

**HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF STATE INTERVENTION  
INTO SPACES OF OPPOSITION:  
THE CASE OF ANKARA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF STATE INTERVENTION INTO SPACES OF SOCIAL OPPOSITION: THE CASE OF ANKARA**

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Urban space is the ultimate source for examining the contradiction between political authority and social opposition. As an efficient ground for manipulating social processes, urban space is subjected to a number of interventions of political power directly or indirectly. Hence, the authority leads the process of depoliticization on space via two channels. Firstly, it transforms the physical configuration of the place by public policy instruments. Thus, the reflection of hegemony on spatial ground becomes possible. The other way to initiate spatial depoliticization is to keep the social and political acts away from urban space through use of violence and coercion like legal regulations or law enforcement agents.

In the flow of these processes, social reaction comes into existence in the form of social movements at points of dissatisfaction of the society. Thus, the political

contradiction between authority and opposing part of the society turns the urban space into a mere arena of conflict.

In this context, this arena of conflict is expressed with a new term throughout the study that is, “political space”. It signifies the political significance of a place. It is the place of political acts and where opposition is politicized. In other words, it is the ground where authority and opposition clashes.

Constructing the problem definition upon space’s detachment from its political context, politicization and depoliticization processes will be investigated upon the case study of Ankara and a historical analysis of the conflict between political authority and social opposition upon the primary public spaces of the city.

Key words: Political Space, Political Authority, Social Opposition, Depoliticization, Ankara

## ÖZ

### TOPLUMSAL MUHALEFETİN MEKANLARINA DEVLET MÜDAHALESİNİN TARİHSEL İNCELEMESİ: ANKARA SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI

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Kentsel mekan siyasi iktidar ve toplumsal muhalefet arasındaki çatışmanın incelenmesi açısından üst düzey bir kaynak oluşturmaktadır. Sosyal süreçleri yönlendirme bakımından son derece elverişli bir zemin olarak kent mekanı, doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak siyasi iktidarın bir dizi müdahalesine maruz kalmaktadır. Bu bakımdan iktidar mekanda siyasızlaştırma süreçlerini iki kanalla yürütmektedir. İlk olarak, kamusal politikalar aracılığıyla mekanın fiziksel kurgusunu dönüştürmektedir. Bu şekilde hegemonyanın mekansal düzlemde yansıtılması mümkün olmaktadır. Mekansal siyasızlaştırmayı gerçekleştirmenin bir başka yolu ise sosyal ve politik eylemlerin yasal düzenlemeler veya kolluk kuvvetleri gibi zor aygıtlarıyla kent mekanından uzak tutulmasıdır.

Bu süreçlerin akışı içinde, toplumun iktidar pratiklerinden rahatsızlık duyduğu noktalarda toplumsal muhalefet sosyal hareketler biçiminde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunun sonucunda siyasi iktidar ve toplumun muhalif kesimleri arasındaki çelişki kentsel mekanı çatışmanın meydanına dönüştürmektedir.

Bu bağlamda bahsedildiği üzere çatışmanın mekanı “politik mekan” olarak, çalışmada yeni bir terminolojiyle sunulmaktadır. Bu kavram, yerin politik önemine işaret etmektedir. Bu anlamda, politik mekan politik eylemin gerçekleştiği ve muhalefetin siyasallaştığı yerdir. Bir başka deyişle, iktidar ve muhalefetin çarpıştığı zemindir.

Problem tanımını mekanın politik bağlamından koparılması üzerinden kurgulayarak, siyasallaşma ve siyasızlaştırma süreçleri Ankara saha çalışması üzerinden incelenecek, siyasi iktidar – toplumsal muhalefet çatışmasının tarihsel incelemesi kentin ana kamusal mekanları üzerinden yapılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Politik Mekan, Siyasi İktidar, Toplumsal Muhalefet, Siyasızlaştırma, Ankara

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

There is a dialectical relationship between urban space and social and political processes. Thus, space, most often gets to be the ultimate guide to societies' everyday lives and social structures which emerge in two ways. Urban space, being affected and shaped by the socio-economic and political restructuring processes, influences and contributes to the social and political existence of the society to a certain extent. In this sense, it gets highly critical for both of the sides, the state and the society. While being the utmost arena for the society to pursue their everyday lives, it is at the same time an instrument for the state to shape and control the society. This pursuit of everyday life on spatial arena makes a considerable contribution to the development of social and political identity in the meantime. As an efficient ground for ideological manifestation, space is subjected to a number of interventions of political power directly or indirectly which triggers the depoliticization of space. Consequently, the growing dissatisfaction of the society by spatial practices of the authority comes into existence in the form of social movements. Thus, the political contradiction between political authority and opposing parts of the society turns the urban space into a mere "arena of conflict", which will be termed later on in this study as "political space".

At this point, the pivotal foci of cities both serving the political needs of the society, and providing the authority to control and manipulate the social structure form the basis of the study. Upon these strategic places, the mobility of social and political acts and the site selection of social opposition can be monitored as well as the authority's approach towards space and society. These mentioned places, as the subject of constant manipulations and interventions by the power holder, are of high significance for both the political authority and the society. Thus, they will be analyzed both from the perspective of the authority and social opposition.

In short, in this study the politicization processes witnessed especially on public spaces will be located at the core of the analysis. Since there is not any specific terminology of “political space” or “politicization” and “depoliticization” processes, these concepts will be conceptualized and depicted regarding the structure of the study and the research questions that are set central to the thesis. Within this framework, the places getting detached from their political context will be investigated upon the case study of Ankara and the historical analysis of site selection of political conflicts will be conducted along with the politicization and depoliticization processes, which will be opened to discussion.

### **1.1. Problem Definition**

Besides urban space’s strategic position for the political power to manifest its ideology on physical arena, economic concerns took the urban transformation processes to a whole new level especially throughout the last decades. The current tendencies in economic and political order throughout the globe have deepened the transformation acts on urban context from 80s onwards. Not only has this transformation period affected the physical configuration of the cities, but also the citizens’ position within this developing system. The shift towards neoliberalism left the citizen alone with his personal problems to struggle in his own chaos, separating him from his public identity at the expense of emancipation. Throughout this period, the cities’ political status and needs have been forgotten, also having the citizens passified in the meantime. The mentioned radical shift that was faced globally also has taken its toll on Turkey beginning from the 1980s which were to become only more dramatic after 2000s.

Throughout the last decade, it has been more a period of political coercion in Turkey. What is more, the economic approach followed by the authority gave way to usage of space as an economic instrument for speculative ends, as a short term solution to get by for a while in the period of global depression. Thus those factors, merging with political and ideological concerns, inevitably reflected on the physical environment as the demolition of big urban spaces of interaction, under the guise of public policy

instruments, like transportation and so forth. The social consequences, directly or indirectly, came to light along with the spatial aspects of transformation, in the form of declining public reaction and lack of organization among citizens. As known, inclusion of citizens into politics and public attendance is accepted to be one of the cornerstones of democracies. So the decline of such political character and dismantling of public realm on spatial arena forms the very primary problematic of the study which will be analyzed along with politicization and depoliticization processes.

Basing problem definition as space's detachment from its political context and depoliticization processes coming along both in social and political dimensions, the research question is specified as, "how space gets detached from its political context?". Stating the central phenomenon as shown, the problematic will be elaborated with sub-queries. The main concepts of the study will be examined upon discussions as, "how does space respond to political and public needs?", "to what extent does its spatial configuration and physical attributes contribute in its political and social notion?", "how do practices of the political authority and the society differentiate upon use of space?", "how do political conflicts reflect on space?", "how does space get politicized?", "how does spatial hierarchy contribute to politicization process?", "at what points do interventions on space turn to a political weapon on behalf of the power holder?", "how does space get depoliticized?", "what kind of a correlation lies between weak spatial layout and organizational complications within society?", and so forth.

As follows, along with the inquiry, explanation and discussions of the key concepts that construct the physical component of space gains importance. Therefore, main elements that structure the urban texture of cities that support the social and political life will be investigated. The context of spatial design, both giving city its urban character and identity, also carries a function of serving the everyday life. Hence, analysis of a city's physical configuration, brings up some clues about the social organization and public behavior. Also, the reverse of that function with an implication of social structure shaping the physical environment is valid. In other

words, it is no doubt that there is a reciprocal relationship between the physical and the social aspects. Thus, urban space and social structure are aimed to be considered together. At this point, the attitude towards urban space, the usage of space, the decisions of the policy makers on physical arena, and the transformation processes of built environment deserve a lot of attention.

Thus, the concepts to be examined throughout the study are concentrated around space and politics discussion. Therefore, first of all, the concept of space and its theorization from different perspectives in academy will be focused on. After conceptualization of space, different aspects of the concept will be put under spotlight, within discussions of public-private, state-society and so forth. Then the core issue of analysis will be shaped around space-politics dialectic. In this context, a new term will be introduced as “political space” in order to express the political significance of a place upon the conflict of political authority and social opposition on urban area. At this point, pioneering approaches will be investigated in the way they analyzed this separation to make sure if we can go on from previous theories in this context or if any classification of such is existent in literature. And surely politicization and depoliticization processes will be discussed around the practices of political authority and society which will prepare the ground for the case study of Ankara.

As for the case study, with its political character and position among the country, with its public spaces that had served the nation for political purposes in history, and with its changing spatial structure and political status in the period of articulation to the global system, Ankara stands out as an ideal field for this investigation. Throughout the years, Ankara lost its political ground and identity along with its spatial configuration. The economic concerns have taken over the city for speculative intents which resulted in the physical and social consumption of the city, beginning from the large urban areas that had served the collective memory through history. The demolishing of space also caused a decline in public realm and came up as an obstacle in front of political expressions of the citizens. All in all, a recession could be observable through decades in the social participative, expressive and responsive

habits which have come to a breakpoint currently. The weak physical conditions to accommodate social actions, the political environment, the approach of the authority, the willingness of people and their perception might all be factors to affect the issue. Consequently, the public decline and depoliticization processes being witnessed in the contemporary era will be investigated along with these dynamics.

## **1.2. Aim of the Study**

The study will be initiated with the assumption that urban configuration with its complementing spatial elements serves the social life and political identity in a broad sense. Setting the theoretical framework mostly on the theories based on space's social quality in academy, space-politics debate will be conducted upon the conflict of state and society. However, applying this discussion to the case study will prompt to a certain extent of reduction and generalization. And as introducing society as the 'good' and state as the 'evil' is not desired in the study, the terminology will be adapted in order to make a healthier periodical analysis. So, the discussion will be carried out upon political authority – social opposition duality. Still, political authority holds and implements the power it derives from state, and social opposition is generated within the society. Thus, the theoretical basis will be grounded on the struggle of state vs. society. At this point, the term "political space" will be adopted and conceptualized along with public space, politicization and depoliticization concepts. It will be benefitted from as the utmost place of investigating the convergence and divergence points of the two conflicting sides. So, the major problematic of the thesis will be carried out on the strategically significant places of the cities, as both the object and subject of political conflicts between political authority and social opposition.

In the light of the foregoing processes, the theoretical analysis will be concretized upon the case of Ankara. Initially, the major public spaces of the city will be elaborated, and then an analysis upon the altering position of pivotal public-political spaces of Ankara will be carried out along with the changing political climate in history. And with its changing meaning and political stand through time, the

transforming urban space will be investigated together with the urban policy decisions made by the authority. For that end, the study will concentrate mostly on the areas of political conflict that have experienced physical and symbolic transformation throughout history.

Hence, the prospective research seeks to comprehend the processes of space attaining a political status that might come to be lost or damaged by interference of the authority via the agents of political power. So, the dynamic between political authority and social opposition will dominate the work while examining the social organization in Turkish experience. In this framework, especially the years from 1960s up to 1980s stand out as the time period the social organization in Turkey has matured. Forming one of the most politically intense periods throughout the republican history, 1960s up to the late 1970s stand out as the years of rising social movements in the country. However those social organizations have experienced a sudden interruption with the military intervention and suppression of public stance sustained by the later governments and their approaches. The radical change has also shown itself on the physical environment, giving way to transformation processes and the decline of urban spaces under the guise of transportation policies, development projects, and so forth. Therefore, the contribution intended with the research is, to answer the queries as, how space is perceived by the society and the authority, at what points space is separated from its political identity and by which methods it is executed by the power holder, how space can be a tool to fulfill the manipulation of the social structure on the one hand, or the resurrection of the political and social being on the other.

The meaning of political spaces to city dwellers, the contribution of such areas to the social and political integrity of the public, the usage of such spaces and transformation periods they have faced will be focused on in a broad extent. The primary public spaces of Ankara to have been the fundamental centers of political struggle and conflict (such as, Kızılay, Sıhhiye, Ulus, Tandoğan), that have strategic significance for both the society and the authority, will be handled along with the major transformation processes the city has undergone along with the policy making

mechanism. At this point, the direct and indirect interventions of the governments that have a bilateral consequence on public, as suppression or inflaming of such movements and searching for alternative channels of expression will be discussed.

In short, the main purpose of the study can be summarized as to shed a light on the reciprocal connection between space/physical and social realm. Hereby, not only the social and political acts impacting on physical environment will be considered. The discussion will also be addressed from the other side of the equation, focusing on space's impact on social and political structure and its power of manipulating social processes as well. Thus depending on the space-politics dialectic, practices upon space will be looked through from authority's position on the one hand, and society's perspective on the other. And the dualistic structure of the discussion will be formed around politicization and depoliticization courses, putting space's detachment from its political context at the core of the issue.

### **1.3. Methodology of the Study**

Regarding the research topic and the main problematic, a comprehensive historical analysis seems necessary. Therefore, throughout the study the historical research methods will be mainly used (see Tuchman, 1998). After data collection, which will consist of qualitative, quantitative, and archival data, the classification and the analysis of the input will be carried out. Accordingly, at this stage, primary and secondary sources will be put to categorization. As a direct address to the specified question, archives and studies of NGOs and state institutions, news, records, media source materials will be analyzed primarily. The secondary base of research will consist of academic reviews, studies, theses, reports, and the literature from different fields related to the theme, as supplementary materials to be used while embedding the research to the context of the study. The explanations, interpretations, and reviews of the phenomena and the cases to be covered throughout the research will be evaluated and analyzed. Following that stage, the sources will be subjected to criticism of their accuracy and whether they are suitable for the study or not. Finally, an analysis will be carried out regarding the existing input gathered beforehand. At

this point, the previous works that have been conducted up to the moment and the execution of a comparison and contrasting of the former studies are the issues to be paid attention to. Furthermore, interpretation of the case with respect to the surrounding conditions and circumstances of the regarded period seems essential to adopt an objective approach and to come up with a meaningful conclusion.

Via the interpretation of the sources collected, Ankara case, and the political spaces standing out in the city in different periods, the politicization processes through time, the conflict on space and its contribution to the identity and collective being of the city, the major transformation mechanisms they witnessed, the depoliticization of those urban areas, and their changing form, function and meaning are going to be discussed throughout the work. While trying to analyze the dynamics behind the relationship between space and politics, Ankara's political history will be put under investigation. The urban space's transformation and main interventions on space will be examined along with the major tendencies of the period and the political agenda of that time. In addition to that, the spatial decision making processes and the legal grounds for spatial restructuring mechanisms will be looked upon parallel to the policy making strategies carried out by the current administrations. At this point, the historical timeline of Ankara's political and spatial background will be focused on under specific time periods. These stages will be consisted of *The Early Republican Period* (1923-1950), *The Period of Social Arousal* (1960-1980), *The Economic and Political Transformation Period* (1980-2002), *The Period of Articulation to Global System* (2002-2013).

#### **1.4. Content of the Study / Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis will be conducted through three stages of analysis. At the first stage, given in the second chapter (Theoretical and Conceptual Framework), the issue will be covered in theoretical terms and the current literature and academic work on space and politics. Here, the conception of space will be depicted from different perspectives. Initially, the concept will be investigated as a social entity and the connection it has with society will be addressed from the spatial determinist point. Its

symbolic and social notion will be harmonized with city image, public comprehension of space, and environmental psychology. Following that, this perspective will be carried to a the social content, and more relative approaches will be elaborated. Finally, the structuralist view will be presented which is highly critical of environmental determinism. In this manner, a balance will be tried to be obtained in the theoretical framework.

At the second stage of the study, in the third chapter (Space & Politics), the discussion of space-politics will be elaborated upon state-society distinction. Here, the comprehension of space by both sides will be analyzed on public space conception, and public-private discussion. While spatial practices of state on space will be handled along with power relations on space and space as an instrument for ideological legitimization, space for society will be defined as a place for action that will be analyzed upon “political space” conception and social movements. So, urban conflict will be the main focus of the chapter, formed around the processes of politicization and depoliticization, state’s direct or indirect interventions on political spaces, and therefore the political notion of the public aiming a political decline in the way. In this context, change in urban practice and experience through time, transforming configuration of global mechanisms, the major tendencies towards urban space, economic and political practices on space, and state-society conflicts over space will form the issues to be dealt with.

At the third stage of the study, in the fourth chapter (Case Study: Transformation of Political (Public) Spaces of Ankara in History) the structured theoretical framework will be executed on Ankara example with its restructuring patterns both in spatial and socio-political terms. In order to examine the stages that are mentioned above, the political history of Ankara and spatial policy making mechanisms will be dealt with under certain periods of time. Taking those time periods separately, the pivotal public spaces as domains of political expression for the citizens will be specified and their features, the politicization processes, the interruption of those areas, the decision making processes, and the detachment of these urban spaces from their political context will be analyzed. At this point, the prominent public spaces in

Ankara will be studied that can be specified as Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kızılay, Tandoğan. In this context, political acts and practices taking place on these spaces turning them to the arena of urban conflict will be investigated. Thus, the political and social movements will be analyzed as social opposition on space on the one hand, while interventions of political authority will be elaborated as the claim to space and manifestation of power on the other.

Finally, at the last stage of the thesis, given in the fifth chapter (Conclusion), outcomes of the analysis and the discussion upon the major problematic defined in the thesis will be presented. First of all, besides the way space is being comprehended and used by two contradicting entities, political authority and social opposition; its influence on social relations will be brought to conclusion. Furthermore, the direct and indirect interventions of state, the conflict of authority-society on spatial arena, and the dynamics of space-politics in the processes of politicization-depoliticization will be formulated upon the case study.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1. Conceptual Framework of Space**

As a phenomenon to address every field of civilization, as the primary implementation area of contemporary ideological practices and the very basic, maybe the only arena where we find the concrete embodiments of impalpable courses taking place around us, space gets to be the utmost source for our arising questions by all means. Therefore, the notions space holds, the identities it gains, the meanings attributed to it under peculiar circumstances, in short, various modes and dimensions of space are investigated from different perspectives by many scholars. Though its impact on social processes was positioned secondary to social processes within social sciences and theories, it will be very beneficial to start with the works of the prominent theoreticians that addressed the concept upon its social significance.

Lefebvre's ideas on space seem highly remarkable in the way they expand the space-politics discussion within the framework of social and spatial courses. While focusing on the courses of space, the spatial categorizations set forth by the theoretician, get to be of vast importance considering how space appears, how it impacts the public life, how it is conceived and used. Lefebvre's space perception attributes independent and specific qualities to the idea, differentiating in this context from other scholars with respect to space-politics dialectic. For him, a holistic space theory would relate back the physical, mental and social dimensions of space that were separated from each other by natural and social sciences. Constitution of this kind of a theory would only be possible through analyses to be conducted dialectically, by examining the different dimensions and conflicts of space, not the codes and conceptualizations existent in it (Avar, 2009, p. 8). Thus, he accepts the space concept as a locus of production, as a product itself, and production on its own

(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 109). The conceptualization of space within the framework of production implicates space being involved in production relations with all dimensions. This way, rather than taking space as a commodity subjected to fetishism and as a “space in itself”, Lefebvre tends to pay attention to the hidden social relations in space, the production of space, and the contradictory social relations attributed to it (Avar, 2009, p. 8).

Depending mainly on the space of social practice, Lefebvre analyzes the space in stages as was mentioned previously; firstly the physical space – to be related with nature, secondly the mental space, and lastly the social space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 11).

As the theoretician explains;

Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of ‘nature’) on the other (1991, p. 27).

Hereby, the space rises as a social entity, from the moment it is recognized together with its mental and physical being. The claim of social space being a social product, is explained by a number of factors, first of which is vanishing of the physical space that was taken for granted, namely the natural space. Another profound implication set forth by the theoretician is that, every society would create its own space as a product of their lifestyles. In other words, the production and reproduction of social relations are the main issues, which are possible to be understood along with spatial practice. (1991, p. 31) Therefore, the power of state and its reflection on space throughout the process of spatial production get to be of vast importance. The point to be made here is that, the state undoubtedly has an immense effect on the social transformation and homogenization of the societies upon spatial practices. Additionally, the role of hegemony is underlined with reference to Gramsci’s work which automatically impacts the political notion of the public, as will be elaborated later in this work.

### 2.1.1. The Conceptual Triad of Space

The following factor stems from our knowledge of space as a social product, which has an indisputable effect on the reproduction and explanation of the process of production, consequently necessitating a theoretical approach towards this shape shifting concept. At this point, as a recurring structure he focuses on, the conceptual triad of spatial practice, representation of space and representational space – the spatial reflection of three dimensions of social as the perceived-conceived-lived triad – deserves special attention. *Spatial practice* is described by the theoretician as it “embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). This classification of space covers the everyday life of societies and refers to the perceptive notion of the concept, lying between daily reality and urban reality. The *representation 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” in addition to the notion of “dominant space in any society (or mode of production),” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Therefore, representation of space goes hand in hand with power relations of space and ideological and authoritative practices of the ruler. *Representational space*, nevertheless, is “space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38-39). And its importance is existent in its very nature to resist all kinds of abstractions to be imposed (Avar, 2009, p. 13). It is only lived, and this way of its experience is the one and only factor to protect it from turning superficial. Consequently, as space gathers the tangible and intangible notions in one body through such conceptualization, gets to be both the founder and the enabler of the individual and social processes of production at the same time (Avar, 2009, p. 11).

Moving from the assumption of space as a social product and production processes, another implication to be dealt with is the historical processes to be pointed out by these transactions. The historicity of space arises from the production processes. Each production type produces its own space. However, there may not always be a reciprocal relationship between the produced space and the production type. At this

point, another dynamic to be taken into consideration in the production of space is the conflict coming along with the types of production. Consequently, production relations will transmit the conflict intrinsic to its nature to the process of space production. That's why, space has a history of its own that is very much inscribed in it (Lefebvre, cited in Avar, 2009, p. 9). The restructuring processes spatial configuration witnessed and the altering character of space in time is taken from the agrarian societies up to the medieval civilizations, and then to the emergence of nation states. Without any doubt, the fractures and radical changes undergone in the economic practices in historical timeline have given way to changing practices and approaches towards space. The political and economic executions also have led to paradigm shifts in urban courses. How Lefebvre covers this issue upon space theories can be examined through absolute space – abstract space relation. He pays utmost attention to how absolute space has made a shift towards abstract space along with the historical progress.

Here and there, in every society, absolute space assumes meanings addressed not to the intellect but to the body, meanings conveyed by threats, by sanctions, by a continual putting-to-the-rest of the emotions. This space is lived rather than conceived, and it is a representational space rather than a representation of space; no sooner is it conceptualized than its significance wanes and vanishes (1991, p. 235-236).

Hereby, absolute space stands out with mental and social components. As Lefebvre points out, it is not the environment or the site making a specific space absolute (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 240). Being absolute is implied in the overall texture. These spaces are specified by the theoretician as religious and/or political spaces addressing the intangible assets of the public realm. According to him, political spaces are spaces of power. However, violence is not the only component to generate such a space, be it a material violence, a legal order, or a legislative practice. Besides these actions, practices, images, symbols, construction of the buildings, of towns, and of localized social relationships deserve attention (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 245). In other words, the spatial configuration and its reflections on public cognition, referring as well to the triad of perceived-conceived-lived, plays an immense part in the

production of space giving way to the transformation of “the original intuitus into a quasi-system” through such interactions (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 246).

Though absolute space is presented mostly through its nonphysical qualifications, it carries a twofold structure from within. While it exists, in a sense, with its mental/’imaginary’ side, it is stated to hold a social subsistence, yielding it a powerful ‘reality’ (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 251). Whether to perceive it via its ‘imaginary’ or ‘real’ presence, is up to the angle of the individual.

Abstract space, on the other hand, is illustrated by Lefebvre as follows; “As a product of violence and war, it is political; instituted by state, it is institutional.” (1991, p. 285); and the way it appears is addressed in three aspects, brought forward as, the geometric formant, the optical (or visual) formant, and the phallic formant. In the first place, the reduction of three dimensional reality to two dimensions, or the geometric reflection or abstraction of a being is depicted under ‘geometric formant’. The optical formant, on the other hand, represents the pure visualization of a specific space separated from its social notion, like a copy, a mirror reflection of a reality. The last aspect, connoted as the phallic formant carries rather a political notion, symbolizing force, masculine violence, brutal political power, or any other form that patriarchal power may take.

Throughout his work of *Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre introduces different modes of space, embody different characteristics in varying cases as absolute space, abstract space, social space, contradictory space and differential space, as was mentioned above. Abstract space represents the capitalist feature of space existing with the land-capital-labour trilogy. Social space, on the other hand, is related to form-structure-function triad (1991, p. 147), and defined by him as a ‘multifaceted’ entity: “abstract and practical, immediate and mediated,” (1991, p. 266). Thereby, it plays a remarkable part among the forces of production; appears as product of singular character (consumed or productively consumed); shows itself to be politically instrumental, facilitating the control of society at the same time being a means of production; underpins the reproduction of production relations and property relations; is equivalent to a set of institutional and ideological superstructures that are

not presented for what they are, alternatively assuming an outward appearance of neutrality, insignificance and emptiness (absence); contains potentialities – of works and of re-appropriation (1991, p. 349).

What we are concerned with, then, is the long history of space, even though space is neither a ‘subject’ or an ‘object’ but rather a social reality – that is to say, a set of relations and forms (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 116).

Despite accepting space initially as a physical entity, Castells also shares the same opinion with Lefebvre, emphasizing on its social quality.

It is not, therefore, a mere occasion for the deployment of the social structure, but a concrete expression of each historical ensemble in which society is specified (Castells, 1977, p. 115).

### **2.1.2. Space-Time Dialectic**

As Lefebvre was willing to explain space phenomenon upon a reciprocal relationship with social courses, he was attributing the production of space historicity. Undoubtedly an indisputable debate when space is located at the heart of any investigation, time-space association was naturally accredited by Lefebvre as well. From his point of view, inscription of time in space was a matter of fact in natural societies, which is no longer the case. Natural space was in a way the reflection of natural time. Nevertheless, along with modernity time has disappeared from social space. It has lost its visibility on spatial practices, and has withdrawn from urban arena. The molecular unity of time and space was at last corrupted, reducing time to a subunit of space, superficialized and concealed in it, and for this the political and economic concerns get to be blamed. Thus the only way space can be shown is “by means of space itself” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 95-98). At this point, logic of visualization of space gains emphasis which we will turn back to later. So before we do that, we should go on with different conceptualizations of space continuing with time-space relation. Classification of space with respect to time-space discussion brings us to the most popular contradiction of absolute space versus relative space theory, which at this point should be elaborated upon Harvey’s beneficial resolution.

Though Harvey is inspired a lot by Lefebvre, his conception of space differentiates from Lefebvre's. He prefers to think of it as a shape shifting concept according to altering situations rather than categorizing it as absolute or relative separately. Taking the issue from the point of view of urban geography, the theories of space categorizing it as absolute or relative deserve attention along with Harvey's relational perception with respect to urban and human geography. For him, conceptualization of the idea could only be possible through the observation of human practice. Hence, setting the core of his theory around human practice rather than the nature of space, Harvey moves the primary concern from "what is space?" to "how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations of space?" (1973, p. 13).

Approaching the concept from time-space conjunction, he highlights the inseparability of space from time. According to him, "[t]he concept of space is embedded in or internal to process," (Harvey, 2004, p. 2). Therefore, we can come up with an outcome that history is inscribed in the spatial realm, that is why, the conceptualization of space cannot be carried out alone, detached from the notion of time. Thus, he adopts a tripartite analysis while revealing his attitude towards space, with reference to the most common time-space formulations stated as, absolute space theory, relative space theory, and the relational space theory.

Absolute space embraces Euclidean geometry, actually stemming from Newton's and Descartes' depiction of space, with a fixed, immobile, standardized, and measureable character, allowing us to make calculations upon it. Relative space, on the other hand, represents Einstein's theory of space, based on non-Euclidean geometry. In this context, space holds a twofold relativity, hinging on what is being relativized and by whom, in a network of multiple geometries. Lastly, the relational space view is associated with Leibniz, standing out with the argument that, space emerges as an entity along with the existence of the processes defining that specific area. According to this point of view, "[p]rocesses do not occur in space but define their own spatial frame," which turns us back to the assumption that time exists intrinsically in spatial courses (2004, p. 3-4).

If we regard space as absolute it becomes a “thing in itself” with an existence independent of matter. It then possesses a structure which we can use to pigeon-hole or individuate phenomena. The view of relative space proposes that it be understood as a relationship between objects which exists only because objects exist and relate to each other. There is another sense in which space can be viewed as relative and I choose to call this relational space - space regarded in the manner of Leibniz, as being contained in objects in the sense that an object can be said to exist only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects (Harvey, 1973, p. 13).

Though standing closest to the last approach, Harvey finds it wrong to work on space from a single point of view out of the three that were elaborated above. As was mentioned before, for him, space cannot be reduced to one idea as absolute, relative or relational, or described with a general, definite formula. Any of these categorizations, either alone or simultaneously, can be the matter of fact with reference to changing circumstances (1973). The circumstances hereby, are as can be figured out, identified through the social human practices, which becomes the primary determinant in the investigation. Preferring to use the ideas in a dialectical manner, the theoretician pays attention to the hierarchy between the approaches, as relational approach can cover the other two, and relative approach can cover the absolute approach, but absolute space conception remains rather primitive on its own (2004, p. 7).

### **2.1.3. Other Conceptualizations of Space**

Space conception has naturally been analyzed by many views from different principles under varying categories. Focusing on these perspectives, Harvey mentions another tripartite structure in space theorization that was introduced by Cassirer (cited in Harvey, 2004, p. 7), structured as *organic*, *perceptual*, and *symbolic* spaces, a very similar theorization to the one conducted by Lefebvre. While the spatial experiences encountered through senses, biologically form the organic space, the neurological processing of these senses and transference of them to human cognition and mental realm takes it to the perceptual space. Symbolic space, on the other hand, represents the abstract domain formed through “readings and interpretations”.

A different conceptualization of space presented by Langer (cited in Harvey, 2004, p. 7-8), follows a distinction between *real* and *virtual* space. Via virtual space, all of the forms, structures that are created later on, carrying a notion of conceptual and imaginary are implied. In this sense, we can figure out that everything built afterwards upon the natural background, which is taken for granted, constructs the parts of an illusory world.

Another formulation of spatial phenomena is introduced by Crang (2009, p. 5) under three classifications posited as spatial representations, spatial scale and relational space, and the lived space of sociality, which as well reminds us of Lefebvre's conceptual trinity. The first category concentrates on the way space is represented, bringing forward a space of cartography, while reducing it to a geometric entity, a multiplicity of measurable units. The second is rather concerned with scales of life, spatial relations. Two views are presented in this context, one of which sets its spatial vision around different scales of processes taking place, while the other shapes its perspective around a composition of entangled spatial relations (2009, p. 9). The last category focuses on the social notion of space which is produced through actions (2009, p. 20).

These kinds of conceptualizations can be further enlarged. Yet most of them have common points, intersect in some spots, or repeat similar ideas. At this point, referring to different angles mentioned previously, Harvey finds Lefebvre's triad of spatial practice, representational space, and representation of space as the most plausible approach. Even, he takes it one step further and develops the structure into a model of three by three matrix, as a result of the combination of time-space conception and Lefebvre's theoretical framework (2004, p. 10).

## **2.2. Theoretical Framework of Space**

The theoretical illustrations of space in literature are generally inclined to analyze the concept from one dimension. The divergence in academia is mostly observed in the discussions whether to put forth space as a matter (object) or as a social phenomenon (subject). In this manner, space theories can simply be classified under two groups.

While the first group overlaps sociological perspective and urban space quite mechanically, the other group, on the contrary, neglects the social aspect of space and adopts a technical approach instead (Keskinok, 1988, p. 64).

In urban studies literature, most prevalent point of views can be classified under three groups. Occasionally, functionalist approach is adopted to explain the social relations on space. Also from time to time individualistic perspective is used reducing these relations to individual and economic unit behavior. And sometimes the mentioned relations are analyzed under Marxist theories (Keskinok, 1988, p. 68-69). However, while analyzing space, the approach accepting that space is just determined by social relations, embracing a culturalist point of view and seeing it as a passive entity that only accommodates the mentioned relations would remain inadequate, the opposite point of view, referred to as naturalist perspective, which attributes space an objectivity independent from social structures (Keskinok, 1988, p. 69) would disorient the theory's multifaceted quality. Many models developed in urban planning discipline, which are concentrated more on urban form and function can be counted under this naturalist view. This approach is built upon the assumption that desired social structures could be reached by spatial regulations at urban scale (Keskinok, 1988, p. 69). Though this kind of a naturalist attitude was accepted to remain insufficient in explaining the social mechanisms on space, it deserves attention to develop an understanding towards the one side of the reciprocal relationship that was mentioned earlier to exist between spatial and social realm.

### **2.2.1. Space as a Language**

Semiology in spatial approaches accepts architecture and planning as a language, and interprets urban forms and patterns according to the features they hold. For this perspective, the forms and configurations of spatial elements transmitting some messages to the observers and therefore make an impact on them, even manipulate them. Perceiving the codes those spatial elements give with respect to "signifier"s and "signified"s, the physical aspect of them turns into the most important feature of them. For this theorization, space gets to be the signifier of a specific social structure. Furthermore, forms get the priority in analysis with respect to this perspective

(Keskinok, 1988, p. 72). Thus, space talks to the observers through the codes it holds, and legibility gets highly significant in explaining the environmental behaviors. In this respect, this point of view argues that all the cultural forms produce meanings and these meanings can only be resolved by semiological methods of analysis. Though carrying spatial determinist features and getting criticized for falling to environmental reductionism (see Castells, 1978; Althusser, 1984; 1994), this angle constitutes a significant part of space-politics discussion as will be seen later on in the study.

For urban designers and planners, space is a concept inseparable from urban form and spatial patterns of infrastructure. In the first place, it is a visual entity, an image, a physical being. Next, it is a mental being, an abstract conception perceived through senses, experiences and cognitive activities. Yet, it is at the same time a social product, which is established through a process of collective work executed by the people (see Lynch, 1960, p. 1-3). However, as can be extracted, design based approaches naturally bring the physical and visual configuration forward when space is the matter of discussion. Hereby, physical environment is perceived as a part of the spatial discourse, which directly has an influence on the social interaction. The main parameters to be taken into consideration in this context covers terminology like, meaning or expressiveness, rhythm, stimuli, choice, and so forth (see Lynch, 1960, p. 10). Hence, the spatial transactions are studied along with urban practices and mostly upon the city. Nevertheless, it is of vast importance to understand that, this physical entity is conceived, tested, and studied through psychological and mental practices of city dwellers and visitors.

In other words, mental and physical go hand in hand. This time, space is not exercised via direct social activities carried out on urban area, but rather upon its stance in cognitions of people, acquired indirectly through memories and spatial experiences taking place on built environment. Two dimensions, therefore, gain importance in evoking the environmental stimulus; sensation, to perceive the environment via sense, and perception, to perceive the environment through

cognitive, affective, interpretative, and evaluative stages. At this point, Lynch's work basing the focus on spatial perception needs further attention.

In his work of "The Image of the City", Lynch is moving on from the built environment's reflection in human mind and the way that visual entity changes the perception of space. So this time, the city aesthetics and spatial requirements are studied upon mental activities of the observers. Environmental stimuli are gathered in two ways: environmental sensation and environmental perception (Carmona et al, 2010, p. 87). Dealing more with the perceptive side of this discussion, Lynch declares, an environmental image is synthesized through an aggregation of three components; structure, identity, and meaning, which in reality always appear simultaneously (1960, p. 8). Identity of an object is distinguished through its divergence points from other entities; in other words, through its uniqueness. The spatial and pattern relation of it implies its structure. At last, the way an object makes sense for an observer, emotional or practical, constitutes its meaning. The way Lynch puts it, "physical qualities which relates to the attributes of identity and structure in the mental image" is the main concern in depicting the image of a physical area (1960, p. 9). This formulation gains significance especially for symbolic places, like politically specialized places, which will be further examined when discussing the qualifications of political areas later on.

At this point, imageability of an object rising as a remarkable concern, where one can speak of the "high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" or as can be expressed as legibility, or even visibility as Lynch reveals (1960, p. 9-10). Spatial experience of an observer with respect to the built environment's visuality is worked on by many scholars. Kaplan and Kaplan's environmental preference framework is founded upon an algorithmic structure that implies the information gathering process moves on from 'coherence', 'legibility', 'complexity', and 'mystery' for an observer through making sense or involvement (cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 134). The visual-spatial experiences of a mobile spectator, on the other hand, are explained by Cullen as "serial vision" (cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 134). This time, a bunch of impulses and visual stimuli orient one to depict the

environment inside his/her mental realm, and this exactly relates to the experiences of a person on a specific urban area. In this context, what Lynch infers out of his method of studying city via cognitive maps is that the best way to perceive urban space through visual assets is possible through five significant components of a city, listed as, paths, edges, nodes, landmarks, and districts (1960, p. 46).

This kind of space which is perceived through its visual qualifications brings us back to Lefebvre's conception of abstract space. The visual-spatial realm, according to him, is nothing but a reduction of absolute space to a single plane. This kind of a spatial abstraction leads to a "half-imaginary, half-real physical existence," and readability of space is sort of pure and illusory transparency (1991, p. 312-313). From this perspective, Lynch's approach can be seen inadequate to develop a versatile thinking towards space phenomenon. In this context, though Lynch introduced his work as a "first initial sketch", his method has already drawn many criticisms from urban design field that were classified under three parts by Carmona et al (2010, p. 92). First group of criticisms pointed out the negligence of observer variation regarding the educational, cultural background, social class, experience and habits, and so forth. The second group focused on legibility and imageability, stating the importance of the illegible, stated as mystery or surprise in Kaplan and Kaplan's work previously (1986, cited in Carmona et al, 2010). The last group's criticisms were collected around meaning and symbolism. In this context, Appleyard (1980, cited in Carmona et al, 2010) enlarged Lynch's conceptualization by examining elements of urban environment by their imageability or distinctiveness of form; by their visibility as people move around the city; and by their role as a setting for. Besides these objections, Gottdiener and Lagopoulos' view (1986, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 92) had a similar point to Lefebvre's understanding, as the representational stand of spatial courses and the relationship with people was reduced to a perceptual knowledge of physical form. Thus, the social and emotional meanings attached to space were of critical importance, even one step ahead of the cognition of the physical and structural image (Knox and Pinch, 2000, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 92).

### *2.2.1.1. Symbolic Notion of Space*

The phenomenon of meaning of space for people brings us to symbolic environments. As Knox emphasized (1984, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 93) these spaces' meanings and their stand in the memory of the inhabitants vary according to different socio-economic backgrounds and social organization of the societies. To analyze meaning, Carmona et al (2010, p. 93) bring forward the layering method of semiotics, which studies the concept in layers. The first-order implies the primary function of an object, while second-order carries a symbolic notion, which most often surpasses the primary function (Eco, 1968, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 93).

Because meanings in environments and landscapes are both interpreted and produced, there is debate about the extent to which meaning resides in the object or in the mind of the beholder. It is clear that certain elements' have relatively stable meanings to most people. Knox and Pinch (2000, p.273) note the difference between 'intended' messages sent by owners/producers via architects, planners, etc., and the 'received' messages of 'environmental consumers' (Carmona et. al, 2010, p. 93).

As the built environment reflects the identity and social organization of the society, as space is socially produced, it naturally sustains a second-order signification. Thus, the symbolic qualifications of the built environment get to locate at the center of the relationship between the society and the physical setting they survive in. This is, actually, what makes space the primary actor especially in the processes of exercising power relations and domination over urban structure. In this context, space becomes the utmost media to read the social, economic, or political practices societies undergo (see Carmona et al, 2010, p. 93-96). As expressed by Lasswell (1979, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 94), the “signature of power” becomes evident in two ways; either possible through direct display of power, by force, violence and fear, or through “strategies of admiration”, using design as a tool for manipulation. The first one is not so frequently preferred in order not to draw reactions and awaken the resistance of the public; rather such influences are embedded in design based strategies, whispering to the subliminal. In other words, the social psychology of human and space are closely interrelated, and the symbolic being of space is, in this sense, used to explain the human behavior. With reference to Jung's work on psyche (1928a, 1938; cited in Barlas, 2006, p. 9, 39), through the

emergence of collective unconscious, the symbolic patterns are formed and passed on to following generations upon archetypal knowledge of people; thus, “what humans inherit is not a set of symbols, but rather the psychic structure, which generates symbols”. In this context, the psychic energy and society is linked with symbols upon the interrelation they hold (Barlas, 2006, p. 9, 41). Therefore, the impact of spatial configuration is undeniable, which makes it a vital tool for authorities. As it is put by Carmona et al regarding the explanation of Knox:

While, as Knox (1984, p. 110) argues, the source of this symbolization has changed over time –from royalty and aristocracy, through industrial capital, to present- day 'big government' and 'big business' -the purpose has always been the same- 'to legitimize a particular ideology or power system by providing a physical focus to which sentiments could be attached'. As it may not always be desirable to display power, symbolism may 'involve "modest" or "low profile" architectural motifs; or carry deliberately misleading messages for purposes of maintaining social harmony' (Knox, 1987, p. 367). (Carmona et al, 2010, p. 94).

Space’s symbolic being and impact on human behavior is approached similarly, but from a rather different aspect of the discussion by Aldo Rossi. Focusing on the transcendental quality of space, he mentions, mostly in religious places a human can experience universality. The space accommodating such an activity actually becomes transparent before people’s cognition. Since then, it does not matter for them where they stand or what the location is. It becomes an instrument, an enabler, a host after all. But of course this does not mean the physical aspect is diminished, or lost importance. On the contrary, its image is united with the sub-meanings it implies, as can be interpreted as the major reason behind the integration of architectural forms and elements with function.

According to Rossi, history is reached through the emergence and structure of urban artifacts. From this point of view, city is not only composed of its built part, but is also a synthesis of a series of values. Thus, it is about collective memory (Rossi, 2006, p. 122). The architecture of the city is accessible by the urban artifacts. He accepts the city as the collective memory of its dwellers and it is about objects and places. In other words, the city is the locus of the collective memory.

The soul of the city' becomes the city's history, the sign on the walls of the municipium, the city's distinctive and definitive character, its memory (Rossi, 2006, p. 122).

Contemporary built environment, defined by Carmona et al (2010, p. 95) as “multi-layered” and “ambiguous” with respect to the symbolic content it holds, gain its political identity through such connotative practices as well as socio-spatial transactions. Symbols, therefore, gain importance in developing a perception towards the built environment and is often shown to be the major reason behind human behavior. The symbols perceived form an important part of people's attitude and understanding developed towards space.

Many scholars concerned more with the field of urban design, have preferred to explain the political identity of space through the experiences acquired at symbolic places, mostly the religious ones. The meaning attributed to space, the symbolic notion it gains through a number of rituals are undoubtedly illustrated best by religious practices. In other words, space's relation with human psychology may be studied more clearly/easily by focusing on the religious exercises carried out on space.

#### ***2.2.1.2. Transcendental Quality of Universal Space***

Upon the piazza portrayal of renaissance artists, Rossi focuses on how architectural, structural elements have gained a memorial value. This value to be paid attention shapes our opinion about a physical entity, and is related to our spatial ideas. These ideas are closely related with our history and culture, our ontological stand within the built environment, the references transmitted from one context to another, and thus with the discovery of individual urban artifacts that come closest to our cognition of space (Rossi, 2006, p. 96). Referring to Henri Focillon, Rossi mentions that the construction of the spiritual being of an environment is only possible with the existence of such psychological places in it.

Once place making is bound to the architecture of an area, buildings, monuments, and the city turns into perfect products of human beings. Rossi supports his argument upon Gothic art of place for landscape.

As is evident, the substitution of Gothic art as place for Gothic landscape is of enormous importance. In this sense, the building, the monument, and the city become human things par excellence; and as such, they are profoundly linked to an original occurrence, to a first sign, to composition, permanence, and evolution, and to both chance and tradition. As the first inhabitants fashioned an environment for themselves, they also formed a place, and established its uniqueness (2006, p. 96).

The ‘first sign’, ‘original occurrence’ or expressed by any other phrase, the initiative actions to form a place gets to reach high importance in the emergence of architectural forms and spatial patterns. The form of built environment is expressed by a sign or a combination or variation of signs of the same archetypal symbols, which in contemporary world are expressed as the cultural differences, or culture itself (Barlas, 2006, p. 44).

Explaining the cities’ origination by the rituals conducted on space, Joseph Rykwert is another scholar to pay attention to the transcendental quality, the universality of space. *The Idea of a Town* (1988), starts with the conception of the town itself and how it is perceived by the people, leading the writer to criticize the general overlook towards the concept. The image that comes to mind when mentioning a city consists of the physical entities that form a city such as squares, roads, buildings, and so on. At this point, the author states his dissatisfaction by this insight that sees the town separate from its totality with the soul mainly forming it and gathering its elements to bring out the original structure. He also mentions the impossibility to talk about the symbolic pattern in attribution to a city in the contemporary period. Maybe one of the most striking responses to the understanding, seeing city as the development of built environment, comes from Nicias talking to Athenian soldiers, as quoted in the book, “You are yourselves the town, wherever you choose to settle... it is men that make the city, not the walls and ships without them...” (Rykwert, 1988, p. 23)

He defines the city as an “artifact” rather than a natural phenomenon that cannot be related only to physiology (Rykwert, 1988, p. 24). The other aspects that a town holds are given as cultural, juridical, religious parts which forms the psychological character of it that deserves to be treated as a piece of the ecological space. So the city is introduced here as an intangible entity that coexists with its irrational and

conceptual identity which gives clues of its dwellers' mentality. The author refers to Romans and Etruscans that seem to have a better attitude towards the city, living with its rituals and having synchronization with the people's lifestyles, mostly carrying a divine and mythical character in its orthogonality.

### ***2.2.1.3. Space - Place***

Human behavior merging with spatial practices forms a spatial behaviour and a specific attitude towards space. Place concept is most often described as a precisely defined territory. However, the point where space turns into a place is only possible through its psychological identification and personalization (Barlas, 2006, p. 30). Psychological identification is attained via the phases of possessiveness and attachment as depicted by Conan (1987; cited in Barlas, 2006, p. 30), while personalization indicates an arrangement of objects in territory as conceptualized by Pastalan (1970; cited in Barlas, 2006, p. 30).

The psychological and experiential investigation of sense of place is also underlined by Carmona et al via the following statement, “[w]hat the environment represents is a function of our subjective construction of it” (2010, p. 96). As referred to Ralph's phenomenological approach, space is always associated to the concept of place which is the center of meaning received from the lived experiences (cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 97). Sense of belonging and attachment are the ultimate factors for the identity of a place to be recognized by observers which again brings us to territoriality and personalization (Carmona et al, 2010, p. 97; Barlas, 2006, p. 30). Successful places, in this context, carry “animation and vitality, an ‘urban buzz’” with Jacob's words (1961; cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 98).

Identity of place, therefore, deserves attention at this moment. Three major elements stand out to identify the characteristic of a place that can be specified as the physical setting, the activities conducted on the mentioned place, and the meaning to be achieved by the association of physical environment with the intangible aspects. The design principles adopted and applied are thereby, have an aim of creating well defined spaces for human behavior and the connection he establishes with space,

besides it being a tool for ideological manifestations of dominant power on space. The pioneering urban designers and behaviorists to shape the main concern around social psychology and well perceived environment set out with likes and preferences of people. On behaviorists' account, it is accomplished through the socialization of people that place public spaces at the core of the discussion as they stand out as the ultimate spaces for face-to-face interaction (Barlas, 2006, p. 11), while psychoanalytical theoreticians concentrate more on the unconscious part of the psyche (Barlas, 2006, p. 28). The background of such formulations of how to reach a well configured built environment, if we are to remind studies like Lynch's five elements of city image, or Gestalt psychology and principles of form, or Christopher Alexander's serial vision and many more theories, is grounded upon the interrelation between mental, psychological activities and the environmental experiences under behavioral geography. Thus image of the city and urban memory/experience is explained through the language space speaks with him and the way it influences the behavior of the observer.

### **2.2.2. Space as a Social Product**

The theories produced within the framework of urban sociology show an effort to integrate both the spatial theories depending mostly on urban form and function and social practices and relations. Though they still remain closer to the spatial side of the equilibrium between space and social realm, these theories contribute in space theories by establishing a ground for reconciliation.

If we go deeper in the space, society, and meaning relations, and develop a rather social attitude towards the environmental psychology, city image and identity, the next step to be followed appears as the explanation of the network of relations in the context of social and collective apprehension of space. At this point, Halbwachs' widely known theory on collective memory needs special attention in order to comprehend what space means to a society and how memory is formed collectively regarding the physical attributes and identity of space. Thus, identification of space with society is claimed to be accomplished by collective memory formation.

### *2.2.2.1. Social/Collective Memory*

Halbwachs defined the collective action upon “groups” and located them in the spatial framework, analyzing the influence of physical surroundings on these groups. Emphasizing on spatial configuration, he explains,

[...] the design made by the original people was embodied in a material structure. The force of local tradition comes forth from this physical object, which serves as its image. This shows the extent to which a whole aspect of the group imitates the passivity of inert matter (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 3).

He argues that the relationship between a group and the space they live on can be observed best in rather reserved and isolated environments accommodating local habits and traditions of the group. According to his theorization, in such an environment the urban group develops into a social body. At this point, an inevitable physical change in the environment required by the social evolvement of the group in time would encounter a resistance by that group as far as they had developed spatial habits for a specific time being. And this resistance “indicates to what extent the collective memory of these groups is based on spatial images,” (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 3).

Expressing that “every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework” (1992, p. 6), the theoretician underlines the impossibility of separating space from our memories. According to him, all the remembrances, feelings and reflections are bound to the spatial environment they were produced in. With his words,

...[I]t is the spatial image alone that, by reason of its stability, gives us an illusion of not having changed through time and of retrieving the past in the present. But that’s how memory is defined. Space alone is stable enough to endure without growing old or losing any of its parts (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 15).

Regarding this two sided relation between memory and group, Jan Assmann develops it into a tripartite structure benefitting from the works of Aby Warburg on “social memory”. In this context, his theory of “cultural memory” carries features both from Halbwachs’ “collective memory” and Warburg’s “social memory”, bringing memory, culture, and society (as in Halbwachs’ work, group) together

(Assmann, 1995, p. 129). In his previous works, Assmann introduced four modes of memory stated as, mimetic memory, material memory, communicative memory and cultural memory (1992, cited in Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 111-112). According to his theory, cultural memory is formed step by step following the mentioned characteristics. First of all, *the concretion of identity* comes, which is the utmost step to form the unity and peculiarity of a group. After the relation to the group is reached, *the capacity to reconstruct* gains importance, which points out the possibility to relate to an actual or contemporary situation. Then it is followed by *formation*, the point where communicative memory is objectivated or crystallized by linguistic, pictorial, or ritual applications that would be the very key to originate a society's cultural heritage. The next step to generate cultural memory is attained by *organization* through the institutional support of communication and specialization of the bearers of cultural memory. Next, *obligation* implies a normative structuration of the society through a "clear system of values and differentiations of importance". The last stage is determined as reflexivity which would be reached in three ways by being practice-reflexive, self-reflexive and reflexive of its own image (Assmann, 1995, p. 130-133).

Collective memory has also been elaborated by many other scholars under different headings from varying point of views (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 111). While Fentress and Wickham (1992) prefer the term "social memory" over collective memory, Olick and Levy (1997) concentrated upon "political cultural profiles" formed by images of the past (cited in Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 111). Sturkin, on the other hand, defined "cultural memory" as the memory shared within cultural framework separately from historical context (1997; cited in Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 111). At this point, Halbwachs' work differentiates from the other theories by attributing space a critical notion in collective memory formation.

#### ***2.2.2.2. Production of Social Space***

Collective memory formation, as was mentioned above, is founded on social processes developed through a specific time period. Thus, we can talk about a process of memory production at social extent. In this manner, its relation to space

and spatial habits point out the intertwining structure between the two domains, which make the production of space highly remarkable at this point. So, we will elaborate the issue from the primary source that coined the theory of production of social space in literature.

Lefebvre's angle, attributing space autonomy brings his conceptualization closer to the group of thinkers, referred to as naturalists before, at the same time causing him to be criticized for his negligence and lacking of theory. His argument that social production of space is mandatory for reproduction of the society, puts him at the center of criticisms especially directed by Marxist scholars. Despite adopting the basic tenets of Marxist doctrine, his prioritization of space in social theory, points out that he was highly skeptical of the economic structuralist view. As Gottdiener reveals, Marxian perspective does not assign space any other attribute than being a container of social relations and class struggles, and a passive entity for state's management of capitalism's crisis base (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 133).

So, at the core of the discussion, Lefebvre turns his attention to the production of space rather than the concept itself in building up a social theory regarding space. Space accepted as a socially produced entity, which is grounded upon values and social production of meanings, as can be remembered from his own quotes, accounts for both the physical and mental perception on space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). Actually, his shift to production processes, enables comprehension of space multi-dimensionally that would only come to light through the investigation of production processes appearing in different modes. Thus, space turns out to appear in different characters like, contradictory, conflictual, differential, and so forth.

As was mentioned before, production of space appears in different modes, where space would maintain its status according to social practices taking place on it. Thus, from his angle, ancient societies had formed the most successful social spaces, according to the principle that every society produces its own space. Similarly, in this context, it could transform from absolute space that was produced naturally to social space or abstract space. At this point, he analyzes varying modes of space in a tripartite structure of perceived space of everyday life (spatial practice), conceptualized

space of signs (representation of space), and the imaginary or symbolic space that is lived (representational space) (1991, p. 38-46).

To understand Lefebvre, as Gottdiener states, the functionalist thinking of Marxian perspective should be abandoned, bringing along spatial dimension to the agenda (1994, p. 129). A dialectical relation is structured between space-society distinction regarding the multifaceted notion of space, which influences every dimension of social life. Beyond its physical reality, it carries a social notion that penetrates into social relations, recreate them, and help reproducing them.

Unlike other commodities, it continually recreates social relations or helps reproduce them; furthermore, these might be the very same relations which helped produce it in the first place. Thus space has the property of being materialized by a specific social process. It is therefore, simultaneously material object or product, the medium of social relations, and the reproducer of material objects and social relations. In this way, Lefebvre grounds the multiplicity of the society-space articulation in a dialectical relation. It is precisely this dialectical, ontological status of space which gives rise to its multifaceted nature in society. Space literally saturates society at every level (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 129).

Capitalist mode of space production “destroys everyday life and the level of civilization once associated by the city,” (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 131). So, Lefebvre proposes the need for a revolutionary spatial approach to bring back the everyday life and social notion of space in the picture. And this revolutionary aspect of urban will be achieved by the right to the city as will be further elaborated later in the next chapter. According to Lefebvre’s argument, this revolution requires a political intervention which would create a transformation in property relations and bring an end to the dominance of abstract space over social space. In other words, a method is necessitated that is adequate to convert the process of constructing space by private ownership into a socialized production of space (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 131).

So, although his evaluations on space brought new ideas and made remarkable contributions to the field, adopting this view alone would give way to fragmentalism in social theory of space. At this point, Castells’ theorization of space needs special attention as he showed significant effort to find a middle way between Lefebvre’s

theory and structuralist school, without falling into the same negligence to assume space just as a passive object manipulated by social mechanisms as most social theorists did before.

### **2.2.3. Space as a Physical Bearer**

Lefebvre's main concern was the reproduction of everyday life and how it has become to be under threat since the capitalist ideology started to dominate space and replaced social space with its own product, abstract space. However, while basing his theory, his distance from class struggle and avoidance to relate the discussion with class relations, made him the address of reactions directed by Marxist scholars. Castells, also objected to depict the main problematic around intervention to everyday life on spatial basis, though he was on the same page with Lefebvre in accepting the possibility of everyday life's liberation (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 151). Lefebvre was being criticized in the way he accepted that space would be the absolute answer to the reproduction of social relations and for bringing everyday life back in the picture. This spatial arena, expressed by Gottdiener as just a physical form, would help produce a radical action, setting a suitable ground for achieving the "praxis". At this point, his theorization of right to the city enters the framework, as the key to develop such a revolutionary act at urban scale. So, intervention of the state on space creating its own spaces via instruments like urban planning that turn out to be the spaces of representation could be overcome by such actions. The appropriation of space that would replace the dominating exchange of value of abstract space with use of value of social space, points out the necessity of a spatial praxis in Lefebvre's argument (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 152-153). In this manner, his approach, actually, has maintained himself a rather different position before Castells, separating him from "other environmental determinists" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 152). However, Castells' dissatisfaction by his theory comes to light at the point Lefebvre is positioning spatial praxis over class praxis. His efforts to capture a relation between the two were not adequate especially for a theoretician in defense of a revolutionary change. Thus Lefebvre seems as he has sacrificed class struggle to a "spatial form" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 154).

First of all, Castells was in search for a response to Lefebvre's formulation of space from the perspective of Althusserian thinking. Nevertheless, he was looking for an object of analysis to make use of while depicting "the conceptual delimitation of urban, within a theory of space, itself a specification of a theory of social structure" (Castells, 1977; cited in Gottdiener, 2001, p. 249). This effort, as interpreted by Gottdiener, was a mere avoidance of getting alone with space in his theory that, in that case, would get him on the same page with Lefebvre (1994, p. 249). Therefore, the way he approaches space can be clearly comprehended in his own words:

Since physical space is the deployment of matter as a whole, a study 'without a priori' or any 'spatial' form and manifestation will amount to establishing a history of matter (Castells, 1977, p. 235).

Turning his focus on what urban space indicates, Castells' implementation of structuralist thinking on space illustrates the concept as "merely a cover or a 'false evidence' of the underlying social relationships at work in producing the built environment" (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 249).

### ***2.2.3.1. Urban Space as a Social Structure***

Castells' argument is grounded on the perception of space as an expression of the social structure requires a tripartite analysis with the components of economic system, political system, and the ideological system prior to their integration and the relationship with social practices (Castells, 1977, p. 126). He also pointed out the significance of understanding space and social relations upon a historical articulation of several modes of production. But the 'production' here diverges from Lefebvre's in the way it is defined as a matrix of fundamentals making up the social structure, depicted by him as the combination of economic, politico-institutional, and ideological systems (Castells, 1977, p. 125).

As the key component of the tripartite structure, the economic system is explained to be constituted around the relationship of labour force, means of production, and non-labour gathered via the relation of property and the relation of real appropriation. The spatial emphasis of this formulation reflects itself through the dialectic of production and consumption. At this point, three new elements are introduced, production (of

means of production), consumption (as the spatial expression of labour power), and exchange, the derivative of these two, emerges on space in the interchange of production and consumption (Castells, 1977, p. 126). Economic system is, thus, “the social process by which the worker, acting on the object of his labour with the help of the means of production, obtains a certain product,” which constitutes the fundamental of the social organization (Castells, 1977, p. 129). Consequently, the construction of such reasoning built upon structural elements and social relations to form the economic structure as a whole, with the assumption of dominance of economic system over others and the very primary constituent of ‘urban’, would allow his theorization to be compatible with Althusser’s perspective, (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 251).

The second component of urban system, the politico-institutional aspect is argued to reflect itself on urban arena upon two essential relations; the relation of *domination-regulation* and the relation of *integration-repression*. Two processes are emphasized by the theoretician in spatial manifestation of politico-institutional system, which are the segmentation of space in units on the one hand, and action on the economic organization of the space on the other (Castells, 1977, p. 127). So, the political space stands out as the site selection of institutions on the basis of political-legal devices (Keskinok, 1988, p. 72).

Ideological system’s influence on spatial ground shows itself as a network of signs, where signifiers reflecting the spatial forms and signifieds indicate ideological contents (Castells, 1977, p. 127). In other words, the form and pattern of urban spaces are integrated in a symbolic way for Castells. This conceptualization of space and social structure upon spatial forms reminds us of the perspective of environmental behavioralists, taking the physical components as the ultimate domain for explaining space-society relation. However, trying not to fall within the domains of semiology that takes space as the signifier of social relations, Castells, carefully draws attention to the dependence of every image to a certain social practice, criticizing the effort of semiological reasoning for this discussion at the same time. For him, every image is bounded with social practices. Furthermore, the mentioned

spatial forms and patterns are not just produced socially but also exist in social relations. In this manner they are nested and defined in each other (Keskinok, 1988, p. 72).

Thus Castells argue that spatial forms could highlight the social organization of space which would be traced upon the separate investigation of three instances he put forth previously (economic, political, ideological), the combination of them, the persistence of the former ecological forms, and the range of actions the environment gives way for individuals or social groups (Castells, 1977, p. 127).

Consequently, according to the perspective he adopted throughout his work of *The Urban Question*, Castells defines urban space as the engagement of the three systems and their elements as mentioned above, shaping the social practices at urban scale. Space, on his account, is not just the product of social structure, but also the concrete expression of a society that maintains a historical specificity upon. Thus, social relations give the space a form, function and social meaning. While the space gains new forms and functions, social changes are also observed on space, which holds a reciprocal relationship (Keskinok, 1988, p. 68).

However, his analysis points out that he is interested in a theorization of urban problems rather than a theory of space per se. As a result, he argues that most of the problems at urban context are bound to collective consumption problem. With this kind of a redefinition of problem, Castells' shift to the city itself as the place where social pathology takes place brings us to the urban sociology approach depicted by Chicago School (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 252). This shift of interest from how space is produced to how the urban problematic is produced, or what forms the crisis in cities, shows how he implemented the Althusserian perspective to space theory (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 249).

City, from this point of view, stands out as the spatial unit of reproduction of labour power. And the processes providing the integration of this unit with the system of economic, political, and ideological structures account for the production of built environment (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 251). This tripartite constitution draws the

boundaries of the urban system (Castells, 1977, p. 235). And the urban unit is a remarkable component of this formulation as it gives way to the articulation of interventionist state and the crises based on the collective consumption processes of modern society (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 252).

As can be seen, economic system transcends the other components of the structure and stands out in Castells' urban space theorization. His refusal of assuming the city as an ideological (cultural) unit stems from the criticism of accepting the nature of a society is inscribed in 'urban', rather than defining societies according to the types of production. Similarly, he refused the city as a political unit as modern capitalism reflects on space as an outcome of economic processes rather than political (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 250).

In summary, both Castells and Lefebvre remain highly significant in finding a middle way between space-society distinction, though Lefebvre received a number of criticisms from Marxist and structuralist doctrine as he remained closer to the naturalist view. He is accused of being an environmental determinist as he brought space on top of his theory. However, ignoring space's social aspect and its influence on social relations, accepting it just as a passive entity would be just neglecting its multifaceted reality that would hold us back from developing a multidimensional understanding towards the concept. Thus, the space-politics discussion founded upon this point of view would remain superficial. Castells, at this point, makes a remarkable contribution in creating a buffer where both of these two approaches can find place. He appreciated Lefebvre's effort to include space in urban politics discussion and endeavored to make his theorization also applicable for Marxian perspective. His effort of filling the gaps in both of the approaches deserves credit, adapting Lefebvre's social space theory to structuralist context, but still in his point of view, space is rather a physical entity accommodating social processes, secondary to economic system. Thus, for us to keep the reciprocal relationship between the two aspects, and to avoid none of them to dominate or to be subsidiary to the other, both of the theoreticians' approaches will be benefitted from in structuring a complementary relation between the two aspects.

Up to now, space theories are analyzed under three prominent perspectives. While tackling the concept from these three dimensions, the theories of scholars were chosen and focused on that could interrelate with each other, which would not completely exclude the other perspectives and that could coexist though standing in highly different positions. At this chapter, the dominant approach was concentrated more on the spatial side of the equilibrium, as there is a tendency to neglect and to take a reductionist stand towards space among most social theorists. But it is important to indicate that this effort is the product of the concern for providing a balance in between. Though it might be hard to implement, space-social (nature-culture) balance will be tried to be kept throughout the thesis. So, the first chapter of the thesis was more of an effort to prove space's undeniable influence on social relations and the dialectic between the two entities. In order to add the politics dimension to the analysis, the discussion will be oriented towards space-politics dialectic in the next chapter, where the social side of the equation will be emphasized more in turn.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **SPACE & POLITICS**

The point where space coincides with politics can be analyzed under three departments. The first issue that comes to mind when these two concepts are used together is the struggle between state-society struggle and dissociation. This struggle which is mostly witnessed as urban conflict can appear in two ways; as conflict on space and conflict over space. At this point, the political authority's approach towards the society, its political stand, and the outcomes of the decision making processes at every field, gains high significance in both of the conflicts. While the first situation is more about the society getting their political rights or their satisfaction with state's political decisions, the second is more related to how authority approaches space and its practices on urban arena. In other words, conflict over space implies political authority's invasion of space and the society's, as the dwellers of the city, fight for their right to the city. The thesis deals with the contradiction between political authority and social opposition rather than state-society contradiction. The reason behind this choice is that the latter necessitates to adopt a homogeneous perspective towards all periods of changing administrations under the roof of state conceptualization. However, the study analyzes the processes under different political climates and different governments. Therefore, this kind of a conceptualization seems more suitable for a periodical investigation. Still, since the political authority uses the political power that originates from state, and since social opposition grows out of the base of society, the discussion of state-society will be elaborated in order to illustrate the framework of the analysis.

In short, the authority's way of using and intervening in space will be elaborated on one hand, while what space means to the social opposition will be on the other, and their conflict on/over space will be investigated along with social movements,

politicization and depoliticization processes, each formed as a reaction to another. But before going into the details of this analysis, it is important to focus on the starring actor of urban conflicts, both affecting and getting affected, as the subject and the object of the issue, the utmost place where social relations and political authority-social opposition gets visible the most, and the absolute arena of examining the dialectic between space and social practices, the public space.

### **3.1. Public Space and Politics**

Public conception and being public, with no doubt, indicate a number of aspects as it appears in various forms and almost in every field social theory covers. Therefore, before tackling the concept within the framework of the study, it is beneficial to mention initially what public in general refers to. The term “public” may be used in any particular condition, for things or people that include a collective or common notion. What is more, sometimes an attribute of ownership is asserted to the concept most commonly when referring to state-civic distinctions (Parkinson, 2009, p. 72-73). Regarding the definition made, it can either refer to intangible entities or embody concrete forms with respect to the context it is handled.

#### **3.1.1. Public Realm**

##### ***3.1.1.1. Public-Private Discussion***

Before going into the details of public space discussion and state-society distinction, it is of high importance to examine the studies on public conception and what public sphere indicates, especially to develop an understanding towards the intertwined concepts of public, society, and politics. In other words, in order to clarify the main point during the thesis, recognition of the distinction of public space and public sphere and their point of convergence becomes highly critical.

Public sphere and private sphere conceptions and the differentiation of them stay at the very center of the political practices of people and the conflicts between the dominant and the subordinate in sociological perspective. Therefore, the conceptualization of these two contradicting spheres differentiate according to

varying political point of views, which seem highly remarkable before carrying the discussion to spatial extent and relating it to urban conflicts. So, at this part of the study three mostly used theory of public sphere will be elaborated around Arendt's, Sennett's, and Habermas' conceptualization of the issue. Each scholar, similarly shows effort to depict a conceptual framework of public sphere, elaborating the issue upon the distinction of public-private sphere, and concentrates on the transformation of this twofold discussion.

Arendt accepts public sphere as the sphere of politics while focusing on a notion of socialization discharged from violence. First of all, she interrelates the public conception with the ability to be seen and heard. In other words, it is identified closely with being visible. Her theorization of public sphere bases its logical ground on the public sphere that happened to be observed in the Ancient Greece, putting politics at the center of her theory. She defined the polis as the sphere of freedom and the utmost arena where people could be free. Public and private distinction becomes clear at this point. The public realm where political acts were held represented the sphere of freedom, while private realm as the domain of family life and property implied the realm of necessity (Arendt, 1998, p. 187). Identifying public realm with a table located in the middle of people sitting around it, she attributes public realm a connector that hold the people together, yet separate them at the same time (Arendt, 1998, p. 201). And she illustrates the major problematic around this conceptualization, pointing out public realm's loss of ability to relate and separate, caused by the private realm's introduction to public realm and the diminishing boundary between them.

Sennett relates public sphere to the opportunity to form social relations at certain places, which would at the same time contribute to the improvement of people's personalities through encounters, direct interaction and communication, and intimate experiences. The passivity and silence that took over the public sphere in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was explained by Sennett as a result of capitalism's power of organizing and authorizing life. Established upon a rather silent, passive and observative "participation", the isolated public space was turned into a more visible,

inviting environment by the 20<sup>th</sup> century that seemed to foster the “audience” in, yet still was not that welcoming and accessible by all parts of the society. This latest mode of intertwining public and private spheres was exemplified by Sennett with glass walled buildings that would still stand out as a closed territory but at the same time visible, showing what’s going on inside, like a stage.

Habermas, on the other hand, defines public sphere as a mediator between the private interests of everyday life in civil society - the domain between the family and the workplace - and the realm of state identified with power and domination (Kellner, 2009, p. 4-5). So, public sphere located at the junction of state and society, makes sense as long as it holds the potential to accommodate public opinion (Habermas, 1989, p. 50). So, it is, first of all, the domain of public opinion formation, which all citizens could have access to and participate in. Thus, every medium that gives way to the formation of a public body created by the union of private individuals is accepted as a portion of public sphere (Habermas, 1989, p. 49). .

The “bourgeois public sphere” was coined by him, regarding the public sphere that had unfolded around 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, where society was able to gather and set forth critical and rational thinking through discussions against the dominant authority on a common ground. It provides, by this means, a free and accessible environment for all where public discussions could be executed free from power and status of each person (Habermas, 1989, p. 106–107). And this notion of public sphere becomes the very factor that provided the social life to democratize and emancipate from the dominant authority in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor (Habermas, 1989, p. 29).

Hence, he stresses on the contradiction between public authority and private individuals, who were excluded from the public domain as a result of lacking organization (Habermas, 1989, p. 51), especially after the shift to liberal democracy

followed by the social welfare state. Thus, he depicts the public sphere conception upon public opinion formation through rational discussions, debates around common public affairs and to organize against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power (Kellner, 2009, p. 4-6).

Though appearing in various forms under different circumstances, like salons, Tischgesellschaften, and coffee shops, Habermas points out common features of these public spheres. Summarizing his institutional criteria under three headings as, disregarding of status, being the domain of common concern, and being inclusive are stated to be of high importance for the emergence of a public sphere (Habermas, 1989, p. 105-107).

Being affected by Habermas' theorization, Negt and Kluge work on designating a relatively multi-faceted public sphere conception by making some additions to what Habermas introduced by his theory. Moving from the assumption that there is a reciprocal relationship between public and private sphere, we can say that the bourgeois and proletarian public spheres exist complementarily. Differing from Habermas and Arendt, Negt and Kluge depict the major problematic as the inability of private sphere to move to the public sphere. As they expressed the situation in different terms, the tyranny of privacy holds public sphere from emancipation as private sphere could not emancipate. So, public sphere is free to the extent private sphere can be. Thus the two entities are tackled in a dialectical relationship. In this context, they follow a much more different direction than the former academicians to elaborate the issue, taking the intertwining of both spheres and the losing boundaries between them as a problem.

According to the theoreticians, despite the assertion of bourgeois public sphere conception to represent the society as a whole, it still excludes the substantial life-interests. Thus it becomes the address of capitalist production interests (Negt & Kluge, 1997, p. 228). In this sense, they come up with a new conception in the discussion contrary to bourgeois public sphere or as coined by them, proletarian public sphere. At this point, it is important to express that the distinction is not the

outcome of a class distinction. Proletarian public sphere is introduced to complement the bourgeois public sphere at the points it remained unsatisfactory.

Proletarian publicity negates bourgeois publicity because it either dissolves, destroys, or assimilates the latter's elements. For opposite reasons, the bourgeois public sphere does the same with every manifestation of proletarian publicity not supported by working class power, and thus cannot repel attacks. Coexistence is impossible (Negt & Kluge, 1997, p. 243).

At this point, the public sphere of production which is inclusive contrary to both the bourgeois public sphere and proletarian public sphere is introduced by the theoreticians, which would make it possible for private and public to be nested in each other, as a "direct expression of the domain of production," (Negt & Kluge, 1997, p. 236-237).

Thus, despite the diverging points of the scholars' theorizations mentioned above, one critical point stands out that deserves attention that is, the need of public sphere to be inclusive, no matter from which angle the issue is addressed.

### ***3.1.1.2. State - Society Contradiction***

Regarding the public-private sphere contrast covered above, contrast of state and society seems to constitute a great part of the discussion. As was mentioned previously, political authority and social opposition stand out as the functions of state-society contradiction. In this sense, the thesis is structured around this distinction. And since the usage of terminology indicates a specific theoretical stand, it is important to explain the reasoning behind this selection before going into details of the study.

Urban politics, with no doubt, covers a tension between two sides, the dominant and the dominated or the subordinate. How to call the sides will naturally determine our theoretical perspective. The former side of the equation does not create problem, it is most often examined as the state, though it seems as secondary to the capital especially after the globalization period. But still, even if we obtain a Marxist perspective and accept the dominance of capital, which we inevitably have to, state remains as the implementer of capitalist practices and the one holding power. So, it is

agreed to call the dominant power as the state. However, definition of the subordinate or the side experiencing the struggle with state requires further examination. So, we have to first look at the struggles on and over space in order to illustrate what we understand from space of the dominated.

Inhabitants, citizens, users of space, civil society, public, class are some of many terms we can use for the dominated side of the discussion. While comparing Lefebvre's and Castells' theorizations, Gottdiener used the term users, as the users of space, the inhabitants of the urban space. According to him the relation between state interventions and the inhabitants could be specified only by investigating the nature of the state and taking society as a whole (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 156).

Castells, in his early studies, referred to these users as the consumers of state services and goods regarding his theory on collective consumption and his problem definition. Lefebvre, on the other hand, indicates the users of space as the users of everyday life since his problem definition was shaped around the articulation of a variety of aspects as economic, political, and cultural courses. Gottdiener, draws attention to the fact that, Castells' users became similar to Lefebvre's, as new urban movements were produced by "socio-spatial arrangements which include instances of territory and culture (that is, ethnicity and race) as well as state intervention," (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 156).

As can be seen above, *class* remains much more specific in terminology when studying the relations between power and the public. Especially in contemporary political circumstances the boundaries of interests are no longer clear cut and well defined with respect to global concerns. Since the struggle between power and public transcended the tension between state and working class, even Marxist scholars started to feel the necessity to expand the discussion on a wider ground. Therefore, the state-society opposition will lead our discussion at this part of the study.

State-society contradiction as the extension of public-private discussion, also is shaped around the concept of publicity. From Habermas' point of view, public sphere becomes the ultimate medium of this state-society opposition, as it provides

the suitable ground for creating a public reaction against public authority through public opinion formation (Habermas, 1989).

Beginning with the domain of society while examining both sides of the equation separately, it can be analyzed from two different angles. While, standing right against the state on the one hand, it is bound to the public authority at the points where public interest calls for requirements beyond the private domestic authority on the other (Habermas, 1989, p. 52). Yet, society, as a private realm in his theorization, develops into public, to the extent it accomplishes to develop a counter position against state, exceeding its neediness for service provision by the public authority, and takes place at nowhere but the bourgeois public sphere. In this context, society is formed of bourgeois individuals, standing vis-a-vis power. Though this opposition was much clearer in pre-modern societies, it has now turned into a tradeoff, where social and political activities are sacrificed in expense of private interests having guaranteed by power under market conditions. Thus, along with the transformation of nature of power, the state-society distinction and the boundaries of public-private sphere witnessed restructuring processes.

The reason why the term society is used in opposition to state can be explained upon this barely perceptible boundaries of public and private. Recalling Sennett's arguments, with capitalism, public-private differentiation had blurred, the decline of public life emerges in this new era in form of rising communities (1977, p. 221-223). This was also mentioned in Arendt's work as public's modern relation with private, leading to new private spheres with public notion that can be also referred as the civil society (Arendt, 1998, p. 59). The privatized economic practices given under the authorization of state gave way to such ambiguous organizations, defined by Sennett as the principal problematic of contemporary era. But throughout the study, the discussion will be founded rather upon state-society distinction as separate entities, as opposing sides around different interests.

State located on the other edge of the discussion, as a concept most commonly identified with intervention and power in political science, is not accepted by all theoreticians as the concrete embodiment of power. From this point of view, the state

seems as a condensation of class interests, the regulator of class conflict with respect to Poulantzas' theorization as also adopted by Castells in his prominent works (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 143). In this context, Saunders also stressed that state's connection to power rests on its projection of political relations between different classes. Thus, power becomes a mere function of class relations, getting to be manifested upon class practices (1981; cited in Gottdiener, 1994, p. 143). Lefebvre, on the other hand, takes state as the domain for power implementation, going beyond the boundaries of economic relations and requiring a spatial basis.

Public realm is elaborated both with its tangible and intangible dimensions up to now. However, throughout this study, it will be analyzed more upon its physical dimension. Thus, as the basis for communication and interaction, the discussion will require a spatial component for the thesis to be established on a solid ground. So, it will be possible to be able to read the dimensions of public-private sphere from spatial configuration. On this account, regulations on space will tell much about the existing public sphere conception. If a limited and fragmented public sphere is desired by the authority, space is shaped in the way to restrict the communication and social interaction of public to a certain extent. Taking control of public sphere is implemented by political and economic strategies via spatial moves and interventions on the built environment. In this manner, the relationship between public realm and space will be carried out on public space conception, as the places of both conflict and struggle of the dominant and the dominated, and social interactions between people become visible. At this point, space, politics, and public intersect at the points of socialization. Thus, social practices hold a political message and can only be observed on public space. In other words, the stage of action and socialization, and therefore state-society struggle, gets to be the public space. That is why, it is time to go deeper in the conception of public space and its position amongst social and political practices.

Space for state, for Marxists, is rather a public policy instrument than the area of spatial design practices. Taking the issue from the point of view of economy politics, space becomes the ultimate arena for managing crises of capitalism. Thus, functions

of state are determined in this context, specified as accumulation and legitimation. As Gottdiener reveals, Marxian perspective does not assign space any other attribute than being a container of social relations and class struggles, and a passive entity for state's management of capitalism's crisis base (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 133).

Two characteristics of state-space relationship are argued to be of critical significance in Marxist understanding. Firstly, regarding space as the ultimate base for capitalism's crisis management from state's perspective, both the production of space itself and urban politics are perceived as being produced by the expressions of class conflict at urban arena. Secondly, reproduction of capitalist relations of production on space is conducted only by the state (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 135). So, referring more to the Marxist literature brings us again to two important approaches carried out, Castells' urban question, and Lefebvre's production of space regarding the reproduction processes of social relations by state on space.

Castells' crisis theory of capitalism moved from the dual existence of state intervention on built environment, its involvement in private sector on the one hand, and its social responsibility to "cover the increasing costs of reproducing the labour force" and sustaining the quality of everyday life in means of provision of goods and services on the other (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 137-138). Thus, city becoming the utmost space for collective consumption is once again underlined by the theoretician. Upon state's duty of service provision to its inhabitants, Gottdiener draws attention to the complicated relation between society and state which can no longer be reduced to class differences. He emphasizes:

Urban politics is no longer merely an epiphenomenon of class relations. Housing, education, transportation, and pollution and energy concerns have all become part of a growing and generalized political agenda shared by the majority of citizens, because the state instead of the private sector has assumed responsibility for the quality of life. The essence of these 'new' forms of social cleavage is the fact that they are produced by state intervention rather than by the economic relations, as most Marxists might suppose (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 138).

Here, it is of high significance that state interventions are accepted as the primary cause for urban conflict and struggle on spatial arena. As was addressed by Castells,

the new disparities were the products of the socio-spatial inequalities created by the collective consumption, which forms the very basis of the “urban question”.

As was mentioned earlier, Lefebvre’s conception of state differentiates much from Castells’. It indicates the exercise of power in the first place. By this understanding, state does not only defend capitalist ideology’s interests, but also its own interests, which is mostly the basis of nation state idea. The theoretician founds his arguments upon state’s claim to power on a domination-subordination relationship, which appears as a control mechanism of society. And it achieves this position through spatial regulations, producing its own abstract space (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 144; Lefebvre, 1991, p. 322).

As can be seen, the state-society contradiction invites space into the discussion from many aspects. Space, at this point, remains at a very critical position in the debate, pointing out the dialectical relation both as the bearer and the manipulator of the political and social processes simultaneously. Thus, it is time to investigate public space conception as the primary arena of struggle of interests and state-society conflict.

### **3.1.2. Public Space Conception**

Public space conception occupies a considerable place in politics and space theories, dominating a wide range in space-politics discussion. Before further elaborating the “publicness” of public space and public-private conflict, the functional framework of the concept should be concentrated on. First of all, the changing function of public spaces throughout the history attributes it a variety of qualifications. From Agora of the polis, the Roman Forum, open market places of medieval cities, the Renaissance squares to contemporary public facilities like parks, playgrounds, shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and festival places, public spaces have served civilizations throughout the progress and still continue to be pivotal areas in city life (Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 115; İlkay, 2007, p. 46-54). The multifaceted notion of public space thus can be classified regarding a wide variety of roles, under physical, ecological,

psychological, social, political, economic, symbolic, and aesthetic aspects. (Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 115).

As was mentioned above, public spaces arise as physical entities in the first place, in various forms as streets, squares, plazas, market places and parks. They serve as major communication channels, meet the daily needs of the public, accommodate a wide range of activities, and depict the hierarchy of open spaces of a city (Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 116). The aesthetic role of them can also be shown related to this aspect. Aesthetic configuration of a city is implied mostly through the public spaces. Hence, these places become the main tool for the beautification of cities and their development in means of aesthetic qualities (Akkar Ercan. 2007, p. 119). The economic quality of public places have also become about the built environment lately. The public space serving the market purposes and commerce since the emergence of the medieval cities have transformed into commodities and places for speculative ends to be executed which will be elaborated further later on (see Akkar Ercan, 2007). As for their ecological role in the city, they contribute to the development of healthy environments (Thompson cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 116) through green architecture and landscape works. The recreational purposes integrating nature with the city, undoubtedly, plays a part in the ecological improvement of the cities.

Furthermore, they support the individuals in means of psychological and mental processes through the development of the self and social interaction with others (Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117). The symbolic role of them is also of high concern in this manner. As expressed by Montgomery, “higher order values” are the main implications of these places (cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 118) as can appear in urban parts of religious, political, cultural, and historical identity. This symbolic notion of public spaces is of vital importance in creation of a sense of community (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 119) as was referred to in other scholars’ works earlier. Their contribution to the society upon their social notion reveals itself unequivocally from a different aspect as well, as the assembling of social diversities become

possible via public spaces. This way, the formation of a heterogeneous society, a community life and “social cohesion” become a matter of fact (Madanipour, 1995; Carr et al., 1992; Walzer, 1986; Moughtin, 1999 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117).

The political role the public spaces carry is once again underlined upon the strong relation it has with social realm. By Lynch’s (1992) and Rapoport’s (1977) claim, the openness and the capacity to “accommodate ‘freely chosen’ and ‘spontaneous’ action of people”, enable public spaces to develop and promote ‘democracy’ (cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117). In addition, the visibility of public reaction is also given way by the opportunities public spaces provide people. Therefore, representation of people, participation of them to the decision making processes are conducted on these places.

Besides the functional variety public spaces offer to the public realm, “publicness” of public space and to what extent they remain public has come up for a number of debates among academicians. This aspect of the discussion can be illustrated by a number of distinctive parameters and be related to the politics of public space in literature. The various perspectives shaped around varying criteria are classified by Mitchell and Staeheli under separate sections. To start with, scholars studying the subject from a geographical point of view build the framework around processes of exclusion namely, by race, gender, class, sexuality, age, and disability. Another perspective puts to the center, the role of law in relation with public spaces and political violence structured upon law. By other scholars, the argument is developed upon the depiction of public spaces as stages of political movements. For other researchers, the debate stems from the assumption of public space as a stage of state to manifest itself to the citizens. The final group of academicians defines public space being a social phenomenon, as a space of sociality that most often encounter the restrictions carried out by politics of power, which appears in some cases through the channel of design (see Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006, p. 144).

Consequently, according to the theories mentioned above, to what extent a public space becomes public has been summarized by the criteria of access and exclusion, law and custom, power and protest (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006, p. 144). Looking

from a slightly different point of view from the mentioned approaches, Mitchell and Staeheli introduce a new description of the concept “public”, shaping it according to the argument of who has the right to the city with reference to Lefebvre’s work of 1968 (2006, p. 144). In this sense, both the concept itself and the redevelopment acts taking place on urban area are analyzed through the politics of property.

Introducing a different perception of public space through property relations, the authors stress on the necessity of examining the nature of property. Referring to Blomley and Macpherson, the property rights could somehow be manifested as the “right to exclude”. At this point, with the inclusion of the state of ownership, the monopolistic right of use followed by the implication of violence is underlined. “Property, thus, exists in a regime of practices, laws, and meanings that formally and informally determine the exact nature of a property right” (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006, p. 149). Based on this view, the changes of property regimes are mentioned to be worked out by analyzing the exclusion practices.

### ***3.1.2.1. Public Space and Democracy***

Being assumed to be the places of representation and public expression since they have become the centers of collective actions in democracies, public spaces got to be the main subject of politics and space discussion. Besides their manipulative effect on social and political relations, it is widely known that public spaces have been serving the democratic practices of political units, dating back to ancient times. The first, purest and closest implementation of the utopia of direct democracy took place on nowhere but the Greek Agoras, the ultimate public spaces of *polis*, which became the utmost platform of direct participation and clarity of public life, even though democracy was not accessible by all parts of the society. Similar to the Greek Agora, in ancient Rome Roman Forum was the area where all the political activity was accommodated. So, back in the oldest civilizations, politics was highly identified with public space. Beginning from middle ages, public spaces started to accommodate multiple functions, and the pure political spaces of ancient times rather withdrew into institutional structures. Yet, public spaces pursued their duty to bear political acts throughout history in medieval cities, industrial states, modern states,

and as can be observed contemporarily in postmodern global states. Though administrative and political approaches have witnessed radical changes throughout history along with the spatial structure and public sphere in the cities, political acts and participation have pursued to relate with public space.

Democratization, as Habermas argued, has much to do with the political participation (Kellner, 2009, p. 3). And since public space turns out to be the concrete arena of public sphere where the formation of public opinion and development of a political stand by public gets possible, democracy and public space become highly related. In this sense, if we turn back to the varying uses and changing position of public space in political systems, the classification conducted by Parkinson is worth mentioning that is structured under three parts as, informal public space, formal public space, and market democracy and public space. The theoretician defines the difference between the first two headings as, “[i]f the informal public sphere is the energy source of a democratic society, the formal public sphere is required to bring the disparate results of public conversations together in order to debate their differing conclusions and come to binding collective agreements” (Parkinson, 2009, p. 77). Under the last heading, he introduces the liberal perspective of public connoted as “innumerable, individual decisions made in private”, which accepts the markets as the utmost media of experiencing democratic values, however appearing still as in need of a physical public medium even for this purpose (Parkinson, 2009, p. 79).

Up to this point, the political processes at urban scale are illustrated upon public space conception. Nevertheless, not all the academic work prefers to deal with the argument over public realm. In fact, a remarkable variety of angles are present in literature, taking the space-politics dialectic from alternative standpoints. With the contemporary progress witnessed and latest practices applied on space throughout the restructuring processes gave way to the rise of necessity for new theories and new concepts to be adopted in academy. So amongst this wide range of different perspectives, while different types of space conception are introduced by many scholars, some are distant to the thought of categorization of space. For these researchers, it is wrong to approach the subject only from the dimension of

ownership and to move on with the analysis in this manner, as it might remain reductionist to neglect spaces that cannot be put into definite classifications as public or private, but acting like public in numerous aspects.

Parkinson, as can be covered under this point of view, claims that labeling urban parts as public or not by considering some criteria like full access and so, is not an approach to be favored. He supports the idea that the restrictions would not make it any less public as it has an abstract quality which manifests itself only on political grounds. He concludes his remarks by pointing out the necessity of a variety of public space for a truly democratic environment as it is not possible for places to carry all the multi-facets of “public” (Parkinson, 2009, p. 83). So, according to this point of view, what brings space its public notion can be extracted out as the political practices that are conducted on that area.

A very similar understanding is brought forward by Cunningham though accepting the urban public spaces with their accessibility and multifunctional qualities they hold, only a measure of openness and anonymity will be adequate to accommodate “subversive” activities of the public. Subversive, hereby, implicates the “radical organization and protest, democratic deliberation and debate, opening the eyes of the affluent to unjust disparities in their cities,” (2009, p. 88). In this sense, he expresses that the way public spaces serve to the facilities of democracies can not be restricted by “full non-exclusion or public ownership” (Cunningham, 2009, p. 87).

Common space is another term to be used by the ones to avoid the distinction of public-private. However, it is not also accurate to neglect the property relations completely, which will still require a classification from within. A similar path is taken by Peter G. Rowe (1997), one of the scholars to search for a middle way in public-private discussion, introducing ‘civic places’ or ‘civic spaces’. A civic place belongs to everyone and yet to nobody in particular, and it is not strictly public or private in this manner. Civic realm forms the central focus in Rowe’s theorization of state-society relations and is stressed on a lot as it stands in the middle of the public and private domains. Thereby, the term civic is explained to be correlated with civil society which we cannot classify strictly as public or private. Reminding us of

Arendt's and Habermas' formulations, a tripartite structure of public, civil, and private is pointed out. The two alternative approaches of how civil society concept should be coined in that structure are given according to perspectives of scholars like Arato and Cohen, and others including Habermas respectively (cited in Rowe, 1997). On the one hand, it is detailed as political and economic actions of civil society like voluntary associations, social movements and public communications, and on the other, it is related with economic transactions like markets (Rowe, 1997, p. 203).

From Rowe's point, the conceptual separation of state and the civil society creates an immense opportunity for the formation of civic spaces (1997, p. 203). Therefore, it can be interpreted that making of space into place, attributing a meaning to a specific area is reached through a civic action developed out of the conflicts with authority. Along with the Piazza del Campo of Siena example, Rowe focuses on the multi functional structure of the square mainly allowing people to assemble for various purposes (1997, p. 28). Through the urban public spaces of Barcelona, the ability of these areas to create a "human plurality" (commonness) and "diversity of viewpoint" at the same time, is emphasized as one of the strong sides of this case (1997, p. 66). By Mitterand's grand projects of Paris, the French experience is found to be a good example of civic space making like Barcelona, assuring the criteria of allowing accessibility, commonness, and all means of interpretations of meaning and use (1997, p. 68-69). With the New York grid the resistive practices as a step for the dwellers to declare their individuality and personality, the improvement of social dimension of the urban space are pointed out (1997, p. 144-145).

If we turn back to theories proposing new conceptions in spatial hierarchy, the one introduced in Mitchell and Straeheli's work is worth mentioning. According to Darrel Crilley, the privatization of public spaces throughout the restructuring processes led to "pseudo-public spaces", modified and corroded in means of open accessibility. Against this concept, the authors introduce "pseudo-private spaces", representing the "spaces that are formally owned by the state, by the public, but that are subject to control and regulation by private interests" (cited in Mitchell and Straeheli, 2006, p. 153). This kind of a structure that diminishes the boundaries

between public-private zones, leads us back to the central concern of Richard Sennett. He hinged the loss of public notions, and the political confusions coming right afterwards, on the vague and overlapping position of urban hierarchy. By Mitchell and Straeheli, this situation is presented alongside the restrictions against unprivileged groups' right to the city over homeless people in Clean and Safe program, San Diego example.

### ***3.1.2.2. Public Space and the Right to the City***

As we approach the issue from property relations, the right to the city and courses of exclusion at urban scale gets to be of paramount importance. Despite the transformation processes observed in property relations and claim to urban land, similar practices of exclusion can be encountered throughout history in recurring trends. Sancar (2002) accepts both the construction of the Greek Agora, as the arena of direct participation and public realm, and the main criteria of the regulation of Paris streets and squares from the scratch have the same departure point in means of urban space and politics. Taking the issue from a different angle, the author finds both of the cases exclusive to the same degree. According to this perspective, agoras were the symbol of a democracy which the slaves were isolated from. Similarly, Paris became the representation of a spatial design with its wide boulevards and redefined districts which swept the lower classes to the ghettos on the other side. According to the author, both the ancient democracy and the modern democracy that entered the picture with the French Revolution had a single concern, which was the construction of an urban structure to make control of class relations possible for the authority in charge, which would be the ultimate instrument of power to keep working classes away from political processes and the social opportunities public spaces were offering (Sancar, 2002).

Right to the city, by Lefebvre's definition, is "like a cry and demand" for restoring urban life which was diminished by "the claim to nature, and the desire to enjoy it". Thus, the right to the city is sacrificed at the expense of the need and the right to nature that gets to alienate the inhabitants from urban life (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). As Harvey stresses,

The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (Harvey, 2011, p. 1-2).

Globalization of urban process has brought along transformations of lifestyle, which we contemporarily encounter in the form of commodities. On this account, city has become the bearer of consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries that have become the requisites of urban political economy. Along with the prevalence of property values at urban scale, restructuring in social structure was also observed in the form of individualism and political withdrawal (Harvey, 2011, p. 8-9).

In the contemporary era where the opportunities are measured by to what extent the people have access to consumerism, Harvey draws attention to the fact that the first and foremost groups to be influenced by the processes of displacement get to be the marginalized and unprivileged groups, under the practices of "accumulation by dispossession" as he coins (Harvey, 2011, p. 9-10). The right to the city, thus, is located under the domination of a small political and economic elite (Harvey, 2011, p. 13). In this manner, in order to take control of the city, Harvey emphasizes on the significance of democratization of the right to the city and the execution of a broad social movement through the unification of separate struggle on the basis of right to the city (Harvey, 2011, p. 15). As Lefebvre indicated, the right to the city "can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (1968, p. 158).

In short, appropriation of the claim to urban life by society is emphasized by the scholars under the right to the city. Before going into the details of spatial praxis, it is beneficial to analyze the practices of state and society separately on public space, and how regimes and political orders are reflected on the built environment. So, in order for the concepts the right to the city and spatial praxis to be comprehended totally, it is important initially to elaborate the hegemony of political power on space, how

power perceives space and sees it as an arena to be appropriated and to be used as an instrument to its advantage, and how these processes orient the public response and trigger reactions at urban scale. In other words, how physical configuration of public space impacts on the political and ideological perception of both sides gain significance approaching the conception of political space and processes of politicization-depoliticization.

### ***3.1.2.3. Public Space, Hegemony and Ideology***

The common physical implementations of state that would manifest itself in the form of massive public institutions and monumental constructions provided a visibility for the state and its power to be perceived by the society. Regulations of the dominant authority on space, as an expression of the state ideology that would be transmitted through spatial elements to the people, find their reflection on physical environment by the public buildings defining a specific public space, monuments or other landscape elements that the society would confront at certain spots of open areas, routes mostly preferred by people and so forth.

Space, with the strong features, scale, and physical attributes, implicates the practices expected to be carried out on it and therefore develop a certain identity through the physical configuration process. In this manner, the public spaces carrying a symbolic meaning, are most often designed far more spacious, emphatic, and monumental in comparison to other urban areas. Therefore, social processes and developments are related to and identified with the changing urban forms throughout the history (Benevolo, 1980; cited in Erdönmez, 2005, p. 88).

As the state operates largely on spatial arena and as it uses its authority from time to time to manipulate social relations through the domination of built environment, it becomes highly possible to say that space can relate to the existing political order (see Erdönmez, 2005). Via the reflection of state's ideology and attitude upon spatial ground, the physical environment may give clues about the adopted approach or to what degree the authority displays the extent of its power. While the spaces of anti-democratic regimes reflect the dominant administrations' rigid hierarchical structure

through their spatial forms and physical attributes, spaces of democratic systems carry part-whole relationship within their structure that seem to be the product of organic processes (Erdönmez, 2005, p. 91; Sala, 2009, p. 69). At this point, the part-whole relation stands out as the key in the equation for understanding the scope the practices support democracy upon space, since at some situations not fully organized or ordered spaces may seem as the result of a free and organic development in the planning field. In other words, the space's organic structure implies that the urban area is free of interventions of the power holder which can not be the case in rather authoritarian and oppressive regimes that would attempt to destroy the previous structure which very much supported the collective memory and identity of the city.

Thus, hegemony of power on urban arena reflects itself through spatial practices. In analysis of urban political power, Gramsci's conception of hegemony and Lefebvre's production of space theory are associated. Gramsci defines hegemony as the predominance of a certain social class over others through political and ideological activities, moral and intellectual leadership by getting the consent of the subordinate. The spatial practices of the dominant class take the subordinate to its side via forming some kind of an alliance through spatial production processes. This way, it constitutes a hegemonic power over urban political priorities (Kipfer, 2008 cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013, p. 99). The dominant class attains political power through this kind of processes by getting the support of the subordinate class (Gramsci, 1970 cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013). Thus, Lefebvre's production of space conception can be analyzed as spatialization or commodification of hegemony (Kipfer, 2002 cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013, p. 99). Though it has got easier to observe the capitalist space production practices on urban scale in neoliberal political systems, the spatial reflection of dominant ideology dates back to centuries ago.

Throughout history where many administrative changes have been observed globally, the change of administration or political regime has found its expression as physical transformation on urban space. The most appreciated, admired and popular squares throughout the world in cities, now specified as the capitals of culture and civilization, can be counted as the products of such transformation processes.

Europe's one of the most prominent urban spaces, one of the four global cities of today, Paris was the product of a struggle of power and ideology. It was constructed by Haussmann right after the class struggle in search for independence that took place at the barricades of the narrow streets of Paris, as the utmost base of action and space of the society against the administration. So, the shelter and supporter of French revolutionists was transformed into wide boulevards and open squares where the class activity could no longer take place. The change of physical structure was more than an urban infrastructure and a construction project. It was also the symbolic and ideological landmark of power over class struggle.

Another example of radical change in urban structure can be shown as St. Petersburg. Peter the Great wanted a new, ordered and well design capital near the river of Neva. The squares, formed as a result of the construction of this new capital, were designed as the physical expression of domination and authority of the Tsar on space, which would later become the spaces of rebellion followed by a revolution (Sala, 2009, p. 74).

Space's powerful configuration designed to express the dominant regime's basic tenets found place on every ground of political realm. It was used as an instrument to reflect the regime's power and glory not only by capitalist or feudal administrations but also by socialist ideology. Notwithstanding, Lefebvre pointed out the fact that socialist ideology could not be reflected well on urban arena upon Soviet example that could not produce its own space, reducing social and physical space to an epistemological (mental) space (1991, p. 61-62). By his words:

Change life! Change Society! These ideas lose completely their meaning without producing an appropriate space. A lesson to be learned from soviet constructivists from the 1920s and 30s, and of their failure, is that new social relations demand a new space, and vice-versa (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 59).

Though the Russian example was not considered as a successful example, it is still of high importance to investigate how socialism also used physical space to highlight its principles and to make its ideology visible on spatial context.

We don't observe a structural transformation on Red Square during the Soviet era, but it is this exact period which the square gained its political and symbolic meaning. Though it had a history of accommodating public events like executions, meetings, parades, and demonstrations since Kremlin had been completed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Red Square maintained its significance after becoming the base of Russian communist revolution which would later constitute a model for the Tiananmen Square. Military parades and national celebrations were held on that same ground (Sala, 2009, p. 76-78), reproducing the symbolic, political and ideological meaning of the place and contributing to the collective memory of the nation.

In China socialist ideology was highlighted spatially by physical arrangements in the period of Mao Zedong. The Tiananmen Square, which was narrower and surrounded by fortifications back in the times of emperorship, was reconstructed based on the model of Red Square physically and was opened to public. This massive space greeted Mao's portrait in the north broke down the traditional alignment of the square towards east-west axis, symbolizing the political change. The feudal and unreachable, divine center was replaced by a new, open public space accessible by all, becoming the space of the public (Sala, 2009, p. 79).

Fascist ideologies had also found a ground for spatial manifestation as was the case in Königsplatz in Munich. Witnessing a physical transformation in 1933 under Hitler's authority, the square was restructured and turned into a place where Nazi demonstrations could take place. The green texture was replaced with stone on the square which would now be defined by the new symbols of national socialist ideology as Führer building and Nazi party headquarters in addition to the "Honor Temples" that would provide the monumentality and megasturcutre. It is also worth mentioning that the first thing after World War II was the renovation of the square, bringing it back to its former green texture and restored to its past image (Webb & Michael, 1990; cited in Sala, 2009, p. 83). The spatial reconfiguration implied that Germany deleted that period out of their national history. So, once again, space contributed to a new beginning for Germans and helped erase the shame out of their collective memory.

## **3.2. Space of State vs. Space of Society**

### **3.2.1. Political Space**

It is commonly accepted that space carries a social notion, and a spatial research should be carried out along with the social processes. Space therefore, carries a transcendental notion that exceeds physical attributions, just existing as a built environment accommodating acts of people. It is rather a “place” when identified by human psychology, where movement and social acts emerge, making communication and interrelation among people possible, and even orienting and affecting the general public behavior besides its contributory and enabling feature. So once again, urban space stands out as an entity collecting the tripartite existence of mental, physical and social in one body. Additionally, without any doubt, the existence of power conflict provides space a political notion. Thus, automatically urban space goes side by side with political courses. But how does this quality turns into a characteristic, the utmost identity of space? How is political space defined and through which channels is it perceived, experienced, or practiced?

It is beneficial to initially emphasize on how the depiction of political space concept is made as it will be used several times throughout this work. According to Lefebvre’s argument, every society and every mode of production produces its own space (1991, p. 31). As will be recalled, he assigned various characteristics to space regarding social practices it accommodated and social production processes of it. By the same token, he introduced several modes of space as contradictory, differential, and so forth. So, this reasoning forms the fundamental of why the term political space will be used throughout the study. Political actions executed socially in spatial context give rise to the generation of a new mode of space, the political space.

It is important, at this point, to define what by political space is implied. Political space is, above all, the space carrying a political identity, having the potential to accommodate political conflicts, and reside in the collective memory of the people along with their national political history. It is the place which reminds the people of their citizen rights, making self-expression and participation possible throughout the ongoing processes of policy and decision making for them. It is an arena for the

citizens to represent themselves, the point where being a citizen and practicing political self-determination gains meaning. Yet, it is at the same time where power relations are witnessed and the control of authority is strongly felt. Hence, it is a space of force, violence, action - and reaction at the same time, and consequently an arena of conflict. Thereby, it is bound with intervention and opposition; it is the space of resistance, even a space of subversion, as coined by Cunningham (2009) in this sense.

So, putting political space conception into a specific template, or to examine it within a clear cut framework by certain parameters is not an easy task. As political expression and recognition of people is possible at the most visible places with high capacity of bearing, where masses are able to get assembled and where social cohesion is achievable, public spaces are naturally most preferred for such purposes in cities. As can be observed throughout the history, the open spaces like squares and streets are remembered most often with social and political movements. It is not the question of openness, property relations or other criteria that is being discussed here. But according to the changing quality of conflict or movement or depending on the various circumstances, the urban area to be the scene of the mentioned struggle alters as well. Still, public spaces seem the most convenient areas to strike a collective organization to be taken seriously. As Erwin Goffman approached the issue from the social-psychological point of view, the development of self and process of socialization is possible through face-to-face interactions and the ultimate media to host and provide these interactions is thus, clarified by him as the public places (1967; 1963; cited in Barlas, 2006, p. 11). In consequence, both from spatial and political theory perspectives, political notion of space is studied along with public spaces and public-private discussion as public dimension is an irrevocable of these investigations. Therefore, the discussion will be continued throughout this research upon public or semi public spaces like squares, parks, boulevards, streets, and so forth.

### **3.2.2. Space of Social Opposition**

#### ***3.2.2.1. Space as the Arena of Political Action - Politicization of Space***

When does a place become political? At what points the politicization of a place begins? Through which processes and stages a space attains political significance? Politicization of space, at the first instant, might seem meaningless as politics is already inscribed in space. It already reflects a political expression from the instant it is intervened by the authority and shaped or transformed through enforcement. If we are to study space with a holistic approach as Lefebvre has done, within the tripartite structure space is analyzed, representation of space, representational space and spatial practices, politics becomes very much inscribed to the nature of space. But, what actually forms the central concern of this thesis is the point where it becomes the arena of conflict between political authority and social opposition. So, the very moment it gains its symbolic meaning for the society on the one hand, and becomes a strategic weapon to manipulate social processes by the authority on the other, the point it becomes a political space will from the ground the study will be developed upon.

The urban areas accommodating political occasions are embedded in public cognition as places of political and social expression and as a channel of at least indirect participation in the decision making processes. The space thus, becomes on the one hand, an accommodator for social opposition to become visible and manipulate the mechanism at points of dissatisfaction with the ongoing processes, or a stimulator and reminder supporting the people's political notions, alert their conscience and help them initiate an action on the other. This kind of a triggering effect of space on collective behavior is more about the spatial composition and design of that area which is going to be elaborated later in the study. The form, function, and structure of urban space as well put by Lefebvre (1991) undoubtedly nourish the social and political notion of the society.

By the time the barricades were built by the republican activists, were the Paris streets politicized which accommodated a bloody struggle between the military and

the revolutionists. Politics, as was shown earlier, have a public notion. Thus, the Paris uprising of 1832 was organized the same day the public funeral of General Lamarque took place. There was a planned trajectory for the funeral ceremony which would follow the grand boulevards with a cortege. However, the arrangement was interrupted by the militants, first with an obligatory stop in the place de la Bastille, and then at the boulevard of Montmartre (see Traugott, 2010).

By early evening, the first deadly clash broke out near the porte Saint-Denis, where a number of barricades had been erected. It soon spread to traditional sites of resistance in the quartier Saint-Martin and further east in the faubourg Saint-Antoine. The affected area included the rues Aubry-le-boucher, Beaubourg, and Transnonain and the entire neighborhood surrounding the Eglise Saint-Merri-territory that would also lie at the heart of another celebrated insurrection in April 1834 (Traugott, 2010).

For the act of June Rebellion, the support of open urban areas were used, where masses were gathered. The revolt had two aspects, first of which was to alert people using the political intensity they had collected up to that point. The second strategy, on the other hand, was to direct the people towards action and liberty who were already present there, rather than organizing a big group action beforehand. In other words, in the process of informing the public, forming and shaping the public opinion, and spreading the struggle to the whole, getting the public support to take a stand and to change the existing situation, the public spaces of the city were made use of. New political spaces in Parisian neighborhoods emerged out of a political occasion, the streets which would gain a symbolic meaning and a political identity that would host the subsequent French insurrections even after the destruction of the streets and the former spatial configuration. Consequently, a collective memory was formed after all, which would relate with the spatial configuration of the city that would also represent the landmarks of French political history.

Paris Commune in 1871, which came after the rebellions of 1832 and 1848, is accepted as one of the biggest urban social movements in history and as the very initial accomplishment of socialism, was grounded on the political implications of space and established by people longing for the old city life in Paris, got to be destroyed by Haussmann, through the mega construction and infrastructure processes

enforced on the urban pattern (Harvey, 2013, p. 48-49). The streets which gave way to execute the struggle against the administration of the period at local scale for public defense behind the barricades, were subjected to a massive transformation. It was very much a political process, to link the restructuring of the physical environment to the accumulation of capital, at the same time diminishing the possibilities of such struggle at local extent physically. As Harvey pointed out, Haussmann was aware that he was in charge to use urbanization to resolve the problematic of surplus capital and unemployment (Harvey, 2013, p. 48). It was thus, the politicization of the new Paris to give birth to the biggest uprisings of all time. As one of the primary actors of the legendary struggle, Montmartre hill attained a political notion after its strategic role in the struggle. And in two months, with the fall of the Commune, Montmartre hill would be one of the firsts to be invaded regarding its symbolic stance and as a reminder of the political defeat the Commune had experienced (Harvey, 1985, p. 232-233). Therefore, after the hill of Montmartre had become the site of the Basilica of Sacré-Coeur, the area was re-politicized. It was not just a monumental symbol of ideology and power, but also an effort to reshape the collective memory of the public, the similar but more obvious practice of which we have observed via the creation of Paris from the scratch. As Harvey put it, “space can be overcome only through the production of space, of systems of communication and physical infrastructures embedded in the land” (1985, p. 27), which was the exact method the authority had been applying from the beginning, and still continues to form the central tenet of neoliberal policies of space in the global era.

Though the political or social movements, especially the urban social movements depend on the dynamics of capitalist system’s bottlenecks upon the economic and social transformation processes, as will be analyzed further later on, the dynamics behind specific parts of the society to choose specific places for collective action and expression will construct the primary focus. Thus, mostly the physical sufficiency or the obstacles in front of any political space to accommodate such conflicts and actions through the channels of direct or indirect interventions will be taken into consideration. In short, what is going to be implied throughout the study by

politicization is not a space becoming just an enabler of political movements, but also perceived by people along with its political and symbolic identity.

### *3.2.2.2. Urbanization of Consciousness*

The Paris example given above forms a meaningful case in developing a connection between the spatial courses and political conflicts. Using this case in concretization of the non-visible power relations, transforming grounds and processes in global extent, Harvey, following the basic tenets of Marxism, prefers to set his major concern around the capitalist practices, the primary source where all urban conflicts and struggles stem from. Rapid profit making and maximization processes of vital importance for the capitalist order are grounded on the capital accumulation upon the exploitation of labor. Accordingly, its concrete reflection on space, which is now to be bound on time and space, shows itself via urbanization as an instrument to increase profits (Oswald, 2006, p. 41). So, again the point where urban consciousness emerges and matures, hinges on the urbanization of capital. At this context, two major phases are drawn attention by Harvey as, the production of space on the one hand, and increasing urbanization, on the other. The production of space gains importance as it enables the self reproduction of capital while increasing urbanization constitutes the primary human experience of space.

From the Marxist point of view, it is essential that the relation between spatialization of capital and consciousness to be understood. In this respect, the civil society, the extent of its organizational structure and modes of organization to be structured needs attention. Moving on with the principle of the interrelation between space and capital as pioneered by Lefebvre, the dialectic between urbanization of capital and the urban experience is pointed out by Harvey with the following words:

The urbanization of consciousness cannot...be understood independently of the urbanization of capital; nor can the latter be understood without the former. The task for historical materialist interpretation of the urban process is, therefore, to examine how the consciousness produced through the particular patterning of relations between individualism, class, community, state, and family affects the paths and qualities of capitalist urbanization that

in turn feed back to alter the patterning of relations that underlie the urbanization of consciousness (Harvey, 1985, p. 253).

Under the circumstances mentioned above, Harvey states five primary loci of consciousness which is of vast importance for the investigation into rising public awareness. The theoretician mentions that the urbanization of consciousness comes to being in five steps described as, individualism, class, community, state, and family (Harvey, 1985, p. 254-262). From his perspective the stages of urbanization cannot be understood independently, or by neglecting the interrelation they have. Beginning from individualism, he stresses the money power allowing the mentioned stage to gain ability towards the control of time and space via the “exploitation in production” (Harvey, 1985, p. 232). In other words, greater monetary power, greater profit provides further control on “a portion of their own” space and time. So, this must be the point that an individual can be separated from his public identity, which can be extracted from the point he makes, stating that the major confusions, the incoherency and inconsistency in urban social and political movements under the individualism dimension. This, which needs further examination, will be discussed in detail under depoliticization processes witnessed both at urban scale and within public realm.

Consequently, the relationship between the stages of consciousness develops through monetary relations carried out on space. A critical stage where urbanization of consciousness occurs is experienced in the stage of class. He mentions that community consciousness forms in definite places of a common pattern of socioeconomic and political processes. State, however, has a stand over all the stages mentioned above, in means of consciousness, as it relies on public interest, which it might use to “project a bureaucratic-managerial and technocratic consciousness onto the whole of civil society” (Harvey, 1985, p. 260). Though he has received a number of criticisms for falling short in considering different aspects of consciousness formation, like race, gender, and such (Oswald, 2006, p. 59), this kind of a formulization brought up by Harvey enlighten the levels of urbanization of awareness and the origination of a public uprising upon the capital relations. At this point, it is time to turn to the organized forms of this consciousness upon conflicts with the authority arising at urban scale.

### ***3.2.2.3. Political Acts of Society on Space - Social and Political Movements***

After examining the politicization processes within spatial framework, where the political processes are witnessed, observed, and executed, another remarkable component of urban conflicts that deserve focus is the public action carried out on urban arena. Similar to the space concept elaborated previously, the social movements initiated by opposing parts of the society entitled with varying terminology and addressed from a wide range of approaches in academy. Before going into the details of social movements' conceptualization, when looked, initially, at the definition of movement in literature, it is seen to be depicted upon its distinction from action. In this context, what turns action into movement is the ability to enable an organization to be shaped around common interests and to carry a potential and the power to change (Fainstein, 1974; cited in Ertan, 1999, p. 117). Two different types of movement are specified as political movements and social movements while the former always count for a social movement, the latter does not necessarily carry a political notion. Political movements, hereby, cover political socialization, union of interests and transformation of power. Social movements, on the other hand, emerge as a specific type of organization at the points of confrontation with a structural case including numerous conflicts, and followed by the intervention of the bodies to sustain the ongoing order or system. When this organization is merges with an urban conflict, it becomes an urban social movement (Ertan, 1999, p. 118).

#### ***3.2.2.3.1. Urban Social Movements***

Urban social movements are illustrated by many perspectives around the conflicts borne out of the allocation of urban public services and collective consumption issues (Lowe, 1986; Dunleavy, 1980; cited in Ertan, 1999, p. 120). Pickvance, at this point, approaches the issue a little bit different, defining these movements according to their ability to initiate a social transformation (cited in Ertan, 1999, p. 120). Castells' formulization of urban social movements is expressed as, "a collective conscious action aimed at the transformation of the institutionalized urban meaning against the logic, interest, and values of the dominant class" (Castells, 1983, p. 305).

The origination of urban social movements, therefore, stand out as the urban conflicts resulting from the inadequacies and dissatisfaction of the urban-dwellers that vary and multiply along with the increase in population, needs, and intervention. The politicization processes are therefore investigated around the conflicts to be observed on the urban arena (Ertan, 1999, p. 116).

At this point, as this discussion stands at the core of this study, Castells' theorization of "urban social movements" deserves special attention as the most examined, benefitted and referred analysis regarding the discussion. To continue with the analysis conducted by Castells, his theory, related more with the urban policy and reactions drawn in the process, is based upon four hypotheses. First of all, city is claimed to be a social product resulting from conflicting social interests and values. Secondly, city's meaning is stated as the outcome of grassroots mobilizations that become urban social movements as long as they are capable of transforming the urban structure. The third one emphasizes on the theory that spatial and social effects of grassroots' actions stem from urban change. Finally, sources of urban social change are stressed as the role of state, the gender relationships, the ethnic and national movements, and citizen movements besides class relationships and class struggle (Castells, 1983, p. 291). Along with the beneficial description of urban social movements and their relation with the city, he is criticized of getting detached from the Marxist point of view on the fourth hypothesis by connoting complementary sources of urban change in addition to the class relations.

The concepts of urban meaning and urban social change draw attention as recurring themes in the work. Castells differentiate the terms city and urban, presenting the former as a product of a historical society and mentioning the latter as the social meaning of the spatial form attributed by that historically defined society (1983, p. 302). Following that approach, the notions, urban meaning, urban form and urban social change are given as interrelated and nested in each other while getting supplemented by urban planning and urban design.

Castells, when analyzing the Citizen Movement in Madrid, formulates the construction of an urban social movement and emphasizes that a movement, in

practice, carries three dimensions of city, community and power (1983, p. 284). The uniqueness of the Movement reveals itself as it generated a rise of social action out of the neighborhoods. In this respect, the city represents urban demands, the community symbolizes the tendency to originate a social entity out of neighborhood associations, and the power symbolizes the opposition against the authority, the state.

In the light of the mentioned aspects, urban social movements are defined as, “a collective conscious action aimed at the transformation of the institutionalized urban meaning against the logic, interest, and values of the dominant class” (Castells, 1983, p. 305). The reaction developed against the dominant class, stressed as a principal condition of urban social movements needs further attention.

Relating city’s political transactions to the issue of redistribution of income, Harvey accepts the political acts at urban scale as a negotiation process of the usage and control of “secret mechanisms” of redistribution. In that context, he discusses the disparity between small groups and big groups, drawing attention to their differentiation in means of their organizational structure. Referring to Olson, he focuses on the success of small but well organized groups in front of the silent, passive, unorganized big groups (2009, p. 75). Emphasizing on the unlikelihood of big groups to gather voluntarily around a common benefit, Harvey stresses on the necessity of institutionalization from within in order to accomplish a big group action.

#### ***3.2.2.3.2. Political movements***

Political movements emerge as a specialized form of the social movements that come up with the aim of a rapid change in the distribution and decision making processes. Hence, these movements are established to accomplish the target requests by the channel of transforming a group of people into an organized group of action. This way, they set their central concern around the allocation of public goods and services and try to result in a transformation in the method of the public institutions to manipulate the processes of distribution and implementation of their strategies. Thus,

their major components get to be political socialization, union of interests and transformation of power as was mentioned previously (Ertan, 1999, p. 118).

Castells have also defined the Madrid Citizen Movement a political movement besides being an urban social movement (1983, p. 272). It was political because the neighborhood protests were deeply connected to political demands of the people addressing the domination and the legitimation by the authority. The consciousness reached at urban level beginning from the grassroots was enlarged with a political motivation proposed by the leaders of the movement (1983, p. 273). Therefore, upon the spatial practices, the major point to be opposed by the people was the mere fascism they were experiencing under Franquist administration. As Castells put it, “[a]uthoritarianism was the intrinsic element of the urban development to which residents were so opposed,” (1983, p. 272). Thus, the grassroots’ support was turned into an organized political movement. Therefore, the movement indicated a twofold implication: the political quest to be reached and urban demands requested by the dwellers. By this organization, the democratic struggle against the authority was grounded upon the urban dissatisfaction of the citizens. So, the political notion to be attained in the social movements is connected by Castells to the existence of an opposition towards the power relations and the practices of the authority at the first instant. In other words, urban space is approached by him as the focus of political conflicts and struggle of power.

The investigation of urban social movements, which is the basic interest area of urban problematic for Castells, integrates the space of class struggle and intervention (Castells, 1977, p. 244; Gottdiener, 1984, p. 138). In this manner, the socio-spatial production of class struggle and the state practice as an outcome of such production-reproduction processes constitute the basis for urban politics.

Lefebvre’s conception of state and class-state discussion proceeds more upon the production processes of space, and the way state-society struggle appeared was analyzed through different modes of space produced by these two. Castells, on the other hand, investigated struggle on space upon the social movements on city and class action towards political problematics. For Castells, urban social movements

account for the pursuit of class struggle out of working place to the social arena, urban space. His concern towards the urban problematic in political context, and sparing the discussion a separate interest, unlike Lefebvre, has come up with peculiar appreciation by Marxist thinkers (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 258). At this point, Lefebvre's theory, according to Gottdiener, remains inadequate as it accepts the main problematic of capitalist system as property relations, not state's intervention to the space of consumption. He is just interested in the initiation of a political struggle against the property relations to keep the capitalist system going. In this manner, Castells' formulation of collective consumption is peculiar (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 258).

From Lefebvre's perspective, for a radical action of class struggle to be conclusive, it needs a spatial component, which would only be possible through the appropriation of space by saving its use value from the dominance of exchange value generated on abstract space (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 152-153). This way, revolutionary acts should produce its own space in order to reach accomplishment.

Regarding the collective action to be executed on public space, the social profile to conduct these practices deserves attention. So, if we concentrate on the leading actors of these movements, Castells' arguments get highly significant. From his point of view, the logic of class system determines the organization of consumption. However, its boundaries do not always amount to the locations defined by inequalities. Thus, this brings us face to face with new social inequalities (Castells, 1977, p. 191). This formulation of Castells points out new social groups are about to enter the picture. Urban social movements as an outcome of these inequalities created by the hand of state draws attention to the new populations of high potential to strengthen working class' struggle by getting involved in the urban social movements (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 258). So, the social struggle exceeds the boundaries of class definition showing the restructuring of movements upon changing profiles. In this sense, Gottdiener stresses on the contributive effect of these new areas that were underrated by Orthodox Marxists on socio-spatial praxis. Therefore, new movements gathered around different concerns gain importance like

environmentalist movements (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 264). What is more, he criticizes some in tendency to neglect these actions that are outside working class movements, believes they are in some sort of fallacy, describing this situation as “unfortunate” (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 266).

In short, the primary political conflict is a class conflict that requires the conditions for reproduction of labour. However, collective consumption gives rise to either the expansion of the political struggle to be conducted on urban milieu by bringing different political wings together, or the social distinctions within the boundaries of a specific class by the unequal provision of services (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 156). Thus, turning back to our discussion given previously, the social action to be carried out spreads to the ground of society, including all kinds of collective movement shaped around differing interests of class, civil society, citizens, inhabitants, users and so forth.

### **3.2.3. Space of State/ Power**

#### ***3.2.3.1. Urban Consciousness of Power***

Recognition of space as not just a visual entity but as a multi-dimensional concept has naturally changed the attitude towards space. Unfortunately the dominant classes to exercise power have become aware of this notion of space much earlier than the people actually experiencing and living space. The courses involving space into the wheel of material practices is concretized with no doubt via the capitalist approaches.

As was mentioned earlier, hegemony of power on urban arena comes into existence through spatial practices. Hegemony is defined by Gramsci as the predominance of a certain social class over others through political and ideological activities, moral and intellectual leadership by getting the consent of the subordinated class. They spread their own interests to the society, getting them to believe it is their demand and they reached this state of mind through common sense. The dominant class attains political power through this kind of processes by getting the support of the subordinate class (1970, cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013). Investigation of urban political power can be carried out upon the Gramsci’s conception of hegemony and

Lefebvre's production of space theory are associated. The spatial practices of the dominant class take the subordinate to its side via forming some kind of an alliance through spatial production processes. This way, it constitutes a hegemonic power over urban political priorities (Kipfer, 2008 cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013, p. 99). Thus, Lefebvre's production of space conception can be analyzed as spatialization or commodification of hegemony (Kipfer, 2002 cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013, p. 99).

The concrete evidences of the origination of this so called awareness of space and its production is analyzed by Lefebvre upon the pioneering acts of Bauhaus movement which was the creation of "global space" as a medium to be constructed by social practices of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 125). It is one of the most important innovations and discoveries of the capitalist world order in means of understanding to what extent the capitalist ideology's representation on space and the shaping of social identity were possible. For Lefebvre, any conceptualization and use of space serves ideological purposes at most, which only guarantees public consent and a suppression of the people, at the same time and reproducing status quo (Avar, 2009, p. 8).

As was pointed out previously by Lefebvre, the production of space was the production of social relationships. Therefore, as the one to keep the power in hand to control space, the authority started using the physical space to control social mechanisms and to manipulate the social behavior. In this manner, policy making and restructuring of space through these decision making mechanisms turn into a weapon in means of getting the society to recognize the order imposed by execution of power. These forces target the potential critical stance to be developed by the society and the public space to accommodate these evolvments, where they would come into existence and mature, as a place of civil communication and resistance (Özkan, 2012), turning into a "political space" as being termed throughout the research.

Thus, capitalism executes its principles on space through the fetishism of abstract space, the one and only space of capitalist courses. What is more, the other fields and professions are turned into the enablers and implementer of these principles, at the

same time perform the duty for orienting and shaping the public cognition. Production of space in capitalism is defined via the law of being able to be produced and repeated. On the other hand, unification of space with the mentality of mass production of space can only be executed via the application of violence and coercion. It does not involve natural or organic processes a bit. Violence, intrinsic to the nature of abstraction and its practical and social use is possible through “reductionism, differentiation and installation of functions, hierarchy and fragmentation and sometimes aestheticization” (Lefebvre, cited in Avar, 2009, p. 12). The reductionist models of proposed by certain professions to be applied are nothing but mental abstractions designed by a reductionist practice in this sense. On the other hand, reduction and reductionism are political practices and each political power and state is after the reductionism of conflicts. Thus, scientific reductionism also serves this power and authority by setting the rational ground for capitalist state (Avar, 2009, p. 12). This notion of the discussion comes into existence in the form of representation of space, as was mentioned earlier in Lefebvre’s tripartite conceptualization of social relations and space.

Representational space, on the contrary, is a blurry space, to the extent that it is adequate to repulse every means of abstraction and enforcement by the dominant authority. This space is the exact intervention and enforcement area to be conquered by conceptualizations, rationalizations, design practices, and so forth. This space is where use value is of priority rather than exchange value, which makes it the very third world are the primary examples of this situation (2009, p. 13).

In contemporary democracies to treat social movements in the framework of freedoms and rights, governments still feel the necessity to take a precautionary stand against these actions. The historical tension between state and society and its restructuring through time had also determined the urban planning principles. At this point, the main component to be interrupted was nothing but the initiative deployed on the public space that would be the metaphorical target of class struggle. Therefore, urban policies emerged as the product of the relationship between state’s gradually rising agoraphobia and society’s increasing threat on the system (Sancar,

2002). On this account, space being realized as a tool to impose certain activities and apply enforcements on the public gets to be very critical. This kind of an attitude adopted by the authority allows it to intervene in the process indirectly bypassing the reactions, criticisms and public confrontation as they were to get rationalized with the assistance of science, art, culture, education, and so on. Up to this point, the configuration of space as a tool for ideological embracement is examined as one of the vital instruments of authority. But as widely known, besides its role as a social formatter and controller, it is at the same time a commodity and a lifesaver in means of global economy. As Lefebvre pointed out, capitalism owes its survival to 20th century, to the discovery of urban space (1976; cited in Şengül, 2009, p. 16). This aspect of space is evolved through the globalization era and the adoption of neoliberal policies. Once to dominate the social processes and decision making processes, state or the authority as the major implementer of power is replaced by capital (Özkan, 2012). The restructuring processes undergone in economy and politics have found a wide implementation zone and spread out very rapidly. Changing priorities in almost every field of globalizing new world order, deregulatory mechanisms and the neoliberal practices have started to show themselves on urban arena, which were highly to become visible upon urbanization of capital and commodification of space via infrastructure projects, mega-constructions, and changing spatial pattern. At this point it is better to stop this discussion here and to move on with the detachment of space from its political context alongside the social transformation processes and interventions executed by the authority.

### ***3.2.3.2. Control Mechanisms of Power on Space***

Recalling state's domination on space, it used physical environment for two purposes, legitimation and accumulation as was mentioned previously. It is also agreed that state and space relation is shaped upon intervention practices which also contains a social aspect. According to Marxist understanding the urban policies and spatial interventions are explained by one factor, the economic structure shaped around capital relations and class struggle. Therefore, state's main expression on

space is determined by how it creates inequalities and how it intervenes in the spatial courses. However, the class struggle as only believed to be the outcome of inequalities at political and spatial scale is not adequate to explain the urban conflicts. In this context, the social influence of space on society should also be taken into consideration regarding physical environment's position in urban politics as was tried to be given within the theoretical framework. In other words, space stands out as a social entity powerful enough to support a social resistance with its configuration and symbolic quality. Thus, under all circumstances the power holder will intervene in space in order to control and manipulate the social structure.

The control mechanisms of social structure upon space applied by the authority can be conceptualized by the sources of political power. Thus, reflection of power on space is observed via two channels: hegemony and coercion/violence (Forgacs, 2000; cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013). We have previously examined how hegemony is structured upon the physical configuration of space. Another way to control the process and to protect the interests of power is to keep the social action away from public arena which necessitates the operation of coercion and violence. Consequently, these executions appear in the form of legal regulations and the complementing mechanisms in the implementation of these regulations, law enforcement agents.

In this context, the direct or indirect interventions of state can be proactive or reactive as can be listed. Proactive acts may be executed by preventing possible social movements through violation of collective memory via spatial arrangements beforehand or by deterrent legal regulations to restrict the movements through changes made in the context of political rights, penal measures and so forth. These legal regulations can also be differentiated as direct or indirect in itself, according to whether the regulation is of the urban context itself where political acts are mostly observed, or it is of the context of use of political rights in shape of demonstrations, meetings and so on in general. Reactive acts, on the other hand, show themselves as concrete use of power in case of a social movement via law enforcement officers' direct interventions. While the implementations on space impose the force of the

political power rather indirectly, putting the latter source of power into use means the confrontation of society with concrete embodiment of coercion and violence.

Throughout the study, how intervention of political authorities is observed on spatial context and its relation to the political decline amongst society will rather be focused on. Political decline is something the authorities intend to achieve most of the time, which is more commonly put into practice via implementations on physical environment or restrictions brought to social mobility, the society's access to the places of strategic significance, the places of conflict, namely the political spaces of a city.

### ***3.2.3.3. Depoliticization of Space & Urban Conflict***

After the elaboration of spatial practices of the authority, it is no wonder why the social and political movements may seem threatening to the current administrations. They are indeed, and actually they are grounded upon the rising dissatisfactions of the way society is governed. The movements, therefore, propose a change in the ongoing system. At the beginning, opposing parts of the society come out on the arena to become visible, to remind the governors that they are in charge on behalf of public, to show their reaction against the introduced and/or executed policies, to let them know they do not give their consent to the continuing processes, and to manipulate the decision making process. The point where specific parts of the society can tolerate the implementations of the political authority no more, is the time for a radical change, for a public revolt, namely a revolution. In this sense, they constitute an open threat, an undeniable challenge against the political power. Besides, the scale remains secondary as soon as the opposition becomes visible to the other parts of the society through social movements. Thereby, these movements seize a snowball effect, spreading and penetrating into wider masses. That is why, such acts will always remain dangerous for the authorities and have to confront restrictions and preventions, directly or indirectly. What is more, the legitimization of such acts will always remain as acts to be avoided and to be approached proactively. Nevertheless, direct restrictions are not so frequently preferred in order not to draw reactions and

arise the resistance of the public, rather spatial transformation projects are embedded in public policy strategies presented as necessary for the “public benefit”.

As was shown earlier, space stands out as an indispensable component of the political processes and political authority-social opposition contradiction. Processes on the one hand, urban space addresses the social realm of public, carries a meaning for the dwellers, and is located at the collective memories of societies, as it is a social product evolving in history. The symbolic meaning it implies, as was discussed previously, contributes to its social and political identity, furnishing the people in the same manner concurrently. Nonetheless, it is still a stage for the state to display itself and impose the ideology it adopted. The political notion of the space, therefore, becomes visible frequently upon power relations. Hence, most often urban space gets to be the first to be attacked meanwhile the political conflicts are being witnessed and a disruption is about to burst out. At this point, the urban space is tried to be detached from its political identity. In other words, hegemony reflects itself on space, interrupts the first order in order to disable the second order of Eco (cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p. 93) or higher order values of Montgomery (cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117), which was pretty much the case we observed upon Paris example in 1848 and 1871. So, it is not the built environment that is actually the target, but the symbolic being and the meaning it implies most of the time.

And these acts are implemented through the urban policies and planning activities. Physical configuration of the urban arena gets to be the product of these processes, especially beginning from the modern capitalist period. In contemporary era, the space production practices determined within the context of consumption excludes the public space by all means, turning the cities into the articulation of fragmented, closed, authorized private areas, shifting the public life to these spaces at the same time. The desire for public spaces rising out of their absence and inadequacy are tried to be satisfied in these private areas by simulating the everyday life from within, which leads to a decline in the social beings of the society and turns individuals into passive observers. Decline of public spaces are forced by transformations in built environment, via direct interventions on existing public spaces, via the creation of

such postmodern public spaces, pseudo public spaces or pseudo private spaces as Mitchell and Staeheli emphasized or via access problems as an outcome of fragmented urban spaces especially in residential areas. The decline of public realm is thus reproduced by such decision making mechanisms on urban scale. Furthermore, besides spatial disintegration, social conflicts are induced via such neoliberal practices. As Harvey stresses capitalism's manipulation towards consumption is a mere strategy to divide social classes in themselves, leading to the emergence of new groups gathered around different interests. Preventing social unification, gaps between individuals are enlarged and reproduced upon spatial mechanisms and disparities in urban geography.

Structuralists explain the appropriation and transformation of urban space by economic relations and rent theories. The social aspect of these processes and that space is not just the object of the discussion is most often ignored by these theorists. In this sense, Harvey makes a remarkable contribution to the field by handling the discussion not from just one perspective and taking space as a social entity. According to him, the society's deprivation from public spaces and power's aggressive attitude towards urban space is a part of accumulation by dispossession process. This is conducted by the power implementer through four channels, privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistributions (2006, cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013). Out of these practices, privatization and commodification is used as an instrument to privatize and detaching public spaces from their public and political contexts. And these kinds of violence and appropriation can be implemented through enforcement officers under the order of the authority (Şengül, cited in Penbecioğlu, 2013) or via arbitrary regulations in order to legitimize these acts (Penbecioğlu, 2013), as were mentioned previously under direct and indirect interventions of state.

Spatial transformation processes reducing social cohesion at public spaces to the least extent, keeping people away from spaces of socialization via geographical fragmentation and urban disparities. On the one hand, the lower economic profile (mostly the immigrants) of the public either get excluded or does not want to leave

their neighborhoods, where they can sustain their traditional lifestyles within the economic, social and cultural life they built, and to penetrate to the inner sides of urban area. On the other hand, inhabitants with high economic profile also remain in limited connection with public spaces as they do not feel the necessity to get out of their closed, protected housing estates where all kinds of social and cultural facilities are provided for them. So, both of the classes do not interact with the public area for parallel reasons which is an outcome of lower and lower use of public areas for each (Aygün Öztürk, 2009, p. 31-33). The remaining parts of the society that are expected to be more related to public spaces can be elaborated along with the transformation process of space that is being undergone throughout the world with the spreading globalist approaches and implementations. In other words, globalization and growing capitalist concerns reflected on urban arena account for both the destruction of public spaces and the declining political beings of the public.

Thus, all these factors mentioned above brings us back to the conclusion that detachment of space from its political and public context, at the same time impacts on the political beings and the potential to initiate a collective action. In other words, abstraction of space makes a great hold of contribution to the decline of political identity formation and the development of a critical stance towards the ongoing processes. Sennett's approach towards explaining the background of declining public notions is of vital importance while following the intersection zones of public domain with political processes. He defines the public world's fall as the primary problem resulting in altering configuration of space, public expressions, human psychology and the political behavior, one followed by another. The leading processes that started this chain reaction are mentioned as capitalism and secularization as the ones to blame in the destruction of the public realm, firing up the privatization and personification to rule the cities and public life, which in other words Sennett describes as the "two tyrannies of intimacy"(Sennett, 1977, p. 338).

Going back to the 18th century, Sennett mentions that the public-private correlation was supported with clear definitions of space hierarchy with none intervening in the other's zone. So the molecular structure of the two concepts was protected with their

supplementary attitude towards each other. However, the increase in population with the rapid acts of migration gave way to a decentralized urban life that lost focus. The streets lost their form inviting more public activities to their domain resulting in an ambiguity in the spatial hierarchy and the public-private relationship. With the restructuring processes undergone in a global extent, the political behavior also got its share from the transformation processes. The passivity and the “mystification of the appearance itself” were reflected in the process where people became spectators that do not participate in the public life forming the silent people in the cafes or the flaneurs, as coined by Baudelaire, in the boulevards (cited in Sennett, 1977, p. 213). These people’s behavior, which end up with linking the charismatic leader to his individuality rather than the actions he initiates, explain the schizophrenic behaviour in political grounds in the contemporary period. So, the discussion of public man’s fall is executed upon the losing boundaries between public and private. A different aspect from the socio-psychological perspective to the issue is introduced in Barlas’ work, regarding the Jungian psychoanalytic principles, paying attention to the modern urbanism causing a break between the conscious and the unconscious (Barlas, 2006, p. 11).

Habermas, drawing attention to the transformation of publicity as the major problematic within his theory, emphasized on the restructuring of public sphere from the milieu of rational discussion and public opinion formation to the domain of a mass cultural consumption pumped by the dominant elites, which he described as the “refeudalization” that entered the picture in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This manipulative culture industry was another expression of the decline of individuality, freedom and democracy (Kellner, 2009, p. 5). The private and public getting intertwined, also accounted for the blurring boundaries of social and political (Habermas, 1989, p. 54), resulting in the emergence of state as a rising agent in private realm and everyday life, thus turning the citizens into passive consumers of goods and services and spectators of the ongoing transactions. Castells’ problem definition of collective consumption and state’s prominent duty of service provision also pointed out the contradiction between state-society getting more ambiguous (1977). This legitimation of state’s intervention in private realm, declining public sphere was

accomplished through state's development into the mere guarantor of political rights and liberties (Kellner, 2009, p. 5). Politics, determined through processes of public discussions, debates and consensus previously was now turned into a medium of clashing private interests and struggles within society instead (Kellner, 2009, p. 6).

Habermas, thus, proposed the revitalization of public sphere by activating "a critical process of public communication through the very organizations that mediatize it" for bringing public body back in the agenda. In this sense, he pointed out the necessity to reestablish "critical publicity" via intra-organizational public spheres in order to talk about a democratic civil society (Kellner, 2009, p. 6).

The application of "praxis" to Sennett's understanding, on the other hand, is achievable through reintroducing man to his public identity. Against all these insanities, Sennett sees resurrecting the public man as the utmost solution to this problematic phenomena taking place in all aspects of life. He sees the efforts to put a sense of community by creating localities and decentralized patterns, as a threat to the public realm where communal opposes urban, forming a hostile milieu. He mentions the urge to strike a balance between the public and private where the city becomes "the instrument of impersonal life, the mold in which diversity and complexity of persons, interests, and tastes become available as social experience" (Sennett, 1977, p. 339).

Lefebvre, approaching the issue from a rather different point of view, puts the blame on the supportive mechanisms to take on the shaping of public opinion in abstraction of space. He points out the major problematic of fetishism of abstract space resulting in the decline of human awareness as he stresses the need to adopt a critical analysis towards space conception with the following words;

The error – or illusion- generated here consists in the fact that, when social space is placed beyond our range of vision in this way, its practical character vanishes and it is transformed in philosophical fashion into a kind of absolute. In face of this fetishized abstraction, 'users' spontaneously turn themselves, their presence, their 'lived experience' and their bodies into abstractions too (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 93).

This kind of a fetishism stands as the major obstacle in front of the people to access real space, which in a sense, is violation of the public awareness of space. He moves on with his theory that fetishized abstract space is followed by a twofold abstraction in practice, shown to be as the disability of ‘users’ to mark themselves inside the boundaries of that space in the first one, and as the difficulty they live to develop a critical attitude towards it in the second (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 93). What he mainly concerns here is that, the criticism avoided by mere abstractions, reducing space to a ‘frame’ or a ‘container’ will bring no prosperity in consequence. He implicates theoretical or critical resistance in every field of life, in academy, arts, and so forth. For him, the ideological impact of this abstraction rationalized and concealed by the technical arguments of professionals which can only be overcome through praxis, that is the merging of ‘real’ (social) space and ‘true’ (mental) space, practice and theory, lived experience and the concepts (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 94-95 ; Avar, 2009, p. 13).

Thus, the capitalist mode of space production “destroys everyday life and the level of civilization once associated by the city,” (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 131). Lefebvre’s emphasis on everyday life and its domination under capitalist practices points out the replacement of social space with its own space. So, he proposes the need for a revolutionary spatial approach to bring back the everyday life and social notion of space in the picture. And this revolutionary aspect of urban will be achieved by the right to the city as was concentrated on previously. According to Lefebvre’s argument, this revolution requires a political intervention which would create a transformation in property relations and bring an end to the dominance of abstract space over social space. In other words, a method is necessitated that is adequate to convert the process of constructing space by private ownership into social production of space (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 131).

As was mentioned previously, through the neoliberal era, power has discovered new and different ways of appropriating the urban space. Emerging in various forms, accumulation by dispossession is used as an instrument to get the spatial arena serve power and to make it possible for it to materialize through spatial transformation and

appropriation processes. And in order to overcome this domination of power on space, Harvey stresses on the necessity to conduct a space based movement. In his own words,

[...]the political movements, if they are to have any macro and long-run impact, must rise above nostalgia for that which has been lost and likewise be prepared to recognize the positive gains to be had from the transfers of assets that can be achieved through limited forms of dispossession (as, for example, through land reform or new structures of decision-making such as joint forest management). [...]With the core of the political problem so clearly recognized, it should be possible to build outwards into a broader politics of creative destruction mobilized against the dominant regime of neo-liberal imperialism foisted upon the world by the hegemonic capitalist powers (2003, p. 178-179).

As will be recalled from the previous chapter, structuralist thinkers, taking space as just a material entity and the mere bearer of social relations, were highly critical of Lefebvre's emphasis on space as the fundamental of a revolutionary act on urban scale. From his point of view, the spatial arena would be the foremost base for accumulating a radical action gathered around the end of the right to the city. It is the only way to achieve the appropriation of urban life that ultimately belonged to the inhabitants. Taking control of space that would replace the dominating exchange of value of abstract space with use of value of social space, points out the necessity of a spatial praxis in Lefebvre's argument (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 152-153), which made him an environmental determinist for structuralists. However, regarding the contemporary global trends leading major transformation processes in every field of life brought space into light as the key component of the equation once again- even, to the extent that his perspective received appreciation by some Marxist scholars to deal more with urban geography and urban politics. Still, Castells did not completely exclude Lefebvre's ideas on space and spatial praxis, though he did not give consent to spatial praxis surpassing class praxis. In fact, he was very much in the same opinion that emancipation of everyday life was possible (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 151-154). As also Harvey states upon the right to the city:

The democratization of the right to the city and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative, if the dispossessed are to

take back control of the city from which they have for so long been excluded and if new modes of controlling capital surpluses as they work through urbanization processes are to be instituted. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all (Harvey, 2011, p. 15-16).

All of the factors, set forth by the theoreticians to be blamed for the decline of political and public notions of the people, be it secularization and capitalization, be it the modern city state or else, is now replaced with neoliberal and global strategies that seem to set to central concern around capital relations. The exercises of power reaching critical level alongside the deepened tenets of capitalism by globalization, by neoliberal policies, by privatization, and such, have created and still doing massive damages on space and people. The altering physical qualities of space under such programs enacted with speculative or economic concerns in a way concretized how transforming spatial mechanisms harm the political identity of the city and its dwellers. Throughout the neoliberalization periods, the courses of action stimulated by the practices of redevelopment, rehabilitation, gentrification, and so forth, transform the public notion as well. The streets becoming the new public spaces, the shopping malls acting like urban squares, all create a distraction in political sense as Harvey emphasized earlier. Being common places, gathering people do not mean creating collectivity or public awareness among the citizens. At the point where some are banned from that union, where we cannot speak of a true cohesion, and where an illusion, an image is tried to be accepted as “public” hiding and excluding what is real, lies the end of political domain. In short, at the end of the chapter where we analyzed social processes around space-politics dialectic, it is possible to come up with the conclusion that the interrelation of space, political-social-public domain, and society constitutes a circuit, a web accommodating multi-sided relationships, affecting one another. So, up to now, within the framework of this network of relations and concepts, we investigated how urban arena gets the space of state or space of society under differing dynamics. Therefore, it s time we concretize the theoretical framework we have formed up to now upon the case study, historical development of the political spaces of Ankara.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL SPACES OF ANKARA IN HISTORY**

#### **4.1. Historical Development of Ankara Under Different Political and Institutional Climates**

Ankara, according to a widespread comprehension, is not just the capital but also a guide for the construction process of whole Anatolia as Tankut reveals. It forms a pioneering model with the infrastructural and the superstructural development it had undergone and thereby, it can be stated that Turkish urbanism is triggered in the leadership of Ankara. Besides, the construction of the city is used as a channel for the refreshment of the development skills and consciousness of Turkish nation, which locates it at the center of space-politics discussion on Turkey experience (Tankut, 2000, p. 301).

As the capital of national struggle and war of independence, Ankara turned out to play a central part in Turkey's destiny. A new city to be brought out of a lagging and modest rural settlement that would become the capital of a new republic and a model for the other Anatolian cities, definitely required an elaborate program in order to provide such a transformation. The new center to compete with Istanbul, even to exceed the past capital of an empire, and to accommodate the primary requirements of a democracy required a serious construction and urban configuration. Thus, Ankara was planned as a network of boulevards and public spaces at the nodes of their intersection points. It was remarkable in both ways that an ideological manifestation was tried to be built by spatial implementations and a new social life style, a new culture was meant to be developed to maintain a modern democracy. So the emphasis on public spaces and the places of social and cultural activities are strongly felt in the first years of the republic.

Ankara's selection as not just the administrative but also the national capital of a new republic was found at international scale as a bold call, as the most insufficient candidate amongst other cities with its water shortage, malarious environment, and worn out city center (Tankut, 2000, p. 302). However, the accomplishment of Ankara to form the physical base of national war of independence entitled it to be the capital of Turkey in Atatürk's comprehension. Thus, it was a mere political decision to move the capital as the first thing in forming a new republic as was also used as a political device by other administrations in different countries (Tekeli, 2000, p. 317). Actually, the process was a two-step process and Ankara's selection as capital was highly dependent on the fulfillment of the war of independence (Tekeli, 2000, p. 318). So besides its central location in the country with its railway connections, we can easily say that Atatürk's appreciation and admiration for Ankara for its belief and support to the war of independence, and its political stance brought it forward among other cities (Karal Akgün, 2000, p. 227-230).

The public spaces of Ankara are, with no doubt, spatial products of the reflection of Turkish revolution and the formation of a new Turkish identity and collective memory on space in first years of the Republican period. Therefore, it is of vast importance to elaborate the development of these spaces in history, and the major transformation processes they witnessed along with the changing administrations under different tendencies in different political climates upon the creation of a new capital from scratch.

As the study focuses on the political space conception from two dimensions, from the political authority and the social opposition, examining the development of Ankara along with Turkish political history gets to be essential for the study. The initial years of the Republic of Turkey appear as a period of a new image creation for the Anatolian cities with Ankara's lead. As the capital of a newly rising republic that was being followed globally, representation of Turkey outside, and creation of a role model inside, as the city of both the symbolic portrayal of national war of independence and the center of modernization and revolution, Ankara was taken as a raw material to be kneaded into a whole new structure. So this city building project

was not only a physical formatting of space, but also the initiation of the nation's mental construction and a collective memory formation process. In this manner, Ankara's construction gets to be a concrete example of what Lefebvre called the representation of space. The first years of the republic, as the years of modernization, cultural and social arising of the country along with the revolutions, are definitely different from the other periods of Turkey in means of state's implementations and its approach towards space and public. Even, we can talk about the period as the one Turkey got closest in means of striking a common ground between state-society. Obviously, the policies implemented throughout the first years of the republic had a concern of providing socialization and a unity of interest and fate around national solidarity. Consequently, such priorities were reflected on space opening new public areas to public use, which also contributed to the formation of political beings of the people. In this context, the period from 1923 to 1950 stands out as a unique period in Turkish political history by all means, from economic and political approach to planning and institutional approach.

So, the second part of the study will focus on the primary public spaces of Ankara, politicized in time being under separate periods of Turkish political history that had evolved into political spaces of the city. In this manner, spaces of political authority vs. social opposition will be analyzed along with social and political movements vs. authority's direct-indirect interventions and implementations via urban policies, upon urban conflict. Moving on from this inquiry into the political spaces of Ankara, changing site selection according to the political needs of society and changing targets of authority's interventions on spatial arena will be examined under transforming political routes and public spaces in time along with restructuring dynamics in economic and political dynamics in different periods.

Firstly, the period from 1923 to 1950 will be handled that points out the very beginning of the formation of a collective memory and a modernization period carried out along with radical spatial implementations. Secondly, the period of a populist modernity project to be observed between the years 1950 and 1960 will be concentrated on. Thirdly, the period of the Turkish extension of the global uprising

and social movements will be analyzed that came to an end with the coup d'état in 1980. Following that, the radical change in political stand and economic approaches will be evaluated which was a break point in Turkish history, ending up with the political decline of the public that lasted for decades. And finally, the exacerbated articulation process of Turkey to the globalist system along with a heavier political coercion and the most dramatic calls in means of urban policies will be investigated under the period from 2003 onwards.

#### **4.1.1. 1923-1950 Period**

##### ***4.1.1.1. Political Climate***

The first political period to be analyzed can be divided in itself in two periods, the years from 1923 to 1938 and the period from 1938 to 1950. The first period can be evaluated as the period of social reforms to complete and consolidate the modernization ideal of a seriously underdeveloped wreck inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Also it was a project of bringing Turkey dignity and strength at international scale in the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The ideal was the creation of an independent strong nation-state standing against the exploitive strategies of imperialist states that would form a role model for other underdeveloped countries, Islamic countries, third world countries, colonies, and so forth.

The second half of the period, beginning with İnönü's presidency, was a period of restrictions due to the Second World War that would last until the end of the war in 1945. As for international relations, Turkey was successful at adopting an objective stand in foreign relations during the war in the period of "National Chief", but could not keep its stand by the end of it, which can be accepted as the start of the approach towards the USA. Slowly shifting to the west block, Turkey set the basis for compromises.

After the "National Chief" period, transition to multi-party system in Turkey was executed by CHP in the presidency of İnönü. It was, with no doubt, established under the influence of the democracy and discourses of liberty at the capitalist side of the binary system emerged after the World War II, in the medium of cold war between

Socialist Soviet Russia and capitalist USA. DP (Democrat Party) close to the idea of private entrepreneurialism, which would be the primary actor of the next period entered the scene in this multi-party system. With the proximity of Turkey to the capitalist west side of the cold war, it became the member of supranational monetary organizations such as, IMF and OEEC (today's OECD). Using Marshall aid in the context of Marshall Plan is another strategy which could be counted as the compromise from national policy. Furthermore, structural changes in CHP took a serious turn towards rightist policies (Ertuğrul, 2008). All these would give a remarkable harm to the successes of the republic, which would from the first step to a gradual decline in Turkey's economic and political independence.

The modernization and construction of a republic out of a dissolving empire needed to overcome a difficult and long term path. The national unification starting with the independence struggle had to be consolidated with legal regulations and reforms in every field of everyday life. So, along with the economic and political reforms that were of crucial importance for the survival of the young republic, the unification was tried to be shaped around a nationalization ideal, around the commonness of identity, history, interest, and goal. It was a period of building national consciousness and collective memory which would generate the fundamentals of the republic. And with no doubt, the space was made use of as an important instrument for the construction of this collectivity, the internalization of the new social life by public, and the representation of this modern republic at international scale. Thus, Ankara got to be the center of reforms and modernization project, which was chosen amongst the Anatolian cities to bear the reforms as the new center of a new nation, thus became the heart of the national improvement inside and the representation of a respected independence struggle that would generate a role model for the other third world countries and the political stand against the imperialist strategies outside.

The characteristic of the period is that one could observe the adoption of a national policy in every field. Despite adopting a rather liberal perspective at first, the year 1929, which was a global depression, constituted a break point for the economy policies of the state. With the crisis, the economic strategies witnessed a shift

towards statist approaches that supported closed economy, and stood up for economic development via national production. Consequently, the production of national capital formed the central concern of the republic, which meant the investment in agriculture and industry. The establishment of a great number of statist institutions is also the product of the first half of this period. The shift from national policies in economy could be evaluated as the result of limited capabilities due to the tough conditions of the period of Second World War. Though Turkey was successful for not getting into the war, there were serious preparations from within in case the country would get involved in the war (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 67).

All of the high ideals put forth by the bureaucratic cast in the leadership of Atatürk were carried out in the period of a single party republican regime (Tekeli, 2009, p. 111) that could be considered as an obligatory adaptation period of transition to democracy from a country in poverty experiencing a quite radical change after a 700 year of sultanate regime.

#### ***4.1.1.2. Institutional Structure and Planning Approach***

The local administration in the first years of the republic was executed by the institution namely, Şehremaneti<sup>1</sup> that was actually established in the Ottoman period to provide the urban services of sanitation and aesthetics in Istanbul. So, as the first step of the construction project of Ankara from the scratch, an institution similar to the one in Istanbul was executed, namely the Ankara Şehremaneti, which would work like today's municipalities under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The second measure taken in order to provide and to set the legal framework ready for the planning activities is the establishment of the law numbered 583, which covered rules about the expropriation to be handled and the new areas that are suitable for new development. In this manner, the old development law (Ebniye Law dated 1882) would be overcome and the pattern of urbanization and development would be specified. In this context, it was the regulation to make the expropriation of 400 hectare-area in Sıhhiye possible according to the first plan of Ankara prepared by Lörcher (Bademli, 1994, p. 161).

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<sup>1</sup> An institution similar to municipalities of contemporary period

Approaching 1930s, the preparation of the first master plan of Ankara was about to give way to a new institutional organization. The years 1927 to 1930s were the times the necessity of change in planning practices was strongly felt. Ankara needed a holistic spatial policy and the institutions to execute and authorize the acts ought to be revised according to the upcoming developments shaped around the urgent demands. That is how the organizational structure and the technical background of the Şehremaneti were recognized to be inadequate for the specified ideals. So, a new institution, the Ankara Directorate of Development was formed under the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1928. The jurisdictions were determined as preparing plans or getting them to be prepared, implementing the plans via its own fund, and setting the rules by its own decision making body. Following the year 1930, the organization was equipped with land and plot arrangement<sup>2</sup> power, which gave it an immense opportunity to make urban implementations especially at the period of Jansen Plan (Bademli, 1994, p. 162). In this respect, it can be seen as a serious independent local organization which brought along positive and negative outcomes.

With the Bank of Municipalities Law<sup>3</sup> dated 1933, Bank of Provinces Law<sup>4</sup> dated 1945, and the Municipality Expenditures Law<sup>5</sup> of 1948 (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117) important sources of expenditure for the local institutions were created. What is more, the law on constructs and roads<sup>6</sup> dated 1933, is observed to be an important attempt for preparing the suitable infrastructure for urbanization acts (Kılınç, 2009, p. 136). With these kinds of regulations, a healthy, civilized, and a western city image was desired to be accomplished in the sense that republican regime required (Kılınç, 2009; Aslanoğlu, 2000). This way, the lands were being turned into mere spaces of nation-state (Tekeli, 2009, p. 111).

The planning approach that was to be adopted would be one of the planning utopias of the time. We can observe from the plans that were produced at this period that there was a dominant concern of shaping and forming the urban space. Undoubtedly,

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<sup>2</sup> 18th article of Zoning Law: şuyulandırma-hamur

<sup>3</sup> Belediyeler Bankası Kanunu

<sup>4</sup> İller Bankası Kanunu

<sup>5</sup> Belediye Gelirleri Kanunu

<sup>6</sup> Yapı Yollar Kanunu

the uninterrupted structure of Anatolian lands provided many opportunities to the designer through the potentials in physical development and construction options it held. However, the dynamics were different for Ankara. In order to build up a capital and to improve the city, population needed to rise and investments needed to be drawn to the area. In this context, planning was used as a tool to make these possible. So, the approach Ankara would accommodate would be the Garden City idea developed by Ebenezer Howard, as can be seen from both of the first two plans of Ankara by Lörcher and Jansen.

#### ***4.1.1.1.1. Lörcher Plan***

As a part of the development project of Ankara that accelerated beginning from 1923, the city was planned partially. The first planning activities started in 1925 in which Heussler Firm took part in preparing development plans for the existing settlements of Ankara and a development in Sıhhiye area which set the basis for the city to be considered and planned in two parts, the old city and the new city (Bademli, 1994, p. 162).

The first plan of Ankara, dated back to 1927, which was prepared by Carl Christoph Lörcher, deserves serious attention as it set the ground for the urban structure that would accommodate the new central functions to be formed in Kızılay and Ulus (Günay, 2006, p. 67). The plan had not just provided the Kızılay (Yeni Şehir) area to be opened to development, but also contributed in the physical construction of specific public spaces in the very center of the city, namely in Eski Şehir (Old City) and Yeni Şehir (New City), which would at the same time manipulate and irreversibly orient all other planning activities in Ankara that were yet to come (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 220). What is more, with its method, instruments, and discourse, the plan and the report have influenced the Turkish planning discipline (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 225).

The spatial configuration of the city was highly stressed on and equipped with varying uses and public spaces. The roads were forming ‘semantic relations’ and ‘urban metaphors’ at the points they were linked to. Primary axes were defined by

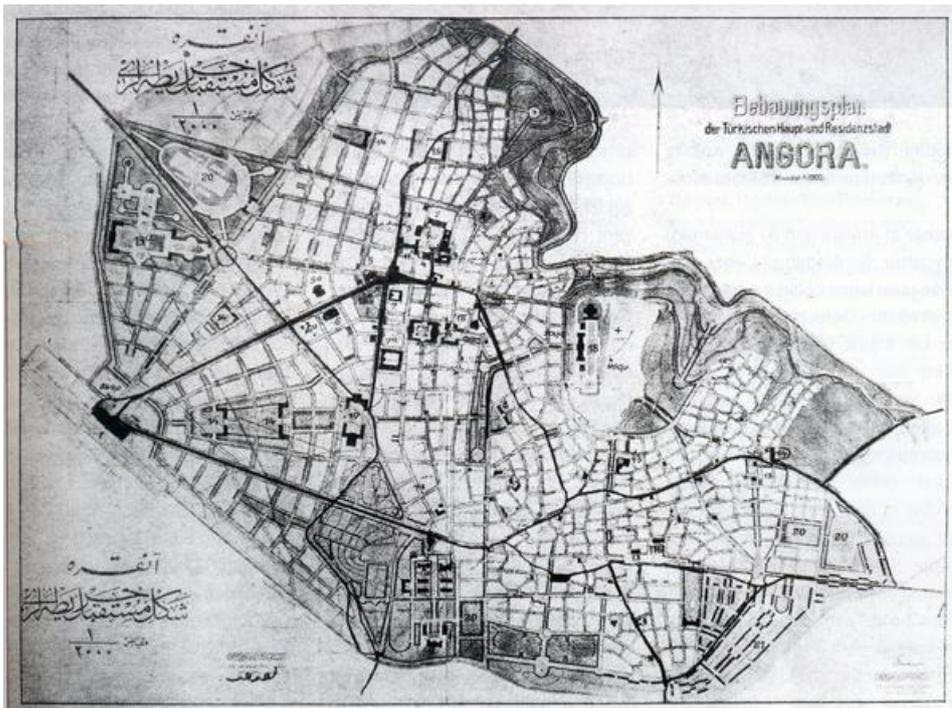
the architect, one of which was joining the station, first parliament, Taşhan and Ankara Castle forming the Station Street, while the Nation Street that was stemming from Castle region –which is the linking artery from Kızılay to Sıhhiye today- that was ending up with Kızılay Square and Ministerial Offices. So these two axes form the spine of the two development areas that were covered in the city plan as old city and new city. The old city, formed around the area where Turkish national struggle was founded and applied, beginning from Taşhan extending to the new city (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 226-229).



**Figure 1 – Lörcher Plan – Ankara**  
(Source: <http://www.mimdap.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/6.jpg>)

As one of the main concerns of the plan, public open spaces formed one the cornerstones of the physical configuration. Hükümet Square, Itfaiye Square, Gazi Square, Kale Square and Yıldız Square were significant open areas in the city proposed by the plan which failed to be implemented due to the density of the area. On the other hand, the major squares of the new city area were structured as Sıhhiye

Square, Zafer Square, Millet Square, and Cumhuriyet (or Kurtuluş, today's Kızılay) Square. In addition to these, Lozan Square at the intersection of Mithatpaşa Street and Kolej, Cebeci Square in Serattarzade Mehmet Effendi District and Tandoğan Square can be seen as the products of the same logic. In fact, the squares located at the new city area were planned to remain in the high-income residential area, which later turned out to be the central business district of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 229-230). So, today's mostly preferred public spaces for political expression of the people stand out to be the result of the urban policies and spatial decisions set forward by the first plan of Ankara. Despite being half implemented and ignored by the later bureaucrats, Lörcher plan appears as a pioneering work for both the formation of the political spaces and the identity of the capital.



**Figure 2 - Lörcher Plan - Center of Ankara**  
(Source: <http://www.mimdap.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/1-1.jpg>)

The first planning experience of Ankara was in a way a great scale urbanization project where new residential areas were getting opened for the rising housing

problem while the expropriation practices were going on in order to turn the city into an administrative center of the republic in the meantime. However, the planning practices up to the Jansen period remained pragmatic and the city didn't have a master plan up to 1932. So, out of the necessity for Ankara to be handled in a holistic manner, a competition was held in 1927 where Hermann Jansen's project was found suitable for guiding capital's development (Bademli, 1994, p. 162).

#### ***4.1.1.1.2. Jansen Plan***

Ankara's first city plan reflected the radical ideas of Camillo Sitte, accepting city planning as art (Tankut, 2000, p. 305), and city firstly as an aesthetic entity, proposing to restructure the city upon its public spaces, since the common spiritual values and emotions to keep a society together are only reproduced via those public spaces (Kılınç, 2009, p. 137). Nevertheless, his reconciliation with traffic flow did not block the green belts and recreational functions penetrating right into the neighborhoods which brought him closer to the Garden City approach (Tankut, 2000, p. 305).

The plan executed in 1932 that was prepared by the German architect Hermann Jansen is the first officially implemented plan of Ankara. Again old city and new city areas are defined at the city center. With the plan, the new city is proposed to be the central business district and supported by Atatürk Boulevard in the north-south axis, intersecting with two other major roads as Gazi Mustafa Kemal and Ziya Gökalp streets in the east-west axis (Günay, 2006, p. 73).

Some of the plan decisions may be accused of giving rise to the decline of Ulus. One of the decisions is the renovation of the old city structure, the west of Castle, except for the Castle itself and Hacıbayram and the surrounding area. While this seems to be the extension of Lörcher plan, its greatest divergence from the previous plan appears to be the way Station is used. The green wedge (consisting of Hippodrome, Stadium and Gençlik Park as the extension of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği area) that was located between Ulus and the Station has come to isolate it from the center. Also the development of Kızılay with major arteries and the location of Government Offices

in the area have resulted in the shift of the business functions in the new city. Yet, the greatest contribution of the plan is shown to be the development of Maltepe as residential area and Cebeci as the district of education and new universities that would accommodate the law, administration and medicine faculties at the fringes of the new city (Günay, 2006, p. 75-78).

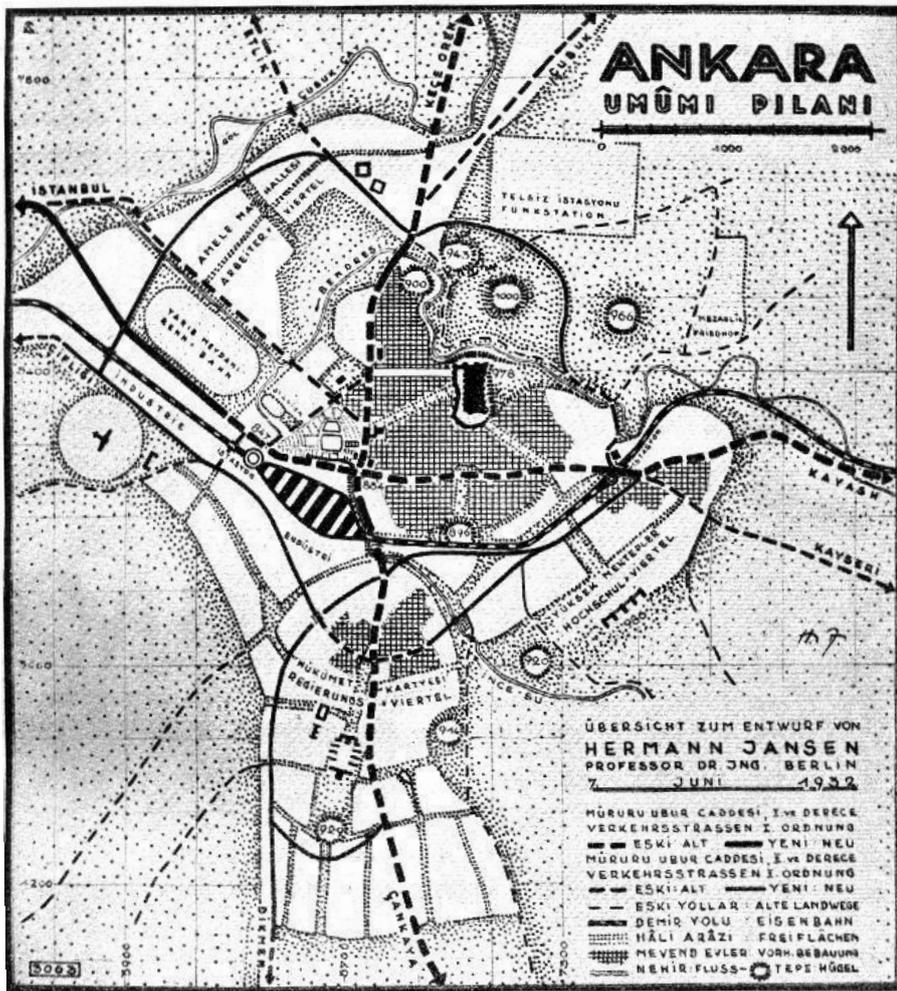


Figure 3 - Jansen Plan – Ankara  
 (Source: [http://img03.blogcu.com/images/m/e/h/mehmet-urbanplanning/9423a5dd350684e005d51baf6c0e3ec1\\_1303049648.jpg](http://img03.blogcu.com/images/m/e/h/mehmet-urbanplanning/9423a5dd350684e005d51baf6c0e3ec1_1303049648.jpg))

#### ***4.1.1.2. Evaluation of the Period With Respect To Political and Institutional Climate***

Both of the plans are in search of an urban form and a physical configuration that consist of squares, urban green areas, the usage of urban vistas and hills in relation with the city infrastructure. The social aspect of the plans is highly recognizable that are blended with the Turkish national struggle and independence history. That's why, the public areas and the dwellers' experiences are highly valued and inscribed in the spatial design of the city, while creating common places for sharing a cultural and historical unity. So the most prominent public spaces of the capital can be listed as Kızılay Square, Ulus Square, Sıhhiye Square in the first years of Ankara as the capital of a young republic.

Standing out with many positive aspects, the plan introduces highly progressive ideas considering its period, such as the concern of designing districts for public servants and workers which introduced cheap and authorized housing provision. Furthermore, the proposal of optimal and healthy life quality standards is progressive and valid even for current conditions. Also, the concern for striking a balance between new and old city, and the usage of greenery as an instrument for both the social and physical structure seem to be further strengths of the plan. In addition, the effort of making the implementation possible in the most economical way deserves appreciation (Tankut, 2000, p. 313-314).

At this point, bureaucracy's attitude towards the urbanization of Ankara shows difference before and after mid 1930s, which can be observed upon the planning acts and institutionalization. The authorizing organs during the first planning activities seem to have displayed a decision making process that deserves high respect. It can be said that the jury chose the most appropriate and best configured plan among others. Also, the investigation and evaluation of the jury appears remarkably serious and focused, therefore successful (Tankut, 2000, p. 313).

Nevertheless, it is unfortunately not possible to say that the plan was implemented thoroughly. Along with the development and the rapid urbanization acts going on in Ankara, speculative concerns came to light simultaneously with the implementation

of plan decisions. In other words, there was a growing tendency to make changes in the plan as pressure started to be felt strongly on the development of the city in order to serve the interest groups in the most possible way. Consequently, especially after the second half of 1930s, the approach distant to land speculation was abandoned and along with some plan changes, development acts independent from the city plan were encountered (Tankut, 2000, p. 314; Bademli, 1994, p. 162). The factors behind rising speculative motives that stemmed from administration can be listed under a number of headings. Once it was made sure that the establishment and functioning of the system reached a certain level and along with the bureaucratization, the dominant national enthusiasm and idealism were replaced with personal interests. Secondly, the administrative cast still had doubts till the mid 1930s whether Ankara would be sustained as the capital or not, therefore the land investments were not accelerated as it did not seem profitable yet. Finally, with the termination of bureaucrats' independence, or in other words, as bourgeoisie got involved in the political processes, the administration developed concerns towards bourgeois' needs more (Tankut, 2000, p. 314). On the other side of the equation, the factor that gave way to these developments can be shown as the rapid increase in the city population which reached the proposed level in half the projection time. So, the plan continued to be violated by illegal developments besides the ones forced by officials. Before the 1940s were reached, *gecekondu* had already become a problem for Ankara along with the growing speculative practices and the tendency to expand further. In the end, the city had entered a vicious circle of unplanned development which urged for a new city plan to be prepared by the 1950s (Bademli, 1994, p. 162-163).

If we examine the political authority-social opposition discussion at this period, we encounter a rather distinctive case. The Republic of Turkey arose out of the wreck of Ottoman Empire, in the leadership of an idealist bureaucrat staff. We observe that both the bourgeois class and the working class did not get involved in a controversy with the state for a long time. Founded in weak conditions, Turkey was poor in means of social classes. Thus, as a national oriented state, the administration supported bourgeoisie and private entrepreneurialism in order to set the basis for a national economic development. So, bourgeoisie did not have to put itself as a

political power and avoided conflicts with the state. Furthermore, the revolutionist approach state adopted has provided the public to attain some rights easily. In other words, the state had adopted an idealist approach towards the benefit of the republic which united it with the other social groups, so the social classes and the political authority happened to be standing on the same page from the foundation of the republic up to 1950s. In other words, we do not encounter a typical state-society controversy especially in the first decades of the republic.

#### **4.1.2. 1950-1960 Period**

##### ***4.1.2.1. Political Climate***

The first breakpoint of Turkish political history can be shown as the transition to multi-party period after the World War II. The strong and solid political stand shown in the first 15 years of the republic that slowly started to erode after 1938, was abandoned by 1950s. This period was in a way the beginning of the outward oriented policies that would continue to be pursued to date. Being called the Democrat Party period, the policies were shaped around the spatial development of the country, mechanization in agriculture and private entrepreneurialism under the influence of the strategies of the USA (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 87). It was simply a shift from closed economy to an outward oriented system. With the liberalization policies that started to gain weight, private sector became to be supported (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117).

Once the economic relief as an outcome of not taking place in the war and the suitable conditions for commercial relations at international scale was overcome, the politically tense years started beginning from 1953. Throughout the decade, DP was elected twice in a row where Turkey was about to witness a number of undemocratic implementations, restrictions brought to media, violation of laws and constitution and counter reformist activities. The year 1960 was the time the political tension was at utmost level of between the party in power and public, and opposition parties. Following the undemocratic attempts to close down the opposing party, the regulations to ban the political meetings and demonstrations, to restrict the public's right to get informed, and so forth, the uprising of a social opposition and a growing

wave of reactions to the executions of this party's 10-year of dominance were near. The developments gave way to student movements in Ankara and Istanbul. In Ankara, Kızılay would be the center of social movements beginning from May 5<sup>th</sup> every day until the end of DP government. The movement was organized among the students under the code of 555K that was the implication for, on the fifth day of the fifth month at five at Kızılay. As a consequence of the rising political tension every passing day, the political authority of DP was ended by the military intervention on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1960, which would open up a new era in Turkish political history (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 93-98).

The spatial reflection of these improvements showed itself as a rising wave of migration all over the country from rural to urban with the impact of new technologies adopted and mechanization in agriculture. In addition, with the rapid increase in population problems in housing arose, and squatter housing, as one of the most serious urban problematics of Turkey that was inherited from the previous period reached a critical level at the time. Consequently, Turkish cities witnessed a rapid expansion and urbanization process alongside the inadequacies in means of infrastructure (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117).

#### ***4.1.2.2. Institutional Structure and Planning Approach***

At this period, still Ankara Directorate of Development was the main decision making mechanism over the spatial processes going on. The important legal regulations, on the other hand, can be shown as the establishment of TMMOB (Turkish Chamber of Engineers and Architects) in 1954, which is a serious act in means of the development of civil society, the 6785 numbered Development Law dated 1956 and the establishment of The Ministry of Development and Settlement in 1958 (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117-118).

From the developments mentioned above, it can be observed that the planning practices were tried to be regulated and centralized. The organizational arrangements of the institutions were necessary if the jurisdictional conflict between the two authorities, the ADD and Ankara Municipality, is considered. Another ministry to be

established for the urban planning activities, points out the severity of the uncontrolled urban development parallel to rapid improvements and transformations at national scale.

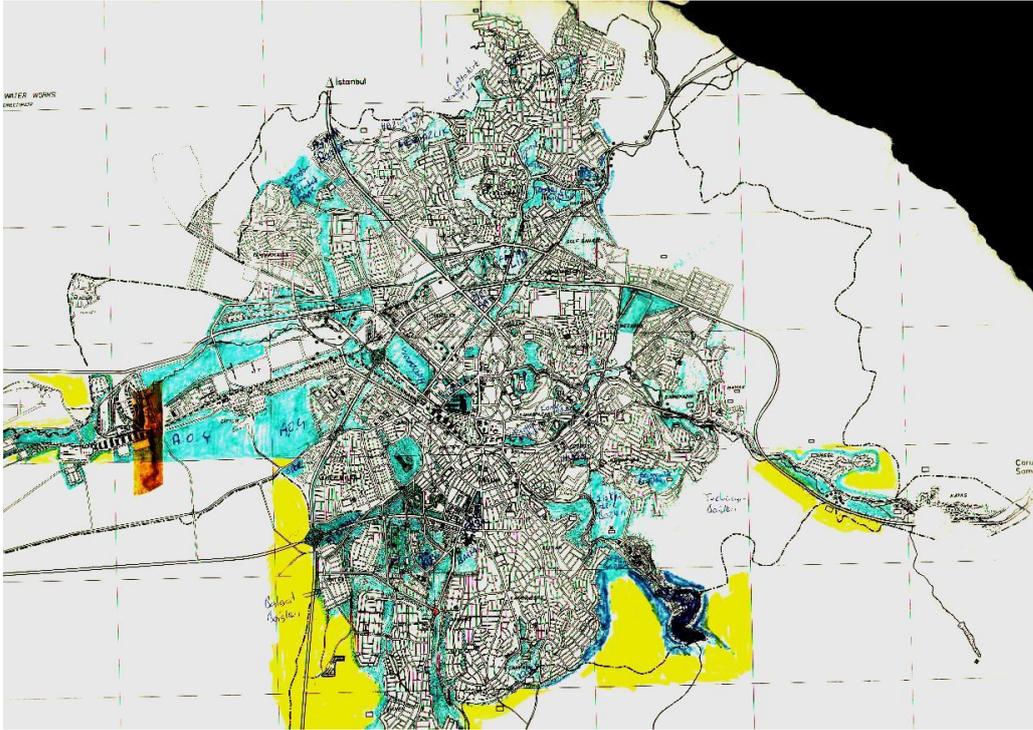
It is observed upon the plans of the years 1950 to 1960 that nothing new is added to the previous acts at the period in means of planning approach. The Yücel-Uybadin Plan was formed in a period where technical staff was in search of new planning methods and approaches in order to deal with the rapid urbanization processes, which made it harder to take control of cities development and prevent irreversible effects of unplanned growth. These conditions gave way to the adoption of comprehensive rationalist planning which would be adopted at the period but the concrete consequences of which would yet to be observed only after 1960s. In other words, it was about to give way to a paradigm shift in planning policies executed up to that point (Tekeli, 2009, p. 120).

#### ***4.1.2.2.1. Uybadin-Yücel Plan***

In the international competition that was held by Ankara Directorate of Development in 1955, the project of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin was selected for the implementation of second development plan of Ankara. Different from the previous plans, the new plan did not propose any specific policy for the city center, leaving the connection between the two centers, Ulus and Kızılay to Atatürk Boulevard. What is more, the absence of a design approach towards the spatial configuration of the city disregarding its aesthetic and physical requirements, ignorance of spreading squatter housing and the inducement of the urban sprawl can be listed as the weaknesses of the plan (Günay, 2006, p. 81; Bademli, 1994, p. 164).

Besides the inadequacy of the plan in means of responding the capital's needs and the ignorant position it took against the major problems of Ankara, it seems as an ineffective effort to shape the city's fate in physical terms. Even, it can be interpreted as legitimization of the intervention to be carried out by the officials in order to shape the city the way they like. It was, in a way, a step for making the speculative works possible which was the most common tendency at urban scale. And the execution of

the storey arrangement<sup>7</sup> plan, the changes via partial development plans can be shown as a proof for that. With these implementations, the low density proposed by the plan was increased step by step in time.



**Figure 4 - Yücel-Uybadin Plan**

(Source: <http://ankaratarihi.blogspot.com.tr/2009/12/cumhuriyet-in-ilk-yillarinda-ankara-nin.html>)

At this point, not just the inadequacy of the plan but also the jurisdictional conflicts between institutions gets to be accused of Ankara's irrepressible unplanned development. The Uybadin-Yücel plan can be said to be implemented partially; it was not totally ineffective. Yet, the implementation of the plan decisions by transforming them, the majority of the unimplemented regions like the squatter areas, the old city and Ulus region, the rapid increase of density, and the pressure of the

<sup>7</sup> The regulation of "bölge kat nizamı" in Turkish terms, was an arrangement for coding the number of storeys that would determine how high the constructs could be in a specific region. However, it was just used as a tool for speculative ends, setting a legal basis for increasing the height of the buildings.

tendency towards development in an unplanned way necessitated new planning attempts for Ankara by 1960s (Bademli, 1994, p. 164).

As a result of the planning approach that was adopted and political and economic dynamics mentioned above, Ankara came face to face with serious problems at urban scale. The construction of apartment blocks which was seen as a requisite for modernization and urban development in 1920s, turned into the mere criterion for urbanization independent from necessity or aesthetic concerns. And soon spreading high storey apartments became the extension of growing urban needs and speculative interests. The buildings were not only constructed for user demands but also for profit making (Nalbantoğlu, 2000, p. 261). Consequently, this process changing the silhouette of the city stood out as one of the most critical problems of Ankara experience by 1950s.

#### **4.1.3. 1960 – 1980 Period**

##### ***4.1.3.1. Political Climate***

The military intervention on May 27th 1960 formed an important turning point in the multi-party political life of Turkey. With the 1961 constitution, significant changes in the approach of state and democracy were observed. The new constitution was holding a reformist notion, carrying principles of social state and orienting towards welfare state approach in politics. Accepting the provision of basic needs of the citizens as the duty of state besides the substantive citizen rights and liberties, the constitution was bringing leftist approaches to the political arena (Tekeli, 2009, p. 121). Furthermore, a twofold system in the parliament was adopted where senate of republic would generate a supervisory element in the political structure. The new approach brought with the military intervention held a democratic and progressive notion. In addition, the 1961 constitution is accepted as Turkey's most democratic constitution of all times. However, it was executed by a rightist party, AP (Motherland Party), which makes it hard to say that the constitution was applied thoroughly (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 104).

At this period, Turkey witnessed 3 CHP coalitions, 2 subsequent period of rule by AP, 4 times of martial law in various cities of the country can be counted under the prominent developments of the time. In addition to AP's period of rule that received many criticisms, transformations in CHP generated a political dissatisfaction amongst the citizens. Furthermore, the growing tension throughout the globe had also spread to Turkey. With the globally rising student movements, the year 1968 became a significant year in Turkish political history. The movements were getting tenser as an opposition to the economic and political calls made by AP with the manipulation of international powers and a growing reaction towards the USA and supranational organizations like NATO could be observed. US opposition was growing all over the country and the public was not satisfied by the government policies. The developments were followed by the military memorandum on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1971 as the consequences of which, revolutionary and political activists were executed, intellectuals, journalists, and professors were arrested and tortured. The political contradictions grew after 1976 and numerous social movements took place, the struggle between right and left gained a serious dimension, which gave way to the "massacre of 1 May" in 1977<sup>8</sup>. Eventually, the coup d'état took place on 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1980 which would drag Turkey into an irreversible political state (Ertuğrul, 2008).

The economic approach of the state was formed around the rational use of national resources which was going to be applied by the adoption of a planned mixed economy as the national economic strategy. The establishment of the State Planning Organization was the outcome of such a mentality having the primary concern of a planned development (Tekeli, 2009, p. 121). However, this approach would be abandoned soon and Turkey would follow economic strategies under the influence of supranational institutions and international allies. The economic and political tension all over the country would give rise to crises, economic bottlenecks.

Urban problems of the period can be gathered around two major issues, suburbanization and the problems of social cohesion with the migrants from rural

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<sup>8</sup>Known also as "bloody May the 1st", the event burst out of the clash between working class and cops that grew with the support of students to the movement.

area to urban (Tekeli, 2009, p. 121). The housing provisions up to 70s that can be listed as illegal provisions (squatter housing), contracting, and housing cooperatives, unfortunately had not contributed to the social infrastructure and the life quality at urban scale. At this period, mass housing arose as a new housing provision beginning with the second 5-Year Development Plan by 1967 (Tekeli, 2009, p. 123). After the second half of the 1970s, development by masses, with the location of mass housing units, university campuses, industrial sites, and so forth, the cities started to expand and showed a trend of development by the articulation of big cadastral fragments to the urban structure (Tekeli, 2009, p. 124). The preference of outskirts for the construction of such massive structures along with changing provision forms in cities lead to rapid and haphazard development in the suburbs, which gave rise to disconnected fragments in urban form. Inevitably, this would later cause the empty lands remained in between to be filled in, which were left vulnerable to irresistible tendencies towards profit making and speculative ends. Thus, the ground for the greatest urban problematic of Turkish cities, namely urban sprawl was set at this very period.

The changes in the central business districts of urban area were observed to a certain extent due to the densification of industrialization going on all over the country at the period. With the establishment of organized industry zones and the industrial sites and the withdrawal of production activities from CBDs, the pressure at city centers declined to a certain extent (Tekeli, 2009, p. 122).

#### ***4.1.3.2. Institutional Structure and Planning Approach***

The dominant planning approach of the period can be defined as comprehensive rationalist planning which emerged as a result of new paradigm shifts in planning and new generation trained under the influence of such improvements in the field. So, their practices that started from the late 1950s were to determine the period's planning approach as was mentioned previously. This new paradigm proposed a comprehensive planning process that depended highly on disciplined and versatile researches rather than a planning, shaped around physical design which was very much the approach observed in the previous periods. Though the new approach stood

out at a point where the old methods remained inadequate to respond the necessities, it fell short to provide flexible and fast planning measures (Tekeli, 2009, p. 120). Therefore, it is hard to speak of an effective planning process also at this period, where Turkey was in need of quick and effective strategies.

Important legal regulations of the period can be shown as the compatibility of Municipality Law with the new constitution in 1963, which set the basis for presidency system in municipalities, the expansion of authority of the Ministry of Development and Settlement with the power of master plan preparation in metropolitan areas in 1972 besides the establishment of Land Office<sup>9</sup> in 1969, the Gecekondu Law in 1966. The most important regulation seems to be the one on squatter housing, which for the first time accepted squatters as a serious problem and adopted a certain approach towards these structures, offering possible solutions and precautions to be taken (Tekeli, 2009, p. 125). This actually can be seen as a consequence of the leftist approach of the administration of the period which affected the poor districts to give their votes for a social democrat party at the municipal elections for the first time.

AMANPB (Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau) seems to be the most important establishment of the period in means of planning in Ankara. The institution which was established under the Ministry of Development and Settlement in the year 1969, had executed a 5-year of comprehensive analysis of the city before the preparation of Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan with 20-year projection that was to be approved and come into effect. But still the Yücel-Uybadin Plan was used as the implementation plan. It is also witnessed in this period that the plan was subjected to a number changes by regulations, especially with the revised decisions on Floor Arrangement Plan over and over with increased densities, plan changes and partial development plans. So, the metropolitan area master plan was in a way, a structural plan that would set the framework of the urban development at metropolitan scale and manipulate the implementation plan that was in effect. And this progressive approach and structural notion of the plan turned out to be the

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<sup>9</sup> Arsa Ofisi

enabler of this process that set the conditions ready for the mentioned interventions and made plan changes easy and possible. The plan, inevitably, turned into a legitimization instrument for shaping the city in the desired way for the ones in power (Bademli, 1994, p. 164).

The Bureau's works also concentrated in the detailed planning works that were more on the areas outside the boundaries of Yücel-Uybadin Plan. The main priority of the institution was to shape the city macroform and to orient the developments towards the west of Ankara (Bademli, 1994, p. 164; Günay, 2006, p. 106). What is more, the bureau had seen it necessary to overcome speculation in order to allow planning to orient the urbanization throughout the city. Therefore, an important extent of land was taken over by the state with the initiation of the institution (Bademli, 1994, p. 166).

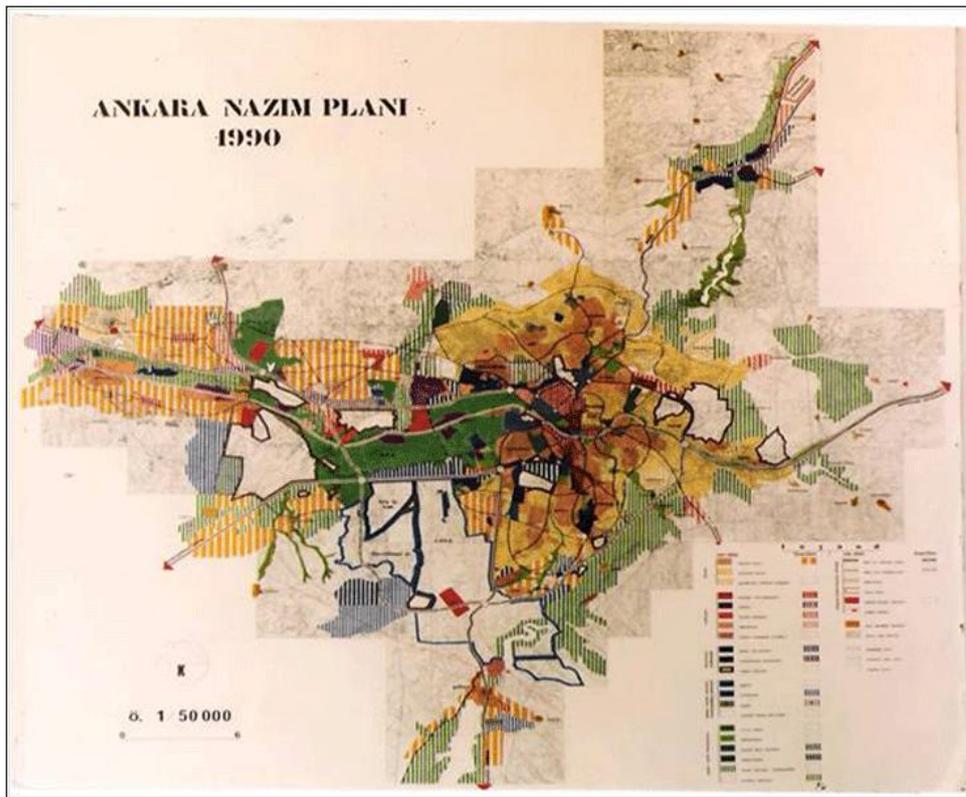
Besides the planning practices carried out by the institution, AMANPB also bore the duty of coordination between the central actors of the planning process. It functioned as a balancing element in the planning mechanism, which got more and more complicated by the institutions newly established and increasing in number, consisting of The Ankara Municipality, Ankara directorate of Development, Ministry of Development and Settlement, chambers and universities. Furthermore, the Bureau made remarkable contributions to the projects of the municipality, namely Batıkent, Kızılay Pedestrian Area, Conservation of Old Ankara, Atatürk Culture Site, and Altın Park (Bademli, 1994, p. 166-167).

The Ankara Municipality, on the other hand, got involved more in the planning activities from the second half of the 1970s. A very important deal of decisions towards the central area of the city was initiated by the municipality's projects at this period. In other words, while AMANPB was concentrating on the outer districts of the city, the municipality exhibited significant policies for the city center.

#### ***4.1.3.2.1. 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan***

With the master plan, it is possible to see the sensitivity towards Ankara's major problems, such as the dilemma of Ulus and Kızılay, the old city, the spontaneous

development along the critical axes of the city, the housing problematic, and so forth. It took a solid stand towards the issues to shape the city's fate and set forth a reasonable analysis, projection and brought reasonable suggestions (Bademli, 1994, p. 166).



**Figure 5 - Ankara 1990 Master Plan**  
(Source: <http://sozergayrimenkul.com/index2.php>)

Nevertheless, as was mentioned earlier, the reasonable approach of the plan could not get beyond the speculative implementations created by partial and fragmental policies. Even, the plan was used as the basis of such practices and gave rise to an unstoppable construction and densification.

#### ***4.1.3.2.2. Projects for the City Center by Ankara Municipality***

The previously mentioned works of the municipality addressing the central districts of Ankara cover the projects of Abdi İpekçi Park, Kızılay Pedestrian Area, and Conservation of Ankara Castle Area (Bademli, 1994, p. 167). As these projects have an important role in shaping critical parts of the city center, they deserve special attention.

#### **4.1.4. 1980 – 2002 Period**

##### ***4.1.4.1. Political Climate***

The most important turning point of Turkish political history is with no doubt the period after the coup d'état of 1980. Most of Turkey's critical problems and the depoliticization period are accepted as the product of this intervention by academia. The 1982 constitution was defined as a retrogressive and revanchist regulation after the 1961 constitutions' framework of state-citizen relationships, rights and liberties that were defined as luxurious for Turkey by some societies (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 143). So, it was a period of taking a step back in democratization process, which can also be observed from the executions as, the removal of proportional representation system by bringing a lower bound in political party elections, restrictions in union movements and organizations, prohibition of participation of women, youth associations and academicians in politics (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 144).

The economic approach of the period can be described as economic articulation to global system (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 148-149). Still the constitution cannot be defined as a constitution of capital. But with the policies implemented at the period that came a long way towards globalization, the existing restrictions were removed with changes in constitution after 1999 and privatizations entered the country's agenda. Furthermore, the strategy of development via indebtedness at the period gave rise to a dramatic rise in the levels of domestic and foreign debts of Turkey. While this situation caused crises both internally and externally, it made the country both politically and economically dependent on the finance organizations (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 149). Another important development was the application of membership to

another supranational institution, the European Union (Ertuğrul, 2008). All these developments constituted the pieces of outward orientation process and the approach that gave way to the mentioned implementations continued with exponential rise, and with more severe outcomes.

The political approach on the other hand, as can be observed from the restrictions mentioned above points out the fear of social organization especially after a period of highly intense social acts and politically strained years. So, while the depoliticization process was undergone by the executions in the country, the spring of 1989 became the year of biggest worker movement of the period. The opposition act, which would continue from 1989 to 1992 with the attendance of 1,5 million protesters all over the country, would be considered as an interruption in the depoliticization period. The spring movements were of high significance as they could be counted as the sign of social stimulation after years of silence (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 157). The great miner walk of 1990 was another important political struggle of the period which was stopped at the entrance of Ankara (Ertuğrul, 2008, p. 160), the reasons of which can also be analyzed under spatial-political aspects. Sivas massacre was another incident that would be the messenger of rising obscurantist wave which would prepare the ground for 28<sup>th</sup> February decisions in order to fight the political reaction. The crisis of 2001 and elections followed the ongoing developments which would be the beginning of a new period for Turkey.

The distribution of capital on space is mostly affected by the change in economy politics of the period. The wave of globalization that penetrated all over the world has also struck Turkey. Three strategies followed by Turkey are important in the process of the country getting attached to the global world economy. The first one is the abandonment of the import substitution model of industrialization and the adoption of the outward oriented approach in order to provide the integration of Turkey with the global market. Second strategy is the gaining weight of telecommunication investments amongst the infrastructure policies. The third strategy showed itself as the establishment of new institutions to set the regulatory ground for new implementations on global economy. This gave way to the new

improvements such as the structuring of capital market, the zones of free commerce and production, the developments in banking sector, and so forth. Consequently, the fiscal deficit resulted in the highest inflation rates in Turkey's economic history (Tekeli, 2009, p. 130).

The spatial reflection of these regulations was observed as the rise of Istanbul as a global center (Tekeli, 2009, p. 130). The process of Istanbul getting secondary to the new capital city after the establishment of the republic with an extremely political call was now about to be reversed. Turkey needed Istanbul's cultural, historical and authentic background to be heard and to be favored in the global economic preferences in order to attract the capital circulation. So, with the 1990s, Istanbul started to be the primary choice of investments again. This was in a way, the sign of Turkey's transformation process and restructuring identity and political stand at global scale.

The changes experienced at urban scale showed themselves as the differentiation of the cities' functions and the new forms of social segmentation, the developments in the housing provision forms, inner city transportation organizations, and the increase in the magnitude of settlements. With no doubt, the altering tendencies in the global economy towards information technologies and innovational high-tech industries caused structural transformations in the urban forms. The urban centers were witnessing serious restructuring processes, ending up with the decentralization of production while replacing them with new functions. The city silhouettes were getting transformed following the new developments and the prevalence of high apartment blocks and skyscrapers. Furthermore, with the expansion of infrastructure and development, suburbanization appeared to be a general trend at national scale which led to the formation of new sub-centers (Tekeli, 2009, p. 132). All these improvements resulted in the transformation of urban centers and public social life.

#### ***4.1.4.2. Institutional Structure and Planning Approach***

After the approval of the master plan prepared by the AMANPB in 1982, the Bureau was inactivated and abolished. With the establishment of the Greater Municipality of

Ankara in 1984, AMANPB and The Directorate of Development relocated in the body of the municipality as separate departments. The process and the institutional changes resulted in the growing capabilities and the expansion of authority of the Ankara Municipality in means of planning, approving, and implementation (Bademli, 1994, p. 168). Via the regulatory arrangements, the Greater municipality was given the authority to prepare master plan (Günay, 2006, p. 108). Parallel to the conditions of the period and the emerging additional demands directly related to the continuous growth of the city and population, the planning practices were concentrated primarily on the orientation of the development of the city. The transportation policies, the installation of a light rail transport in the city and its route and possible locations for it could be observed as the major discussions at the period (Günay, 2006, p. 109).

With such concerns two projects were formed by strong technical casts, with the consultancy of Turkey's pioneering architects and planners from METU that were to set the technical basis for the implementation of structural plans. Ankara 2015 Structural Plan was produced out of the necessity of a new upper-form to produce a reference for the next planning practices. So, it would take the place of the former 1990 Ankara Master Plan, which ceased to be valid. Another structural plan, Ankara 2025, to draw the framework of Ankara's new policy for the future needs was the product of a comprehensive analysis by the Greater Municipality Department of Development<sup>10</sup> in 1989 that was shaped around the upcoming urban problematic as a consequence of the pressure and densification triggered by the transformation processes via squatter area rehabilitation plans. Unfortunately, none of the projects could be executed due to the lack of regulatory structure (Günay, 2006, p. 108-114).

With the 1999 legislative regulation, the preparation of 1/25000, 1/50000, and 1/100000 plans was given under the responsibility of Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. But no additional master plan work was carried out by the institution. The urban planning policies were concentrated mostly around housing and construction.

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<sup>10</sup> Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Daire Başkanlığı

The planning profession was started to be seen as a housing mechanism, and new institutions were established for the transfer of resource for the expansion of residential areas which would have an immense impact on the urbanization of the cities (Tekeli, 2009, p. 132). Suburbanization and decentralization in the cities were also the factors to pay attention. All these developments gave rise to the unplanned development that would further proceed and reach severe levels, while harming the city centers in the meantime.

With the regulatory mechanisms in 1983 and 1984, the sources of municipalities were increased to a certain extent (Tekeli, 2009). Furthermore, the shift to a half federative system in local administration, and the separation and the partial autonomy of the planning practices freed the mechanism from central tutelage and the stagnancy of the system's bureaucracy a little bit more, but also had the structure centralized.

#### **4.1.5. The Period From 2002 Onwards**

##### ***4.1.5.1. Political Climate***

What provided the basis for AKP to enter the picture in Turkish political history, become the party in power and rule for more than a decade with increasing ratio of votes in subsequent elections can be stated as the crisis of 2001. The ongoing global depression has put pressure on Turkey as well, which created a social vulnerability following the economic bottleneck of the period. While suitable strategies were being searched to escape from the dot-com crisis that was about to strike all over the world, which would just postpone the inevitable by orienting the capital flow towards the construction sector that would blow up in 2007, Turkey was seeking its salvation in a new and different political actor.

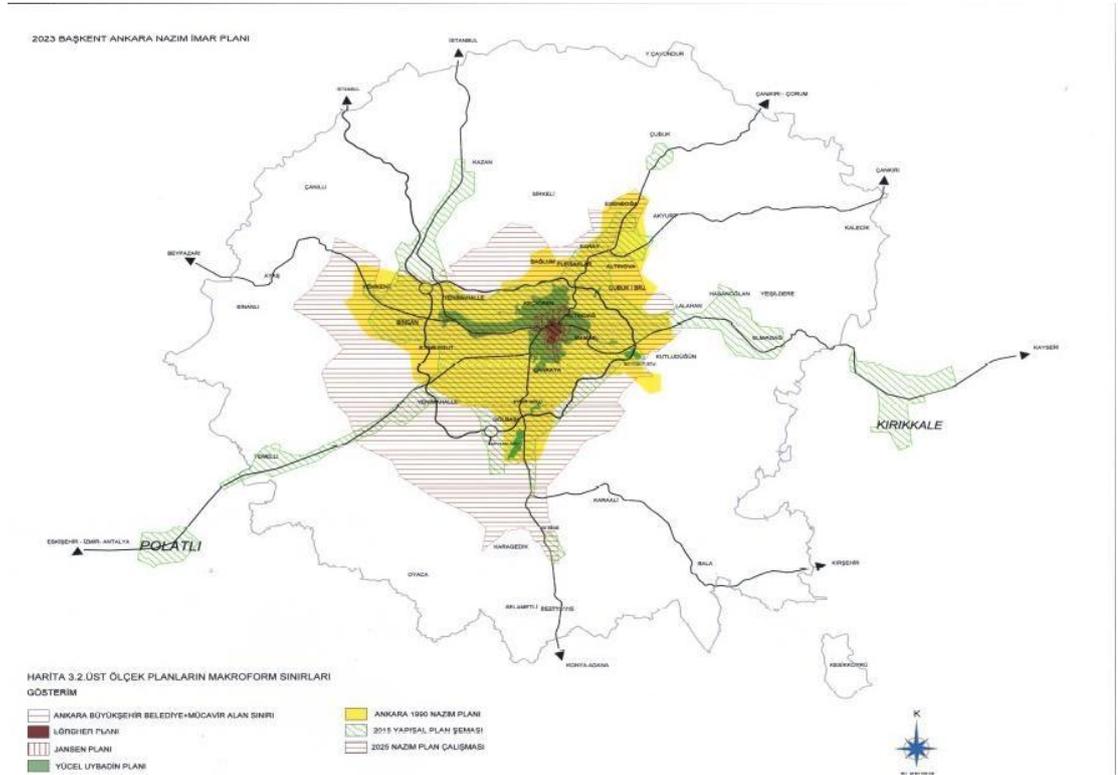
With the adoption of neoliberal policies and the approaches of the new-right as the extension of the political trend observed all over the world, the period was just the more severe reflection of the approach in Turkey. In this context, urban space centered politics became the dominant strategy in the period of articulation to the global system.

The political restructuring practices could be easily observed on spatial decision making processes. The conservative approach that arose after 1980s gained speed by 90s and continued at this period. Furthermore, it is this very period that the emphasis shifted totally on Istanbul after a long-term dominance of Ankara as the political and administrative center of the country. In this context, Ankara came face to face with approaches to detach it from its political context and identity with the urban policies and legal regulations upon the physical configuration. Besides the design based interventions on urban form and pattern, it is possible to observe a functional discharge as well, regarding the relocation of some important institutions from Ankara to Istanbul. In this sense, Istanbul stands at the center of the revanchist strategy whose initial reckoning was with Ankara. The capital that has dislocated Istanbul by republic's foundation was now made sure it returned many of its acquisitions back. Thus, Istanbul has become the paradigmatic space of the government's hegemony (Şengül, 2013). In this manner, Ankara has turned into a space of capital accumulation, which is just recalled for the opportunities it offers for speculative and capitalist ends. Thus, while turning into the utmost remedy for economic concerns, it was growing into the abstract space, an instrument for the government to manifest itself and to manipulate freely.

The relatively silent periods of Turkey from 1980s onwards in means of public political activity have continued till the mid 2013. At this period, we can speak of an increasing political coercion year by year. The depoliticization period of a 30-year time was interrupted by partial political movements of civil society, especially on specific dates. But apart from those, the lack of a public stand became a matter of curiosity though every field of life was affected by the policies and approaches of the government. Still, important initiations by leading parts of the society were trying to move Turkish political reflexes against the executions and approaches of the government. Consequently, those acts formed important examples of social movements, where the primordial spaces of republic accommodated the social acts. So, the movements stayed as reactions popped out from time to time, yet inadequate to make any difference in the ongoing processes. Nevertheless, those efforts prepared the basis and inevitably gave way to massive oppositions.

#### 4.1.5.2. Institutional Structure and Planning Approach

The implementations at urban scale reached the most dramatic and most severe level in the planning history of Ankara. No certain planning approach or policy was adopted at this period. And with the new regulations established, the Greater Municipalities gained limitless authority, and the centralization and aggregation of the whole authority in one body was made possible. District municipalities were made almost ineffective, though this attempt was not executed directly. They were left completely passive, and all decisions started to be made by the mayor.



**Figure 6 - Development of Ankara Macroform**  
(Source: [ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf](http://ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf))

As can be seen from the development of the city macroform, urbanization's meaning evolved into physical expansion in time being. Land started to be seen as an instrument where investments could be transmitted from primary circuit to secondary

circuit of capital. As a result of this mentality, Ankara was turned just into a center of capital. With no doubt, in continuum with period after the second coup d'état, the reflection of power on space was felt in this period the most. The urban structure was surrendered completely to speculative purposes and capital. And all the legal and judiciary background to support such acts was prepared. So, the transformation of Ankara reached an unmanageable extent and the urban restructuring acts got into a vicious circle where all of the self defense and reaction mechanisms of the city were abolished.

#### **4.2. Space of Political Authority vs. Space of Social Opposition**

At this section, the primordial political spaces of Ankara, the formation of them, the politicization and depoliticization processes they are subjected to will be discussed along with the approaches state adopted towards them followed by the transformation of these places. In addition, the changing dynamics in political space choice throughout different periods will be elaborated.

As was mentioned previously, the major political spaces of Ankara are observed to be the central public spaces of the city produced throughout the first years of the republican period though getting exposed to numerous physical interventions and changes by later authorities in power. Kızılay Square, Ulus Square, Sıhhiye Square can be counted as the political spaces the republic created, while Tandoğan Square has become politicized later on. Besides these spaces, Abdi İpekçi Park and Etlik Kasalar are more different cases that had better be elaborated separately.

All of the transformations Turkey has been subjected to, reflected deliberately or not on the physical configuration of the capital city, especially on the public spaces created by republic as a part of social projects of the enlightenment ideal. The purpose of those acts are obvious as Kılınç explains; to disable, and detach the remaining urban parts that have somehow reached from the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century to date from their context and function (2009, p. 152).

#### **4.2.1. Production of Space: Emergence of Public Spaces of Ankara**

As we have examined earlier, according to Lefebvre's theorization, each production type creates its own space. Parallel to that, production of public and political spaces of Ankara dates back to the first years of the republic. Therefore, the public spaces of Ankara show characteristics of what nation-state calls for at spatial scale. And we can explicitly express that spatial production in Ankara was restricted within the first period that corresponds to the foundation of the republic.

The "spatial practices" we come face to face at this period differentiates from the other periods of Ankara's spatial history. The first years of Ankara might locate the acts on space of that time closer to the "representation of space" in Lefebvre's conceptual triad 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" (1991, p. 33). The first spatial acts executed on spatial arena of the capital might seem as an attempt of abstract space creation. It is true that the founding administration constructed its ideology on space, at the same time creating a modern physical environment for the society. But legitimization of those "spatial practices" was carried out by the public, through the social movements they carried out on the exact public spaces that were produced in the first period of republican history. What is more, the urban social movements that were conducted to protect such spaces from later authorities' aggressive attitudes against those spaces prove to what extent the public embraced the acts on space that had created the prominent public spaces of Ankara.

Based on this kind of ideals, the first public spaces of Ankara were created by the foundation of the republic. Ulus, standing out as the representation of the war of independence and the place where national struggle was founded while Kızılay stood out as the space of institutionalizing republican ideology beginning from the first years of the republican period, as the center of bureaucracy and administrative staff. Sıhhiye, the third of the most important spaces was a product of the republican period. It stands out as the construction of social progress and social public projects on urban texture, the social side of what the founding administration idealized to put

into existence in the civic life of a young republic. Thus, it emerges in a way, as an important constituent of the project to sustain the social dimension of national targets (Kılınç, 2009, p. 139). The mentioned concerns turn out as the extension of the idea that the maintenance of revolution could only be provided by the instillation of a common future idea into the society (Yalım, 2009, p. 157), which the spatial dimension was a great part of. In this manner, the public spaces knitted in the physical configuration of the cities by the republic, were assigned by a significant function in this consciousness building project (Kılınç, 2009, p. 156).

#### ***4.2.1.1. Ulus***

As can be defined by Arendt's theory, being the most visible space of Ankara in the last stage of Ottoman Empire and the first years of the republic, Ulus had got to be the pioneering center of legislation before the parliament was moved to Kızılay (Batuman, 2009, p. 49). As the center of War of Independence and national struggle, Ulus has become an important center since 1920. Actually, 1920 can be accepted the date Ulus became politicized. The local people welcoming Atatürk and showing their support and full commitment to the independence struggle, made the village of that period the ultimate base of War of Independence, and the future capital of the republic in Atatürk's vision. So, beginning from 1920 till the end of republic's first decade, Ulus was the only center, pursuing its mission as the administrative center of the young republic.

The square that was known as Taşhan Square up to the proclamation of the republic, was formed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of the square was the consequence of westernization practices observed in the last days of the Ottoman period and its transformation into a square would not come up until Taşhan's construction (Yalım, 2009, p. 171). *İttihat ve Terakki*'s building that was started to be built in 1915, was completed by 1920 and became the first parliament building in Turkish history (Yalım, 2009, p. 178). Consequently, the square would gain a transcendental meaning for the public which was going to structure the cornerstones of the collective memory out of common struggles, interest and history. What is more, it would be a part and initiator of the republic's traditions, like ceremonies and

national rituals, one of the most important ways of transmitting collective memory (Yalım, 2009, p. 179).

The square that was to be called Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, meaning the sovereignty of the nation in the years of war, would be named after Turkish nation, Ulus, the Turkish word for “nation”. In addition to the names chosen for places, institutions and so forth, national identity was represented by national architecture, which was tried to be created during the first years of the country. The important constructions of the period can be listed as Ankara Palace (1927), second parliament building (1925), and İş Bank building (1929). However, by the years 1927-28 the features of the period’s national architecture were to be freed from religious and Ottoman motifs in order to produce a new modern architecture compatible with the modern uses of the republic (Yalım, 2009, p. 185). For that purpose, foreign architects and planners were employed by the state to construct the city in the way it could relate to the western and modern nation states. The building of *Divan-ı Muhasebat* would be enlarged and renovated in the façade and turned into a modern Court of Accounts building (Yalım, 2009, p. 186).



**Figure 7 - Taşhan Square, 1920**

(Source: <http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com.tr/p/ankara-kent-yazlar-4.html>)

The social life of the city was carried out at the modern uses located in Ulus. Karpıç Restaurant, Taşhan Palace and Ankara Palace were the first constructs where modernization and civilization practices of the nation were achieved (Yalım, 2009, p. 191). While the revolutionary developments were being conducted, adjustment of the citizens and getting them to get used to the new life style has become of high consideration as the way a respected republic required.



**Figure 8 - Ulus Square in 1930's**  
(Source: <http://img139.imageshack.us/img139/853/enk37kw.jpg>)

The reproduction of collective memory and social consciousness was executed on the precedent public spaces of Ankara, Ulus Square in the first years. As was mentioned previously, the meetings, celebrations and commemorative ceremonies organized in the area, helped the notions of commonness, integrity and unity be remembered and transferred to the next generations. On the other hand, besides the ceremonies on the special dates, the executions in 1926, where the counter-reformists were executed, underlined the principles of the nation-state and the stand to be taken by the citizens (Yalım, 2009, p. 194).

Besides being the areas of recreation and the social activities for public needs, the public spaces that seem of high importance in inscribing the codes of nation-state's

ideology at physical dimension, were at the same time the areas where the images of the civil modern life would be comprehended. So, the duty of the restaurants, hotels and other modern uses of the republic was taken over by parks and green areas and squares at open public sphere (Yalım, 2009, p. 195). This way, the space of nation state and republic of Turkey, was produced once again, by creating and reproducing social relations, a social life, or in other words, everyday life as Lefebvre emphasized.

While the political function of the republic's public sphere was undertaken more by the Ulus Square and the Meclis Bahçesi (Parliament Garden), the social side of the civil life was being pursued on Millet Bahçesi (Nation's Garden). The area formed by platforms included a café and a restaurant which would serve the daily activities to take place at the area (Yalım, 2009, p. 195-196).

The symbolic elements of the area can be shown as the Zafer Anıtı (Monument of Victory) constructed in 1924 at the middle of the square. "Monument, as a very important cornerstone of tradition's invention, defines a public space by creating a defined area of action around itself besides its direct and strong effect on memory due to the visual relation it establishes with the spectator" (Yalım, 2009, p. 197).

#### ***4.2.1.2. Kızılay***

One of the most important early republican period public spaces, the center of the new city was built around the new administration zone that would relate to the identity of the young capital and would become the city's heart. The formation of Kızılay or Yeni Şehir (New City) dates back to 1924 with the plan of Lörcher as was mentioned previously. The square having two titles back then as Cumhuriyet (Republic) in Lörcher's plan or Kurtuluş (Liberation/Independence) in Jansen's was a part of the spatial configuration in the first plan of Ankara as an order of open public spaces designed as Sıhhiye Square – Zafer Square – Millet Square – Cumhuriyet Square respectively (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 230). In addition, it would generate one of the critical nodes of the spine, Atatürk Boulevard to join other nodal

elements like military facilities, the community center, and the exhibition hall (Batuman, 2009, p. 49).



**Figure 9 - Kızılay Güvenpark - Havuzbaşı in 1930's**  
(Source: <http://img139.imageshack.us/img139/3154/enk40rh.jpg>)

Havuzbaşı (meaning poolside) that was located at the area was thought as the new central location of the capital that was to become the first recreational area of the district soon and to be equipped by new functions around it. The multidimensional meaning of the square can be read from the two different names it was titled to, republic and liberation. By Jansen, the square was going to be turned into the intersection of the social and political realm, creating a new public sphere via coincidence of notions the city would hold, the space of socialization of the modern republic and the political center of the state. Thus, the spatial strategy to embrace both of the dimensions was reflected upon the square, defined by Güvenpark at the end of the Ministerial District on the one hand, and the Kızılay Building with the park surrounding it on the other (Batuman, 2009, p. 50).

A new public sphere was on the agenda of city life in Ankara by the time Kızılay became an important center of social activities in the 1930s with the new functions entering the social lives of Ankara dwellers. Newly opening cinemas, bookshops along with the establishment of ministerial buildings, Kızılay had a lively atmosphere. By the first half of the 1940s, Kızılay offered a neat, clean and green environment (Batuman, 2009, p. 53). The ongoing development processes that would invite new populations to the city was about to produce a new meaning in addition to the other two that were explained as the social space of bourgeois and the symbolic space of nation-state as Batuman defined. The third identity stressed by him becomes meaningful from the perspective of the new dwellers of the capital, living in the squatter areas of the city, and perceiving Ankara as “the desired city life out of their reach” (Batuman, 2009, p. 55). This is explained by Arendt’s theorization of the modern identity being visible to the other (Batuman, 2009, p. 49).



**Figure 10 - Kızılay Güvenpark in 1936**  
(Source: [http://www.sozluk.org/uploads/photos/4352\\_415.jpg](http://www.sozluk.org/uploads/photos/4352_415.jpg))

Along with the adoption of multi-party system, Ankara was about to obtain another identity. The symbolic meanings of Ankara and Kızılay, and the public sphere of the republic were exposed to transformation processes along with the policies the

governments implemented. The DP in power articulated modernity with every means of traditional, religious, and counter progressive elements. The meaning of modernity as the social development along with national development for the early republican staff was transforming into a strategy of capital accumulation process that would not conflict with power relations (Batuman, 2009, p. 55). These developments would initiate a spatial transformation process in Kızılay with calls of turning the area into a central business district which would give rise to the construction of apartment blocks and buildings with passages at the ground floor. Also different functions were seen to concentrate more around the service sector and commercial uses (Batuman, 2009, p. 56). Approaching 1960s, the government's projects and spatial policies caused Kızılay to face a physical and characteristic reconfiguration which would continue the upcoming years.

#### ***4.2.1.3. Sıhhiye***

As a part of the configuration of public spaces network, Sıhhiye Square getting its name from the word "sanitary", was also an outcome of Lörcher's spatial configuration for the capital's heart. Sıhhiye district was an important component of the modern capital of the republic with sanitary institutions, representing a healthy and conscious nation. Also with its location that was put at the intersection of the new city and the old city, the position of the square is critical for the symbolic meaning and identity of Ankara. By the same token, it is Sıhhiye that provides the "accessibility from Ulus to Kızılay both vertically and horizontally, in other words, both physically and culturally" (Kılınç, 2009, p. 138).

Being the center of enlightenment and the social project to be applied on the citizens, the institutions to provide the public health and sanitary progress were collected in the area, in order to create a healthy nation. The centers to be located at the district would, with no doubt, depend on a national health policy that would execute the required sanitary progress and consciousness development for the nation without being dependent on foreign support.

The construct that has given the district its name is the Directorate of Sanitary<sup>11</sup> that was built in 1924, as the most important component of physical, mental and urban health (Kılınç, 2009, p. 139) and the monumental representation of the mentioned ends defining the octagonal square, being used as the Ministry of Health today. Still the blocks of Astsubay Orduevi and buildings located to the west define the square (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 231). Being located near the former green areas of the republic's capital, Abdi İpekçi Park, regarding its relation with the building draws attention to the act of creating a 'healthy' modern public space out of a swamp, which was one of the major sources of illness in Ankara in the past (Kılınç, 2009, p. 140).



**Figure 11 - Sihiye Ministry of Health Building**  
(Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr/galeri-9-f-607/eski-ankara-fotografllari/eski-ankara-fotografllari-1.php>)

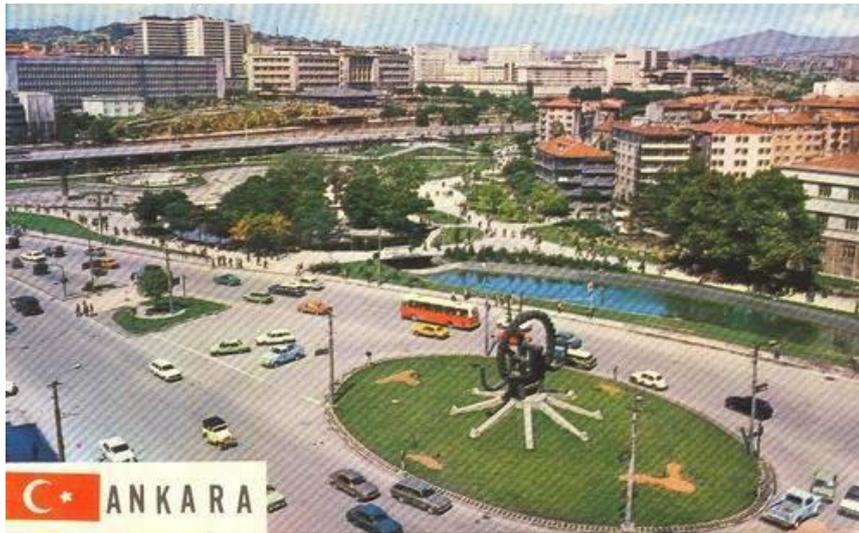
Besides Abdi İpekçi Park, another important public space in the area is Zafer Square, which was functioning as the “lungs” of the capital and contributing to the city health in this context with the greenery it accommodated (Kılınç, 2009, p. 154). The Atatürk sculpture, located in the center is another important element of the square,

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<sup>11</sup> Sevahil-i Sihiye Müdüriyeti

which hosted as the initial destination of many demonstrations, especially before Atatürk's Mausoleum was constructed.

The important architectural symbols of the district in the framework of the semantic representations Sıhhiye presented can be listed as the former constructs of the area as, the Institute of Hıfzıssıhha, Ankara University Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, the medicine faculties and hospitals. As can be seen, the uses are concentrated mostly around education and health that can be accepted as the products of a progressive social state approach adopted from the beginning of the republic's first years (Kılınç, 2009, p. 151).

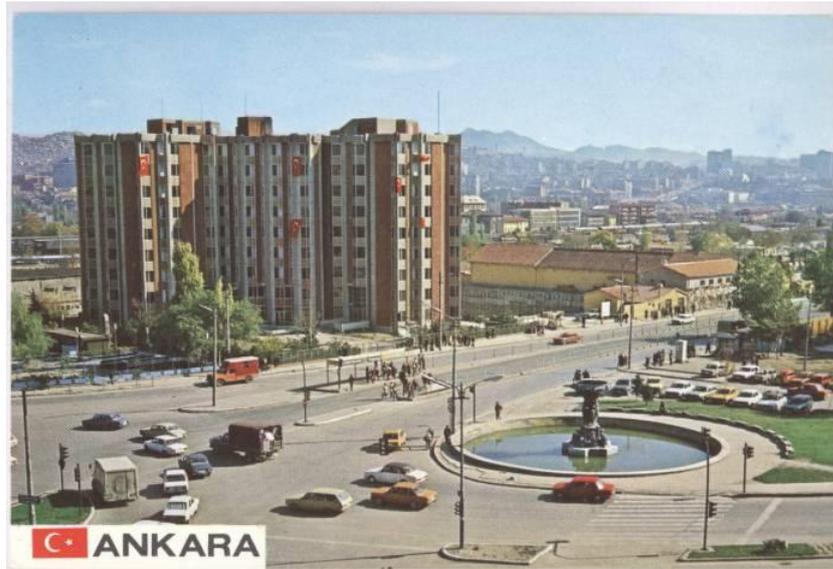


**Figure 12 - Sıhhiye - Hittite Sun Disk**  
(Source:[http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/65/ANKARA-SIHHIYE-MEYDANI-GENEL-GORUNUM-KARTPOSTAL\\_\\_658891\\_0.jpg](http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/65/ANKARA-SIHHIYE-MEYDANI-GENEL-GORUNUM-KARTPOSTAL__658891_0.jpg))

When considering the precedent buildings located at the district, it is observed that they connect with the social life not just via their architecture and the central location to the area, but also with the meanings they hold. While the Institute of Hıfzıssıhha invited Turkish women into social life and work life referring to the central position of women in democracy and the progress of an enlightened republic with the nude woman figure, Hygeia, the Greek Goddess of hygiene, at the frontal façade of the

building, it was at the same time demolishing the obstinate and conservative attitude inherited from the Ottoman approach. On the other hand, Faculty of Languages, History and Geography was giving a rather direct message to the citizens with the positivist attitude it adopted advising a social development dependent to science with Atatürk's quote on the building: "Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir," (Science is the most genuine guide in life) (Kılınç, 2009). Another important urban symbol is the Hittite Sun Disk that was erected in 1978 in the period of Vedat Dalokay which would later be identified with the square and be the requisite visual element of social movements that were carried out in Sıhhiye.

#### ***4.2.1.4. Tandoğan***



**Figure 13 - Tandoğan Square in 1981**

(Source: <http://www.eba.gov.tr/gorsel/bak/97394fdeac2e27b644622b37f40aa755caff45ce5a140>)

The first act of the design of Tandoğan Square can be accepted as the Jansen plan of 1936, but the main attempt to form such a public space was conducted during the planning of Mebusevler settlement area. What is interesting about the design seems as the road that was planned to cross diagonally through the rectangular square, which stood out as an obstacle in front of the square's legibility and its physical

comprehension by the citizens (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 235). Still, it was serving much to the public and social life of the dwellers as a public space that was formed much later compared to the other public spaces of the city.

The square's proximity to Atatürk's Mausoleum, undoubtedly, maintains the space a remarkable meaning. Its construction to the district in 1944 turned the space into an important destination for demonstrations, rallies, celebrations, commemorations and ceremonies especially on specific dates of Turkish history.

As another important symbol for the area, the pool located at the center of the square was brought from Kızılay to Tandoğan Square in late 1960s formed a public sphere for the students and dwellers in the area. The density of the student population of the area undoubtedly contributed to the political notion of the area to develop similar to the previous cases.

#### **4.2.2. Politicization of Public Spaces: Emergence of Political Spaces of Ankara**

As space is a social product according to Lefebvre's theorization, and a complex entity that is constituted upon social practices, political spaces should similarly be produced via social and political acts of public on spatial arena. As was defined earlier, political spaces were accepted in this study as where authority and social opposition met. Thus, it is the political act that assigns space a political identity. Therefore, politicization of primary public spaces of Ankara will be analyzed upon the social and political acts carried out on these spaces that attributed them a political notion. To what extent a public space is public is measured also by Habermas with the capacity of the space to form public opinion, and to create an organization against the oppressive forms of social and public power (Kellner, 2009).

Social space, rose out of form-structure-function triad in Lefebvre's theorization will be analyzed in this section around the framework he constructed, how the space is politicized, its political function, and the collective behavior that is shaped and reproduced by the physical form and structure the space holds. Structure is the conceived element that is mostly the product of an ideal forming process. That is

what we encountered in the first years of Ankara through the space formation process, which created an idealistic spatial framework for the republic, as it entailed a spatial organization. This was followed by people's perception of the physical form in Ankara's development experience that formed the relations between daily reality and urban reality. Form that is very much the function of mental space, is perceived through a number of applications on spatial arena, or in Lefebvre's terms, spatial practices as we have investigated earlier. And lastly, "function" that is formed out of people's spatial experiences and social relations they constitute in the flow of everyday life. That is pretty much what we will focus on at this section, as lived space, space of users by Lefebvre's expression, or full embracement of people with space is easier to be examined over concrete acts of people, mostly the political and social acts and movements in our case.

#### *4.2.2.1. Ulus*

As was mentioned earlier, Ulus diverges from other public spaces of Ankara in means of its political evolution and spatial production. It was already a political space when the capital of Ankara was decided to be urbanized around the center of Ulus. In other words, Ulus' became one of Ankara's primary public spaces after it had already gained its political character. What is more, as the center of struggle of independence, it also became the new capital's institutional center. As was noted previously, Ulus' politicization dates back to the year 1920. Not only Ulus' politicization, but also the foundation of the Independence War was laid at the very instant and location when local people welcome Atatürk, the hero and leader of Turkish independence. The public's greeting at the same time carried a notion of demonstration where they showed their support and belief to the national struggle and Atatürk.

Ulus' first use for political demonstration after the republic's foundation dates back to February, 1951 where a movement was organized to bring up the issue of Cyprus by Turkish Student Federation. Another big movement after a number of demonstrations organized by Turkish Student Federation can be dated as May, 1958 where thousands of young protesters assembled to protest Korea War. Later on, we

see the square was not used very frequently, but still it was an important political space to conduct demonstrations where Atatürk's memory and special dates in republican history was commemorated.



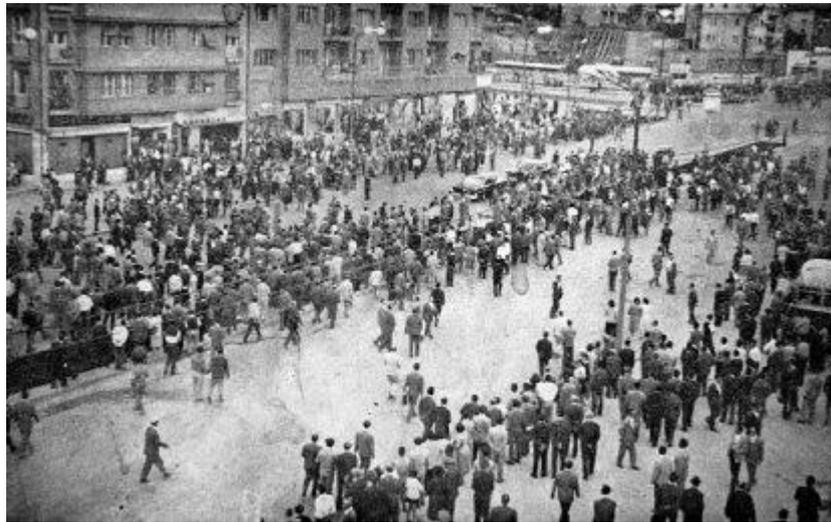
**Figure 14 - The commemoration of Atatürk's arrival in Ankara (1957)- 27th December  
(Source: Milliyet – December 28th, 1957)**

#### ***4.2.2.2. Kızılay***

Kızılay Square was already turned into a space of political power and ideological representation of the dominant authorities and it was, with no doubt, distracted from the clarity of what it implicated on physical ground. So, politics was already inscribed in the area regarding its production from the first years of the republic, but though getting attached to the political route of Ulus - Lozan Square beginning from 1958 with the demonstration of Cyprus, becoming the very location of a social uprising would not be until the year 1960. The political event that would trigger a social movement was the establishment of the Tahkikat Commission as was mentioned earlier. On the day (April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1960) that would start the series of student movements, İnönü's preference of Kızılay over Ulus for cash drawing and walking for a while at the square initiated the first social demonstration, which draws our

attention to the suitability of Kızılay for attraction of public attention. Surrounding of him by students that were cheering up for İnönü and shouting against the government ended up being an anti-governmental protest. It was important in the way that it was the first time Kızılay was accommodating such a social movement. And after the event, Kızılay Square would witness student movements every day for 1,5 month-period (Batuman, 2009, p. 60).

The educational uses concentrated at the area are with no doubt contributed to the rising political opposition. The Faculty of Political Sciences, Faculty of Law and Military Academy located at the district can be shown as the greatest factor behind Kızılay to be preferred for a social uprising. The location of the faculties would play a significant part in the organization of the student movements that lasted for the spring, which would make its peak on May 5<sup>th</sup> organized under the code of 555K.



**Figure 15 - Protests of 555K, 1958**  
(Source: <http://www.editorler.org/?p=240>)

With the government's acts of preventing the rising opposition as, the relocation of bus stops, shutting down of the cinemas and the prohibition of groups of more than 10 people assemble at the boulevard (Batuman, 2009, p. 61), the social movement

attained an urban notion as well, since the struggle became on and over space. The movements that would give way to military intervention and the decline of the government would again be celebrated at the square which consolidated Kızılay's political identity via the reproduction of collective memory. In other words, the military revolution which was triggered by the public uprising had undoubtedly strengthened the square as a political space to be the very scene of the upcoming conflicts and demonstrations in the following years.

#### ***4.2.2.3. Sıhhiye***

Sıhhiye's politicization dates back to the same years Kızılay began to be used for political purposes. Back then, Sıhhiye was included to demonstration routes and used along with other primary public spaces of Ankara. It was used commonly to show political reactions especially at the times of AP government. But it did not become such a strong political center that fast when compared to Kızılay. Its politicization and turning into a political node on its own dates back to the late-70s. What increased its political influence can be shown as the construction of Statue of Hittite Sun Disk, which was caused discussions and ceased to be constructed from time to time. Its construction was attempted to be prevented by the MC government, but it was eventually erected. In 1984 the destruction of the statue came up in the period of ANAP government. Nevertheless, it was conserved as a result of the reactions directed to the attempt. In short, it was inevitable for the statue to represent urban struggle and the symbol which was tried to be attacked by certain ideologies but failed to be put into practice. We see that the area began to be used more frequently after mid 1990s by state officials and workers especially on specific dates.

#### ***4.2.2.4. Tandoğan***

Tandoğan square entered the scene as a political center after the years 1967-1968 where student movements rose all around the country. Demonstrations against NATO and USA formed the majority amongst social movements of that period. So, under these circumstances Tandoğan Square was embraced as a political space for social opposition that sustained and increased its activity also through 1970s, but at

the same time gave way to its physical reconfiguration in the upcoming years. It became one of the two most preferred public spaces of Ankara by the public for social movements, along with Kızılay Square as was mentioned previously (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 235). As a result of being one of the biggest open urban areas which made it one of the most preferred places for demonstrations and the political character it attained especially after 1970s prepared the ground for the transformation of the square under the legitimation of infrastructure and transportation development policies.



**Figure 16 – Tandoğan in 1976**  
(Source: <http://tutedarsiv.org/FotAr/Alb%C3%BCm.html>)

Besides its proximity to educational functions, the placement of the pool and emergence of a new public space in the district in late 1960s (Dündar, 2008), with no doubt, contributed the square to emerge as a political space in the 70s along with the improvement in the public social feature of the area. However, the pool was replaced with metro stations and the square was transformed into crossroads just like in Kızılay example which will be elaborated in the next section.

#### **4.2.3. Depoliticization of Space: Hegemony of Political Authority on Space**

We have seen how primary public spaces of Ankara were integrated with social life upon social movements and political acts of social opposition on urban space. And

through the depoliticization processes that were the outcome of political authorities' implementations on political space via instruments of power and enforcement, we will examine how these places got detached from their political contexts and how they were tried to be degraded in front of the society. A similar process that led to the transformation of absolute spaces into the spatial representation of power and violence, namely the abstract space, was observed in Ankara. The political spaces of Ankara were appropriated by power, turning the social spaces of the city that were reproduced by social and political acts of the society into abstract spaces. Abstract space, as was elaborated earlier, is depicted by Lefebvre upon land-capital-labour trilogy (1991), at the same time stressing the fetishism of space was something that entered our agenda by the rise of commodification, and the urge to dominate space over power relations. And as a result of this kind of a restriction of public life via depoliticization of public spaces gives rise to depoliticization of the public, bringing along suppressed political reflexes. As Harvey emphasizes, through the social restructuring in relation to transforming property relations at urban scale, people come face to face with political withdrawal and individualism (2011, p. 8-9). Power implementation on space gives rise to this kind of a depoliticization both on space and on the society. The authority makes such an impact over economic concerns by accumulation by dispossession or over ideological goals, which ends up with the usurpation of right to the city.

At this point, where political authority stands as an actor has very much to do with the depoliticization processes. We have previously seen how space was used a tool to reflect certain ideologies in order to shape social perception and collective behavior. The spatial system is interfered not only to plant a new ideology, but also to destruct or at least to damage the ideology embraced by the society. Especially in political systems that are getting more and more authoritarian, places of the opponent are appropriated and transformed by the authority. What is more, while trying to eliminate the opponent, and correspondingly politics, the exact bearer of social opposition are declared as "battlegrounds" which should be destroyed instantly, bearing both the everyday life and spatial practices of the opponent. So commodification is not the only factor behind the transformation of Turkish cities.

The increasing domination of conservative expressions in politics and embracement of this approach by parties in power trigger the spatial appropriation processes (Şengül, 2013). In Ankara, we see both of these factors went hand in hand through history that caused major transformations in the physical configuration of the city.

#### *4.2.3.1. Ulus*

Ulus case, once again, diverges from the other cases as its decline started after the rise of Kızılay, a new public space that would serve the citizens in a much more different extent. The shift of capital's center towards Kızılay in the first decades of the republic caused Ulus to lose influence to a certain degree. However, the acts that gave rise to such a change at urban scale were not implemented to attack Ulus' position in collective memory and in spatial configuration. The urban policies were conducted to respond the newly improving and developing capital. Thus, a new city plan was prepared that was proposing Yeni Şehir (Kızılay) as the new city center.

Though, Ulus' decline began as a result of these urban planning courses and spatial implementations, Ulus' spatial transformation that would lead it to lose its identity by attacking its physical configuration corresponds to much later. Turning point of the spatial rise of Ulus dates back to the second half of the 1930s. The physical transformation of the area was undoubtedly initiated with the demolition of Taşhan in 1935 (Yalım, 2009, p. 205). With the construction of Sümerbank building at Taşhan's location, the new economic approach that reflected also on architecture and planning adopted after 1930s was concretized upon the modern construct of the bank. So, Sümerbank got to be the representation of the changing national architecture that carried different elements of 'international architecture' while introducing the Anatolian-Turkish features before the Ottoman history under the new Turkish identity adopted at the period. The Turkish identification was now shifted from the synthesis of old and modern carrying traditional elements inherited from Ottoman period, to the synthesis of authentic elements of Turkish history with Western world of culture and science. The shift to pure Turkish in titles and selection of names to the newly formed institutions to support the national economy and industrialization

at that period was also pointing out this new approach that can be observed in examples like Etibank, Sümerbank (Yalım, 2009, p. 207).

Nevertheless, the acceleration of transformation acts in Ulus would actually be triggered by Jansen plan that was proposing a new political center for the city. With the implementation of the plan that speeded up the development in Kızılay and with the shift of some of the uses towards the Çankaya axis, to the south that were of vital importance to the area, Ulus came face to face with the threat of spatial decline. The transformation process continuing with the concentration of new social activities in the new city by 1950s got completed with the relocation of parliament building to Kızılay in 1961 (Yalım, 2009, p. 208). Shutting down of Karpiç and the declining importance of buildings used by CHP with the change of government gave rise to the decline of Ulus (Yalım, 2009, p. 209).

With the populist and liberal approaches adopted by the new government in 1950s, the nationalist perspective under the modernization project was in a way abandoned. The support of private entrepreneurialism and new economic policies in the period of outward-orientation, reflected on space as efforts to turn Ankara into a metropolis. And consequently, physical development reached a whole new extent with increasing construction works, projects of transportation and infrastructure, and so forth. Thus, the open public spaces with central position in spatial configuration created by the republic were started to be cropped and steered as a product of the new approach. The urban spaces of nation-state's modern capital were put under the influence of international capitalism and liberal economies (Yalım, 2009, p. 211). Nevertheless, besides economic oriented acts on space, what damaged Ulus' political identity more is the restrictions brought to national commemorations, and annual celebrations that started to be implemented by the government, by 2012. Ulus' symbolic meaning was socially reproduced via these ceremonies beginning from the first years of the republic. Thus, with the attempts to drain its symbolic meaning, Ulus started to be erased from collective memory step by step.



**Figure 17 - Ulus Square Before Transformation**  
(Source: <http://img139.imageshack.us/img139/853/enk37kw.jpg>)



**Figure 18 - Ulus Square After Transformation**  
(Source: [http://www.panoramio.com/user/5631117/tags/Ankara?photo\\_page=2](http://www.panoramio.com/user/5631117/tags/Ankara?photo_page=2))

#### *4.2.3.2. Kızılay*

Along with the adoption of multi-party system, the public sphere of the republic were exposed to transformation processes along with the policies the governments implemented. As was mentioned previously, it was a period of articulation of modernity with every means of traditional, religious, and counter progressive elements. The meaning of modernity as the social development along with national development for the early republican staff was transforming into a strategy of capital accumulation process that would not conflict with power relations (Batuman, 2009, p. 55). The improvements triggered the spatial transformation of Kızılay, which ended up with the area turning into a central business district. Eventually, the apartment blocks and constructs with passages that would accommodate commercial functions and service sector uses began to spread all over the district (Batuman, 2009, p. 56).

At this point, two projects on the agenda of the government require emphasis, one of which is the construction of Kocatepe Mosque and the other one is Emek Office Block, the first skyscraper of Turkey. The construction of Kocatepe Mosque, as the religious component of the ideology that was reflected on space, formed an alternative vista for the boulevard and a landmark in the silhouette of the city (Batuman, 2009, p. 58). The second application of the government was the symbol of capital accumulation practices and as an economy-political product, the Emek Office Block was an instrument of reproduction of capital. So, shift of Kızılay from urban space of republic to the conflict arena of opposing functions and identities could be evaluated as the political upheaval Turkey was dragged towards, approaching 1960s (Batuman, 2009, p. 59).

In addition to the social practices on space, physical elements are also of high significance in reproducing the collective memory of the public. In Kızılay case, one of the two most important symbols of the area can be stated as the pool with the monument it held in the core which would be moved to Gençlik Park after 1930 that would be just the beginning of its never ending journey to be displayed in various districts of Ankara to end up eventually in Tandoğan in late 1960s, but again to be

removed also from that area. The other one was undoubtedly Güvenpark which gave the area its character and provided people a platform for socialization and interaction, which would later be the direct target of political power that would crop and transform it physically, turning it into a parking lot and just an obstacle in front of people on their way to the bus stops.

In this context, Set Café was also an important symbol at the square with its social status it represented and its critical position and visibility in the area that was, in a way, the concrete embodiment of the gap between bourgeois and the immigrants (Batuman, 2009, p. 63). Also the sculpture of “Türkiye” that was on top of the Kızılay Building would be not just a representative but also the narrative and the supporter of public life that was being experienced at Kızılay. Thus, it would be a platform where different contents and meanings would accumulate that would give rise to the politicization of the space (Batuman, 2009, p. 65).

The detachment of “Türkiye” sculpture was the first concrete attack of the authority on the symbolic components of the place as Batuman reveals. The attack on spatial configuration upon one of its symbols, would be initiated by this event beginning from 1975 to 1979 under MC government (Batuman, 2009, p. 66). The practices on urban space at this period would be observed through the transforming public uses and the changing functions of the workplaces at the both sides of the boulevard with speculative ends. But the main attack to the social and public activities would be monitored upon the green areas that accommodated the main recreational and social activities as would be observed from the diminishing of the park in the square and Güvenpark example (Batuman, 2009, p. 67).

A new identity was being designed for Kızılay that would diminish the political and historical meanings accumulated over the past decades in the area. Those efforts familiar from the past years would accelerate after 1980s, which would carry the violence on space to a new level and would ‘accomplish’ what could not be managed before. The major transformation of the square was executed by three projects, Güvenpark Renovation Project, Kızılay Shopping Center Building, and Kızılay Metro Station Project.

Initially, Güvenpark Renovation Project was totally replacing the public sphere that the republic created and the spatial symbols of it with traditional and local elements. The implementation plans that were to disperse the square's physical and historical focus and diminish the whole historical configuration of the space via functional changes and the infrastructural proposals were threatening both the integrity of the area and the collective memory. Nevertheless, the success of urban social movements, as one of the biggest in Turkish political history that reacted against this mentality did not let such a transformation project be executed on the area (Batuman, 2009, p. 68-69).

However, the same achievement could not be attained in other projects that were the attempts of the same understanding in continuum with previous examples mentioned above. The second project which covered the replacement of Emek Office Building with a new construct that was built in 1981, remained idle for twenty years time, not to mention the incompatibility of its design and scale with the square at all. The central location of the building that defines the crossroads and communicates with it holds the opportunity to reproduce the square's visual representation (Batuman, 2009, p. 70). In that context, we can say that the square is not visualized well with the incoherent structure of the building, lacking identity. Furthermore, its height, as if it pops out of the ground, spoils the integrity of the square and drawing all the attention in the area on itself.

A giant scale mirror screen exists now, in the place of Kızılay Park that was located at the end of the historical axis of Jansen Plan, which reproduces the continuous image of traffic chaos at the crossroads (Batuman, 2009, p. 70).

All these projects' intersection point is that they all direct the square's focus on the crossroads and point it out as the only legitimate spatial practice (Batuman, 2009, p. 72). As a consequence, the square has turned into a crossroads and just a node on the high-speed traffic route with partial implementations that directly targeted the primordial public area existing in the collective memory of people.



**Figure 19 - Kızılay Before Transformation**  
(Source: [http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/1415/1968-ANKARA-KIZILAY-MEYDANI-DEGISIK-GORUNUS-JART\\_\\_14157078\\_0.jpg](http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/1415/1968-ANKARA-KIZILAY-MEYDANI-DEGISIK-GORUNUS-JART__14157078_0.jpg))



**Figure 20 - Kızılay After Transformation**  
(Source: <http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-MQcAGvsEVx4/UYZtI7jIOU/AAAAAAAAABI/IIJHze4T9Q/s400/KizilayMeydani.Jpeg>)

With the second half of 1990s, another identity of Kızılay was introduced, political Islam. Especially the period after 1997 is accepted as a successful execution of Islamist populism in Ankara. This time, the central public space of the capital was being turned into the space of popular oriental fun that was corroding the political discourse of Kızılay (Batuman, 2009, p. 74). This mentality, turning the space into a banal feast area, was attempting to take revenge on the public space of the republic, and political space of special opposition at the same time pointing out degeneration in semantic dimension (Batuman, 2009, p. 76).

This understanding's accomplishments can be counted as an outcome of its legitimization upon the discourse of the right to the city center. Via populist policies, citizen rights would be brought up, clearing the way for both physical transformation of space under the guise of transportation projects and accessibility of the city center by lower income groups, and for characteristic transformation of the area via spreading informal sector in the city center at the same time (Batuman, 2009, p. 56). These policies undoubtedly achieved success in distracting the focus of the primary public space of Ankara, causing a certain extent of decline (see İlkay, 2007), spreading the everyday life previously concentrated around the square towards the surrounding streets.

#### ***4.2.3.3. Sıhhiye***

The important urban symbol, Hittite Sun Disk that was previously mentioned to be identified with Sıhhiye Square, was erected in 1978 in the period of Vedat Dalokay at the very center of the square which would later share the same fate with Kızılay Park. The sculpture is one of Ankara's monumental symbols that represent the Turkish history and identity that would pursue the effort previously shown by the first republican staff in order to identify Turkish identity by relating it to Anatolian elements much before Ottoman history.

With the same excuses that were used as an instrument of transforming the public area in Kızılay, the sculpture was turned into a reflection of the fast traffic, being left at the center of the crossroads. First it was aimed to be destructed in 1984, but with

the annulment of execution, the monument survived. Even the dynamites were put underneath the disk, though they were not exploded in the end (Milliyet news, May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1984). Nevertheless, its physical presence and symbolic meaning was tried to be weakened via the restructuring of the environment.



**Figure 21 - Sihhiye - U-Turn Viaduct**  
(Source:[http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/65/ANKARA-SIHHIYE-MEYDANI-GENEL-GORUNUM-KARTPOSTAL\\_\\_658891\\_0.jpg](http://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/65/ANKARA-SIHHIYE-MEYDANI-GENEL-GORUNUM-KARTPOSTAL__658891_0.jpg))

Sihhiye was not obviously designed as a node of bus stops and a crossroads, but that is how the area is recalled by the city dwellers right now. With its weak physical conditions due to its neglect and its unsafe environment especially after certain hours, Sihhiye is both physically and ideally far from its first years of formation and the notions it was aimed to represent, as the symbol of a sanitary and healthy nation. Undoubtedly, the spatial regulations in the area helped and enabled this transformation of Sihhiye to take place with Atatürk Boulevard's extension passing right from the middle of the public space, the construction of u-turn viaduct in 2000 though its execution was ceased by verdict. So, the insistence on restructuring the square can be interpreted as an attempt to detach it from its symbolic meaning giving way to its depoliticization.



**Figure 22 - Sihhiye Before Transformation**  
(Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/53762055?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>)



**Figure 23 - Sihhiye After Transformation**  
(Source: [http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/hava\\_kirli\\_degil\\_olcum\\_yanlis-913679](http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/hava_kirli_degil_olcum_yanlis-913679))

The transformation acts were executed in the same way they were handled in the other parts of Ankara, and the primary political spaces of the city. Under the guise of transportation, infrastructure, and traffic relaxation projects, the parks and squares were cropped, the central symbols of the spaces got decentralized losing focus and got detached from the spatial configuration.

#### ***4.2.3.4. Tandoğan***

As was mentioned earlier, the location of the pool and emergence of a new public space in the district in late 1960s (Dündar, 2008), with no doubt, contributed the square to emerge as a rising political space in 1970s along with the improvement in the public social feature of the area. The transformation of the pool into a crossroads just like Kızılay example after 1992 along with the installment of metro stations and replacement of the pool with a giant ceramic teapot and cup advertising a ceramic brand, undoubtedly, counts as an attempt to detach the space from its political and social context.

The pool located at the place previously had a social function identified with the character of the area. As was observed in the examples of Kızılay, Sıhhiye, Ulus, the symbolic components of the space as the representation of the collective political action was the first to be attacked by the authority at the period. It was transformed from a square of social exchange into a crossroads. What is more, the primary symbol of the square was changed with an advertisement object, almost drawing attention to the neoliberal practices in globalizing world order, and legitimizing and making it visible at the most central location of the square. Its replacement with an object that carries no artistic or aesthetic values and no meanings at all or relates in no ways with the identity or history of the place, should be interpreted as a reaction to the political and historical value produced throughout the past years, which contributed to the collective memory of the public. Speeding up the traffic, burying the spatial experience underground, and cropping the square via infrastructure works and transportation projects were the main implementations carried out for the depoliticization process to succeed. The metro construction works, with no doubt, helped legitimizing these attempts to a great extent.



**Figure 24 – Transformation of Symbolic Elements of Tandoğan Square**  
(Source: <http://blog.omerkarapinar.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/tandogan-meydan%C4%B1-yeni.jpg>)

Another point to be made about the area is that it has been shown by the government as one of the areas of rallies and demonstrations. Its presence in the list among some other places where government permits social movements to be organized, caused reaction amongst the people. What is more, its usage by political parties for demonstrations damaged the political identity it stored in the collective memory.

Nevertheless, it is still an important public space due to its proximity to Atatürk's Mausoleum. Back in past years, Tandoğan had a critical position for social movements lately emerged as "Republic Protests" (which were the social movements carried out in order to defend the republican values). Even, as a result of the revanchist policies of the government, the Mausoleum has become a shelter for the people longing for founding principles of the republic where gathering of millions of visitors turned into anti-governmental protests. The place meant a lot to the nationalists where they could feel closer to Atatürk, they could commemorate his memory. So, especially the important dates of republican history became significant days for Tandoğan in means of social movements, especially in the last years.



**Figure 25 - Tandoğan Before Transformation (1981)**  
(Source:<http://img.eba.gov.tr/331/51/33151.jpg?name=Ankara,%20Tando%C4%9Fan%20Meydan%20B1,%201981.jpg>)



**Figure 26 - Tandoğan After Transformation**  
(Source: [http://photos.wikimapia.org/p/00/01/68/15/35\\_big.jpg](http://photos.wikimapia.org/p/00/01/68/15/35_big.jpg))

#### 4.2.4. Strategic Significance of Public Spaces of Ankara

Four primary public spaces of Ankara that got to become the main political spaces of the city witnessed depoliticization processes in similar ways. Yet the impacts have not been observed to the same extent. Still these places have different positions from the perspective of the authority and the society. Thus, in order to examine the mentioned dynamics, it is essential to study the strategic significance of them which will be conducted by rating these places according to five criteria, which are specified as location/centrality, accessibility, social visibility, symbolic value, and physical configuration.

##### 4.2.4.1. Ulus

Table 1 - Strategic Significance of Ulus

| Parameters             | Degree |
|------------------------|--------|
| Location / Centrality  | ****   |
| Accessibility          | ****   |
| Social visibility      | ***    |
| Symbolic value         | **     |
| Physical configuration | **     |
| <b>Average</b>         | **     |

Location and centrality of Ulus is determined according to its position within the city. It is an important node at local scale but it lost its centrality in time by spatial implementations. The possibility to access the square by light rail and other modes of public transportation stands out as an important potential for its political capacity. The social visibility of the square has decreased to a certain extent since its decline as a political center. The place's social transformation caused the area to be left to the use of a limited social class which also caused an inefficiency in reaching all parts

of the society. Ulus' symbolic value was being reproduced in the first years of the republic by national celebrations and commemorations that have come to be wasted in time being. Lastly, its physical configuration and the social life constituted in the first years of the republic ended up with the whole focus oriented from symbolic elements to the traffic via public policy instruments.

#### **4.2.4.2. Kızılay**

**Table 2 - Strategic Significance of Kızılay**

| <b>Parameters</b>      | <b>Degree</b> |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Location / Centrality  | *****         |
| Accessibility          | *****         |
| Social visibility      | *****         |
| Symbolic value         | ****          |
| Physical configuration | ***           |
| <b>Average</b>         | ****          |

Kızılay, as the center of Ankara, has undoubtedly the strongest accessibility amongst other public spaces of the city. It is the node and intersection of the public transport routes in addition to its central location. The most striking feature of the square is with no doubt its proximity to the administrative functions, the Ministries District and the Parliament, which is the product of Lörcher and Jansen Plans. The social visibility it serves is another significant feature that strengthens its public and political quality. The production of Kızılay's symbolic value dates back to the year 1958 as was elaborated previously. And since the extent the social movements reached were recognized, it has got to be the primary choice for political and social oppositions. However, very few is left from its physical configuration that was

produced in the first years of the republic by the implementations of the later authorities.

#### 4.2.4.3. *Sihhiye*

**Table 3 - Strategic Significance of Sihhiye**

| <b>Parameters</b>      | <b>Degree</b> |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Location / Centrality  | ****          |
| Accesibility           | ****          |
| Social visibility      | ***           |
| Symbolic value         | **            |
| Physical configuration | **            |
| <b>Average</b>         | <b>***</b>    |

Sihhiye is in a way located in the middle of Ulus and Kızılay. Though its position is central to the capital, it was not designed as a center. Accommodating the bus stops and the metro station provides it a certain accessibility. Though we can not speak of a remarkable social visibility, its nodal quality assigns it a certain degree of influence range. Consequently, it is combined with specific routes in case of social oppositions to be executed. In means of symbolic value, Sihhiye is not again a very strong candidate, but its proximity to educational functions provided it to rise as a political space especially in 1960s and 1970s. Finally, its physical configuration does not have much to serve its political identity especially after the spatial transformation it faced following the second half of 1980s, which reached a serious extent in 1990s that ended up with the focal shift from its symbolic elements to the chaos of traffic once again.

#### 4.2.4.4. Tandoğan

Table 4 - Strategic Significance of Tandoğan

| Parameters             | Degree     |
|------------------------|------------|
| Location / Centrality  | ***        |
| Accessability          | ****       |
| Social visibility      | ***        |
| Symbolic value         | ***        |
| Physical configuration | **         |
| <b>Average</b>         | <b>***</b> |

Analyzing the location of Tandoğan in city, we can say it is an important node at local scale but though it is positioned in the center of the city, we can not call it a center at a greater extent. In means of accessibility, the existence of the metro stations, and the frequency of local transport to the area attributes it a strong potential for social organizations. Again, the social visibility becomes parallel to its centrality and accessibility. What is more, the social movements to be organized in Tandoğan Square are mostly supported with routes in order to increase the area of influence as will be discussed in the upcoming sections of the study, which points out the inadequacy of it alone in means of visibility. Its symbolic value is stored in the collective memory as a result of the accumulation of student protests during the late 1960s and 1970s. Also, the proximity of Atatürk's Mausoleum to the square stands out as an additional aid to the symbolic value despite addressing a limited part of social opposition. Besides, being known as a legal political space for the time being and its usage for demonstrations by political parties generated a negative impact on its symbolic being in society's perception. Finally, its physical configuration has been damaged over years by authorities in power that ended up with the square transforming into a mere junction.

#### **4.2.5. Conflict of Political Authority – Social Opposition on Space Throughout History**

The site selection of social opposition and geography of urban conflict in Ankara case throughout history should be elaborated from two standpoints, the main actors of the process, one of which is the opposing parts of the society that conduct the social acts on urban space, and the political authority, as the other side that controls and orients the process, even by changing the and making differences in physical configuration and managing the conception of the society during political processes.

The society, as consumers of social state for Castells, and users of everyday life for Lefebvre, become an important identifier for destinations of social organization in a city, at the same time throwing light on the social tendencies and demands at urban scale. We see, in Ankara case, these destinations were formed upon the main public spaces of the city in case of urban conflicts. But in some cases we see political spaces were reproduced via urban social movements upon urban question, in order to display reaction towards the invasion of public spaces. At this point, the other actor, political authority, as the power holder, enters the picture more vigorously, which is a function of class relations in Castells' perspective, while Lefebvre accepts it as a domain for power implementation. Castells accepts urban social movements as collective acts to transform the urban structure imposed by the dominant class, and as long as these acts are yielded with achievement, we can speak of an urban meaning (1983). The quality of the movements change according to the demands the movements are formed around, be it urban social movements or political movements. Thus, at all cases, public spaces get to be the mere arena of state-society conflict (Habermas, 1989) which get them to be politicized or to reproduce their political meanings.

##### ***4.2.4.1. 1923-1950***

At this period, we do not observe much social reaction due to the unity of state-society beginning from the first years of the republic especially in the first fifteen years as was mentioned above previously. In these years, the collective memory was

tried to be built by the state in order to recreate a national memory of the republic in addition to the ones stored in the years of war. This was to sustain the new regime by getting the support of the society. Thus, the collective memory formation process was conducted upon two channels: spatial organization of the cities of the republic, and the annual ceremonies and celebrations on the important dates of the republic's history.

Under such political circumstances where the country was getting to be prepared for the implementation of democracy, new public spaces were produced by the state as was mentioned previously. Thus, the leading public spaces of the capital were constructed; Ulus Square, Kızılay Square and Sıhhiye Square. These places were assigned with a specific purpose of helping people socialize in their daily lives and practice democracy. On the other hand, some other places were considered for the accommodation of annual celebrations, anniversaries, national ceremonies on the specific dates of Turkish Republican History. Ulus Square was also used for this purpose, but additionally Hippodrome became an important center for such occasions.

Tandoğan Square was not one of the public spaces produced during the first years of urbanization of the new capital, but ended up being one of the leading political spaces of Ankara. With no doubt, the settlement of university buildings here played an important role in Tandoğan Square's politicization. Nevertheless, the selection of Tandoğan as the site for Atatürk's Mausoleum and its construction by 1941 had also assigned a meaning to the space and helped its socialization, making it an important node of the capital for both annual ceremonies and social movements.

#### ***4.2.4.2. 1950-1960***

We observe that Ulus Square was mainly used for political purposes until 1958. The demonstration route was mainly formed upon Lozan Square – Ulus – Samanpazarı, or between Ulus and Zafer Monument for short meetings. Atatürk's Mausoleum was also included occasionally to these routes after it was opened to public by 1953.

However, we encounter a new political space's emergence after 1958 with the growing social uprising against the party in power at that period that would open a new era in Turkish political history. And the space that would play the lead part in this political transformation was nowhere but Kızılay Square.

#### ***4.2.4.3. 1960-1980***

The years between 1958 and 1964 witnessed intense political events in the leadership of student movements. The political route preferred by the students was mostly formed between Atatürk's Mausoleum or Victory Monument and Kızılay.

Another space added to the political destination of Ankara would be Tandoğan Square beginning from 1968, which would become one of the two most preferred political spaces in Ankara in 1970s. Even, we observe at this period that Kızılay was taking the second place as the site of social movements. Thus, we can speak of immense usage of the square up to 1980s. The route of demonstration was shifting towards Tandoğan – Cemal Gürsel Square – Opera Square in which Kızılay Square was from time to time included. Independent from the route, Tandoğan Square alone was also highly preferred for social movements.

#### ***4.2.4.4. 1980-2002***

As another breakdown in Turkish political history, after the coup d'état in 1980, we observe that the usage of these political spaces faced a dramatic decline due to the restrictions and coercive political approaches adopted by the administration at that period. So, the primordial political spaces did not show up on political agenda up to the 1990s. Besides the legal limitations towards demonstrations and social movements, suppressed and depoliticized public were important factors in the decrease of these movements and usage of the political spaces.

Etlik Kasalar was shown by the administration as the space for demonstrations in 1983. Obviously it was not a very efficient destination in means of social oppositions. Even, it is not true to call it a political space as it was far from what political spaces could accomplish that were produced naturally and preferred by the

society directly. Though the place was put into use in 1983, the first demonstration after the coup d'état was executed two years later, in 1985, which could be the mere proof of how the military intervention made an impact on the social and political reflexes of the public. What is more, such movements were executed once or twice in a year till 1994.

The years 1994 and 1995 would be the time when social movements became frequent again by the initiation of worker and state officer unions against the political approaches adopted and implemented by the party in power. At this period, we do not encounter student movements that much in comparison to the earlier periods.

Sıhhiye that was linked to the routes of demonstration and main political spaces (mostly Kızılay and Tandoğan) of the city earlier, began to be used frequently after 1994. Abdi İpekçi Park that was also linked to the mentioned routes, was shown as the only place to be used for demonstrations and therefore rearranged as a "park for demonstrations". Consequently, this had affected the pattern of social movements gathered for the time being. By the introduction of Abdi İpekçi Park to the political stage, the movements in other political spaces of the city declined to a certain extent.

#### ***4.2.4.5. 2002-2013***

In this period, Kızılay is once again the most preferred place for social oppositions in the city. The Republic Protests and working class movements are the movements that are observed the most during these years. This period is peculiar in the way that the approach the authority in power adopted, which departed from republic's founding ideology. This led to a dramatic rise in these protests, also turning the national holidays into days for social reactions especially for the nationalist group in the society.

Two most important regulations that are put into implementation in this period can be listed as the change made in the 2911 numbered law and the by-law on Ceremonies of National and Formal Holidays. Both of the regulations impose restrictive measures against social organizations that gradually impact the collective memory and social and political realm. While the former regulation specifies social

movements as illegal acts, the latter degrades annual ceremonies, transforming them into indoor activities and even removing some of them from the agenda. Specific to Ankara case, we can monitor the regulatory implementations upon the declarations and executions of the Governorship that bring restrictions to usage of certain public spaces in the city. In this context, all these legal regulations stand out as attempts against the collective memory and public's social and political organization.

If we look at the spatial allocation of political movements of this period, Kızılay and Sıhhiye stand out as the most preferred political spaces. The 2010 strike of Tekel workers revitalized Kızılay in political means. The workers pitched up tents and resided in Sakarya Avenue which provided them "visiblity" at the most central part of the city. Another important political space turned out to be Abdi İpekçi Park. It approaches to Kızılay in means of frequent usage for political purposes.

Another important political development of this period to be pointed out is the social act shown during Gezi Resistances. The movements carried out all over the country arose out of the need to cease the invasive attitude of the authority towards urban public spaces. And very rapidly, the urban social movement was turned into a political movement where millions could gather around one common demand, against the ongoing repressive exercise of the authority. The movements that were triggered from the base of Istanbul, were supported and sustained in the urban public spaces of many cities that were seen to be under threat which at the same time became the symbol of the resistances. The green large areas, open public squares and so forth got to be the main accommodators of these movements. Parallel to that, in Ankara, Kızılay Güvenpark was the main urban base of the movements and, in a way, the branch of Taksim Gezi Park in capital. What is more, we see that Sıhhiye, Kolej became the contributory spaces, as the main gateways to Kızılay. Also, Kuğulu Park, as one of the important bases for urban social movements throughout the republican history, rose as an alternative resistance point, which politicized once again, along with the introduction of new spaces, Kennedy and Esat Avenues, as the gateways of Kuğulu Park.

Various parts of the society that felt their area of freedom and everyday life were under threat, felt the necessity to stand up to this kind of an invasion that were assembled under the union of Gezi Resistance. The strength of this resistance and unity was derived from the common demand people were gathered around (Şengül, 2013). This movement was important in the way that it was not a class movement that was based on the demands of a specific social class. It covered many different social parts of the society and different classes which had what it takes to achieve urban revolution. The right to the city as Harvey emphasized following Lefebvre's footsteps, has this kind of a potential to gather masses for striking a big group action (Şengül, 2013; Harvey, 2011).

One of the remarkable points in this movement that needs to be emphasized is that, Tandoğan was not used for political purposes at all. We can come up with a conclusion why people did not choose to show their reaction through this channel, as it was well known as a legal demonstration area, also the demonstration area of political parties, though we do not have any scientific evidence to prove this outcome. But we are well shown by the dynamics of the movement that the areas that were in a way turned to battlefields like Kızılay, Sıhhiye seemed more worthy to be at and to sustain the movement from. It was in a way, the resistance against enforcements, urban enforcements as well as political enforcements. So, instead of choosing rather safe urban zones, people tended to stay at the places that meant something to the movement and the places that got to be the symbol of this struggle. Also Ulus that was undergoing a political decline for a long time, was not used during these acts. Instead, new political spaces entered the agenda of the city out of local centers of the movement, like Kennedy Avenue, Esat Avenue. The resistance generated different political centers at local especially at close locations to the main public spaces and to the young population that took a leading role in the movement. This situation gives us clues about which places out of the four primary public spaces of Ankara have a strategic significance for social opposition that shows us the extent of political decline Tandoğan and Ulus Squares undergone.

Out of this case, we have seen some semi public spaces at local scale entered the stage of political struggle. These mentioned spaces, as alternative struggle areas in Gezi Resistances, most probably will not become major political spaces of Ankara, but undoubtedly they played a critical part in the movements to sustain the movement for a long time at local. So, similar to the citizen movement in Madrid, we have observed these spaces served and supported social organization in neighborhoods. This resistance played a part in building urban common area symbolically by the alternative urban life set forth in the park during the resistance. The movements show that Gezi Park, Taksim in Istanbul; Kızılay, Kuğulu Park in Ankara, and Gündoğdu Square in İzmir are owned and embraced by the public as common spaces (Şengül, 2013). So, once again we can mention for Ankara case that Kızılay has an extremely strong publicness that accommodates and provides a base for social opposition. Apparently Kızılay serves an ultimate versatility as a public space, meeting many aspects of what different academic fields seek in a public space, with the visibility it provides amongst Ankara's other political spaces as Arendt emphasized, or the contribution it makes in forming public opinion as Habermas underlined, where people felt more comfortable in expressing themselves, not to mention the openness and the capacity to accommodate freely chosen and spontaneous act of people it presents as Lynch and Rapoport stressed.

#### **4.2.6. Social Movements as a Constitutional Right and Execution of Political Acts on Space**

The Turkish constitution accepts to display rallies and demonstrations as a legal right. As it was put in the 34th article, “everybody has the right to organize unarmed and nonviolent rallies and protest marches without getting permission beforehand”. But the condition of the methods and execution of the right to be determined by law points out the restrictive measures against the right. And in this context, the 2911 numbered law, which was established in 1983, and later subjected to several changes throughout the years, is still valid. Before going into the details of the law, the mobility of social opposition on urban space will be examined, then the right of

executing social and political acts will be elaborated along with the authority's legal implementations.

#### ***4.2.6.1. Destinations of Social Opposition***

After analyzing which public spaces rose as political spaces under different periods of history, it is time we depicted Ankara's political map according to the destinations political spaces are used with. So these destinations will be elaborated around the main political spaces of Ankara – Kızılay, Sıhhiye, Tandoğan and Ulus.

The social behavior tends to show differences according to the public space demonstration will take place on. We see at most cases that Sıhhiye and Tandoğan are used together with different combinations. If the demonstration will take place at Tandoğan Square, the route of social opposition turns out to be between Sıhhiye – Celal Bayar Boulevard – Tandoğan. If the demonstration will be organized in Sıhhiye, the route mostly is shaped between Tandoğan – Hippodrome – Railway Station – Sıhhiye.

The two squares are mostly combined in routes of social acts. At this point, two routes stand out, one of which is shaped upon Talatpaşa Boulevard, while the other is formed upon Celal Bayar Boulevard. The one that is preferred more is the Talatpaşa Boulevard destination as we analyze the frequency of the routes that are used.

The routes that extend to Kızılay stand out in forms of different destinations. One of them is Tandoğan – Hippodrome – Sıhhiye – Kızılay; the other one is Tandoğan – Sıhhiye – Kızılay, Hippodrome – Sıhhiye – Kızılay, Kurtuluş – Sıhhiye – Kızılay. So the routes that include Kızılay are formed out of the combinations of Sıhhiye, Tandoğan and Kızılay mostly. In some cases, we see also Kolej as a component of the routes. Nevertheless, among all these routes, Kızılay Square is most often preferred independent of any other route. Rather than being an extension of a route, the square is seen adequate on its own.

#### **4.2.7. Control Mechanisms of Social Opposition by Political Authority**

As was mentioned earlier, to display rallies and demonstrations was covered as a legal right under the Turkish constitution of 1982. Before starting the analysis of 2911 numbered Demonstrations and Protest Marches Law, it should be stated that, the exceptions covered within the regulation seem to have a purpose of setting a legitimate ground for all means of prevention, restriction and intervention in case of a possible public opposition. What is more, there has been some changes made in the article with the 4709 numbered law in the criteria about the national security and common health. The phrase has changed from the acts to “damage public order severely” and the “violation of national security conditions” to just “public order and national security”. Also, the “other people’s rights and freedoms” part was added afterwards which would increase the restrictions brought while the reasons for limiting such movements were not regulated and explained giving way to ambiguity in the legislation (Tunç, 2004).

The law 2911 regulates the circumstances of the right, the arrangement of the mentioned demonstrations’ and marches’ place, time, and conditions by legal persons, the cases the authorities are authorized to postpone or prohibit the movement and their duty and responsibilities<sup>12</sup>. The regulation stands out as a restrictive legislation, though it is depicted upon concepts like freedom and rights, it continues with exceptions turning this political right into an illegal act. What is more, the changes made in the regulation detached the law from clarity and created loopholes in the system that made it even vaguer and open to mishandle.

With the authority given to the governors in cities and towns, a great majority of movements people want to execute become illegal. They can decide where movements should be organized, which demolishes all the meaning and point of the movement to be conducted, as all kind of reactions and public resistance should be carried out at the places shown by the central administrations at urban scale. At this point, it is important to focus on the fact that what supports these kinds of movements are the places being the direct issue of urban conflict or the locations

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix A. 2911 toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri kanunu, 8/10/1983 Sayı: 18185.

where the political opposition could become visible and generate a public opinion. The urban social and political movements need to be conducted on the places relevant to the essence of the opposition or places with good social visibility in order to be effective and to draw either public attention or the authorities' attention. Thus, from this dimension the approach of the government makes much more sense. Via the spaces, the meaning of movements is once more reproduced and another layer of the history and identity of the space is constructed in addition to the ones brought in the collective memory.

So, out of its content we can extract that this regulation prohibits social movements in many aspects, in a way declaring them illegal, necessitating intervention. Furthermore, the wide jurisdictions given to the officials has turned out in some cases as arbitrary interventions and illegal implementations in order to end and prevent such movements, for instance arresting the suspects beforehand (Tunç, 2004), using excessive power on demonstrators and so forth.

Within this framework, the places suitable for demonstrations and protest marches in Ankara are defined by the governorship under a list where all the gathering points, routes of marches, locations of demonstrations, routes of disintegration, and even places where posters and banners can be hung are specified and controlled by them.

#### ***4.2.6.1. Destinations Introduced by Political Authority in History***

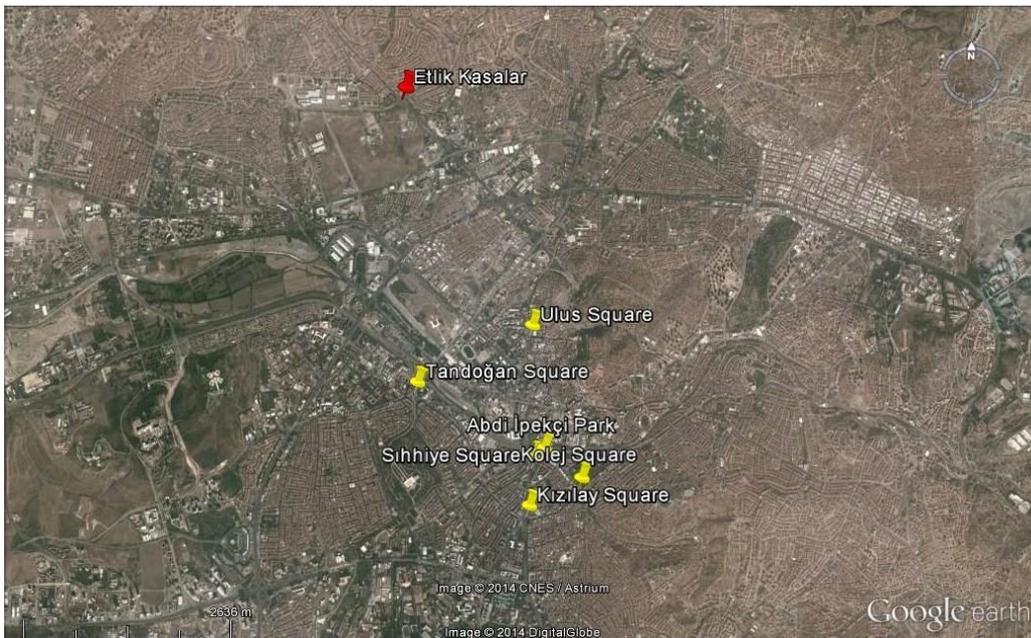
Being spaces of power as Lefebvre indicated, political spaces of authority naturally will differentiate from political spaces preferred for social opposition. Those spaces will rather be the spaces that the authority can keep under control and the spaces that had better not carry any symbolic meanings, so as not to contribute to the collective memory than the spaces which the society feel more comfortable using for political acts.

In the light of the mentioned dynamics, it can be inferred that the places shown by the authority are far from being visible, capable of creating public opinion and serving democracy to the same degree spaces of society seem strong in spatial and political means. In this context, two spaces stand out that are introduced by the

political authority as political spaces of Ankara which need further elaboration. Etlik-Kasalar, and Abdi İpekçi Park were added to the political routes of Ankara, both of which emerged after the coup d'état of 1980 and subjected to different approaches by state and society evolving into a different status. These cases present important examples for analyzing the changing needs and pattern of social political behavior after the period of inhibition followed by 1980 military intervention. The divergence and convergence points of these examples shed light on the authority-social opposition contradiction on spatial arena.

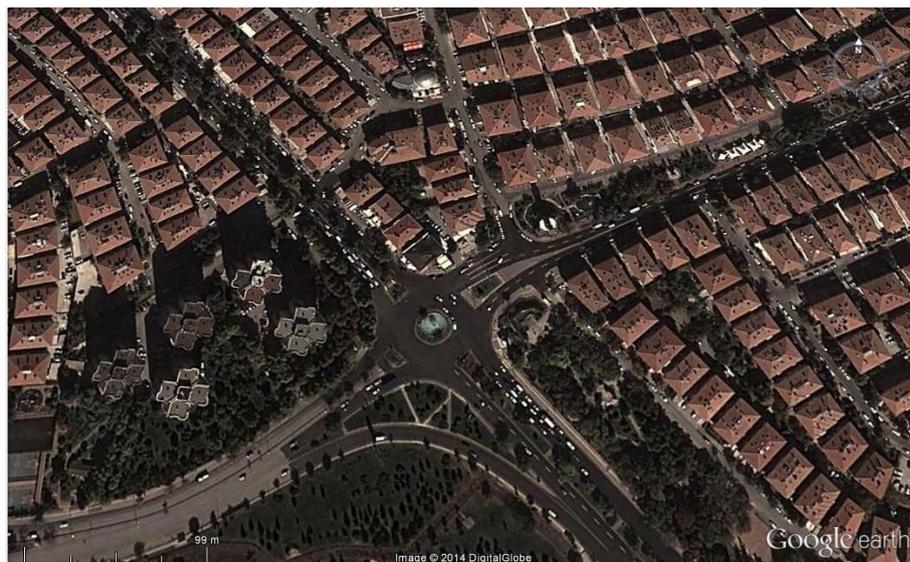
#### **4.2.6.1.1. Etlik Kasalar**

Etlik-Kasalar is an interesting example that was introduced by the state as the space of demonstration and meetings after 1980 coup d'état and was used by the people for a couple of years. However, we cannot really speak of a politicization process here, as can be understood from the fact that, it is no longer used for social oppositions. The reason why it was not embraced by the society as a political space can be found as the same reason why the authority chose the location suitable for demonstrations.



**Figure 27 – Location of Etlik Kasalar in Ankara  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**

The space held no social sense or value, no historical or political meaning for public by its location, its history, its physical configuration, and so forth. We cannot say that it served as a public space and provided public integrity and social exchange. One of the most important things for public spaces is with no doubt their location and accessibility apart from their physical attributes. At this point, Etlik seemed to remain outskirts, especially at the time it was introduced as a demonstration area and the node specified for accommodating such movements could only be central to the district's dwellers. In this context, the signs for the movements' to be conducted at that area would fail to access a wide range and to gain a public quality which can be inferred out of the fact that it was the political authority's choice from the beginning. What is more, the area was inadequate to respond to demonstrators' demand for being visible. As was mentioned above, the area is far from being central. But besides this, the place does not offer any public quality or visibility which would naturally diminish the influence and extent of the demonstration to be conducted at the area. Furthermore, the physical configuration of the place does not provide any spatial experience that would make any demonstration worth remembering. So, this time the place fails to form any collective memory.



**Figure 28 - Etlik Kasalar Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**

This situation brings us once again to the conclusion that space is not just the object of the space-politics conflict. It becomes also the subject with its features, identity and location at the collective memories of the people that give birth to social and political movements and reproduce the collective memory. We can observe from this exact example that as long as the space cannot relate to the meaning and essence of a specific movement, it is less likely for it to develop a political character and to convey the movement to a greater extent.

Also the movements took place at the area were mostly the protests of specific civil society organizations which is harder to speak of a public extent. When we look at the organization of those movements we can observe that the movements ended up uneventful or without struggle, which shows us that the movements did not generate a threat for the government. Also, as the movements weren't based on an urban conflict, we cannot name them as urban social movements, though it might not also very right to reduce them to some civil societies' organizations. Still, they were important in attracting public attention and forming a public opinion via media, nevertheless, we cannot mention them as movements of great success. So, once again, location and social visibility of the space stand out as important components of such movements and their accomplishment.

At this case, we encounter a whole new place is defined as demonstration area and introduced to social and political usage of the society. A totally different location which did not contain any of the requisites that provides a space political identity, which was only suitable for social movements as it was just an open area at the junction of a district outskirts, was brought up as a new demonstration area by the authority at the period. This attempt of state had no dimension of providing the city a new political space. This introduction of a new place for demonstrations did not lead to a decline in the existing political spaces, on the contrary, it highlighted the importance of them and what they meant to the society, as the demonstrations conducted at Etlik-Kasalar did not provide any accomplishment or satisfaction to the society. Therefore, as we can also deduct from this example, transforming the

existing political spaces seem as a more concrete strategy for the state rather than opening new and weaker political spaces to society's use.

#### **4.2.6.1.2. Abdi İpekçi Park**

Abdi İpekçi Park, located at the center of Sıhhiye appears as another demonstration area in Ankara. Being put into use in 1981, the park was transformed and turned into a space of demonstration by 1998 after it was chosen as a space of demonstration. Actually this example is similar to Etlik Kasalar in means of being a “legal demonstration area”, but a more effective one obviously. Since the time it was assigned to political uses and demonstrations, it has been embraced by the citizens and used widely for social movements in several cases.



**Figure 29 – Abdi İpekçi Park Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**

The reasons for this can be analyzed under various aspects. Its location is, with no doubt, the biggest factor why it was accepted as a place of social opposition by the society. Secondly, being located in Sıhhiye that was a destination of demonstrations for several times over decades, made it easy for the place to be acknowledged, in which once again we see the effects of collective memory and sense of place. The

public was familiar with the space being used for political acts and social movements. Therefore, it responded more to people's political expectations in comparison with the case of Etlik – Kasalar.

This case differentiates from the previous example as it is already located in the center of Sıhhiye which was already kept in the collective memory with a political identity. This seems as a much more successful attempt in means of being accepted as a political space by the public. But the more important question is if the park contributed in the political beings of the society and collective memory. It is no doubt, the park responded to people's political needs several times. However, due to its partially closed physical structure and limited social visibility do not allow them to access bigger crowds.

#### ***4.2.6.2. Destinations Introduced by Political Authority Currently***

The governorship of Ankara determined which areas and routes in Ankara could be used for protests and demonstrations in the context of Demonstration And Protest Marches Law in 2013.

The routes of demonstration depicted by the authority were specified in every possible way to control the organization, development and even social impact of demonstrations. By the regulation within the framework of Demonstration And Protest Marches Law that covered changes and additions, besides the identification of the routes of rallies in a list of legal demonstration areas, meeting point, route of rally, space of demonstration, the directions of dispersal and even where the banners can be hung were identified in details.

#### ***4.2.6.2.1. Tandoğan - Celal Bayar Boulevard***

Meeting point: The area between the underpass exit across the Sıhhiye Courthouse Building and the bridge in front of Migros on Celal Bayar Boulevard in the direction of Tandoğan.

Route of rally: Beginning from the point of assembly, the following 450 meter route at the right lane of the boulevard up to the space of demonstration.

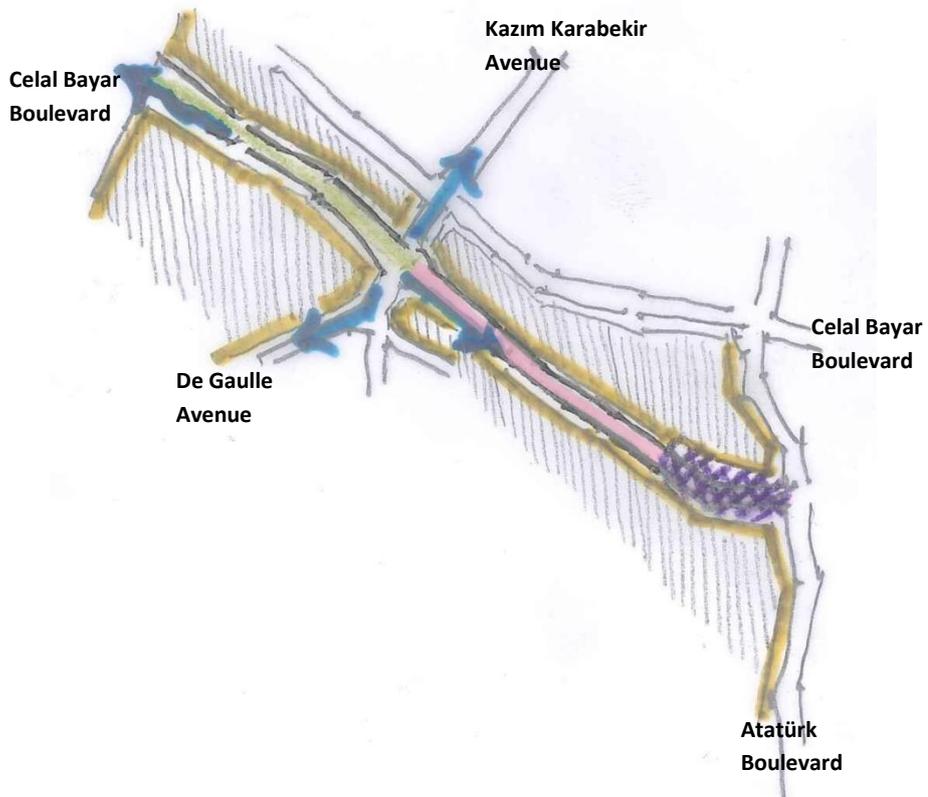
Space of demonstration: The 28 thousand meter square area, covering both ways of the boulevard, beginning from Celal Bayar Boulevard Tandoğan junction towards Eti District.

Directions of dispersal: Towards De Gaulle Street, Kazım Karabekir Street or the old railway station, and towards both ways on Celal Bayar Boulevard and Tandoğan Square.

The difference to be underlined of this route from the one preferred for social opposition is the restricted use of Tandoğan Square. This route so close to the square, yet not covering it, creating a new route at a small portion of Celal Bayar Boulevard does not present any logical explanation why Tandoğan Square and this route are introduced separately. The separation of the square from the route which people tend to use together, seems as an effort not to expand the influence area in case of a possible event, at the same time pointing out the comprehension of Tandoğan Square and its impact by the authority.



**Figure 30 - Tandoğan-Celal Bayar Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**



**Figure 31 - Tandoğan-Celal Bayar Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### ***4.2.6.2.2. Tandoğan Square***

Meeting point: The 5 thousand meter square area near Atatürk Culture Center in Hippodrome area when entered from Kazım Karabekir Street.

Route of rally: The 620 meter square route beginning from Kazım Karabekir Street, Ulaştırma junction, following the right lane beneath the bridge by the new great municipality building, beneath DDY bridge, followed by beneath Tandoğan bridge.

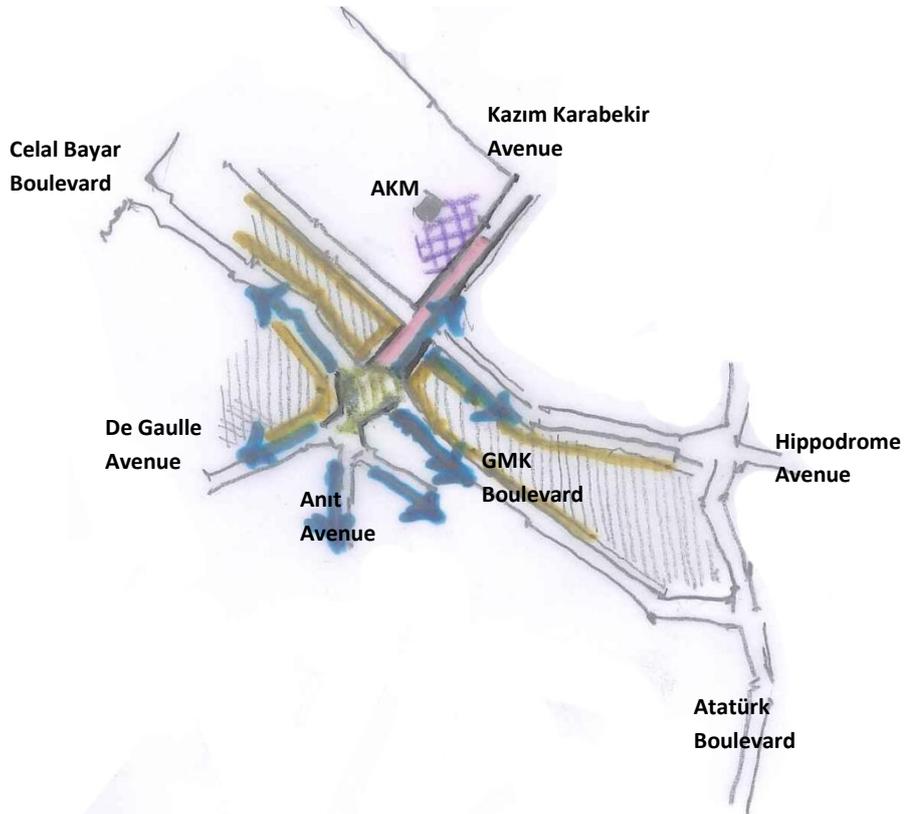
Space of demonstration: The 12 thousand 500 meter square surrounded by Kazım Karabekir Street, Tandoğan junction, MKE building, metro stations on De Gaulle and Anıt Streets, GMK Boulevard, and Astsubay Orduevi.

Directions of dispersal: Both ways on Kazım Karabekir Street and Celal Bayar Boulevard, and towards GMK Boulevard, De Gaulle and Anıt Streets.

At this case, the divergence point of this destination from society's practice is its separation from the Talatpaşa alternative which was commonly used by the demonstrators between Sıhhiye-Tandoğan direction. As was previously highlighted, two routes were important for the demonstrations to take place at Tandoğan, which were Celal Bayar Boulevard and Talatpaşa Boulevard. Talatpaşa Boulevard is significant in the way that the station is located on this route which has become one of the most preferred gathering points throughout the years. Also the existence of Hippodrome and Opera Square provide remarkable nodes on the way. Celal Bayar Boulevard is the shorter route towards the city center compared to Talatpaşa Boulevard. So, besides providing a rather direct access to the city center, it presents less visibility and a shorter experience of the social movement with lower penetration capability in comparison to Talatpaşa.



**Figure 32 - Tandoğan Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**



**Figure 33 - Tandoğan Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### ***4.2.6.2.3. Abdi İpekçi Park***

Meeting point: The 2 thousand 350 meter square area on Toros Street at the junction with Celal Bayar Boulevard.

Route of rally: The 950 meter route of Celal Bayar Boulevard, Sıhhiye viaduct, and Atatürk Boulevard.

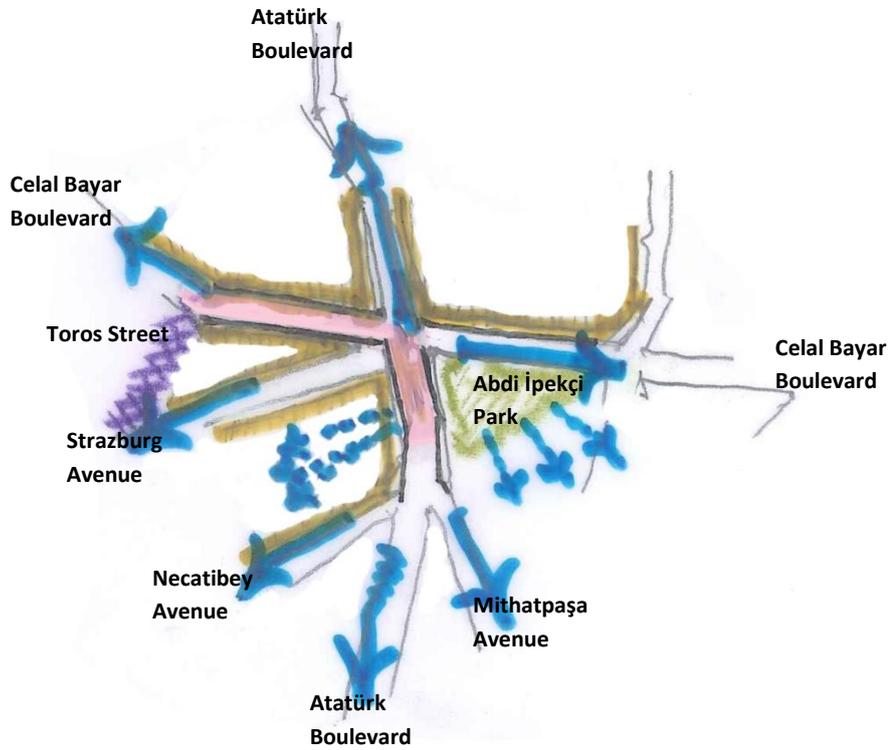
Space of demonstration: The 26 thousand 300 meter square area surrounded by M. Rauf İnan, Aksu, Yenişehir, and Marmara Streets at the intersection of Celal Bayar Boulevard, Sıhhiye viaduct, and Atatürk Boulevard.

Directions of dispersal: Towards Atatürk Boulevard, Celal Bayar Boulevard, Sıhhiye viaduct, Necatibey, Strasbourg, and Mithatpaşa Streets, İlkiz, Cihan, Hanımeli, Sağlık, Marmara, Aksu, and M. Rauf İnan Streets.

Abdi İpekçi Park was already a legal space for demonstrations, active for political uses since 1998. But again, at this case, separating the park from Sıhhiye seems as an issue to be taken into consideration in similarity with Tandoğan-Celal Bayar example. As was focused on previously, Abdi İpekçi Park was highly embraced by the people for political reactions, but it was mostly used within an organization where Sıhhiye was also included and used for marching afterwards or beforehand the manifestation of the reaction.



**Figure 34 - Abdi İpekçi Park Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**



**Figure 35 - Abdi İpekçi Park Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### ***4.2.6.2.4. Sıhhiye Square***

Meeting point: Hippodrome AKM area or the 3 thousand meter square area in front of the railway station.

Route of rally: Beginning from the Hippodrome area, following Kazım Karabekir Street, then turning left towards Talatpaşa Boulevard, then turning right from Opera viaduct, following Atatürk Boulevard or the 2 thousand 500 meter square area beginning from Ankara railway station, following Talatpaşa Boulevard, Opera viaduct, up to Atatürk Boulevard.

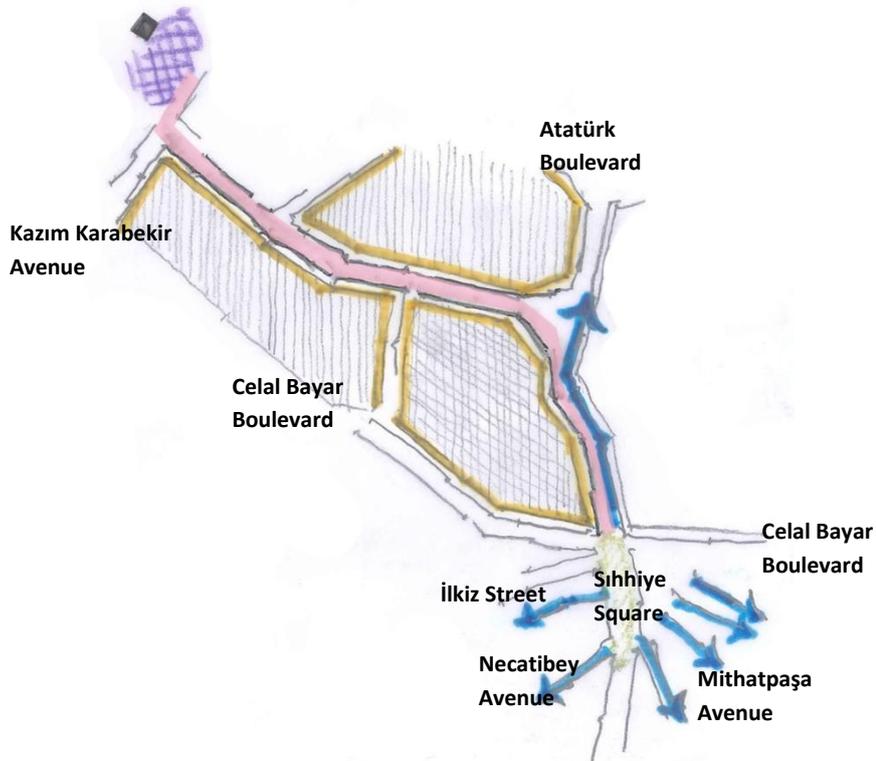
Space of demonstration: The 23 thousand meter square area covering one direction of the area between the two military clubs on Atatürk Boulevard and Sıhhiye viaduct.

Directions of dispersal: Atatürk Boulevard towards Ulus, Mithatpaşa, Necatibey Avenues, İlkiz, Abdi İpekçi Park, Aksu, Marmara, Sağlık Streets.

Talatpaşa Boulevard is used in this route which was pointed out to be lacking in Tandoğan case. However, in this case Tandoğan is lacking which was figured to be used along with Sıhhiye in social movements by the society. The more interesting point in this case stand out at the directions of dispersal. We see that the disintegration directions are made clear in the regulation and the way towards Celal Bayar Boulevard and Kızılay are not present. What we can extract from this decision is that Kızılay is the political space that is bewared the most by the authority so that they even do not want small groups to orient towards that area after the demonstration is ended. The second thing we can extract and once again prove is that Sıhhiye-Tandoğan combination structures a good visibility which led the authority to take precaution towards such possible movements and restrict the shortest access from Sıhhiye towards Tandoğan.



**Figure 36 - Sıhhiye Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2013)**



**Figure 37 - Sıhhiye Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### ***4.2.6.2.5. Hippodrome Area***

Meeting point: The 2 thousand meter square area in Hippodrome AKM area on the Konya road side across the tribunes.

Route of rally: 450 meter route following the parade route up to AKM building.

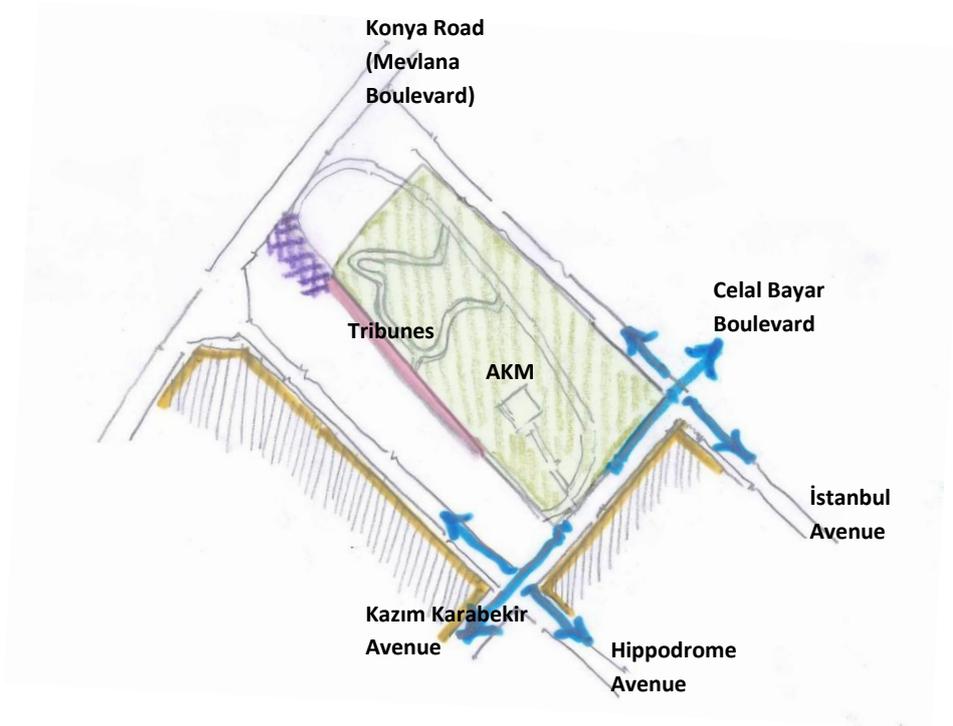
Space of demonstration: The 30 thousand meter square area beginning from Kazım Karabekir Avenue up to the tribunes.

Directions of dispersal: Towards Kazım Karabekir, Hippodrome, and İstanbul Avenues.

The existence of Hippodrome area in the list does not really bring Ankara a new political space or form an alternative for social movements. Hippodrome does have a significant meaning for the capital's history and for the republic's history which was the symbol of a new social life in the developing young republic, accommodating the celebrations and parades on the significant dates of the republic history. However, it did not evolve into a political space and it was not meant to be. It was constructed as a space for the social and sportive events of the citizens where they could experience the social and recreational favorable aspects of the democratic life at the same time refreshing the collective memory of the nation by official ceremonies and celebrations from the beginning of the first years of the Republic of Turkey. It can also be shown as a requisite for the capital of the young republic to fulfill the social objectives aimed for the citizens. However, though having the capacity to accommodate large crowds, the area is identified with official ceremonies, not social political reactions. So, it was not used effectively especially after the first fifteen years of the republic. In addition to that, with the latest restrictions brought to the annual celebrations, the area lost its influence seriously. Becoming the space of power for celebrations, the public got detached from Hippodrome, shifting towards other public spaces of the city. So, in short, the area was introduced as a political address will not be adequate for it to be used by the citizens and most probably will not be used and preferred for this purpose for a long time.



**Figure 38 - Hippodrome Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2014)**



**Figure 39 - Hippodrome Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### ***4.2.6.2.6. Kolej Junction***

Meeting point: The 2 thousand 350 meter square area at the junction of Toros Street and Celal Bayar Boulevard.

Route of rally: The 1 thousand 285 meter square area at the Kolej Junction beginning from Toros Street – Celal Bayar Boulevard, Sıhhiye overpass, A. Adnan Saygun Avenue, following Aksu Street.

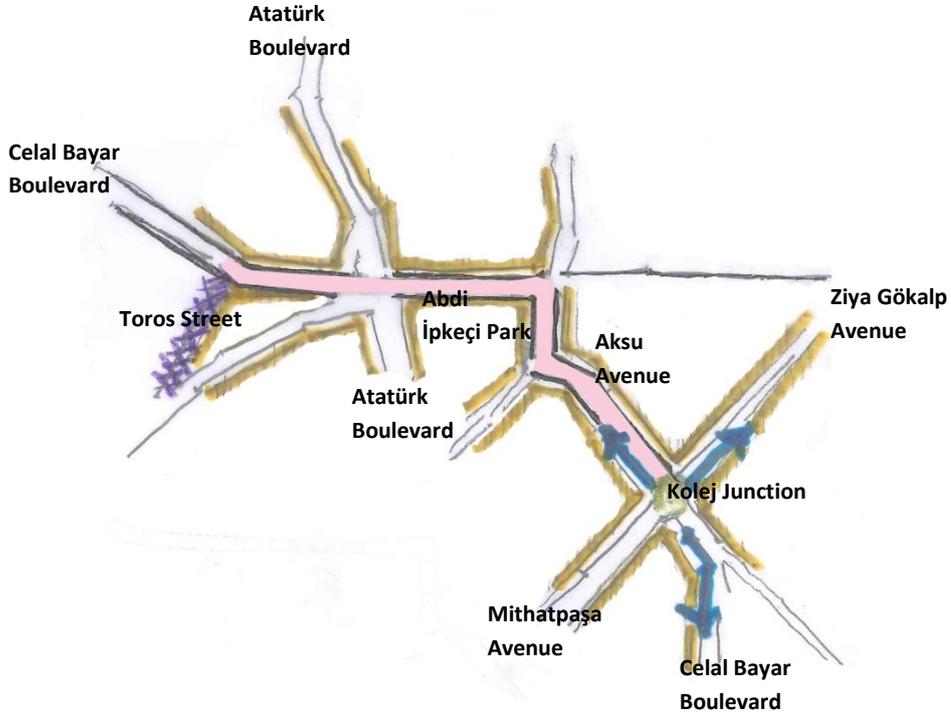
Space of demonstration: The 8 thousand meter square area at the junction of Aksu, Ziya Gökalp and Libya Avenues (Kolej junction).

Directions of dispersal: Aksu Avenue towards Sıhhiye, Libya Avenue, Z. Gökalp Avenue towards Cebeci.

Kolej junction is also a rarely used arena for political purposes though it has a significant visibility and capacity to accommodate such actions. However, we observe that it has not become a very popular political space throughout the history. In other words, it is not one of the first choices to come to mind when striking a political movement or a social organization. Another significant thing to be paid attention to in this case is that again no chance of orienting towards Kızılay is possible at the end of the protest. Nevertheless, considering its proximity to Kızılay it can be a good supplementary to movements to be initiated at Kızılay. On its own, the place does not seem to be a very effective ground for addressing the attention of the public.



**Figure 40 - Kolej Demonstration Area  
(Google Earth Image, 2014)**



**Figure 41 - Kolej Demonstration Route  
(Prepared by: M. Suher)**

#### 4.2.6.3. Evaluation of the Destinations Introduced by the Authority

The clear-cut definition of the demonstration areas restricts the range of social movements at many points. The routes are designated in four separate parts, meeting point, route of rally, space of demonstration, and directions of dispersal. Even this separation interrupts the movements' integrity. However, the political act is a whole with all of the stages in it. At this point, the disintegration of the space of demonstration and the alternative routes, restricting the choice of destination when accessing the political space, and even the specification of the directions of dispersal seem as efforts to decline the scope and influence of a possible movement.

**Table 5 - Comparison of strategic significance of four primary public spaces of Ankara**

| <b>Parameters</b>             | <b>ULUS</b>     | <b>KIZILAY</b>                | <b>SIHHIYE</b>                               | <b>TANDOĞAN</b>                              |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Location / Centrality         | ****            | *****                         | ****   | ***  |
| Accessibility                 | ****            | *****                         | ****   | ****   |
| Social visibility             | ***             | *****                         | ***  | ***  |
| Symbolic value                | **              | ****                          | **   | ***  |
| Physical configuration        | **              | ***                           | **   | **   |
| <b>Average</b>                | **              | ****                          | ***  | ***  |
| <b>Strategic significance</b> | <b>No badge</b> | <b>Dangerously negotiated</b> | <b>Controlled, but potentially explosive</b> | <b>Controlled, zone of political parties</b> |

The places introduced by the authority bring us back to the degree of strategic significance place holds. The most important outcome of the analysis stands out as Kızılay's intensity as a political space. Therefore it is not covered in the list of the authority. As the most visible and highly influential place of the city, Kızılay is definitely avoided by the political power. Regarding its strategic significance Kızılay can be evaluated in two segments. The area beyond Primeministry that is "protected"

by coercion agents of state, gives a social message that no entry is allowed here. The square designed by Jansen for providing social opposition visibility by the political authority, has turned into a “no-go zone”. The other segment that covers Güvenpark and the square is “dangerously negotiated” which implies a social act to be executed here generates a potential threat to be extinguished by control mechanisms of the power holder immediately.

Ulus’ absence in the mentioned list implies just the opposite meaning of which Kızılay does. Ulus has lost its political significance gradually due to spatial implementations that offers no satisfaction to the social opposition. Therefore, we can not see it as an active choice of opposing parts of the society.

Sıhhiye and Tandoğan seem to be under control of the authority as they are introduced to be legal demonstration areas of Ankara. However, detachment of them from the routes they were used with by social opposition, points out the potential they hold that would most probably damage the authority of power holder. Thus, Sıhhiye can be expressed as “controlled, but potentially explosive”, while Tandoğan stands out as “controlled, arena of political parties” resulted by its usage for parties’ demonstrations that damaged its position before the society in time. Thus, it has transformed into a safe zone for the authority that necessitates no serious control strategy.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

Throughout the study the changing spatial configuration of political acts in Ankara is investigated in history. The spatial transformation processes are naturally analyzed upon the conflict on and over urban space. Thus the space is elaborated from two perspectives: space of political authority and space of social opposition. In this context, political space, politicization of space and depoliticization of opposition upon space are depicted from these two contradicting points of view.

Getting inspired by Lefebvre's argument that every society and every mode of production produces its own space; the term "political space" is introduced in the study as a new mode of space that is generated upon socially executed political acts on urban space. Thus, the concept expresses the political significance of a place. Political space is, as was defined in former chapters, is the place which reminds the society of inclusion, self-expression and participation. It is at the same time where power relations are exercised and the control of authority is strongly felt. Consequently, it is the space of violence, coercion, action - and reaction at the same time, thus the arena of conflict. Thereby, it is bound with intervention and opposition; it is the space of resistance. In short, it is where social opposition and political authority meets and collides.

Political space conception undoubtedly differentiates from political authority's and social opposition's perspectives. Political space for social opposition is obviously a need that supports and reproduces people's social and political existence. It is initially a representation of space that is produced via hegemony's practices on spatial arena in contemporary conditions since it is no longer possible for societies to produce their own spaces in freedom as they had done a long time ago. Urban space is a ground, in this sense, that sheds a light on the dominant political system. It is the

space that is conceived. It is then mental space that is perceived through spatial practices that gives us clues of the relation between daily reality and urban reality. And it becomes a representational space that is lived through experiencing space. It is the space of users by this means. Political experiences on space assign the urban area a political identity, lead it to get politicized and the urban space starts to carry a symbolic meaning that transcends its physical reality. Nevertheless, at some points, the political authority feels the necessity to attack this transcendental quality of the space and transforms it due to political or economic concerns. So, this is the point where the problem definition is based and the study's framework is constructed upon. Because any means of practice that targets the political space ends up with its detachment from the political context. This is either carried out by the authority to plant its ideology on that space and to free it from its existing meaning, getting it out from being the space of the opponent, or by keeping the opposition away from the arena of conflict. Thus, the space becomes an abstract space which is no longer the space of the society. So, in order to bring back its everyday life, the society can rescue its depoliticized space only by an urban revolution, by a social movement that is organized around spatial demands and oppositions, in order to achieve spatial praxis. In this context, society is conceptualized upon the two dimensions it holds, as the civil society, the users of everyday life on the one hand, and the generator of the social opposition, the leading actor of politicization processes on the other.

Constructing the framework of analysis as presented above, the initial aim is to show space is not just a material, an instrument, or a physical bearer of social relations. Along with the study, the emphasis is put on the leading impact of space, highlighting its social quality, it is not just the object but also the subject of the discussion, it does not just emerge as a social entity, but also provides contribution to the social and political beings of the public, and it becomes both a weapon and the target for the power holder, the arena of contradiction and struggle, but the only way to accomplish a social victory and spatial praxis at the same time. So, an approach that seeks to find a middle way between environmental determinism and structuralism is tried to be adopted throughout the research.

In order to conduct such an analysis, Ankara is selected as case study that covers the changing trend of political acts on spatial arena in history. Thus, Ankara's map of social opposition and urban geography of politicization and depoliticization processes are illustrated considering the political climate and the tension between political authority and opposing parts of the society under different periods of Turkey's political history. These periods show different administrative approaches, urban policies and thus different dynamics of authority-social opposition contradiction.

First period is analyzed upon the time span of 1923 to 1950 that showed the characteristics of a construction period with the motive of erecting Ankara as the capital of a young republic. This period was the exact stage where primary public spaces of Ankara would be produced. In other words, it is this very time period that provided Ankara its primary public and eventually *political spaces*. As will be recalled, we do not encounter political reaction and thus active, organized social movements against the authority in this period. The founding administrative staff of the republic was embraced by the society as this staff was perceived as the savior of the nation. What is more, the state pursued its mission after the independence war was accomplished, by progressive policies and reforms with the objective of modernization and development that would also present the state as the guarantor of primary civil rights. Driven by such ambitions, the capital of the country was assigned by a mission to lead these improvements with its political position and physical configuration. Thus the major *political spaces* of Ankara, Ulus, Kızılay and Sıhhiye were the products of such an ideal. This period is the time the founding authority had full control over the political and economic processes with a certain stand adopted in every possible field, including urban planning as well.

The period from 1950 to 1960 would be the scenery of a rather different political approach and tense political authority-society relations. The party in power showed departure from the previous understanding and the fundamentals Turkey was founded upon. At this point, specific parts of the society would show its commitment and loyalty to the principles the republic was grounded on. The repressive attitude

government adopted against the society and the reactionary policies it was implementing would be overcome by the initiation of student movements in May, 1958 that would be the concretization of dissatisfaction and trouble society was caused by the administration. Eventually, these dynamics would bring Kızılay into the scenery as a political space and accommodator of this growing reaction that would since then be the major political space of Ankara.

After the coup d'état of 1960, the political authority would adopt a social reformist approach which would bring peace in the political agenda for a while up to 1970s. Worldwide student movements of 1968 also spread to Turkey. The growing social awareness and opposition against U.S.A. led Turkey to the most politically intense years of its history. At these years, another important political space of Ankara would be introduced by Tandoğan Square's entrance to the political agenda. Tandoğan's dominance along with Kızılay was strongly felt amongst other public spaces in these years. 1970s would be the discovery of Tandoğan Square for political needs and uses. This political space would be the introduction of a new route for marching and social movements that can be defined as Sıhhiye-Tandoğan axis.

The coup d'état of 1980 would put Turkey into a much different track. This intervention had a much more different focus than the one in 1960. The progressive approaches and policies that were experienced after 1960 would be discarded at this period. Turkey was now under an extremely repressive administration, which would be blamed for Turkey's depoliticization in the upcoming decades. The social movements would not be allowed until the year 1983 in which the authority would introduce a whole new place for social and political acts in Ankara, Etlik Kasalar. The political acts would prove that this space was inadequate for accommodating social and political movements as it was far from being visible, accessible, and so forth, also explaining why the state had preferred this exact place for demonstrations. Another regulation to be analyzed is the reconfiguration of Abdi İpekçi Park as a demonstration park and being opened to public and political use by 1998.

This period was also important in the way that Ankara's physical transformation process reached a serious extent especially after mid 90s. Kızılay, Tandoğan and

Sıhhiye witnessed severe spatial reconfiguration processes which damaged their political identity and public quality to a great extent, also causing them to get depoliticized in the meantime. We observe that transportation policies and strategies provided the legitimate ground for these depoliticization acts.

From 2002 onwards, we see a deeper articulation to the globalizing world, which influenced the political and economic approach in the form of neoliberal concerns that would also reflect itself on urban space. At this period, we encounter radical spatial policies that resulted in the transformation of the major public spaces of the city. However, this revanchist attitude towards public and political spaces of the city would trigger an urban based social act in June, 2013 that had similar features to what most academicians point out as the requisites of an urban revolution.

If we look at the outcomes we can come up with at the end of the analysis, we may count a number of consequences that can be deducted from the study. As one of the most important outcomes of the thesis, we see a very strong public quality Kızılay offers in the city. Despite the transformations undergone in Kızılay, we see it still has not lost its symbolic and political identity, it still provides a certain extent of commonness, and it still is the main public space of Ankara. The reasons why Kızılay is embraced by the society to this extent can be found initially in its central location. It is still the central stop to all other districts of the city, therefore it makes the union of different social groups possible and gives way to social cohesion in this sense. What is more, the openness and social visibility it provides makes it a perfect location for public opinion formation. More significantly, its proximity to the ministry buildings and the parliament gives the feeling that the people can be seen and heard by the authority. Above all, Kızılay has a political and symbolic meaning that has been held in the collective memory and that transcends its physical configuration which was seriously harmed as was elaborated earlier. As one of primary public spaces of Ankara, we observe the obvious decline Ulus has undergone. Besides its physical transformation, its political stand faced a serious degradation which we can relate to the trivialization of national ceremonial and annual acts. In addition, we observe Tandoğan Square has been identified with

demonstrations of political parties rather than Republic Protests and nationalist movements, while Sıhhiye hosted movements of unions and working class demonstrations. When we examine the map of political acts in Ankara from a wider angle, we encounter the public spaces except Kızılay are most often supported with routes. In this context, social movements seem from public's perspective as a whole with these destinations and the main public spaces as the main centers of the demonstrations.

In this context, we can come up with a classification of these four primary public spaces of Ankara based on the rating done earlier in the study, out of which we can also come up with a new terminology. Thus, the degree of strategic significance can be illustrated upon this examination which also sheds a light on social opposition's spatial orientation and political authority's control strategies, since they also differ according to this hierarchy.

Initially, beginning from Ulus, we come up with the consequence that the area is no longer occupied with a political function. Though being the first public space and administration center of the capital, via public policy and spatial implementations, the place faced a political decline, which negatively affected its preference as a supporter of political acts by social opposition.

Kızılay, on the other hand, can be examined under two sections. The zone beyond Head Ministry can be expressed as "no-go-zone" where any kinds of social opposition are avoided and all means of social movements are strictly forbidden. In other words, in case of a social organization, the physical power implementing agents of the state will be immediately put into use. The zone in the influence range of Güvenpark stands out as "dangerously negotiated", meaning the political authority will crush in the slightest spread of social movements. In this context, it will try to prevent the movement from exceeding the limits of negotiation.

Sıhhiye's strategic significance can be termed as "controlled, but potentially explosive". It is controlled as it has already been depoliticized, and it has faced a political decline similar to Ulus. It is used for political purposes under control and by

permission by mechanisms existing in capitalist system like labour unions and so forth. On the other hand, it is potentially explosive, as it is still actively used for political opposition that carries a potential for social outburst.

Tandoğan, finally, can be described as “controlled, zone of political parties”. As was noted earlier in the study, being known as the legal demonstration area of the city for a long period, Tandoğan has also turned from the space of social opposition of 1970s, to the safe zone of political party demonstrations as a result of the depoliticization process it was subjected to. It has, in this context, become the arena of political power, which therefore does not feel the necessity to intervene, or to appropriate the place any more.

From the perspective of the power holder, namely political authority as assumed to be the function of state throughout the study, intervention on space and depoliticization of “political space” is executed via two channels. While it appropriates space for the manifestation of its ideology by reflecting its hegemony on space on the one hand, it keeps social acts away from space by building barricades through use of law and law enforcement agents on the other. Thus, the study takes the process of depoliticization of space as not an independent and spontaneous process, but as a consequence of conscious, deliberate intervention acts by political authority directed towards both space and society. Legitimization of these acts is constructed upon public services through public policy instruments. And these mentioned acts are mostly shaped around transportation policies or construction projects that are presented to public use and demands.

Consequently, political spaces of opposition turn out to be the abstract space, a material or an instrument, or to the last extent the nest of the opponent that needs to be interfered for the authority. This interference has shown itself by direct and indirect interventions on the main public spaces of the city. The spatial transformation of public spaces of Ankara has shown itself from 80s onwards, by more politically driven ends. The spatial transformation of these places reached an economic dimension throughout the articulation period to the global economy. Many of central uses were moved to Istanbul from Ankara as a result of Istanbul’s central

economic position in globalizing concerns and policies. This revanchist approach against Ankara was a part of the decline process of Ankara as capital. The political attitude that manifested itself through conservative implementations on space was now merging with economic ends shifting the center from Ankara to Istanbul, draining its political character step by step. This political decline was not just executed at national scale but also at urban arena. The restructuring policies on urban public spaces emerged as indirect interference in the political beings of both the society and the physical environment. Direct interventions, as was elaborated above, appear via legal regulations and reactive mechanisms like armed forces that were complementary to the physical implementations. The last regulation that is defining which areas of the city can be used for political purposes points out the current attitude towards the major political spaces of Ankara. Thus, over the spaces introduced by the authority for political purposes, we can make a number of deductions of which areas are seen the most threatening and effective by social and political means, and how the authority chooses to keep the space and social opposition under control. The space of demonstration that was shown by the authority in 1980s, Etilik-Kasalar came across as an absurd choice, not satisfying the society's political needs in the slightest bit. Abdi İpekçi Park was more successful at meeting social opposition's demands due to its location and social visibility, but still was not totally what opposing parts of the society expected in means of political experience. Also by the latest legal regulation that introduces six different routes for demonstrations, we encounter an attempt to violate the integrity of the destinations preferred by the society in history and and the effort to decline the impact of movements via the configuration of destinations.

In conclusion, being a public space does not automatically generate an impulse to implement a control strategy on that place by the authority. At this point, the place to have a political identity or symbolic significance gets to be of critical importance. As was pointed out throughout the study, urban space's contribution to the social and political existence of the society, and its critical position for both the political authority and social opposition seems highly remarkable. Furthermore, urban originated social movements' power and importance in bringing everyday life back

and to accomplish a spatial praxis can be proven by the extent it intimidates the power implementers and the extent it creates an undesirable situation that should be avoided as much as possible. In this context, the strategic significance of the place gets crucial for both sides, the political authority and social opposition. Hence, becoming a political space is supported through these dynamics. And in Ankara case, we can come up with the outcome that out of the four places which had served the city as political spaces for different time periods, Kızılay is, with no doubt, the one that has been able to sustain its identity in this sense. Thus, considering all the dynamics mentioned above, the one and only place that has the capacity to generate and accommodate a social act to accomplish a spatial praxis as coined by Lefebvre or an urban revolution as expressed by Harvey, is nowhere but Kızılay specific to Ankara case.

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## APPENDIX A

### 2011 NUMBERED DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTEST MARCHES LAW

#### TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞLERİ KANUNU

**Kanun Numarası : 2911**

**Kabul Tarihi : 6/10/1983**

**Yayımlandığı R Gazete : Tarih : 8/10/1983 Sayı : 18185**

**Yayımlandığı Düstur : Tertip : 5 Cilt : 22 Sayfa : 662**

#### BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

##### *Genel Hükümler*

##### *Amaç ve kapsam*

**Madde 1** – Bu Kanun; toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenleme hakkının kullanılmasında uygulanacak şekil, şart ve usuller ile gerçek ve tüzelkişilerin düzenleyecekleri toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerinin yerini, zamanını, usul ve şartlarını, düzenleme kurulunun görev ve sorumluluklarını, yetkili merciin yasaklama ve erteleme hallerini, güvenlik kuvvetlerinin görev ve yetkileri ile yasakları ve ceza hükümlerini düzenler.

##### *Tanımlar*

**Madde 2** – Bu Kanunda geçen deyimlerden;

- Toplantı; belirli konular üzerinde halkı aydınlatmak ve bir kamuoyu yaratmak suretiyle o konuyu benimsetmek için gerçek ve tüzelkişiler tarafından bu Kanun çerçevesinde düzenlenen açık ve kapalı yer toplantılarını,
- Gösteri yürüyüşü; belirli konular üzerinde halkı aydınlatmak ve bir kamuoyu yaratmak suretiyle o konuyu benimsetmek için gerçek ve tüzelkişiler tarafından bu Kanun çerçevesinde düzenlenen yürüyüşleri,
- Mahallin en büyük mülki amiri; illerde vali, ilçelerde kaymakamı,
- Mahallin güvenlik amirleri; illerde il emniyet müdürü ve il jandarma alay komutanını, ilçelerde ilçe emniyet amiri veya komiseri ve ilçe jandarma bölük komutanını, ifade eder.

Bir il'e bağlı ilçelerin, o ilin belediye sınırları içindeki kısımlarına ilişkin olarak bu Kanunun uygulaması yönünden mahallin en büyük mülki amiri, ilin valisidir.

##### *Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü hakkı*

**Madde 3** – Herkes, önceden izin almaksızın, bu Kanun hükümlerine göre silahsız ve saldırısız olarak kanunların suç saymadığı belirli amaçlarla toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenleme hakkına sahiptir.

**(Değişik: 3/8/2002-4771/5 md.)** Yabancıların bu Kanun hükümlerine göre toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenlemeleri, İçişleri Bakanlığının iznine bağlıdır. Yabancıların bu Kanuna göre düzenlenen toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerinde topluluğa hitap etmeleri, afiş, pankart, resim, flama, levha, araç ve gereçler taşımaları, toplantının yapılacağı mahallin en büyük mülkî idare amirliğine toplantıdan en az kırksekiz saat önce yapılacak bildirimle mümkündür.

##### *İstisnalar*

**Madde 4** – Aşağıda belirtilen toplantı ve faaliyetler bu Kanun hükümlerine tabi değildir.

- Siyasi partilerin, kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşlarının, sendikaların, vakıfların, derneklerin, ticari ortaklıkların ve diğer tüzelkişilerin özel kanunlarına ve kendi tüzüklerine göre yapacakları kapalı yer toplantıları,
- Kanunlara uymak, kendi kural ve sınırları içinde kalmak şartıyla kanun veya gelenek ve göreneklere göre yapılacak toplantı, tören, şenlik, karşılama ve uğurlamalar,
- Spor faaliyetleri ile bilimsel, ticari ve ekonomik amaçlarla yapılan toplantılar,

d) Cumhurbaşkanı, Başbakan ve bakanların Devlet ve Hükümet işleri hakkındaki toplantı ve konuşmaları ile Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi üyelerinin halk ile yapacakları sohbet niteliğindeki görüşmeler.

*Seçim zamanına ilişkin hükümler*

**Madde 5** – Seçim zamanlarında yapılacak propaganda toplantıları ile ilgili kanun hükümleri saklıdır.

## İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

*Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü Yerleri*

*Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergahı*

**Madde 6** – Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri, tüm il veya ilçe sınırları içerisinde aşağıdaki hükümlere uyulmak şartıyla her yerde yapılabilir.

Şehir ve kasabalarda ve gerekli görülen diğer yerlerde hangi meydan ve açık yerlerde veya yollarda toplantı veya yürüyüş yapılabileceği ve bu toplantı ve yürüyüş için toplanma ve dağılma yerleri ile izlenecek yol ve yönler vali ve kaymakamlarca kararlaştırılarak alışılmış araçlarla önceden duyurulur. Bu yerler hakkında sonradan yapılacak değişiklikler duyurudan onbeş gün sonra geçerli olur. Toplantı yerlerinin tespitinde gidiş gelişi, güvenliği bozmayacak ve pazarların kurulmasına engel olmayacak biçimde, toplantıların genel olarak yapıldığı, elektrik tesisatı olan yerler tercih edilir.

*Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü zamanı*

**Madde 7** – Toplantı ve yürüyüşlere ve bu amaçla toplanmalara güneş doğmadan başlanamaz.

Açık yerlerdeki toplantılar ile yürüyüşler güneşin batışından bir saat önceye, kapalı yerlerdeki toplantılar saat 23.00'e kadar sürebilir.

*Umuma açık yer sayılma*

**Madde 8** – Toplantının yapıldığı yer, toplantı süresince umuma açık yer sayılır.

## ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

*Toplantı Şekil ve Şartları*

*Düzenleme Kurulu*

**Madde 9 - (Değişik:26/3/2002-4748/6 md.)**

Bu Kanuna göre yapılacak toplantılar, fiil ehliyetine sahip ve onsekiz yaşını doldurmuş, en az yedi kişiden oluşan bir düzenleme kurulu tarafından düzenlenir. Bu kurul, kendi aralarından birini başkan seçer. Diplomatik dokunulmazlıkları bulunan kişiler, düzenleme kurulu başkan veya üyesi olamazlar. Tüzel kişilerin toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü düzenlemeleri, yetkili organlarının ararına bağlıdır.

*Bildirim verilmesi*

**Madde 10 – (Değişik: 3/8/2002-4771/5 md.)** Toplantı yapılabilmesi için, düzenleme kurulu üyelerinin tamamının imzalayacakları bir bildirim, toplantının yapılmasından en az kırksekiz saat önce ve çalışma saatleri içinde, toplantının yapılacağı yerin bağlı bulunduğu valilik veya kaymakamlığa verilir.

Bu bildirimde;

- Toplantının amacı,
- Toplantının yapılacağı yer, gün, başlayış ve bitiş saatleri,
- Düzenleme kurulunun başkan ile üyelerinin açık kimlikleri, meslekleri ikametgahları ve varsa çalışma yerleri,

Belirtilir ve bildirim yönetmelikte gösterilecek belgeler eklenir.

Bu bildirim karşılığında gün ve saati gösteren alındı belgesi verilmesi zorunludur.

Bu bildirim, valilik veya kaymakamlıkça kabul edilmez veya karşılığında alındı belgesi verilmez ise keyfiyet bir tutanakla tespit edilir. Bu halde noter vasıtasıyla ihbar yapılır. İhbar saati bildirim verilme saati sayılır.

Aynı yerde, aynı gün toplantı yapmak üzere ayrı ayrı düzenleme kurullarınca bildirim verilmişse ilk verilen bildirim geçerlidir. Diğerlerine durum hemen yazılı olarak bildirilir.

*Toplantının yapılması*

**Madde 11** – Toplantı, 6 ncı madde hükümlerine uymak suretiyle bildirimde belirtilen yerde yapılır. Düzenleme kurulu, kendi üyelerinden başkan dahil en az yedi kişiyi toplantının yapıldığı yerde bulundurmakla yükümlüdür. Bu husus, katılanların kimlikleri belirtmek suretiyle hükümet komiserince bir tutanakla tespit edilir.

*Düzenleme kurulunun görev ve sorumlulukları*

**Madde 12** – Düzenleme kurulu, toplantının sükun ve düzenini, bildirimde yazılı amaç dışına çıkılmamasını sağlamakla yükümlü ve sorumludur. Kurul, bunun için gereken önlemleri alır ve gerektiğinde güvenlik kuvvetlerinin yardımını ister. Alınan önlemlere rağmen sükun ve düzenin sağlanamaması halinde, kurul başkanı toplantının sona erdirilmesini hükümet . komiserinden isteyebilir.

Düzenleme kurulunun sorumluluğu, topluluk toplantı yerinden tamamen dağılıncaya kadar sürer, *Hükümet komiseri ve yetkileri*

**Madde 13** – Valilik ve kaymakamlıkça; hakim ve savcılar ve bu sınıftan sayılanlar ile Silahlı Kuvvetler, adalet, genel ve özel kolluk kuvvetleri mensupları hariç olmak üzere, il veya ilçelerdeki mülki idare amirliği hizmetleri sınıfına dahil memurları ile diğer kamu görevlilerinden müdür, amir veya bunların yardımcıları arasından bir kişi, hükümet komiseri olarak ve gerektiğinde iki kişi de hükümet komiseri yardımcısı olarak görevlendirilir.

Hükümet komiseri, toplantı yerinde uygun göreceği bir yerde bulunur ve toplantıyı teknik ses alma cihazları, fotoğraf ve film makineleri gibi araçlarla tespit ettirebilir. Hükümet komiseri, 12 nci maddede öngörülen durumlarda düzenleme kurulu başkanının isteği veya toplantının sürmesini imkansız kılacak derecede genel sükun ve düzeni bozacak ve suç teşkil edecek nitelikte sözle veya eylemle saldırlı bir biçim alması halinde toplantıyı sona erdirmeye yetkilidir.

## DÖRDÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

*Toplantının Ertelenmesi veya Yasaklanması*

*Düzenleme kurulunun toplantıyı geri bırakması*

**Madde 14** – Toplantı, toplantının yapılacağı saatten en az yirmidört saat önce düzenleme kurulunun çoğunluğu tarafından, bildirim verildiği valilik veya kaymakamlığa yazı ile bildirilmek şartıyla kırksekiz saati geçmemek üzere yalnız bir kez geri bırakılabilir.

*Birden fazla toplantıları erteleme*

**Madde 15** – Bir il sınırı içinde aynı günde birden çok toplantı yapılmak istenmesi halinde vali, emrindeki güvenlik kuvvetlerinin ve gerektiğinde yararlanabileceği diğer güçlerin bu toplantıların güvenlik içinde yapılmasını sağlamaya yeterli olmadığı kanısına varırsa, toplantılardan bir kısmını on günü aşmamak üzere bir kez erteleyebilir. Bu ertelemede müracaat önceliği göz önünde bulundurulur.(1)

*Toplantının bölge valiliği ve İçişleri Bakanlığınca ertelenmesi*

**Madde 16** – a) Bir bölge valiliğine bağlı illerden; birden çok ilde aynı günde toplantı yapmak için bildirim verilmesi üzerine, toplantı güvenliğini sağlamak amacıyla ilgili valilerce bölge valiliğinden takviye istenmesi halinde, bölge valisi bu isteklerin karşılanamayacağı kanısına varırsa, takviye gönderilemeyen illerdeki toplantılar on günü aşmamak üzere bölge valiliğince bir kez ertelenebilir. b) Aynı günde birden çok bölge valiliğine bağlı illerde toplantı yapmak için bildirim verilmesi üzerine, toplantı güvenliğini sağlamak amacıyla ilgili bölge valilerince İçişleri Bakanlığında takviye istenmesi halinde, İçişleri Bakanlığı bu isteklerin karşılanamayacağı kanısına, varırsa, takviye gönderilemeyen bölge valiliğine bağlı illerdeki toplantılar on günü aşmamak üzere İçişleri Bakanlığınca bir kez ertelenebilir.

Ertelemede müracaat önceliği göz önünde bulundurulur.(1)

*Toplantının ertelenmesi veya bazı hâllerde yasaklanması(1)*

**Madde 17** -(Değişik:26/3/2002 - 4748/6 md.)

Bölge valisi, vali veya kaymakam, millî güvenlik, kamu düzeni, suç işlenmesinin önlenmesi, genel sağlığın ve genel ahlâkın veya başkalarının hak ve özgürlüklerinin korunması amacıyla belirli bir toplantıyı bir ayı aşmamak üzere erteleyebilir veya suç işleneceğine dair açık ve yakın tehlike mevcut olması hâlinde yasaklayabilir.(1)

*Yasaklama veya erteleme kararının tebliği(1)*

**Madde 18** – Bölge valisi, Vali veya kaymakamlarca ertelenen veya yasaklanan veya İçişleri Bakanlığınca tarafından ertelenen toplantılara ilişkin gerekçeli erteleme veya yasaklama kararı toplantının başlama saatinden enaz yirmidört saat önce bir yazı ile düzenleme kurulu başkanına veya bulunmadığı takdirde üyelerden birine tebliğ edilir. Vali veya kaymakamlarca ertelenen veya yasaklanan toplantılar hakkında bölge valiliğine ve İçişleri Bakanlığına, bölge valilerince ertelenen veya yasaklanan toplantılar için de İçişleri Bakanlığına bilgi verilir.

17 nci maddede belirtilen durumlarda; toplantının en az yirmidört saat önce tebliğ şartı aranmaksızın bölge valiliği, valilik veya kaymakamlıklarca ertelenebileceği veya yasaklanabileceği haller yönetmelikte gösterilir.

Toplantının ertelenen günden sonraki bir günde yapılabilmesi, düzenleme kurulunun 10 uncu maddeye göre yeni bildirimde bulunmasına bağlıdır. (1)

*İl veya ilçelerde bütün toplantıların ertelenmesi veya yasaklanması (2)*

**Madde 19 - (Değişik birinci cümle:26/3/2002-4748/6 md.)**

Bölge valisi, millî güvenlik, kamu düzeni, suç işlenmesinin önlenmesi, genel sağlığın ve genel ahlakın veya başkalarının hak ve özgürlüklerinin korunması amacıyla bölgeye dahil illerin birinde veya birkaçında ya da bir ilin bir veya birkaç ilçesinde bütün toplantıları bir ayı geçmemek üzere erteleyebilir. **(Değişik ikinci cümle: 30/7/2003-4963/22 md.)** Valiler de aynı sebeplere dayalı olarak ve suç işleneceğine dair açık ve yakın tehlike mevcut olması hâlinde; ile bağlı ilçelerin birinde veya birkaçında bütün toplantıları bir ayı geçmemek üzere yasaklayabilir.

Yasaklama kararı gerekçeli olarak verilir Kararın özeti yasaklamanın uygulanacağı yerlerde mutad vasıtalarla ilan edilir.Ayrıca, İçişleri Bakanlığına bilgi verilir.

## BEŞİNCİ BÖLÜM

*Gösteri Yürüyüşlerinin Şekil ve Şartları ile Ertelenmesi veya Yasaklanması*

*Gösteri yürüyüşlerinde uygulanacak hükümler*

**Madde 20 –** Gösteri yürüyüşlerinin şekil ve şartları ile ertelenmesi veya yasaklanması hakkında da bu Kanunun 3 üncü ve 4 üncü bölümlerindeki hükümler uygulanır.

Şehir ve kasaba içindeki genel yollar üzerinde yapılacak yürüyüşlere ait bildirimlerde, 6 ncı madde gereğince ilan olunan yol ve yönlere uyulmak şartıyla, yürüyüşe geçmek için seçilecek toplanma yeri ile izlenecek yol ve dağılma yerinin belirtilmesi zorunludur.

## ALTINCI BÖLÜM

*Yasaklar ve Kanuna Aykırı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri*

*Amaç dışı toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü*

**Madde 21 – (Mülga : 26/3/2002-4748/7 md.)**

*Yasak yerler*

**Madde 22 –** Genel yollar ile parklarda, mabetlerde, kamu hizmeti görülen bina ve tesislerde ve bunların eklentilerinde ve Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine bir kilometre uzaklıktaki alan içinde toplantı yapılamaz ve şehirlerarası karayollarında gösteri yürüyüşleri düzenlenemez.

Genel meydanlardaki toplantılarda, halkın ve ulaşım araçlarının gelip geçmesini sağlamak üzere valilik ve kaymakamlıklarca yapılacak düzenlemelere uyulması zorunludur. 6026

*Kanuna aykırı toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri*

**Madde 23 –** a) 9 ve 10 uncu madde hükümlerine uygun biçimde bildirim verilmeden veya toplantı veya yürüyüş için belirtilen gün ve saatten önce veya sonra;

b) **(Değişik: 30/7/1998 - 4378/1 md.)** Ateşli silahlar veya patlayıcı maddeler veya her türlü kesici, delici aletler veya taş, sopa, demir ve lastik çubuklar,boğma teli veya zincir gibi bereleyici ve boğucu araçlar veya yakıcı, aşındırıcı, yaralayıcı eczalar veya diğer her türlü zehirler veya her türlü sis, gaz ve benzeri maddeler ile yasadışı örgüt ve topluluklara ait amblem ve işaret taşınarak veya bu işaret ve amblemleri üzerinde bulunduran üniformayı andırır giysiler giyilerek veya kimliklerini gizlemek amacıyla yüzlerini tamamen veya kısmen bez vesair unsurlarla örterek toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerine katılma ve kanunların suç saydığı nitelik taşıyan afiş, pankart, döviz, resim, levha, araç ve gereçler taşınarak veya bu nitelikte sloganlar söylenerek veya ses cihazları ile yayınlanarak,

c) 7 nci madde hükümleri gözetilmeksizin,

d) 6 ve 10 uncu maddeler gereğince belirtilen yerler dışında,

e) 20 nci maddedeki yöntem ve şartlara ve 22 nci maddedeki yasak ve önlemlere uyulmaksızın,

f) 4 üncü madde ile Kanun kapsamı dışında bırakılan konularda kendi amaç, kural ve sınırları dışına çıkılarak,

g) Kanunların suç saydığı maksatlar için,

h) Bildirimde belirtilen amaç dışına çıkılarak,

i) Toplantı ve yürüyüşün 14, 15, 16, 17 ve 19 uncu maddelere dayanılarak yasaklanması veya ertelenmesi halinde tespit edilen erteleme veya yasaklama süresi sona ermeden,

j) 13 üncü maddenin 3 üncü fıkrasına göre hükümet komiserince toplantının sona erdirildiği halde,

k) 21 inci madde hükmüne aykırı olarak,  
l) 3 üncü maddenin 2 nci fıkrasına aykırı olarak,  
Yapılan toplantılar veya gösteri yürüyüşleri Kanuna aykırı sayılır.

*Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün dağıtılması*

**Madde 24** – Kanuna uygun olarak başlayan bir toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşü, daha sonra 23 üncü maddede belirtilen kanuna aykırı durumlardan bir veya birkaçının vukubulması sebebiyle, Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşü haline dönüşürse:

a) Hükümet komiseri toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün sona erdiğini bizzat veya düzenleme kurulu aracılığı ile topluluğa ilan eder ve durumu en seri vasıta ile mahallin en büyük mülki amirine bildirir.  
b) Mahallin en büyük mülki amiri, yazılı veya acele hallerde sonradan yazı ile teyit edilmek kaydıyla sözlü emirle, mahallin güvenlik amirlerini veya bunlardan birini görevlendirerek olay yerine gönderir. Bu amir, topluluğa Kanuna uyularak dağılmalarını, dağılmazlarsa zor kullanılacağını ihtar eder.

Topluluk dağılmazsa zor kullanılarak dağıtılır. Bu gelişmeler hükümet komiserince tutanaklarla tespit edilerek en kısa zamanda mahallin en büyük mülki amirine tevdi edilir.

(a) ve (b) bentlerindeki durumlarda güvenlik kuvvetlerine karşı fiili saldırı veya mukavemet veya korudukları yerlere ve kişilere karşı fiili saldırı hali mevcutsa, ihtarla gerek olmaksızın zor kullanılır. Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne 23 üncü madde (b) bendinde yazılı silah, araç, alet veya maddeler veya sloganlarla katılanların bulunması halinde bunlar güvenlik kuvvetlerince uzaklaştırılarak toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne devam edilir. Ancak, bunların sayıları ve davranışları toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünü Kanuna aykırı addedilerek dağıtılmasını gerektirecek derecede ise yukarıdaki fıkra hükümleri uygulanır.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşüne silah, araç, alet veya maddeler veya sloganlarla katılanların tanınması ve uzaklaştırılmasında düzenleme kurulu güvenlik kuvvetlerine yardım etmekle yükümlüdür.

Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşlerinin Kanuna aykırı olarak başlaması hallerinde; güvenlik kuvvetleri mensupları, olayı en seri şekilde mahallin en büyük mülki amirine haber vermekle beraber, mevcut imkanlarla gerekli tedbirleri alır ve olaya müdahale eden güvenlik kuvvetleri amiri, topluluğa dağılmaları, aksi halde zor kullanılarak dağıtılıcakları ihtarında bulunur ve topluluk dağılmazsa zor kullanılarak dağıtılır.

*Suç işleyenlerin yakalanması*

**Madde 25** – Topluluk içinde suç işleyenleri ve suçluları yakalamak için 24 üncü maddede belirtilen emir ve ihtarların yapılmasına gerek yoktur.

*Çağrı ve propoganda araçları*

**Madde 26** – Toplantı veya yürüyüşlere ilişkin çağrı veya propoganda amacıyla kullanılan basılı veya çoğaltılmış veya el ile yazılmış davetiye, levha ve ilanlarda düzenleme kurulu başkanı ile en az altı üyesinin adları, soyadları ve imzalarının bulunması; bunlardan asılması gerekenlerin, Kanunun 6 ncı maddesinde belirtilen yöntemle de uyulmak şartıyla valilik veya kaymakamlıklarca önceden tespit edilmiş yerlere asılması zorunludur.

Bu propoganda ve çağrı alet ve araçlarında, halkı suç işlemeye özendirilen veya kışkırtan yazı veya resim bulunması yasaktır.

Toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün yapılacağı tarihten bir önceki günden toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşünün başlayacağı saate kadar, güneşin doğuşundan batışına kadarki zaman içinde olmak kaydıyla ses yükselten veya ileten herhangi bir alet veya araç ile çağrı yapılabilir. Bu süre dışında çağrı için sözü geçen alet veya araçlar kullanılamaz.

Kapalı yer toplantılarında, ses yükseltici alet veya araçlarla dışarıya yayın yapılamaz.

*Kışkırtma yasağı*

**Madde 27** – Halka karşı, doğrudan doğruya veya ses yükselten veya ileten herhangi bir alet veya araç ile söz söyleyerek veya seslenerek veya basılmış veya çoğaltılmış veya elle yazılmış veya çizilmiş kağıtları duvarlara veya diğer yerlere yapıştırarak veya dağıtarak veya benzeri araç ve yollarla halkı Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya yürüyüşe özendirmek veya kışkırtmak yasaktır.

Bu hareketler güvenlik kuvvetlerince derhal men edilir.

## YEDİNCİ BÖLÜM

*Ceza Hükümleri*

*Yasaklara aykırı hareket*

**Madde 28** – (Değişik: 23/1/2008-5728/422 md.)

Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşleri düzenleyen veya yönetenlerle bunların hareketlerine katılanlar, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

10 uncu madde gereğince verilecek bildirimde düzenleme kurulu üyesi olarak gösterilenlerden 9 uncu maddede belli edilen nitelikleri taşımayanlar, toplantı veya yürüyüşün yapılması hâlinde, bir yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

11 ve 12 nci maddelerde yazılı görevleri yerine getirmeyen düzenleme kurulu üyeleri, altı aydan iki yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

Güvenlik kuvvetlerine veya hükümet komiserine veya yardımcılara veya hükümet komiseri tarafından toplantı veya yürüyüş safahatının teknik araç ve gereçlerle tespit için görevlendirilenlere bu görevlerini yaptıkları sırada cebir ve şiddet veya tehdit veya nüfuz ve müessir kuvvet sarfetmek suretiyle mani olanlar hakkında, fiilleri daha ağır bir cezayı gerektirmediği takdirde, iki yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezası hükmolunur.

*Toplantı veya yürüyüşü engelleyenler'*

**Madde 29** – Toplantı veya yürüyüş yapılmasına engel olan veya devamına imkan vermeyecek tertipler ile toplantı veya yürüyüşü ihlal eden kimse, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde dokuz aydan bir yıl altı aya kadar hapis (...) (1) cezası ile cezalandırılır. (1)

*Huzur ve sükünü bozanlar*

**Madde 30** – Yapılmakta olan toplantı veya yürüyüşte huzur ve sükünü bozmak maksadıyla tehdit veya hakaret veya saldırı veya mukavematte bulunanlar veya başka bir suretle huzur ve sükünün bozulmasına sebebiyet verenler, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde, bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis (...) (1) cezası ile cezalandırılır. (1)

*Kanuna aykırı propaganda vasıtaları ve suç işlemeye teşvik*

**Madde 31** – Düzenleme kurulu başkanı ve en az altı üyesinin ad ve soyadları ile imzalarını taşımayan 26 ncı maddede yazılı propaganda vasıtalarını hazırlayanlar, yazdıranlar, bastıranlar, propaganda maksadıyla kullananlar veya sair surette 26 ncı maddedeki yasak ve şartlara uymayanlar altı aydan bir yıla kadar hapis (...) (1) cezası ile cezalandırılır. (1)

Bu propaganda vasıtalarında halkı suç işlemeye teşvik ve tahrik eder mahiyette yazı veya resim veya işaret bulunursa veya bu maksatla başka araçlar kullanılmış olursa, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde failleri bir yıl altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis (...) (1) cezası ile cezalandırılır. (1)

Teşvik ve tahrik neticesi olarak suç işlenir veya suçun icrasına teşebbüs edilirse, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde teşvik veya tahrikte bulunanlar üç yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis (...) (1) cezası ile cezalandırılır.

*Direnme (1)*

**Madde 32 – (Değişik: 22/7/2010 - 6008/1 md.)**

Kanuna aykırı toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşlerine katılanlar, ihtara ve zor kullanmaya rağmen dağılmamakta ısrar ederlerse, altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır. Bu suçu, toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşünü tertip edenlerin işlemesi halinde, bu fıkra hükmüne göre verilecek ceza yarı oranında artırılarak hükmolunur.

İhtara ve zor kullanmaya rağmen kolluk görevlilerine karşı cebir veya tehdit kullanılarak direnilmesi halinde, ayrıca 26/9/2004 tarihli ve 5237 sayılı Türk Ceza Kanununun 265 inci maddesinde tanımlanan suçtan dolayı da cezaya hükmolunur.

23 üncü maddede yazılı hallerden biri gerçekleşmeden veya 24 üncü madde hükmü yerine getirilmeden yetki sınırı aşılarak toplantı veya gösteri yürüyüşlerinin dağıtılması halinde, yukarıdaki fıkralarda yazılı fiilleri işleyenlere verilecek cezalar, dörttebire kadar indirilerek uygulanabileceği gibi, ceza vermekten de vazgeçilebilir.

*Toplantı ve yürüyüşte silahlı katılanlar*

**Madde 33 – (Değişik: 22/7/2010 - 6008/2 md.)**

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerine 23 üncü maddenin (b) bendinde sayılan silah veya araçları taşıyarak katılanlar, altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır. Silah veya aracın ateşli silah ya da patlayıcı veya yakıcı madde olması durumunda, cezanın alt sınırı bir yıldan az olamaz. Silah veya aracın bulundurulmasının suç oluşturması halinde, ayrıca bu suçtan dolayı da ilgili hakkında kanun hükümlerine göre cezaya hükmolunur.

Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşünün kanuna aykırı olması halinde ve dağılmamak için direnildiği takdirde, ayrıca 32 nci madde hükümlerine göre cezaya hükmolunur.

*Tahrikçiler ve suç ortakları*

**Madde 34** – 27 nci maddedeki yasağa aykırı hareket edenler toplantı veya yürüyüş vukubulmamış veya vukubulmuş olup da ilk emir ve ihtar üzerine dağıtılmış ise, fiil daha ağır bir cezayı gerektiren ayrı bir suç teşkil etmediği takdirde bir yıl altı aydan dört yıla, toplantı ve yürüyüş zorla dağıtılmış ise üç yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

*Çocuklar hakkında uygulanmayacak hüküm*

**MADDE 34/A – (Ek: 22/7/2010 - 6008/3 md.)**

Bu Kanuna aykırı toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerine katılarak direnme suçunu veya katıldıkları toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri sırasında propaganda suçunu işleyen çocuklar hakkında bu suçlara bağlı olarak ayrıca 3713 sayılı Terörle Mücadele Kanununun 2 nci maddesinin ikinci fıkrası hükmü uygulanmaz.

## SEKİZİNCİ BÖLÜM

*Çeşitli Hükümler*

*Suçüstü hükümlerinin uygulanması*

**Madde 35 – (Mülga: 23/1/2008-5728/578 md.)**

*Hükümet komiserine verilecek ücret*

**Madde 36** – Hükümet komiserine ve yardımcılara verilecek ücret, miktarı İçişleri ve Maliye bakanlıklarınca her yıl ortaklaşa tespit edilir ve bu ücret İçişleri Bakanlığı bütçesine konacak ödenekten karşılanır.

*Yönetmelik düzenlenmesi*

**Madde 37** – Düzenleme kurulunun, hükümet komiseri ve yardımcılarının, güvenlik kuvvetlerinin ve görevli askeri birliklerin görev, yetki ve sorumluluklarının uygulanış biçimi ile bu Kanunun 10 ve 18 inci maddelerinde belirtilen hususlar ve Kanunun uygulanmasına ilişkin diğer hususlar Adalet, Milli Savunma ve İçişleri bakanlıklarınca bu Kanunun yayımı tarihinden itibaren üç ay içinde çıkarılacak ve Resmi Gazetede yayımlanacak bir yönetmelikle düzenlenir.

*Saklı hükümler*

**Madde 38** – İl İdaresi Kanunu ile diğer kanunlardaki bu Kanun kapsamına giren konularla ilgili yetkiler saklıdır.

*Kaldırılan hükümler*

**Madde 39** – 10/2/1963 tarih ve 171 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü Hürriyeti Hakkında Kanun yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

**Geçici Madde 1** – Kanunun 6 ve 26 ncı maddelerine göre yapılacak tespit ve ilan bu Kanunun yayımı tarihinden itibaren üç ay içinde yapılır.

**Geçici Madde 2** – Bölge valilikleri kuruluncaya kadar geçecek süre içinde bu Kanun gereğince bölge valilerine tanınmış bulunan erteleme yetkisi İçişleri Bakanlığı tarafından kullanılır.

*Yürürlük*

**Madde 40** – Bu Kanun yayımı tarihinden üç ay sonra yürürlüğe girer.

*Yürütme*

**Madde 41** – Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

## 2911 SAYILI KANUNA EK VE DEĞİŞİKLİK GETİREN MEVZUATIN YÜRÜRLÜĞE GİRİŞ TARİHİNİ GÖSTERİR LİSTE

**Değiştiren Kanun Yürürlüğe**

**No. 2911 sayılı Kanunun değişen maddeleri giriş tarihi**

4378 – 2/8/1998

4748 – 9/4/2002

4771 – 9/8/2002

4963 – 7/8/2003

5728 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35 8/2/2008

6008 32, 33, 34/A 25/7/2010

## APPENDIX B

### LEGAL MEETING AND DEMONSTRATION PLACES AND DESTINATIONS OF ANKARA DECLARED BY THE GOVERNORSHIP 2013

#### ANKARA İLİ TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞÜ YER VE GÜZERGÂHLARI

Valilik Makamı'nın 15/01/2014 tarih ve 7 sayılı Olur'ları ile merkez ve dış ilçelerimizin toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergahları gözden geçirilip güncellenerek, 2911 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanunu'nun amir hükmü gereğince, ilan edilerek halkımıza duyurulmuştur.

23.03.2014 tarih ve 28940 sayılı Resmi Gazetede yayınlanarak yürürlüğe giren 6529 sayılı Temel Hak ve Hürriyetlerin Geliştirilmesi Amacıyla Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun ile 2911 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanununun; "Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşü Yer ve Güzergâhı" başlıklı 6. Maddesi (Değişik: 2/3/2014-6529/5 md.) ; "... İl ve ilçelerde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhı, kamu düzenini ve genel asayişini bozmayacak ve vatandaşların günlük yaşamını zorlaştırmayacak şekilde ve 22. maddenin birinci fıkrasında sayılan sınırlamalara uyulması kaydıyla Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde grubu bulunan siyasi partilerin il ve ilçe temsilcileri ile güzergâhın geçeceği ilçe ve il belediye başkanlarının, en çok üyeye sahip üç sendikanın ve kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşlarının il ve ilçe temsilcilerinin görüşleri alınarak mahallin en büyük mülki amiri tarafından belirlenir. İl ve ilçenin büyüklüğü, gelişmişliği ve yerleşim özellikleri dikkate alınarak birden fazla toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhı belirlenebilir. Belirlenen toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhı yerel gazeteler ile valilik ve kaymakamlık internet sitelerinden ilan edilerek halka duyurulur. Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri yer ve güzergâhı hakkında sonradan yapılacak değişiklikler de aynı yöntemle yapılır. Bu değişiklikler duyurudan on beş gün sonra geçerli olur ..." hükmünü içerdiğinden, mevcut toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergahları, Valilik Makamı tarafından gözden geçirilerek yeniden belirlenmiş, 08.08.1985 tarih ve 18836 Sayılı Resmi Gazetede yayınlanarak yürürlüğe giren 2911 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanununun Uygulanmasına Dair Yönetmeliğin 3. Maddesinin birinci fıkrası gereğince;

İlimiz merkezinde bulunan Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Keçiören, Mamak, Pirsaklar, Yenimahalle ve Sincan İlçelerine ait ilk toplanma yeri, yürüyüş güzergahı, toplantı alanı, dağılım yönleri ile afiş ve pankart asma yerleri güncellenip değişiklikler yapılarak Valilik Makamının 17/07/2014 tarih ve 8624 sayılı olurları ile yeterlilik ve uygunluğu onaylanmıştır.

#### 1-TANDOĞAN CELAL BAYAR BULVARI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI:

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Sıhhiye Adliye Binası karşısı alt geçit ile Celal Bayar Bulvarı Tandoğan istikameti üzerinde bulunan Migros önu Demirköprü arasında kalan alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma yerinden hareketle, Celal Bayar Bulvarının sağ şeridini takiben toplantı alanı arasında kalan 1450 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Celal Bayar Bulvarı Tandoğan Kavşağından Gazi Mahallesi istikametine doğru Eti Kavşağına kadar bulvarın geliş ve gidiş istikametlerini içine alacak şekilde karayolunun tamamı 28.000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** De Gol Caddesi ile eski Otogar-Kazım Karabekir Caddesi her iki yön olmak üzere Celal Bayar Bulvarı ile Tandoğan Meydanı yönleri,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

## **2-TANDOĞAN MEYDANI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Kazım Karabekir Caddesi'nden giriş yapan Hipodrom içi, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi yanı 5.000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** Kazım Karabekir Caddesi, Ulaştırma Kavşağı, yeni Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Binası köprüsü altı sağ şeritten, DDY köprüsü altından, Tandoğan köprüsü altı 620 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Kazım Karabekir Caddesi, Tandoğan Kavşağı önü, MKE Kurumu, De Gol Caddesi Anıt Caddesi Metro giriş ve çıkışları, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Bulvarı, Astsubay Orduevinin çevrelediği 12.500 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Kazım Karabekir Caddesi Celal Bayar Bulvarı her iki yön, GMK Bulvarı, De Gol ve Anıt Caddeleri,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

## **3-ABDİ İPEKÇİ PARKI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Toros Sokak (Toros Sokak-Celal Bayar Bulvarı kesişimi) 2350 m<sup>2</sup> lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** Celal Bayar Bulvarı, Sıhhiye Köprüsü ve M. Rauf İnan Sokaktan oluşan yaklaşık 950 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Celal Bayar Bulvarı, Sıhhiye Köprüsü ile Atatürk Bulvarının kesiştiği M. Rauf İnan, Aksu, Yenişehir ve Marmara Sokaklarının çevrelediği 12.970 m<sup>2</sup> lik çim alan, 8.350 m<sup>2</sup> lik beton zemin, 4.655 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alanı ve 18.000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik diğer alanlar olmak üzere yaklaşık 26.300 m<sup>2</sup>'lik ulaşım imkânlarına sahip toplantı alanı,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Atatürk Bulvarı, Celal Bayar Bulvarı, Sıhhiye Köprüsü, Necatibey, Strazburg ve Mithatpaşa Caddeleri, İlkiz, Cihan, Hanımeli, Sağlık, Marmara, Aksu ve M. Rauf İnan Sokakları,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

## **4-SIHHİYE MEYDANI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Hipodrom AKM Alanı veya Ankara Tren Garı önündeki alan yaklaşık 3000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** Hipodrom alanından hareketle; Kazım Karabekir Caddesi'ni takiben, sola dönülerek Talatpaşa Bulvarı, Opera Köprüsünden sağa dönülerek Atatürk Bulvarını takiben toplantı alanı arasında kalan güzergâh veya Ankara Tren Garı önünden hareketle; Talatpaşa Bulvarı, Opera Köprüsünden sağa dönülerek Atatürk Bulvarını takiben toplantı alanı arasında kalan yaklaşık 2500 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Atatürk Bulvarı Sıhhiye Köprüsü ile iki Orduevi arasını geçmeyecek şekilde belirtilen alanda kalan bulvarın geliş istikametini içine alacak şekilde karayolunun tamamı (Sıhhiye Meydanı) yaklaşık 23.000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Atatürk Bulvarı Ulus istikameti, Mithatpaşa Caddesi, Necatibey Caddesi, İlkiz Sokak, Abdi İpekçi Parkı Aksu, Marmara, Sağlık Sokakları,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **5-HİPODROM ALANI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Hipodrom AKM alanının Konya yolu tarafında ve tribünlerin karşısında bulunan 2000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** Hipodrom AKM alanı tribünlerin önünden resmigeçit yolunu takiben AKM binası karşısına kadar 450 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Kazım Karabekir Caddesinden Hipodrom alanına giriş noktasından itibaren tribünlere doğru yaklaşık 30.000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alana kurulmuş ulaşım imkânlarına sahip alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Kazım Karabekir, Hipodrom ve İstanbul Caddeleri,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk Toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı ve çevresi ile Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı tarafından belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **6-KOLEJ KAVŞAĞI TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**TOPLANMA YERİ:** Toros Sokak (Toros Sokak-Celal Bayar Bulvarı kesişimi) 2350 m<sup>2</sup> alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** Toros Sokak ile Celal Bayar Bulvarı, Sıhhiye Köprüsü üzeri, A. Adnan Saygun Caddesi, Aksu Caddesini takiben Z. Gökalp/Aksu/ Libya Caddelerinin kesiştiği Kolej Kavşağı arasında kalan yaklaşık 1285 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Aksu Caddesi, Ziya Gökalp Caddesi ve Libya Caddesi'nin kesiştiği alan (Kolej Kavşağı) yaklaşık 8000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Kolej Kavşağı Aksu Caddesi Sıhhiye istikameti, Kolej Kavşağı Libya Caddesi istikameti, Kolej Kavşağı Z. Gökalp Caddesi Cebeci istikameti,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **7-ETİMESGUT TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Etimesgut İstasyon Caddesi Shell Benzinlik yanı,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İstasyon Caddesini takiben, 1936 Sokak ve 1934 Sokak istikametini takiben toplantı alanı arasında kalan yer yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Kadın Hastalıkları ve Doğum Hastanesi yanında bulunan yaklaşık 2500 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** 1936 Sokak, 1939 Sokak ve 1934 Sokak istikameti,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **8-PURSAKLAR TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** İstiklal Caddesi üzerinde bulunan Beşyol Ağızı (Emreler) kavşağı,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma yerinden hareketle İstiklal Caddesi, Cumhuriyet Caddesi ve Sun Sokağı ile toplantı alanı arasında kalan yer yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Sun Sokağı'nın çevrelediği 8131 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Sun Sokağı Cumhuriyet Caddesi istikameti, Sun Sokağı Orhangazi Caddesi istikameti, ilimiz merkezinde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhları olarak belirlenmiştir.

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı, üzeri ve çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyelerince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **9-KEÇİÖREN TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Kuyubaşı Meydanı (Kızlarpınarı Caddesi, Bursa Caddesi kesişimi) 3000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma yeri Kızlarpınarı Caddesi, Bursa Caddesi kesişiminden (Kuyubaşı Meydanı) hareketle Kızlar Pınarı Caddesini takiben Dutluk Meydanı arasında kalan 500 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Kızlarpınarı Caddesi, Özyurt Caddesi, Anavatan Caddesi, İtri Caddesi, Gülbaba Caddesi kesişimi Dutluk Meydanı 5000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Kızlarpınarı Caddesi, Özyurt Caddesi, Anavatan Caddesi, İtri Caddesi, Gülbaba Caddesi, Nuri Pamir Caddesi istikameti, ilimiz merkezinde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhları olarak belirlenmiştir.

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı ve çevresi, Kuyubaşı Meydanı, Kızılarpınarı Caddesi, yürüyüş güzergâhı, toplantı alanı ve çevresi ile Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığınca uygun görülen yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **10-MAMAK 1 NOLU TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Mamak Caddesi, Saime kadın-Asım Gündüz ışıklı kavşak arasında bulunan alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma yerinden hareketle Mamak Caddesi'ni takiben toplantı alanı arasında kalan 850 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Mamak Caddesi üzeri yolun sağ tarafı Pazar Yeri 1500 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Mamak Caddesi, Tıp Fakültesi Caddesi ile Abdülhak Hamit Caddesi istikameti, ilimiz merkezinde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhları olarak belirlenmiştir.

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, (Mamak Caddesi, Saime Kadın Işıklı Kavşak) ve çevresi ile toplantı alanı (Mamak Caddesi üzerinde yolun sağ tarafında bulunan Pazar yeri olarak kullanılan alan) çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyesince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **11-MAMAK 2 NOLU TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Nato Yolu Caddesi, Tekmezar Hacı Bektaş Veli Parkı önü 256 Sokak ile 667 Sokak arasında bulunan alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma yerinden hareketle Nato Yolu Caddesi'ni takiben Süleyman Ayten Caddesi, Süleyman Ayten Caddesi Işıklı Kavşaktan sağa dönülerek Tuzluca Yayı Meydanı arasında kalan 900 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Tuzluca Yayı Kavşağı (Tuzluca Yayı Meydanı) 1500 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Tıp Fakültesi Caddesi, Dikimevi istikameti ve Mamak Caddesi istikameti, ilimiz merkezinde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü yer ve güzergâhları olarak belirlenmiştir.

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** İlk toplanma alanı, (Tekmezar Hacı-Bektaş-ı Veli Parkı) ve çevresi ile toplantı alanı (Tuzluca Yayı Kavşağı) çevresinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı ve İlçe Belediyesince belirlenecek yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

#### **12-SİNCAN 1 NOLU TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Buhara Caddesi Ahi Mesut Bulvarı Kavşağı 1000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma alanından başlayarak Ahi Mesut Bulvarını, Ata Caddesi, Vakit Sokak arasında kalan 1000 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Tandoğan Mahallesi Salı Pazarı 20.260 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Vakit Sokak, Karayolu Caddesi, Buhara Caddesi dağılış yönü,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** Tandoğan Mahallesi Salı Pazarı etrafındaki müsait yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

### **13-SİNCAN 2 NOLU TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI :**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Fatih Mahallesi Çalkın Caddesi, İzmir Caddesi Kavşağı 1000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma alanından başlayarak Çalkın Caddesini takiben Fatih Mahallesi Tuğra Anıtı arasında kalan 600 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Fatih Mahallesi Tuğra Anıtı arkası boş alan 14.160 m<sup>2</sup>'lik boş alan,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** İnönü Caddesi Çalkın Caddesi ve GMK Bulvarı dağılış yönü,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** Fatih Mahallesi Çalkın Caddesi ile İnönü Caddesi Kavşağı etrafındaki müsait yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

### **14-SİNCAN 3 NOLU TOPLANTI VE GÖSTERİ YÜRÜYÜŞ MİTİNG ALANI**

**İLK TOPLANMA YERİ:** Yenikent Atatürk Mahallesi Cumhuriyet Bulvarı üzerindeki 1000 m<sup>2</sup>'lik (Cumhuriyet Park) alan,

**YÜRÜYÜŞ GÜZERGÂHI:** İlk toplanma alanından başlayarak Cumhuriyet Bulvarını takiben Cumhuriyet Park alanı arasında kalan 1000 m. yürüyüş güzergâhı,

**TOPLANTI ALANI:** Yenikent Atatürk Mahallesi Cumhuriyet Bulvarı üzerinde bulunan 15.860 m<sup>2</sup>'lik (Kavun Pazarı) alanı,

**DAĞILIŞ YÖNLERİ:** Cumhuriyet Bulvarı, Ayaş yolu, Fatih Caddesi ile Karanfil Sokak dağılış yönü,

**AFİŞ VE PANKART ASMA YERLERİ:** Yenikent Kavun Pazarı etrafındaki müsait yerler afiş ve pankart asma yerleri olarak belirlenmiştir.

İlanen duyurulur.

## APPENDIX C

### REGULATION ON NATIONAL AND FORMAL HOLIDAYS

#### ULUSAL VE RESMİ BAYRAMLAR İLE MAHALLİ KURTULUŞ GÜNLERİ, ATATÜRK GÜNLERİ VE TARİHİ GÜNLERDE YAPILACAK TÖREN VE KUTLAMALAR YÖNETMELİĞİ

##### BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

Amaç, Kapsam ve Genel İlkeler

##### Amaç ve kapsam

**MADDE 1 –** (1) Bu Yönetmelik; ulusal bayram Cumhuriyet Bayramı ve resmi bayramlar Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı, Atatürk'ü Anma ve Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı, Zafer Bayramı ile mahalli kurtuluş günleri, Atatürk günleri ve tarihi günlerin kutlanmasını sağlamak amacıyla yapılacak törenleri kapsar.

##### Tören ve kutlama ilkeleri

**MADDE 2 –** (1) Cumhurbaşkanının bulunduğu taşra tören ve kutlamalarında Başkent programı uygulanır.

(2) Dış temsilciliklerimizde yapılacak tören ve kutlamalar, Dışişleri Bakanlığı Protokol Genel Müdürlüğünce verilecek talimata göre düzenlenir.

(3) Merkezinde birden fazla ilçe bulunan illerde ve bu ilçelerde kutlamalar, il kutlama komitesinin hazırlayacağı programa göre yapılır.

(4) Başkent dışında Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı, Başbakan veya Bakanların törene katılması durumunda;

a) Cumhuriyet Bayramı ve Zafer Bayramı tebrikatını, mahalli mülki amir ile birlikte kabul eder ve önde yer alırlar.

b) Şeref tribününde mahalli mülki amirden önce yer alırlar; bu durumda ekli (1) sayılı listede yer alan kişilere şeref tribününün durumuna göre mahalli mülki amir, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanından sonra sıra ile yer verilir.

c) Tören geçişini mahalli mülki amir, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı ile birlikte şeref tribününde ayakta kabul ederek selamlar; Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı ile Başbakanın katılmadığı, birden fazla Bakanın bulunduğu durumlarda Resmi Gazetede Bakanlar Kurulu listesinde önde olan Bakan selamlamaya katılır.

ç) Tensipleri halinde çelenkleri mülki idare amiri, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı ile diğerlerinden önce konulur.

(5) Çelenkler, bayramın bitim saatinde ilgili kurumun mensupları tarafından tören yapılmadan kaldırılır. Aksi halde belediye görevlileri veya kolluk tarafından tören yapılmadan kaldırılır.

(6) Bayramların dışında anıtlara çelenk koymak isteyen kuruluş, kişi veya kişi toplulukları kırksekiz saat önceden mülki idare amirinden izin almak zorundadır. İzin alınmadan konulduğu görülen çelenkler, kolluk tarafından kaldırılır.

(7) Hava muhalefeti gibi zaruri hallerde, bayram programının bir kısmının veya tamamının en kısa sürede yapılmak üzere ertelenmesine mülki idare amirince karar verilir.

- (8) Bayramın başlangıç ve bitiş saatleri arasında resmi kurumlar bayraklarla donatılır.  
(9) Yönetmelikte yer almayan hususlarda mülki idare amirince gerekli düzenlemeler yapılır.

#### **Tören ve kutlama komitelerinin oluşumu ve görevleri**

**MADDE 3 – (1) Başkentte;**

a) Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenleri programının hazırlanması ve uygulanması Dışişleri Bakanlığı Protokol Genel Müdürlüğünce, İçişleri Bakanlığıyla koordine edilerek yürütülür.

b) Zafer Bayramı törenleri, Dışişleri Bakanlığı Protokol Genel Müdürlüğünce, Genelkurmay Başkanlığıyla koordine edilerek yürütülür.

(2) İl ve ilçelerde ulusal bayram, resmi bayramlar, mahalli kurtuluş günleri, Atatürk günleri ve diğer tarihi günlerin kutlanması, vali veya görevlendireceği vali yardımcısı veya kaymakamın başkanlığında; garnizon komutanlığı, belediye başkanlığı, emniyet müdürlüğü, milli eğitim müdürlüğü, gençlik hizmetleri ve spor müdürlüğü ile mülki idare amirince uygun görülecek diğer kamu kurum ve kuruluşları ile sivil toplum kuruluşları temsilcilerinin katılımıyla oluşan komite tarafından düzenlenir.

(3) Tören ve kutlama programı illerde valinin, ilçelerde kaymakamın onayı ile yürürlüğe girer.

(4) Tören ve kutlama komitelerinin görev ve yetkileri şunlardır:

a) Ulusal bayram, resmi bayram ve tarihi günlerin anlam ve önemine uygun ve halkın azami derecede katılımını ve coşku ile kutlanmasını sağlayacak ve milli onur gereklerine uygun tören ve kutlama programlarını hazırlamak ve uygulanacak genel esasları belirlemek.

b) Kamu kurum ve kuruluşları ile sivil toplum kuruluşlarının bu konuda yapacakları faaliyet ve hizmetlerde koordinasyon ve birliği sağlamak.

#### **İKİNCİ BÖLÜM**

##### **Ulusal Bayram**

#### **Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenleri**

**MADDE 4 – (1)** Cumhuriyetin ilan edildiği 29 Ekim günü ulusal bayramdır. Türkiye'nin içinde ve dışında Devlet adına yalnız 29 Ekim günü tören yapılır. Bayram 28 Ekim günü saat 13.00'te Başkentte yapılan yirmibir pâretop atışı ile başlar ve 29 Ekim günü saat 24.00'te son bulur.

(2) Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenleri aşağıdaki şekilde uygulanır:

a) Başkentte Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenleri:

1) Anıtkabir'e Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından çelenk konulur ve İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

2) Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından Cumhurbaşkanlığında tebrikat kabul edilir.

3) Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından törene katılanların ve halkın bayramı kutlanır.

4) İstiklal Marşı ile bayrağın göndere çekilmesini müteakip tören geçişi ve programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

5) Cumhuriyet Bayramı resepsiyonu Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından verilir.

b) Başkent dışında Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenleri:

1) Atatürk anıt veya büstüne mülki idare amiri, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı tarafından çelenk konulur. Mahallin en büyük mülki idare amirliğine ait çelenk anıtın alt kaidesinin tam ortasına, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerine ait çelenk onun sağına, belediyeye ait çelenk ise soluna konulur. Çelenk konulduktan sonra İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

2) Mülki idare amiri tarafından tebrikat, ekli (1) sayılı listede yer alan sıraya göre makamında kabul edilir.

3) Mülki idare amiri tarafından, beraberinde garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı olduğu halde, törene katılanların ve halkın bayramı kutlanır, İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

4) Mülki idare amiri tarafından bayramın anlam ve önemini belirten konuşma yapılır.

5) Tören geçişi mülki idare amiri, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı tarafından şeref tribününden selamlanır.

6) Programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

7) Cumhuriyet Bayramı resepsiyonu vali tarafından verilir.

#### **ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM**

##### **Resmi Bayramlar**

#### **Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı törenleri**

**MADDE 5 – (1)** Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı 23 Nisan günü saat 08.00’de başlar ve saat 24.00’te son bulur.

(2) Milli Eğitim Bakanı, günün anlam ve önemini belirten mesajını medya aracılığıyla bildirir.

(3) Milli Eğitim Bakanı bir il törenine katılır.

(4) Atatürk anıt veya büstüne milli eğitim müdürlüğü tarafından çelenk konulur. Çelenk konulduktan sonra İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

(5) Kutlama komitelerince hazırlanan programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

Programda tören geçişi vetebrikata yer verilmez.

#### **Atatürk’ü Anma ve Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı törenleri**

**MADDE 6 – (1)** Atatürk’ü Anma ve Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı 19 Mayıs günü, Atatürk’ün 19 Mayıs 1919’da Samsun’da karaya çıktığı saat olan 07.00’de başlar ve saat 24.00’te son bulur.

(2) Gençlik ve Spor Bakanı, günün anlam ve önemini belirten mesajını medya aracılığıyla bildirir.

(3) Gençlik ve Spor Bakanı bir il törenine katılır.

(4) Atatürk anıt veya büstüne gençlik hizmetleri ve spor müdürlüğü, bulunmaması halinde mülki amirin görevlendireceği bir müdürlük tarafından çelenk konulur. Çelenk konulduktan sonra İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

(5) Kutlama komitelerince hazırlanan programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

Programda tören geçişi vetebrikata yer verilmez.

#### **Zafer Bayramı törenleri**

**MADDE 7 – (1)** Zafer Bayramı, 30 Ağustos günü saat 07.00’de başlar ve saat 24.00’te son bulur. Saat 12.00’de Başkentte yirmibir pârâ top atışı yapılır.

(2) Zafer Bayramı törenleri aşağıdaki şekilde uygulanır:

a) Başkentte Zafer Bayramı törenleri:

1) Anıtkabir’e Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından çelenk konulur ve İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

2) Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından Cumhurbaşkanlığında tebrikat kabul edilir.

3) Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından törene katılanların ve halkın bayramı kutlanır.

4) İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrağın göndere çekilmesini müteakip tören geçişi ve programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

5) Zafer Bayramı resepsiyonu Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından verilir.

b) Başkent dışında Zafer Bayramı törenleri:

1) Atatürk anıt veya büstüne mülki idare amiri, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı tarafından çelenk konulur. Mahallin en büyük mülki amirliğine ait çelenk anıtın alt kaidesinin tam ortasına, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerine ait çelenk onun sağına, belediyeye ait çelenk ise soluna konulur. Çelenk konulduktan sonra İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

2) Mülki idare amiri beraberinde garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı olduğu halde tebrikatı, ekli (1) sayılı listede yer alan sıraya göre makamında kabul eder.

3) Mülki idare amiri tarafından, beraberinde garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı olduğu halde, törene katılanların ve halkın bayramı kutlanır, İstiklal Marşı ile birlikte bayrak göndere çekilir.

4) Tören geçişi mülki idare amiri, garnizon komutanı ve belediye başkanı tarafından şeref tribününden selamlanır.

5) Programda yer alan diğer faaliyetler uygulanır.

6) Zafer Bayramı resepsiyonu vali tarafından verilir.

### **DÖRDÜNCÜ BÖLÜM**

Tarihi Günler

#### **Mahalli kurtuluş günleri, Atatürk günleri ve diğer tarihi günler**

**MADDE 8 – (1)** Mahalli kurtuluş günleri, Atatürk günleri ve diğer tarihi günlerin kutlama faaliyetleri; Başkentte Ankara Valiliği, Başkent dışında valilikler ve kaymakamlıklarla oluşturulacak kutlama komiteleri tarafından belirlenir. Programda, günün anlam ve önemine uygun olarak yapılacak bilimsel toplantı, konferans, sergi, yarışma, tiyatro, halk oyunları, gösteriler ve konser gibi faaliyetler yer alır. Programda tören geçişi ve tebrikata yer verilmez.

### **BEŞİNCİ BÖLÜM**

Son Hükümler

### **Tereddütlerin giderilmesi**

**MADDE 9** – (1) Bu Yönetmeliğin uygulanmasında ortaya çıkabilecek tereddütlerin giderilmesinde; Başkentteki tören ve kutlamalarda Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Başkent dışındaki tören ve kutlamalarda İçişleri Bakanlığı yetkilidir.

### **Yürürlükten kaldırılan yönetmelikler**

**MADDE 10** – (1) 14/8/1981 tarihli ve 8/3456 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararıyla yürürlüğe konulan Ulusal ve Resmi Bayramlarda Yapılacak Törenler Yönetmeliği, 3/3/1982 tarihli ve 8/4400 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararıyla yürürlüğe konulan Mahalli Kurtuluş Günleri, Atatürk Günleri ve Tarihi Günlerde Yapılacak Törenler Yönetmeliği ve 4/9/1973 tarihli ve 7/7058 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararıyla yürürlüğe konulan Resmi Bayramlar ve Anma Günlerinde Anıtlara Konulacak Çelenklerin Hazırlanma, Taşınma ve Sunulması Hakkında Yönetmelik yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

### **Yürürlük**

**MADDE 11** – (1) Bu Yönetmelik yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

### **Yürütme**

**MADDE 12** – (1) Bu Yönetmelik hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

### **(1) SAYILI LİSTE**

#### **BAŞKENT DIŞINDAKİ İLLERDE TEBRİKATA GİRİŞ SIRASI**

1. TBMM üyeleri
2. Mahallin en büyük komutanı, general ve amiraller, garnizon komutanı
3. Büyükşehir belediye başkanı, bakan yardımcısı, il belediye başkanı
4. Cumhuriyet başsavcısı, adli yargı adalet komisyonu başkanı, bölge adliye ve bölge idare mahkemesi başkanları, bölge adliye mahkemesi Cumhuriyet başsavcısı, idare ve vergi mahkemeleri başkanları, üniversite rektörleri, baro başkanı
5. Vali yardımcıları, kaymakamlar, il genel kolluğunun en üst amirleri, il genel meclisi başkanı ile ilçe belediye başkanları
6. Rektör yardımcıları, fakülte dekanları, enstitü ve yüksekokul müdürleri
7. Genel ve özel bütçeli kuruluşların üst yöneticileri
8. Valilikçe belirlenecek sayıda, garnizon komutanınca tespit edilecek silahlı kuvvetler mensupları
9. Hakimler, savcılar, noter odası başkanı
10. İktidar partisi, ana muhalefet partisi ve Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinde grubu bulunan diğer partilerin (alfabetik sıraya göre) il başkanları
11. Dekan yardımcıları, enstitü ve yüksekokul müdür yardımcıları
12. Resmî Gazetede Bakanlar Kurulu listesindeki sıraya göre bakanlıkların bölge ve il teşkilatındaki amir, başkan ve müdürleri, il milli eğitim müdürlüğünce belirlenecek ilköğretim ve ortaöğretim okul müdürleri
13. Kamu bankalarının müdürleri, KİT ve TRT üst yöneticileri
14. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinde grubu bulunmayan siyasi partilerin il başkanları

(alfabetik sıraya göre)

15. İl genel meclisi ve belediye meclisi üyeleri
16. O yerdeki mesleki kuruluşlar ve en fazla üyeye sahip basın kuruluşunun temsilcileri
17. Özel banka müdürleri
18. Kamu yararına çalışan dernek başkanları

### **NOT:**

1. Başkent protokol listesinde yer alan kişilerin ilde bulunması halinde bunların yeri mülki idare amirince Başkent protokolü esas alınarak belirlenir.
2. İlçelerde tebrikata giriş sırası ildeki sıraya göre belirlenir.

## APPENDIX D

### TURKISH SUMMARY

Mekanın kavramsal çerçevesini çizmek için Lefebvre'in mekansal üçlemesi önem kazanmaktadır. Lefebvre mekanı sosyal bir kavram olarak ele almakta, mekanı ne sadece bir soyutlama, ne de yalnız başına somut bir nesne olarak ele almaktadır. Lefebvre için mekan sosyal olarak üretilmesinin bir sonucu olarak sosyal bir boyut kazanmaktadır ve bu bağlamda toplumsal bir üretim süreci olmasının yanı sıra hem bu süreçlerin ön koşulu hem de sonucu olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Mekana sosyal boyutunun yanında tarihsellik de atfedilen Lefebvre, mekan üretim süreçleri boyunca mekanın tarihsel nosyonuna da vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tarih içinde değişen mekansal üretim pratiklerinin farklı mekansal modların oluşumuna yol açtığını, somut ve soyut mekan kavramları üzerinden tartışmaktadır.

Teoride mekan iki uç perspektiften ele alınmakta, kültürelci yaklaşım mekansal determinizme kayma tehlikesi gösterirken, doğalcı yaklaşım mekanın sosyal varlığını indirgeyici bir yaklaşım sergilemektedir. Bu çerçevede mekan ve sosyal süreçler arasındaki diyalektik ilişkinin incelenmesinde denge kurma bağlamında öncül çalışmalar olarak Lefebvre ve Castells'in yaklaşımları, sonrasında Harvey'nin kuramları önemli birer kaynak teşkil etmektedir.

Mekanın kavramsal ve teorik olarak ele alınışını takiben siyasi iktidar – muhalif karşıtlığının ana zemini olan kamusal mekan kavramının incelenmesi önemli görülmektedir. Mekansal kavramsallaştırmadan önce kamusal-özel alan tartışmasına bakıldığında Arendt kamusal alanı siyasetin var olduğu alan olarak değerlendirmekte, Sennett tarafından kamusal alanın kişilerin sosyal ilişkiler kurabilmesiyle tanımlanmakta, Habermas ise kamusal alanın sivil toplumun gündelik çıkarları ile devletin güç ve egemenliği arasında bir arabulucu olarak ele almakta ve bu kavramı kamuoyu oluşturma potansiyeliyle açıklamaktadır.

Bu noktada, kamusal kavramsallaştırması üzerinden başka bir ikilik öne çıkmaktadır: devlet-toplum ayrımı. Çalışmada bu karşıtlık siyasi iktidar-toplumsal muhalefet üzerinden ele alınmakta, ancak siyasi iktidarın devletin gücünü kullanması, toplumsal muhalefetin de toplumdaki memnuniyetsizliğin belli boyutlara ulaşması sonucu toplum içinden türetilen bir hareket olarak ortaya çıkması açısından kuramsal tartışma devlet-toplum karşıtlığı üzerinden yürütülmektedir.

Gottdiener'e göre devletin müdahaleleri ve vatandaşlar arasındaki ilişki ancak devletin doğasını inceleyerek ve toplumu bir bütün olarak ele alarak kurulabilir. Ona göre toplum mekânın kullanıcıları olarak nitelendirilirken, Castells söz konusu bu kullanıcıları devlet hizmetlerinden faydalanan müşteriler olarak ele almakta, Lefebvre ise onları gündelik yaşamın kullanıcıları olarak kurgulamaktadır.

Devlet kavramı ise genel olarak güç olgusu ile ilişkilendirilmekte, yapısalcı yaklaşımı benimseyen kuramcılar tarafından sınıf ilişkilerinin düzenleyicisi olarak ele alınmaktadır. Lefebvre ise devleti güç uygulayıcısı olarak görmekte ve bu olguyu mekansal bir bakış açısıyla temellendirmektedir.

Marksist kuramcılar açısından devlet için mekân, mekansal tasarım pratiklerinden öte bir kamusal politika aracıdır. Bu bağlamda ekonomi-politik perspektiften mekân kapitalizmin krizlerini yönetme aracı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bunun yanında kapitalist ilişkilerin mekânda yeniden üretimi ancak devlet tarafından gerçekleştirilebilmektedir. Bu çerçevede daha önce de değinildiği üzere mekân fiziksel bir taşıyıcıdan öteye geçememektedir.

Castells'in kriz teorisi devletin yapısal çevreye müdahalesini iki şekilde açıklamaktadır: Devletin özel sektörle yaklaşması ve gündelik yaşamın devamına yönelik yaptığı hizmet sunumu. Bu noktada kent kolektif tüketimin zemini haline gelmektedir. Bu şekilde vatandaşların tüketici konumuna düşmesiyle birlikte sınıf kavramının ötesinde bir toplum tanımıyla karşı karşıya kalınmaktadır. Diğer yandan da kentsel çatışmanın ana kaynağı devletin mekâna müdahalesi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Castells'in tanımladığı üzere farklılıklar sosyo-mekansal eşitsizlikler üzerinden kolektif tüketim eliyle yaratılmakta, bu da kentsel sorunun temelini teşkil etmektedir.

Lefebvre'in bakış açısına göre ise devletin mekanı kullanması daha farklı şekillerde olmakta, devlet güç kullanımıyla sadece kapitalizmin değil, aynı zamanda kendi çıkarlarını da korumakta, bunu da hükmetme – itaat etme ilişkisi üzerinden toplumu kontrol ederek yapmaktadır. Bu tarz bir manipülasyon sürecinin fiziksel boyutunu ise mekanda kendi soyut mekanlarını üreterek hayata geçirmektedir.

Bu tartışmalar üzerinden devlet-toplum çatışmasının ana meydanı kamusal mekan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Kamusal mekanın ne derece kamusal olduğu akademide ele alındığı şekliyle Mitchell ve Staeheli tarafından erişim ve dışlanma, kanun ve gelenek, güç ve protesto üzerinden sınıflandırılmaktadır. Mitchell ve Staeheli ise kamusallığı kent hakkı ve mülkiyet ilişkileri üzerinden tanımlamaktadır.

Kent hakkı Lefebvre'in tanımıyla “bir yakarış ve bir talep”, doğa üzerinde iddia edilen hak ve ondan faydalanma arzusuyla yok edilen gündelik yaşamın geri alınmasına yönelik bir hak olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Harvey'nin açıkladığı şekilde kent hakkı, bireylerin kent kaynaklarına erişiminden daha fazlasını ifade etmekte, kenti değiştirme hakkına sahip olabilme olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bunun yanında kent hakkı bireysel değil, toplumsal bir haktır; çünkü kenti değiştirme kolektif bir güç gerektirmektedir. Bu doğrultuda Harvey tarafından en değerli insan haklarından biri olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu kentin son yüzyılda tanık olduğu değişim – bir tüketim mekanına dönüşmesine yönelik aynı zamanda beraberinde bireycilik ve siyasızlaştırma getirmesine karşılık Harvey tarafından bir gereklilik olarak görülmektedir. Bir başka deyişle, mülksüzleştirme yoluyla birikim pratikleri sonucu kentten soyutlanma sürecine yönelik kent hakkının geniş bir sosyal hareketle hayata geçirilebileceğine vurgu yapılmaktadır.

Çizilen bu çerçeve doğrultusunda çalışmada ortaya konan politik mekan kavramsallaştırması Lefebvre'in mekansal kuramından yola çıkarak yapılmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım doğrultusunda her toplum ve her üretim şekli kendi mekanını yaratır. Politik mekan da bu bağlamda, her şeyden önce politik ve sembolik değeri olan mekandır. Bunun yanı sıra toplumsal anlamda katılımı ve ifadeyi mümkün kılan ve hatta teşvik eden mekandır. Aynı zamanda güç ilişkilerinin gözlemlendiği ve otoritenin kontrolünün son derece kuvvetli bir şekilde hissedildiği mekandır. Bu

nedenle, aynı zamanda gücün, şiddetin ve eylemin, sonuç olarak çatışmanın mekanıdır. Bu bağlamda, müdahale, muhalefet ve direniş kavramlarıyla iç içedir. Sonuç olarak çalışmada politik mekan üzerinden “yer”in politik önemine vurgu yapılmaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, politik mekan toplumsal muhalefet ve siyasi iktidarın karşılaşma ve çatışma noktasıdır. Bunun üzerinden mekanın politikleşme (siyasallaşma) ve politik bağlamından çıkarılma (siyasızlaştırılma) süreçleri önem kazanmaktadır.

Mekanın politikleşmesinin hangi noktalarda gerçekleştiğine ise Harvey'nin “mekan yalnızca mekanın üretimiyle aşılr” sözü ışık tutmaktadır. Toplumun sosyal ve politik pratikleri ile mekanın sosyal olarak üretilmesi mekana politik bir anlam kazandırmaktadır. Mekan toplumsal bellekte bu sembolik anlamı ve politik karakteriyle yaşamaya başladığı noktada politik bir “yer” haline gelir.

Toplumsal muhalefet düzleminde mekansal bilinç sosyal ve politik hareketler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kentsel sosyal hareketler ve politik hareketler olarak iki biçimde tezahür eden bu toplumsal aktivitelerden mekan temelli ortaya çıkanları Castells tarafından kentsel sosyal hareketler, diğer yanda politik toplumsallaşma ve çıkar birlikteliği politik hareketler olarak sınıflandırılmaktadır. Kentsel sosyal hareketler, kurumsallaşmış kentsel anlamın dönüşümü hedefiyle yola çıkan ve egemen sınıfın mantık, çıkar ve değerlerine karşı oluşturulan toplu ve bilinçli eylem olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede Lefebvre mekandaki çatışmayı mekan üretimi aracılığıyla açıklarken, Castells kentsel anlam, kentsel sosyal değişim ve kentsel sosyal hareketler üzerinden kurgulamaktadır.

Devletin bir fonksiyonu olan siyasi iktidar tarafında ise mekansal bilinç mekansal pratikler yoluyla hegemonyanın kentsel alanda inşa edilmesi şeklinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Gramsci'nin hegemonya ve Lefebvre'in mekan üretimi kavramları kentsel siyasi güç analizi için akademide kaynak olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda Lefebvre'in kavramsallaştırması hegemonyanın mekansallaştırılması şeklinde algılanabilmektedir. Lefebvre'in işaret ettiği üzere Bauhaus'la başlayan kapitalizmin mekan üretimi ve mekanı keşfi, varlığını 20. yüzyıla kadar sürdürebilmesine olanak tanımıştır. Modern toplumlarda başlayan mekan kullanım

pratikleri günümüzde neoliberal politikalarla küresel sisteme eklemlenme süreçlerinde devam etmektedir. Bu bağlamda mekan üzerinde denetim kurmak siyasi güç için elzem hale gelmekte; bunu da iki kanal üzerinden gerçekleştirmektedir. İlki, az önce bahsedildiği üzere mekanda hegemonyanın inşa edilmesi doğrultusunda mekanın fiziksel ve biçimsel özelliklerine müdahale yöntemleri olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu çerçevede mekan dönüşüme tabi tutulmakta, kamusal politikalar üzerinden bu uygulamalara meşru bir zemin yaratılmaya ve toplumsal muhalefet belli bir ölçüde önlenmeye çalışılmaktadır.

İktidarın mekanı denetleme yöntemlerinden bir diğeri ise toplumsal hareketliliği yönetmek ve mekandan uzak tutmak olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Siyasi gücün kaynaklarından hegemonyanın mekanda inşa edilemediği durumlarda, bu gücün bir diğer bileşeni olan zor, devletin kolluk güçleri, yaptırım araçları, yasalar vb. biçiminde devreye girmektedir. Bir başka deyişle siyasi gücün ideolojisini dolaylı yollardan, mekan üzerinden topluma nüfuz ettiremediği durumlarda doğrudan uygulamalarla, yasal veya fiziksel müdahale yoluna gittiği görülmektedir. Bu noktada istenmeyen direniş, toplumsal hareketler gibi hareketlerin kent mekanında cereyan etmesini önlemek veya sonuçlandırmak adına öncül olarak yasal düzenlemeler veya reaktif olarak kolluk kuvvetlerinin desteğine başvurulması söz konusu olmaktadır.

Her iki şekilde de hayata geçirilen uygulamalar gündelik yaşama ve yaşanan mekana birer saldırı niteliği taşımakta olup, Sennett ve Arendt'in belirttiği üzere kamusal alana müdahaleyi ve kamusal/özel ayrımının ortadan kaldırılmasını içermektedir. Habermas da benzer bir noktaya temas etmekte, kamusal alanın dönüşüm süreçleri sonucu kamusal alanın rasyonel tartışma ve kamuoyu oluşturma alanından çıkarılıp, kitlesel tüketim alanlarına dönüştürülmesine vurgu yapmaktadır. Castells'in de değindiği şekilde kolektif tüketim ve hizmet sağlayıcısı olarak devlet-özel ayrımının ortadan kalkması hem devlet-toplum karşıtlığını, hem de kamusal mekanın ortadan kalkmasını beraberinde getirmekte, bu şekilde kamusal alan tartışma ve kamuoyu zemininden bireysel çıkarların alanına dönüşmektedir. Bu da kamusal ve politik kimliğin hem mekandan hem de toplumdan çekilmesiyle sonuçlanmaktadır.

Habermas yukarıda belirtilen süreçlere çözüm olarak eleştirel kamusal alanın yeniden ortaya çıkarılmasına vurgu yapmakta, Sennett kamusal alanın diriltilmesi ve politik kimliğine kavuşturulmasının gerekliliğinden bahsetmektedir. Öte yandan Lefebvre soyut mekan fetişizminden ancak mekan temelli bir eylemle çıkılabileceğinden ve gündelik yaşamın geri kazanılması gerektiğinden söz etmekte, Castells ise mekanı tamamen dışlamamakla birlikte bir sınıf hareketinin önemine vurgu yapmaktadır. Harvey de bu noktada Lefebvre'in kent hakkı kuramından yola çıkarak devrimin kent temelli gerçekleşebileceğini, kent hakkının demokratikleşmesinin geniş bir sosyal hareket için şart olduğunu ve bu tarz bir hareketin kenti egemen gücün tahakkümünden çıkarmak için azami çözüm olduğunu belirtmektedir.

Bu kavramsal çerçeve doğrultusunda çalışmanın saha araştırması kısmında Ankara ele alınmıştır. Türk politik tarihi için olduğu kadar mekan üretimi bağlamında da ilk ve öncü örnek olarak Ankara, cumhuriyet tarihinden bu yana ülkenin hem siyaset hem planlama tarihine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin politik ve mekânsal gelişimini Ankara üzerinden izlemek mümkün olmaktadır.

Tarih içinde Türk kentlerinde izlenen mekânsal değişim siyasi iklim altında ve izlenen yaklaşımlar doğrultusunda beş dönem altında incelenebilmektedir. 1923-1950 arası cumhuriyetin ilk yılları, 1950-1960 arası, 1960-1980 arası, 1980-2002 arası, 2002'den günümüze olmak üzere her dönemde dönemin iktidarları farklı ekonomik ve politik kaygılar üzerinden mekanı şekillendirme yoluna gitmişlerdir. Söz konusu dönemler içinde mekana yönelik en önemli adımların atıldığı zaman dilimi cumhuriyetin ilk kuruluş yıllarına denk gelen 1923-1950 arası dönem olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu dönemde uygulanan planlama politikaları ve mekânsal yaklaşım doğrultusunda Ankara'nın başat kamusal mekanları ortaya çıkmış, bundan sonraki dönemlerde mekan üretme pratiklerinden çok ideolojik/politik ve ekonomik kaygılarla var olanları değiştirme ve dönüştürmeye yönelik uygulamalar gündeme gelmiştir. Günümüzde bile Ankara'nın ana kamusal mekanlarından Ulus, Kızılay, Sıhhiye ve Tandoğan meydanları ilk cumhuriyet yıllarında sergilenen yaklaşımın ürünleridir. Bu mekanların üretimini onların politik mekanlara dönüşmesi ve ilerleyen yönetimlerce siyasılaştırılmaları izlemiştir. Hepsi toplumsal bellekte aynı

derecede yer etmese de maruz kaldıkları süreçler sonucu mekânsal değişimleri paralellikler göstermektedir.

Ulus gerek mekânsal üretimi, gerek politikleşme süreçleri bağlamında diğer örneklerden farklı bir konuma oturmaktadır. Ulus'un politikleşmesi, başkentin ana bürokratik merkezi olarak üretilmesinden daha önce gerçekleşmiştir. 1919 yılında Atatürk'ün Ankara'ya ziyaretinde halkın milli mücadeleye olan desteği ve Atatürk'e olan inancını toplumsal boyutta göstermesi ve daha sonraları da kurtuluş mücadelesi boyunca çeşitli mitinglere ev sahipliği yapmış olması, Taşhan Meydanı'nı milli mücadelenin karargahı haline getirmekle kalmamış, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkentinin de yönetim merkezi olmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Bu bağlamda daha cumhuriyetin mekanı olarak üretiminden önce politikleşmiş ve toplumsal bellekte sembolik ve politik anlamını kazanmıştır. 1920 yılında İttihat ve Terakki Binasının inşa edilmesiyle Taşhan Meydanının imgesi değişmeye başlamış, o tarihten itibaren çeşitli protesto, eylem, yürüyüş ve toplantılara sahne olmuş ve milli mücadelenin merkezi olarak yeni bir kamusal anlam geliştirmiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra Lörcher Planında tanımlanmasıyla Hakimiyet-i Milliye adını alarak tören ve kutlamalar için merkez haline gelmiş, genç cumhuriyetin bürokratik ve politik merkezine dönüşmüştür. İstasyon çevresini merkez yapma girişimi, Ankara Palas'ın açılması, İş Bankası binasının inşa edilmesi, Atatürk heykelinin meydana yerleştirilmesiyle Lörcher Planının öngördüğü doğrultuda gelişmiştir.

Lörcher Planında Ulus Meydanının resmi kullanımının aksine sivil kullanımlar için düzenlenmiş olan Havuzbaşı/Cumhuriyet Meydanı 1927'de Kurtuluş Meydanı adını almış, Kızılay Binasının inşasıyla Kızılay olarak anılmaya başlamıştır. Jansen Planında Yeni Şehir olarak tasarlanan Kızılay, yeni yönetim merkezi işlevlerini barındıracak şekilde planlanmış, öte yandan ticari işlevlerin Ulus'ta bırakılması Ulus'un çöküşüne engel olamamıştır. Gençlik Parkının meydanla ilişkili yeşil açıklıkların önemini azaltmasının yanı sıra, Hipodrom ve Stadyumun açılmasıyla resmi törenlerin bu alanlarda yapılmaya başlanması meydanın resmi kullanımının yanında politik işlevini de azaltmıştır. Jansen Planının uygulanması sonucu bakanlıkların Kızılay'da yer seçmesi, Kızılay'ın bürokratik ve politik merkez olarak yükselmesini sağlamıştır.

Sıhhiye'nin mekânsal üretimi de Lörcher Planının bir ürünü olmakla birlikte, sağlıklı bir milletin ve kamu sağlığının mekânsal düzlemi olarak kurgulanmıştır. Hıfzıssıhha, Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi ve Sağlık Bakanlığı alanın önemli yapılarından olmuş, meydanın hemen yanında kurgulanmış park sağlıklı bir millet için temiz bir çevre sunma işlevini yüklenmiş, Zafer Meydanı da Anıtkabir açılana kadar Atatürk'ü anma etkinliklerine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. İleriki yıllarda meydanın önemli sembollerinden biri haline gelmiş olan Hiti Güneş Kursu ise 1978 yılında Vedat Dalokay döneminde meydana dikilmiştir.

Tandoğan Meydanı ilk cumhuriyet yıllarında üretilmiş olmasa da Jansen'in 1936 Mebusevler Planının bir ürünü olarak kabul edilmektedir. Anıtkabir'in 1944'te inşa edilmesi ve 1953'te açılması, eğitim kurumlarının alanda yer seçmesi ve 1960'lı yıllarda havuzun Kızılay'dan Tandoğan'a taşınması meydanın kamusal alan olarak ortaya çıkışını tetikleyen faktörler olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Bu meydanların politikleşmesi ise farklı dönemlere rastlamakta, milli mücadelenin merkezi olarak Ulus, Ankara'nın ilk politik mekanı olmuştur. Kızılay'ın politikleşmesi mekânsal olarak üretilmesinden 20 yıl sonraya denk gelmiş, Kızılay'ı Ankara'nın politik merkezi haline getirecek tarihi sosyal hareketler burada gerçekleşmiştir. 1950'lerden itibaren Ulus-Lozan Meydanı güzergahında mitinglere sahne olduysa da Kızılay'ın politikleşmesi, dönemin iktidarının baskıcı uygulamalarına tepki olarak İnönü'nün Kızılay'da yürümesi ve bunu takiben öğrencilerin etrafında toplanmasıyla oluşan hareketin sosyal bir harekete dönüşmesi ile gerçekleşmiştir. Bundan sonra 1,5 ay boyunca öğrenciler tarafından alanda gerçekleştirilen sosyal hareketler meydanın politik anlamını yeniden üretmiş, toplumsal bellekte Kızılay'ın önemli bir politik, sembolik yer haline gelmesini sağlamıştır. 555K kodu altında meydana cumhuriyet tarihinin ilk büyük mitingi gerçekleşmiştir.

Sıhhiye'nin politik amaçlarla kullanımı Zafer Anıtı ve Lozan Meydanı'nın ilk cumhuriyet yıllarından itibaren Ulus'la beraber anma etkinliklerine ve törenlere ev sahipliği yapmasıyla başlamış olup, kendi başına bir politik mekan olarak toplumsal bellekte yer etmesi 1970'li yıllara tekabül etmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, yine bu

yıllarda Hitit Güneş Kursunun meydana dikilmesi de meydanın sembolik anlamını yeniden üretmesi bakımından önemli bir karar olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Anıtkabir'in 1953 yılında hizmete açılmasından itibaren tören, anma ve kutlama güzergahlarına dahil olan Tandoğan'ın politikleşmesi ise 1968 öğrenci hareketlerinden sonra olmuştur. Bu dönemde NATO ve ABD karşıtı hareketler daha çok Kızılay ve Tandoğan'da gerçekleşmiş, eğitim kurumlarının meydana yakınlığı ve Havuzbaşının mekanda yarattığı toplumsallık ve kamusal meydanın politik bir anlam kazanmasına yardımcı olmuştur.

Söz konusu meydanların politik bağlamlarından çıkarılması (siyasızlaştırılması) ise benzer kaygılar ve ekonomi-politik eğilimler doğrultusunda tezahür etmiştir. Ulus örneği bir kez daha diğer örneklerden ayrılmakta, Ulus'un politik çöküşünün Jansen Planı sonrasında Kızılay'ın yeni yönetim merkezi olarak ortaya çıkışı ile başladığı dikkat çekmektedir. Meydanın mekânsal dönüşümü ise 1954 yılında Ulus İşhanı'nın inşasıyla mekandaki sembolik elemanların vurgusunun azaltılması ile yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemde kültürel yaşamın da Kızılay'a kaymasıyla mekanda sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm başlamış, alanın finansal merkez olarak çöküşü de 1980 sonrasında bankaların özelleştirilmesi ve farklı yerlerde yer seçmesi ile gerçekleşmiştir. 1950'den itibaren başlayan liberal yaklaşımlı politikalar özelleşmeye, büyük ölçekli inşaatlara ve ulaşım politikalarına yansımış, kamusal alanlarda küçülme, alanın sembolik elemanlarına müdahale şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra son dönemde resmi bayramları kutlama etkinliklerine kısıtlama getirilmesi, meydanın sembolik anlamının yeniden üretilmesine bir engel olarak değerlendirilebilmektedir.

Kızılay'ın dönüşümü 1960'lara yaklaşırken yaşanmaya başlamış, Kocatepe Cami ve Emek İşhanı'nın inşası meydanın sembolik anlamına karşıt yaklaşımların bölgeye egemen olma çabası olarak öne çıkmıştır. Ancak meydanın asıl dönüşümü 1980 sonrası Kızılay AVM binası ve metro istasyonu projesi ve Güvenpark'ın küçültülerek durak haline getirilmesiyle meydana gelmiştir. Meydan ve parkın cumhuriyetin bürokratik merkezi olmak ve kamusal yaşama hizmet etmek üzerinden kurgulanan sosyal işlevi, mekânsal uygulamalar sonucu trafik kargaşasının imgesini sürekli olarak yeniden üretme işleviyle yer değiştirmiştir.

Sıhhiye'nin dönüşümü biraz daha geç başlamış, Hitit Güneş Kursu'nun bulvar üzerinde yarattığı imge, trafiğin hızlandırılması ve yol genişletme çabaları ile heykelin oturduğu alanın daraltılması, bunu yanı sıra 2000'de yapılan köprülü kavşak alanın sürekliliğine darbe vuran uygulamalar ile Kızılay'daki gibi kavşağı ve trafiği tanımlayan bir öge haline gelmiştir.

Tandoğan da benzer bir süreçten geçmiş, 1990'larda ortaya çıkan ulaşım çalışmaları gerekçe gösterilerek Havuzbaşı metro istasyonlarıyla yer değiştirmiş, yerine reklam amaçlı dikilen sürehi-fincan figürüyle meydana kamusal yaşam yerine tüketim vurgulanan ve yeniden üretilen bir olgu haline gelmiştir.

Tarih boyunca en çok kullanılan ve toplumsal muhalefet tarafından en çok tercih edilen politik güzergahlara bakıldığında 1923-1950 arası çok fazla sosyal harekete rastlanmamakla birlikte toplumsal aktivitelerin daha çok törenler ve ulusal anma etkinlikleri etrafında yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Bu dönemde Ulus Meydanı ve Hipodrom törenler için tercih edilmekle birlikte, 1953'te hizmete açılmasıyla Anıtkabir de bu alanlara katılmıştır.

1950-1960 arası Lozan-Ulus-Samanpazarı güzergahının kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Yine bu dönemde 1950'lerin sonuna kadar çok yoğun bir sosyal hareketle karşılaşılmamıştır. Ancak 1958'den itibaren yeni bir politik yer sahneye çıkmıştır: Kızılay.

1960-1980 arası bir önceki dönemin sonlarını takiben yoğun sosyal hareketlere sahne olmuştur. Özellikle öğrenci hareketleri etrafında yoğunlaşan sosyal hareketler Kızılay başta olmak üzere daha az sıklıkta Sıhhiye'de gerçekleşmiştir. Ancak 1970'lere yaklaşırken Tandoğan'ın son derece yoğun bir şekilde Kızılay'la birlikte kullanılmaya başladığı gözlemlenmektedir.

1980-2002 arası askeri darbe sonrası toplumun uzun bir sessizliğe büründüğü bir dönem olarak öne çıkmaktadır. 1983'te Etlik-Kasalar yönetim tarafından toplanma alanı olarak gösterilmesine rağmen dönemin ilk mitingi 1985 yılına rastlamaktadır, ki bu da politik benliğin toplumdaki çekilmiş olmasına bir kanıt olarak gösterilebilir. Buna paralel olarak hem toplumsal bunalımın getirdiği, hem de Etlik-Kasaların

etkisizliğinden kaynaklı 1994-1995 yıllarındaki yoğun işçi hareketine kadar yılda bir veya iki defa sosyal hareketlere başvurulduğu görülmektedir. Bundan sonra Abdi İpekçi Parkı'nın miting alanı olarak düzenlenmesiyle toplumun bu miting alanını Etlik-Kasalar örneğine nazaran daha çok benimsediği görülmektedir.

2002 sonrası yine politik anlamda sessiz bir toplumsal yapının varlığı dikkat çekmektedir. Dönemin önemli hareketleri arasında düzenli yapılan işçi hareketleri ve Cumhuriyet Mitingleri gösterilebilir. Bu hareketler belli bir sosyal kesime hitap etse de geniş kitlelere yayılma açısından önemli toplumsal aktiviteler olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Dönemin en çok kullanılan politik yerleri Sıhhiye, Abdi İpekçi Parkı ve Tandoğan olmuştur. Ancak dönemin en önemli toplumsal hareketi Gezi Diernişi olarak öne çıkmakta, kent temelli ortaya çıkan bir hareket olması açısından önem arz etmektedir. Geniş kitlelerce sürdürülen ve mahalle ölçeğine yayılan direniş yeni politik güzergahların çıkışına imkan vermiştir. Kızılay-Güvenpark ana direniş mekanı olarak öne çıkmış, Sıhhiye ve Kolej de Kızılay'a açılan kapılar olarak yine çokça tercih edilmiştir. Kuğulu Park da Gezi Parkının Ankara'daki ikinci şubesi olarak benimsenmiş, Esat ve Kennedy Caddeleri de yerel ölçekte öne çıkan yerler olmuştur.

İncelenen süreçler dahilinde mekanda süregelen bir güç mücadelesi karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bir yanda siyasi iktidar kendi gücünü göstermek isterken, diğer yanda toplum kendi gündelik yaşamını mekansal düzlemde devam ettirmek ve kent üzerinde hak sahibi olma talebiyle öne çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda siyasi iktidar ve toplumsal muhalefetin mekan tahayyülleri de ayrışmaktadır. Ankara özelinde bu durum ele alındığında, mekan üretimine dair bir kaygının olduğu tek dönem cumhuriyetin ilk yılları olarak öne çıkmaktadır. İzleyen dönemlerde bulunan yönetimlerin ise kent mekanının sosyal ve politik nosyonunun farkınıda olduğu görülmekte, ancak bunların çoğunlukla üretilen kamusallıkla ve mekan üzerinden yansıtılan yaklaşımla hesaplaşma halinde olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal bellek, toplumun kamusal ve politik benliği de mekan üzerinden dönüşüme uğratılma çabalarıyla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Ancak belli noktalarda kitlesel hareketler kentin dönüşümünü bazı boyutlarda önleyebilmiş, gündelik yaşama dair karşı karşıya kalınan saldırılarda her zaman ortaya çıkamayan toplumsal

tepki de yönetimlerin ısrarcı tutumları karşısında dönüşümü engellemekte yetersiz kalmışlardır.

Bu bağlamda tarihsel incelemenin sonuçları iki kademedede özetlenebilir. İlk olarak, Ankara'nın kamusal mekanları arasından Kızılay'ın, daha sıklıkla belli toplumsal, tarihsel kesimlerce kullanılma talebine ek olarak, toplumun hemen hemen tüm kesimleri tarafından benimsendiği sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır. Toplumsal muhalefetin her tür zor aygıtına rağmen mücadele zemini olarak Kızılay'da ısrarcı olması, siyasi iktidarların ise sosyal hareketleri buradan her anlamda uzak tutmak istemeleri, Kızılay'ın ne kadar güçlü ve (egemen güç için) tehlikeli bir kamusalılığı olduğu kanıtlanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede Kızılay Ankara'nın en güçlü politik ve kamusal yeri olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

İkinci aşamada ise tarih boyunca toplumsal muhalefetin hareketlerinden belli güzergahların önem kazandığı görülmüştür. Bu çerçevede benzer süreçlere maruz kalan, ancak toplumsal bellekte farklı derecede önem ve değere sahip dört ana kamusal mekan olan Kızılay, Sıhhiye, Ulus ve Tandoğan meydanları üzerinden Ankara'nın toplumsal muhalefet haritası şekillenmiştir. Toplumsal muhalefet tarafından da bu meydanlarda gerçekleşecek sosyal hareketler politik ve mekansal deneyimi artıracak şekilde kent ölçeğinde çeşitli güzergahlarla desteklenmiştir. Son düzenlemelerle de bu politik güzergahların parçacı yaklaşımlarla değiştirilmeye, bu alanlarda gerçekleşecek toplumsal hareketlerin etki alanlarının daraltılmaya ve kısıtlanmaya çalışıldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu şekilde politik ve kamusal etkinliğin azaltılması, fiziksel müdahalelerle dönüştürülen ve kamusal ve politik bağlamından çıkarılan mekanın yanı sıra, toplumsal ölçekte de politik çöküşün hedeflendiği sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın fiziksel boyutunun sonuçları ise Ankara'nın dört ana kamusal mekanının politik ve stratejik önemlerinin karşılaştırması üzerinden ele alınabilmektedir. Bu karşılaştırma ve stratejik önem hiyerarşisi, konum/merkezilik, erişilebilirlik, toplumsal görünürlük, sembolik değer ve fiziksel kurgu ölçütlerinin derecelendirmesi doğrultusunda şekillenmiş ve bu karşılaştırma üzerinden çalışmada söz konusu mekanlar için yeni bir terminoloji geliştirilmiştir.

Bu bağlamda Kızılay iki aşamada ele alınabilmekte, siyasi otorite tarafından alınan güvenlik önlemleri boyutunda değerlendirildiğinde Başbakanlık yapısının ötesinde kalan alan “geçilmez bölge” olarak tanımlanmıştır. Güvenpark ve Kızılay Meydanı’nın etki alanı içinde kalan alan ise “tehlikeli müzakere bölgesi” olarak tarif edilmiş, siyasi otoritenin sürekli kontrol altında tutmak istediği ve toplumsal hareketliliğe tahammülün çok sınırlı olduğu bir bölge olarak öne çıkmıştır. Sıhhiye ve Tandoğan ise nisbeten otoritenin kontrolü altında olan alanlar olarak değerlendirilmiş, Sıhhiye “kontrollü, ama potansiyel tehlike” teşkil eden bölge, Tandoğan “kontrollü, siyasi partilerin bölgesi” şeklinde kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Ulus’un bu hiyerarşide son kademe yer aldığı ve politik işlevinin neredeyse hiç kalmadığı gözlemlenmiştir.

Çalışmada yürütülen tarihsel saha araştırması sonucu mekan ve politik kimliğin ilişkisinin ne derece olduğu ölçülebilmekte ve hem siyasi iktidar, hem de toplumsal muhalefetin kent mekanındaki pratiklerince kanıtlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda devrim niteliği taşıyacak bir toplumsal hareket Lefebvre ve Harvey tarafından da belirtildiği üzere mekansal boyuta sahip olmalı, bir başka deyişle kent temelli olmalıdır. Ankara ölçeğinde de bahsi geçen kentsel devrimi gerçekleştirebilecek boyutta bir toplumsal hareketin, hem toplumsal muhalefet hem de siyasi iktidar nezdinde sahip olduğu politik ve stratejik önem göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Kızılay üzerinden temellenerek hayata geçirilebileceği sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır.

## APPENDIX E

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

|                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Enformatik Enstitüsü           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü      | <input type="checkbox"/> |

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : SUHER  
Adı : Banu Melis  
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF STATE INTERVENTION INTO SPACES OF OPPOSITION: THE CASE OF ANKARA

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**