the tools to represent the space change; which leads to transformation of material reality to organize the daily life. For example, the radial designs of Le Corbusier as a planner and Haussman as an administrator would make us live in this spatial frame; and make us experience that spatial and social practice. However this does not mean that the designers solely determine the spatial experiences (Harvey, 1999). Capitalism is regarded to play an essential role in producing, and reproducing of space; on the other hand 'hegemony' and 'political struggles' affect not only the production processes (physical dimension) but also both the mental processes and social experiences.

Hegemony is exercised over the society by '*policies, political leaders, political parties, and the expertises, intellectuals* through the mediation of people (Lefebvre, 1991: 10, 11). Since the concept of 'urban space' implies a 'production of social content'; this term is related to production of social relations (Castells, 1977: 89); hence urban space is inevitably subjected to power relations and hegemony. Both the political system and ideological system attempt to organize space. Political system organizes the space through domination and legitimating. The ideological system, on the other hand, uses a system and a net of signs to mark the space (Castells, 1977: cited in Şengül, 2001). Since this hegemony is over both the institutions and the ideas, also culture and knowledge is contained in this issue. Knowledge is one of the tools, the dominant class uses to provide and continue its hegemony (Lefebvre, 1991). Space can not be thought to be left out from 'the exercise of hegemony'; Lefebvre asks in his book:

Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched? Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations, the milieu in which the combination takes on body, or the aggregate of procedures employed in their removal? The answer must be no (Lefebvre, 1991: 11).

Then a new question occurs: 'how does space serve to hegemony?' According to Lefebvre, space plays an active and instrumental role through 'knowledge' and

‘action’ in the existing mode of production. He proposes a trio of fields, to construct a theory examining the role of space. The fields, he proposes to be interested in, are ‘the physical’ (‘nature, the cosmos’); ‘the mental’ (in the form of logical and formal abstractions) and lastly ‘the social’ (Lefebvre, 1991: 11). Parallel to this, he attempts to find the concepts to define the distinction of spaces parallel to this trio; he tries ‘physical space’, ‘mental space’ and ‘social space’ on the base of the distinction between the ideal and real space. Ideal space implies the mental categories (logi-mathematical such as Cartesian notion of space); and on the other hand real space indicates the ‘space of social practice’. There is always a distance between ideal one and real one; space is coded and recoded through developing abstract representations (Lefebvre, 1991: 14). Harvey concentrates on the example of the contradiction experienced between the native inhabitants of plains and the immigrants who would conquer the plains the natives were living. The perception of the immigrants on space was so different from the perception of natives that the conflict was inevitable. They had certainly differentiated meanings of space through daily life; hence the conflict was based on the struggle to redefine the phenomenon of space in this land. This redefinition can be evaluated to imply on one hand regulating the societal life and on the other hand determining the phenomenon of ‘rights over the land’ (Harvey, 1999: 229-30).

Summarizing, space is neither totally a mental category nor a physical category according to Lefebvre. Space is both a tool of ideas, and actions and a means of control, power, and domination. Therefore it is on one hand an abstract issue; on the other hand it is concrete as much as capital and commodities. Space is constructed on ‘binaries’; therefore, it is regarded to be ‘contradictory’ (Lefebvre, 1991: 292), and on one hand space occurs as a subject of power relations and struggles; on the other hand it occurs as the scene of the action, so power struggles.

### **2.2.1. Production of Space**

Through an attempt to define ‘production of space’, the issue is seen to consist of not only physical dimensions; but also both mental and social dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991). Moreover, both the components of the economic - political systems and societal practices influence on the production and transformation of space (Castells,

1977). In other words, to create the space both the society's practical capabilities and sovereign powers are effective (Lefebvre, 1991: 33), added to capital. There are two critical points on the material base<sup>4</sup> of socio-spatial transformation. One is the differentiation in values and interests of classes, groups, and individuals. The other is conflict and struggles occurred on the base of this differentiation (Castells, 1977; cited in Şengül, 2001: 13.14). Urban space is socially produced within a dialectical process among 'spatial affairs' and 'social actors'. The relationship of structure-agency is dialectical. This relationship is (re)determined and (re)defined at different scales/levels so constructing a 'uni-linear relationship' between 'macro social determinations' and 'the spatial outcomes in localities'. For example, the attempt to explain spatial development solely on the base of capital accumulation would neglect the consideration of the effects of issues such as 'activities of the mediating forces', 'state policies' (Keskinok, 1997).

Production of space primarily refers to the activity of constructing a built environment. This also means that capital 'settles' ('becomes constant') at the space within certain distributions. Through this process, urban space has turned to be a commodity itself, through the capitalist mode of production (Şengül, 2001: 9.10). Added to 'the relations of production', space includes 'the social relations of reproduction' as well; these relations are interrelated with each other. Therefore space is called as 'social space' by Lefebvre and defined to be a social product (Lefebvre, 1991: 32). Neither the global economic processes nor the private sector's investment and public sector's resource allocation decisions of urban space is the mere factor of producing, reproducing, structuring, restructuring and transforming (urban) space. Each of the actors – state, firms, agents, and actors – decide on how to move on space dependently and separately. This movement takes place within a socio-spatial context which is produced historically by both the activities of the agents consciously or unconsciously done; and 'mediation of these agents about state's intervention into urban space'. Therefore, urban space reproduction can not be said to be a result of capital accumulation; rather it is shaped within the continuous interaction of context, activities, agents, etc (Keskinok, 1997:1-2).

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<sup>4</sup> **The material base of socio-spatial transformation** refers to the components of the economic - political systems.

Summarising, capital accumulation processes play an essential role at both producing and reproducing the space (Lefebvre, 1991). However, political economy is not the only factor shaping the production of space; rather social-physical space is produced at social levels added to the economic, political and cultural levels (Wright, 2000). Lefebvre argues that urban space is a product of societal relationships and struggles (Lefebvre, 1991). Urban space is (re)produced through ‘multifarious relations’ and ‘complex interactions between structures and agents’. The relations (so interventions) to organize the space are sentenced to a kind of dialectical reference, ‘the sphere of struggles’ (Keskinok, 1997: ix). Therefore, production of space is not a moment; it implies a process (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). This process is influenced both from the political-economic frame with reference to mode of production and social reality constructed on the base of this frame; space is produced through the societal contradictions and struggles, which makes space both the scene and subject of power struggles and politics. Hence, each society has an identified space of oneself as Lefebvre argues. “(Social) Space is a (social) product (p.26). ... every society – and hence every mode of production with its subvariants ... – produces a space, its own space (p.31)...” (Lefebvre, 1991: 26, 31).

Within this title of production of space, there are three sub-titles identified. First one focuses on a more general frame with respect to the mode of production, indicating the distinction of production, experience and power, discussed in Castells’ book *City and The Grassroots*. Under the second sub-heading, space and the production of space are discussed to be at the focus of a contradiction among a triad; capital, state and labour. Under the third one, relatively a more specific triad – *Spatial Practices, Representations of Space, and Representational Space* – is held. This triad also indicates the distinction and contradiction between Perceived, Conceived and Lived Space.

#### **2.2.1.1. Production & Experience & Power**

With reference to the concepts, *production*, *experience* and *power*, human beings can be said to construct power relations while they are forming and organizing societies. *Production* refers to the activity of human beings to transfer nature – material and energy – for the sake of realizing the determined social purposes.

*Experience* means the relationships of human beings within themselves through the multi-dimensional structure composed of biological and cultural components. *Power* indicates the relationships produced among people through the activities of production and experience. The *power relations*, occurred through the *production process*, have been constructed on the base of class relations. They have been experienced as non-producers' exploitation of surplus over the producers – examined in the studies of Marx and Engels. Power relations observed through experience, have been conceived on the base of gender relations. They have been observed as the domination of men over women – examined in the psychoanalytic studies of Freud. The power relations on the base of the concept of power are organized around the state – examined in the studies of Weber on state's autonomous and essential role of construction the society (Castells, 1983).

Each and every new mode of production is said to be formed through a victory of a new class; within this process the new class imposes own values and interests upon the rest of the society (Castells, 1983).

#### **2.2.1.2. Capital & State & Labour**

Space is (re)produced through three processes, each of which indicates a set of actors: capital accumulation processes; state interventions and policies, and reproduction of labour power and for use value. On the base of this; through the process of urban spatial change and transformation, there can be proposed three focuses: social/societal classes, capital accumulation processes and state (Şengül, 2001).

Marxist Approaches examines the relationship between space and capital with reference to the absolute space approach. Space is the context through which the Meta/commodity is produced, circulated and consumed; therefore space is external to the capital accumulation process. Lefebvre criticizes this formulation. According to him, space has gone beyond being the place where relationships of production and consumption are organized; gained a key position within the capital accumulation processes. Lefebvre argues that within the twentieth century; capitalism has been witnessed to reproduce oneself and provided its survival by its recognition of space

through using, reproducing it. Beyond being a context where commodities circulate, space turns to be a commodity itself; which has led to the concept of ‘abstract’ (Lefebvre, 1991). As the exchange values dominate the use values, space turns to be an abstract phenomenon although it has a concrete character. The contradiction between use and exchange values, and production and consumption results in a consideration of both concrete and abstract space within a dialectical process (Lefebvre, 1991: 341.342).

Marx puts a distinction between rent, profit and wages. Lefebvre invokes Marx’s distinction and emphasizes the relative importance of land to capital; as space is significant at reproduction of relations of production (Lefebvre, 1991: 325). Lefebvre points the concept of ‘centrality’ (Lefebvre, 1991: 331) which refers to the concentration of knowledge, finance, culture, information and means of action. This concentration results in the ‘scarcity of space’, such as scarcity of housing and office spaces (Wright, 2000: 43).

Urban space is *produced, reproduced* and *transformed* through the projects which are shaped by two main set of interests, values. One of these main interests is expressed as *use value*; refers to perceiving the urban space as a lived space. The other is *exchange value*, which represents viewing urban space as a source of profit and rent. Urban space is regarded to be concrete by the view which discerns the space as a place to live with reference to use value. On the other hand, within the exchange value perspective, space is considered as an abstract commodity, which is sold and bought as a tool to provide capital accumulation and rent. Urban is perceived as a source of rent for a group of actors such as urban entrepreneurs, contractors, land speculators, banks, and firms. On the other hand, urban is the space where the daily life is organized for a mass of citizens (Şengül, 2001: 34). Capitalist city is a place where exchange value is dominant to the use value. However, this should not be understood as an absolute hegemony. The actors who emphasize the use value can realize their projects through a strong political organizing which is established around a common ground (Şengül, 2001: 35).



The major factor of urban conflict is not only class conflicts and struggles; the autonomous role of the state, the mobilization through identity such as the gender relationships, the ethnic and national movements, and other like movements that define themselves as citizen also may affect the transformation of urban space (Castells, 1983). Neither capital accumulation processes nor class conflicts can be observed directly at space; state intervene these two issues either directly or indirectly (Katznelson, 1992; cited in Şengül, 2001). State can be argued to be at the centre of urban spatial processes as its functions of resource distribution and regulation. On one hand, state organizes the class formation processes and reproduction of labour power processes; and on the other hand with its legitimate authority, it forms the institutional and political frame which would provide the actors to stay and live together though their conflicting values and interests (Şengül, 2001). Hence, space is a kind of ‘plexus’ into which state intervenes within the organization of capitalist economy. Within this context of economic structure the contradictions between capital and labour, between capital and land, and between land and labour result in the indirect effect of non-spatial policies of government to ‘the spatio-behavioural patterns of actors’ and ‘the ways through which the agents solve their spatial problems’. The state attempts to solve spatial problems and reproduction of urban space through ‘direct-spatial means’ such as urban planning, state provision of urban services, land policy and legal framework (Keskinok, 1997: ix).

Added to that, space turns to be a tool for the state to construct hegemony and control through the relationship between state and space. Grid-iron plan was produced as a kind of control mechanism<sup>5</sup>. State aims to control the entire urban space; however the public space is on the focus of places where government aims to construct hegemony. State, similar to the capitalist system’s view, perceives the space as an abstract tool and field to provide control; not a concrete place to live at.

Within Castells’ evaluation, state is thought as ‘a tool’ which meets ‘the needs created by the dominant relationships of production’. State is observed to be under

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<sup>5</sup> The wide boulevard implementations of Haussman in Paris, is an example of such a relation among space, planning and hegemony. Roman grid-iron plan of military camps; and later designs of Hipodamus is another example.

the oppression of several forces (actors); therefore to consider the state as if it is in a homogenous structure is not accurate. Added to that, state may more frequently produce projects and policies in favour of working classes. This is not only because of the movements created externally by the societal classes and their struggles; but also the struggles inside the structure of the state. Especially the local state is used by some radical groups to attribute a new urban spatial meaning. Since he considers the state within a homogenous and compact structure, Castells' view is problematic. The structure of state is not homogenous. Both between the central state and local state and between the central and local organizations of political parties, there are serious conflicts and disconnections. Therefore, the separate actors and processes within the structure of state are also critical to examine the spatial transformation (Şengül, 2001).

### **2.2.1.3. Spatial Practices (Perceived Space) & Representations of Space (Conceived Space) & Representational Space (Lived Space)**

The power which occurs through the production is the consequence of the relationship between actual and the imagined possibilities of the space (Wright, 2000). Lefebvre's conceptualizing of the differentiation of space may be used as an effective tool to analyze the power relations and conflict on space. He puts (1991) forward three kinds of space: perceived space (spatial practices), conceived space (representations of space) and lived space (representational space).

The concept of *spatial practices* refers to the phenomena connecting daily life and urban pattern within the *perceived space* (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Spatial practices can be empirically observed on planning, architecture, urbanism and design levels (Lefebvre, 1991: 414). Considering the spatial practices, examining the daily routines, a rhythm – a structure of daily life – becomes visible. Walking, creating festivals, working, sleeping, enjoying picnics, etc. constitute spatial (social) practices (Wright, 2000: 47).

*Representations of space* refer to the spatial representations which are created by policy makers, engineers, city planners, scientists (Lefebvre, 1991: 38), and *representational space* refers to the space lived through its symbols, and images

(Lefebvre, 1991: 39). Spatial practices are shaped through the relationship between these two kinds of spaces. Representations of space are presented by ‘abstract expert discourses’, on the other hand ‘representational spaces’ are introduced by ‘symbolic systems’, ‘poetry’, ‘artistic representations’, which enable users to re-imagine their relationship with the outer world (Wright, 2000: 49).

A space or a place is integrated into spatial practices by repetition and ‘routinization’ in everyday life (Giddens, 1984: xxiv; cited in Wright, 2000: 48). The struggles between dominant and counter-dominant imaginaries, which are constructed through spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces, result in hierarchies. These hierarchies refer to the position of actors with reference to the ‘resource availability’, ‘social worth’, and social power. The integration and fragmentation within the daily life is instituted on the base of these hierarchies (Wright, 2000: 48).

Through the design of the conceived space by the architect, city planner and/or policy maker, the fundamental issue appears to be accuracy, which represents the ‘accurate representations of lived reality’. According to this priority, a development or a place should enable an evaluation within the quantifiable indicators, be profitable, and give possibility to be implemented (Lefebvre, 1991: 362). Issues of power such as social injustice or inequality may be left out of account as easily, since these are evaluated as not profitable, not realistic, rather idealistic. Representations of space are organized and informed through ‘verbal’ and ‘visual’, sign systems, which are technical abstractions referring to both analyses how people live and designs how they should live (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

In case the representations of space begin to dominate the representational space, then the spatial practices such as struggles on and at space occur. The tools which may have impact on representations of space are ‘legal documents’, ‘city planning documents’, ‘reports’, ‘advertisements’, ‘police reports’, ‘quotes from city officials’. These tools consolidate the dominant use and discourage new forms of use (Wright, 2000: 50). The conflicts and struggles between the dominant and counter-dominant imaginaries produce ‘the unstable city landscapes’ (Wright, 2000: 53).

Harvey demonstrates the spatial practices in a scheme defining the concepts as Lefebvre determines. Material spatial practices indicate both the physical and material flow and influences, which provide the production and reproduction at and through space. Representations of space compromise all of the codes, indicators and information which enable and provide talking about and understanding the material practices. Representational spaces are defined as the mental inventions – such as codes, indicators, ‘spatial discourses’, utopias, imaginary landscapes, even symbolic spaces – which imagine new meanings and possibilities for the spatial practices. These three dimensions are proposed as *lived*, *perceived* and *conceived* in Lefebvre’s conceptualization (Harvey, 1999: 246-7).

The dialectical relationship between these three phenomena enables evaluation of the history of spatial practices. Hence, representational spaces do not only influence the representations of spaces; but also function as the productive power of them. However, Harvey proposes that the trial to examine the relationship between the lived, the perceived and the conceived space through a dialectical frame of reference rather than a causal frame would lead to be stuck in an abstract level. Bourdieu makes explicit the issue by using ‘a matrix of perception, evaluation and action’. He takes over Engels’ opinion that ‘the economic base of social formations’ influences the formation of (material) structures. Within Bourdieu’s conceptualization, a circular composition can be observed. The things which are located permanently produce the practices; and then these practices are observed ‘to reproduce the material conditions which are seen to produce the principle of *habitus*, the productive principle at the beginning’ (Harvey, 1999: 247).

Harvey indicates four other dimensions of spatial practices: accessibility and determination of the distance; appropriation of space as an estate; hegemony over space; and production of space. *Accessibility* implies ‘the friction emerged as a result of the distance among people’. Distance within human interaction is considered on one hand as an obstacle and on the other hand as a tool for defence. Distance loads operation cost to production and reproduction systems. Determination of the distance – *Mesafelendirme* – indicates the degree of solving the issue of spatial friction to provide societal interaction. The second dimension,

*appropriation of space as an estate* examines the forms of occupation of space by objects (houses, factories, streets, etc.), spatial functions (land use, etc.), individuals, classes or other kinds of societal groups. *Hegemony over space* reflects how individuals or hegemonic groups make use of the organization and (re)production of space to control both the accessibility (and distance) within spatial friction and the forms of appropriation of space through either legal or illegal tools. *Production of space* examines how the new systems – in the fields such as land use, transportation and communication, and regional organization – are produced and how the new forms of representation – such as mapping or design within computer technologies – have appeared (Harvey, 1999: 250). Harvey combines two sets of concepts related with the spatial practices in a diagram, which is shown in the next page of the thesis. This formulation will be developed with some other concepts of Carr. et. al. and be used to examine the historical transformation of political contradiction and struggle over Kızılay Square.

Table 1. The Scheme of Spatial Practices

	<b>Accessibility and Determination of the Distance</b>	<b>Appropriation and Use Of Space</b>	<b>Hegemony and Control over Space</b>	<b>Production of Space</b>
<b>Material Spatial Practices (Experience)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flows of goods, money, people, labour power, information, etc.;</li> <li>• Transport and communication systems;</li> <li>• Market and urban hierarchies;</li> <li>• Agglomeration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land uses and built environments</li> <li>• Social spaces and other ‘turf’ designations;</li> <li>• Societal networks of communication and mutual aid</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private property in land</li> <li>• State and administrative divisions of space</li> <li>• Exclusive communities and neighbourhoods;</li> <li>• Exclusionary zoning and other forms of societal control mechanisms (policing and surveillance)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Production of physical infrastructure (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.)</li> <li>• Territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal)</li> </ul>
<b>Representation of Space (Perception)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social, psychological and physical measures of distance;</li> <li>• Map making;</li> <li>• Theories of the ‘friction of distance’ (principles of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal space;</li> <li>• Mental maps of occupied space;</li> <li>• Symbolic representation of spaces;</li> <li>• Spatial ‘discourses’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forbidden spaces;</li> <li>• ‘Territorial imperatives’;</li> <li>• Community;</li> <li>• Regional culture;</li> <li>• Nationalism;</li> <li>• Geopolitics;</li> <li>• Hierarchies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.;</li> <li>• New artistic and architectural ‘discourses’</li> <li>• Semiotics</li> </ul>
<b>Representational Spaces (Imaginary)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attraction / Repulsion</li> <li>• Distance / Desire</li> <li>• Access / Denial</li> <li>• Transcendence</li> <li>• ‘medium is the message’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Familiarity;</li> <li>• Hearth and home;</li> <li>• Open places;</li> <li>• Places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets)</li> <li>• Iconography and graffiti;</li> <li>• Advertising</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unfamiliarity;</li> <li>• Spaces of fear;</li> <li>• Property and possession;</li> <li>• Monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual;</li> <li>• Symbolic barriers and symbolic capital;</li> <li>• Construction of ‘tradition’</li> <li>• Spaces of repression</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Utopian plans</li> <li>• Imaginary landscapes</li> <li>• Science fiction ontologies and space;</li> <li>• Artists’ sketches;</li> <li>• Mythologies of space and place;</li> <li>• Poetics of space;</li> <li>• Spaces of desire</li> </ul>

Source: *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Harvey, 1990: 220-221

### **2.2.2. Conflict over Space**

The physicians argue that neither time nor space existed before the matter. On the base of this argument, space and time should be examined within the examination of material world. While studying the meaning of a space, to achieve an objective conceptualization, one should consider the material processes. Therefore, objective conceptualizations of 'time' and 'space' have been redefined repeatedly, with reference to the material processes and practices which produces the societal pattern and life. Each mode of production and social pattern will produce both a specific spatial practice and the grasp of it (Harvey, 1999: 230.231).

Harvey examines the example of the spatial transformation of Paris between the years 1850 and 1870. Paris occurred as a city of both problems and opportunities by the year 1950. The population of the city, which was seven – eight hundred thousand in 1831, was expanded one million in 1846. Paris is considered to be a dynamic city with a developed industry, also observed a development in the fields of finance, commerce, culture, administration, and class conflicts. By the year 1950, a severe economic crisis arose in Paris; the city occurred to be in a chaos. By the year 1970, the spatial organization and pattern of Paris was observed to change through work of Haussman. Harvey attempts to consider this transformation on the base of examining the relationships between urban economics, politics, society and culture. He examines the transformation – between the years 1850 -1870 – under twelve subheadings such as spatial relationships, labour power, and the role of women in the labour power (Harvey, 1985).

Napoleon had conceived a new spatial organization which would have met the needs of capitalism. Haussman was assigned to realize this mission. New boulevards and harbours were constructed and opened to use, rivers were developed to enable transportation, and network of railways was accomplished. Added to the railway system other modes of transportation were developed, great investments were transferred to communication and transportation technologies. Haussman had known that the power of shaping the space would mean the power to influence the societal reproduction processes. Harvey argues that, Haussman attempted to expel the labour

class, and to change the industrial character of Paris so to organize the city as a castle for middle class. To accomplish this aim, the city centre was organized firstly; industry was taken out from the centre, and great monumental structures which would reflect the great power of the government was located at the centre; added to that commercial and financial units were settled at the centre. New boulevards and roads were constructed to enable military control, and to provide middle class to stroll through the places for entertainment and commerce. Within a spatial segregation, Haussman not only aimed to provide the middle classes protection from attacks of dangerous groups, but also he shaped a city within a spatial organization that guaranteed differentiated classes to reproduce themselves in safety. Haussman was observed to succeed in organizing different social classes with his authority in planning, and regulation. He achieved to change the geography of the city. The result of the project implemented by Haussman was not exactly as the same as he created in his mind; however this project can be evaluated as explicitly political at the beginning of the implementation (Harvey, 1985).

The re-organization of the cognitive constructions and the differentiation of conceptual tools – also changes in spatial and historical representations – would lead to a set of new material components on the de-regulation of the daily life. For instance the radial design of Le Corbusier – as a planner – and similarly, design of Haussman – as a manager, both obliged the citizens to live in this material reference and lead them to experience that designed spatial practice. However, spatial practice can not be argued to be directed by the design of planner or architect, as it would be differentiated from the conceived scheme to some degree. Although space and spatial practices are thought to be defined and naturalized through the daily routines and practices; under the conceptualization of space there is a hidden mechanism, pattern of struggles, conflict and dilemmas (Harvey, 1999). Therefore city is assumed to be a social product (Castells, 1983). Conflict becomes visible when the different features of ‘space’ come to the fore, through the changing societal context (Harvey, 1999: 230.231). This emphasis shift is not a result of subjective evaluations; rather it implies an emphasis shift in the societal structure and pattern.



Conflicts over the urban space / spatial organization such as distribution of services, quality of services, and decision shaping processes are essential. These conflicts based on not only the contradictions of capitalist mode of production but also problems of reproduction of urban space (Keskinok, 1997). Constructing societal hegemony over and within the daily life is based on the hegemony established over space. Harvey argues that the ones who determine ‘the material practices, forms and meanings’ on time, money and space are also the actors who determine the main rules of societal organization (Harvey, 1999: 255). In each and every society ‘ideological and political hegemony’ is based on the capacity to control the physical context of both the personal and societal life. Therefore the meaning attributed to money, time and space and the attempt to make them material things play an essential role to protect the power of the ruling party. The problem which occurs at that point is to grasp the societal processes which shape the features of time, space and money. Added to this, the second issue to examine occurs to be the problem how the spatial practices and discourses have been consumed and reproduced within the societal action (Harvey, 1999: 256). Urban space is produced and transformed through the conflicts and the struggles among social actors within their conflicting interests and values (Castells, 1983). Modern city has turned to be a place where struggles occur since different interests contradict. Urban space does not remain as the arena of the struggles; but also turns to be the subject of the conflicts and struggles (Lefebvre, 1979; Poulantzas, 1978; cited in Şengül, 2001: 14). Space can be recognized as both the locus of relationships and focus of social forces, and agents of the struggle around the urban space. The social-spatial phenomena should be considered as both the product and producer of social relations within capitalism (Keskinok, 1997). Being both the subject and stage of the struggles, urban space has been produced by the societal actors, having distinct values and interests again and again. The struggles on and at space appears at the focus of the power struggles; therefore, each and every power struggle has to form strategies to control the space and so provide the survival and success of oneself (Lefebvre, 1979; Poulantzas, 1978; cited in Şengül, 2001: 14).

As a product, urban space has three main dimensions which are subjected to change within the struggles and conflicts. These are *historical meaning*, *urban functions* and

*spatial forms*. The transformation of meaning, function and structure of the urban space is based on ‘the institutionalization of socially dominant interests’. However while constructing a theory of social change and urban change, one should also consider the spatial and social effects led by the grassroots’ mobilization and demands as well, which is alternative to the dominant interests. This means examining the conflict and struggles of the dominant and the opposite actors with their demands and interests on space (Castells, 1983: 291)<sup>6</sup>. We should consider the spatial and social effects of the dominant and the opposite – from the grassroots – actors, their demands and interests.

Cities are ‘historical products’ both in ‘their physical materiality’ and ‘cultural meaning’ with respect to their changing role in the organization of society and people’s everyday life. Therefore, the definition of urban meaning is not only a cultural entity; also a social process within the conflicts, domination and counter-domination. The ‘urban meaning’ is defined through a contradictory process, consisting domination, and resistance to domination and directly linked to the dynamics of social struggle. The ‘assignment of certain goals’ to certain forms of space is a fundamental mechanism of domination and counter-domination which will lead to a transformation in the social structure as well. The characteristics of urban functions are determined by the historical process of defining ‘urban meaning’. Urban form is determined by two factors: ‘urban meaning’ and ‘urban functions’ (Castells, 1983: 301).

Rather than arguing that economy determines the urban forms, Castells proposes “a relationship and hierarchy between historical meaning, urban functions and spatial forms.” (Castells, 1983: 301) Cities are shaped by three different but interrelated processes (Castells, 1983: 303-304):

1. “Conflicts over the definition of urban meaning”
2. “Conflicts over the adequate performance of urban functions”
  - a. may arise from ‘different interests and values’
  - b. may arise from ‘different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function’

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<sup>6</sup> In case the mobilizations result in the transformation of urban structure, they are called ‘urban social movements’ (p.291). One example in Turkey can be considered as the case of a squatter area – Neighborhood of 1 May.

3. “Conflicts over the adequate symbolic expression of urban meaning and (or) urban functions”

Urban social change is defined as ‘the redefinition of urban meaning’ (Castells, 1983: 303).

#### **2.2.2.1. Historical Meaning**

Space is regarded to be an objective and measurable phenomenon through which things are located. Nonetheless, space is also accepted to result in different cognitive constructions because of human beings’ imaginative power. Besides, this differentiation may be deepened in different cultures and societies. This differentiation may lead to conflict and struggles; to illustrate Harvey uses the contrast between the views of native inhabitants and immigrants on the lands, which the natives were living and the other group was going to live. The attempt to define the *meaning* of the space was on the focus of the conflict. This definition attempt on one hand aimed to regulate the societal life; and on the other hand to define the phenomenon – the right on the land (Harvey, 1999).

The meaning of city can be considered as neither a product of a particular social actor nor a result of an undetermined conflict between actors. It is rather socially defined through ‘particular modes of historical development’ and societal contexts, structures. All human processes have been determined by the relationships of production, experience, and power (Castells, 1983: 305-306). The meaning is developed through an interactive process experienced between space and the actors. This development process impacts both the space and the actors. The actors who use the space contribute to the process with their histories, and experience. Repeated experience leads to the connections which construct the base of the meaning (Carr, et. al., 1992: 133). Repetition is only one of the dimensions of creating the meaning of a space. ‘Breaks’ or ‘raptures’ of routine and their relations with space should also be the part of theorizing the creation of spatial meaning (Wright, 2000: 48).

Representational spaces emerge as an alternative way of living; however this emergence is usually repressed by official power. As ‘the realm of lived experiences’, representational space is diffused through symbolic meaning. One can

re-imagine and reconstruct the daily life and social – physical space through representational space (Wright, 2000: 50).

Meanings change as time passes, through the transformation of spaces, functions and the context (Carr, et. al., 1992: 234). “To make a meaningful place requires a shared understanding among designers, managers and users” (Carr, et. al., 1992: 234).

#### **2.2.2.2. Urban Function**

Urban function seems to be related with Lefebvre’s concept of ‘spatial practice’ and ‘perceived space’. The function of a space implies the character of the space which enables daily routines, different kinds of activities, and also implies the values and interests of social actors shaping the space. Castells proposes two kinds of conflict over space indicating the function of the space. The function, itself may be discussed as a result of ‘different interests and values’; or the conflict may arise even the same function was accepted for a space as a result of ‘different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function’ (Castells, 1983: 303).

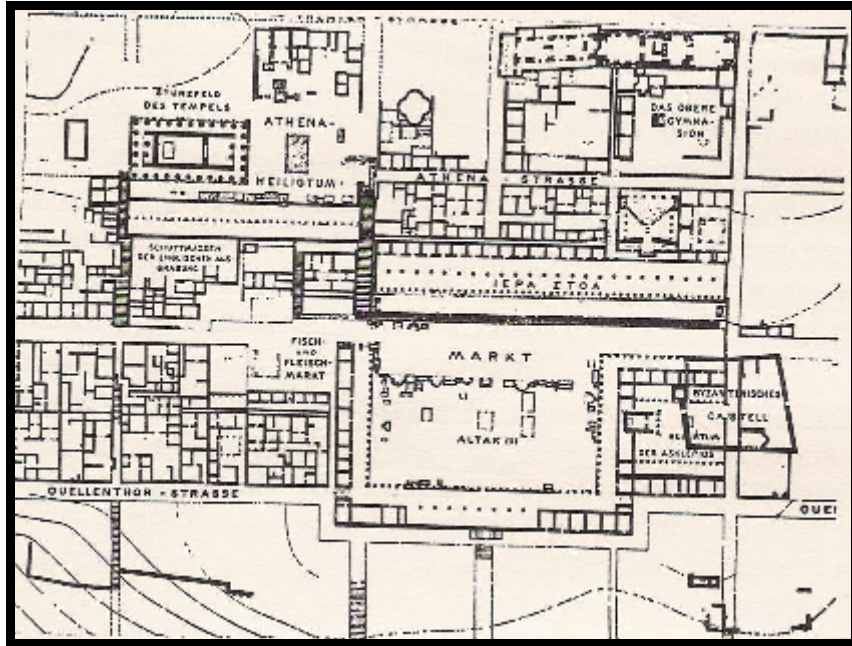
As essential functional parts of urban space, public spaces, such as streets, squares and parks, can shape ‘social interaction’ and ‘human exchange’. These are dynamic spaces which can provide ‘channels for movement’, ‘nodes for communication’ and ‘common grounds for play and relaxation’ (Carr, et. al., 1992: 3). Although some are privately owned, public space is generally considered to be open to public use (Carr et al., 1992:50). The activity in a square is essential both providing vitality and constructing ‘visual attraction’. The most important function of the square is the symbolic meaning attached to it (Moughtin, 2005: 87.88).

#### **2.2.2.3. Spatial Form**

Through visualisation of its boundaries a public space is *perceived*; hence the movements and possible experience is also perceived. The architectural structures, their scale and volumes form a tension, oppression upon the users, viewers of the space and influence their reaction to the space around them. This effect is constituted through three elements: *the architectural structure*, *the floor*, and *the ceiling* (in the form of sky) (Zucker, 1966). Though having different forms and names – such as

plazas, malls – public space is usually defined to be open and publicly accessible places (Carr et al., 1992:50). Though being open, a square or a plaza is usually designed around buildings; so it is framed by them (Maughtin, 2005: 87). The buildings may resemble to each other or differentiate from each other with respect to their height, proportion and design. The floor is the second spatial element (Zucker, 1966); besides the architectural structures open public spaces usually contain public amenities such as pavements, water elements, walkways, and vegetation (Carr et al., 1992:50). The floor of the square may be homogenous in texture – pavement or the slopes, levels, steps may result in a more heterogeneous spatial organization. The sky, as the ceiling of the square also indicates the limits of the space; similar to the surroundings, buildings and pavements (Zucker, 1966).

The archetypes of squares are classified as the closed square, the dominated square, the nuclear square, the grouped square and the amorphous square in Zucker's formulation. Zucker also accepts that a square does not have to represent purely and solely the features of one type of squares; a space can have a mixture of features which may differ from one point of view to another. The form of a *closed square* can be distinguished from the paths occurring as the only factor to interrupt the enclosure of the square. The perfect examples of this form appear in the Hellenistic and Roman eras. It is usually in a rectangular, circular shape or in any other geometrical form. The repetition of the ideal houses and buildings is the second element of this form which constitutes the complete enclosure of the square (Zucker, 1966). 'The rhythmical repetition of the vertical direction through columns' was the major factor which tied the space together. The agora of Priene is one of the examples (Zucker, 1966: 10).



**Fig. 1.** Priene, Agora

**Source:** *Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green*, Zucker, 1966: 10

The *dominated square* has a central structure or a group of buildings towards which the open space is directed. A church, any other monumental structure or a palace, town hall, or a fountain, a railway station or a theatre may be the dominating building of the square. Usually a main street constitutes the axis directed towards the dominating structure. Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris is a good example of this type representing the relationship between the dominating building and the vacant area located in front of the church (Zucker, 1966).

A *nuclear square* contains an obelisk, a fountain or a monument; the definite order of the square is not determined by ‘a continuous row of buildings’ or a domination of a structure. The monument, the fountain or the obelisk provides the tension which keeps the space together; they may constitute a visual coherence and unity between the heterogeneous spatial units; unless the square loses its unity with expanding so much. Renaissance squares are identical nuclear squares (Zucker, 1966: 14).

A *sequence of squares* with different size and forms may constitute a straight axis; within one direction the squares form grouped squares. The Imperial Fora in Rome and the grouped squares in Nancy are given as examples (Zucker, 1966). Amorphous square is regarded to be ‘formless’, ‘unorganized’, without any ‘specific shape’;

however Zucker argues that this formlessness does not mean the lack of aesthetics; if the square includes some of the elements of the previous types; an amorphous square can also be seen as aesthetic. New York Washington Square is located in a rectangular shape, limited by the buildings; however within its large dimensions it does not constitute a closed square (Zucker, 1966: 16).

Form of a space is shaped on the basis of both the meaning and the function.

### **2.3. PUBLIC SPACE**

Public spaces have been places where people come together, interact and exchange goods, ideas, and so places where social life has been continued. But today, the situation has changed. Public spaces have turned to be places being passed, rather than lived. This is seen parallel to the individuals' closing to their personal areas and realms, with personal relations. And so a silence and loneliness occurs at the public space. Watching individuals has taken the place of living individuals (Firat, 2001). However, public space has still an essential role on spatial contradictions and political struggles, though the economic transformation occurred as an economic fall.

#### **2.3.1. Definition and Measures of Public Space**

Although there are various definitions of the concept in the literature; 'public space' can be determined by its spatial features (form) and the activities (function) it enables citizens to accomplish. The spatial form of public spaces has been an essential urban design issue. Public accessibility, both the symbolic meaning of the space and its particular role in the urban spatial pattern have been considered through the design processes. Added to the form, the function has occurred as a distinguishing feature of public spaces from the other sites of the city. People come together, interact and exchange goods and ideas, demand and struggle for political, personal and socio-economic rights at public space. Social life has been continued on public spaces and also social movements occurred at public spaces. Therefore, public space can be seen as a place of interaction, social contact among different groups and individuals. 'Spatial form' and 'urban function' plays an important role to define 'public space'.

Public space ‘belongs to everyone’, which differentiates it from ‘one’s home’ or ‘one’s work place’. Since the power on public space is relatively much more dispersed than the private spaces; public space can be observed more unstable; and can be regarded as a place which changes quickly and sharply from one mood to another (Dijkstra, 2000: 1). On the other hand, since it enables a person to meet with strangers (Dijkstra, 2000); public space may provide ‘exchanging information’. The market place for example, has been the place of citizens to gather local news, which may provide a base for political behaviour. Also public space constructs a ground to demand personal and political rights (Carr, et. al., 1992: 23). Hannah Arendt evaluates the public space as ‘a physical arena where culture and politics take place’. Both the demonstrations, protests, and celebrations, festivals take place in public space. However public space can be characterized mainly by the daily activities (Dijkstra, 2000: 1).

Carr, et. al. puts 3 measures of public space as being *responsive*, *democratic* and *meaningful*. Responsiveness represents public space’s capacity to meet the needs of the users and is mainly related with the function of the space. Being democratic is related with the rights on the public space. Both the function and form of the space plays an essential role in this feature. Lastly, being meaningful refers to the capacity of the space to enable the users to construct relationships with physical and physiological contexts (Carr, et. al., 1992).

‘Being responsive’ indicates to suffice the needs of the users through the design elements and within functional respects. At that point, the question is ‘what the needs are’. Users prefer public spaces primarily to relax from the stress of the daily routines. Public spaces are also places, which enable active or passive engagement with others. Therefore they can find possibility to discover others and also oneself. Public spaces may also enable citizens to exercise, to chat, to contact visually or physically with the nature and plants which may also relax and rehabilitate them (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1990; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 19).

‘Being democratic’ implies the rights of the users such as being accessible to all groups, enabling the freedom of action and providing the rights to claim and



ownership, temporarily. A public space can be thought to give permission for acting freely and even more freely than the private spaces, such as workplace and home. Being owned by the all, public spaces can be changed by public action. The others' boundaries construct the limits of this action in the form of control and public. However, public spaces are the main places where people can learn to live together (Carr, et. al., 1992: 20).

'Being meaningful' means to enable users to construct cognitive maps and strong relations among the space, their personal life and the world. This implies to connect physical world with social context. Connections may be constructed through historical re-constructions or future conjectures, values of groups, culture, biological and physiological realities; which provides 'one's sense of personal continuity in a rapidly changed world' (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1990; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 19). "Community involvement is the key to making responsive, democratic and meaningful public spaces" (Carr, et. al., 1992: 19).

Summarizing, public space has been regarded as a 'common ground' where the functional and 'ritual' activities take place; members of a community come together through daily routines or periodic activities; such as festivals. Recently, activities based on private purposes – such as buying, selling, self-improvement – also have been recognized to occur at public spaces. Crime and protest activities, which are thought to threaten the community, have also appeared at these spaces. Through the transformation of public life, spaces have also altered with respect to changing culture; some new public spaces were discarded and some new ones have occurred (Carr, et. al., 1992: xi).

### **2.3.2. The Value of Public Space**

Public spaces are usually produced to attain the objectives such as 'public welfare', 'visual enhancement', 'environmental enhancement', and 'economic development' (Carr, et. al., 1992: 10). Public welfare has been a primary motivation to produce and develop public spaces. In the example of Greeks and Romans, streets were firstly paved to provide movement and safety. They built Agoras and Forums as the 'noble centres' for public life (Mumford, 1970; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 10). Parks are

generally designed as the ‘lungs of the cities’ which provide fresh air and sunlight and also which enable citizens to relax and to escape from the physical and psychological oppression of urban life (Cranz 1982, Heckscher & Robinson, 1977; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 10). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, parks and playgrounds have still been produced to suffice recreational needs (Carr, et. al., 1992).

Both visual and environmental enhancements have been motivations to produce public spaces since the ancient times. In Roman cities, grander forums, basilicas and baths were the signs of high public life (Carr, et. al., 1992). Open spaces are also produced for economic development. Since the open public spaces have the potential to attract people with ‘interesting activities’ or ‘informal performances’; retail business may also be placed at or near these spaces designed for relaxation, enjoyment. For instance, small plazas are created to provide social relief of the tension imposed at the office. Furthermore, these places can encourage new commercial development (Whyte, 1980; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 12). Summarizing, public spaces have been produced to indicate the public welfare, to provide the improvement of visual and environmental setting, and to enhance economic development.

### **2.3.3. The Rights to Public Space**

Examining the rights in public space within the contradictory relationship between dominant group and minority; both the freedom and the control of the space can be observed (Carr & Lynch, 1981; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 137). Kevin Lynch (1981) presented five dimensions of spatial rights as: presence, use and action, appropriation, modification and disposition. Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone, in their book *Public Space*; renamed the dimensions as: access, freedom of action, claim, change; and ownership and disposition. These dimensions constitute the essential components of control over use (Carr et al., 1992: 138). With respect to these components, the level of capability to use the public space determines the publicity degree of the space.

### 2.3.3.1. Access

‘The ability to enter a space’ represents the access to it (Carr et al., 1992). Public accessibility is the first criterion of public space. Lefebvre mentioned the concept of ‘the right to the city’ in 1968 (Dijkstra, 2000). *Access* is divided into 3 sub-components, physical access, visual access, and symbolic access. As belonging to the society, public space is thought to be physically accessible; not prevented by barriers, gates, and fences. Public space is usually designed related with the main circulation paths; also thought to be easily seen and recognized, not hidden. People should feel that the space is belonging to them, so they should feel free to enter the space and use it. Symbolic access is a kind of identity feature of the space and so gives an idea who will enter the space. This can be thought as a reason to thrust (Carr et al., 1992).

Physical access may be restricted by fences and guards. The question for this dimension is whether ‘the space is physically available to the public’. ‘Path direction’, ‘vertical features’, ‘surface changes’, ‘planting’, and street furniture are the design tools to create a residential atmosphere, and restrict the vehicular traffic. Planners use the ‘woonerf’ to regulate traffic and provide control (Carr et al., 1992: 141). Another dimension of physical access is the connection to paths of circulation. A plaza or a small park should be connected to the adjacent sidewalks to be accessible (Whyte, 1980; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 141). Money cost and time cost may restrict the users to access the space. Money cost refers to the money spent to reach the space, which changes with respect to the mode of transportation. Time cost is the time spent through the travel, which is affected by both the mode of transportation and the time of day. However the conditions of the group may also affect the access of people to the space. For instance, although a neighbourhood of working class may consist of several parks; if the workers are forced to be at work everyday, then they would not be able to benefit from the parks. In other words, non-physical factors may also impact on the accessibility of public spaces (Dijkstra, 2000).

Legal regulations and income differences are the non-physical factors which affect the accessibility of a public space. Drinking alcohol in public may be prohibited by

law; the possession, usage or selling of certain types of drugs, regulations on graffiti (Dijkstra, 2000) making demonstrations or other kinds of actions may be restricted by legal regulations. Governments and private sector may also restrict both the accessibility of the public space and (re)production of the public space. Therefore many demonstrations occur in 'less-controllable streets' (Carr, et. al., 1992: 36). This restriction would alter the users' reaction to the space (Carr, et. al., 1992).

Economics also determines the accessibility of the public space<sup>7</sup>. In 1980s, public spaces occurred to transform to private development, in most of the US cities. Most of these places appeared as market places (Carr, et. al., 1992). Residential segregation on the base of uneven income distribution is the other factor which may disturb an essential part of the society to access to a public space (Dijkstra, 2000). These factors consist of both physical and non-physical dimensions.

The design of a space may also affect the accessibility of the space, so one dimension of the accessibility issue is related to the planning discipline. If the space is located adjacent to the highways, then majority of the cities would be able to reach there, as the accessibility is not limited to car usage (Dijkstra, 2000). Therefore legal regulations and planning/spatial design are the two sets of tools to organize the physical accessibility to a public space.

Visual access is the second component of access, which implies the visibility of space to make the users feel free to enter the space. At that point, the question is whether the users can easily recognize the space as a public space where they feel safe to get in. Judgements about the safety of a public space compose the major element in visual access. The public perceptions on a place that drug sellers, muggers enter a space would threaten the users; therefore this would prevent the users entering the space<sup>8</sup>. Visual access of a place is a design problem which should meet both the sense of safety and the need to interrelate with others (Carr et al., 1992).

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, the inhabitants of squatter areas in Keçiören, Ankara are observed not to get Kızılay Square.

<sup>8</sup> For instance between 1977 and 1980, the square could not be used at Kızılay, as a result of similar view and perception.

Symbolic access presents the boundaries of a space which indicates who can enter and control the space. Certain ‘facilities’ or ‘design elements’ are usually used to determine this kind of boundaries (Carr et al., 1992: 149).

These three components of access constitute the frame for the ‘right of the access’ and the control of the space.

### **2.3.3.2. Freedom of Action**

Public space is a space of actions, and especially actions done collectively with consciously or unconsciously. *Freedom of action* is another component. When freedom in a shared space like public space is considered then this freedom becomes a responsible freedom, with boundaries; as there are two sides, ‘personal’ and ‘social’. This component may well explain the reason why public space is a subject of power debates. As public is formed different interest groups, all of which want to use the space and want to be seen at the space.

Within Lynch’s categories of spatial rights, freedom of action is defined as ‘the right of use and action’. This implies to act and use the spatial facilities freely (Lynch, 1981: 205; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 151.152). Freedom of action represents the right to use a space as one wishes; however within the recognition that the space is publicly used. This recognition would provide the balance between the personal satisfaction and the esteem the rights of others. To achieve the balance at the public space is as difficult as to achieve it at the political arena. Demonstrations, distributing leaflets and speech making are examples of political activity, which have been performed and restricted at squares and streets (Carr et al., 1992).

The freedom of action at a public space is regulated by rules, prohibitions or design mechanisms. The opportunities that a space presents also determine the freedom of action there. A space can be designed to support one kind of activity or to present choices of a set of actions (Carr et al., 1992: 154).

Freedom of action can be regarded as the consequence of a set of conditions and designs, which determines the opportunities, choices and boundaries of action (Carr et al., 1992: 158).

#### **2.3.3.3. Claim**

With related to the previous component and conflicting interests, the third component, *claims to a space* can be explained. This concept refers to the demand of control the space for attaining an objective by a group or individual.

Claim to a space includes an interest on space, which goes beyond the components of ‘access’ and ‘freedom of action’. Spatial control may be essential to achieve some kinds of goals on space, which leads to a dilemma and so a conflict. Claiming a space with respect to one’s interest and goals, the freedom of action or claim of other groups may be restricted. Claiming means control over a space (Carr et al., 1992: 158).

Individuals or groups claim and aim to achieve control over a space in order to accomplish their desired activities (Carr et al., 1992: 164). For instance,

the area around Bethesda Fountain, – a landmark of New York’s Central Park – was appropriated by Hispanic teenagers and young adults during the early 1970s. The intense activities and music of this group apparently established their ‘claim’ to this area, discovering use by most other members of the public (Carr et al., 1992: 164.165).

#### **2.3.3.4. Change**

Groups and individuals claim on a space in order to their goals and continue to experience their desired activities. However, in case they can not achieve what they desire, a change may be necessitated. This dimension of rights to a space implies the potential of the space to evolve, to be transformed (Lynch, 1972b; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 169). This also includes development of physical and social qualities. Thinking over the change of a space implies the examination of the degree of a space to what extent it enables modifications and adaptations (Carr et al., 1992).

#### **2.3.3.5. Ownership and Disposition**

As the last component, *ownership and disposition*, consisting all of the other components, represents the exercise of the rights. For the sake of disposition, public

space has been put under surveillance through police force or social control, the control of the society. But with recent technological developments, ‘high tech security camera operating’ is added to these surveillance tools. These systems are set on both privately and publicly owned public spaces (both shopping malls and streets) (Carr et al., 1992).

After explaining these components of control over the use of public space, as a summary the three features of true public space can be held, according to Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone. These features are; being ‘responsive, democratic, and meaningful’. A public space should offer comfort, relaxation, active and passive engagement, and discovery in order to become responsive. A public space should be open to access of different groups, to be democratic. The public space creation should serve to attain these objectives; public welfare, visual and environmental enhancement and economic development (Carr et al., 1992).

#### **2.3.4. Historical Development of Public Space with reference to Economic and Social Transformations**

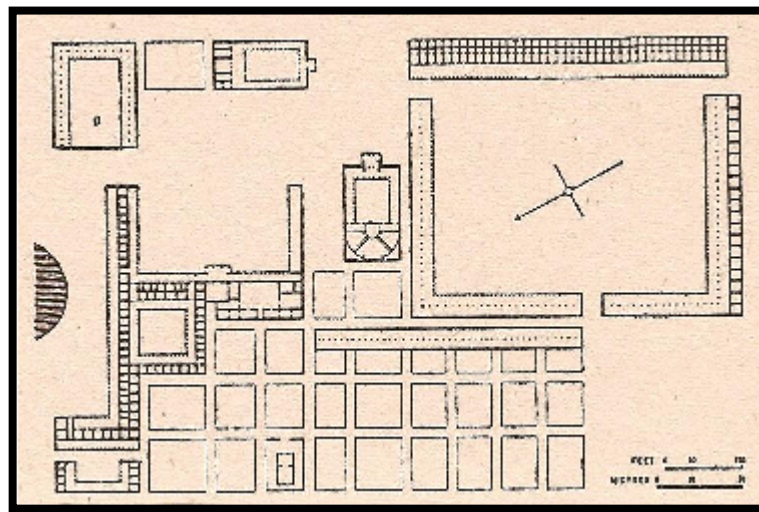
*Agora* of the ancient times is regarded as the first examples of open public spaces; they functioned as both the political and economic centres. In Roman era, *forums* enabled commercial and religious activities, political activities, sports facilities and informal meetings. Middle Ages *market places* and Renaissance’s *plazas* were similar to *agora* and *forums*, which were both used for economic and political aims. Different from public spaces of medieval towns which were naturally evolving, organic, during the Renaissance great and carefully designed *plazas* were observed. By the sixteenth century, *wide avenues* occurred as public spaces. The major public spaces were centrally located squares until the industrial revolution. In the mid nineteenth century, *parks*, *playgrounds* and *malls* emerged and began to be regarded as public spaces.

##### **2.3.4.1. Greek Agora and Roman Forum**

Although some features of public market places can be seen in Mesopotamian cities of 2000 BC (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 52); the major public spaces are thought to be originated from Ancient Greece and Roman cities (Carr et al., 1992: 52). Since it functioned as both market place and gathering place of the assembly, **Agora** had both an economic and

political importance in the Greek life (Mattson, 1999; Zucker, 1959, cited in Tunç, 2003). Containing the temple, Acropolis occurred as the nucleus of the Ancient city (Bilgihan, 2006; Carr et al., 1992). However, through the development of civilization, being a meeting and a secular place, Agora gained importance (Carr et al., 1992: 52).

Mumford (1961) emphasizes the daily functions of Agora such as communication, formal and informal assembly. It was also the gathering and meeting place of citizens during the daily life (Carr et al., 1992: 52). However some sections of the Greek society were segregated from the public spaces. Immigrants, slaves, women were excluded to be Greek citizens (Dijkstra, 2000, cited in Tunç, 2003).

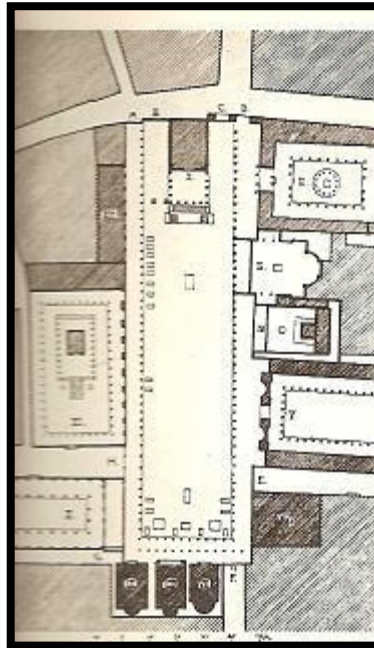


**Fig. 2.** Miletos, Agora, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC  
**Source:** *Antik Çağda Kentler Nasıl Kuruldu?*, Wycherley, 1993: 75

By the *sixth century BC*, new public institutions occurred beside the Agora. ‘Dramatic performances’ and ‘Sports’ were departed from the activities done in market place; as the communities got larger, open air gymnasia and theatres on the outskirts of the city appeared (Mumford, 1961: 138; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 53). Greek cities had lacked a formal, planned spatial order, though the richness of public life. Developed in a spontaneous, organic way, Greek cities lacked coherent street systems (Mumford, 1961: 163; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 53). Based on a systematic plan, new cities emerged in Asia Minor by the *sixth century BC*; and in Greece by the *third century BC*. Cities were planned in the form of grid-iron; with blocks, ‘long-wide avenues’, ‘rectangular arenas’ surrounded by ‘colonnaded streets’. Ironically, the grand form of the Late Greek cities correspond with the increasing despotism and



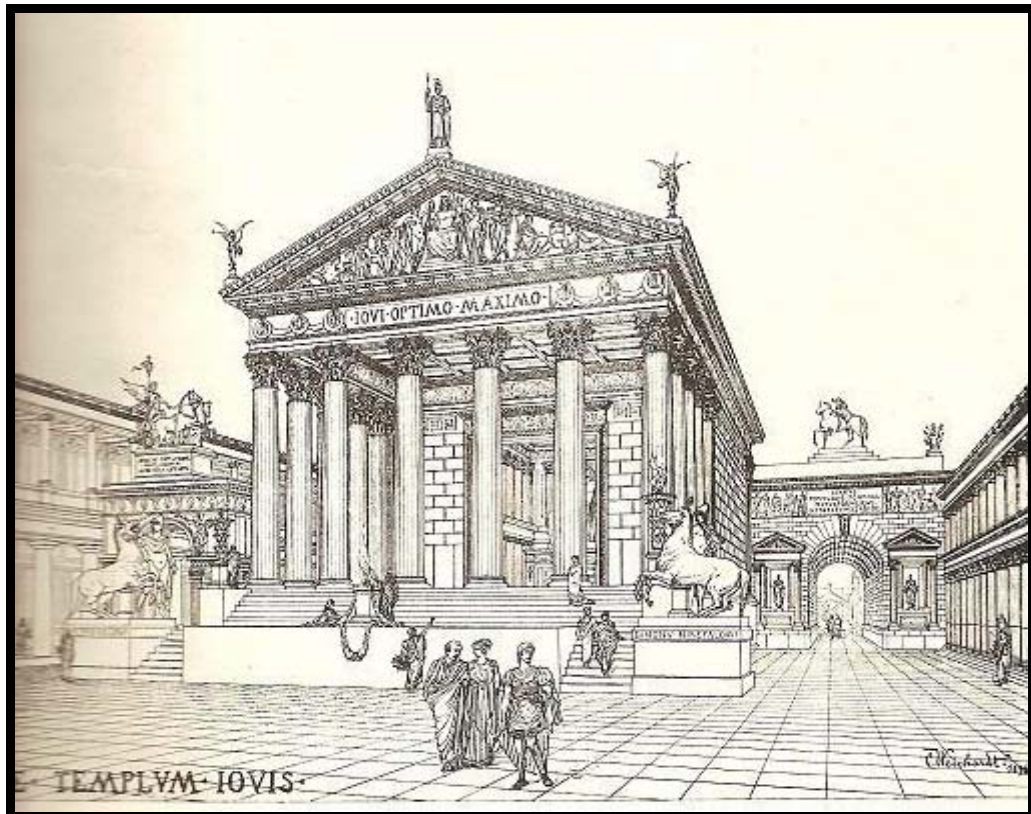
a more ‘regimented public life’ – a pattern extended by the Romans (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 53).



**Fig. 3.** Pompei, Forum, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC

**Source:** *Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green*, Zucker, 1966: Plate

Combining the functions of Greek Agora and Acropolis on oneself, **forum** was on the focus of Roman cities. Forum, including closed, semi-closed, and open spaces, enabled the activities such as commercial and religious activities (‘religious congregation’), political activities (‘political assembly’), sports facilities (‘athletics’) and informal meetings (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 53).



**Fig. 4.** Forum with the temple of Jupiter, Reconstruction  
**Source:** *Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green*, Zucker, 1966: Plate

#### **2.3.4.2. The Medieval Market Square**

Middle Ages and Renaissance's plazas and public squares, which were similar to agora and forums, were used for both economic and political aims. Buildings like cathedral, town hall were located in these places, where people come together for celebrations, watching plays and where state proceedings take place (Sitte, 1987, cited in Tunç, 2003). Beginning from 11<sup>th</sup> century, the market place grew as the central public space of medieval times which enabled the inhabitants of the town come together with the foreigners/visitors of the town in the inns, taverns which were located near to the business places (Jackson, 1987; Mumford, 1987, cited in Tunç, 2003).



**Fig. 5.** The plan of Piazza del Duomo, Italy, an example of medieval market place  
**Source:** [www.torre.duomo.pisa.it/index-eng.html](http://www.torre.duomo.pisa.it/index-eng.html)

During the period between fifth and tenth century, with the fall of the Roman Empire, cities occurred to be significant at production and trade activities (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992). In the tenth century, the castle and the abbey had turned to be ‘safety islands’ against invaders, with their walls. Occurred as a ‘weekly event’, market place later encouraged the growth of towns (Carr et al., 1992: 53.54). Marketplace was usually located adjacent to the cathedral which is the ‘central institution’ of the town. This location enabled the space to benefit from the constant activity. A single market place was enough to organize the commerce of the cities initially; however as the medieval towns expanded, market places were decentralized (Girouard, 1985; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 54).

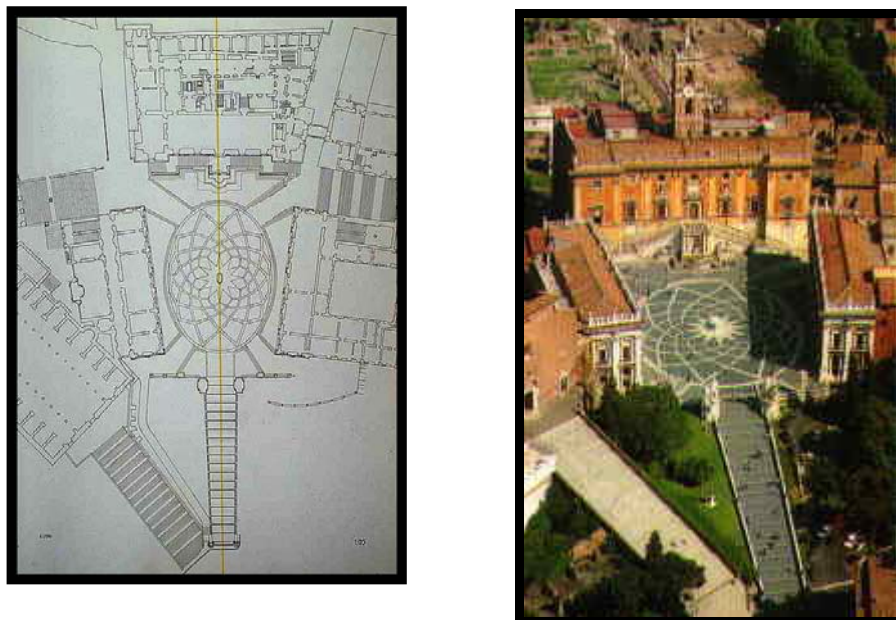


**Fig. 6. Piazza del Duomo, today**  
**Source:** [www.torre.duomo.pisa.it/index-eng.html](http://www.torre.duomo.pisa.it/index-eng.html)

Added to market squares, civic squares and piazzas occurred adjacent to the town halls of some medieval European cities. By the mid fifteenth century, being unsuitable for commercial activities, piazzas were developed; they became expressions of civic dignity (Girouard, 1985: 55; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 54.55). To illustrate, being a small medieval square, Piazza del Marco in Venice was transformed to a grand Renaissance plaza (Mumford, 1961: 322; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 55). San Marco, also a medieval square, presented a variety of activities, bullfighting, ‘great religious feasts’, demonstrations in great numbers, celebrations (Girouard, 1985: 108; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 55).

### 2.3.4.3. The Renaissance Square

On the contrary of naturally evolving, organic public spaces of medieval towns, the great plazas of the Renaissance were planned and designed carefully and formally. By the late sixteenth century, main squares began to be formed as a part of the unity through a symmetrical design. Livano in Italy was the first example (Girouard, 1985: 128; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 55). Another example is Campidoglio, in Italy demonstrated in figure 7.



**Fig. 7.** Campidoglio, Italy

**Source:**

[www.larch.umd.edu/classes/larc/L160/Slides/italianrenissancelandscapes/SLIDES12\\_17/SLIDES12\\_17.html](http://www.larch.umd.edu/classes/larc/L160/Slides/italianrenissancelandscapes/SLIDES12_17/SLIDES12_17.html)

#### **2.3.4.4. The Street as a Public Space**

The streets of a medieval town were narrow and so hard to use by both the shopkeepers and residents (Girouard, 1985; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 58). Upper classes and lower classes were able to see each other on the streets, at the marketplace and in the cathedral (Mumford, 1961: 370; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 58). By the sixteenth century, beginning from Italy, a transformation to a more formal spatial order had been experienced. Straight, wide avenues occurred. A set of factors may result in this transformation. One may be shift of architectural perspective, another may be an attempt to ease the movement of commercial vehicles; or a political desire to provide military movement move easier within the city (Girouard, 1985, Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 58). (Example is Haussman's implementation in Paris). These long and wide boulevards were the places where different classes get together (Girouard, 1985; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 58).

Streets, market places and cathedrals were public places giving the opportunity to different classes to meet. However, with the appearance 'straight, wide avenues' in sixteenth century; different classes started to be separated; as the upper classes could afford to get use of carriages on the avenues. However the lower classes were watching them from the sidewalks. So the upper classes were on avenues, the lower classes were on sidewalks, which was a clue of the beginning spatial separation (Mumford, 1961: 370; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 58). Another important spatial feature of medieval town which enabled the opportunity of different classes to mix together in the urban space – according to Lofland – was that in medieval town there was a mix use of work and home (Lofland, 1973, cited in Tunç, 2003).

The public space may be thought to gain its modern meaning with the separation of work and home places, in 17<sup>th</sup> century, which enabled poor to meet the concept of privacy. So the concept of privacy was now out of luxury for the upper classes. Industrial revolution had impacts on both working – living place separation and so transformation of urban space and social life. Cities were now offering more jobs and opportunities, so with immigrants cities became more heterogeneous places consisting of different people. As a result; public spaces such as 'urban parks, coffee



houses, cafes, theatres, opera houses, assembly rooms and court halls' appeared meeting places of strangers, and these spaces became essential to be civilized. The parks were open to all citizens, and also they were places working class and poor learned by viewing how to socialize. The pleasure grounds serving privileged groups in 1600's were now opened to a wider public section on more central locations in 1800's (Sennett, 1987 and 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999, cited in Tunç, 2003).

#### **2.3.4.5. The Emergence of Parks, Playgrounds and Malls**

Until the industrial revolution, centrally located squares were the major public spaces of European and American cities. In the mid nineteenth century, the parks emerged, which was 'public provision of sizeable green spaces' (Carr et al., 1992: 60)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new consumption spaces emerged as a result of limiting the bourgeoisie women from coffee houses, opera houses, parks which were being dominated by the men. Shopping arcade, shopping street, bazaar and department stores were the new emerged consumption places also serving as public spaces (Wilson, 1991; Sennett, 1987; Rendell, 1998, cited in Tunç, 2003). The excluded women from the public sphere in the early industrial revolution period now began to appear in these new emerged consumption spaces (Sennett, 1990, cited in Tunç). Shopping arcade was privately owned on one hand, but on the other hand it gave a feeling of semi- public environment as street which addresses the middle and upper classes. Because these streets were protected by state legislation from the lower classes, from whom the upper and middle classes were getting more frightened (Rendell, 1998; Nava, 1997, cited in Tunç, 2003).

On the other hand, department stores, addressed to wider consumers by providing 'mass-produced and cheaper goods'. It was still mostly addressing to middle class women but with the nearby cultural facilities and entertainment facilities, department stores were giving a feeling of public spaces where different classes are mixing in. Stores were thought to be more dependable for the middle class women, protecting them from the dangers of the street. But on the other hand they were places of

consumption, and these women were customers (Nava, 1997; Corrigan, 1997; Wilson, 1991; Fredrikson, 1997, cited in Tunç, 2003).

One of the reasons why department stores usually attract middle class women was because stores were regarded to be public spaces appropriated to the use of females rather than males (Laermans, 1993; cited in Corrigan, 1997). On the other hand as they are out to work and so accessible to public spaces, working class women gave less importance to the department stores (Corrigan, 1997: 59). Therefore, department stores can be judged to present ‘a new female space in public sphere’ (Corrigan, 1997: 60). Before changes in shaping habits and appearance of department stores; public space seemed to be dominated by males. Department store is thought to present a new form of public space – a female public space. This is a kind of genderization of public sphere and public space. Added to that, women were ideal for the labour force of stores, as they are accepted to be more presentable. Department stores can be regarded to provide a new public social space and new employment opportunities (Corrigan, 1997).

The public space for women appeared to be department store rather than the street; flâneur was the male. Flâneur can be regarded as a modern tourist; taking photographs, recording what he sees. The malls allow the cities to act as if they were tourists, ‘consuming images of space’ or concrete commodities (Corrigan, 1997: 144).

The boulevard was one of the essential components of the City Beautiful Movement in late nineteenth century. This urban design approach appeared in the industrial age to reject the untidy and chaotic spatial pattern of cities and it is aimed to regain the classical beauty of urban space (Carr et al., 1992: 60).

Restaurants, cafes, theatres, cinemas, zoological gardens are other public spaces of late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century public spaces, giving opportunity to experience different excitement, pleasure, entertainment, recreation, dining and consuming. These were privately owned but served for the public, and became the places where visitors felt free. But still as they were privately owned and they

discouraged the meeting of separate classes of urban space, rather “they help the creation of divided cultural identities for urban population having different cultural and class backgrounds” (Fredriksson, 1997, cited in Tunç, 2003: 41).

To sum up the tendencies seen in the transformation of public places, 3 important points is seen. These are expressed by Cybriwsky as “privatisation of public spaces, increasing surveillance of public spaces and the control of access to them, and lastly the increasing use of design themes leading to a break of connections with local history and geography” (Cybrwsky, 1999, cited in Tunç: 42). The attempt to construct a Galleria shopping mall in Konak Square in İzmir, which has a historic value, can be counted as a good example of this transformation attempt (Ersoy, et. al., 1992).

### **2.3.5. Conflict on & at Public Space**

Since a political nature is embedded in public activities, public spaces inevitably consist of a political dimension. Hence especially open public spaces turn to be both the scene and subject of conflict. Spatial and legal regulations, discussions or political struggles on the form, function and meaning of a public space indicate the conflict on public space. On the other hand, implying conflict at the public space, space occurs to be scene for public activities such as demonstrations, and protests, which especially aim to be seen from public and be effective to achieve the political objectives and desires. Both the reproduction of public space and hegemony over public space get important through the political struggles; therefore public space has a political character and become both the subject and scene of the struggles.

#### **2.3.5.1. (Re)Production of Public Space**

Public spaces are created through either natural processes or design processes. During the first process, the place naturally formed without planning through appropriation and repeated use. Within the appropriation process, a corner of a street, steps in front of a building may turn to a place where people come together, meet, protest or market. The Djemaa-el-Fna Square in Marakech, in a triangular form, seems to be a traditional medieval market place, presenting a mosaic of activities such as performing animals, writing letters, future-telling or story-telling, etc. For



instance, the steps of New York Public Library occurred as a part of a building; were designed to provide a ground entrance. In the course of time, steps turned to be a popular public space attracting people. Public space may also be produced through the design activity of city planners, architects, and / or landscape architects. Planned public spaces may be formed as a consequence of three distinct intents. A public space may be designed at the centre of a town (or a city), so the town would develop around the square. In the second situation, a space around a monumental structure may be designed as a public space; in the third situation, public spaces may appear in the form of left-over spaces, within a zoning attempt (Carr, et. al., 1992). Many public places are in fact a combination of planning, and naturalness (Carr, et. al., 1992).

#### **2.3.5.2. Conflict on Public Space**

Public activities contain a political nature; public life and public spaces can not be examined and evaluated without recognizing this political aspect. The presence of the citizens at public space may be regarded as a threatening factor by the government or the groups at power. For example, in USA, discussions of politics and counter-ideas were kept out of parks. However, ‘the political voice of the government’ has been heard in public (Cranz, 1982; cited in Carr, et. al., 1992: 45).

Space turns to be a tool for the state to construct hegemony and control through the relationship between state and space. Grid-iron plan was produced as a kind of control mechanism. The wide boulevard implementations of Haussman in Paris, is an example of such a relation among space, planning and hegemony. Roman grid-iron plan of military camps; and later designs of Hipodamus are the other examples. State aims to control the entire urban space; however the public space is on the focus of places where government aims to construct hegemony. State, similar to the capitalist system’s view, perceives the space as an abstract tool and field to provide control; not a concrete place to live at.

#### **2.3.5.3. Conflict at Public Space**

People join together to protest injustices, to demand their rights and to proclaim their freedom. Public spaces are the places where ‘political struggle’ and ‘democratic

actions' appear and become visible to the public (Carr, et. al., 1992: 45). People appeared at public spaces to communicate their messages, and to exercise their rights within the power of being included in a critical mass. American Revolution and Bastille is the previous examples; contemporarily, 'civil rights demonstrations' take place at streets, seeking the rights of homosexuals and women. In 1960s, university students – youth – protested university authorities, and American – Vietnam War. Protest movement started from Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley and extended to upper Broadway in New York, and similarly from Kent State University to the campus of Columbia University. Parisian Youth Movement became a model of protesting in streets in 1960s. These movements indicated the power of public protests and its relationship with the politics of public life (Carr, et. al., 1992: 46.47).

Demonstrations are basically done either protesting something or demanding something. Demonstrations are done on the three kinds of rights; one is personal rights, such as gay-lesbian movements, demonstrations for women rights, demonstrations on issues of race, and religion. Secondly demands or protests for social and economic rights may result in demonstrations; such as protests done to gather the Unionrights, rise in salaries, working conditions. And lastly, conflict on political rights may lead to demonstrations. These may be contrary to the government, in favour of a regime or political order such as socialism, communism, capitalism.

There are three main aims of (urban) social movements over space: first is the conflict between use value and exchange value; second is demand to express the cultural identity; and third is demand of the local authority to get power on the contrary of the hegemony of central state (Castells, 1983). A set of concepts to be investigated is: meaning, form and function. While examining the higher scale of the context, the set to be examined is production, experience and power.

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONFLICT ON & AT (PUBLIC) SPACE

Set of changes in function of the city and control mechanisms over the city constitutes one of the basic factors of urban spatial transformation which also affects both public spaces and city centres. Role of the city in both national and regional organization, development and transformation of the city and the policies over economics, urbanization and social-political issues are the other factors influence transformation of city centres and public spaces. On the base of these changes *societal stratification* occurs. Before industrialization functions such as traditional small scale production and commerce were observed to be located at city centres. In industrialized societies, decision, control and coordination mechanisms are concentrated at the centres. After 1980's sub-centres developed parallel to the settlement of capital, organization of production and labour (Osmay, 1998). However, political, economic and social changes are not the only factors shaping spatial and social organization of urban space and so transformation of public space. Since societal structures and their spatial patterns are products, which are transformed through historical and social conflicts, each historical phase has a main conflict within different social layers of actors or structures. In addition, each layer has socio-spatial relations and structures (Şengül, 2003, a).

Experience of urbanization in Turkey can be examined under three main historical periods, each indicating a major societal and spatial conflict. First one is the period between 1923 and 1950, from the establishment of Turkish Republic to the broad migration from rural to urban within the transition from one party regime to multi-party regime. Second period is between 1950 and 1980, the military coup d'état. Third period indicates the years after 1980.

Examining Turkey case with respect to the construction and transformation process of Kızılay Square, main conflict in the first phase was between the Ottoman layer and the layer created by the Republican elite during nation state formation period (Şengül, 2003, a: 154). Therefore the process of Ottoman Empire's integration to the World's capitalist system from the second half of nineteenth century to the establishment of Turkish Republic influenced socio-spatial policies and relations in this republic construction period from 1923 to the Second World War in 1945. Some characteristics of this period were one-party regime, low urbanization speed, new legal and administrative frame to regulate urban development with respect to the modernization project (Tekeli, 1998). Therefore dominating layer was the 'state' and the period named as *urbanization of state* (Şengül, 2003, a: 154).

After 1945, during the period between 1950 and 1980, migrated population formed a new layer (of socio-spatial relations) which challenged the state (Şengül, 2003, a). 1960 is a turning point in national context including both economic and political respects and institutionalization of socio-spatial issues. On one hand 'the modernization project' of the state was progressing; on the other hand Turkey had experienced a broad mobilization from rural to urban which led to rapid urbanization. Hence, a planned structure of economics was demanded. Moreover, insufficient administrative structure for urbanization was restructured and education of planning was first institutionalized as a separate discipline (Tekeli, 1998). The period between 1950 and 1980 is named as *urbanization of labour* by Şengül (Şengül, 2003, a).

In spite of being 'the ongoing process' throughout all periods, *urbanization of capital* appeared as another layer after 1980 (Şengül, 2003, a: 155). In this period, the pace of urbanization has decreased to some degree and the phenomenon of *globalism* has started to affect the socio-spatial relations (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.1. 1923 – 1950: URBANIZATION OF STATE**

Years between 1923 and 1950, defined as 'urbanization of the state' by Şengül (Şengül, 2003), benefit period of construction of the republic and accommodation of its ideology with socio-spatial respects. The main conflict was based on the

contradiction between heritage of the Ottoman Empire's socio-spatial context and the ideology of the new established republic. Examining this period socio-spatial policies and developments of Ottoman Empire during its recent epoch will be mentioned to understand the conflict deeply.

### **3.1.1. Context, Urbanization and Planning Before the Establishment of Turkish Republic**

Industrial revolution and modernity scheme, both developed in Europe, affected the economic and institutional structure of Ottoman Empire during 1840's. On one hand, the economy of the empire was opened to capitalist relations and on the other hand, elites in administration level led to reformations in these fields (Tekeli, 1998). Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are periods through which economic relations between Ottoman Empire and the Western world were increased. These relations affected the economic policies and investments during the establishment of nation state in the form of foreigner investments on large scale infrastructure projects such as organization of railways (Altaban, 1998). Added to the economic structure, the structure of Ottoman Society had transformed in three main points. Firstly, public sphere and private sphere had been decomposed. Secondly, individual rights with property rights had been institutionalized. Thirdly, the concept of class differentiation differentiated. Moreover, the concept of 'bureaucracy' had developed during transition of classical Ottoman governors (rooted from military) to paid government officers (Tekeli, 1998).

Spatial transformations led by these societal developments and economic transformations can be summarized in five points. The first one was transformation of the city centre. In the classical Ottoman city centre, market places (çarşı) were located around the covered bazaar (bedesten) and some were near the harbour. On the other hand, looking over the modern city centre, banks, insurance companies, office blocks (işhanları) and hotels settled down at the new developed centre of Ottoman city. Nevertheless, railway stations, harbours, docks, entrepot and postal service buildings were also located at or near the centre with respect to the intention of integration to capitalist system. State buildings also settled at the centre as a spatial expression of the institutionalization of the state and the formation of new

bureaucracy. The second spatial transformation was related with transformation of transportation. Inner city transportation had been based on pedestrian circulation; however it changed to transportation with vehicles such as car, tram, ferry and suburban train. Third of the spatial transformations was related with the societal differentiation. Changed economic relations and organizational patterns also transformed the class organizations, which resulted in appearance of ‘class based differentiation’ with the existing ‘nation based differentiation’. The fourth transformation, suburbanization (the spatial sprawl of urban settlements) occurred as a result of developments of inner city transportation, increase of urban population and new class organization. The final transformation was development of a set of new land use types, led by appearance of new life styles and new public sphere (Tekeli, 1998).

When inadequacy of the existing institutional system was recognized, for the first time Şehremaneti was established in İstanbul in 1855. In 1877, during the period of the first constitutional monarchy, municipality laws were enacted for the Dersaadet and other provinces. The new government regime was generalized to the whole empire territory in this way. Experience of urban transformation (within legal and institutional arrangements) aroused recognition in order to meet the necessity of planning. The first plan was prepared for İstanbul by Von Moltke between the years 1836 and 1837. A set of regulations both on planning and legal tools had been done till 1882. A certificate of proof (ilmuhaber), the first instruction manual for development and construction of public facilities, was prepared in 1839. The first set of regulations on issues of development enacted for İstanbul (Ebniye Nizamnamesi) was approved in 1848. Development regulations were generalized for the whole empire (Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi) in 1864 and lastly first development law - Ebniye Kanunu was prepared and began to be implemented in 1882 (Tekeli, 1998).

During the planning attempt in 1850’s, prepared for small scale lands, partial/local reconstruction plans appeared to be more prevalent in the Ottoman cities rather than comprehensive plans, different from the plans regulating the whole city in Paris. These local reconstruction plans especially aimed to reconstruct the regions destroyed by fire and regulate new neighbourhoods in the periphery of cities, where

migrants settled and design their open spaces. After 1850's, other cities also were planned with respect to the experience of İstanbul. Relatively more comprehensive plans on the guidance of 'beautiful city' approach appeared in the first quarter (the first ten years) of twentieth century. With this attempt planning turned to be a sub-profession of architecture rather than cartography. Within this perspective, the first study was Bouvard's plan for İstanbul in 1902. Added to that, in the period during which Cemil Topuzlu was Şehremini (mayor), the study of Auric can be regarded as another example of this approach in Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.1.2. The Period between the Establishment of Republic and the Second World War**

Years between 1923 and 1950 can be examined as a period through which a socio-spatial project, conflicting with the spatial and institutional heritage of Ottoman Empire, was aimed to be realized. The hegemonic layer of this period can be distinguished as 'the state'. Therefore, the period is named as 'Urbanization of State' (Şengül, 2003).

#### **3.1.2.1. Context, Urbanization and Urban Planning**

Period between 1923 and 1929 is defined as the 'reconstruction in the conditions of open economy' by Boratav. Capital owners and state cadres occurred to be in a coalition within an attempt of creating national bourgeoisie of the state. İş Bank was established in 1924 and became an influential actor on the economic decisions of the state (Boratav, 1998: 7, 28-31; cited in Batuman, 2000). Between 1929 and 1933 essential economic, political and ideological transformations occurred. There were two noteworthy components of this transformation process. One of them was *World Economic Crisis* in 1929 and the other was the experience of Independent Party, *Serbest Fırka*, in 1930. Through this experience Republican People's Party (RPP) would recognize that they lacked a political support, which resulted in a breaking point in Turkish politics (Batuman, 2000: 30).

The year 1929 was both essential for the world economy and Turkish economy, since it was the year when World Economic Crisis took place. Also, Turkey both regained control over her national borders with respect to Lausanne Treaty and began to be

paid back the debts which were lent in the Ottoman Empire period (Boratav, 1998: 36; cited in Batuman, 2000). Therefore the year 1929 was inevitably a turning point to regulate the economic policies again (Batuman, 2000: 30). As a result of the world economic crisis in 1929, the state intended to conduct protectionist policies, decreased the amount of exportation and increased the prices of import goods (Boratav, 1998: 49; cited in Batuman, 2000: 33). The state would invest in industrialization with the goods imported before in the years 1930 and 1931 (Boratav, 1998: 51; cited in Batuman, 2000: 33).

Power relations among state elites and bourgeoisie had changed within the economic crisis. The profit rate, which was gained from the international trade and agricultural production, decreased. This fall resulted in the 'entrepreneurial groups' losing control over the state. 'Statist elite' regained its political dominance. This declining economy resulted in the appearance of significant support to the new established party, Free Republican Party, in August 1930. The party was abolished in four months time (Karpat, 1973: 52, 56; cited in Batuman, 2000: 33.34).

Two essential institutions, which were established to support instructing the national identity are:

- Turkish Society of History – 1930
- Turkish Society of Linguistics – 1932

And also;

- Halkevleri were founded in 1932 (February, 12<sup>th</sup>)

Socio-spatial policies and project of new established Turkish Republic was inevitably contrasting with the socio-spatial pattern and practice inherited from Ottoman Empire (Şengül, 2003, a). The socio-spatial practice inherited from Ottoman Empire can be summarized in three main points. First one is the urban structure and daily life, transformed (especially in harbour cities) through the attempt of integration within world capitalist economic and political structure. Secondly, in spite of being in the shape of partial reconstruction plans, a planning experience was able to be implemented to some degree and was transferred to the republic (Tekeli, 1998). Lastly, though its weakness, a nucleus for the institution of municipality was



constructed (Tekeli, 1998; Şengül, 2003, a). However, examining the autonomy of Ottoman cities, the cities were neither politically nor spatially autonomous, except for some cities which got autonomy to a degree (Faroqhi, 1992; Zubaida, 1993: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 155). The hegemony of central government in Ottoman Empire resulted in distribution of power from centre to periphery and prevented a possible development of autonomous structure within cities (Şengül, 2003, a: 155). There was not a developed road system, connecting the city centre to the peripheries. This complicated the control over urban space (Şengül, 2003, a: 155). The Republic of Turkey was going to be a nation state (Tekeli, 1998; Şengül, 2003, a). However, the socio-spatial pattern of Ottoman Empire conflicted with the one designed and projected by the nation state of republic in three main points (Şengül, 2003, a: 156):

1. Lack of a central socio-political pattern
2. Ethnic based spatial organization
3. Organic spatial organization which rendered the (centralised) nation state unable to control urban space

Centralization appeared to be one of the basic strategies through establishment of nation state. This strategy had two missions. First, in order to provide national unity, constructing the spatial and territorial control should have been considered. Second, on the contrary of the Ottoman Empire's pieced societal structure as a result of ethnicity, unity of identity should have been constructed (Şengül, 2003,a: 156). In the European experience, national identity was constructed through going beyond the feudal identities. However in the Turkish experience, national identity had to be constructed after dissolution of identities in Ottoman Empire, different from joining together in Europe, within a process of fragmentation. Therefore, creating a national consciousness occurred to be an essential component of nation state construction (Tekeli, 1998). Performing the strategy of centralization through these two missions, spatial regulations were designed at two levels (Şengül, 2003,a: 156; Tekeli, 1998). First one was the attempt to transform the country to the space of nation state and second one was at the urban space level (Şengül, 2003,a: 156; Tekeli, 1998) to transform urban space to the place of modernity project of new established nation state (Tekeli, 1998).

Three main components and layers can be recognized through examining the spatial policy at country scale. First one of these is declaring Ankara as the capital city of new republic (Tekeli, 1998), on the contrary of İstanbul, which was the capital city of Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998). One of the reasons why emphasis was turned to Ankara from İstanbul, was the ‘idea of homeland’ (Morley & Robins, 1993: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). Re-idealizing and re-designing Anatolia as the alternative within lack of ‘homeland idea’ in Ottoman Empire, Anatolia and Ankara were conceived as the turner stones to re-define and re-frame the (new) national identity within the new boundaries of Turkish Republic (Rivkin, 1965: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 156). In addition to the idea of homeland, capital accumulation and settlement of the (state) enterprises in Ankara was aimed through this first layer/component of the spatial policy (Şengül, 2003, a: 156). The second component was on developing a new transportation network. In the previous period, railway system was organized for the sake of integration to foreign economic relations, rather than providing the integrity of home/domestic market. Through the centralization and decomposition of new identity, railway system was aimed to generalize the whole country (Tekeli, 1998). In addition to these railway policies, the third component was related with industrialization (Şengül, 2003, a; Tekeli, 1998). After the economic crisis in 1929, through the policy of *statism*, factories were decided to be constructed in small cities, at the points where railway passes through (Şengül, 2003; Tekeli, 1998) and community centres (*halkevleri*) were planned to be established in each and every city of Anatolia (Tekeli, 1998). As a result, previously concentrated on western regions but later extended to the whole country, in addition to the help of spreading enterprises railway system turned to be a tool to control over the country (Rivkin, 1965; Rodwin, 1970: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 157).

On one hand, space of the country was aimed to be the space of nation state; on the other hand, cities were aimed to propagate the modernity (Tekeli, 1998). One of the two noteworthy strategies at urban level was establishment of local authority units at the locals of which population expanded 2000 and the second was planning studies started in local units (Tekeli, 1973: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). In Ottoman Empire, İstanbul was the only city having had a local government; however in 1928 another organized local unit was established in Ankara. Besides, the law on local

governments made in 1930, obliged the local units to prepare and implement development plans for settlements of which population exceeded 2000 (Keleş and Payne, 1984: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). Two main issues arose during the planning attempt at urban level; on one hand re-developing Western cities destroyed by the fires during the war and on the other hand developing the new capital city of the republic, which was identified with the success of establishment of the republic (Tekeli, 1998). As a result, development plans had been created for primarily Ankara and some other Western cities (Şengül, 2003, a: 157). The planning issue of the disturbed Western Anatolian cities had been solved within a period through plans prepared by the Turkish engineers of cartography, which was not a new issue since the main Ottoman planning experience was on the reconstruction of burned cities. Nonetheless, the development of a new capital city was a new issue to be solved for Turkish Republic (Tekeli, 1998).

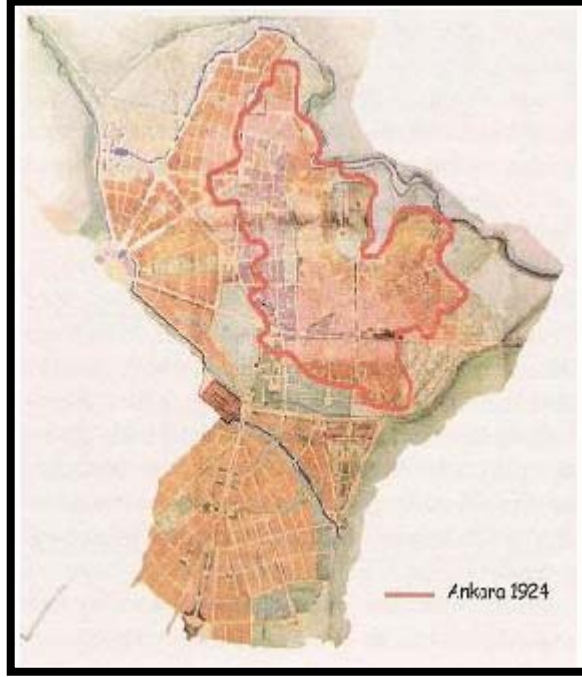
#### **3.1.2.2. Spatial Transformation of Ankara after the Declaration of Capital City: Lörcher Plan & Jansen Plan**

The spatial development and the planning experience of Ankara was the noteworthy problem within the establishment of Turkish Republic. To solve this issue, both institutional transformations and spatial regulations were made. Firstly, in years 1923-1924, a report with three plans attached to it was prepared by Lörcher, who had also worked for the municipality of İstanbul. The report was demanded to get an inventory of the city's spatial and social needs (Cengizkan, 2002a). As a result, Yenışehir was appropriated and opened to development (Cengizkan, 2002a; Batuman, 2002). Secondly, a new institution, the Directory of Development in Ankara, was established within the law numbered 1351, in the year 1928. This institution was equipped with powerful planning and implementing authority (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998). The Directory of Development in Ankara was going to prepare development programs for the city and the programs would be approved by the Council of Ministers (Altaban, 1998). Added to this institutional development, a plan for Ankara was prepared in 1928 by Herman Jansen, the winner of the competition in which three international architect-planners participated (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998).

The plan for Ankara should have suited the modernity project of new established republic and should have proposed solutions for a city of which population was increasing by 6 % each year. However, the speculative character of the land market was recognized in a short time; planning practice of Ankara became the first experience to witness the difficulty of implementing a plan in a growing city (Tekeli, 1998). Within Jansen's plan new housing areas were planned to be developed both in the district of Cebeci (in the western region) and in the area between districts of Vekaletler and Tandoğan (in the eastern region). A garden-city model (consisting of three-storey housing units within low density, with pedestrian axis and green areas) was proposed (Tankut, 1993). Atatürk Boulevard north to the south direction (Ulus-Yenişehir-Çankaya) was accepted to be the major axis which would hold the macroform of the city. Neighbourhood of Vekaletler in Yenişehir was designed to be the administrative centre of the city (Altaban, 1998, Tankut, 1993). Before Ankara became the capital city of new established Turkish Republic, a linear city centre from the castle to the district of Ulus had been observed. Shops of tradesmen such as grocer, tailor, quilt-maker, jeweller, usurer and wholesaler were located on one side of this centre and served for both the inner city and the outer city. On the other side of the centre, great and monumental buildings of the new republic were settled. After 1924, the city centre of Ankara (the capital city of Turkish Republic) turned to be a place where monumental buildings had been constructed to indicate the greatness of the new established republic. For instance, administrative centres of the Central Bank, Etibank, Sümerbank were constructed at the new city centre of Ankara, along the Street of Banks, which is recently the extension of Atatürk Boulevard, to Ulus (Osmaý, 1998).

The plan of Lörcher laid the foundation of a spatial pattern consisting of the central functions of both Ulus and Kızılay. Lörcher Plan proposed a 'dense' and 'compact' spatial pattern (Günay, 2005). In Jansen's plan, the district of Ulus with its periphery was evaluated to be the centre of the new capital city (Osmaý, 1998). Railway Station with its periphery was designed to be the centre; Ulus was planned to be related with this spatial scheme and Dışkapı was aimed to be developed to integrate the station with the rest of the city as a centre. Nevertheless, this scheme adopted

from the western planning tradition could not be realized; within Jansen Plan, the station was going to be isolated from the city (Günay, 2005).



**Fig. 8. Lörcher Plan and Ankara in 1924**

*Source: Ankara Çekirdek Alanı'nın Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme, Günay, 2005: 68*

Besides, Lörcher Plan proposed regeneration throughout the whole city. The Station Street, Talatpaşa Boulevard between the station and district Cebeci were formed by Lörcher Plan (Günay, 2005). On the other hand, in the southern of the railway a new district was planned to be developed (Günay, 2005; Batuman, 2002 and 2000; Cengizkan, 2002; Osmay, 1998). The new district was going to be constructed for new administrators, bureaucrats, ministries and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Yenışehir (Osmay, 1998).

The plan also shaped the sequence of squares along Atatürk Boulevard; Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, the entrance squares of Tuna and İzmir Streets are the components of this sequence. Güvenpark was located at the end of Atatürk Boulevard; Mithatpaşa and Necatibey Boulevards were constructed on the base of this plan. The development in the west and east does not intersect the Atatürk Boulevard directly, which disturbs the grid-iron spatial pattern similar to the one in western world. Therefore, Atatürk Boulevard was going to stay as the only main axis

at this point; in other words the only alternative which would lead to traffic congestion in the next years (Günay, 2005).

The second plan of Ankara is Jansen Plan, which was the winner of the planning competition in 1927 (Cengizkan, 2005; Günay, 2005), came into operation in 1932. Jansen Plan was observed to change the attempt towards designing 'the station'. Different from Lörcher Plan, he designed a green area in the form of a dagger. This approach was going to isolate the station from the city, which was different from the attempt reflected in Lörcher Plan. However, the essential contribution of Jansen Plan can be evaluated as the development of the districts Maltepe and Cebeci. The faculties of Administrative Sciences and Medicine and School of Law related to Ankara University were the units supporting educational functions proposed in the spatial scheme. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard in the west and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard in the east created new axis. Moreover, Kızılay district, which was designed at the intersection of these boulevards with Atatürk Boulevard, was also prepared to turn to be the new central business district. Since the ministries was planned to be transferred to the southern part, functions of central business district would also transfer to Kızılay (Günay, 2005). This district was not planned to be a sub-centre; rather it was designed to be an extension and a new district of the city. Nonetheless, since 1950, Yenışehir had turned to be an essential sub-centre with its functions of commerce and service especially used by high-income groups of the city (Osmay, 1998).

### **3.1.3. Conclusion**

During the period from the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923 to 1950's, critical legal regulations and spatial organizations had been experienced with reference to the modernization project, which was inevitably contrasting with the socio-spatial and institutional heritage of Ottoman Empire. By the law regulating professions of architects and engineers, the activity of constructing a building turned to be a profession performed by the licensed professionals different from the traditional ways. Local authorities were obliged to prepare or have prepared the plans (designed by the architects) for the settlements of certain sizes (Tekeli, 1998). Nevertheless, as a result of the inadequate resources, industrial development was

emphasized and the obligation to make development plans was changed. The municipalities of settlements which had a population of 20 000 was obliged to obtain development plans rather than the settlements with a population of 2000. However, in spite of this, only 58, 5 % of the municipalities could accomplish their planning tasks at the end of 1950's, as a result of the technical and financial inadequacies (Keleş ve Payne, 1984: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 158).

Though dealing with the whole city, the planning approach in this period was not sensitive to the existing spatial pattern; it was a modernist approach. Similar to the Garden City ideal in the Western approaches, model of gardened houses was proposed. Plans prepared in this period were criticized mainly in two points. First one is that plans were not suitable for the existing spatial pattern of the Turkish cities, which would lead to destructive socio-spatial results. Second is that designed for the sake of aesthetics plans neglected the economic dimension of the cities, which resulted in the difficulties of implementation (Tekeli, 1998). Ankara was the first example of observing these difficulties.

Towards the end of the period, the focus of the urban conflict had shifted from the nation state to the society. A new layer of conflict had been formed by migrants coming from rural to the cities in masses (Şengül, 2003, a: 158).

### **3.2. 1950 – 1980: URBANIZATION OF LABOUR**

The period between the years 1950 and 1980, consisting of three decades, can be regarded as one of the most essential period with respect to the political history of Turkish Republic within both the economic, social, and spatial dimensions. Through these three decades two coup d'états, and one military notification, a serious societal opposition, migration and a rapid urbanization had been witnessed. Planning had been observed to be institutionalized. Labour class had begun to appear in the societal scene, to play an essential role in both the social and political context. Turkish Radical Leftist ideology had been matured and student movement had been experienced. However, the societal opposition turned to occur and be conceived within anarchy towards the end of this period, which led to 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980.

These three decades will be examined with respect to the political, economic, social, and spatial dimensions.

### **3.2.1. The Period Between the years 1950 – 1960**

In 1950's, cities had been shaped through increasing industrialization, re-definition of industrial policies, rapid growth in urban population, urban sprawl exceeding the municipal territories, and increase in both the number of vehicles and the kinds of urban transportation (Osmay, 1998). In this period, industrialization was the emphasized issue rather than housing supply and investing on built environment; which resulted in spontaneous solutions for both housing and economic sector by the migrants who had come from rural. This resulted in transformation of urban spatial organization. Added to that, one party regime was left and DP (Democratic Party) gained the power after the elections in 14<sup>th</sup> of May, 1950 (Turan, 1999). They increased their power and efficiency after the elections in 1955, which resulted in the conflict arose between DP and RPP (Republican Public's Party). The events in 1955, in the form of a pillage in masses occurred towards the minorities, which was argued to be supported by DP, would increase the tension between these two parties. This tension lasted until the military coup d'état in 1960; the power was taken from DP and a new constitution was produced.

#### **3.2.1.1. Political, Economic and Social Context**

After the Second World War, new values such as 'democracy' and 'wealth' state had matured; approach of 'wealth state' governed by democracy had been appropriated. Turkey republic with reference to this development, replaced one party regime with a regime of more than one party. This transition led to a transformation in the modernity project, which would not enable the policy of 'for the sake of people in spite of them' any more. On the other hand same transition resulted in the modernity project to become more sensitive to the tendencies of *populism*. Limited within the domestic market before the war, Turkish economy was opened to foreign economy (Tekeli, 1998). The industrialization, began in this period, was based on import of foreign capital and technology (Osmay, 1998). After the war, with reference to the Marshall Aids, new development strategies were appropriated to improve the sector of agriculture (Şengül, 2003, a: 158). On one hand within the aids, modernization on



agriculture was carried on; and on the other hand private sector was emphasized with reference to the discourse of liberalization. Added to that, as a third strategy, investments was concentrated on highway infrastructure rather than railway system (Tekeli, 1998).

Rapid mechanization in agriculture sector brought a transition from a structure producing limited products for domestic market or livelihood to a structure producing more professionally for national or international markets. Through this transition, technological developments occurred in agriculture sector led to increase in efficiency and as a result coming masses apart from the rural areas had been experienced (Tekeli, 1998); the strategy to improve the agriculture sector with reference to the Marshall Aids resulted in migration in great numbers to the cities (Şengül, 2003, a: 158). The most important societal characteristic of the period between the years 1950 and 1970 is the transformation of peasants to workers by coming to the city. The strategy of state towards this development can be examined at two points: on one hand, emphasis on industrial investments especially between the years 1950 and 1960; and on the other hand minimization of the capital accumulation on the built environment (Şengül, 2003, a: 159).

Insufficient investments on collective consumption, presence of inadequate and powerless local governments, a negligent attempt towards the built environment in cities led to spatial, social and political changes. The formation of squatter phenomenon was a part of this transformation. As a result, a tension and conflict appeared between the new comers and the state, and the middle class within the spatial dimensions (Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). Capturing urban space by the squatters meant to challenge both the authority of the state and the lifestyle of the middle class (Şengül, 2003, a: 159).

### **3.2.1.2. Urban Sprawl and Zones of Squatters**

After the World War II, a rapid urbanization was experienced in Turkey; the population growth at the rate of 6 % had been seen in the other cities as well. To realize the criteria determined within the frame of the modernization project in

Turkey turned to be almost impossible in such a great mobilization; spontaneous solutions were needed (Tekeli, 1998).

In this period, zones of squatters had appeared around the cities; the phenomenon of ‘dolmuş’ also occurred to meet the needs of inner city transportation; development through the inadequacies of infrastructure was experienced, led to several problems. Resulting in a dual structure in urban social-spatial pattern, the first diversification occurred between the spaces developed with respect to the planned structure of modernity project and the spontaneously developed squatter settlements (Tekeli, 1998). Therefore this would lead to a conflict having both spatial and social dimensions between inhabitants of the squatters and the two groups of actors: the state and the middle class (Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973: cited in Şengül, 2003, a).

To solve this issue, two strategies could be followed: on one hand the actors should have been matured in a way to increase their capacity and on the other hand institutional and legal improvements should have been studied on. Tekeli summarizes the institutional arrangements in five basic topics (Tekeli, 1998):

1. In **1945**, **The Bank of Cities (İller Bankası)** was established within the law numbered **4759**. Associating the two institutions (the Bank of Municipalities and the Council of Municipal Development) which were established in the previous period, a new institution was constituted to develop plans, to fulfill the demands of municipalities on projects of infrastructure with technical knowledge and equipment, and financial support.
2. In **1948**, the law – **5237**, the revenues of municipalities were regulated. Though increasing the financial resources of municipalities, similar to the previous one this regulation would not suffice the needs of the rapid and extensive development.
3. In **1954**, the **Association of Professions of Turkish Engineers and Architects** was established with the law numbered **6235**.
4. In **1956**, the **Development Law** – numbered **6875** – was enacted. This law may be regarded to be reflecting the planning approaches had been developed throughout the world at that time. Extending the planning authority and responsibility to the areas staying out of the municipal boundaries (*müccavir*

alan), this legal regulation can be said to seek a solution to the issue on development of rapidly expanding cities.

5. With the law numbered **7116, Ministry of Public Works and Housing** was established in the year **1958**. By this regulation, a ministry dealing with the issues of planning, housing and equipments of construction was formed. The issue of planning was not limited with urban scale; also the regional planning was considered to be comprised.

After the Second World War, there had been merely individual housing supply in Turkey. Demanding a house, the citizen should have bought plot of vacant land first; then should have a project prepared by the technical member to benefit his/her right to development rights; then getting permission from the municipality, he/she should have the house built by the hand of subcontractor and small-scale builders. The noteworthy problem of this period was the deficiency of housing, in other words the problem of producing adequate houses which are also suitable for the solvency of the people. In Ankara, as the individual housing supply was insufficient, then the first cooperations and squatter houses occurred. However, according to Tekeli, this can not be generalized for the whole country at that time (Tekeli, 1998).

To overcome the congestion which had happened after the Second World War, two processes of housing supply were observed: these were constructing squatters and yap-sat (the business of constructing and then selling buildings). Experienced rapid urbanization and insufficient supply of legal building site led to the increase in price of urban lot of development; the chance of urban middle and upper classes to construct their house on a single plot of land had disappeared. Therefore, the problem was going to be solved by the method of combining on a parcel/lot to construct a building. However, the legal frame would not enable such a kind of construction at that time. The book of Ebül'ula Mardin named *Condominium* written in 1948 was used at first step to overcome this limitation. In 1954, by the change in the law of notary, housing supply by the hand of yap-satçı and cooperation was developed (Tekeli, 1998).

After the Second World War, several reports had been demanded from the experts; prepared by Charles Abrahams, one of these reports was emphasizing the inadequacy

of technical capacity in terms of quality and quantity. Later the housing problem was considered to be examined by the imperts who are educated in Turkey, rather than the experts coming from foreign countries. As a result, in the pioneering idea of a department – city planning – METU was established in 1956; in 1961 department of the city planning was founded (Tekeli, 1998).

A paradigm shift in Turkish planning approach can be said with reference to the institutional and legal transformations. This paradigm was presenting an approach especially concerning the physical planning and comprising a planning attitude based on multidisciplinary and multi-dimensional inquiries. However, not being flexible enough, this approach would be recognized not to meet the needs of such a rapid transforming socio-spatial pattern; and would not enable to solve the problems incrementally, in a more flexible and rapid way (Tekeli, 1998).

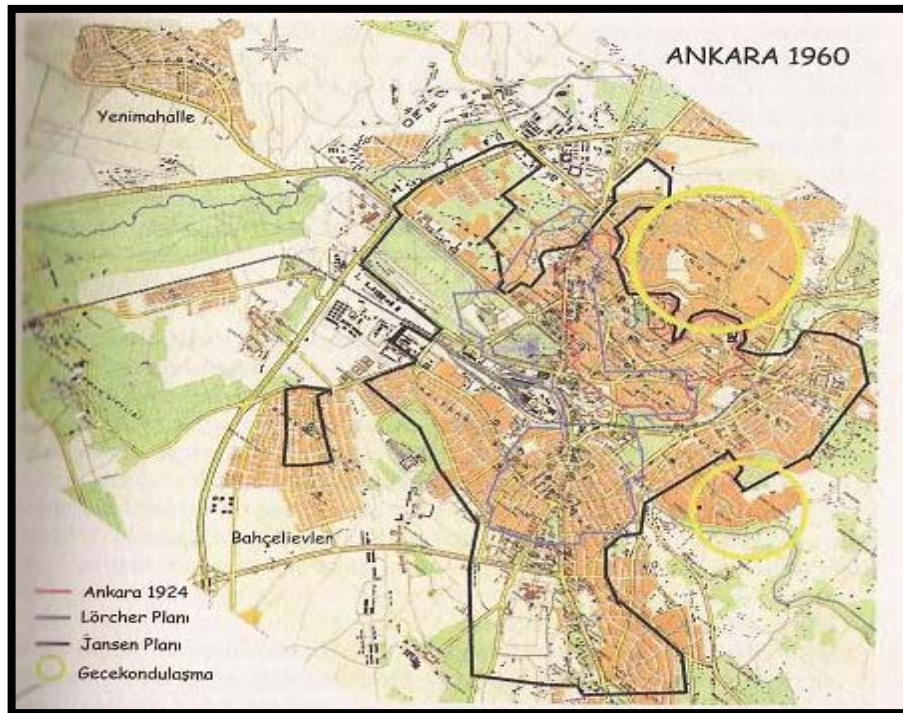
### **3.2.1.3. The Third Planning Attempt of Ankara: Yücel-Uybadin Development Plan**

Lörcher Plan is proposed to lead the implementations experienced between the years 1925 – approval of Jansen Plan- and 1931; and Jansen Plan has been argued to shape the spatial transformation of Ankara during the period between the years 1930 and 1950 (Günay, 2005). In the mid of 1950's, the spatial pattern of Ankara had exceeded the limits foreseen in Jansen Plan. Hence, an international competition was organized in 1955, since the city had necessitated a new development plan. The plan of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin was declared as the winner; and it was approved in 1957 (Altaban, 1998). The plan had been in operation between the years 1958 and 1968 (Cengizkan, 2005); this plan has been evaluated to concentrate on the physical organization and land use within a view of architect planners (Cengizkan, 2002, b). Yücel-Uybadin Plan is evaluated by Günay as the main plan which had shaped the central district – ‘core’ – of the city (Günay, 2005).

Atatürk Boulevard, in the west of the Castle, was seen to be considered as the main axis (from north to the south) within the three planning attempts, in Lörcher, Jansen and Yücel-Uybadin plans. The city was planned to develop around this main axis. However, since Ankara was located on a concave piece of land, this planning

strategy would lead to problems on both urban transportation and air pollution especially in 1970's with increasing population (Günay, 2005).

Yücel-Uybadin Plan, which was not on the base of a metropolitan plan, did not consider proposing a spatial form for the development of the city. Different from Lörcher and Jansen Plans, Yücel-Uybadin Plan occurred not to concentrate on the spatial form in the shape of squares, urban green areas in a sequence (Günay, 2005). At this point, the attempt of the party in power should be considered as well. DP was observed to approach the development and spatial transformation of Ankara different from the planning attempt in 1930's. The development of İstanbul was preferred to be focussed, rather than Ankara. The Prime Minister, Menderes, was especially interested in an expropriation on a large scale in İstanbul and development of new boulevards. Moreover, on one hand economical obstacles had occurred since 1956 and on the other hand the speculation over urban space had increased, which would lead to demands on revision of the plan to increase in density from the very beginning of this planning attempt (Altaban, 1998).



**Fig. 9.** Spatial Pattern of Ankara in 1960

**Source:** *Ankara Çekirdek Alanı'nın Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme*, Günay, 2005: 79

Yücel-Uybadin Plan was observed not to propose a policy on the centre of the city; the plan did not consider an alternative relationship between the districts of Ulus and Kızılay. Added to that, the plan did present neither a scheme implying the direction of the spatial developments nor a solution for squatter areas. Although a new plan had been necessitated by 1960, the administrators and Administrative Council of Development decided to revise Yücel-Uybadin Plan and increased the density by increasing the development rights in 1968 (Günay, 2005).

### **3.2.2. The Period Between the years 1960 – 1968**

This period can be considered as the decade through which societal opposition had been matured. Within the following two decades (from 1960 to 1980), for the first time of Turkish political history, workers, students and ‘ordinary people’ had been observed to attempt to be ‘political’ in great masses. After 1980, such an organized and great societal opposition can not be said to occur (Aydinoğlu, 2007). Therefore, the period between the years 1960 and 1980 has a political and social essence; and the first part of these two decades can be evaluated as a maturation era of the societal conflict and student movement with labour class, public workers and other workers. This period begins with the coup d’état which ended the power of DP.

#### **3.2.2.1. Political, Economic and Legal Context**

In 1960, 27<sup>th</sup> of May, the military coup d’état transformed the political and economic context of the country parallel to the Constitution of 1961. Within this perspective, Turkey was going to experience a transfer from Westminster type of democracy to a balanced and framed democracy. Principle of social state and conception of wealth state occurred in the new constitution; also Turkish political pattern was opened to the leftist ideology within this legal frame. Occurred in 1968 in the world, the student movements had been experienced in Turkey as well. On the other hand, for the requirements of wealth state principle, economy of the state should have been developed in a planned path. Therefore, the State Planning Organization was established with the 1961 Constitution. Turkey adapted a policy of planned mixed economy within this development perspective. The urbanization issues had started to be examined in a socialist / collectivist view densely. This kind of concentration

influenced the legal regulations both on local governments and on the issues of development and housing (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.2.2.2. Urbanization**

The urbanization issues, which had been experienced since the Second World War, changed in their characteristic to a certain degree. Having a population of 200 000 before 1960's, Ankara had reached a population of 1 000 000; which resulted in the problem of air pollution. Ankara and İzmir turned to be metropolitan cities as well as İstanbul. As the cities had not fit into the boundaries of municipalities, several municipalities occurred around the periphery of the metropolitan cities. This transformation led to the transition from the cities under the control of one municipality to the metropolitan cities under the control of several municipalities (Tekeli, 1998: 15-16).

Until mid 1960s, small scale producers were active around the central business district; which was leading to several problems such as traffic jam, risk of fire, environmental pollution. This issue was tried to be solved by constructing small scale industrial estates. After 1965, several estates were established; the tensions on the CBD were decreased to some degree during this period in Turkey, 'industry' was the main issue concentrated on. As a caution for rapid development of industrial land uses at or near the city (center), industrial estates were begun to be constructed. By this strategy, producing activities were removed from and around the city center (Tekeli, 1998).

In 1960's, insufficient supply of public transportation by the municipalities, first 'dolmuş' and later minibuses appeared to meet the needs on the inner city transportation. In 1970s, production of cars in Turkey had started which would lead to an increase in private car ownership. However, this time traffic problem had to be concerned; this was done through three main strategies. First, after the second half of 1970s, certain areas were closed to the vehicle traffic and turned to be pedestrian zones. Public transportation was aimed to be improved by lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses – *tahsisli yol*. Until mid 1970s, the Turkish cities were developed in the form of urban sprawl. Neither by constructing squatters nor by the hand of

housing associations, adequate and qualitative provision of housing was provided. At the city centres, demolishing and constructing processes were experienced. Cultural and historical values were ruined. Both the increase in (construction) density, and vanishing of green areas were observed. All of these resulted in the deficiency of social infrastructure. The form of development of the city had led to results decreasing the living standards and quality of citizens (Tekeli, 1998).

As a result of the expensive housing supply of yap-satıcı, a new kind of housing provision was looked for. In 1967, within the second five year development plan, housing estate was proposed to be a way of solution. In this kind of provision, a huge scope of capital should have been activated to be mobilized; the demand should have been organized; grand lots of land should have provided; these lands should have been planned and the infrastructure should have been supplied. Although such a huge investment and construction of housing supply was expected to be provided by the hand of the state, the ones who started the enterprises of housing estates were private sector and local governments (Tekeli, 1998).

All these spatial issues resulted in urban expanding by joining the grand lots of developed land to the city. The new type of housing provision – housing estate – enabled to present large areas to the development. The numbers of small scale and large scale industrial estates also increased in number rapidly. The buildings of public services such as universities, institutions of health and the administration buildings of private sectors' grand institutions were tended to be constructed in the form of campuses (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.2.2.3. Planning Paradigm & Metropolitan Planning Bureaus**

The concept of regional planning had started to be esteemed; the regional plans were produced seriously in Zonguldak, Eastern Marmara Region, Antalya and Çukurova; however the concept of 'region' was thought to lead to fragmentation therefore the studies were interrupted. Urban planning became more esteemed as a category beyond the physical planning as a result of the institutionalization of both economic planning and social planning at the national level. Within this period, comprehensive rational planning had been adopted; social and economic dimensions of planning



were also regarded. However, as mentioned before, rapid urbanization in Turkish cities necessitated a more flexible and strategic planning at that time according to Tekeli (Tekeli, 1998). On the base of the Governmental Decision of the Council of Ministers, dated 20.07.1965 and numbered 6/4970, a new institution on planning was established in 1969, by Ministry of Public Works and Housing, to produce master plans of metropolitan areas in Ankara; 1990 Master Plan of Ankara Metropolitan Area was produced (Günay, 2005). Between 1968 and 1984, spatial transformation of Ankara was organized by Bureaus of Master Plan in Ankara Metropolitan Area, which structural planning (Altaban, 2002; cited in Cengizkan, 2005).

As a result of the planning strategies of the first three planning attempts of Ankara, the problems of air pollution and traffic jam had occurred in the developed districts of the city beginning in 1970's. Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau had started to produce spatial policies to go beyond the boundaries of the geographical form of the city and to solve the problems of pollution and traffic jam; within these planning decisions, districts of Batıkent, Sincan, and Çayyolu had been produced outside of the concave. In the second half of 1960's the Ministry of Public Works and Housing was established. In the metropolitan cities, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, Metropolitan Planning Bureaus were founded (Tekeli, 1998).

The Bank of Cities (İller Bankası) conducted planning competitions for some of the cities after detailed monographies were prepared: 1964 – Konya, 1966 – Bafra, 1966 – Adana, 1967 – Sivas, 1968 – Erzurum, 1970 – Trabzon, 1970 – İzmit, 1971 – Zonguldak, 1972 – Gaziantep. Two new fields within the profession occurred: one is producing conservation plans and the other is planning the areas of tourism. These competitions and founded Metropolitan Planning Bureaus gave possibility to discuss the new planning paradigm and provided the skills to be prevalent among the professionals of this field; which resulted in development of the scientific knowledge of the urban planning field (Tekeli, 1998).

According to Tekeli, the major actor to be matured is the municipalities to overcome the problems of urbanization (Tekeli, 1998: 18). In **1963**, with the law numbered **307**, the *Law of Municipalities* was adopted to the new law of development. With this law,

the mayor was decided to be elected directly by the people within the majority method; and the income of municipalities were intended to be increased, however this re-arrangement could not be made as Constitutional Court evaluated this attempt as contrary to the constitution. This increased the dependence of the local governments to the central state at the time they needed resources to solve the problems. Some other legal arrangements were made. In 1969 – with the law numbered 1164, dependent upon the Ministry of Public Works and Housing the Land Office was established. However, the office could not be practical as the resources defined with the law were insufficient. In 1972 the law numbered 1605, important changes were made within the Development Law numbered 6735. The Ministry got the authority and responsibility to produce or to have produced a higher scale of plan (nazım plan) beyond the municipalities. However, this authority could not be used effectively. In the year 1966, with the law of squatters numbered 775 the concept of the squatter was first used in a legal text; and accepting the presence of the squatters, on one hand this legal text constituted the frame for legitimacy; brought the arrangements of *elimination, improvement, and development of preventing areas* (Tekeli, 1998).

Summarizing, municipalities had been left weak both in the respects of political authority and financial resources, in spite of the serious urbanization problems occurred. The New Municipalism movement occurred after the elections in 1973. Some of the principles of this movement were, being democratic, and producer, creating resources, organizing the collective consumption, providing unity and integrity, and ruling. These principles would later gain a characteristic beyond the political parties. In the 1974 elections, inhabitants of the squatters voted for the Social Democrats, a power struggle occurred between the central government and local governments. As a result, the central state increased constrain on the local governments (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.2.3. The Period Between the years 1968 – 1980**

1968 is a turning point with respect to both the political context and the planning approach of the country. All through the world 1968 is known as the year of student movements protesting especially the Vietnam War of American Army. Although the

students participated in political movements also in very beginning of 1960's; the protests beginning in 1968 had repercussions all through the world and spread from Paris to the other European countries. The movement was reflected in Turkey as well, in the form of boycotts and occupations of universities. Working class (labour power, especially in Zonguldak and İzmir) and public workers (especially teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc.) were observed to be politicized with the university students. To the end of the period a societal chaos occurred in both the public spaces such as streets, squares and the semi-public spaces such as cafés, stores, bus stops; and both the economic problems and governmental policies were observed to lead to the country to an economic crisis.

Examining the issues of urbanization, squatter areas occurred to be approached differently from 1960's; squatters started to be demolished, and a kind of urban social movement and spatial struggle occurred to be experienced between the inhabitants of squatters and the armed forces; the neighbourhood of 1 May in İstanbul, Ümraniye is an example (Aslan, 2004). Nevertheless, this period indicates both an institutional de-regulation on planning (Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureaus established in 1969) and the difference of composition of local governments, the party in power in central government and the party in power in local governments had been differentiated in the second half of 1970's. New Municipalism Movement with this de-composition of power resulted in a different kind of planning attempt and spatial policies.

### **3.2.3.1. Political, Economic and Legal Context: Arising Societal Opposition**

The War of Vietnam and the war between Arabian and Israel had been evaluated as the most essential events of 1967, by American and European journalists (*Yılın olayı olarak Avrupalı gazeteciler Arap-İsrail savaşını; Amerikalı gazeteciler ise Vietnam'ı seçtiler*, Ulus, 01.01.1968, p. 5). At 16<sup>th</sup> of April, 1967, the Vietnam War had been protested by 200 000 people in New York; this was regarded to be one of the greatest demonstrations of the history in favour of peace. The demonstrations had continued in 1968, increasingly and spread to the countries all over the world, such as in Japan (*Japon Gençleri Amerika'yı protestoya hazırlanıyor*, Ulus, 16.01.1968, p. 3; *Japonya'da öğrenci gösterileri*, Ulus, 28.01.1968, p. 3), Spain (*İspanya'da polis*

*öğrenci çatışması*, Ulus, 21.01.1968, p. 5; *İspanya'da huzursuzluk artıyor*, Ulus, 23.01.1968, p. 3; *İspanya'da 137 grevci öğrenci üniversiteden çıkarıldılar*, Ulus, 05.02.1968, p. 3), Germany (*Almanya'da öğrenci hareketi gittikçe gelişmeye başladı*, Ulus, 08.02.1968, p. 3; *Bütün Avrupa Gençliği Amerika'yı tel'in etti*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, p. 3; *Gösteri mi, ayaklanma mı*, Ulus, 26.02.1968, p. 3; *Almanya'da gençlerin protestosu önlenemiyor*, Ulus, 15.04.1968, p. 2; *Almanya'yı karıştıran öğrenci, Dutsche*, Ulus, 18.04.1968, p. 3), France (*Paris'te Amerika aleyhindeki gösteriler bugün*, Ulus, 13.02.1968, p. 3; *Bütün Avrupa Gençliği Amerika'yı tel'in etti*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, p. 3;), England (*Bütün Avrupa Gençliği Amerika'yı tel'in etti*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, p. 3), Sweden (*Bütün Avrupa Gençliği Amerika'yı tel'in etti*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, p. 3), Italy (*Roma'da öğrenciler mücadeleye kararlı*, Ulus, 05.03.1968, p. 3; *Roma'da nümayiş*, Ulus, 06.03.1968, p. 3; *İtalya'da gençlik hareketi üzerine işgal edilen Roma Üniversitesi hala polisin elinde*, Ulus, 07.03.1968, p. 3; *Roma'da karışıklık*, Ulus, 18.03.1968, p. 3; *Milano'da Polis-öğrenci çatışması*, Ulus, 18.03.1968, p. 3), Poland (*Polonya: Her yerde öğrenciler*, Ulus, 15.04.1968, p. 2) and USA (*Amerikan üniversiteleri yine karıştı*, Ulus, 26.04.1968, p. 3; *Amerika, savaş aleyhtarı gösteriler yüzünden karıştı*, Ulus, 29.04.1968, p. 3).

On the other hand, the movement of Negros in USA would spread to all through the country. At 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 1967, Negros revolted in thousands in Michigan, resulted in the death of seventy demonstrators, and injuries of five thousand people (*1967'de dünyada olup bitenler*, Ulus, 01.01.1968, p. 9). This rebel would spread to the other provinces of USA in the shape of a (*1967'de dünyada olup bitenler*, Ulus, 01.01.1968, p. 9; *Zenciler Amerika'nın güneyinde ayrı bir devlet kurmak istiyorlar*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, p. 3; *Amerika'da zenci yürüyüşü kanla bitti*, Ulus, 30.03.1968, p. 3; *Amerika zenci lideri Dr. King öldürüldü*, Ulus, 06.04.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Zenci ayaklanması 50 şehre yayıldı*, Ulus, 08.04.1968, pp. 1 & 7). The other essential event of this year was regarded to be the death of Che Guevara, the revolutionist from South America; this death would lead to broad repercussions (*1967'de dünyada olup bitenler*, Ulus, 01.01.1968, p. 9).

The student demonstrations in Paris, beginning at the University of Sorborne, the demonstration at 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1968, are the most essential one which resulted in broad

repercussions not only all through the world, but also Turkey. The events took place in the universities, streets, and squares in masses; during the May of 1968, all the world followed the events in Paris carefully (*Paris'te polisle gençler arasında amansız çatışma*, Ulus, 05.05.1968, p. 3; *Paris sokakları savaş meydanı haline geldi*, Ulus, 09.05.1968, p. 3; *Dünyanın gözü Paris'te*, Ulus, 11.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Fransa'da başarı öğrencilerde*, Ulus, 13.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Üniversiteliler Sorbonne'u işgal altında tutuyorlar*, Ulus, 15.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Paris ihtilal havası içinde*, Ulus, 19.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Paris görüşmeleri olumsuz geliyor*, Ulus, 20.05.1968, p. 3). With the events experienced in Paris, the student movement occurred to spread the other countries as well; the demonstrations in Paris had happened to be an effective example all through the Europe such as the demonstrations in Italy (*Madrid'te polis ve öğrenciler çatıştı*, Ulus, 20.05.1968, p. 3), and in Sweden (*Öğrenci isyanı İsveç'e sıçradı*, Ulus, 21.05.1968, p. 3). The events in Paris continued with getting severe through the month of May (*Paris'te öğrencilerle polis çatıştı, gerginlik çok arttı*, Ulus, 24.05.1968, p. 3; *Paris sokakları barikatlerle kapatıldı*, Ulus, 25.05.1968, p. 3) and also the working class was demanded to be joined the movement by the students (*Fransa'da öğrenci ve işçiler ihtilal hareketi için birleşmeye çağrıldı*, Ulus, 03.06.1968, p. 3). The events in Paris continued during the next month (*Paris caddeleri gerçek bir savaş alanına döndü*, Ulus, 13.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Paris'te olaylar hız kesti*, Ulus, 14.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Paris'te dün büyük bir çatışma oldu*, Ulus, 15.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7) and though the criticisms of the French people, de Gaulle was elected in the elections of June, 1968; this was evaluated as a reaction to the chaos experienced in France as a result of the student movement (*Fransa seçimlerinde de Gaulle'cülerin zaferi*, Ulus, 25.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

Examining the Turkish case with respect to the essential events of 1967, university students had seen to protest USA under the organization TMTF (Türk Milli Talebe Federasyonu – Federation of Turkish National Student); and these students appeared to be reacted severely by the policemen. The farmers appeared to move to seek for land reforms; the severe events between the farmers, villagers and the armed forces, which happened in Elmalı Village in Antalya, at 30<sup>th</sup> of July, 1967, was the starting point of farmers' demonstration in front of the Courthouse in Ankara. The working

class had also occurred to protest the attempt of the party in power. When the mayor rejected the demand of increase in salaries, workers of municipality walked from Manisa to Ankara; beginning at 17<sup>th</sup> of June they arrived at Ankara at 23<sup>rd</sup> of July, 1967. The strikes of some syndicates occurred; such as the strike of the Union of Sosyal-İş beginning at 25<sup>th</sup> of September, and the strike at American workplaces supported by Union of Türk Harb-İş beginning at 26<sup>th</sup> of September. Also the Cyprus issue was getting to necessitate a special concentration within the attacks of Greeks to the Turkish villages in Cyprus; therefore at 16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1967, The Council of Ministers decided on intervention to Cyprus (*1967'de yurtta olup bitenler*, Ulus, 01.01.1968, p. 9).

After the coup d'état in May of 1960, the leftist ideology had happened to re-organize since new opportunities to broadcast their ideas occurred. Following Socialist Party TİP (Turkish Workers' Party – Türkiye İşçi Partisi) was established at 13<sup>th</sup> of February, 1961. The periodical names as *Yön*, also affected Turkish society, during 1960's till 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1971. Towards the end of 1962, The Association of Socialist Culture (Sosyalist Kültür Derneği) was established. Added to that, Social Democrat Party (SDP), as another political institution, occurred at 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1964; later joined with TİP. In the elections of 1965, TİP could achieve to put fifteen deputies in the Parliament and began to voice their opinion. Moreover, the establishment of DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Syndicates-Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu) at 13<sup>th</sup> of February, 1967, had occurred to affect not only the working life, and social organization but also political patterning, of which affects has continued until the recent times. The concepts of 'revolution' and 'being revolutionary' had turned to be and an alternative slogan to the contrary of Nationalism and İslamist View in Turkey (Turan, 2002).

Moreover, the student clubs and associations established in universities would combine under the roof of Federation of Idea Clubs, which was going to be changed to be DEV-GENÇ (implying Revolutionary Youth) – The Federation of Revolutionary Youth of Turkey (Türkiye Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu) (Turan, 2002). The political conflict between the youth had continued during these developments; the struggle between the students in two separate political views,

rightist and leftist views, had been visible in universities, in the shape of armed struggles. Students occurred to be killed by either the armed forces, security officials (one of the first examples was death of Vedat Demirciođlu, in the student dormitory) or the students from opposite view in their schools. The attempt of the government was not intimate enough to persuade the youth to give up armed struggle among each other.

Violent and bloody demonstrations had been experienced at the public spaces, streets, squares such as the one –named as Bloody Sunday– at 16<sup>th</sup> February, 1969 in İstanbul. The degree of violence in the country had increased. The events in universities was continuing on one hand; on the other hand meetings of the National Security Council had been experienced in a strained mood between the military administrators and government, the ministers with Demirel, the prime minister of the country at that time. The meetings either done between the government and army and the meetings done among the administrations of army in the first months of 1971 was indicating the military intervention; such as the meetings at 28<sup>th</sup> of December, 1970; 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1971; 27<sup>th</sup> of January, 1971 (Birand, et. al., 2007). At 11<sup>th</sup> of January, the branch office of the Türkiye İş Bank was robbed by a group of revolutionary students (*Bankayı soyanlar ODTÜ’de aranıyor*, Ulus, 13.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2). The identities of the group were determined in a short time; and the leader was Deniz Gezmiş; the armed forces started a broad pursuit all through the country (*Bankayı soyan 2 kişi tesbit edildi*, Ulus, 14.01.1971, p. 1; *Soygun sanıklarının kaldığı evler dün basıldı*, Ulus, 18.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2; *Banka soyguncularının uçak kaçırmamasından korkuluyor*, Ulus –2<sup>nd</sup> Press, 18.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2; *Polis sanıkları her yerde arıyor*, Ulus, 19.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2; *Polis ipin ucunu kaçırdı*, Ulus, 19.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2; *D. Gezmiş ve arkadaşları bulunamadı*, Ulus, 22.01.1971, p. 1; *Arama Ankara dışına kaydı*, Ulus, 25.01.1971, p. 1; *Polis aramalardan bir sonuç alamadı*, Ulus, 27.01.1971, p. 2; *Gezmiş’in Fatsa’da olduğu öne sürülüyor*, Ulus, 11.02.1971, pp. 1 & 2). At 9<sup>th</sup> of March, a summit meeting for a possible coup d’état was organized at the Headquarters of Air Force, a few hundreds far away from the Prime Ministry (Birand, et. al., 2007). At the noon of 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1971, the memorandum (military notification/warning) was broadcasted (Birand, et. al., 2007; Turan, 2002); after a short period DEV-GENÇ would be closed (Turan, 2002). In

addition to this, Gezmiş and his friend Yusuf Aslan had been captured in the location of Yeni Çubuklu, a location in Geverek district at the night of 16<sup>th</sup> of March, 1971 (*Deniz Gezmiş yakalandı*, Ulus, 18.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2). Hüseyin İnan, the friend of Gezmiş was also captured after a short time (*Hüseyin İnan da yakalandı*, Ulus, 24.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2).

By the second half of 1970's, the societal opposition had been seen to be matured on one hand; on the other hand the reflections to the opposition occurred to be more severe. In 1 May 1976, the Worker's Day was allowed, for the first time after a long time from the Ottoman Empire period, to be celebrated in masses in Taksim Square (Gürel, 2006); however in the celebration of 1977, an armed attack over the mass in the square happened; thirty four people were killed during the violent event (*1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11; *Ölü Sayısı 34'e çıktı, ancak bu sayının artmasından korkuluyor*, Cumhuriyet, 03.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11). This violent event would be discussed later (Yetkin, 2005); and Taksim Square would turn to be a symbolic space of Turkish Working Class Movement, of which reflections were experienced in 2007, the thirtieth anniversary of this event, as well. By 1968, the struggle at the squares in 1960's was extended to the universities, squatter settlements, and factories. By the second half of 1970's, the struggle of students and workers had been extended to semi-public places such as working places, cafés, even houses, added to the streets, squares, bus stops.

In addition to these political issues, Turkey was experiencing severe economic problems, which increased and deepened especially at the end of the decade. Turkey was reported to be in the corner of bankruptcy in the news of foreign press towards the end of 1977; this led to rise in prices of several commodities and services (*Yüzde 100-150 oranındaki PTT zamları yürürlüğe girdi*, Cumhuriyet, 20.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9; *Paramızın değeri % 10 düşürüldü*, Cumhuriyet, 21.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9). Moreover the scarcity of the resources was being experienced such as in electricity (*Elektrik kısıntısı süresi bir saat daha arttırılacak*, Cumhuriyet, 27.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9); and in petroleum (*Türkiye borcunu ödemedi ve Irak petrolünü kesti*, Cumhuriyet, 21.11.1977, pp. 1 & 9). The anarchy within these economic problems had been observed till the military intervention at 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980.



### **3.2.3.2. Urbanization**

In 1970s, Turkey's producing automobile and increase in private car ownership enabled the high income groups to settle down the outside of city – sub-cities. The conflict between the urbanization and becoming urbanized had been deepened. The new comers had been using the possibilities of urban, and had been participated the political power. However, they could not be articulated to the rest of the city and could have not transformed to the direction expected. The music of arabesque is one of the cultural expressions of this process (Tekeli, 1998: 15-16).

The squatters were either ignored for a long time or exposed to a disturbing/demolishing policy. The first positive attempt of the state towards the squatters was in the first five year development plan in the year 1963. The demolishing policy turned to be improvement policies from that point (Danielson ve Keleş, 1985: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). This attitude was also seen in the squatter law of 1966 (Şengül, 2003, a: 160).

The demands of infrastructure such as electricity and water was started to be supplied, which indicated that the squatters had been able to take the demands from the state. However, it is a fact that, with this regulation the squatter areas were both presented to the land market and put under the control of the state through legitimating either by giving title deed or by supplying service. Although they began to benefit from the services, within this frame they were registered and so started to pay taxes and to gain the right of buying and selling their squatters. On one hand they were recognized by the state and they started to adopt the market, on the other hand they were trying to integrate to the political system. However, this integration process developed in a patron-client relationship. They supported the party systems as long as the parties supported their demands and interests. In 1960s and 1970s, supporting the squatters had turned to be a mechanism which was regarded as normal (Öncü, 1988; Özbudun, 1976: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 161). The demands of the squatters had continued increasingly on the contrary of the expectations of the state. While they were dreaming to come back to the places they had come from, at that time they were demanding equality in rights with the middle classes in the cities. Both spatial

and social respects, they demanded equality on the built environment; within this perspective they aimed to be full citizens (Şenyapılı, 1982: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 161).

The squatter inhabitants had constituted nearly the half of the populations of the cities, therefore the Republican People's Party – RPP (CHP) – who gave importance to the social policies for the urban poor, succeeded in the 1973 local elections. In the 1977 elections this success increased. Between the years 1973 and 1980, RPP had taken the control of the metropolitan cities, consisting İstanbul, İzmir, and Ankara. In this period, local governments had gained the chance to realize grand projects and more systematic policies. In the second half of 1970s, devolution to the local governments had occurred; channels were opened for the masses to express themselves; the ways of local governments to provide urban services had transformed; the New Municipalism Movement had been developed (Finkel, 1990: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). These developments increased the tension between the central government and local governments; and turned the metropolitan cities to the 'battlegrounds' (Tekeli, 1982: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 162). Especially the young population of the squatter areas had been opponent to the state strictly; in the end of 1970s the country was again on the verge of both an economic and a political crisis. In the September of 1980, the army took the control (Şengül, 2003, a: 162). The coup d'état of 1980 brought the New Municipality Movement to an end (Şengül, 2003, a: 163).

Examining the transformation of the central business districts of the city in 1970's, with Ulus Kızılay had occurred as a second CBD, having the functions of the capital city, and the district to where both the administration and service was oriented. The passages of which first examples had been seen in 1960's occurred to be developed for commercial activities and differentiated from each other with respect to the demand of the customers in very beginning of 1970's. For example, Kocabeyoğlu Passage and Bulvar Passage are examples which experienced a transformation in Kızılay; the ground floors turned to be passages and the other floors occurred as offices. Added to that, the transformation had been observed in some service functions in Ankara, in the shape of development in Kızılay, such as banks, the

institutions/associations of industry and commerce, institutions of finance and service, all through the Atatürk Boulevard (Osman, 1998).

### **3.2.3.3. The Experience of New Municipalism Movement in Ankara and 1990 Metropolitan Plan**

The mayors of Ankara in this period (since 1973) were from the party RPP; the period between the years 1973 and 1977 is known as the period of Vedat Dalokay; and the years between 1977 and 1980 is known as the period of Ali Dinçer. These mayors are regarded to be the politicians who produce planning decisions considering the urban issues carefully and implement these decisions on the base of social policies. Vedat Dalokay gave importance to work in coordination with the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau; projects aimed to be produced on the problem of housing provision to the low and middle income groups, public transportation, air pollution, pedestrianization and revitalization of the city centre, and public use in urban land. The New Municipalism Movement was observed to be concretized through the municipal implementations and planning attempts; the municipality concentrated on providing services to the squatter areas, de-regulations of roads and junctions, opening parks and gardens to the use of citizens. The projects and the attempt as a local government formed the base of the experience of local governments in the next periods, beginning in the years of 1977, 1984 and 1989 (Altaban, 1998).

As a result of the comprehensive analysis and research studies of the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau between the years 1970 and 1975, 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan had been produced; and approved in 1982 by the Ministry (Altaban, 1998). The plan was regarded as both being comprehensive (Altaban, 1998; Günay, 2005) and having features of structural planning developed in the western countries in 1960's (Günay, 2005). This planning attempt was essential to indicate that planning could organize and lead the spatial organization and transformation of the city, different from the previous attempts (Altaban, 1998). By 1970's the central district of the city had been stuck in a limited area defined within natural boundaries and the peripheries had been developed in the form of squatter

areas. The major strategy for the macroform was defined as the development in the peripheries, especially the western corridor of the macroform (Günay, 2005).

The policies of the New Municipalism continued to be concretized in the period of Ali Dinçer. During this period, the municipality had occurred to identify planning as a service of local governments. A new institutional unit was constructed within developing a new model of planning; however within three years (from 1977 to 1980) all of the projects, policies, and planning model could not be realized as much as designed, as a result of time shortage. The Cooperative Association of Batıkent Housing was achieved; a new unit of urban transportation was organized to start the project of urban metro (Altaban, 1998). Added to these attempts, the project on lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses was realized in Ankara (*Ankara'da Özel Otobüs Yolunun İlk Bölümü Açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 23.09.1978, pp. 1 & 9; Altaban, 1998), which can be regarded as a social Project (Şengül, 2003, a). The other projects implemented on the base of public use in the form of social projects are pedestrianization, junctions, pass ways, and factories of bread. However, with the coup d'état in 1980, the administrative structure of the country had changed; therefore new projects on the base of this approach could not be realized (Altaban, 1998).

#### **3.2.4. Conclusion**

The period between 1950 and 1980 can be regarded as an essential part of both urbanization and political history of Turkish Republic. The rapid urbanization and squatter areas with increasing problems of housing provision, urban transportation, and air pollution had experienced. During these three decades, planning can be seen to be institutionalized; and planning attempts of Ankara as well. Kızılay District had occurred to get both economic essence as an alternative (sub) centre and political essence with respect to the increasing political tension and political, societal transformation of the country. The increasing political conscious and tension would be attempted to end with a military intervention at 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980. Not only the political and economic context were going to transform, but also the role of Kızılay Square, the policies and projects towards the social issues and city centres were going to change in the next period.

### **3.3. 1980 AND ONWARDS: URBANIZATION OF CAPITAL**

To examine the period and the experience in Turkey, firstly capital accumulation formulation of Harvey will be held, which is thought to explain the previous period and to give tools to examine 1980's. The transformation of economic and social policies and political context with respect to the changes in the form of capital accumulation process will be examined in the next part.

#### **3.3.1. Harvey's Capital Accumulation Point of View**

In this section of the study, to discuss the recent situation, the transformation will be discussed with respect to Harvey's capital accumulation point of view. The changing economic structure results in new spatial necessities, and this leads to the pattern of the city to change with accordance to these necessities. Public space concept is also being discussed, since it has been changing.

Harvey puts forward the idea that 'urban' concept gains its meaning only with respect to the capital accumulation process so under capitalism it is not possible to attribute autonomy to space without this process (Şengül, 2001). Urban space becomes a crucial 'entity' to reproduce labour power; therefore makes the capital accumulation process continue and become widespread. According to Harvey there are two contradictions within capitalism. First one is the '*over-accumulation crisis*', as a result of the competition among individual capitalists and the second contradiction is based on formation of a class against to capital because of exploitation over labour power (Harvey 1989 and 1985, Saunders 1981; cited in Tunç, 2003).

After the Second World War, the Welfare State practice had been seen; within this practice, because of an over – accumulation crisis, the capital had moved to the secondary circuit from the primary one which consists of production (Harvey 1985; cited in Şengül, 2003, b). These secondary circuit investments consist of urban services. These investments reflect the Keynesian urbanization with demand-side strategies. But after 1970's this shifted to post – Keynesian urbanization with supply-

side strategies; because of the petroleum crisis in 1970's and neo-liberal strategies (Şengül, 2003, a).

In the Third World countries, a different process had been seen, before neo-liberal strategies' period. In these countries, capital was directed to industrial investments rather than the second circuit consisting the infrastructure and even housing needs of immigrants coming to the cities from rural area as a result of modernisation of the agricultural sector. So, different from developed countries, rather than the state, the local population had to solve their problems oneself, in the shape of *gecekodu* (squatter areas), informal sector, etc. (Şengül, 2003, a; 2003, b). As a result, 'flow of both state and private investment into the built environment' had been minimal, so had 'minimal investment in collective consumption' (Şengül, 2003, b: 159).

The transformation from Keynesian to post-Keynesian urbanization (Harvey, 1989, Mayer, 1994, Sterken, 2000; cited in Şengül, 2003, a) and neo-liberal strategies period is similar in third world countries compared to developed countries. As organizations such as IMF and World Bank appeared to support neo-liberal implementations in case of both crisis in developed countries and crisis of export-promotion industry in third world countries (Şengül, 2003, a). Also with this appearance, the meaning of the autonomy of 'local' has been changing. This meaning is shifting parallel to the role of 'local' units. Different from the local units supporting each other within a division of labour in a system of 'nation-state', a new system of competing locals for gaining aids, investments has appeared; and the minimum intervention of state (Şengül, 2003,a). Therefore, importance of cities in capital accumulation process has increased.

Once the cities had become an important source of capital accumulation and urban rents had become an important source of capital accumulation, private capital also began to invest in the built environment. Shopping malls, five-star hotels and business centres began to invade the horizons of the large cities at an unprecedented pace (Keyder and Öncü, 1994; cited in Şengül, 2003, b: 169).

These transformations resulted in a more fragmented spatial, social and mental structures in urban space. The gap between the poor and the rich is enlarged. New groups are being seen. A group has been excluded from economic and social dimension of urban life. Middle and high income groups removed from the rest of

urban life and space in the shape of ‘gated communities’. This increased the gap among classes and fragmentation of urban life.

### **3.3.2. Political, Economic and Legal Context**

After 1980, the economic model was transferred from the import-substitution industrialization to export-promotion industrialization through a process supported also by the international institutions such as IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank. The relationship between the first and second circuits of capital accumulation was rearranged. Interventions on the built environment occurred by the hand of both the state and the private sector. Especially in metropolitan cities, the investments of the state and public sector were transferred to the built environment, infrastructure of communication and transportation, and collective consumption (Şengül, 2003, a: 163).

During the rehabilitation period of democracy after the coup d’état, in 1983 several legal arrangements were made some of which were in the aim of strengthening the economic structure of the local governments. The transformation in the structure of the local governments resulted in the appearance of a relatively more entrepreneurial model compared to the previous period (Şengül, 1993: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). As a reaction to the politicization of local governments in 1970’s, the military regime had constructed a new model in which the municipalities were limited within the action of service providing. This strategy was deepened by privatization of the services. On one hand, the costs of services were increased on the other hand the number of workers in the municipalities was decreased (Şengül, 1993: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 163).

On the base of Constitution-1980, just before the local elections, new arrangements on local governments had been made (Keleş, 1988: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). In the structure diversified as Metropolitan and District Municipalities, Motherland (Anavatan) Party came to power different from the situation in 1970’s. They also had taken the power of the central government, which enabled the entrepreneur practices to be widespread throughout the cities. After the restoration of democracy, the economic structure of the local governments was supported to provide them to

continue the service provisions and investments of infrastructure (Keleş, 1992; Tekeli, 1992: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 164).

The international and national grand construction buildings participated in the projects of housing, infrastructure, and transportation. The cities were at the core of capital accumulation processes; rent was one of the major tools of this accumulation and movement of capital; then private sector began to invest on the built environment. Appearance of shopping centers, five-starred hotels and grand business centers in the metropolitan cities is an extension of the mentioned situation (Keyder ve Öncü, 1994: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 164).

The entrance of strong actors did not drive the inhabitants of the squatters away from the scene, at least at the very beginning. The new thing at this scene was the attitude of these new actors to the space. In this attitude, capital was regulating and directing the city. The populism of the Motherland Party took an essential role in this frame. In this period, on one hand with the amnesty laws dated 1985, and on the other hand by re-development plans, spatial arrangements transformed the squatter settlements to apartments. The owner of a squatter was able to get one or more flats or to possess a whole floor equivalent to his/her lot of squatter (Özdemir, 1999: cited in Şengül, 2003, a). This scheme was implemented in several squatter areas; providing these fields turning to the apartment sites. The essence of this transformation is its presenting the squatter lands to the legal market for urban land. A similar example had been experienced in England, in 1980's in the form of council houses' selling (Yönder, 1998: cited in Şengül, 2003, a: 165).

All these transformations led to the occurrence of dualities and a fragmented pattern at urban space. The middle and the upper-middle classes settled in the outside of the cities, taking the shape of 'gated communities'. The dual city centres of the previous urban space transformed to a multi-centred structure; in other words new alternative or sub-centres occurred as a result of fragmentation and socio-spatial differentiation. On the contrary of 1970s, the left wing did not produce any project turned towards urban poor. The representation of urban poor has been observed to be taken under control of Islamic parties since 1990s (Robins ve Aksoy, 1995: Şengül, 2003, a). At



the end of 1990s, the built environment in Turkish cities occurred to be discriminated by the class features (Şengül, 2003, a: 166).

### **3.3.3. Urbanization and Planning**

After the Second World War, processes of demographic mobilization and urbanization reached saturation to some extent. Created by the grand crisis experienced throughout the world, the re-structuration process had been clarified in its direction; as a result Turkey had experienced the economic decisions of 24<sup>th</sup> of January, and the military intervention at 12<sup>th</sup> September. In this period, the spatial organization of the country was determined by the spatial re-organization of two things: the movement of *population* and the movement of *capital* (Tekeli, 1998).

Being 27,7 % in 1945, the urbanization rate increased to be 74,6 % in 1994. After 1980, the migration from rural to urban turned to be insignificant, and emphasis shifted to the migration of inter-cities. There appeared two major movements, one was experienced in the East Anatolian Region as a result of insecurity; and the other was in the shape of obliged migration, and experienced as baring the villages for the sake of security (Tekeli, 1998).

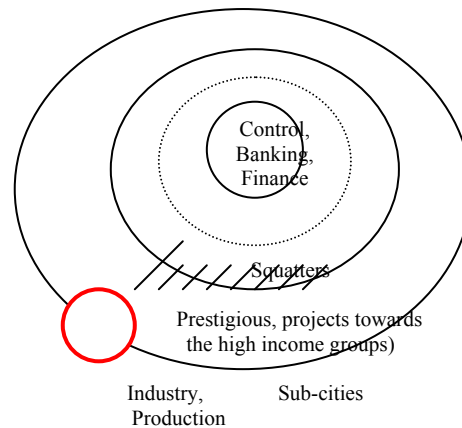
There are three critical preferences which had influenced the re-organization of capital according to Tekeli. First, in 1980, Turkey left an import-substitution model which was turned towards the domestic market, and adopted an export-substitution model open to the foreign market. Second, to realize the first adaptation through being a part of 'cyberspace', the infrastructure investments on telecommunication was given priority over the other investments. As a result, the capacity of communication of Turkey had increased; including villages all settlements were joined to this system. Third, necessitated through this adaptation process, the new institutions had been established; foundation of capital markets and regions of free trade and production, important rearrangements in the structure of banks are some of the examples of these institutional transformations. However, inflation had increased to a degree never seen before, because gaps in public finance could not be prevented during this period (Tekeli, 1998).

All these economic-political developments led to some spatial transformations both at national level and urban space level. One of these is the increasing importance of İstanbul; according to some writers/thinkers it regained its character of being a world city. Added to that, the industry of İstanbul was decentralized throughout Marmara Region. Second, spatial transformation has experienced through the coastal areas – in the form of *kıyılaşıma*. After 1980, the amount of capital and population settled on the western and southern coastal regions increased. This increase in the share of spatial distribution was led by three developments. One is the prompting the development of tourism, other is development of entertaining activities, and last building and selling greenhouses to become widespread. Furthermore, the increase in car ownership resulted in the increase in number of secondary-houses built in the name of entertaining facilities, but in fact for the sake of speculative aims (Tekeli, 1998). And the third socio-spatial reorganization has been experienced in Anatolian cities. Living in relatively small cities such as Denizli, Gaziantep, Çorum, K. Maraş, the entrepreneurs had the chance to interact directly with the international producers and attempted to integrate to the foreign economy.

In cities, on one hand, industry has become decentralized; on the other hand, functions of control and coordination have been centralized. The transformation of the cities started at the transfer of agricultural economic functions to industrial societal city. And as a second step experienced, the industrial society city has been turning to informal societal city. In the informal societal city, space becomes a space of flows (Tekeli, 1998).

This would result in important transformations at the central business districts of the city. The production flows out of the centre; control mechanisms, banking, financial services and services peculiar to informal society are located at the centre (Tekeli, 1998). With the help of increase in private car ownership, middle classes and high income groups settle down at the outer of the city, beyond the squatters; which is called as formation of sub-cities. Left between these new developed areas and the CBD, the squatter settlements transform to apartments in low quality and high-floored with insufficient infrastructure. Transformation projects have been appeared

for the squatter areas which are near to the high income groups' new developed settlements (Tekeli, 1998).



**Fig. 10.** The Spatial Patterning of the City after 1980's

The other three important developments occurred at institutional and legal issues. First, the housing provision, in the form of housing estate, was institutionalized as the Institution of Housing Estate (TOKİ) was established. Second, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing were closed. Resources of local governments have been increased with the laws made in 1983 and 1984. Added to this, central government's control over local governments has been decreased to a certain extent; the authority and responsibility to produce and approve the development plans was transferred to the municipalities (Tekeli, 1998).

During this period the planning paradigm has been observed to differentiate from the previous attempt in two ways; one is the adaptation of strategic planning approach; and related with this transformation the transition from strict planning with rules to a more reflexive planning approach. Moreover, since social processes are concentrated on, examining and understanding the relations between the processes and urban forms have got importance according to Tekeli (Tekeli, 1998).

### **3.3.4. Conclusion**

After 1980, the economic model was transferred from the import-substitution industrialization to export-promotion industrialization; added to that the international institutions such as IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank had happened to be the actors shaping or affecting the economic policies of the country.

Some transformations also had been experienced in the field of political organization. The municipalities happened to be limited within the action of service providing by the military regime, since local governments appeared to politicize in 1970's. Rather than a social local government model, projects of housing, infrastructure, and transportation were organized and taken into operation by grand international and national construction firms (in other words private sector); therefore the cities were at the core of capital accumulation processes. Several amnesty laws occurred on the issue of squatter areas, which led to transformation of the squatter settlements to apartments.

The spatial transformations resulted in the occurrence of dualities and fragmentation of both spatial and social patterning. The concept of 'gated communities' appeared. The dual city centres of the previous urban space transformed to a multi-centred structure; in other words fragmentation and socio-spatial differentiation led to new alternative or sub-centres. The social projects, which had been produced by the left wing, did not occur through 1980's, different from 1970's; therefore urban poor occurred to be represented the Islamic parties since 1990s.

## CHAPTER 4

### CASE STUDY: POLITICAL STRUGGLE ON & AT KIZILAY SQUARE BEFORE AND AFTER 1980

Space is a constitutive of urban life both produced and consumed/used. The production and consumption of space are determined by the conflict among different interests and often the powerful place its mark on it. For this reason, even if public space, by definition, is supposed to be open to all, in reality, often oppositional groups meet erected barriers in using public space. On the other hand, same spaces are said to be used as political arenas, stages where the powerful party appears to use them strategically whenever needed. For example; after the victory of Turkish National Football Team in the world cup in 2002, the mayors of İstanbul and Ankara had appeared in the squares of the cities. Ali Müfit Gürtuna participated in a convoy to celebrate the win of national team in Taksim Square; and Melih Gökçek delivered a ball to children in Kızılay Square (*Siyasetçinin Zafer Sömürüsü*, Hürriyet, 27.06.2002, Emin Çölaşan). The party in power uses the public space with respect to its own will but on the other hand restricts the usage of the opposing agents. The places, either open fields or junctions, usually out of the city – so out of the visibility – are offered for the opposing movements. For instance, the field, offered for the demonstrations related with the summit meeting of NATO, was the square of Abide-i Hürriyet and Beykoz Çayırı, which can be regarded as a junction in İstanbul (Bilgihan, 2006). Defining a social movement, a ‘certain critical mass’ is thought to be essential in collective effort to protest something occurred as a result of conflict in class, religion, forms of identity, larger – global – issues such as environmentalism. By pushing the protesters to a narrower site, the group in power may aim to diminish the effect of the protests. For example, in a square of Abide-i Hürriyet, where many of the collective actions – especially 1 May Demonstrations – in İstanbul take place, the protesters do not seem to be a *critical mass* in a great size; as the space is narrow and people have to disperse in lines in this junction.

Kızılay Square is examined within this thesis; on the assumption that the space is a social and a historical product, which has been shaped through the struggle of actors through their conflicting values and interests. The *meaning, function* and *spatial form* of the square have been transformed through a historical contradictory process – struggle. Although, state seems to be the major factor on producing space with its tools and the hegemonic power; a counter hegemony and organization has always occurred through a conflict and political struggle.

Kızılay Square was constructed as the public space of Turkish Bourgeoisie to create a new publicity at the establishment of the Republic; therefore a new lifestyle was aimed to be presented with this space. The meaning, function and form of the square were created on the base of formation a new *national* identity; through a conflict between the socio-spatial heritage of the Ottoman Empire and the project of new established nation state. During the second period, migration from rural to urban had been experienced densely; squatter areas developed in Ankara and a new layer had been added to the societal structure in the cities and displayed a conflicting socio-spatial patterning. During this period, the local governments were under the control of left-wing authorities; the ‘New Municipalism’ movement enabled the implementation of some projects related to the urban poor. In time, the policy of state towards squatters had transformed; first ignored the squatters later attempted to legitimize through regulations to take under control and to provide squatter settlements to enter in the urban legal land market. Through the process after 1980, they had been a part of the legal urban land. In this period also Kızılay Square has been witnessed to turn to be a junction, which is solely passed through; although once being the symbol of a new established republic; and later being the political stage of social movements. With 1980, the square had been forbidden for demonstrations; on one hand it has been aimed to be removed from the political issues of the state on the other hand it had been the subject of discussions on secularism and it had been the arena used by the central government, and local government to propagandize for the sake of oneself even after the win of national football team.

One of the main questions is *how public space* – in our case, Kızılay Square – *has been transformed*. The main assumption is Kızılay Square is a social and historical product which has transformed through the social actors' changing conflicts with the changing context. The second issue, which is aimed to be examined, is *the political character of the square*. The thesis examines the question whether the square has a political essence although the economic fall of city centres experienced after 1980's. Therefore, the transformation of both the square and the political character of the square will be examined with reference to the newspaper analysis, focusing on both the demonstrations at Kızılay Square and the political conflict over the meaning, form and function of the space within an historical perspective and periodization.

For each of the period within differentiated economic, political, social, and spatial contexts, explained deeply in third chapter, a case on Kızılay Square is examined. For the first period (1923 – 1950: *urbanization of state*), the construction of the spatial meaning, through assignment of function and the spatial form on space is going to be held, with the help of previous studies on first plans of Ankara, Lörcher Plan and Jansen Plan; the plans and the spatial strategies on Kızılay Square will be examined.

For the second period (1950 – 1980: *urbanization of labour power*), newspaper analysis is used to clarify the role of Kızılay Square as a political arena during the societal opposition of the years, 1960-1980. The newspapers of mentioned years were examined at National Library; microfilms of Ulus for the years between 1960 and 1971 and the hardcopies of Cumhuriyet for the years of 1977 to 1980 had been benefited from. This analysis is divided into three sub-periods; with respect to the changing characteristic of arising social movement. First period, starting with the preparation of coup d'état in 1960, indicates the opposition occurred against DP (Democrat Party) between the years of 1960 and 1964; the second period – 1968 to 1971 – refers to the student movement in Turkey (also working class movement in a grander social movement has been witnessed during this period); and the third period – 1977 to 1980, indicates the oppression of the societal opposition movement, which had been experienced with an arising chaos and anarchy, ended in a coup d'état, in 1980.

For the third period (1980 and afterwards: *urbanization of capital*) spatial projects on Kızılay Square such as the one on Güvenpark, will be examined. Added to that, within another newspaper analysis (from internet), the conflict between the pedestrians and vehicles and the conflict among the mayors of Metropolitan Municipality and district (Çankaya) municipality will be evaluated.

#### **4.1. 1923 – 1950: A SPATIAL PROJECT OF TURKISH REPUBLIC**

Kızılay Square was designed as a socio-spatial project of the new established nation state – Turkish Republic; it was an essential part of the pattern of public spaces created within the Lörcher Plan. Prepared and approved in the years 1924-25, the plan did not only develop the area of Kızılay-Yenişehir, but also shaped the following plans. Moreover, it provided the spatial construction of several public spaces at the old and newer districts of the centre of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2002, a).



**Fig. 11.** Kızılay Square is seen at the intersection of two main streets, satellite picture, recently, 2005  
**Source:** <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=14967>

The main conflict during this period (between 1929 -1950) was experienced between the socio-spatial heritage of Ottoman Empire and the values, projects of the new established nation state (Şengül, 2003, b; Tekeli, 1998). Kızılay Square was planned to be both the symbol of the new republic and the public space of the bourgeoisie. Through this space, both the new publicity and public sphere would be created; and the spatial experience was going to be experienced. Designed at the intersection of two main streets, Kızılay Square would promise a new kind of public life and



experience with spatial elements such as Havuzbaşı (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002).

#### 4.1.1. Expropriation of Yenışehir and Construction of New Public Sphere in the period of 1924/5 -1929.

At the end of the year 1923, the mayor – *şehremini* – of the city at that time, Mehmet Ali Bey, demanded a study on Ankara. The company of assessment and construction, *Keşfiyat ve İnşâ'at Türk Anonim Şirketi*, which was located and activated in İstanbul, accepted to make an assessment for regulation and development of the city. The main issue was scarcity of housing at that period. To supply this scarcity, on one hand local government was mobilized, on the other hand American, German, Swiss, French and Italian firms sought for construction activities (Cengizkan, 2002, a).

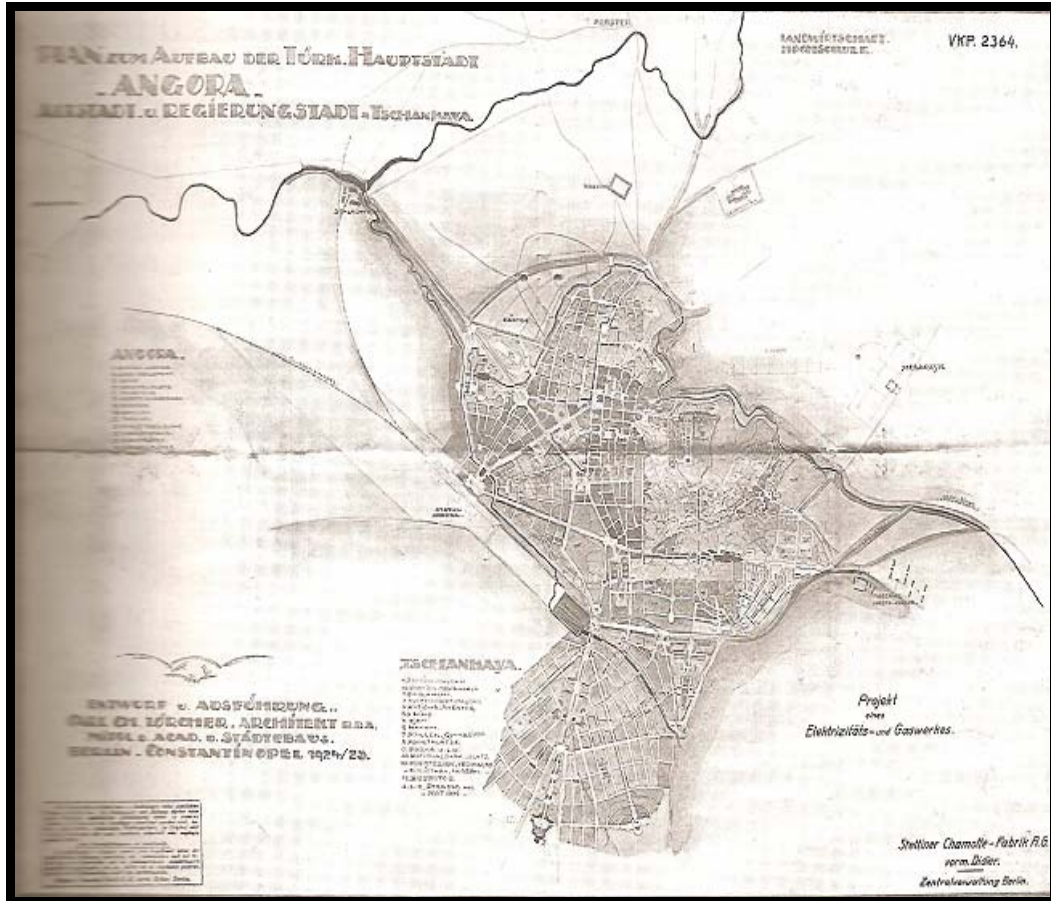
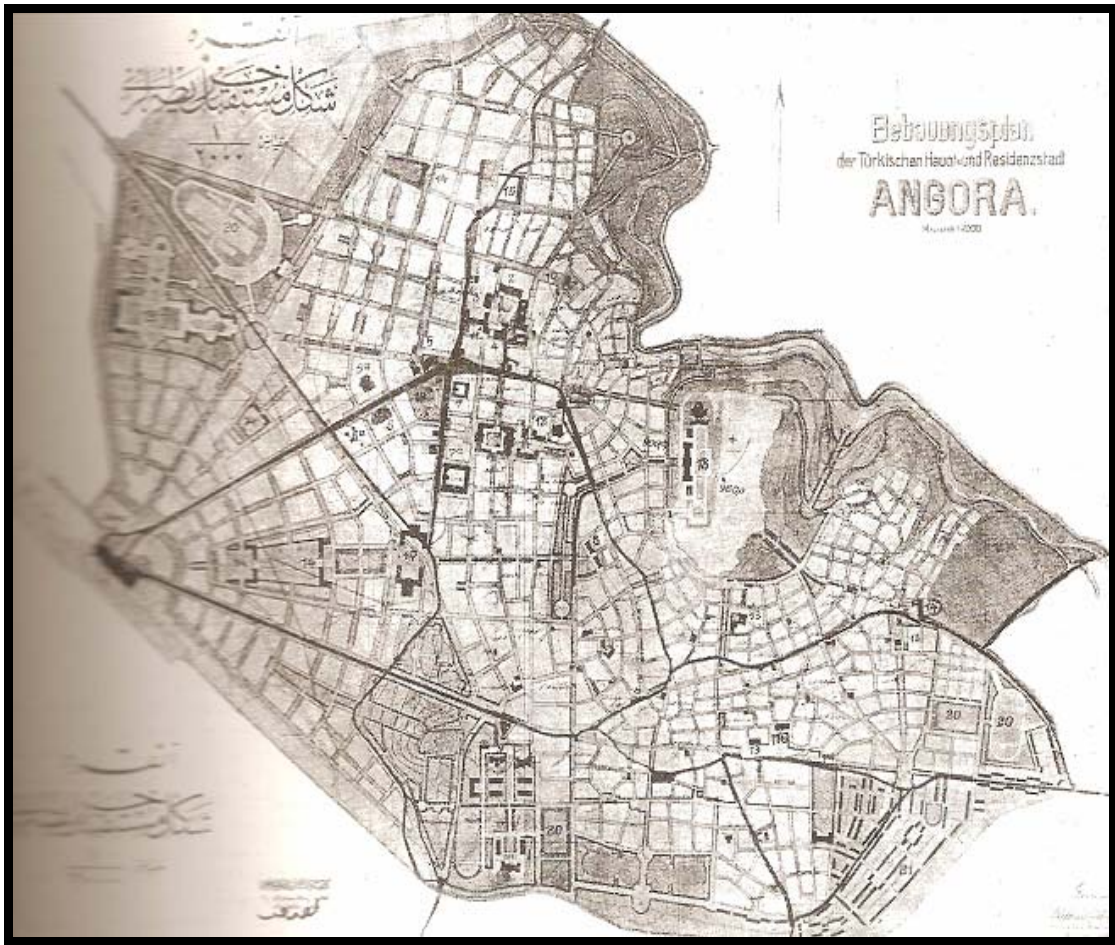


Fig. 12. 1924 Lörcher Plan, 1/10000

Source: *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Cengizkan, 2004: 41

On 30<sup>th</sup> May of 1924, the assessment and construction firm submitted a report, named the commercial law prospects on the development plan of the city of Ankara, *Ankara Şehrinin İ'mâr İnşa Planına Aid İzahnamedir*. The writer of the report was Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher, who had been also working for the İstanbul municipality – *Şehremaneti*. Three plans were attached to the report; one was 1/4000 plan of the old city, the second one was a 1/10000 'context plan' containing the new development zone of Yenışehir and the third one was 1/2000 plan comprising Kızılay Square. In Lörcher's plan, Kızılay Square was named as the Republic Square – *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* (Cengizkan, 2002, a).



**Fig. 13.** 1924 Lörcher Plan, the old city, 1/2000

**Source:** *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Cengizkan, 2004: 39

Concepts of square and open spaces were discussed and conceptualized in the congress of Manheim, in 1905. Since Lörcher used these spatial concepts, which were argued to be critical for the human health and well-being, in the spatial pattern,

especially through public space organization in Ankara, Yenişehir can be regarded as a pioneer attempt (Cengizkan, 2002, a).

In March of the year 1925, besides the railway in the south of the settlements, an empty land was expropriated. This area, Yenişehir (the new city) would be the locus of new declared capital city and so new established republic. Certainly, having an essential role in the spatial policy, Yenişehir was conceived to symbolize values of the new nation state and on the other hand to propose a new life style (Batuman, 2002).

Built in Yenişehir, villa type houses, *kuleli köşkler*, would later turn to be the symbols of the site. Yenişehir would be a specific scene for a different kind of socialization with the help of its expensive furniture. Balls and parties were organized in villa type houses. Participation of employees of foreign embassies and bureaucrats in higher statues implied a new kind of public sphere occurrence (Batuman, 2002). Balls had been used as ideological tools for cultural and social transformations. Government employees – some were the state elite and some others were affluent families from İstanbul – acquaintance to Western culture therefore expected to be the base of Turkish Bourgeoisie and this site to be the base for bourgeois life style. Both peasants and merchants were excluded from this life style (Batuman, 2000). Nalbantoğlu indicates that this was an attempt to bring patterns of city life in İstanbul to Ankara to formulate new life style of the capital city. A group of local merchants had developed relations with the government supplying capital accumulation, which lead them to be a part of the new bourgeoisie (Nalbantoğlu, 1984; cited in Batuman, 2000).

Kızılay Square was an empty lot called '*Tosbağa Yatağı*'. A new boulevard had been passing by the lot. Şehremini Ahmet Bey raised a bronze statue (probably in 1925) on the side of a pool then the name of the site changed to 'Havuzbaşı' (Batuman, 2000). Periphery of the pool was designed to be a park which was the first open space of Yenişehir (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002). Yenişehir was planned to be 'the house of modern bourgeoisie identity' and Havuzbaşı was going to refer to the saloon of this confidential public sphere (Batuman, 2002: 48). This space became a

recreational public area where new bourgeoisie come together to listen to the concerts and walk around. A pavilion was constructed for the Presidential Orchestra. In 1927, two essential boulevards, towards Maltepe and Cebeci, were constructed (Batuman, 2000).

One of the first houses built in Yenisehir with reference to Lörcher plan was Cemil Uybadin's (The Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time) house. The house was built on the boulevard, at the corner of Kızılay crossroad, where Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard intersect. Cemil Uybadin's house had been a prototype for the villas occupying Yenisehir (Batuman, 2000). According to Y. Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, the specificity of this new life style and spatial organization was *individualism*. Turkish Society was also developing its own publicity, privacy and new forms of social and spatial experience. The house was the scale where public and private intersects. Street meets this scale in western world; but in Turkish young republic the new developed bourgeoisie preferred the villa type houses – *Kuleli köşkler* – as this scale (Karaosmanoğlu, 1999; cited in Batuman, 2000).

Users of the park were the bourgeoisie living in Yenisehir; therefore their public experience in the park was an extension of their experiences of party and balls. The publicity of this space had two dimensions of experience. Public meetings in open air were designed to be parallel to the conceived publicity in western world, during which classical western music was played. The other experience was in the shape of the encounter between 'the daily routine of social practices and the state'. The state imposed an ideological meaning and form to the socialization of the new bourgeoisie in Yenisehir and the spatial expression of it (Batuman, 2000: 26, 27).

Yenisehir was not intended to be the centre of the city. Rather protecting the 'central role' of the old Citadel, Yenisehir (Kızılay) with Neighbourhood of Vekaletler, Havuzbaşı and Turkish Grand National Assembly was proposed to be the locus and symbol of the new life style of the established new republic and 'modern' nation. By 1927, Havuzbaşı was named as 'Liberation Square'. Some points to be required with the plan were (Tankut, 1990: 43: cited in Batuman, 2000):

- ◆ Constructing the Square in order to enable the spatial organization be enlarged if demanded.
- ◆ Ministry buildings have to be designed on the two sides of Liberation Square.

The expropriation in 1925 resulted in rapid development around Yenisehir. The railway appeared as a natural border between Yenisehir and the old city. Constructing residential areas was the fundamental building activity in this period because the demand for housing had increased with migration. By 1927 Ankara had reached a population of 74 000. At the beginning of the period there were fourteen houses in the district. Although forty four new houses were erected in 1 year time (1926 to 1927), the built houses would not suffice the demand (Evyapan, 1980; cited in Batuman, 2000).

The square around Havuzbaşı was named as Republic Square in Lörcher Plan in 1925. It would later be called as Liberation Square in the list of conditions of the planning contest, which was conducted in 1927. After examinations, Jansen, a German architect-planner, was declared to succeed in the contest (Tankut, 1990; cited in Batuman, 2002). Examining early stages of the spatial formation of Yenisehir, two squares seem to be designed as the locus of the district. Havuzbaşı was being used by the bourgeoisie as a social space and though being the same space, Liberation Square was a ‘conceived’ space which was designed to be the symbolic locus by the state. This can be considered as an ideological attempt. On one hand Havuzbaşı was the public space/square used and reproduced by the Bourgeoisie of Yenisehir; on the other hand Liberation Square had been designed and constructed as a conceived space to symbolize the values and public sphere of (the new republic of) the nation state. Jansen Plan had to propose a spatial strategy for the policy to produce a public sphere at which both the social and political coincides. *Kızılay Square*, was designed with respect to this strategy in the shape of a scene defined by *Güvenpark* (the end point of the neighbourhood of *Vekaletler*) and on its opposite *Building of Kızılay with its parking lot* (Batuman, 2002).

Therefore, it is critical to know that, although the members of the government were in fact the members of the Yenisehir society, the state imposed an ideological framework over the spatiality of this social environment. This was the reflexive reaction of the state to the spontaneous development of public life, which was a characteristic feature of the Turkish political tradition. Although it was the project of the Republican cadres to create a bourgeoisie society, it should have been under the ideological domination of the state power (Batuman, 2000: 32, 33).

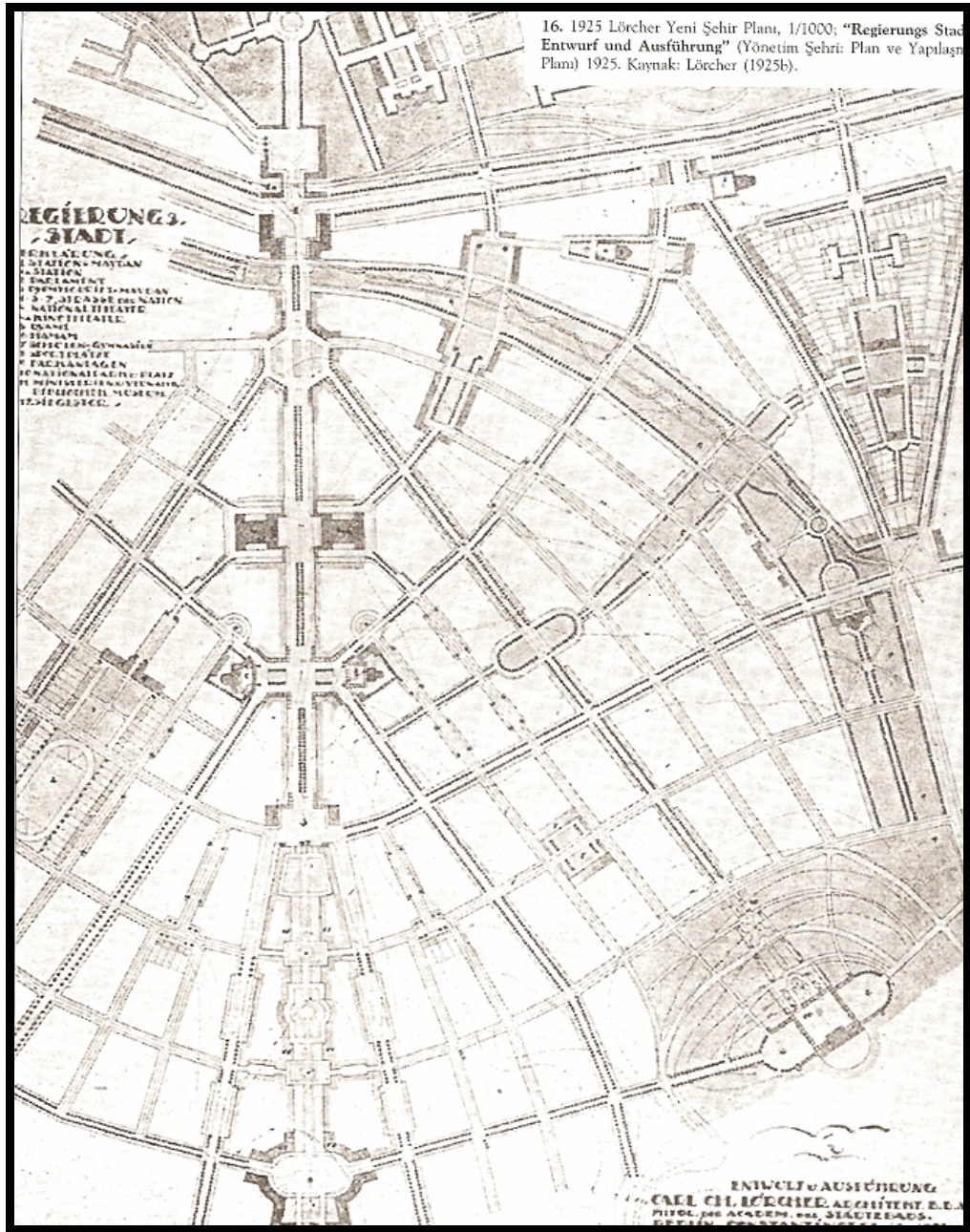
#### **4.1.2. The Radial Spatial Construction in Lörcher Plan.**

In his study, Cengizkan summarizes the contributions and propositions of Lörcher Plan to the needs and problems of Ankara at four points. One of them is related with Kızılay Square and the spatial organization of public spaces. Paths, which had been designed to connect the regions, did not only function as connection lines, but also served the construction of ‘semantic relations’ and ‘urban metaphors’ between the focal points which are associated physically through the design. These paths were conceived to provide the radial construction originated from the Castle, which also would construct the historical meaning of the space on the base of the history of Ankara. For instance, beyond connecting the city to the outside, the railway was conceived to emphasize the axis on the Railway Station, the first Parliament Building, and the Castle. This design was similar to the Central European cities. The Station Street was planned to be the most essential and prestigious street of the city. The central business district would be located there; moreover the new Parliament, the new Vakif Hotel, *Ankara Palas* and the new Garden, Garden of the Nation were decided to be constructed on this street (Cengizkan, 2002, a).

Located at the centre of the highest hill of Ankara, the Castle was re-named as ‘the Beautiful Castle’ in the plan of Lörcher and was considered as a spatial element reminding the historical construction of the city. Therefore, in the design of Lörcher, it was used as a main radial component to construct radial relationships between the focal points of the city. This component was going to constitute a radial spatial pattern by connecting other sub-focal points of the city through urban radial green areas. Nation Street, *Ulus Caddesi* was going to form a radial trace between Sıhhiye and Kızılay and would end at the Kızılay Square, within the neighbourhood of government, *Yönetim Mahallesi*. This neighbourhood was designed in the shape of a dagger beginning from Güvenpark, comprising the buildings of ministries and ending at the plot of today’s Parliament building. The radial axis coming from the Beautiful Castle was the main component of this spatial construction. This radial pattern had influenced the spatial organization of this region even until the end of 1940’s when the new Parliament Building was constructed there. At this example, ‘urban metaphor’ was constructed through both a spatial meaning with a spatial construction



and a ‘spatial trace’ which was going to impact the spatial organization of the city for the following years (Cengizkan, 2002, a: 229.230).



**Fig. 14.** 1924 Lörcher Plan, the new city, 1/1000

**Source:** *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Cengizkan, 2004: 40

Lörcher designed a radial axis in both the new and the elder cities. The axis on the Railway Station, the Parliament and the Castle was the radial axis for the elder city and this schema was repeated for the new city by the axis composed of the Castle, the Railway Station, the squares, the Neighbourhood of the Government and the Parliament. The new axis was going to be named as ‘Nation Street’ – *Millet Caddesi*

and was going to be formed by the pattern of squares. These adjacently located public spaces were Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Millet (Ulus) Square, Cumhuriyet (Kurtuluş, and today's Kızılay) Square (Cengizkan, 2002a). Yenişehir was not the only key component/node of the socio-spatial pattern, designed to make Ankara the capital city of the Republic. Being the backbone, Atatürk Boulevard constituted the north – south axis of the spatial dimension of the pattern. This backbone would connect the new city centre with the old one, also would join the nodes such as *Orduevi*, *Halkevi*, *Sergievi*. Ulus, the elder city centre, was another node of the pattern, which was in a tension with Yenişehir. With the Monument of Victory, *Zafer Anıtı* and the square defined around it, located between Ankara Palas and the Building of Parliament, Boulevard of Republic, *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı*, would become a space where new public sphere and ideology of new republic could be viewed. Boulevard was both the place of parades and the scene where bourgeoisie were viewed to pay a flying visit Ankara Palas and parliament. The new life style and modern identity, being produced in Yenişehir, had been made visible to the other's eyes and consciousness and so had been made legitimate (Batuman, 2002: 49). Although the ministries were transferred to Yenişehir with the executive, the Legislature was going to stay in Ulus for a time and opening the new building in Yenişehir would be delayed for some meaningful time (Batuman, 2002).

In addition to this pattern, outside of it, three other squares can be regarded as the products of this spatial pattern. Lozan Square was located at the intersection point of Sakarya and Mithatpaşa streets, on the way of Kolej<sup>9</sup>. Cebeci Square was located in the neighbourhood of Serattarzade Mehmet Efendi and Tandoğan Square was created in 1940's. These public spaces were in fact designed amid the housing areas which were constructed in Yenişehir for the new district for high income groups, landowners and members of the avant-garde in new established republic. This pattern was not planned or even estimated to be remained at the dense CBD (central business district) of today (Cengizkan, 2002, a: 229.230).

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<sup>9</sup> For a detailed examination: *Şehremaneti Haritası'ndan Ankara'nın ilk Planı'na 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve Bugüne / Katkıları, Etki ve Kalıntıları*, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayını, Ankara, 2002



The name of Kızılay Square was Republic Square (Cumhuriyet Meydanı) in Lörcher's plan. Construction of Kızılay, *Hilal-i Ahmer Binası*, was finished in 1930 and in front of it a garden was constructed. As a result at this district, the name of the square turned be Kızılay Square from Republic Square (Cengizkan, 2002: 230.231). A second name occurred to be Liberation Square (Kurtuluş Meydanı) with the demolishing of Havuzbaşı in 1927 (Batuman, 2002). Lörcher proposed low-density and low-storied development with paths and adjacent green areas in his plan. Public spaces such as, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Ulus Square and Cumhuriyet Square were all conceived as a set of free and open spaces. However, in the plan of Jansen, in 1928-30, the low densities proposed by Lörcher was going to be increased. One or two storey buildings within gardens were intensified by the construction rights of floor + three storey + roof. Added to this, attached development complicated the adjacent pattern of free and open spaces (Cengizkan, 2002: 230.231).



**Fig. 15.** Zafer Square, 1936  
**Source:** Çankaya, 1991: 94

Zafer Square (fig.15) was an essential component of Kızılay Square. Zafer Square played a critical role especially in the very beginning of 1960's when Kızılay Square turned to be a political arena. In Lörcher Plan, Zafer Square was defined with buildings of cinema and theatre on its two sides. The statue which named the square,

*Zafer Anıtı* was designed and sculptured by an Italian sculptor, Canonica in 1927 (Cengizkan, 2002: 231.232).

#### **4.1.3. Jansen Plan – The Development between 1929 and 1952**

Lörcher Plan was deficient both to solve the problem of insufficient housing and to create a ‘symbolic locus’ for the established republic. Indeed a comprehensive plan was needed to shape the capital city, Ankara. Therefore in (May) 1927, a competition was organized by Şehremaneti. Among three German architects (J. Brix, H. Jansen, L. Jausseley) the plan of Jansen was chosen to be implemented by the commission who went to Germany and announced on 16<sup>th</sup> of May, 1929. However in two years time Ankara Planning Commission was established to conduct the competition and provide the implementation of the plan in Ankara. Though the existence of Şehremaneti, another institution was established, which indicates that planning and constructing the capital city of a new republic was thought as a national problem. This problem of planning had to be solved by the state, rather than a local institution (Ankara Şehremaneti) which did not have enough budget and technical capacity for this conduction and implementation (Tankut, 1990; cited in Batuman, 2000: 28, 29). On one hand Yenışehir was developing as the locus of new lifestyle; on the other hand it appeared as a stage where land speculation was observed. Despite a comprehensive plan and a powerful institution, speculation was not able to be blocked (Yavuz, 1952; cited in Batuman, 2000: 30).

Spatial transformation in Ankara and especially in Kızılay Square was directed through the plan of Jansen (1929), the final version of which was approved in 1932. According to Tankut, the period between 1929 and 1932 is the ‘preliminary implementation period’. Within this process partial plans were sent from Berlin and implemented similarly to the examples in western countries. Especially in Kızılay, rationalization process of the plan also had an ideological content. The governmental buildings, which were proposed within the plan, indicated the attempt to construct the symbolic locus of the nation state. Havuzbaşı was planned to be destroyed since it was located in the intersection of the two arteries. The Square was named by Kızılay Building, which was started to be built in 1929. The pool and the statue in Havuzbaşı were once considered as the representation of new lifestyle of the

established republic however at that time they were thought to be the ugliest things in Ankara. A new statue was imagined to represent the new spatial and ideological pattern (Batuman, 2000: 31, 32).

Kızılay Square was the node of the triangular scheme coming from Ulus and dividing into two: one to Çankaya and the other to Dikmen. This scheme was protected in Jansen plan (in 1928 version) but the axis towards Çankaya was emphasized (Batuman, 2000).

In the plan approved in 1932, the square was abolished. “The boulevard was shifted and curved on the node, that resulted with the Kızılay – Çankaya axis to be the continuation of the only axis of Ataturk Boulevard” (Batuman, 2000: 35).

There might be two reasons to transform the scheme of the articulation on the square which was not defined in the early plan of Jansen in 1928. Firstly, the location of the Kızılay building (built between 1929 and 1932) did not let the boulevard to develop towards Kızılay – Dikmen axis. Secondly, the traffic organization in the Square was a problematic and the new scheme was thought to be an effective alternative for solution (Oruçkaptan, 1991: 61, 62; cited in Batuman, 2000). The transformation was completed in 1933. In June a park was designed in front of the Kızılay Building and Güvenpark was completed in September. Güvenpark on the top of the triangle was on the northern side of the square. In the south part of the square there were ministry buildings on each side and at the end National Assembly Building was located. The site was planned to be symmetrical with respect to the axis passing through the Security Monument – *Güvenlik Anıtı* – which was facing the square. Consisting of the important scenes from the transformations which occurred between the years 1929 – 1933 as an extension of the national struggle, the Security Monument was located with an ideological intention. It was dedicated to the security forces of the country (Batuman, 2000).



**Fig. 16.**Kızılay Square, Güvenpark, in 1942, postcard  
**Source:** [http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/ANKARA-KARTPOSTAL-KIZILAY-MEYDANI\\_W00QidZZ5248552](http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/ANKARA-KARTPOSTAL-KIZILAY-MEYDANI_W00QidZZ5248552)

Kızılay was now a stage both for the focus of the ideological performance and the locus for the spatial and social practices of inhabitants living in Yenışehir. Havuzbaşı was the node of this practice and this newly produced social space. However the monument was dominating the spatial and social practice with its ‘narrative’, which was a representation of space (Batuman, 2000: 41.42). The monument can be said to symbolize the provision of the power (Batuman, 2000: 43).

Batuman argues that Kızılay Building was stationing the square. Kızılay was the first organization to have a headquarter building even before the governmental buildings. This was not coincidence. Kızılay was a semi public organization, not a governmental organization and it was thought to create a suitable mood for the civil contributions. On the other hand it served to reproduce the state ideology (Batuman, 2000: 45). Fiske defined the term ‘station’ as: “both a physical place where the social



order is imposed upon an individual and the social positioning (stationing) of that individual in the system of social relations” (Fiske, 1993: 12; cited in Batuman, 2000: 45). Kızılay, as producing a social space, became in these terms a *station*. “The institution provided a public sphere for the Yenişehir inhabitants to *participate*, and also have them integrated into the social order imposed by the state” (Batuman, 2000: 45).



**Fig. 17.** Kızılay Square, Kızılay Building with its garden, 1938  
**Source:** *Çankaya*, 1991: 97

In the end of 1940's, a demand to construct a mosque in Kızılay district was seen to be declared in Lörcher's plan. Today, mosques and small mosques are known to be located at entrances of apartments and even inside Ankaray, with symbols of minarets. However, this situation was not exactly the same foreseen by Lörcher's plan. The attempt to construct a mosque in Yenişehir, based on Lörcher's plan, was discussed in Council of Ministers in 1947. According to the decision of Council of Ministers, dated 29 May of 1947 and numbered 3/5903, 'an association of constructing a mosque in Yenişehir' was declared to be considered as 'an association in favour of public use'. In 1960's, with an increasing pace, the construction of Kocatepe Mosque was started with the revisions made on plan decisions (Cengizkan, 2002: 231.232).

#### **4.1.4. Conclusion**

In 1930's, public buildings had begun to operate, 3-4 floored buildings had replaced with villa-type houses and a lively social life had occurred around Kızılay Park. Radio stations and movie houses had opened; public sphere began to develop. The movie houses and bookstores opened in Ulus – which were the first ones throughout the city – also affected this social formation. Conceived as the tools of cultural development, community centres (*Halkevi* - neighbourhood centre established by the state for public instruction and social events) were observed to turn to both institutional and spatial nodes (Batuman, 2002).

Examining Ankara in the end of 1930's and the first half of 1940's, Kızılay was seen to be regulated, clean with abundant green areas. Things which were frequently done by the inhabitants of Yenışehir were going on a walk through the boulevard after the workday finished and sitting in the park of Kızılay or in the cafes to rest. At the same time phenomenon of squatter housing appeared to be a subject of the newspapers (Batuman, 2002).

After that Kızılay had a meaning of three components according to Batuman. One was being the symbolic locus of the nation state. The second is being social space for bourgeoisie of Yenışehir. And the last one is being a desired space for the new inhabitants (of the city) who migrated from rural areas and joined to the urban socio-spatial context by the phenomenon of squatter settlements. Moreover, a new meaning for Ankara heaved into the sight (Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.2. 1960 – 1980: KIZILAY SQUARE AS THE POLITICAL ARENA**

With the adaptation of the multiparty regime, lower classes having the possibility to declare both themselves and their demands had become visible in the political arena. During this period, İstanbul regained its importance which would inevitably influence the meaning, function and form of Kızılay Square. It was likely that as the symbol of nation state, Kızılay Square will be transformed.

During 1950's, the modernization in agriculture resulted in migration of masses from rural areas to urban areas. A new social layer was gradually added to the urban societal structure. This layer, the citizens living in squatters and working in factories or informal sector would compose the working class of the cities. In the first instance, this group was going to envy of the experience of high income groups living in Yenisehir. However, during the period between 1960 and 1980, they would made themselves apparent in the Square as an actor of the social movement arising throughout the country. Kızılay Square was a politicized space against the Democrat Party (DP) in the very beginning of 1960's. After the coup d'état Kızılay Square would be perceived as an essential political scene or arena of this oppositional social movement. The masses – especially students – would demand to be seen at Kızılay Square, to achieve both political and personal rights. On the other hand, the government would attempt to provide the control over space through the law sanction, and Kızılay Square would be forbidden to be stage of demonstrations. One dimension of the meaning of the Square was constructed on the basis of the symbols of new established nation state (republic) – Zafer Anıtı, Güvenpark, and the other dimension was related with its adjacency and connection with the Parliament which was considered as the focus of democracy.

The period between 1960 and 1980 can be divided to three sub-periods, with respect to changes in political context, actors and their tools that actors have, impacts and activities, and the changes in the usage of Kızılay Square. The first period is between 1960 and 1964; the second is between 1968 and 1971; and the third is between 1977 and 1980. In the period of 1960-64, Kızılay Square was exactly a political arena, especially against the DP which was on the power since the end of one-party regime. During this period, the demonstrators especially composed of (university) students, gathered at the statue (monument) in Zafer Square (*Zafer Anıtı*); laid wreaths to the monument. After, The Turkish National Anthem was sung with the homage. By this way, the meaning of Kızılay Square, which was constructed in the previous period, was protected partially; however the function of the square began to change. The meaning was still a symbolic one constructed around the principles of established nation state; however the function of the space was changing from the public space built by nation state and used mainly by bourgeoisie to the political arena/stage

where opposing groups (students and working classes) express their political discourse. Since the 1960 Constitution expanded freedom of speech and new legal regulations on demonstrations and march were discussed; Kızılay Square witnessed several demonstrations both to protest DP and provide the legacy of the military coup d'état. Moreover, Kızılay Square was also the space where students who could not succeed in the university entrance exams announced their issues and they were reciprocated between the years 1961 and 1964. Finally the meaning of Kızılay Square was built around its function as the space of political opposition. In 1964, demonstrating and marching to protest at Kızılay Square was prohibited by legal deregulation. However, demonstrations continued informally and the space functioned as the place where demonstrations take place for a while.

The factories, universities and squatter areas occurred to be the castles of both the working class and students through the arising societal struggle between the years of 1968 and 1971. Public space – squares, streets, walls, boulevards – appeared to be the extension and display window of the struggle. Kızılay Square was now the place where press statement was announced, declarations, periodicals and publications were distributed. Tandoğan Square appeared to be the main public space, where the struggle of the arising social movement of teachers, workers and students took place between the years 1968 and 1972. Between the years 1977 and 1980, the opposition and conscious had been at the highest level until the coup d'état in 1980. However, the struggle became more intense and severe with respect to other sub-periods. The public spaces turned to be a battleground of opposing groups which were using considerable force against each other. On the other hand, it was observed that the battle – the blooded struggle moved from public space to the semi-public and private spaces such as coffeehouse, bookstores, even houses, offices.

On 1 May of 1977, a violent event occurred while the workers were celebrating the Workers' Day which was formally held for the second time in Turkey. This date was remembered and mentioned as 'the Bloody 1 May' since that time. 1 May was celebrated in the form of a mass action solely at Taksim Square in the year 1977. The celebrations in the other cities (in Tandoğan Square in Ankara) were relatively small in number and with less excitement. Beginning with the 1 May demonstration in



1977, Taksim Square became the major political space of the period between 1977 and 1980. In addition, it achieved a new meaning in the social movement of working class; and this meaning has continued since that time. Taksim Square was demanded for 1 May celebrations in 1978, 1979 and 1980. However, the square was first restricted by informal constraints, which were relatively moderate. And later it was closed to mass movements and meetings in 1978 with the same decision for Beyazıt Square by the Governorship. After this decision, the square has become a constant source of tension between formal authorities and the organizations of working class, such as DİSK (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*) for its usage for demonstrations. In the thirtieth anniversary of this date, 1 May celebrations in 2007, the government was seen to take severe cautions against the demonstrators who demand Taksim Square for 1 May celebrations.

The form of Kızılay Square was also being discussed in parallel to the transformation of the meaning and function of the space in the period of 1960 and 1980. The Office Block of Kızılay was being built at that time, and the construction finished in 1965. This building was constructed with the claim of being the highest and luxurious building of the Balkans and Middle East.

Another factor influential upon the change in form of Kızılay Square was the traffic jam realized in and around the Square, i.e. Atatürk Boulevard. To solve the problems caused by the increasing traffic at Kızılay Square, the subway and underground passage for vehicles were begun to be discussed along the Atatürk Boulevard. The experts on transportation and planning argued that this idea would not solve the problem. Depending on the principles of planning discipline, these experts offered that this traffic jam could be solved by parallel roads. The underground passage project, proposed by a private organization, was not realized after several discussions and oppositions.

Examining the spatial decisions on Kızılay Square taken in 1952, Batuman, in his thesis, puts some points (Akçura, 1971: 123: cited in Batuman, 2002).

- Kızılay would be the commercial centre of the city.

- The ground and basement floors of buildings would be regulated to become underground passage.
- Attached order of buildings was going to be permitted.
- On the upper floors of the buildings, land uses of service sector such as ateliers, photographers and hairdressers was foreseen to be located as a result of the development of service sector with the help of the changing profile of consumers in the district.
- Similarly, advertising agencies, insurance and real estate companies, travel agencies and especially bank branches had started to settle in the square.
- The number of luxurious hotels and restaurants increased.

On one hand, the developments in the way to become a commercial centre, Kızılay Square presents new possibilities for the working class while the informal sector expanded with the rise of unemployed population migrated from rural areas. This population was getting established in small scale service sector and labour intensive sectors of the city (Keleş, Danielsen, 1985: cited in Batuman, 2002). Dolmuş is related with the transportation dimension of this transformation. It was, on one hand, regarded as spoiling the transformation system; on the other hand it was connecting the squatter inhabitants living in the periphery of the city to the city centre, Kızılay (Tekeli, Okyay, 1981: cited in Batuman, 2002). At this point, two kinds of access can be observed for these people: one is ‘political access’ and ‘participation’ occurred within the multiparty system and second is ‘spatial access’ to the city centre within a demand of right to the city centre. Public space was not anymore solely ‘a stage for the elites’; rather it occurred to present relatively an extensive sphere into which lower classes were also able to merge. Different social groups would be confronted with each other at the square; reproducing their own spatial pattern and mental construction. This confrontation was not merely a spatial one; rather it would turn to be a political one as well (Batuman, 2002: 57).

With reference to the city plan of which was selected through a competition held in 1957, there were two projects of ruling party – DP at that time – on Kızılay Square. One is the Mosque of Kocatepe, and the other is Office Block of Emek (Kızılay), the first tower block of Turkey which was designed as the representation of power of

capital. It was constructed at the place of Cemil Uybadin's House (the first example of *kuleli köşk* in the previous period). The previous design of the space was proposing Atatürk Boulevard as the backbone of Yenişehir; and the Monument of Security had been at a point which can be perceived on this axis beginning from Sıhhiye. However, constructing the mosque at the end of an axis beginning from Sıhhiye and going through the Avenue of Mithatpaşa, resulted in a dual structure within the square. This new axis appeared to be an alternative to the existing symbolic axis. On the other hand, Office Block of Emek occurred to contending with the Monument of Security as a spatial symbol. Looking from Sıhhiye, two axes would be recognized between the block of houses and on these, two dominant constructions would be observed as the mosque and the office block (Batuman, 2002).

The position of the local authorities with respect to their attitudes towards central government was in favour of the working classes during this period. Occurred as a spatial strategy in Dalokay's period, and implemented in the period of Ali Dinçer's mayoralty, the reserved lane road system for public transportation is an indicator of this situation. This enabled public transportation vehicles to be used three times more efficient than before. Another example was realized in 1980, a short time before the coup d'état, when Ali Dinçer laid the foundation of metro construction in spite of the opposition of the Construction and Development Ministry – *İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*.

During this process of concentration of different and conflicting meanings on Kızılay Square, the country had come at the threshold of both economic and political crises. Just before the year 1960, economic difficulties had deepened the political problems. At the same period, a serious societal opposition had been observed to occur; and Kızılay Square was on the verge of being a scene for the events which was going to change both the spatial pattern of Ankara and political pattern of Turkey (Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.2.1. 1960 – 1964: KIZILAY SQUARE – A POLITICAL SCENE AGAINST DP**

The struggles experienced throughout the world, between the years 1960 and 1964, can be observed mainly in three categories. First one is the bloody struggles in the shape of civil war; second includes relatively less severe struggles to achieve a democratic regime and third is composed of the struggles/critiques related to the global issues, such as nuclear weapons and war. The demonstrations witnessed in countries like Sudan, Vietnam were in the first category and demonstrators were directly struggling for the freedom of their country. In the second category, in countries like Turkey and Argentina, the demonstrations were not directly in the shape of street battles; rather the demonstrations struggled for enhancement of the country and democratic regime for the sake of providing a reform. The demonstrations and protests were usually against the government or in favour of the countries which were experiencing a restriction on their sovereignty, such as Cyprus and Algeria. Countries in the third category, such as England, and some other countries in Europe, demonstrators protested mainly the cold war and nuclear trials; moreover the demonstrations against and in favour of communism and capitalist America had appeared.

On either category, 1960 occurred as an essential year to criticize government actions and to argue both on global issues and internal issues and it is also a critical year for Turkey's political, social and spatial dynamics.

#### **1960**

On the day 19<sup>th</sup> April of 1960, the leader of the opposition party – RPP – İsmet İnönü, came to Kızılay, to draw money from Yenişehir branch of Turkish İş Bank, although the centre of the bank was in Ulus. The date, the place and the time was selected on purpose. In the preceding day, government enacted a law on establishment of the 'Commission of Inquiry'; and the major opposition party left the parliament. İnönü also preferred to get off his car, and walked to the bank. Furthermore, the hour he came to Kızılay was the busiest time of the square since it was near the end of the working day. A group surrounded him and started to demonstrate by shouting their slogans criticizing the government (Feyizoğlu, 1993: 9-12; cited in Batuman, 2002).

The demonstration ended with the intervention of the police. Twenty two people were taken into custody, and five people, all of whom were students, were arrested. However, this demonstration would be the sign of a new epoch comprising both the country and the capital city. The political opposition had spilled over the square from the parliament for the first time. Moreover, Kızılay had been firstly used as a stage for an opposition/social movement rather than Ulus. During the following one and a half months, the major actors of Kızılay had been students (Batuman, 2002). Kızılay had experienced not only an economic-spatial transformation but also a politico-spatial transformation.

By the year 1960, most of the universities and institutions of higher education had been observed to be at or near the district of Yenışehir. One of the most important institutions within this respect was certainly the Faculty of Political Sciences (FPS) – *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi*. It had been moved from İstanbul to Ankara due to its significance in Turkish political life and its opponent and susceptible character towards political action and social movements. The second important institution was the Military School which was the first institution of higher education established in Ankara. The FPS and the campus of Military School in Cebeci had become the core of student settlement concentrated between Sıhhiye and Cebeci which also turned to be the headquarters of the demonstrations and movements that influenced the political context through the month of May (Batuman, 2002).

In İstanbul, on the days 28-29 April, vigorous events occurred. Parallel to them, the FPS was the place where similar events were experienced. Students had built barricade on the building, which was opened fire by the order of the commander of martial law. Immediately in the following day, universities were closed for a month. In addition to that, the students from other cities having their education in Ankara were sent to their hometowns at 1 May. After this event, Kızılay had been the stage for demonstrations almost every evening – especially between the hours 5 and 7. Starting with the slogans such as ‘Freedom’ and ‘Menderes, Resign!’, the demonstrations turned out to be small scale encounters with the police. The most effective of these was the demonstration coded as 555K and took place at the fifth

day of fifth month at 5 o'clock at Kızılay. This protest was important to indicate the imagination of both the government and the students (Batuman, 2002).

But still we were perceiving something. A formation growing up and developing at the street... at the fascinating and unidentified street, apart from the house and the school. 555K was written on everywhere... The monotonous life had ended up or was almost finished, we had recognized that... Street was attracting us. There was the smell of adventure on the corners (Atasü, 1991: 158-159: cited in Batuman, 2002: 61).

The square was perceived as such by the students. On the other hand, the prime minister perceived the square as a platform to perform/exercise their power which could not be defeated (Aydemir, 1969: 397, cited in Batuman, 2002) at the two streets of İstanbul and Ankara. In this way, the political legitimacy of Kızılay Square was acknowledged. Menderes attempted to gather his supporters at the square; however he was roughed up in the crowd. Therefore, he recognized the legitimacy of the square but he had not been able to dominate this space. This had led the government to a strategy based on getting rid of the masses at the square. Within this strategy, the bus and minibus stops were carried to other places. Next, the movie houses were closed; and later the activity of walking around within a group of more than ten people, would be prohibited (Batuman, 2002).

**The struggle was carried on as a confluctual process in which the government and the protestors, the two main opponents, seemed to contest both for the space and at the space.** Again a demonstration occurred at Kızılay Square which was another sign of the intervention of 27<sup>th</sup> of May which ended up the struggle mentioned above. On 21st of May, the students of Military School gathered at the Square and later marched to the space in front of the Officer's Club – *Orduevi*. Then, they intended to go towards Çankaya. However, officers joined the group and the group was directed again to Kızılay Square. Civilians joined to officers and supported; the commanders finished the protest (Feyizoğlu, 1993: 44: cited in Batuman, 2002). One week later, after a short time prohibition to go outside, masses again would meet at Kızılay Square to celebrate 'the revolution', the coup d'état on 27<sup>th</sup> of May. At that point, Kızılay Square, as a public space, beyond its cultural and social features, took a political character which was carried by Ulus up to that time (Batuman, 2002).

One year later, the Parliament building was moved to Yenişehir. In addition, Kızılay had been the stage for the collective action of the workers in 1962. The space had become a tool used for (re)producing identities, slogans, and forms of representation beyond producing practices (Batuman, 2002: 62). Supporting this idea, two days after the coup d'état, students of Medicine School intended to change the name of the square from 'Kızılay' to 'Freedom' (Feyizoğlu, 1993: 49; cited in Batuman, 2002).

### **1960 – 1970**

After 1960, the political identity of Kızılay continued with an increasing emphasis. Kızılay seemed to have four different functions and meanings. Kızılay had become first, the space of luxurious consumption goods for bourgeoisie; second, the central business district for the grand capital; third a political platform where political struggle had carried out by the labour class; and finally a symbol of social status, which is desired ardently by the low income groups living in the squatter settlements. As a symbol of status, Kızılay Square seemed to be tool through which it was possible to get in touch with the the rest of the city, as portrayed in the novel of Sevgi Soysal – A Mid Day At Yenişehir – *Yenişehir'de bir Öğle Vakti* (Batuman, 2002).

Kızılay, at that time, still contained housing for the higher classes and on the other hand, low income groups were coming to their workplaces in Kızılay; Kızılay accommodated 11 % of the total working population of the city. As the city center got crowded, several problems occurred as well (Batuman, 2002). The socially accepted rules of urban life were thought to disappear; public services became insufficient, traffic jam deepened; crime rates increased; and observed prostitution level increased. The low income groups living in squatters were thought to be responsible for all of these negative transformations (Akçura, 1971: 86; cited in Batuman, 2002).

These conditions, added to the problem of air pollution, had increased the demand for closed spaces. The first example of such closed spaces was the shopping place encapsulating the whole ground floor of Emek Office Block. Besides, Set Café was such a place which indicated the typology of cafés that had transformed since 1940s. Set Café, on the penthouse of Emek Office Block, turned to be an important

watching space<sup>10</sup> for citizens who wanted to be apart from the dynamism of the Square. This would lead to a redefinition of the relationship between the citizens and the Square. This kind of space usage may be considered as an expression of the distance that the bourgeoisie placed between ‘itself’ and the ‘others’ (Certau, 1988: 92-3; cited in Batuman, 2002).

Through the new attitudes and behaviours, such as looking down, seeing and watching, created, Kızılay Square had been subject to new power struggles and social conflicts, and had turned to create new ones. The public life experienced at the square initiated two processes at the same time. On one hand, it resulted in the dissolution of the homogenous structure to a pluralist pattern. And second, it led to a counter organization within the societal dynamics. Expressed in the new constitution of 1960, discourses aiming to promote freedom were expanded. The labour class (which was regarded to have reached a class consciousness) and urban poor (who mainly operated in the informal sector) both participated within the opposition movements organized / led by the intellectuals and students. This political platform based on the discourse of freedom intersected at the social space of Kızılay Square (Batuman, 2002).

April and May of 1965 is mentioned with ‘events of Kızılay’. A group of FPS (SBF) students (who were members of Turkey Labour Party – TLP – TİP) was attacked by a group of right-wing students while they were distributing the political periodical of *Birikim*; they had been distributing this political periodical by themselves (Feyzioğlu, 1993: 235; cited in Batuman, 2002). As the struggles between these groups had continued during the following period, distributing the periodical *Birikim* on the boulevard was prohibited. When this prohibition became a current issue, *Birikim* turned to be a symbol of freedom of expressing oneself. The Committee of Struggle against Extreme Trends – *Aşırı Akımlarla Mücadele Komitesi* – constituted by six ministers who gathered to discuss the circulation of the periodical on the boulevard, came to a conclusion that the boulevard had been a target of communist propaganda.

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<sup>10</sup> Sennett (1996) proposes such ideas that space has turned to be watched and the citizen has turned to be the watcher.



Therefore, they concluded on the necessity to take strict measures (Feyzioğlu, 1993: 239-243; cited in Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.2.1.1. Demonstrations Observed to Prepare the Coup D'état in 1960**

Kızılay Square had turned to be the political arena where demonstrators, especially the university students, gathered and announced their disturbance about the party in power, and demanded more rights and freedom. Four essential student demonstrations were observed until the coup d'état; and three of them occurred in Kızılay Square. After the military interference, the members of the opposition movement stated that these demonstrations were the signals of an opponent movement; however the party in power DP could not get the meaning of them.

##### **4.2.1.1.1. 19th of April – Demonstration in Favour of İsmet İnönü at Kızılay Square**

On 19<sup>th</sup> of April (1960), İsmet İnönü, the leader of RPP (Republican People's Party), left Anatolian Club at 5 pm. He moved to İş Bank at Atatürk Boulevard with Suphi Baykam, the deputy of Adana, accompanying him. He had planned to visit the centre of the party, which was located a hundred meters ahead. As İnönü had appeared on Uçar Street, young demonstrators in thousands appeared suddenly filling the boulevard and surrounding İnönü. Approximately ten thousand people had been observed along Atatürk Boulevard demonstrating in favour of İnönü and protesting the leader of the part in power, i.e. Adnan Menderes the leader of DP. On the other hand they were announcing that they sought freedom as they passed through the Boulevard. Arising demonstrations on justice and freedom, increasing crowd resulted in a traffic jam. İnönü could hardly arrive at the bank. At that time, the crowd at the boulevard was singing the march of '*Dağ Başını Duman Almış*'. By 5.30 pm, the crowd was extenden through *Orduevi* beginning from Kızılay Square (*Başkent çınladı: İnönü, hürriyet istiyoruz*, Ulus, 20.04.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

At that moment, the security team called '*Hazır Kuvvet Ekibi*' was transferred to the area and policemen, carrying gas bombs, were seen to disperse the crowd. Then, some of the young demonstrators were observed to be arrested by the police. Policemen were inhibiting the manifestations on freedom and justice by using force

with their thick sticks and sirens; demonstrators were dragged and beaten by the sticks and were taken to police cars. In spite of this tough reaction, the demonstrators did not leave the Square. When İnönü walked to the centre of Kızılay Square<sup>11</sup>, the most severe moment of the demonstration was realized. All the security power had been alarmed and all the roads were closed and taken under control. The Centre of Republican People Party (RPP) was surrounded by security teams consisting police with gas bombs and mounted policemen. Within this crowd and demonstrations, İnönü would not be able to go the centre building of the party; therefore he had to return to the club with his fellows. The crowd did not leave and stayed at the square for hours after he left. During this demonstration, numerous people were attempted to be deactivated by thick sticks and gas bombs and taken to the police station by police jeeps. Twenty two demonstrators were taken in to custody; there were one journalist and eleven students among these demonstrators (*Başkent çınladı: İnönü, hürriyet istiyoruz*, Ulus, 20.04.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

Although this number of demonstrators were said to be agglomerated spontaneously, such a crowd is not likely to come together without any organization. The demonstration done by such an enormous crowd seems to be planned and organized. It is likely that the demonstration was planned to take place at Kızılay Square, since numerous people were passing through the square within the day time and it is estimated that numerous people would join the crowd. Besides, the opposition party – CHP – seems to recognize the essence of Kızılay Square on struggling against the party in power.

#### **4.2.1.1.2. Events of 28-29th April**

İsmet İnönü gave a speech at the United Nations (UN) Parliament, under strict precautions, on 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1960. This speech was criticizing the party in power; however his speech was interrupted and restrained from the 12<sup>th</sup> session of the meetings of UN Parliament. The students who heard about this incident reacted and protested this treatment in İstanbul the day after the speech and in Ankara in the following since they regarded this situation as threat to their freedom. Since Ulus, newspaper was closed at the time of the incident, the announcement of the issue and

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<sup>11</sup> Kızılay Square as named as Kızılay Area; not square in this article of newspaper.

the analysis of the speech were made later on. In his speech İnönü declared that, DP had avoided free elections; and attempted to keep the power on itself by trickeries. He reminded that five hundred libraries and several public houses (*Halkevi*) were closed before the elections in 1951; the assets of CHP were appropriated before the elections of 1954; and between 1954 and 1957, oppression on the opposition was legalized through new legal regulations in order to avoid the possible unity of oppositional parties against DP. According to İnönü, DP was destroying the democratic regime through this attempt (*Acı bir yıldönümü: Hürriyete giden son köprü bugün atılmıştı*, Ulus, 28.04.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

Policemen reacted severely to demonstrating students in İstanbul by entering their university on 27 and 28<sup>th</sup> of April. Students attempted to protest this treatment on 29<sup>th</sup> of April, in Ankara. They began to gather in the Garden of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University. However, within this agglomeration and demonstration, which is mentioned to be ‘quiet’ in the newspaper, the students were going to be attacked by the policemen. At the same day, the Committee of Professors in Ankara University assembled with an agenda of this demonstration and police attack; they issued a report on how the events had occurred and described the reaction of the police (*Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesine de polis yayılım ateşi açmıştı*, Ulus, 2.06.1960, pp. 5).

The students of the faculty had not attended their classes and lectures; instead they had gathered at the Faculty garden and sung marches there. The students had crowded to protest both the violence occurred in İstanbul University and the political context. Within the same hours, police were driven upon to the students of Ankara Law School, who had come together to protest the same things. By this way, both the students and lecturers were pushed into the faculty building. The rumours about the existence of injured and dead students resulted in increasing tension and excitement. The faculty members, lecturers and administrators attempted to calm down the students; however the severe treatment of the policemen and the authorities defeated this effort. The students and the dean of the faculty were not permitted to go outside although they declared that they would break up. In addition, the faculty building was shot up (*Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesine de polis yayılım ateşi açmıştı*, Ulus,

2.06.1960, p. 5). In other words, the students were imprisoned in the faculty buildings; they were not permitted to go to Kızılay Square.

The students at Ankara School of Medicine were also demonstrating; and there was a Regiment of Gendarme Bodyguard (Jandarma Alay Komutanı) facing student. The commander of martial law, Namık Argüç, was being booed; by 1 pm, to depress the events and Argüç commanded the commander of the troop, Ali Filiz, to open fire upon the students. However, Filiz did not obey this command; he argued that when mounted policemen would withdraw, then the students would calm down. The mounted policemen were retracted; the excitement and anger among the students of Ankara School of Medicine was increased, as they heard the violent reaction of policemen at the Faculty of Political Sciences (*Mülkiye*) and Law School of Ankara University. Another commander came and ordered Ali Filiz to open fire upon the students; however Ali Filiz did not accept and he did prevent a bloody event to occur at the Medicine School (*29 Nisan Hatırası olarak Tıp Fakültesine İnönü büstü ve bir cop hediye edildi*, Ulus, 16.07.1960, pp. 3). The fire opened upon other faculties on the same day left traces on the walls of the façades of the building. Students sheltered inside the building; however the fire continued inside the building. Both students and lecturers were chased by the policemen and were beaten with their thick sticks. The policemen chased both the students and lecturers inside the building and caused injuries (*Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesine de polis yayılım ateşi açmıştı*, Ulus, 2.06.1960, pp. 5).



**Fig. 18.** Kızılay Square before the coup d'état; and Liberation Square after the coup d'état  
**Source:** *Ankara olayları kararnameşi – Hürriyetsizliğimizin hesabı soruluyor*, Ulus, 7.12.1960, p. 5

Government announced the martial law on 28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960 and two formal notifications were issued. The commander of the martial law in Ankara was Namık Argüç. The Commander of Martial Law in Ankara prohibited all kinds of meetings with a notification (*Ankara ve İstanbul'da Örfî İdare*, Ulus, 29.04.1960, pp. 1 & 5). Besides, broadcasting of the events of 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April occurred in İstanbul and Ankara by the media was also forbidden by the commanders of both İstanbul and Ankara. The newspapers were warned in order not to criticize the events by a threat that newspapers acting against this order will be seized (*İstanbul'daki hadiselerin neşri yasak*, Ulus, 29.04.1960, pp. 1).

#### **4.2.1.1.3. 555 K**

Supporters of DP had been expected to demonstrate in favour of their party at Kızılay Square, on 5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960; by an opposition of the movement of youth (*Hürriyet Savaşının Yıldönümü*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5). An agglomeration through the path between Kızılay and Sıhhiye was planned to take position on Atatürk Boulevard as Menderes and the avant-garde of DP were passing along this path. After this attempt was heard, groups come together at Kızılay Square on 5<sup>th</sup> of May (*Ankara olayları kararnamesi – Hürriyetsizliğimizin hesabı soruluyor*, Ulus, 7.12.1960, p. 5). The slogan of 555K had begun to be heard frequently. This slogan referred to the time and place of the demonstration, determined by the university students: 'At Kızılay Square, on the fifth day of the fifth month at five o'clock'. Indeed, at that day, two opposite groups met at the square. On one side there were students demanding freedom and on the other hand there was the group of a few hundreds – as mentioned in the newspaper – in favour of DP (*Hürriyet Savaşının Yıldönümü*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

Since he was told that the DP supporters would be at Kızılay Square, Menderes, the prime minister of that period, decided to go to the square; Celal Bayar, the president of the country and Refik Koraltan, the president of the parliament was also with him. He came up to *Orduevi* by his car and faced with the protesting slogans and shoutings of '*Menderes, Resign!*'. He got out of his car and walked for a while; then was taken back to his car by the bodyguards. However, he had got so angry that, he got out of his car went across the boulevard and caught the first student, one from the

group protesting him, and asked: “*What does ‘boo’ mean? What do you want?*” The student answered “*Nothing... We want you to resign!*” Thereupon, Menderes went towards another student asked the same question and responded in the same manner. Meanwhile, he had been mauled within the crowd; his tie slipped; his shirt protruded from his trousers. He could hardly leave the place (*Hürriyet Savaşının Yıldönümü*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

During the demonstrations, numerous – expressed as hundreds in the newspaper – students were roughed up; lachrymose bombs were used; several students were taken into custody and brought to the police stations (*Hürriyet Savaşının Yıldönümü*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, sayfa 1 ve 5). Bayar was blamed later during the court in Yassıada, to order Namık Gedik – at the same day – to open fire upon the demonstrators. According the report, Gedik was going to arrive Kızılay; and address ‘people/public on one side; demonstrators on the other side’. He was ordered to fire on the demonstrators. However, when he went to Kızılay, he suddenly recognized that he was left among the crowd. As the demonstrators appeared to open his car’s door; he had to leave the place and turn to Bayar’s office, in half an hour. Similar events continued in Ankara until 19<sup>th</sup> May (*Ankara olayları kararnamesi – Hürriyetsizliğimizin hesabı soruluyor*, Ulus, 7.12.1960, pp. 5).

#### **4.2.1.1.4. 21st of May – The March of the Military College**

On 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1960, students of Military School (Kara Harp Okulu) protested the party in power, by a march (named as ‘quite demonstration’) beginning from their college to Zafer Monument. In front of the group, there was Burhanettin Uluç. The following days of 555K, DP attempted demonstrations and the opposition remained quiet. The building of the College of Reserve Officers was carried to another site; therefore a protest demonstration was planned to be organized. Moreover, the students of Military College were not allowed to go out at weekends. Several army officers and numerous students had been arrested. New arrests were observed after the protests in Anıtkabir in 19<sup>th</sup> of May. The citizens living in Ankara were in wonder how the students of Military College planned to attempt towards these issues (*Harb Okulu Kızılay’da yürüyüş yapmıştı*, Ulus, 21.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

Eventually on 21<sup>st</sup> of May, Saturday, at 3 pm, a crowded group of Military School students appeared in front of Orduevi. At first sight, the students seemed to wander together at their weekend holiday. However, in the course of time their numbers increased and reached to seven or eight hundred. The group was observed to direct their way to Kızılay Square. Since some of the army officers joined to the group, wandering of a group of students turned to be a protesting march. When they got close to Kızılay, some university students wanted to join to the group. The Military Collage students refused this demand as: “*Brothers, Friends, walk independently, do not join with us*”. Therefore, the Military Collage students were walking at the right lane of the boulevard and along the other lane, approximately a thousand and five hundred university students were walking slowly. They passed Kızılay by this way and the Military Collage students stopped in front of the house of the president of the parliament, Koraltan, for a while and viewed the house by meaningful glances; and then they continued their march (*Harb Okulu Kızılay’da yürüyüş yapmıştı*, Ulus, 21.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

The students were restricted by the mounted policemen in front of the Soviet Consulate, but the officers in the group opened the road. The authorities attempted to stop the group and policemen tried to take some students into custody; however, they could not succeed. They announced that: “*the students and military officers should be released.*” Then, they returned to Kızılay, to the point where they started their march. Students moved through the ministries and they returned to their school. Five days after the march of Military School students, the cabinet of DP was taken under custody in the Military School (*Harb Okulu Kızılay’da yürüyüş yapmıştı*, Ulus, 21.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

#### **4.2.1.2. 27<sup>th</sup> of May – The Coup D’état**

At the night of 27<sup>th</sup> of May, the Turkish Military seized power of the country and discharged DP (*Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri bütün memlekette idareyi ele aldı*, Ulus, 28.05.1960, pp. 1 & 5). In the tenth formal notification of Committee of National Unity, Brigadier General İrfan Baştuğ was assigned to be the governor of Ankara (*Mili Birlik Komitesi dün 22 tebliğ yayınladı*, Ulus, 28.05.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, in spite of the prohibition to go out; people celebrated the interference at the streets and boulevards. Along the streets in Cebeci, university students carried a coffin on which ‘reaction’ –‘irtica’ was written. The journalists, who were said to regain their freedom by the coup d’état; also demonstrated in favour of the military interference at Kızılay Square. They placed a chain in front of *Orduevi* and a wreath at Zafer Monument. In one of the photographs (fig. 20) students’ carrying the coffin in Cebeci is seen; and in the second one Beyhan Cenkçi, the editor in chief of *Ulus* newspaper, and the editor in chief of the Periodical, *Akis* are seen during the demonstration at Zafer Monument, placing the wreath after their release from the jail (*Fotoğraflarla dünkü olaylar*, *Ulus*, 29.05.1960, p. 6).



**Fig. 19.** The celebrations of coup d’état at Kızılay Square  
**Source:** *Fotoğraflarla dünkü olaylar*, *Ulus*, 29.05.1960, p. 6

In a formal text announced on 29<sup>th</sup> May, by Ankara Commandership of Martial Law, the citizens were thanked for their cheering in the first place. In addition to that, the commandership demanded citizens’ help to soldiers for provision of peace. In the sixth notification, to regulate the urban traffic, private cars and trucks were announced to be restricted to pass through between Sıhhiye and Atatürk Boulevard, between the hours of 9 am and 9 pm; on 29<sup>th</sup> of May. Moreover, in the seventh notification, the citizens were asked to finish their cheering and celebrations along the streets since this situation can be used against the army’s attempt to construct peace (*Ankara Kumandanlığının yeni tebliğleri*, *Ulus*, 30.05.1960, p. 5). The demonstrations to provide the legacy of the coup d’état occurred at Kızılay Square. Since the students and the citizens were sharing the leading role through this



movement, the expressions were observed to be carefully chosen in order to protect both the base of the movement and the relationship between the army and the demonstrators. On one hand, the demonstrations were welcomed and on the other hand they were regarded as threatening the peace indirectly. Especially the forbidden route in these notifications may indicate this importance. This also can be thought as an indicator of *the recognition of political essence of Kızılay Square*. The authorities in the army seem to recognize the importance of that space, which had witnessed three essential meetings protesting the party in power; therefore they did not want Kızılay Square to be used against them.

In one newspaper article, broadcasted after the coup d'état, the significance of Kızılay Square was emphasized and the symbolical character of the demonstrations which had taken place at the square was put forward. In his article Emil Galip Sandalcı (1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1960) wrote on the demonstrations at Atatürk Boulevard. He first mentions the events happened on 28 and 29<sup>th</sup> April in İstanbul and in Ankara. Demonstrations occurred in Ankara indicated that Ankara did not leave İstanbul alone. This was on one hand a hopeful development for democratic regime; however, on the other, it was worrying that innocent young students would be killed. The streets in İstanbul were densely crowded with vehicles, people and policemen; demonstrations took places in patches. The citizens in İstanbul were getting the news from Ankara. The demonstrations and events appeared throughout the country, in İzmir, Konya, Bursa and Balıkesir. However, the demonstrations began to gather a central role within this struggle; the space between Sıhhiye and Kızılay, which was considered to be the starting point of the movement, turned to be a symbol of the struggle (Akla Kara, Emil Galip Sandalcı, *Atatürk Bulvarı Nümayişleri*, Ulus, 1.06.1960, p. 3). Kızılay Square turned to be a political space and symbol for not only Ankara but for the whole country.

After the coup d'état, the interference was celebrated at the squares, and the struggle at these places became to be symbols of the movement. In İzmir, Manisa and İzmit, similar meetings and celebrations were organized (*Milli İnkılâp Bayramımız dün de devam etti*, Ulus, 1.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

#### 4.2.1.2.1. Demonstrations in favour of 27<sup>th</sup> of May

“The Committee of National Unity” – a committee which was established by university students – delivered a formal notification announcing that the students who had been killed between 28<sup>th</sup> April and 27<sup>th</sup> of May, was going to be buried at Anıtkabir, on 10<sup>th</sup> of June (*Hürriyet şehitlerimiz 10 Haziran’da törenle toprağa verilecek*, Ulus, 4.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5). The cortege in the funeral moved out from the Mosque of Cebeci and followed the path of Kurtuluş – the boulevard of Ziya Gökalap – Kızılay – Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard – Tandoğan Square and arrived at Anıtkabir (*İnkılâp şehitlerimiz için büyük merasim*, Ulus, 9.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5; *İnkılâp Şehitlerimiz Ebediyet Yolunda*, Ulus, 10.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5). Lieutenant Ali İhsan Kaymaz, students Ersan Özey, Nedim Özbulut, Turan Emeksiz and Gültekin Seçmen was buried in the location in Anıtkabir designated for them (*5 Şehit gözyaşları içinde defnedildi*, Ulus, 11.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 20.** The cortege passing through Kızılay Square from Kolej to Anıtkabir  
**Source:** *5 Şehit gözyaşları içinde defnedildi*, Ulus, 11.06.1960, p. 8

After this funeral, Kızılay Square witnessed the celebrations of coup d’état. In İstanbul, a celebration meeting was organized on 8<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960. Parallel to this meeting, a celebration march was observed at Kızılay Square, on 9<sup>th</sup> of June. Three thousand students of the academy of Economics and Commerce, who organized the meeting, met in front of their school and students moved to Kızılay after the speech of the president of the academy. They were shouting as: “*We are following Atatürk, Damn with the dictators*”; the demonstrators also sang the march, ‘*Olur mu Beyler Olur mu?, Kardeş Kardeşi Vurur mu?*’. They placed a wreath at the statue in Zafer Square; they also sang the Turkish National Anthem and the march of ‘*Dağ Başını Duman Almış*’; after this demonstration the students left the square and went to their

school on the way of Sıhhiye. Similar celebrations were undertaken throughout Turkey (*Üçbin Öğrenci dün Kızılay'da büyük bir yürüyüş yaptı*, Ulus, 10.06.1960, p. 3).

Another meeting was organized by students on 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960 in Ankara, at Kızılay Square, parallel to the meeting done in İstanbul, on 13<sup>th</sup> of June. The students were going to meet at Middle East Technical University at 9 o'clock and then would go to visit the graves of the students – the graves of liberation martyrs – buried at Anıtkabir. The students met at Kızılay Square at 2 pm and continued their celebrations there (*Pazartesi günü Ankara'da büyük bir miting yapılacak*, Ulus, 18.06.1960, p. 3; *Gençlik mitingi bugün yapılıyor*, Ulus, 20.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5). Over one hundred thousand people joined the celebration meeting at Kızılay Square. The crowd went to Hipodrom from the square and continued the celebration there (*Atatürk Gençliği Başkentte dün 'Hürriyet Mitingi' yaptı*, Ulus, 21.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

On 6<sup>th</sup> of January, 1961, students of Ankara University, high school students and students of other levels came together at Sıhhiye Square to celebrate the opening of Constituent Parliament – *Kurucu Meclis* – and to pay their respect and obedience for the parliament. They placed wreath at the Zafer Monument and then arrived at the Parliament through Kızılay Square (it was named as Liberation Area), Güvenpark and Atatürk Boulevard. After the speeches, the demonstrators returned to Sıhhiye Square and went to their schools from there (*Gençliğin bağlılık yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 7.01.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

During the following years, the coup d'état on 27<sup>th</sup> of May was celebrated as a Bayram (*27 Mayıs yıldönümü yurdun her tarafında törenle kutlanacak*, Ulus, 22.04.1962, p. 5). In 1962, the celebrations would began at 8.30 am at Anıtkabir and continued in front of the Presidency of Chief of General Staff of Military and lasted through the ceremony at Zafer Square (*27 Mayıs yaşayacaktır*, Ulus, 28.05.1962, pp. 1 & 5). On 27<sup>th</sup> of May in 1963, the third anniversary of the coup d'état was celebrated. The celebrations started at 12 o'clock, at noon, and lasted till the midnight of 27<sup>th</sup> of May. At Anıtkabir and at the Presidency of General Staff

ceremonies were made and a march was held having five branches; one from Anıtkabir, one from Çankaya, the others from Beşevler, Dışkapı and Konservatuar. All the branches were going to meet at Zafer Square, and were going to move to Hipodrom (*Hürriyet ve Anayasa Bayramını milletçe kutluyoruz*, Ulus, 27.05.1963, pp. 1 & 7). In 1964, a similar ceremony was organized at Zafer Square; the cortege passed through the square at 5.30 pm (*Hürriyet, Anayasa Bayramı Hazırlığı tamamlanıyor*, Ulus, 27.05.1964, pp. 1 & 7).

#### 4.2.1.2.2. Demonstrations against the Opposition of 27<sup>th</sup> of May

The organization of Cypriot students who were educated in Ankara met at Kızılay Square on 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960 to protest the assistant president of Cyprus Dr. Fazıl Küçük, because of his explanations in favour of DP and the implementations of this party. The people at the square supported the demonstrators (*Kıbrıslı gençlerin protesto yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 26.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 21.** The demonstration of the Organization of Cypriot students protesting Dr. Fazıl Küçük at Kızılay Square

**Source:** *Kıbrıslı gençlerin protesto yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 26.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5

On 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960, a statue of Atatürk was bombed in İskenderun, which led to protests all through the country. Beginning from İskenderun, demonstrations occurred in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir. The students gathered at 10 am in front of Zafer Monument and sang the marches – *Dağ Başını Duman Almış* and the Turkish National Anthem (*O'na uzanan eli affetmeyeceğiz*, Ulus, 21.12.1960, pp. 1 & 5). The demonstrations also continued on 21<sup>st</sup> of December. The students gathered and placed wreaths at both the statue of Atatürk in Ulus Square and Zafer Monument. The meetings were also held in İskenderun, Adana, Yozgat, and Gaziantep. In addition, Ministry of Internal Affairs had taken precautions around all statues of

Atatürk throughout the country (*Menfur tecavüz her yerde protesto ediliyor*, Ulus, 22.12.1960, pp. 1 & 5). The explosion in İskenderun was protested by great protest demonstration called ‘Atatürk Meeting’ on 24<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960, at Tandoğan Square. Again, similar meetings occurred in cities such as İzmir, Adana, and İstanbul (*Atatürk Mitingi bugün yapılıyor*, Ulus, 24.12.1960, pp. 1 & 5; *Ankara dün gene and içti: İzindeyiz*, Ulus, 25.12.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

On 19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1962, the students of Ankara School of Medicine protested the group who was said to be opposing the coup d’état in favour of DP. A quite march to Anıtkabir was organized and from there, they came to Zafer Square and placed wreath on the monument. After the homage, they sang the Turkish National Anthem. Before the demonstration, the Student Association of Ankara School of Medicine and the Student Union of Ankara University had a formal declaration (*Gençlik, menfaatçi gruba son ihtarını dün verdi*, Ulus, 20.09.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

On 7<sup>th</sup> of January, 1963, the students of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (*Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi – DTCF*) demonstrated through a quiet march to protest the critical speech of the deputy from AP (*Adalet Partisi – Justice Parti*), Etem Kılıçoğlu who criticized their school. At 11 am, the demonstrators met and demonstrated at Zafer Square (*Gençliğe kin besleyen AP’ye gençlik dün cevap verdi*, Ulus, 08.01.1963, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 22.** Demonstrations against Celal Bayar  
**Source:** *27 Mayıs korunacaktır*, Ulus, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7

Celal Bayar, who was arrested within the coup d’état, was released for a while. The students protested his release and the groups supporting Celal Bayar by

demonstrations and formal declarations (fig. 23 & 24) (*27 Mayıs'ı inkâr edenlere gençliğin son ihtarı*, Ulus, 24.01.1963, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 23.** Demonstrations against Celal Bayar  
**Source:** *27 Mayıs korunacaktır*, Ulus, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7

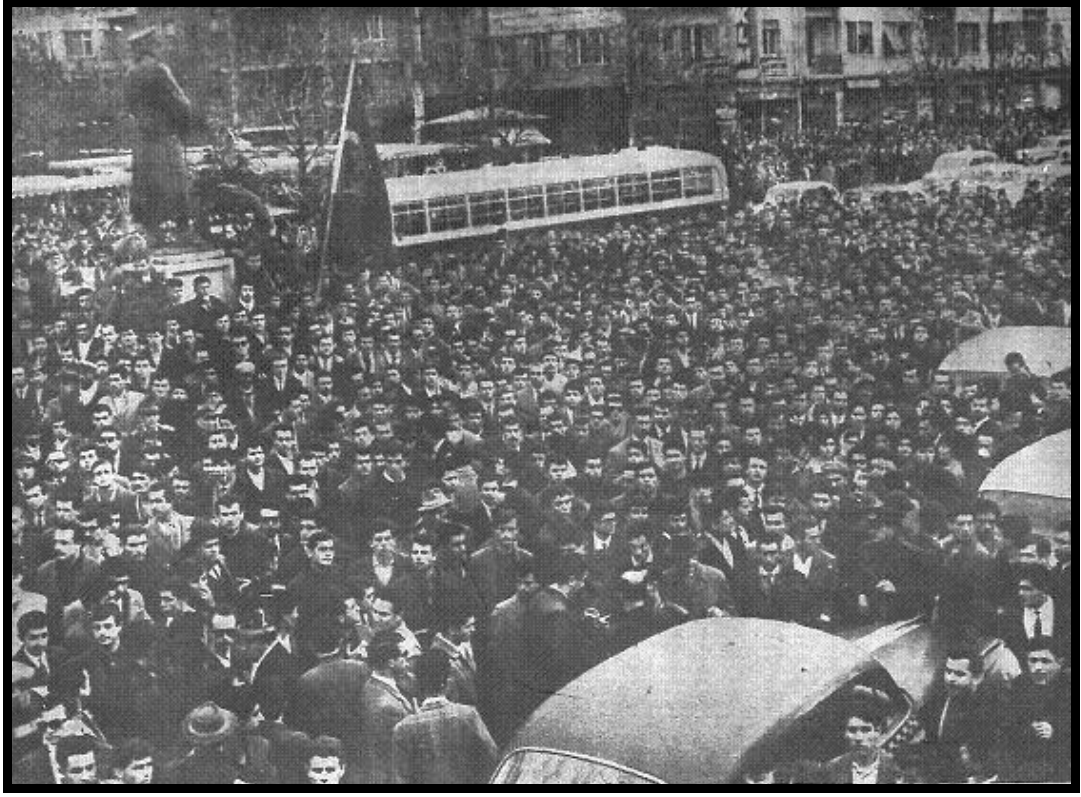
On 24<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963, Celal Bayar had been released from the prison in Kayseri, had come to Ankara and DP followers demonstrated in favour of him. This demonstration was realized in front of the Zafer Monument. After gathering at Zafer Square, the crowd started to move towards his house in Kavaklıdere, where Bayar was staying. While the crowd was passing through the junction of Kızılay, there occurred a quarrel among the demonstrators and the members of the party, AP.



**Fig. 24.** Demonstrations against Celal Bayar  
**Source:** *27 Mayıs korunacaktır*, Ulus, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7

The headquarter of the party was at the junction of Kızılay Square and when the members, Saadettin Bilgiç, Cevat Önderü Etem Kılıçoğlu, and Halim Aras appeared at the balcony of the building and reacted to the demonstrators. The students

continued their march and went on their demonstration in front of the house (27 *Mayıs korunacaktır*, *Ulus*, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 25.** Demonstrations against Celal Bayar  
**Source:** *27 Mayıs korunacaktır*, *Ulus*, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7

A short time again this demonstration, on 25<sup>th</sup> March of 1963, students came together at Zafer Square and protested both the provocations of AP and the supporters of Bayar. Firstly speeches were made and then marches were sung. When the protests were made in front of the Headquarter of AP conflicts occurred. In addition to that, buildings of certain newspapers were destroyed in both Ankara and İstanbul (*Onbinlerce Atatürkçü genç, vatanı sahipsiz sananlara 2. ihtarını yaptı*, *Ulus*, 26.03.1963, pp. 1 & 5).

Moreover, on 23<sup>rd</sup> of January, 1963, approximately three hundred students of the Faculty of Political Sciences (SBF) protested the speech of the AP deputy who talked about radical approaches and about Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi) – TİP– and about approaches to the lecturers of the faculty (*SB Fakültesi öğrencileri sessiz bir yürüyüş yaptılar*, *Ulus*, 24.01.1963, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 26.** Demonstrators gathered at Kızılay to protest Celal Bayar on 25<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963  
**Source:** *Onbinlerce Atatürkçü genç, vatani sahipsiz sananlara 2. ihtarı yaptı*, Ulus, 26.03.1963, pp. 1 & 5

On 27<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963, another protest meeting was planned. On 25<sup>th</sup> of March, students had decided to meet at Zafer Square two days later at 5 pm. They were going to start to walk and demonstrate from that point. They started to gather at the square on the determined day, as they planned. Through this demonstration, the headquarter building of AP was destroyed. About twenty students entered the building and inside tore the goods into pieces. Another group took down the sign of the party building. As an opposing group, about five hundred people had appeared at the junction of Kızılay, in front of the building, which increased the tension and excitement among the demonstrators (*Dünkü yürüyüş, tahrik yüzünden hadiseli oldu: AP Genel Merkezi tahrip edildi*, Ulus, 27.03.1963, pp. 1 & 5). The existence of the central building of AP, the opposing party of demonstrators and on the other hand the party in power, can be seen as the formation of the political antithesis of the demonstrators occurring at the space. This is a turning point since the conflict over the meaning of Kızılay Square had appeared in this period; that also implies the arising political conflict throughout the country.

The students were taken into custody on 24<sup>th</sup> of March, during the meeting which took place at Kızılay Square and which was not permitted. These students were judged on 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1963, because of the infringement of the Law of Meetings



and Demonstrations Marches. The students stated that they had met at Zafer Square, on 24<sup>th</sup> of May, spontaneously (“*Gençler her tertibin dışında toplanmışlardır*”, Ulus, 21.05.1963, pp. 1 & 7).

On the dates 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1963, a struggle occurred between the government and the Military College students. As a result of this struggle, the martial law was declared in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir beginning from 21<sup>st</sup> of May, at 3 pm for a period of one month. However, they extended for the sake of providing peace (*Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir’de sıkıyönetim ilan edildi*, Ulus, 22.05.1963, pp. 1 & 7).

#### **4.2.1.3. Demonstrations after Coup D’état**

Demonstrations seemed to be related with subjects of a wide range including personal rights, such as protesting the increasing rapes of women, to the international issues such as the liberation of Algeria from France and liberation of Cyprian Turks from Greeks. The students who could not succeed in the university entrance exams also appeared at Kızılay Square. Added to the increasing number of demonstrations, the demonstrators were seen to be reacted usually through peaceful manner. In other words, they could usually saw the results of their opposition. On the other hand, the governors and the heads of police officers were giving speeches to the newspapers against demonstrations by which they were indirectly showing their disturbance of protests. In 1963, demonstrations at Kızılay Square were forbidden indirectly by the legal regulations. By the Law of Meetings, Demonstrations and Marches was regulated and the area centred by the Parliament with a radius of one kilometre within the parliament building was restricted to demonstrations. The governor, who was assigned to determine the suitable sites for demonstrations, explained the possible demonstrating spaces and paths and what was interesting was that Kızılay was not among these places.

##### **4.2.1.3.1. Demonstrations on International Issues**

In front of embassy buildings has been critical spaces to demonstrate for international issues both throughout the world and in Turkey. Similar to the demonstration organized on 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1960, in İstanbul at Taksim Square, a demonstration was held in Ankara, at Kızılay Square on 13<sup>th</sup> of December. The

Association of College and University Students of High Education in Ankara (*Ankara Yüksek Tahsil Gençliği*), organized the meeting to protest French policies in Algeria. Approximately ten thousand students, with pickets on their hands, moved from Kızılay to Embassy of France. They left the pickets in front of the embassy when they arrived at the building at 3.30 pm. Another meeting had been organized in İzmir on the next day (*Cezayir’de iki günün bilançosu: 100 ölü*, Ulus, 14.12.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

1960’s were the years that anti-nuclear demonstrations appeared all throughout the world. In Turkey, this issue was not carried to the squares although students were not silent. After anti-nuclear protests that took place in New York and London, similar demonstrations were demanded in İstanbul. The university students attempted to protest nuclear tests on morning of 7<sup>th</sup> of April, 1961. However, they could not achieve their goal; rather they were able to get about one hundred signs on the declaration prepared in Europe. Moreover, they applied Turkish National Student Federation (TNSF) – TMTF (*Türk Milli Talebe Federasyonu*) – and informed their demand to organize a demonstration and a march. After the official meeting through which the members of TNSF discussed this demand, they responded that they are sensitive to the issue of nuclear weapons, and they organized a conference to discuss the issue on 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1961, on Friday, at 3 pm, in their own club room in Cağaloğlu (*Nükleer silahlanma aleyhine toplantı*, Ulus, 7.04.1961, p. 5). The interesting point on this stance is that, an association, which struggled severely through the movement to solve internal issues did not seem to be exactly interested and motivated to concentrate on external, global issues, such as nuclear threat. Rather they seemed to be satisfied with a closed door meeting although the youth of 1960’s, all around the world, had considered this issue very important.

#### **4.2.1.3.2. Demonstrations of the Students to Enter the University**

Students who could not enter any program, faculty or university by the university exams gathered in front of the building of Grand National Assembly of Turkey on 2<sup>nd</sup> of November, 1961. They expressed their demand that decisions should be taken to enable them to continue their higher education. After the announcement of the results of Ankara University Entrance Exam, the students who failed in the exam

organized within a quite march lasting for five hours. They had come together in front of the FLHG, Faculty of Language, History and Geography (*DTCF – Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi*) at 11 pm and came to Zafer Monument after taking their friends from the Faculty of Political Sciences – FPS (SBF). They were carrying the pickets criticizing the education system; they sang the Turkish National Anthem; and stayed in homage. Approximately two thousand students joined them, they moved to the building of Prime Ministry. They attempted to talk to Cemal Gürsel, then the President of the country, and Fahri Özdilek. However, the President was absent at that time and therefore they could not have the chance to talk with him. However, since they insisted on to meet the president, they waited for one hour there. Their slogans were: “*We are hungry, but we want to be educated*”, “*If there are no universities, then close the high schools*”. After they reached the conclusion that it was not possible to see the president, they moved to the Ministry of National Education and there the minister of National Education gave a speech. He guaranteed that they were going to do the needed attempts to study the demand. However, students were not persuaded and moved towards of Villa of Çankaya in order to meet the President again. Parallel to this this demonstration, students who could not succeed in university entrance exams in İstanbul, decided to walk to Ankara, as pedestrians (*İki bin öğrenci okumak istiyoruz diye bağırdı*, Ulus, 03.11.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

The Ulus newspaper dated 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961, was informing that after the formal meeting, it was decided that all of the students demanding to enter the university was going to be admitted in the year of 1961-62. The assistant to Prime Minister, Fahri Özdilek, the Minister of National Education, Ahmet Tahtakılıç, and the rector of Ankara University assembled in a trio meeting explained that the quota of Ankara University had been increased (*Fakültelere daha fazla öğrenci alınabilecek*, Ulus, 04.11.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

The students who still could not enter any faculties continued their demonstrations by a protest held on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 1961. They walked from FLHG, Faculty of Language, History and Geography to the building of Prime Ministry and when they could not meet anyone there they began to walk towards Çankaya (*Fakültelere daha*

*fazla öğrenci alınabilecek*, Ulus, 04.11.1961, pp. 1 & 5). Students repeated their demonstrations on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1961. The students coming from İstanbul joined them. A group of approximately one thousand gathered at the Garden of Law School at 9.30 am, and by following the way of Cebeci-Sihhiye, they reached Kızılay. They placed wreath at the monument in Zafer Square and stayed in homage. It was written on pickets as “We want to be educated” and “Why did you educate us till now?”. They went to Anıtkabir through Maltepe and after the demonstration and homage in Antkabir, they arrived at the Parliament building. Their demand was again seeing the president (*Üniversiteye giremeyenler dün de gösteri yaptılar*, Ulus, 07.11.1961, pp. 1 & 5). On 7<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961, the authorities of Ankara University assembled and discussed the issue for long hours; they decided to expand the quota once more (*1400 öğrenci için fakülte bulundu*, Ulus, 08.11.1961, pp. 1 & 5). Besides, on 30<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961, the entrance scores of FLHG had been decreased to increase the number of the students who were able to enter the faculties (*İki Fakülte 994 kişi daha alıyor*, Ulus, 07.11.1961, p. 5).

This reaction of the government and universities led to similar demonstrations at Kızılay Square during the following years. One of these was the demonstration held in Güvenpark, on 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1962. Three students from the group went upstairs and called the minister who accepted to come down and talk to the students. He listened to their demands and problems related with the issue of quota in universities. Later, he made a speech to the journalists and spoke on the strategies that they were working on for solving the issue and added that these issues could not be solved at the streets (*“Gençliğin davaları sokakta halledilmez”*, Ulus, 23.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 27.** Students who could not succeed in university entrance examinations marched  
**Source:** *Üniversiteye giremeyenler yürüyüş yaptılar*, Ulus, 08.10.1962, pp. 1 & 7

After a short period of time, the quota in Ankara University had been increased (*Ankara Üniversitesi 1833 kişi daha alacak*, Ulus, 13.11.1962, pp. 1 & 5). The students, who had not been able to succeed in the university entrance exams, succeeded in providing an increase in quotas through the demonstrations they organized at Kızılay Square in the years of 1961 and 1962. However, in the following years, this kind of demonstrations had been restricted.

By the martial law, dated 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1963 and numbered 52, students who could not succeed in entering any faculty had been prohibited to demonstrate at streets, rather, they were motivated to use their legal rights (*Sıkıyönetim bir bildiri yayınladı*, Ulus, 15.11.1963, p. 1). The students in the same situation attempted to organize a quiet march on 16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1964 although the demonstrations at Kızılay Square had been forbidden officially. Therefore, they began their demonstration from Kurtuluş Square, but they were not as much crowded as they had planned. They obeyed the marching path and moved to Hipodrom along Talatpaşa Boulevard. The police observed the demonstration of the students closely but did not intervene (*Sıkıyönetim bir bildiri yayınladı*, Ulus, 15.11.1963, p. 1).

#### **4.2.1.3.3. Student Demonstrations on Internal Issues**

The demonstrations on national issues can be examined under the topics of the opposition against DP and either one of the following views: İslamist, Conservative, Rightist View; the protests against the attitude of Greeks in Cyprus; demonstrations and new flourishing struggle of working class; other demonstrations such as the demonstration of journalists to protest a de-regulation of Turkish Press. Public space is also used to celebrate or to commemorate the special dates of political struggle.

##### **4.2.1.3.3.1. Demonstrations against Radical Reactionaries - AP Building at Kızılay Square**

The fire at Atatürk Museum in İstanbul resulted in numerous protests beginning from İstanbul on 10<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962 (*İstanbul'da gençler gericileri ve gerici basını tel'in etti*, Ulus, 11.01.1962, pp. 1 & 5). As a continuation of this demonstration, over five thousand university students were agglomerated at Zafer Square, on 13<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962 at 11 o'clock. They were protesting the reactionary press and named

their meeting as ‘The Final Speech of the Youth’, which was organized by TNSF. During this demonstration, the members of TNSF carried the pickets criticizing both the Communism and Ultra Conservatives (*Gençliğin ‘son söz’ mitingi yapıldı*, Ulus, 14.01.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

On 2<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1962, five persons appeared at Kızılay Square, about 5.45 pm, handling the pickets written as ‘*İnönü, resign!*’. Students and some citizens, passing through Kızılay, got angry and attempted to beat the demonstrators. In spite of the security precautions, five demonstrators were beaten and after, in Ankara, the buildings of certain newspapers, Tercüman, Yeni İstanbul, Zafer, and Son Havadis, and also the AP General Headquarter in Kızılay were attacked. Four of the demonstrators were hardly protected from demonstrating students and were sheltered in the Building of Lottery. The students continued their opposing demonstrations at Zafer Square after they attacked the buildings of newspapers. The four demonstrators were forced to leave the building; however, they could not get out until the governor and the officers of Ankara Commandership of Garrison had arrived. After they were taken out, a group of students and citizens, composed of approximately three thousand people, began to walk to the ministry buildings. They destroyed the newspaper buildings (*Tercüman* and *Yeni İstanbul*) there and returned to Kızılay Square. Another group of nearly a thousand demonstrators were met in front of Zafer Monument after they brought down and destroyed the signboard of the newspaper of Yeni İstanbul at nearly 20.15 pm. At Zafer Square, they sang the Turkish National Anthem and stayed in homage. They continued their demonstrations between the newspaper buildings, Ulus Square, Sıhhiye Square and Zafer Square till 10.55 pm. Their demonstrations ended at the Headquarter of AP at Kızılay Square where they put the signboard down and destroyed the furniture (*Kızılay’daki tahrike dün binler en sert cevabı verdi*, Ulus, 03.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

At the parliament session held in 3<sup>rd</sup> October, İsmet İnönü gave a speech and he talked about the demonstrations occurred on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October. He mentioned his concerns about these demonstrations emphasizing on the five of demonstrators who attempted to protest the government (RPP – CHP). He said that the identity and the aim of the group to be at Kızılay Square at that time, had not been determined yet

“*Can ve mal emniyeti her şeyden önce gelir*”, Ulus, 04.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5). However, when a similar demonstration took place in Kızılay Square on 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960, İnönü reacted in a different manner. İnönü defended demonstrators in opposition and evaluated the movement as a spontaneous and sudden reaction of the people and the students (“*Can ve mal emniyeti her şeyden önce gelir*”, Ulus, 04.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5). The demonstrations on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October were discussed in the Senate (on 5<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962) as well. İnönü defended the opposing demonstrators and mentioned once more that the demonstrations represented the reactions of citizens (*Tertip tepki gördü*, Ulus, 05.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5). Eight demonstrators, who were arrested after the protests, were released on 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962, with the expiation demand of their lawyer (*2 Ekim olayları ile ilgili 8 kişi dün serbest bırakıldı*, Ulus, 21.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

#### **4.2.3.3.2. Demonstrations on the Issue of Cyprus**

Greeks living in Cyprus had begun to attack Turkish citizens in Cyprus; a group of fifteen thousand demonstrators, mostly composed of young, protested this issue at Kızılay Square on 27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1963. The demonstration, which lasted for three hours, began in front of Zafer Monument at 9.30 am. The youth organizations and revolutionary associations organized the meeting. Following expressions existed on the pickets: “*Do not hit woman, child; come and beat us, if you can!*”<sup>12</sup>, “*We want blood to blood, life to life*”<sup>13</sup>, “*The blood, bleeding, is ours*”<sup>14</sup>, “*We want our government to pursue a powerful and determined policies on the Cyprus issue*”<sup>15</sup> and “*Our brother government, Turkish Cyprus, we are standing with you, as the army and youth of Turkey*”<sup>16</sup>. After the speeches, the demonstrators began to walk towards the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, along Atatürk Boulevard. They continued their demonstration in front of the door located at the opposite side of Ministry of Internal Affairs. İnönü had advised the youth to be calm (*Olaylar tel’in ediliyor*, Ulus, 28.12.1963, pp. 1 & 7).

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<sup>12</sup> “*Kadına, çocuğa değil; gelin bize vurun, vurabilirsiniz*”

<sup>13</sup> “*Kana kan, cana can istiyoruz*”

<sup>14</sup> “*Akan kan bizim kanımızdır*”

<sup>15</sup> “*Hükümetimizin Kıbrıs konusunda kuvvetli ve azimkâr bir politika takip etmesini istiyoruz*”

<sup>16</sup> “*Kıbrıslı kardeşi hükümet, ordu ve gençlik olarak yanındayız*”

On 13<sup>th</sup> of March, 1964, another demonstration on Cyprus issue was organized at Zafer Square. Students had begun to crowd at the place by noon and the meeting continued for two hours. A puppet symbolizing Makarios was burned; speeches were made and poems were read. Afterwards, the demonstrators moved to the Parliament building; sang the Turkish National Anthem. They went to the front side of Presidency of General Chief of Staff of the Turkish Army; they were shouting the slogans of “*The Turkish Army to Cyprus*”<sup>17</sup> (*Zafer Meydanı’nda onbinlerin sesi yükseldi*, Ulus, 13.03.1964, pp. 1 & 7).

On 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964, a group met at Zafer Square and then marched to the ministry buildings to protest the Cyprus policies of United States. The security officers had taken the necessary precautions. The pickets were written as “Yankee go home” and “USA, Don’t play with our p...” seen as in the photograph (*Rumlar arasında huzursuzluk var; Dün akşamüzeri Kızılay’da bir grup gösteri yaptı*, Ulus, 28.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 28.** Demonstrations at Kızılay Square protesting the Cyprus issue

**Source:** *Rumlar arasında huzursuzluk var; Dün akşamüzeri Kızılay’da bir grup gösteri yaptı*, Ulus, 28.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7

On the next day, 28<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964, students struggled with the gendarme within the district of the parliament where they protested both USA and Greece. Although the permission was taken for the next Tuesday, 1<sup>st</sup> of September, the students got together around Zafer Monument and began their demonstration there. After the homage and the march, demonstrators began to march along the Boulevard with their pickets. They reached to the Embassy of Greece and threw stones at the building and

<sup>17</sup> “*Türk ordusu Kıbrıs’a*”



struggled with the police. Some of the students were taken into custody and later were arrested to demonstrate without permission and their court trial was made on 27<sup>th</sup> of August (*Ankara'da gençler dün de miting yaptı*, Ulus, 29.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7). The students continued their demonstrations during 29<sup>th</sup> of August (*Muhteşem Kıbrıs Mitingi dün yapıldı*, Ulus, 30.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7).

On 30<sup>th</sup> of August, at the eventide, the youth demanded to organize a demonstration at Zafer Square; however, the group was prevented to come together through the precautions taken by the authorities (*Dün Ankara'da yapılmak istenen yürüyüş önlendi*, Ulus, 31.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7; *İzinsiz nümayiş yapan 27 kişi için takibat*, Ulus, 31.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7). Similar demonstrations occurred throughout Turkey such as in İzmir and Adana (*Kanun dışı hareketler her yerde önlenecektir*, Ulus, 31.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7; *Adana'da bugün miting yapılacak*, Ulus, 31.08.1964, pp. 1 & 7).

On 1<sup>st</sup> of September, to protest the Cyprus issue, an official meeting was organized by the student associations such as, National Turkish Student Union (NTSU – *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği*, MTTB), The Student Union of Ankara University (*Ankara Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği*) and the College/University Student Union of Ankara (*Ankara Yüksek Okullar Talebe Birliği*). The demonstration started at Zafer Square, at 3 pm; after speeches the group marched along the path of Kızılay (Liberty) Square – Ministries – Parliament and arrived at the Presidency of General Staff of the Turkish Army (*Onbinlerin katıldığı Kıbrıs Mitingine Sunay'ın mesajı: Hükümete ve Orduya güveniniz*, Ulus, 02.09.1964, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 29.** The Cyprus Meeting

**Source:** *Onbinlerin katıldığı Kıbrıs Mitingine Sunay'ın mesajı: Hükümete ve Orduya güveniniz*, Ulus, 02.09.1964, pp. 1 & 7

#### **4.2.1.3.4. Demonstrations of Working Class**

During the period between 1960 and 1964, protests and demonstrations of workers were usually observed in İzmir. Kızılay Square was not exactly the place for working class movement at that time. However, a few demonstrations occurred at this space. In the next period, between the years, 1968 and 1971; since Kızılay Square was a forbidden space to demonstrate; Tandoğan Square appeared to be the place used for social movements. Nevertheless, Kızılay Square was still seen as a symbol of student struggles and it was demanded through the demonstrations which unified students and workers.

On 9<sup>th</sup> of December, 1961, workers of the Union of DSİ (Devlet Su İşleri) marched from Sıhhiye, Toros Street to the Confederation of Türk-İş to protest the Directorate General of the Union. They stopped at Zafer Monument for a while for homage (*DSİ İşçileri de bugün sessiz yürüyüş yapacak*, Ulus, 09.12.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

On 22<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1962, Türk-İş called a meeting and demonstration. On that Saturday, by 2 pm, the demonstrators put wreaths at Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Liberation Martyrs and the Monument at Zafer Square (*Türk-İş mitingi yarın başlıyor*, Ulus, 21.12.1961, pp. 1 & 5). The demonstration protested communism and radical movements against the democratic regime and it occurred at Tandoğan Square on 22<sup>nd</sup> of December (*İşçiler bugün miting yapıyor*, Ulus, 22.12.1961, pp. 1 & 5; *Demokrasi düşmanları tel'in edildi*, Ulus, 23.12.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

#### 4.2.1.3.5. Other Demonstrations

When nine of the newspapers were shut down by their owners, journalists planned to protest this development by a quiet march through Ataturk Boulevard held on 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1961. The protestors placed wreath in front of Zafer Monument and then left their pickets in front of Güvenlik Monument in Kızılay Square (*Gazeteciler Ankara'da da protesto yürüyüşü yaptı*, Ulus, 12.01.1961, pp. 1 & 5).



**Fig. 30.** March of Journalists along Atatürk Boulevard

**Source:** *Gazeteciler Ankara'da da protesto yürüyüşü yaptı*, Ulus, 12.01.1961, pp. 1 & 5

The inhabitants of the squatter settlements, living in Altındağ, District of Çalışkanlar gathered in front of the Prime Ministry Building, on 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1962. They demanded their squatters not to be destroyed. A group of a hundred or a hundred and fifty people sat in front of the building with their pickets for a while. A small group from the demonstrators could meet Ekrem Alican, the assistant Prime Minister, and he assured that squatters would be demolished only after new houses were provided. It was after that promise that protestors returned their homes (*Gecekonduların yıkımı işi kış sonuna kaldı*, Ulus, 13.09.1962, p. 1).

Another demonstration was held by a group of 25-30 young girls and women to protest the increasing number of rape and attacks at Kızılay Square on 21<sup>st</sup> of September, 1962. The women met at 5 pm, at Güvenpark and the march lasted for half an hour. They first moved to Zafer Monument and in the meanwhile people standing along the boulevard observed the demonstrators carefully. The women in front of the group were carrying the pickets writing: “Don't be sorry for thieves of

honor”<sup>18</sup>, “The honor of Turkish woman is yours”<sup>19</sup>, “Enemy of the honor, isn’t your mother a woman?”<sup>20</sup>, “Others struggle with moon; we are struggling with boorish.”<sup>21</sup>, “Death to the rapists”<sup>22</sup>. They left the pickets to Zafer Monument where the protest had ended (*Irz düşmanları dün Kızılay’da tel’in edildi*, Ulus, 22.09.1962, p. 1).

#### 4.2.1.3.6. Using Public Space for Celebrations

Kızılay Square became the scene for celebration ceremonies and parades as well from the very beginning. Commemorative ceremonies and ceremonies for anniversaries for critical political events, such as events of 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> April, 555K and 27<sup>th</sup> of May, were held in Kızılay Square. This indicates the political character of the space both as a scene and as a subject of the struggle during 1960’s.

##### 4.2.1.3.6.1. Commemorative Ceremonies of the 28th and 29th April Events

Both 28<sup>th</sup> of April and 27<sup>th</sup> of May has been celebrated. 28<sup>th</sup> of April was announced as the Youth Day by Turkey’s National Youth Association – *Türkiye Milli Gençlik Teşkilatı*. The ceremony in 1961 was going to be done at FLHG (DTCF) and university students and student associations were expected to join the celebration (28 Nisan Gençlik Günü, Ulus, 15.04.1961, p. 1). The dates of 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April had been decided to be celebrated as ‘Youth Day’ also in the the following years (28 ve 29 Nisan: “Gençlik Günü”, Ulus, 28.03.1961, pp. 1; 27 Mayıs kutlanacak, Ulus, 15.04.1961, pp. 1). A part of the celebration was organized at Kızılay (Liberty) Square (28 Nisan Olayları törenle anılacak, Ulus, 26.04.1961, pp. 1 & 5; Ankara’da dün 29 Nisan’ı anma törenleri yapıldı, Ulus, 30.04.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

On 28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1962, a commemorative ceremony was conducted at Anıtkabir. Students of Ankara University came together at 9 am at Zafer Square. Speeches were organized during the ceremony (“Kanlı Perşembe”, Ulus, 28.04.1962, pp. 1 & 5). One year later, on 28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1963, the violent events of the day were

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<sup>18</sup> “Namus hırsızlarına acımayın”

<sup>19</sup> “Türk kadınının namusu senin de namusundur”

<sup>20</sup> “Ey namus düşmanı, anan kadın değil mi?”

<sup>21</sup> “Başkaları ay’la, biz ayılarla uğraşyoruz”

<sup>22</sup> “Irz düşmanlarına ölüm”

commemorated again (*28 Nisan olayları dün anıldı*, Ulus, 29.04.1963, pp. 1 & 7). On 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1963, the third anniversary of the events was realized through commemorative ceremonies organized at both the universities and at Anıtkabir (*Gençlik 29 Nisan'ı andı: "Hürriyet meşalesini devrimci Türk gençliği elinde taşımaktadır"*, Ulus, 30.04.1963, pp. 1 & 7).

The fourth anniversary was done on 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1964. Ceremonies began with the homage at Anıtkabir and the Mausoleum of Liberation Martyrs. A parallel ceremony was at the saloons of FLHG (DTCF) with speeches. Several formal declarations were announced (*29 Nisan olayının 4. yıldönümü*, Ulus, 29.04.1964, pp. 1 & 7). Moreover, a group of students from the youth associations, gathered at Zafer Square to commemorate the dates (*29 Nisan olaylarının 4. yılı dün anıldı*, Ulus, 30.04.1964, pp. 1 & 7).

#### **4.2.1.3.6.2. The First Anniversary of 555K**

5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1961 was the first anniversary of the enormous demonstration which was named as 555K in Turkish Political History; therefore commemorative ceremonies were planned at Kızılay Square. TNSF (TMTF) broadcasted a formal notification at 5<sup>th</sup> of May (*Hürriyet Savaşının Yıldönümü*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

By 3 pm, the citizens began to fill the square and waited until 5 pm. In front of Güvenlik Monument, Janissary Band of Musicians was playing historical marches, especially Plevne March, which was a march that the youth had been singing all through the struggle. On the other hand, the parade of the troop of guardsmen (Muhafız Alayının Şeref Bölüğü) came to the opposite side of *Orduevi* and placed wreath at the Zafer Monument. The demonstrations of the troop continued together with the attendant cheers of the people. The troop of Guardsmen, marched to Ulus Square passing through Atatürk Boulevard (*Ankara, 555 K'nın zaferini heyecan içinde kutladı*, Ulus, 05.05.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

#### **4.2.1.4. Public Space & Power**

Both local and central authorities intervene in the rights of citizens to access and use public spaces. After Kızılay Square appeared to be a political space through the

struggle against DP in the very beginning of 1960, precautions were taken to disturb the demonstrators to gather at the square. In the first category, Martial Laws are examined to restrict on using specific places for specific actions, such as demonstrations, and even walking or driving, temporarily. Secondly, legal regulations on marching, demonstrating and protesting shape the frame of spatial rights in a country permanently. Thirdly, spatial regulations, especially operated by local authorities constitute either indirect or direct spatial restrictions or frames, which affect citizens to perceive and experience the space.

#### **4.2.1.4.1. Restrictions on Space and Martial Law**

There were some indirect and direct critiques about the increasing number of demonstrations. Besides, after some events which were thought to threaten the peace, spatial restrictions were announced within the formal notifications by the commandership of martial law. Moreover, the news and speeches that indicated the irritation of authorities such as governor or mayors could be read through newspapers. On 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962, the Governorship of İstanbul prohibited the usage of certain spaces for demonstrating and meeting for the sake of security and functional issues. These were Taksim, Eminönü, Karaköy, Aksaray, Saraçhane, Beşiktaş, Barbaros, Şişli and Hürriyet Squares (*Toplantı yerleri sınırlandı*, Ulus, 12.01.1962, pp. 1 & 5). The mayor and governor of Ankara, made a press conference on 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962 after he returned from Berlin. He talked about the urban issues such as development, garbage collection, transportation and mentioned the demonstrations and permissions. He declared that he was not in favour of demonstrating and added that: “For three months, we left aside our duties and follow the demonstrations, marches. Citizens got tired of demonstrations; they want to work, live.” (*Valiye göre Berlin Ankara’dan pis*, Ulus, 13.01.1962, pp.1 & 5).

#### **4.2.1.4.2. Legal regulations on the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches**

The previous law, numbered 6761 and dated 27.06.1956, regulating demonstrations was proposed by the party in power, DP. This law later became the subject of the courts in Yassıada, as it was proposed to violate the Constitution and rights of getting together (*Anayasanın İhlali Davası başlıyor – Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri*

*Kanunu*, Ulus, 27.03.1961, pp. 1 & 5). On 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1962, a new draft bill of this right was prepared and presented to the parliament. And Dr. Abdullah Pulat Gözübüyük examines this new bill in his article published in Ulus, on 17<sup>th</sup> of February. He begins his discussion with the argument that the right of assembly has been an essential right provided to the citizens in all of the developed democratic countries. The right of assembly can be defined as the right of citizens to express their ideas and make discussions among themselves; therefore, it can be regarded as an extension of free speech and thought. Expressing thoughts through the press can be provided by the freedom of press and the citizens may be provided to express their thoughts by the right of assembly. Agglomerating people can create a public opinion through sharing their ideas; this is the most essential extension of the right of free speech and thought. The right of assembly is therefore critical for the citizens to enlighten each other (Mukayeseli Hukuk, Dr. Abdullah Pulat Gözübüyük, *Toplanma Hürriyeti*, Ulus, 17.02.1962, p. 5).

The draft bill was composed of six sections and twenty seven articles. It was prepared by the Commission of Sorting the Antidemocratic Judgments<sup>23</sup>. The first article was on the right of assembly. The second article was on the determination of places of meetings (*Vatandaş toplantı ve yürüyüş yapmakta hür*, Ulus, 16.08.1960, pp. 1 & 5). The third article was restricting the time of the meeting and march; meetings could not be started before the sun rises. The meetings at open spaces could last till the sun set; the meetings in closed spaces were possible to continue till the midnight. The fourth article was about open air meetings and their places. With this article, the highest level administrator of the settlement (governors in cities and sub-governors in towns) were assigned to determine the places for demonstrations, meetings and marching routes. They were authorized to explain the determined places in fifteen days time beginning from the legalization of the draft bill. The twelfth article pointed out the prohibited areas for general meetings; these include the general roads, parks, temples and official buildings. During the meetings, organized at squares, a free space was obliged to be left so that people and vehicles could pass through freely when necessary. The sixth article indicating an exceptional situation, in which the rights for the meetings of propaganda were mentioned to be protected.

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<sup>23</sup> Antidemokratik Hükümleri Ayıklama Komisyonu

The declaration which the demonstrators were obliged to give the highest administrator of the settlement was proposed in seventh article. This declaration had to be given at least 48 hours and at most fifteen days before the meeting (*Vatandaş toplantı ve yürüyüş yapmakta hür*, Ulus, 16.08.1960, pp. 1 & 5).

The draft bill was prepared by the party in power and presented to the Parliament to be discussed on 16<sup>th</sup> of February, 1962 (*Yeni Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanunu Tasarısı dün meclise verildi*, Ulus, 16.02.1962, p. 5). The Commission of Internal Affairs began to discuss the bill on 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1962. Everyone could call demonstration without getting permission; the declaration was regarded as enough for the demand of meeting, with a proviso of not carrying guns. Three signatures were enough to prepare and present the declaration to the authorities (*Toplantı, gösteri tasarısı komisyonda görüşülüyor*, Ulus, 07.04.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

On 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962, the bill was discussed at the session of parliament; the fifth and seventh articles were changed and the bill was returned to the commission in this format (*Toplantı hürriyeti tasarısı görüşüldü*, Ulus, 16.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5). On 19<sup>th</sup> of October, the bill was accepted at the session of the parliament with the rejection of seven deputies of MP. It was legalized after it was discussed at the senate (*“Cana, mala saldırma hürriyeti diye bir şey mevcut değildir*, Ulus, 24.10.1962, pp. 1 & 5).

On 28<sup>th</sup> of November, the senate discussed the bill and demonstration within 1 km area near the building of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was forbidden. There occurred some arguments on this judgment while discussing the eleventh article. The senate evaluated the proposal of Suphi Batur which prohibits the demonstrations two kilometres around the parliament building and the proposal was decided to be proper. Nevertheless, the commission did not agree with the proposal and after the discussions, the expression of ‘two kilometers’ was decreased to ‘one kilometer’. The bill was given to the commission for the arrangements of the articles discussed and changed on 29<sup>th</sup> of November, 1962, the bill was voted and legalized (*“Meclis yakınında, gösteri yapılamaz”*, Ulus, 29.11.1962, pp. 1 & 5). The law was published at the Official Gazette, on 18<sup>th</sup> of February, 1963 (*Artık “Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü” için izin gerekmiyor*, Ulus, 22.02.1963, p. 3).



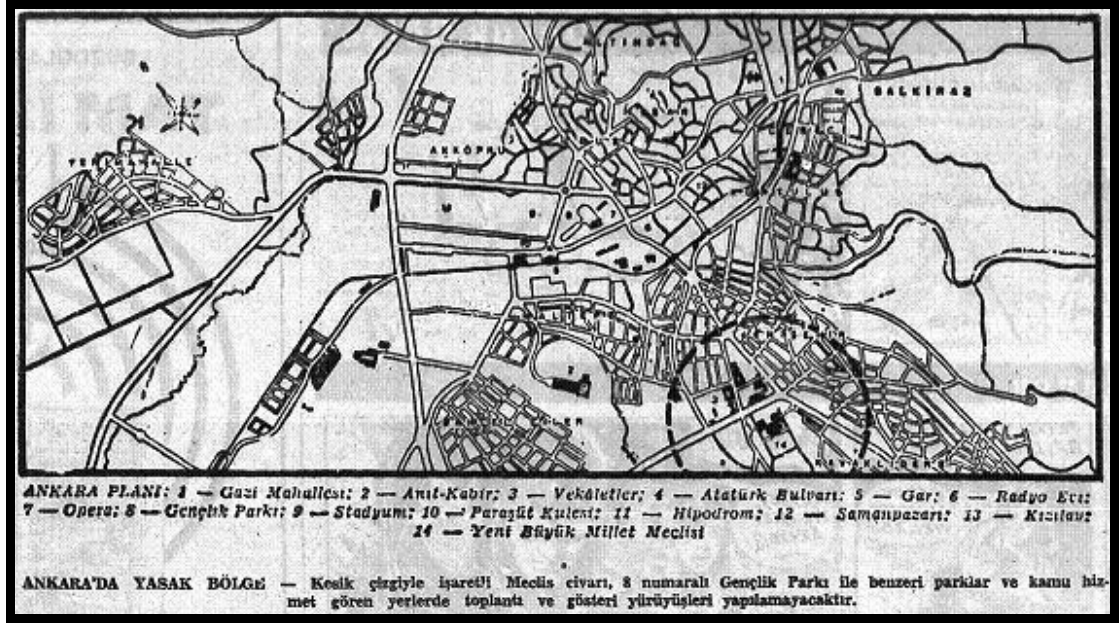


Fig. 31. The district where the demonstrations were forbidden by the law numbered 171  
 Source: *Artık "Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü" için izin gerekmiyor*, Ulus, 22.02.1963, p. 3

The map above shows the places that were forbidden by the law. The district around the Parliament, parks such as Gençlik Park, and the open spaces which are used for public use, were prohibited for the demonstrations and meetings. While selecting the spaces for demonstrations, the public security and the flow of both vehicles and pedestrians was said to be taken into consideration. In the section of exceptions, the politically aimed meetings, done either at open spaces or in closed spaces, were being kept out of this legal regulation. Moreover, meetings held according to cultural regulations, ceremonies, festivals, greetings, meetings for sportive activities, meetings for the sake of scientific, commercial, and economic aims, meetings announcing the governmental issues and projects presented by president, or prime minister and the public speeches of deputies were all regarded as exceptions (*Artık "Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü" için izin gerekmiyor*, Ulus, 22.02.1963, p. 3).

After the law numbered 171 was accepted and legalized, the Governorship of Ankara declared the possible places and routes of demonstrations and marches on 8<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963. The meeting places were categorized in three: 1) The open space of Hipodrom (the area between Hipodrom and the garages of Municipality); 2) the area across Hacettepe Child Hospital (the square where the hospital intersects with Talatpaşa Boulevard); 3) Kurtuluş Square. By taking one of these squares as the

origin the following routes were accepted: First route beginning from Hipodrom was the Hipodrom Street – Railway Station – Talatpaşa Boulevard – the junction of Opera Building – the front side of Numune Hospital – Hasırcık Street; the second possible route was: beginning from Hacettepe Child Hospital was under Demirköprü – Cebeci Main Street – Kurtuluş Square – the front side of Law and Administrative Sciences – Dikimevi Square – Conservatoire – Hamamönü – Samanpazarı – Talatpaşa Boulevard (*Toplantı yerleri tesbit edildi*, Ulus, 08.03.1963, pp. 1 & 5).

#### **4.2.1.4.3. Spatial Regulations**

The traffic jam along Ataturk Boulevard and Kızılay had become a major problem during this period. There also appeared some discussions on alternative solutions of subways for pedestrians and underground passages for vehicles. Moreover, the highest building of Ankara was built in Kızılay.

##### **4.2.1.4.3.1. Project Proposal of Underground Passages on Atatürk Boulevard**

The traffic problem occurred as one of the major problems of Ankara, especially Atatürk Boulevard and Kızılay were two focuses of this issue since the density of the traffic was quite high in these areas. The mayor and governor of Ankara, Nuri Teoman, organized a press conference about the budget of the municipality and the decisions taken, on 19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1961. According to him, the traffic of the city had been organised and he emphasized that the traffic lines had decreased the accidents by 70 %. He mentioned about further precautions one of which was the subways which were planned to be located at Ulus, Kızılay, and Sıhhiye (*Yayalar için yeraltı geçidi yapılacak*, Ulus, 20.09.1961, pp. 1 & 5).

On 14<sup>th</sup> of July, 1963, an interview with the governor and mayor of Ankara, Enver Kuray was published in Ulus newspaper; he talked about urban problems of Ankara. To regulate the inner city traffic, four passages were planned; two of them were underground and the other two were above ground. Especially to provide a more secure and regulated traffic accumulation, two of the underground passages were planned to be constructed in Ulus; one of the overpasses would be between Talatpaşa Boulevard and the Station and the other one would be between the old bus garage and Serçe Street (*Ankara'nın meseleleri nihayet halledilebilecek*, Ulus, 14.07.1963,

pp. 1 & 7). On 25<sup>th</sup> of July, 1963, Municipality of Ankara announced a formal declaration which declared that the underground passage for pedestrians was going to be constructed after the martial law ended which could be interpreted as a precaption for providing security and peace during the martial law (*Ulus'taki yeraltı geçidi sıkıyönetimden sonra yapılacak*, Ulus, 26.07.1963, pp. 1 & 7).

The traffic in Ankara was getting more complicated in the course of time. There appeared proposals of projects to solve this issue appeared. On 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1964, a newspaper news on one of these projects had been seen; the project of the Association of Economic Breakthrough – *Ekonomik Hamle Derneği*. The project had proposed the construction of underground passages for vehicles along Atatürk Boulevard, between Ulus and the buildings of ministries (See the sketch below). The project was going to be examined through a panel organized by Ulus newspaper and this examination was planned to be published in newspapers (*Teklif*, Ulus, 21.03.1964, p. 1).

According to the proposal of the project, Ankara had been estimated to be a city of two million citizens in two years time. Hence, the traffic estimated to be congested at the city center, Ulus and Kızılay Square, especially at the district connecting the squares to the buildings of ministries along Atatürk Boulevard. Association of Economic Breakthrough had developed a proposal for this issue and formal authorities of Ulus found the project noticeable and attempted to enable this project proposal to be discussed through press (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Tek çare: yeraltı geçitleri yapmak*, Ulus, 21.02.1964, p. 3).

According to the analysis of this association, it was recognized that both the population and the number of vehicles had been increasing. In addition, small vehicles were creating the density at junctions. The association argued that the problem would be solved and traffic flow would be provided efficiently if these small vehicles were made pass through the junctions without waiting. The project proposed underground passages for both pedestrians and vehicles. According to the Association, the cost of the project was so small that it could be collected from the vehicle users (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Tek çare: yeraltı geçitleri yapmak*,

Ulus, 21.02.1964, p. 3). Moreover the association argued that a lump sum was not needed; this cost was able to be afforded partially within installments (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Ekonomik Hamle Derneği'nin Projesi: "Projemiz Sade ve ucuzudur"*, Ulus, 2.03.1964, p. 3).

On 5<sup>th</sup> of March, the newspaper announced a panel on this issue. The panel was held with the presidency of mayor, Halil Sezai Erkut, and the other authorities among which the Director of Traffic of Ankara Municipality, Gültekin Kızılışık; on behalf of the Technical Directorate of Highways' Traffic, *Karayolları Trafik Fen Müdürlüğü*, professional engineers of traffic issues, Aysun Arkan, Mete Orer and Güngör Göktuğ; the Manager of Ankara Zoning and Development Department, Orhan Deniz, and city planner in the same department, Nihat Yücel; President of the Ankara Drivers' Association, Gültekin Murat Tulgar, the president of the Economic Breakthrough Association, Cemal Nayır and on behalf of Ulus newspaper the executive editor, Seyfettin Turhan had existed also joined the panel. Firstly, the president of Association of Economic Breakthrough, Cemal Nayır, explained major points of the proposal; however the city planner, Nihat Yücel argued that the proposal was hypothetical and it was likely that situation got complicated when such a project was implemented. According to Yücel, this issue could be solved through parallel roads, not by such a project. It was argued that if the project was realized, the large vehicles would be strained while they were passing through the junctions, which would result in further problems. . It was stated that it was not true to make every vehicle pass through the underground passages and that the traffic jam could not be solved solely on the basis of the size of the vehicles. Yücel proposed that regulations on traffic lights would be a more effective solution. These underground passages could be at most four and half meter high and had to be constructed with a slope of 5 % or 6 % at most. Therefore, the tunnels had to be at least 160-180 meters long. Otherwise the project could not be realized. Besides, since just the cost of the roads would not be less than one hundred and eighty thousand liras the president of the association had argued that the total cost was going to be seven hundred and seventy thousand liras; each of the tunnels was going to be constructed at thirty five thousand liras. On the other hand, the construction of tunnels was likely to bring about further costs on other infrastructures such as electricity, town gas, water,

telephone. Therefore, according to Yücel, the cost of the project would exceed the amount that proposed by the association (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Atatürk bulvarı'ndaki yol kavşaklarından dakikada 30 araba geçiyor*, Ulus, 7.03.1964, p. 3).

The Manager of Ankara Zoning and Development Department, Orhan Deniz, expressed that they found the project meaningful and added that it was probable that a high amount of money was required for the solution of the problem of traffic jam. However, the capacity of the municipal budget was not appropriate for this solution. Moreover, there were other issues which should be handled such as lack of education. According to him, partial solutions would not solve the problem and would remain as temporary solutions. Rather, comprehensive projects should be discussed, which would solve the issues radically. He explained that he agrees with the city planner, Nihat Yücel (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Trafik müdürü Kızılışık, Ankara trafiği başıboş bırakılmış değildir*, Ulus, 8.03.1964, p. 3).

President of the Ankara Drivers' Association, Gültekin Murat Tulgar, blamed the authorities because of their neglect of responsibilities which could be exemplified in the absence of road signs that should be drawn by the municipality and the insufficient regulations on junctions. He expressed that he was in favour of the proposal (*Ankara'nın trafiği için bir teklif, Trafik müdürü Kızılışık, Ankara trafiği başıboş bırakılmış değildir*, Ulus, 8.03.1964, pp. 3).

Professional engineers expertised on traffic issues expressed their ideas against the proposal. Mete Orer, proposed two questions to the project which concentrated on questioning the necessity of underground passage and the cost of the project. He proposed that regulations on traffic lights, crosswalks and subways would be more efficient solutions. Added to that, the issue should consider the capacity of the boulevard and he argued that the passages, themselves, were going to occur as new problems. The other engineer, Aysun Arkan, mentioned the psychological dimension of the project in the sense that moving through the underground passages would negatively affect the psychology of the citizens. Besides, this project was not possible to be realized with the amount of money proposed. The president of the association answered the questions and insisted on the efficiency of the project

(*Ankara'nun trafiği için bir teklif, "Yeraltı geçitleri insan psikolojisine aykırıdır"*, Ulus, 09.03.1964, p. 3). The Manager of Ankara Zoning and Development Department voiced that the project had to be expressed technically first and evaluated later and the most meaningful project had to be chosen after comprehensive evaluations (*Ankara'nun trafiği için bir teklif, İmar Müdürü, "Biz bekleyip en iyi projeyi yapmalıyız" dedi*, Ulus, 09.03.1964, p. 3).

#### **4.2.1.4.3.2. Kızılay Office Block**

On 10<sup>th</sup> of December, 1964, the President of Pension Fund, provided an explanation on the buildings of the fund being constructed in Ankara and İstanbul, among which was Kızılay Office Building in Kızılay on Atatürk Boulevard. The building was planned to be finished by the mids of 1964. The building was planned to be twenty-six storeys, with three basic floors and eighty two meters tall with the aim of constructing the highest building of Turkey at that time. There were going to be grand bazaars; office floors, a bakery, a night club at the roof; and the office block was estimated to cost approxiametly forty million liras (*Şehir Haberleri, Türkiye'nin en yüksek binası Kızılay'da*, Ulus, 10.12.1964, p. 3).

#### **4.2.2. 1968 – 1971: KIZILAY SQUARE: THE (SHOP)WINDOW OF THE ARISING SOCIETAL STRUGGLE**

In 1969, a violence which was targeted towards the societal opposition had appeared and its spatial reflections had been experienced on public space. Kızılay Square had turned to be a battleground, where different practices and conflicts concentrated at. Social practices had shaped both the space and the symbolic meaning of the square through discourses and struggles, and physical control mechanisms (Batuman, 2002). After the intervention on 12 March, the name of statue in Kızılay Square was intended to be changed from 'Turkiye' to 'Atatürk'. However, the name could not be changed. Firstly, the statue was ripped out from its place in 1974 and left to ruin in the stores of Fund of Retired Officials<sup>24</sup> and then it was sold as completely worn-out. In its place, a bulletin board of advertisement was placed (Ural, 1997: 66; cited in Batuman, 2002). This was a sign of the violent events which was going to be experienced through Turkish political and social life in 1970's. In a few months, the

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<sup>24</sup> Emekli Sandığı

Nationalist Side (*Milliyetçi Cephe* - MC) seized the power. As observed between the years 1975 and 1979, 40 % of the violent events targeted at public spaces such as streets, boulevards, and bus stops rather than specific places such as places of employment, banks, and centres of organizations; which pointed that the political violence would exist within the spatial forms like the other social practices (Keleş ve Ünsal, 1982: 55; cited in Batuman, 2002).

On Atatürk Boulevard, constraints of rent resulted in the decision to give up using outer spaces such as cafés, pastry shops, restaurants. The boulevard which was 40 m width had reached 50 m. at the year 1980 by destroying the refuge and taking some space from the pedestrian pavement. Another point of destructing this social space is demolition of open green areas<sup>25</sup>. According to the study done in 1975 (Çakan, Okçuoğlu, 1975: 8; Turak, 1975: 11-2; cited in Batuman, 2002), Park of Kızılay and Güvenpark were the third mostly used open spaces after Gençlik Park and Çankaya Park. Nevertheless, a large area of Güvenpark had been transformed to bus stops. Being a recreational space, the park would also become the gate of the city centre. Kızılay Park was narrowed at first and after 1979 was demolished with its historical building and turned to a parking lot, in spite of the fact that the park was constructed as the scene of the public sphere of the Republic in 1930's. The activities on the boulevard were resigned to the quiet corners of the square. The activities were pulled to sub-centres presented as the quiet centres of the streets such as Sakarya, Yüksel and İzmir. Dissolved in this way, daily life had progressed in the shape of differentiated and small scale activities performed through scales which were relatively more easily controlled (Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.2.2.1. Demonstrations**

Demonstrations between the years 1968 and 1971 are examined under four major sub-headings. In the first category, student demonstrations had been organized at Kızılay Square to protest either education system or to commemorate critical demonstrations or struggles such as 29<sup>th</sup> of April. In the second category, the Constitution Meetings which were protesting Reactionism and struggling in favour

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<sup>25</sup> See also B. Batuman ve T. Akış, 'Kentsel Mekân Olarak Doğa: V-1', *Mimarlık*, Sayı: 291, 02/2000, s. 23-5 for this feature of open green areas and for a political discussion on this issue

of laicism and secularism occurred. However, Tandoğan Square was the political space of this movement. Thirdly, parallel to the student movements in Europe and throughout the world, student movement in Turkey is held with respect to students' usage of public spaces. This sub-category will enable us to examine the relationship between the spaces of struggles such as universities, factories, squatters and spaces of representation such as squares and streets.

#### **4.2.2.1.1. Student Demonstrations**

Under the category of student movements, three sub-categories are examined. Firstly, demonstrations of high school students protesting the legal regulation on education system of high schools is a critical example to examine the influence of demonstrating at Kızılay Square on legal de-regulations, even in the end of 1960's. The second category implies the political meaning of the Square, examined under the sub-heading of commemorative ceremonies of 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960. In addition, as the third sub-category, the anniversary of the military intervention on 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960 points a similar political meaning of the Square.

##### **4.2.2.1.1.1. High School Students Protesting the Legal Regulation on Classes**

Since 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 1968, the students of Cumhuriyet High School had started to boycott classes. On 30<sup>th</sup> of January, three hundred students moved to Kızılay Square after the school and marched to protest the legal code, regulating their lectures and examinations. Special Police<sup>26</sup> distracted the demonstrators and the students who were thought to be the protagonists were taken into custody, later they were released (*Öğrenciler protestoya devam ediyor*, Ulus, 31.01.1968, p. 7).

A short time later, the demonstrations with other activities, protests and boycotts had drawn attention. The code was withdrawn by the Ministry of National Education and the articles were reorganized (*Boykotlar fayda sağladı: Ortaöğretimde tam not 100'den 10'a indi*, Ulus, 01.02.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

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<sup>26</sup> Toplum Polisi



#### 4.2.2.1.1.2. Commemorative Ceremonies of the 29<sup>th</sup> April Events

Revolutionary student associations – such as *TMGT*, *TMTF* (*Türkiye Mİlli Talebe Federasyonu*), *FKF*, *AÜTB* (*Ankara Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği*), *AYOTB* (*Ankara Yüksek Okullar Talebe Birliği*), *ODTÜTB* (*Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği*) & *HÜTB* (*Hacettepe Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği*) – issued a formal declaration to announce that they were planning to memorialize the events occurred at 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960, at Zafer Square (*29 Nisan törenle anılacak*, *Ulus*, 28.04.1968, p. 1). Formal declarations had been published and the commemorative ceremony to commemorate the eighth anniversary of 29<sup>th</sup> of April was held around the monument. Aziz Nesin, İlhan Selçuk, Kamil Karavelioğlu, Bahri Savcı, Türkkaya Ataöv, Günseli Özkaya, and Sencer Güneşsoy made their speeches at Zafer Square (*29 Nisan bugün saat 15’de Zafer Anıtı önünde anılacak*, *Ulus*, 29.04.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *29 Nisan olayları dün anıldı*, *Ulus*, 30.04.1968, pp. 1 & 7). A similar ceremony was experienced in 1969. At Zafer Square, at 11 o’clock a student demonstration was held. Students promised to struggle until the ideal of independent Turkey was realized. The meeting was organized by the Unity of Solidarity of Revolutionary Associations – *Devrimci Kuruluşlar Güçbirliği*. During the demonstration, party in power was protested and right wing ideologies were criticized to because they were taking the country to a decline. More than five thousand students joined the ceremony and demonstration (*Büyük gençlik mitingi yapıldı*, *Ulus*, 30.04.1969, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 32.** Commemorative Ceremony of 29<sup>th</sup> of April, at Zafer Square in 1969  
**Source:** *Büyük gençlik mitingi yapıldı*, *Ulus*, 30.04.1969, pp. 1 & 7

On 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1970, the tenth anniversary of the events was commemorated. The Federation of Social Democracy Associations, *SDDF* – *Sosyal Demokrasi Dernekleri*

*Federasyonu* – organized a ceremony at Zafer Square. The president of the federation made a speech at the ceremony. After the ceremony, the crowd marched to Ulus, with the slogans such as: ‘Credit to the peasant!’<sup>27</sup>, ‘Kemalist Turkey’<sup>28</sup>, ‘house to the blue-collar workers, end the destructions’<sup>29</sup>; and placed a wreath on the Atatürk Monument (*Bugünkü iktidar gençliği susturmak istiyor*, Ulus, 30.04.1970, pp. 1 & 7). The ceremonies to remember the struggles experienced before the coup d’état were still held at Zafer Square, which indicates that Kızılay Square had still happened to be the symbol of the student demonstrations. On 28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1971 a martial law was announced; therefore 29<sup>th</sup> of April events could not be commemorated in 1971.

#### **4.2.2.1.1.3. Celebrations of 27<sup>th</sup> of May as ‘Liberty Bayram’**

On the evening of 27<sup>th</sup> of May (Wednesday), 1970, a student group from FPS reached Zafer Square after they wandered along the streets with torches in their hands. The leader of Dev-Genç was in front of the group, leading the demonstrators. They were singing marches while putting the wreath to the monument. They cheered in favour of army officers who were waiting in front of *Orduevi* and attempted to pass through Kızılay Square. Nonetheless, they were not permitted. Therefore the students returned to FPS by the way along Mithatpaşa Boulevard and shouted the slogans such as ‘Independent Turkey, damn with the Government’ (*Kızılay’da dün geceki gösteriler*, Ulus, 27.05.1970, pp. 1 & 7).

#### **4.2.2.1.2. Demonstrations against Reactionism and Secularism, Laicism**

Kızılay Square was one of the significant spaces of struggle against DP, during the first half of 1960’s. A new conflict had arisen by the end of 1960’s; a new layer had been added to the societal structure. A group in favour of AP (Justice Party – *Adalet Partisi*) and against-revolution had gained power in the opposite of revolutionary students. The central building of AP was located in Kızılay Square. Throughout the country, some museums and statues of Atatürk, monuments of the historical actors who had become the symbols of established republic (such as statues of Halide Edip) were bombed, and demolished. This resulted in reactions and demonstrations. During

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<sup>27</sup> ‘Köylüye kredi’

<sup>28</sup> ‘Kemalist Türkiye’

<sup>29</sup> ‘İşçiye ev, yıkıma son’

this period several meetings were organized at both sides such as the Constitution Meetings and Şahlanış (Uprising) Meetings. These meetings indicate beginning of severe struggles which were going to be experienced during the next ten years.

#### **4.2.2.1.2.1. Constitution Meetings (24<sup>th</sup> of February 1968 & 1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1970)**

On 23<sup>rd</sup> of February, 1968, Ulus newspaper informed an attack on a deputy of TİP. Yunus Koçak, deputy of Konya from TİP (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi* – the Workers Party of Turkey) had been beaten by some deputies of AP. Students were expected to make demonstrations to protest against deputies of AP deputies. The governor of Ankara, Celalettin Coşkun phoned the president of the Parliament and informed that students were coming from İstanbul to join the protests. In addition, it was informed that METU (Middle East Technical University) students planned to demonstrate in front of the Parliament. Therefore, precautions were taken; a crowded group of policemen surrounded the building of the Parliament. The events evoked reactions in İzmir as well, some of the streets and squares in Konak District, were written as ‘the Government of Demirel, resign!’ (*Öğrencilerin muhtemel protesto hareketine karşı Meclis, polis ve jandarmalarla muhafaza edildi*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, pp. 1 & 7). This kind of reactions indicates the appearing symbolic meaning of public spaces, streets and squares. The crowds would not go out and shout for their protests or demands through the demonstrations at squares. Rather, they began to struggle at the places of the issues, such as factories, universities, squatters. In addition, they began to use public space as the (shop)window of the movement to create public opinion.

The Association of Higher Education Youth – *Yüksek Öğrenim Gençliği* – announced a formal declaration informing that the right of free speech and thought could not be prevented through despotism. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, 1968, presidents of student associations of both İstanbul Technical University and Middle East Technical University organized a press conference at Güvenpark to protest the beating events at the Parliament and the obstacles created by the government. Students informed that their telephones had been listened in. Moreover, two hundred students who attempted to come from İstanbul were prevented from entering Ankara (*Öğrencilerin telefonları dinleniyor*, Ulus, 23.02.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

A grand meeting – named as the *Constitution Meeting* – was organized on 24<sup>th</sup> of February. Demonstration was planned by certain student associations and DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions –*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*) at Kurtuluş Square. The march started from Tandoğan Square (*Meclis'teki tecavüzün tepkileri genişliyor*, Ulus, 24.02.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Nonetheless, demonstrators fought with a group of opposition at Cemal Gürsel Square. After the meeting ended, anti-demonstrators (followers of AP) shouted that “We are going to crush heads of communists at *Kızılay Square!*”<sup>30</sup>. Fellow-travelers of AP came to Kızılay and demonstrated against the demonstrators in front of the Headquarter of AP (*11 mitingci mahkemeye verildi*, Ulus, 25.02.1968, pp. 1 & 7). This also indicated that the struggle was going to become more violent and intensified. Kızılay Square was the symbol of the struggle against DP in the beginning of 1960's. *A conflict over the meaning of the square* seemed to arise and anti-revolutionaries appeared to be actors of this struggle.



**Fig. 33.** The Meeting of Respect to the Constitution and University, 1970

**Source:** *Anayasaya saygı yürüyüşüne onbinlerce aydın katıldı*, Ulus, 02.06.1970, pp. 1 & 7

Another meeting named ‘the Meeting of Respect to the Constitution and University’ was observed on 1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1970. A violent movement in favour of the party in power (AP) was arising. Through this demonstration the violent events which had been experienced at universities were protested by a crowded group of faculty members of universities, research assistants, students and revolutionary student associations (*Anayasa'ya saygı yürüyüşü bugün*, Ulus, 1.06.1970, pp. 1 & 7). Demonstrators in thousands joined the meeting, and one edge of the crowd was at Kızılay; and the other reached Cebeci. The march ended in Anıtkabir (*Anayasaya saygı yürüyüşüne onbinlerce aydın katıldı*, Ulus, 02.06.1970, pp. 1 & 7).

#### 4.2.2.1.3. Student Movement in Turkey

<sup>30</sup> ‘Kızılay'da da Komünistlerin kafasını ezeceğiz’

Demonstrations of youth in 1968 began in February with the protests against the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet of USA, sailing through Mediterranean Sea, to intervene if the USA decided it was necessitated. The first boycott in Turkish universities was organized on 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, 1968, in the School of Commerce and Tourism in Ankara, which was held to protest the legal code of educational issues (Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Gençlik Nereye Gidiyor, T. Ungun, *Türkiye’de gençlik hareketleri*, Ulus, 27.01.1969, p. 2). Boycotts and struggles continued throughout the June in 1968.

Students began their boycotts to protest the system of education which was regarded as ‘musty’ by the students. They demanded radical reforms in the system from primary school to universities, in addition to the reforms of enhancement in the social conditions of university students, preventing the unemployment of the educated with diplomas, nationalizing the private schools. Government attempted to be interested in these issues in a moderate manner at first and many of the students and student groups decided to abandon their boycotts since they were convinced that the authorities were ambitious to solve the issues. Nevertheless, by the time the boycotts ended, Demirel, the prime minister, began to accuse the youth being communists and the courts began to judge demonstrators who joined boycotts (Günün Konuları, Celal Kargılı, *Gençlik Hareketleri ve Demirel*, Ulus, 31.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

Precautions of formal authorities and struggle between authorities and demonstrators had got severe in course of time. In Istanbul, after protests against the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet, special police attacked the dormitory of university students in İstanbul, which resulted in the death of a student, Vedat Demircioğlu. During a sitting demonstration in front of the building of the Parliament, in Kızılay, several students had been arrested and consigned to the Court of Law. The friends of arrested students demanded to attend the court interrogations. Nonetheless, Special police did not allow students to enter the inside of the building. Hence a violent struggle began. One of the students, Atalay Savaş, attempted to call the Public Prosecutor and inform the situation. However he was ran over by a minibus while he was being chased by the police and he died in a few days.

#### 4.2.2.1.3.1. Boycotts and Occupations at Universities

On 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1968, the students of Faculty of Agriculture began their boycotts to protest the legal decision of Cabinet, related with Professional Engineers of Agriculture (*Ziraat öğrencileri halay çekerek boykota başladı*, Ulus, 31.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Faculty members declared that they supported boycotts of their students, after they had assembled and discussed the issue (*Ziraat Fakültesi Profesörleri, öğrenci boykotunu destekliyor*, Ulus, 01.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Since the Ministry of Agriculture seemed not to react to these criticisms, students started a march beginning from their school on 7<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968. Since this was not a permitted march, special police followed the demonstrators. They arrived at the front side of Ministry of Agriculture and shouted at the minister to resign. Moreover, they attacked and destroyed the building of Zafer newspaper. Students claimed that Zafer Newspaper had distorted the information on boycotts in order to be in favour of the government (*Ziraat fakültesi öğrencileri Zafer'i tahrip ettiler*, Ulus, 08.06.1968, p. 7). Two faculties joined the boycotts on 11<sup>th</sup> of June. During these boycotts, revolutionary students struggled with the anti-revolutionary students in addition to police (*Ankara'da üç fakültede boykot var*, Ulus, 12.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 34.** Boycotts at three faculties in Ankara

**Source:** *Ankara'da üç fakültede boykot var*, Ulus, 12.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7

Students of FLHG (DTCF) started to gather on the campus of their faculty on 12<sup>th</sup> of June at 11.30 am and began their march to Kızılay. Some of the pickets were written as “We want equity in education.”<sup>31</sup>, “We do not want a ‘musty’ system of

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<sup>31</sup> “Öğretimde eşitlik isteriz”

education.”<sup>32</sup>, “This is the first time we come. We will come again!”<sup>33</sup>, “Reform at universities”<sup>34</sup>, “The old system should change!”<sup>35</sup>. Students came to Kızılay singing marches and moved to Zafer Square. They placed wreath at the monument, stayed in homage and sang the Turkish National Anthem. They took an oath and expressed that they were going to be pioneers of the university reform and continued their demonstrations walking towards the Ministry of Education and shouting the slogans of ‘Ertem, Resign!’. At the front side of the building of ministry, they chose a committee among demonstrators. This committee met with the minister and talked about the old, ‘musty’ system of education. An interesting dialogue between the demonstrators and the minister took place. Students expressed their demands to the minister. Hence, after the meeting, the issues were decided to be discussed by a common commission (*Öğrenci hareketi büyüyor*, Ulus, 13.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 35.** Students’ march to the Ministry of Education, 1968  
**Source:** *Öğrenci hareketi büyüyor*, Ulus, 13.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7

Number of faculties, where students had been boycotting increased, movement of students and youth was expanded. A formal declaration, TÖS – The Union of Teachers in Turkey – (*Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası*) declared that they supported the students and explained that they had understood the issues of students. Student movement in Turkey could be evaluated as an extension of the student movement in Europe. Boycotts were led by the problems embedded deeply in the system of education and the problems could be solved only through radical reforms (*Öğrenci boykotları birbirini kovalıyor*, Ulus, 14.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

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<sup>32</sup> “Köhne sistemi istemiyoruz”

<sup>33</sup> “Bu ilk gelişimiz”

<sup>34</sup> “Üniversitede reform”

<sup>35</sup> “Eskimiş düzen değişmeli”

On 15<sup>th</sup> of June, the students of the faculty of Agriculture organized a quiet march to Ministries. They sat in front of the building and a committee of three students met with the ministers of government, Öztürk and Müftüoğlu. The students were told that their issues were going to be held and their problems would be solved (*Gene kan döküldü*, Ulus, 16.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7). On 16<sup>th</sup> of June, Celal Kargılı, the president of the student association and the leader of the boycott committee in FLHG announced a memorandum to the President of Turkey, The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government and the senate of university. The memorandum consisted of aims and conditions of the boycotts (*Öğrenciler muhtıra gönderdiler*, Ulus, 17.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

On the one hand boycotts continued and on the other hand students had their talks with the authorities during 19<sup>th</sup> of June. Kargılı could meet and talk with Cevdet Sunay, for forty five minutes (*Boykotçu öğrenciler teklifleri reddettiler*, Ulus, 20.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7). On 20<sup>th</sup> of June, students of three separate faculties of agriculture in Ankara came to the Ministry of Agriculture. They attacked and recaptured all the floors of the ministry building. After a chaos in the building for a time authorities of the ministry had to agree with the students on a text to prevent the injustice students were pointing out (*Öğrenciler bir süre Tarım Bakanlığını işgal ettiler*, Ulus, 21.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

Students were supported by both formal declarations of associations such as TMMOB and the speeches of politicians such as the one Erim made in the sessions of the Parliament (*Erim: Bu genç kuşağın patlamasıdır*, Ulus, 22.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Hukuk fakültesi öğrencileri dün boykota son verdi*, Ulus, 22.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7). On 22<sup>nd</sup> of June when demands of students were responded positively, certain faculties terminated their boycotts (*Bazı fakültelerde boykot sona erdi*, Ulus, 23.06.1968, pp. 1 & 7). In September, when the boycotts referred to the courts some students were taken into custody and arrested. Hence, reactions arouse for the freedom of these in custody (*Ankara'da 131 öğrenci hakkında dava açıldı*, Ulus, 13.09.1968, p. 1; *Fakültelerdeki boykotlardan dolayı 131 üniversiteliye beşer yıl hapis istendi*, Ulus, 20.09.1968, pp. 1 & 7).



Boycotts of university students started again by the end of 1968, in addition METU students joined the boycotts this time (*Yeni bir boykot başladı*, Ulus, 09.10.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Boykotçular iki saatlik oturma grevi yaptılar*, Ulus, 10.10.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Boykotlar sona eriyor*, Ulus, 15.10.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

On 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of June, 1969, the students of Istanbul University resisted on not taking their exams under the control of the policemen. Accordingly students struggled with the policemen and violent events occurred. As a reaction, on 11<sup>th</sup> of June, similar events appeared in Ankara as well. After a forum made in FLHG (DTCF) students got out of the faculty and marched towards Atatürk Boulevard and moved to Kızılay demonstrating against USA. American Commandership of Tuslog (The United States Logistics Group) at Kızılay Square and Mithatpaşa Boulevard were attacked and burned. Twenty one students were arrested (*Öğrenciler Tuslog'da yangın çıkardı*, Ulus, 12.06.1969, pp. 1 & 7).

#### **4.2.2.1.3.2. Demonstrations against USA and the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet**

On 8<sup>th</sup> of February, 1968, US 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet arrived to İzmir, which was decided to be protested by formal declarations and through passive resistance of citizens (*6. Filo Gemileri protesto edildi*, Ulus, 09.02.1968, p. 7). In addition, on 14<sup>th</sup> of May, 1968, university students made a press statement in front of the monument in Taksim, protesting USA. The demonstration was the beginning of the campaign – ‘NO to NATO’. Streets, squares and walls were painted and written with this slogan, which turned to be a street fight between the demonstrators and the police. The campaign lasted till 19<sup>th</sup> of May (*106 genç nezarete alındı*, Ulus, 15.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7). The campaign, which started in İstanbul, was also supported by the students in Ankara, on 16<sup>th</sup> of May. Posters, protesting USA were hanged on the walls along the streets, boulevards, main roads. They were written as: ‘No to NATO: We want an independent Turkey. NATO is the exploitation tool of imperialism!’<sup>36</sup> (*40 öğrenci geceyi nezarete geçirdi*, Ulus, 17.05.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

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<sup>36</sup> “NATO’ya hayır: İkili anlaşmalardan arınmış bağımsız bir Türkiye istiyoruz. NATO emperyalizmin sömürü aracıdır”

On 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968, the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet was at the Harbor of İstanbul. At the night of 16<sup>th</sup> of July, through the protests of students, violent events occurred (*Amerikalı erlerle gençler arasında olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 17.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Special police attacked a dormitory and beat the students, which resulted in death of a student, Vedat Demircioğlu (*Polis öğrenci yurdunu bastı ve tahrip etti*, Ulus, 18.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *İstanbul'da polisler tarafından dövülen öğrenci dün öldü*, Ulus, 25.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Violent events in İstanbul were protested in Ankara by the demonstrations at the night connecting the 17<sup>th</sup> of July to 18<sup>th</sup> of July. Windowframes of buildings related with USA such as the cinema of America, and the dormitory where Americans slept, were broken by demonstrators. All the American buildings in Ankara were destroyed by black paints, stones and Molotov Cocktails (*İstanbul'da 33 genç tevkif edildi; Ankara'da da olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 19.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7).



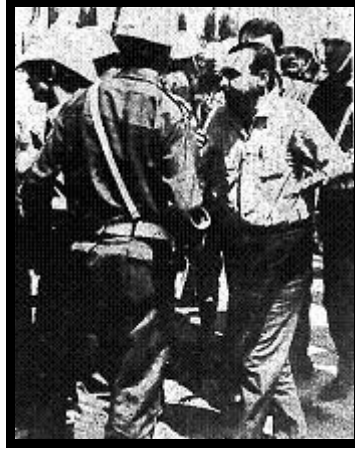
**Fig. 36.** American Library, which was stoned, July, 1968

**Source:** *İstanbul'da 33 genç tevkif edildi; Ankara'da da olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 19.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7

After the events, strict precautions were taken. American buildings and institutions were surrounded by the policemen (*İstanbul'da 33 genç tevkif edildi; Ankara'da da olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 19.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). On the same day, 18<sup>th</sup> of July, US government informed their annoyance of the demonstrations and destructions against the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet of USA (*Amerika dün Türk hükümetine endişelerini bildirdi*, Ulus, 19.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). The events continued at the night of 18<sup>th</sup> of July (*Öğrenciler beraat etti*, Ulus, 20.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

On behalf of university and the other high education students, six student associations demanded the Parliament to assemble by their formal declaration and

informed that they were going to sit in front of the Parliament from the morning of 27<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968 till the Parliament assembled (*Öğrenciler meclisin toplanmasını istedi*, Ulus, 27.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). They began to demonstrate sitting at the Parliament in the morning of 27<sup>th</sup> of July. Nevertheless, policemen wanted to disperse them, arguing that demonstrating in front of the Parliament building had been forbidden as mentioned in the Law of Meetings, Demonstrations and Marches. Students did not want to stop their demonstrations and did not want to leave the Parliament. Hence, sixteen of the students were taken into custody but were released in the evening (*Ankara'da 16 genç nezaret altına alındı*, Ulus, 28.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 37.** Demonstration of students, sitting in front of the Parliament, July 1970; Celal Kargılı, one of the demonstrator students was arrested

**Source:** *Ankara'da 16 genç nezaret altına alındı*, Ulus, 28.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7

The students were transferred to the courts and court meeting was held on 28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968. A group of 40-50 friends of the arrested students demanded to attend the court session. Nonetheless, special police did not give permission to the students; in addition they struggled with the students and followed them in and near the building. Meanwhile, a student, named Atalay Savaş, wanted to reach the pharmacy across the road in order to telephone the Public Prosecutor. However, he could not reach the telephone since he was crushed by a minibus (*Polisten kaçarken kaza geçiren öğrenci komada*, Ulus, 29.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). He died in a few days (*Adliye önünde ezilen gencin cenazesi törenle kaldırıldı*, Ulus, 30.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7). Presidents of Revolutionary Student Associations came together at the building of Ankara University Student Union on 30<sup>th</sup> of July and organized a press conference. The

death of Atalay Savaş was regarded to be the second murder of the Special police (*Gençlik Toplum Polisini suçluyor*, Ulus, 31.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7).

US 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet planned to come to İstanbul again in 1969 (*6. Filo için tedbir alınıyor*, Ulus, 08.02.1969, pp. 1 & 7). On 10<sup>th</sup> of January, 1969, the fleet's arrival at İstanbul was reacted with protests throughout the country. In İstanbul, American cars were stoned and in Bursa formal declarations were distributed. In Ankara in the evening of 10<sup>th</sup> of February students gathered at Zafer Square and demonstrated to protest the US fleet arrival. They burned American flag at the square and sang the Turkish National Anthem. Six of the students, who protested the US fleet, were taken into custody in Çankaya Police Station (*Altıncı Filonun gelişi tepki ile karşılandı*, Ulus, 11.02.1969, pp. 1 & 7).

The 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet caused struggles and bloody events since her arrival on 10<sup>th</sup> of February till its departure on 17<sup>th</sup> of February, 1969. In the period she stayed, five meetings against the fleet were organized. Two thousand and five hundred police officers were assigned to protect the American soldiers. On 16<sup>th</sup> of February, when the events occurred, two students were killed and hundreds of people were injured (*6. Filo dün İstanbul'dan ayrıldı*, Ulus, 18.02.1969, pp. 1 & 7).

#### **4.2.2.1.3.3. Struggles between the Radical Leftist and Radical Rightists (Conservatives)**

The third dimension of the student movement in Turkey, by 1968, is composed of the struggles between the radical leftists and rightists. These struggles would become critical and frequent afterwards. On 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of December, 1968, a group of young people attacked the candidates of teachers who were in the process of elections of their association. These young attackers were said to be specially educated rightist commandos who were related with a political party ("*Tehlikeli eğilimler bütün açıklığı ile ortaya çıkmıştır*", Ulus, 03.01.1969, pp. 1 & 7). Radical rightist commandos also attacked the dormitory of FPS (SBF), on 31<sup>st</sup> of December. The commandos were said to be members of a political party (*Aşırı sağcı komandolar SBF yurdunu da bastı*, Ulus, 01.01.1969, pp. 1 & 7).

In the funeral of the First President of Supreme Court, İmren Ökten, severe events, which were led by the radical rightists, took place. The government was thought not to intervene in these events. This attitude was protested. Judges and prosecutors of Supreme Court, members of Council of State organized a demonstration on 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969, Wednesday, at 5.30 pm. Faculty members of universities, assistants, lawyers and all of the revolutionary student organizations joined the meeting. They demanded to march on the route of Atatürk Boulevard – Kızılay – Mustafa Kemal Boulevard to Tandoğan Square; they planned to arrive at Anıtkabir to place a wreath after a march beginning from Kızılay Square. Governorship of Ankara mentioned that the route did not suit the route informed before; hence the opinion of the High Level Administrative Court was demanded. The petition of the governorship mentioned that the route intended to be used was not appropriate according to the law, numbered 171 and was against the fourth article. However, the council decided in favour of the demonstrators (*Protesto yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 07.05.1969, pp. 1 & 6). A hundred thousand citizens were said to be joined to the march (*Türk milleti, mürteci iktidara karşı muhteşem bir bütündü*, Ulus, 08.05.1969, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 38.** Demonstration of the judges and prosecutors of Supreme Court, and members of Council of State

**Source:** *Protesto yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 07.05.1969, pp. 1 & 6 & *Türk milleti, mürteci iktidara karşı muhteşem bir bütündü*, Ulus, 08.05.1969, pp. 1 & 7

During April of 1970, struggles of radical leftists and rightists in İstanbul and Ankara had taken a violent nature and resulted in bloody events. On 13<sup>th</sup> of April, 1970, rightist commandos attacked Hacettepe Hospital and murdered a military doctor (*Tip Fakültesinde silahlı baskın yapıldı*, Ulus, 14.04.1970, pp. 1 & 7). The murder resulted in reactions. When the events were heard in İstanbul, demonstrations and marches were organized (*İstanbul'da olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 14.04.1970, pp. 1 & 7). The funeral of the doctor, Necdet Güçlü was held on 14<sup>th</sup> of April. When the convoy of the funereal started to accelerate in its tempo of walk, the students, who had been following the convoy, got excited. Young demonstrators in thousands started to run shouting. This run lasted from Maltepe to Kızılay. On the way, since two of their friends were ran over by the vehicles, demonstrators became agitated. They came to Kızılay Square and continued their demonstrations. They ripped the paving stones off and broke the Windowframes of American-Turkish External Commerce Bank. They attempted to reach the Ministries. Nonetheless, when they began to move in the direction of the ministries, they saw Kızılay Junction to be surrounded by the barricades of the policemen; hence they turned to Zafer Square. After a group among the demonstrators swore for 'struggling' and 'independence', they returned to Hacettepe (*Dün de olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 15.04.1970, pp. 1 & 7). Policemen announced that the murderer of the doctor had been arrested. Hacettepe University was closed for education for a while on 15<sup>th</sup> of April.



**Fig. 39.** The struggle between policemen and students, running, 1970  
**Source:** *Dün de olaylar çıktı*, Ulus, 15.04.1970, pp. 1 & 7

Increasing violence in both demonstrations and reactions led to a campaign to prevent the youth to use arms in their struggle; SDDF started the campaign by 19<sup>th</sup> of December, 1970. Through the campaign, the members of SDDF would organize conferences, meetings and in addition a demonstrations march was planned to be held in Beyazıt Square, on 26<sup>th</sup> of December (*Gençler gösteri yürüyüşü yapacak*, Ulus, 20.12.1970, p. 1). Nonetheless, on 23<sup>rd</sup> of December, SDDF and fifty eight

affiliated associations were closed by the 5<sup>th</sup> Criminal Court of First Instance, justified by the argument that the federation was involved in politics (*SDDF Mahkeme kararı ile kapatıldı*, Ulus, 24.12.1970, p. 1). SDDF published a formal declaration on 25<sup>th</sup> of December and informed that they planned to appeal to the decision to reopen the federation (“*Siyasal mücadele halk içinde halkla birlikte verilir*”, Ulus, 28.12.1970, pp. 1 & 5).

#### 4.2.2.1.4. Working Class Movement

Working class movement arose in the second half of 1960's. Beyond the demonstrations, occupations of factories throughout the country, such as in Ereğli and the strikes were all the reflections of this situation of this fact. The tobacco workers in Aegean Region, cotton workers in Adana and several workers in different sectors were organizing demonstrations and protesting the government. Landowners had burned the crops in Elmalı (village), proposing that they were the owners and wanted to the peasants out from their land, which left peasants in difficulty. The peasants resisted and struggled with the policemen.



**Fig. 40.** Destruction of squatters, July 1968

**Source:** *Yüzlerce gecekondu yerle bir edildi*, Ulus, 05.07.1968, sayfa 1 ve 7

Moreover, the squatter issue was also getting relatively severe than the situation in beginning of 1960's. By 1968's, more violent precautions had been taken rather than moderate measures during the years between 1960 and 1964. Especially the policies of Ekrem Barlas resulted in destruction of squatters without supplying the necessary conditions for the inhabitants to survive. Therefore, the inhabitants both

demonstrated through meetings and marches and also occupied the buildings, houses of municipality, building of municipality and even home of the mayor (*Yüzlerce gecekondlu yerle bir edildi*, Ulus, 05.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Evleri yıkılan vatandaşlar Belediye evlerini işgal etti*, Ulus, 08.07.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Halk da belediyeyi işgal etti*, Ulus, 26.09.1968, pp. 1 & 7; *Dün gece Belediye Başkanının evine baskın yaptılar*, Ulus, 20.07.1969, pp. 1 & 7; *İktidarın istifası istendi*, Ulus, 27.07.1970, pp. 1 & 7).



**Fig. 41.** Inhabitants of squatters protested destructions marching from Cemal Gürsel Square to Tandoğan Square

**Source:** *İktidarın istifası istendi*, Ulus, 27.07.1970, pp. 1 & 7

#### **4.2.2.2. Kızılay Square & Power Relations**

Power relations over Kızılay Square can be examined in two categories during the end of 1960's and the first half of 1970's. The first category, formal restrictions on the usage of the Square were confirmed by legal regulations and police intervention. Firstly, demonstrators and policemen struggled at Kızılay Square in 1970 since the demonstrator students had demanded to set up posters on the walls of Kızılay Square illegally. Secondly the Commandership of Martial Law restricted the usage of the space in 1971. As the second category, project of underground passage on Atatürk Boulevard proposed by the municipality was rejected by the ministry in 1970.

##### **4.2.2.2.1. Spatial Restrictions**

On the night 16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1970, seven people were taken into custody, since they were caught while setting up posters on the walls of Kızılay Square. On posters it was written that: "Martyr Worker Friend will be the flag to the struggle"<sup>37</sup>; there was a hammer in one hand of the worker in the poster; and on the other hand there

<sup>37</sup> "Şehit işçi arkadaş, mücadeleye bayrak olacak"



was a two edged key. Eighteen of the posters taken from demonstrators were seized (*Kızılay'da duvarlara afiş yapıştıran 7 kişi yakalandı*, Ulus, 17.10.1970, p. 2).

The Commandership of Martial Law issued a formal declaration on 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 1971. It was about the regulation on traffic; the pedestrians were informed to use the sidewalks and cross walks. “Pedestrians should not walk on roads”<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, signs of officers assigned to regulate traffic had to be respected while passing across the roads. If these rules were not obeyed, the pedestrians were going to be punished (*Sıkıyönetim komutanlığı başkentini düzeni ile ilgili bir bildiri yayınladı*, Ulus, 01.06.1971, pp. 1 & 2).

#### **4.2.2.2.2. Spatial Regulations on Atatürk Boulevard**

The project of Kızılay underground passage, prepared by the municipality, was refused by the Ministry of Development and Housing. On 11<sup>th</sup> of July, 1970, this refusal mentioned in the sixth page, fourth column of Ulus newspaper. On 13<sup>th</sup> of July, on behalf of the minister, the deputy secretary articulated the message of the minister. In his explanation, the news on the rejection of the project was repeated and if the project was revised by the municipality it could one again be submitted to the Ministry. Nonetheless, after the analyses, the project was rejected although it had been regarded as ‘acceptable in principle’. Traffic flow of pedestrians would coincide with flow of vehicles in the proposed project. In addition, this spatial organization would constitute an obstacle to construction of a metro. When the project was undergone a re-vision in order to solve these issues then the ministry was going to re-examine the project proposal (*Kızılay yeraltı geçidi projesi reddedildi*, Ulus, 14.07.1970, p. 5).

#### **4.2.3. 1977 – 1980: KIZILAY SQUARE: THE BATTLE GROUND**

Within the period between 1977 and 1980, news on battles among rightist commandos and radical leftists and news on murders in streets, even at bus stops and workplaces were informed by the mass media. Each day at least one or two of the leftist or rightist students had been killed. High numbers of violent events – such as street fights, battles and sudden attacks to the cafes – were notified almost everyday.

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<sup>38</sup> “*Yayalar yollar üzerinde yürüyemezdi.*”

As mentioned in several newspapers, people sitting on a school wall or waiting at bus stop had been attacked and killed. Targets might be chosen consciously or randomly. At nights, student houses and workplaces were bombed. The struggle was observed to shift from public spaces to semi-public places and even private spaces. Major actors were rightist commandos and revolutionary students. The workers supported revolutionary students. Gradually, social consciousness of the labour has deepened and became relatively well internalized. Nonetheless, demonstrations had been either decreased or rarely reflected on newspapers. Within the years between 1960 and 1964, many demonstrations and marches were held at Kızılay Square, which characterized the Square as a political scene. Nevertheless, demonstrating at the Square was forbidden legally in 1964; hence demonstrations at Kızılay continued informally. Between the years 1968 and 1971, demonstrations at the Square continued with decreasing frequency. However student and working class movement developed during these years at factories, squatter settlements and universities. Kızılay Square appeared to be a window of the movement opened to the public sphere in these years. At the end of 1970's, streets turned to be battlegrounds. Meetings and demonstrations were against Fascism and the murders, attacks and arising anarchy. On the other hand these meetings were in favour of the revolutionary movement of students, working class and the inhabitants of squatter settlements. Kızılay Square has not been the scene of the struggle as has been the case in the past. Taksim Square would become the political space of this period. In short, it seemed the place of demonstrations against DP and AP and against some international significant issues was Kızılay. Internal working class struggles' space shifted to Taksim Square in İstanbul.

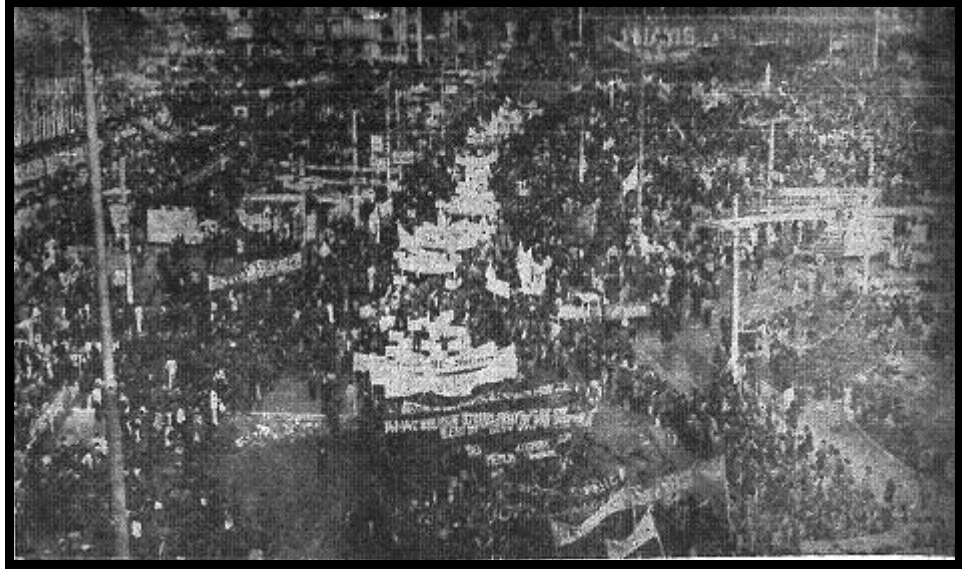
#### **4.2.3.1. 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1977, 'Bloody 1 May' at Taksim Square**

The first celebration of 1<sup>st</sup> of May in masses in Turkish history occurred in 1911. In 1976, 1<sup>st</sup> of May began to be celebrated as Labour Day at Taksim Square again after years of prohibition. DİSK (the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions) was the pioneering actor of this celebration (Akbulut, 2006). Within the period when İstanbul was under occupation, there had occurred significant celebrations, the first of which was held in 1921. The magnificent celebration occurred in 1922, at the shoulders of Kağıthane. Through this celebration the proposals of workers in order to

reduce the working hours, to mention the labour power of women and children, and the will to end the war had been expressed. In 1923, during the May 1 celebrations, İstanbul was still under occupation and now the power was on the new government in Ankara. In years 1924, 1925 and 1927 (during Turkish War of Independence), intellectuals and leftists joined the legal celebration of 1<sup>st</sup> of May in masses with workers. Nonetheless, after 1927 settlement of one party regime restrained the celebrations and 1<sup>st</sup> of May could not be celebrated as the Labour Day till 1970's (Tunçay, 2006).

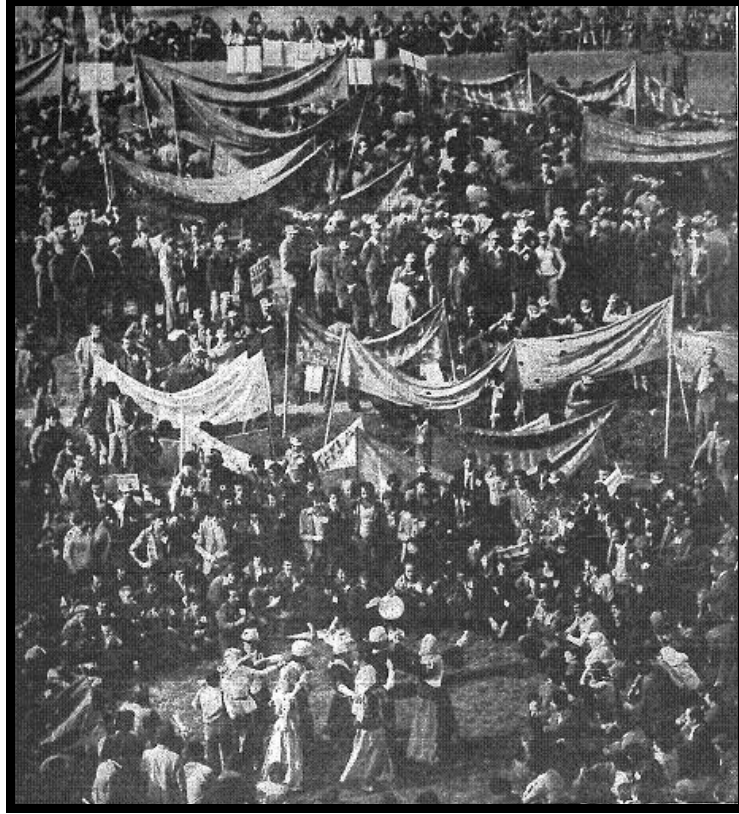
After the celebration in 1976, Labour Day on 1<sup>st</sup> of May in 1977 resulted in a violent event called 'Bloody 1 May', after a jubilant celebration. Since this celebration in 1977, Taksim Square has been regarded as *the space of 1 May* (TÜSTAV, 2006). Preparations had been completed. Since Labour Day was going to be celebrated only in İstanbul, workers who were members of unions, members of democratic institutions had come to İstanbul from all throughout the country. Two groups, one of them was coming from Beşiktaş and the other from Saraçhane, were going to meet at Taksim Square at 2 pm. Added to posters and coloured pickets, special books and booklets, some of which were containing Revolutionaries' March, postcards had been prepared (*1 Mayıs İşçi Bayramını Bugün Kutluyoruz*, Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11).

The municipality in Ankara informed the public to change the name of Kurtuluş Square as 1<sup>st</sup> of May Square; the mayor had aimed to manifest the municipality's respect and friendship to both 1<sup>st</sup> of May, Labour Day celebrations and the struggle of working class. In his explanation, he added that a monument, symbolizing the labour power, decided to be constructed at Kurtuluş Park, in Cemal Gürsel Square. After a project competition the monument was going to be realized (*1 Mayıs İşçi Bayramını Bugün Kutluyoruz*, Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11).



**Fig. 42.** Masses gathered at Taksim Square in enthusiasm to celebrate 1 May as Labour Day  
**Source:** *1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11

Masses in thousands joined the celebration at Taksim Square in 1977. Until the violent event happened nearly at the end of the day, the celebration continued in enthusiasm. Workers joined the march in Labour Day in their working costumes – overalls; they were shouting slogans like ‘No way to Fascism’. The only speech of the day was presented by the president of DİSK. Twenty thousand members of DİSK were assigned to provide the security and peace during the enormous demonstration (*Törene Yüzbinlerce kişi katıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 5).



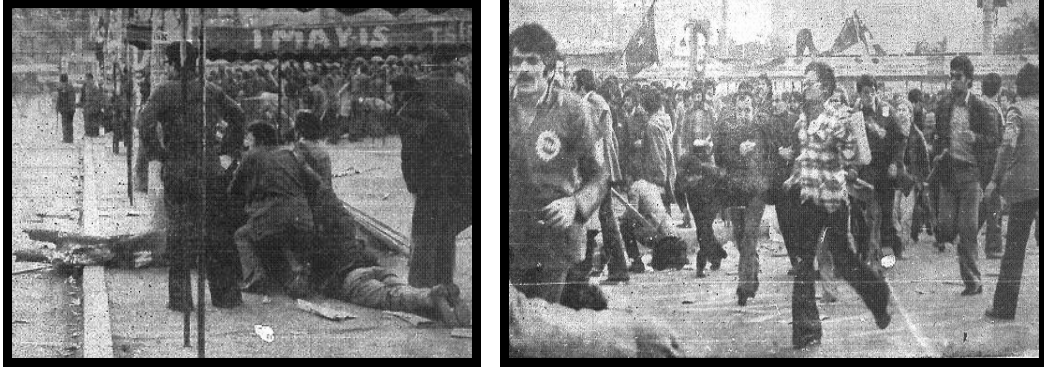
**Fig. 43.** Masses towards Taksim Square

**Source:** *1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11

At the end of the demonstration, which had lasted nearly eight hours, thirty three people were murdered and nearly one hundred persons were injured through the violent, bloody events which had suddenly occurred. Five of the demonstrators, all of whom were women were killed and two of the killed persons were policemen. Suddenly, demonstrators had been left under volley fire of which source and reason were not determined (*1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11). The prime minister, Demirel, expressed that ‘There is no reason for martial law.’ Ecevit said that since the elections were coming closer, tricks were increasing and therefore they had to be careful about the provocations<sup>39</sup> (*Hükümet Olağanüstü Toplandı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11).

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<sup>39</sup> “Seçimler yaklaştıkça, tertipler yoğunlaşıyor. Kışkırtmalara kapılmamak gerek!”



**Fig. 44.** After fire opened chaos dominated Taksim Square  
**Source:** *1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11

On the next day, number of death increased to thirty four (*Ölü Sayısı 34'e çıktı, ancak bu sayının artmasından korkuluyor*, Cumhuriyet, 03.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11). The reports, searches and investigations on this issue continued through the following days in May, 1977 (Gürel, 2006; Yetkin, 2005).



**Fig. 45.** 34 people were killed through the events  
**Source:** *1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11

In Ankara, relatively a smaller-scale demonstration was organized at Tandoğan Square and the celebration finished without any events or violence in Ankara (*Törene Yüzbinlerce kişi katıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 5).

The following year, the governor of İstanbul declared that both Taksim Square and Beyazıt Square were prohibited for demonstrations just before the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, Labour Day, in 1978. The Governor also said that demand of DİSK to demonstrate at Taksim Square on 1<sup>st</sup> of May, was rejected (*Taksim ve Beyazıt Meydanları toplantılara kapatıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 31.03.1978, pp. 5). However the Labour Day was

celebrated at Taksim at that day with participation of fifty two institutions (*1 Mayıs İşçi Bayramı Bugün Kutlanıyor*, Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1978, pp. 1 & 5; *1 Mayıs Coşkuyla Kutlandı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1978, pp. 1 & 9).

In the following years, the demands on demonstrating at Taksim Square were rejected. Demands to demonstrate in other cities were also rejected by either governors or the commanders of martial law<sup>40</sup> (*İstanbul'da 1 Mayıs gösterisi yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 27.04.1979, pp. 1 & 11; *1 Mayıs Gösterileri 5 ilde daha yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 28.04.1980, pp. 1 & 11; *DİSK'in 1 Mayıs için başvuruları 3 ilde reddedildi*, Cumhuriyet, 13.04.1980, pp. 1 & 9; *30 ilde 1 Mayıs gösterileri sıkıyönetim ve valilerce yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 30.04.1980, pp. 1 & 5).

#### **4.2.3.2. Conflicts at and on Kızılay Square**

On 15<sup>th</sup> of June, 1977, on Friday at about 5.30 pm, a car had passed through Atatürk Boulevard. While the car was passing fire was opened to the buildings of both Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture. Although the event occurred at the time that officers stopped working and began leaving their offices, however, no one was injured; the windows of the buildings were broken (*Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı Binasına Bir Otomobilden ateş açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 16.07.1977, pp. 1 & 9).

On the same day an armed struggle appeared at Kızılay Square between two different groups, who were distributing booklets. While a group of commandos were distributing their booklets in front of the building of GİMA (Kızılay Office Block) and Milli Müdafaa Boulevard, another group attempted to prevent them. A debate occurred first and then an armed struggle appeared suddenly. Resulted in a tension around the square, the struggle was ended by security guards' coming; the attacking group had run away (*Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı Binasına Bir Otomobilden ateş açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 16.07.1977, pp. 1 & 9).

According to the mayor of Ankara, Dalokay, the conflict between the governor and the mayor had contained a class struggle embedded in its core. The Hittite

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<sup>40</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> of December, 1978, martial law was informed in thirteen cities; Adana, Ankara, Elazığ, Gaiantep, Bingöl, İstanbul, Kahramanmaraş, Kars, Malatya, Sivas, Urfa for two months after the violent events occurred in Kahramanmaraş, which lasted for about four or five days.

Monument, began to be constructed at Lozan-Sihhiye Squares, had been stopped by the Governorship. In his explanation, Dalokay expressed that the construction of monument would begin and be finished in a short time. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Asiltürk, had expressed his objection on the monument and the Governor, Durmuş Yalçın, had it demolished for the sake of traffic regulations. Nevertheless Council of State (*Danıştay*) decided against the minister's objection and governor's implementation of destruction of the monument (*Dalokay: "Bu kente iki baş çoktur. Bilimsel olarak da vali fazladır"*, Cumhuriyet, 24.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11).

#### **4.2.3.3. Spatial Regulations and Implementations**

Under this heading three issues related to Kızılay Square will be examined. One is the implementations on public transportation in favour of urban poor in the form of particular lanes for buses and free public transportation. The second one is the project of Sakarya Pedestrian Zone designed at Kızılay district. The third one is the proposal of metro project.

On one hand, Turkey has been observed to pass through an economic bottleneck; citizens appeared to wait in queues to attain rice (*Bu da Pirinç kuyruğu*, Cumhuriyet, 11.08.1977, p. 1), and other kinds of foods – even in Ramadan (Cumhuriyet, 16.08.1977). Prices were raised. On 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1977, the value of Turkish Lira was devaluated by 10 %. Since the supply of electricity was a serious problem, the state made some factories stop production to provide a reduction in the consumption (*Elektrik kısıntısı bir saat daha artırılabacak*, Cumhuriyet, 27.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9). Squatter settlements had been reacted severely. On 2<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1977, the squatters in the neighbourhood of 1 Mayıs, in Ümraniye, İstanbul, were demolished (*Ümraniye'de gecekonduları yıkık halk ilgi beklediklerini açıkladı*, Cumhuriyet, 12.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9).

The Mayor of Ankara, Vedat Dalokay, made a press conference on 30<sup>th</sup> of September, 1977 and declared that the number of municipal busses and a system of free public transportation was planned to be organized. He added that to accelerate the busses and provide an easier and faster public transportation, a new path was decided to be built with yellow lines at the right side of the boulevards. This line was appropriated



to the use of public transportation. By higher prices for the electricity, he claimed to compensate for a free public transportation. He argued that this project would be in favour of urban poor living in squatter settlements. On the other hand, citizens, who had tended to use higher electricity, would be forced to use less electricity. Since the private car owners were also going to prefer public transportation, traffic flow would be provided easier. Hence the issue of traffic jam would be solved (*Ankara'da belediye otobüsleri bedava yolcu taşıyacak*, Cumhuriyet, 01.10.1977, pp. 1 & 9).

On 11<sup>th</sup> of December, local elections were held. There were four candidates Vedat Dalokay, Ali Dinçer (one was the former mayor of Ankara from RPP (Republican People's Party) and the other was the new candidate of RPP), Selahattin Babüroğlu (who served as the Minister of Development and Housing within the governments formed after 1971) and lastly Dursun Akçaoğlu, who was a free doctor (*CHP'de Ankara'da Belediye Başkan Aday Adaylarının Sayısı dörde çıktı*, Cumhuriyet, 22.10.1977, pp. 1 & 9; *CHP'de Ankara Belediye Başkan adaylığı için yarışma var*, Cumhuriyet, 30.10.1977, p. 5). Ali Dinçer was elected as the mayor of Ankara.

The first section of the project, reserved roads for the use of buses between Dikimevi and Kızılay, launched with a ceremony on 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1978. This particular lane project for public transportation had been designed for the path between Dikimevi and Beşevler. Through this project, buses were planned to be used three times more efficient (*Ankara'da Özel Otobüs Yolunun İlk Bölümü Açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 23.09.1978, pp. 1 & 9). Dalokay, the former mayor, planned to realize a similar project. Nonetheless, in the conference of the Organization of Mechanical Engineers (Makina Mühendisleri Odası), he made an objection on the project which was launched in the period of Ali Dinçer. He proposed that the project should have been implemented within a more organized and transparent process (*Dalokay "Tahsisli Yol" Projesi için "Hababam Planı" dedi*, Cumhuriyet, 08.10.1978, p. 9).

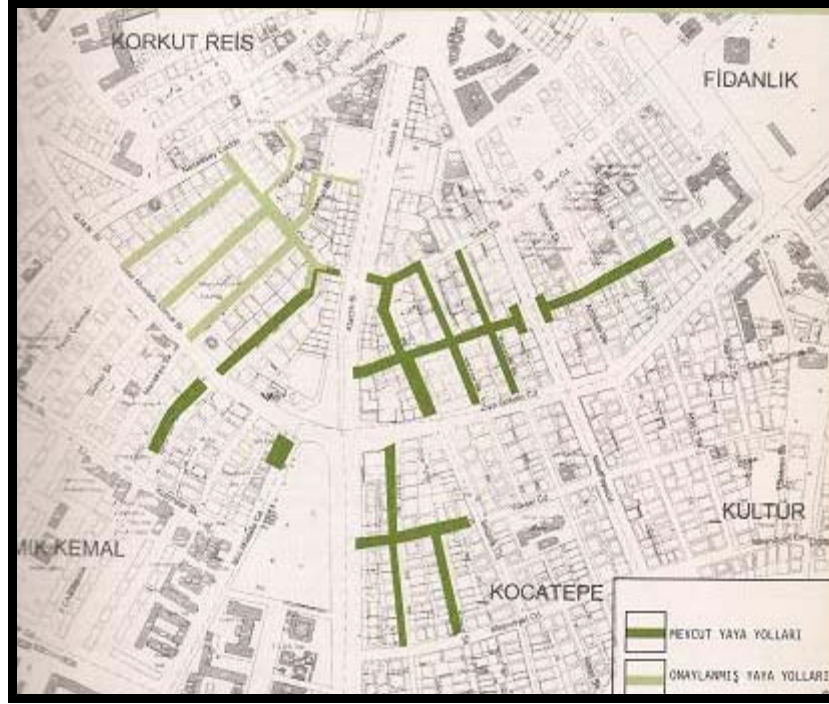
In the area composed of the streets – İnkılap Street, Bayındır Street, Selanik Main Road and Tuna Main Road – intersect with Sakarya Main Road, a pedestrian zone had been planned. Municipality declared that this project was planned to be restarted and the pedestrian zone had been planned to be opened to use on 29<sup>th</sup> of October. Within the explanation, it was argued that the green and free spaces of Ankara had

been limited to the boundaries of parks. However the citizens needed green areas to escape from the noise of the urban life. Therefore, Sakarya Pedestrian Zone was planned to consist of seating, ponds, exhibition places, all of which were thought to serve as social facilities for the use of citizens. The construction activity was going to start in the midst of May (*Ankara Belediyesi, Sakarya yaya bölgesini 29 Ekim'de hizmete açacak*, Cumhuriyet, 08.05.1979, pp. 7).

Metro project in Ankara was planned to be finished at three stages. Ali Dinçer explained that the metro project would begin in 1980 and be constructed as twenty five kilometres; it was planned to be finished in 1986. The demand of travel through Atatürk Boulevard in a direction from north to south had increased to an amount of thirty thousand persons per hour. First stage was planned as three and a half kilometres – half of which was constructed underground – from İnönü Square to Ulus. The way of metro was going to begin at the station of Ulus located across the Stad Hotel. This path would continue through Talatpaşa Boulevard and would come out at Sıhhiye Station after passing under the railway and Sıhhiye Bridge. From this station, the metro was going to arrive at Kızılay by the station in front of Sosyal Han and would reach another station in front of the Ministry of Forestry extending through Atatürk Boulevard. The first stage planned to be finished in 1982; the second stage in 1986 and the third stage was going to be completed in 1990 (*Ankara'da Metro Yapımına bu yıl içinde başlanacak*, Cumhuriyet, 26.04.1980, pp. 4). On 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980, the foundation of the metro was laid, despite the debate between the municipality and Ministry of Development and Housing (*Ankara Metrosunun temeli bugün atılıyor*, Cumhuriyet, 09.09.1980, pp. 1 & 5). The government did not approve the project for one hundred and fifty days (*Ankara Metrosunun temeli dün atıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 10.09.1980, pp. 1 & 5). However, on 12<sup>th</sup> of September, the army seized power and both the parliament and the government were dissolved (*Parlamento ve hükümet feshedildi, Silahlı Kuvvetler Yönetime el koydu*, Cumhuriyet, 12.09.1980, pp. 1 & 9). In this way, Kızılay and vicinity was restructured to have some new space for variety of use.

### **4.3. 1980 – 2007: KIZILAY SQUARE: A JUNCTION**

After the coup d'état in 1980, Turkey appeared to be in a new political and economic context; during this period a social transformation had been experienced as well. In the fields of planning and public administration, both approaches and legal regulations appeared to be transformed. During this period, two dimensions came into prominence at Kızılay Square. One is the attempt of spatial regulation by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and the other is the power struggle experienced among the municipal authorities within the concept of 'laicism' on the square as a focus. These dimensions were based on the new arising layer, capital. The design competition on Güvenpark can be evaluated as a case study of this frame. A significant part of Güvenpark had been transformed to bus and dolmuş stops; the building of Kızılay had been demolished with its great garden; and on its place a new building had been constructed however it has not been used since its construction was finished. The Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, İ. Melih Gökçek, attempted the spatial implementations to use at Kızılay Square, which can be regarded as an obstacle for pedestrians. Through all of these implementations, Kızılay Square has been transformed from a (relatively) pedestrian zone to a place of vehicles; a junction where vehicles have been attempted to pass faster and faster. The square has been attempted to change its historical meaning, spatial form and urban function.



**Fig. 46.** The pedestrian zones in Kızılay Square, recently

**Source:** *Kızılay'da Yayalar ve Yaya Ulaşımı: Sorunlar, Sebepler ve Süreçler*, TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004: 13

#### **4.3.1. Between the years 1980 – 1997**

Since the morning of 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980, Kızılay Square has gained new meanings being a prohibited space for opposition. In 1982, the Minister of Internal Affairs at that time expressed that, the essential squares of metropolitan cities would be monitored with 'closed circuit television system' (Coşkun, 2000: cited in Batuman, 2002). Kızılay Square, which had been an important political arena during the previous epoch, was going to be oriented to transform to a junction, just letting the traffic flow under control by this de-regulation. Kızılay Square has turned to be a space which is dangerous at nights, and, a place where security forces have been placed at the day times. According to Batuman, there are three projects representing this transformation related to both its form and its content: the rehabilitation project of Güvenpark, destruction and reconstruction of Kızılay Building, and Kızılay Metro Station Project (Batuman, 2002).

The rehabilitation project of Güvenpark had been proposed as an item on the agenda in 1985, by the Metropolitan Municipality; and designed by the architect Sezar Aygen. Implementation projects of it were accomplished in 1986. The project was

criticized in three points: it destroyed the historical meaning of the place; it transformed the physical and representative node of the square to a junction and lastly it regulated the underground of the park as a shopping center and a parking lot. In the covered shopping arcade constructed underground, there were 160 shops, one supermarket, branches of bank, post office and cafés; and at the bottom floor a parking area for 1500 vehicles was constructed; by this way, the green area was destroyed and turned to an area of excavation at a depth of 20 meters. Added to this, the spatial arrangements of the park were remade; the Monument of Security was relocated as to correspond to the junction. An amphitheatre behind the monument and a clock tower at the old place of the monument were proposed. However, this project was prevented by a group named ‘Group of Environment Sensitivity’ – ‘Çevre Duyarlılığı Grubu’ – within the slogan of ‘Not Otopark, Güvenpark’. Batuman argues that this movement seems one of the most comprehensive urban social movements. Within this movement, 60 000 signatures were collected, which indicates citizens’ caring for both Ankara and the symbol of Republican public sphere (Batuman, 2002).

The second project is the construction at the place of the demolished Kızılay Building. A competition was conducted by Kızılay in 1980; however the building constructed at that location has not been opened to usage. The building had been designed to be taller than the Office Building of Emek. Though its 14 floored tall, it could not exceed the mentioned building; however, it is still within a lack of appropriate scale when it is evaluated within the spatial pattern around the square. Designed to provide open spaces for public use, the ground floor of the project was regarded as positive by the members of the jury. However, these semi-public spaces can not be regarded as open public spaces; they will be imitations of a public space, and when the building is opened these may not result in a revitalization of social life, on the contrary they will bring controlled passing to the building. The building within this shape and volume, is at a location dominating the Square though its inharmonious scale within the square. The façade of the building does not look towards the streets. The transparent surface of the building seems to be reproducing the vision of a junction through which vehicles are passing continuously, which may be examined as a new reproduction of the meaning of the square. In Jansen plan, at

that point there was Kızılay Park, located at the end of the historical axis severely modified (Batuman, 2002: 70).

The third important project on the square is the first station of light railway system – from Söğütözü to Cebeci, designed as a part of city scale project. By this way, the underground of Kızılay Square turned to be a space which is continuously protected by the security forces and monitored by the security cameras. Taking photographs has been prohibited for the sake of security measures. Though being saved by the civil initiative, Güvenpark has turned to be space in a poor quality with the entrance of the LRT and chimneys for ventilation; the green areas have been narrowed by taking trees apart (Batuman, 2002).

The common points on these projects are: the physical node of the square has been lost. Unfortunately, the public sensitivity which activated in the demolition of Güvenpark has not been able to take a major role during the transformation of Kızılay Square to a junction. At this space, both the social activities have been excluded and control mechanisms have been maximized. The square is not a place to rest. In addition to that and as a result, stopping at the square has been reacted as if it was meaningless, ridiculous. Especially on some days, police officers may be seen to advice not to stop at the Square (Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.3.2. Islamic Orientation After 1997**

By the second half of 1990s, political İslam has risen; and has tended to transform the spatial expressions/meanings of Republic. Ankara, as the capital city, has witnessed striking implementations. Since the year 1997, the Metropolitan Municipality has put up tents for the breaking of the Ramadan fast at Güvenpark; and has distributed meals costless. Putting up these tents also has provided the İslamic identity to flow to the city center. On the other hand, this can be read as the desire of İslamic identity to be seen at the city center. Further to that, this desire also may conceal an İslamist demand of legitimacy and power (Batuman, 2002).

In addition to that, the Islamist cadre has performed obvious implementations such as prohibitions on drinking alcohol, and some others has attempted to spread Islamist

ideology to a broader base by populist policies. Especially between the years 1997 and 2002 was a period through which these policies were applied successfully: at the urban scale, illegal coal had been distributed; during the religious bayrams (holidays), by the service of cost-free busses the population had been provided to come to Kızılay; plastic balls had been distributed at Kızılay Square; Güvenpark had turned to be a dance floor during some of the concerts given by popular singers invited by the mayors (Batuman, 2002).

#### **4.3.2.1. The conflict over Kızılay Square between Çankaya Municipality and Metropolitan Municipality**

On 29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1996, Municipality of Çankaya District organized a celebration ceremony of Republican Day at Anıtpark. The Mayor of the district, Taşdelen wanted to organize a similar celebration at Kızılay Square in 1997. He presented a formal request to the governorship of Ankara four months before the date. After announcements were declared to public, just four days before the celebrations, the municipal assembly of Greater Municipality of Ankara declared that they planned to organize a celebration too. The governorship of Ankara supported the Municipality of Çankaya District and declared that Kızılay Square was appropriated to the use of the Municipality of Çankaya District. Kayahan participated in the celebrations held by the municipality of Çankaya District at Kızılay Square (*'Haydi, Cumhuriyet Halk Balosuna'*, Hürriyet, 27.10.1997, İsmet SOLAK).

This conflict resulted in two separate celebrations, one at Kızılay Square and the other at Sıhhiye Square, which are three or five hundred metres distant from each other. Both of the squares were crowded (*'Hazır 200 Metre Yakına Gelmişken'*, Hürriyet, 30.10.1997, Ertuğrul ÖZKÖK). The celebration of the municipality of Çankaya District began from Anıtpark; Deniz Baykal, the leader of RPP and Zülfü Livaneli joined with the group next to the mayor of the district, Taşdelen. They arrived to the stage of concert at Kızılay Square within slogans in favour of laicism and criticizing Melih Gökçek, the mayor of Greater Municipality. Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of RP (Refah Partisi) supported Melih Gökçek, at Sıhhiye Square with his participation and speech (*'Cumhuriyet Coşkusu'*, Hürriyet, 30.10.1997,

GÜNDEM; *RP'lilerdeki Cumhuriyet Sevgisi Göz Yaşartıyor*, Hürriyet, 31.10.1997, Tufan TÜRENÇ).

In 1998, the posters set up at Kızılay Square by workers of the district municipality of Çankaya were torn by workers of the Greater Municipality of Ankara; workers of district municipality intervened in this attack. The head of police explained that he did the task which he was charged and he added that the posters had created pollution of images. The posters were written as: "Celebration of Republican Day in the presence of Atatürk" and were informing the invitation of Zülfü Livaneli to the celebration (*Atatürk Posterleri Zabıtalının Hışımına Uğradı*, Hürriyet, 19.10.1998, GÜNDEM). In 2000, before the celebration of 19<sup>th</sup> of May, on 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 2000, a similar situation was realized. Workers of the Greater Municipality tore the posters of Atatürk, set up by the district municipality. In spite of their explanation that this happened by accident, İsmet Solak, the writer of the article in the newspaper argues that the posters were torn by intent (*19 Mayıs'ı Anlamak*, Hürriyet, 20.05.2000, İsmet SOLAK; *Gökçek'in açtığı tazminat davasına ret*, Hürriyet, 10.10.2001, GÜNDEM).

#### **4.3.2.2. The Conflict over Kızılay Square between the Governorship and the Demonstrators**

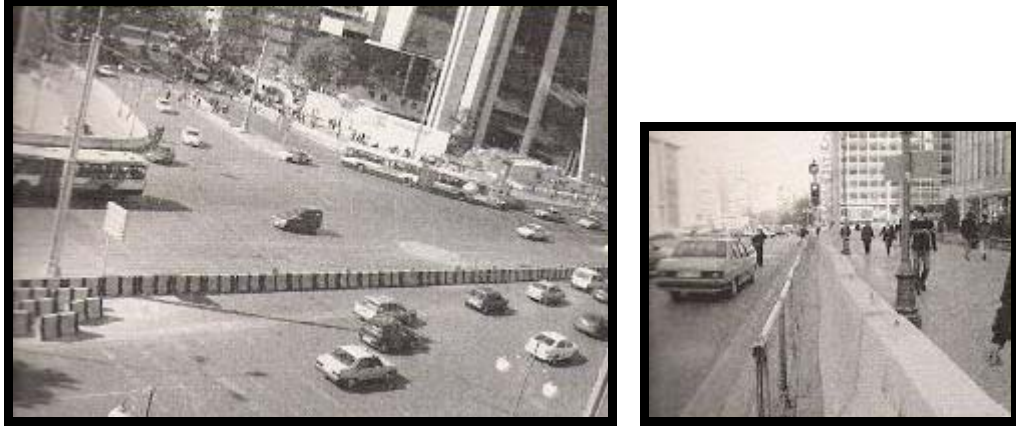
KESK (Confederation of the Syndicates of Public Workers) planned to articulate their speech in the form of a press conference in masses at Kızılay Square in order to express their demands on rehabilitation of both economic and social rights of public workers. Nonetheless, police charged by the Governorship of Ankara did not give permission them to demonstrate at the Square. Therefore, a tension was experienced between the demonstrators and the policemen. The demonstrators were told that they could use Sıhhiye Square, the Boulevard of Gazi Mustafa Paşa and the Park of Abdi İpekçi; however, leaders of syndicates insisted on Kızılay Square. Demonstrators, coming from the other cities, were halted at the city entrances from İstanbul, Konya, Eskişehir and Samsun; in addition a chaos occurred between the demonstrators and policemen (*Memurun Kızılay Direnişi*, Hürriyet, 24.08.2003, Hasan TÜFEKÇİ-EKONOMİ). This was one of the struggles experienced to demonstrate at Kızılay Square.



#### 4.3.2.3. Spatial Regulations and Debate over Kızılay Square

The commission of City Centre, Kızılay, which was composed of the members from both the Association of City Planners and the Association of Architects, organized an activity at the Square to protest all the structures disturbing the articulation of pedestrians especially the disabled and the old. Group began their march from Selanik Street in Kızılay Square within a placard proposing the slogan of ‘Kızılay is liveable for everyone!’. Other posters and pickets, written to explain alternatives to make Kızılay more liveable for citizens, were located at pedestrian overpasses in order to be read by the people passing (*Otomobil merkezli yapılaşmaya protesto*, Evrensel, 04.12.2002, YAŞAM).

The Greater Municipality of Ankara realized a spatial regulation at Kızılay Square in 2003. The City Traffic Commission of Governorship of Ankara approved the decision of traffic regulation at Kızılay Square. By 20<sup>th</sup> of October, along Atatürk Boulevard, vehicles would use the parallel roads and could not pass on the junction since the junction at the square was closed. Vehicles would not turn left from Gazi Mustafa Paşa Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard (*Ankara’da Yeni trafik düzenlemesi Pazartesi başlıyor*, Hürriyet, 18.10.2003, GÜNDEM; *Yeni trafik düzenlemesi*, Evrensel, 19.10.2003, GÜNDEM). By 3rd of October, pedestrian pass ways were closed at the Square by barriers; traffic lights were removed. Pedestrians were obliged to use underground passages through the Ankaray station at Kızılay Square (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004).



**Fig. 47.** Barriers located at Kızılay Square to close the pedestrian passways

**Source:** *Kızılay'da Yayılar ve Yaya Ulaşımı: Sorunlar, Sebepler ve Süreçler*, TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004: 31

On 25<sup>th</sup> of October, a referendum on this issue was held by The Greater Municipality at Kızılay Square; it was asked that: “Do you approve the usage of under pass ways of Ankaray which was approved by the City Traffic Commission of Governorship of Ankara?” The referendum resulted in the way the Greater Municipality supported; nonetheless, NGOs and the Press declared that the referendum was not fair (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004). On 7<sup>th</sup> of October, The associations of Civil Engineers, Environmental Engineers, Engineers of Cartography, Mechanical Engineers, Architects and City Planners broadcasted their declarations to public opinion (*‘Duvar’*, Evrensel, 14.10.2003, Necati UYAR: KENT YAZILARI; *Kızılay ve Ulus otobana dönüştürülüyor*, Evrensel, 24.10.2003, GÜNDEM). This spatial implementation was reacted also by citizens; they demanded the barriers to be removed (*Bariyer Eziyeti*, Evrensel, 17.10.2003, GÜNDEM; *Sezer’e Düzeysiz Saldırı’yı Kınıyoruz*, Hürriyet, 29.10.2003, Yalçın BAYER).

On 17<sup>th</sup> of October, a group composed of members of occupational associations, members of NGOs such as ‘Altı Nokta Körler Derneği’, citizens and tradesmen working around the Square gathered in front of GİMA at Kızılay Square and protested this spatial regulation (*Ankara’da Yeni trafik düzenlemesi Pazartesi başlıyor*, Hürriyet, 18.10.2003, GÜNDEM). Demonstrators demolished some of the barriers. Demonstrators closed the boulevard to vehicle traffic for a period; a tension was experienced between policemen and demonstrators (*Ankara’da Yeni trafik düzenlemesi Pazartesi başlıyor*, Hürriyet, 18.10.2003, GÜNDEM; *Kızılay Öfkesi*

*Caddeye taştı*, Evrensel, 19.10.2003, GÜNDEM). Eser Atak made a speech on behalf of the joined associations. He argued that to oblige pedestrians to pass undergrounds would mean punishing pedestrians and would result in both an economic and social decline at and around the Square. He informed that this implementation would disturb the livability of the city centre. He proposed that Kızılay Square should be turned to a pedestrianized region (*Ankara'da Yeni trafik düzenlemesi Pazartesi başlıyor*, Hürriyet, 18.10.2003, GÜNDEM).

On 28<sup>th</sup> of October, since the Urban Traffic Commission of Ankara informed that they would re-argue the issue; the Platform of Ankaram submitted a petition of eighteen thousand signs to the Governorship of Ankara in order to provide the change the spatial regulation. The Commission decided to remove the barriers which disturb vehicles to turn left and right however decided pedestrians to continue passing underground (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004). On 8<sup>th</sup> of November, the Association of Rights of Consumers, *Tüketici Hakları Derneği* organized a public questionnaire on the issue of Kızılay Square being closed to pedestrian traffic at the Post Office of Kızılay. The participants argued that the Square should be opened to pedestrians (*Halkın anketinden hayır çıktı*, Evrensel, 09.11.2003, GÜNDEM). As a citizen and a lawyer, Sedat Vural sued for this decision and on 11<sup>th</sup> of November, the 5<sup>th</sup> Administrative Court of Ankara decided on stay of execution. On 19<sup>th</sup> of November, barriers of glass were removed and traffic lambs with pedestrian passways were located at the Square (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004). After the removal of barriers, chains surrounded the refuges of Atatürk Boulevard was removed in 2005, at the weekend of 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of May (*Ankara'nın Zincirleri*, Evrensel, 31.05.2005, Necati UYAR – Kent Yazıları).

#### **4.4. Conclusion:**

Although there is continuity through these epochs, each period has distinguishing features which make a periodization possible. In the first period, attempt of the state to provide the nation state project at the nation scale and urban scale, can be observed. The second period is characterized by labour power settling down at urban space by migration from rural in masses. In the third period, a new economic model

was adopted and exportation has been emphasized; which has led to new conflicts and struggles. Conflict will appear in different forms in capitalist cities; as experienced in the historical period (Şengül, 2003, a: 166).

The conflict characterizing the first period in Turkey is between the socio-spatial heritage of Ottoman Empire and socio-spatial project of the Republic newly established. The second period can be defined with the conflict between the middle class and inhabitants of squatters. The conflict of third period is between the spaces of the new middle class and urban poor. According to Şengül, through the first two periods, the policy makers considered the urban scale and the inhabitants as a whole; and attempted to embody all of the citizens to the socio-spatial pattern. However, during the last period, the policy makers has not been directed towards such an attempt of integration; added to that dissolution has been observed (Şengül, 2003: 166).

According to Batuman, though being evaluated as repressive, nevertheless the Republican construct of public sphere had been the only platform where the lower social classes had been enabled there to express their demands (Batuman, 2002). Public space is defined as the platform of the struggle being experienced between different groups to be dominant at certain societal levels (Batuman, 2002).

Examining the historical transformation of Kızılay Square, the opponent groups which was perceived to force or threaten the dominant ideology, had been exposed to destructive constraint of the dominant groups; and had been dissolved. Destruction the public sphere (which is an area of struggle) and its spatial pattern by physically and mentally, can be examined as an essential and striking policy to destroy the existence conditions of the opponents. However, the legitimacy of this kind of policies should be discussed; as the political activity is restricted to solely violence (Batuman, 2002).

After 1990's, the political attitude of Islamic identity turned Kızılay Square to a festival space, which can not be regarded as *constructing a new publicity*; rather this

attempt and transformation can be argued to be ‘a degeneration of the political character of public space’ (Batuman, 2002).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### **5.1. The Transformation of Political Struggle on and at Public Space in Ankara, Kızılay Square**

The year 1980 is regarded to be a turning point for not only the economic and political context but also for the social-spatial organization of the country, which influenced both the central business districts and public spaces of metropolitan cities. City centres have witnessed to experience an economic fall with respect to decentralization of economic, administrative, financial functions and development of shopping centres which are discussed to be alternative public spaces. Kızılay Square on one hand developed as an alternative central business district to Ulus since 1950's and on the other hand, was one of the essential political spaces between 1960 and 1980. In addition it has experienced a similar transformation, an economic fall. Nonetheless, the transformation of the political essence of the square arises as a question with respect to economic fall experienced. This thesis aimed firstly to answer whether Kızılay Square is still a *political space* and secondly on the basis of this objective, it is aimed to examine the transformation of the political struggle *on/over* and *at* Kızılay Square. Both the theoretical framework, and the case study based on newspaper analysis, indicated that public space is not only the scene of the political struggle but also inevitably the subject of it. The political character of Kızılay Square is seen to exist in 1980's on the base of the political meaning obtained during the struggles in the very beginning of 1960's, however the features of this political character has been observed to have changed somehow.

Newspaper analysis implied that Kızılay Square gained its political meaning and character during the demonstrations and opposition to DP in 1960's. Kızılay Square was constructed as a spatial project indicating both the power of the new established nation state and the public sphere which was aimed to be created. The space had

been used by mostly the bourgeoisie and high income groups during the period from 1925 to 1950's. However, by the end of 1950's, the square appeared to be used for the demonstrations with respect to the societal discomfort, arising towards the party in power, DP. This societal opposition, occurring at the square before and after the coup d'état on 27<sup>th</sup> of May, created the political character of the space. After the coup d'état, demonstrations on either political issues (such as reaction towards the party in power, the attitude towards American policies, etc.) or personal issues (such as women rights, high education rights, etc.) had observed densely and frequently at Kızılay Square. Besides, the demonstrators were seen either to achieve what they had demanded or to attract attention of the society and the government on the issue they had been struggling for.

Nonetheless, the square was closed to the demonstrations and protests, by a legal regulation by the Law of Public Meetings and Marches in 1964. Therefore, Kızılay Square can be argued to be closed to public meetings and demonstrations in 1960's firstly; this legal regulation is observed to continue in the revised version of the legal text, approved in 1983. However, the demonstrations and the struggles, seen at the space, continued informally since 1964, which indicates the continuation of the political meaning of the space. Added to the struggles between the demonstrators and policemen, during 1980's and 1990's, political arguments and struggles have been experienced between the mayors of local governments and between the civil associations and metropolitan municipality. 1980's is a period through which both the character of societal opposition and the spatial organization of the square – the meaning, function and form – has transformed.

**Table 2.** Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Kızılay Square

	<b>HISTORICAL MEANING</b>	<b>URBAN FUNCTION</b>	<b>SPATIAL FORM</b>
<b>1923 – 1950</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A spatial project as a public space of new established republic indicating both the power of the government and the declaration of Ankara as the capital city</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Providing the creation of new public sphere and Turkish bourgeoisie</li> <li>• Urban open public space providing a recreational space for the inhabitants of Yenışehir after a work day</li> <li>• Providing cultural and entertaining activities such as concerts, cafés, cinema and theatre facilities</li> <li>• Implying the power of new established nation state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• designed at the intersection of two boulevards</li> <li>• conceived to be a part of the sequence of squares on the base of a radial axis from the Castle towards the district of Administrative Units in Yenışehir</li> <li>• determined by the building of Hilal-i Ahmer with its building, Güvenpark and the villa type buildings of one storey</li> </ul>
<b>1950 – 1980</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political arena of the societal opposition which led the space to occur as an issue of political struggle as well</li> <li>• A symbol of the political struggle against DP and later against security forces especially <i>Toplum Polisi</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scene for political opposition</li> <li>• An alternative central business district to Ulus</li> <li>• With the construction of the office building Emek, providing working places, and offices</li> <li>• Within passages under the working places, commercial facilities</li> <li>• The location of the central building of Justice party (AP)</li> <li>• Through the struggle experienced in universities, factories, and squatters in 1970's, Kızılay Square had been used to create a public sphere</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The increase in spatial density</li> <li>• The spatial reduction of the garden of Kızılay Building</li> <li>• Transformation of the villa type houses to the office buildings</li> <li>• The construction of Kızılay Office Building, which was the highest building both in Ankara and in Turkey in 1950's</li> <li>• The passages formed in the ground floors of office buildings</li> <li>• The lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses – <i>tahsisli yol</i></li> <li>• Sakarya Pedestrian Zone</li> <li>• Project of Metro</li> </ul>
<b>1980 – onwards</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A junction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stage to be seen for political rant and an informal scene for political struggle</li> <li>• Central location for bus stops, and Metro, Ankaray</li> <li>• One of the central districts providing cultural, educational, feeding, commercial facilities</li> <li>• A junction which is subject of discussion between pedestrians and vehicles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The demolition of Kızılay Building and construction of a headquarter which has still not opened to use</li> <li>• The Güvenpark Rehabilitation Project</li> <li>• The construction of Metro – Ankaray station</li> <li>• Barriers located along the Atatürk Boulevard</li> <li>• Under passages for vehicles</li> </ul>



The role, meaning, and structure of Kızılay Square have transformed both within the institutionalization of socially dominant interests and also through the conflicts and struggles of these dominant interests with the grassroots alternative. It is seen that the conflict over a space is based on the differentiation Lefebvre introduced to the literature. Concepts of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational space, indicating the distinction and contradiction between *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* space, were seen also to be on the basis of the conflict of a space produced. Kızılay Square had been perceived to be a *spatial project* of the new established republic, which was aimed to provide both the construction of new public sphere and development of Turkish bourgeoisie. It is conceived, defined and constructed by the architect-planners as the public space of the republic with respect to the new developed design techniques and paradigms of public space adopted from the western world; the sequences of public spaces were provided by design elements in the first two plans of Ankara. Kızılay Square was an essential unit in this sequence with especially Zafer Square, Güvenpark and the building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* – Kızılay Building.

The significance of Kızılay Square was based on its spatial proximity to the building of the Great National Assembly of Turkey and the special location of the square on the intersection of two essential axis one from Faculty of Political Sciences and School of Medicine of Ankara University to Anıtkabir; the other is from FLHG (DTCF) to the district of administrative buildings, ministries and the parliament, added to that towards Çankaya. During the first half of 1960's Kızılay Square had been the direct and formal stage of opposition and had been used especially by the students. After the prohibition of being a legal space and path of demonstration and marches, it became on one hand the informal, illegal space for opposition or a node of the marching path; and on the other hand through the struggle experienced in universities, factories, and squatters in 1970's, Kızılay Square had been used to create a public sphere on the issues and struggle by distributing notifications, posters, pickets. Between 1977 and 1980, the Square was one of the spaces at which anarchy was observed. 1980 is the year which changed the political character of societal opposition radically, which inevitably affected the political character of squares, and also Kızılay Square. After 1980, the demonstrations were seen to be prohibited for a

long time, nearly until the beginning of 1990's. 1 May demonstrations were allowed again in 1993. The political context was controlled by the armed forces for a time; after the elections in 1983, the government could turn to be civilized. The economy of the country had been experiencing a liberalization process that time. During 1980's spatial projects at Kızılay Square gained importance again; Güvenpark and Zafer Square Projects were the essential ones. After 1997, Kızılay Square has been on the core of the discussions whether the space should be a pedestrian zone or a junction.

Kızılay Square is seen to be both a social and an historical product resulted from struggles of actors' conflicting interests and values. Therefore, as examined within this thesis the political-economic context, social and spatial organization plays an essential role to define and transform the character of political and social contradiction. As seen in Table 3, the spatial organization and patterning of the new public space, centre of the country, Kızılay Square is seen to be a problem directly focused on during both the *urbanization of state* period and during the *urbanization of capital* period (Şengül, 2003, b). Since it was going to be constructed to provide the public sphere in 1930's; the spatial organization of both Ankara and Kızılay Square was considered to be an essential issue. However, after DP got power, the emphasis on the issue of developing Ankara as the capital city, had shifted to the redevelopment of İstanbul, within the special demand of the prime minister of that time, Adnan Menderes. Therefore, the spatial organization of Kızılay Square was not concentrated on, except from the first headquarter of Turkey, the Kızılay Office Block on Atatürk Boulevard. Although the traffic congestion had led to discussions, no serious precautions were taken. Projects of public transportation such as metro and social projects targeted to the urban poor, occurred towards the end of 1970's. Although its spatial organization was neglected, the square occurred to be one of the essential political spaces of Turkey in the very beginning of 1960's. In other words, during the period between 1960's and 1980's, the societal opposition was observed to be more emphasized

Table 3. Conflict – Actor – Space

	<b>CONFLICT between...</b>	<b>ACTORS</b>	<b>THE MAJOR PROBLEM OF PLANNING</b>	<b>THE MAJOR PROBLEM OF ANKARA</b>
<b>1929 – 1950 URBANIZATION OF STATE</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The socio-spatial heritage of Ottoman Empire &amp; the values, projects of new established nation state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The state</li> <li>• The designers (Lörcher and Jansen)</li> <li>• The bourgeoisie</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The development of the capital of new established republic</li> <li>• The redevelopment of burned cities during the war</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The development of the new city – Yenışehir</li> <li>• Symbolic spatial design</li> <li>• Housing and service provision for the new population</li> <li>• Spatial organization to create a new public sphere</li> </ul>
<b>1950 – 1980 URBANIZATION OF LABOUR</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The party in power (DP) &amp; opposition of DP (CHP, students, army)</li> <li>• Students &amp; the existing educational system</li> <li>• Students &amp; American policies</li> <li>• Leftist &amp; rightist ideologies</li> <li>• Anarchy &amp; the State</li> <li>• Squatters &amp; the State</li> <li>• Central state &amp; Local Governments</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The students under the roof of TMTF</li> <li>• The revolutionary (such as DEV-GENÇ) or with leftist ideology (SDDF) student organizations</li> <li>• Teachers</li> <li>• Workers</li> <li>• The inhabitants of squatters</li> <li>• Policemen – <i>Toplum Polisi</i></li> <li>• Local Authorities</li> <li>• Ministry of Public Works and Housing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Migration from rural to urban</li> <li>• The housing supply</li> <li>• The development of the squatter areas</li> <li>• Urban sprawl</li> <li>• The re-development of İstanbul (opening new boulevards, new development areas, etc.)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rapid increase in population</li> <li>• Air pollution</li> <li>• Traffic congestion especially in Atatürk Boulevard</li> <li>• Districts of squatters</li> </ul>
<b>1980 – ONWARDS URBANIZATION OF CAPITAL</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capital &amp; the labour</li> <li>• Laicism &amp; the İslamist view</li> <li>• Municipality of Çankaya &amp; Ankara Metropolitan Municipality</li> <li>• Pedestrians &amp; vehicles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The district municipalities</li> <li>• Metropolitan Municipality</li> <li>• Occupational institutions such as <i>Şehir Plancıları Odası &amp; Mimarlar Odası</i></li> <li>• World Bank</li> <li>• IMF</li> <li>• International Construction Firms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The development of apartments from squatter areas and mafia relations</li> <li>• The provision of urban services</li> <li>• Urban regeneration especially in the historical and cultural districts</li> <li>• The provision of public transportation with respect to increasing traffic congestion</li> <li>• Decentralization of functions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transformation of squatter areas</li> <li>• Traffic congestion</li> <li>• Public transportation, Metro, Ankaray</li> <li>• Spatial reorganization of Kızılay Square (with barriers, under passages, etc.)</li> <li>• The transformation of Güvenpark to bus stops</li> </ul>

Through contradictions and struggles, the *meaning, form and function* of Kızılay Square is seen to be redefined several times (can be seen in table 2), indicating both the transformation of political struggle over/on the space and the transformation of the space oneself. Political struggle appear on the basis of defining or redefining the three dimensions – the historical meaning, the urban function and the spatial form of public space – through the rights (defined by Lynch and then re-defined by Carr, et. al.). The rights of ‘accessibility’, ‘freedom of action’, ‘claims to space’, ‘change’ and ‘disposition’ are the dimensions both determine the publicity of the space and compose the political character of the space and the form of conflict over the meaning, form and function of the public space. Similar concepts are used by Harvey in his scheme of spatial practices, which he adopted from Lefebvre’s formulation. Added to Lefebvre’s triad, Harvey distinguishes four other dimensions of spatial practices as accessibility and determination of distance, appropriation and use of space, hegemony and control over space and lastly production of space. Therefore, ‘accessibility’ of Harvey’s formulation indicates the same concept of *access* in Carr. et al. conceptualization. ‘Appropriation and use of space’ refers to *the freedom of action*; ‘hegemony over space’ indicates both *the claims to space* and *ownership and disposition*; and lastly ‘production of space’ can be regarded as indicating the ‘change’ of space. These dimensions of spatial practices can imply both the character of the public space and the political contradiction over the space since each indicates a spatial right, which can be shaped through hegemony and struggle.

As a result, these rights can be expected to be controlled by the party or group in power and a struggle and counter-hegemony can be expected to occur, which makes a public space *political*. The accessibility of the square might be expected to be limited by the party in power, by legal, spatial or mental boundaries; indicating physical, visual, and symbolic access. Moreover, the freedom of action, the rights of use can be also controlled by the government or on the contrary the freedom of action can be benefited from by the government. These two dimensions occur to be shaping the meaning and function of the space. Moreover, thirdly, claims of space compose another dimension of spatial practices to be controlled, which also influences the spatial form and production of space, and constitute a potential to transform the function and historical meaning of the space. Ownership and

disposition of the space implies a group of actors and their rights over the three dimensions mentioned before.

During the period of *urbanization of state*, the state was dominant at ownership and disposition of Kızılay Square; in addition to that bourgeoisie was also the major actor who had owned the space. The physical definition of the space was provided by the spatial organization of being at the intersection of two main roads, the visual access was provided through Havuzbaşı and Güvenpark. On the base of this accessibility, the spatial organization implying the sequence of squares on the radial axis coming from the castle, organized and tied the old city with Yenişehir. Public sphere had been experienced at the space, through open space concerts, balls, cultural and public facilities. After a workday, Kızılay Square occurred to be a safe place to take a walk. However, after the mobilization in 1950's from rural areas to urban in great numbers, the new comers would demand to experience the space. However Yenişehir had been an object to envy for them during the period between the years 1950 and 1960, the inhabitants of the squatter settlements and the working class could not be seen at the Square at that time.

Beginning with 1960, demonstrations opposed to the power in party took place in Kızılay. Students turned to be organized under the roof of National Federation of Turkish Students (TMTF) and demonstrated on both the national and student issues. After the coup d'état, for a while, the demonstrations were allowed by the administrators of army who had power. Nonetheless, when the demonstrators were thought to create a political threat; demonstrating in masses at Kızılay square was prohibited by a legal regulation in 1964. Some very special demonstrations or marches (i.e. the march held after the death of İmren Ökten) would be allowed after that time. Nonetheless the political demand to be seen at the square continued. AP (Justice Party) had chosen the square to locate their central building, which resulted demonstrations and struggles at the centre of the square, in front of the building.

In the period between 1968 and 1971, students in either revolutionary associations, associations in leftist ideology such as SDDF, or rightist ideology such as commanders would use the space as a shop window of their political struggle which

had been concentrated at universities, squatter settlements or factories. Students demanded to demonstrate and to distribute notifications at the Sqaure and to hang the posters on the walls of the square.

**Table 4.** The transformation of the rights over Kızılay Square

		ACCESS			FREEDOM OF ACTION	CLAIMS TO THE SPACE	CHANGE	OWNERSHIP & DISPOSITION
		Physical	Visual	Symbolic				
<b>1929 – 50 URBANIZATION OF STATE</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Being on the intersection of two boulevards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Havuzbaşı</li> <li>Güvenpark</li> <li>Kızılay Building and its garden</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A part of the sequences of squares on the radical axis from the castle</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Experiencing public sphere</li> <li>Experiencing public space</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The public space of the capital city and Turkish bourgeoisie</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The state</li> <li>Bourgeoisie</li> <li>Cultural &amp; Public facilities</li> <li>Recreation and entertainment</li> </ul>
<b>1950 – 80 URBANIZATION OF LABOR</b>	<b>1950 - 1960</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Havuzbaşı</li> <li>Güvenpark</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Envy of the inhabitants of the squatters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Experiencing Yenışehir (working class)</li> </ul>		
	<b>1960 - 1964</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spatial proximity to the Parliament</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The headquarter –Kızılay (Emek) Office Building</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Zafer Monument – the symbolic meaning of nation state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Demonstrations and public meetings in masses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Being visible for demanding political and personal rights</li> <li>Opposition to AP building</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The political scene against DP</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The students (demonstrators)</li> <li>Student associations (TMTF)</li> </ul>
	<b>1968 - 1971</b>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Güvenpark</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Special demonstrations</li> <li>Distribution of notifications</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Demand to demonstrate</li> <li>Reaction to US buildings</li> <li>Prohibition</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The shop window of societal opposition</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Demonstrators</li> <li>Workers</li> <li>Rightist Commanders</li> <li>Policemen</li> </ul>
	<b>1977 - 1980</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses – <i>tahsisli yol</i></li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As a result of anarchy even walking was not safe</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Distributing notifications</li> <li>Beating the opposite group</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The battleground</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anarchy</li> <li>Policemen (<i>Toplum polisi</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>1980 – ONWARDS URBANIZATION OF CAPITAL</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barriers of glass and iron</li> <li>Subways</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The headquarter</li> <li>Bus stops</li> <li>The entrances of Ankaray, Metro</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A junction owned by the vehicles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cultural facilities</li> <li>Feeding</li> <li>Educational facilities</li> <li>Commercial facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Walking safely (pedestrians)</li> <li>Passing faster (vehicles)</li> <li>Being visible</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A junction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vehicles</li> <li>Capital</li> <li>Metropolitan municipality</li> </ul>

On the one hand, demonstrators were demanding to be seen and to demonstrate at the square and to protest especially the US buildings located at Kızılay district. On the other hand, the government was claiming that the space was not going to be used for public meetings in masses and especially protests of USA. This period also indicated the arising societal opposition which had been composed of public workers such as teachers and labour class, added to the students and student organizations, associations. SDDF and DEV-GENÇ got the power and efficiency of TMTF (the most active student association in 1960's).

After 1977, in the chaos, even taking a walk through Kızılay Square had become dangerous, the square had turned to be a battleground, similar to the other streets and squares. Anarchy and policemen were dominating the space. The leftist students would want to be seen, to distribute their political material at the square; and on the other hand, rightist commanders would demand to beat the revolutionary students *at the square*.

After 1980, the coup d'état, the demonstrations and the chaos ended suddenly. This silence continued till the mids of 1990's. Kızılay Square has transformed to be a place vehicles and political rant is dominant. The spatial transformation leads to visual and symbolic access of the space to diminish; subways have oriented pedestrians to pass underground and have couraged vehicles to pass faster through the Square, which resulted in the space to be perceived as if it had been a junction. However, the historical meaning of the space is based on the political character of the square, coming from struggles against DP in the very beginning of 1960's.

## **5.2. Proposals for Policy Implications to Transform the Urban Public Space**

Squares, as open public spaces, have been places where social life has been continued; people, coming together, interact with each other, and exchange goods, ideas. Besides, citizens at public space demand and struggle for political, personal and socio-economic rights. However, rather being lived, public spaces recently have turned to be places being passed. Nevertheless, though the decentralization of functions and economic fall of central business district with respect to the



development of shopping malls, public space is still observed to have a political potential and essence within political struggles and public meetings in masses.

Although it had become an essential public space since the establishment of Turkish Republic and had become one of the critical political spaces of the struggle during 1960's, Kızılay Square has been attempted to be a junction. Therefore, the space turns to be a place passed over, rather than being experienced. The political meaning of the space is seen to be protected to some degree; on the one hand it is still a place demanded by the syndicates, workers, demonstrators, which indicates its being both a catalyst and the stage of the social opposition of a time. On the other hand, a struggle based on exchange value and use value has been experienced on Kızılay Square. Added to the spatial projects or project proposals, the square has been attempted to be out of pedestrian use and opened to flow of capital. Through spatial restrictions and regulations, pedestrians have been observed to be got out of the square and on the contrary vehicles have been seen to be motivated to pass faster through the square. However, both the economic and spatial vitality of the city centre, squares can be provided by the flow of pedestrians. This would also affect the quality of urban life and democracy. Therefore, the justification of the governorship, on the prohibition of public meetings and demonstrations at Kızılay Square for the sake of pedestrians passing through the square seems contradictory.

By spatial patterning, the physical and visual access can be provided; to revitalize the space would be meaningful. Orienting the pedestrians to underway passages is neither good for the psychology of the citizens nor the economic revitalization of the city centre. To provide both the quality of urban life and enhancement of economic life of the city centres, the square should be redefined visually, physically and mentally and the accessibility of the square by this way should be increased. Although the square has tended to be transformed to a junction, the historical transformation of the space indicates that political struggle has an essential role and potential to transform the space to a pedestrian zone.

There are four separate – relatively – pedestrian zones in Kızılay district: İzmir Street functioning as the commercial sub-centre especially focussing electronic

commodities, Sakarya District functioning as the sub-centre of feeding, Yüksel District concentrates the cultural facilities and Güvenpark which holds the transportation, entertainment, and recreation facilities. To transform Kızılay Square to a place lived, experienced rather than a junction point to be passed through, these mentioned districts should be related with each other and new pedestrian zones to tie such a spatial organization should be developed. The bus stops and the new built building for Beğendik, both of which narrow the Square should be solved in another location of the city or the spatial organization of the bus stops and the architectural design of the building can be rethought.

The urban poor can not reach to Kızılay Square so as to create their own restricted public spaces in their own territory; on the other hand, the upper classes have met their needs of entertainment, consumption, and recreation – especially in closed spaces or strictly protected spaced. This would lead a fragmentation of both the public sphere and the cognitive maps of the citizens. Hence, city centres, squares should turn to be places attracting the attention of the upper classes who has been stuck in their ‘gated communities’ and on the other hand to enable the lower classes to reach, to access the city centre. Therefore, rather than encouraging entrance of private cars to the centre, public transportation should be developed so that lower classes can reach the square. Added to that, the variety of both the consumption and recreation facilities should be increased.

Kızılay Square has experienced an economic decline and spatial transformation as a result of mushrooms of off-centre shopping malls and public offices. One of the direct impacts of this is the decline in number of people who use Kızılay in their leisure and consumption activities. One would easily assume the end of the traditional centre. Although decline is not moreover dispute, it is equally possible to challenge this view by emphasizing the historical power of Kızılay resulting from its long term dominance as the most used centre of the city. This gives a special and spatial strength to it through which Kızılay could resist and to that strong hollowing out process. However, it should be noted that the ultimate success of this resistance largely depends on people’s conscious – effort – to protect Kızılay as their public space in the face of the massive and rootless attack of fragmentating forces.

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## **APPENDICES**



## APPENDIX A –Chronology of Kızılay Square

**1836-37**–the first plan for the whole Empire prepared for İstanbul (by Von Moltke)

**1839** – a certificate of proof (*ilmuhaber*) the first instruction manual for development and construction of public facilities

**1848** – the first set of regulations in issues of development enacted for İstanbul (Ebniye Nizamnamesi)

**1864** – development regulations were generalized for the whole empire (Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi)

**1882** – The first development law - Ebniye Kanunu

### 1. 1923 – 1950: THE URBANIZATION OF THE STATE

**13<sup>th</sup> of October 1923** – Declaration of Ankara as the capital city

**29<sup>th</sup> of October 1923** – Declaration of the establishment of Turkish Republic

**The end of 1923** – At the end of the year 1923, the mayor of the city at that time, Mehmet Ali Bey, demanded a study on Ankara from a company of assessment and construction – *Keşfiyat ve İnşâ'at Türk Anonim Şirketi*.

**30<sup>th</sup> of May 1924** – The assessment and construction firm submitted a report, named the commercial law prospects on the development plan of the city of Ankara, *Ankara Şehrinin İ'mâr İnşa Planına Aid İzahnamedir*. Lörcher, the writer of the report, presented three plans attached to the report.

**1924** – İş Bank, which was going to become an influential actor on the economic decisions of the state, was established.

**1924-1925** – In his design, Lörcher used concepts of 'square' and 'open spaces' which were discussed and conceptualized in the congress of Manheim, in 1905. The spatial pattern, especially the public space organization of Lörcher in Ankara, Yenışehir can be regarded as a pioneer attempt.

**1925** – In March of the year 1925, besides the railway in the south of the settlements, an empty land was expropriated. Yenışehir (the new city) would be the locus of new declared capital city and so new established republic.

**1926** – The building which named and framed Sıhhiye Square was finished.

**1927** – Two essential boulevards, towards Maltepe and Cebeci, were constructed.

**By 1927** – Ankara had reached a population of 74 000. Forty four new houses had been built in Yenışehir district in one year time.

**May 1927** – A planning contest was conducted by Şehremenati.

**1927** – The district around Havuzbaşı was renamed as Liberation Square after Havuzbaşı was demolished.

**1927** – The statue of Victory, *Zafer Anıtı*, which named Zafer Square, was designed and sculptured by an Italian sculptor, Canonica in 1927.

**1928** – A new institution, the Directory of Development in Ankara, was established within the law numbered 1351. The Directory of Development in Ankara was going to prepare development programs for the city and the programs would be approved by the Council of Ministers.

**16<sup>th</sup> of May, 1929** – The result of the planning contest for Ankara was announced. Among three German architects (J. Brix, H. Jansen, L. Jausseley) the plan of Jansen was chosen to be implemented, by the commission who went to Germany and announced

Second plan for Ankara was prepared by Herman Jansen, the winner of the competition in which three international architect-planners participated.

**1929** – World Economic Crisis

**1930** – Construction of Kızılay, *Hilal-i Ahmer Binası*, was finished and in front of it, a park was constructed. The name of the square, *Republic Square*, turned to be Kızılay Square.

**1930** – Ankara Planning Commission was established to conduct the (planning) competition and provide the implementation of the plan in Ankara.

**1930** – Lozan Square was designed by Jansen.

**1932** – The final version of Jansen Plan was approved and came into operation.

**June - September 1933** – Güvenpark, which was designed to be in front of the Kızılay Building, had been completed in September. Güvenpark on the top of the triangle was on the northern side of the square. In the south part of the square there were ministry buildings on each side and at the end National Assembly Building was located.

**14<sup>th</sup> of July, 1936** – Tandoğan Square was created with respect to the judgement of Jansen Plan, dated as 14.7.1936 and numbered 3325/II.

**1947** – The attempt to construct a mosque in Yenişehir (based on Lörcher's plan) was discussed in Council of Ministers. According to the decision of Council of Ministers, dated 29.05.1947 and numbered 3/5903, 'an association of constructing a mosque in Yenişehir' was declared to be considered as 'an association in favour of public use'.

## **2. 1950 – 1980: THE URBANIZATION OF LABOUR**

**27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1936** – The law of meetings and demonstrations of which text was prepared by DP, was approved within the Parliament numbered 6761.

**27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1956** – Numbered 6875 Law of Development was proposed by DP and approved at the Parliament.

**1958** – Ministry of Public Works and Housing was established.

**1960's** – The construction of Kocatepe Mosque was started with the revisions made on plan decisions.

### **1960-64:**

#### **1960**

**19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960** – Approximately ten thousand people had been observed along Atatürk Boulevard demonstrating in favour of İnönü and protesting the leader of the part in power, i.e. Adnan Menderes the leader of DP.

**27<sup>th</sup> April, 1960** – İsmet İnönü gave a speech at the United Nations (UN) Parliament, under strict precautions. He was criticizing the party in power; however his speech was interrupted and restrained from the 12<sup>th</sup> session of the meetings of UN Parliament.

**27<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1960** – The students who heard about this incident reacted and protested this treatment in İstanbul the day after the speech and in Ankara in the following day since they regarded this situation as threaten to their freedom. Policemen reacted severely to demonstrator students in İstanbul by entering their university.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960** – Students attempted to protest this treatment in Ankara. They began to gather in the Garden of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University. However, within this agglomeration and demonstration, which is

mentioned to be 'quiet' in the newspaper, the students were going to be attacked by the policemen.

**5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960** – The fellow-travelers of DP had been expected to demonstrate in favour of their party at Kızılay Square. An agglomeration through the path between Kızılay and Sıhhiye was planned to take position on Atatürk Boulevard as Menderes and the avant-garde of DP were passing along this path. After this attempt was heard, groups come together at Kızılay Square. The slogan of 555K had begun to be heard frequently. This slogan referred to the time and place of the demonstration, determined by the university students: 'At Kızılay Square, on the fifth day of the fifth month at five o'clock'.

**21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1960** – Students of Military College protested the party in power, by a march (named as 'quite demonstration') beginning from their college to Zafer Monument.

**27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960** – The Military of Turkey seized power of the country and discharged DP.

**28<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960** – In spite of the prohibition to go out; people celebrated the interference at the streets and boulevards.

**29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960** – In the formal notifications announced on 29<sup>th</sup> May, by Ankara Commandership of Martial Law, the citizens were thanked for their cheering in the first place. In addition to that, the commandership demanded citizens' help to soldiers for provision of peace.

**8<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960** – In İstanbul, a celebration meeting was organized.

**9<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960** – In Ankara, parallel to the meeting in İstanbul, a celebration march and meeting was organized at Kızılay Square.

**10<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960** – The Committee of National Unity delivered a formal notification announcing that the students who had been killed between 28<sup>th</sup> April and 27<sup>th</sup> of May, was going to be buried at Anıtkabir. The cortege passed through Kızılay Square.

**20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960** – Another meeting was organized by students in Ankara, at Kızılay Square, parallel to the meeting done in İstanbul, on 13<sup>th</sup> of June.

**26<sup>th</sup> of June, 1960** – The organization of Cypriot students who were educated in Ankara met at Kızılay Square to protest the assistant president of Cyprus Dr. Fazıl

Küçük, because of his explanations in favour of DP and the implementations of this party.

**13<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960** – Similar to the demonstration organized on 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1960, in İstanbul at Taksim Square, a meeting was held in Ankara, at Kızılay Square. The Association of College and University Students in Ankara organized the meeting to protest French policies in Algeria.

**20<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960** – A statue of Atatürk was bombed in İskenderun, which led to protests all through the country.

**20<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960** –Beginning from İskenderun, demonstrations occurred in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir. The students crowded at 10 am in front of Zafer Monument and sang the marches to protest the event of bombing in İskenderun.

**21<sup>st</sup> of December, 1960** – The demonstrations also continued on 21<sup>st</sup> of December. The students gathered and placed wreaths at both the statue of Atatürk in Ulus Square and Zafer Monument.

**27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1960** – The 41<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the day, Atatürk's arriving at Ankara was celebrated with an official march through Kızılay, along Atatürk Boulevard towards the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

## **1961**

**6<sup>th</sup> of January, 1961** – Students of Ankara University, higher school students and students of other levels came together at Sıhhiye Square to celebrate the opening of Constituent Parliament – *Kurucu Meclis* – and to show their obedience to the parliament.

**12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1961** – Since nine of the newspapers had been decided to be closed by their owners, journalists planned to protest this development by a quiet march through Ataturk Boulevard held on. The protestors placed wreath in front of Zafer Monument and then left their pickets in front of Güvenlik Monument in Kızılay Square.

**7<sup>th</sup> of April, 1961** – The college students attempted to protest nuclear action in the morning. However, they could not achieve to gather and protest; rather they were able to get about one hundred signs on the declaration prepared in Europe. Moreover, they applied Turkish National Student Federation.

**5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1961** – Commemorative ceremonies were planned at Kızılay Square to commemorate the first anniversary of the enormous demonstration which was named as 555K in Turkish Political History was.

**19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1961** – The mayor and governor of Ankara, Nuri Teoman, organized a press conference about the budget of the municipality and the decisions taken, on. According to him, the traffic of the city had been organised and he emphasized that the traffic lines had decreased the accidents by 70 %. He mentioned about further precautions one of which was the subways which were planned to be located at Ulus, Kızılay, and Sıhhiye

**2<sup>nd</sup> of November, 1961** – Students who could not enter any program, faculty or university within the university exams crowded in front of the building of Grand National Assembly of Turkey on.

**3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 1961** – After the formal meeting, it was decided that all of the students demanding to enter the university was going to be admitted in the education year of 1961-62. The assistant of Prime Minister, Fahri Özdilek, the Minister of National Education, Ahmet Tahtakılıç, and the rector of Ankara University assembled in a trio meeting explained that the quota of Ankara University had been increased.

**3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 1961** – The students who still could not enter any faculties continued their demonstrations by a protest held on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 1961. They walked from FLHG to the building of Prime Ministry and when they could not meet anyone there they began to walk towards Çankaya.

**4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – The students marched to the Ministry of National Education to talk with the Minister, Tahtakılıç and to demand knowledge on developments related with the results of entrance exams.

**6<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – Students coming from İstanbul joined the demonstrator students in Ankara and all reached a number of one thousand demonstrators. They marched for hours from Cebeci and through Sıhhiye towards Kızılay.

**6<sup>th</sup> November, 1961** – Students repeated their demonstrations; students coming from İstanbul had joined to them. A group of approximately one thousand gathered at the Garden of Law School at 9.30 am and through following the way of Cebeci-Sıhhiye, they reached to Kızılay.

**6<sup>th</sup> November, 1961** – RPP deputy of Edirne, Süleyman Bilge presented a proposal of question (about the issues of high education, the inadequate capacities of universities) to the Ministry of National Education at the sessions of the Parliament.

**7<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – The authorities of Ankara University assembled and discussed the issue for long hours; they decided to expand the quota once more. It was declared that one thousand and four hundred new students were planned to be accepted to certain programs in Ankara University.

**14<sup>th</sup> November, 1961** – RPP deputy of İstanbul, Raşit Ülker presented a proposal of question (about the issue of students who could not succeed in the entrance exams of universities) at the sessions of the Parliament.

**27<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – Forty students among university nominees who had been still out of capacities of universities began a hunger strike. They stayed at Güvenpark, in front of the monument for two nights.

**29<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – The students who had been demonstrating through hunger strike moved to the building of Grand Turkish National Assembly in order to have an official with the deputies and senators. Nonetheless, they could not achieve their demand.

**30<sup>th</sup> of November, 1961** – The entrance scores of FLHG had been decreased to increase the number of the students who were able to enter the faculties.

**31<sup>st</sup> of November, 1961** – The martial law ended at night.

**9<sup>th</sup> of December, 1961** – Workers bonded to Union of DSİ, marched from Sıhhiye, Toros Street to the Confederation of Türk-İş to protest the Directorate General. They stopped at Zafer Monument for a while for homage.

## **1962**

**10<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962** – Numerous protests began in İstanbul to protest the fire at Atatürk Museum.

**12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962** – The Governorship of İstanbul prohibited the usage of certain spaces for demonstrating and meeting for the sake of security and functional issues. These were Taksim, Eminönü, Karaköy, Aksaray, Saraçhane, Beşiktaş, Barbaros, Şişli and Hürriyet Squares.

**12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962** – The mayor and governor of Ankara made a press conference. He declared that he was not in favour of demonstrating.

**13<sup>th</sup> of January, 1962** – As a continuation of the demonstration in İstanbul, over five thousand university students were agglomerated at Zafer Square, on at 11 o'clock. They were protesting the reactionary press and named their meeting as 'The Last Speech of the Youth', which was organized by TNSF.

**15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1962** – A new draft bill of the right of demonstrating and getting together was prepared and presented to the parliament. This bill was planned to be replaced with the Law of Demonstrating and Getting together which was dated 27.06.1956 and numbered 6761. The draft bill was composed of six sections and twenty seven articles. It was prepared by the Commission of Sorting the Antidemocratic Judgments.

**16<sup>th</sup> of February, 1962** – The draft bill was prepared by the party in power and presented to the Parliament to be discussed.

**6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1962** – The Commission of Internal Affairs began to discuss the bill of the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches.

**28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1962** – A commemorative ceremony was held at Anıtkabir. Besides, students of Ankara University came together at 9 am at Zafer Square. Speeches were made during the ceremony.

**27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1962** – The coup d'état was celebrated through speeches at Zafer Square.

**12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1962** – The inhabitants of the squatter settlements, living in Altındağ, District of Çalışkanlar gathered in front of the Prime Ministry Building.

**19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1962** – The students of Medicine School protested the group who was said to be opposing the coup d'état and in favour of DP. A quite march to Anıtkabir was organized and from there, they came to Zafer Square and placed wreath on the monument. A small group from the demonstrators could meet Ekrem Alican, the assistant Prime Minister, and he assured that squatters would be demolished only after new houses were provided.

**21<sup>st</sup> of September, 1962** – A demonstration was held by a group of 25-30 young girls and women to protest the increasing number of rape and attacks at Kızılay Square on.

**2<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1962** – Five persons appeared at Kızılay Square, about 5.45 pm, handling the pickets written as '*İnönü, resign!*'. Students and some citizens, passing through Kızılay, got angry and attempted to beat the demonstrators. In spite of the



security precautions, five demonstrators were beaten and after, in Ankara, the buildings of certain newspapers, Tercüman, Yeni İstanbul, Zafer, and Son Havadis, and also the AP General Center Building in Kızılay were attacked.

**3<sup>rd</sup> of October, 1962** – At the parliament session held in 3<sup>rd</sup> October, İsmet İnönü made a speech and he talked about the demonstrations occurred on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October. He mentioned his concerns about these demonstrations emphasizing on the five of demonstrators who attempted to protest the government (RPP – *CHP*).

**5<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962** – The demonstrations on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October were discussed in the Senate. İnönü defended the oppositional demonstrators and mentioned once more that the demonstrations represented the reactions of citizens.

**15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962** – The bill of the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches was discussed at the session of parliament; the fifth and seventh articles were changed and the bill was returned to the commission in this format.

**19<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962** – The bill was accepted at the session of the parliament with the rejection of seven deputies of MP. It was legalized after it was discussed at the senate

**20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1962** – Eight demonstrators, who were arrested after the protests on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October, were released on, with the expiation demand of their lawyer.

**22<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1962** – Approximately two hundred and fifty students marched from FLGH (DTCF) to Güvenpark. Then they went to the Turkish Grand National Assembly; three students from the group went upstairs and called the minister who accepted to come down and talk to the students.

**13<sup>th</sup> of November, 1962** – Ankara University increased its quota; therefore 1833 more students could enter the university.

**27<sup>th</sup> of November, 1962** – Senate continued to discuss the bill of the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches.

**28<sup>th</sup> of November, 1962** – The senate discussed the bill and demonstration within 1 km area near the building of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was forbidden.

**29<sup>th</sup> of November, 1962** – The bill was given to the commission for the arrangements of the articles discussed and changed on, the bill was voted and legalized.

**22<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1962** – Türk-İş made a meeting and demonstration. On that Saturday, by 2 pm, the demonstrators put wreaths at Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of

Liberation Martyrs and the Monument at Zafer Square. The demonstration protested communism and radical movements against the democratic regime at Tandoğan Square.

**27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1962** – The 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the day, Atatürk's arriving at Ankara was celebrated. Celebrations began in Anıtkabir and continued with an official march from Müdaafa Street and through Kızılay, along Atatürk Boulevard towards Lozan Square and then Vilayet Square.

### **1963**

**7<sup>th</sup> of January, 1963** – The students of DTCF demonstrated through a quiet march to protest the negative speech of the deputy from AP Etem Kılıçoğlu who criticized their school. At 11 am, the demonstrators met and demonstrated at Zafer Square.

**23<sup>rd</sup> of January, 1963** - Approximately three hundred of the students of the Faculty of Political Sciences (SBF), protested the speech of AP deputy who talked about radical approaches and about Workers' Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Partisi) –TİP– and related this approaches to the lecturers of the faculty.

**18<sup>th</sup> of February, 1963** – The law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches was announced at the Official Gazette.

**8<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963** – After the law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches numbered 171 was accepted and legalized, the Governorship of Ankara declared the possible places and routes of demonstrations and marches.

**22<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963** – Celal Bayar had come out of the prison in Kayseri, had come to Ankara and demonstrations in favour of him occurred.

**24<sup>th</sup> of March, 1963** – Celal Bayar was protested in front of the Zafer Monument. After gathering at Zafer Square, the crowd started to move towards the house in Kavaklıdere, where Bayar was staying. While the crowd was passing through the junction of Kızılay, there occurred a quarrel among the demonstrators and the members of the party, AP.

**25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> of March of 1963** – Students came together at Zafer Square and protested both the provocations of AP and the supporters of Bayar. The central building of AP which was located at Kızılay Square was destroyed by the demonstrators.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1963** – The violent events were commemorated again; the third anniversary of the events of 28<sup>th</sup> & 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960 was realized through commemorative ceremonies organized at both the universities and Anıtkabir.

**20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1963** – The students who were taken into custody during the meeting which occurred on 24<sup>th</sup> of March, at Kızılay Square were judged on 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1963, because of the infringement of the Law of Meetings and Demonstrations Marches.

**20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1963** – A struggle occurred between the government and the Military College students.

**21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1963** – As a result of this revolt, the martial law was announced in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir beginning from, at 3 pm for a period of one month.

**27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1963** – The anniversary of the military coup d'état was celebrated as The Bayram of Liberty and Constitution through a march from Zafer Square to Hipodram.

**14<sup>th</sup> of July, 1963** – An interview with the governor and mayor of Ankara, Enver Kuray was broadcasted in Ulus newspaper; he talked about urban problems of Ankara. To regulate the inner city traffic, four passages were planned; two of them were underground and the other two were on ground.

**25<sup>th</sup> of July, 1963** – Municipality of Ankara announced a formal declaration which declares that the underground passage for pedestrians was going to be constructed after the martial law ended which can be interpreted as a precaution for providing security and peace during the martial law.

**15<sup>th</sup> of November 1963** – By formal notification of the martial law numbered 52 students who could not succeed in entering any faculty had been prohibited to demonstrate at streets, rather, they were motivated to use their legal rights.

**27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1963** – Greeks living in Cyprus had begun to attach Turkish citizens in Cyprus; a group of fifteen thousand demonstrators, mostly composed of young, protested this issue at Kızılay Square. After the speeches, the demonstrators began to walk towards the Grand Assembly of Turkey, along Atatürk Boulevard.

**27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1963** –The 44<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the day, Atatürk's arriving at Ankara was celebrated. Celebrations began in Anıtkabir and continued with an official march through Kızılay, along Atatürk Boulevard towards Vilayet Square.

## 1964

**21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1964** – A paper news on one of these projects had been seen; the project of the Association of Economic Breakthrough – *Ekonomik Hamle Derneği*. The project had proposed the construction of underground passages for vehicles along Atatürk Boulevard, between Ulus and the buildings of ministries.

**5<sup>th</sup> of February, 1964** – The project was examined through a panel organized by Ulus newspaper and this examination was planned to be broadcasted in newspapers.

**13<sup>th</sup> of March, 1964** – Students organized a demonstration on Cyprus issue at Zafer Square. A puppet symbolizing Makarios was burned; speeches were made and poems were read.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1964** – The fourth anniversary of the events of 28<sup>th</sup> & 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960. Ceremonies began with the homage at Anıtkabir and the Mausoleum of Liberation Martyrs. A parallel ceremony was done at the saloons of FLHG (DTCF) with speeches. Moreover, a group of students from the youth associations, crowded at Zafer Square to memorialize the dates.

**27<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964** – A group met at Zafer Square and then marched to the ministry buildings to protest the Cyprus policies of United States.

**28<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964** – Students struggled with the gendarme within the district of the parliament where they protested both USA and Greece. Although the permission was taken for the next Tuesday, 1<sup>st</sup> of September, the students got together around Zafer Monument and began their demonstration there.

**29<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964** – The students continued their demonstrations on Cyprus issue and American policies.

**30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1964** – At the eventide, the youth demanded to make a demonstration at Zafer Square; however, the group was prevented to come together through the precautions taken by the authorities.

**1<sup>st</sup> of September, 1964** – To protest the Cyprus issue, an official meeting was organized by the student associations such as, National Turkish Student Union (NTSU – *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği*, MTTB), The Student Union of Ankara University (*Ankara Üniversitesi Talebe Birliği*) and the College/University Student Union of Ankara (*Ankara Yüksek Okullar Talebe Birliği*). The demonstration started at Zafer Square, at 3 pm; after speeches the group marched along the path of Kızılay

(Liberty) Square – Ministries – Parliament and arrived at the Presidency of General Staff of the Turkish Army.

**16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1964** – The students who could not succeed in entering any faculty attempted to organize a quiet march although the demonstrations at Kızılay Square had been forbidden officially. Therefore, they began their demonstration from Kurtuluş Square, but they were not as much crowded as they had planned. They obeyed the marching path and moved to Hipodrom along Talatpaşa Boulevard. The policemen observed the demonstration of the students closely but did not intervene.

**10<sup>th</sup> of December, 1964** – The General President of Pension Fund, made an explanation on the buildings of the fund being constructed in Ankara and İstanbul, among which was Kızılay Office Building in Kızılay on Atatürk Boulevard. The building was planned to be finished by the mids of 1964.

**27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1964** – The 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the day, Atatürk's arriving at Ankara was celebrated. Celebrations began in Anıtkabir and continued with an official march through Kızılay, from Müdaafa Street along Atatürk Boulevard towards Lozan Square.

### **1968-71:**

#### **1968**

**30<sup>th</sup> of January, 1968** – Since 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 1968, the students of Cumhuriyet High School had started to boycott lectures. On 30<sup>th</sup> of January, three hundred students moved to Kızılay Square after the school and marched to protest the legal code, regulating their lectures.

**1<sup>st</sup> of February, 1968** – The demonstrations with other activities, protests and boycotts had drawn attention. The code was withdrawn by the Ministry of National Education and the articles were reorganized.

**8<sup>th</sup> of February, 1968** – US 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet had arrived to İzmir, which was decided to be protested by formal declerations and through passive resistance of citizens.

**22<sup>nd</sup> of February, 1968** – Presidents of student associations of both İstanbul Technical University and Middle East Technical University organized a press conference at Güvenpark to protest the beating events at the Parliament and the obstacles created by the government. **23<sup>rd</sup> of February, 1968** – A paper of news in

Ulus newspaper articulated an attack on a deputy of TİP. Yunus Koçak, deputy of Konya from TİP (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi* – the Workers Party of Turkey) had been beaten by some deputies of AP.

**24<sup>th</sup> of February, 1968** – A grand meeting – named as the *Constitution Meeting* – was organized by certain student associations and DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Syndicates –*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*) at Kurtuluş Square. The march started from Tandoğan Square.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1968** – Revolutionary student associations – such as *TMGT, TMTF, FKF, AÜTB, AYOTB, ODTÜTB & HÜTB* – broadcasted a formal declaration to announce that they were planning to memorialize the events occurred at 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960, at Zafer Square.

**14<sup>th</sup> of May, 1968** – University students made a press statement in front of the monument in Taksim, protesting USA. The demonstration was the beginning of the campaign – ‘NO to NATO’. Streets, squares and walls were painted and written with this slogan, which turned to be a street fight between the demonstrators and the policemen. The campaign lasted till 19<sup>th</sup> of May.

**16<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969** – The campaign, which started in İstanbul, was also supported by the students in Ankara, on. Posters, protesting USA were hanged on the walls along the streets, boulevards, main roads.

**30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1968** – The students of Faculty of Agriculture began their boycotts to protest the legal decision of Cabinet, related with Professional Engineers of Agriculture.

**7<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – Since the Ministry of Agriculture seemed not to react to criticisms the students of Faculty of Agriculture, students started a march beginning from their school. Since this was not a permitted march, special police pursued the demonstrators. They arrived at the front side of Ministry and shouted at the minister to resign. Moreover, they attacked and destroyed the building of Zafer newspaper.

**11<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – Two faculties joined the boycotts. During these boycotts, revolutionary students struggle with the ones that were anti-revolutionary.

**12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – Students of FLHG (DTCF) started to gather round the campus of their faculty at 11.30 am and began their march to Kızılay.

**15<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – The students of the faculty of Agriculture organized a quiet march to Ministries. They sat in front of the building and a committee of three students met with the ministers of government, Öztürk and Müftüoğlu.

**16<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – Celal Kargılı, the president of the student association and the leader of the boycott committee in FLHG (DTCF) announced a memorandum to the President of Turkey, The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government and the senate of university.

**19<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – On one hand boycotts had continued and on the other hand students had their interviews with the authorities during 19<sup>th</sup> of June. Kargılı could meet and talk with Cevdet Sunay, for forty five minutes.

**20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1968** – Students of three separate faculties of agriculture in Ankara came to the Ministry of Agriculture. They attacked and recaptured all the floors of the ministry building. After a chaos in the building for a time authorities of the ministry had to agree with the students on a text to prevent the injustice.

**15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – The 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet was at the Harbor of İstanbul.

**16<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – At the night of 16<sup>th</sup> of July, through the protests of students, violent events occurred. Special police attacked a dormitory and beat the students, which resulted in death of a student, Vedat Demircioğlu.

**17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – Violent events in İstanbul were protested in Ankara during the demonstrations at the night connecting the 17<sup>th</sup> of July to 18<sup>th</sup> of July. Windowframes of buildings, which were related with USA such as the cinema of America, and the dormitory where Americans sleep, were broken by demonstrators. All the American buildings in Ankara were destroyed by black paints, stones and Molotov Cocktails. On the same day, 18<sup>th</sup> of July, US government informed their disturbance of the demonstrations and destructions against the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet of USA.

**24<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – Vedat Demircioğlu died. Violent events were observed in Konya.

**27<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – On behalf of university and college students, six student associations demanded the Parliament to assembly by their formal declaration and informed that they were going to sit in front of the Parliament since the morning of 27<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968 till the Parliament assembled. Sixteen of the students who were sitting in front of the Parliament were taken into custody but were released in the evening.

**28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – The students were consigned to the court and their court was held. A group of 40-50 friends of the arrested students demanded to observe the court. Nonetheless, special police did not give permission to the students; in addition they struggled with the students and pursued them in and near the building. Meanwhile, a student, named Atalay Savaş, wanted to reach the pharmacy across the road in order to telephone the Public Prosecutor. However, he could not achieve the telephone since he was crushed by a minibus. He died in a few days.

**30<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968** – Presidents of Revolutionary Student Associations came together at the building of Ankara University Student Unity and organized a press conference. The death of Atalay Savaş was regarded to be the second murder of the Special police.

**25<sup>th</sup> of October, 1968** – De Gaulle, the president of France came to Ankara. The street-cleaners of the municipality worked hard to clean especially Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard (*Ankara Ankara-kısa kısa*, Ulus, 29.10.1968, p. 5).

## 1969

**6<sup>th</sup> of January, 1969** – The ambassador of USA, Komer was invited to METU by the rector of the university. Revolutionary students burned the car of the ambassador to protest Komer.

**10<sup>th</sup> of January, 1969** – The fleet's arriving at İstanbul was reacted within protests throughout the country.

**10<sup>th</sup> of February, 1969** – In Ankara in the evening of students were gathered at Zafer Square and demonstrated to protest the US fleet arrival.

**13<sup>th</sup> of February, 1969** – In Ankara, TUSLOG building was stoned and students struggled with policemen.

**16<sup>th</sup> of February, 1969** – In Istanbul, a violent event named as 'Bloody Sunday' took place in Taksim. Three hundred people was injured and two persons were killed.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1969** – At Zafer Square, at 11 o'clock a student demonstration was held to commemorate the events of 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960. Students promised to struggle until the ideal of independent Turkey was realized. The meeting was organized by the Collaboration of Revolutionary Associations – *Devrimci Kuruluşlar Güçbirliği*. During the demonstration, party in power was protested and right side ideologies were criticized to orient the country to backwards.



**3<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969** – Severe events occurred in the funeral of İmran Ökten when radical rightist attacked to the group.

**7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969** – In the funeral of the First President of Supreme Court, İmren Ökten, severe events, which were led by the radical rightists, had occurred. The government which was thought not to intervene in these events was protested. Judges and prosecutors of Supreme Court, members of Council of State organized a demonstration on 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969, Wednesday, at 5.30 pm. Lecturers of universities, assistants, lawyers and all of the revolutionary student organizations joined the meeting. They demanded to march on the route of Atatürk Boulevard – Kızılay – Mustafa Kemal Boulevard to Tandoğan Square. A quarrel was experienced between the Governorship of Ankara and the organizers of the demonstration.

**9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of June, 1969** – The students of Istanbul University had resisted not taking their exams under the control of the policemen. Accordingly students had struggled with the policemen and violent events occurred.

**11<sup>th</sup> of June, 1969** – Besides, as a reaction, on 11<sup>th</sup> of June, similar events appeared in Ankara as well. After a forum made in FLHG (DTCF) students got out of the faculty and marched towards Atatürk Boulevard and moved to Kızılay demonstrating against USA. American Commandership of Tuslog (The United States Logistics Group) at Kızılay Square and Mithatpaşa Boulevard were attacked and burned. Twenty one students were arrested.

**19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 1968** – The arrival of 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet of USA was protested in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir.

**29<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> of December, 1968** – A group of young people attacked to the candidates of teachers who were in elections of their association. These young attackers were mentioned to be educated through special classes for commandos.

**31<sup>st</sup> of December, 1969** – Radical rightist commandos also attacked the dormitory of FPS (SBF). The commandos were said to be members of a political party.

## **1970**

**13<sup>th</sup> of April, 1970** – Rightist commandos attacked Hacettepe Hospital and murdered a military doctor. The murder resulted in reactions. When the events had been heard in İstanbul, demonstrations and marches were organized.

**14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1970** – The funeral of the doctor, Necdet Güçlü was held. When the convoy of the funereal got faster, the students, who had been following the convoy, got excited. Young demonstrators in thousands started to run shouting. This run lasted from Maltepe to Kızılay.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1970** – The tenth anniversary of the events (28<sup>th</sup> & 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1960) was commemorated. The Federation of Social Democracy Associations – *Sosyal Demokrasi Dernekleri Federasyonu* – organized a ceremony at Zafer Square.

**27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1970** – On the evening of 27<sup>th</sup> of May (Wednesday), a student group from FPS (SBF) reached Zafer Square after they wandered along the streets with flambeaus in their hands.

**1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1970** – A meeting named ‘the Meeting of Respect to the Constitution and University’ was observed. A violent movement in favour of the party in power (AP) was arising. Through this demonstration the violent events which had been experienced at universities were protested by a crowded group of lecturers of universities, research assistants, students and revolutionary student associations.

**11<sup>th</sup> of July, 1970** – The project of Kızılay underground passage, prepared by the municipality, was refused by the Ministry of Development and Housing. On 11<sup>th</sup> of July, 1970, this refusal took place in the sixth page, fourth column of Ulus newspaper.

**13<sup>th</sup> of July, 1970** – On behalf of the minister, the deputy secretary articulated the message of the minister. In his explanation, the news on the rejection of the project was mentioned and the project was expressed to be presented by the municipality to the ministry.

**8<sup>th</sup> & 12<sup>th</sup> of October, 1970** – Students who could not succeed in the entrance examination of universities occupied certain departments of Hacettepe University.

**16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1970** – At night, seven people were taken into custody, since they were caught while placarding / setting up posters on the walls of Kızılay Square.

**19<sup>th</sup> of December, 1970** – Increasing violent in both demonstrations and reactions led to a campaign of ‘Leave the Weapon’. SDDF started the campaign by 19<sup>th</sup> of December to prevent the youth to arm. A demonstrations march was planned to be held in Beyazıt Square, on 26<sup>th</sup> of December – ‘The March of Leave the Weapon’.

**23<sup>rd</sup> of December, 1970** – SDDF and fifty eight affiliated associations were closed by the 5<sup>th</sup> Criminal Court of First Instance, justified by the argument that the federation was interested in politics.

**25<sup>th</sup> of December, 1970** – SDDF announced a formal declaration and informed that they planned to appeal the decision to conquer the federation.

## **1971**

**11<sup>th</sup> of January, 1971** – In Ankara, the branch of Turkish İş Bank was robbed by four people.

**17<sup>th</sup> of January, 1971** – Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, İbrahim Seven, Kor Kocalak and İrfan Uçar was declared to rob of the bank.

**12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1971** – Military memorandum was declared.

**16<sup>th</sup> of March, 1971** – Deniz Gezmiş and Yusuf Aslan were captured.

**23<sup>rd</sup> of March, 1971** – Hüseyin İnan, was captured.

**8<sup>th</sup> of April, 1971** – The government of Nihat Erim won a vote of confidence.

**28<sup>th</sup> of April, 1971** – A martial law was announced.

**29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1971** – 29<sup>th</sup> of April events could not be commemorated in 1971.

**12<sup>th</sup> of May, 1971** – Certain student associations such as DEV-GENÇ were judged to be closed.

**31<sup>st</sup> of May, 1971** – The Commandership of Martial Law broadcasted a formal declaration. It was about the regulation on traffic; the pedestrians were informed to use the sidewalks and cross walks.

**16<sup>th</sup> of May, 1971** – The judgment of Gezmiş with his twenty one friends began in the Martial Commandership of Ankara. The public prosecutor demanded death sentence for the twenty suspects.

## **1972**

**6<sup>th</sup> of May, 1972** – Deniz Gezmiş and his two friends, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan were executed.

## **1977-80:**

**1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1976** – In 1976, 1 May began to be celebrated as Labour Day at Taksim Square again after years of prohibition. DİSK (the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Syndicates) was the pioneering actor of this celebration.

**1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1977** – After the celebration in 1976, Labour Day on 1<sup>st</sup> of May in 1977 resulted in a violent event called ‘Bloody 1 May’, after a magnificent celebration. Thirty four people were murdered and nearly one hundred persons were injured through violent, bloody events. Since this celebration in 1977, Taksim Square has been regarded as *the space of 1 May*.

**15<sup>th</sup> of June, 1977** – On Friday at about 5.30 pm, a car had passed through Atatürk Boulevard. While the car was passing fire was opened to the buildings of both Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture.

**15<sup>th</sup> of June, 1977** – An armed struggle appeared at Kızılay Square between two distinct groups, who were distributing booklets. While a group of commanders were distributing their booklets in front of the building of GİMA (Kızılay Office Block) and Milli Müdafaa Boulevard, another group attempted to prevent them.

**2<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1977** – The squatters in the neighbourhood of 1 Mayıs, in Ümraniye, İstanbul, were demolished.

**20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1977** – The value of Turkish Lira was decreased by 10 %.

**30<sup>th</sup> of September, 1977** – The Mayor of Ankara, Vedat Dalokay, made a press conference and declared that the number of municipal busses and a system of free public transportation was planned to be organized.

**11<sup>th</sup> of December, 1977** – Local elections were held. There were four candidates Vedat Dalokay, Ali Dinçer (one was the former mayor of Ankara from RPP and the other was the new candidate of RPP), Selahattin Babüroğlu (who served as the Minister of Development and Housing within the governments formed after 1971) and lastly Dursun Akçaoğlu, who was a free doctor. Ali Dinçer achieved to be the mayor of Ankara.

**31<sup>st</sup> of March, 1978** – The governor of İstanbul explained that both Taksim Square and Beyazıt Square were prohibited for demonstrations just before the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, Labour Day, in 1978. The Governor also said that demand of DİSK to demonstrate at Taksim Square on 1<sup>st</sup> of May, had been rejected. However the Labour Day was celebrated at Taksim at that day with participation of fifty two institutions.

**22<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1978** – The first section of the project on lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses between Dikimevi and Kızılay, began to be used with a ceremony.

**29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1979** – In the area composed of the streets – İnkılap Street, Bayındır Street, Selanik Main Road and Tuna Main Road – intersect with Sakarya Main Road, a pedestrian zone had been planned. Municipality declared that this project was planned to be restarted and the pedestrian zone had been planned to be opened to use on 29<sup>th</sup> of October. Within the explanation, it was argued that the green and free spaces of Ankara had been limited in the boundaries of parks.

**9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980** – The foundation of the metro was laid, though the debate between the municipality and Ministry of Development and Housing.

**12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1980** – The army seized power and both the parliament and the government were conquered.

### **3. 1980 and onwards: THE URBANIZATION OF CAPITAL**

#### **1980-97:**

**1980** – The second project is on the construction at the place of the demolished Kızılay Building. A competition was conducted by Kızılay in 1980; however the building constructed at that location has not been opened to usage.

**1982** – The Minister of Internal Affairs at that time expressed that, the essential squares of metropolitan cities would be monitored with ‘closed circuit television system’.

**6<sup>th</sup> of October, 1983** – The revised version of the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches, numbered 2911 was approved at the Parliament.

**8<sup>th</sup> of October, 1983** – The revised version of the Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches was announced at the Official Gazette.

**1985** – The rehabilitation project of Güvenpark was proposed as an item on the agenda by the Metropolitan Municipality; and designed by the architect Sezar Aygen.

**1986** – Implementation projects of the rehabilitation project of Güvenpark were accomplished.

– The third important project on the square is first station of light railway system – from Söğütözü to Cebeci, designed as a part of city scale project. By this way, the underground of Kızılay Square turned to be a space which is continuously protected by the security forces and monitored by the security cameras.

### **1997 and onwards:**

**29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1996** – Municipality of Çankaya District organized a celebration ceremony of Republican Day at Anıtpark.

**Since the year 1997** – The Metropolitan Municipality has put up tents for the breaking of the Ramadan fast at Güvenpark; and has distributed meals costless.

**26<sup>th</sup> of October, 1997** – The Mayor of Çankaya district, Taşdelen demanded to organize a celebration for Republican Day at Kızılay Square in 1997. He presented a formal request to the governorship of Ankara four months before the date. The Greater Municipality of Ankara conflicted with the district municipality to celebrate Republican Day at Kızılay Square.

**29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1997** – The district municipality of Çankaya could celebrate the Republican Day at Kızılay Square with the concert of Kayahan. Melih Gökçek organized a celebration at Sıhhiye Square, within the concerts of Mustafa Sandal and Mahsun Kırmızıgül.

**18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1998** – The posters set up at Kızılay Square by workers of the district municipality of Çankaya were torn by workers of the Greater Municipality of Ankara. The posters were written as: “Celebration of Republican Day in the presence of Atatürk” and were informing the invitation of Zülfü Livaneli to the celebration.

**17<sup>th</sup> of May, 2000** – Before the celebration of 19<sup>th</sup> of May, Workers of the Greater Municipality tore the posters of Atatürk, set up by the district municipality.

**3rd of December, 2002** – The commission of City Centre, Kızılay, which was composed of the members from both the Association of City Planners and the Association of Architects, organized an activity at the Square to protest all the structures disturbing the articulation of pedestrians especially the disabled and the old.

**23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 2003** – KESK (Confederation of the Syndicates of Public Workers) demanded Kızılay Square in order to articulate their speech to express their demands on rehabilitation of both economic and social rights of public workers. Nonetheless, police charged by the Governorship of Ankara did not give permission them to demonstrate at the Square. Therefore, a tension and a struggle were experienced between the demonstrators and the policemen.

**1<sup>st</sup> of October, 2003** – The Urban Traffic Commission of Governorship of Ankara approved the decision of traffic regulation at Kızılay Square. By 20<sup>th</sup> of October, along Atatürk Boulevard, vehicles would use the parallel roads and could not pass on the junction since the junction at the square was closed.

**By 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, 2003** – Pedestrian pass ways were closed at the Square by barriers; traffic lights were removed. Pedestrians were obliged to use underground passages through the Ankaray station at Kızılay Square.

**7<sup>th</sup> of October, 2003** – The associations of Civil Engineers, Environmental Engineers, Engineers of Cartography, Mechanical Engineers, Architects and City Planners broadcasted their declarations to public opinion.

**17<sup>th</sup> of October, 2003** – A group (composed of members of occupational associations, members of NGOs such as ‘Altı Nokta Körler Derneği’, citizens and tradesmen working around the Square) gathered in front of GİMA at Kızılay Square and protested the spatial regulation. Demonstrators demolished some of the barriers.

**28<sup>th</sup> of October, 2003** –The Urban Traffic Commission of Ankara informed that they would re-argue the issue. Therefore the Platform of *Ankaram* submitted a petition of eighteen thousand signs to the Governorship of Ankara in order to provide the change the spatial regulation. The Commission decided to remove the barriers which disturb vehicles to turn left and right however decided pedestrians to continue passing underground.

**8<sup>th</sup> of November, 2003** – the Association of Rights of Consumers, *Tüketici Hakları Derneği* organized a public questionnaire on the issue of Kızılay Square being closed to pedestrian traffic at the Post Office of Kızılay. The participants argued that the Square should be opened to pedestrians.

**11<sup>th</sup> of November, 2003** – As a citizen and a lawyer, Sedat Vural sued for this decision and on 11<sup>th</sup> of October, the 5<sup>th</sup> Administrative Court of Ankara decided on stay of execution.

**19<sup>th</sup> of November, 2003** – Barriers were removed and traffic lambs with pedestrian pass ways were located at the Square.

**25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of November, 2005** – After the removal of barriers, chains surrounded the refuges of Atatürk Boulevard was removed at the weekend of 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of May.

## APPENDIX B – News Index in Ulus (1960-64; 1968-71)

1. *Başkent çınladı: İnönü, hürriyet istiyoruz*, Ulus, 20.04.1960, pp. 1 & 5
2. *Ankara ve İstanbul'da Örfi İdare*, Ulus, 29.04.1960, pp. 1 & 5
3. *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesine de polis yayılım ateşi açmıştı*, Ulus, 02.06.1960, p. 5
4. *İstanbul'daki hadiselerin neşri yasak*, Ulus, 29.04.1960, p. 1
5. *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri bütün memlekette idareyi ele aldı*, Ulus, 28.05.1960, pp. 1 & 5
6. *Fotoğraflarla dünkü olaylar*, Ulus, 29.05.1960, p. 6
7. *Ankara Kumandanlığının yeni tebliğleri*, Ulus, 30.05.1960, p. 5
8. *Milli İnkılâp Bayramımız dün de devam etti*, Ulus, 1.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
9. *Akla Kara, Emil Galip Sandalcı, Atatürk Bulvarı Nümayişleri*, Ulus, 1.06.1960, p. 3
10. *Hürriyet şehitlerimiz 10 Haziran'da törenle toprağa verilecek*, Ulus, 4.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
11. *Üçbin Öğrenci dün Kızılay'da büyük bir yürüyüş yaptı*, Ulus, 10.06.1960, p. 3
12. *5 Şehit gözyaşları içinde defnedildi*, Ulus, 11.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
13. *Pazartesi günü Ankara'da büyük bir miting yapılacak*, Ulus, 18.06.1960, p. 3
14. *Gençlik mitingi bugün yapılıyor*, Ulus, 20.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
15. *Atatürk Gençliği Başkentte dün 'Hürriyet Mitingi' yaptı*, Ulus, 21.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
16. *Kıbrıslı gençlerin protesto yürüyüşü*, Ulus, 26.06.1960, pp. 1 & 5
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226. *Arama Ankara dışına kaydı*, Ulus, 25.01.1971, p. 1
227. *Öğrencilerle polis çatıştı*, Ulus, 25.01.1971, pp. 1 & 2
228. *Polis aramalardan bir sonuç alamadı*, Ulus, 27.01.1971, p. 2
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230. *Silahlı 4 kişi Ziraat Bankası Küçükkesat şubesini soydu*, Ulus, 13.02.1971, pp. 1 & 7
231. *Soygunu, Gezmiş ve arkadaşları yapmış*, Ulus, 14.02.1971, pp. 1 & 2
232. *Polisle öğrenciler altı saat çarpıştılar* Ulus, 20.02.1971, pp. 1 & 2
233. *Polisi protesto amacıyla ODTÜ öğrencileri Ankara-Eskişehir yolunu kapattı*, Ulus, 21.02.1971, pp. 1 & 2
234. *Deniz Gezmiş yakalandı*, Ulus, 18.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2
235. *Gezmiş'in sorgusuna devam ediliyor*, Ulus, 19.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2
236. *Gezmiş'in arkadaşları için çeşitli ihbarlar yapılıyor*, Ulus, 20.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2
237. *Hüseyin İnan da yakalandı*, Ulus, 24.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2
238. *Deniz Gezmiş'in idamı istendi*, Ulus, 26.03.1971, pp. 1 & 2
239. *Deniz Gezmiş ve arkadaşlarınının 2. kez idamı istendi*, Ulus, 3.04.1971, p. 1
240. *Sıkıyönetim komutanlığı başkentini düzeni ile ilgili bir bildiri yayınladı*, Ulus, 01.06.1971, pp. 1 & 2

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1. *1 Mayıs İşçi Bayramını Bugün Kutluyoruz*, Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11
2. *Törene Yüzbinlerce kişi katıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 5
3. *1 Mayıs Kanlı Bitti: 33 Ölü*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11
4. *Hükümet Olağanüstü Toplandı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11
5. *Törene Yüzbinlerce kişi katıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1977, pp. 1 & 5
6. *Ölü Sayısı 34'e çıktı, ancak bu sayının artmasından korkuluyor*, Cumhuriyet, 03.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11
7. *Dalokay: "Bu kente iki baş çoktur. Bilimsel olarak da vali fazladır"*, Cumhuriyet, 24.05.1977, pp. 1 & 11
8. *Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı Binasına Bir Otomobilden ateş açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 16.07.1977, pp. 1 & 9
9. *Bu da Pirinç kuyruğu*, Cumhuriyet, 11.08.1977, p. 1
10. *Ümraniye'de gecekonduları yıkık halk ilgi beklediklerini açıkladı*, Cumhuriyet, 12.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9
11. *Yüzde 100-150 oranındaki PTT zamları yürürlüğe girdi*, Cumhuriyet, 20.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9
12. *Paramızın değeri % 10 düşürüldü*, Cumhuriyet, 21.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9
13. *Elektrik kısıntısı süresi bir saat daha artırılabilecek*, Cumhuriyet, 27.09.1977, pp. 1 & 9
14. *Ankara'da belediye otobüsleri bedava yolcu taşıyacak*, Cumhuriyet, 01.10.1977, pp. 1 & 9
15. *CHP'de Ankara'da Belediye Başkan Aday Adaylarının Sayısı dörde çıktı*, Cumhuriyet, 22.10.1977, pp. 1 & 9
16. *CHP'de Ankara Belediye Başkan adaylığı için yarışma var*, Cumhuriyet, 30.10.1977, pp. 5
17. *Türkiye borcunu ödemedi ve Irak petrolünü kesti*, Cumhuriyet, 21.11.1977, pp. 1 & 9
18. *Taksim ve Beyazıt Meydanları toplantılara kapatıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 31.03.1978, pp. 5
19. *1 Mayıs İşçi Bayramı Bugün Kutlanıyor*, Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1978, pp. 1 & 5

20. *1 Mayıs Coşkuyla Kutlandı*, Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1978, pp. 1 & 9
21. *Ankara'da Özel Otobüs Yolunun İlk Bölümü Açıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 23.09.1978, pp. 1 & 9
22. *Dalokay "Tahsisli Yol" Projesi için "Hababam Planı" dedi*, Cumhuriyet, 08.10.1978, p. 9
23. *İstanbul'da 1 Mayıs gösterisi yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 27.04.1979, pp. 1 & 11
24. *İstanbul'da 1 Mayıs gösterisi yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 27.04.1979, pp. 1 & 11
25. *1 Mayıs Gösterileri 5 ilde daha yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 28.04.1980, pp. 1 & 11
26. *DİSK'in 1 Mayıs için başvuruları 3 ilde reddedildi*, Cumhuriyet, 13.04.1980, pp. 1 & 9
27. *30 ilde 1 Mayıs gösterileri sıkıyönetim ve valilerce yasaklandı*, Cumhuriyet, 30.04.1980, pp. 1 & 5
28. *Ankara Belediyesi, Sakarya yaya bölgesini 29 Ekim'de hizmete açacak*, Cumhuriyet, 08.05.1979, pp. 7
29. *Ankara'da Metro Yapımına bu yıl içinde başlanacak*, Cumhuriyet, 26.04.1980, pp. 4
30. *Ankara Metrosunun temeli dün atıldı*, Cumhuriyet, 10.09.1980, pp. 1 & 5
31. *Parlamento ve hükümet feshedildi, Silahlı Kuvvetler Yönetime el koydu*, Cumhuriyet, 12.09.1980, pp. 1 & 9

## APPENDIX D – News Index in Hürriyet and Evrensel (web) (1997-onwards)

1. *Haydi, Cumhuriyet Halk Balosuna*, Hürriyet, 27.10.1997, İsmet SOLAK
2. *Siyasetçinin Zafer Sömürüsü*, Hürriyet, 27.06.2002, Emin Çölaşan
3. *Hazır 200 Metre Yakına Gelmişken*, Hürriyet, 30.10.1997, Ertuğrul ÖZKÖK
4. *Cumhuriyet Coşkusu*, Hürriyet, 30.10.1997, GÜNDEM
5. *RP'lilerdeki Cumhuriyet Sevgisi Göz Yaşartıyor*, Hürriyet, 31.10.1997, Tufan TÜRENÇ
6. *Atatürk Posterleri Zabıtalara Hışımına Uğradı*, Hürriyet, 19.10.1998, GÜNDEM
7. *19 Mayıs'ı Anlamak*, Hürriyet, 20.05.2000, İsmet SOLAK
8. *Gökçek'in açtığı tazminat davasına ret*, Hürriyet, 10.10.2001, GÜNDEM
9. *Ankara Valiliği'ne Suç Duyurusu*, Hürriyet, 03.01.2001, TÜRKİYE
10. *Meydanlar...*, Hürriyet, 25.07.1999, Bekir COŞKUN
11. *Başınızı Kaldırın*, Hürriyet, 31.07.2002, Bekir COŞKUN
12. *Otomobil merkezli yapılaşmaya protesto*, Evrensel, 04.12.2002, YAŞAM
13. *Memurun Kızılay Direnişi*, Hürriyet, 24.08.2003, Hasan TÜFEKÇİ-EKONOMİ
14. *Cinnah Fısıltıları*, Hürriyet, 29.09.2003, POLİTİKA
15. *'Duvar'*, Evrensel, 14.10.2003, Necati UYAR: KENT YAZILARI
16. *Bariyer Eziyeti*, Evrensel, 17.10.2003, GÜNDEM
17. *Ankara'da Yeni trafik düzenlemesi Pazartesi başlıyor*, Hürriyet, 18.10.2003, GÜNDEM
18. *Kızılay Öfkesi Caddeye taşı*, Evrensel, 19.10.2003, GÜNDEM
19. *Yeni trafik düzenlemesi*, Evrensel, 19.10.2003, GÜNDEM
20. *Kentli hakları ihlal ediliyor*, Evrensel, 23.10.2003, Hüsnü ÖNDÜL – ÖZGÜRLÜKLER
21. *Kızılay ve Ulus otobana dönüştürülüyor*, Evrensel, 24.10.2003, GÜNDEM
22. *Ankara böyle zulüm görmedi*, Hürriyet, 22.10.2003, Emin ÇÖLAŞAN
23. *İstanbul'a vize yine gündemde – Kızılay Esnafı neden susuyor?*, Hürriyet, 28.10.2003, Yalçın BAYER
24. *Sezer'e Düzeysiz Saldırı'yı Kınıyoruz*, Hürriyet, 29.10.2003, Yalçın BAYER
25. *Halkın anketinden hayır çıktı*, Evrensel, 09.11.2003, GÜNDEM

26. *Erdoğan: Bayramınız kutlu olsun*, Hürriyet, 24.12.2004, GÜNDEM - ANKARA
27. *Ankara'nın Zincirleri*, Evrensel, 31.05.2005, Necati UYAR – Kent Yazıları
28. *Bir şaşı diplomat görürseniz*, Hürriyet, 26.07.2006, Bekir COŞKUN
29. *Kavak Ağacında İki harf*, Hürriyet, 20.08.2006, Bekir COŞKUN

**APPENDIX E – The Law of Meeting, Demonstrations and Marches, numbered 2911, dated 06.10.1983**

TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞLERİ KANUNU

Kanun Numarası : 2911  
Kabul Tarihi : 6/10/1983  
Yayımlandığı R Gazete: Tarih : 8/10/1983 Sayı : 18185  
Yayımlandığı Düstur : Tertip: 5 Cilt: 22 Sayfa: 662  
BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM  
Genel Hükümler

Amaç ve kapsam

Madde 1 - Bu Kanun; toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenleme hakkının kullanılmasında uygulanacak şekil, şart ve usuller ile gerçek ve tüzelkişilerin düzenleyecekleri toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerinin yerini, zamanını, usul ve şartlarını, düzenleme kurulunun görev ve sorumluluklarını, yetkili mercinin yasaklama ve erteleme hallerini, güvenlik kuvvetlerinin görev ve yetkileri ile yasakları ve ceza hükümlerini düzenler,  
Tanımlar

Madde 2 - Bu Kanunda geçen deyimlerden;

- a) Toplantı; belirli konular üzerinde halkı aydınlatmak ve bir kamuoyu yaratmak suretiyle o konuyu benimsetmek için gerçek ve tüzelkişiler tarafından bu Kanun çerçevesinde düzenlenen açık ve kapalı yer toplantılarını,  
b) Gösteri yürüyüşü; belirli konular üzerinde halkı aydınlatmak ve bir kamuoyu yaratmak suretiyle o konuyu benimsetmek için gerçek ve tüzelkişiler tarafından bu Kanun çerçevesinde düzenlenen yürüyüşleri,  
c) Mahallin en büyük mülki amiri; illerde vali, ilçelerde kaymakamı,  
d) Mahallin güvenlik amirleri; illerde il emniyet müdürü ve il jandarma alay komutanını, ilçelerde ilçe emniyet amiri veya komiseri ve ilçe jandarma bölük komutanını,  
İfade eder.  
Bir il'e bağlı ilçelerin, o ilin belediye sınırları içindeki kısımlarına ilişkin olarak bu Kanunun uygulaması yönünden mahallin en büyük mülki amiri, ilin valisidir.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü hakkı

Madde 3 - Herkes, önceden izin almaksızın, bu Kanun hükümlerine göre silahsız ve saldırısız olarak kanunların suç saymadığı belirli amaçlarla toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenleme hakkına sahiptir.

Yabancıların, 4 üncü madde hükmü saklı kalmak üzere, bu Kanun hükümlerine göre toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenlemeleri ve Türk vatandaşları tarafından düzenlenecek toplantı veya yürüyüşte topluluğa hitap etmeleri, afiş, pankart, döviz, resim, flama, levha, araç ve gereçler taşımaları İçişleri Bakanlığının iznine bağlıdır.

İstisnalar

Madde 4 - Aşağıda belirtilen toplantı ve faaliyetler bu Kanun hükümlerine tabi değildir.

a) Siyasi partilerin, kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşlarının, sendikaların, vakıfların, derneklerin, ticari ortaklıkların ve diğer tüzelkişilerin özel kanunlarına ve kendi tüzüklerine göre yapacakları kapalı yer toplantıları,

b) Kanunlara uymak, kendi kural ve sınırları içinde kalmak şartıyla kanun veya gelenek ve göreneklere göre yapılacak toplantı, tören, şenlik, karşılama ve uğurlamalar,

c) Spor faaliyetleri ile bilimsel, ticari ve ekonomik amaçlarla yapılan toplantılar,

d) Cumhurbaşkanı, Başbakan ve bakanların Devlet ve Hükümet işleri hakkındaki toplantı ve konuşmaları ile Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi üyelerinin halk ile yapacakları sohbet niteliğindeki görüşmeler.

Seçim zamanına ilişkin hükümler

Madde 5 - Seçim zamanlarında yapılacak propaganda toplantıları ile ilgili kanun hükümleri saklıdır.

## İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

### Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü Yerleri

#### Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergahı

Madde 6 - Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri, tüm il veya ilçe sınırları içerisinde aşağıdaki hükümlere uyulmak şartıyla her yerde yapılabilir.

Şehir ve kasabalarda ve gerekli görülen diğer yerlerde hangi meydan ve açık yerlerde veya yollarda toplantı veya yürüyüş yapılabileceği ve bu toplantı ve yürüyüş için toplanma ve dağılma yerleri ile izlenecek yol ve yönler vali ve kaymakamlarca kararlaştırılarak alışılmış araçlarla önceden duyurulur. Bu yerler hakkında sonradan yapılacak değişiklikler duyurudan onbeş gün sonra geçerli olur. Toplantı yerlerinin tespitinde gidiş gelişi, güvenliği bozmayacak ve pazarların kurulmasına engel olmayacak biçimde, toplantıların genel olarak yapıldığı, elektrik tesisatı olan yerler tercih edilir.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü zamanı

Madde 7 - Toplantı ve yürüyüşlere ve bu amaçla toplanmalara güneş doğmadan başlanamaz.

Açık yerlerdeki toplantılar ile yürüyüşler güneşin batışından bir saat önce-ye, kapalı yerlerdeki toplantılar saat 23.00`e kadar sürebilir. Umuma açık yer sayılma

Madde 8 - Toplantının yapıldığı yer, toplantı süresince umuma açık yer sayılır.

### ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM Toplantı Şekil ve Şartları

#### Düzenleme Kurulu

Madde 9 - Bu Kanuna göre yapılacak toplantılar, medeni hakları kullanma ehliyetine sahip ve 21 yaşını doldurmuş en az yedi kişiden oluşan bir düzenleme kurulu tarafından düzenlenir. Bu kurul kendi aralarından birini başkan seçer.

Düzenleme kurulu başkan ve üyelerinin toplantının yapılacağı yerde sürekli ikametgahlarının bulunması ve bunların belgelendirilmesi zorunludur. Ayrıca bu kişilerin, haklarında soruşturma ve kovuşturma yapılabilmesi izne bağlı kimse-lerden olmaması veya yasama veya diplomatik dokunulmazlıklarının bulunmaması gereklidir.

Bildirim verilmesi

Madde 10 - Toplantı yapılabilmesi için, toplantının yapılmasından en az yetmişiki saat önce ve çalışma saatleri içinde, düzenleme kurulunun tamamının imzalayacakları bir bildirim, toplantının yapılacağı yerin bağlı bulunduğu valilik veya kaymakamlığa verilir.

Bu bildirimde;

- Toplantının amacı,
- Toplantının yapılacağı yer, gün, başlayış ve bitiş saatleri,
- Düzenleme kurulunun başkan ile üyelerinin açık kimlikleri, meslekleri

ikametgahları ve varsa çalışma yerleri,

Belirtilir ve bildirim yönetmelikte gösterilecek belgeler eklenir.

Bu bildirim karşılığında gün ve saati gösteren alındı belgesi verilmesi zorunludur.

Bu bildirim, valilik veya kaymakamlıkça kabul edilmez veya karşılığında alındı belgesi verilmez ise keyfiyet bir tutanakla tespit edilir. Bu halde noter vasıtasıyla ihbar yapılır. İhbar saati bildirim verilme saati sayılır.

Aynı yerde, aynı gün toplantı yapmak üzere ayrı ayrı düzenleme kurullarınca



bildirim verilmişse ilk verilen bildirim geçerlidir. Diğerlerine durum hemen yazılı olarak bildirilir.

Toplantının yapılması

Madde 11 - Toplantı, 6 ncı madde hükümlerine uymak suretiyle bildirimde belirtilen yerde yapılır. Düzenleme kurulu, kendi üyelerinden başkan dahil en az yedi kişiyi toplantının yapıldığı yerde bulundurmakla yükümlüdür. Bununla birlikte, katılanların kimlikleri belirtilmek suretiyle hükümet komiserince bir tutanakla tespit edilir.

Düzenleme kurulunun görev ve sorumlulukları

Madde 12 - Düzenleme kurulu, toplantının sükun ve düzenini, bildirimde yazılı amaç dışına çıkılmamasını sağlamakla yükümlü ve sorumludur. Kurulunun için gereken önlemleri alır ve gerektiğinde güvenlik kuvvetlerinin yardımını ister. Alınan önlemlere rağmen sükun ve düzenin sağlanamaması halinde, kurul başkanı toplantının sona erdirilmesini hükümet komiserinden isteyebilir.

Düzenleme kurulunun sorumluluğu, toplantı yerinden tamamen dağılıncaya kadar sürer,

Hükümet komiseri ve yetkilileri

Madde 13 - Valilik ve kaymakamlıkça; hakim ve savcılar ve bu sınıftan sayılanlar ile Silahlı Kuvvetler, adalet, genel ve özel kolluk kuvvetleri mensupları hariç olmak üzere, il veya ilçelerdeki mülki idare amirliği hizmetleri sınıfına dahil memurları ile diğer kamu görevlilerinden müdür, amir veya bunların yardımcılarını arasından bir kişi, hükümet komiseri olarak ve gerektiğinde iki kişi de hükümet komiseri yardımcısı olarak görevlendirilir.

Hükümet komiseri, toplantı yerinde uygun göreceği bir yerde bulunur ve toplantıyı teknik ses alma cihazları, fotoğraf ve film makineleri gibi araçlarla tespit ettirebilir.

Hükümet komiseri, 12 nci maddede öngörülen durumlarda düzenleme kurulunun isteği veya toplantının sürmesini imkansız kılacak derecede genel sükun ve düzeni bozacak ve suç teşkil edecek nitelikte sözle veya eylemle saldırılı bir biçim alması halinde toplantıyı sona erdirmeye yetkilidir.

DÖRDÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

Toplantının Ertelenmesi veya Yasaklanması  
Düzenleme kurulunun toplantıyı geri bırakması

Madde 14 - Toplantı, toplantının yapılacağı saatten en az yirmidört saat

önce düzenleme kurulunun çoğunluğu tarafından, bildirim verildiği valilik veya kaymakamlığa yazı ile bildirilmek şartıyla kırksekiz saati geçmemek üzere yalnız bir kez geri bırakılabilir.

Birden fazla toplantıları erteleme

Madde 15 - Bir il sınırı içinde aynı günde birden çok toplantı yapılmak istenmesi halinde vali, emrindeki güvenlik kuvvetlerinin ve gerektiğinde yararlanabileceği diğer güçlerin bu toplantıların güvenlik içinde yapılmasını sağlamaya yeterli olmadığı kanısına varırsa, toplantılardan bir kısmını otuz günü aşmamak üzere bir kez erteleyebilir. Bu ertelemede müracaat önceliği göz önünde bulundurulur.

Toplantının bölge valiliği ve İçişleri Bakanlığınca ertelenmesi

Madde 16 - a) Bir bölge valiliğine bağlı illerden; birden çok ilde aynı günde toplantı yapmak için bildirim verilmesi üzerine, toplantı güvenliğini sağlamak amacıyla ilgili valilerce bölge valiliğinden takviye istenmesi halinde, bölge valisi bu isteklerin karşılanamayacağı kanısına varırsa, takviye gönderilemeyen illerdeki toplantılar otuz günü aşmamak üzere bölge valiliğince bir kez ertelenebilir.

b) Aynı günde birden çok bölge valiliğine bağlı illerde toplantı yapmak için bildirim verilmesi üzerine, toplantı güvenliğini sağlamak amacıyla ilgili bölge valilerince İçişleri Bakanlığından takviye istenmesi halinde, İçişleri Bakanlığı bu isteklerin karşılanamayacağı kanısına, varırsa, takviye gönderilemeyen bölge valiliğine bağlı illerdeki toplantılar otuz günü aşmamak üzere İçişleri Bakanlığınca bir kez ertelenebilir.

Ertelemeye müracaat önceliği göz önünde bulundurulur.

Toplantının yasaklanması veya ertelenmesi

Madde 17 - Bölge valisi, vali veya kaymakam, kamu düzenini ciddi şekilde bozacak olayların çıkması veya milli güvenlik gereklerinin ihlal edilmesi veya Cumhuriyetin ana niteliklerini yok etmek amacıyla düzenlenen fiillerin işlenmesinin kuvvetle muhtemel bulunması halinde veya Devletin ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğünün, genel ahlakın ve genel sağlığın korunması amacı ile belirli bir toplantıyı yasaklayabilir veya iki ayı aşmamak üzere erteleyebilir.

Yasaklama veya erteleme kararının tebliği

Madde 18 - Bölge valisi, Vali veya kaymakamlarca yasaklanan veya ertelenen

veya İçişleri Bakanlığı tarafından ertelenen toplantılara ilişkin gerekçeli yasaklama veya erteleme kararı toplantının başlama saatinden en az yirmidört saat önce bir yazı ile düzenleme kurulu başkanına veya bulunamadığı takdirde üyelerden birine tebliğ edilir. Vali veya kaymakamlarca yasaklanan veya ertelenen toplantılar hakkında bölge valiliğine ve İçişleri Bakanlığına, bölge valilerince yasaklanan veya ertelenen toplantılar için de İçişleri Bakanlığına bilgi verilir.

17 nci maddede belirtilen durumlarda; toplantının en az yirmidört saat önce tebliğ şartı aranmaksızın bölge valiliği, valilik veya kaymakamlıklarca yasaklanabileceği veya ertelenebileceği haller yönetmelikte gösterilir.

Toplantının ertelenen günden sonraki bir günde yapılabilmesi, düzenleme kurulumunun 10 uncu maddeye göre yeni bildirimde bulunmasına bağlıdır.

İl veya İlçelerde bütün toplantıların yasaklanması

Madde 19 - Bölge valisi, kamu düzenini ciddi şekilde bozacak olayların çıkması veya Milli Güvenlik gereklerinin ihlal edilmesi veya Cumhuriyetin ana niteliklerini yok etmek amacını güden fiillerin işlenmesinin kuvvetle muhtemel bulunması halinde veya Devletin ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğünün, genel ahlakın ve genel sağlığın korunması amacı ile bölgeye dahil illerin birinde veya bir kaçında veya bir ilin bir veya bir kaç ilçesinde bütün toplantıları üç ayı geçmemek üzere yasaklayabilir. Valiler de aynı sebeplere dayalı olarak il veya ilçelerin birinde veya bir kaçında bütün toplantıları üç ayı geçmemek üzere yasaklayabilir.

Yasaklama kararı gerekçeli olarak verilir Kararın özeti yasaklamanın uygulanacağı yerlerde mutad vasıtalarla ilan edilir. Ayrıca, İçişleri Bakanlığına bilgi verilir.

#### BEŞİNCİ BÖLÜM

Gösteri Yürüyüşlerinin Şekil ve Şartları ile Ertelenmesi veya Yasaklanması

Gösteri yürüyüşlerinde uygulanacak hükümler

Madde 20 - Gösteri yürüyüşlerinin şekil ve şartları ile ertelenmesi veya yasaklanması hakkında da bu Kanunun 3 üncü ve 4 üncü bölümlerindeki hükümler uygulanır.

Şehir ve kasaba içindeki genel yollar üzerinde yapılacak yürüyüşlere ait bildirimlerde, 6 ncı madde gereğince ilan olunan yol ve yönlere uyulmak şartıyla

la, yürüyüşe geçmek için seçilecek toplanma yeri ile izlenecek yol ve dağılma yerinin belirtilmesi zorunludur.

#### ALTINCI BÖLÜM

#### Yasaklar ve Kanuna Aykırı Toplantı ve Gösteri

##### Yürüyüşleri

Amaç dışı toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü

Madde 21 - Dernekler, vakıflar, sendikalar ve kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşları kendi konu ve amaçları dışında toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenleyemezler.

Yasak yerler

Madde 22 - Genel yollar ile parklarda, mabetlerde, kamu hizmeti görülen bina ve tesislerde ve bunların eklentilerinde ve Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine bir kilometre uzaklıktaki alan içinde toplantı yapılamaz ve şehirlerarası karayollarında gösteri yürüyüşleri düzenlenemez.

Genel meydanlardaki toplantılarda, halkın ve ulaşım araçlarının gelip geçmesini sağlamak üzere valilik ve kaymakamlıklarca yapılacak düzenlemelere uyulması zorunludur.

Kanuna aykırı toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri

Madde 23-a)9 ve 10 uncu madde hükümlerine uygun biçimde bildirim verilmeden veya toplantı veya yürüyüş için belirtilen gün ve saatten önce veya sonra;

b) (Değişik:30/7/1998-4378/1 md.) Ateşli silahlar veya patlayıcı maddeler veya her türlü kesici, delici aletler veya taş, sopa, demir ve lastik çubuklar,boğma teli veya zincir gibi bereleyici ve boğucu araçlar veya yakıcı, aşındırıcı, yaralayıcı eczalar veya diğer her türlü zehirler veya her türlü sis, gaz ve benzeri maddeler ile yasadışı örgüt ve topluluklara ait amblem ve işaret taşınarak veya bu işaret ve amblemleri bulunduran üniformayı andırır giysiler giyilerek veya kimliklerini gizlemek amacıyla yüzlerini tamamen veya kısmen bez vesair unsurlarla örtterek toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerine katılma ve kanunların suç saydığı nitelik taşıyan afiş, pankart, döviz, resim,levha, araç ve gereçler taşınarak veya bu nitelikte sloganlar söylenerek veya ses cihazları ile yayınlanarak,

c) 7 nci madde hükümleri gözetilmeksizin,

d) 6 ve 10 uncu maddeler gereğince belirtilen yerler dışında,

e) 20 nci maddedeki yöntem ve şartlara ve 22 nci maddedeki yasak ve önlemlere

re uyulmaksızın,

f) 4 üncü madde ile Kanun kapsamı dışında bırakılan konularda kendi amaç,

kural ve sınırları dışına çıkılarak,

g) Kanunların suç saydığı maksatlar için,

h) Bildirimde belirtilen amaç dışına çıkılarak,

i) Toplantı ve yürüyüşün 14, 15, 16, 17 ve 19 uncu maddelere dayanılarak

yasaklanması veya ertelenmesi halinde tespit edilen erteleme veya yasaklama sü-

resi sona ermeden,

j) 13 üncü maddenin 3 üncü fıkrasına göre hükümet komiserince toplantının

sona erdirildiği halde,

k) 21 inci madde hükmüne aykırı olarak,

l) 3 üncü maddenin 2 nci fıkrası hükmüne uyulmadan,

Yapılan toplantılar veya gösteri yürüyüşleri Kanuna aykırı sayılır.

Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün dağıtılması

Madde 24 - Kanuna uygun olarak başlayan bir toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşü, daha sonra 23 üncü maddede belirtilen kanuna aykırı durumlardan bir veya birkaçının vukubulması sebebiyle, Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşü haline dönüşürse:

a) Hükümet komiseri toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün sona erdiğini bizzat veya düzenleme kurulu aracılığı ile topluluğa ilan eder ve durumu en seri vasıta ile mahallin en büyük mülki amirine bildirir.

b) Mahallin en büyük mülki amiri, yazılı veya acele hallerde sonradan yazı ile teyit edilmek kaydıyla sözlü emirle, mahallin güvenlik amirlerini veya bunlardan birini görevlendirerek olay yerine gönderir.

Bu amir, topluluğa Kanuna uyularak dağılmalarını, dağılmazlarsa zor kullanı-lacağına ihtar eder. Topluluk dağılmazsa zor kullanılarak dağıtılır. Bu gelişme-ler hükümet komiserince tutanaklarla tespit edilerek en kısa zamanda mahallin en büyük mülki amirine tevdi edilir.

(a) ve (b) bentlerindeki durumlarda güvenlik kuvvetlerine karşı fiili saldırı veya mukavemet veya korudukları yerlere ve kişilere karşı fiili saldırı hali mevcutsa, ihtara gerek olmaksızın zor kullanılır.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne 23 üncü madde (b) bendinde yazılı silah, araç, alet veya maddeler veya sloganlarla katılanların bulunması halinde bunlar güvenlik kuvvetlerince uzaklaştırılarak toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne devam edilir. Ancak, bunların sayıları ve davranışları toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşü-nü Kanuna aykırı addedilerek dağıtılmasını gerektirecek derecede ise yukarıdaki fıkra hükümleri uygulanır.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne silah, araç, alet veya maddeler veya sloganlarla katılanların tanınması ve uzaklaştırılmasında düzenleme kurulu güvenlik kuvvetlerine yardım etmekle yükümlüdür.

Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşlerinin Kanuna aykırı olarak başlaması halinde; güvenlik kuvvetleri mensupları, olayı en seri şekilde mahallin en büyük mülki amirine haber vermekle beraber, mevcut imkanlarla gerekli tedbirleri alır ve olaya müdahale eden güvenlik kuvvetleri amiri, topluluğa dağılmaları, aksi halde zor kullanılarak dağıtılıncakları ihtarında bulunur ve topluluk dağılmazsa zor kullanılarak dağıtılır.  
Suç işleyenlerin yakalanması

Madde 25 - Topluluk içinde suç işleyenleri ve suçluları yakalamak için 24 üncü maddede belirtilen emir ve ihtarların yapılmasına gerek yoktur.  
Çağrı ve propaganda araçları

Madde 26 - Toplantı veya yürüyüşlere ilişkin çağrı veya propaganda amacıyla kullanılan basılı veya çoğaltılmış veya el ile yazılmış davetiye, levha ve ilanlarda düzenleme kurulu başkanı ile en az altı üyesinin adları, soyadları ve imzalarının bulunması; bunlardan asılması gerekenlerin, Kanunun 6 ncı maddesinde belirtilen yöntemde uyulmak şartıyla valilik veya kaymakamlıklarca önceden tespit edilmiş yerlere asılması zorunludur.

Bu propaganda ve çağrı alet ve araçlarında, halkı suç işlemeye özendiren veya kışkırtan yazı veya resim bulunması yasaktır.

Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün yapılacağı tarihten bir önceki günden toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün başlayacağı saate kadar, güneşin doğuşundan batışına kadarki zaman içinde olmak kaydıyla ses yükselten veya ileten herhangi bir alet veya araç ile çağrı yapılabilir. Bu süre dışında çağrı için sözü geçen alet veya araçlar kullanılamaz.

Kapalı yer toplantılarında, ses yükseltici alet veya araçlarla dışarıya yayın yapılamaz.

Kışkırtma yasağı

Madde 27 - Halka karşı, doğrudan doğruya veya ses yükselten veya ileten herhangi bir alet veya araç ile söz söyleyerek veya seslenerek veya basılmış veya çoğaltılmış veya elle yazılmış veya çizilmiş kağıtları duvarlara veya diğer yerlere yapıştırarak veya dağıtarak veya benzeri araç ve yollarla halkı Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya yürüyüşe özendirmek veya kışkırtmak yasaktır.

Bu hareketler güvenlik kuvvetlerince derhal menedilir.

YEDİNCİ BÖLÜM  
Ceza Hükümleri

Yasaklara aykırı hareket

Madde 28 - Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşleri düzenleyen veya yönetenlerle bunların hareketlerine katılanlar, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis ve onbin liradan yirmibeşbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

10 uncu madde gereğince verilecek bildirimde düzenleme kurulu üyesi olarak gösterilenlerden 9 uncu maddede belli edilen nitelikleri taşımayanlar, toplantı veya yürüyüşün yapılması halinde, bir aydan bir yıla kadar hapis ve beşbin liradan onbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

11 ve 12 nci maddelerde yazılı görevleri yerine getirmeyen düzenleme kurulu üyeleri hakkında dokuz aydan bir yıl altı aya kadar hapis ve onbin liradan otuzbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası hükmolunur.

Güvenlik kuvvetlerine veya hükümet komiserine veya yardımcılarında veya hükümet komiseri tarafından toplantı veya yürüyüş safahatının teknik araç ve gereçlerle tespit için görevlendirilenlere bu görevlerini yaptıkları sırada cebir ve şiddet veya tehdit veya nüfuz ve müessir kuvvet sarfetmek suretiyle mani olanlar hakkında, fiilleri daha ağır bir cezayı gerektirmediği takdirde bir yıl altı aydan beş yıla kadar haps ve onbin liradan otuzbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası hükmolunur.

Toplantı veya yürüyüşü engelleyenler`

Madde 29 - Toplantı veya yürüyüş yapılmasına engel olan veya devamına imkan vermeyecek tertipler ile toplantı veya yürüyüşü ihlal eden kimse, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde dokuz aydan bir yıl altı aya kadar hapis ve beşbin liradan onbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Huzur ve sükünü bozanlar

Madde 30 - Yapılmakta olan toplantı veya yürüyüşte huzur ve sükünü bozmak maksadıyla tehdit veya hakaret veya saldırı veya mukavematte bulunanlar veya başka bir suretle huzur ve sükünün bozulmasına sebebiyet verenler, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde, bir yıl altı

aydan üç yıla kadar hapis ve beşbin liradan yirmibin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Kanuna aykırı propaganda vasıtaları ve suç işlemeye teşvik

Madde 31 - Düzenleme kurulu başkanı ve en az altı üyesinin ad ve soyadları ile imzalarını taşımayan 26 ncı maddede yazılı propaganda vasıtalarını hazırlayanlar, yazdıranlar, bastıranlar, propaganda maksadıyla kullananlar veya sair surette 26 ncı maddedeki yasak ve şartlara uymayanlar altı aydan bir yıla kadar hapis ve beşbin liradan otuzbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Bu propaganda vasıtalarında halkı suç işlemeye teşvik ve tahrik eder mahiyette yazı veya resim veya işaret bulunursa veya bu maksatla başka araçlar kullanılmış olursa, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil ettiği takdirde failleri bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis ve onbin liradan ellibin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Teşvik ve tahrik neticesi olarak suç işlenir veya suçun icrasına teşebbüs edilirse, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde teşvik veya tahrikte bulunanlar üç yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis ve yirmibin liradan yüzbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır. Hükümet emrine karşı gelenler

Madde 32 - Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya yürüyüşlere silahsız olarak katılanlar emir ve ihtardan sonra kendiliğinden dağılmazlar ve hükümet kuvvetleri tarafından zorla dağıtılsa, bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis ve beşbin liradan otuzbin liraya kadar ağır para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Güvenlik amirinin 24 üncü maddenin 1 inci fıkrası uyarınca yaptığı dağılma isteğini yerine getirmeyen düzenleme kurulu üyeleri hakkında da yukarıda belirtilen cezalar uygulanır.

Dağıtma sırasında cebir veya şiddet veya tehdit veya saldırı veya mukavemette bulunanlar fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde, üç yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

23 üncü maddede yazılı hallerden biri gerçekleşmeden veya 24 üncü madde hükümü yerine getirilmeden, yetki sınırı aşılarak, toplantı veya yürüyüşlerin dağıtılması halinde, yukarıdaki fıkrada yazılı fiilleri işleyenlere verilecek cezalar dörttebire kadar indirilerek uygulanabileceği gibi, icabına göre büsbütün de kaldırılabilir.



Toplantı ve yürüyüşe silahlı katılanlar

Madde 33 - a) Toplantı ve yürüyüşlere, 23 üncü maddenin (b) bendinde sayılan silah veya araçları (bunlar ruhsatlı taşınsa bile) taşıyarak katılanlar, iki yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

b) (a) bendinde yazılı olanlardan 24 üncü maddedeki emir ve ihtar müteakip kendiliğinden dağılmayanların, dağıtılmaları için zor kullanıldığı takdirde, bun-

lar üç yıldan altı yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

c) Dağılma sırasında 23 üncü maddenin (b) bendinde yazılı silah veya araçlarla mukavemet edenler beş yıldan sekiz yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Tahrikçiler ve suç ortakları

Madde 34 - 27 nci maddedeki yasağa aykırı hareket edenler toplantı veya yürüyüş vukubulmamış veya vukubulmuş olup da ilk emir ve ihtar üzerine dağıtılmış ise, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde bir yıl altı aydan dört yıla, toplantı ve yürüyüş zorla dağıtılmış ise üç yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

SEKİZİNCİ BÖLÜM  
Çeşitli Hükümler

Suçüstü hükümlerinin uygulanması

Madde 35 - Bu Kanunda belirtilen suçları işleyenler hakkında yapılacak soruşturma ve kovuşturmalar yer ve zaman kayıtlarına bakılmaksızın, 3005 sayılı Meşhut Suçların Muhakeme Usulü Kanununa göre yapılır. Hükümet komiserine verilecek ücret

Madde 36 - Hükümet komiserine ve yardımcılara verilecek ücret, miktarı İçişleri ve Maliye bakanlıklarınca her yıl ortaklaşa tespit edilir ve bu ücret İçişleri Bakanlığı bütçesine konacak ödenekten karşılanır. Yönetmelik düzenlenmesi

Madde 37 - Düzenleme kurulunun, hükümet komiseri ve yardımcılarının, güvenlik kuvvetlerinin ve görevli askeri birliklerin görev, yetki ve sorumluluklarının uygulanış biçimi ile bu Kanunun 10 ve 18 inci maddelerinde belirtilen hususlar ve Kanunun uygulanmasına ilişkin diğer hususlar Adalet, Milli Savunma ve İçişleri bakanlıklarınca bu Kanunun yayımı tarihinden itibaren üç ay içinde çıkarılacak ve Resmi Gazetede yayımlanacak bir yönetmelikle düzenlenir.

Saklı hükümler

Madde 38 - İl İdaresi Kanunu ile diğer kanunlardaki bu Kanun kapsamına giren konularla ilgili yetkiler saklıdır.  
Kaldırılan hükümler

Madde 39 - 10/2/1963 tarih ve 171 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü Hürriyeti Hakkında Kanun yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

Geçici Madde 1 - Kanunun 6 ve 26 ncı maddelerine göre yapılacak tespit ve ilan bu Kanunun yayımı tarihinden itibaren üç ay içinde yapılır.

Geçici Madde 2 - Bölge valilikleri kuruluncaya kadar geçecek süre içinde bu Kanun gereğince bölge valilerine tanınmış bulunan erteleme yetkisi İçişleri Bakanlığı tarafından kullanılır.  
Yürürlük

Madde 40 - Bu Kanun yayımı tarihinden üç ay sonra yürürlüğe girer.  
Yürütme

Madde 41 - Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.  
6030-1

2911 SAYILI KANUNA EK VE DEĞİŞİKLİK GETİREN MEVZUATIN  
YÜRÜRLÜĞE GİRİŞ TARİHİNİ GÖSTERİR LİSTE

Kanun No	Farklı tarihte yürürlüğe giren maddeler	Yürürlüğe giriş tarihi
4378	---	2/8/1998
	6030-2	

**APPENDIX F – Demanding Knowledge from the Governorship**

**T.C.  
ANKARA VALİLİĞİ**

Emniyet Müdürlüğü

**Sayı :** B.05.1.EGM.4.06.00.12.07.

14/09/2006

12255-17447-2006

**Konu:** E-mail

**Sayın,  
Yasemin İLKAY**

**İlgi:**25.08.2006 tarihli Yasemin İLKAY'a ait e-mail yazı,

İlgi sayılı yazıda;bilgi edinme Kanunu kapsamında; 1923 yılından günümüze, Ankara İl Merkezinde gerçekleşen eylem, protesto vs. gibi kitlesel gösteriler ve basın açıklamaları için izin istenen mekanlar, (Kızılay Meydanı, Sıhhiye Meydanı, Tandoğan Meydanı, Yüksel Caddesi vs.) ve bu mekanları hangi kurum, grup vs.nin talep ettiğine dair belge, yazışma, rapor ve bu taleplere Ankara Valiliğinin verdiği cevapları gösteren yazışmalar tezde kullanılmak üzere istenilmektedir

Kanuni – Kanunsuz yapılan etkinlikler ile ilgili dosyalar; Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğünün Evrak Arşiv Yönetmeliğinin Ek 1'ne göre “Toplumsal Olaylar (kanuni – kanunsuz) 5 yıl süreyle saklanır daha sonra kurulan komisyon tarafından imha edilir...” hükmü gereğince etkinlik tarihinden 5 yıl geçtikten sonra imha edilmektedir.

Bilgilerinize rica ederim.

**Selahattin  
EKREMOĞLU  
Vali a.  
Vali Yardımcısı**

**(imza)**

**Dağıtım**

**Gereği:**

Sn. Yasemin İLKAY

:

**Bilgi :**

Ankara Valiliği Halk.İlş.Müd.

Bilgi Edinme Bürosu