SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PRODUCTION OF ATATÜRK BOULEVARD
IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PRODUCTION OF
ATATÜRK BOULEVARD IN ANKARA

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Space is a social product and produced socially. For a social analysis, it is therefore necessary to put equal emphasis on conceptualisations of time and space and to analyse the production process of space.

This thesis aims to analyse the production of capitalist space and it is based on Lefebvre's conceptualisation of 'production of space' within the context of Marxist urban space theories. It is based on the argument that every mode of production creates its own spaces and the new spaces call for new social relations. In the analysis of space, historical geographical materialism and realist geography are used.

In this thesis, the production of urban space of Ankara is analysed with an emphasis on social relations of planning and architecture. Ankara as the capital city is a spatial representation of nation state and national identity. Spatial representations and practices are analysed in terms of Atatürk Boulevard and the

squares of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay. Within this scope, public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces are examined by drawing on Lefebvre's conceptual triad of 'spatial practices', 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'.

In the production process of the urban space of Ankara, history of space is considered as the history of its forms and representations and the production of urban space is examined in historical periods. The exploratory type of research used in this study is primarily based on documentary-historical data.

Keywords: Social production of urban space, Spatial practices, Representations of space, Spaces of representation, Ankara, Atatürk Boulevard.

ÖZ

ANKARA ATATÜRK BULVARI'NIN
TOPLUMSAL VE MEKANSAL ÜRETİMİ

Koçak, F. Ayşın

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Mart 2008, 235 sayfa

Mekân, toplumsal bir üründür ve toplumsal olarak üretilir. Bu nedenle, bir toplumu anlamak için zaman ve mekân kavramsallaştırmalarına eşit derecede önem verilmesi ve mekânın üretim sürecinin çözümlenmesi gerekir.

Kapitalist mekânın üretim sürecini çözümlemeyi amaçlayan bu tez, Marksist kentsel mekân kuramları kapsamında, Lefebvre'in 'mekânın üretimi' kavramlaştırmasını temel almıştır. Bu temel, her üretim biçiminin kendi mekânlarını yaratması ve yeni mekânların yeni toplumsal ilişkiler oluşturması iddiasına dayanmaktadır. Mekân çözümlemesinde, tarihsel coğrafi materyalizm ile realist coğrafya yaklaşımlarından yararlanılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, Ankara'nın kentsel mekân üretim süreci, planlama ve mimarinin toplumsal ilişkileri vurgulanarak çözümlenmiştir. Başkent Ankara, ulus devletin ve ulusal kimliğin mekânsal temsilidir. Mekânsal temsiller ve pratikler, Atatürk Bulvarı ile Ulus, Sıhhıye ve Kızılay meydanları kapsamında çözümlenmiştir. Bu

çerçevede, kamu binaları ve anıtlar, konut, ulaşım ve ticari mekânlar, Lefebvre'in kavramsal üçlüsü olan 'mekânsal pratikler', 'mekânın temsilleri' ve 'temsili mekânlar' kavramları aracılığıyla incelenmiştir.

Ankara'nın kentsel mekân üretim sürecinde, mekân tarihi, onun biçimlerinin ve temsillerinin tarihi olarak ele alınmış ve kentsel mekân üretimi, tarihsel dönemlere göre incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan keşfedici araştırma biçimi büyük ölçüde dokümanter-tarihsel verilere dayanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel mekânın toplumsal üretimi, Mekânsal pratikler, Mekânın temsilleri, Temsili mekânlar, Ankara, Atatürk Bulvarı.

To My Family

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I owe very special thanks to my dear family who strengthens me with their love. I am grateful to them for their encouragement and support during my academic life and throughout my study of the thesis from the very beginning until the end.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Space is a concept that is identified in physical and geographical terms, and is neglected as a unit of analysis in social theory. However, "(social) space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre, 1991: 26) and is socially produced. The social construction also involves a spatial construction including the production process of space. Therefore, space is an important and fundamental concept to comprehend and to analyse the (construction of) societies. Following this line of thinking the main argument of this thesis is based on developing a conceptualisation and analysis of production process of space.

Since the society is conceptualised in social theory in historical perspective, its differentiated characteristics are ignored. To remedy this gap, spatial perspective elaborates differences that are marginalized.

Disregard of the concept of space was questioned by geographers who attempted to form a new conceptualisation regarding space as well as time to provide more sophisticated understanding and analysis of societies. While historical perspective analyses the 'sequentiality' of a society which based on its evolutionary development, the spatial perspective necessitates 'simultaneity' depending on differing relations in a certain space.

This thesis attempts to consider the relationship between society and space as an object of analytical research and to analyse it spatially by putting equal emphasis on time and space and their conceptualisations simultaneously.

New geography is a perspective that deals with the analysis of above mention concepts and emphasises how space makes a difference in the relationship between space and society and attempts to conceptualise these spatial differences. In this framework, significant questions which arise are how spatial differentiation should be analysed and which spatial form should be selected for analysis.

Historical geographical materialism and realist geography have made their own contributions to the questions that new geography delves into. This thesis firstly emphasises the historical geographical materialist perspective of Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985b), which develops the notion of space by contextualising it in the movement of the capitalist accumulation and its crises. Therefore, the analysis of space arises as the fundamental element in the analysis of contemporary capitalism. Although the argumentation of Harvey is considered as an important point, Gottdiener (1993: 129) considers his approach as economic reductionist dependent on self-regulating movement of capitalism. In contrast to the "high abstraction" (Gottdiener, 1987) of Harvey's approach (1982) from a perspective of historical geographical materialism, realist geography draws attention to concrete study.

In the context of realist geography, Massey (1978) argues that form of spatial organisation can have both a facilitating or impeding role on the general social process. Therefore, space makes differences on social relations. The significance of the concrete study here is to consider areal differentiation and to investigate the interaction between social mechanisms and spatial contingencies.

Thereby, Massey's argument (1978) constitutes the second tenet of this thesis in new geography which combines the argument that space makes a difference with Harvey's (1982) emphasis on the importance of space in the analysis of movement of capitalist accumulation and its crises.

In this context, it can be argued that Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space provides the synthesis of Harvey's and Massey's arguments: Lefebvre's 'circuit

model' in his theory of space constitutes the basis of Harvey's argument on the movement of capitalist accumulation and its crises. Moreover, Lefebvre's argument that every mode of production produces its own spaces and new spaces call for new relations constitutes the basis of Massey's interaction between social mechanisms and spatial contingencies.

Furthermore, this thesis intends to analyse the relationship between capitalism and urban space referring to Marxist approaches on political economy of urban space by focusing on capitalist production of space and its contradictions. However, more emphasis will be laid on Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the production of space than on Marx and Engels' approach to city in the development process of capitalism.

In Marxian analysis of capitalism, the 'circuit model' of Lefebvre presents a novel approach in urban sociology (Gottdiener, 1993: 132). Lefebvre (1976: 21) suggests that capitalism survives by occupying and producing space. Capitalism produces its own spaces and practices. In the production process of space, capitalism builds its own representations in urban space by way of construction of built environment, and practices are constituted by means of an interaction between the representations and social relations. Urban planning and urbanism are "the strategic instrument" of capitalism and the state is functional in the "manipulation of fragmented urban reality and production of controlled space" (Lefebvre, 1976: 15).

While the space contains the social relations of reproduction and relations of production, and their representations in Lefebvre's theory (1991: 32-33), the urban space is the specific articulation of economic, political and ideological instances of a social structure within a spatial unit of the reproduction of labour power in Castells' theory (1977: 459). As Lefebvre (1991: 33) analyses the urban space through a conceptual triad of 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation', Castells (1977: 479) analyses the urban unit by examining both the role of the state and crises of capitalist society on the

basis of collective consumption such as health, education, housing, transportation.

In this context, the study of urban space necessitates the analysis of representations through the dialectical levels of space that are defined as spatial concepts, namely the 'conceptual triad' of Lefebvre (1991: 31): 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and the 'spaces of representation'. *Spatial practice* is perceived space that is described as the daily life of a tenant who is a resident in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project. *Representations of space* is a conceived space by knowledge and power that is conceptualised as space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocrats and social engineers. *Spaces of representation* are lived spaces that refer to social relations of inhabitants and users of a city (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39).

It is a production process of space that requires the study of history of space, of its forms and representations in tandem with their relationships with ideology and practice. However, the forces of production and the relations of production have a significant role to play in the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 46). History has to take into consideration the genesis of spaces beside their interconnections, distortions, displacements and mutual interactions. Furthermore, emphasis is given to the connection of space with the spatial practice of a particular society or mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991: 42).

At this juncture, the main aim of thesis is to analyse the 'production of space' to understand how the society produces its own spaces according to the historical period.

While studying the history of space, new historical periodisations are needed to clarify the relationship between urban space and modes of production. Capitalism realises its own relations of production by transforming an *absolute space* that is identified for pre-capitalist societies as religious and political in character, into an *abstract space* in which capitalist mode of production creates its own production and reproduction spaces.

Abstract space tends towards homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy. These trends give rise to contradictions of abstract space. The first contradiction is observable between quantity and quality since abstract space as a social space is "subject to quantitative manipulations" (Lefebvre, 1991: 352). The second contradiction appears between the use value and exchange value when "political use of space reinstates use value in terms of resources, spatial situations, and strategies" (Lefebvre, 1991: 356). The last contradiction is between the conceived space on a global scale and its fragmentation by a multiplicity of processes (Lefebvre, 1991: 355). It also includes the contradiction between the centre and periphery.

In this thesis, the production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed through the historical investigation of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard by drawing on Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" as *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* spaces. The spatial representations and practices will be examined in the observational domains: the public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces in relation to the squares and Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara.

In analysing Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard, the methodological perspective of this thesis draws on Lefebvre's conceptual triad, namely perceived, conceived and lived spaces, as the methodological insight grasping the dialectical interaction of space and society.

In examining the dialectical relationship between space and society, the squares and the boulevard are taken as key spatial forms. Furthermore, the history of urban space of Ankara is important since it also embraces the relationship between collective memory and urban space.

The production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed in historical periods by using Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the history of space, of its forms and representations.

The squares and the boulevard are determined as units of analysis because they are public spaces that constitute important characteristics of the city. Moreover, the squares and the boulevard facilitate the historical periodisation referring to the construction of Republican State because they are the spatial representations of the nation state as the symbol of its power. Furthermore, the "conceptual triad" of Lefebvre enables us to analyse Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard as a methodological instrument.

The conceptual triad will be examined in observational domains which are defined throughout the study as public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation facilities and commercial spaces in the squares and boulevard in Ankara. These domains are spaces that can easily be observed as the perceived, conceived and lived spaces, in other words representations and spatial practices. The rationale for the selection of these domains is that they are intimately interrelated with one another.

In this thesis, an exploratory type of study primarily based on documentary-historical data, is used in order to analyse the representations and practices that are produced over squares and the Boulevard. The documents consist of books, articles and texts about the time and space constructions of urban spaces of Ankara, photographs and city maps referring to different historical periods of Ankara.

This study will analyse the relationship between capitalism, ideology and space that is established through historical periods since Ankara was selected as a capital city of the Republic.

The political and geographical motives in tandem with socio-cultural reasons for spatial characteristics in selection of Ankara as the capital city of the new Republic will be examined close to the construction of the nation state.

In the periodisation of historical production process of Ankara, the military coup is considered as a criterion until 1980, since it aroused political, economic

and social transformations in Turkey. However, the last period is determined by the election of the municipality in 1994. The reason is that the capital acquires power by neoliberal reconstruction of political and economic structures and military intervention is not required to transform the economy in the 1980s. Internal dynamics of capital accumulation caused the political and economic transformation of the country referring to the economic crisis in 1994.

The historical periodisation is drawn by taking into consideration the military coup and the economic crisis. Therefore, it will be argued that the political, economic and social characteristics of each period had influences on spatial configurations.

The study is divided into chapters as follows:

Chapter two attempts to review the literature dedicated to the integration of geography in the social theory. Moreover, this review will enable to understand the specific and concrete relations of space. In this context, firstly the modernist perspective of social sciences will be emphasised on the basis of differences versus homogeneity and simultaneity versus sequentiality. Secondly, a historical development of the discipline of geography will be presented together with its periodisation inspired by the approach of regionalism as areal differentiation in the 1950s; positivist approach as quantitative revolution in the 1960s; structuralist approach as radical geography in 1970s; structure and agency debate as new geography in the 1980s including historical geographical materialism and realist geography as the perspectives of spatial analysis. Finally, the relationship between postmodernist approach and the discipline of geography will be elaborated.

Third chapter aims to investigate Marxist approaches on political economy of urban space by focusing on the capitalist production of space and its contradictions. First of all, the approaches of Marx and Engels are discussed as classical roots of urban space. Secondly, the contemporary Marxist approaches on urban space will be mainly constructed around French Marxist philosopher

Henri Lefebvre, Marxist geographer David Harvey and Marxist urban sociologist Manuel Castells.

In Chapter four, the perspectives of historical geographical materialism and the realist geography will be examined within the context of the relationship between space and society together with their methodological implications. Then, Lefebvre's conceptual triad as *perceived, conceived* and *lived* spaces will be proposed as the methodological understanding due to its emphasis on the dialectical interaction of space and society. Finally, considering the relationship between history and production of space, Ulus, Sıhhıye, Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard will be specified as the spatial centres in theoretical propositions and theoretical analysis.

Chapter five is dedicated to analyse the production process of urban space of Ankara through the historical investigation of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard. The production process will be elaborated in the framework suggested by Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" as *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* spaces. The representations and spatial practices will be examined in the observational domains as the public buildings, housing, transportation and commercial spaces in squares and Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara. Furthermore, the modes in which these relations are constructed between domains will be investigated.

In the concluding chapter, the findings of this study will be re-examined and overall theoretical assessment will be presented.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PATH OF SPACE:
GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY

2.1. Introduction

The studies about space are based on the literature dedicated to the integration of geography into social theory. In the second half of the 20th century, the discussion about space introduced by geographers gave rise to the inquiries into the perspective of social sciences based on the project of modernity.

The studies that are developed by geographers draw attention to space and emphasise that space is a significant and necessary agent in understanding and analysing contemporary societies. The concept of space has facilitated questioning the fundamental assumptions of the project of modernity.

In this chapter, it will be dealt with the integration process of previously separated domains of geography and the social theory. In this context, it will be focused on the questions of why space is important in order to understand the society and why spatial analysis is necessary to explain the society.

In the light of these questions, the integration process of geography into social theory will be explored. While doing this, the modernist perspective of social sciences will first be examined and then the history of the discipline of

geography will be explained within the context of developments of different geographical approaches in certain periods.

2.2. Integration Process of Geography into Social Theory

In the integration process, the relationship between geography and social sciences suggests a different point of view for an understanding of society. The approaches that were developed to draw attention to space by geographers (Massey, 1984a; Harvey, 1982, 1985b; Sayer, 1985, 1992) provided important contributions and formed a new perspective in social sciences. At the same time, social scientists[1] (Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 1985; Saunders, 1985) who were interested in geography, an area mostly excluded from social sciences for a long time, participated in the discussion about space. These studies which are closer to geography made the case that social sciences developed explanations on the basis of time and that they did not give equal importance to space and time.

The debate on space introduced by geographers opens a path to investigate the assumptions of social sciences based on modernity[2] project and began its development since the Age of Enlightenment[3]. The fundamental questions and contribution introduced to the agenda of social sciences by geographers were about the neglect of space.

How was the time-based social theory built by disregarding the space? The question can be answered by explaining the historical and evolutionary

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[1] Lefebvre, French Marxist philosopher, has taken place in the discussion of space on Anglo-Saxon social science literature very lately. The reason for that will be explained in Chapter 3.

[2] Modernity marks the movement of 'modernism' at the turn of the nineteenth century. Western society which was industrial and scientific became the emblem of Modernity. Its political form was the nation state, legitimated by some species of popular sovereignty (Outhwaite, 2006: 404-405).

[3] The Enlightenment was a consequence of the 'scientific revolution' of the late seventeenth century and continued to believe in all other respects as part of Nature. Human society was therefore regulated by general laws, such as those of economics or sociology, which corresponded to the scientific laws that controlled the material universe (Outhwaite, 2006: 199-200).

perspective of social sciences based on the idea of modernity. Therefore, it should be necessary to examine the development process of social sciences in order to understand their modernist point of view based on time by neglecting the significance of space to understand society.

2.2.1. Modernist Perspective of Social Sciences

Social sciences that have been developed in the modernity period attempted to understand societies on the basis of time. In order to analyse the society, social theory focused on social change whose fundamental characteristics are development and progress. These approaches aimed to provide models for the evolution of society as a whole, arguing that different societies are at different stages of social development. Hence, history was conceptualised as a linear process having a sequential order in which all societies pass the phases progressively.

This understanding of history was dominant in social sciences and was based on linear development of Western societies that refer to the nation state with homogenous characteristics. Homogeneity of the society as nation state disregards any difference that is seen as inconsiderable, and the differences remain hidden.

The historical point of view consists of some important points in the context of discussion of space. Among them is the search for universal laws of social sciences by excluding the differences that fall within the scope of geography. Another can be cited as the concept of simultaneity that refers to the spatial understanding and the basis of the geographical thinking.

2.2.1.1. Differences versus Homogeneity

Spatial perspective that deals with differences was ignored by modernist perspective since social sciences considered differences as temporary relations

in society in a specific historical period that would sooner and later disappear in the historical process.

However, Marxism attempts to conceptualise the different relationship that is observed in a certain historical period in a given society. In the study of the capitalist mode of production, Marxist theory finds out the existence of pre-capitalist relations in the same historical period and at the same space[4]. Wolpe (1980: 5) states that the main objective of Marx was to analyse the capitalist mode of production concerning "the articulation of this mode with, or its effects upon, pre-capitalist modes were made". In Marxist theory, through the concept of 'articulation of modes of production', theoretical priority was given to "the combination of the relations and forces of production, but beyond that differences began to appear" (Wolpe, 1980: 6).

In this context, the concept of articulation deserves attention as regards the discussion of space. Marxist theory acknowledged the coexistence of relations that represent different periods, in the same space at a certain time. By conceptualising the articulation of modes of production, Marxist theory intervenes in the linear understanding of history. The claim of 'different modes of production can be seen in the same space and at the same time' disrupts the sequential order in continuous progression. According to Işık (1994: 11), "for the first time, Marxism brings up 'simultaneity' as the object of research instead of 'sequentiality' through the concept of articulation". Therefore, it can be argued that it is a serious attempt to reveal the importance of space in social theory.

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[4] In Marxist theory, the pre-capitalist relations are conceptualised under the fabric of underdevelopment theories. See for instance Dependency School (Bernstein, 1973; Dos Santos, 1973; Frank, 1969), Unequal exchange theory (Amin, 1974, 1997) and Theory of imperialism (Bukharin, 1979). However, since articulation theory (Wolpe, 1980) focuses on simultaneous existence of subvariants of capitalist mode of production and their contradictions, it is included in this part.

2.2.1.2. Simultaneity versus Sequentiality

The space considered as a contingent category which hosts concrete relations and processes, has been disregarded by social theory. The ignorance of space from social theory also involves the exclusion of geography from social sciences.

Geography is interested in partial and concrete relations and examines the specific characteristics of certain spaces. Space is important in this sense that realisation of the phenomenon on a certain space could be influential on another phenomenon. Furthermore, the same dynamics could emerge differently in different spaces and could give rise to different outcomes. While spatial perspective necessitates 'simultaneity' depending on differing relations in a certain space, historical perspective analyses the 'sequentiality' of a society , which is based on its evolutionary development.

Consequently, geographers have criticised the progressive and evolutionary perspective of modernity that is based on time. They have aimed to develop a new perspective that puts equal emphasis on time and space and their conceptualisations simultaneously. This position is based on the significance of spatial perspective that is identified as 'simultaneity'.

In this context, it is essential to review the different geographical approaches that developed historically in the discipline of geography in order to understand the development of the spatial perspective. In other words, the basis of the argument put forward by geographers can be comprehended by examining how the relationship between society and space has been conceptualised in the discipline of geography beginning as early as the 1970s when human geography separated from physical geography.

2.2.2. History of Developments in Discipline of Geography

The history of geography as a discipline has a tradition of combining the study of physical geography[5] and the study of human geography. However, human geography allies itself increasingly with social sciences. In general, human geographers investigate inter-place relationship between people and their environment by emphasizing the flows of people and of human creations across the earth's surface (Johnston, 1983: 3).

While the human geography developed unevenly in time and space with various phases, since late 1960s it has changed dramatically and matured in theoretical terms: "this transformation can be traced to the emergence, and the widespread acceptance, of a new set of models which have a common root in the notion that society is best understood as a political-economy" (Peet and Thrift, 1989: 3).

In this section, the phases of the development of geography are largely explained by drawing on the periodisation of Peet and Thrift (1989: 7) based on the political-economy approach to human geography. Firstly, a concise review of the regional and positivist approaches developed in the discipline of geography before the 1970s is presented. As the second phase, the radical geography is considered by the development of the structural Marxist conception of society in the 1970s. Subsequently, the period of new geography that contains a greater diversity of concerns, particularly social structure and human agency, realism and the study of localities is examined by referring to the discussions on structure and agency in the 1980s. Finally, the late 1980s consists of the relationship between postmodernist approach and geography.

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[5] Physical geography simply aims to understand the physical landscape of the Earth.

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2.2.2.1. 1950s: The Approach of Regionalism as Areal Differentiation

The approach of regionalism, essentially an empiricist approach[6], was influential on the discipline of geography until the 1950s. Regionalism is widely known as areal differentiation.

Peet and Thrift (1989: 5) define the areal differentiation as "the description of the unique features of the regions of the Earth's surface". In other words, areal differentiation identifies empirically the physical and social situation of places on the basis of idiographic tradition that accepts uniqueness of place. In this context, search for general laws that can be observed in other sciences is rejected in idiographic geography.

The approach of regionalism was declined rapidly by the positivist approach in the mid-1950s and geography was characterised by positivist dominance in the 1960s: "In human geography, adoption of the positivist conception of science after the Second World War led to a major reorientation of geographical work" (Johnston, 1983: 51).

2.2.2.2. 1960s: Positivist Approach as Quantitative Revolution

Human geography was one of the last branches of social sciences that adopted a positivist approach[7]. Johnston (1983: 28) explains the reasons for this as follows: "In part this was because of its relatively weak links with the other social sciences …; in part because of its main links to the natural sciences through physical geography ...; and in part because of its firm base in … the promotion of the unique".

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[6] Empiricist approach's epistemology is that "we know through experience" and its ontology is that "the things we experience are the things that exist" and its methodology requires "a presentation of the experienced facts" (Johnston, 1983: 5).

[7] The epistemology of positivist approach is that "knowledge is gained through experience, but which requires that this experience be firmly established as verifiable evidence on which all will agree" and its ontology is "thus one of agreed evidence" and its methodology is "one of verifying factual statements by what is often known as 'scientific method' " (Johnston, 1983: 5).

Positivist approach that has nomothetic understanding based on the search for universal spatial laws is also identified as quantitative revolution in geography. Johnston (1983: 28) states that "the major attraction of the positivist approaches was quantification: the expression of research results in mathematical or statistical form, in a way which implied precision, replicability, and certainty".

Through the development of positivist approach in the discipline of geography, human geography has acquired a separate identity within social sciences through the application of scientific method to particular geographical subjects. Thus, human geography is recognised as spatial science by searching not for the specific characteristics of singular and concrete space, but for universal spatial laws.

The scientific method of positivist approach was not understood or discussed widely in human geography until the end of the 1960s; David Harvey's *Explanation in Geography* (1969) is recognised as the first book that examines the theoretical and methodological basis of spatial science (Hubbard, et al., 2002; Johnston, 1983). In his study, Harvey (1969) accepted the assumptions of the positivist conception of a social science and focused on its mode of operation in a geographical context.

The criticism of positivist approach became increasingly widespread at the end of the 1960s. One of the important critiques was that "spatial science worked with a limited view of what it is to be human" and that "people were frequently represented as vectors or movements" (Hubbard, *et al.*, 2002: 33). By view of this critique, many geographers attempted to develop alternative models of human subjectivity to articulate human geography. Hence, humanistic geography emerged by making a case for a humanistic approach[8] in this period.

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[8] The epistemology of humanistic approach is that "knowledge is obtained subjectively in a world of meaning created by individuals" and its ontology is that "what exists is that which people perceive to exist" and its methodology involves "the investigation of these individual worlds" (Johnston, 1983: 5).

Another criticism of positivist approach is articulated essentially by Marxist geographers. According to Hubbard, *et al.* (2002: 33), Harvey (1969) was regarded as one of those "who felt that positivism offered an inadequate philosophical and political basis for the development of theory in human geography".

Marxist researchers argued that the positivist perspective could not observe the social, economic and political relations underlying the spatial processes. Marxist geographers emphasised the relationship between the social structures and space on the agenda of geography.

2.2.2.3. 1970s: Structuralist Approach as Radical Geography

Important changes in the history of geography came at the same time when great transformations on social sciences were realised in the 1970s. Geography was influenced by the structuralist approach[9] that was dominant on research in social sciences in this period.

Structuralist geography is identified as radical geography that was influenced by a particular version of Marxism, namely the Althusserian Marxism. Engagement of Geography with Marxism inspired "a number of innovative and radical attempts to re-theorize space in terms of quite different from those used by positivists" (Hubbard *et al.*, 2002: 47). The significant idea of radical geography is that spatial structures are produced by social relations. In this context, it is designated as 'structure as process', a typification of Marxism (Johnston, 1983: 91).

Through this perspective, geography has attained a social perspective at the theoretical basis and has provided insights about processes behind spatial

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[9] The epistemology of structuralist approach is that "the world of appearances does not necessarily reveal the world of mechanisms" and its ontology states that "what really exists can not be observed directly but only through thought" while its methodology involves "the construction of theories which can account for what is observed but which can not be tested for their veracity because direct evidence of their existence is not available" (Johnston, 1983: 5).

structures. Pınarcıoğlu (1994: 92) states that historical materialist perspective that searches for general social processes on space (particularly urban space) was embraced instead of the positivist research program based only on spatial processes.

According to Peet (1978: 21), Marxist geography as part of the discipline deals with the interrelationship between social processes on the one hand and the natural environment and spatial relations on the other hand:

> Marxist geography accepts the tenet that social processes deal essentially with the production and the reproduction of the material basis of life. These processes occur in certain environments, composed of elements of the natural world and various types of relationships across space.

Radical geography was influenced by the transformations that appeared in the urban sociology as from the beginning of the 1970s. Manuel Castells (1976), in his article "Is there an urban sociology?" (1968, published in France) emphasises that urban sociology does not have an Althusserian theoretical object, although it has a real research object. In this context, diversifications of urban research become precursor of the geographical studies.

In the searching process, as Işık (1994: 17) states, one group of scholars (Castells, 1977, 1979) attempted to conceptualise the urban while the other group (Harvey, 1973, 1982; Massey, 1978, 1984b) was interested in space. These researchers who were influenced by structuralist framework and studied the area which is identified as political-economy of space induced a transformative process in geography.

The studies of Castells in the 1960s and 1970s reveal the characteristics of Althusserian structuralism. In this context, *The Urban Question* (Castells, 1972; English translation 1977) is a direct application of structural Marxism to urban space: "but in the Anglo American world, structural Marxism has always been more eclectic, especially in geography" (Peet and Thrift, 1989: 12).

Harvey's *Social Justice and the City* (1973) that was written approximately at the same time with Castells' book became important on the development of geographical thought[10]. In his book, Harvey (1973) examines the geographical dimension of social justice issues in the framework of social processes and spatial formations through the Marxist concept of the mode of production.

In radical geography, the researchers who study on the political-economy of space argue that the development of society is not determined by spatial laws. In contrast to the positivist approach, radical geography asserts that spatial formation is not an independent research object that has specific laws of development, but it is an object that is determined by social structures and social relations in capitalist mode of production.

The fundamental contribution of radical geography is that spatial relations are meaningful in terms of social organisation. In other words, this perspective rejects the understanding that separates nature from human society and sees space as an extension of nature, and therefore defines the space only as its geometrical characteristics.

Consequently, discussions of structuralism in geography attempted to conceptualise the relationship between space and society by means of the new questions and the concepts. The debate designated that spatial relations and processes are related to the social relations of production and reproduction. In the context of debate, Harvey (1982) in his book *Limits to Capital* emphasises the spatiality of capital and indicates that capitalist accumulation process has significant relations with geography. Therefore, geography must be conceptualised in order to fully comprehend capitalism.

In this new formulation of social theory with geography, most of the published discussion of radical geography has appeared in *Antipode, A Radical Journal of Geography*. *Antipode* began to be published in 1969 and included articles about

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[10] Before these books had been published, Lefebvre's book Urban Revolution was originally published in French in 1970 on critique of urban society.

different socially related geographical subjects. Early issues of the journal dealt with ideology, historical geography of capitalism, housing and class struggle, industrial location theory, behavioural geography, imperialism and geopolitics, underdevelopment, spatial urban planning (Peet, 1978).

Radical geography has made important contributions, yet it has some problems on the conceptualisation of relationship between space and society. The critiques on structuralist geography emerged by the end of the 1970s.

In radical geographical studies the relationship between space and society is constructed by influences of society on space. Although structuralist approach emphasised that this relationship is dialectical, it tends to perceive that space is a passive surface where social relations and structures are realised. In that case, influence of space is disregarded on social relations and upon construction of society.

According to Massey (1985: 12), "for conceptual work in many other social sciences continued to proceed blithely, as though the world existed on *the head of a pin*, as though, it were distanceless and spatially undifferentiated." In the context of the underestimation of geography, Massey (1985) criticised the identification of space as passive surface where social relations and structures occurred, and the understanding of social process and structure that were valid in all areas:

> 'Geography' was underestimated; it was underestimated as distance, and it was underestimated in terms of local variation and uniqueness. Space *is* a social construct –yes. But social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference (Massey, 1985: 12).

In that case, spatial structures are influential on changes of social structures and social process, and structure appears differently in different places.

Although structuralist approach emphasises that space is an important element of social relations, the importance of geography is underestimated. Radical

geography regards space as an outcome of social processes. According to Massey (1984a: 4) 'the spatial' is not only an outcome but also a part of the explanation:

> It is not just important for geographers to recognize the social causes of the spatial configurations that they study; it is also important for those in other social sciences to take on board the fact that the processes they study are constructed, reproduced and changed in a way which necessarily involves distance, movement and spatial differentiation (Massey, 1984a: 4).

Since, the radical geographical understanding disables the conceptualisation of space and society simultaneously, a new geographical perspective is needed in which space and society are considered dialectically.

This period also face of the rise of both the critiques of structuralism and the attempts which construct a new perspective against structuralism in social sciences.

2.2.2.4. 1980s: Structure and Agency Debate as New Geography

From the beginning of the 1980s, the discussions that focused on the structure-agency in social sciences became influential on the geographical studies as well. Discussions emphasised that social, cultural and political knowledge was necessary in order to understand capitalism:

> The structure-agency debate underlined the fact that capitalism is not just a phenomenon of economic geography. It is also at one and the same time a social, cultural, and political geography which is equally made and disputed in each of these other realms (Peet and Thrift, 1989: 22).

Structuration is one of the approaches that emerged through the structure-agency debate. In his 'theory of structuration', Giddens (1984) argues that the relationship between individual actions and social structures needed to be re-conceptualised because of its duality characteristics. The theory of structuration

supported the studies on geography of everyday life and micro geographies. For instance, spatial experiences of different subcultures asserting their impacts on the formation of cultural and ethnic identities developed as a branch of micro geographical studies. In this respect, feminist geographers presented significant contributions on the studies:

> Work by Doreen Massey, Jackie Tivers, Linda McDowell, Sophie Bowlby and other founders of the Women and Geography Study Group began to highlight forms of gender inequality played out in the spaces of the home and the city, placing particular emphasis on the role that women's segregation played in constraining their employment and leisure opportunities (Hubbard, 2002: 51).

Realism came another approach that emerged through the structure-agency debate influenced by the framework of structuration approaches. Realism is defined "a philosophy of science based on the use of abstraction as a means of identifying the causal powers of particular social structures, powers which are released only under specific conditions" (Bhaskar, 1979 cited in Peet and Thrift, 1989: 16-17). In the 1980s, realism became the major approach in human geography and was influential in the analysis of space for new geography.

In her *Spatial Divisions of Labour,* Massey (1984b) examines the significant changes that occurred in the industrial geography of Britain and argues that the new spatial divisions of labour resulted from the shifts in spatial structures of production in relation to the industry. According to her (1984b: 4), the new spatial divisions of labour represented "whole new sets of relations between activities in different places, new spatial patterns of social organisation, new dimensions of inequality and new relations of dominance and dependence."

Her book is considered as the precursor of the new perspective on geography that argues "the transition … from using geographical space as a passive surface, expressing the mode of production, to a conception of space as an active force" (Peet and Thrift, 1989: 14).

In the same vein, *Geography Matters*! (Massey and Allen ed., 1984) includes geographical studies that focuses upon how the space makes a difference in society and issues of geography are diversified in the 1980s. Furthermore, new journals such as *Society and Space* founded in 1983 and important collections such as *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (Gregory and Urry ed., 1985) have had an important role in the diversification of geographical issues in the framework of new geography.

New geography as a perspective explores how the space makes a difference in the relationship between space and society, and attempts to conceptualise these spatial differences. In this context, the important questions which arise are how spatial differentiation should be analysed and which spatial form should be selected for analysing.

Historical geographical materialism and realist geography[11] have made their own contributions to the question. As Pınarcıoğlu (1994: 95) states, the first approach is historical geographical materialism that is influential among American geographers. Particularly, Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985b) emphasises that spatial organisation has an important role in operation of the capitalist system and argues that the analysis of space must be a fundamental element in the analysis of contemporary capitalism. The second approach is realist geography that is strengthened by developing realist spatial formulations (Sayer, 1985, 1992; Urry, 1985, 1995). The formulations are based on Massey's (1984b, 1985) conceptualisation of the relationship among social structures that has been influential on space economy and her studies on industrial geography that has been influential in Britain.

Historical geographical materialism, argues that spatial organisation has an important role to play in operation of the capitalist system and the analysis of space must be a fundamental element in the analysis of contemporary

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[11] As regards the question of how spatial differentiation should be analysed, historical geographical materialism and realist geography diverged methodologically in new geography that will be explained in detail in chapter 4.

capitalism. Harvey (1985b: 144) poses the fundamental theoretical question: "is it possible to construct a theory of the concrete and the particular in the context of the universal and abstract determinations of Marx's theory of capitalist accumulation?" According to him, spatial differences and differences that are created by space can only be understood in this framework.

In his work *Limits to Capital*, Harvey (1982) examines abstract logic of capitalism and emphasises time and space coordination that creates different labour processes and spatial formations in different places. In contrast to historical geographical materialism, which is based on high abstraction, realist geography draws attention to concrete study.

Realist geography departs from the notion that spatial organisation has an impact on social processes. Massey (1978) argues that the form of the spatial organisation can have either facilitating or impeding role on the general social process. Realist geography based on the realism considers that space makes differences on social relations and the influence of space is defined as contingent. The importance of the concrete study is to consider the areal differentiation and to examine the interaction between social mechanisms and spatial contingencies. In this context, realist geography considers that the local level as the basis of areal differentiation is appropriate for concrete study.

Consequently, the discussions that developed after the structuralist period gave rise to changes in the discipline of geography. The structuralist approaches conceptualised capitalism as an economic geography. However, the structure-agency approaches studied capitalism within the context of its political, historical and particularly cultural geography. While geography and social theory developed independently from each other in the 1970s, geography came closer to social theory and they mutually influenced each other in the 1980s.

2.2.2.5. Postmodernist Approach and Geography

Postmodernist approach, in relation to the human geography, encourages the analysis of socio-spatial relations within a specific context without claims for universality or scientific rigour:

> The ideas of postmodernism have had particular resonance in urban geography and the conceptualisation of urban change and development. This is because the ideas and implications of postmodernism were largely introduced to human geography by urban geographers (Hubbard, 2002: 76).

Urban geographers (Dear, 2000, 2002; Soja, 1989) argue that cities are constantly changing and modernist theories such as Marxism and humanism could not be adequate in explaining these changes.

The postmodernist approach in geography is a shift from the "material aspects of geography" (as modernism does) to the "meaning of geography" (Knox and Marston, 2004). This gives rise to the development of cultural geography. "Cultural geography looks at the way different processes come together in particular places and how those places develop meanings for people" (Crang, 2006: 3). Cultural geographers study the ways in which culture influences places and introduce new issues to geography such as race, gender, sexuality, language, subcultures and identity in addition to different uses of them by different people.

Soja (1996) states that new issues in geography, such as race, gender and sexuality intersect with the spatiality of social life, generate new cultural politics of difference and identity. In constructing his epistemological approach to 'space', Soja is inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) "production of space" and draws on Lefebvre's[12] "conceptual triad" of *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* space. For Soja (1996), the perceived and conceived spaces are considered by modernists. However, the lived space suggested by Lefebvre, as the "Thirdspace" includes

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[12] Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space will be discussed in Chapter 3.

the effects of changing culture and the spaces of transition between localities. In this context, Soya's conceptualisation of 'Thirdspace' can be evaluated as a reduction from Lefebvre's dialectically related levels of space.

2.3. Conclusion

In order to understand how the concept of space has raised the important axis of analysing social relations and process, it is necessary to consider the status of geography in the development of social theory. Therefore this chapter began the discussion of space by elaborating the relationship between geography and main characteristics of social theory.

As the main premises of modernist social theory focus on social change, that is basis of time, geography has been excluded from social sciences for a long time. The initial critique of evolutionary theories of social change was about its homogeneous and sequential logic. Despite the progressive direction of change, the persistent existence of differences and simultaneity in society, as assumed in the articulation theory, brought about the integration process of geographical thinking into social science. For this reason, historical development of the discipline of geography was chronologically reviewed since the 1950s.

In the historical development of the discipline of geography, Marxist geographers had a central impact since their critiques of modernist social theory were built through the elaboration of concept of space. The following chapter will deal with this matter in detail.

CHAPTER 3

MARXIST THEORIES OF URBAN SPACE

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to investigate Marxist approaches to political economy of urban space by focusing on the capitalist production of space and its contradictions. After examining Marx and Engels' emphasis on city in the process of development of capitalism, theoretical review will be mainly constructed around French Marxist philosopher, a sociologist Henri Lefebvre. In relation to Lefebvre's studies, other representative authors of contemporary Marxist approach to urban space, namely urban sociologist Manuel Castells and Marxist geographer David Harvey will be elaborated on.

As it will be clear in subsequent pages, as Castells' main area of interest lies in urban problem related to collective consumption whereas Harvey's main concern is about capitalist accumulation and its geography, Lefebvre's contribution is remarkable in the comprehension of space. That is why his notion of space and application of the categories of political economy to urban phenomena constitute the core of the theoretical review of this thesis.

3.2. Classical Roots of Urban Space: Marx and Engels

Although Marx and Engels did not see the city as a unit of analysis in their studies on theory of class struggle and the capitalist state, they regarded the city

"as a historically important object of analysis in the context of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in western Europe" (Saunders, 1981: 12). In other words, they considered the importance of urbanisation in the history and transformation of different modes of production and dealt with the contradiction between town and country and the role of the city in the development of capitalism.

Separation between town and country constitutes the basis of division of labour and class differences. In *The Communist Manifesto* (originally published in 1848) Marx and Engels (2002) assessed the economic and political consequences that resulted from intensification of productive forces and the proletariat in metropolitan city centres.

For Marx city is spatially influential in the construction of class consciousness. Accordingly, in feudal system, spatial discrimination of peasants prevented them from organising themselves and developing class consciousness:

> Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among … peasants, and the identity of their interests forms no community, no national bond, and no political organisation among them, they do not constitute a class. They are therefore incapable of asserting their class interest in their own name, whether through a parliament or a convention (Marx, 1988: 81).

On the contrary, conditions of the working class in city enabled them to organise themselves and to construct class consciousness because they worked together in the process of production.

According to Gottdiener (1987: 405), a Marxian approach to the condition of urbanization was founded ironically, not by Marx himself, but by Friedrich Engels. In contrast to Marx who dealt with the main spatial contradiction of the city and country, Engels focused on the social contradictions in capitalist city itself.

In his prominent study entitled *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (first published in 1845), Engels (1987) associated city space with formation of

working class in capitalist development. Gottdiener (1987: 405) states that Engels' study "is radical urban analysis taking as its problematic the relation between capitalism as a social system and the settlement space that it produces". Engels considers "the gap between the spectacular success of capitalist production" and "the action of capitalism as a system of social values in the chaos of urban space."

The most significant emphasis of Engels' study is to draw attention to spatial characteristics of city centres in the process of class formation. Spatial discrimination among social groups in the city displays class characteristics (Şengül, 2001a: 12-13). Engels (1987) asserts class discrimination in city space by pointing out to the life of the bourgeoisie without contact with the working class:

> The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarters or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. … [T]he upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens, … wholesome country air, in fine, comfortable homes, passed once every half or quarter hour by omnibuses going into the city. And the finest part of the arrangement is this, that the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left (Engels, 1987: 85-86).

The space discrimination designated that working class lives together in both production space and reproduction space. They could be organised in terms of places such as clubs and pubs and come together in their quarters. Şengül (2001a: 13-14) states that since this environment accelerates the constitution of their class consciousness, Engels believed that collapse of capitalism would be realised in a shorter time through the spatiality experienced by the working class. The importance of Engels' study, therefore, is that reproduction space has capitalist way of life and thereby the process of reproduction has class characteristics in addition to process of production. By his exploration into the

"locationally specific social contradictions of capitalism", Engels provides contribution to the contemporary Neo-Marxian analyses of the city (Gottdiener, 1987: 405-406). In spite of the contribution, spatial concern did not became a unit of analysis until the late 1960s.

3.3. Contemporary Marxist Approaches on Urban Space

Since the late 1960s, Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey, scholars following the Marxist tradition, contributed to Marxist urban theory and political strategy about urban space discussions about Marxist analysis of space.

According to Gottdiener (1987: 406), "if Engels is the real progenitor of the Marxian approach to settlement space, then it is certainly Lefebvre who is the prime source for this mode of thinking in the contemporary period." The rest of this section, therefore, will be organised in the framework of Lefebvre's arguments.

3.3.1. Space as a Social Product: Henri Lefebvre

French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre's works on urban studies were not widely known in the English speaking world because of belated translation of his most important works[13]. His books which were published in the 1960s and 1970s were translated into English as late as the 1990s (Elden, 2001: 809). Martins (1982: 160) states that when a remarkable part of literature was published "to introduce English speaking readers to the work of various French Marxist authors", urban sociology became one of the theoretical fields that this effort, particularly, the translation of *Urban Question* (Castells, translated in 1977), became influential on analysis of urban space.

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[13] Some of Lefebvre's significant work are The Critique of Everyday Life volume 1 (1947 translated in 1991), Urban Revolution (1970 translated in 2003), Production of Space (1974 translated in 1991), Introduction to Modernity (1962 translated in 1995).

In this process, "this discovery of French Marxism has been particularly biased towards structuralist Marxism", particularly Althusserian Marxism, however "the work of Henri Lefebvre remained in almost complete oblivion. Translations of his text are scare and have not attracted much critical comment" (Martins, 1982: 160).

Additionally, Shields (1988) asserts that few of Lefebvre's works "are available in translation and the general impression obtained in the English urban studies literature is based on Castells' ... structuralist critique" of Lefebvre's early works. A critical chapter on Lefebvre's theories is included in *The Urban Question*, which was widely read and discussed.

It can be argued that Lefebvre's studies were not given due to attention in the urban space literature until a certain period because of Castells' structuralist critiques on and belated translation of Lefebvre's works into English. However, his arguments were used and developed by some geographers (Harvey, 1973, 1982; 1985a; Soja, 1989) and social scientists (Castells, 1977) before their translations into English.

In this part of the chapter, it will be examined Lefebvre's books, *The Urban Revolution* (1970; English translation 2003), *Survival of Capitalism* (1973; English translation 1976) and will particularly focus on *Production of* Space (1974; English translation 1991) since they are significant and closely related to the problematic of this thesis.

3.3.1.1. *The Urban Revolution*

The Urban Revolution (2003) was originally published in French under the title *La Revolution Urbaine* in 1970 in the aftermath of the May 1968 uprising in Paris and marked Lefebvre's critique of urban society: "The political crisis of 1968, he suggests, was more profoundly a crisis of urban society than crisis of capitalist industrialism" (Smith, 2003: xi).

Lefebvre begins his book with the hypothesis: "Society has been completely urbanized", and supposes that urban society refers to "the society that results from industrialisation, which is a process of domination that absorbs agricultural production (Lefebvre, 2003: 1-2).

In that case, it is assumed as a transition from the industrialisation into urbanisation, which means that the urban society rather than city is a matter of consideration. Urban revolution refers to

> The transformations that affect contemporary society, ranging from the period when questions of growth and industrialization predominate (models, plans, programs) to the period when the urban problematic becomes predominant, when the search for solutions and modalities unique to urban society are foremost (Lefebvre, 2003: 5).

The concept of 'urban' that is differentiated from the definition of the city means extension of the city over the countryside. By extending effects of economic growth and industrialisation into "territories, regions, nations and continents", the rural places have been transformed and "become an integral part of industrial production and consumption" (Lefebvre, 2003: 3).

The rural places are ingested by the 'urban fabric' that extends its borders. By the term 'urban fabric', he states,

> [It] does not narrowly define the built world of cities, but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over country. In this sense, vacation homes, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric (Lefebvre, 2003: 3-4).

By the global process of industrialisation and urbanisation, the large cities exploded. Spread of urban in space gave rise to fragmentation and extension of city centre in metropolitan area: "suburbs, residential conglomerations and industrial complexes, satellite cities that differed little from the urbanized towns. Small and midsize cities became dependencies, partial colonies of the metropolis" (Lefebvre, 2003: 4)

According to Martins (1982: 171), on the one hand the city enlarges by peripheralisation of the people that corresponds to "a ruralisation of the city", on the other hand a centralisation of decision making power extends its arms over all social space that is "an urbanisation of whole society." Through the process of transition where industrialisation is supplanted by urbanization, urban phenomenon has had profound effect on the concept of production: "It both extends and accentuates, on a new plane, the social character of productive labour and its conflict with the ownership (private) of means of production" (Lefebvre: 2003: 167).

However, the contradiction between forces of production and relations of production are not eliminated by the urban problematic. In other words, Lefebvre (2003: 167) argues that "urban does not eliminate industrial contradictions. It does not resolve them for the sole reason that it has become dominant. What's more the conflicts inherent in production hinder the urban phenomenon, prevent urban development, reducing it to growth." According to Martins (1982: 171), the contradictions between capital and labour are encompassed within contradictions inherent to the reproduction of the relations of production. "These are developed not only within the industrial premises and the limits of cities but, throughout social space. They are transformed into contradictions of space". (Lefebvre, 1972a cited in Martins, 1982: 171)

In this context, Lefebvre considers the role of urbanism and the real estate (speculation, construction) in neocapitalist society:

> Real estate functions as a second sector, a circuit that runs parallel to that of industrial production, which serves to nondurable assets market, or at least those that are less durable than buildings. This second sector serves as a buffer. It is where capital flows in the event of a depression, although enormous profits soon slow to a trickle (Lefebvre, 2003: 159)

According to Gottdiener (1993: 132), Lefebvre calls 'real estate', that is the land and its advanced capitalist relations of production, which constitutes a *second circuit* of capital, although a separate class of landowners no longer exists:

That is, the channeling of money, the construction of housing, the development of space, financing, and speculation in land constitute a second means of acquiring wealth that is relatively independent of the 'first' circuit, industrial production. Furthermore, through an extended discussion, Lefebvre shows that this second circuit is one of the fundamental forces of society and a source of surplus value creation. Finally, he argues effectively that it has a logic of its own, even though it is related to the primary circuit (Gottdiener, 1993: 132).

Capitalism finds real estate speculation as a new inspiration in the conquest of space in order to ensure its survival. Thereby, speculation becomes "the principal source for the formation of capital, that is, realization of surplus value" (Lefebvre, 2003: 160). Merrifield (2005: 695) states that "banks, finance institutions big property companies and realtors spearhead the formation of a secondary circuit … people are forced to follow hot money, flow from the countryside into the city, from factories into services, from stability into fragility."

Lefebvre's study on the circuit model is a significant contribution to Marxian analysis of capitalism by accounting for space; furthermore his concepts "became the basis for 'the new urban sociology', which continues to expand its influence in the field." (Gottdiener, 1993: 132).

Space as a commodity means the object of production which is "taken control of by an active group" (Lefebvre, 2003: 154), such as urbanists as organisers, administrators. Therefore, urbanism becomes both ideology and institution masking the capitalist strategy that controls space.

Consequently, in the light of his hypothesis that "society has been completely urbanized", Lefebvre (2003: 5) proposes the concept of urban revolution as a process of transformation from industrialization into urbanization and the concept of 'urban society' as a result of urban revolution where city is extended over countryside.

At the end of his book, Lefebvre (2003: 165) argues that urban revolution is an uncompleted process and the concept of an 'urban society' is inserted into a questionable epistemology "because it is premature, because it places the categorical above the problematic, thereby halting, and possibly shifting, the very movement that brought the urban phenomenon to the threshold of awareness in the first place."

Many of Lefebvre's arguments in *The Urban Revolution* were more fully developed and explored in his later works. Nonetheless, this study is a remarkable beginning through which "Lefebvre's main contribution was to turn the attention of Marxists away from the city as such and towards the question of 'space' itself" (Gottdiener, 1987: 406).

3.3.1.2. *Survival of Capitalism*

For Marxists researchers, space is the place on which capitalist production is realised. However, capitalism used and conquered space in order to overcome its contradictions. In opposition to Engels' assumption which proposes that spatial conditions of working class would raise class consciousness towards the collapse of capitalism in a shorter time, Lefebvre points out that capitalism survived by using space successfully (Şengül, 2001a: 14).

In *Survival of Capitalism* (originally published in France in 1973), of which focus is rest on the relationship between space and reproduction of relations of production, the question of how capitalism overcomes the conflicts and reproduces itself is answered by Lefebvre (1976: 21) as follows:

> What has happened is that capitalism has found itself able to attenuate its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of *Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving 'growth'. We cannot at what price, but we do know the means: *by occupying space, by producing a space.*

As mentioned before in *The Urban Revolution,* Lefebvre (2003: 167) states that the transition from industrial society to urbanised society has an impact on the meaning of production as a concept. The impact, in fact, also the comprehension of production itself is considered by Shields (1988):

> The concept of 'production' as it emerges from Hegel and from Marx and Engels must be enlarged from its narrow, industrial, sense (the production of products, commodities, exchange values) to include all types of productions: The production of nature; production as solely an economic idea; production of built environments etc.

Survival of capitalism is based on an extended meaning of capitalist production. In this context, Lefebvre's object of study is considered not as space itself, but the production process of space: "We are not speaking of a science of space but of a knowledge (a theory) of the production of space"[14] (Lefebvre, 1976: 18). This means that it is a theory which grasps how space reproduces the relations of production and what contradictions are generated in the production process of space. This is because, according to him,

> Reproduction (of the relations of production, not just the means of production) is located not simply in society as a whole but in space as a whole. Space, occupied by neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity yet fragmented, becomes the seat of power (Lefebvre, 1976: 83).

Urban is a spatial context where relations of production are reproduced through the everyday use of space. Since space has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to its logic, "space bears the impression of capitalism and imposes the form of capitalist relations on the whole everyday life" (Saunders, 1981: 156).

According to Martins (1982: 170), the relationship between the organisation of everyday life and reproduction of relations of production was the major single

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[14] This argument became third implication of Lefebvre's main hypothesis in his later work, *Production of Space* (1991).

contribution of Lefebvre to theorisation of social space. Through the critical contribution, it is possible to conceive capitalism as follows:

> Capitalism has not only subordinated exterior and anterior sectors to itself, it has produced new sectors, transforming what pre-existed and completely overthrowing the corresponding institutions and organisations. The same is true of 'art', knowledge, 'leisure', urban and everyday reality (Lefebvre, 1976: 83).

Capitalism has extended into completely new sectors that are non-productive sectors in addition to its integration into existing spaces. For instance, leisure space is one of these sectors which is transformed into material production, such as holiday villages, clubs that reflect capitalist relations:

> Leisure has becoming an industry of prime importance. We have conquered for leisure the sea, mountains and even deserts. The leisure industry and the construction industry have combined to extend the towns and urbanization along coastlines and in mountain regions. … this industry extend over all space not already occupied by agriculture and the traditional production industries (Lefebvre, 1970: 265 cited in Saunders, 1981: 155).

Space that is occupied and moulded by capitalism also includes indicators of capitalist relations in everyday life. For instance, power is represented by monuments thereby capitalist relations are symbolized by architecture: "The Phallic units with the political: vertically symbolizes power" (Lefebvre, 1976: 88).

Postulating space both as a product and an instrument for the reproduction of capitalist production also requires revealing how they are reproduced. For Lefebvre, the question means examining the contradictions that are generated in this production process of space.

One of the main sources of contradictions is that spread of urban in space gives rise to fragmentation of the city, as revealed by Lefebvre (1976: 84-85) in *The Urban Revolution*:

> Having become political, social space is on the one hand centralised and fixed in a political centrality, and on the other hand specialised and parcelled out. The state determines and congeals the decision-making centres. At the same time, space is distributed into peripheries which are hierarchised in relation to the centres; it is atomised.

According to Lefebvre (1976: 17), state capitalism and the state need the city as *centre*, that is centre of decision making, wealth, information, and of the organisation of space. However, at the same time it gives rise to fragmentation and disappearance of the city, namely historically constituted political centre: "Centrality collapses in the space which it has generated, i.e. into the existing relations of production and their reproduction" (Lefebvre, 1976: 17)

In that case, economic and administrative functions concentrate in centre and other urban functions are dispersed on the periphery. In other words, while the political power of the centre, where decision making functions are concentrated, is strengthened, the cohesion of the society is weakened because of dispersion of everyday life to the periphery (Saunders, 1981: 157). For Lefebvre, the spread of urban texture is accompanied by the fragmentation of the town:

> And it is this that gives rise to one of the deepest contradictions of space. For the town not only represents a colossal accumulation of wealth, it is also the centre of birth and learning, the point of reproduction of all social relations. But it also becomes the place where these relations are threatened. The strategy of political space gives rise to a contradiction. … It is an unsettling contradiction for the reproduction of social relations (Lefebvre, 1976: 28).

As a result, the penetration of capitalism into everyday life impressively gives rise to the contradiction between private profit and social need, between capitalist domination and social life. It is for the reason that, according to Saunders (1981: 158), in Lefebvre's perspective,

> The urban crisis is central and fundamental crisis of advanced capitalism, for the struggle over the use of space and the control of everyday life goes to the heart of the conflict between the requirements of capital and social need.

3.3.1.3. *Production of Space*

In his most critical study, *Production of Space* (originally published in France in 1974), Lefebvre fully develops his arguments which he proposed in his earlier works.

In *Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991: 11) argues a unitary theory by constructing a theoretical unity between fields that are "first, the *physical* – nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the *mental*, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly, the *social.*"

The fields are distinct but dialectically related in three levels of space. By working with this triple relation, in his attempt to theorise space, Lefebvre avoids all kind of reductionism, particularly economic and idealistic and suggests a unitary theory of space "which will show the presence, within logico-epistemological 'space' of the other levels of spatiality." (Shields, 1988).

In the theorisation of space, Lefebvre (1991) presents a hypothesis which has further implications. Lefebvre's hypothesis (1991: 26) is that "(Social) space is a (social) product": "the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power." There are four implications and consequences of his main proposition which can be considered as his other hypotheses.

The first implication of initial proposition namely, '(social) space is a (social) product' is that "(physical) natural space is disappearing" (Lefebvre, 1991: 30). Natural space is the common element of the original model, and of the social process. "Nature is now seen as merely the raw material out of which the productive forces of a variety of social systems have forged their particular spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991: 31). Similar to space, nature is a source that disappears and transforms into a social product by capitalist relations of production.

The second implication of the first hypothesis of Lefebvre is that "every society – and hence every mode of production with its subvariants (i.e. all those societies which exemplify the general concept) – produces a space, its own space" (1991: 31). Gottdiener (1993: 132) considers the argument as follows:

> Every mode of social organisation produces an environment that is a consequence of the social relations it possesses. In addition, by producing a space according to its own nature, a society not only materializes into distinctive built forms, but also reproduces itself. … That is, space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations.

Each society that has its own spatial practice builds its own space with its specific relations of production that can include significant variant forms.

In this context, social space contains social relations of reproduction and relations of production. Furthermore, social space also contains first specific representations of social relations of reproduction that are biological reproduction of family, reproduction of labour power and of social relations of production, and second specific representations of the relations of production that include power relations occurring in space as the form of buildings, monuments and works of art (Lefebvre, 1991: 32-33).

What is needed for a study of space is to examine the city by contextualising it into its own specific historical period. According to Lefebvre (1991: 31), it is only achieved when the study of space is able to comprehend the city in "its genesis and its form, with its own specific time or times (the rhythm of daily life), and its particular centres and polycentrism."

It is asserted that the study of space requires analysing the representations through the dialectical levels of space that are referred to as three spatial concepts, a "conceptual triad" in Lefebvre's term:

The first layer is *Spatial Practice* that "embraces the production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation … ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion", the

second is *Representations of Space* that "are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations" and the third is *Spaces of Representation*, "embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine and underground side of social life, as also to art" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33).

According to Gottdiener (1993: 131), this highly important 'triple' relates to expression of significance of space as *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived,* and means that space permeates social relations at all levels:

> It is at once a physical environment that can be perceived; a semiotic abstraction that informs both how ordinary people negotiate space (the mental maps studied by geographers) and the space of corporations, planners, politicians, and the like; and, finally, a medium through which the body lives out its life in interaction with other bodies Social relations also are spatial, relations; we cannot talk about the one without the other.

As a third implication, Lefebvre (1991: 36-37) argues that "if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*."

By this argument, Lefebvre emphasises the object of analysis as the production process of space, not the space itself. In this process Lefebvre examines how the society produces its own space.

In this framework, three concepts are used in order to understand the production process of space. Lefebvre (1991: 38) states that "from the analytical standpoint, the *spatial practice* of society is revealed through the deciphering of its space" and asks the question "What is spatial practice under neocapitalism?"

> It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure). This association is a paradoxical one, because it

includes the most extreme separation between the places it links together. The specific spatial competence and the performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically. … A spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (Lefebvre, 1991: 38).

In this context, modern *spatial practice* might be described by making reference to the daily life of a tenant who is a resident of a government housing project. Additionally, gated communities, communication and transportation system such as air transportation, building of infrastructure such as motorways are included this framework.

Representations of Space is "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers … all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39). Discourse on or about space, mental maps, forbidden zones, physical measures are 'representations of space'.

Spaces of Representation are the space of the lived social relations of inhabitants and users. The space is closely related to the clandestine and underground dimension of social life. "These suggest and prompt alternative, revolutionary, restructurings of institutionalized representations of space and new modes of spatial praxis" (Shields, 1988)

Shields (1988) draws particular attention to Lefebvre's conceptualisation of 'representational space', and Lefebvre's suggestion:

> squatting; the birth of the tradition of 'occupying' key spatial sites and buildings as a means of protest; slums, barrios and favellas as a 're-appropriation' of space from a commodified private property system which favours absentee landlords and vacant tracts of urban land (Shileds, 1988).

Appropriation of space means that a natural space is modified in order to "serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group", and "property in the sense of possession is at best a necessary precondition" (Lefebvre, 1991: 165). Such a space, a monument or building, a

site, a square or a street can be legitimately described as an "appropriated space." Appropriated space is contrasted with the opposite and inseparable concept of 'domination'.

'Dominated space' is a space transformed and mediated by technology, by practice. Its origins correspond with those of political power itself. Military architecture, fortification and dams are examples of dominated space. Dominant space is usually closed, sterilized and emptied out and is "invariably the realization of a master's project" (Lefebvre, 1991: 164-165).

Lefebvre (1991: 46) states that "spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period."

The perceived-conceived-lived levels of space which bear a dialectical relationship should be interrelated, so that the individual member of a society can move from one to another without confusion.

Lefebvre (1991: 42) focuses on the distinctions between the representations of space and spaces of representation: While representations of space are abstract and play a part in social and political practice, representational space is alive and has emotional centres, such as dwelling, house, square, church and graveyard.

Lefebvre (1991: 41) argues that "the distinctions … would have to be generalized in their application to cover all societies, all periods and all 'modes of production'." When the distinction between representations of space and spaces of representation are generally applied, "we should have to look at history itself in a new light" (Lefebvre, 1991: 42). Therefore, not only the history of space but also history of representations should be examined together with their relationships with ideology and practice:

History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration (Lefebvre, 1991: 42).

Representations of space that have an impact on spatial texture intervene and modify them through knowledge and ideology. Therefore, representations of space have a considerable role and specific influence in production of space. "Their intervention occurs by way of construction –in other words, by way of architecture" such as conceived of building, palace and monument, and also projects in contrast to products of representational space that are symbolic works and often unique (Lefebvre, 1991: 42).

According to Lefebvre (1991: 223-224) monuments should not be observed as collection of symbols, or as chains of signs: "It is neither a sculpture, nor a figure, nor simply the result of material procedures." A spatial work such as monument and architectural project, reaches a complexity of urban texture that consists of a large space covered by networks or webs. In that sense, monuments constitute the strong points of networks or webs.

"Monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage" and *monumentality* took in all the aspects of *spatiality* that are identified as the perceived, the conceived and the lived in other words; representations of space, representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1991: 220).

In the context of contradiction between building and monument, the balance of forces has shifted and "buildings are to monuments as everyday life is to festival, products to works, lived experience to the merely perceived, concrete to stone, and so on" (Lefebvre, 1991: 223).

As a fourth implication of the first hypothesis, Lefebvre (1991: 46) asserts: "if space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with *history.*" The history of space means the history of its production, and of its

forms and representations. One should also note that the forces of production and the relations of production play a part in the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 46).

In various historical moments, the three levels of space will combine in distinct structural hierarchies. In view of the changing spatial relations, these three dimensions reinforce each other in some social formations whereas in other social formations they emerge as contradictory (Shields, 1988).

In analysis of the production process of space, Lefebvre considers the three levels of space as analytical tools, and applies them to different societies by considering their own specific historical periods. His approach combines geographical, semiotic, and historical analysis and Lefebvre focuses on "how various societies have particularized space in both form and meaning over time" (Gottdiener, 1993: 131).

In the study of history of space, the relationship between space and modes of production is examined. New historical periodisations are required in order to clarify this relationship. In historical periods, each space involves three levels of space: spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation.

Absolute space identified for pre-capitalist societies was religious and political in character and "a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and *historical*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 48).

It can be asserted that absolute space is related to the perceived space (spatial practices) and lived space (representational space) rather than conceived space (representations of space).

Capitalism realised its own production relations by transforming the Absolute space into *Abstract Space*. Within abstract space, capitalist mode of production creates its own production and reproduction spaces. According to Lefebvre (1991: 53) "capitalism and neocapitalism have produced abstract space, which

includes 'the world of commodities', its logic and its worldwide strategies," and also contains "the power of money and that of the political state": "This space is founded on the vast network of banks, business centres and major productive entities, as also on motorways, airports and information lattices."

In abstract space, the reproduction of social relations is predominant as *spatial practice*. The *representation of space* is dependent on knowledge and power, therefore it leaves a narrow area to *representational spaces*, which are limited to works, images and memories (Lefebvre, 1991: 50). According to Shields (1988),

> [Abstract space] involves the repression of the lived, qualitative experience of space by the abstract and dehumanised codes of urban planning and the homogenisation of experience under capitalism. This is at the same time *Contradictory Space* which is characterized by paradoxes and contradictions, even in the face of the homogenisation and unification of space under capital.

In this context, Lefebvre (1991) considers the distinction between abstract space and social space. Gottdiener (1993: 131) deals with this distinction in the sense that abstract space is constructed by the relationship between knowledge and power, whilst social space is produced by everyday life:

> [Abstract space] is the hierarchical space that is pertinent to those who wish to control social organisation, such as political rulers, economic interests, and planners. Social space, in contrast, arises from practice – the everyday lived experience that is externalized and materialized through action by all members of society, even the rulers. Persons working from the model of abstract space continually try to reign in and control the social space of everyday life, with its constant changes, whereas social space always transcends conceived boundaries and regulated forms.

Lefebvre (1991: 51-52) argues that abstract space sets itself as space of power, but this space will prepare its own dissolution in terms of rise of contradictions within it: "The reproduction of social relations of production within this space inevitably obeys two tendencies: the dissolution of old relations on the one hand and the generation of new relations on the other."

Thereby, abstract space bears the potential of a new kind of space. Differential space[15] as a new space in contrast to abstract space, which tends "towards homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities", cannot emerge unless abstract space emphasises differences (Lefebvre, 1991: 52).

Abstract space for Lefebvre not only tends to be homogenised and fragmented but also hierarchical and a framework of power (Gottdiener, 1993: 133). In that case, space of advanced capitalism can be considered with the help of three concepts: homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy.

The trend towards homogeneousness is observed as consensus and also as reduction of differences. Homogeneity of space allows the "exchangeability of places and times according to a unique criterion (money)" (Lefebvre, 1980 cited by Martins, 1982: 179). Fragmentation of space, on the other hand, contains both practical fragmentation of space in that "space has become commodity that is bought and sold, chopped up into lots and parcels" and theoretical fragmentation of space that is carved up space by scientific specialisation (Lefebvre, 1976: 18). Space is fragmented and is located places and localities in order to control them. Finally, space is "hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest" (Lefebvre, 1991: 282) such as high and low status leisure spaces, high and low value residential spaces that relate to the centre and periphery.

In this way, capitalist trinity, namely trinity of land-capital-labour, is established in space since to Lefebvre (1991: 228):

> Capitalism cannot be analysed or explained by appealing to such binary oppositions as those between proletariat and bourgeoisie,

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[15] For Lefebvre, the suppression of industrialisation by urbanisation marks the transitional moment from abstract to differential space. Differential space becomes Lefebvre's spatial code of socialism (Smith, 2003: xiv- xix).

> wages and profit … ; rather, it is comprised of three elements, terms or moments – namely land, labour and capital, or in other words rent, wages, profit – which are brought together in the global unity of surplus value.

These trends towards homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy give rise to contradictions of abstract space. The first contradiction of abstract space is between quantity and quality. Abstract space is quantifiable not only as geometrical space but also as social space, and hence "it is subject to quantitative manipulations" (Lefebvre, 1991: 352). The repression of quality re-emerges as 'leisure': from the space of consumption to the consumption of space (Shields, 1988). In general, people leave space of consumption that corresponds to the historical locations of capital accumulations, and they move to consumption of space that is an unproductive form of consumption. In that case, tourism and leisure become main areas of investment and profitability.

Second contradiction is between use value and exchange value. "It is the political use of space, however, that does the most to reinstate use value; it does this in terms of resources, spatial situations, and strategies" (Lefebvre, 1991: 356) For example, nature appeared in Marx's period as a source of use value and their element such as water, air, and light were the outcome of no social labour and no one produced them (Lefebvre, 1991: 328). Today, however, nature as source disappeared and transformed into a material product.

Third contradiction is between the conceived space on a global scale and its fragmentation by a multiplicity of processes: "Under its homogeneous aspect, space abolishes the distinctions and differences. … Simultaneously, this same space is fragmented and fractured, in accordance with the demands of the division of labour." (Lefebvre, 1991: 355) According to Lefebvre (1991: 356), "for space 'is' whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and at the same time." The contradiction between the global and the subdivided includes the contradiction between centre and periphery.

As Lefebvre (2003: 4) mentioned earlier, the global process of urbanisation is linked to the booming of large cities. City became centre of power within the headquarters of companies, state offices, information centres. On the other hand people have been dispersed to the city peripheries into segregated and hierarchical residential and non-residential estates (Martins, 1982: 179) such as luxury residential estates and slums, luxury clubs and working class pubs, university campuses and industrial premises, and intellectual and manual work:

> Social space became a collection of ghettos. Those of the elite, of the bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of the immigrant workers, etc. These ghettos are not juxtaposed, they are hierarchical, spatially representing the economic and social hierarchy, dominant and subordinated sectors (Lefebvre, 1978: 309-310 cited in Martins, 1982: 179).

In the context, Lefebvre (1976: 15) asserts that both urban planning and urbanism are "strategic instrument" of capitalism and the State in "manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space." State produces abstract space of economic and managerial dominance. It accounts for the rejection of social relations that support everyday life and reproduction of its relations (Gottdiener, 2001: 254).

Practice of this approach is seen as a significant example in the planning of Paris in the 1860s. In this period, Haussmann began a building plan for Paris at the macro level. According to Lefebvre (1991: 312), "Haussmann shattered the historical space of Paris in order to impose a space that was strategic":

> When an urban serving as a meeting-place isolated from traffic (e.g. the Place des Vosges) is transformed into an intersection (e.g. the Place de la Concorde) or abandoned as a place to meet (e.g. the Palais Royal), city life is subtly but profoundly changed, sacrificed to that abstract space where cars circulate like so many atomic particles (Lefebvre, 1991: 312).

Through Haussmann's building plan, as Shields (1988) points out, "the space of the city is broken, fragmented and segregated in order to produce a new unity, order, and homogeneity", that is homogeneity of State power: "This new space

is dominated by a fundamentally visual logic which transforms (1) solids into images and simulations (2) 'dwelling' into 'habitat' (mass housing), and (3) finally reduces space to the object of planning science" (Shields, 1988).

Lefebvre (1991: 59) states that "new social relationships call for a new space, and vice versa" and the order to change life has recently fallen into the public (political) domain. This is a strategic operation for "the question of the justification for assigning priority to what is *known* or *seen* over what is *lived*" (1991: 60-61). In that case, the forces of domination and exploitation become visible everywhere as the forms of space, which are the abstract space of political and economic dominancy.

Consequently, Lefebvre attempts to theorise urban space by developing crucial concepts and arguments. These contributions to Marxist analysis of urban space can be summarised as follows (Lefebvre, 1991: 88-92):

First, the definition of production changed via capitalist production process of space. Marxists studied industrial production as production of things, goods and commodities and city as a means of production. However, through the transition from industrial society to urbanised society, the definition of the concept of production enlarged from its narrow, industrial sense to production at all levels: The production of nature, production of built environments etc.

Second, the problematic of space that includes the problems of the urban sphere as the city and its extensions, and of everyday life as programmed consumption, has replaced the problematic of industrialisation. However, it has not eliminated the earlier problem between forces of production and social relations of production. The new problem arose as the reproduction of social relations of production.

Third, his approach is not simply about things in space but space itself including the social relationships occurring in it. This means that the image stemming from the idea based on space is a passive container, space is divided into parts

and parcels by the *ideologically* dominant tendency through the architects, economists, geographer, and so on.

Fourth, space need to be analysed to reveal mental forms and practical contents of space in order to dismiss ideologies that obscure the use of productive forces within modes of production in general, and within the dominant mode of production in particular.

Finally, the object of study is not a science of space, but a theory of production of space. History as a source of knowledge of production of space provides knowledge about how societies produce their own spaces with their spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation.

Lefebvre's studies inspired particularly scholarly efforts examining the theoretical definition of the concept of urban in Marxist analysis. Particularly his argument, which is based on the idea that "the transformations ... ranging from the period when questions of growth and industrialization predominate to the period when the urban problematic becomes predominant" (Lefebvre, 2003: 5), became the departure point for Marxist analyses on urban theory, mainly for Castells' and Harvey's studies. The remainder of this section will examine their approaches particularly with respect to their critique of Lefebvre.

3.3.2. Urban as a Space of Reproduction of Labour: Manuel Castells

Castells, in his study *Urban Question* (1977) (originally published in France in 1972), considers theoretical specificity of the concept of urban and focuses on the reproduction of labour power under the influence of Althusserian structuralism:

> To analyse space as an expression of the social structure amounts, therefore to study its shaping by elements of the economic system, the political system and the ideological system, and by their combinations and the social practices that derive from them (Castells, 1977: 126).

Urban space, for him, is an expression of social structure that is formed at economic, political and ideological levels. With respect to the relationship between social structure and space, he focuses on the spatial relations at economic level by attaching special emphasis to the spatial expressions of political and ideological ones. Accordingly, while planned structure of urban space is an intermediary of political control, institutional, administrative and symbolic spaces, such as squares and monuments, are representations of ideological structure. Economic level, however, is the fundamental determinant of the capitalist system and originality of urban space is based on its functions at this level. Since spatial order of capitalist relations emerges from economic processes, Castells in fact does not define urban through political and ideological level (Gottdiener, 2001: 250-51).

Capitalist economic system is organised by three elements at spatial level, namely, the labour force, the means of production, and non-labour:

> The spatial expressions of these elements may be found in the dialectic between two principal elements: *production* (spatial expression of the means of production), *consumption* (spatial expression of labour power) and a derived element, *exchange* (Castells, 1977: 126).

While the production and exchange are formed at macro and regional scale, consumption is organised at urban scale through which urban space gains its particularity. Urban, therefore, is defined by the processes related to the reproduction of labour power in relation to the production relations:

> I propose the following hypothesis: in advanced capitalist societies, the process that structures space is that which concerns the simple and extended reproduction of labour power; the ensemble of the so-called urban practices connotes the articulation of the process with the social structure as a whole. The urban units thus seem to be to the process of reproduction what the companies are to the production process, though the origin of specific effects on the social structure (Castells, 1977: 237).

Since the connection between urban growth and capitalist mode of production is established by collective consumption, urban social theory is shaped by the analysis of the organisations of collective consumption. In this vein, Castells (1977: 237) defines urban system by the following words: "By urban system, I mean the specific articulation of the instances [economic, political and ideological] of a social structure within a (spatial) unit of the reproduction of labour power". Therefore, a full understanding of urban unit required to analyse both the role of state and the crises of capitalist society on the basis of collective consumption such as health, education, housing, transportation (Castells, 1977: 459).

By the second half of the twentieth century, for him, state became responsible for the cost of reproduction of labour, which were non-profit areas for capital but essential to the reproduction of labour. When state had difficulties in coping with the cost of reproduction of labour power, new contradictions not reducible to conflict between capital and labour emerged in urban space. The conflict arises between the state and users of public provision in the form of urban social movements. For him, although these movements are related to the class-based movements, their natures are not primarily class oriented.

It is evident that Castells' interest lies in the theory of the urban problems rather than the urban theory itself. In a sense, he indeed theoretically redefines urban problems (Gottdiener, 2001: 252).

The arguments he puts forward in *Urban Question* have some similarities and differences with those of Lefebvre. Like Castells, Lefebvre emphasises the role of reproduction, yet in a different sense. Lefebvre (1991: 32-33) limits the notion of reproduction to historical thesis, which evaluates different but related three aspects of reproduction: Biological reproduction of family, reproduction of labour power and reproduction of social relations of production. For him, activities of space cover and integrate these three levels and process all these together (Gottdiener, 2001: 254). In other words, while 'the essence' of urban is comprised of spatial form that is both a product and producer of capitalist

relations; the essence, for Castells, is the process of reproduction of labour power, which manifests itself as a spatial form (Gottdiener, 2001: 254).

In *Urban Question*, Castells also criticises Lefebvre's earlier studies about urban space that goes back to 1972, despite the fact that Lefebvre (1976, 1991) developed his approach in his later studies (Martins, 1982: 171)[16].

Castells' general criticism is mostly based on his reading of Lefebvre's *La Revolution Urbaine* inspired by Althusserian structuralism and is rather related to the relations among space, everyday life and the reproduction of the relations of production (Gottdiener, 2001: 248):

> Having out from a Marxist analysis of the urban phenomenon, he comes closer and closer, … to an urbanistic theorization of the Marxist problematic. Thus, for example, after defining the emerging society as urban, he declares that the revolution too, the new revolution is logically urban (Castells, 1977: 87).

Castells summarises his general criticism around two pillars: First, he argues that "Lefebvre's urbanistic exposition is constructed on a hypothesis, according to which the crisis of urban reality is the most important, more central than any other" (Castells, 1977: 87). This means, for him, "the elegant way of speaking of the end of the proletariat and leads to the attempt actually to ground a new political strategy not on the basis of the structures of domination, but on the alienation of everyday life" (Castells, 1977: 91-92).

Second, he claims that

> This 'urban' which is therefore nothing more than emancipated creative spontaneity, is produced, not by space or by time, but by a form which being neither object or subject, is defined above all by the dialectics of centrality, or its negation (segregation, dispersal, periphery) (Castells, 1977: 89-90).

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[16] When the Urban Question of Castells was published in 1977, Lefebvre had not yet been known by English speaking world; his books were indeed translated very late, only in 2003. According to Smith (2003: xvi), "prominence of these critiques has also heightened the anticipation for English translation" of The Urban Revolution.

With respect to his first criticism, it can be asserted that 'the urban crises' in Lefebvre, however, refers to "the whole crisis in society, particularly to the crisis of everyday life and of the reproduction of the relations of production" (Lefebvre, 1976). In that case, 'the idea of the end of the proletariat' is a fairly exaggerated conclusion[17] because 'the crisis' does not refer to the end of the capital-labour contradiction but "rather to its setting in a wider context, that of the reproduction of the relations of production and its crisis" (Martins, 1982: 173).

Nevertheless, Castells' critique directed at the early stages of Lefebvre's theory, is not wholly unfair (Martins, 1982: 172). Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution* (originally published in France in 1970) deals with urban problems by departing from the notion that urbanism is the motive force of history in the social formations of contemporary late capitalism. It is a motive force that supplants industrialisation and class struggle. However, in his later studies (1976, 1991), Lefebvre does not attribute a 'specifity' to city in itself. Rather, city has a dialectical role in the relations of production and of reproduction and is replaced by the concept of space (Gottdiener, 2001: 256).

When it comes to his second criticism, it may be stated that Lefebvre's notion of urban does not necessarily mean 'emancipated creative spontaneity'; rather his notion of 'complete urbanisation of society' and of the associated 'explosion of the cities' mean "the newly developed forms of centralisation and domination, those achieved in and by the reorganisation of whole space/society according to capitalist logic" (Martins, 1982: 173).

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[17]   In fact, Castells was coming to see the formalism of his Althusserian critique as excessive (Smith, 2003: xviii) and he mentioned in the English afterward of his book Lefebvre's contribution (Martins, 1982: 185) by saying that "somewhat outside this current and sharing neither its problematic nor its orientations, new important work has been produced in France, in particular, general theory of space developed by Henri Lefebvre out of his personal readings of the Marxist classics in relation to the city" (Castells, 1977: 467).

To conclude, Castells' approach echoes structuralist-functionalist understanding of city in which spatial relations are completely determined by economic structure.

3.3.3. Urban Space as a Capitalist Accumulation Process: David Harvey

Harvey's early work, *Social Justice and the City* (1973) represents the radical challenge to mainstream orthodoxy on spatial analysis that conceptualises the notion of city in itself. By proposing that spatial formation is produced within the dominant mode of production relations, he alters the a-historical understanding of city.

In his later works (1982, 1985a), Harvey develops the notion of space in the context of the movement of capitalist accumulation and its crises. His three-cut crisis theory (1982) integrates three dimensions of Marxist political economy, which can be labelled as value, finance, and space. The first crisis, classically, starts at the level of the fundamental contradictions embedded in the relations between forces of production and relations of production and produce the falling tendency of the rate of profit by resulting in devaluation.

The second crisis attempts to integrate monetary and financial forces but results in speculative movement of financial crisis. In the secondary circuit of accumulation, capital penetrates into the structuring of the built environment and expenditures of reproduction of labour power, then brings in the third crises, namely the unequal development of accumulation and crisis in space. In sum, the capital circulation process and its crises explain the reproduction of the labour power, the urbanisation of capital, the structuring of the built environment, and the formation of an urban consciousness.

Harvey develops a theory of urban phenomena under capitalism by applying the categories of Marxist political economy. In the *Urbanisation of Capital,* Harvey (1985a: xvi) elaborates "urban" as a special scale for the investigation of

production process of space and political consciousness in neighbourhoods, regions, nation states and power blocks. Studying urbanisation requires firstly a consideration of the 'processes of capital circulation', 'shifting flows of labour power' 'commodities' and 'money capital' and secondly, of the spatial organisation of production, the transformation of space relations, movements of information and geopolitical conflicts between territorially-based class alliance (Harvey, 1985a: xvii).

Harvey (1985b: 143) disagrees with the idea that reconstruction of the historical geography of capitalism needs a prior theorisation of the rise of the capitalist state:

> Our task is, rather to construct a general theory of space-relations and geographical development under capitalism that can, among other things, explain the significance and evolution of state functions (local, regional, national, and supra-national), uneven geographical development, interregional inequalities, imperialism, the progress and forms of urbanisation and the like (Harvey, 1985b: 143-144).

In order to explain the specificity of urban space, Harvey establishes the relation between the capital circulation process in production and exchange and consumption infrastructure. He (1985b: 148) states that geographical mobility of capital needs fixed and secure spatial infrastructures. However, capitalist development process requires "the free geographical mobility of labour power and its easy adaptation to the shifting circulation of capital in space appears a necessary condition." In the *Urbanisation of Capital*, Harvey (1985a: 6) argues that

> Fixed capital items can be produced in the normal course of capitalist commodity production, but they are used as aids to the production process rather than as direct raw material inputs. They are also used over a relatively long time period. We can also usefully distinguish between fixed capital enclosed within the production process and fixed capital that functions as a physical framework for production.

Harvey (1985a) names this definition as the *built environment for production*. On the other hand, *the built environment for consumption* forms in a *consumption fund*, which "is formed out of commodities that function as aids rather than as indirect inputs to consumption" (Harvey, 1985a: 6). As a result, the capital flows into fixed asset and the consumption fund form the secondary circuit of capital.

According to Harvey (1985a: 13), to understand the urban process under capitalism it is a necessary to examine its relation to the theory of capitalist accumulation. The role of the urban process is to form the material physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption. This is the production of *built environment*, serving as a resource system for the production of value and surplus value (Harvey, 1985a: 14).

The necessary reproduction of labour power for capital accumulation is the formation of consumption fund that includes social expenditures. As a consequence, movements of capital into the built environment of production and consumption, social expenditures for reproduction of labour power involve structural relations for us to comprehend the urban process under capitalism (Harvey, 1985a: 14).This explains how the process of capitalist accumulation takes place in urban structure by involving consumption as a secondary circuit of capital.

Although he provides place-specific aspects of crises, Harvey's approach is considered as economically reductionist (Gottdiener, 1993) depending on self-regulating movement of capitalism.

At the end of *Social Justice and the City,* Harvey (1973: 302-303) points out that his seminal urban text was completed before he had had the opportunity to study Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution*. Harvey (1973: 303).admits that

> There are parallels between his concerns and mine, and there are similarities in interpretation in content (which is reassuring) and

some differences in interpretation and emphasis (which is challenging).

Specifically, his idea of 'secondary circuit of capital' is bonded with Lefebvre. Harvey states that "Lefebvre makes a simplistic but quite useful distinction between two circuits in the circulation of surplus value" (Harvey, 1973: 312); however, he also pays attention to the point that the secondary circuit supplants the principal circuit in Lefebvre's approach.

Harvey (1997: 256) admits that he develops the idea of Lefebvre that "hegemony on space is the fundamental and overall source of constructing social power", claiming that generally in monetary economies, specifically in capitalism, the intersecting domination on money, time and space forms the noticeable essence of relationship of social power.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, capitalist production process of space was examined in the context of Marxist urban space theories. In this respect, it is worth to note that Marx and Engels considered the city as a significant factor in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. They dealt with the contradiction between town and country, and the role of the city in the development of capitalism. It is important that Engels (1987) emphasised on the spatial characteristics of city centres in the process of class formation in his study, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (first published in 1845). Furthermore, Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey contributed to Marxist urban theory and analysis of space.

Lefebvre (1976) examines the relationship between space and reproduction of relations of production and explains how capitalism survives in spite of its own conflicts. In his 'circuit model of capitalism', the crisis of capital accumulation in the 'first circuit' that is industrial production, has resulted in the transfer of capital accumulation into the 'second circuit' that is non-productive urban

spaces such as housing, financing and speculation in land. In other words, capitalism overcomes the conflicts by occupying and by producing space.

According to Lefebvre (1991), space is a social product and every mode of production produces its own spaces. New spaces call for new social relationships. In this sense, capitalism produces its own spaces and practices. In the production process of space, capitalism builds its own representations in the urban space by way of construction of built environment, and practices are constituted by means of an interaction between the representations and social relations. For Lefebvre (1991), urban planning and urbanism are "the strategic instrument" of capitalism.

Lefebvre (1991) states that the study of space requires the analysis of the representations through the dialectical levels of space referring his 'conceptual triad'. First one, 'spatial practice' is perceived space and includes spatial characteristics of social formations, such as suburbs, communication and transportation systems and highways. Secondly, 'representations of space' are conceived spaces that conceptualised by scientists through knowledge and power, such as mental maps, forbidden zones and urban transformation projects. Thirdly, 'spaces of representation' are lived spaces including social relations of inhabitants and users, such as homes, streets, squares and marketplaces.

According to Lefebvre (1991), the study of history of space has to be taken into consideration as interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions of spaces. Furthermore, Lefebvre focuses on how various societies have produced their own spaces in different historical periods by considering the relationship between space and modes of production. In historical periods, each space involves three levels of space: 'perceived space', 'conceived space' and 'lived space'.

'Absolute space' is identified for pre-capitalist societies that were religious and political in character. Absolute space is related to the perceived space and lived

space rather than conceived space. Capitalist mode of production transforms absolute space into abstract space in order to create its own production and reproduction spaces. In abstract space, conceived space leaves a narrow area to lived space.

In the context of urban space theory, Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space provides the synthesis of Harvey's and Massey's arguments: Lefebvre's (1976) 'circuit model' in his theory of space constitutes the basis of Harvey's argument on the movement of capitalist accumulation and its own crises. Moreover, Lefebvre's argument that every mode of production produces its own spaces and new spaces call for new relations, constitutes the basis of Massey's emphasis on the interaction between social mechanisms and spatial contingencies.

Furthermore, Castells (1977) states that city is a spatial unit of reproduction of labour power and urban problems related to the collective consumption such as health, education, housing, that is required for reproduction of labour power. In this way, Castells' interest area was transferred from how space is produced into how urban problems are produced (Gottdiener, 1993). However, Lefebvre (1991) conceptualises the space that contains relations of production and social relations of reproduction.

As a result, this thesis that aims to analyse capitalist production process of space, constructed mainly around Lefebvre's urban space theory in the context of Marxist urban space theories and based on the Lefebvre's conceptualisation of 'production of space'.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

4.1. Introduction

Analysing space as a production process is a complicated task, not only due to the fact that it permeates social relations at all levels, but also due to the fact that it possesses unfixed nature of social processes. For this reason, it can be argued that the analytical task is primarily about methodological concerns.

This chapter attempts to understand and construct the methodology of analysing space: Firstly, the chapter endeavours to understand the methodological premises of theoretical perspectives about the relationship between space and society. Secondly, the chapter aims to present the methodology of this thesis to analyse the spatial configuration of society by taking into account the methodological concerns above.

In this context, it begins by evaluating briefly the approaches on the relationship between space and society in terms of their methodological implications. Then, it proposes Lefebvre's (1991: 33) "conceptual triad", namely "spatial practices" as perceived space, "representations of space" as conceived space and "spaces of representation" as lived space, as the methodological insight grasping the dialectical interaction of space and society. Depending on Lefebvre's dialectical understanding, thirdly, the thesis takes into consideration squares and boulevards as units of analysis by paying attention to the relationship between

history and production of space in Ankara. Finally, throughout the historical investigation of Ulus, Sıhhıye, Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard, the production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed by drawing on Lefebvre's "conceptual triad".

4.2. Analysis of Space as a Methodological Concern

Because space is both a medium of social relations and a product that shapes social relations, the question how it can be studied can be posed as a question of how the relationship between space and society can be conceived. In Marxist urban space theories, two approaches attempt to overcome the duality of space and society: Historical geographical materialism and realist geography. Their main concern is based on the question whether geographical space is a concrete and local reflection of capitalist historical development or a level that possesses its own dynamics and specific historical conditions (Helvacıoğlu, 1994: 78).

Historical geographical materialism is developed by Harvey (1985b) as a theoretical framework of geographical space: "The historical geography of capitalism has to be the object of our theorising, historico-geographical materialism the method of enquiry" (Harvey, 1985b: 144). In this framework, concrete geographical spaces have their specific social and political dynamics but space is ultimately determined by universal capitalist accumulation process at abstract level, as it was discussed earlier.

Harvey's perspective is based on Marxist historical materialism, which is elaborated with respect to space by Lefebvre (1991). He argues that:

> Historical materialism will be so far extended and borne out by a history as argues, so conceived that it will undergo a serious transformations. Its objectivity will be deepened inasmuch as it will come to bear no longer solely upon production of things and works, and upon the (dual) history of that production, but will reach out the take in space and time and, using nature as its 'raw material', broaden the concept of production so as to include the production of space as a process whose product – space - itself

embraces both things (goods, objects) and works (Lefebvre, 1991: 128).

According to Lefebvre, space as a product of the capitalist mode of production embodies its own contradictions. Dialectic, thus, "emerges from time and actualizes itself, operating now, in space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 129).

On the other hand, realist geography focuses on differences created by space in social relations. Geographer Sayer (1985, 1992) who developed Bhaskar's realism in social sciences, sociologist Urry (1985, 1995) who studied on space, and Massey (1984b, 1985) who emphasised the locality as spatial form, which indicates areal differentiation have made significant contributions to realist geography.

Realism aims to explore causal mechanisms creating social events. Accordingly, it is not possible to expect that in accordance with the causality, the validity of events everywhere occur in a similar way. General social processes can be differentiated in different spaces. Within the relationship between social process and space, although space has no causal impact on social process, its particularity such as spatial distance and continuity have an impact on the operation of social mechanisms (Massey, 1985; Sayer, 1985, 1992).

Therefore, realism argues that none of the theories could explain the complex existence of real events determined by numerous mechanisms only on the basis of the abstract causal generalities. For this reason, concrete studies gain a specific importance (Massey, 1985; Sayer, 1985; Urry, 1985). By this way, empirical study could become feeder and instructive to theory. In a sense, realism emphasises the importance of "middle range" research (Gottdiener, 1987: 415) that is research situated between theory and real events.

That is why locality is regarded as an active spatial form in which areal differentiation can be observed. It is a fundamental axis through which everyday circulation of capital investment and its decision of place selection are examined as in the case of Massey's studies (1984b, 1985). For this reason, the notion of

locality in realist geography is not related to the postmodern perspective, which draws attention to local narration. In contrast, locality is considered as a contribution to Marxism, which aims to construct the relations of general and local.

Nevertheless, studies on locality have limited contributions and restricted impacts on understanding the general logic of capitalism that creates differences (Pınarcıoğlu, 1994: 95-96). Firstly, in realist geography, "there can be no fundamental approach to space as a causal power without its specification in the forces of production" (Gottdiener, 1987: 412). Secondly, space is involved in social relations, in particular, in the relations of production. For Marxist theory, it is necessary to search "the conflict between the role of space at the level of the forces of production and its role in the social relations of production" (Gottdiener, 1987: 412). According to Gottdiener (1987), however, the second area of inquiry is neglected by realists. That is why their analyses of the concrete remain insufficient and empirical.

However, to expose concrete specificity of geographical space one needs to reveal its relations to capitalist relations of production at abstract level. In this respect, it might be asserted that Lefebvre's theory of space is also a methodological approach in which abstract/general is bonded with concrete/particular without falling into reductionism. It is attributable to the fact that Lefebvre's dialectical thinking is not based on dualism in which analytical categories are conceived as static contrasts (Gottdiener, 1993: 130). His dialectic, rather, is comprised of flowing, manifold, and complex moments that is expressed as 'triplicite' – as three terms, not two: "The third term instantly deconstructs static opposition or dualism, and adds a fluid dimension to social process" (Gottdiener, 1993: 130).

In this thesis, the historical geographical materialist perspective of Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985b) is given emphasis due to its notion of space in the context of the movement of the capitalist accumulation and its crises. Consequently, the analysis of space becomes the essential aspect in the analysis of contemporary

capitalism. With regard to economic reductionism approach of Harvey on self-regulating movement of capitalism and high abstraction of his theory (Gottdiener, 1993: 129), this thesis takes into account the realist geographical perspective that draws attention to concrete study.

Ankara is considered as "an active spatial form" of the concrete study. Although, realist geography has no concern on social relations of production, the active spatial form is the fundamental axis through the circulation of capital investment. The investment is an important tool for this thesis to analyse the movements of capitalism in the spatial production process of Ankara. At this point, the methodological approach of Lefebvre's theory of space, is consistent with the methodological premises of this thesis in which abstract/general is related to concrete/particular without falling into reductionism. That means, dialectic thinking of Lefebvre is based on triplicate rather than dualism (Gottdiener, 1993: 130).

The production process of Ankara will be elaborated with the "conceptual triad" of Lefebvre (1991: 33), "spatial practices", "representations of space" and "spaces of representation" through the historical periodisation.

4.3. Theoretical Propositions and Problem of the Study

This thesis aims to analyse the spatial production of Ankara through the historical investigation of Ulus, Sıhhıye, Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard. The economic, political and social transformations of Ankara will be analysed on observational domains; public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces within the framework of squares and the Boulevard. The methodological analysis of the thesis rests upon three main theoretical propositions:

First, Ulus, Sıhhıye, Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard are constitutive components of the modern capital city in the production of space. The squares

and the Boulevard simultaneously permeate social relations at all levels. In Lefebvre's (1991:3) terms, they constitute a physical environment such as suburban settlement and transportation that can be perceived and it is a *spatial practice* (an externalized, material environment). Then, it is a conceptual model and the space of planners, administration, economic interests such as city planning, renovation projects. It includes *representations of space* (a conceptual model used to direct practice). Finally, the Boulevard is a *space of representation* (the lived social relations of users to the environment) such as market places and home.

Second, and related to the first one, historical transformation of squares and the Boulevard are representations of developing urban space of Ankara. In a sense, analysing the spatial production of the squares and the Boulevard means analysing historical development of urban space of Ankara.

Analysing the squares and the Boulevard by considering Lefebvre's conceptual triad is inevitably a historical exercise. In Lefebvre's dialectic method, history is not simply a genesis of spaces, but a social process in which "interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production" (Lefebvre, 1991: 42) is materialised. In this sense, social process is taken by historical periodisation in this thesis.

The squares as city centres and the Boulevard as the main axis of city have played an important role in the spatial production of Ankara. The observational domains of the thesis are regarded as the investment areas of capital such as public buildings, housing, transportation and commercial spaces. The domains are selected rationally on account of their interrelation with each other. How the transformation of these domains occurred are assessed though the squares and the Boulevard in historical periods according to political-economic history of Turkey.

The homogenisation, fragmentation and hierarchical organisation of Ulus, Sıhhıye, Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard in the production process of Ankara constitute the third theoretical proposition of this thesis.

In Lefebvre's analysis, the tendency of homogeneity is observed as both consensus and reduction of difference. Fragmentation includes both practical and theoretical dynamics. In the former, "space has become commodity that is bought and sold, chopped up into lots and parcels" (Lefebvre, 1976: 18). In the later, space has become a matter of scientific specialisation. Finally, space is "hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest" (Lefebvre, 1991: 282) such as high and low status leisure spaces, high and low value residential spaces.

The abstract space of capitalism that includes homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy, give rise to contradictions of space. The contradictions of abstract space namely between "quantity and quality", "global and its fragmentations (local)" and "use value and exchange value" (Lefebvre, 1991: 352-400) will be analysed in the observational domains.

In the context of these contradictions, the main concern of this thesis is the analysis of production process of Ankara in its spatial organisation through the historical investigation of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard by drawing on Lefebvre's "conceptual triad".

4.4. Method of the Study

Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard contain historical representations and practices of spatial organisations in Ankara. The spatial practices include the interaction between representations and social relations, as conceived and lived spaces.

The thesis firstly deals with the representations of space in observational domains: the public buildings and monuments (administrative buildings,

military buildings, hospitals, institutes, university embassies and museums), housing (*gecekondus*, apartments and suburbs), transportation (railways, highways, buses, *dolmuş*, and metro, private car ownership), commercial spaces (shopping arcades, shopping centres).

Secondly, practices of space will be elaborated on observational domains: The public buildings and monuments (national and memorial ceremonies, political demonstrations), housing (different types of social relations in various settlements), transportation (public and private transportation systems) and commercial spaces (shopping activities).

Thirdly, the relationship between domains such as transportation and housing will be examined.

In this context, an exploratory type of study primarily based on documentary-historical data, is used in order to analyse the representations and practices that are produced over squares and the Boulevard.

> Over the past twenty years, at least, social scientists have largely neglected and ignored the use of documents in favour of methods in which they are actively involved in producing data for their own purposes. Interviews, questionnaires and direct observation have become the basic tools of research, while documents are seen as of only marginal utility (McCulloch, 2004: 4).

It is assumed that documentary-historical data provides a number of different perspectives to a given problem or topic. In this thesis there is "methodological pluralism through the use of different types of documentary sources" (McCulloch, 2004: 129).

The analysis adopted in the thesis is made possible through using different data sources for each historical period: The Early Republican period (1923-1950), Democrat Party period (1950-1960), Planned Economic Development period (1960-1970), Economic Crisis period (1970-1980), Neoliberalisation period (1980-1994) and Neoliberal Conservative period (1994-).

The impact of the September 12, 1980 military coup poses an important challenge in presenting a critical analysis of the period in detail until 2000s. However, nongovernmental 'democratic' organisations such as professional chambers have always been responsive to negative enforcements of neoliberalisation since 1980 by their contesting attitude. For this reason, online sources as important documents are particularly used in the analysis of Neoliberal Conservative period supporting the exploratory type of study adopted in this thesis.

In this thesis, the exploratory type of study is mainly based on secondary sources that consist of books, journal articles and texts about time and space constructions of urban space of Ankara. In addition to the general related literature, specific documents are purposively selected for analysis. Photographs and city maps referring to different periods of Ankara, online sources that enabled to reach the online editions of daily newspapers and documents of relevant professional chambers were used.

Ankara Bülteni, as weekly bulletin of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality was reviewed systematically for the years between 2005 (the year started to be published) and 2007. The news about activities of municipality such as constructions of metro, avenues, parks in the city centre and periphery districts of Ankara were reviewed.

Photographs reflecting the historical development of the squares, boulevards and buildings in Ankara that enabled to compare different historical periods were analysed. The photograph archives of *Vekam* (Vehbi Koc and Ankara Research Centre) and archives of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality were also used for the analysis made in this thesis. In addition, maps, *Prof Herman Jansen's Ankara Building Plan in 1932* taken from Map Archive of *Vekam* and *Ankara Public Transportation Map* (2000) of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and General Directorate of EGO were also important sources of analysis.

Web pages, such as www.mimdap.com architectural portal and www.arkitera.com portal of Arkitera Architectural Centre were followed systematically. The news and articles related to architecture, and planning on urban space of Ankara were purposively selected for review.

Daily national newspapers were not systematically analysed. A specific emphasis was given to newspapers since they frequently discuss issues on housing, transportation, commercial spaces and social events related to public spaces in Ankara. The news and articles in *Birgün*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Evrensel, Radikal, Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* newspapers and their supplements were thus selected purposively for analysis.

Furthermore, press statements about campaigns, demonstrations on urban space of chambers such as Turkish Union of Chambers of Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) and its members such as Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Surveying Engineers and Chamber of Landscape Architects were also used.

4.5. Limitations of Methodological Perspective

The first limitation is that Lefebvre's theoretical perspective was developed for countries that referred the capitalist relations of production by such abstract space concept of Lefebvre. However, the spatial organisation of Ankara includes pre-capitalist relations and capitalist relations simultaneously, i.e. squatters, informal sector and agricultural relations.

The use of online documents for the analysis of the 1990s, bring the problem of citation as a second limitation of this study. In that case, more than one newspaper was examined for the same news about Ankara, which, in turn, caused the difficulty of giving references in detail.

4.6. Conclusion

In this thesis, the production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed by depending on Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" as 'spatial practices', 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation' within the framework of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard. In this context, the spatial representations and practices will be investigated in the observational domains: the public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces.

The production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed in historical periods by using Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the history of space, of its forms and representations. In this analysis, the methodological perspective of this thesis draws on Lefebvre's conceptual triad in order to understand the dialectical relationship between space and society in addition to historical geographical materialism and realist geography perspectives.

The boulevard and the squares are determined as units of analysis because they are constitutive components of the modern capital city in the production of space. Moreover, the spatial production process of the boulevard and squares indicates historical development of urban space of Ankara. The observational domains enable us to examine spatial representations and practices and these domains are interrelated each other.

The thesis firstly deals with the representations of space and then examines the practices of space in the observational domains. The relationship between domains will be also elaborated.

An exploratory type of study primarily based on documentary-historical data, is used in this thesis. The documents contain books, articles about the time and space constructions of urban space of Ankara and also photographs and city maps referring to different historical periods of the city.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PRODUCTION OF

ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

5.1. Introduction

Ankara as the capital city represents the spatial configuration of the Republic regime and includes its political, economic and social objectives. The construction of Republican Turkey as a modernity and a nation state project aimed to build a national identity referring to a modern life style.

The spatial representation and practices are significant to examine the construction process of nation state, in consequence, means the analysis of spatial production of Ankara.

The squares Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay as the city centres throughout Atatürk Boulevard as the spine of the city constitute the spatial characteristics of Ankara as a modern capital. In this context, the squares and the Boulevard comprise the Lefebvre's 'conceptual triad' as spatial practices, representations of space, spaces of representation and their contradictions. Through the conceptual triad, the production process of urban space of Ankara will be analysed within the observational domains as public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces in the frame of the squares and boulevard in Ankara. The production process of Ankara will be elaborated in historical

periods referring Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the history of space, of its forms and representations.

Firstly, the geographical, political and socio-cultural reasons and aims in selection of Ankara as a capital city will be dealt within the construction process of nation state.

Secondly, the spatial representations and practices of urban space of Ankara will be investigated in the observational domains as the public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces in the frame of the Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and Atatürk Boulevard depending on Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" as *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* spaces in historical periods.

5.2. Construction of Nation State: Project of Ankara as a Capital City

The construction of Republican Turkey as a modernity and a nation state project aimed to build a national identity and modern life style referring to the West within social and cultural life. Thereby, the building process of a nation state entails a process of spatial construction.

The foundation process of nation state is considered as the construction of a centralised state structure and creation of a national identity and the spatial extensions of the Republican project hinges upon these two interrelated aims (Şengül, 2001b: 70).

The building process of nation state and national identity requires dissolution of old spaces and production of new ones. In this context, Lefebvre (1991: 42) emphasises the significance of representations of space in the production of new spaces:

> Representations of space have a practical impact [and] they intervene in and modify spatial *textures* which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must

therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space.

The establishment of Ankara as a national capital city represents the spatial construction of the Republic and national identity including significant representations of modern life. As Vale (1992: 44) suggests, "capitals have been constructed in the result of an independence movement though the symbolic of city building and nation building often do seem to be synchronized."

A capital means "a city housing the administration of state or national government", and thus, a modern capital city is supposed to be the symbolic centre of national administration and can help to promote a sense of national identity (Vale, 1992: 11). Ankara is one of those capitals[18] which were established in the twentieth century. According to Tankut (1988b: 145), a capital is a product of political decision, and in this context, the process of becoming a capital should be considered as a political movement. It is fair to suggest that there is not much economic outcome of the creation of a capital; on the contrary it is great administrative responsibility as well as economic burden. The selection of Ankara as the capital city has included fundamental motives and aims.

5.2.1 Establishment of National Capital: Spatial Reasons of Republic

Ankara was declared as the capital city of the newly founded Republic on October 13, 1923. Although Istanbul had served not only as the political but also the cultural capital for the Ottoman Empire for several centuries, the capital city of the Republic moved to central Anatolia by a governmental decision. In this respect, geographical and political reasons played main role in selection of Ankara as the new capital city instead of Istanbul.

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[18] The others are Islamabad, Brasilia and Canberra and their constructions were sponsored by the government (Tankut, 1988b: 130).

As aptly put by Vale (1992: 98), "closely tied to these important shifts, the move represented a search for an appropriate setting to nurture the development of a Turkish national identity": In geopolitical terms, Istanbul "was at the far Northwest corner of the new republic's territory, whereas Ankara was both securely inland and nearly centred on the large, rectangular expanse of Turkish Anatolia" (Vale, 1992: 98).

Furthermore, the strategic place of Ankara as the capital was important to serve as a new centre for economic development of the region. Tekeli (1984b: 10) states that the choice is a revolutionary decision based on seminal ideological assumptions:

> A move to the interior of the country signalled a clear break away from network of old economic dependencies. Istanbul had been a part of a network of harbour cities developed throughout the nineteenth century to serve the economic interests of the Great Powers. … A move into the interior of the country was an unequivocal break with this state of dependence. Moreover, the move meant the rejection of the cosmopolitan cultural values of Istanbul.

Other reasons for preferring Ankara as the capital are closely related to certain significant characteristics of the city. The National Assembly was established in Ankara in 1919 and since then, the War of Independence had been conducted from there. Hence, the new government came to be known as 'Ankara government'. Another reason was that telegraph and railway networks were located in Ankara. Railways were functioning as a significant instrument for the extension of national commercial and transportation networks.

Furthermore, the selection of Ankara as the capital city was also motivated by the political, economic, spatial objectives of the Republic. These objectives have been classified into three groups by Tekeli (1984a: 325): First, Ankara government intended to root out imperialist economic control and militaristic forces as well as the Ottoman image and to create a new *bourgeoisie* together with its relevant life style. The second aim related to the spatial organization

was to a create a national economy in a way as to unite domestic markets, and eliminate inter regional inequalities by developing central Anatolian region and by bringing industrial plants to small Anatolian cities. The final objective was to create a new and model city on the urban scale inspired by modern western life style, and to encourage the life style of the national *bourgeoisie*. This has been done by the Republic in order to set an example to other cities of the country and to symbolise the republican success in the birth of the city.

It sum, the geographical and political reasons were considered as the primary factors in the preference of Ankara as the capital city. Nevertheless, an emphasis on solely on the geographical and political factors would run the risk of embracing an approach that neglects the social and cultural characteristics of space. This approach reduces space into a passive surface where social relations and structures occur. However, space is a social construct, and but "social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference" (Massey, 1985: 12).

Based on Massey's argumentation, it can be suggested that in addition to geographical and political reasons, social and cultural characteristics of space are influential in the preference of Ankara as the capital city. Therefore, this decision should be re-assessed with respect to the history of the city, as a source of its social and cultural characteristics.

In this context, Ankara, being one of the most important Anatolian cities, has a vivid political and cultural history with a specific ecological environment based on a rich heritage which dates from Hittites and extends into a significant economic and socio-cultural position in the nineteenth century (Aydın, *et al.,* 2005).

The preference of Ankara as the capital city is specifically related to the support given by Ankara's inhabitants to the new regime. Ankara as an Anatolia city played a significant role during the War of Independence. Ankara's inhabitants supported the new regime and nurtured a negative attitude against Istanbul

government. To illustrate, they have rejected the officers and governors appointed by Istanbul government and sent to Ankara (Akgün, 1984: 226).

Özakman (2005: 7) asserts that Ankara's population had a revolutionary and decisive attitude in supporting the National War and M. Kemal Pasha, and that the underlying reasons of this attitude can be found in its old '*Ahi Cumhuriyeti*', '*Seğmen morality*' and '*Ankara's Ariflik*'.

Ahilik is a form of professional organisation that consists of craftsmen a specific sector of artisanship. They were an influential group in decision making mechanism and were dominant in administration of Ankara due to the commercial importance of the city (Aydın, *et al.*, 2005: 143-144). *Ahilik* is not only an organisation based on an economic rationale but also has a social characteristic reflecting humanist ethical concerns (Akgün, 1984: 225).

Ankara was a major commercial and manufacture centre containing commercial areas and buildings such as markets to trade antiques, objects d'arts, jewellery, etc., and inns in the city centre (Aydın, *et al.,* 2005: 152). Since Ankara was a city where Angora goats flourished, it served a centre where products of goats were processed throughout the history. Hence, the city was the main centre of '*sof*' (wool cloth) production (Nalbantoğlu, 1984b; Aydın, *et al.,* 2005).

According to Tanyeli (1997: 81), commercial product investments by Ankara's entrepreneurs indicate historical basis of its modern rationality. Furthermore, Ankara's economy which was based on '*sof*' production accounts for a fundamental characteristic of its development displaying a less traditional attitude and the early introduction of capitalist relations when compared with other Anatolian cities. These characteristics of Ankara provided a harmony between its settled population and the new comers. As a matter of fact, the rules and implementations of Kemalist regime against the Ottoman institutions' such as religious orders and lodges, and the traditions did not inflict the local notables of Ankara (Aydın, *et al.*, 2005: 380).

In the light of the foregoing, it can be argued that the social and cultural characteristics of Ankara brought about an environment in which substantial transformations were materialised and the building process of the new nation state was carried out. Therefore, the social and cultural characteristics of Ankara were in the preference of Ankara as a capital city of the newly founded state in tandem with a series of geographical and political factors.

Furthermore, the significance of the social, cultural and historical background of Ankara developed a response to the approaches that were based on the narration that portrayed Ankara as a 'forgotten Anatolian town', as 'the city that was created from scratch' and as 'the city without history'.

In this sense, it is necessity a historical review of Ankara since it has been selected as the capital city in the construction process of nation-state.

5.3. Historical Investigation of Social and Spatial Production of Atatürk Boulevard and Squares

The selection of the capital as a city which is located in the middle of Anatolia signifies spatial representation of national unity, centralisation, and creation of a national identity. According to Tankut (1988b: 131), Ankara as a capital, would be a new political model of the Republic that was a reflection of modern worldview.

Through the design of an entire new capital city, architecture, urban design and planning were used to promote national status: "Government leaders have attempted to define a sense of national identity by careful manipulation of the built environment" (Vale, 1992: 44). Built environment and a new life-style encourage and precipitate the nationalisation and modernisation processes in planned capitals (Tankut, 1988b: 148).

In this context, the 'representations of space' have exerted considerable impact on the spatial construction of the capital city, Ankara. Following Lefebvre (1998: 42), the building process occurs by way of construction:

> In other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms.

In this section of the thesis, the production space of urban space of Ankara will be examined by means of historical periods. In the periodisation of historical construction process of the city, the military coup is considered as a criterion since it aroused political, economic and social transformations in Turkey until the 1980. The periods are determined according to the criterion that the first period is the early Republican period (1923-1950), the second is Democrat Party period (1950-1960), the third is planned economic development period (1960-1970), the fourth is economic crisis period (1970-1980) and the fifth is the neoliberalisation period (1980-1994).

However, the last period, namely Neoliberal Conservative Period (1994-), is largely determined by the election of the municipality in 1994. The reason is that the capital acquires power by neoliberal reconstruction of political and economic structures and military intervention is not required to transform the economy in the 1980s. Internal dynamics of the capital accumulation caused the political and economic transformation of the country referring to the economic crisis in 1994.

5.3.1. Early Republican Period (1923-1950)

In the early Republican period, the Republican regime[19] attempted to construct the public and administrative buildings in the capital city in accordance with

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[19] In the early Republican period the Republican regime is represented by People's Legion (*Halk Fırkası*) that became Republican People's Legion (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) in 1924 and became 'Republican People's Party' (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) in 1935.

new Republican institutions. The new regime gave priority to creating new spaces that were required by the new administration and modern life style (Keskinok, 2006: 42).

In the 1920s, a considerable amount of public spending was allocated for the nationalisation programmes, the establishment of infrastructure systems, particularly the railway system and road transportation, the payment of Ottoman debts to some European countries, financing the housing problem, the newly arriving immigrants and the construction activities carried out in Ankara (Aslanoğlu, 1986: 15).

The years from 1923 to 1929, according to Boratav (1997: 279-280), denoted a period of "reconstruction in open economic conditions" and of economic policies dominated by a national economic approach after 1923: Accordingly, "the national economic school" argues that the emergence of national and local bourgeoisie with the support of the state is one of the fundamental mechanisms of modernisation and development in the new Republic. Furthermore, economic development strategies were based on industrialisation by investment nationwide.

After Ankara was declared the capital of the new Turkish Republic, the discussions as to the construction of the city started. The location where the city should be built was discussed between two groups: the first group advocated the development of the existing city while the other group suggested the construction of new Ankara in a way as to include characteristics of a modern capital city. Şenyapılı (2004: 37) argues that speculation factor had a role to play in this discussion "It was clear that new comers bought land around vineyards whereas the rich tradesmen of Ankara owned lands in the old city."

Increasing value of land later gave rise to changes in the implementation of the plan aiming to realise the construction of a modern city. It can be asserted that this case is an indicator of the relationship between 'conceived space' and social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, it can be considered that there is an

interaction between the construction of Ankara as a 'social process' and the land ownership as a 'spatial organisation' (Massey, 1978).

The building of the capital city as a 'conceived space' (Lefebvre, 1991) has interaction with the land speculation as a 'spatial contingency' (Massey, 1978). Thereby, the spatial organisation has facilitative and obstructive role on the building of the capital city.

Becoming a capital city, the population of Ankara increased to the great extent. Ankara faced the problems of insufficient housing due to the rising population, increasing rate of rents and land speculations that hindered the implementation of plans and projects. At the end of the debates, old Ankara was not chosen as the location of the city. The prevailing idea was that a new Ankara would be constructed rather than transforming the old one. Thus, *Ankara Şehremaneti*[20] (Municipality of Ankara) was established in 1924 as an organisational structure to solve the problem in accordance with demands of the new regime (Şenyapılı, 2004: 37).

In the first decade spanning 1923 and 1933, as Altaban (1997: 89) states, the Republican regime devised important legal and administrative arrangements to materialise the designed city space: A legal arrangement was adopted in 1925 to obtain land for the building of the capital city in its new location and an administrative and organisational arrangement was adopted in 1928 to establish Ankara Building Directorate (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*).

Previous experience of unplanned urbanisation necessitated the foundation of this directorate which drew an improvement plan to control and coordinate the development of the new city. Building Directorate of Ankara was in charge of preparing projects to be implemented in accordance with its rules and

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[20] *Şehremaneti,* is a local administrative model specific to Istanbul as the capital city in the case of Ottoman Municipality. The new model of administration depended on the Ministry of Interior, was composed of executors and directors appointed by the government. The Assembly of Municipality consisted of 24 people, and was autonomous in terms of its authority and financial sources (Bademli,1985; Tankut,1988a).

regulations. Bademli (1985: 15) states that the structure of Building Directorate of Ankara provided significant facilities in the implementation of Jansen Plan.

In the first attempt at planning, Ankara *Şehremaneti* ordered a construction company to prepare two separate plans: one for the old city and the other for the new city. The plan of Yenişehir, named as Lörcher Plan[21], was accepted by a commission of *Şehremaneti* and was subsequently implemented. The commission rejected old city arrangement as it was assessed as inapplicable and adopted the new city plan in order to construct houses immediately considering the serious scarcity of housing (Bademli, 1985; Tankut, 1988a).

The course of the development of the city was determined in the south by Atatürk's preference for a presidential palace in Çankaya. The area between Ulus and Çankaya was deemed ideal for the construction of the new city as it was close to infrastructure facilities and railways. The area that was largely marshland was expropriated by Ankara *Şehremaneti* and was named as 'Yenişehir'.[22]

A competition was held in 1927 to submit plans for the development of Ankara's relatively undeveloped areas in the south of the old city. Plan of Hermann Jansen, a professor of city planning in Berlin Fine Arts Academy, won the competition in 1928 thanks to the features of his plan which can be summarised as "realistic, using urbanism principles and compatible with modern local conditions" (Tankut, 1984: 306).

Jansen's understanding of urbanism was largely influenced by German and British Schools. As Tankut (1984: 307) argues, the Anglo-Saxon *Picturesque* trend of the British School considers arrangements of neighbourhoods including houses with gardens in the city and development of large open spaces inside and

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[21] Lörcher Plan was intended not only for the building of Yenişehir region but also for guiding all future planning studies for Ankara and providing the construction of major public spaces in old city and new city (Cengizkan, 2002: 220)

[22] At the beginning of the construction in Yenişehir, a speculation about its location started. Members of Parliament, high-level bureaucrats and self-employed people were owners of lands in Yenişehir, boulevard and its surrounding area at the end of the 1920s (Şenyapılı, 2004: 43).

outside the city. This approach was used in new cities that were built following the railroad in American residential system. Another Anglo-Saxon trend, *City Beautiful*, was used to indicate power and monumentality in administrative centres. However, according to Bilgin (1997: 80), German planning schools have more urban emphasis than do Anglo-Saxon trends. The German schools, of which Camillo Sitte is an important representative, predict that a city should be constructed as an aesthetic object of art and that common values of society are only constituted by such public spaces as squares and, avenues. The other trend, however, argues that cities must be built as a unity by *Framework Plans*. It is based on planning that determines functional fragments such as industry, housing, and their separate but harmonised characteristics with the city (Bilgin, 1997: 80). Different trends of these planning schools, but particularly Camille Sitte's school, were reflected in Jansen's Plan for Ankara.

During the 1920s, in Ankara, there was an old and traditional centre serving at the regional level and a new centre serving social groups from upper income level consisting of a new merchant bourgeoisie, administrative bureaucrats and Greek and Armenian minorities (Bademli, 1985: 15). After Ankara had accomplished its functions as a capital city, Ulus became the main centre of the city.

The Jansen Plan first elaborated the development of the old city. The reservations as regards the old city in the planning process were formulated by Ankara *Şehremaneti* as follows: "old city would be kept as it is, would be opened to building and restoration, would search for possibilities of extension … and would take into consideration the unification of the old city and new city" (Şenyapılı, 2004: 62).

These reservations were compatible with Jansen's understanding of urbanism which was based on the importance of keeping historical texture intact and of maintenance of historical heritage in planning the old city planning (Yavuz, 1981: 30). Therefore, Jansen maintained the old city by means of road arrangements and housing restoration. Particular attention was attached to the

preservation of Ankara castle and its surrounding, August Temple as an archaeological site and its surrounding by means of restoration as a public square (Şenyapılı, 2004: 62-63). It can be claimed that these implications have provided the connection between the old and new cities and decreased a potential tension between the spatial experiences and values of these two.

The plan secondly envisaged the development of the new city. To Jansen's urbanism approach, public spaces such as squares, large open areas were important elements in the planning of Ankara. Furthermore, the city was designed in functional fragments and these fragments were construed in an interrelated manner in a way as to sustain the unity of city. This structure can be deemed as the defining characteristic of the city.

Public spaces are representative of modern European capital cities in the form of squares, boulevards, parks, etc. However, these kinds of spaces were non-existent in Ottoman urban culture. Before the nineteenth century, public spaces used for gathering of people were mosque yards, recreational areas, surrounding areas of fountains and market places in Ottoman traditional city texture (Uludağ, 1998: 179). For this reason, public spaces served an important function for the Republican ideology in order to represent a modern city and to create and organise the spatial practices of modern life-style. It should also be noted that public spaces are also 'lived spaces' that produce social and cultural practices.

Boulevard was one of the major components of public spaces and constituted the spine of the capital city. In this context, spatial organisation of Ankara constructed around two main axes: the north-south axis is today named as Atatürk Boulevard. In the east-west axis, *Ziya Gökalp* Avenue constituted the eastern part whereas *Gazi Mustafa Kemal* Boulevard represented the western part of the axis. Boulevards were the central organising feature of Jansen Plan. Atatürk Boulevard began in Ulus, where the old city and the first National Assembly were built and the railways crossed, and extended to the south toward the new residential area Yenişehir until Presidential Palace in Çankaya.

Square as another component of public spaces was used in the new city centre in the Republican period, whereas "the fundamental characteristic of Ottoman cities was the absence of centres and squares" (Aydın, et al., 2005: 279). Thus, the squares, namely Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay, were designed as the main centres of the city along Atatürk Boulevard in the spatial organisation of Ankara.

Ulus was designed in Jansen Plan as the city centre on the grounds that it was the administrative centre of the Republic during the War of Independence and that the National Assembly was opened in 1920 in Ulus. Furthermore, the square *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (Square of National Liberation) which was renamed as *Ulus* Square in the early 1930s was the most important public space of Republic (see picture 1).

Ulus Square as the city centre contained spatial representations of the Republican ideology. Among the spatial representations was the architectural structure which included administrative and public buildings, a monument located around the square. The other spatial representations include social and cultural practices as national and memorial ceremonies are held in squares and modern urban life-style is experienced in spaces such as Ankara Palas, Assembly Garden and *Millet* Garden (Yalım, 2002: 182).

In the centre of the square stands *Atatürk Heykeli* which is supposed to be "the first spatial signature of independence in Ankara" (Sargın, 2004: 665). In other words, the monument symbolises national unity and independence that were the outcomes of the victory of War of Independence.

Atatürk Heykeli that faces the train station as the entrance gate of the city was constructed by Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel, who won the international competition in 1927. The necessary material support was provided by the inhabitants of Ankara who organised a committee in 1924. According to Sargın (2004: 665), "it was an important public initiative with limited if any financial help from the state" and the monument was built through a public campaign that

"was supported by a very prominent ideologue of the secular state, Yunus Nadi from the left-wing daily *Yeni Gün*."

In this context, it can be argued that *Ulus* Square was a monumental space that offered "each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one" (Lefebvre, 1991: 220). The square contains all aspects of spatiality, namely the perceived, the conceived and the lived spaces. The monument is located in the middle of the square and is more noticeable to the eye than other buildings around. Thus, it "effected a 'consensus', and this in the strongest sense of the term, rendering it practical and concrete." (Lefebvre, 1991: 220) Ulus Square was conceived as the city centre consisting of administrative buildings and as a public space with its political and social life.

The architectural activities to build Ankara as a capital city since the 1920s were carried out without a building plan of the city. Administrative buildings that were the spatial representation of State power and authority were given priority in the building process of the city:

> The development of Ankara as a modern city, which was identified with success of the Republican regime, presented the architectural, profession with a major challenge. The Republican leaders turned to the protagonists of what has been designated as the First National Architectural Movement for solutions. (Tekeli, 1984b: 10).

In the 1920s, First National Architectural Movement based on the architectural elements of the classical Ottoman period was adopted and encouraged by the government. This trend was particularly influential in public buildings and continued almost until 1930 (Aslanoğlu, 1986: 16). Construction of administrative buildings started in Ulus and Yenişehir while the search for a plan was still underway.

Premises of Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Customs and State Monopolies, the Court of Financial Appeals, Agricultural Bank, Ottoman Bank, Turkish Business Bank and Industrial and Metallurgical Bank were built in Ulus while

Ministry of Health and Ministry of National Defence were established in Yenişehir. The construction of these premises in Ulus affirms the fact that Ulus was important as an administrative and financial centre in the 1930s.

At the end of the 1920s, an architectural debate came onto the agenda. It was considered that the buildings including Ottoman-Islamic architectural elements were inconsistent with the Republican goals, which can be formulated as the elimination of both Ottoman and Islamic images (Tekeli, 1984b, Batur, 1998). Furthermore, the Republican regime required more economical in terms of both design and production costs in accordance with its own priorities. Hence, modernist design based on technology, function and material corresponded to the Republican demand (Sey, 1998: 30). It should also be reminded that the First National Architectural Movement had so far been unable to develop a city planning proposal.

It is in those years that the Modern Architectural Movement, based on the functional and rational principle of modern internationalism and monumental Western neo-classical style, began to appear in Ankara through the designs of foreign architects[23] (Aslanoğlu, 1986: 16). The buildings of Ministry of Health, Ministry of National Defence which were built in Yenişehir can be indicated as two examples of this new architectural style.

It can be suggested that these buildings differed from the previous ones not only in terms of their locations but also in terms of their architectural style. On the one hand, the public buildings that were constructed in the old city Ulus represented the First National Architectural style with its Ottoman and Islamic elements and were harmonised into the old city texture. On the other hand, the public buildings that were built in Yenişehir displayed characteristics of the Modern Architecture with its rational and functional approach and represented the establishment of the new city. In this context, spatial development trend of

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[23] These included Giulio Mongeri, Clements Holzmeister, Bruno Taut and Ernst Egli who designed new governmental buildings in Ankara.

Ankara can be observed by following the architectural models of public buildings constructed along the two sides of the boulevard.

In the 1930s, the depression of the capitalist world economy had repercussions on the economy of Turkey as well. According to Boratav (1997: 291), the years between 1930 and 1939 was the period of protective and *etatist* industrialisation within the framework of economic objectives and policies. Turkey's economy began to experience national industrialisation by becoming closed to the outside world and by the full support of the state. Therefore, the building activity declined in 1932, but re-started in 1934 and the construction of Ankara resumed.

During the period from 1930 to 1940, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises and monopolies gained a momentum. The Central Bank of Turkey, which was responsible for charting out the national budget, was established and financial establishments such as Sümerbank and Etibank were set up to supply loans to the state industries (Yavuz, 1986: 275). In this context, the centralisation of power was influential in the consolidation of the state authority. Keskinok (2006: 23) states that the nation state conducted the most comprehensive programmes for the construction of its own space that were compatible with the principles of Populism in the 1930s, a period dominated by Etatism.

The pursued building programme reveals the important effects that *etatist* economic policies had on shaping the built environment during this period. The programme, as Batur (1984: 69) suggests, was formulated to reconstruct Anatolian cities. It included the construction of bridges, railroads, industrial plants, school buildings' and the efforts of central and local authorities mainly concentrated on the construction of public works in major cities and towns.

The Municipality Law and related series of laws were enacted to organise urban entities as expanded and defined municipal services. Municipalities that gained autonomy through these laws were uniform in their programmes and practices. Batur (1984: 69) states that a set of symbolic urban components were

consistently employed in the reconstruction of all settlements. These symbolic urban elements consisted of

> The main street of the town (*Gazi Bulvarı*) leading to a Republic Square, in the middle of which would stand a statue of Atatürk. In small towns, this formula was realized with a bust of Atatürk placed in the middle of a symmetrically organised garden in front of the municipal building. … The minimum building program for settlements also included an Atatürk primary school, a state office building and a People's House.

Nonetheless, it should also be noted that each city attempted to construct its own *Gazi* School. In these schools "symbolic quality was given priority over functionality" and "they came to symbolize the regime as much as other government buildings." (Batur, 1984: 74).

In the 1930s, *etatist* economic policy was influential in the planning of Ankara. Keskinok (2006: 54) states that characteristics of spaces that were emphasised in the plan reflected economic, political and ideological features of the period.

Kurtuluş Meydanı[24] was located at the intersection where the boulevard met the second axis surrounded by *Güvenpark*, Turkish *Kızılay* Building and its park. The square was later named as Kızılay Square when the Building of Turkish *Kızılay* (Red Crescent) Association was erected here in 1929. In the 1930s, it developed by the construction of Yenişehir in accordance with Jansen Plan (see picture 2).

Yenişehir was conceived as the space to construct the new life-style and to represent Republican ideals while *Havuzbaşı*, an area with a pond in Kızılay park was a social space as one of the components of Yenişehir urban practices. In addition to *Havuzbaşı, Güvenpark* was conceived as a public space symbolising the power of the nation state in Kızılay Square. Yenişehir, together with its parks, as the conceived space, denoted a spatial representation of bourgeois identity and its leisurely activities (Batuman, 2002; Sargın, 2004).

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[24] *Kurtuluş Meydanı* was called *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* (Republican Square) in Lörcher Plan.

In *Güvenpark*, *Güvenlik Anıtı* (Security Monument), which was erected in a position to be visible as far as in Sıhhıye, was constructed in a project by an Austrian professor C. Holzmeister, and its relief and sculptures were completed by Prof. J. Thorak and Prof. A. Hanak in 1934 (see picture 3). Sargın (2004: 667) presents a comparison of the representative characteristics of the monuments as follows:

> The *Ulus Zafer Anıtı* [*Atatürk Heykeli*] was an emotional public response to mehmetçik's victories as well as social reflex to celebrate the new nation. For the *Güvenlik Anıtı*, on the other hand, both the process and the end product truly represented the republicans' visions on the way to mobilizing modernist planning concepts for additional urban-development strategies.

In this context, it can be asserted that Kızılay Square has characteristics of public space as a component of a modern capital city. The square and parks symbolise the modern life-style producing spatial and social practices. Moreover, it is possible to observe Güvenpark as a monumental space. It was a conceived space as the spatial representation of political power of the Republican ideology by the monument and it can be considered as a 'space of representation' with its social and cultural practices.

The administrative region designed at the end of *Güvenpark* and in the south of the boulevard indicates the influence of *etatist* economic policy on the architecture of the period. In the 1930s, increasing state authority influenced the architecture and the public sector carried out almost all building activities (Batur, 1984; Yavuz, 1986).

Jansen planned an 'Administrative District' (*Vekaletler Mahallesi*) in order to aggregate the administrative functions into a single centre since public buildings were thus far dispersed along the boulevard (see picture 4). In that case, it can be observed that the government was not only represented by buildings but also characterised by the space. The Administrative District was designed on the area located between Atatürk Boulevard and *Milli Müdafaa* Avenue. To the north of *Güvenpark* were built such buildings as the Supreme Court of Appeals, Ministry

of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Public Works, while in the south, the Ministry of Interior, General Directorate of Security and Gendarmerie were constructed in the 1930s. Additionally, pedestrian areas, parks and squares for ceremony and a meeting space were designed in the Administrative District.

Futhermore, the buildings for the Ministry of National Defence and General Military Staff were constructed in the other side of *Milli Müdafaa* Avenue, crossed by *İnönü* Boulevard. This area was designed near the Administrative District and was considered as a military zone. Another military zone was perceived near the Presidential Palace in Çankaya. According to Vale (1992: 99), "the choice of the location for Ataturk's headquarters served to encourage the elite development all along the boulevard, yet the Presidential Palace was created in a walled compound adjacent to a large military complex". Thus, it altered the symbolism of Jansen's plan.

In this context, by drawing on Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space, it can be claimed that military zones are 'dominated spaces'. For Lefebvre (1991: 164-165), the origins of dominated space were concomitant with those of the political power itself: "Such spaces are modern and industrial meaning and invariably the realizations of a master's project". Military architecture, fortification and ramparts, dams can be cited as examples of dominated space. In Ankara, the military zones are dominated spaces representing military power. These spaces are closed and forbidden zones.

The design of these administrative and military buildings was commissioned by Austrian architect Clements Holzmeister, "a true representative of the Modern Movement" (Batur, 1984: 80). In the modern architectural style, the public buildings that aimed to represent the state power and authority were characterised by "axial and symmetrical planning, repetitive rectangular windows, flat and hidden roofs, plain facades usually plastered over with a gray coloured" and "high, overpowering colonnades and entrance porticos composed of square or circular columns without capitals" in monumental scale (Yavuz, 1986: 277).

In the southern end of the administrative district, Jansen planned the Turkish Grand National Assembly and Holzmeister's project was awarded in the international architectural competition in 1937. However, the construction was interrupted by the World War II, and could only be completed in 1961. According to Batur (1984: 80), the Grand National Assembly is "the largest and most important work of Holzmeister".

In the years spanning 1932 to 1940, in the south of the Administrative District, Austrian Embassy, French Embassy, German Embassy and Italian Embassy were built along the boulevard leading toward Çankaya. Additionally, the Presidential Palace, Residence of the Prime Minister, and the Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs were constructed in Çankaya (Altaban, 1997: 91). At the end of the 1940s, embassies were concentrated in Kavaklıdere around the Boulevard in the axis of Çankaya. Thus, as Altaban (1997: 91) states, it can be observed that the embassies became "the characteristic components of the city".

During this period, an increasing amount of investment was made on such areas as education, health, transportation and housing through *etatist* economic policies. The establishment of public buildings particularly in Sıhhıye was one of the indicators that the city was designed as functional interrelated fragments by Jansen Plan. Sıhhıye is an area between Ulus and Kızılay and has a commuter train. Nonetheless, Sıhhıye Square was located at the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard with *Mithatpaşa* Avenue and *Necatibey* Avenue.

The main characteristic of Sıhhıye was that it was conceived as the centre of the public health project in the early Republican period. Public health was one of the most important projects of the Republic since it needed to organise a modern healthcare and social security system (Kılınç, 2002: 124-125). Sıhhıye became the area where the precursory healthcare institutions concentrated within the framework of a plan.

Some healthcare buildings had been already established before Jansen Plan, for example the Ministry of Health was constructed and the Hygiene Institute

(*Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü*) was almost completed in 1928. In the following years, *İbn-i Sina* Hospital, *Numune* Hospital, Faculty of Medicine in *Hacettepe* University, Faculty of Medicine in Ankara University and its hospital were built in Sıhhıye.

Some other public, educational and cultural buildings were located in Sıhhıye as well: On one side of the boulevard stood the Officer's Staff, Exhibition Centre, later State Opera Building and State Theatres on *İstiklal* Avenue crossing the Boulevard while on the other side of boulevard stood the Faculty of Letters, İsmet Pasha Institute for Girls, Radio House, Ethnographic Museum and Turkish Cultural Association (*Türk Ocağı*) just behind.

Architectural styles of these buildings differ by virtue of their respective historical periods. For example, while Turkish Cultural Association, Ethnographic Museum and İsmet Pasha Institute represent the First National architectural style, State Opera Building and Faculty of Letters were characterised by simplicity and rationalism of the Modern Architecture.

A few years after its construction, Turkish Cultural Association was transformed into People's House. People's Houses were built by eliminating Turkish Cultural Associations in 1932, because the associations had excessive nationalist ideology that did not correspond to the view and ideology of the Republican regime. Instead, the houses were organised based on the populism principle of the Republican regime (Yeşilkaya, 1997: 62).

People's Houses were considered as administrative buildings and were accompanied by other administrative buildings in the city centre, since the State was associated with the Republican People's Party (*CHP*) (Bilgin, 1998; Yeşilkaya, 1997). Moreover, People's Houses were one of the important public establishments for educational and cultural purposes and symbolised the new nation state's 'secular' identity.

In that case, it can be argued that People's Houses as the representative space of the secular identity of the Republican regime, suggested new modes of spatial practices. People Houses aimed to become the secular alternative to religious institutions by virtue of their organisational forms as well as becoming alternative to religious spaces by virtue of their locations (Yeşilkaya, 1997: 133-135).

Religious spaces signified important and primary characteristics of social construction in the Ottoman period. It can be observed that traditional Ottoman neighbourhoods tended to develop around a religious building such as mosque or lodge, and building affairs were conducted by foundations (Aslanoğlu, 2000: 217). Mosques as the hubs of nearby neighbourhoods were constructed to include a soup kitchen and bath, and the establishment produced spatial practices.

In this context, People's Houses intended to promote national unification of people who gathered around religious communities in mosques and aimed to produce new modes of spatial practices. Therefore, People's Houses were established simultaneously with *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* (Republic Square) as the new city centre and were located adjacent to religious buildings.

It is a fact that new religious constructions were not included in the modern architectural programme of the Republican regime in its early era. According to Köksal (2001: 78), since construction of mosques was not a part of the architectural programme[25], architecture of mosques occurred spontaneously in society with its examples poor in quality. However, Cansever (cited in Köksal, 2001: 84) states that the mosque was considered as a focal point of '*resistance*' by the Republican regime because the conservative opposition group constructed mosques as the castle and symbolic expression of its identity.

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[25] The Republican approach continued until the construction of Kocatepe Mosque in 1957 that will be elaborated in the section entitled 'Democrat Party Period'.

'Resistance' here refers to the anti-revolutionary response of conservative groups and People's Houses became a target for the anti-revolutionary conservative groups throughout the Republican history.

In the 1930s, recreational areas were limited in number and very few examples included *Millet Bahçesi*, opposite the First National Assembly building in Ulus, *Güvenpark* and Kızılay parks in Yenişehir, and *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*[26] outside the city (Uludağ, 1998: 67).

In the 1930s, *Gençlik* Park was proposed by Jansen plan as a recreational area for the whole city. To Uludağ (1998: 68), a different recreational environment was targeted as a new social experience in the modern city life, and hence a city park could serve this purpose as a new public space. The Park was planned to take place on semi-marshland between the train station and the boulevard. Its construction started in 1936 and the park was opened to the public in 1943.

It became the first large city park in Ankara and contained a big pond with two islands and a boathouse, facilities for various sports activities such as swimming, rowing and sailing, an entertainment and arts centre including night clubs and an open air theatre, communal areas and a canteen (Uludağ, 1998: 70). According to Demir (2002: 113), these functions and services of the park appealed to every segment of the society and provided the basis of modern leisure culture.

The park had several entrances, the main entrance being on the Opera Square on the Boulevard. *Gençlik* Park which represented the extension of cultural and political reforms of the Republican regime aiming to westernise social life, into the societal sphere (Uludağ, 1998: 74).

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[26] *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*, the first farm to develop agriculture with relevant industries, made use of new techniques in agricultural production and provided training to those who worked in agriculture and to cooperatives composed of organisations of producers in 1925 (Keskinok, 2006: 32). In addition to these aims, the farm also hosted a recreational area for educational, cultural and sport activities and '*Karadeniz*' and '*Marmara*' swimming pools.

In this period, the public demand for housing rose due to increasing population. Becoming the capital city, the population of Ankara has increased to a great extent. The population also consisted of military officers, bureaucrats coming from Istanbul and immigrants moving to the city as a result of the population exchange of the minority groups in Ankara (Yavuz, 1984; Sey, 1998a; Aslanoğlu, 1986).

First, 'Vakıf Houses' with gardens on Istanbul Avenue, near Gençlik Park were constructed in 1927 to meet the housing needs of government officials (Yavuz, 1973: 34). Nalbantoğlu (1984a: 258) states that military and civil bureaucrats as public employees constituted fifty percent of the working population in Ankara and they were the most important factor in the increasing demand for housing in the city. Besides, the municipality started the first organised housing construction in Yenişehir[27]. These houses were built as two or three-storey villas with gardens overlooking the boulevard.

Secondly, apartment blocks constructed in Ulus were primarily developed to respond to the demand for housing. Ulus had infrastructure facilities and market places, however property prices in this area were high in the 1920s. The stores on ground floors of the apartment blocks answered the needs for durable goods of new apartments and houses in Yenişehir. The apartments were characterised by the First National Architectural Style[28] and were large, solid and rich with adorned and expansive facades. According to Şenyapılı (1997: 87), these expensive and luxury apartments indicated that their tenants as well as the land owners belonged to the upper and upper-middle classes.

With regard to housing provision, the apartments in Ulus provided the renovation of the residential areas whereas villas constituted dispersed and isolated settlements in Yenişehir, their only reference points being the

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[27] On the one hand, villas were constructed in Yenişehir in 1926, on the other hand the unplanned houses appeared in Cebeci the same year and the first squatter area (gecekondu) took place in Atıf Bey District near Bent Deresi (Tankut 1984: 305).

[28] This architectural form based on the principle of combining Ottoman historical components with the new structural surfaces required long time and high cost (Nalbantoğlu, 1984: 260).

Boulevard. The two types of housing constituted a dual structure as to the location of different residential spaces as well as representation of different life-styles.

Villas in Yenişehir were conceived to promote modern life-style and to produce its practices such as dancing, tea parties, etc. and these new social and cultural practices were alienated from the traditional city life (Nalbantoğlu, 1984a: 259). The dual life style emerged in the 1920s between Ulus, as the old city and Yenişehir, as the new one, and this disparity became slightly clearer in the 1930s.

The housing construction started to decline in 1939 because of the World War II. Building cooperatives[29] were established in order to solve the housing problem in the 1940s. "The most successful implementation of the period" was 'Saracoğlu Mahallesi' conducted by investment from the Ministry of Public Works (Nalbantoğlu, 1984a: 262) on *Kumrular* Street. As emphasised by Altaban (1998: 48-49), 'Saracoğlu Mahallesi, organised and realised for government officials employed in ministries, was one of the original works of the Republican period in terms of its planning and architecture.

In the period where *etatist* economic policies were implemented, the Municipalities Law enacted in 1930, recognised expansive duties for municipalities. The municipalities, however, provided a limited number of services, i.e. road maintenance and transportation services because of the insufficiency of their resources.

Providing transportation in the city was among the responsibilities of the municipality, yet it remained inadequate for Ankara. Before giving more detail on city transportation, it is necessary to delve into the general context of the transportation system in spatial construction of Ankara. For, the transportation

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[29] The first large scale housing cooperative construction was '*Bahçelievler*' in Ankara. Moreover, the project of '*Yenimahalle*', was just completed in 1953, and the principles governing these cooperatives were; securing cheap land and infrastructure and borrowing credits with the best possible conditions (Altaban, 1998: 52).

system is influential in the spatial organization of the city (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 67).

In the early Republican period, Railway network was closely related to the regional development and was deemed as the most important system to develop industry in cities and to provide the unification of national market. That is why railways were the characteristic component of the spatial organisation of Ankara. The city developed along the railways from Ulus extending to the west, namely to *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği,* which also had a train station. In the following years, *Maltepe* was selected as the location for electricity and gas plants[30] because of its access to the railways (Osmay, 1998: 142).

Furthermore, Ankara's central train station that was constructed in 1937, was important as the main entrance of the city. The station became the crucial point that created the first perception of the capital city. Therefore, the city was planned by taking this entrance as advantage point and visual elements were mainly located by view of the train station. The newcomers to Ankara, such as diplomats, bureaucrats, journalists, introduced the city as having the Station Avenue, *Gençlik* Park on the one side and May 19th Stadium on the other, following Ankara Palace and the National Assembly erected throughout the Avenue in the early Republican era

By the 1930s, the need for city transportation was provided by getaway vans ("*kaptı-kaçti*"), which can be described as small buses operated by small entrepreneurs, running from central Ulus toward Cebeci and Yenişehir (Tekeli, 1987). In this period, the only means for public transport was a commuter train which ran between Ankara and *Kayaş*.

Yet, it was obvious that a new transportation system was needed in view of the increasing population, enlargement of the city, rising number of boulevards and avenues. Therefore, municipality was charged with providing transportation by means which included bus, minibus and electric trolleybus.

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[30] The gas plant was a significant symbol of industrialisation in this period.

The 1930s were also the years when automobile was introduced into the city life. Bus Administration of Ankara Municipality was established in 1935 and later became Bus Company of Ankara in 1944. Both buses and getaway vans operated in these years.

In the 1940s when the number of buses decreased, "*taxi-dolmuş*" was invented by small entrepreneurs as a solution to the transportation problem. Thereby, the first *dolmuş* line was connecting Ulus to Cebeci and Sıhhıye (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 226). Bus and *dolmuş* had each a share of fifty percent in the transportation of Ankara in 1947.

Since Ankara was not designed as an industrial city, small manufacturing and food industry were located in the north-west end of the city. Moreover, a neighbourhood for the working class was planned by Jansen, yet was never implemented. Factories producing floor and related products and beer and wine factories meant industry in Ankara was mainly dependent on agriculture.

The new administrative and cultural affairs, recreational functions and the industrial area were all separated from each other in the city. According to Şenyapılı (2004: 66) it was deemed important not to hold commercial enterprises in the newly developed housing areas and to concentrate them in the old city.

Ulus was identified as the political centre of the Republic and as the centre of Ankara. Ulus was also the commercial centre of the city with *Anafartalar* Avenue in the old city. Traditional old centre included the castle and its surrounding area with market places and public houses, wholesale and retail trade and craft workshops, small retail shops such as ironmongers, coppersmiths, tailors, etc. (Osmay, 1998: 141). Being the new centre in the city, Ulus became the area where new kinds of services such as hotels, banks, shops were offered to customers. Particularly *Karpiç* and Ankara Palace signified a new life-style.

Karpiç, who was invited to Ankara in order to establish a modern restaurant in the city in 1928, gave his name to the restaurant which served until 1953 (Tanrıkulu, 1985: 23). Ankara Palace, the largest hotel and restaurant of Ankara, was built according to the First National Architectural Style on the Station Avenue in 1927. Socio-cultural relations, entertainments and daily affairs took place in Ankara Palace.

Until the 1940s, Ulus served as the centre of the city through a large array of premises and services it provided: administrative functions, commercial and entertainment activities, and the service sector. Its political and social importance, however, decreased at the end of the 1940s, since the political life shifted to and a new life-style appeared in Yenişehir with the construction of villas and an administrative district in addition to the project of the Grand National Assembly.

In the years 1940-1945, Turkey experienced the difficulties stemming from the World War II although it did not directly take part in the war. In this period, planning and industrial investment programmes which had begun before the war were completely postponed due to the burden it imposed on the budget (Boratav, 1997: 304).

Yavuz (1986: 278) states that with the beginning of the 1940s more conservative and nationalist attitudes came to dominate Turkish cultural affairs. The new phase of nationalism in politics and economy naturally found its reflection in the architecture of the period.

The quest for new architectural models was triggered by decreasing investment in construction as well as the rising tide of nationalism. The Second National Architectural Movement that was developed by the background support of this newly emerging political and economical environment was characterised by nostalgia, locality, populism and chauvinism (Sey, 1998a; Tekeli, 1984b). The new architectural approach focused on the characteristics of traditional Turkish

houses. However, the Second National Architectural Movement began to decline in the middle of the 1940s, after the World War II.

As a consequence, the Republican regime attempted to construct new Republican institutions in the capital city in this period. Priority was given to the construction of administrative buildings and public spaces referring to the modern way of living. Ankara was developed in accordance with Jansen Plan characterised firstly by the construction of public spaces and secondly by the design of the city into functional, interrelated fragments.

Ulus emerged as the administrative centre of the newly established Republican regime and consequentially, Ulus Square became the most important public space of the Republic. The significance of Ulus Square and *Atatürk Heykeli* arose from the fact that they were monumental spaces. Based on Lefebvre's conceptualisation, a monumental space provides a sense of collectivity and membership referring to national unity.

The 1930s constituted a period characterised by *etatist* policies in Turkey. Republican ideology can be seen in the centralisation of power. Increasing state authority left its imprint on architecture and the public sector was responsible for the majority of building activities In this respect, *Güvenpark*, *Güvenlik Anıtı*, Administrative District including a military zone constituted the spatial representations of the central authority.

Ankara had a dual structure in the old city and the new city, which stemmed from the diverging characteristics of their respective residential areas. While villas represented the modern life-style in Yenişehir, Ulus was dominated by the traditional city living.

The transportation policy of the period gave priority to construct railway network. Moreover, the building of boulevards, avenues has needed the new inner city transportation system and

The transportation policy of the period gave priority to the construction of a railway network. The new transportation system was needed in view of the increasing population, enlargement of the city, rising number of boulevards and avenues, and municipality was charged with providing transportation by means which included bus, minibus and electric trolleybus and automobile was introduced into the city life.

In the period, Ulus included commercial and entertainment activities as well as administrative functions. After the 1940s, however, Ulus's political and social significance declined since the political and the new life-style shifted to Yenişehir as a consequence of the construction of Yenişehir villas and Administrative District besides the project of the Grand National Assembly.

5.3.2. Democrat Party Period (1950-1960)

A new political and economic process began to unfold in Turkey in 1950 through multiparty system and liberal economical policies. These policies were considerably different from those of the early Republican period.

Democrat Party, founded in 1946, came to power as a result of the general election held in 1950. It is fair to argue that in Democrat Party period, political transformation was inherent in the process of modernisation and westernisation of Turkey. In this context, according to Tekeli (1984b: 24), the populist approach of the single party era, whose motto had been 'despite the people, for the people' was reinterpreted by the Democrat Party as "respectful of people's choices and anti-bureaucratic sentiments". The populist understanding was oriented towards the masses that were regarded as potential voters for the party. It should also be noted that while the 'West' was associated with 'Europe' in the early Republican period, during the Democrat Party period it came to be associated with 'the United States as the leader of West' in the post-war era (Tekeli, 1984b: 24).

Furthermore, the transition to the multiparty parliamentary democracy in the years 1946-1950, is evaluated by Boratav (1997: 346) both in positive and in negative terms: positive in the sense that it was a transition from an "authoritarian, paternalist political regime" to a regime that was characterized as 'populist': negative, in the sense that the transition was mainly from an "independent 'national' economic structure" to a dependent one.

It was in the years 1954-1961 that liberal Democrat Party had been engaged into "the import substitution economic policy that was mainly realised by state's investments and that aimed to compensate for decreasing import of consumer goods through the control of foreign commerce regime" (Boratav, 1997: 319). Furthermore, the influx of foreign capital, aid, and loan became more visible due to the articulation of Turkey's economy into world economy. Within the framework of economic policies changes in the development strategies manifested themselves in differing investment areas.

In the single party period, the national development policies had given priority to industrial investment and to construction of railways as investment in the infrastructure. Railways were regarded as a vital system to promote regional industrial development and unification of national markets in the early Republican period.

As for Democrat Party period, investment policies concentrated on development of agriculture in accordance with its populist approach towards peasants, and construction of highways and urban arteries, since the integration of national economy to international markets required a new transportation system. A new network of highways was built in order to encourage the influx of foreign capital and aid as well as facilitate the access of agricultural products to regional and national markets. Overall, these new policies intended to increase the role of the private sector in the development of the country.

In this period, the abandonment of cultural, economic and social developmental projects[31] targeting rural areas and peasants brought about the alliance of *ağalık* system, which represented feudal relations tightly tied to commercial capital in the capitalist integration process (Keskinok, 2006). The majority of foreign loans were invested in the mechanisation of agriculture, which, in turn, resulted in the emergence of a labour force surplus in rural, agricultural areas.

The consequences of the development strategy in agriculture were two-fold. First, it gave way to inter-regional disparities in terms of regional development to the favour of metropolitan cities, and second it generated the mass migration of landless peasants to the metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan cities faced a huge rise in the number of their inhabitants and the growth rate of cities increased in parallel to the increase in the population. Therefore, the demand for housing dramatically increased, the existing housing supplies proved insufficient, and land, housing as well as rent costs soared. Insufficient housing supply[32] vis-à-vis the rapidly increasing population gave rise to the flourishing of *gecekondu* areas (squatter) in the outskirts of the city. It is estimated that forty to fifty percent of the population lived in unsanitary *gecekondu* areas lacking infrastructure in the 1950s (Tapan, 1984: 106).

Gecekondu settlements were defined as a 'problem' in the society by some bureaucrats and academics. However, inhabitants of *gecekondu* were considered as a source of cheap labour force by industrialists, for the emerging *gecekondu* environment decreased the value of labour force. At the political level, they became the target of populist policies as constituencies so much so that they gained bargaining power vis-à-vis politicians (Tekeli, 1984b: 24). Through the *gecekondu* settlement process, the *gecekondu* people worked in marginal jobs, which gave rise to the development of the informal sector in economy.

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[31] *Köy Enstitüleri* (Formerly Teacher Training Institutes) that were opened in 1940 as the most important components of the developmental project in rural areas and were closed in 1954.

[32] According to Tekeli (1984b: 26), "the building practices modelled after western building rules", "complex bureaucratic methods" and "the assumption that buildings are constructed as a whole" could not provide shelter for the immigrants.

The strategy of the Democrat Party, which cherished populist tendencies, towards the ongoing spread of *gecekondu* settlements was to legitimise these settlements through amnesty laws (Tekeli, 1998: 13). The Planned Nationalisation Act was enacted in 1956 in order to ascertain state's control over the unplanned urbanisation. *Gecekondu* houses that had been built prior to this date were legitimised by means of the above mentioned nationalisation act.

A direct consequence of urbanisation and speculations came as a sharp increase in property costs in the planned area of the city. In parallel, 'flat ownership' (*kat mülkiyeti*)[33] has been institutionalised in 1954. As correctly argued by Şenyapılı (2004: 180), the institutionalisation of 'flat ownership' is one of the major features of this period since it determined the structure and the form of urbanisation to come.

A new commercial concept developed as 'build and sell' (*yapsatçılık*) largely due to the emergence of flat ownership as a new form of housing. In this accelerated process of housing[34], small entrepreneurs known as 'builders-and-sellers' (*yapsatçı*) did not invest in housing, but served as intermediaries between designers and consumers. For Tekeli (1984b: 26), the major features of these buildings as part of their marketing strategy were mainly determined by entrepreneurs from the traditional sectors of the middle classes.

The ongoing enlargement of *gecekondu* settlements coupled with legal advantages presented to the private sector resulted in the intensification of rapid and unplanned building texture in the city.

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[33] Flat-ownership refers to a case where two or more people coming together own a flat in the apartment on a single building lot (Tekeli 1998: 14).

[34] Real estate market that developed in the process of housing provided the rapid growth of construction industry. Moreover, government's inflationary policies resulted in investments in housing and in land by individuals: "purchasing residential units or buying land was the most popular form of investment among the middle and upper-middle classes" (Tapan, 1984: 106).

As a remedy to the unplanned development of city's spatial organisation, studies were undertaken in order to decide on the second building plan[35]. In 1955, Nihat Yücel-Raşit Uybadin became the winner of the international building plan competition held by Ankara Municipality. In the subsequent period 1957 was the year in which Ankara's second master plan was affirmed.

The new plan included important decisions in the future shape of the city. First, General Directorate of Highways built secondary roads to connect Konya and Samsun highways. Second, the plan foresaw the expansion of the city northward and southward. Thus, the city was planned between Atatürk Boulevard in the north-south direction and toward *İskitler* Road that circumscribed the city by connecting Konya-Samsun highways. The plan suggested opening the south of the city for residential areas.

The Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement was established with the aim of coordinating and arranging development activities in 1958. However, since suitable was not found to build the ministry, a hotel was rented in *Necatibey* Avenue (Altaban, 1997: 91-92). This is ironic in the sense that the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement that was founded to solve the settlement problems of the city could not properly be settled. This is also striking as it demonstrates that any area was not allocated for public buildings because of market mechanism dependent on urban rents.

The suggestions for the development of Ankara in the second building plan, could not be implemented because conditions were different from those in the 1930s. Altaban (1998: 53-54) argues that the reasons underlying these different conditions were first, changes in the approach of the central administration and second, the priority given to the development of Istanbul. This policy of the Democrat Party began the construction programme [36] in Istanbul in 1956: large-

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[35] This decision has to do with the pressure of landowners who would gain new rights in the new building plan (Şenyapılı, 2004: 216).

[36] According to Tekeli (1984b: 27), outward oriented policies of the Democrat Party gave rise to the economic bottleneck in Turkey: "the regime became increasingly repressing against rising internal opposition, and simultaneously began to seek popular support by launching large-scale

scale nationalisation took place, and new avenues and buildings were constructed. Additionally, Istanbul *Yeşilköy* Airport was opened to international air traffic in 1953[37].

While an intensive construction plan was underway in Istanbul, significant changes took place in the architectural texture of the city. In this period, the State's influence in the architecture diminished and new models of production and consumption based on market economy emerged.

The Second National Architectural Movement, which was characterised by Turkish local motifs, were affirmed and encouraged by the State in national economy and in the single party period during the 1940s. Yet in the Democrat Party period the Second National Architectural Movement was abandoned. For Tekeli (1984b: 25), one reason was "the impossibility of pursuing a national architecture in a peripheral country integrated politically and economically into the international order" and the other was the fact that architects' lack of support from the state and poor socio-economic status dependent on the rise of construction activities and the expansion of the professional market.

In these years, a new architectural movement named as the 'International Style' was adopted and it began to dominate this period's architectural pattern at the beginning of the 1950s. Following the World War II, United States imported Modern Architectural Movement from Europe and reinterpreted it in accordance with its own conditions, hence the birth of the 'International Style' (Tekeli, 1984b: 24). The characteristics of these types of buildings were "the open plan of the ground floor space which was designed as a multi-purpose foyer" and being composed of a main block in the form of a prism and a lower block (Tapan, 1984b: 110).

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planning and construction operations in Istanbul." Similarly, Şenyapılı (2004, 175) claims that as regards these operations in Istanbul, "an anxiety prevailed to create a kind of success image in the space and to preserve government's prestige since its economic policies were heading to a debacle".

[37] *Esenboğa* Airport was established in Ankara in 1955.

The first example of the International Style[38] in Turkey was Istanbul City Hall. In the competition for this building arranged by the Ministry of Public Works, the winner was the project by Prof. Sedat Eldem and Prof. Emin Onat. It should be noted as a striking fact that the new movement was adopted by the pioneers of the Second National Architectural Movement (Özer 1964: 74-75 cited in Tekeli 1984b: 24).

Tanyeli (1998: 238) notes that in this period through private sector's access to the domains of design and supply, commercial office buildings were built according to the recently adopted architectural style. An example to the first commercial office building was *Ulus* Office Building (*Ulus İşhanı*) at the Ulus Square in Ankara[39] (see picture 5).

Ulus Office Building that was among the first buildings in Ankara in the 1950s, was built "around the previous commercial centre that was burned at the end of the 1940s" (Yavuz, 1973: 31). In tandem with this period's architectural character, this building consisting of 14-storey main office block attached to a lower block of stores were built in 1955. For Yavuz (1973: 31), *Ulus* Office Building was an example of office buildings that met the new functions as requested by the increasing volume of business in the accelerated toward capitalist economy in Turkey. Furthermore, it reflected the features of an office building in the West characterised by 'monotonous business life' and 'identical spaces'.

That building entirely altered the spatial construction of Ulus Square. The existing square diminished and a wide pedestrian space was arranged in front of

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[38] Hilton Hotel and Sheraton Hotel can be cited as two other examples of the International Style in Istanbul. The Hilton Hotel, constructed in 1952, was one of the first high-rise hotels in Turkey illustrating the "new American architectural design and practice along with American management" (Tekeli, 1984b: 24). Tapan (1984: 110) states that "the vast ground-floor lobby was taken out of its commercial hotel mould and oriented toward the Bosphorus".

[39] The other important commercial office building was *Emek* Office Building whose construction started in 1959 and was opened in 1964 at Kızılay square. That will be discussed in the section entitled 'Planned Development Period'.

the building. *Atatürk Heykeli* which used to be in a central position on the way to the citadel was moved to a small corner in the newly arranged, diminished square (Yavuz, 1973: 41). The ground floor of the building was going to be used for stores while upper floors would serve as offices. The old square which diminished into a pedestrian area was replaced by an intersection of roads.

In this context, it can be argued that the amendments made to the square and to the monument deeply transformed social relations constructed over the space and in turn influenced the city living:

> When an urban serving as a meeting-place isolated from traffic is transformed into an intersection or abandoned as a place to meet, city life is subtly but profoundly changed, sacrificed to that abstract space where cars circulate like so many atomic particles (Lefebvre, 1991: 312)

Ulus Square and *Atatürk Heykeli* represented the national unity symbolising emancipation of the Turkish nation and the power of the newly established Republic. Moreover, it presented a visual unity with its surrounding area including the National Assembly and public buildings constructed in the First National Architecture style. Constituting the public space of the Republic, Ulus Square had a vivid political and social life space and was the space for national celebrations and ceremonies in the early Republican period.

Through the new building that was constructed in the mid-1950s using the International Style, spatial construction of the square was altered by reorganising the space. The height and length of *Ulus* Office Building shadowed the monumental character of *Atatürk Heykeli*. The traffic running at the intersection destroyed the characteristics of the public space of the square to a great extent. Furthermore, Ulus Square was the spatial representation of the Republic's administrative power as a political centre of the city. However, the features of the new building and new shape of the square produced new spatial practices and Ulus square became a commercial centre of the city.

In this context, Lefebvre's (1991: 222) examination of the contradiction between the building and the monument is revealing:

> Turmoil is inevitable once a monument loses its prestige, or can only retain it by means of admitted oppression and repression. When the subject –a city or a people – suffers dispersal, the building and its functions come into their own.

In Ulus Square, as Lefebvre (1991: 223) states, the balance of forces between the monument and the building shifted and the building superseded the monument. It can be argued that Ulus Office Building distorted the monumental characteristic of Ulus Square while the building simultaneously reinstituted monumentality within the building itself.

It is a fact that "buildings have functions, forms and structures, but they do not integrate the formal, functional and structural 'moments' of social practice". (Lefebvre, 1991: 223) In this sense, it can be claimed that although the monumentality of the building surpassed the monument, functions, forms and structures of the building could not be integrated into the existing urban texture.

In consequence, Ulus Square became both a product and an instrument of ideologies in the early Republican as well as in the Democrat Party periods. The square was created as a public space representing the Republican ideology and used *Atatürk Heykeli* to refer to national unity in the early Republican era. However, the square was reorganised and became devoid of its previous meaning and symbolised capitalist business relations and commercial life by Ulus Office Building in the Democrat Party period.

The architectural style that possessed the characteristics of the office buildings on the 1950s was ascertained in the case of other administrative buildings with various functions similar to those of public buildings (Yavuz, 1973: 31). In this way, buildings such as General Directorate of Statistics, Etibank Headquarters, *Yüksek İhtisas Hastanesi* (Specialisation Hospital) and The Grand Ankara Hotel

were designed and constructed by Turkish architectures by using the period's architectural style.

Ulus Office Building as one of the most important buildings of the period was a commercial office building constructed with the International Architectural Style. Another important project of the period was the construction of a mosque. The project was firstly conceived in 1944 and planned the construction of a mosque in Yenişehir[40] (Balamir, 2003). However, in 1957, it came back to the Democrat Party's agenda and *Kocatepe*, was determined as the area for the mosque. By then *Kocatepe* was a hill on Mithatpaşa Avenue that was parallel to Ataturk Boulevard.

The architectural style of the planned mosque triggered problems in competitions that were held for the mosque project, because the architectural style of the mosque was considered as embracing a political meaning in being modern or traditional in style. According to Balamir (2003), it was an interesting case as debates were held only about the architectural style of *Kocatepe* Mosque and the architectural culture remained untouched.

In the first competition held in 1947, all projects were planned in classical architectural style and none of the applicants won (Eyüpgiller, 2006). In 1957, the project of V. Dalokay and D. Tekelioğlu won the competition of Ankara *Kocatepe* Mosque, however it was not implemented because of its innovative forms and modern characteristics (Balamir, 2003). Therefore, another project was selected in a separate competition. It was confirmed and implemented in 1964. The construction was going to last until 1987.

Kocatepe Mosque stirred architectural, social and political debates during its construction as well as in its aftermath. In the early republican period, the construction and repair of mosques were not included in the construction programme since the secular state did not take issue with mosques and

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[40] An association was established by Religious Affairs in order to construct a mosque in Yenişehir in 1944.

remaining few mosques from the Ottoman period were deemed as adequate (Balamir, 2003). It is a fact that the Republican regime aimed to ensure the secular and national unity of people rather than the religious community.

However, when the Democrat Party took over the government, social, political and economic conditions were subject to dramatic changes in the 1950s. A mosque project has brought up to the political agenda in this period and was designed to be constructed by the Democrat Party in 1957. In this context, the construction of Kocatepe Mosque was regarded as a response to the Republican attitudes.

In consequence, Kocatepe Mosque can be considered as a monument rather than a symbol of people who constituted a conservative opposition group in the early republican period. Furthermore, it demonstrates the political power of the Democrat Party and a conservative power group.

Monumentality encompasses all aspects of spatiality, namely the perceived, the conceived and the lived spaces. Based on Lefebvre's triple conception, it can be argued that Kocatepe Mosque is a 'monumental space'. The mosque is located on a hill and is perceived more visibly than other buildings in the city. Moreover, the mosque can be regarded as a manifestation of a 'space of representation' against Republican, institutionalised 'representations of space'. However, *Kocatepe* Mosque itself was conceived as a spatial representation of the political power of the Democrat Party.

In the period, in accordance with the Democrat Party's political and economic policies a "predominantly technocrat movement of renovation" began in public bureaucracy and "the investigation and investment institutions dependent on ministries in terms of management but independent in terms of their decisions and budget, which conducted technical projects and implementations " served important functions (Altaban, 1997: 91). A large amount of land on Eskişehir road was allocated for these new public institutions such as Highways Administration, Public Waterworks Administration, State Supply Office, State

Institute of Statistics and, in architectural terms, these buildings were constructed in the International Style in a "fairly glorious" manner (Altaban, 1997: 91).

Investigation and investment institutions acquired further significance together with the predominantly technocrat public bureaucracy. In that context, cultivating the country's own technical capacity in terms of both quantity and quality was put on the agenda in order to solve the housing problem (Tekeli, 1998: 14). After Turkey demanded the United States to meet its need for city and regional planning, the project was put into force that aimed to establish a university in Ankara to become as prominent one in the Middle East and to provide education and training in English, which was specifically supported by the United States (Aydın, *et al*., 2005: 576).

To this aim, Middle East Technical University (METU) was established in 1956 on Eskişehir Road through the nationalisation of a large area. The university's department of architecture was opened the same year and the department of Planning started its activities in 1961. In the same period, a Chair of Urbanism was established it the Faculty of Political Sciences and the research by Fehmi Yavuz entitled 'Development of Ankara and Our Urbanism' was published as the first monograph on Ankara analysing the development of city planning in Turkey.

Being important spatial components of an urban culture, universities leave their impact on the social and cultural life of a city. Therefore, the location of a university is important to integrate students into the city's social life. METU became the first technical university with a campus in Turkey. In this context, it can be claimed that METU is a relevant case to illustrate the relationship between spatial position and social relations.

Until this period of time, the faculties in Ankara, that is, Faculty of Letters in Sıhhıye, Faculty of Political Sciences and Faculty of Law in Cebeci, were located at the city centre as a part of the Republic's historical urban texture. The

students of social science faculties were at the centre of the city's social and cultural life. Especially, they played an important role in political demonstrations which began in the 1960s and continued in the following years in the city centre and in the surrounding areas.

Yet, METU as a university located in a campus was established far from the city and hence was spatially separated from these faculties. On the one hand, the spatial position of METU impeded the establishment of a relationship with the urban texture. In this context, this type of location was significant in the sense that the liberal policies of the time were based on the assumption that students should spatially be kept out of the political and social city life. On the other hand, the students of METU were away from the pressure and control of the government's authority due to their spatial position. Therefore METU as a new public space produced its own political and social environment, and network of relationships and students of METU[41] formed opposition groups against the Democrat Party.

Municipality organisation that was set up in 1930, survived until the end of the 1950s (Şengül, 2001b: 104). However, rapid urbanisation as result of migration began to change the urban structure and gave rise to an increase of urban problems mainly in housing and infrastructure. Nevertheless, the state continued to investigate resources into import substitution economic policy and restricted resources for urbanisation within the framework of adopted development strategies. In other words, the state's intervention was restricted in the sphere of reproduction of labour and was delegated to local administrations, but local communities and families played an active role in these spheres instead of local administrations (Şengül, 2001b: 104).

In this period, Ankara as a metropolitan city was mainly influenced by intensive migration and over-population. Its population reached 157,000 in 1940, arrived

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[41] Middle East Technical University was one of the two universities that were important for leftist thought and action in the 1960s in Turkey. The other was the Faculty of Political Science (Çulhaoğlu, 2003 cited in Aydın, *et al.*, 2005: 572).

approximately at 300,000 in the 1950s (Yavuz, 1973: 31). The city reached the peak of its population growth rate between the years 1950-1955 (Şenyapılı, 2004: 179). In that case, Ankara's population tipped 300,000 and its boundaries of planned settlements had already been surpassed in 1950 even though that was the number estimated for 50 years later in Jansen's plan.

The demand for housing increased in accordance with the rapidly rising population in Ankara. Yücel-Uybadin Plan concentrated on the districts of *Çankaya*, *Ayrancı*, *Yenimahalle,* and *Keçiören* in order to supply housing besides Yenişehir, Bahçelievler, Cebeci districts, which Jansen plan had focused on. In the context of the former plan, housing developments were suggested in *Ayrancı*, *Dikmen*, *Çankaya* and *Küçükesat* in the south part of the city.

It was interesting that the building plan aiming to conduct the development of Ankara, did not mention the *gecekondu* settlements although it appeared as the most important problem of the period (Aydın, et al., 2005; Şengül, 2001b). In this context, besides the development direction that the plan suggested, new *gecekondu* areas continued to emerge in Ankara. *Altındağ, Atıf bey, Telsizler* region in the north and *Akköprü*, Istanbul Avenue and *Bentderesi* emerged as the main *gecekondu* areas.

By the constitution of *gecekondu* settlements, the residential areas began to display a dual character in the city: On the one hand, *gecekondu* settlements[42] were increasingly formed at the periphery of the city. On the other hand, apartment blocks were mainly constructed in the planned residential areas. In this context, it can be claimed that the dual structure of the old city and the new city in the early Republican period manifested itself as *gecekondu* areas and planned residential areas.

Moreover, the legalisation of flat-ownership and 'build-and-sell' (*yapsatçılık*) caused the construction of apartment blocks to accelerate. It can be observed

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[42] Although the squatter settlement in Ankara emerged in the aftermath of the declaration of the Republic, it became common in contemporary sense after the 1950s.

that building of apartments based on the increase of urban rents became widespread across the country. In consequence, a monotonous building texture emerged in the city.

Together with these legal regulations, the number of cooperatives[43] that had been operating since the 1940s increased. However, only a limited number of people could benefit from the cooperative organisation due of the fact that these cooperatives were not been controlled in an efficient way (Şenyapılı, 2004: 227). Thus, cooperatives remained insufficient in handling the housing problem in spite of their rapidly increasing existence.

In this period, Ankara's urban texture was characterised by the priority given to the building of apartments and *gecekondu* areas in the periphery in addition to the building of blocks and accommodating more traffic it the city centre. One consequence of the construction process became the diminishing open spaces. Wide open spaces and parks within the city as well as the protection of the city by a green-belt were fundamental elements in the Jansen plan (Tankut, 1984: 308).

To do this, valleys and flat areas would be cleared of buildings and would be used as recreational and refreshment areas. However, because of the increasing population growth rate and uncontrolled development of the city, the plan could not be realised at all. According to Şenyapılı (2004: 237), *gecekondu* flourishing in the city and the housing cooperatives it the city's periphery occupied agricultural areas. Open spaces in Ankara rapidly decreased since squatters covered banks of rivers as well as green hills, manufacturers were located in the river banks and apartment blocks mushroomed in the open areas at the midlands.

In this context, the laws were executed in order to sell large parts of land in *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*, and various institutions and cooperatives acquired large parts of this property in this period. These laws can be regarded as the indicators

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[43] Şenyapılı (2004: 224) states that the cooperatives with limited financial means have chosen areas other than legal residential areas. They then put pressure in order to be recognised as legal and some of these requirements were accepted.

of the rapid and unplanned urbanisation in Ankara during the 1950s. The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB, 2006a) argues that the land on which *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* was located was shifting toward the city centre through time and hence gained in value: "the city centre was not determined on the basis of a long-term plan that regarded the unity of rural and urban areas but was determined on the basis of urban rent which was deemed as an appropriate way of developing a newly fledgling industrial class and capital accumulation".

In the 1950s, one can observe in the transportation sphere that new roads were built and existing roads were widened in parallel to the city's spatial development. According to Osmay (1998: 146), providing transportation between the years 1950-1960 was defined as "giving priority to the traffic and generating mobility" and accordingly roads were widened, boulevards were built and squares were arranged in the city centre in order to alleviate traffic congestions. In Ankara, Atatürk Boulevard and the roads were widened and necessary intersections were arranged in *Ayrancı, Tunalı Hilmi* Avenue, in the area between Kızılay and Sıhhıye, Yenimahalle and Maltepe districts as the spaces where a particular housing texture had been developing. In addition to that, the place between *Sakarya* and the streets *Ataç* and *Sağlık* was arranged as a pedestrian lane in the year 1959.

The Municipal Bus Company (*Belediye Otobüs İşletmesi*) which provided transportation in Ankara was replaced by 'Electricity, Gas and Bus Company of Ankara' (*Ankara Elektrik, Havagazi ve Otobüs İşletmesi*) (EGO) in 1950. The number of bus routes in the city, the areas covered and the number of passengers increased in the mid-1950s. However, since these buses began to serve newly developing areas of the city in the second half of 1950s, they remained inadequate in the central areas of the city. In the regions where bus transportation remained inadequate, transportation was relying on services provided by *dolmuş* operated by private-sector entrepreneurs. *Dolmuş* began to serve the central areas of the city such as Bahçelievler-Dörtyol, Çankaya-

Aydınlıkevler and the proportion of the role of public sector in transportation in the period became less than fifty percent (Türel, 1998). In addition to the expansion of *dolmuş* system, commuter train line which transported passengers in the east-west axis became important.

The city transportation system played an important role in the spatial organisation of the city. As a result of the increasing demand for housing due to the accelerated development of cities, land allocation was differentiated and *gecekondu* areas were formed beside the planned housing settlements. Tekeli and Okyay (1981: 59) state that a mutually determining relationship can be established between the forms of land usage in the city and the means of transportation. According to their analyses, *gecekondu* and *dolmuş* became two phenomena that emerged simultaneously (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 69).

In this period, buses provided the transportation to the newly developed areas of the city and served in a wider area than *dolmuş* did. The municipal services reached out to planned settlements in the city, however the new squatter settlements in the periphery remained excluded from these services. Moreover, it should be noted that the municipality intended to halt the development of *gecekondu* settlements in this period because these areas could not adapt to the urban texture and thus posed problems in terms of planned structure. For this reason, municipal services such as infrastructure facilities as well as buses did not reach out to these settlements (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 71). These areas constituted a profitable domain for private entrepreneurs. Therefore *dolmuş* was developed as a response to the transportation demands of squatter inhabitants. The simultaneous development of *dolmuş* and *gecekondu* areas presents a further proof to the relationship between forms of land utilisation in the city and the transportation systems.

Dramatic changes occurred in the period from 1950 to 1960 period in the economic structure of Ankara. In these years the share of agricultural sector in overall employment and revenues decreased while the proportion and significance of such sectors as services, commerce, construction and

manufacture increased in employment in general (Şenyapılı, 2004: 178). Food industry including flour, beer and sugar factories in Ankara maintained its priority, and the construction sector as well as furniture and fitting industry developed in parallel to housing demand.

The development in the sectors of agriculture and transportation as well as maintenance, repairing developed the manufacturing sector in Ankara. Furthermore, agricultural revenue returning to cities and loan facilities provided for commercial sector presented the possibility for development in this sector (Şenyapılı, 2004: 174). In this context, besides wholesale trading, retail trade also started to develop in Ulus.

In the period, commercial activities concentrated in Kızılay[44] as a new developing centre and became a centre for retail trade targeting upper and upper-middle income groups. As early as 1955, the buildings in Kızılay were allowed to arrange shopping arcades on their ground floors. The avenues *Sakarya* and *Mithatpaşa* were specified as commerce routes and it was considered as appropriate to build multiple storey commerce blocks. Among the hotels and recreational areas, the ones "having luxury characteristic" were located around Kızılay, the others with lower qualities were located in Ulus region (Şenyapılı, 2004: 217).

In Ulus, *Gençlik* Park underwent physical and social change in the Democrat Party period. Due to the increasing importance of and demand for the entertainment sector, new buildings and spaces to accommodate night clubs, a mini golf club, restaurants and pubs were constructed after 1956. The night club that was opened in *Gençlik* Park included an eclectic mixture of both European and Turkish style dance and music (Demir, 2002: 114). In addition, an amusement park (*Lunapark*) and a miniature train were placed in the park in 1959.

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[44] The development of Kızılay was also influential in land prices; until 1955 the highest prices were seen around Ulus and *Samanpazarı* in the city, after 1955, land prices in Kızılay almost caught the level of those in Ulus (Mimarlık, 1973 cited by Şenyapılı, 2004: 208).

At the end of the 1950s, upon becoming a new centre where commercial activities took place in increasing quantities, Kızılay turned into a popular place for political demonstrations.

After the year 1955, the country was caught up in an economic crisis as a result of the policies followed by the Democrat Party government. The inflation rate in these years negatively influenced the wage workers and salaried employees. In a related manner, the Democrat Party government tried to control not only the opposition groups within the party but also the media, universities and bureaucracy.

Kızılay Square had acquired a political character and had become a space for social opposition demonstrations that took place at the end of 1950s. In this period the Faculty of Letters at Sıhhıye, the Faculty of Political Sciences and the Faculty of Law at Cebeci together with Kızılay Square constituted the areas for political demonstrations in Ankara and turned into a space where students gathered in large numbers (Batuman, 2002: 60).

A political demonstration in April 1960 (Feyizoğlu, 1993 cited in Batuman, 2002: 60) was the first of its kind which took place in Kızılay. In its aftermath, a clash occurred in the Faculty of Political Sciences and the universities in Ankara were closed by the government for a month. As a result of the continuing demonstrations protesting the closure of the universities, the bus and *dolmuş* stops were moved to another place, cinemas were closed and it was forbidden to wander in the Boulevard in groups of more than ten people (Feyizoğlu, 1993 cited in Batuman, 2002: 61).

In this context, it can be argued that the aim of the government to establish its control over the students necessitated its "dominancy on organisation of space" (Harvey, 1997: 250). To put it differently, the government intended to control the space in order to restrain the activities of students. Therefore, the prohibitions that aimed to control the demonstrations of students signified

governmental interventions into the spatial organisation of Kızılay and the Boulevard.

The demonstration of the students of Military Academy was conducted throughout the Boulevard, i.e. between Kızılay and Sıhhıye in May 1960. As a matter of fact, the military intervention of the armed forces in 27 May 1960 was also celebrated by people in Kızılay Square (Batuman, 2002: 62).

To sum up, in the period, the multiparty system and liberal economic policies were implemented by the Democrat Party government. By adopting import substitution economic policy, the development strategy of the period aimed to integrate Turkey to international markets and to adopt regional development in contrast to the aim of creating a national economy, unifying internal markets, and eliminating inter-regional inequalities, as put forward in the early Republican period by *etatist* economic policies. The abandonment of the rural development strategy adopted in the early Republican period resulted in regional development disparities in favour of metropolitan cities.

Mass migration from rural areas to metropolitan cities appeared as the most important characteristic of urbanisation process in the period. Migration gave rise to the formation of *gecekondu* settlements in the peripheral areas of the city. Furthermore, through the legalisation of flat ownership, and build-and-sell system, the construction of apartment blocks accelerated.

The ongoing processes of enlarging *gecekondu* settlements coupled with intensification of building apartments by benefiting from legal facilities caused distortions in the urban texture of Ankara.

It was also in this period that the second master plan of Ankara was approved. The plan proposed construction of highways and developing areas for housing in the north-south axis.

The interventions made to Ulus Square and *Atatürk Heykeli* monument strongly influenced social relations constructed over the square. The square became both

a product and an instrument of ideologies: it was constructed as an administrative centre referring to the Republican notion of national unity by *Atatürk Heykeli* in the early Republican period. However, the spatial representation of the square changed through its reorganisation in the period and due to Ulus Office Building it became a capitalist business and commercial centre.

Kocatepe Mosque was another significant project of the Democrat Party period. It can be regarded as a monumental space to use Lefebvre's terms. The mosque can be considered as an indicator of 'space of representation' and as a response to institutionalised 'representations of space' based on Republican notions. It prioritised constitution by religious community over national unification. However, *Kocatepe* Mosque was conceived as a spatial representation of the political power of the Democrat Party itself.

The State's intervention was mainly limited to the spheres of reproduction of labour in housing and transportation in which private sector took part. Build and sell system developed by private sector in construction of houses and the *dolmuş* was invented by private entrepreneurship in city transportation.

At the end of the 1950s, Kızılay became a new centre where commercial activities took place in increasing volume and also became a popular space for political demonstrations. The Democrat Party government attempted interventions into the organisation of the space by way of prohibitions in order to restrain the activities of students.

5.3.3. Planned Economic Development Period (1960-1970)

A new period in political and social terms began in 1960 in Turkey. The military intervention of 27 May 1960 and the subsequent 1961 Constitution can be cited as crucial turning points within democratic political regime. The 1961 Constitution enshrined the principles of social state and planned economic

development. State Planning Organisation (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, *DPT*) as a constitutional institution was established "with the idea that development planning based on scientific values could be achieved outside the realm of politics" (Tekeli, 1984b: 27). The policy of planned political economy differentiates this period form previous ones and sets in as a vital characteristic of the period

In the beginning of the 1960s, Turkish army underwent institutional transformation and became an institution that secured a place for itself in commercial and political sphere: On the one hand, the army intervened in politics through the National Security Council that was specified in the 1961 Constitution and on the other hand, it participated in economic sphere by means of *Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu* (*OYAK*) (Armed Forces Pension Fund) that achieved financial power in a short period of time (Özdemir, 1997: 201).

In the period, "the development form determined by protective foreign trade policies since 1954 was carried out by the domestic market rather than international markets" and continued to be dominant between the years 1962-1976 (Boratav, 1997: 326). The import substitution economic policies took industrialisation and a vibrant domestic market and growth as the basis to meet the economic and social claims of the working class to a certain extent (Doğan, 2002: 147) and were prominent in the urbanisation process.

The economic policies implemented in the middle of the 1950s which integrated planning activities by the beginning of the 1960s promoted economic development. One consequence of these economic policies came as the fact that total industrial production income surpassed total agricultural production income in the 1970s. Thus, the development had an important role to play in the rate of urbanisation and in meeting the demands of consumers in the society .

In addition to increasing migration from rural areas to metropolitan cities, migration to foreign countries [45] emerged as a new phenomenon stemming from rapid urbanisation in the 1960s. The demand for unskilled labour force in West Europe, and particularly in Germany provided an important labour force market in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998: 15).

Between the years 1965-1970 population growth rate reached its highest level particularly in the metropolitan cities receiving immigrants. It was observed that approximately thirty percent of the inhabitants in the metropolitan cities lived in *gecekondu* settlements (Osmay, 1998: 143). In 1966 a "*Gecekondu* Law" was enacted and hence the concept of '*gecekondu*' was introduced into legal texts. The law acknowledged "the possibility of a new legalisation perspective which was not normally appropriate for construction laws since it accepted the existence of *gecekondu* areas" in addition to providing an amnesty for them (Tekeli 1998: 19). The law agreed to protect and improve *gecekondu* houses and destroy those which could not be improved. Building *gecekondu* which gained legal guarantee through this law became an investment instrument in profitable areas of the city and was commercialised as the infrastructure facilities improved in quality (Tekeli 1998: 19).

The 'build-and-sell' strategy that started in the 1950s continued in this period even in an accelerated manner. Construction of apartments that developed in tandem with 'build-and-sell' strategy and shaped the environment ever strongly than before became predominant in all city centres in Turkey[46].

The second building plan of Ankara that was approved in 1957 foresaw that the city population would reach 750,000 in the following 30 years and suggested "a

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[45] Migration to foreign countries continued from mid-1960s to mid-1970s through legal channels. It then diminished as a result of economic crisis and continued through illegal ways and targeted non-European countries (Tekeli, 1998: 15).

[46] In that period, construction materials industry as well as building technologies were developed for the domestic market. The construction materials industry did not aim to solve the housing problem in Turkey. Instead, it aimed to supply middle and upper-class housing which were produced by intermediaries and to encourage the tendency to luxurious consumption (Tekeli, 1984b: 28).

macro form that would be based on a north-south development plan within the existing municipality borders" (Altaban, 1998: 55). However, the population of Ankara "exploded as was the case in many other cities as a result of nation-wide industrialisation and reached 1 million 250,000 in 1971 between the years 1960 and 1970" (Yavuz, 1973: 31).

The second building plan of Ankara was aborted in its implementation phase due to the influence of pressure groups involved in the processes of build-and-sell and building of apartments (Şenyapılı, 2004: 220) In mid-1960, a 'Regional Flat Order Plan' was submitted to the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement and was approved the same year. In this plan it was accepted that "all constructions in Ankara, except for housing areas of 2 and 3 storey buildings in *Etlik, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Dikmen* and *Çankaya* would add an extra storey" (Altaban, 1998: 54).

The trend of adding a storey to existing buildings that began in the 1950s was incompatible with the climate of the city. For, it made the provision of infrastructure services difficult and could be criticised on grounds of the installation system used. Consequently, in order to increase rent revenues in the city, old buildings were demolished, gardens were destroyed, and building areas, construction of blocks increased and became even higher (Şenyapılı, 2004: 221).

Following the implementation of 'Regional Flat Order Plan', a new flat ownership law was enacted in 1968. Through this law the permissions for 9 to 10 storey buildings not only on the boulevard but also in the roads connecting to boulevards and 6 storey buildings in the farther regions were given. According to Şenyapılı (2004: 220), the urban texture that was anticipated in the second building plan of Ankara and included 2-3 storey buildings with gardens could never be preserved. Through this law, buildings on the main boulevard and avenues that determined the planned development of Ankara changed in character in an accelerated manner.

Between the years 1960-1970, most of the apartments on the main avenues like Atatürk Boulevard and connecting to *Gazi Mustafa Kemal* Boulevard, and *Meşrutiyet* Avenue, *Mithatpaşa* Avenue, were demolished and replaced by multiple storey buildings whose ground floors were used as offices while upper floors provided domestic housing. This should be highlighted as one of the most important factors which impeded the effective implementation of city planning.

In this period, construction of buildings was decoupled from the objective of responding to demands for more housing and turned out to be a commercial activity. Additionally, construction activities were carried out in a more intensive manner. This process was influential in architectural activities. In this process, the architectural forms used remained uncertain and was further aggravated by the ineffectiveness of city planning.

The architectural activities that started after 1960 with the influence of the International Style gradually turned into a pluralist atmosphere[47]. It means that unlike previous periods, one cannot emphasise the predominance of a single pattern over others during these years.

The 'Regional Flat Order Plan' in addition to flat ownership law resulted in an intensive construction of buildings both on the boulevards and avenues in the housing areas and in the city centre. In this process, the deterioration of Ankara's urban texture that had started as early as the 1950s accelerated through these activities. The process of construction exempt from city planning and a certain architectural form created a monotonous building texture in the city.

In this context, it can be observed that the interferences which took the form of demolitions and constructions of buildings left their imprint on the urban texture and transformed the spatial structure of the city. These construction activities resulted in the devastation of historical and cultural values, gradual

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[47] The concepts such as "regionalism, organic architecture, historicism, brutalism, neo-monumentalism, symbolism etc." began to be used in order to describe different architectural understandings in the period (Sey, 1998a: 37).

vanishing of open spaces, insufficient level of public service areas, i.e. education, health, social and cultural buildings, and a shortage of spaces for public institutions (Doğan, 2002; Tekeli, 1998). This trend impeded the preservation of green areas in the city and the improvement of standards of living for city dwellers. As a consequence of these acts conducted city-wide, Ankara lost its planned spatial organisation characteristic that was formed in the early Republican period and the city was henceforth left to the dynamics of free market mechanism.

In this period, several problems occurred as to the establishment process of public buildings in Ankara. State Planning Organisation (DPT) stated that "the allocation of resources for the construction of public administrative buildings and nationalisation of squares is an impediment for development". In the ensuing period "a period of hiring buildings for the public" began (Altaban, 1997: 92).

In parallel to the decision of DPT, ministries and their dependent institutions were dispersed across Ulus, Kızılay and various locations in multiple hired buildings[48]. In order to prevent spatial dispersion, a public area in front of İnönü Boulevard next to the Military Academy was allocated in 1967 and a plan was dressed for eight ministries which were not specified a location by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement. However, since DPT did not support financially to construct buildings of ministries, only the new buildings of the Ministry of Finance could be erected in this area.

It should be noted that not only public institutions but also judicial institutions were dispersed to various new locations in the city. The Council of State (*Danıştay*), which was located in a hired building, could move into its own

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[48] Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry for Rural Affairs, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Social Security, Ministry for Youth and Sport were all in hired buildings. As for the Ministry of Labour, Ministry for Agriculture and Forest, Ministry of Industry and Technology, Ministry of Customs and Excise were in hired buildings since their own buildings were not adequate and they had dispersed into the city in a very fragmented way (Altaban, 1997: 92).

building in Sıhhıye only at the beginning of the 1970s. The Supreme Court (*Anayasa Mahkemesi*) was located in the 1980s "into a confiscated building of the trade union DİSK when it was closed in 1980" next to the Presidential Palace (Altaban, 1997: 92).

As a result, the public institutions exhibited a dispersed settlement in various regions of Ankara and continued to operate in their new, hired buildings. In this context, it can be claimed that the dispersed locations of administrative buildings indicate that the construction activities shaped by urban rents did not include public buildings.

However, the city was designed into functional interrelated fragments by Jansen Plan in the early Republican period. Therefore, the Administrative District had gathered administrative institutions into a single space which referred to the central authority. Yet in this period, the spatial organisation of the city was not conceived by drawing on a building plan. Furthermore, the dispersed development of the city resulted in the narrowing of public service areas which were under the remit of the State and the municipalities.

Through rapid urbanisation, unplanned growth of the city triggered the emergence of crucial problems in municipal services. The State continued to restrict the resources for the reproduction of labour as it did in the 1950s. To illustrates, the budget of the municipality for the social and cultural infrastructure could not be increased and remained very inadequate. According to Altaban (1998: 56), it corresponded only to a small proportion of services including open spaces, health and recreational services, and educational and cultural spaces that would definitely be provided in such a modern metropolitan city.

The dual structure of housing that appeared in the 1950s became more remarkable in this period that is the duality between *gecekondu* settlements and apartments in the planned areas. However, the planning trend in the 1960s was to continue the increase of housing supply through cooperatives. It was in 1967

that mass housing supply was proposed for the first time as a solution to the aggravating problem. Accordingly, they appropriated "the principle of encouraging cooperative trading system to construct mass housing and supporting private entrepreneurs for this aim" (Sey, 1998b: 288), yet this form of construction remained limited in scale.

Considering the production of mass housing in the 1960s, the housing for retired officers and mass housing to let to the members of armed forces constructed by *Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu* (OYAK) deserves special attention. According to Sey (1998b: 289), that enterprise which constructed and sold housing to the army personnel gradually became "one of the biggest housing construction organisations".

One of the services in which the municipality remained insufficient was transportation in the city. As metropolitan city municipalities could not find resources to develop public transportation in the 1960s, the activities and scope of *dolmuş* and minibus increased in this area.

After the first *dolmuş* route in Ankara between Ulus central business area and the administrative complex, the routes between Ulus and Çankaya, *Aydınlıkevler* and Çankaya were operated in parallel to the direction of the city's development (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 44). As bus and *dolmuş* terminals were in the city centre the traffic problem resulted in disorder and pollution in this area. For the first time Ankara suffered from problems due to air pollution in these years.

In this context, the small retail shops that flourished in the city's central business district, induced problems in traffic, environmental pollution, risk of fires and damage to the historical urban texture. For this reason, the construction of small and organised industrial estate for small retail activities, away from the city centre began in this period.

In the period, important changes occurred in Kızılay. The office blocks, stores and shopping arcades were opened in Kızılay at the end of 1950s and were extended in the 1960s. Being particularly an area of services and commerce, Kızılay began become the new city centre of Ankara.

The stores that sold various luxurious goods in retail sale units, the shopping arcades in *Kocabeyoğlu* and *Bulvar* became important spaces for shopping in Kızılay. Moreover in Kızılay, restaurants and patisseries that "urban intellectuals favoured like demi-charcuterie and demi-bistro '*Piknik*'" (Osmay, 1998: 146) were opened, *Set* Cafeteria at the terrace of *Emek* Office Block was formed as a new form of space in the city.

In this period, the important commercial building *Emek* Office Building whose construction started in 1959, was opened in 1964 at Kızılay Square. It became the first skyscraper in Turkey (see picture 6).

The building that was designed for commercial office space was constructed in architectural style of the period at the end of the 1950s: "The office tower was combined with a lower block of shops and public facilities" (Tapan, 1984: 110). The shopping store *Gima,* which was opened in the three storey lower block of this building, can be seen as the spatial indicator of growing commercial activities. The building as a new space produced new spatial practices.

Gima deeply influenced central Kızılay and consumption patterns in Ankara and left an imprint in the history of the city. In the period, the shareholders of *Gima*[49] (*Gıda ve İhtiyaç Maddeleri T.A.Ş.*) were the public institutions such as, Soil Products Office, The Agricultural Bank, *Güneş* Insurance. It was established with the aim of "lowering the costs of living" for workers and government officials vis-à-vis the high inflation rate of the period and became the country's first 'department store' with an escalator and 'self-service

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[49] CarrefourSA signed a contract in 3 May 2005 to buy the majority of shares of Gima that belonged to Fiba Holding in Turkey. See,

http://www.carrefour.com.tr/basinodasi.asp?NewId=27&CatId=9

shopping' style (Yardımcı, 2005: 9). Considering these characteristics, it was the pioneer of stores that were to open fairly soon

In this context, it can be claimed that the contradiction between the building and the monument influenced representative character of Kızılay Square similar to Ulus Square.

In Kızılay Square, *Güvenpark* with *Güvenlik Anıtı* next to the Administrative District was a conceived space, constructed in the 1930s, that is in the *etatist* period. *Güvenpark* with *Güvenlik Anıtı* as the monumental space was located in such a way as to be perceived mainly from Sıhhıye. The space was the spatial representation of political power of the nation state and represented republican ideals in its attempts to mobilise modernist planning concepts. Furthermore, the square was a public space with its urban practices such as recreational activities.

The skyscraper has dominated on the monumentality of the *Güven Anıtı* and became new visible symbol on Kızılay Square. The skyscraper overshadowed the monumentality of *Güven Anıtı* and became the new visible symbol on Kızılay Square.

Kızılay was the political centre of the city thanks to the Administrative District besides the Grand National Assembly. Through the functions and location of the building, in Lefebvre's (1991: 223) phrases, "the balance of forces between monuments and buildings has shifted" and political character of Kızılay weakened and moved to the business and commercial centre. The *Emek* Office Building destroyed the monumentality of space and reinstituted it within the sphere of buildings itself. In the context of the transformation of the square from a political centre into a commercial centre, "we can only expect the stagnation of crude interactions and intermixtures between 'moments' – in short, a continuing spatial chaos" (Lefebvre, 1991: 223).

In the 1960s, Kızılay turned into a vibrant business and commercial centre and continued to be an important space for political demonstrations of workers and students in the period.

One of the new dynamic powers that liberating discourses helped to cultivate together with the 1961 Constitution was the students who began to struggle against the power of the Democrat Party. The other dynamic can be defined as the workers who ran "marches and strikes by drawing on their rights provided for by the 1961 Constitution so as to preserve their economic and trade union rights" (Özdemir, 1997: 225-226).

According to Özdemir (1997: 226), students' demonstrations in this period were previously developed as a reaction to the educational system and were tolerated by the main opposition party, but afterwards it shifted to the "domains of struggle such as Turkey's independence and development model from 1968 on outside the university area due to the effects exerted by internal and external political developments". The polarisation among students manifested itself between the right groups that advocated the existing order and left groups that were against the established order (Özdemir, 1997: 226).

Kızılay became a popular space for demonstrations of students and workers in the 1960s. The workers of EGO organised a protest march in 1961 and the workers of *Yapı-İş Federasyonu* protested unemployment in 1962 in Kızılay. After what was named as 'Kızılay Events' in April-May 1965 (Feyizoğlu, 1993 cited in Aydın*, et al*., 2005: 574), and a meeting of students organised against the USA in front of Officer's Club in 1966 (Zileli, 2002 cited in Aydın*, et al*., 2005: 583-584), the political demonstrations concentrated in the square. The political demonstrations that increased in the following years were repressed by the military note announced on March 12, 1971.

As a consequence, in the period after the military intervention, the 1961 Constitution adopted the principles of social state and planned economic development. The State Planning Organisation (DPT) as a product of this policy

was established to be the competent body in the economic development. A planned political economy was the important characteristic of the period. The institutional access of the army into political and commercial spheres should be assessed as another significant characteristic of the period.

The economic development based on import substitution economic policy since the 1950s was implemented in this period and was influential in the urbanisation process.

Migration from rural areas to metropolitan cities increased and in 1966 the "*Gecekondu* Law" was enacted and hence the concept of '*gecekondu*' was legally introduced. As a result of this law, *gecekondu* became commercialised as an investment instrument in the emerging rent areas of the city.

'Regional Flat Order Plan' and flat ownership law gave rise to intensive demolitions and construction of buildings both on the boulevards and avenues in the housing areas and in the city centre. The process that was devoid of city planning destroyed existing historical and cultural urban texture and created a monotonous building texture. The implications can be summarised as the fact that Ankara lost its planned spatial organisation characteristic that was formed in the early Republican era.

In accordance with the decision of the DPT, ministries and their dependent institutions were dispersed in Ulus, Kızılay and other various locations in multiple hired buildings. In Jansen plan, however, the city was designed in functional fragments interrelated with each other as is the case in the Administrative District in the early Republican period.

For the first time Ankara suffered from air pollution in these years. However, the pollution was caused by houses and vehicles rather than small retails enterprises in the city. As regards city transportation, the activities of *dolmuş* and minibus increased in the 1960s.

In this period, *Emek* Office Building became the most important commercial building in Kızılay Square. It was also the first skyscraper in Turkey. After the construction of the building, social relations constructed over the square underwent significant transformation.

In Kızılay Square, *Güvenpark* with *Güvenlik Anıtı* next to the Administrative District was a conceived space referring to the centralisation of state power in the *etatist* period in the 1930s. This monumental space was the spatial representation of republican ideals in the early Republican era. However, the monumental characteristic of the square was distorted by the existence of *Emek* Office Building and traffic intersections. The building reinstituted the meaning of the square and Kızılay became an important business and commercial district in the 1960s. Additionally, Kızılay maintained its position as an important space for political demonstrations of workers and students in the period.

5.3.4. Economic Crisis Period (1970-1980)

After the suspension of the multi-party politics by military memoranda, the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) amended the 1961 Constitution's articles relating to the expansion of freedoms. According to Özdemir (1997: 227) "the socialists that were successful in forming a dynamic opposition within intellectual, worker, student and officer segments" were discarded from the political sphere by the state. For that reason, Özdemir (1997: 227) states that 1971 military memorandum should be evaluated as the reinforcement of the conservatively structured regime in social, economic and political areas.

The development form that was articulated with "a deliberate import substitution economic policies from 1962 onward" continued to be predominant until the middle of the 1970s (Boratav, 1997: 346). At the end of the 1970s, an economic depression came into existence because of the crises of import substitution economic policy and its related problems.

In this period, Master Plan Bureau of Ankara[50] (*Ankara Nazım Plan Bürosu*) was established in 1969 under the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement in order to conduct the study of Ankara Metropolitan Planning[51]. The Master Plan Bureau conducted research into and prepared plans about the city centre and the problems of the city. It became "the place where considerable analysis was carefully carried out for the first time in city planning" (Tekeli, 1998: 18).

The Master Plan Bureau of Ankara which employed qualified staff in 1970, "became successful in coordinating the relevant institutions and the relationship between the Building Directorate and the ministry until the 1980s; it was effective in the implementation of long term urban development strategies of the Master Plan and management of the investment projects" (Altaban, 1998: 57).

Altaban (1997: 92) states that the Master Plan Bureau of Ankara evaluated the capital's "problems in its fundamental function of providing governance service in terms of development and spatial transformation" and formed two kinds of urban formation strategies. The first was that "the central structures of the ministries whose number and employees were increasing should not prefer locations far from the existing ministerial buildings and the Grand National Assembly" and, the second was that "the public institutions of which the investigation and development functions dominate must act as the directing components in plans devised for new areas".

The first strategy intended to scope out the dispersed and fragmented settlements of public institutions in hired buildings. The Master Plan Bureau of Ankara suggested constructing the 'Second Administrative District' on public land which was to the west of the Grand National Assembly and to the south of

[50] This bureau did not have authority over other institutions other than itself and municipality. The decision body was the Building Administrative Commission (*İmar İdare Heyeti*) of the Ankara Building Directorate (Ankara *İmar Müdürlüğü*) which was dependent on the municipality and authorised city planning and development acts (Altaban, 1998: 57).

[51] Metropolitan Planning Bureaus were opened by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir to conduct plans for these cities by an interdisciplinary team of experts and contemporary planning techniques.

the Military Academy and prepared draft plans to achieve this aim. However, when the central governance was seized by the military bureaucracy in 1980, these projects could not be materialised (Altaban, 1997: 92).

The second strategy envisaged an area for public institutions on Eskişehir Road in order to open the city towards the western corridor. In this way the decentralisation of public institutions on Eskişehir road emerged. Besides, as Tekeli (1998: 17) correctly argues, in this period the tendency to construct "public services buildings such as higher education institutions, health institutions and private sector's large business centres" in the form of campuses became widespread.

Public institutions that were located in Ankara in this manner also experienced problems in terms of form and architecture. In this period "an architectural disorder parallel to the worldwide tendency in city planning and architectural problems" can be observed (Yavuz, 1973: 31).

The city had been developing on new Eskişehir road that extended from the ministries region to the west. According to Yavuz (1973: 31), in the city "in all institutional buildings constructed to meet the public needs, forms taken from the West" were used in a very complicated manner. Nonetheless, "the big and complex functioning institutions such as Hacettepe University, Middle East Technical University, Institute for Mineral Research and Exploration, General Directorate of Highways appeared as estates having multiple parts and having a complex form" (Yavuz, 1973: 32).

In this context, it can be asserted that decentralisation of administrative and public buildings altered the spatial organisation of the city. Ankara, which is the administrative centre of Turkey, was conceived as a capital city. Since administrative buildings were deemed as the most important components of the capital city, priority was given to the construction of administrative buildings as well as public spaces in the building process of Ankara.

The administrative and public buildings were located in the city centre. Therefore, the city centre turned out to be a conceived space where political character and at the same time public space, social and cultural practices were experienced. Moreover, the buildings that were constructed in modern architectural style were integrated into the urban texture.

Following Keskinok (2006: 73), the understanding of urbanism was based on the principle of populism of the Republican regime and the fact that people were not alienated from administration can be observed in the city planning and spatial organisation of the city in early Republican period.

In that sense, Kızılay Square was a political centre of the city through the Administrative District and the Grand National Assembly. The buildings can be regarded as spatial representations of the nation state and referred to the centralisation of its power. The city was conceived in functional fragments and the fragments were interrelated with each other by preserving the unity of the city. The point that deserves a special mention is that pedestrian spaces, parks and squares for ceremony and meetings were designed in the Administrative District in Jansen Plan. As a result, spatial organisation of the city was designed in taking into consideration the interaction between administrative buildings and people in the early Republican period.

However, the administrative and public buildings were dispersed along Eskişehir road in the 1970s. Different architectural forms of the buildings were not consistent with the existing urban texture. Furthermore, decentralisation of the administrative and public institutions deformed the unity of the city and demolished both social and spatial interaction between the buildings and city living.

In this period immigrants constituted sixty-five percent of Ankara's overall population and lived in the *gecekondu* areas in the 1970s (Yavuz, 1973: 31). The population began to play a role in the management of municipality that had sustained its existing structure without being exposed to any opposition until the beginning of 1970s (Şengül, 2001b: 105).

In the municipal elections held in 1973, as the *gecekondu* inhabitants voted for the first time for social democrats, Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi,* CHP), the parties that developed policies on the problems of the city overtook the municipality administration and the 'New Democratic Municipality Movement'(Tekeli, 1998:19) began in the period.

In this context, it can be claimed that spatial properties of *gecekondu* settlements produced its own social relations and was integrated into the social process inducing changes in the social and economic policies of the municipality.

In that case, space should be evaluated not as a passive surface where social relations and structures occur. Massey (1985: 12) argues that "space is a social construct –yes. But social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference". To put it differently, spatial structures are influential in changes occurring in social structures and social process, and structure appears differently in different areas. Space is not only a social construct but it also produces its own social relations. *Gecekondu* settlements, for instance, as residential space produce their own social relations. The characteristics of a residential area such as its distance, mobility opportunities and residential differentiation exert important effects on social processes (Massey, 1984: 4).

The population which migrated from rural areas to Ankara as early as the 1950s created *gecekondu* settlements. The *gecekondu* inhabitants lived in unsanitary areas lacking infrastructure. As its living conditions decreased the cost of labour force, the industry benefited from this population as cheap labour power. They were mostly employed in the informal sector and lived in residential areas with insufficient municipal services. After 1970, when this population raised its opposition against the government and voted for social democratic parties, important changes occurred in the urban life. This constitutes a further proof that social and spatial properties give rise to changes in urban policies of a municipality.

Within the framework of the new democratic municipal approach, these municipalities began to introduce some areas that were defined previously as areas belonging to the central administration in spite of difficulties and restrictions confronted (Şengül, 2001b: 108). They handled the city's essential problems and conducted projects on such areas as housing problem, public transportation (metro), air pollution, production of basic commodities.

Vedat Dalokay as a member of CHP and his staff who were working in the administration of The Municipality of Ankara between 1973 and 1977 produced projects for structural problems of the city as well as municipal services (Altaban, 1998: 58). The services included ones for the *gecekondu* areas as well as for the central areas, arrangements of city roads and junctions, opening of the parks and gardens[52], and pedestrian areas. It was also in this period that the study on construction of an underground system (metro) started. Furthermore, this administration strengthened the relationship between the Master Plan Bureau of Ankara with the municipality and the Building Directorate.

Akkondu (*Batıkent*) settlement that was the most important project of this period, aimed to provide housing for lower income level groups. The process to nationalise *Akkondu* (*Batıkent*) settlement region which had started in 1974 could have been barely accomplished by 1978 because of insufficient resources.

In the period[53] 1977 to 1980, The Municipality of Ankara, with its new administration Ali Dinçer as a member of CHP and his staff collaborated with METU, Department of City and Regional Planning on *Batıkent* Project. *Batıkent* Housing Cooperative Union (*KENTKOOP*) was established in order to organise the sections that would be offered as houses in this area. In the period, the municipality administration adapted the planning as a service of local

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[52] *Kuğulu* Park that is located on the intersection of the Boulevard and *Tunalı Hilmi* Avenue was arranged and opened to the public in these years.

[53] The municipality administration which served in this short period, by the 1980 military interference, could not find the opportunity to put into force the new organisation and planning model and projects which were agreed in the previous period (Altaban, 1998: 58).

administration and proposed a new planning model in addition to the establishment of a planning unit (Altaban, 1998: 58).

Applications like the establishment of public bread factory and the opening of stores (*tanzim satış mağazaları*) which make sale of stuffs directly by municipality, have based on the 'populist economy' understanding (Aydın, *et al.*, 2005: 593) of the municipality in that period.

In the period, the image of Hittite Sun Disk was declared as the symbol of Ankara and its statue was erected in Sıhhıye Square in 1978. Additionally, a large area in Sıhhıye was prepared for the project of *Abdi İpekçi* Park that would open later in 1981.

The build-and-sell system[54] that exerted destructive influences on the urban texture diminished because land costs increased enormously. Therefore it started targeting upper classes rather than solving the housing problem of middle classes (Tekeli, 1979: cited by Sey, 1998b: 292-294). Despite the expansive building rights in the city that was recognised by way of build-and-sell process from 1955 on, it was seen that the half of the city population lived in *gecekondu* areas (Yavuz, 1973: 31). This proves that housing supply based on market mechanism did not contribute to the planned building and amelioration of quality of living in the city.

Since the 1950s, the city displayed a dual composition of housing as *gecekondu* areas in peripheries of the city and as residential areas of apartment blocks in central parts. According to Sey (1998b: 289), in the metropolitan cities the building of apartments that continued until the end of the 1960s began to shift "from the multiple-storey mono block to the large scale housing production" in the 1970s and *Aydınlıkevler* Housing Complex of *Türk-İş* became a successful example of cooperatives formed by the members of Workers Insurance. Large-

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[54] Additionally, the process of build-and-sell slowed down by 1978 economic crisis and the anti-inflationalist policies until the year 1980 (Tekeli, 1984b: 29-30).

scale housing projects were realised by *Emlak* Bank and mass housing projects by municipalities and cooperatives started in full swing.

In this period, the Rail System and Communication Department was formed under the structure of EGO in order to initiate works for underground transportation (metro). With the onset of 1979, a 'special bus lane' was introduced in an attempt to increase the remit of municipality in city traffic, which can be seen as an important project of Ankara Municipality (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 82).

In spite of these, the public transportation remained insufficient in the city and the activities of *dolmuş* and minibuses continued in an ever increasing manner. According to a study carried out in 1970, "43.3 percent of total public transportation in the city was carried out by *dolmuş* and minibuses while 20.4 percent was run by buses and trolley-buses (Sarp, 1970 cited by Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 85). In these years, most of the new *dolmuş* routes drawn in parallel to the development of the city, covered peripheral and particularly *gecekondu* areas. Thus, new *dolmuş* routes were specified in the directions of Kızılay – Dikmen and Kızılay – Yıldız quarter with Kızılay – Tuzluçayır and Kızılay – Natoyolu (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 44). One of the important advances in transportation in the 1970s was the start of automobile production and the rapid increase in car ownership.

The transportation system became influential in the spatial organization of the city. As car ownership became more common, the uncontrolled expansion of the city became more evident. This way of widening damaged the ecological environment of the city causing waste of soil, energy and time (Doğan, 2002: 152). Additionally, car ownership brought about effects that decreased the quality of urban living, e.g. traffic jam in the city centre where the population rapidly increased, pedestrian areas narrowed and air pollution became imminent. Furthermore, car ownership resulted in the problems that impeded efficient working and planning of the public transportation systems (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 67).

In the second half of the 1970s, *Sakarya* and *Yüksel* Avenues, *Konur* and *Karanfil* streets, part of the *Izmir* Avenue were closed to traffic and were organised as pedestrian areas in the central areas of Ankara. However, since measure was seen as an obstacle for businesses, the pedestrian areas were partly re-opened to traffic (Osmay, 1998: 146).

In the period, the functions of the 'capital city', administration and services moved to Kızılay and the number of service offices and commercial activities increased in Kızılay as the new centre of the city. The shopping arcades which had an important role in the retail trading area changed in character [55] and varied in terms of the services provided and the products supplied. During this period, other than some manufacturing and repair centres, printing houses shifted to Kızılay.

Street corner kiosks that sold '*döner*' and sandwich, pubs which provided a quick service to a wider mass of consumers replaced the spaces like '*Piknik*', which was a popular charcuterie and bistro in the 1960s. In the pedestrian area, the number of restaurants and cafés located in between streets increased. There also occurred a change in the types of entertainment places. "One could observe a sudden increase in the number shops which sold arabesque music cassettes" (Osmay, 1998:147).

In this period, Ulus preserved its importance in wholesale trade. Furthermore, Ulus which continued to serve "the low salaried inner and outer–city workers, civil servants and the self-employed", according to Osmay (1998: 146), turned into a centre with kebab houses, restaurants and cheap hotels that accommodated people who came to Ankara for business purposes.

In *Tunalı Hilmi* Avenue, located in Kavaklıdere–Çankaya direction, started to slowly develop in this period. One could observe openings of new bank branches and concentration of cinemas and patisseries. Furthermore, the number

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[55] Those who sell ready-made clothing, petty goods, electrical tool shops, jeweller, sanitary materials have been collected at the separated under centres of the city (Osmay, 1998: 145).

of shops and shopping arcades providing designed clothes rose in number along the avenue.

Starting from the second half of the 1970s, small manufacturers which held in the city centre moved to the small industrial areas established outside the city. Due to the decreasing number of these manufacturers in the centres of the city, the portion of production activities decreased in the centre. Thus, the number of shops, stores and shopping arcades opening in the centre rose and areas came into existence for people who worked in these commercial activities and served consumers.

In this period, except from the fact that Kızılay gained importance in serving as city centre and in commercial activities, it also maintained its status in being the space where political demonstrations took place. The demonstrations started as an outcome of the economic depression at the end of the 1970s. Şengül (2001b: 105) states that the problems intensified in metropolitan cities as scarcity of basic commodities, black market activities, high inflation rate and increase of organisational terror of right. In these years, political polarisation between students was reflected onto the spatial level. Some neighbourhoods and districts were identified as spaces under the control of certain political groups.

Keleş and Ünsal (1982: 55) assert that the violent acts which have became fact in a proportion of forty percent between the years 1975 to 1979, occurred in public spaces like streets, bus stops instead of businesses, banks, organisational centres.

In this context, the prohibition of political demonstrations which concentrated in Kızılay necessitated the control of the space. Therefore, the measures that intended to control the political activities of students were the interventions into spatial organisation of Kızılay Square.

As Batuman (2002: 67) states, the changes which were made to the spatial organisation of Kızılay Square where activities took place and affected the

social and cultural dimensions of city life and became destructive on the place itself: Businesses like cafe, patisserie, restaurant which stood along the boulevard were taken away from the sphere of activities in the external space. Furthermore, the road was widened to a considerable extent and constituted interference. Based on the destruction of open-spaces, an important portion of Güvenpark was abandoned to *dolmuş* and bus stops (Batuman, 2002: 67-68). Kızılay historical building was destroyed in Kızılay Park in 1979. This area would remain empty for a long time and was used for parking, small retail shops etc. during this time.

As a result of these measures which were carried out in order to take under control of the space, pedestrian areas and traffic replaced social and cultural activities on Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard. Thus, the urban public practices which had been continuing in the city centre were destroyed.

To sum up, in the period the freedoms ensured in the 1961 Constitution were restricted by the government. The development form based on import substitution economic policies continued to be predominant until the economic depression at the end of the 1970s.

The Master Plan Bureau of Ankara suggested two urban formation strategies for Ankara: one of them foresaw the location of central buildings of the ministries next to the existing administrative buildings and the Grand National Assembly by establishing the Second Administrative District. In accordance with the second one, public institutions area on Eskişehir Road was planned in order to open the city towards its western corridor. However, the decentralisation of public and administrative institutions deformed social and spatial interactions between buildings and city life, which had been a fundamental aim in the early Republican era.

In the period, the understanding of 'New Democratic Municipality' realised by the support given by *gecekondu* inhabitants created outstanding milieus in the

city and raised the standards of living in Ankara. The build-and-sell system that caused deformation of the urban texture slowed down at the end of the 1970s.

As for the area of transportation, the onset of automobile production and the spread of private car ownership can be cited as two important characteristics of the period, which, in turn, resulted in the irregular expansion of the city towards peripheral residential areas.

It is possible to observe that services and commercial activities concentrated in Kızılay and *Tunalı Hilmi* Avenue in these years. Besides, Kızılay continued to be the popular space for political demonstrations from the 1960s onward.

5.3.5. Neoliberalisation Period (1980-1994)

The decisions and operations of the military regime influenced on all aspects of life in the country in the aftermath of the military coup on September 12, 1980. Under the martial laws, basic rights and freedoms were restricted, means of communication were censored, meetings and demonstrations were subject to authorisations.

A new constitution was drafted by the military authority and was approved in 1982. The multi-party system that resumed in 1983 and after the parliamentary election was held, the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*, *ANAP*) was going to set up the new government.

Boratav (2000: 162) argues that the military coup was an answer to the economic crisis experienced between 1977 and 1979. By then, the labour market was controlled by militarist and legal methods. Through militarist methods, activities of trade unions were suspended, leaders of trade unions were brought to the courts, strikes were banned and wages were no longer determined in accordance with collective bargaining agreements (Boratav: 2000: 163).

According to Ercan (2004: 20), the 1980 military coup became a determining factor in Turkey's integration into global capital markets and the access of international capital to Turkey's economic structure. Militarist policies including economic measures aimed to constitute a strong State against labourers and social oppositions, and supplied the requirements of capital owners in order to overcome the crisis of capital accumulation (Ercan, 2004: 20-21).

Consequently, the crisis of capital accumulation model in the world gave rise to the enforcement of neoliberal policies in Turkey as was the case in other countries (Şengül, 2002). Neoliberal economy was devised as a response to the financial crisis of Keynesian Welfare State Model, which had its vigour until the end of the 1970s in developed countries and to the crisis of import substitution economic policy in developing countries.

When faced with changing conditions, development strategy was altered in order to overcome the economic crisis. Import substitution model and domestic market-oriented approach were implemented until 1980 and from then on, they were abandoned and an outward-looking and export-oriented development strategy was put into force in the new period. The new capital accumulation model that can be identified as neoliberal reconstruction mainly aimed at expanding the scope for free market economy, liberalising export, encouraging import and privatising governmental institutions (Boratav, 2000; Doğan, 2002).

By way of the outward-looking development strategy, the priority given to industrialisation and the active role of the state ended in the use of resources (Şengül, 2001b: 109). As a result of the economic policy pursued, on the one hand export increased while on the other hand import and foreign debt increased. As a consequence, industrial and agricultural sectors deteriorated (Kazgan, 1985: 149 cited in Doğan, 2002: 157).

In the context of the transformation of political and economic policies as a result of the crisis of capital accumulation, Lefebvre (1976) emphasises how

capitalism survived by overcoming its own internal conflicts. Capitalism reproduces itself by occupying or producing spaces. Lefebvre (1976) accounts for the survival of capitalism by referring to his concept of 'circuit model of capitalism'. The crisis of capital accumulation in the 'first circuit', that is, industrial production, resulted in transferring capital accumulation into the 'second circuit', that is, the construction of housing, the development of space, financing, and speculation in land (Gottdiener, 1993: 132).

The 'second circuit' is conceptualised by Harvey (1985a: 6) as "urbanization of capital". Harvey (1985a: 6) argues that in the normal course of capitalist commodity production, although fixed capital items can be produced, they are used as aids to the production process over a relatively long time period. It is also useful to distinguish the fixed capital enclosed within the production process and the fixed capital that functions as a physical framework for production. Harvey calls this as the *built environment for production*. However, *the built environment for consumption* forms in a *consumption fund* that "is formed out of commodities that function as aids rather than as indirect inputs to consumption" (Harvey, 1985a: 6). As a result the capital flows in to fixed asset and the consumption fund form the secondary circuit of capital.

Based on Lefebvre's and Harvey's argumentation, it can be asserted that a substantial amount of capital was withdrawn from production as the first circuit and was then invested to the second circuit including urban and consumption areas in addition to financial markets in Turkey from 1980 onward.

Through the transfer of capital into the second circuit, investment areas of the State and private sector became non-productive sectors. Accordingly, urban space investments and rents gained in importance and emerged as an alternative to industrial investments after 1980 (Şengül, 2001b: 109). Therefore, it is fair to suggest that neoliberal political and economic policies exerted considerable influence in the reconstruction and transformation of urban spaces.

The first investment area for capital was metropolitan cities[56] that had been the main target for private and public investments in accordance with the economic policies. Mass housing, shopping malls, five-star hotels and business centres were built in metropolitan cities by national and international companies with private capital particularly beginning from the early years of the 1990s.

The second investment area of capital became the coasts of the country. Tekeli (1998: 21) states that, encouragement of tourism investments, more people going on vacations and building of more greenhouses resulted in increasing of capital and population on west and southern coasts of the country after 1980. In this context, according to Lefebvre (1991: 349), nature, similar to space, is a source that is consumed in such forms as travel, tourism, or leisure activities and disappears or is transformed into a social product by capitalist relations of production.

Urban administration was reconstructed in these years in accordance with the neoliberal reconstruction of the State. Municipal administration system underwent change as well. The decision regarding the connection of places in the immediate surrounding of metropolitan cities to the metropolitan municipality was affirmed in 1981. Through the Enactment of Metropolitan Municipality in 1984, Mayoralties of Metropolitan Municipality were established in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir the same year. Furthermore, financial resources of municipalities were increased; the control of central government was decreased and the authority in designation of building plans as well as their approval was given to municipalities by means of laws as regards the Metropolitan Municipality Management (Tekeli, 1998: 23).

In this framework, Doğan (2002:172) asserts that the authority of municipalities induced the transformation of urban rents into profitable areas for capital accumulation. According to Şengül (2001b: 110), the municipalities began to invest more in urban spaces in accordance with the demand of the capital

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[56] Istanbul became the centre for investments of capital in urban space and aimed to become a global city in the 1990s (Şengül, 2001b: 89).

owners and the projects such as infrastructure, railways, mass housing were materialised in metropolitan cities. Additionally, communication and energy were given priority among public investments in infrastructure. In that case, the main characteristic of investments was the support given to the capital holders.

The political and economic policies influenced legal and administrative organisations of planning and practice in metropolitan cities after 1983. In this period, organisational bodies that were responsible for city planning lost their importance. According to Altaban (1998: 61), the developments in 1984 gave rise to a fragmentation in planning and implementation, conflicts among authorities and inconsistency of local plans with the master plan. In this period, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, which was established as an institution to manage urbanisation was closed down. Moreover, municipalities easily approved the improvement and building plans for illegal *gecekondu* settlements and opened large areas to build new apartment blocks via populist and speculative plans. The master plan became inefficient in implementing plans. Altaban (1998: 61) states that the Master Plan Bureau of Ankara was seen as an obstacle for projects by private entrepreneurs and was closed in 1984. Additionally, the Building Directorate of Ankara was turned into a department in the municipality.

As a result of the organisational changes which took place in the 1980s, Ankara as a capital city lost its institutional characteristic in city planning and practice dating from the early years of the Republic in addition to the disappearance of its planned urban texture because of the ongoing building process of apartments in the 1970s.

The third master plan of Ankara, named as '1990 Master Plan', was prepared by the Master Plan Bureau of Ankara and was approved by the ministry in 1982. The Bureau developed a plan for 1990, which was the output of its comprehensive studies and analyses between the years 1970 and 1975. The plan had an important influence in the urban growth and form of Ankara.

M. Altınsoy, member of ANAP, was the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between the years 1984 and 1989. The municipality included the underground project in its programme in 1985 and required METU planning group to prepare a study: The study was named as "Ankara 2015" [57] and examined the process that influenced the development of the city starting from urban development principals of 1990 Master Plan. In development strategy of 'Ankara 2015', the locations and distribution of institutional buildings and functions were accepted as fundamental planning instruments in planned decentralisation of the city (Altaban, 1997: 94). However, the project was not implemented.

After 1980, besides the development of the city in the south-western direction, buildings of public services and administrative buildings established in city centre continued to exist along *Inönü* Boulevard and Eskişehir Road as was the case in previous periods. Furthermore, ministries occupied the buildings of institutions that were dependent on ministries in terms of administration but independent in terms of their own decision authority and budget in the 1980s[58]. Moreover, three-storey buildings for parliamentarians[59] were constructed outside the city, in Oran region in 1984[60].

In this period, architectural debates in foreign countries were closely followed in Turkey by means of communication facilities. According to Sey (1998a: 37),

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[57] The product of this study was not a master plan but had characteristics of a structure plan or plan of policies (Altaban, 1998: 62).

[58] The building that was constructed for *Desiyap* was occupied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the block tower that was built for Halk Bank Headquarters in Eskişehir Road was consigned to the Undersecretaries of Treasury and Foreign Trade, and the buildings that were constructed for PTT in *Necatibey* were used by the office of Prime minister (Altaban, 1997: 93).

[59] The first Parliamentary Housing (*Mebusevleri*) was constructed in the 1930s in the area between Beşevler and Tandoğan.

[60] The housing would be destroyed in the second half of the 2000s. The architect of Parliamentary housing, B. Çinici brought the destruction of the Housing to the court and argued that the housing had certain cultural values and architectural peculiarity.

movements such as modern, postmodern, constructivism, deconstructivism and regionalism were practiced as well as discussed in relevant circles[61].

The number of representative offices of foreign countries and embassies reached over 100 in the 1990s. Altaban (1997: 94) states that many embassies and international offices were found in *Çankaya*, *Gaziosmanpaşa* and *Kavaklıdere* in various hired buildings[62]. Spatial dispersion of the institutions in the city created problems such as security and traffic. Nonetheless, general directorates of media organs and information bodies such as Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) moved to the buildings that were constructed on secondary roads in the 1990s.

Kızılay Square had lost its public space characteristics and had transformed from a meeting space into a controlled space consisting of only an intersection of vehicular and pedestrian traffic as a result of a series of spatial measures at the end of the 1970s. Deformation of spatial organisation of Kızılay Square continued by means of the new interventions throughout the 1980s.

The historical building of Kızılay that was located in Kızılay Park and gave its name to the square was demolished in 1979. Kızılay Rent Foundation Building was planned in this area and a competition was held for the building including a shopping centre[63] in 1980. This area was left empty and used for parking, open cloth market etc. through the years, until the construction of the building started in 1993. Then, the construction site of the building occupied the important

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[61] The mosque was constructed in Turkish Grand National Assembly between the years 1990 and 1992 in modern architectural patterns.

[62]The Master Plan Bureau of Ankara started its study on 'Diplomatic Estate' in 1975. A public domain was consigned to Oran region in location and planning of the estate in the 1980s, however its urban design and opening to settlement could not be realised (Altaban, 1997: 94).

[63] Ankara Municipality suggested that this area become an open space during the competition. However, the proposal was refused by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement (Bayraktar, *et al.*, 2006).

public space as covering a large part of Kızılay Square during the construction process[64].

Another attempt to change the spatial configuration of Kızılay Square was 'Güvenpark Renovation Project'. Güvenpark was neglected by municipalities, and was occupied by dolmuş and bus stops. It had turned into an under-developed and insecure place at nights in the 1980s. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality changed the building plan of the park in order to reorganise Güvenpark in 1986. A parking space to accommodate 1500 cars and a shopping mall were planned below the park and its construction began in 1987 (Can, 1987: 60). However, the park would be lost its characteristics as an open space due to its reorganisation, for instance it was not possible to grow trees in the park because of the underground (metro) construction. In this context, the aim of the project was considered as destruction of the public space and particularly the historical and symbolic meaning of Güvenpark rather than the renovation of the park.

The project was brought to the court by citizens and a public campaign started with the slogan: "It is not a car park, it is Güvenpark!" (Otopark Değil, Güvenpark!). A good number of associations, chambers, foundations and political parties supported the campaign and many politicians, artists and sportsmen participated in it. Thus, the city dwellers held meetings in Güvenpark in weekends and the campaign aimed to discuss the decisions about the city and to announce the public opinion on their issue in addition to rescue Güvenpark (Can, 1987: 62). As a result of these public reactions and a judicial decision, the project[65] was halted. It was significant that Güvenpark as a space became an address of a telegraph for the first time: that telegraph was sent from the

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[64] The construction of Kızılay Rent Foundation Building was completed in 2001. Its influences in spatial practices in Kızılay Square will be discussed in the section dedicated to 'Neoliberal Conservative Period'.

[65] This project would be brought up again in 2005 by M. Gökçek as the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

personnel of Planning Directorship of Istanbul *Eyüp* Municipality in order to support the campaign (Can, 1987: 62).

It can be asserted that in the context of the activities and campaign against the project, *Güvenpark* became both space and representation of city dwellers. First, the Park became a space for meeting and demonstrations of city dwellers, and secondly, the park turned into the spatial representation of city dwellers as being an address for a telegraph that was sent from the personnel of Planning Directorship of Istanbul Eyüp Municipality in order to support the campaign.

Güvenpark and *Güven Anıtı* were declared as 'First-class Natural Protection Area' by the Committee on Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage of Ankara in 1994. However, buses and *dolmuş* stops continued to dominate the park, and the interferences such as entries of the underground station, ventilation shafts, and garbage left a damaging impact on the Park.

The small entrepreneurs that predominantly conducted house building until this period, began to recede from the market since the big capital groups became involved in the housing sector in the 1980s. Therefore, the 'build and sell' (*yapsatçılık*) process decreased in quantity and significance.

Housing Development Administration (*Toplu Konut İdaresi, TOKİ*) was established and mass housing supply was institutionalised by laws after 1983. In order to solve the housing problem and to increase housing supply at the national level, the Housing Development Administration Law was passed in 1981 and allowed keeping the already established funding besides regular budget allocating its comprehensive sources of income integrated to economic activities, aiming at expanding practices in loan provision for housing and house building. The institution aimed to provide affordable housing for the low and middle-income groups

In addition to giving priority to cooperatives in loans, municipalities were supported by Housing Development Administration loans facilitating new

housing projects on lands they owned to supply low-cost owner-occupied housing.

Suburban settlements were built in peripheral areas of the city for middle and upper income groups by private sectors in these years. According to Doğan (2002: 161), the State supported the capital owners in terms of infrastructure investments, encouragement for mass housing by means of loans and spending a considerable amount of resources of Mass Housing Fund for summer houses.

In construction activities, illegal and unplanned settlements increased while planned housing construction continued. All open spaces and public spheres in metropolitan cities were allocated and sold in segments in order to obtain financial benefit (Sey, 1998b: 299). In the formation process of urban financial benefit, *gecekondu* phenomenon changed in character.

According to Boratav (2000: 165), municipalities under the control of ANAP, played an important role on pursuing "degenerated populism" in 1984: The main target of this understanding was poor, urban inhabitants who had no class consciousness and who were obedient vis-à-vis the ideology and programme of the capital owners. Poor urban people derived their own share of benefit from urban rents by means of land-deed for *gecekondu*, amnesty for building and permits for building without city planning (Boratav, 2000: 165).

The "*Gecekondu* Law" was adopted in order to legalise *gecekondu* in 1984. According to Tekeli (1998: 23) the amnesty law for *gecekondu* provided assurance for *gecekondu*, furthermore it gave rise to building apartment blocks on *gecekondu* areas by improvement plans and provided opportunity to take a share from urban rent for people who built *gecekondu*. Therefore, this law also enabled the amnesty for illegal buildings.

In the framework of this new understanding, *gecekondu* became an urban rent area. However, the new municipality approach of social democrat parties had measures to improve *gecekondu areas* after 1973. On the contrary, policies

were implemented in order to transform the *gecekondu* regions into rent areas after 1980. According to Şengül (2001b: 90), urban leftist movement that merged in the 1970s drawn attention to use value and *gecekondu* areas being living spaces and became mainly successful in this strategy whereas ANAP government implemented a strategy in the opposite direction and drawn attention to exchange value of *gecekondu*.

Therefore, *gecekondu* amnesty law that was adopted in order to legalise *gecekondu* areas in 1984 resulted in flourishing of apartment blocks in *gecekondu* regions adjacent to the city centre in a short period of time.

Large amounts of investment were made on transportation, infrastructure and mass housing from the end of the 1980s onward. Important projects were administered in the period where Murat Karayalçın was in office in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between the years 1989 and 1994. Construction of underground system (metro) started and *Batıkent* Project continued and expanded. Additionally, *Hacı Bayram* Project, *Dikmen* and *Portakal Çiçeği* Valley Projects, Canalisation and Rain Water Project, Natural Gas Project and *Ankaray* Project all started in this period[66] (Altaban, 1998: 62).

In the years between 1989 and 1994, new suburban settlements for mass housing were identified in the west and south-western areas of the city in accordance with 1990 Ankara Master Plan. In this period, *Batıkent* Housing that began at the end of the 1970s was carried out by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. Additionally, *Eryaman* Housing was established by the Housing Development Administration, *Konutkent* and *Bilkent* Housing were constructed by Turkish Estate and Credit Bank. Besides mass housing projects, *Dikmen* and *Portakal Çiçeği* Valley Projects were developed in accordance with plans for *gecekondu* areas by Metropolitan Municipality.

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[66] While Ankara Metropolitan Municipality gave priority to planning, the governorship and the city councils continued to create unplanned housing areas as improvement and building plan in this period (Altaban, 1998: 64).

Spatial configuration of housing displayed a dual composition in Ankara as a result of rapid migration from rural to urban areas as early as the 1950s. This composition included on the one hand *gecekondu* settlements located on peripheral areas of Ankara and on the other hand apartment blocks established around the city centre until the beginning of the 1980s. Here, one can observe that spatial organisation of housing developed along class differences.

The dual organisation of housing changed noticeably since the 1980s. Ayata (2002:27) states that

> The middle classes increasingly moved to the outskirts, and the growth of apartment housing outstripped the spread of *gecekondu* settlements. Lower-middle and middle-class residential areas are now found both in the city center and the outskirts, and in the latter the *gecekondu* has lost ground to the new middle-class suburbs.[67]

In this context, the housing composition differed from the previous configuration. Suburban settlement was involved in housing composition of the city in addition to planned residential districts and *gecekondu* areas.

In the context of dispersion of housing into peripheries of the city, Lefebvre (1978 cited in Martin, 1982: 179), states that people were segregated in functional and hierarchical ghettos:

> Social space became a collection of ghettos, those of the elite, of the bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of the immigrant workers, etc. These ghettos are not juxtaposed, they are hierarchical, spatially representing the economic and social hierarchy, dominant and subordinated sectors.

The suburban settlements display differences in accordance with their locations and their income level groups. Thereby, *Batıkent* and *Eryaman* Housing Projects on Istanbul Road were designed for middle income groups while *Çayyolu, MESA Koru*, *Konutkent* and *Bilkent* Housing Projects on Eskişehir Road targeted upper-middle income groups. Suburban settlements were located

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[67] 'New middle class' is constituted by professional, managerial, entrepreneurial components in addition to bureaucratic and military one (Ayata, 2002: 30).

and constructed mainly in south-west of Ankara, namely the developmental corridor of the city.

The suburban residential areas were designed to meet the particular demand of the new middle class for new spaces. This can be associated with the expression of 'new middle class' life-style.

The middle class families invested in houses in peripheries of the city since they wished to be far from 'chaos' and 'social pollution' of metropolitan city both spatially and symbolically (Öncü, 2005). Thereby, suburban settlements were preferred as living spaces avoiding urban disorders such as traffic problems, lack of maintenance and cleaning in streets etc. According to Ayata (2002: 29),

> The city … projects the image of jungle: a densely populated place of immense variety, constant struggle and great disorder, where contact with strangers can be dangerous and where one risks mixing with undesirables. The partitioning of the city is one way of avoiding urban disorder, and thereby finding solace, peace and comfort in the socially and functionally separated social space of the suburb.

Following Fisher and Karger (1997: 25), suburban settlements regarded as private spaces were designed to provide "a controlled space of order and clarity, one removed from an unpredictable and complex public space" and were also intended to provide a closed, exclusive space for the reproduction of class relations.

In suburbs, housing complexes called *sites* were designed in isolation form outside environment. This kind of housing included security and surveillance systems and services such as shopping and sport centres, recreational areas, parking lots and green spaces etc. The middle-class families couls "effectively differentiate themselves from, and avoid interaction with, people from lower classes, and where they can exercise strong rules of exclusion and inclusion" in them (Ayata, 2002:25).

In this framework, it can be asserted that the gated communities as a new type of housing produced new spatial practices. First, location of suburbs organised the spatial practice depending on distance and accessibility. According to Harvey (1997: 250), the "distance is an obstacle for human interaction and also is a defence against it". The residential areas were segregated settlements far from the city centre. Therefore transportation was an important factor to dwell in suburbs. Underground rail system that was opened in 1997, connected Kizilay with Batıkent, namely the suburb with lower and middle income groups on Istanbul Road to the west of the city. Other forms of public transportation were not available to the higher income level suburbs on Eskişehir Road. Therefore, the distance and accessibility problem in the suburbs necessitated car ownership and excluded particularly those who did not own cars.

Second, the new type of housing changed the understanding of residence. The housing sites in suburban settlements became symbolic indicators of the middle class. Furthermore, house became one of the most evident characteristics of middle class status and associated life-style. In this context, the concepts such as home and family were commoditised as 'ideal home' and were associated with consumption (Öncü, 2005: 91). The right to shelter and housing demand were commoditised in the market and home became a means of investment.

Suburban settlement as one of the spatial representations of new forms of capital investment in urban areas is an 'abstract space' to use Lefebvre's term. In an abstract space, residence is replaced by housing, the latter being characterised by its functional abstraction. The ruling class used that space as an instrument of power (Lefebvre, 1991: 314).

Abstract space tends to become a homogenised, fragmented and hierarchical space. It can be argued that suburban settlement manifests the characteristics of abstract space. Housing site is a homogenized space that reduces differences and allows the "exchangeability of places and times according to a unique criterion (money)" (Lefebvre, 1980 cited by Martin 1982: 179). Furthermore, suburban settlement as fragmented space "has become commodity that is

bought and sold, chopped up into lots and parcels" (Lefebvre, 1976: 18). Housing sites in suburbs were designed for different income level groups. The sites were "hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest" (Lefebvre, 1991: 282) such as high and low value residential spaces.

The development of public transportation stopped because of problems in economic stability in the early years of the 1980s. One of the important developments was the introduction of private buses into city transportation in 1982. Services of station *dolmuş* were banned in all routes on grounds of urban traffic congestion and pollution. New routes were formed between the city centre and new housing areas by minibus transportation.

The number of taxies also increased in city transportation since public buses, private buses and minibuses were not sufficient to respond to the transportation demand of increasing population at the end of the 1980s. Despite these efforts, transportation remained problematic in Ankara. Thirty buses running on natural gas designed by scientists at METU began to operate in order to alleviate air pollution in the city in 1992. EGO buses had a proportion of 28.7 percent in the overall public transportation in Ankara in1993 (Türel, 1998).

Construction of *Ankaray* as light rail system that had begun in 1992 was the most important development in public transportation system. It was completed in 1996 and connected *AŞTİ* (Ankara Intercity Bus Terminal) with *Dikimevi*. Moreover, the construction of underground rail system started the same year. Underground (metro) was to start operation in 1997 and to run between Kızılay and Batıkent, rapidly growing suburbs to the west of the city.

The spatial organisation of the city was closely associated with the transportation systems. The city transportation had an important influence in the formation of residential areas. Through the demand of the new middle class for new spaces, land allocation differed and the suburban settlements were built outside the city centre from the early years of the 1990s on. In this

context, it can be argued that a mutually determining relationship was established between the forms of land utilisation and the facilities of transportation (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 59).

Based on this argument, one can observe an interaction between constructions of suburban settlements and the increase in car ownership. On the one hand, the distance problem in the suburbs necessitated car ownership rather than preferring other forms of transportation. On the other hand, the increase in car ownership made it possible to access farther areas of the city more easily. Furthermore, the underground system as public transportation was initiated in order to respond to transportation requirements of the suburbs composed of lower and middle class income groups.

In this period, industrial production that took place in the city except for small manufacturing activities, moved to small and middle-scale industrial zones outside the city. Through this development, mainly service sector increased its portion in the city centre.

Headquarters of private and public institutions and particularly service sectors such as banking, finance and insurance, real estate, legal consultancy, advertising agencies took place in city centre (Osmay, 1998: 148). The buildings concentrated along the boulevard such as *Yapı Kredi* Bank Kızılay Agency (1980), *TUBITAK* (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) (1992), *Gama-Güriş* Business Centre (1982) and *Vakıfbank* Kızılay Agency (1999). In parallel to the development of information technology, the number of companies providing information services increased. Business and shopping centres, plazas became important indicators in the identification of city centres.

In Ankara, central business activities that concentrated in Kızılay developed southwards to the direction of Çankaya after 1985 and establishments such as Hilton and Sheraton Hotels that provided national and international services moved to Gaziosmanpaşa district (Osmay, 1998: 149). In the following years,

housing areas for upper income groups expanded towards *Köroğlu* Avenue, a south-eastern region in the city. Therefore, prestigious shopping stores and business centres extended toward this direction.

New business and shopping centres were built in Ankara at the end of the 1980s and in early 1990s,. *Atakule* was the first example of multi-storey shopping centres not only in Ankara but also in Turkey. It was located at the intersection of Çankaya, *Cinnah*, *Hoşdere* and *Simon Bolivar* Avenues in 1989. *Atakule,* surrounded by Botanik Park, embassies and residential and business buildings, was close to the Presidency of Republic and residence of Prime Minister. The name of *Atakule* was used by Ankara's inhabitants in terms of a competition and turned into a symbol of the city. Osmay (1998: 149) states that *Atakule* was a shopping centre including limited workplaces, congress hall, various shopping and recreational services, and has an architectural style that reflected foreign motives. The important part of the shopping centre has been its tower that provides a monumental characteristic with its panoramic view. However, the prestige of *Atakule* weakened because of the changes in the district that was gradually occupied by offices and opening of the other shopping malls such as *Karum* in 1991.

Karum was built as a business and shopping centre and was located in a central prestigious region near *Kuğulu* Park in Kavaklıdere at the intersection of *Tunalı Hilmi*, Argentina and Iran Avenues. *Karum* has been the most important shopping centre in the region.

The business and shopping centres such as *Atakule*, *Karum*, *Beğendik* that was opened at one side of *Kocatepe* Mosque, were constructed in the south of the city as developing regions in the first half of thr 1990s. However, such centres as *Galleria* (1995), *Real* (1998) and *Migros* (1999) were built on the main transport axes of the city in the second half of the 1990s. It should be reminded that the location of shopping malls outside the city is related to the moving of urban upper and middle class to suburban settlements.

In sum, in this period, neoliberal policies were adapted to overcome the crisis of import substitution economic policy. Based on Lefebvre's conceptualisation of 'circuit model of capitalism', it can be suggested that considerable amount of capital was transferred from the industrial production sphere as the first circuit into the second circuit including non-productive urban spaces such as housing, financing and speculation in land.

The resources and the authority of municipalities conducting design and approval of building plans increased by the law of Metropolitan Municipality Administration in 1984. Municipalities invested in the projects such as mass housing, infrastructure in metropolitan cities through national and international capital. In this period, Ankara lost its institutional characteristic in city planning and practice by eliminating legal and administrative organisations of the planning and practices.

The characteristic of Kızılay Square as a public space was eroded when it transformed into a controlled space as the intersection of vehicular and pedestrian traffic as an outcome of spatial measures at the end of the 1970s. The square became the space for new spatial interferences in the 1980s. Among them were the construction of Kızılay Rent Foundation Building and Güvenpark Renovation Project. The projects threatened the historical and spatial representative character of the square.

Small entrepreneurs withdrew from housing construction and the speed of 'build and sell' (*yapsatçılık*) process slowed down when big capital owners invested in urban rent areas. Municipality and the state encouraged these capital holders in their housing activities by infrastructure, loans etc.

Furthermore, *gecekondu* regions transformed into rent areas by the amnesty law that gave rise to the construction of apartments on areas covered in building and improvement plans.

Direction of city development shifted toward the west and the south-west of the city according to Ankara Third Master Plan. *Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa* and

Kavaklıdere became important regions where business and residential areas concentrated.

In years from 1989 to 1994, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality invested in great projects such as underground (metro) and *Ankaray* public transportation systems, *Batıkent, Eryaman, Konutkent, Mesa Koru* and *Bilkent* mass housing projects, Canalisation and Rain Water Project and Natural Gas Project.

Dual spatial configuration of housing differentiated along class characteristic between *gecekondu* settlements and apartments changed in the 1980s. Suburban settlements as one of the characteristic elements of the period were built in peripheral areas for particularly middle and upper income level groups. The settlement is spatial representation of new type housing. The housing *sites* are closed, secure and controlled spaces excluding urban disorder such as traffic problem, lack of maintenance and cleaning in streets. The new type of housing engendered new spatial practices. First, it required private car ownership. Second, the understanding of home changed and became commoditised as a representation of middle class status and life-style.

Headquarters of private and public institutions such as banking, finance and insurance were located in the city centre and concentrated along the boulevard. Business and shopping centres such as *Atakule*, *Karum* and *Beğendik* were built in the city centre from the end of the 1980s onward.

5.3.6. Neoliberal Conservative Period (1994-)

In the years between 1981 and 1993, economic policies continued to work out in 'liberalisation' trend and Turkey displayed the features of a developing country that successfully enforced neoliberal economic policies in cooperation with international financial bodies while at the same time ignoring consistency programmes (Boratav, 2000: 169). However, the failures in implementation of these policies against labour gave rise to a new wage arrangement in 1989 and subsequently to reactions to this arrangement so much so that increasing public

debts resulted in an economic crisis in 1994 in Turkey (Boratav, 2000: 208-209).

In second half of the 1990s, nationalist and conservative groups came into power in municipalities. This period was dominated by conservative and pro-Islamist view became an integral part of the implementations of municipalities, particularly metropolitan ones. However, municipalities integrated themselves easily to neoliberal economic policies and continued to increasingly produce urban rent areas for capital.

M. Gökçek as a member of the Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP) was elected mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in local elections in 1994. Gökçek would be elected mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality two more times in local elections, as a member of the Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi*, FP) in 1999 and as a member of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi,* AKP) in 2004.

In investments priority was given to transportation and its infrastructure by the municipality in the peripheral areas of the city and in the central regions, due to their significance for reconstruction of capital.

The first investment area became the peripheries of the city: One of the investments was arrangements in transportation system such as underground as a public transportation, which aimed to connect the city centre to the peripheries of the city. The extension of the existing underground network has been under consideration to include new rent areas. One of the underground lines extended from Kızılay to *Çayyolu* along Eskişehir Road and another one extended from *Batıkent* to *Eryaman* and then *Sincan* through Istanbul Road have been under construction almost since 2003.

The other investment was construction of infrastructural facilities in the peripheries of the city. The boulevards and avenues, recreational areas[68] such as parks, artificial ponds were constructed and services were provided in the peripheries of the city such as *Incek*, a region in the southwest of Ankara

In the light of the foregoing, it can be claimed that new areas were created by means of constructing transportation systems and its related infrastructure, and that investments provided an increase in the value of land value in the periphery.

The second investment area covered the city centre. Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay constituted the centres of the city along the Boulevard. The investments of the municipality in the city centre had a considerable impact on the spatial characteristics of the squares and the Boulevard. The investments of municipality came into existence as infrastructural investments aiming to multiply rent areas for capital in the city centre.

The development of automobile industry and rapid increase of car ownership caused traffic congestion in the city. In order to solve traffic problem, the municipality adopted a transportation policy giving priority to motor vehicles and enforced public transportation with private entrepreneurs, while providing underpasses for vehicles, overpasses for pedestrian, and neglecting pedestrian areas (Balaban, 2006; Yayla, 2007). These measures for reorganisation of urban space in Ankara created impact on the urban texture of the city and spatial practices of city living.

The municipality policy encouraged private entrepreneurs for public transportation. In public transportation, opening of two railway routes in this period is exceptional, because their constructions had started in 1992 in previous municipal period. Ankaray light metro was completed in 1996 linking AŞTİ with *Dikimevi* as the first line in the city. Moreover, underground line was

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[68] 'Wonderland' was created as a large park in Sincan, *Göksu* Park with artificial pond was constructed in Eryaman, *Mogan* Park was opened in *Gölbaşı*.

opened in 1997 and connected to Ankaray system. The underground linked Kızılay as the city centre to the new and expanding residential areas in Batikent in the west. The buses running on gas joined the fleet of vehicles providing city public transportation that by the municipality in 2005 besides buses, Ankaray and the underground.

The municipality consigned transportation to private entrepreneurs. In addition to private buses, double-decker buses started operating in routes mainly on *Çayyolu* and *Eryaman* in 1995 (Türel, 1998: 168) Thus, the policy of the municipality resulted in an increase in the share of the private entrepreneurs in city public transportation such as private buses, double decker buses, *dolmuş* and taxis since the second half of the 1990s

Overall, these implementations served to provide insufficient and poor quality public transportation, to encourage private car ownership. Furthermore, the squares and Atatürk Boulevard came to be associated with intersections in traffic and hence with traffic congestion.

The construction of underpasses and bridges for vehicles were another measure of the municipality, which recognised priority to traffic at the expense of pedestrians. These bridges were constructed on intersections of main avenues and particularly along Atatürk Boulevard, one example being the U-shaped Bridge in Sıhhıye, and *Akay* and *Kuğulu* underpasses.

Bridges and underpasses are conceived spaces for vehicles and were unavailable and closed spaces for pedestrians in the city centre. These spaces served only a limited group of society, namely private car owners. Therefore, spaces for vehicles can be considered as dominated space. Dominated (and domination) space is a space transformed and mediated by technology and by practice: "In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 165).

U-shaped bridge that was constructed in 1997 in Sıhhıye had important influences in spatial practices in the square. The bridge occupied pedestrian pavements in forms of barriers etc. The relations between the two sides of the Boulevard were interrupted for pedestrians in Sıhhıye Square. *Abdi İpekçi* Park diminished and turned into a shabby space, and its connection to the square was disrupted by these barriers.

In a similar way, *Kuğulu* Underpass for vehicles became a conceived space that was constructed near *Kuğulu* Park on *Kavaklıdere* and exerted a substantial impact on the perceived space as physical environment and on lived space as social urban practices (TMMOB, 2006b, 2006c). Although *Kuğulu* Park, constituting an important crossroads on Atatürk Boulevard surrounded by embassies, was 'first-class protection area', existing trees were removed in order to widen the crossroads during the construction (Işık, 2007). The pavements along the Boulevard were narrowed.

The new spatial organisation of *Kuğulu* crossroads influenced social and commercial practices in its surrounding area. As Lefebvre (1991: 312) correctly argues,

> When an urban serving as a meeting-place isolated from traffic is transformed into an intersection or abandoned as a place to meet, city life is subtly but profoundly changed, sacrificed to that abstract space where cars circulate like so many atomic particles.

Kuğulu as lived space turned into a crossroads dominated by busy traffic and mostly used by drivers, and pedestrians were excluded from this public space. The space which used to be a social space including walking, shopping areas etc. transformed into an unmanned space. Shops were closed, bus stops next to the underpass were removed from the Boulevard. Since the driver's contact with environment is limited due to walls and the barriers of the underpass, "the driver is concerned in looking about sees only what he needs to see for purpose" and he/she perceives only his/her own route (Lefebvre, 1991: 313).

The policy of municipality that gave priority to vehicle traffic disregarded pedestrians in the city. Although Atatürk Boulevard and its surrounding avenues were spaces that enabled mobility of pedestrians, the number of crossings decreased and many overpasses were constructed on Atatürk Boulevard, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal* Boulevard, *Meşrutiyet* and *Mithatpaşa* Avenues (Uyar, 2007).

Overpasses are not accessible for pedestrians with disabilities and the elderly, for example these overpasses can pose dangers in wet conditions. In that case, these people are excluded from urban public life. Furthermore, pedestrian mobility is crippled by overpasses such as the one in *Meşrutiyet* Avenue, an important place for pedestrians, and overpasses are not sufficient to respond to this degree of mobility. For these reasons, pedestrians do not prefer to use overpasses. Instead, they tend to cross the street by stopping vehicles.

One measure of the municipality deserves special attention as it is a remarkable example of its attempts to disrupt pedestrian mobility in the city centre. In order to provide the continuous flow of traffic, the use of crossings on Atatürk Boulevard were banned for pedestrians by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in October 2003. The barriers were set up on these crossings along Atatürk Boulevard, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal* Boulevard and *Ziya Gökalp* Avenue. Pedestrians were forced to use underpasses of underground station to cross the Boulevards and avenues. However, underpasses proved insufficient vis-à-vis pedestrian mobility in Kızılay Square and this measure had no legal grounds.

Members of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB, 2003a) reacted against this measure and published declarations against it and initiated a public petition campaign to protest the decision. Faced with these reactions, the Commission of Traffic in Ankara Governorship discontinued the new arrangement and subsequently, it was halted by a judicial decision. In the end, barriers that blocked crossings on Atatürk Boulevard, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal* Boulevard and *Ziya Gökalp* Avenue were removed.

The pedestrian areas that were constructed in the 1970s were located on Sakarya and *Yüksel* Avenues and as part of *Konur* and *Karanfil* streets on Izmir Avenue. The inadequacies of pedestrian areas were not solved by the municipality. Additionally, these areas and pavements are at times occupied by cars for parking, and leaving garbage in the city centre. Furthermore, a large part of the pavement along Atatürk Boulevard was closed to pedestrians due to the construction of underground extensions since 2003. Therefore, bus stops that were dispersed along the Boulevard were gathered on a certain area between *Güvenpark* and the Boulevard.

A large part of Kızılay square as a public space was occupied by the new building of Turkish *Kızılay* Association. Although its construction had started back in 1993 and was completed in 2001, the building was not opened yet.

The new building was not integrated with the square and surrounding buildings. The spatial characteristic of the building were not consistent with the pedestrian mobility of the square and did not serve the needs of pedestrians such as meeting, resting etc. Therefore, the building became a component of the intersection for vehicles and traffic congestion.

Güvenpark was subject to the '*Güvenpark* Renovation Project' which turned out to be an occupation project. The project was previously planned but not realised in 1987 and re-appeared on the agenda in 2005 (Işık, 2005). The plan proposed locating *dolmuş* stops into the underground area of Güvenpark. Members of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) reacted against the plan and published declaration against it. TMMOB (2005a, 2005b) expressed the importance of Güvenpark for Ankara and stated that it was a flawed project because it aggravated noise and air pollution in underground garage and it could not solve the traffic problem. The Park would be covered with concrete and trees could not grow because of the insufficient soil. Finally, park would not be reorganised as a green area.

Güvenpark is one of the symbolic spaces of Ankara and these spatial interferences in *Güvenpark* weakened the social and urban memory of Ankara.

As a result, the transportation policy of the municipality based on the priority of vehicles triggered even more traffic congestion and more ignorance of pedestrians' needs in the city. Insufficient public transportation, inaccessible underpasses and overpasses for pedestrians, inadequate pedestrian areas resulted in a decrease in the quality of living in central areas in Ankara.

Urban Transformation Projects formed an important part among municipal measures to create rent areas for capital in the city centre. Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project as a gentrification[69] project was planned by the municipality in the context of urban transformation studies.

However, 'Reformation Building Plan for Preservation of Ulus Historical City Centre' was enacted in April 1980 and the competition was held to design a plan in 1986. The plan prepared by R. Bademli and his research group in METU won and his project was approved in 1989. The main characteristic of the plan was its emphasis on 'the method of process' in urban design and on the preservation Ulus, historical city centre (Kıral, 2005). However, the plan was aborted in January 2005 and 'Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project' was designated by the municipality.

According to Bilsel (2004), the urban transformation projects that aimed merely to increase economic value strengthened the trends for fragmenting public spaces of the city by privatising the spaces. Consequently, the project of the municipality became subject of discussions due to its legal problems and ideological symbolism.

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[69] Gentrification is the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents.

Consequently, it can be argued that these implementations impact on the spatial characteristics of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay Squares, and Atatürk Boulevard, which were in turn the perceived, the conceived and the lived spaces.

Atatürk Boulevard and the squares as perceived spaces constituted an important part of the built environment and formed the city centres referring to the urban central areas, characteristic of the modern city. Spatial organisation of Ankara was conceived in accordance with the squares as centres along the Boulevard, which constituted the main axis of the city that linked Ulus to Çankaya. Therefore, the squares and the Boulevard were the spatial symbols of the capital city and representations of the unity of the city referring to functional fragments. The spatial representations of Atatürk Boulevard are deteriorated by continuous interferences such as underpasses, bridges, overpasses and intersections for vehicles. Furthermore, the Boulevard and its squares are lived spaces, in other words, 'spaces of representation'. These public spaces organise political, social and cultural practices.

Ulus as the historical city centre became the space where small manufacturers and low income level groups of people concentrated in 1990s (Osmay, 1998: 153). Residential areas in the centre were replaced by labour intensive production and consumption services. However, Ulus is identified as blight zone in the urban transformation project and its historical, cultural and social values are ignored. It is intended to increase the land value rather than renovation of Ulus historical city centre (TMMOB, 2006d, 2006e).

Sıhhıye involves several different kinds of activities. It is an important region for healthcare services including hospitals and institutes, and for educational institutions such as a university, medical faculties and schools. Offices as well as residential blocks co-exist. Additionally, it accommodates bus terminals and commuter trains. Moreover, Ankara's Palace of Justice was constructed in Sıhhıye. Therefore, the region attracts significant pedestrian mobility. Besides, the Opera Square as extension of Sıhhıye includes art and cultural institutions such as Opera Building, Ethnographic Museum and Radio House. However,

Sıhhıye gradually turned into an over-crowded region characterised by chaos, pollution and traffic while the art and cultural buildings became stagnant and overshadowed in city life.

Kızılay as a business and commercial centre of the city has significant vehicular and pedestrian mobility. Residential spaces in central areas turned increasingly into offices because of high land prices in Kızılay (Tanık, 2007). Kızılay Square was the public space hosting political demonstrations and social meetings until 1980. The square was a representative urban space for various groups who cherished different points of view. The square became a controlled space and served as an intersection for traffic. In the 2000s, the square became the space for celebrations that are planned by municipality such as meeting of Turkish Basketball Team, New Year's celebrations etc. (Türker, 2005). It can be observed that political demonstrations that took place in the 1960s and 1970s were replaced by celebrations.

In that way, the deformation of the squares and the Boulevard by such measures as underpasses, overpasses, intersections, ignorance of pedestrian mobility gave rise to weakening of urban public life. The city centre transformed from a public space into traffic dominated area and, the Boulevard transformed into a highway. As Lefebvre (1991: 313) states, it became a space defined "in terms of the perception of an *abstract subject*, such as the driver of a motor vehicle"; the driver perceives only his route that is materialised, mechanised and technicised, and therefore space appears only in its reduced forms.

As a result, the investments of municipality both in the peripheries of the city and in the city centre have been served to the requirements of the capital holders. Additionally municipality intended to practice religious populist approach on urban public spaces in Ankara.

Populist policy of the municipality aimed to produce new spaces and to organise the spatial practices in urban spaces. However, religious symbols and

practices were located in public spaces in the city centre by deforming and occupying the representations and spaces signifying previous periods.

Hittite Sun Disk was specified as the symbol of Ankara by V. Dalokay, mayor of Ankara Municipality in 1973. However, the emblem was removed by M. Gökçek in 1995 and the imposed a new symbol composed of Atakule in between two minarets. Furthermore, the names of boulevards, avenues and many streets were changed by the municipality. These changes can be considered as attempts to remove the collective memory of urban space in Ankara.

Kocatepe Mosque constitutes an important public space for religious practices in Ankara. *Kocatepe* Mosque was completed by Turkish Religious Foundation in 1987. The mosque is very popular among conservative bureaucrats and local population in 2000s and includes important state funerals, fairs and expositions for religious gatherings (Sargın, 2004: 674).

It should be noted as an interesting aspect that although Kocatepe Mosque is a spatial representation of Islamic view, the mosque stood over three floors of shopping space with a multi-storey car park as rent areas. According to Eyüpgiller (2006), "almost all mosques were located over a shopping floor. The architectural forms of mosques have generally been inconsistent with shopping floor that draws attention more than the mosque does, and their laminated plates create 'aesthetic pollution'.

However *Kocatepe* Mosque could not become a historical building because it held only political values rather than historical, architectural and aesthetic values referring to a certain historical period. According to Tanyeli (2001: 10), "Islamists who were on political arena had no architectural demands relating to the architecture that corresponded to their ideology, and their demands became evident only at the architectural level illustrated by mosques".

Kızılay as the significant public space of the city can be assessed as an area to observe religious practices of the municipality on public spaces. First of all, *Güvenpark* became the space where a 'Ramadan tent' was put during Ramadan by occupying a considerable part of the public space since 1997. Moreover, concerts were organised at *Güvenpark* for to celebrate such occasions as opening of underpasses for vehicles. Furthermore, security forces occupied the Park in daytime and *Güvenpark* became insecure and dark at nights because of insufficient action of the part of the municipality (TMMOB, 2003b).

Another religious spatial practice that can be observed in public space of the city is a crowd of people gathering to perform their religious ritual praying (*namaz*) on Fridays in the underground station. Kızılay station is a public space and is constructed for the use of underground passengers. A masjid[70] was established in the station by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. However, the station hall was occupied by people who performed *namaz* every Friday during *namaz* hours. The crowd spilt from underground masjid over to passengers' corridors and interrupted their mobility in halls. Almost all underground employees and some tradesmen in Kızılay participated in this activity by temporarily closing their shops. However, there are many masjids besides Kocatepe Mosque adjacent to the underground station in Kızılay. The station hall becomes a space of people gathering for religious practices and represents people in political terms.

Furthermore, Kızılay underground station and the carriages of trains are currently used as propaganda tools of municipality. Kızılay station serves as a shopping place and an underpass for pedestrians to cross in addition to the transportation service it provides. In December 2003, 70 large TV screens were put in the shopping area and 1600 small TV screens were installed into the carriages of the trains by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Işık, 2003). The monitors are used for commercial advertisements and advertisements of municipality services particularly about the construction of the underground.

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[70] A masjid is a small religious place for prayer.

In sum, it can be asserted that the implementations of the municipality that aimed to produce rent areas and religious spatial practices and to reorganise the urban space resulted in the deformation of public spaces.

Shopping centres as the new spaces of new forms of capital investment were constructed outside the city particularly on suburban settlements and on urban arteries in the second half of 1990s. The centres were located mainly in the south and south-west of Ankara because it was a highly homogeneous residential area.

Galleria was the first suburban shopping centre of Ankara, built in *Ümitköy-Çayyolu* region populated by high-middle income level settlements in 1995. *Real* was opened in *Bilkent* Shopping Centre as the first hypermarket of Ankara in 1998. Furthermore, *Armada* Shopping Mall targeted upper income level groups and included cinemas, restaurants and stores located in *Söğütözü* on Eskişehir Road and its construction was completed in 2002. Another mall, *Migros*, for middle income level groups was built on Konya Road in 1999 and was renamed *Ankamall* with the addition of a building in 2006. Many more shopping centres[71] were constructed outside the city centre in Ankara.

The construction of many shopping centres can be assessed within the context of the spatial organisation of new political and economic policies in the urban areas. Shopping malls can be regarded as manifestations of the spatial organisation of new form of consumption.

In this context, the newly introduced consumption style required and created new spaces other than small retailers and streets (Tokatlı and Boyacı, 1998). Moreover, it has to do with the changing form of spatial organisation of housing. The fact that shopping centres were located outside residential areas and on main roads was related to the construction of suburban settlements. The malls responded to requirements of housing settlements with middle and upper

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[71] These shopping centres are mainly *Ankuva* (1998) in *Bilkent*, CarrefourSA (2001) in Batıkent, *Arcadium* (2003) in *Çayyolu, Optimum* Outlet Centre (2004) in *Eryaman* and *Millenium* Outlet Park (2005) in *Batıkent.*

income groups on suburbs (Erkip, 2005; Öncü, 2005). Location and features of shopping malls changed the nature of shopping activity in physical and social terms.

Until the 1990s, shopping places such as arcades, shops, few shopping centres were located in the city centre and shopping activities were integrated with other social activities in public spaces. However, public space included traffic congestion, lack of pedestrian areas and infrastructure, the risk of street crimes, and lack of maintenance and cleaning in streets in city centre (Birol, 2005; Erkip, 2005).

The shopping malls that started in the 1990s brought about a new understanding of shopping activity. First, shopping malls are closed spaces and provide comfortable and compact environment in terms of cleaning and order. People perceive the environment as dissociated from time due to air conditioning and lightening. Additionally, it contains other social activities such as cafés, restaurants and cinemas.

Furthermore, shopping centres are designed as secure places. The security of this place is related to the control over potential violence in streets such as mugging. The security of the malls is particularly important for women, teenagers and elderly people. Women constitute one category of their customers who benefit most from the shopping centres and teenagers and the elderly find shopping in malls more expediently than shopping in street stores (Erkip, 2005: 96). The factors such as cleaning, order and security make shopping malls more convenient and favourable: "Public life packaged for private spaces. For developers these enclosed malls provide a degree of security, surveillance, pedestrian flow and climate control not possible outdoors." (Fisher and Karger, 1997: 26)

The shopping malls are considered as new public spaces. They are designed to simulate physical and social characteristics of public spaces in the city centre. Their plans which generally include an atrium and shops along the corridors are

similar to public spaces with square, streets, shops etc. Socially, the malls contain social and recreational facilities as do public spaces.

However, shopping centres are one of the spatial representations of new social and economic policies in urban areas. They are conceived spaces aiming at continuous consumption. Therefore, it imposes a set of coded practices. In this respect, public spaces have been reduced into shopping activity. Shopping malls have standardised, monotonous and homogenised spaces in contrast to public spaces including varied activities, characteristics and spontaneous spatial practices.

Shopping centre is presented as the new public space and is in fact designed to simulate it. Based on Lefebvre's conceptualisation (1991: 33), it can be asserted that urban public space is the social and lived space as a 'space of representation'. Urban public space contains various activities and spontaneous spatial practices integrated into the city texture. However, shopping mall is conceived space as 'representation of space'. It is created outside the city centre, conceived as a commercial place with determined and controlled activities. Shopping space is detached from the context of urban space, sectioned and reduced into homogeneity (Lefebvre, 1976: 83).

According to Fisher and Karger (1997: 25), shopping malls are regarded as private spaces, are "intentionally designed as limited access, closed places that are restricted to homogenous groups." Therefore, users of shopping centres are limited by 'distance and accessibility', to use Harvey's terms (1997: 250), whereas public space is accessible and involves a variety of people and groups. However, shopping malls are located far from the city centre and transportation creates problems for particularly those without private cars. In this context, the mall leads to the exclusion of some groups, mainly the urban poor (Salcedo, 2003 cited in Erkip, 2005: 96).

Ankamall Shopping Centre is an exceptional case. It is located next to an underground station (metro) linking districts between *Batıkent* and *Kızılay*, and

transportation by bus and *dolmuş* is also available as the mall is located at the intersection of main arteries of the city. Therefore, a great number of people from many districts of the city have access to *Ankamall* Shopping Centre. In this framework, it can be argued that visitors of the mall have extended into wider income ranges when compared with the customers of other suburban shopping malls targeting higher and middle income groups.

Shopping centres as the space of new consumption style produces new spatial practices. Firstly, the form of spatial organisation of consumption became influential on women's spatial practices.

It is observed that suburban women are more active and more visible than men in consumption environments, spending more time on the consumption activity itself (Ayata, 2002:34). Another influence of shopping centres on women's life-style is that women are less likely to suffer from street crimes in shopping malls (Erkip, 2005: Ayata, 2002). In urban daily life, women are excluded from some public spaces that are dominated by men. Particularly at nights, women avoid certain streets because of potential violence and crime. However, shopping malls are closed and controlled spaces under surveillance. Its physical and social conditions provide security for women and keep them way from dangers and risks of streets.

The argument that women became more active and visible and enjoyed more freedom in shopping malls is associated with them being active and visible in public space. Moreover, women's daily practices in public space are reduced to shopping activity in the shopping malls. Furthermore, the spatial practices are relevant for only suburban women and exclude women from other walks of life. Women's preference of shopping centre for freedom contributes to the social and physical isolation of women from urban public space.

Secondly, the new consumption style is not only required by needs and desires but it also contains recreation in the context of new spatial practices. Therefore, shopping malls constitute the space for a new understanding of consumption

and become a leisure and recreation centre in addition to shopping activity. The centre enables people to spend longer time with activities such as cinema, café, restaurants etc. in shopping malls.

As a result, the new consumption style produces its own spaces and practices. Thereby, shopping malls can be considered as conceived spaces for aim of increasing consumption. In that case, the characteristics of public life are simulated in private spaces. Lefebvre (1991: 352) states that the *qualitative* aspect of space "re-emerges when the 'spaces of consumption' become the 'consumption of space'" (1991: 352). It occurs when capitalism transforms the circulation of commodities for people into the circulation of people through commodified places (Shields, 1988).

In sum, in the period, the election of municipality in 1994 nationalist and conservative groups came into power in municipalities. In investments priority was given to transportation and its infrastructure by the municipality in the peripheral areas of the city and in the central regions in order to produce rent areas.

The policy of municipality that gave priority to vehicle traffic disregarded pedestrians in the city. The implementations of municipality such as underpasses, overpasses, intersections, ignorance of pedestrian mobility distorted over the squares and the Boulevard, and paved way to weaken the urban public life. The city centre is transformed from the public space into a transitional area for vehicles and, the Boulevard is transformed into a highway.

One of the important characteristics of this period is the building business and shopping centres on suburban settlements and main transport roads of the city. Shopping centre is spatial representation of the new forms of capital investment. Shopping mall is the conceived space for the new style of consumption. The centre is closed, secure, comfortable space in compare to public space referring traffic congestion, potential street crime, and insufficient pedestrian areas. While the shopping mall is the conceived space including

standardized, monotonous, homogenised and artificial characteristics, the public space as a lived space, contains differences, various activities and unpredictable spatial practices. The malls as the new spaces produce new spatial practices. Firstly, suburban female are more active than men and more visible in consumption environments, spending more time in the malls. Secondly, in according with understanding of the new consumption style, shopping mall also is a leisure and recreation centre.

5.4. Conclusion

The social, cultural and historical features of Ankara, rather than its political and geographical significance have been important in its designation as the capital city of Turkey in the construction process of nation state. The production of the urban space of Ankara is analysed in the frame of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay Squares and Atatürk Boulevard, and their historical development through the observational domains: the public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces.

In the early Republican period, administrative and public buildings were constructed and public spaces were organised primarily as lived spaces, which produced social and cultural practices.

Ulus Square was conceived as spatial representation of the administrative centre of Republican regime. *Atatürk Heykeli* within the square constituted the 'monumental space', providing a sense of collectivity and membership, pointing to the national unity (Lefebvre, 1991: 220). The square contained all aspects of spatiality: The monument was located in the middle of the square and was much more conspicuous than other buildings around. Thus, Ulus Square was conceived as the city centre, including administrative buildings, and was lived as a public space with its social and cultural practices such as national and memorial ceremonies.

Jansen Plan that was adapted in 1928, was characterised by design of the public spaces such as squares and avenues, and the functional interrelated fragments for the unity of the city.

In the context of Jansen Plan, Sıhhıye, with its square as public space, was a conceived space that contains spatial organisation of health, education, art and cultural institutions and the associated social and cultural practices.

Etatist policies have dominated the 1930s and *Güvenpark*, *Güvenlik Anıtı*, Administrative District and military zone as the spatial representations of the central authority, constituted the 'monumental space' in Kızılay. Moreover, Kızılay Square was a public space for the spatial practices of modern life style.

Duality in the construction of housing, between the apartments in Ulus, as the old city, on the one hand, and the villas in Yenişehir as a new city, on the other hand, led to the emergence of different representations of different lifestyles, since villas in Yenişehir represented the modern lifestyle, and Ulus represented the traditional lifestyle.

In the transportation policy of the period, priority was given to the construction of railway networks and infrastructures such as building of boulevards, avenues to meet the requirements of the new inner-city transportation system, and buses, minibuses, tramways with electricity and automobiles were of secondary importance and entered the city life later in this period.

After 1940s, the administrative characteristics of Ulus have weakened and commercial and entertainment activities were strengthened, while the political power and the new lifestyle began to appear in Yenişehir, with the construction of villas and Administrative District, in addition to the project of Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The Democrat Party period that began in 1950, signalled a new and different political and economic process, as the multi-party system and liberal economic policies was beginning to be established. The period is frequently identified by

"populism", especially in agricultural production and dependent economic structure, in terms of the import substitution economic policy. The increasing regional development differences between rural areas and metropolitan cities, resulted in the mass migration of landless peasants to the cities, and consequently, caused a population increase in the metropolitan areas. The socio-cultural representation was *gecekondu*, a consequence of increasing demand of housing.

Yücel-Uybadin Plan, as the second master plan of Ankara, which was adopted in 1957, proposed new areas for housing and the construction of highways on the basis of the north-south direction of the city.

In accordance with populist policies, institutionalisation of the 'flat ownership' and emergence of its related commercial development, namely the 'build and sell' model have paved the way to the building of apartments and rent speculations. 'The Regional Flat Order Plan' that was enacted in 1968, permitted multi-storey buildings on Atatürk Boulevard and related avenues.

With the laws facilitating the building process on the Boulevard, apartment constructions within the area intensified, leading to a deformation of the Atatürk Boulevard as well as the urban texture of Ankara.

Dual structure of housing between apartments and villas in the early republican period was transformed into the duality between the *gecekondu* settlements in the peripheries of the city and the apartments in the city centre. The spatial separation of housing has continued to increase until 1980. The spatially separated characteristic of *gecekondu* vis-à-vis the planned settlement was transformed from its marginal status into an investment instrument by turning them into commercialised areas in the city, utilizing the amnesty laws of 1960s.

The decrease of investments on public transportation system resulted in simultaneous development of *dolmuş* as private entrepreneurship with *gecekondu* settlements.

The constructions of office buildings in Ulus and in Kızılay Squares accelerated the business and commercial activities and removed squares' characteristics of 'monumental space'. Furthermore, the spatial practices of public spaces were transformed from national and memorial ceremonies in Ulus Square into political demonstrations and commercial practices in Kızılay Square.

1980s constitutes an empirical ground for Lefebvre's 'circuit model of capitalism', within the context of the transformation of political and economic policies into neoliberal policies as a result of the crisis of capital accumulation. The considerable amounts of capital was transferred from the 'first circuit' as industrial production sphere to the 'second circuit' as non-productive urban spaces, such as housing, financing and speculation in land.

The large investments were made on transportation, infrastructure and mass housing beginning from the end of the 1980s. While housing became one of the investment areas of big capital groups, the 'build and sell' process decelerated.

Municipality administrative system was changed by the adaptation of Enactment of Metropolitan Municipality in 1984. While the control of central government was decreased in building city plans and in certifying them, the resources and the authority of the municipalities were increased in these areas. The municipalities invested in projects such as underground systems, mass housing in metropolitan cities, to produce urban rent areas complying with the demands of the capital.

Atatürk Boulevard became to be identified with traffic congestion and the spatial characteristics of Ulus and Kızılay Squares as public spaces were changed into a point of intersection of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in 1980s.

The underground systems, metro and Ankaray, the construction of which were started in 1992, was planned to serve the suburban areas with lower and middle income groups. Private car ownership was a solution adopted by the upper and

upper-middle income groups living in suburban areas to the problem of distance.

The shopping centres that were constructed in the city centre began to be built outside of the city and on urban arteries in the second half of the 1990s, as a result of the establishment of suburban settlement outside the cities.

After local elections of 1994, the nationalist and the conservative groups began to have an important impact on the spatial configuration of metropolitan cities, particularly Ankara.

The activities of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality that serve the political and social practices of nationalist and conservative groups, began to become prevalent in the public spaces and the spatial practices of different political and social groups are neglected.

In terms of investment, the Municipality gave priority to the transportation and the related infrastructural facilities with the aim of creating new rent areas for capital reconstruction.

The municipality made investments in the peripheries of the city and the city centre. Firstly, the transportation system is extended to cover the suburban areas and the infrastructural facilities such as boulevards, avenues and recreational areas are constructed in the new areas outside the city. Secondly, the investments contain constructions of infrastructure based on the transportation policy that gives the priority to vehicular traffic in the inner city. Measures such as increasing private entrepreneurship in public transportation, constructing underpasses for vehicles and overpasses for pedestrians, neglecting the pedestrian areas, were taken. These measures encouraged private car ownership resulting in the traffic congestion and in a decrease in the pedestrian areas and the neglect of the pedestrian mobility.

These implementations of municipality have a considerable impact on the spatial characteristics of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay Squares, and Atatürk Boulevard.

Municipality planned to transform the historical city centre of Ulus with its urban transformation project. In the project, Ulus is identified as a blight zone and its historical social and cultural values are ignored. In this sense, it can be argued that the intention behind the project is increasing the land value rather than the renovation of historical city centre of Ulus.

Sıhhıye includes the public organisations such as health, educational, art and cultural institutions, business and residential areas. It is at the intersection point of bus stops and train stations, and, as a result, it contains significant pedestrian mobility. However, Sıhhıye was turned into a crowded, neglected and polluted region with full of traffic, and stops.

Kızılay was turned into a business and commercial space, is occupied by buildings, which serve as workplaces and have high land prices. While the Kızılay Square served as a public space, until the 1980, hosting political demonstrations and social meetings, it became the controlled space of vehicular traffic and hosted celebrations such as gathering to celebrate a victory by Turkish Basketball Team, or New Year's Day and etc, all of which were planned the municipality after 1980.

As a result of the deformations in the squares and the Boulevard by the measures such as underpasses, overpasses, intersections, neglectful of pedestrian mobility, the quality of the urban public life deteriorated.

Most important of all, the city centre was transformed from a public space, into a transitional area for vehicles and, the Boulevard was transformed into a highway.

As a consequence, Ankara was the spatial representation of nation state and national identity. The spatial configuration of Ankara produced its own spatial

practices by political, economic and ideological constructions of social relations. The spatial construction of Ankara requires the conceptualisation and analysis of the city in the production process of urban space.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The founding of the Republic of Turkey entailed a spatial production process, which was, also, an attempt at building a nation state and national identity. As representations of space both the political and economic institutions of the nation state and the public and cultural institutions of national identity have a substantial role in the construction of the Republic. New institutions, which produce their own appropriate spaces, call for new social relations and *vice versa* (Lefebvre, 1991: 59). The practices of modern life are constituted by social relations, which emanate from the interaction between all institutions.

The representations of nation state are associated with the capital city, constituting the symbol of national administration. The designation of Ankara as a national capital city is a significant decision in the establishment of the Republic which includes the centralisation of state power besides the construction of national identity and national unity.

In this thesis, drawing upon Lefebvre's "conceptual triad" of *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* spaces, the production process of the urban space of Ankara is analysed with special reference to the historical development of Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares and the Atatürk Boulevard. The observational domains addressed in the examination of the representations and spatial practices are the public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces.

The building process of Ankara occurred by way of urban planning and architecture. In the construction of built environment, which is informed by knowledge and ideology, spatial context calls for 'representations' that have a substantial role and a practical impact in the production of the urban space (Lefebvre, 1991: 42).

The Republican regime aimed to construct a modern capital city. As a result, the Jansen Plan that is characterised by the design of the public spaces such as squares and avenues, and the functional interrelated fragments for the unity of the city was adopted in 1928.

In compliance with this plan, Ulus was conceived as the administrative centre of the Republican regime in the capital city with its administrative and financial buildings,[72] featuring the characteristics of the First National Architectural Movement, and the monument, namely, the *Atatürk Heykeli*. The Ulus Square surrounding the *Atatürk Heykeli,* represented the national unity and were functional in the production of new spatial practices, such as national ceremonies and celebrations. It can be argued that Ulus Square was a 'monumental space' that constituted a collective mirror offering an image of membership to each member of a society, an image of his or her social visage (Lefebvre, 1991: 220).

Atatürk Boulevard, serving as the spine of the city, exhibits the fundamental characteristics of the Jansen Plan. It begins at Ulus, where the First National Assembly was built, extending southwards to the new residential area, Yenişehir, and coming to an end at the Presidential Palace in Çankaya. Atatürk Boulevard is a 'perceived space' as a significant characteristic of the modern capital city, is a 'conceived space' as an important component of the built environment and is a 'lived space' consisting of social and cultural practices.

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[72] Buildings of Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Customs and State Monopolies, the Court of Financial Appeals, Agricultural Bank, Ottoman Bank, Turkish Business Bank and Industrial and Metallurgical Bank were built in Ulus.

In the *étatist* period of the 1930s, the authorities of the nation state carried out the most comprehensive implementations for the creation of the spaces that are appropriate to the principles of Populism (Keskinok, 2006: 23). In these years, the Modern Architectural Style, which was based on functional and rational principle of modern internationalism and more economical in terms of both design and production costs, was adopted instead of The First National Architectural Movement that included Ottoman-Islamic architectural elements.

Sıhhıye was a 'conceived space' between Ulus and Kızılay, characterised as the location of public health, where the precursor health institutions[73] were concentrated in the early Republican period. The space reflects the design of the city as functional interrelated fragments, complying with the Jansen Plan. Furthermore, the educational and cultural buildings[74] were also located in Sıhhıye. Sıhhıye, as a 'lived space', produced social and cultural practices appropriate to the modern lifestyle such as exhibitions, concerts, theatrical plays, and educational and cultural training programmes.

Kızılay, another important square of Ankara, was called *Kurtuluş* Square previously. Corresponding to the construction of Yenişehir, Kızılay Square was developed in 1930s. *Güvenpark*, with its monument, *Güvenlik Anıtı*, can be distinguished as 'monumental space' of the Kızılay Square, which contains all aspects of spatiality (Lefebvre, 1991: 220). Kızılay Square was the conceived space being the spatial representation of the political power of the Republican regime and ideology with its Administrative District and Military zone, and it was considered a 'representational space' with its parks symbolising the modern lifestyle, giving rise to new social and cultural practices.

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[73] Ministry of Health and Hygiene Institute (*Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü*) was established before Jansen Plan. In the following years, *İbn-i Sina* Hospital, *Numune* Hospital, *Hacettepe* University Faculty of Medicine, Ankara University Faculty of Medicine and its hospital were built in Sıhhıye.

[74] The Officer's Staff, Exhibition Centre, later State Opera Building, State Theatres (on *İstiklal* Avenue across the Boulevard, the Faculty of Letters, İsmet Pasha Institute for Girls, Radio House, Ethnographic Museum and behind it, Turkish Cultural Association (*Türk Ocağı*).

'Administrative District'[75] was designed to concentrate the administrative functions into one centre, in which the government was represented not only by buildings but also by the very space that these buildings were erected on. Additionally, public spaces such as pedestrian lanes, parks, squares of ceremony and meeting places were also part of the plan of the Administrative District.

The Military Zone[76] was the conceived space, near the Administrative District. Based on Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the space, the military zone can be considered as the 'dominated space'. For Lefebvre (1991: 164-165), the origins of the dominated sphere overlap with the political power itself. The military zone, as dominated space, is a closed and forbidden zone, representing military power.

The administrative and military buildings, built with the aim of representing the state power and authority, were designed in the modern architectural style. The construction of The Turkish Grand National Assembly as a component of the Administrative District was interrupted by World War II, and could not be completed until 1961.

The recreation area was also planned to be located on the Atatürk Boulevard and its construction began in 1930s and was completed in the early 1940s. The area, the Gençlik Park, as a new public space, produced new social practices appropriate to the modern city life, including sporting, arts and entertainment activities (Uludağ, 1998: 68).

Another significant observational domain of the present study was housing. Its significance lies in the increasing population of Ankara as a result of becoming the capital city. Therefore, in the early Republican Period, the housing provision was planned particularly for the migrated population, consisting of military and

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[75] The Administrative District includes the Supreme Court of Appeals, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Interior, General Directorate of Security and Gendarmerie.

[76] The buildings of the Ministry of National Defence and the General Staff are constructed on the other side of the *Milli Müdafaa* Avenue crossed by the Inönü Boulevard.

civilian bureaucrats. The '*Vakıf* Houses' were constructed in 1927, near the Gençlik Park, to meet the housing needs of government officials (Yavuz, 1973: 34). Besides, the municipality has built the first organised housing in Yenişehir on Atatürk Boulevard and the '*Saracoğlu Mahallesi*' was organised and developed for government officials working in ministries in 1940s.

In this context, the dual organisation of housing had become apparent. The duality was between the apartments that were constructed by private landowners in Ulus and the villas that were built by the government in Yenişehir. The different compositions of housing caused a contradiction between the housing settlements in Ulus and in Yenişehir, since the organisation of housing was not only characterised by spatial differentiation, but also it represented a different lifestyle.

Transportation, as another observational domain, is closely related to the spatial organisation of the city (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 67). Railway network was the most important transportation system for industrial development in cities, for regional development and for the unification of the national market in the early Republican period. Furthermore, the central train station of Ankara was the main entrance of the city. The new spatial organisation of the city such as building of boulevards, avenues has required the new transportation system. Thereby bus, minibus, tramway with electricity and automobile enters the inner transportation of city life in 1930s.

The political and social significance of Ulus has declined in the 1940s, since the political and modern life style appeared by the construction of villas in Yenişehir, and Administrative District besides to the project of Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Unsurprisingly, the new phase of nationalism in politics and economy in the 1940s was reflected in the architecture of the period. The Second National Architectural Movement, which was influenced from the rising tide of nationalism, emphasised the characteristics of the traditional Turkish house.

However, the Second National Architectural Movement declined after the World War II.

With the taking over of political power by the Democrat Party in 1950, a significant transformation in the republican ideals of the previous government was undergone and a new phase is opened in the process of modernisation and westernisation in Turkey. The Democrat Party assumed a populist stance, which was, at least seemingly, "respectful of people's choices and anti-bureaucratic sentiments", and associated itself with the United States, deemed to be 'the leader of West,' in contrast to the association of early Republican government with Europe (Tekeli, 1984b).

With its populist policies, Democrat Party government spent a great deal of foreign credits on the mechanization of agriculture, which resulted in the labour surplus in rural areas, and thus caused regional differences in development. This period is marked with transformations in the spatial practices of people in agricultural production and with the mass migration of landless peasants to the metropolitan areas. The settlement of *Gecekondu* was a space of representation for cheap labour force and it gave rise to the development of informal sector as a new spatial practice of migrated people.

For solving the problem of the shortage in housing supplies in metropolitan cities the government institutionalised the 'flat ownership' in 1954, as a result of which 'build and sell' practices became prevalent. These practices accelerated the process of housing supply, yet accompanying them were the unplanned development of city's spatial organization. Nihat Yücel-Raşit Uybadin Plan, as the second master plan for Ankara, contained significant proposals that intended to reshape the city[77]. However, the plan could not be implemented because the government has directed its spatial interests to Istanbul (Altaban, 1998: 53-54)

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[77] First, General Directorate of Highways built local roads that link Konya and Samsun highways. Second, the expansion of city northwards and southwards was considered for residential areas. The Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement was established to coordinate and run all developmental activities in 1958.

The 'International Style'[78] was adopted in the new architectural movement, of which Istanbul City Hall would be the first example.

The Ulus Office Building (*Ulus İşhanı*) was built at the Ulus Square according to new architectural style and completely changed the spatial configuration of Ulus Square by producing new spatial practices. The square was transformed into a commercial centre and lost its position of being the political centre of the Republic's administrative power. As a result of the contradiction between the building and the monument, Ulus Office Building shadowed and deformed the monumentality of *Atatürk Heykeli*, reinstituting monumentality within the sphere of building itself (Lefebvre, 1991: 222-223). As a 'representation of space' of the Democrat Party period, the building occupied the place of the monument that was the 'representation of space' of the early Republican period.

The most important measure of the Democrat Party government against the secular ideology of the early Republican period was the *Kocatepe* Mosque Project, conceived as a 'space of representation', constituting a spatial representation of the political power of the Democrat Party and conservative groups.

In this period, the Democrat Party began a "predominantly technocratic movement of renovation" in the public bureaucracy that included the "surveying and investment institutions[79] (Altaban, 1997: 91). The new public institutions were constructed in the International Style and a large amount of land by the Eskişehir road in Ankara was allocated for their construction.

In this period, the acceleration of the process of the construction of apartment buildings, by means of the build and sell system and flat ownership law gave rise to the spread of the housing organisation from around the boulevard to the

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[78] Hilton Hotel and Sheraton Hotel were other important examples of the International Style in Istanbul. The Hilton Hotel illustrated the "new American architectural design and practice along with American style of management" (Tekeli, 1984b: 24).
[79] Turkish Republican Highways, Public Waterworks Administration, State Supply Office, State Institute of Statistics can be included in this type of institutions.

outside districts of the city. The spatial texture of Ankara was characterized by the construction of apartments and the building of *gecekondu* in the city periphery in addition to the building of blocks and vehicular traffic at the city centre.

The new housing settlements such as apartments and *gecekondus* as 'new spaces' required new roads and new transportation systems as 'new spatial practices' (Lefebvre, 1991). In that case, the interaction was established between the *gecekondu* as differentiated land utilization within the city and *dolmuş* as a new facility for transportation (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 69). While the transportation services provided by the municipality reached planned settlements in the city, *dolmuş* was developed as a response to the transportation needs of *gecekondu* settlements.

As a new developing centre, commercial activities started to take place increasingly in Kızılay with a retail shopping region for upper and upper-middle income groups. In addition to its commercial character, Kızılay Square as a 'lived space' carried a political colour and became the space for protests and demonstrations that took place at the end of 1950s. It can be claimed that the aim of the government to control the demonstration of the students required "dominance on the organisation of space" (Harvey, 1997: 250). In order to control the space, the interventions into the spatial organisation of Kızılay and Boulevard such as closing the universities for a full month, transferring the bus and *dolmuş* stops were enforced.

A new period in political and social terms has begun by the military intervention of May 27, 1960. In 1961, the new constitution brought in the principles of social state and planned economic development that marked the period. The import substitution economic policy that contained protective foreign trade policies enabled the domestic capital to continue its dominance in the national market (Boratav, 1997: 326) until 1980. At the end of the 1970s, Turkey experienced an economic depression as a result of the crisis in the economic

policy and of the problems related to it. This economic policy was influential on the urbanisation process.

The population increase in Ankara between 1960 and 1970 was higher than estimated in the second master plan. It is worth mentioning that the concept of '*gecekondu*' was first introduced in the '*Gecekondu* Law' in 1966. The *gecekondu* has become an instrument for investment (Tekeli, 1998:19).

The 'Regional Flat Order Plan' permitting 9-10 storey buildings on Atatürk Boulevard and avenues, resulted in the demolition of most of the apartments that were built in the previous period on Atatürk Boulevard and the cross-cutting avenues. Furthermore, the rationality behind the building construction was no longer the meeting of the housing needs. During the process, building construction was turned into a commercial activity and made the city planning ineffective.

Corresponding to the decision of State Planning Organisation (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, DPT)* that "the allocation of resources for the construction of public administrative buildings and for the nationalisation of land is an impediment for development" (Altaban, 1997: 92), the ministries and the affiliated institutions were dispersed throughout Ulus, Kızılay and various other locations and functioned in multiple rented buildings[80]. Similarly, the judicial institutions[81] were settled in various locations in the city. In this context, the dispersed locations of administrative buildings were resulted from the construction activities that were shaped by urban rent speculations.

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[80] Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, Tourism and Presentation Ministry, Rural Affairs Ministry, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Social Security, Youth and Sport Ministry are all in the rented buildings. The Ministry of Labour, Agriculture-Forest Ministry, Industry and Technology Ministry, Customs and Excise Ministry are run to a great extent in rented buildings, since their own buildings were not adequate and they were scattered around the city (Altaban, 1997: 92).

[81] Council of State (*Danıştay*), could only move into its own building in Sıhhıye at the beginning of 1970s. Supreme Court (*Anayasa Mahkemesi*) could finally begin to function in its own building, next to the Presidential Palace, in the 1980s (Altaban, 1997: 92).

Dual structure of housing between *gecekondu* settlements and apartments in the planned areas since 1950s became strongly marked until 1980s. Additionally, insufficiency of inner-city public transportation led to a rise in the number of *dolmuş* and minibuses. As a result, for the first time in its history, Ankara encountered with air pollution and traffic problems in these years.

As the first skyscraper of Turkey, The *Emek* Office Building, which contained commercial offices and shops were constructed in 1964 at Kızılay Square. The shopping store *Gima* has deeply influenced the development of Kızılay centre and the consumption patterns in Ankara. As for the monumentality, a situation similar to the one in Ulus Square raised, *Emek* Office Building has deteriorated the monumentality of *Güvenpark* and *Güvenlik Anıtı* that were the spatial representations of political power of early Republican period. The square as political space became the commercial centre and as Lefebvre (1991: 223) states "we can only expect the stagnation of crude interactions and intermixtures between 'moments' – in short, a continuing spatial chaos.". In this sense, Kızılay continued to be a significant public space for political demonstrations[82] of students and workers, in addition to being a business and commercial centre.

After the suspension of the multi-party politics by military memorandum of March 12, 1971, the articles of 1961 Constitution that extended the liberties were repealed by the new conservative regime (Özdemir, 1997: 227).

Within this period, in 1969, Ankara Master Plan Bureau (*Ankara Nazım Plan Bürosu*) was established and proposed two kinds of urban formation strategies (Altaban, 1997: 92). Firstly, the construction of the 'Second Administrative District' on the public land to the west of Turkish Grand National Assembly and to south of Military Academy was proposed in order to work out the problem of administrative institutions which were dispersed throughout various locations

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[82] The workers of EGO organized a protest march in 1961 and the workers of Turkish Construction-Work Federation have protested the high rates of unemployment in 1962 in Kızılay. 'Kızılay Events' in April-May 1965 (Feyizoğlu, 1993 cited in Aydın, *et al*., 2005: 574). and a meeting of students that was organised against USA in front of Officer's Club in 1966 (Zileli, 2002 cited in Aydın, et al., 2005: 583-584).

and functioned in a fragmented way in multiple rented buildings. The project could not be implemented because of the military coup on September 12, 1980 (Altaban, 1997: 92). Secondly, a settlement area for the public institutions on the Eskişehir Road was planned in order to extend the city towards the western corridor. The constructions of public services buildings[83] such as higher education institutions, health institutions and major institutional governance centres for the private sector in the form of campuses by the Eskişehir Road have increased (Tekeli, 1998: 17).

In this period, social democrats have come to the municipal administration by the votes of the *gecekondu* population in the local election of 1973 and 'New Democratic Municipality Movement' (Tekeli, 1998:19) has begun. As Massey (1984: 4) argues, the characteristics of the residential area in terms of its distance, mobility and residential differentiation have important effects on social processes. Thus, it can be argued that the spatial properties of gecekondu settlement have produced its own social relations and have integrated the social process by influencing changes in the social and economic policies of the municipality.

Akkondu (*Batikent*) settlement which was developed with an aim of providing housing for lower income level groups, and establishment of the Rail System and Communication Department which initiated the construction of the underground (metro) system were the most important projects of this period. Furthermore, the automobile production and the rapid becoming widespread of private car ownership were significant developments in this period.

While Ulus have preserved their importance as a commercial centre of the city, the numbers of offices providing services such as manufacture and repairing and commercial places such as shopping passages and restaurants have increased in Kızılay, as the new centre of the city. Additionally, *Tunalı Hilmi* Avenue, which

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[83] Hacettepe University, Middle East Technical University, Mineral Research and Exploration, General Directorate of Highways, have been appeared as estates having multiple parts and having rather a form complexity (Yavuz, 1973: 32).

is located on the Kavaklıdere – Çankaya direction on the Boulevard, developed by the openings of new bank branches, the concentration of cinemas, shopping arcades and patisseries during this period.

The political demonstrations that started as an outcome of the economic depression at the end of the 1970s, continued to take place in Kızılay as a public space. It is important to note that the control of political demonstrations necessitated the control of the space (Harvey, 1997: 250). As a result of the interventions into spatial organisation of Kızılay Square, such as widening the road and occupying a part of Güvenpark by *dolmuş* and bus stops, the vehicular and pedestrian traffic has replaced the social and cultural activities on the Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard.

The military coup on September 12, 1980 was a response to the economic crisis of import substitution economic policy between 1977 and 1979 (Boratav, 2000: 162). The crisis of the capital accumulation model in the world economy forced developing countries like Turkey to adopt neoliberal economic policies. In the context of crisis of capital accumulation, Lefebvre (1976: 21) emphasises on survival of capitalism: Capitalism has succeeded in achieving growth "by occupying space, by producing a space". In his concept of 'circuit model of capitalism', the crisis of capital accumulation in the 'first circuit', that is, in industrial production, has resulted in the transfer of capital accumulation into the 'second circuit', that is non-productive urban spaces such as housing, the financing, and speculation in land.

It was for this reason that the neoliberal political and economic policies had a considerable impact on the reconstruction and transformation of urban spaces. As a result of the neoliberal policies, the control of central government was lessened and the authority considering the design of building plans and their supervision was given to municipalities by means of laws of Metropolitan Municipality Management. The authority of municipalities was utilized to transform urban rents into profitable areas for capital accumulation and investments in the urban space increasingly in accordance with the demands of

the capital, and in the projects such as infrastructure, rail systems, mass housing were made in metropolitan cities.

In this period, main professional public institutions governing the urbanisation process, such as Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, Ankara Master Plan Bureau, were closed and Ankara Building Directorate became a department of the municipality. Moreover, municipalities easily approved improvement and building plans for illegal *gecekondu* settlements and opened large areas for apartment buildings. As a result of the organisational changes in 1980s, the institutions of city planning and practice that were established in the early Republican period in Ankara has lost their institutional structure, in addition to the loss of Ankara's planned urban texture because of the building of apartments in 1970s.

The buildings of public services and administrative buildings that were established in the city centre continued their settlement along *Inönü* Boulevard and Eskişehir Road, as mentioned before. While the administrative and public buildings are dispersed along Eskişehir road, the headquarters of private and public institutions[84] and particularly services such as banking, finance and insurance businesses, real-estate deals, consultancy services and advertising agencies are concentrated along the Boulevard (Osmay, 1998: 148).

Kızılay Square had lost its public space characteristics and had transformed from a meeting place into a controlled space that is a 'perceived space' consisting of only an intersection of vehicular and pedestrian traffic as a result of the spatial enforcements at the end of 1970s. The spatial organisation of Kızılay Square was further (de)formed by new interferences in the 1980s. First, Kızılay Rent Foundation Building was planned to be constructed in 1980 in the area of historical building of Kızılay that was demolished in 1979. The construction site of the new building that was not opened in spite of completion

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[84] These buildings are *Yapı Kredi* Bank Kızılay Agency (1980), *TUBITAK* (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) (1992), *Gama-Güriş* Business Centre (1982) and *Vakıfbank* Kızılay Agency (1999).

in 2001, occupy a large part of Kızılay Square (see picture 7). Second attempt to change the spatial configuration of Kızılay Square was the *Güvenpark* Renovation Project. The project was developed by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to reorganise the *Güvenpark*. The plan that was to construct parking lots and shopping centres in the underground of the Park in 1986, was shelved as a result of the reaction of people and a juridical decision. In the context of the activities and campaign against the project, *Güvenpark* was 'lived space' for meeting and demonstrations of city dwellers.

Through the "*Gecekondu* Law" that was enacted in order to legalise *gecekondu* in 1984, *gecekondu* phenomenon changed its characteristic. The law paved the way of building apartments in *gecekondu* areas near to city centre. In contrast to implementations of social democrat parties about the improvement of *gecekondu* after 1973, to draw attention to the use value of gecekondu as a lived space, after 1980, policies were implemented in order to transform the *gecekondu* regions into rent areas and attention is drawn to the exchange value of *gecekondu* (Şengül, 2001b: 90).

Housing became one of the investment areas of big capital groups from the end of the 1980s. The new suburban settlements for mass housing were established in western and south-western regions of the city. Therefore, the dual organisation of housing between *gecekondu* settlements that were located on periphery areas of Ankara and the apartments that were established in planned areas, changed noticeably since the 1980s. Suburban settlement began to be included in housing composition of the city.

The suburban residential areas are designed particularly for meeting the demand of the new middle class for new spaces. The housing *sites* in suburbs are closed and secure spaces and are removed from an unpredictable and complex public space. In this respect, it can be asserted that the gated communities as a new type of housing produce new spatial practices. Firstly, the new type of housing changes the understanding of residence. The house in the suburban area became one of the important indicators of middle class' status and lifestyle. In this

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context, the concepts such as home and family are commoditized. Secondly, the 'distance and accessibility' (Harvey, 1997: 250) problem of suburbs requires private car ownership and excludes particularly those without private cars.

In the context of spatial organisation of the city, the new form of housing has a close relation with the transportation systems. Based on the argumentation that a mutually determining relationship has been established between the forms of land utilization and the facilities of transportation (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 59), the interaction between constructions of suburban settlements and the increase of private car ownership becomes apparent. Furthermore, construction of Ankaray as a light railway system was completed in 1996 and it linked AŞTİ (Ankara Intercity Bus Terminal) with *Dikimevi*. Moreover, metro rail system's construction was completed in 1997 and it began to be run between Kızılay and *Batıkent*, the rapidly growing suburb on west of the city.

As one of the spatial representations of the new forms of capital investment, the business and shopping centres such as *Atakule*, *Karum*, *Beğendik*, were built in Ankara at the end of 1980s and early 1990s on the south of the city as developing regions.

The most observable characteristic of 1990s is that the nationalist and conservative groups taking over power in municipalities in the local elections of 1994. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has been governed, for two terms, by the same mayor, who represents conservative and pro-Islamist views. The period is the peak of the transformation of the urban space of Ankara into profitable rent areas for capital accumulation in the hands of the municipality.

Municipality invests mainly in the areas of transportation, commercial spaces and their related infrastructure in the urban space of Ankara, because of the importance of these domains for the reconstruction of capital. Firstly, the investments include the construction of transportation system and the related infrastructure on the peripheries of the city. The constructions were initiated

since the 2003 to extend metro line to suburban settlements such as *Çayyolu,
Eryaman* and *Sincan*. Additionally, the infrastructural facilities such as
boulevards, avenues and recreational areas are constructed in order to produce
new rent areas, such as *Incek* on peripheries of the city. The investments in the
transportation system and related infrastructure gives rise to a rise in the land
value of the areas on peripheries of the city. Secondly, the investments contain
constructions of infrastructure based on the transportation policy that gives the
priority to vehicular traffic in the inner city. Measures such as increasing
private entrepreneurship in public transportation, constructing underpasses for
vehicles and overpasses for pedestrians, neglecting the pedestrian areas, were
taken.

These measures of municipality result in insufficient and poor quality public
transportation and encourage the private car ownership. Bridges and
underpasses for vehicles are 'dominated spaces' that are spaces transformed and
mediated by technology and by practices (Lefebvre, 1991: 165). The
transportation policy of municipality that gives the priority to vehicular traffic
neglected pedestrians in the city by means of unavailability of overpasses,
insufficiency of pedestrian areas, construction activities on pavements etc.

The operations of municipality had a substantial impact on spatial
representations of the Ulus, Sıhhıye and Kızılay Squares as centres of the city
and Atatürk Boulevard, and spatial practices of the political and social city life.
Atatürk Boulevard and squares as perceived spaces constitute the urban central
characteristic of the modern city in Ankara. The spatial representations of
Atatürk Boulevard are deteriorated by the interferences such as underpasses,
bridges, overpasses and intersections for vehicular traffic. Moreover, the
Boulevard and its squares as lived spaces produce political, social and cultural
practices.

Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project was planned by the municipality as one
of the urban transformation projects. Ulus as a historical city centre is identified
as blight zone in the project and its historical cultural and social values are

ignored. It is intended to increase the land value rather than renovation of Ulus historical city centre.

Sıhhıye includes public institutions such as institutions of health, education, art and culture, the business and residential areas, the intersection of bus and train transportation and Hall of Justice and therefore contains significant pedestrian mobility. Nevertheless, Sıhhıye turned into a crowded, neglected, and polluted region with a lot of traffic and bus stops and etc.

Kızılay as a business and commercial space has a significant vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Kızılay Square that was the public space, which served as the scene for the political demonstrations and social meetings until 1980, became a controlled space for vehicular traffic and for celebrations such as gatherings to celebrate a victory of Turkish Basketball Team or New Year and etc. It can be asserted that the political demonstrations in 1960s and 1970s in Kızılay Square were replaced after the 1980 by the celebrations that were planned by the municipality or the government.

As a consequence, the city centre consists of squares transformed from a public space into a transitional area for vehicles and, the Boulevard is transformed into a highway. As Lefebvre (1991: 313) states, as a result it became a space that is defined "in terms of the perception of an *abstract subject*, such as the driver of a motor vehicle"; the driver perceives only his route that has been materialized, and mechanized and therefore space appears only in its reduced forms.

Besides to its operations in the city centre, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality aimed to implement its pro-Islamist, populist views by locating religious symbols and practices on urban public spaces such as changes on the city emblem of Ankara (Hittite Sun Disk) and on the names of boulevards, avenues and many streets. It can be considered as attempts to remove the collective memory of urban space of Ankara.

The significance of *Kocatepe* Mosque lies in its being an important space of religious practices in the public space of Ankara. It is the political representation of the unity, demonstrated particularly in religious holidays and at important funerals, among the Islamists. Also in Kızılay, the public space is occupied by religious practices of the municipality, such as the establishment of Ramadan tents and the performance of Friday *namaz* in the hall of Kızılay metro station and use of monitors in metro wagons and stations as propaganda tools.

Shopping centres[85] as the new spaces for capital investment are built outside of the city, particularly on suburban settlements and on urban arteries after second half of 1990s. The shopping mall can be regarded the spatial organisation of the new consumption styles that produced a new mode of shopping activity. The shopping mall is designed as a closed and secure space that consists of social activities such as cafés, restaurants and cinemas, and provides a comfortable environment in terms of cleanness and order.

Although the shopping centres are regarded as new public spaces, the malls have standardized, monotonous and homogenised spaces (Lefebvre, 1991: 33) in contrast to public space, which contain various activities, differences and unpredictable spatial practices. The shopping mall is the conceived space as a 'representation of space' and is detached from its context of urban space, is sectioned and reduced to homogeneity (Lefebvre, 1976: 83).

Shopping centre as the space of new consumption style produces new spatial practices. The suburban women are more active and more visible than men in these consumption environments and the new consumption style also comprise recreation. Therefore, it can be argued that the characteristics of public life are simulated by private spaces.

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[85] *Galleria* (1995) in *Ümitköy-Çayyolu* region, *Bilkent* Shopping Centre (1998), *CarrefourSA (2001) in Batıkent, Armada* Shopping Mall (2002) in *Söğütözü* on Eskişehir Road, *Arcadium* (2003) in Çayyolu, *Optimum* Outlet Centre (2004) in Eryaman and *Ankamall* (2006) on Konya Road have been constructed outside of Ankara city centre.

Consequently, the developing countries adapt a neoliberal export oriented approach and abandon the state-led national development policies to meet the requirements of capital (Bergeron 2001: 987). Investment of new forms of capital in Turkey produces its own spatial differences. In this context, since Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation of 'abstract space' that is a space of capitalism, indicates differences in the conceptualisation of urban space of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, as a developing country. Therefore, the contractions (Lefebvre, 1991: 352-400) that results from the tendencies of abstract space towards homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy, produce differences in the analysis of the production process of urban space of Ankara in this thesis.

The first contradiction between quantity and quality is that abstract space is quantifiable not only as geometrical space but also as social space, "it is subject to quantitative manipulations" (Lefebvre, 1991: 352). The second contradiction is between use value and exchange value. "It is the political use of space, however, that does the most to reinstate use value; it does this in terms of resources, spatial situations, and strategies" (Lefebvre, 1991: 356). Third contradiction is between the conceived space on a global scale and its fragmentation by a multiplicity of processes: "Under its homogeneous aspect, space abolishes the distinctions and differences. … Simultaneously, this same space is fragmented and fractured, in accordance with the demands of the division of labour." (Lefebvre, 1991: 355).

These contradictions are observed and analysed in observational domains of the thesis that are public buildings and monuments, housing, transportation and commercial spaces. This analysis is made at conceptual level in relation with factual information in the absence of an empirical research.

Ankara has been a spatial organisation which the tendencies towards homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchy have been more noticeable after 1980s. The centralisation of state power is seen in spatial organisation of public buildings. Therefore the tendency of decentralisation of administrative and

public buildings from city centre into Eskişehir road means that the state power fragmented after 1980s. The administrative and public buildings such as ministries, directories, research, educational and health institutions have been increased in the form of campuses.

The spatial organisation of housing has fragmented. The new suburban settlements are constructed in peripheries of the city. The residential areas are homogenised within the hierarchy of class characteristics. Furthermore, the characteristics of the concepts of home and family are transformed from use value to exchange value. The concepts are identified as important characteristics of status and life style. They are commoditized as 'ideal home' and were associated with consumption.

The commoditisation of home and family related to consumption creates both tendency and encouragement of private car ownership. The public transportation and pedestrian areas are neglected on behalf of vehicular traffic.

The shopping centres are regarded as new public spaces and produce a new understanding of shopping activity. That means the *qualitative* aspect of space "re-emerges when the 'spaces of consumption' become the 'consumption of space'" (Lefebvre, 1991: 352).

Consequently, space is both a product and an instrument of social relations. Thereby, every mode of production produces its own spaces and new spaces call for new relations. The spatial configuration is firmly related political, economic and ideological constructions of social relations. Actually, the conceptualisation and analysis of space is necessary referring the production process of space in developing countries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Picture 1 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye Meydanı* and *Atatürk Heykeli*
(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 2 *Kızılay Meydanı* and *Kızılay* Association Building
(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 3 *Güvenpark* and *Güvenlik Anıtı*
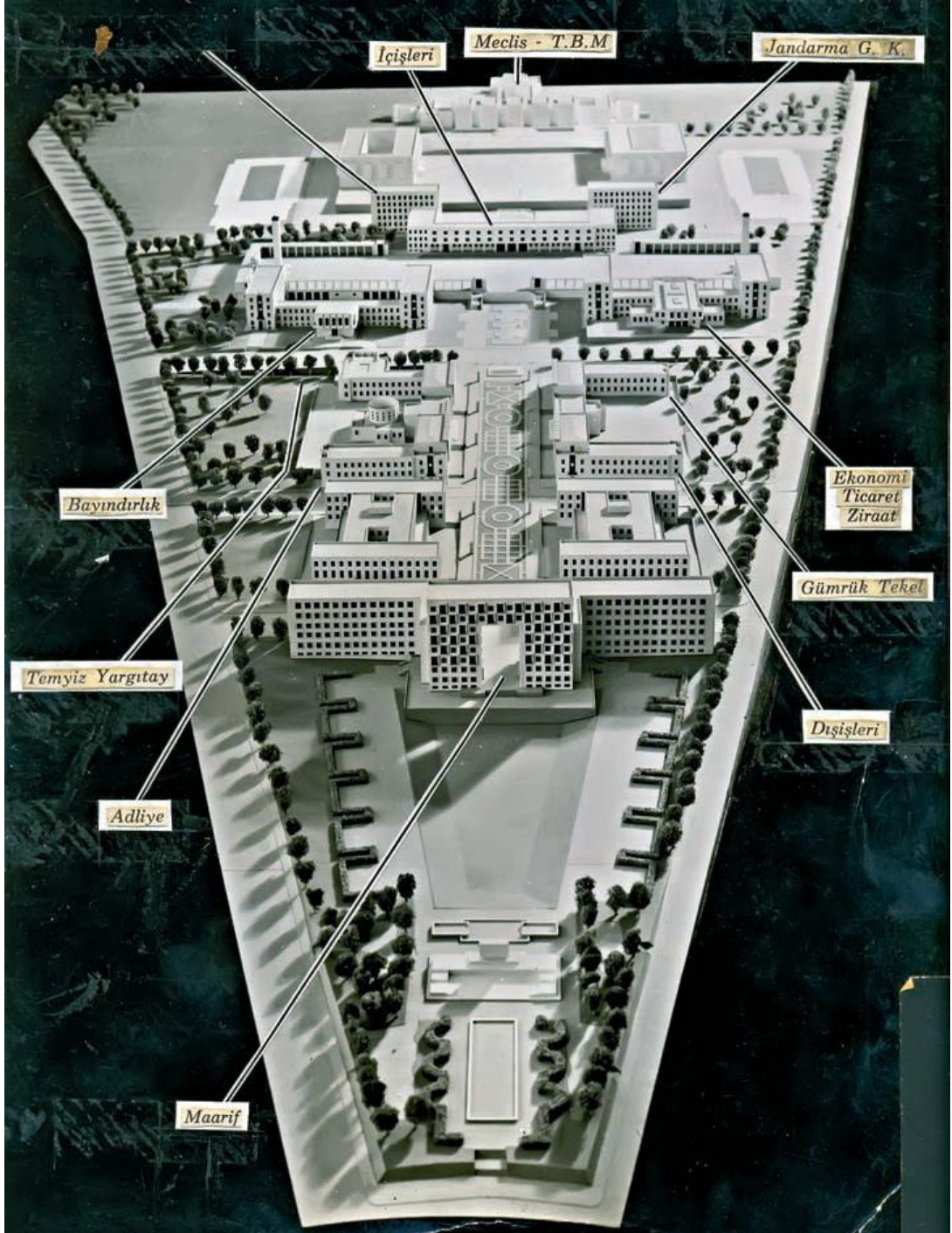(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 4 Ulus Office Building and *Atatürk Heykeli*
(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 5 Administrative District (*Vekaletler Mahallesi*)

(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 6 *Emek* Office Building

(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

Picture 7 New Building of *Kızılay* Associaiton

(Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality)

APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY

Mekân kavramı, toplumsal ilişkilerin hem bir ürünü hem de bir aracıdır. Mekânsal bir yapılanmayı gerektiren toplumsal bir kuruluş, mekânın üretim sürecini içermektedir. Bu nedenle mekân, bir toplumun çözümlenmesinde temel ve önemli bir kavram olmaktadır. Bu tezin temel savı, bir toplumu anlamak için mekânın üretim sürecinin çözümlenmesinin gerekli olduğudur.

Mekân kavramı hakkındaki tartışmalar, 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren coğrafyacıların, toplumbilimlerin modernist bakış açısına dayalı varsayımlarını sorgulamalarıyla başlamıştır. Toplumsal kuram, bir toplumun çözümlenmesinde, zamanı temel almış ve toplumsal değişim üzerinde odaklanmıştır. Bu yaklaşım kapsamında, toplumlar için bir evrim modeli amaçlanmış ve tarih, ardışık bir düzene sahip olan, düz çizgisel bir süreç olarak kavramlaştırılmıştır. Tarihin gelişim çizgisi içinde evrensel yasalara ulaşmayı amaçlayan toplumbilimleri, toplumun homojen olduğunu varsaymışlar ve farklılıkları geçici ilişkiler olarak düşünerek gözardı etmişlerdir.

Bu tarihsel bakış açısı, mekân tartışmaları açısından önem taşımaktadır. Modernist toplum bilimlerinin önemsemediği farklılıklar, coğrafya disiplininin ilgi alanıdır. Coğrafya, belli bir mekânı diğerlerinden farklı kılan ilişkileri incelemektedir. Bu nedenle, tarihselci bakış açısı, evrimsel ve ardışık bir toplum gelişimine odaklanmış, mekânsal bakış açısı ise toplumdaki farklılıkların görülmesini sağlayan eşzamanlılık üzerinde durmuştur.

Bununla birlikte, coğrafyacılar bir toplumun çözümlenmesinde mekân ve zaman kavramlaştırmasına eşit derecede önem veren bir bakış açısı geliştirmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Bu açıdan coğrafyacıların geliştirdikleri, mekânı ön plana çıkaran yaklaşımlar (Massey, 1984a; Harvey, 1982, 1985b; Sayer, 1985, 1992) ve coğrafya ile ilgilenen toplumbilimcilerin çalışmaları (Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 1985; Saunders, 1985), mekân ve toplumsal kuram arasındaki ilişkinin kurulmasında önemli katkılar sağlamıştır.

'Yeni coğrafya', mekân ve toplum arasında kurulan ilişkide, mekânın nasıl bir fark yarattığını vurgulayarak, mekânsal farklılıkları kavramsallaştırmayı amaçlayan bir yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşım doğrultusunda, mekânsal farklılaşmanın nasıl çözümleneceği ve hangi mekânsal biçimin seçileceği soruları gündeme gelmiştir. Yeni coğrafya oluşumu içindeki iki yaklaşım, tarihsel coğrafi materyalizm ve realist coğrafya, bu konuda farklı katkılarda bulunmuşlardır.

Tarihsel coğrafi materyalizm yaklaşımı kuramcısı David Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985b), mekân kavramını kapitalist sermaye birikimin hareketleri ve krizleri kapsamında geliştirmiştir. Mekânsal örgütlenme, kapitalizmin işleyişi açısından önemli bir konuma sahiptir ve bu nedenle mekânın çözümlenmesi, günümüz kapitalizminin çözümlenmesinde temel bir unsur olmaktadır. Harvey'nin bu savı önemini korumakla birlikte, kapitalizmin kendi içindeki düzenleyici hareketlerine bağlı kaldığı için ekonomik indirgemeci bir yaklaşım olarak eleştirilmektedir (Gottdiener, 1993). Tarihsel coğrafi materyalizmde Harvey'nin yaklaşımının yüksek soyutlama seviyesine karşılık realist coğrafya somut çalışmaya dikkat çekmektedir.

Realist coğrafya yaklaşımında, Doreen Massey (1978, 1984a, 1985), mekânsal örgütlenme biçiminin, genel toplumsal süreçler üzerinde engelleyici veya kolaylaştırıcı rol oynadığını ve bu nedenle mekânın toplumsal ilişkiler üzerinde fark yarattığını belirtmiştir. Mekân toplumsal bir inşadır fakat toplumsal ilişkiler mekân üzerinde inşa edilirler. Toplumsal süreçler, mekânsal mesafe, hareket ve farklılıklar ile yeniden üretilirler. Bu nedenle, mekân sadece toplumsal

süreçlerin bir sonucu değil, bu süreçlerin ve toplumu açıklamanın bir parçasıdır. Mekânsal farklılaşmanın kavranması ve toplumsal mekanizmalar ile mekânsal olumsallıklar arasındaki etkileşimin incelenmesi açısından somut çalışma önem taşımaktadır (Massey, 1985; Sayer, 1985; Urry, 1981; 1985).

Bu tezde, tarihsel coğrafi materyalizm ve realist coğrafya yaklaşımları, kapitalizmin ve krizlerinin çözümlenmesinde mekânın önemi ile mekânın toplumsal süreçler üzerinde oynadığı rol açısından ele alınmıştır.

Kapitalist mekânın üretim süreci, Marksist kentsel mekân kuramları kapsamında incelenmiştir. Marx ve Engels, kapitalist devlet ve sınıf mücadelesi kuramında kenti, analiz birimi olarak görmemelerine rağmen, feodalizmden kapitalizme geçiş bağlamında tarihsel olarak önemli bir çözümleme nesnesi olarak ele almışlardır. Kentleşmenin önemi ve farklı üretim biçimlerinin dönüşümünü göz önüne alarak, kır ve kent arasındaki çelişki ile kapitalizmin gelişimde kentin rolünü incelemişlerdir. 1845 yılında yayımlanan 'İşçi Sınıfının Durumu' isimli çalışmasında Engels (1987), sınıf oluşum sürecinde kentin mekânsal özelliklerine dikkat çekmiş ve kentte toplumsal gruplar arasındaki mekânsal ayrımın sınıfsal nitelik taşıdığını belirtmiştir. Engels'in kent çözümlemesi üzerine bu önemli katkısına rağmen, mekânın analiz birimi olarak ele alınması 1960'ların son yıllarına rastlamaktadır. Bu dönemde, Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey ve Manuel Castells, kentsel mekân çalışmaları ile Marksist kent kuramına ve mekân çözümlemesine katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

Lefebvre (1976), üretim ilişkilerinin yeniden üretimi ve mekân arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemiş ve kapitalizmin kendi iç çelişkilerine rağmen nasıl ayakta kaldığını 'çevrim modeli' ile açıklamıştır. 'Birinci çevrim' olan endüstriyel üretimde ortaya çıkan sermaye birikimi krizi, sermayenin, 'ikinci çevrim' olan kentsel mekâna aktarılmasıyla çözülmüştür. Başka bir deyişle, kapitalizm, mekânı işgal ederek ve üreterek, kendi iç çelişkilerinin üstesinden gelmiştir.

Lefebvre'e (1991) göre, mekân toplumsal bir üründür ve her üretim biçimi kendi mekânını üretmektedir. Böylece, mekânın üretim sürecinde, yaratılan yeni

mekânlar aynı zamanda yeni toplumsal ilişkiler oluşturmaktadır. Kapitalizm, mekân üretiminde, kendi temsillerini yapılı bir çevre aracılığıyla inşa etmektedir ve mekânsal pratikler bu temsiller ile toplumsal ilişkiler arasındaki etkileşim sonucunda oluşmaktadır. Lefebvre (1991) kent planlaması ve şehirciliğin, kapitalizmin stratejik araçları olduğunu belirtmektedir.

Lefebvre'in mekân kavramsallaştırması Harvey ve Massey'in yaklaşımlarını kapsayıcı bir nitelik taşımaktadır. Lefebvre'in (1976) 'çevrim modeli', Harvey'nin sermaye birikiminin hareket ve krizleri kuramına temel oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca, Massey'in toplumsal mekanizmalar ve mekânsal olumsallıklar arasında oluşan etkileşim, Lefebvre'in (1991) mekânın üretim sürecinde, yeni mekânların, yeni toplumsal ilişkiler oluşturması savı ile açıklanmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte, Castells (1977) kentin, işgücünün yeniden üretiminin mekânsal birimi olduğunu ve kentsel problemlerin, işgücünün yeniden üretimi için gerekli olan eğitim, sağlık, konut gibi toplu tüketim süreçleriyle ilgili olduğunu belirtmiştir. Böylece Castells ilgili alanını, mekânın nasıl üretildiğinin açıklanmasından, kentsel problemlerin nasıl üretildiği konusuna kaydırmıştır (Gottdiener, 1993). Lefebvre (1991) ise mekânın, üretim ilişkilerini ve yeniden üretimin toplumsal ilişkilerini içerdiğini belirtmiştir.

Bu nedenle, Marksist kentsel mekân kuramları kapsamında, kapitalist mekânın üretim sürecini çözümlemeyi amaçlayan bu tez, Lefebvre'in kentsel mekân kuramına ağırlıklı olarak yer vermiş ve 'mekânın üretimi' kavramlaştırmasını temel almıştır.

Bir mekân çalışmasında Lefebvre'e göre (1991) kent, ancak kendi tarihsel dönemi dikkate alınarak incelendiğinde anlaşılabilir. Ayrıca, mekân çalışması, diyalektik mekân düzeylerini gösteren 'kavramsal üçlü' aracılığıyla temsillerin çözümlenmesini gerektirmektedir.

Bu kavramsal üçlüden ilki olan 'mekânsal pratikler', algılanan mekânlardır ve toplumsal oluşumların mekânsal niteliklerini içermektedir; banliyö, iletişim ve ulaşım sistemleri, otoyollar gibi. İkincisi olan 'mekânın temsilleri', tasarlanan mekânlardır ve mekânın, bilim insanları tarafından bilgi ve iktidar aracılığıyla kavramsallaştırmasıdır; haritalar, yasak bölgeler, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri gibi. Üçüncü 'temsili mekânlar' ise yaşanan mekânlardır ve kentte yaşayanların toplumsal ilişkilerini içermektedir; ev, cami, sokak, meydan, pazaryeri gibi.

Mekânın üretimi bir süreç olduğu için, Lefebvre (1991) mekânın tarihinin, mekânın etkileşimlerinin, bozulmalarının, yer değiştirmelerinin ve bağlantılarının tarihi olarak çalışılması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Ayrıca, mekân ve üretim biçimi arasındaki ilişkiyi göz önünde tutarak, farklı dönemlere göre toplumların kendi mekânlarını nasıl ürettiklerini incelemiştir.

'Mutlak mekân', dini ve siyasi nitelikteki kapitalizm öncesi ilişkileri taşıyan toplumlar olarak tanımlanmaktadır ve tasarlanan mekândan daha çok algılanan ve yaşanan mekânla ilişkilidir. Kapitalist üretim biçimi, kendi üretim ve yeniden üretim mekânlarını yaratmak için mutlak mekânı, 'soyut mekân'a dönüştürmektedir. Soyut mekânda, tasarlanan mekân yaşanan mekâna fazla yer tanımamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, Ankara'nın kentsel mekân üretim süreci, Lefebvre'in kavramsal üçlüsü olan 'mekânsal pratikler', 'mekânın temsilleri' ve 'temsili mekânlar' kavramları aracılığıyla Atatürk Bulvarı ile Ulus, Sıhhıye ve Kızılay meydanları kapsamında çözümlenmiştir. Bu çerçevede mekânsal temsiller ve pratikler, kamu binaları ve anıtlar, konut, ulaşım ve ticari mekân alanlarında incelenmiştir. Ankara'nın kentsel mekân üretim sürecinin çözümlenmesinde, mekân tarihi, Lefebvre'in (1991) kavramsallaştırmasına dayanılarak, mekânın biçimlerinin ve temsillerinin tarihi olarak ele alınmış ve kentsel mekân üretimi, tarihsel dönemlere göre incelenmiştir. Bu çözümlemede, mekân ve toplum arasındaki diyalektik ilişkiyi anlamak için, Lefebvre'in kavramsal üçlüsü, metodolojik bakış açısı olarak kullanılmıştır.

Bulvar ve meydanlar, analiz birimleri olarak belirlenmiştir. Çünkü kamusal alanlar olarak modern kenti oluşturan önemli ve belirleyici ögelerdendir. Ayrıca, ulus devletin mekânsal temsillerini taşıdıkları için, Cumhuriyet tarihinin bir dönemleştirmesinin yapılmasını kolaylaştırmaktadırlar. Bulvar ve meydanların mekânsal üretim süreci, aynı zamanda Ankara'nın tarihsel gelişimini göstermektedir. Belirlenen alanlar, Lefebvre'in kavramsal üçlüsünü, mekânsal temsilleri ve pratikleri gözlemlememizi mümkün kılmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu alanlar birbirleriyle ilişkili olmaları nedeniyle seçilmişlerdir.

Öncelikle bu alanlarda, mekânın temsillerine bakılmış, daha sonra mekânsal pratikler incelenmiştir. Aynı zamanda, alanlar arası ilişkiler de gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, büyük ölçüde dokümanter-tarihsel verilere dayanan keşfedici araştırma biçimi, bulvar ve meydanlar üzerinde üretilen temsiller ve pratikleri çözümlemek amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Dokümanlar, Ankara'nın kentsel mekânlarının zaman ve mekân kurguları hakkındaki kitap, makale ve yazıları içermektedir. Ayrıca Ankara'nın farklı tarihsel dönemlerini gösteren fotoğraflar ve şehir haritaları kullanılmıştır.

Ulus devletin ve ulusal kimliğin bir temsili olarak Ankara'nın başkent seçilmesi önemli bir karardır. Ankara'nın siyasi ve coğrafi öneminin yanı sıra, kentin tarihi, toplumsal ve kültürel özellikleri başkent seçilmesinde etkili olmuştur. Cumhuriyet rejimi Ankara'yı modern bir başkent olarak inşa etmeyi amaçlamıştır ve bu inşa sürecinde, kentin yapılı çevresi kent planlaması ve mimari ile kurulmuştur.

Ankara'nın başkent seçilmesinin ve Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra kentte yönetim ve kamu binalarının inşasına öncelik verilmiş ve 'yaşanan mekânlar' olan kamusal alanların kurulması amaçlanmıştır. Bu dönemde kentin merkezi olan Ulus'ta inşa edilen binalar, Birinci Ulusal Mimari biçiminin özelliklerini taşımaktadırlar. Bunula birlikte, Ulus Meydanı, Cumhuriyet rejiminin mekânsal temsili olarak tasarlanmış, Ulus Atatürk Heykeli ise meydanla birlikte

aidiyeti ve ulusal birliği temsil eden bir 'anıtsal mekân' oluşturmuştur (Lefebvre, 1991). Ayrıca meydan, ulusal törenler gibi kültürel ve toplumsal pratiklerin sergilendiği bir alan haline gelmiştir.

1928 yılında kabul edilen Jansen Planı'nın önemli özelliklerinden biri meydan ve cadde gibi kamusal alanların tasarlanması, diğeri ise kentin bütünlüğü içinde birbirleriyle bağlantılı, işlevsel bölümlerin planlanmasıdır. Modern bir kentin, yapılı çevrenin önemli bir özelliğini temsil eden Atatürk Bulvarı, kentin ana eksenini oluşmuştur. Bulvar, kentin merkezi Ulus'tan başlar ve kentin güneyine doğru ilerleyerek Çankaya Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü'nde son bulur.

Jansen Planı kapsamında, Ulus ve Kızılay arasında bulunan Sıhhıye, kamusal bir alan olarak tasarlanmış; sağlık, eğitim, kültür ve sanat kurumları inşa edilmiştir. Sıhhıye, modern yaşam biçimini yansıtan sergiler, konserler, tiyatro oyunları, eğitim ve kültür programları gibi toplumsal ve kültürel pratiklerin yaşandığı bir mekân olmuştur.

Devletçi politikaların uygulanmaya başlandığı 1930'lu yıllarda, Osmanlı-İslami unsurları içeren Birinci Ulusal Mimari Akımı terk edilerek yerine, işlevsel ve rasyonel ilkelere dayanan ve tasarım ile üretimde tasarruf sağlayan Modern Mimari Biçim benimsenmiştir. Bu dönemde gelişmeye başlayan ve Modern Mimari'nin etkilerinin görüldüğü Kızılay ve çevresi, Güvenpark, Güvenlik Anıtı, Vekaletler Mahallesi ve askeri bölge ile birlikte, 'anıtsal mekân' olarak merkezi otoriteyi temsil etmişlerdir. Ayrıca, Kızılay Parkı ve havuzbaşı, modern yaşam biçiminin mekânsal pratiklerinin yaşandığı kamusal bir mekân haline gelmiştir.

Ankara'nın başkent olmasıyla birlikte hızla artan nüfusu, konut sorunuyla karşılaşmıştır. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde, konut sunumu, Ankara'ya gelen asker ve bürokratlardan oluşan nüfusa yönelik olarak planlanmıştır. 1927 yılında 'vakıf evleri', belediye tarafından yaptırılan Yenişehir villaları ve 1940'lı yıllarda inşa edilen 'Saracoğlu Mahallesi', devlet memurlarının konut ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere kurulmuşlardır.

Bu dönemde, Ulus'taki apartmanlar ve Yenişehir'deki villalar arasında oluşan ikili konut yapısı aynı zamanda farklı yaşam biçimlerini de temsil etmektedirler. Yenişehir'deki çay partileri, balolar modern yaşam biçimini yansıtırken, Ulus'ta geleneksel yaşam biçimi sürdürülmektedir.

Dönemin ulaşım politikası olarak öncelik, demiryolu yapımına verilmiştir. Kent içi ulaşımı otobüs, minibüs ve elektrikli tramvaylar ile sağlanmakta ve cadde, bulvar gibi ulaşım altyapı çalışmaları sürmektedir. Ayrıca, 1930'lu yıllarda özel otomobil kent yaşamına girmiştir.

1940'lı yıllarda Yenişehir'de görülmeye başlayan siyasi iktidar ve yeni yaşam biçimi ve Vekaletler Mahallesi'nin kurulmasının yanında Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi projesi ile Kızılay ön plana çıkarken, Ulus'un yönetim merkezi olma niteliği zayıflatmıştır.

1950 yılında Demokrat Parti'nin iktidara gelmesi ile çok partili bir dönem başlamış ve liberal ekonomi politikaları benimsenmiştir. Tarımda makineleşmeyi destekleyen politikalar sonucunda kırda ortaya çıkan ihtiyaç fazlası emek, büyük kentlere yoğun göçlere neden olmuştur. Nüfusun konut sorunu ile ortaya çıkan gecekondular hızla yaygınlaşmıştır. Konut sorununa çözüm olarak düşünülen 'kat mülkiyeti'nin kurumlaşması ve bununla ilgili ticari bir gelişme olan 'yapsatçılık' modelinin ortaya çıkması, apartmanlaşmaya ve rant spekülasyonuna yol açmıştır. 'Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı' ise 1968 yılında kabul edilmiş ve Atatürk Bulvarı ile bağlı olduğu caddelerde çok katlı bina yapımına izin verilmiştir.

Böylece, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde, Ulus ve Yenişehir arasında görülen ikili konut yapısı, planlı bölgelerde yapılan apartmanlar ile kentin çevresinde oluşan gecekondular arasında görülmeye başlanmıştır. 1960'lı yıllarda çıkan af yasaları ile 'gecekondu'nun niteliği değişmiş, ticari bir yatırım aracı haline gelmiştir.

Ulaşım ve kentin örgütlenmesi arasındaki ilişki (Tekeli ve Okyay, 1981), bu dönemde gecekondu yerleşimleri ve dolmuşun eşzamanlı olarak ortaya çıkması ile görülmektedir. Kentin planlı yerleşim alanlarına belediye tarafından ulaşım hizmeti verilirken, gecekondu bölgelerinin ulaşımı özel girişimciliğin bir ürünü olan dolmuşlarla karşılanmıştır.

Ulus Meydanı'nda inşa edilen Ulus İşhanı ve Kızılay Meydanı'nda yapılan Emek İşhanı, ticari faaliyetleri hızlandırmış ve meydanların anıtsal mekân niteliğini kaybetmelerine neden olmuşlardır. Bu yüksek binalar, meydanlarda bulanan anıtları, gölgede bırakarak yeni bir 'anıtsallık' oluşturmuşlardır (Lefebvre, 1991).

Bununla birlikte, Kızılay Meydanı 1960 ve 1970'li yıllarda işçi ve öğrenci protestoları ve yürüyüşlerine sahne olmuştur. Bu siyasi gösterileri kontrol etmek, mekânın örgütlenmesi üzerinde hakimiyet kurmayı gerektirmiştir (Harvey, 1997). Bu nedenle, Kızılay Meydanı'nın mekânsal örgütlenmesine yapılan müdahaleler (yolun genişletilmesi, otobüs ve dolmuş duraklarının Güvenpark içine yerleştirilmesi gibi) sonucunda bölgedeki toplumsal ve kültürel etkinliklerin yerini yaya ve taşıt trafiği almıştır.

12 Eylül 1980 Askeri Darbesi, 1970'lerin son yıllarında ortaya çıkan ekonomik krize bir cevap olarak değerlendirilmiştir (Boratav, 2000). Bu dönemde, dünya sermaye birikim modelinin krizi, Türkiye gibi azgelişmiş ülkelerde neoliberal ekonomi politikalarının uygulanmasını zorunlu kılmıştır.

1980'li yıllarda, yaşanan sermaye birikimi krizi sonucunda neoliberal politikaların benimsenmesi, Lefebvre'in (1976) kapitalizmin kendi iç çelişkilerinin üstesinden nasıl geldiğini açıklayan 'çevrim modeli' için bir zemin sunmaktadır. Ayrıca, Harvey (1985a), sermayenin bu hareketini 'sermayenin kentleşmesi' olarak tanımladığı 'ikinci çevrim' kavramsallaştırması ile açıklamıştır.

Lefebvre ve Harvey'nin savları doğrultusunda, Türkiye'de 1980'lerden itibaren önemli bir miktarda sermaye, 'birinci çevrim' olan üretim alanından çekilerek, kentsel mekân, tüketim alanları ve finans piyasalarını içeren 'ikinci çevrim'e aktarılmıştır (Doğan, 2002; Şengül, 2001b).

Belediye yönetim sistemi 1984 yılında kabul edilen Büyükşehir Belediye Kararnamesi ile değişmiştir. Bu kararname ile kent imar planları yapımında ve onayında merkezi denetim azalırken, belediyelerin yetkisi ve kaynakları artırılmıştır. Böylece belediyeler, sermayenin talepleri doğrultusunda kentsel rant alanları yaratmak amacıyla, büyük şehirlerde altyapı, toplu konut, raylı ulaşım sistemleri gibi projelere yatırım yapmaya başlamışlardır.

Atatürk Bulvarı trafik yoğunluğu ile tanımlanırken, kamusal mekânlar olan Ulus, Sıhhıye ve Kızılay meydanlarının mekânsal niteliği değişmiş, taşıt ve yaya trafiğinin kavşak noktasına dönüşmüşlerdir.

Yapımına 1992 yılında başlanan Metro toplutaşıma sistemi, 1996 yılından itibaren Kızılay ile alt ve orta gelir grupların yoğunlaştığı bir banliyö olan Batıkent arasında hizmet vermeye başlamış, Ankaray hafif raylı sistemi ise Kızılay ve Ankara Otobüs Terminali arasında çalışmaktadır. Üst ve üst-orta gelir gruplarının yaşadıkları banliyö bölgelerinde ise kent merkezine olan uzaklık sorununun çözümü olarak benimsenen özel araba sahipliğinde artış görülmektedir.

1980'lerin sonlarından itibaren kent merkezlerinde inşa edilen alışveriş merkezleri, 1990'ların ikinci yarısından sonra, banliyö yerleşimlerinin kent dışında kurulmasıyla birlikte, kent dışında ve çevre yolları üzerinde inşa edilmeye başlanmışlardır.

1994 belediye seçimlerini kazanan muhafazakâr ve neoliberal gruplar ile büyük kentlerin mekânsal örgütlenmelerinde önemli değişimlerin görüldüğü bir dönem başlamıştır. Bu dönemde, Ankara'nın kentsel mekânları, hızla rant alanlarına dönüştürülmektedir.

Belediyenin kent merkezi ve kent çevresinde yaptığı yatırımlar ulaşım sistemi ve altyapı çalışmaları üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Metro hattının çevre yollarda kurulan Eryaman, Sincan ve Çayyolu gibi banliyö yerleşim alanlarına ulaşım amacıyla altyapı çalışmaları devam etmektedir. Ayrıca kent dışında bulvar, cadde, eğlence alanları inşa edilmektedir. Kent merkezinde ise taşıt trafiğine öncelik veren bir ulaşım politikası benimsenmiş, bu politika doğrultusunda yapılan uygulamalar kent yaşamını olumsuz şekilde etkileyen sonuçlar ortaya çıkarmıştır. Toplu taşımacılıkta özel girişimcilik artmış, taşıtlar için yapılan altgeçitler ile yayalar için kurulan üstgeçitler kentin dokusunu bozmuştur. Bu uygulamalar özel araba sahipliğini teşvik etmiş, trafik sorununa ve yaya alanlarının azalmasına yol açmıştır. Belediyenin bu uygulamaları, Ulus, Sıhhıye ve Kızılay meydanları ile Atatürk Bulvarı'nın kamusal alan niteliklerinin kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır.

Belediye, kentsel dönüşüm projesi olarak Ulus tarihi kent merkezini dönüştürmeyi planlamaktadır. Bu projede, 'çöküntü bölgesi' olarak tanımlanan Ulus'un tarihi, toplumsal ve kültürel değerleri gözardı edilmektedir.

Sıhhıye, eğitim, sağlık, kültür ve sanat, iş ve yerleşim alanlarının bulunduğu bir bölgedir. Fakat bugünkü durumuna bakıldığında Sıhhıye'nin kalabalık, otobüs durakları ve banliyö tren istasyonun taşıdığı trafik ile kuşatılmış ve çevre bakımı ve temizliği ihmal edilmiş bir mekân haline geldiği görülmektedir.

Binalarla işgal edilen Kızılay, konut alanlarını kaybederken, iş ve ticaret mekânı haline gelmiştir. 1980 yılına kadar siyasi ve toplumsal gösterilerin yapıldığı kamusal alan olan Kızılay Meydanı, 1980 sonrasında denetim altına alınmış, taşıt trafiğinin bir kavşağı haline gelmesinin yanı sıra, belediyenin düzenlediği yeni yıl ve basketbol takımının karşılanması gibi kutlamaların mekânı olmuştur.

Üstgeçit, altgeçit, kavşak inşaları ve yaya hareketliliğini gözardı eden uygulamalarla, Bulvar ve meydanlar tahrip edilmiş, kentsel yaşamın kalitesi düşmüştür. Bulvar ve meydanlarıyla kamusal bir alan olan kent merkezi, taşıtlar

için yapılan düzenlemelerle, bir geçiş bölgesine dönüşmüş, Atatürk Bulvarı ise bir otoban haline gelmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, Ankara'nın kentsel mekân örgütlenmesi, tarihsel dönemlere göre farklı mekânsal temsiller ve pratikler sergilemiştir. Tasarlanan yeni mekânların toplumsal ve kültürel pratikler yaratmasıyla devam eden Ankara'nın kentsel mekân üretimi, bu sürecin çözümlenmesini gerekli kılmaktadır.

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