

THE ROLE OF *MİMARLAR ODASI* AND *MÜLKİYELİLER BİRLİĞİ*
IN THE FORMATION OF A PUBLIC PLACE:
YÜKSEL-KONUR INTERSECTION, 1960S-1980S

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF *MİMARLAR ODASI* AND *MÜLKİYELİLER BİRLİĞİ*
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This thesis aims to examine the transformation of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection from a residential area into a public place by the effects of *Mimarlar Odası* (Chamber of Architects of Turkey) and *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* (Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Alumni Association) as two important civil society institutions located there.

In the second half of the twentieth century, Ankara witnessed the unplanned development and deterioration of urban environment as a result of dramatic economic, social and political transformations and rapid urbanization. On the other hand, this situation, together with the democratic and liberal environment of the 1960s, also paved the way for the diversification of public sphere and publicness of new actors as societal opposition. The identities of *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* that moved to the study area of the thesis in the 1960s also transformed within the social, political and economic context of the country from the 1960s to the 1980s, and they became important institutions organizing the civil

society. These institutions also changed the identity of the area by organizing new social relations and daily life practices. Therefore, this thesis investigates how Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection transformed spatially and functionally, and was consequently reproduced socially in the period between the 1960s and the 1980s in relation to the contemporary public sphere created by the civil society.

Key Words: Yüksel-Konur intersection, public place, civil society institutions, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Alumni Association.

ÖZ

MİMARLAR ODASI VE MÜLKİYELİLER BİRLİĞİ'NİN KAMUSAL MEKANIN OLUŞUMUNDAKİ ROLÜ: YÜKSEL-KONUR KESİŞİMİ, 1960'LAR-1980'LER

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Bu tez, Yüksel ve Konur Sokak kesişiminin, burada yer alan iki önemli sivil toplum kurumu olarak Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nin etkisiyle, konut alanından kamusal mekana dönüşmesini incelemeyi amaçlar.

Yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, ekonomik, toplumsal ve politik değişimlerle hızlı kentleşmenin sonucu olarak, Ankara kentsel çevresinin plansız gelişmesi ve bozulmasına tanıklık eder. Diğer taraftan, bu durum, 1960'ların demokratik ve özgürlükçü ortamıyla birlikte kamusal alanın çeşitlenmesinin ve toplumsal muhalefet olarak yeni aktörlerin kamusal alanın da önünü açar. 1960'larda tezin çalışma alanına taşınan Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nin kimliği de, 1960'lardan 1980'lere ülkenin toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik bağlamı doğrultusunda değişir ve sivil toplumu örgütleyen önemli kurumlar haline gelirler. Bu kurumlar, yeni toplumsal ilişkiler ve günlük hayat pratikleri oluşturarak, alanın kimliğini de değiştirirler. Bu nedenle, bu tez, Yüksel ve Konur Sokak kesişiminin, 1960'lar ve 1980'ler arasındaki dönemde sivil toplum tarafından yaratılan çağdaş

kamusal alanla iliřki iinde nasıl mekansal ve işlevsel olarak dönüřtüğünü ve dolayısıyla toplumsal olarak nasıl yeniden üretildiğini arařtırmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yüksel-Konur kesiřimi, kamusal mekan, sivil toplum kurumları, Türkiye Mimarlar Odası, Mülkiyeliler Birlięi.

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Public spaces have vital roles in cities' daily lives since they enable various functions and permit different agents and actors to take place in them, providing spatial settings for multiple publics to come together, encounter, communicate, etc. As shared spaces, they feed daily life by empowering the public sphere throughout its social and spatial features. Streets, as the main components of cities, facilitate the constant flow of people and goods as well as thoughts, knowledge, and experiences. On the contrary to the assumption that public spaces are the neutral channels of such flows, they are subject to social, cultural, economic and political transformations. Hence, they transform not only spatially but also socially and gain different meanings, and identities attributed by the society over time.

This study, in that respect, focuses on Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection, which form a socially and politically loaded public place and the part of a symbolic area for the democratic opposition groups in Ankara. Yüksel Street and Konur Street are located very close to Kızılay Square, and the administrative center of the country. While Yüksel Street starts from Atatürk Boulevard, and enables the east-west movement between the boulevard and Seyranbağları, and İncesu, Konur Street intersects with Yüksel Street and ends at the Esat Street intersection. However, due to their proximity to the city center and being part of the pedestrianized area, the character of the sections inside the pedestrianized area - for Yüksel Street, the section between Karanfil Street and Selanik Street, and for Konur Street, the section between Yüksel Street and Meşrutiyet Avenue - and more explicitly the intersection area of those two streets differ from their remaining parts. They were highly preferred by different functions and used by different social actors over time, which

led the urban node of Yüksel-Konur intersection to be a public place. With the functions located here over time, such as; associations, chambers, unions, bookstores in addition to places of the commercial functions, these streets have contributed to the social, cultural, and political life of Ankara and enriched the public sphere and daily life of the citizens. Considering the early formation of the area as a residential district and its current situation as both a part of the commercial sub-center and a public place with highly politicized identity, the study will focus on the transformation of the intersection area of those streets and its identity construction during the second half of the twentieth century. This urban node provides to observe the transformation from a residential area into a highly used public place, witnessing the spatialization of public sphere as the outcome of the country's socio-political atmosphere. It will analyze how this place changed over time through the changed functions, especially by focusing on two important institutions located here from the 1960s onwards, namely *Mimarlar Odası* (Chamber of Architects) and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* (Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Alumni Association), and how the identity of this place acquired a symbolic meaning in social life of the city in parallel with the shifts in the identities of these two institutions.

1.1 Aim and Scope of the Study

Public spaces take attention of many professionals from various disciplines such as, urban geographers, sociologists, cultural theorists, environmental psychologists,

anthropologists, etc. because they are the places of daily lives of cities, and as “the primary site of public culture; they are a window into the city's soul.”¹

Although some argue for the collapse of the public and society, and public spaces as a result of security concerns and privatization,² public spaces still have important roles as gathering areas providing public communication, interaction, and discussion. There are also various studies focusing on human behaviors and built environment relationships and precisely how the built environment affects human beings and shapes their identities.³ How individuals and/or social groups affect the built environment is an equally important issue since people use, internalize and appropriate urban spaces by their actions even if these spaces are not planned for public purposes. In other words, whether a space is public or not is determined with its uses and given meanings, resulting in the (trans)formation of its identity. Moreover, unlike the decisively arranged and regulated public spaces, the ones which are defined by the diversity of users and their preferences make people active participants in the construction of space along with ensuring their freedom of choice.⁴ Rapoport uses the term “open-endedness” to define such public spaces where personalization is achieved by the meanings attributed by individuals and

¹ Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995), 259.

² Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, London: W. W. Norton, 2017); Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992); Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities*.

³ Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1977); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

⁴ Leanne G. Rivlin, “Found Spaces Freedom of Choice in Public Life,” in *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 40.

groups, and where their values, lifestyles and needs are expressed.⁵ Open-ended environments answer the needs of changed social compositions and allow the involvement of diverse individuals and groups, expressions and complex meanings.

In that regard, such spaces are subject to the changes of social relations resulted from the social, cultural, economic and political transformations. Massey describes space as “the articulation of social relations.”⁶ Besides the physical transformations, its sociocultural identity also transforms, and it represents diverse meaning over time since it is constructed and reconstructed socially⁷ and it enables the social relations and practices represent them. Hence, the processes resulted in spatial transformation give information about the history and culture of the society.

Massey, indeed, states that since space depends on the interrelations through material practices, it is not a fixed imagination frozen in a particular time, but is always in progress, presenting “a simultaneity of stories-so-far,”⁸ and the identity of a space in which diverse social functions take place and consequently groups engage and generate the complexity of social relations is “unfixed, contested and multiple.”⁹ Therefore, spaces may change in terms of their characteristics at different times as they serve different social groups and are defined by different publics constituting the complexity of public spaces. Even during the same day, a

⁵ Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, 356.

⁶ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 120.

⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991).

⁸ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 9.

⁹ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 121.

public space may accommodate different activities attracting different social groups. They become the stage of appearance and common world, which denotes the relation of the public sphere and public spaces. Gurallar points out the relation of the public sphere with urban daily life along with its relations to democracy and political activities. She puts that the relation of the public sphere and space that is the subject of architectural history and theory does not only include political dimension and activities but also daily life practices.¹⁰ Public sphere should be approached as a medium including daily life routines. That is why this study uses the literature on the public sphere, public space, and public place.¹¹

The identity of a space, in turn, changes through the changed actors, social functions, and daily practices, which generate the meaning of it, and as a result, it becomes symbolic for those groups by being a representation area for them. That is why the transformation of a space should be analyzed through not only its spatial

¹⁰ Neşe Gurallar, "Kamu-Kamusal Alan-Kamu Yapıları-Kamusal Mekân-Modernite Öncesi ve Sonrası İçin Bir Terminoloji Tartışması," *Mimarlık*, no. 350 (2009): 52-55.

¹¹ Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (1995): 108–133; Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York, London: Guilford Press, 2003); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT press, 1991); Craig J. Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT press, 1992), 1–48; Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990): 56–80; Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003); Kurt Iveson, *Publics and the City* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2007); Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Andrew Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1993, 516–531.

characteristics but also “the formation of the identity of a place- its social structure, its political character, its local culture.”¹²

The objective of this thesis is, therefore, to illuminate the transformation of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection by treating it as a constantly changed public place with the social, political and economic processes regarding the civil society and its organizations located there between the 1960s and the 1980s. The intersection represented different actors in time, and during these decades, it began to be appropriated by opposition groups including various civil society organizations, especially *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* that from the focus of analysis in the study.

The periodical frame of the study begins in the 1960s when *Mimarlar Odası* and later *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* moved there, and ends at the end of the 1980s when the area was pedestrianized, and started to be used actively by opposition groups. This time period also denotes the changed social composition, and thus spatial organization of Ankara as a result of rapid urbanization. It includes three military interventions and radical transformations of the social structure. The military coup of 1960 and the new constitution of 1961 resulted in the expansion of political tendencies, the organization of civil society and the transformation of public sphere, which had significant consequences on urban environment and the identities of public places, because new tendencies in the society led public places to be used in different ways. Therefore, analyzing the area from this period onwards will give the information about the processes through which the area would finally gain socially and politically loaded meaning while being transformed into a public place with

¹² Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 120.

spatial and functional changes. The transformations that occurred in both spatial organization, and its social context with the social actors including the civil society institutions will also give information about those institutions and their impacts on the formation of a unique public identity that the study area gained in the course of time.

The study focuses on Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection as a public place, because it has hosted two important institutions since the 1960s and the area, in addition to the spatial transformations resulted from urbanization, also changed in accordance with those institutions' transformations and the new social relations organized around them. In order to understand the formation the study area as a residential district in the first decades of the Republic and its functional transformations along with the spatial transformation in later decades, the studies focusing on the planning and development of Ankara are quite important for this study.¹³ The studies on the new public life shaped by the new regime and the state-oriented publicness created by the planning of Ankara and its architecture also provide information about the social structure and the processes resulted in later transformations.¹⁴ Besides, Evyapan's study that analyses the spatial transformation

¹³ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: Ankara, 1929-1939* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993); Ali Cengizkan, "1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi," in *Cumhuriyet'in 'Ankara'sı*, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı, 2nd ed. (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006), 24–59; Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı ve Arkadaş Yay., 2004); Özcan Altaban, "Cumhuriyet'in Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 41–74; Bülent Batuman, "City Profile: Ankara," *Cities* 31 (2013): 578–590; Baykan Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme," in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı, 2nd ed. (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006), 60–118; Ali Vardar, "Başkent'in İlk Planları," *Planlama Dergisi* (1989/2-3-4), 1989, 38–50.

¹⁴ Neşe Gurallar, "Başkentin Kalbini Tasarlamak, Ankara Bakanlıklar Üçgeninin Şekillenışı," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 187 (2009): 66–72; Ali Cengizkan, "The Production of a Mise en Scène for a Nation and Its Subjects: Clemens Holzmeister et al. in the Ministries Quarter for Ankara, Turkey," *The Journal of Architecture* 15, no. 6 (2010): 731–770; Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey:*

of the area and studies focusing on the housing production during the early years of the Republic give information about the formation of the study area.¹⁵

In addition to the literature analyzing the transformation of the public places of Ankara, this study focuses on the two civil society organizations regarding them as the important contributors to the identity of the study area. In order to understand their contributions, the sources examining their history that indicate their parallelism with the social and political transformations are very helpful.¹⁶ Finally, the journals of these institutions, *Mimarlık* and *Mülkiye Dergisi*, provide detailed information about not only their activities but also the dominant tendencies among

State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015); Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (University of Washington Press, 2001); Adile Nuray Bayraktar, “Başkent Ankara’da Cumhuriyet Sonrası Yaşanan Büyük Değişim: Modern Yaşam Kurgusu ve Modern Mekânlar,” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (2016): 67–80.

¹⁵ Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1981); Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, “1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara’da Yapılan Konutların Mimari Değerlendirilmesi,” in *Tarih İçinde Ankara : Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, ed. Erdal Yavuz and Ümit Nevzat Uğurel (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1984), 253–269; Üstün Alsaç, *Türk Kent Düzenlemesi ve Konut Mimarlığı*, vol. 126 (İletişim Yayınları, 1993); İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi 2 (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996); İlhan Tekeli, “Türkiye’nin Konut Tarihine Konut Sunum Biçimleri Kavramını Kullanarak Yaklaşmak,” *Konut Araştırmaları Sempozyumu İçinde*, 2011, 283–297.

¹⁶ Çetin Ünalın, ed., *Tanıklarından Mimarlar Odası: 1954-1990* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2013); Çetin Ünalın, *Cumhuriyet Mimarlığının Kuruluşu ve Kurumlaşması Sürecinde Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti’nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927’ye* (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002); Hasan Tahsin Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996* (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1996); İlhan Tekeli, “The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey,” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 9–33; Bülent Batuman, ed., *Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi 50.Yıl Paneli* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2006); Bülent Batuman, “Mimarlar, Plancılar ve Ankara: 1960’ların İkinci Yarısını Kentsel Politika Aktörleri Açısından Düşünmek,” *Planlama*, no. 1 (2006): 25–32.

their members, their discourses, and struggles when searching the context of the articles.¹⁷

1.2 Structure of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters including introductory and concluding chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter examines the theoretical background and frames the basic approaches to public space. The third chapter focuses on the historical formation and transformation of the study area with reference to the socio-political, cultural, and economic contexts of the country. In the fourth chapter, the identities of two civil society organizations and their contributions to the study area are discussed, and the fifth chapter is the conclusion with the evaluation of the historical processes that transformed the study area into a public place.

Considering the importance of public spaces, Chapter Two establishes the background of the study. The first part of this chapter discusses the concepts of public, public sphere, civil society and their interrelations with public space. Given that public space is an arena where public sphere operates in democratic societies, in what circumstances a place becomes public, and how a public place is constructed are examined. In the second part of the chapter, the importance of street as a public place is identified by introducing the functions making a street more public.

¹⁷ *Mimarlık* started to be published in 1963, and *Mülkiye Dergisi* in 1965.

In Chapter Three, firstly, the early decades of the Republican Ankara are investigated in order to make a comparison and an understanding of the following transformations of the city and the study area into a public place. Secondly, the alteration of the driving forces behind the formation of Yenişehir-Kızılay district, where the study area is located, is indicated in relation with the changes occurred in social, economic and political spheres. After illustrating the transformations in the spatial form and the social meaning of the city, for the study area, the main changes including new functions, actors, and users in relation to its transformation into a public place are examined. Besides the spatial transformation, the chapter highlights the processes and new social relations among the new actors, groups, organizations, etc. that were responsible for the social construction of the area as a socially-loaded public place.

Chapter Four, within the interrelations of civil society and public space, focuses the two institutions, *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*, that moved to buildings located in the study area during the 1960s. As a result of the country's economic, social, and political transformations, the identities of those two institutions also changed in the following decades. Since they became the advocacies of civil rights, freedom and social justice, by organizing civil society, they both gained trustworthiness and publicness in the eyes of the society. They organized various sector of the society and enriched the public life in the study area. After analyzing their identity transformations and activities, the chapter ends by emphasizing the social characteristic of the study area in relation to the civil society organizations and their physical existence in the area, and evaluating how their buildings became the memory places contributing to the identity of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, in the light of the findings and considering the current situation of the area, it is argued that, although it was not planned as such, the intersection area of Yüksel Street and Konur Street transformed into a public place after the 1960s. Besides the spatial and functional transformations, it was also socially reconstructed along with the activities of civil society during the study period, which made the area have a socially and politically loaded public identity.

CHAPTER 2

THE PUBLICNESS OF STREETS

The aim of this chapter is to understand how a public place emerges, what produces its meaning and identity, and in what ways it contributes to public life. In order to clarify a public place in relation with urban life, the chapter is divided into two parts in order to elucidate the street as a socially constructed place.

The first part of the chapter discusses the public, public sphere, and public sphere-public space relations. By doing so, it is discussed to what extent the public sphere affects space and vice versa. In that, public space is explained as a socially constructed product as it is related with social, political and economic processes and the public sphere. Moreover, contributions of public spaces to the urban life are illustrated as they become spaces for representation given that they operate on the construction of social identity and memory. In this direction, the second part of the chapter focuses on street as a public place, i.e. the physical site of public sphere-public space relations, which is more open to transformative forces of social processes, and similarly more influential in the transformation of the society insofar as it enables social encounter, interaction and relations.

Therefore, this chapter constitutes the basic discussions for the transformation of the area of Yüksel-Konur Street Intersection that this study focuses on. It aims to illustrate the social mechanisms behind the formation and transformation of the area as a public place.

2.1 Public Space and Society

The word “public” signifies the visibility and interaction. The existence of plural groups, social communities, and representation of them in public are vital for lively publicness. In that way, public and public sphere create the circumstances in which appropriation and re-appropriation by different publics involve, and spontaneously transform space as well.

Hannah Arendt, while defining the public, suggests two concepts to clarify its meaning. Firstly, if something is performed in public, it may “seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity.” Moreover, this situation, which Arendt puts as ‘appearance’, the state of being visible and audible, ‘constitutes reality.’ In other words, we perceive reality only if we form an embodiment in which there exists either imaginary or physical appearance to evoke it. Hence everything that is perceived as reality has to have an appearance or representation in public space. Otherwise, they are condemned to be far from the reality.¹⁸ Secondly, she associates public with ‘the common world’. However, this world does not refer to the natural world or where we live. Rather, she uses the world to connote all material and nonmaterial things that humans have constituted, affairs among people and relational patterns which are common to all. Hence the public realm is what provides people to come together and what relates people to each other for political action and democratic citizenship.¹⁹

¹⁸ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 50.

¹⁹ Arendt, 52.

The public realm obviously does not exactly correspond to the public space, due to the non-physical associations, non-physical spatiality, constituting its other dimensions. Public spaces may be treated as physical spatiality, settings of the public realm. According to Madanipour, two phenomena, 'space of appearance and the in-between space,' signified by Arendt to define public, serve a foundation to understand public realm and public spaces of cities. He writes "in a sense, the two meanings can be integrated by seeing the public space as the in-between space which facilitates co-presence and regulates interpersonal relations."²⁰

Habermas, in "*The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere*," while analyzing the emergence and the transformation of 'bourgeois public sphere' that was formed by new social and economic relations and was used for political change and liberalization, explains public sphere as a common area or assemblage which unites people for deliberation and emancipation.²¹ Habermas's public sphere was "the sphere of private people who come together as a public"²² and the transformation of public sphere shaped the transformation of state and economy.²³ It provides an area for civil society emancipated from the ruler or the state, which enriches the public opinion through public participation and debate. The public sphere is, therefore, a mediatory realm between the civil society and the state.²⁴ The civil society, free from the state, was organized around the public and semi-public

²⁰ Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, 148.

²¹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

²² Habermas, 27.

²³ Jürgen Habermas, "Further Reflections on the Public Sphere," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 430.

²⁴ Charles T. Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," *The American Review of Public Administration* 33, no. 4 (2003): 362.

spaces such as coffee houses, salons, and the table societies as the first public institutions of bourgeois society in Europe.

The predominance of the “town” was strengthened by new institutions that, for all their variety, in Great Britain and France took over the same social functions: the coffee houses in their golden age between 1680 and 1730 and the salons in the period between regency and revolution. In both countries they were centers of criticism –literary at first, then also political- in which began to emerge, between aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals, a certain parity of the educated.²⁵

However, like Arendt, Habermas complains about the modern mass society because the conditions of mass society blurred the distinction between the public and private spheres. Habermas points out that the structural transformation of the public sphere in the 20th century resulted in the collapse and decomposition of the public sphere and writes that, “while its scope is expanding impressively, its function has become progressively insignificant.”²⁶

Habermas’s theory is highly criticized regarding its deficiencies. It focuses on the hegemonic public sphere, which is a bourgeois public sphere. That is, he is criticized to have failed to consider the fact that there were other publics and public spheres –i.e., non-bourgeois, plebian class, women- and does not take into account their social and political impacts on social arena. Another deficiency emphasized is ‘the assumption that the bourgeois public sphere represents the public sphere of the

²⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 32.

²⁶ Habermas, 4.

contemporary world.²⁷ This view neglects the multilayered and fragmented structure of the modern society. That is to say, the coexistence of multiple public spheres is reduced to one particular sphere. However, in modern societies there are different publics and counter-publics, opposing each other, which leads to a more emancipatory and communicative realm for the people and the civil society. Those publics constitute their own institutions concerning their common interests, which lead to more participative and sociable public spheres, and an actively working, self-organized civil society.

Nevertheless, the importance of this public sphere is, as Calhoun says, its capacity for social integration in which communicative action plays a significant role.²⁸ It is the public sphere where all social and political interactions among the members of public occur. The transformation of public sphere, thus, leads to more participants with the broad organizations increasing the individual public participation via the civil society. Similarly, Fraser describes Habermas' idea of the public sphere as 'a conceptual resource' and continues,

It designates a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, hence, an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction. This arena is conceptually distinct from the state; it is a site for the production and circulation discourses that can in principle be critical of the state.²⁹

²⁷ Simon Susen, "Critical Notes on Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere," *Sociological Analysis*, no. 5(1) (2011): 52–55.

²⁸ Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere," 6–7.

²⁹ Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 57.

Both Arendt and Habermas' analyses are historically specific and do not specifically value the post-bourgeois society. Nevertheless, public sphere conception as an 'arena of discursive interaction and political participation' is promising. Because the relations of multi-publics and public spheres create potentials for an environment where different parts of the society participate, discuss, and see the positions of others. That is to say that they contribute to developing multiple public opinions and their deliberation.

Public space is discussed by various theorists emphasizing its restorative relation with public culture as well as civil society. Carr et al. state that public spaces are open to all citizens and "channels for communication among members of a society."³⁰ They are publicly accessible and improve social exchange between all members through providing the potential for communication, exchange, and encounter.

Similarly, Madanipour emphasizes that public spaces are multi-purpose accessible spaces that are defined by public and reified outside the private boundaries.³¹ They are used for the relaxation, recreation, public communication, participation and interaction, by creating cultural and social ties among people, and community identity.³² Therefore, successful public spaces, as Carr et al. put, supporting

³⁰ Stephen Carr et al., *Public Space* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 34.

³¹ Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, 204.

³² Goodsell, "The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations," 367; Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT press, 1997).

communal activity, promote public life by removing the borders between individuals having different cultural backgrounds and add;

In a well-designed and well-managed public space, the armor of daily life can be partially removed, allowing us to see others as whole people. Seeing people different from oneself responding to the same setting in similar ways creates a temporary bond.³³

In modern cities, a public that defines public space, rather than being a compact, singular entity, is made up of multiple social groups with variable interests, (inter)relations, and belongings, and this is represented in public spaces.³⁴ Hence, public space includes the participation of all diverse elements. It encounters different individuals or groups, empowers the communicative activity among them and enriches the emancipatory character of the society. On the other hand, how people perceive, use, and appropriate spaces alter dramatically since space links with social relations and social life that comprise of people's social backgrounds, belongings, attachments to space, memories, and so on. How space is produced is essential as it gives fruitful information about how each society produces its own unique public spaces in accordance with its own realities.

Hence, public space can only be analyzed together with the actors and processes that have involved in its production.³⁵ Likewise, Lefebvre argues that it is reducing to handle space as an abstract concept or as a neutral background hosting social

³³ Carr et al., *Public Space*, 344.

³⁴ Ali Madanipour, "Introduction," in *Whose Public Space?: International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development*, ed. Ali Madanipour (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 9.

³⁵ Andrew Sayer, "The Difference That Space Makes," in *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1985), 51.

actions and relations. Rather, it is a complex phenomenon producing or defining those relations and produced by them. “Every society –and every mode of production with its subvariants- produces a space, its own space.”³⁶ Public space is both transformed by the society and transforms the society because “space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it also is producing and produced by social relations.”³⁷ Space should be handled as a medium that is mediated among various agents, actors as well as their interests and interrelations, reflecting and forming the heterogeneous character of the public sphere and space.

Lefebvre states that “social space is a social product.”³⁸ As a material and mental construct, it is shaped and defined by certain social relations through political processes. In that manner, public space is a social arena in which various conflicting representations and struggles, celebration and appropriation of multiple publics occur. While it is aimed to be controlled and maintained by those who have power, it is also tried to be dominated and appropriated by individuals or social groups. Therefore, space is a tool for thought and action, control, and domination.³⁹ Similarly, Edward W. Soja puts that ‘spatiality’ is a social product and “an integral part of the material constitution and structuration of social life.”⁴⁰ Therefore, the

³⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 31.

³⁷ Henri Lefebvre, “Space: Social Product and Use Value,” in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, trans. Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 186.

³⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

³⁹ Lefebvre, 26.

⁴⁰ Soja defines ‘spatiality’ as socially produced space. Edward W. Soja, “Spaciality of Social Life,” in *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1985), 92.

production of space is both the medium and the outcome of social relations, because the complex social transformations shape ‘spatiotemporal structuration of social life’ that affects both social development and daily life.⁴¹ As the spatiality is both the medium and the outcome, it becomes both a product and a producer of the social relations. Conversely, he states that “social life is both space-forming and space-contingent.”⁴²

Actually, Lefebvre provides a framework to understand space and divides it into three as “spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces.” Representations of space are the space planned by scientists, planners, urbanists, and social engineers; and is dominant space. Representational spaces are the space of users, which is experienced and dominated to change and appropriated by those participate and use.⁴³ People using a particular place may transform its dominant meaning and replace it with what they construct. On the contrary to what planners, urban professionals plan as the representations of space, spaces may change and socially reproduced by people. It may serve as a medium or apparatus for representations of different individuals, groups or institutions, because “representation, whether of oneself or a group, demands space.”⁴⁴ Representations of space, as used and manipulated by people, turn into representational spaces, due to the process of appropriation. In that regard, space becomes a representation area for some individuals and groups. This is, at the same time, what Don Mitchell calls

⁴¹ Soja, 94.

⁴² Soja, 98.

⁴³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.

⁴⁴ Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 33.

‘spaces for representation.’⁴⁵ That is, individuals or groups, political and social movements, institutions or social structure forming the multiple publics of cities for instance, represent themselves through distinct public spaces, which facilitate them to be seen by a larger group of people. They become public because they are seen and heard by the society in the Arendtian sense. As a result, while they transform the identity of space by using space for representation, space, on the other hand, become ‘objects of public debate’.⁴⁶

Therefore, public spaces shape and encourage public culture and politics. Although it does not provide an absolute provision, the dynamics of public space including its both physical and social features are related to the developing social and political tendencies and transformations of public sphere throughout public spaces. Conversely, public space shapes those complex associations. Then, what constructs and who constructs space are important since they give the idea about the public characteristics of a public space. That is why the history of the transformation of a public space may give significant information about the history of the public forming the space as well as contemporary sociocultural and political codes. In this direction, street as a public space carries a larger importance, as it is less exposed to control, but more open to social manipulation and identity construction.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Mitchell, “The End of Public Space?,” 115.

⁴⁶ Iveson, *Publics and the City*, 32.

⁴⁷ Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens, “Tying Down Loose Space,” in *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, ed. Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 6. Street indicates a looser character because different buildings with different sizes decrease the possibility of a tight space’s emergence. Instead, they provide a free organization of space which is adaptable and loose, and as a result of that buildings meet multi-functional needs.

2.2 The Identity of a Street as a Public Place

The question of whether the public sphere is somewhat associated with public space or not could be asked. Some may think that it is a reductive assumption, especially when we think that we live in a society where electronic and print media are more appreciated than that of public space. However, there are connective relations between them, because, as Harvey states, we do not just live in the city, we experience and internalize daily life⁴⁸ which occurs in specific, material spatial settlements. While public sphere is “a universal, abstract sphere in which democracy occurs,” public space is a material setting for the course of social and political activities⁴⁹, which affects the space and is affected by the space to the degree of its publicness.

There is a common tendency shared by architects and planners that designing meaningful and vivid public spaces, promoting public life, culture and public sphere in cities, is good for public life. However, the publicness of such spaces are more likely related with their ability to adjust to the changing needs, actions and attributions of social actors than its design and management. How they become

⁴⁸ Harvey gives the example of Haussmann’s Paris and indicates the exclusionary character of the city’s new organization, which is due to the fact that modern boulevards were considered as a way of preventing insurrections and more importantly of protecting the bourgeois private property. Haussmann’s boulevards not only enabled the control over the streets but also created new commercial areas which resulted in the crystallization of the class segregation. As a result of that, the poor were excluded, and new public space was then the representation of the ‘imperial splendor, military security, and bourgeois affluence.’ However, as workers held political meetings there, the boulevards, in a short span of time, became the political arena where workers challenged the bourgeois hegemony over space. The public spaces in Paris turned into the places that witnessed the domination of the political struggles, which indicates the reflection of the public sphere through the public space. David Harvey, “The Political Economy of Public Space,” in *The Politics of Public Space*, ed. Setha Low and Neil Smith (New York: Routledge, 2006), 18–32.

⁴⁹ Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 134.

public by use, modification, and appropriation within the temporal and spatial processes indicates space-place interrelations, which is mostly summarized by the assumption that space is a more abstract form of place that is enriched by the construction of personal attachments and values.⁵⁰ Although it is true to some extent, as Merrifield points out, space is not “a high level abstract theorization,” while place is more concrete and material, evoking locality in that sense. The physical and social environments are subject to the simultaneous processes occurring in “varying spatial and temporal scales,” and thus transformations resulted from this simultaneous processes affect not only a particular environment in a particular time but also the whole. Places and everyday practices inherent to them are part of the “space of the whole”⁵¹ and he describes place as “a specific *form* emergent from an apparent stopping of, or as one specific *moment* in, the dynamics of capitalist social space.”⁵²

In addition, Massey argues that all social relations need space. In other words, they have spatial configurations and spatial contents; and therefore, they form the social space. Indeed, given that conception of space, she describes place as “the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location.”⁵³ Thus, in this study the term “place” is used to indicate the study area as a specific place housing a variety of social relations in a specific time period while “space” is used as a general concept.

⁵⁰ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 6.

⁵¹ Merrifield, “Place and Space,” 520.

⁵² Merrifield, 521.

⁵³ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 168.

Public spaces including a wide range of places derive from diverse constructive social relations shaping their public identity, function and use. A street or a shopping mall may be regarded as public as they both enable someone to be seen by others, yet they “have quite different relationships to ‘the public’ by virtue of the different proprietary and regulatory arrangements through which they are established and managed.”⁵⁴ A shopping mall is defined by private ownership, and consequently, it is a more controlled space that promotes consumption. Since “heavily patrolled,” it embodies “a safe urban space” in which a more homogeneous public operates⁵⁵ when compared to a street. It will not be wrong to assert that open public spaces, e.g., parks, plazas, squares, and streets contribute more to public life. Apart from their functional characteristics, they also, and maybe more importantly, contribute to the democratic life of cities by offering diverse opportunities throughout either individual or communal practices. On the other hand, a similar hierarchization may be done among different open public spaces. For instance, a commercially developed street is produced and organized around the commercial interests of the users, and its identity is different from that of a public place housing social organizations, institutions or movements. The identity of such an example is shaped by different actors operating in different social relations. It spatializes a more inclusive public sphere and opinion through the potential that the built environment houses. Moreover, such a street may become a ‘relevant place’ for the social groups, organizations, and institutions to organize particular daily practices like demonstrations, meetings, and open-air activities in the direction of their social

⁵⁴ Iveson, *Publics and the City*, 9.

⁵⁵ Margaret Crawford, “The World in a Shopping Mall,” in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 23.

and political interests and concerns.⁵⁶ In other words, it might be an indispensable place where the civil society operates, political debates and demonstrations occur, people and social groups exchange information, and express their identity.⁵⁷

In that regard, streets are fundamental parts of cities' daily lives because we use them every day of necessity. All our daily practices, whether consciously or unconsciously, take place in streets. Contrary to the view that sees streets just as a means of reaching somewhere, they reveal themselves as an organizational element of urban life. They both contain and support cultural, economic, political and social activities by their type and location. At the same time, a street carries the information of how a city is and how it has developed. As Moudon puts, streets both keep and transform the memory and history of city;

A connoisseur reading a street map can at once unveil many aspects of a city's history, including when and how quickly it developed. Moving along a city's streets, one can readily discern much of the residents' lifestyle, visions, and opportunities for the future. Thus streets and their layout reflect the societies that have created them.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Negt and Kluge define relevant places as the areas where communal expression takes place for common concerns. Relevant place may be a street or a factory gate depending on the characteristics of space, action and social actors. Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 268.

⁵⁷ Vikas Mehta, *The Street: A Quintessential Social Public Space* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 13.

⁵⁸ Anne Vernez Moudon, "Introduction," in *Public Streets for Public Use*, ed. Anne Vernez Moudon (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987), 13.

While trying to understand the physical and social (trans)formation of a cityscape, streets become a significant tool, as they carry complex relations of the modern city. Jane Jacobs in her well-known book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* emphasizes streets and sidewalks as abstractions that only mean together with the buildings and other uses around them. As they carry the main public functions of cities besides vehicular movement, they have a vital role in city life. Furthermore, she makes a strong and direct connection between streets and cities' structure, and says that "think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull."⁵⁹

The word *street*, physically speaking, as Rykwert indicates, is "a delimited surface-part of an urban texture, characterized by an extended area lined up with buildings on either side."⁶⁰ However, this does not mean that street is a two-dimensional setting, nearly as a pavement with particular dimension and borders linking the buildings surrounding it. It is inseparable from the whole that composes of the correlation between the street and surrounding buildings.

Apart from the physical organization of the street, what happens and what functions are covered along and around the street may influence the meaning of it; because, as David Crouch states, "the limits of street merge into the spaces around them.

⁵⁹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 29.

⁶⁰ Joseph Rykwert, "The Street: The Use of Its History," in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 16.

Each of these practices and places contributes to the images of the street.”⁶¹ They support the street by providing various services in which the street gains different functional characters such as cultural, commercial, or just residential. The more the functions of the street increase, the higher the effect of it on the social life of the city. Moreover, Nancy Stieber emphasizes that future experiences of buildings are also as meaningful as their formation.⁶² In a street, the buildings may be adapted for different functions other than their first usages during the time of their construction, and this contributes to the new phase of the street. Hence, not only places built for particular requirements such as institutions, schools, parks, pubs, bookstores, cafes, etc., but also their transformations have a significant impact on the transformation of the street into a multifunctional one as well as the transformation of the identity of the street. This is because they diversify the daily practices, create the opportunities for new facilities and increase those who participate in these practices which produce and reproduce the space.

Ellis argues that, as a culturally build-up phenomenon in the course of time, the street transforms into ‘an institution’ which is made up of its physical and social characteristics and components in the urban pattern.⁶³ It is possible to render the street as a sum of lives, memories, feelings and daily practices that construct both the physical environment and its signification. Public culture and daily life manifest themselves through public places. Thus, the street as a public place may be

⁶¹ David Crouch, “The Street in the Making of Popular Geographical Knowledge,” in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 158.

⁶² Nancy Stieber, “Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 387.

⁶³ William C. Ellis, “The Spatial Structure of Streets,” in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 115.

characterized “as clumps of specific articulations comprising various cultural and social codes.”⁶⁴ Besides, the same street may reveal different meanings or codes at different times for different groups or individuals in accord with the changed everyday life.

Moreover, we use the street to reach somewhere, and it is just a channel leading us where we want to go, our presence and repeating daily practices turns it into more than being a channel because there are more contextualized in its physical form.⁶⁵ Thus, what is aimed in this study is to indicate how everyday practices within a specific street and its surrounding spaces including their functions create a living public space as well as how they result in different meanings in different times to those who use and appropriate this street.

Today streets are perceived as a less influential part of urban life by many professionals as technological and thus social changes devalue its impact on the urban pattern and everyday practices.⁶⁶ Though accepting the proliferation of new forms of interaction areas today, I would like to point out that ignoring the whole conception of the street as an interaction area would be a reduction of its functions that enriches social life and communication among people. Czarnowski points out the communicational significance of the street and writes,

⁶⁴ Diana Agrest, “Toward a Theory of Production Sense in the Built Environment,” in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 217.

⁶⁵ Crouch, “The Street in the Making of Popular Geographical Knowledge,” 169.

⁶⁶ Ellis, “The Spatial Structure of Streets,” 116; Rykwert, “The Street: The Use of Its History”; Nicholas R. Fyfe, ed., *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

It is the urban street that from the first origins of settlements has acted as principle place of public contact and public passage, a place of exchange of ideas, goods, and services, a place of play and fight, of carnival and funeral, of protest and celebration. Its place in the web of associations that have sustained human society is therefore paramount.⁶⁷

Hence, as being the most common components of cities, streets still organize a considerable part of urban life and are “both literally and metaphorically the most fitting symbol of the public realm.”⁶⁸ They have taken considerable attention from various researchers interested in the city and have been issued by multidisciplinary studies. Besides their social and communicative features, streets indicate other representations arising from the political dimension on the ground of heterogeneity and diversity that public space supports. They are tried to be dominated by the state, government, planners, and architects as well as by those whose daily practices occur in streets. So, referring to the Lefebvrian vision, it can be said that they become both *the spaces of representation* and *representational spaces*,⁶⁹ since they are less subject to the control and more open to the change and they are “the terrain of social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety.”⁷⁰

As a result, public space has various meaning and dimensions. As a material space, which is open to all, it provides face-to-face interaction among users. It creates

⁶⁷ Thomas V. Czarnowski, “The Street as a Communication Artifact,” in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 207.

⁶⁸ Mehta, *The Street*, 9.

⁶⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

⁷⁰ Nicholas R. Fyfe, “Introduction: Reading the Street,” in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 1.

social ties among the society and ‘community identity.’⁷¹ On the other hand, through its social dimension, it provides a place where public sphere operates between the civil society and the state, and witnesses the conflicts between the (oppositional-)publics and the power/state, and between the appropriation and domination of various actors over time who attribute it symbolic meanings in terms of their existences.

⁷¹ Goodsell, “The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations,” 367.

CHAPTER 3

YÜKSEL STREET-KONUR STREET INTERSECTION

This chapter aims to scrutinize the socio-spatial formation and transformation of Konur Street and Yüksel Street by focusing on their intersection during the Republican period regarding social, political and economic processes that affected its public identity. It mainly concentrates on the intersection area of the part of Konur Street between Yüksel Street and Meşrutiyet Avenue and the part of Yüksel Street between Karanfil Street and Selanik Street, which define a significant area in the central Kızılay district of Ankara.

In order to understand the transformations of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection in terms of both its place and social identities through the twentieth century, it is crucial to initially analyze its early formation. Hence, the first part of the chapter examines the period until the 1950s by addressing the planning of Ankara and the formation of the Yenışehir-Kızılay district in the light of the sociopolitical conditions. During this period, the area was formed as a prestigious residential area for high-income groups while Yenışehir was both an administrative center, and a cultural and recreational area for the national elites.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the spatial transformation of the Kızılay district with the replanning of Ankara in the 1950s, and the functional transformation of the area resulted from the new requirements of the city and its users in accordance with the changed social life and political circumstances. Throughout those processes, as the streets forming the intersection area, transformed spatially, functionally and socially, it turned into a public center, which

resulted in transforming not only the use of the area but also its identity and meaning by changing the user composition and daily practices, setting the stage for the proliferation of the public sphere and the organization of civil society.

3.1 1920s-1950s

The formation of the area was a part of the modernity project that shaped the production of the modern capital city of the Republican regime in terms of spatial and ideological contexts. In this part of the study, the formation of Yenışehir-Kızılay district including its planning process in general, and the formation of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection as a residential area in particular, are examined with the discussion of the driving economic, social and political forces behind them.

3.1.1 The Planning of Ankara and the Formation of Yenışehir-Kızılay

The opening of the Grand National Assembly in 1920, the administrative center of the national Independence War, and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, had a significant role in Ankara's urbanization history. As it became the capital city of the new republic, it was aimed to turn into the site to represent the new ideology and the identity of the regime via its spatial organization as a modern city. Given that the new nation-state aspired to indicate a radical break from the Ottoman legacy in terms of both the political system and social structure of the society, the new capital city of the Republic was assumed as an area to realize and publicize the new Republican regime. The Republican cadre focused on the modernization of the state and society. Hence, they

directed a substantial part of their effort toward changing the Ottoman institutions and reshaping the physical environment in order to make it more similar to that of their European counterparts. The underlying assumption was that, once the environment was altered, the behavior of individuals could be easily molded and made to fit the requirements of the newly created circumstances.⁷²

Ankara was declared the capital city on October 13, 1923. Recreating the city as a capital that would be appropriate for the ideas behind the new nation-state ideology was quite challenging: not only was it a dramatic transformation in the form of government, constituting new social organization, institutions, and laws but also meant a total rejection of the Ottoman past that had ruled this area for nearly six centuries.⁷³ Hence, one of the critical duties of the new regime was to produce and consolidate the Republican ideology and values to ensure the permanence of the new system. Correspondingly reshaping the society in such a way that people would gather around the notion of a nation with a common will by merging all differences into one national goal was, on the other hand, another duty of the regime.

Therefore, the construction of Ankara was required to materialize the ideology of the Republic via new urban public places with public buildings being required by changed social, political and administrative relations in the early Republican period. Moreover, it was an efficient way in which the new, modern social lifestyles of the Republican bureaucracy and the emerging bourgeoisie would represent themselves to the public. In other words, reproducing Ankara in the directions of modern-

⁷² Reşat Kasaba, “Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities,” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Reşat Kasaba and Sibel Bozdoğan (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997), 23–24.

⁷³ Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, 5.

western aspirations of the regime would give the best of both worlds: A medium both to materialize the nationalists' discourse, and as a result, to represent new lifestyles, everyday practices developed accordingly, which were ascribed to and appropriate for the modern citizens of the nation-state.

Tankut defines the construction of Ankara as a revolution whose aim was to actualize the new nation, society, and state tripartite.⁷⁴ Ankara, as the new capital city, regardless of all insufficient and limited means, was an unprocurable and elusive opportunity to represent the early Republican ideology.

The building of Ankara as a new capital city depended on two-sided conflicts. The first one was between Ankara and Istanbul where the symbolic representation of the Ottoman capital had materialized.⁷⁵ The second one was between the old settlement of Ankara mostly located around the citadel and that of the new modern one developed through the north-south direction.⁷⁶

Ali Cengizkan explains the priorities and problems of Ankara to plan a modern capital city corresponding the new requirements of the Republic as the reorganization of the municipality, preparation of Ankara city plan, infrastructure

⁷⁴ Gönül Tankut, "Cumhuriyet Döneminin İlk Toplu İmar Deneyimi: Ankara," *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 14, no. 4 (1981): 115.

⁷⁵ Tankut explains what İstanbul meant as the old capital of the Ottoman Empire as compared to Ankara and its meaning for new modern nation state. The Ottoman Empire did not constitute an Ottoman nation for the population that it had ruled for centuries. However, the new Turkish state aimed to produce a nation comprised of common principles, language, and goals. That is why Ankara was important in terms of the spatialization of new ideals. Gönül Tankut, "Ankara'nın Başkent Olma Süreci," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 8, no. 2 (1988): 94–95.

⁷⁶ Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, 17–53.

problems, lighting, housing shortage, transportation and building streets and avenues, and budget to cover those requirements.⁷⁷ The first plan of Ankara was made by Carl Christoph Carl Lörcher, who was an architect from Berlin and apart from Ankara, he was asked to plan Bursa and design some places in Istanbul, in 1924.⁷⁸ He prepared two different plans for Ankara focusing on different development areas; the first one of 1924 was prepared for the old settlement of the city whereas the second one of 1925 proposed a new development area in the southern part of the city, apart from the former center, that was called as Yenışehir (the new city).

Lörcher's first plan was rejected due to its impracticable character for the old town, and the reason why the second one was put into practice, according to Tankut, was the increasing housing shortage rather than its being approved because Ankara became the city for immigrants.⁷⁹ The Lörcher plan of 1925 resulted in land requirements in the southern part of the city and parallel to that, the great expropriation, including 400-hectare area, was realized. That expropriation, however, paved the way for the neglect of the old city while signifying the new center and its connections, which means the former settlement of Ankara would be abandoned to its own for the sake of the new governmental and residential area of the Republic and its elites in the following decades. Cengizkan argues about the emergence of a new city center that, instead of solving the current building stock

⁷⁷ Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı*, 17–19.

⁷⁸ Vardar, "Başkent'in İlk Planları," 38; Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı*, 34–37.

⁷⁹ Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, 54.

and infrastructure problems in the old city, building a new city would not only enable a more integrated landscape but also protect the old city pattern.⁸⁰

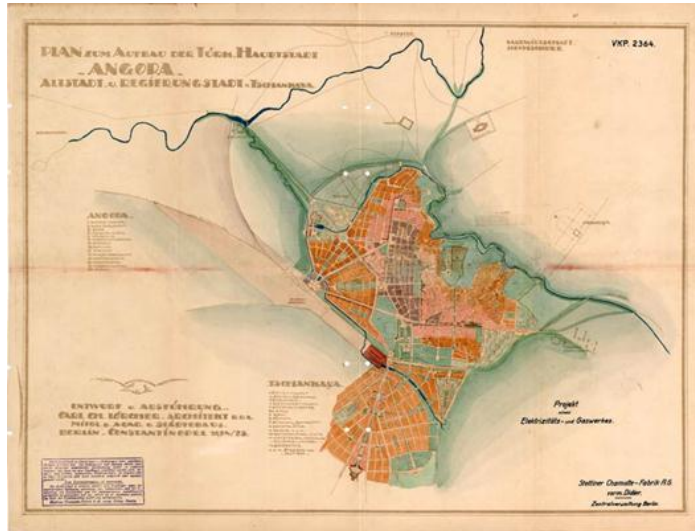


Figure 1 Lörcher Plan- The southern part of the city was planned for governmental and residential uses. The main artery of the city also started to be formed.

Source: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/loe/trindex.htm>

Moreover, since Ankara had become the capital, it started to be open to migrants, especially for state officials from Istanbul and the population increased to 75.000 by 1927.⁸¹ Hence, the new development area of Ankara witnessed the most rapid and irregular development. Tankut states that the great expropriation merely defined the direction of that development; that is to say, there was no regulation to direct and manage the construction activities.⁸² While the old city was still a center

⁸⁰ Cengizkan, *Ankara'nun İlk Planı*, 57.

⁸¹ Batuman, "City Profile," 578.

⁸² Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, 53.

for commercial activities and residential use for the locales, Yenişehir would start to develop as a governmental and residential area for the Republican elite.⁸³

The urban development of Ankara's new settlements was shaped in the direction of the Lörcher plan until the end of the 1920s. Although proposing a new center far from the old settlement, it constituted a unitary urban meaning by connecting the train station-assembly-citadel axis to the new city.⁸⁴ This also signifies the connection between the new nation-state and the old heritage and culture of Ankara. The Lörcher plan provided the primary decision for the dual-centered structure of the city; i.e., Ulus that was the old city center and Yenişehir that would become the new center of Ankara. The new urban pattern that developed along Atatürk Boulevard also first appeared in this plan.⁸⁵ Moreover, Lörcher plan decisions such as green area organizations, approach to the citadel as a significant element of the city silhouette, functional zoning, and garden city approach, by shaping the city development, affected the later planning decisions in the following years.⁸⁶

The second plan of Ankara was needed due to the rapid increase in population, and thus, uncontrolled growth of the city and housing shortage. The Jansen plan was chosen after a competition held in 1927, in which the three European urbanists, Leon Jausseley, Josef Brix, and Hermann Jansen, were invited. Jansen's initial

⁸³ Batuman, "City Profile," 579.

⁸⁴ The train station, designed by Lörcher with a square, *İstasyon Meydanı*, was the starting point of the city. Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı ve Arkadaş Yay., 2004), 73–75.

⁸⁵ Cengizkan, 39–48; Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme," 67–69.

⁸⁶ Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı*, 84–87.

proposal was similar to the Lörcher plan in terms of its symmetrical circular organization⁸⁷ although it turned into a linear organization developing towards the south, east and west after it was put into force in 1932, causing Yenişehir to be given central business functions.⁸⁸ The Jansen plan proposed a continuous main artery, Atatürk Boulevard, connecting the old city and the new one (Yenişehir), and thus, enabling the north-south continuity.⁸⁹ This boulevard would be the cultural and recreational promenade of the Republic in the following decades. It would enable to flourish a new, modern way of life and the new residents of Yenişehir would represent themselves in the new public places along the boulevard.



Figure 2 Jansen Plan

Source: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/jan/trindex.htm>

⁸⁷ Vardar, “Başkent’in İlk Planları,” 43.

⁸⁸ Günay, “Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme,” 73.

⁸⁹ Çağatay Keskinok, “Ankara Kentinin Planlaması ve Atatürk Bulvarının Oluşumu,” in *Cumhuriyet Devrimi’nin Yolu Atatürk Bulvarı*, ed. Çağatay Keskinok (Ankara: Koleksiyoncular Derneği, 2009), 43.

The citadel was also paid considerable attention by Jansen and was in a central position in his proposal. However, his transportation and circulation plan, i.e., separating the old city and the new city with the railway, resulted in the isolation of old Ankara from the newly developed area. Thus, old Ankara turned into a signifier of “Republican Ankara’s underdeveloped other” as a pre-modern center and new Ankara as the modern center became where “the elites’ practice of insulating themselves from the population at large had resurfaced.”⁹⁰ This paved the way for an absolute segregation of the old and the new, and Yenışehir, including the newly formed residential areas, administrative buildings and the Administrative Quarter would engage in a more pivotal role in Ankara’s urban life.



Figure 3 Atatürk Boulevard, 1935
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

⁹⁰ Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, 35; see also, Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, “Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey,” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Reşat Kasaba and Sibel Bozdoğan (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997), 192–210.

After the Jansen plan, many European architects were invited and commissioned by the government to build modern buildings creating the canonic picture of the city.⁹¹ Through the Administrative Quarter, as ‘the core of Yenişehir’, a new public place was planned as a tool that would be the representation of the state and the modern capital city.⁹² Cengizkan states that the first emergence of the idea that all administrative buildings would be planned in the same central area in an integrated way with open public areas appeared in the Lörcher plan.⁹³ In the Jansen plan, this triangular area was preserved and Jansen proposed a public area starting with Güven Park through the pedestrian axis, *Zafer Yolu*, and ending with the Plaza of Provinces. According to Gurallar, the names of those sequential elements constituting the Administrative Quarter’s organization were the bearers of the messages to the citizens.⁹⁴ The planning and building of the Administrative Quarter, indeed, was quite significant in the formation of public life along with the representation of state power and its ideals. It was the visualization of the Republican public sphere through the public place.

In the 1930s and onwards, as the boulevard and the new city were filled with buildings and landscapes, modern type of lifestyles was already started to flourish, and new practices of daily life appeared in Yenişehir. Besides houses, new institutional and administrative buildings, such as the Kızılay building, and the ministry buildings at the Administrative Quarter, as well as parks, and squares, like Havuzbaşı, Güven Park, Kurtuluş Square, and Zafer Square, formed the new district

⁹¹ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 70–75.

⁹² Gurallar, “Başkentin Kalbini Tasarlamak,” 68.

⁹³ Cengizkan, “The Production of a Mise en Scène for a Nation and Its Subjects,” 735.

⁹⁴ Gurallar, “Başkentin Kalbini Tasarlamak,” 69.

of Yenişehir. After the erection of the Kızılay building, Havuzbaşı was started to be called as Kızılay Park, while Kurtuluş Square as Kızılay Square, and Yenişehir as Kızılay.⁹⁵

Public places, which were planned to gather citizens and to differentiate their daily practices by offering various opportunities, were now representational areas for the modern face of Ankara, stages for the Republic to display its power. On the other hand, for the Republican bourgeoisie, the rightful owners of new Ankara, Yenişehir was where the social and cultural activities of the city took place while also providing a new residential area for the same group. Wide sidewalks of the boulevard with restaurants, cafes, shops, cinemas, and with parks and squares attached to it became favorite public places for Yenişehir's residents.⁹⁶



Figure 4 Kızılay Garden and Atatürk Boulevard, 1942.
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

⁹⁵ Nuray Bayraktar, "Retracted: Public Space Meanings of Squares: Ulus and Kizilay Squares in Ankara, Turkey," *Space and Culture* 20, no. 3 (2017): 320.

⁹⁶ Bayraktar, "Başkent Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Sonrası Yaşanan Büyük Değişim," 72.

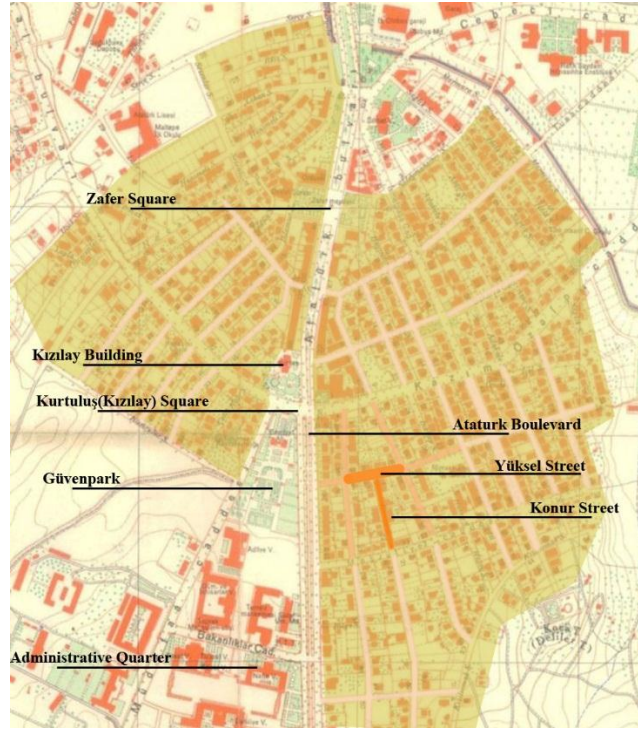


Figure 5 Ankara Map of 1944. Yenisehir, the residential areas around Atatürk Boulevard and the study area are emphasized by the author.
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

3.1.2 The Intersection as Part of the New Residential District in Ankara

The intersection area of Yüksel and Konur Streets is located along the eastern side of Atatürk Boulevard. Both streets were part of the residential district of Yenisehir across the governmental center. Konur Street is connected to Meşrutiyet Avenue and Yüksel Street, and Yüksel Street is connected to Atatürk Boulevard.

The formation of this area was realized according to the Lörcher plan for Yenisehir and the expropriation of lands for new construction as mentioned above. This area

was planned as a residential area for the new inhabitants of Ankara. Lörcher connected Akay, Yüksel, Sakarya and Tuna Streets of the district to the İncesu Valley, forming a green belt starting from the Kocatepe area.⁹⁷ This indicates that it was aimed to create a residential area harmonious with Ankara's green areas. The building plots and the streets that were defined by the Lörcher plan were also maintained in the Jansen and later plans for the development of the city.⁹⁸

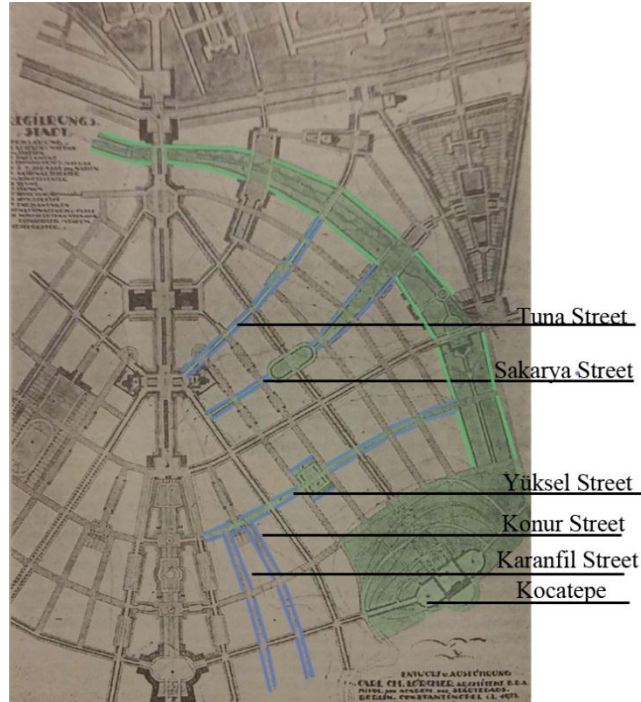


Figure 6 The Lörcher Plan of 1924, Yenişehir, indicating the defined streets including Konur Street and Yüksel Street that were linked to the İncesu Valley and Kocatepe (colored by the author). Source: Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati*, 46.

⁹⁷ Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı*, 84.

⁹⁸ Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 21.

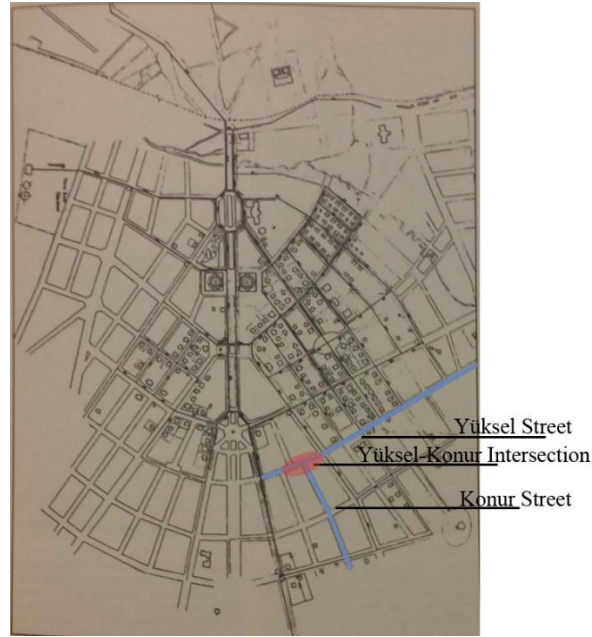


Figure 7 Yenisehir Plan of 1928. Yüksel Street and Konur Street are indicated by the author.
Source: Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati*, 47.

Yenisehir was the main area for the prestigious residential production for those who could afford to build and/or own houses. In the 1920s, while the apartment buildings around the old city in the Ulus district were a matter of prestige, Yenisehir villas also became a favorite housing type.⁹⁹ Nalbantoğlu states that the building process of these villas was conducted mostly within the personal relationships among builders and clients rather than architects, and the villas hence reflected the common taste of their builders and owners instead of a professional and planned approach.¹⁰⁰ Thus, they were highly criticized by various authors for being exaggerated and even

⁹⁹ Nalbantoğlu, “1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara’da Yapılan Konutların Mimari Değerlendirilmesi,” 261.

¹⁰⁰ Nalbantoğlu, 254–55.

exotic in architectural taste.¹⁰¹ Jansen preserved Yüksel, Sakarya and Akay Streets as green areas connected to the İncesu Valley. Yüksel Street was a green axe divided by the streets located in north-south direction (Figure 8). While in 1928, there were no buildings on the parts of Konur Street and Yüksel Street that this study focused on (Figure 7), in the Jansen Plan of 1932, there were a few detached buildings in Yüksel Street and Meşrutiyet Avenue (Figure 8).

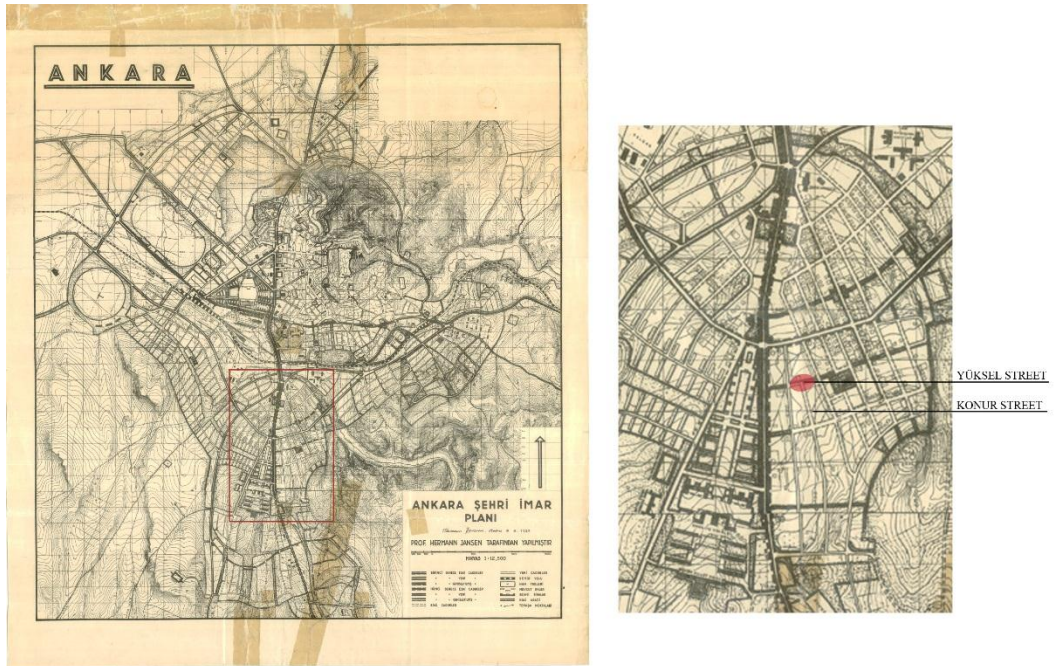


Figure 8 Jansen Plan of 1932. Rectangular area focusing on Yenışehir is enlarged on the right. Source: Koç University VEKAM Archive

¹⁰¹ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*; Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 1964).

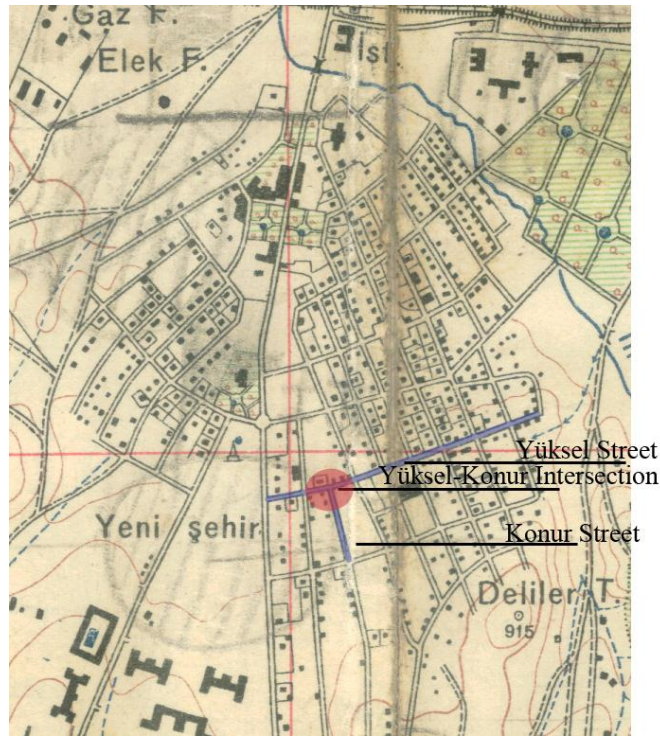


Figure 9 Yenişehir Plan of 1934.
Source: Koç University VEKAM Archive

In 1934, the houses that were built in detached building order increased along the boulevard and in the intersection area of Yüksel Street and Konur Street (Figure 9). Jansen criticized those villa type buildings regarding that they did not have a building order and did lack a common language of style and building heights. Therefore, apart from the existing villas that had been built as detached buildings in the middle of the gardens until the early 1930s, in the rest of the building plots, 3-storey attached building order was obliged to create a common language among

the building stock (Figure 10). This building order has been maintained until today¹⁰² although the building heights and depths have been changed in time.

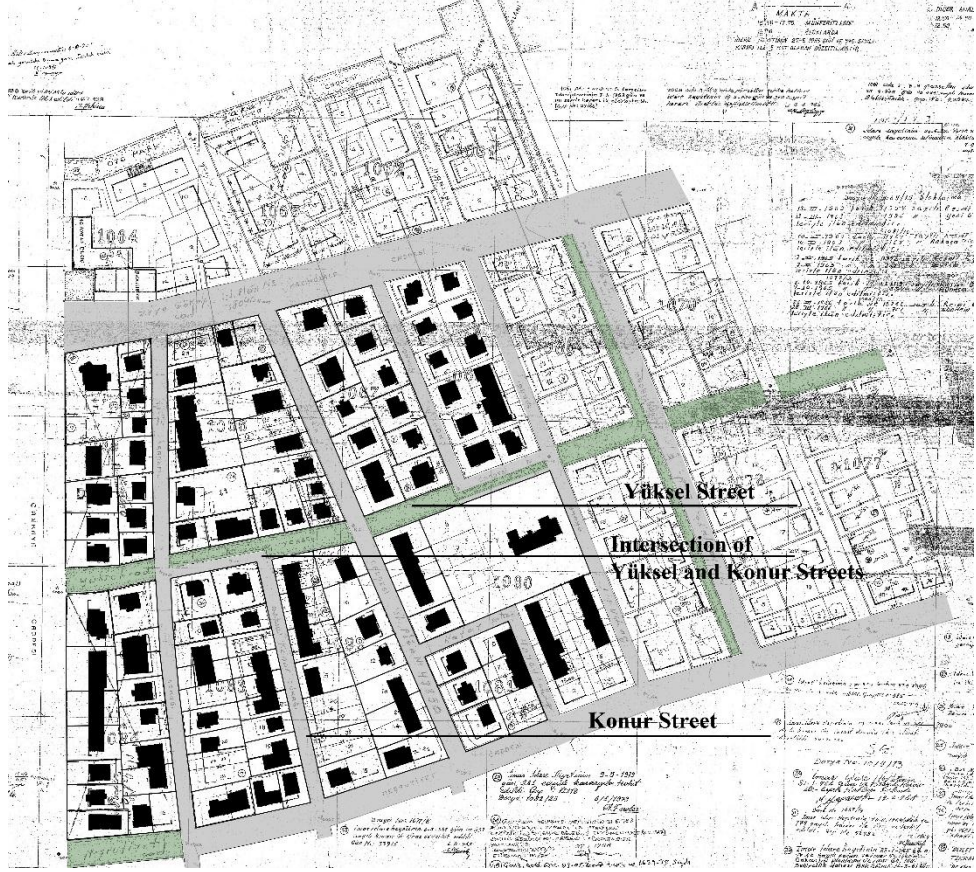


Figure 10 Ankara Plan of 1939. Buildings in detached and attached order are indicated by the author.
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

¹⁰² Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 31.

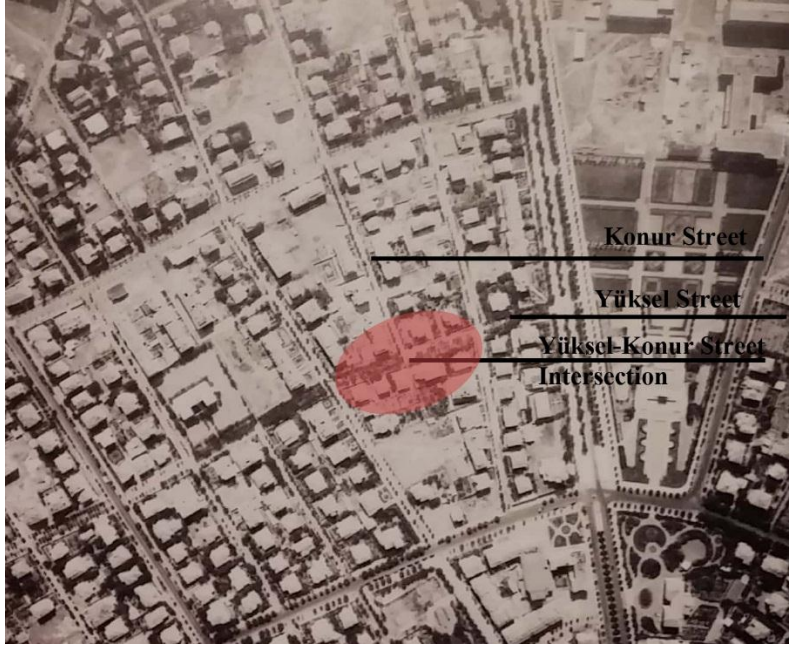


Figure 11 Aerial photo of Kızılay in 1939.

Source: Gökçe Günel, *Haritalarda Ankara Ankara Haritaları ve Planları: Koleksiyonlardan Bir Seçki*, 56.



Figure 12 Atatürk Boulevard (Çankaya Boulevard at the time) and the villas built on the streets on the eastern side of the boulevard in 1932. The ministries are also seen in the upper right corner.
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive



Figure 13 Yenişehir, Mithat Paşa Avenue from Kocatepe, indicating the building stock in 1935-1937
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

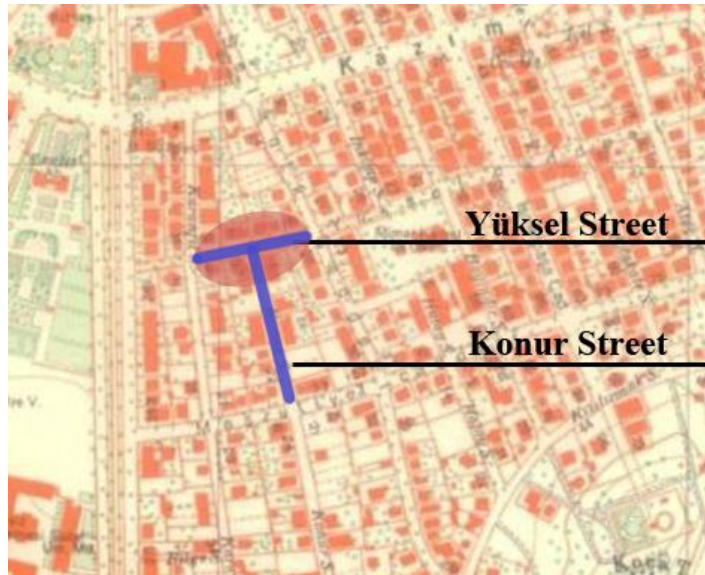


Figure 14 Map of 1944.
Source: Koç University VEKAM Archive

In that period, there were no commercial functions in the southern part of Atatürk Boulevard. Sezai Göksu points out that the commercialization of the area right across the governmental buildings was thought as a contradictory situation to the prestigious axis of the Republic.¹⁰³ However, as a result of the increased pressures and requirements of a residential area, commercial functions were allowed in 1936 on Meşrutiyet Avenue and Ziya Gökalp Avenue. In the same year, the parts of Yüksel Street and Meşrutiyet Avenue that are connected to Atatürk Boulevard were pedestrianized.¹⁰⁴

While the new district containing Yüksel Street and Konur Street was produced by private investments as a residential area, there started new building type requirements, besides the commercial use to meet the inhabitants' daily needs. As a result, in 1927, the Mimar Kemal Primary School, designed by Mimar Kemalettin, was built on Yüksel Street by the Directorate General of Foundations.¹⁰⁵ This school would be important in the following years of the Republic in terms of its students. Equally important is that it gives information about the social and economic structure of the district and its inhabitants, which will enable us to make a comparison with later counterparts.

¹⁰³ Sezai Göksu, "Yenişehir: Ankara'da Bir İmar Öyküsü," in *Kent, Planlama, Politika, Sanat: Tarık Okyay Anısına Yazılar*, ed. İlhan Tekeli (Ankara: Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1994), 262.

¹⁰⁴ Göksu, 262.

¹⁰⁵ "Okulumuzun Tarihçesi," T.C. MİLLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI ANKARA / ÇANKAYA / Mimar Kemal Ortaokulu, December 25, 2012, http://mimarkemaloo.meb.k12.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/06/06/708763/icerikler/okulumuzun-tarihcesi_182378.html?CHK=cdfbcfb45511805435fc4fc8c0422253.

Journalist Can Dündar, who was also graduated from the Mimar Kemal Primary School, writes about his school memories in one of his articles and shares an anecdote with politician Bülent Ecevit. According to Ecevit, the Mimar Kemal Primary School was “the ‘kitchen’ of the Turkish revolution” because the Republican bureaucrats’ children were raised in that school with the Republican ideology. The resulting cadre graduated from this school was the greatest proof of that.¹⁰⁶ Those people took significant positions in either political or cultural life of Turkey.



Figure 15 Mimar Kemal Primary School in 1950 with its built environment
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

¹⁰⁶ Can Dündar also mentions about other students including novelists, journalists, politicians, musicians; Orhan Pamuk, Hasan Cemal, Mehmet Barlas, Altan Öymen, Güldal Akşit and Ali Coşkun (both are old ministers), Murat Karayalçın, Seçil Heper, Çetin Altan, Bülent Ecevit were some of them. Can Dündar, “Okulumuzu Vermeyiz!,” *MİLLİYET HABER - TÜRKİYE’İN HABER SİTESİ*, accessed September 3, 2017, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-okulumuzu-vermeyiz-/can-dundar/pazar/yazardetay/07.03.2010/1207892/default.htm>.

This area was indeed the place where national elites and bureaucrats, constituting the fifty percent of the working population in Ankara¹⁰⁷, lived and reflected their new way of life. Hence, in a short period, at the beginning of the 1930s, a dual lifestyle began to be observed in the form of the city between the old city and Yenisehir.¹⁰⁸ This new part of the city constituted the appreciated section by the state, where the modern face of the society was realized and exhibited.

3.2 1960s-1980s

This part of the study examines the spatial, functional and social transformations of Kızılay and Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection by focusing on the period from the 1960s onwards when dramatic developments were observed. In order to understand the changing social structure of the society and its effect on the identity transformation of the area, it also discusses the 1950s that was marked by rapid urbanization, political and economic transformations, and caused the transformations of the society and public places in the following decades.

3.2.1 The Replanning of Ankara and the Transformation of Kızılay

From the 1950s on, Turkey witnessed dramatic changes in political and economic agenda. After the Second World War, liberal policies dominated the western world. This situation corresponded with the multi-party system that was realized in 1946

¹⁰⁷ Nalbantoğlu, “1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara’da Yapılan Konutların Mimari Değerlendirilmesi,” 254.

¹⁰⁸ Nalbantoğlu, 255.

in Turkey. Moreover, in 1950, the Democratic Party won the election and ended the Republican People Party's (RPP) governance. This was not an ordinary shift on the group that governed the country. Rather, it meant a total transformation of the understanding of government, and that of social structure and life of the country. As Boratav argues, the multi-party system brought about the fact that the larger part of the society was no longer the audience. Instead, they could become the actors of the public sphere and thus political power because the governments had to take into consideration their economic and social demands at least between the elections.¹⁰⁹

This period was also a remarkable shift in the economic policies. Introverted and state-controlled economic model that had been maintained since the 1929 depression was replaced gradually by liberal economic policies. The priority was given to agriculture and infrastructure sectors instead of industry, and the private sector became the driving force.¹¹⁰ Modernization and mechanization of agriculture led to the mobilization of the rural masses, and massive migrations began towards big cities.

Ankara predictably took its share of those transformations. Furthermore, it lost not only its priority against İstanbul, but also its leading role in the urban development progress of Turkey's other cities.¹¹¹ The Democratic Party rule was mostly interested in the development of İstanbul. This may be because of the fact that

¹⁰⁹ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-1985* (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988), 73.

¹¹⁰ Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," 23.

¹¹¹ Keleş and Duru states that since then Ankara's urban development has been associated with land speculations, contradictory implementations to the development plans and increase in building heights. Ruşen Keleş and Bülent Duru, "Ankara'nın Ülke Kentleşmesindeki Etkilerine Tarihsel Bir Bakış," *Mülkiye Dergisi* 32, no. 261 (2008): 36.

Ankara was the symbolic capital of the Republican cadre and built in accordance with the policies of Atatürk's RPP. As a result of that, making Ankara as a modern capital city in the light of modern-western ideals was abandoned. However, Ankara did not stay out of what other cities experienced from the 1950s on. Contemporary changes engendered various transformations both in the social composition and thus, the spatial organization of the city.

Ankara's urban growth rate was six percent per year before the First World War¹¹², and that had already resulted in the emergence of the first squatter areas since the early 1930s. Unplanned construction activities in Ankara due to the housing shortage problem had not been solved truly and owing a house was not affordable for many people.¹¹³ In *Çankaya*, Falih Rıfki Atay writes about the land speculations and how speculators became rich by destroying Ankara's modern city plan. He admits that M. Kemal established a powerful administration to implement many reforms, but he could not establish one to implement the city plan properly.¹¹⁴

From the 1950s on, Ankara also encountered massive migrations like other big cities in Turkey as a result of the modernization and mechanization of agriculture. During the 1930s, since the increase in the building stocks did not meet the needs of the increasing population, the squatter areas, which were made up of the houses named 'Baraka', started to emerge. Those houses were built with cheap materials

¹¹² İlhan Tekeli, "II.Dünya Savaşı Sonrasında Türkiye'nin Kent Planlaması Pratiğindeki Gelişmeler," in *Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları*, Toplu Eserler 15 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 152.

¹¹³ Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, 180.

¹¹⁴ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Çankaya : Atatürk'ün Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Dogan Kardes Matbaacılık, 1969), 421–28.

during almost one night without the help of professional expertise.¹¹⁵ Although the expansion of squatter areas continued in the 1940s, the population of Ankara increased the most between 1950 and 1955.¹¹⁶ Ankara, which had already started to suffer from unplanned development, was not capable of hosting and meeting the needs of newcomers and was surrounded by squatter areas in the following years.

Furthermore, new migrations not only transformed the spatial form of the city but also and maybe more critically altered the social composition. Former newcomers of Ankara were “relatively well-off civil servants, businessmen, professionals, and skilled workers.”¹¹⁷ On the contrary, after the 1950s, Ankara’s growth, similar to that of other big cities in Turkey, was stamped by migrants from the rural Anatolia. In 1960, the population overtook more than double that of the population in 1950, which led to a significant change in the demographic structure. From then on, the majority of Ankara's population was comprised of low-income immigrants living in the squatter belts. Ankara’s planned areas were limited to the center.¹¹⁸ Kızılay started to become the main center of Ankara by the 1950s, providing social, cultural, governmental functions and facilities for its existing residents while those who came after the 1950s, on the other hand, were compelled to live in the unplanned areas.

¹¹⁵ Tansı Şenyapılı, “Baraka”dan Gecekonduya: Ankara’da Kentsel Mekânın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 108.

¹¹⁶ Şenyapılı, 179.

¹¹⁷ Michael N. Danielson and Ruşen Keleş, *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization: Government and Growth in Modern Turkey* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 62.

¹¹⁸ Danielson and Keleş, 62.

Therefore, the spatial segregation of Ankara became more obvious than that of the early Republican period when the old and the new city separation played a great role. Socioeconomic differences, due to rapid urbanization, reflected in that spatial segregation. Danielson and Keleş argue that “the two worlds of the Turkish metropolis lived largely in separate spatial realms” and those two realms were considerably different from each other regarding income, lifestyles and living conditions, social and cultural background, and so forth.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, it is possible to state that this situation also brought about pluralism on the social life of Ankara. Instead of the singular, unitary public realm of the Republican policies that operated among the national elites, now the city and its public places were subject to the new public realms in which the changed social dynamics of the city and society took place. The following years were important in terms of what they brought and witnessed in the social, economic and spatial organization as well.

1960 was a breakpoint in the Turkish political history. The Democratic Party policies and government were ended up with the military intervention on May 27. In 1961, a new constitution that was prepared by a Constituent Assembly that was comprised of a committee in which political party delegates and representatives of non-governmental organizations, trade unions, and universities were involved. This constitution proposed social welfare state that enabled collective bargaining agreement and labor strike right and led to a more pluralistic approach.¹²⁰ This process, eventually, resulted in a democratization on both the state and civil society, encouraging the participation of all actors in the society, including the low-income

¹¹⁹ Danielson and Keleş, 68.

¹²⁰ Sina Akşin, *Ana Çizgileriyle Türkiye'nin Yakın Tarihi 1789-1980*, vol. 2 (Yenigün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık, 1997), 137.

groups, labors, students, technocrats and so on. Architects, for instance, similar to all other groups, dealt with social problems and *Mimarlar Odası* came to the forefront with not only the professional issues but also social, political and economic issues of the country in a more socialist point of view.¹²¹

Feroz Ahmad states that the political atmosphere of the 1960s could be clearly separated from the previous period.¹²² Different sectors of the society were aware of their rights and willing to have more because the rising civil rights led to the politicization of the society. In a similar vein, Karpat emphasized that the constitution of 1961 made the social forces liberated from the traditionalism and “gave them the freedom of act according to their power and interests.”¹²³ Students organized their own associations, working class established labor unions with class-conscious approaches. Left-wing political literature became easy to reach, and for the first time a party with the socialist agenda, the Workers’ Party of Turkey, had 14 seats in the 1965 Assembly. Even the RPP employed a more leftist policy to adapt itself to the changed structure of the society. They used “‘the left-of-the-centre’ approach with the slogan ‘this order must change’.”¹²⁴ This new conjuncture of the country together with the existing spatial transformations of cities due to urbanization would be reflected on the public places and more importantly paved the way for the representation of various social groups on public places.

¹²¹ Tekeli, “The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey,” 28.

¹²² Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), 139.

¹²³ Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Articles and Essays*, vol. 94, Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia (S.E.P.S.M.E.A.) (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 50.

¹²⁴ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 132.

In addition to, and due to the socio-political transformations, the spatial transformations of Ankara continued. Although during the Democratic Party period Ankara had lost its priority, its population reached to 650.000 in 1960. The Jansen plan, however, was prepared according to the assumption that Ankara's population would reach to 300.000 in 50 years. That is, the population projection of Jansen plan was surpassed in the 1950s and a new plan for the development of Ankara was needed. As a result of an international competition, which was held in 1955, Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin's proposal was chosen and Ankara's urban development was tried to be organized according to this plan.

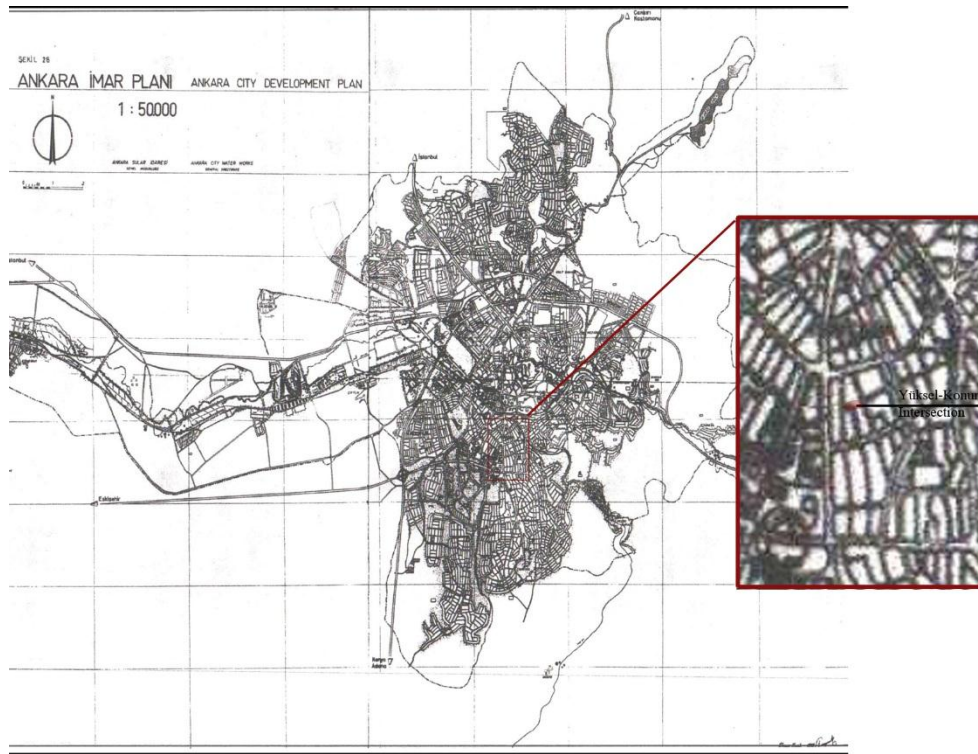


Figure 16 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, 1957. Rectangular area focusing on Yenişehir and Yüksel-Konur Street intersection are enlarged on the right.

Source: <http://www.ankara.bel.tr/files/6513/4726/6062/2-tarihce.pdf>

The transformations that began in Ankara due to rapid urbanization and migrations not only affected the peripheral areas but also repressed the center. From the 1950s on, there were intense pressures for an increase in building heights in the residential areas located close to the center. In 1951, it was allowed to add an attic floor to all residential buildings and an additional floor to those located along the convenient streets and avenues. After this regulation, the Ankara Municipality permitted three-storey residential buildings in Kızılay to be four-storey and those along Atatürk Boulevard to be five-storey.¹²⁵ From then on, the center of Ankara would develop vertically.

The Yücel-Uybadin plan did not prevent this kind of vertical transformation resulted from the demands of landowners and land speculators. It proposed the development of the city within the municipal boundaries, and legitimated vertical development and apartment blocks on the same plots.¹²⁶ Ali Cengizkan emphasizes that, with the Yücel-Uybadin plan, the concerns of both Lörcher and Jansen plans, such as green belts, the emphasis on the citadel, and the spatial quality and compositions of urban places were not valid concerns any longer. Besides, the plan proposed high-rise buildings that would turn streets and avenues to transportation channels around Ulus, Kızılay, Gazi Kemal Boulevard and Atatürk Boulevard.¹²⁷ Neither did it show sensitivity to the decisions that the previous plans considered, nor was it sufficient to meet the city's new requirements. Hence, the plan tried to solve the unplanned expansion of the city by proposing the development in a way

¹²⁵ Altaban, "Cumhuriyet'in Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi," 52.

¹²⁶ Olgu Çalışkan, "Forming a Capital: Changing Perspectives on the Planning of Ankara (1924-2007) and Lessons for a New Master-Planning Approach to Developing Cities," *Footprint*, no. 5 (2009): 34.

¹²⁷ Cengizkan, "1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi," 41.

in which the existing buildings' areas and height would increase, and green areas and public places would lose their previous importance.



Figure 17 Aerial Photograph of Kızılay, 1953
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive



Figure 18 Atatürk Boulevard was still a green promenade in 1954
Source: Koç University Vekam Archive

Therefore, Kızılay and Ankara's central area were sacrificed by periodical increases in building heights. The District Building Height Regulation Plan (*Bölge Kat Nizamı Tadilat Planı*) that permitted the addition of one floor to all of the buildings was implemented in 1960. In 1968, one more floor was added to the entire building stock of the city by forbidding lofts and attic floors.¹²⁸ Besides, the Flat Ownership Law (*Kat Mülkiyeti Yasası*), which was approved in 1965, had a great impact on the built environment. This law permitted multiple ownerships in one building plot. By doing so, it accelerated the rebuilding processes by demolishing the existing building stock. The rebuilding process led to the build-and-sell process, in which contractors would give landowners flats for their lands and make profits from the rest of units. Hence, this process led to important consequences shaping the urban landscapes of cities in Turkey. Firstly it increased the pressures to expand the building areas and heights because it meant more profit for the contractor. Secondly, in order to gain maximum profit in minimum time, insufficient and unqualified buildings were constructed. Urban professionals and architects were not the operative actors in this process since the production of a planned urban environment and buildings in accordance to that was neglected for the sake of economic interests.¹²⁹ Besides, the existing buildings were replaced by new, high-rise buildings although they could continue to be used. This, on the one hand, affected the historical continuity of Ankara, and on the other hand created economic loss, because the existing buildings were replaced before they consumed their life cycle.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Altaban, "Cumhuriyet'in Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi," 54–55.

¹²⁹ Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," 26.

¹³⁰ Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, 61.

Other critical spatial developments of the 1960s in Kızılay was the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Building in 1961, and the Emek Office Building in 1959. With the assembly building, the triangle area planned by Jansen as an administrative district on the western side of Atatürk Boulevard was completed. The construction of this building was started in 1938, but the process lasted 23 years due to the lack of material and labor power, economic stagnation of the world war period and political change after the 1950s.¹³¹ Hence, the building, which was planned to be built in the Yenisehir-Kızılay district that had been a residential and governmental area in the late 1930s, was opened during the 1960s when the area started to transform into a commercial center.

Ali Cengizkan states that the Yücel-Uybadin plan also transformed the functional character of Kızılay and emphasized its commercial aspect.¹³² The Emek Building, which was built in the very center of Kızılay as located in the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Avenue, was a significant example indicating the booming commercial character of the area, whereby the building was an implementation of the contemporary consumption-based economic policies. Besides, it might have accelerated the commercialization of the southern part of the boulevard.

¹³¹ Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002), 95.

¹³² Cengizkan, “1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi,” 32.



Figure 19 Emek Building. The photo also indicates the pedestrian and vehicular flow on the boulevard.

Figure 20 Emek Building accelerated the commercialization of Kızılay, the 1960s.

Source: Koç University and Vekam Archive

While Kızılay gained a more central area character by the Yücel-Uybadin plan, which led to the densification of the buildings on and around the boulevard, and the commercialization of the area, Kızılay started to be used by more people who either lived there or came for daily requirements. Moreover, it turned into the transportation node of the city. This also had significant consequences for the built environment because it brought about the infrastructural problems and increased traffic starting from the 1950s. In 1959, Atatürk Boulevard was widened by cutting the trees along the boulevard and reducing the sidewalks.¹³³ This situation damaged the green appearance and the daily life organized around the boulevard.

¹³³ Güven Dinçer, “Ankara Atatürk Bulvarı’nın Öyküsü,” in *Cumhuriyet Devrimi’nin Yolu: Atatürk Bulvarı*, ed. Çağatay Keskinok (Ankara: Koleksiyoncular Derneği, 2009), 33.



Figure 21 Atatürk Boulevard and Meşrutiyet Avenue, 1970
Source: Koç University and Vekam Archive

Those spatial transformations together with economic, social and political transformations altered the city's public life. Whereas the tendency of the high income groups living in Kızılay was to leave the center and move towards Çankaya and Gazi Osman Paşa¹³⁴, Kızılay started to be used by the middle and lower income groups.

The immigrants and the locals, particularly the working classes, became more and more an integral part of the urban economy centered on Kızılay, which, in turn, meant that they increasingly

¹³⁴ The housing area of the high-income groups consisted of ten percent of the total housing area in Ankara in 1970. 73 percent of this area was located in the southern part of the city including Çankaya, Kavaklıdere, Küçük Esat, Ayrancı, Yenışehir, Maltepe, and Bahçelievler. *Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu (1970-1990)*, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu Yayın No:5 (Ankara: Ankara Yüksek Teknik Öğretmen Okulu Matbaa Atelyesi, 1977), 303.

became a part of a public life from which they had previously been excluded.¹³⁵

Hence, new social groups became visible more than ever in the public places of the area. Thus, public places were now where diverse social groups were seen together and encountered each other. Batuman states that, in a short period, this encounter transformed into a political clash and he continues explaining the significance of the Kızılay Square in this and the following decades as a politically loaded public place.¹³⁶

The newly gained political public identity of Kızılay provided larger public groups to appreciate the leftist, socialist understanding of the world. Moreover, this resulted in the new municipal movements through which, in turn, Ankara played a vital role in the urban development of Turkey and local governments in the 1970s.¹³⁷

The new socialist municipal movement was realized by Vedat Dalokay first and Ali Dinçer later in Ankara. In this period a consultative committee including academicians and urban professionals was established and they focused on the problems of the society and the city.¹³⁸ The new municipal movement rejected the

¹³⁵ Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re) Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 269.

¹³⁶ Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re) Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 270-274. For further reading on politic identity of Kızılay Square, see; Yasemin İlkay, "The Political Struggle on and at Public Space: The Case of Kızılay Square" (PhD diss., METU, 2007).

¹³⁷ Keleş and Duru, "Ankara'nın Ülke Kentleşmesindeki Etkilerine Tarihsel Bir Bakış," 37.

¹³⁸ Keleş and Duru, 38.

conventional relations in the municipalities that were organized by dominant social groups and classes for their interests. Rather, urban professionals developed policies and projects to meet the demands of the working classes of the city. According to Batuman, they even had an attitude towards the middle-class housing districts as the source of the urban problems because the insufficient infrastructure of the city was the result of their demands and pressure for the increase in building heights. Therefore, middle-classes led to increase in traffic, air pollution, rental values, and land prices as they speculatively used their lands to have unfair profit. As Batuman emphasizes, for the first time, the middle-classes, which had been accepted as the dynamo of the urban life, were perceived as the reasons for urban problems.¹³⁹ In this process, new projects were developed to solve the public transportation, traffic, and housing shortage; and as a result, the Batıkent project was planned in the western part of the city. The aim of the municipal understanding of the period was to increase public participation in local governing processes. Besides, the first pedestrianized area in Kızılay was also planned in this period¹⁴⁰ so as to meet the public place requirements of the city separated from traffic.

This era paved the way for different opportunities in the emergence of new urban places in Ankara. As Kızılay turned into a commercial as well as an administrative district, the residential areas close to Atatürk Boulevard, including Sakarya, İzmir and Yüksel Street and their close environs, also transformed into the public places in accordance with their new functions after the 1960s. In time, while Sakarya Street and İzmir Street turned into more commercial places, Yüksel Street and its close

¹³⁹ Bülent Batuman, "Toplumcu Bir Belediyecilik Modeli: Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi" 1973-1977," *Mülkiye Dergisi* 34, no. 266 (2010): 234.

¹⁴⁰ Keleş and Duru, "Ankara'nın Ülke Kentleşmesindeki Etkilerine Tarihsel Bir Bakış," 38.

environs came to the forefront with their socially and politically influential publicness in addition to the commercial function. Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection is also an essential part of this area hosting various social services and social groups since the 1960s. Therefore, in the following section, the study will focus on the transformation of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection area regarding spatial and social transformations after the 1960s.

3.2.2 The Intersection as Part of the New Public Center of Ankara

Konur Street and Yüksel Street transformed in parallel with the transformations of Kızılay. As it is mentioned before, the study area had served the residential function of the newly formed Yenışehir-Kızılay district in the early Republican times while Atatürk Boulevard and open public areas on and around it housed social, cultural and commercial activities of the city. While Kızılay became the main center of Ankara from the 1960s on, with the increase in population, traffic and the requirements of the central business area, the existing public places became inadequate. Hence, new features and conditions that a modern city and society required also started to be placed towards the inner parts of the boulevard. In that manner, the identity of Konur Street and its close environs began to be shaped by social, cultural and commercial functions in addition to that of residential. Therefore, the transformation of the study area occurred in the spatial form of the place and its functions, and thus in its social character as a public place.

The spatial transformation of the area indicates similarity with the other residential areas in Ankara's center. While it was a low-density residential area developed in accordance with the Lörcher plan first and Jansen plan later, after the 1950s, its building density gradually increased. Çakan and Okçuğulu argue that the most

important factor that caused the increase in density was that while the social groups who had had power on the decision-making since the declaration of the Republic did not have the land at first, now they became the landowners with economic expectations from their properties.¹⁴¹ This brought about the fact that the ground area and height of the buildings in the area increased.

Therefore, in the study area Evyapan states that the building heights that had been 3-storey with attics according to the Jansen plan were increased to 12.5 – 14.5 meters in detached buildings and 12.5 meters in attached buildings in 1955 and the buildings became 4-storey with basement. In 1960, the buildings in the study area were allowed to be 5-storey with basement and attic while the ones alongside Meşrutiyet Avenue were allowed to be 7-storey with basement and attic. Finally in 1968, because the attic floors were forbidden, the buildings became six storeys in the study area.¹⁴² Moreover, since building depths were also increased, open areas and garden areas were decreased.

¹⁴¹ Cengiz Çakan and Yusuf Okçuoğlu, “Ankara’da İmarlı Alanda Yoğunluk Sorunu,” *Mimarlık* 152, no. 3 (1977): 43.

¹⁴² Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 36.



Figure 22 Ankara district building height plan
 Source: Sezai Göksu, “Yenişehir: Ankara’da Bir İmar Öyküsü,” in *Kent, Planlama, Politika, Sanat: Tarık Okyay Anısına Yazılar*, ed. İlhan Tekeli (Ankara: Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1994), 275.



Figure 23 Parcel plan of the area in 1939. Plot divisions were added to the same plan in the following years. The red lines are used to demonstrate the parcel divisions after the 1960s.
 Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

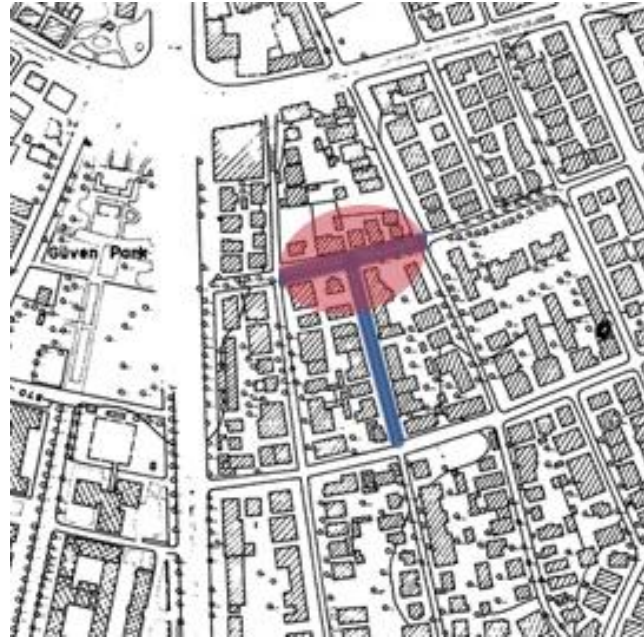


Figure 24 Plan of 1970, indicating the building density in the study area.
Source: Koç University VEKAM Archive

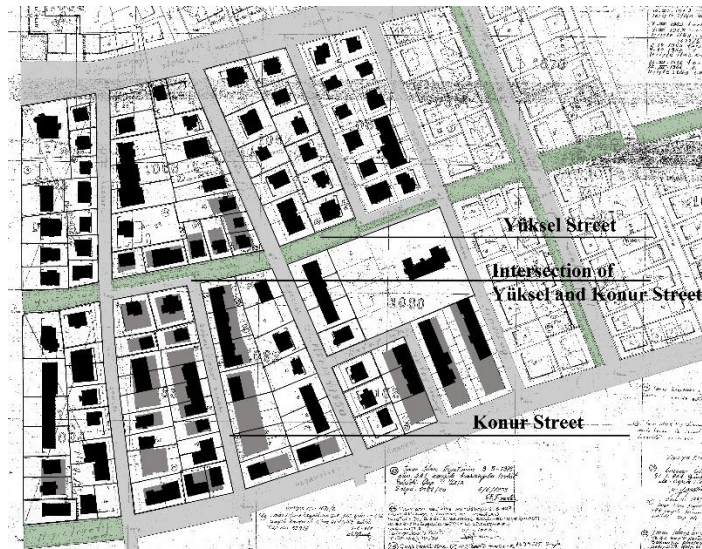


Figure 25 The plan of 1939. The building stock in 1939 is shown with black spots. The grey areas illustrate the increase in building depths and widths after the 1970s.
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

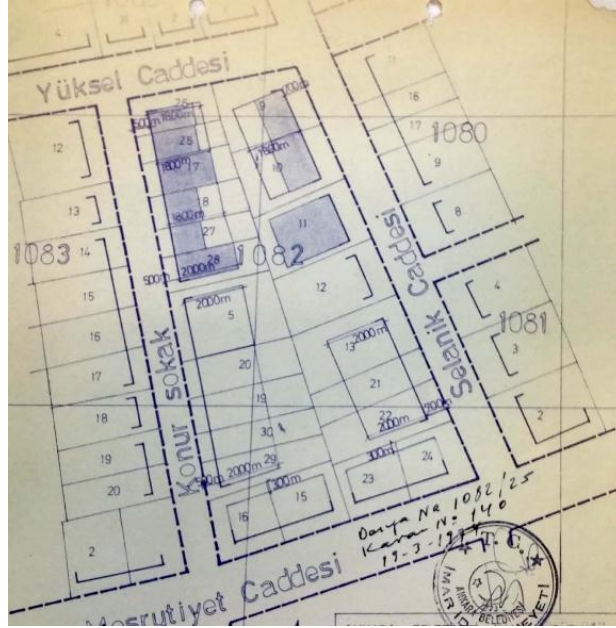


Figure 26 The street plan of 1974 indicating the building façade lines and building depths.
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

Toplam kullanım birimleri sayısındaki artış aşağıdaki tabloda verilmektedir:
Kaynak : Ankara Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü arşivi

Ada No	1939	1959	1977
1083	66	99	293
1082 (incelenen kesim)	36	44	136
1066 (incelenen kesim)	11	28	70
Genel Toplam	113	171	499

Table 1 The table indicates the increase in units depending on the increase in building heights and depths in the study area in 1939, 1959, and 1977.

Source: Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 38.

During the processes that caused the increase in building density, the number of units that made up buildings also increased. Especially during the time period between 1959 and 1977, the number of units almost tripled (Table 1). This situation was also accompanied by the alteration of the area's functional use and social structure. Since Kızılay gradually transformed into the main center of Ankara, this area also started to serve different functions because it was very close to the administrative and commercial center of Ankara. It began to show similarity to the boulevard in terms of functional use. Akçura points out that, in that part of Kızılay, apart from the housing, hotels, expensive restaurants, foreign cultural centers, clubs, and casinos began to take place. Besides, political party buildings, labor unions, student associations, chambers of professions, and other civil society organizations chose this area. Similarly, foreign company offices and Istanbul companies' offices, Ankara offices of İstanbul based newspapers, architectural and engineering offices that conducted state projects were opened there to be close to the ministries and the national assembly.¹⁴³ Hence, those new functions were mostly located close to the boulevard. Although there continued to be apartments used for housing, the buildings in this area began to be preferred for commercial uses and as offices of different business sectors.

¹⁴³ Tuğrul Akçura, *Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1971), 124.

Kullanım birim türleri dökümü aşağıdaki tabloda verilmektedir:
Kaynak : Ankara Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü arşivi

1939 da,

Ada No.	Özel		Ticari			Ticari		Resmi	
	Konut	Konut	Satış	Lokanta	Atölye	Büro	Büro	Dernek	Dersane
1083	61	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
1082	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1066	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toplam	108	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

1959'da,

1083	90	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
1082	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1066	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toplam	162	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0

1977'de,

1083	66	21	23	1	1	131	16	13	21
1082	42	13	11	0	3	62	0	5	0
1066	0	0	7	1	0	40	10	12	0
Toplam	108	34	41	2	4	233	26	30	21

Table 2 The table indicates the new functions that were located in the study area in 1939, 1959 and 1977.

Source: Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 39.

While the area comprised of residential units between 1939 and 1959, the commercial and governmental offices, educational institutions, and associations were the new functions that shaped the everyday life of the study area after the 1960s. In 1977, such functions formed seventy percent of total use in the study area, while the retail stores made up approximately ten percent of the whole units (Table 2). The social functions transformed everyday life routines and shaped the identity of the study area because Konur Street and Yüksel Street were shaped by those social functions, unlike other streets that developed as sub-centers with retail stores

around Kızılay. The area had a different, and more active role in the social and cultural life of Ankara and obtained its place in the social and political history of the city. Its identity thus began to be constructed not only by commercial but also by social and cultural uses that contributed to the urban life of the changed population.

The choice of the area for the buildings of significant civil society organizations played an important role in the development of the public identity of the area from the 1960s on. First, *Mimarlar Odası* (Chamber of Architects) was settled in an apartment on Konur Street in 1959, and rebuilt the apartment in 1967 where it continued to function. Then, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* (Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Alumni Association) also bought a building at the corner of Konur and Yüksel Streets in 1964 and another one next to it on Selanik Street in 1967. As it will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter, the public identity of these institutions affected the increasing social role of the intersection area of Yüksel Street and Konur Street in the 1970s and the 1980s.



Figure 27 The new office block built in 1970 by *Mimarlar Odası*.
Source: *Mimarlık*, no. 306 (2002): 62.

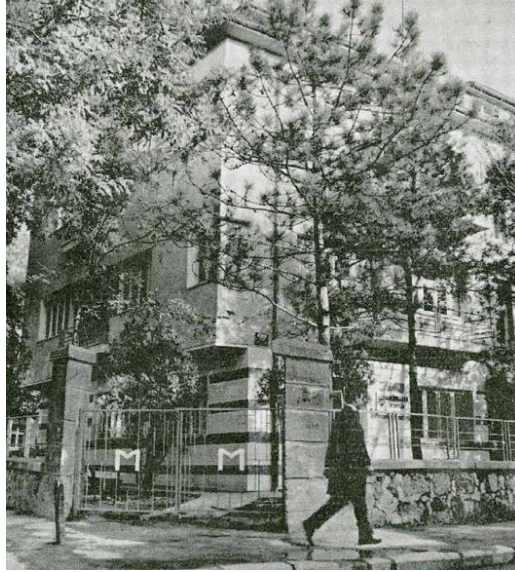


Figure 28 Mülkiyeliler Birliđi
Source: Mülkiyeliler Birliđi E-Bülten, 2015: 1

During the 1970s, various offices of publishing firms, distributors of publishing firms and offices of social science journals were also opened on Konur Street, affecting the changing social and cultural identity of the area. *Yürüyüş* and *Yankı* were those journals. Moreover, Ankara office of the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* was also located at Konur Street until the military government closed the office after two months from the military coup of 1980.¹⁴⁴

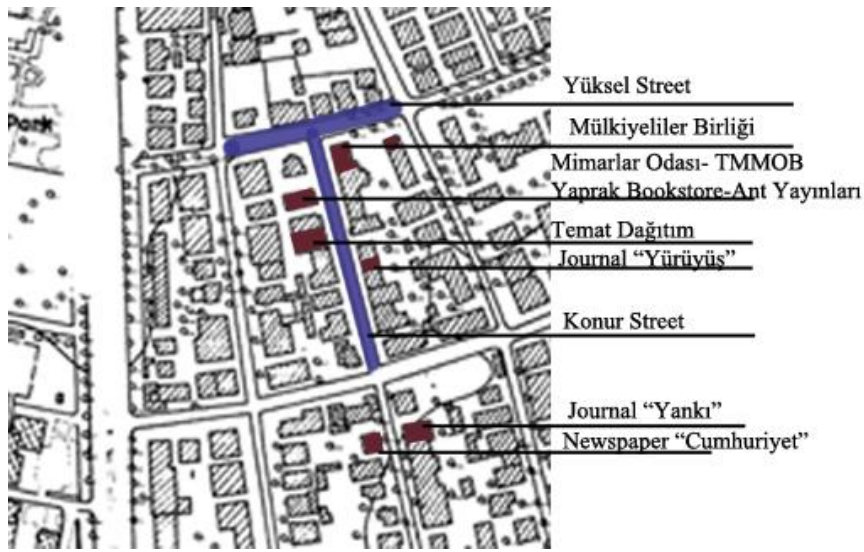


Figure 29 Plan of 1970. New functions located in the study area during the 1970s are indicated by the author.

Source: Koç University VEKAM Archive

In addition, during the 1980s, some major bookstores were opened on Konur Street. In 1982, the Dost Bookstore rented the ground floor of the building of *Mimarlar Odası*. Actually, before the Dost Bookstore, the Yaprak Bookstore used the same

¹⁴⁴ Can Dündar in his memoir writes that September 12 had consequences on Konur Street and its environment, but the neighborhood solidarity survived. Can Dündar, *Benim Gençliğim* (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2008).

place, selling mostly the publications on art and architecture, and foreign journals, which took attention of limited people.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Dost Bookstore increased the users of the area. It helped produce and define the new social life around those functions letting new social relations emerge. Moreover, in its first years on Konur Street, the basement floor of the Dost Bookstore was used as an art gallery, named *Dost Sanat Ortamı*, founded to organize cultural events, panels, small concerts and exhibitions in Ankara and a small bazaar was also organized by people bringing their own productions once in a month.¹⁴⁶ In this way, people coming to the bookstore could participate in other activities. Ali Artun, in one of his reviews, mentions that reproduction and poster exhibitions that he organized there were followed by great interest and seen by lots of people as they also took the attention of those coming to the bookstore.¹⁴⁷ The Dost Bookstore was not only a shop transforming the commercial characteristic of the area, but also played a leading role in that many other bookstores and cafes were also opened in the area. The İmge Bookstore was one of them, opened on Konur Street in 1984, across the Dost Bookstore. Both bookstores were not only the ordinary shops selling books but also had become essential publishing firms in Turkey, especially in the field of social sciences. Hence, they became the attraction areas for those interested in social sciences in Ankara. Other than those, the Verso, Hitit and Yada publishing firms also opened their offices on Konur Street in the 1980s. These bookstores and offices of publishing firms were new functions supporting a more intellectual atmosphere. As Atauz states, together with the new functions in this area, the small urban place

¹⁴⁵ Akın Atauz, “Dost’un Hikâyesi, II. Bölüm: Konur Sokak,” *Alternatif Ankara Hayatı!*, January 20, 2018, <https://lavarla.com/dostun-hikayesi-2-bolum-konur-sokak/>.

¹⁴⁶ Atauz.

¹⁴⁷ Nazlı Pektaş, “Ali Artun İle Söyleşi: Sanatın Direnişinden Hayatın Hafızasına,” *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 155 (2016).

containing Konur, Karanfil and Yüksel Streets evolved into a more democratic and libertarian environment since increasing number of students, intellectuals, professionals and leftist groups started to frequent the places there.¹⁴⁸

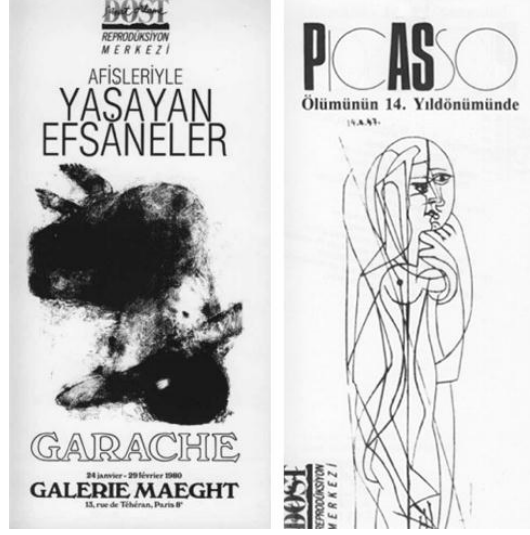


Figure 30 The invitation of the exhibitions organized at *Dost Sanat Ortamı*
Source: *Sanat Dünyamız*, 2016

¹⁴⁸ Atauz, “Dost’un Hikâyesi, II. Bölüm.”



Figure 31 Plan of 1939. New functions located in the study area during the 1980s are indicated by the author.

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

The last input in the transformation of the area into a social and cultural center was the pedestrianization of the area that eased the pedestrian use and increased the number of people using the area free from traffic. The pedestrianization of Yüksel Street was realized in 1989, also including Konur Street and Karanfil Street. However, the idea and the project of pedestrianization of the area had been considered earlier with the projects to revitalize the city center around Kızılay in order to control the traffic and vitalize city life. In the 1970s, urban professionals working as consultants to the new municipal organization in Ankara reported that Ankara and its center lacked sufficient green areas, and public places where people would come together to contribute to the formation of public opinion. This was seen as a crucial deficiency because Ankara was the decision center of the country. Therefore, the Ankara Municipality started to revitalize Kızılay and its immediate

surrounding, and firstly, the pedestrianization projects that attributed new functions to Sakarya, Yüksel, and Olgunlar Streets and aimed to develop the public life and opinion would be put into implementation.¹⁴⁹

The pedestrian areas around Kızılay were defined by the Ankara Municipality's decision numbered 1045 in 15.05.1979, when Ali Dinçer was the Mayor, and the Ankara Governorship Traffic Commission's decision numbered 1979/165 in 06.07.1979.¹⁵⁰ In this period, the pedestrian zones were planned to surround Kızılay Square as a circle. First of all, Sakarya Street and its immediate surrounding including Selanik, Tuna, İnkilap Streets were pedestrianized. It was followed by the pedestrianization of İzmir Street between 1979 and 1980.¹⁵¹ Although the pedestrianization projects were stopped after the military coup in 1980, the Ankara Municipality Pedestrian Area Regulation was published in the official newspaper and put into implementation in 1981. In 1982, as a result of the Electric, Gas and Bus (EGO) General Management's study, Yüksel Street was pedestrianized. In the following years, those areas would be organized regarding their functions.¹⁵² However, during that initial intervention in the area, Yüksel Street was

¹⁴⁹ *Ankara Belediyesi Başkanlık Uzmanları Çalışma Raporları* (Ankara: Basın Yayın Mudurluğu, 1976), 113.

¹⁵⁰ Ayşegül Oruçkaptan, "Kızılay Meydanı Çevresindeki Yaya Bölgelerinin İrdelenmesi ve Geliştirilmesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma" (Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara University, 1991), 14.

¹⁵¹ Sülün Evinç Torlak, "Pedestrianization at Urban Core" (Unpublished Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1983), 177.

¹⁵² Bayazıt Oğuz Ayoğlu, "Zafer Anıtı–Güvenpark–TBMM" Kent Aksının Varolan Durumunun İrdelenmesi ve Cumhuriyet Aksı Olarak Yeniden Tasarımı" (Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara University, 2010), 49.

pedestrianized partially, while Konur and Karanfil Streets were still open to traffic and enabled the stream of traffic between Meşrutiyet and Ziya Gökalp Avenues.



Figure 32 Pedestrianization of 1979-1980. While Yüksel Street was partially pedestrianized, Konur and Karanfil Streets were open to the traffic.
Source: Pedestrianization at Urban Core, 1983: 175.

On March 20, 1989, when the mayor was Murat Karayalçın, the “Ankara Kızılay Landscape and Pedestrian Areas Project” was commissioned to the Yalçın-Beate Oğuz office by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. In the project report, it was stated that one of the aims of the project was to keep the green belt approach that Jansen had planned in 1932.¹⁵³ The implementation of the project started on June 5, 1989 with the collaboration of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the

¹⁵³ Oruçkaptan, “Kızılay Meydanı Çevresindeki Yaya Bölgelerinin İrdelenmesi ve Geliştirilmesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma,” 72.

Çankaya Municipality, and the pedestrianized area including Yüksel, Konur, and Karanfil Streets was opened on the New Year's Day in 1990, introducing Yüksel Street as the new culture-art street of Ankara.¹⁵⁴



Figure 33 Human Rights Monument by Metin Yurdanur

Source:

<http://metinyurdanur.com.tr/image.php?width=228&height=228&cropratio=1:1&image=http://metinyurdanur.com.tr/userfiles/insanhaklari02.jpg>

This pedestrianized area was planned to house Ankara's intellectual activities, and in the pedestrianization project, the exhibition places were proposed for young people.¹⁵⁵ After the pedestrianization, young people exhibited their handmade

¹⁵⁴ Çankaya (Istanbul: KHM Kent Hizmetleri Merkezi, 1991), 54.

¹⁵⁵ Tonguç Akış, "Urban Space and Everyday Life: Walking through Yuksel Pedestrian District (YPD)" (Unpublished Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2001), 28.

works, and art projects in this area.¹⁵⁶ With pedestrianization, the public identity of the area was strengthened as the number of people using the area increased. The character of the area as a public place where people could present their political and democratic demands and protests was also symbolized by a monument, when, in 1989, Mayor of Çankaya Municipality, Doğan Taşdelen commissioned sculptor Metin Yurdanur for the Human Rights Monument. Yurdanur designed a silent woman figure reading the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the monument was placed in the pedestrianized area where Yüksel Street and Konur Street intersected on December 10, 1990, the anniversary of the acceptance of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Turkey. The Human Rights Association, founded in 1986 to fight against the undemocratic and repressive policies realized after the military coup of 1980, normalization of human rights abuse, and tried to document and raise the social sensitivity against the anti-democratic implementation of the state,¹⁵⁷ was also located on Konur Street.¹⁵⁸ Organizing regular press releases and small demonstrations during the second half of the 1980s,¹⁵⁹ the Human Rights Association became influential in the erection of the Human Rights Monument there and in the continuing social role of the area as a gathering place in the coming decades.

¹⁵⁶ Ayoğlu, “Zafer Anıtı–Güvenpark–TBMM” Kent Aksının Varolan Durumunun İrdelenmesi ve Cumhuriyet Aksı Olarak Yeniden Tasarımı,” 69.

¹⁵⁷ “History of Human Rights Association (IHD) – Human Rights Association (IHD),” accessed July 19, 2018, <http://ihd.org.tr/en/index.php/2008/12/08/history-of-human-rights-association-ihd/>.

¹⁵⁸ “İnsan Hakları Derneği Toplandı,” *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, September 10, 1986, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Sibel Hürtaş, “O Heykele İnsanlar Sahip Çıkmalı,” *Artı Gerçek*, accessed October 1, 2017, <http://www.artigercek.com/o-heykele-insanlar-sahip-cikmali>.

To conclude, the area was planned as a residential district created by the state and its ideology of modernization shaped the formation of the area that became an important part of the new modern city of Ankara. It was a place for the houses of national elites and bureaucrats across the administrative center. By the 1950s, the transformations in all realms of social life, and their consequences on the city's spatial organization like urbanization and migrations, caused the area to be defined by apartment blocks. However, the most vital was the transformation of the functions and users of the area after the 1960s. While the old inhabitants started to move towards the southern part of the city, and Kızılay became a commercial and business center, the study area started to turn into a public place with commercial, recreational and social functions. It was preferred first by the civil society institutions, in the following years by bookstores, journal, newspaper and publishing firms' offices, other organizations, etc. Those new functions, and public life, and daily practices flourished around them led to the spatialization of the public sphere and strengthened the civil society that contributed to the public identity of the area. Pedestrianization had also crucial consequences in the study area's transformation into an urban node that was used by more people for walking, sitting and gathering with others. During those decades from the 1960s to the 1980s, Yüksel Street and Konur Street became more than channels providing access to other places. Especially *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* played significant roles in the organization of the diverse social groups and in the area's identity developed by their intellectual practices.¹⁶⁰ Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection as a public place where different social groups such as architects, engineers,

¹⁶⁰ Özgün Dinçer, "Sokak Siyasetinin Bir Örneği Olarak Yüksel-Konur Sokaklar," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlel Dergisi* 3, no. 2 (2016): 53–77.

students, laborers, politicians, intellectuals, and writers operated, also became a symbolic place for the opposition groups.

CHAPTER 4

THE CIVIL SOCIETY INSTITUTIONS AT YÜKSEL STREET- KONUR STREET INTERSECTION

As it is mentioned in both Chapter Two and Three, the changed functional uses of spaces and institutions are influential in the transformation of public places and their identities. From the 1960s until the end of the 1980s, the identity of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection transformed in the direction of both physical and social changes. It turned into a sub center sheltering similar functions to that of Kızılay. While its physical environment started to be defined by high rise apartment blocks, it also became an area where commercial and business life of the city took place.

In addition to that, the area began to be preferred by civil society institutions, unions, organizations, and bookstores, which flourished and diversified the social life of Ankara at that time. This kind of functions not only transform the functional character of an area but also may alter its identity. Promoting and enhancing social relations at a variety of spatial scales in cities, they facilitate diversity of social, cultural and political life. Moreover, since diverse actors, institutions or organizations have similar problems, or seek for common ideals, they try to organize strong ties with each other and come together for similar purposes. This kind of a web creates a ‘culture of resistance’ in urban places and produce and

reproduce this culture by the symbolic construction of the built environment.¹⁶¹ In this vein, they alter the way urban places are perceived, appropriated, and used.

The history of the institutions that were located in the area from the 1960s onwards indicates a similar direction witnessed in the sociopolitical life of Turkey. The members of these institutions had had a more statist perspective until the late 1960s as graduates of Kemalist educational institutions of the early Republican period who saw “themselves to be natural candidates for ‘saving the state.’”¹⁶² However, from then on, the identity of these institutions changed with new members, and by being active participants in social and political agenda of Turkey. As a result, these institutions also helped the construction of the new meaning of the area of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection by altering its user profile and daily routines via various activities that they organized. Therefore, this chapter will focus on two institutions, namely *Mimarlar Odası*, located quite close to the intersection of Yüksel Street and Konur Street, and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*, located on the intersection of these two streets, which played significant roles in the social life of the country as well as that of the area. In order to clarify their influence on the study area, the identities of the institutions, their contribution to the daily life of the city and the study area will be discussed in relation to their impacts on the identity of the area.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Walter J. Nicholls, “The Urban Question Revisited: The Importance of Cities for Social Movements,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 4 (2008): 848.

¹⁶² Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development* (London: Verso London, 1987), 199.

¹⁶³ For the chronological list of events related to these institutions on the Konur Street, see Appendix B.



Figure 34 Maps of 1939. The locations of *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* on Konur Street were indicated by the author.
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

4.1 Public Space and Civil Society Institutions

The quality of public place depends on not only its physical features but also the social and cultural dynamics behind the social dimension of place. What shapes public life and civil society that developed through public life also shapes public places. It creates the quality of public place that citizens, as active social actors, communicate, interact and participate in decision making. It also denotes the efficient contribution of civil society. According to Calhoun, a successful political public sphere, as a democratic institution, is achieved if it supports a rational and

influential discourse about the common societal concerns with the organization of civil society.¹⁶⁴

Habermas conceptualizes the production of public sphere through communicative action. It is neither “*the functions nor the contents* of everyday communication”, but rather it is *the social space* emerged from communication action.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, it is a space, material and/or virtual, which enables citizens to come together, and anchor their concerns, interests, and perspectives for public deliberation. Civil society, on the other hand, is “nongovernmental and noneconomic connections, and voluntary associations,” becoming the voice of the public sphere.¹⁶⁶ Civil society is described as the diverse relationships in which citizens position themselves as a member of a community and collaborate with others for common goods.¹⁶⁷ Calhoun defines civil society, by emphasizing its being separate from the state, as a self-organizing society with “freedom of religion, association, business activity, conversation and the press.”¹⁶⁸

Public communication, and thus public sphere, shape what civil society organizations’ concerns are, and what they do in order to solve what they regard as

¹⁶⁴ Craig Calhoun, “Civil Society and the Public Sphere,” *Public Culture* 5, no. 2 (1993): 276.

¹⁶⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), 360.

¹⁶⁶ Habermas, 366.

¹⁶⁷ Stewart Ranson, “Remaking Public Spaces for Civil Society,” *Critical Studies in Education* 53, no. 3 (2012): 246.

¹⁶⁸ Craig Calhoun, “Civil Society and Public Sphere,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*, ed. Michael Edwards (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 312.

common problems.¹⁶⁹ Those organizations emerge from the public debates to be the voice of publics. In that regard, civil society organizations are not linked to governments, and driven by economic interest, but are voluntary associations that empower the sense of public through their works for common interests.¹⁷⁰ Although all civil society organizations are not the same in their commitment and advocacy, they are assumed to defend the underrepresented communities by increasing people's participation in public communication.

Public places, similarly, encourage public communication via the potentials that are in their either physical or social dimension by contributing to daily life and the formation of public sphere. They are the material settings allowing face-to-face communication for diverse individuals or groups. According to their public characters, and features defining their functions and uses, they promote public interaction. As a result, they facilitate diverse publics to be active participants of civil society and civil society organizations. Calhoun, for instance, emphasizes the scale and pedestrian character of many European cities for their contribution to public interaction while remarking the unfavorable impacts of suburbanization and large-scale urban design projects on that.¹⁷¹ Being vital in public communication, public places provide a place for civil society organizations to represent themselves by being seen and heard by more people, and to increase their influence area. On

¹⁶⁹ Calhoun, 320.

¹⁷⁰ Sabine Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 12.

¹⁷¹ Calhoun, "Civil Society and Public Sphere," 322.

the other hand, publics operating in those organizations construct their identities along with public place, which in turn reshape public place's identity.

In that regard, the uniqueness of a place arises from the social interactions there among various social groups forming the civil society.¹⁷² Moreover, what makes a public place unique in that sense, i.e. a place for the representation of democratic civil society and its institutions, stems from the fulfillment of such groups and institutions' actions and demands.¹⁷³

In Turkey, the development of civil society followed an unbalanced process through the history of the Republic. As it is mentioned before, in the early years of the Republic, the dominant discourse was shaped by Republicanism and nationalism that aimed a united nation defined according to modern principles. Public life was thus shaped by state-driven policies and the elite groups in charge gained its legitimacy with the advocacy of the modern Republic. The idea of a society with no conflict of interest among its citizens was tried to be realized during the single-party regime.¹⁷⁴ New urban areas and public places were planned in such a way that they would serve the material settings for modern public life. Nonetheless, Tekeli argues that creating a public sphere in which free citizens participated and discussed to create a common world in Turkey did not become fully successful because of the populist discourses and conservative interest based relations.¹⁷⁵ Besides, civil rights

¹⁷² Michael W. Longan, "Building a Global Sense of Place: The Community Networking Movement in the United States," *Urban Geography* 23, no. 3 (2002): 214.

¹⁷³ Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 35.

¹⁷⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (İmge kitabevi, 2001), 26.

¹⁷⁵ Tekeli, 52.

were given by the state to be withdrawn easily when necessary rather being the acquisition of social struggles of different social groups. Civil society gained strength with the 1961 constitution guaranteeing civil rights, freedom of thought, association, and publication. Although the military coups and interventions after that aimed to strengthen the state against civil society while pacifying and silencing it,¹⁷⁶ many associations, civil society institutions, unions, etc. became highly influential in its further formation. As a result, the reflection/impacts of civil society and social movements in public places led to the transformation of public places and their meaning during the period of analysis between the 1960s and the 1980s in this study.

4.2 *Mimarlar Odası* (Chamber of Architects of Turkey)

Mimarlar Odası has tried to introduce, and develop the architectural culture in Turkey since its foundation in 1954, focusing on contemporary architectural issues and proposing their solutions. However, its contribution to the public sphere of Turkey has not been limited to the architectural production and culture. The political atmosphere after the 1961 constitution and welfare state policies, led to the dominance of the socialist way of thinking among all diverse actors of the society, and leftist groups being more visible on both public sphere of Turkey and public places, also affected architects who started to deal with social issues more than ever.¹⁷⁷ They spent considerable effort on the social and political problems of the country with the effect of Turkey's changing public sphere. From educational

¹⁷⁶ Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*; Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey*.

¹⁷⁷ Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," 28.

matters to student movements, from the exploitation of coastal areas to the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge, and the unplanned development of cities for the sake of short-term economic growth, they struggled against the policies that were against the public interest. That is why, *Mimarlar Odası* has become a well-known, trustworthy civil society institution. The impacts of the building of the chamber on the public identity of Konur Street, i.e. on its construction as a socially and politically loaded place, is therefore important. As the chamber became more public, it took more attention of various social groups with its activities, events, seminars, etc.

Mimarlar Odası was founded in 1954. The Turkish Architects Association, in which the architects had been organized before the foundation of the chamber, had great contributions to the law of the Turkish Union of Chamber of Engineers and Architects. Çetin Ünalın emphasizes that, since 1927 when The Turkish Architects Association¹⁷⁸ was established, one of the main aims of architects was to have an organization like the chamber of commerce and industry.¹⁷⁹ Architects, who had worked hard and dedicatedly on the preparation of the law of the chamber over the next 25 years¹⁸⁰ were the first members of the chamber, and also members of the Turkish Architects Association.

¹⁷⁸ The name of the association was later changed to “Architects’ Association 1927.”

¹⁷⁹ Ünalın, *Cumhuriyet Mimarlığının Kuruluşu ve Kurumlaşması Sürecinde Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti’nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927’ye*, 48.

¹⁸⁰ Although at first the efforts made for the law that provided the foundation of the chamber were limited to those of architects, and thus, the proposed law covered merely architects; in the following

On December 15, 1954, *Mimarlar Odası* was founded. Its first headquarters was in Istanbul. The Ankara Branch of the chamber was opened on December 25, 1955. However, the headquarter offices of all chambers and unions moved to Ankara in 1959 by the law numbered 7303.¹⁸¹ From then on, both the Ankara branch and the headquarters of *Mimarlar Odası* as well as The Turkish Architects Association started to work together in Ankara.

4.2.1 The Identity of *Mimarlar Odası* and Its Ankara Branch

Ankara Branch of *Mimarlar Odası* is not merely important since its building is located in this area. Its meaning and the perceived identity beyond its physical existence are also important regarding the construction of the identity of this area. In this manner, the history of the chamber and its identity transformed over time offer a rich background that has also affected the identity of this area. Therefore, it is crucial to analyze the identity of the institution to illuminate the factors contributing to the identity of the area.

Mimarlar Odası was founded in 1954 and has been located in this area since 1959. It has dealt with the problems of the profession to find out solutions, and to strengthen and revitalize the architectural production and culture in Turkey. However, it does not mean that the mere concern of the chamber was the issues

years, however, engineers were also involved in the attempts and the law took its final form for the foundation of the Chamber of Architects and Engineers in 1954.

¹⁸¹ Ünalın, *Cumhuriyet Mimarlığının Kuruluşu ve Kurumlaşması Sürecinde Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'ye*, 64.

related to the profession and its identity developed only in that sense. On the contrary, from the 1960s on, it focused on the social, political, and economic issues of the country, and tried to combine the problem of the profession with them. That is why it has become in time an influential, prestigious institution in the socio-political agenda of Turkey as well as in the eyes of the society.

The identity and legitimization of the chamber are parallel to the social, political and economic changes in Turkey and how the chamber positioned itself against those changes. In that sense, Tanık divides the history of the chamber into three periods; elitist period between 1954 and 1965, massive politicization period between 1965 and 1980 and small enterprises period between 1980 and 1990.¹⁸² The period between 1959, when the headquarters of the chamber moved to Ankara, and the late 1960s also indicates the institutionalization of the chamber. At the time, it was tried to overcome the financial difficulties by central accounting procedure and to enforce many implementations of the chamber. In addition, representative offices were opened in different parts of the country, the union rights of architects were fought for, and the first attempts for the new building were realized.¹⁸³ Apart from the operational implementations, the publishing of the journal *Mimarlık* started in 1963. Besides, Nejat Ersin draws attention to the collaboration with the State Planning Organization (SPO) and the clarification of the distinction between the professions of architecture and engineering.¹⁸⁴ In those early years, *Mimarlar Odası* had close relations with the state and state officials and ministries. Those

¹⁸² Bülent Tanık, "Sorumluluk, Üretkenlik, Etkililik, Demokratiklik vb. ve TMMOB," *Birikim Dergisi*, no. 29 (1991): 27.

¹⁸³ Ünalın, *Tanıklarından Mimarlar Odası*, 59.

¹⁸⁴ Nejat Ersin, "1960-1967: Kurumlaşma," in *Tanıklarından Mimarlar Odası: 1954-1990*, ed. Çetin Ünalın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2013), 63.

close relations with the state and its institutions may be observed in the journal of the chamber in which there was a considerable amount of news about the visits to the chamber by the ministers and the prime minister. At the time, architects had important positions both in the parliament and the state organizations and positioned themselves as statist technocrats dealing with both Ankara's and the country's problems in the light of national interests and development.

Both the early decades of the Republic when a modern and national identity was tried to be formed by the help of architecture, and the years after the 1960s when the state planning was perceived as a necessary phenomenon for economic development led architects to position themselves as statist technocrats helping the development of the country. The belief in the realization of the planned development and fair distribution would only weaken towards the end of the 1960s and the statist technocrat character of the architect as a social actor changed for the new generations. In 1965, *Mimarlar Odası* prepared a photography exhibition on unbalanced growth of Ankara and it was aimed to draw attention to the socio-economic circumstances surfaced by the squatter areas, housing shortage, and unplanned development.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, in 1966 the chamber made a radio press release about the urbanization and the squatter areas and criticized that the government abused those living in the squatter areas before the elections without proposing any solutions.¹⁸⁶ In another press release in 1967, *Mimarlar Odası* underlined the development of the country as insufficient, unbalanced and unplanned¹⁸⁷ and organized a seminar on national plan policies, urban planning,

¹⁸⁵ "Dengesiz Kalkınma ve Ankara Sergisi," *Mimarlık*, no. 25 (1965): 2–3.

¹⁸⁶ "Genel Yerleşme Düzeni ve Gecekondu Konusunda Radyo Bülteni," *Mimarlık*, no. 27 (1966): 2.

¹⁸⁷ "Odanın Basın Toplantısı," *Mimarlık*, no. 41 (1967): 5.

transportation plans, tourism, etc.¹⁸⁸ Those activities undoubtedly indicated the changing tendencies in the chamber.

In addition, the contribution of the Constitution of 1961 to the formation of the identity of the chamber cannot be ignored. The constitution was accompanied with a more liberal environment in which lots of banned publications were permitted, and different social groups such as laborers, and students struggled for freedom, and for their democratic and economic rights. The tendencies standing for the working class, and their rights accelerated. Thus, the architect whose identity had been shaped by the duties undertaken in order to create a modern society via state ideology since the early Republican period gained a more socialist character and turned towards the policies emphasizing “the politics of production processes” rather than “the aesthetics of architecture.”¹⁸⁹ In other words, the new dynamics of the society expressed themselves in the new approaches around the architectural circles.

The shift in the social context was also reflected on the identity of the chamber. Arif Şentek, who was the secretary of the 16th and 17th administrative periods at the chamber, states that, whereas there was not any conflict between the architects and the state until the 1960s, the 1961 Constitution led to the politicization of the chamber.¹⁹⁰ The chamber, which had started to use the slogan “*Mimarlar Odası*

¹⁸⁸ “Milli Fiziki Plan Semineri,” *Mimarlık*, no. 50 (1967).

¹⁸⁹ Sibel Bozdoğan, “The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview,” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Reşat Kasaba and Sibel Bozdoğan (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997), 145.

¹⁹⁰ Arif Şentek, “27 Mayıs 1960’ın 50. Yılında: DARBELER, 27 MAYIS, MİMARLAR VE MİMARLAR ODASI,” *Mimarlık*, no. 353 (2010).

Toplum Hizmetinde (the Chamber of Architects in the Service of the Society)” in 1962, faced with the more radical transformations in both discourse and praxis by the new generations. For this transformation, Batuman writes that urban professionals and *Mimarlar Odası* moved away from their statist positions and had a position in favor of the public interest against the state policies inconsistent with the public interest.¹⁹¹ In the Fourteenth General Assembly of the chamber in 1968, Maruf Önal emphasized that the problem of architecture and the architects were tightly bound up with the problems of the country, and thus, the professional activities for the society could not be evaluated as political activities.¹⁹² Similarly, *Mimarlar Odası* was mentioned as a revolutionary institution in the Fifteenth General Assembly and political, and economic processes, and social problems such as the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge, the opening of private schools and unfair circumstances created by them, and the depredation of urban lands by the collaboration of the state and foreign capitalist investments were among the themes of discussions.¹⁹³ In this direction, *Mimarlar Odası* came up against the state during the end of the 1960s with a declaration on these issues that were seen as problematic.¹⁹⁴ In each of those, the emphasis was given to the public interest by opposing the state policies, and thus *Mimarlar Odası* started to become more visible and public by taking the attention of the society. Even in a press conference held in 1969, the chamber declared its opinion about the elections and criticized the state’s

¹⁹¹ Batuman, “Mimarlar, Plancılar ve Ankara: 1960’ların İkinci Yarısını Kentsel Politika Aktörleri Açısından Düşünmek,” 28.

¹⁹² “Mimarlar Odasının XIV.Cü Genel Kurulu,” *Mimarlık*, no. 53 (1968): 6.

¹⁹³ “Mimarlar Odasının 15. Ci Genel Kurulu,” *Mimarlık*, no. 64 (1969): 6–9.

¹⁹⁴ The Chamber of Architects participated in the Revolutionary Education Council in 1968 and declared the vision of the chamber about the social conflicts and the system of education, private schools and the education of architecture. “Mimarlar Odası Devrimci Eğitim Şurasına Katıldı,” *Mimarlık*, no. 59 (1968): 4.

populist policies and collaboration with imperialist countries and exploitative implementations.¹⁹⁵ Hence, towards the 1970s, *Mimarlar Odası* became an opposing organization speaking for the society.

What stamped the 1970s was the truly politicization and integration of the chamber with the economic, socio-cultural, and politic problems of the country by strengthening the democratic opposition. The 1970 report of the chamber juxtaposed a series of issues, including labor strikes, education problems and student movements, unbalanced development and squatters, despoliation of coastal areas and urban land, private schools, economic, social and cultural problems that the country underwent, and the policies that resulted in the imperialist exploitation of the country, and underlined the duty of the chamber to analyze those problems and enlighten the society while strengthening the relationships with them.¹⁹⁶ In this vein, in order to strengthen the relationship among the members of the chamber and the society, the photography section of the chamber organized an exhibition titled “*Çocuk ve Dünyası* (The Child and His/Her World)” in 1970.

¹⁹⁵ “Mimarlar Odası Basın Toplantısı,” no. 71 (1969): 2.

¹⁹⁶ “1970 Yılı Çalışma Programı,” *Mimarlık*, no. 78 (1970): 18.



Figure 35 The exhibition “*Çocuk ve Dünyası* (The Child and His/Her World)” in 1970
Source: *Mimarlık*, no. 78 (1970): 9.

In the book “*Sekreter Üyeler Gözüyle Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi'nin 50 Yılı* (The 50 Years of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch through the Eyes of the Member Secretaries)” published for the fiftieth anniversary of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, Yavuz Önen, who was the member secretary of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch in 15th and 16th administrative periods, points out that the executives of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch was those appreciated by the society and adds that lots of famous artists, intellectuals and writers visited Konur Street to support their efforts in the 1970s,¹⁹⁷ as it started to represent an oppositional power in Turkey.

In 1971, the socialist tendencies which had been resurfaced in the previous years became more concrete by means of the shift in the administration of the chamber in the Seventeenth General Assembly. This assembly witnessed more radical

¹⁹⁷ Bülent Batuman, ed., “Yavuz Önen İle Röportaj,” in *Sekreter Üyeler Gözüyle Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi'nin 50 Yılı* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2005), 99.

discourses and signified the tendency of the chamber in the following years. The manifest of the assembly started by focusing on income and wealth injustice, rising unemployment rates, lack of housing, healthcare and education services as a result of the imperialist countries and their local allies while it appreciated the struggle of the working classes. Moreover, it emphasized that architects were also exposed to exploitation as the working classes, and in that way, architects became a part of the people struggling against those dominant classes. Hence, all the problems that architects had could be solved together with the problems of the society.¹⁹⁸ In the following years, while the chamber produced reports and organized conferences about the issues such as urbanization in Turkey, housing policies and decreasing green areas in Ankara, it took a stand for the laborers, university students, the urban and peasant population who were forced to live under severe economic conditions. Besides, in 1971 it censured the state fascist practices towards the democrats such as university students, the laborers, artists, and writers by enunciating that both individually and organizationally they would fight side by side with the public against fascism; and in a press release it affirmed to stand by METU and other university students given the fact that violent events occurring in the universities were organized by the state and the imperialist powers behind it to suppress the democrat section of the society.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ "Mimarlar Odası XVII. Genel Kurulu Bildirisi," *Mimarlık*, no. 87 (1971): 19–20.

¹⁹⁹ "Faşizme Karşı Direneceğiz," *Mimarlık*, no. 88 (1971): 10–11.



Figure 36 The building of *Mimarlar Odası* in Konur Street was bombed in 1977 as the chamber began to play a more active role in the social and political agenda of Turkey.
Source: Çetin Ünalın, ed., *Tanıklarından Mimarlar Odası*, 59.



Figure 37 A meeting with those living in squatter areas their problems in the *Çalışkanlar* neighborhood in Ankara in 1978
Source: Ünalın, 59.

The decade of the 1970s was important in terms of the organizational efforts of the chamber, especially that of the Ankara Branch against the conditions of the military regime. Yavuz Önen points out that the Ankara branch played an important role in the organizational movement that led to the foundation of TEKSEN, the union of technical employees, and in revitalizing the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*TMMOB*).²⁰⁰ After the second half of the 1970s, *TMMOB* and other chambers also used the building on Konur Street. It was aimed to support collaboration for professional and social issues among the chambers and the union.²⁰¹ *Mimarlar Odası*, giving importance to the rights, organization, and unionization of all technical employees, started a campaign in 1971, *Kendi Gücümüze Dayanalım*, (Let's Count on Our Own Power), in order to reveal the foreign offices and dependence on foreign investments that prevented the industrialization of Turkey. The chamber asked its members to send information about foreign offices and the projects that they conducted in Turkey, and published that information in *Mimarlık* regularly.²⁰² In addition, the chamber played significant roles in the organization of the First and Second Technical Employee Congresses in 1974 and 1975, which became the voice of the employees suffering from the anti-democratic processes after the 1970s. Similarly, Tevfik Gürsu, who was the member secretary of the administrative board of the chamber's Ankara branch between 1978 and 1980, emphasizes the revitalization of *TMMOB* with the collaboration of *Mimarlar Odası* with other member chambers of *TMMOB* as well

²⁰⁰ Batuman, *Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi 50. Yıl Paneli*, 20.

²⁰¹ Çetin Ünalın, *Konur 4 Seyir Defteri: Bir Binanın Öyküsü* (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2018), 83, 114–15.

²⁰² “Kendi Gücümüze Dayanalım,” *Mimarlık*, no. 94 (1971).

as the collective use of the building of *Mimarlar Odası* and the Turkish Architects Association.²⁰³



Figure 38 Collaboration with the other chambers for the organization of the technical employees
Source: *Mimarlık*, no. 80 (1970): 7.

In this period, the rising political identity of the chamber must have had an important meaning for not only the architects but also the society so that Vedat Dalokay, who was an architect and a significant figure in *Mimarlar Odası*, could be elected as the mayor of Ankara in 1973. Ahmet Sönmez, who was the member secretary of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch between 1973 and 1975, explains the role of the chamber on the election of Vedat Dalokay.²⁰⁴ In this

²⁰³ Interview with Tefik Gürsu on October 9, 2018, Ankara. See Appendix C.

²⁰⁴ Bülent Batuman, ed., “Ahmet Sönmez’e Sorular,” in *Sekreter Üyeler Gözüyle Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi’nin 50 Yılı* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2005), 112.

direction, a special issue of *Mimarlık* dedicated to the revolutionary municipality was published after the local elections in 1977.²⁰⁵

During the 1980s, after the military intervention of 1980, the pressure on the chambers increased and it was obstructed to operate. Sait Kozacıoğlu states that, in the time, the influence of the chamber was narrowed. While *Mimarlar Odası* was an influential organization operating in various fields and an important news source for journalists despite the severe conditions of the country, it lost power after the military coup.²⁰⁶ However, *Mimarlar Odası* continued its professional works and contribution to the social life of Ankara. In the 1980s, despite the unfavorable circumstances and pressure, the chamber continued to prepare conferences about social issues like the new development plan and its environmental impact, transportation and housing problems, and urbanization.²⁰⁷ Similarly, until the end of the 1980s, in addition to exhibitions, conversations about architecture were prepared each week at *Dost Sanat Ortamı* located at the basement floor of the chamber's building.²⁰⁸ During those years, *Mimarlar Odası* was still an important

²⁰⁵ Actually this issue contained the products of the seminar on local governments and power structure organized by the Chamber of Architects and the aim of the issue was to contribute the progressive municipal practices which were undertaken by the mayors of some big cities elected in 1973 and develop similar approaches during the upcoming local government processes. Tarık Okyay and Raşit Gökçeli, "Derleyenlerin Notu," *Mimarlık*, no. 151 (1977): 10–14.

²⁰⁶ Çetin Ünalın, ed., "1980-1990: 12 Eylül ve Sonrası," in *Tanıklarından Mimarlar Odası: 1954-1990* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2013), 212.

²⁰⁷ "Oda'dan," *Mimarlık*, no. 215 (1985): 9.

²⁰⁸ "Oda'dan Mimarlık Günleri," *Mimarlık*, no. 222 (1987): 59–60; "Oda'dan Mimarlık Günleri Gelenekselleşti," *Mimarlık*, no. 239 (1989): 18.

civil society institution with a key role in the development of public life and identity of the study area.

4.2.2 The Building of *Mimarlar Odası*

When *Mimarlar Odası* was founded, the Turkish Architects Association had been located since 1951 in an apartment composing of three rooms above *Büyük Sinema*, which was located on Zafer Square. The walls between the rooms had been demolished to provide a wide, open space for the activities prepared by the association and for the courses and activities of other organizations, institutions etc. to generate income for the association. After the foundation of Ankara Branch in 1955, it also started to use this building together with the association, and also *Mimarlar Odası* after it moved to Ankara in 1959.

However, this place was not enough for the increasing requirements of these institutions. Thus, the Turkish Architects Association bought the building on Konur Street in 1959 after a two-year search. The role of the association was crucial in that because the building was bought with its funds. Nizamettin Doğu emphasizes Talat Özişik's tremendous efforts to buy a building and to contribute to the society of Turkish Architecture.²⁰⁹ In 1960, the union and its tenants moved to the new building.

²⁰⁹ Nizamettin Doğu, "Mimarlar Derneği Doğuşu, Oluşu, Bugünü," *Mimarlık*, no. 42 (1967): 31.

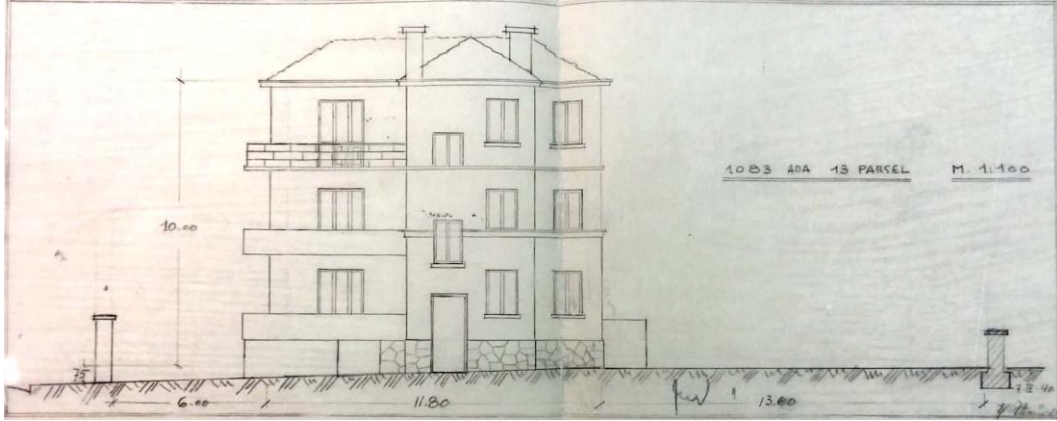


Figure 39 The building bought by The Turkish Architects Association in 1959 in Konur Street
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

This house was located on the second plot from the intersection of Yüksel and Konur Streets. It belonged to Emin Bey who was a deputy of İçel. Although the exact construction date of the building was unknown, considering that this is a free-standing house in contradiction to Jansen's row houses proposal for this area, it might have been built in the 1920s.²¹⁰ The houses built in Yenışehir in that period was two-storey houses with asymmetrical mass organization, which was characterized by windows in various sizes and shapes, tower-like elements on the corners, and massive masonry balconies.²¹¹ The house that the Turkish Architects Association bought in 1959, was a masonry house having two storeys and a basement floor with simple asymmetrical façade organization in its original project. However, in the 1930s, an attic floor including two rooms and a hall was added to

²¹⁰ Evyapan points out that after the early 1930s, the houses built in this area were row houses with three storeys. Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 31.

²¹¹ İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Donemi Mimarlığı, 1923-1938* (Ankara: O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliğı, 1980), 42.

the building, and this attic floor was enlarged to the all floor area in 1937 with an additional living room.

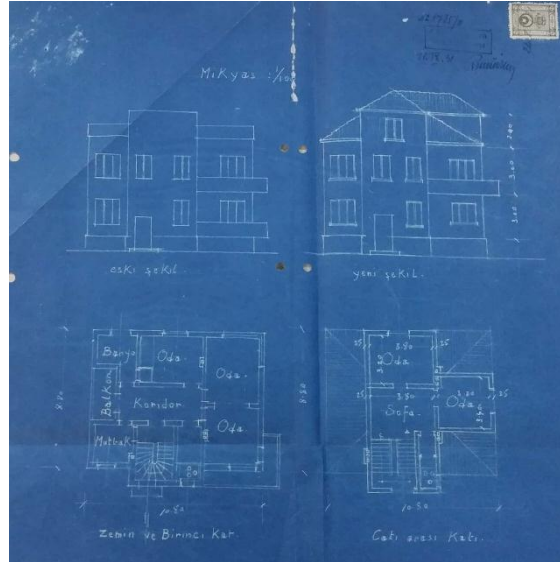


Figure 40 The façade and plan drawings of the original project is on the left while the attic floor with two rooms is seen on the right.
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

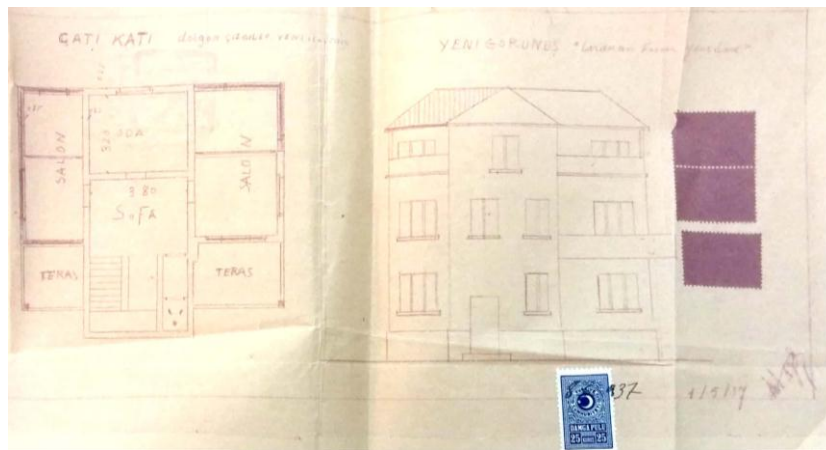


Figure 41 Enlarged attic floor in 1937
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

One floor of the building was rented by *Mimarlar Odası* as the headquarters, the other was rented by *Türk Askeri İşyerleri Federasyonu* (The Federation of Turkish Military Offices), and two rooms were also rented by Ankara Branch of *Mimarlar Odası*. In 1964, the debts taken to buy the building were totally paid.²¹² Since it had been bought, the building provided a place for all architectural organizations and institutions in Ankara, and helped them work more efficiently. In that way, it enabled the society of architecture to be more effective on the socio-political transformations in Turkey and to be more visible to the public. It paved the way for the processes in which the institutionalization of architecture would realize in the light of architectural issues and also in the light of social issues that the chamber would involve in.

After using the new building for a few years, as Nejat Ersin states, it started to be discussed to replace the existing building with an office building by the chamber and the association by the mid-1960s since the old building was considered insufficient.²¹³ Although the first idea was to find a land in a more central location, it was given up since the existing building's location was very close to Kızılay and they could not afford a land on the main axis.²¹⁴ In 1967 a protocol forming the basis of the new building's rights was signed by the chamber and the association. According to the protocol, the chamber would be the contractor of the new office building and cover all expenses of the construction. In other words, similar to the mainstream building activities in Ankara, the association gave the construction

²¹² Ünalın, *Cumhuriyet Mimarlığının Kuruluşu ve Kurumlaşması Sürecinde Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'ye*, 164–65.

²¹³ Nejat Ersin, "Mimarlar Odası: Konur Sokak 4 Numara," *Mimarlık*, no. 306 (2002): 59.

²¹⁴ Ünalın, *Konur 4 Seyir Defteri*, 13–17.

responsibility to the chamber. It owned the ground and the first floor of the building in exchange for its land while the chamber, which carried out the construction process, had the ownership of the rest of the building.²¹⁵

The existing building was demolished in 1967 and a sketch competition was held among the architects from Ankara. Nejat Ersin says that the participation in the competition was less than expected; still, Cihat Fındıkoğlu's project was chosen and put into implementation.²¹⁶ During its construction, the building heights in Konur Street was increased by one floor when the earlier accepted attic floors were forbidden. The building that had been five-storey in its initial project was completed with six storeys,²¹⁷ and *Mimarlar Odası* moved to the new building in July 1970. Some interior works were completed within a few months.²¹⁸ The 1960s marked new approaches in architecture, departing from the approach of a single solution for architectural production. The pluralist point of view of the 1960s' liberal atmosphere ended the systematic solutions of the International Style,²¹⁹ nonetheless, the modernist approach continued to prevail.²²⁰ Although the building of the chamber was a modest example of the architectural approach of its time conducted with a relatively low-budget, it had a sensitive approach to its location

²¹⁵ Ünalın, *Cumhuriyet Mimarlığının Kuruluşu ve Kurumlaşması Sürecinde Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'ye*, 166.

²¹⁶ Ersin, "Mimarlar Odası: Konur Sokak 4 Numara," 60.

²¹⁷ Ersin, 61.

²¹⁸ Ersin, 62.

²¹⁹ Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century* (Istanbul: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 68–69; Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 175.

²²⁰ Bilge İmamoğlu and Elvan Altan Ergut, "Mimarlık Tarihi Araştırma Stüdyosu' Çalışmasının Düşündürdükleri: Ankara'da Mimarlık, 1950-1980," *Mimarlık*, no. 337 (2007): 56–59.

and functional program. Thus, the new building was a simple, modernist office block whose façades were designed according to the functional requirements. The floors were emphasized by the band windows and walls between them. It had an exhibition area on the ground floor, a conference hall on the first basement floor, meeting rooms, commission rooms, and offices.

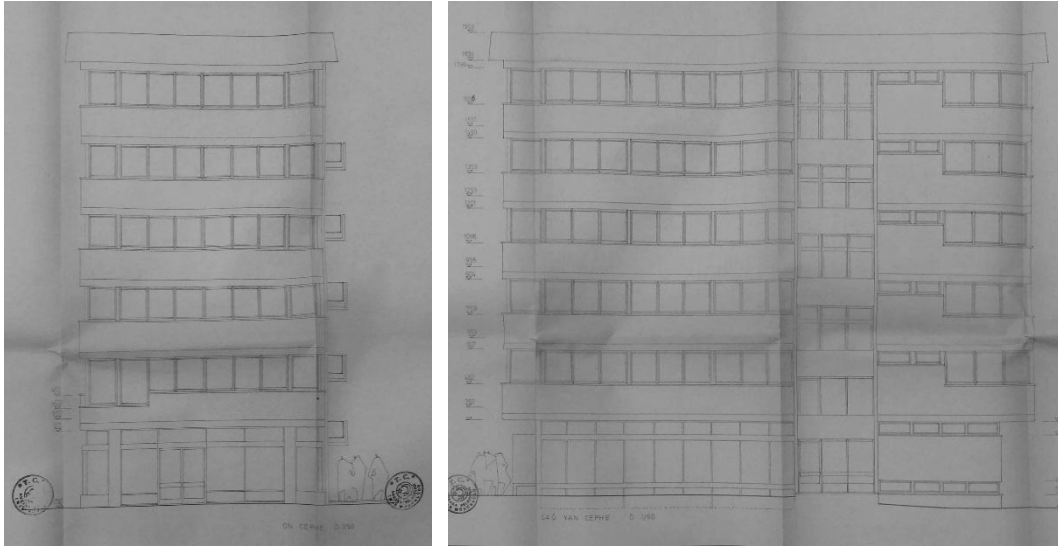


Figure 42 East and north elevation of the new building of *Mimarlar Odası*
Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

The building provided the adequate area for the events and works of the chamber, and facilitated its visibility by the public. The chamber thus became an active institution on the socio-political scene of Turkey and thus took the support of not only the architects but also the public in general. Tevfik Gürsu explains the use of the building in the end of the 1970s as follows:

The members of the chambers and *TMMOB* transformed the building of *Mimarlar Odası* into a place that was constantly visited. In 1978, 33 commission were organized and 28 of them

were active. The building of *Mimarlar Odası* turned into a place where countless people came and worked... Most of those commissions also developed programs for different cultural and social activities. This would create another dynamism in Ankara's social life.²²¹

On the other hand, while providing a place for the chamber and *TMMOB*, it also witnessed the transformation of the chamber in the direction of social dynamics and movements in Turkey as well as the transformation of the area where it was located.

4.3 *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* (Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Alumni Association)

Mülkiye was founded in 1859 to educate qualified administrative staff for the new governmental organizations developed in accordance with the westernization policies of the Ottoman Empire. The school, which was a prestigious institution providing political science education for the well-equipped administrative cadres of the empire, would also have an essential position for the education of the Republican bureaucrats. It was renamed as the School of Political Science in 1934. In the following year, the national assembly decided about the reorganization of *Mülkiye* in Ankara, and the school was moved to the new capital and started to give its education in Cebeci after the construction of its new building. The Republican regime paid special attention to the education and educational institutions since they would educate the new modern generations whose duties were to support and protect the nation. Many foreign professionals were invited to Turkey in order to establish and develop a modern education system including higher education and

²²¹ Interview with Tevfik Gürsu on October 9, 2018, Ankara.

new university departments.²²² Alpagut argues that the educational buildings were seen as the most effective representations of the modernist aesthetic and ideals because they were assigned the duty to improve not only their students but also the society.²²³ In that regard, the School of Political Science had a special place as an important modernist building because it would help the construction of the regime through the educational and architectural dimensions. Its alumni, moreover, would have influential administrative positions in the political sphere of the country. The new building of the school was designed by Ernst Egli and completed in 1936. In order to combine the functional approach with monumentality, cubic forms were organized with symmetrical and simple facades.²²⁴ In 1950, the school became incorporated to Ankara University and its name became Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science by the law numbered 5627.²²⁵

²²² Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 71.

²²³ Leyla Alpagut, “Modernleşme Projesinin Temsilinde Önemli Bir Yapı: İsviçreli Mimar Ernst Arnold Egli ve Ankara Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu,” *Alternatif Politika* 2, no. 2 (2010): 130.

²²⁴ Alpagut, 136; For further reading, Azize Elif Yabacı, “Place – Identity – Change in Ankara University Cebeci Campus as an Issue of Modern Heritage Conservation” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2018).

²²⁵ “Kuruluşundan Yakın Tarihimize Mülkiye Tarihi,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği E-Bülten*, no. 8 (2008): 6–7.



Figure 43 The School of Political Science

Source: Alpagut, *Modernleşme Projesinin Temsilinde Önemli Bir Yapı*, (2010): 141.

*Mülkiyeliler Birliği*²²⁶ was established in 1946 by the alumni of 1943. In the statutes published in the official newspaper, the aim of the association was stated as providing unity among the graduates of *Mülkiye*, strengthening solidarity and increasing the general and professional knowledge of the members.²²⁷ Yet, together with the faculty, the association has also become an important actor in the sociopolitical arena of Turkey.

4.3.1 The Identity of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*

Apart from the physical existence of the association, how it gained its public power as a nongovernmental organization is important to clarify its contribution to the

²²⁶ The alumni of the faculty are called “Mülkiyeliler” and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* is the association of alumni of Ankara University Faculty of Political Science.

²²⁷ “Mülkiyeliler Birliği Derneği Tüzüğü,” *T. C. Resmi Gazete*, January 10, 1947, 11758.

construction of the area's identity. Hence, in this part, the historical background of the association's identity is analyzed.

As it is mentioned before, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* moved to the area in 1964 after buying the first building. The period between 1963 and 1980 was when the association's financial problems ended and its institutionalization was realized by the professional and sociocultural events. *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* became more recognizable as a powerful institution defending its members' rights.

In 1963 and 1964, a series of conferences were organized by the association. The themes of those conferences covered professional issues such as personnel reforms, education of government officials, five-year development plans, tax system, provincial organizations, and state investments and so on. In addition, in 1974, a series of conferences dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Republic was organized. Besides, in order to encourage cultural life in Ankara, the exhibitions “*Atatürk ve Öyküsü* (Atatürk and His Story)” and “*Mülkiyeli Şehitler* (Political Sciences Alumni Martyrs)” were organized in the association's building in 1974.

In this period *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* tried to be out of any political debate and put itself as an organization working for the public interest. In the general assembly of 1968, Erhan Tezgör was silenced because his speech was considered as political and against the law of associations.²²⁸ However, *Mülkiye* (School of Political Science) played a highly important role on the political scene of the country. The first opposition movement towards the Democratic Party was from *Mülkiye* in 1953.²²⁹

²²⁸ *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Tarihi 1946-1996*, 93.

²²⁹ Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society*, 94:47.

The School became the stage for the leftist politics and student movements in the following decades. Thus, it was exposed to state and police violence. In 1971 the student dormitory of the faculty was investigated and some students were attacked and arrested by the police.²³⁰ *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* indicated a strong reaction against the police intervention and an issue of the journal of the association was dedicated to the police raid.²³¹

In 1969, the association faced with the danger of closing because nineteen associations and organizations including *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi*, the members of *Devrimci Güçler Birliđi* (Union of Revolutionary Forces), were sued for publishing the report that condemned the attack on the İmran Öktem's funeral.²³² Nonetheless, until the end of the 1970s, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* generally tried to avoid from the political agenda as much as possible. However, in the general assembly of 1978, it was criticized as it kept silent against the current political issues of the country and did not try to affect public opinion.²³³ In this manner, it paved the way for new understandings in the association's administration. By 1980, a new period started in *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* that resulted in its politicization.

In 1980 a new generation, which comprised of leftist and social democrat alums of *Mülkiye*, acceded to the administration of *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi*. Contrary to the

²³⁰ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Tarihi 1946-1996*, 103.

²³¹ "Baskın Özel Sayısı," *Mülkiye Dergisi*, no. 22 (1971).

²³² İmran Öktem was the first president of Court of Cassation, and the religious groups reacted to his speech criticizing the religious movements and communities in the opening of the judicial year of 1967. After he died in 1969, his funeral was attacked by radical Islamic groups. "Öktem Olayını Knadıkları İçin Savcılık 19 Derneđin Kapatılmasını İstedi," *Milliyet*, July 6, 1969, 3.

²³³ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Tarihi 1946-1996*, 123.

introverted previous periods, the new group aimed to make the association center of the democratic struggle by undertaking the societal role. Besides the member's right and interest, the association tried to develop both awareness about the issues such as human rights, peace, democracy, and enrich the social, cultural, scientific activities.²³⁴ In May 1980 a panel about the constitution, in which Sadun Aren, Uğur Mumcu, Taner Timur were the panelists, was prepared and followed by a crowded audience.²³⁵

After the military coup of 1980, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* was closed, but the buildings of the association were open as its foundation was not closed; and lots of intellectuals, writers, academicians, and artists gathered at those buildings.²³⁶ In 1984, the Wednesday Conferences, which were held at the Faculty of Political Science, started to be organized in *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*.²³⁷ Tahsin Benli points out that the conferences, in which people from every group of the society including students participated, were the most important activities of those days.²³⁸ Between 1986 and 1988, the association also organized conferences about important issues such as Turkey's foreign policy, air pollution of Ankara, Turkish literature, and novels, religion and politics, and the new press law.²³⁹ Important writers, historians,

²³⁴ Benli, 144–46.

²³⁵ “Konumuz Anayasa,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, no. 59 (1980): 2–25.

²³⁶ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996*, 149–50.

²³⁷ “Mülkiyeliler Birliği Genel Başkanı Alper Aktan’la Bir Söyleşi,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, no. 81 (1986): 23.

²³⁸ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996*, 183.

²³⁹ Those conferences were also published in the journal of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*. “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, 1968; “Ankara’da Hava Kirliliği,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, 1986; “Küfür Romanları ve Roman Üzerine,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, 1986; “Din ve

academicians, politicians, and journalists attended those conferences as speakers and *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* fulfilled a significant task of bringing people together to discuss current social problems in both Ankara's and Turkey's social life. In addition to this, by constituting the law office together with the Human Rights Association, the association also worked for those who were victims of the September 12 regime.²⁴⁰ The association created an urban memory that depended on its identity and activities in which diverse sectors of the society participated. The association had increased the users of the area formed by the intersection of Yüksel Street and Konur Street and shaped its identity through those historical processes.

4.3.2 The Buildings of *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi*

The first years of *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* were characterized by economic difficulties of the post-Second World War years. The period between the foundation of the association and the purchasing of the first building witnessed the efforts to exist and to sustain the association's activity. In this period, the association used three different buildings chronologically located in Anafartalar Avenue, Bayındır Street and Adakale Street as the headquarters.²⁴¹ Yet, both financial and administrative

Siyaset," *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, 1987; "Roman Yazma ve Okuma Biçimleri," *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, 1988.

²⁴⁰ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Tarihi 1946-1996*, 192.

²⁴¹ "Kuruluş Özel Sayısı," *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, no. 1 (1965): 25.

problems precluded the association to operate its functions, and thus, it could not be effective in defending its members' interests like a union, a chamber, etc.²⁴²

Hasan Tahsin Benli considers the period between 1963 and 1980 as the breakthrough years of the association.²⁴³ After the general assembly in 1963, the new administrative cadre paid attention to the revitalization of the association by professional, social and cultural activities and by purchasing a building for those activities. In 1964, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* organized a raffle and bought its first building located at the intersection of Yüksel Street and Konur Street with the raffle's revenues. The building, a row house with three storeys and an attic floor, belonged to the Berker family.²⁴⁴ In the petition of K. Berker to the municipality in 1935, it is seen that s/he applied to start the necessary procedures in order to build a house in her/his parcel.²⁴⁵ The house reflected the simple, unornamented, modern housing production of the 1930s. It had a simple organization in which the main entrance and the vertical circulation were located in an asymmetrical way on Konur Street while the balconies provided symmetry on the facade. The ground floor was rearranged as a restaurant, first floor as a sitting area, the second floor as a

²⁴² İsmail Güzeliş, "Bir Baskı Grubu Olarak Mülkiyeliler Birliği," *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, no. 1 (1965): 19.

²⁴³ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996*, 67–137.

²⁴⁴ Aslanoğlu states that Ankara apartments were mostly three storey buildings with a basement and an attic floor that was positioned behind the facade during the 1930s. Their common features were vertical stair windows, band and corner windows, and projected balconies on corners with simple railings. Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Donemi Mimarlığı*, 81–83.

²⁴⁵ See Appendix A.

conference room and card room, and the attic floor as a guest room. Soon after, the attic floor was demolished and the third floor was added to the building.²⁴⁶

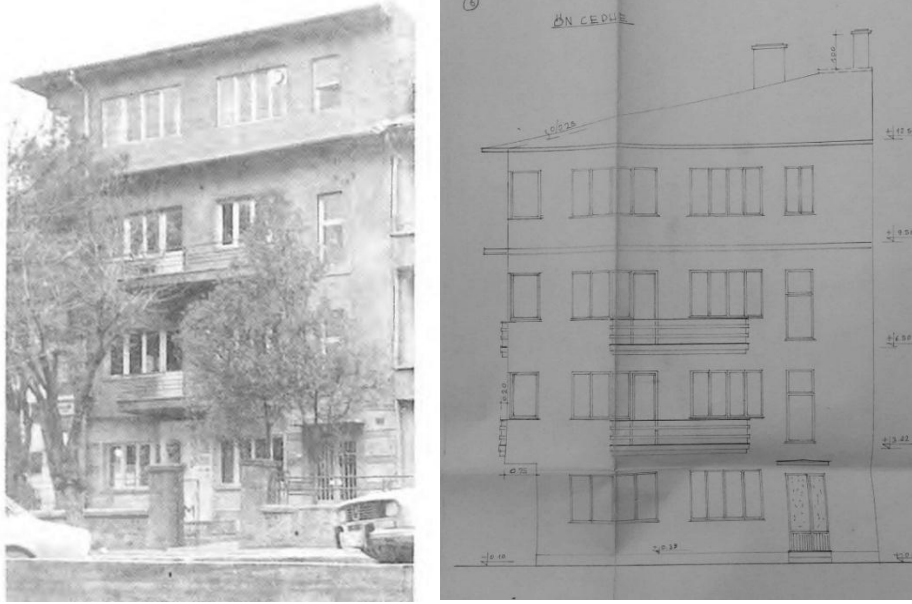


Figure 44 The first building of Mülkiyeliler Birliği, Berker Apartment, 1975.

Source: Benli, Hasan Tahsin, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996* (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfi, 1996), 78.

Figure 45 Renovation project of the first building of Mülkiyeliler Birliği, Berker Apartment

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive

In 1967, the association organized another raffle for the second building and the building, namely Maden Apartment, sharing the same garden with the first building in Selanik Street, was bought. This building, also a row building, belonged to Fahrinüsa Ögelman and built in the 1930s with three storeys and an attic. Similar to the first one, this house also had a simple and modest organization with variously

²⁴⁶ Benli, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996*, 77.

sized windows. The horizontal organization of its facades was interrupted by the corner balconies. Its first floor was used as a library and a conference hall while the third floor and the attic was redesigned as a guesthouse. The shops on the ground floor were rented to provide income for the association.²⁴⁷



Figure 46 The second building of the association in 1960s in Selanik Street, Maden Apartment
Source: Benli, Hasan Tahsin, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996* (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1996), 94.

The second building was used to organize multifarious conference and seminars for both the members of the association and other people. It hosted many students, colleagues, and intellectuals contributing to the association's events. In addition,

²⁴⁷ Benli, 92.

Bayraktar underlines the importance of this building as the only residential building, which was built in the 1930s, left in this area.²⁴⁸



Figure 47 The second building of the association in 1975, Maden Apartment. Attic floor of the building was enlarged to the whole floor area by the association.

Source: *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, no. 41 (1975): 29.

Finally, as the existing buildings started to be inadequate, the association bought the third building in 1974. This building, Rona Apartment, was attached to the first building in Konur Street. The third building had also three storeys and an attic floor and was connected to the first building by demolishing the walls separating the two buildings. It had an asymmetrical façade organization with the entrance and the balconies above it. All of those three houses built in rows were the houses of high-income families, somehow reflecting the features of the modernist period of the

²⁴⁸ Nuray Bayraktar, “Bilinmeyen Ankara Mülkiyeliler Birliđi,” *Bülten*, no. 78 (2010): 39. Unfortunately, this building was demolished in 2017.

1930s. They all had cubic forms with windows increasing the horizontality and emphasizing the floors at least with their sills.²⁴⁹



Figure 48 The third building in Konur Street, 1975

Source: Benli, Hasan Tahsin, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Tarihi 1946-1996* (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1996), 126.

After the purchase of the third building, the first and the third building began to be used as the clubhouse and the headquarters of the association while the second building was formed as a guesthouse including a library and a conference hall in its first floor.²⁵⁰ The third building was also seen as the last step for the realization of

²⁴⁹ Batur, *A Concise History*, 24–29; For the similar examples built in the 1930s, see “Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara,” accessed August 20, 2018, <http://sivilmimaribellekankara.com/>.

²⁵⁰ Ayhan Açıkalın, “Birlik ve Vakıf Çalışmalarında 1975 Yılı,” *Mülkiye Dergisi*, no. 41 (1975): 28.

the “*Mülkiye Sitesi*” project.²⁵¹ This project of providing a larger building complex for the association was always on the agenda since the first building had been bought. Besides the professional, social and cultural activities for members, the association also aimed to include facilities such as a library, a conference hall and a student dormitory, so as to be used by intellectuals and students.²⁵²



Figure 49 The garden of *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* in the 1970s
Source: Benli, Hasan Tahsin, *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Tarihi 1946-1996* (Ankara: *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Vakfı*, 1996), 126.

After the purchasing of the third building, the plot where the buildings of *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi* were located became a rectangle, which was seen as more appropriate for the *Mülkiye Sitesi* project. For this purpose, in 1972, the foundation

²⁵¹ Açıkalın, 28–31.

²⁵² “Genel Kurul Toplantısı,” *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, no. 2 (1966): 63.

of the association was set up. The aims of the foundation were to develop the social, cultural and professional life of members by realizing the *Mülkiye Sitesi* project, to provide scholarships to students, to support sports activities, and faculty.²⁵³ However, the *Mülkiye Sitesi* project could not be realized.

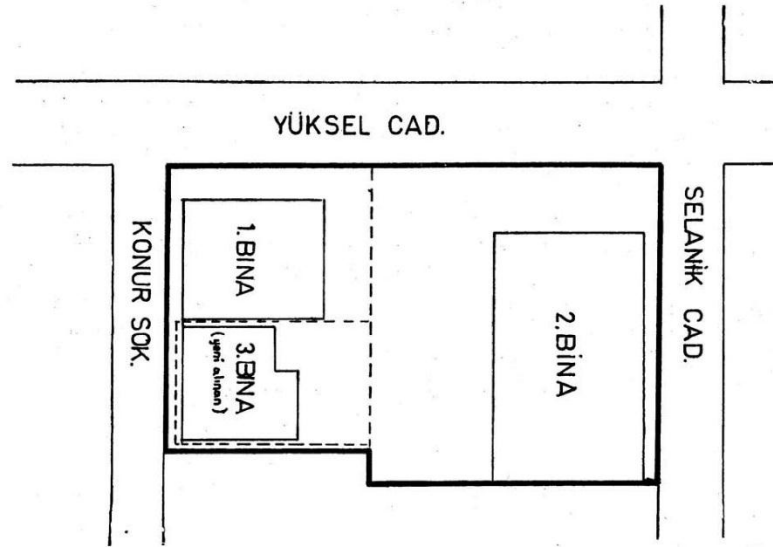


Figure 50 The plan indicating the three buildings' location and the garden
Source: *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, no. 35 (1974): 31.

4.4 The New Public Identity of Yüksel Street-Konur Street Intersection as a Public Place

Public institutions and organizations are vital to shape a place's identity, and the identity of the community using this place. They enrich public life at a certain place by propagating publics and counter-publics, public contact and encounter and thus

²⁵³ Ayhan Açıkalın, "Mülkiyeliler Birliđi ve Vakfının Gelişme Programı," *Mülkiyeliler Birliđi Dergisi*, no. 45 (1976): 15.

public sphere, and by bringing diverse social groups together and supporting the potential of that place to transform in the direction of public opinion and interest.

After the 1961 Constitution, Turkey witnessed a more liberal environment in the socio-political sphere. The 1971 military intervention and the military coup of 1980 resulted in the pacification of the civil society by limitations put on civil rights. Despite the consequent undemocratic circumstances, both *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*, located in Yüksel Street and Konur Street since the 1960s, played significant roles in strengthening the civil society. The identities of these two institutions have also transformed over time in parallel with the social and political transformation of the society. They have not only fulfilled important duties in their professional fields. Rather, during the decades of analysis in this study, both institutions became important civil society organizations emphasizing the country's problems and fighting for civil rights, democracy, freedom, and social justice although they were just community-based organizations. The members of *Mimarlar Odası*, since it is a chamber, were comprised of architects, while those of *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* were the alumni of Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. Nevertheless, especially from the 1970s on, *Mimarlar Odası* strengthened the urban opposition groups by revitalizing *TMMOB* and collaborating with other chambers and unions. In a similar vein, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* contributed to the regeneration of the civil society in the 1980s when the military coup silenced the opposition in Turkey. In this way, they became trustworthy and respective institutions, taking attention of not only their own members but also diverse individuals and social groups.

They also changed the meaning of the study area. Firstly, they diversified the user profile, and secondly changed the daily practices of the study area. They supported the network of different actors including writers, journalists, students, laborers,

politicians, political parties and organizations, architects, engineers, and social scientists with their events²⁵⁴ such as exhibitions, panels, conferences, press releases and with their publications, and contributed to the everyday life of the area by enabling a democratic environment in order to discuss the country's problems. Tefvik Gürsu states that;

Through the agencies of those two institutions, the area had a different atmosphere. Both Yüksel Street and Konur Street were places that were visited by lots of people including architects, engineers, intellectuals, social scientists and those sympathized their political agency. We prepared various activities in our meeting room, and many people including the youth followed our activities. Hence, this might be the reason why Yüksel and Konur Streets had a more intellectual atmosphere with cultural functions.²⁵⁵

Since becoming significant oppositional authors shaping the public sphere through the political history of Turkey, they became influential actors in both Ankara and Turkey's political history. They provided a reliable environment for both those participating in their activities and visiting the area. Gürsu defines the two institutions as "the reliable harbors" that became "the places, in a sense the guardians, where alternative views could flourish and be discussed."²⁵⁶

As it was discussed in Chapter Three, although the area was planned as a housing district, its accessibility and proximity to Kızılay Square, Atatürk Boulevard and the Administrative Quarter, being located between the two main arteries, namely

²⁵⁴ See appendix B.

²⁵⁵ Interviewed with Tefvik Gürsu, October 9, 2018.

²⁵⁶ Interviewed with Tefvik Gürsu, October 9, 2018.

Meşrutiyet Avenue and Ziya Gökalp Avenue, led the intersection area of Yüksel Street and Konur Street to be a sub-center within the functional transformations. Besides the many business sectors, this affected the decision of the two civil society organizations to move here. On the other hand, it had always partial pedestrian areas, i.e. there was no direct vehicular access to Atatürk Boulevard and Selanik Street from Yüksel Street, and only vehicular circulation was done along Konur and Karanfil Streets, which contributed the introverted character of this area, and indeed, eased the grouping of social functions together. *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* also made the area attractive for other functions. As it is discussed in Chapter 3, during the 1970s and 1980s, the area was preferred by other unions, civil society organizations, journal offices, and bookstores because of its use by people that consisted of their target groups. Those provably paved the way for the pedestrianization of the area in 1990, in which the area was attributed as a place undertaking cultural missions that Ankara needed. Obviously, the pedestrianization increased the users and the public character of the area, because it became more appropriate for open public events.

Together with the transformations in the spatial dimension, the opposition groups reproduced the social dimension of the area in the direction of daily practices and needs of different groups of the society. The area served as *the space for representation*, and the space for publicity for opposition groups by strengthening the inclusive character of the public. It became a symbolic place for those groups' struggle. Especially from the 1980s, when the opposition groups were tried to be silenced, to the 1990s, the area provided a public venue for the activities and agency of two civil society organizations located there through the network created around the other social groups and places like bookstores, union, journal and publishing offices, etc. Hence, on the contrary to the other streets around Kızılay, especially the intersection of Yüksel Street and Konur Street, gained a socially and politically

loaded identity and became *a relevant place*. That is, in the case of any reaction to the state, its interventions and/or policies that the opposition groups are concerned with, the area became the first place to organize and indicate the common will.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to make a comprehensive analysis of the transformation of a particular area, Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection regarding both the spatial and the social transformations that changed the identity of this place through the transformation of the civil society and civil society organizations, namely *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*. Most of the writings about Ankara focuses on the early years of the republic, and/or the canonic examples of its built environment. However, the history of this “ordinary” area is also significant in terms of reflecting the social dynamics, politics and power struggle over it, and affecting the socio-spatial production and reproduction at the same time. In this vein, this study set out to investigate how an ordinary area of Ankara, which had been formed as a housing district of the new capital city of the Republican regime, turned into a highly used public place from the 1960s to the 1980s.

The 1960s was a milestone marked by significant economic, social and political changes both in Turkey and in Ankara, resulting in the transformations of their spatial compositions and identities. In Ankara, Kızılay started then to gain the function of the central business area on the one hand, and experienced dramatic transformations in its social composition and witnessed political struggles on the other. In addition to the transformations of Kızılay Square, inner streets of the area also changed in terms of use and the identity. This study aimed firstly to indicate the spatial and functional transformations of an ordinary street area of Yüksel and Konur Streets, through the new functions located there, and then secondly, to illustrate the role of two civil society institutions, namely *Mimarlar Odası* and

Mülkiyeliler Birliđi, in the socially reproduced identity of this area. The literature on the topic have shown that public places are shaped by social, political, economic contexts through the changes of the public sphere upon which the identities of public places are contingent. Public streets, since they are open to communication and encounter as well as urban conflicts and struggles, may be the most exemplary spatial settings for understanding the relation of a place to the organization of civil society. The identity transformation of Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection, therefore, was affected by the changed public life and public sphere organized around the new functions and civil society institutions located there.

The formation of the area paralleled with the idea of creating a modern city after Ankara had been declared as the capital city of the new nation-state. From then on, reshaping Ankara as a modern city was an important target for the Republic because the nation-state required new urban spatial settings which would symbolize the public sphere besides the political and administrative systems. Şengül defines this period as the “urbanization of the state.”²⁵⁷ Ankara was the expression of how the Republican cadre saw themselves and how they wanted to be seen by both the society and the foreigners. In other words, the production of Ankara as a modern city was a way to “be public” for the new regime. Throughout the public places of the city, the new regime and its modern citizens represented and propagated themselves, which means those public places availed the legitimization of the new modern way of state and life. In a short time period, Ankara would thus become an exemplary city with its boulevards, recreational public places, and state buildings.

²⁵⁷ H. Tanık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi (WALD), 2001), 69–76.

The formation of the Yenışehir district was deployed in accordance with Lörcher and Jansen plans. In this respect, Yenışehir was planned as an administrative center and residential area for the national elites. The two-three storey houses were constructed in this newly formed residential district, in which the study area is located. The district was a part of the modern Ankara, which was produced in the direction of the new social and political relations. While Atatürk Boulevard that crossed the district from north to south and the squares along it were the representation places for the inhabitants of Yenışehir, the residential districts in and around the boulevard provided a well-organized, peaceful environment with enough green areas, and controlled access with pedestrian roads.

However, this situation did not last in such a planned way. As the socio-economic and political agenda, and thus the demographic structure of the city changed, the public sphere which was homogeneous in the early Republican decades was compelled to transform. The period from the 1950s onwards is associated with the significant transformations in all areas of social life in Turkey. These transformations inevitably would alter the public places, and the daily life practiced around them. The meanings and values which constructed them, thus, would be overturned and replaced with the new ones. Increased urban population by massive migrations made Ankara develop in an unplanned way, resulted in high land prices, land speculations, squatter areas and loss of the green areas. The cityscape, started to be characterized by the bulk of the apartment blocks in the city center, and the squatter areas in the peripheries.

This situation is mostly associated with the loss of identity. However, and most importantly, this situation went parallel with the transformation of the population and civil society. The city's transformations did not only occur in the physical spatial environment, but also in its demography and social life. Hence, unlike the

homogenous public sphere of the early Republican period, the period from the 1960s onwards enabled the public sphere to diversify with different social groups and classes claiming their social rights and demanding public goods. Then, the public places would be the stage for those transforming the earlier public identity. As a result, the emergence of new daily practices paved the way for either new public places or the transformation of the meaning of the existing public places, and eventually new public places were produced by the new dynamics of the society.

In the study area, during the period of analysis, the built areas were enlarged, gardens of buildings were destroyed and heights of buildings increased. The area did not have the character of a housing district any longer. Instead, streets turned into channels surrounded by high buildings. As the residential characteristics of the area decreased gradually, the old inhabitants started to move towards the southern part of the city. On the other hand, the buildings in this area started to be used for different purposes after the 1960s, so that the characteristic identity of the area also transformed as mainly commercial functions started to be located there. In addition to commercialization, the area also turned into a more socially and politically loaded place as the buildings and offices of some prestigious institutions, civil society organizations, and bookstores began to be located in here from the 1960s onwards. The focus of this study was to understand how they thus organized different daily life patterns while arranging different social networks and adapting themselves to the changing social, political atmosphere of the country.

From the 1960s onwards, the changed social composition of the society also started to affect the political spectrum in Turkey. While the 1960 military coup overthrew the Democratic Party rule of the 1950s, the constitution of 1961 supported a more liberal atmosphere by ensuring civil rights. Both the political tendencies in the world and Turkey which were reflected on public sphere, transformed the social

life. The mobilized population resulted from urbanization and the urban conflict resulted from the dual structure of the society in Ankara set the stage for urban movements and their actors in public places. This period undoubtedly signified the changing identities of public places.

In this period, the area of study started to be preferred by various business sectors since its proximity to Kızılay Square and the administrative center of the city. While the commercial characteristics of the area thus increased, some important institutions also began to be located on Konur Street. *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* are the most important ones among them. Actually, the importance of these institutions in the transformation of the identity of this area lied behind the parallelism between the economic, social and political conditions after the 1960s and the shifted positions of these institutions. Although both had close relations with the state and state officials, they experienced a shift in their positions in parallel to the increasing societal opposition. They hence became important civil society institutions in the socio-political life of Turkey since not only did they concern with the issues about their professions, but also they defended and supported democracy, freedom, and equality by developing solidarity with other oppositional actors.

In the 1970s, especially *Mimarlar Odası* both became a part of the societal opposition and organized societal opposition in the city by accomplishing a cooperation with other chambers, TMMOB and the unions. This made the area where the chamber was located to be used by various people while it became a trustworthy organization in the eye of the society. In the 1980s, although the military coup silenced the society and the democratic opposition in Turkey, and weakened the public organizations' activism, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* took an active role for democratic demands of the society together with the Human Rights

Association also located in Konur Street. Moreover, the bookstores opened in this period supported daily life around and increased the number of users of the area. They addressed different publics and different audiences, which in turn revitalized the public sphere and transformed the area into a socially and politically loaded place.

In that regard, this small area in the city center of Ankara witnessed a dramatic transformation in its use and identity via the new social functions located here and the daily life practices organized around their activities, and became a commonplace for various groups, especially for those composing societal opposition such as students, laborers, intellectuals, architects, engineers, and social scientists. It enabled similar organizations and people encounter, communicate, collaborate and define new relationships as well as access to a wider part of the society. In short, during the period of analysis between the 1960s and the 1980s, this area became a place for civil society and public sphere in which new functions were introduced in the area by new actors like *Mimarlar Odası*, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği*, and bookstores. Besides the effect of their political identity, they also contributed to the physical potential and possibilities of the street while the street provided the accessibility to their audiences.

As such, the transformation of the area of study shows parallelism with the Lefebvre's triad of *spatial practices (perceived)*, *representation of space (conceived)* and *spaces of representation (lived)*. This area was initially *perceived* as a residential place for the national elites of the Republic, and *conceived* and planned as such. During the period of analysis in this study, its functional characteristic changed in correspondance to that of the Kızılay district as a whole. However, instead of the retail stores that were generally opened in the district to turn it into a commercial area, social functions began to dominate Yüksel and Konur

Streets with associations, chambers, unions, bookstores, cafes, and pubs that were located there. Therefore, it was appropriated by the people in a different way in which its identity and meaning for those people transformed and the area turned into a symbolic place, becoming both a representation of civil society and *a space for representation* for the opposition groups.

The commercial functions in and around this area have gradually increased from the 1990s onwards. In 1990 the area including Yüksel Street, Konur Street, and Karanfil Street was pedestrianized in order to answer the rising public place requirement of the city and was regarded as a Culture Street of Ankara. The pedestrianisation project has affected the area notably so that, in addition to the increasing number of people using the area, it also accelerated the rising commercial characteristic of the area. Today it is possible to observe cafes, restaurants or bars even on the top floors of apartment blocks. People use this area for strolling, eating or drinking something, shopping, and sitting and watching others. On the other hand, it has also retained its social meaning that was acquired from the 1960s onwards until the 1980s, and become an important area for social movements, political demonstrations, and protest. It is not surprising to see that various groups use this area to be seen and heard by a wider part of the society while opposing state policies and demanding their democratic rights.²⁵⁸ It is thus the public place, where in response to the social, political and economic implementations of the state, people come together to resist and express their anger and concerns. In this sense, this study attempted to understand the historical background of how the intersection of Yüksel Street and Konur Street have socially

²⁵⁸ Especially the political demonstrations of recent years, like Gezi Movement and *Yüksel Direnişi* (Yüksel Resistance) that has turned into a quite symbolic demonstration, indicates that the area has a significant place in the political life and public sphere of Ankara and Turkey.

and physically transformed into a solidarity area for various social groups to announce their requests and demand for their rights.

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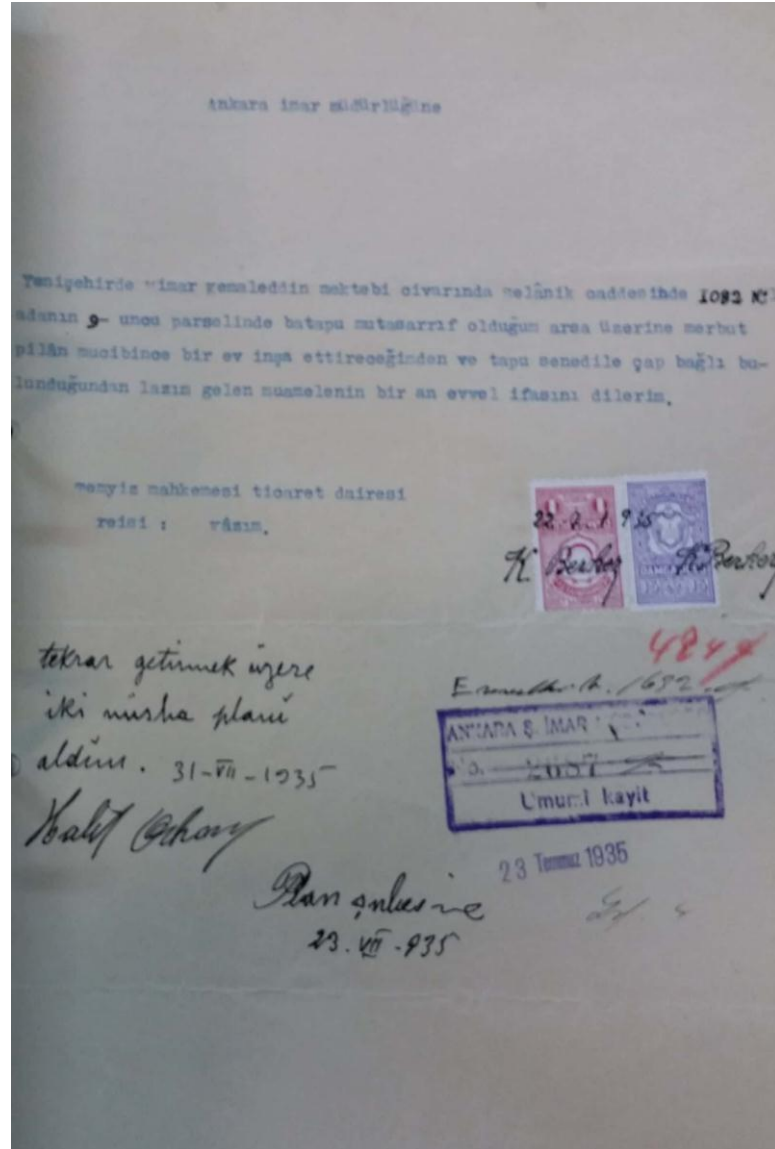
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – THE PETITION WRITTEN BY THE OWNER OF THE FIRST BUILDING OF *MÜLKİYELİLER BİRLİĞİ* IN 1935.



**APPENDIX B – CHRONOLOGY - MİMARLAR ODASI, MÜLKİYELİLER
BİRLİĞİ, AND YÜKSEL-KONUR INTERSECTION**

	<i>Mimarlar Odası</i>	<i>Mülkiyeliler Birliği</i>	Konur Street
1959			The building in Konur Street was bought by the Turkish Architects Association.
1960			The building was rented by <i>Mimarlar Odası</i> , Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch and <i>Türk Askeri İşyerleri Federasyonu</i> .
1963	Meeting on professional topics		
1964			First building of <i>Mülkiyeliler Birliği</i> was bought.
1965	Photography exhibition “Dengesiz Kalkınma ve Ankara” Panel “Genel yerleşme ve yapı sorunları”	Between September 1965 and May 1966 “Çarşamba Söyleşileri”	The Law of flat ownership- Rebuilding of Ankara and the study area
1966			Second building of <i>Mülkiyeliler Birliği</i> , located on Selanik Street, was bought.

1967			The building of the Turkish Architects Association was demolished.
1968	Seminar “Milli Fiziki Plan Semineri” İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı konf. salonu	Painting exhibition “Atatürk ve Öyküsü” “Mülkiyeli Şehitler”	1968 law- floor limits in the area reached to six floors with roof level that accelerated the rebuilding process.
1969	Mimarlık Semineri	Conference about the economy of Turkey by İsmail Türk	
1970	Photography exhibition “Çocuk ve Dünyası” “Fotoğraflarla Mimarlık” Panel “1970’te Türk Mimarlığı” Panel “Ankara” Panel “Şehircilik”		Construction of the new building of the chamber and the association was completed. During the 1970s, the building also used by <i>TMMOB</i> , and other chambers.
1971	Photography exhibition “Şehirde İnsan”		
1972	Exhibition “Zonguldak Metropolitan Alan Proje Yarışması” Seminar “Ankara’da Ulaşım-Taşınım Sorunları”		

1973			Third building of <i>Mülkiyeliler Birliđi</i> , attached to the first building, was bought.
1974		Conference “Yeni ekonomik düzen ve halk sektörü”	
1975	Symposium “Ankara'da Yeşil Alan Sorunu ve Atatürk Orman Çiftliđi” Panel "Mimarlık Eğitiminde Güncel Sorunlar"		
1976		Symposium “Büyükşehir Belediyeleri”	
1977	Seminar “1978’e Girerken Ankara”		
1978		Painting exhibition “Atatürk ve Anadolu”	
1980			Dost Bookstore <i>Dost Sanat Ortamı</i>

1981	<p>Seminars “Mimarın ve Mimarlığın Tarihi,</p> <p>Mimari Pratik, Mimarlığın Ürünü ve Üretimi</p> <p>Mimari Kuram, Mimarlığın İdeolojisi</p> <p>Mimarlığın Eğitimi” organized by UCTEA within the congress “Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Teknik Kongre”</p> <p>April 6-11 Mimar Sinan Memorial Week</p>	Panel “1981 Yılından Atatürk’e Bakış”	Ankara Municipality Pedestrian Area Regulation
1982	<p>Conversation About Architecture organized with METU, Faculty of Arcitecture</p>		Yüksel Street was pedestrianized partially, while Konur and Karanfil Streets were still open to traffic.
1983	<p>Exhibitions in <i>Dost Sanat Ortamı</i></p> <p>Seminar for the memory of Tarık Okyay</p> <p>“Ulaşım, Konut, Kentleşme, Planlama, Kırsal Dönüşüm Üzerine Çalışmalar”</p>		

	Seminar “Yapı Denetimi”		
1984	Panel “Çevre Yasası Uygulamaya Geçerken”		İmge Bookstore
1985	Panel in <i>Dost Sanat Galerisi</i> “İmar Yasa Tasarısı” “Sinan ve Mimarlık” Panel “Yeni İmar Yasasının Çevre Etkileri”	Caricature exhibition	
1986	“Mimarlık Günleri” (held each Friday since October)	Between March 19 and May 28 “Çarşamba Konferansları” İktisat Konferansları (in April) Türk Dili Toplantıları (in May) Çarşamba Söyleşileri (in October) Folk Dance Festival Panels “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası” “Tütünde Devlet Tekelinin Kaldırılması” “Din ve Siyaset” “Ankara’nın Hava Kirliliği” in Türk-iş building	Human Rights Association in Konur Street
1987	Mimarlık Günleri (each Friday)	Organization of Ankara Film Festival	

	between January and May. After the summer, in November the events were organized again in each Friday in <i>Dost Sanat Ortamı</i>)	(collaborated with <i>BİLSAN A.Ş</i> and <i>BİLAR A.Ş.</i>) Caricature Exhibition of Cumhuriyet Gaziöğlü	
1988	Mimarlık Günleri	Conference “Feminizm” “Yeni Basın Tasarısı”	
1989	Mimarlık Günleri Symposium “Çağdaş Mimarlık Akımları ve Türkiye Mimarlığı”	Symposium “Fransız Devrimi ve Türkiye’nin Çağdaşlaşması”	
1990			Yüksel, Konur and Karanfil Streets were pedestrianized and opened with an open air activity.

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW

QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:

Name, Surname:

Date of birth:

- 1- What do you think about the change in the public use and identity of the urban place where *Mimarlar Odası* was located between the 1960s and 1980s?
- 2- At the time, what was the relationship between *Mimarlar Odası* and the urban place where the building of the institution is located? How did this relationship change between the 1960s and the 1990s?
- 3- Considering the public use and transformation of the study area (Yüksel Street-Konur Street intersection), how would you evaluate the impact of *Mimarlar Odası* on this transformation?

ANKET

Tarih:

Ad, soyad:

Doğum yeri ve yılı:

- 1- 1960'lardan 1980'lere Mimarlar Odası'nın bulunduğu kentsel mekanın kamusal kullanımı ve kimliğindeki değişim hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- 2- Mimarlar Odası ile binasının bulunduğu kentsel mekan arasında nasıl bir ilişki görüyorsunuz? Bu ilişki 1960'lardan 1990'lara nasıl değişti?
- 3- Çalışma bölgesinin(Yüksel Caddesi, Konur Sokak ve kesişim alanı) kamusal kullanımı ve dönüşümü düşünüldüğünde, Mimarlar Odası'nın bu dönüşüme etkisini nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

Mehmet Tevfik Gürsu ile söyleşi, 09.10.2018, Ankara

(Mehmet Tevfik Gürsu 1953 doğumlu, 1976 yılı ODTÜ Mimarlık Bölümü mezunu. 1978-1980 yılları arasında TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi'nde Şube Sekreterliği, 1980-1981 arasında da TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Genel Sekreterliği görevlerinde bulunmuştur.)

Ben 1976'da mezun oldum. Odaya kaydım da hemen sonradır zaten. 1978'de Ankara Şubesi Yönetim Kurulu'na girdim ve sekreter üye oldum ve profesyonel olarak başladım. 1979'da da devam ettik, yine seçimleri kazandık. Ben yine sekreter üye olarak devam ettim. Sonra 1980 yılında Genel sekreter oldum. Genel Merkez'e önerildim. 1980'de de Genel Sekreterlik yaptım. Sonra zaten 12 Eylül ve farklı süreçler yaşandı. Benim konuyla ilgili olarak Konur Sokak, Yüksel Caddesi bağlamında, mekanın olduğu yerle ilgili ilişkim bu üç yıla, 1978-1980 yılları arasında profesyonel olarak orada çalıştığım için, bölgeye fiziksel olarak tanıklığım bu zaman denk düşüyor. Daha sonra sırf üye olarak zaman zaman gidip gelmelerim oldu. Dolayısıyla kurumsal bağım sürdüğü için mekanla ilişkim hiç bitmedi.

Odanın mekânsal varlığı

O günler, bölge yaya bölgesi değil. Hem Mülkiyeliler Birliği, hem de Mimarlar Odası bir kere üye tabanlı örgütler. Karşılıklılar ve dünyaya bakış açısı da benzer. Aynı profil neredeyse ikisini de kullanıyor. Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nin tabii bir başka yanı daha var. Bir sosyalleşme alanı, bir bahçesi ve restoranı var. Dolayısıyla insanların orada akşamları yan yana vakit geçirdiği bir yer, bir toplanma yeri bir anlamda. Karşısında oda, Mimarlar Odası'nın olduğu yer aslında diğer odalarla kullanılan TMMOB'ye ait bir kullanım. Sahibi Mimarlar Odası ve Mimarlar Derneği'dir binanın. Fakat Mimarlar Odası her zaman örgütlülük adına TMMOB'yi

ön plana çıkardığı için ve TMMOB’de de yıllardır yönlendirici, motive edici çok ciddi roller üstlendiği için o bina TMMOB’ye bağlı odaların bir arada çalıştığı bir yer olarak hayata geçti. Ve bunun çok peşindeydik, her seferinde TMMOB Mimarlar Odası yazmaya çok dikkat ederdik. O örgütlülüğün bir vurgusu ve anlamı olarak.

Tabi öyle olunca odaları kullanan üye profili, TMMOB üyeleri, o mekanı sürekli gelip gidilen bir yere dönüştürmüştü. 1978’de çok dışa açılan çok komisyonlu bir çalışma ortamı oluşturuldu. 33 komisyon kuruldu mesela, 28’i çalışır durumdaydı. Oda gündüzleri geceleri sayısız insanın gelip gittiği çalıştığı bir yere dönmüştü. Bunların içinde akademik, bürokratik kesimlerden gelen çok üst düzey, söylemleriyle ve yaptıklarıyla çok önemli katkılarda bulunmuş insanlar vardı. Burası, insanların gelip gittiği başka bir atmosfere dönmüştü. Dolayısıyla ülkede gelişen herhangi bir durumda, anında ilgili komisyon toplanır ve oda görüşü olarak ifade ederdi düşüncelerini. Dolayısıyla reaksiyonlar çok hızlı olurdu. Bu komisyonların büyük bölümü de değişik kültürel ve sosyal aktivitelere yönelik programlar geliştirdi. Bu da Ankara’da başka bir canlılığı oluştururdu. Sadece Mimarlar Odası için söyleyeyim, Güvenpark’ta defalarca sergi açmıştık....

Ortam da çok önemli, genellikle politize olmuş bir ortam. Değişik sivil toplum örgütleri, sendikalar var. Hepsi gündeme dair bir eylemlilik ve program içinde. Reaksiyonlarını zamanında koyma çabası içinde. Emek-sermaye çelişkinin değişik boyutları bir sivil toplum örgütü olarak buralara, programlarına ve kitlesine yansıyor. Kitlenin geliş gidişleriyle orada başka bir trafik oluşmaya başladı. Yani Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak sırf bu nedenle gelip giden, yani mimar, mühendis, Mülkiyeli ve o çevrede bulunan, yaklaşabilen insan grupları tarafından çok ziyaret edilen bir yerdi. Dolayısıyla giderek daha entelektüel, yayına, kitaba ağırlıklı bir yere dönüşmesinin bir sebebi bu olabilir. Giderek kitabevelerinin açılır

olması gibi nedenler gençleri de çeken bir yana sahipti. Hem mesela aktiviteleri izlerlerdi, kendi toplantı salonumuzda çok değişik aktiviteler yapardık, bunlar dışarıya da açık bakan şeylerdi. Dışarıdan insanlar ağırlıklı olarak gençler izlerlerdi. Dolayısıyla o mekanı kullanan kişi profili gençleri ve o aktivitelere katılmak isteyen vatandaşlara kadar pek çok kişiyi içine alıyordu. Dolayısıyla bu iki mekan hem sosyal hem kültürel anlamda ve ideolojik olarak da genel tandansı belli, duruşu belli, ülke yararına konumu her zaman ön planda olan, iktidarların hangisi olursa olsun kamu yararına olmayan eylemlerini sürekli deşifre eden ve buna karşı da alternatifler oluşturan bir tutum içindeydi. Tabi bu güçler çelişkisi içinde ön planda hedef olmayı da beraberinde getirdi. Karşıt görüşler için saldırılacak bir yer halini de dönüştü. Bunun etkileri daha farklı oldu belki. Çünkü o yıllar sokağa girerken insanların tedirgin olduğu, bir aktiviteyi gelirken tedirgin olduğu dönemleri de içerdi bir nevi. Biz tabi idealimizi gerçekleştirmek için oralardaydık hep. Ve yılmadan bu aktivite programları devam etti. Böyle de olduğu için, sivil toplum örgütü, o zaman STK denmiyor, demokratik kitle örgütü (DKÖ) olarak geçiyor. Odalar nasıl örgüttür, DKÖ müdür başka bir şey midir, kanunla kurulmuş meslek kuruluşu aslında ama bu DKÖ nasıl olur? Bunların tartışmaları çok uzun soluklu tartışmalardır ama biz kendimizi DKÖ olarak niteliyorduk. Dolayısıyla salt bir meslek kuruluşu olmanın dışında, üyesiyle, tabanıyla, ülke yararına çalışan bir yaklaşım içindeydik. O kitle, odaya gelen kitle Mülkiyelilerle de bir paralelliği var. Odaya gelir ama yemeği Mülkiyelilerde yer, sosyalleşir, konuşur, meseleler tartışılır. Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nin de kendi programları vardı zaten, onlar da izlenirdi. Benim fiilen içinde olduğum, profesyonel olarak çalıştığım dönem tüm toplumsal gerilimin, ilişkilerin, çelişkilerin yükseldiği bir dönem. Her an büyük gerilimlerin yaşandığı bambaşka bir boyuttu. İnsanlar da başka türlü bir donanım içindeydi. Konulara yaklaşım, kültürel seviye veya mücadele içinde rol alma biçimleri ve kararlılıkları onları başka bir seviyeye getiriyordu. Yani oraya gelen insanlar artık çok kararlı, ne olup bittiğini çok iyi sezen, nerede durmaları

gerektiğini bilen ve bunu bilinçli olarak kararlaştırmış insanlardan oluşuyordu. Dolayısıyla herhangi bir etkinlik olduğunda bunu paylaşanlar, tüm gidişatın farkında olan insanlardı ve hem bir şeyler almaya hem de katkı koymaya gelen insanlardı. O ortamlarda ciddi iletişim ortamlarıydı. Bu da tartışmayı başka bir noktaya çıkartan, içeriğini niteliğini yükselten bir durumdu.

Şehir için Yüksel ve Konur çok merkezi bir alan tabii. Oda, Mülkiyeliler, kitabeveleri zaten entelektüel profili farklı bir yere taşıyordu. Dolayısıyla reaksiyonların oluşma biçimi, mesela bir konu protesto edilecek, hemen Yüksel Caddesi'nden ya da Konur Sokak'tan başlayabiliyordu. Çünkü alternatif görüşlerin en azından yeşerebildiği, tartışılabildiği mekanlar, buranın bekçileri bir anlamda, buradaydı. Mekana verdiği güven, o mekanların orada olması bazı nirengi noktalarıdır. Onun yanından geçmek bile bazen insana huzur verir. Çünkü mekan dili veya mekan etkisi farklıdır. Şimdi orada gittiğin, içinde olduğun, yan yana olduğun düşündüğün insanlarla bir arada olduğun, gücünü aldığın ve yalnız değilim dediğin insanlar oralarda ve o mekanlar da oralarda. Hemen çıktığında sosyalleşebildiğin, kapıdan dışarıda olduğunda gene onun hinterlandı içinde, karşılaştığın insan oradaydı ya da gelecek, belki Mülkiyeliler Birliği'ne ya da kitapçıya girdi. Bu işte sokağın aurasını çıkartan bir şey. Sokak birden bire mekanlarla başka bir auraya sahip oluyor. Sen adımını attığın zaman dışarıya, o auranın içindesin aslında. Bence en önemli şey buydu. Kendi buldukları yerde bunu oluşturdular. Oraya girdiğin zaman, Yüksel Caddesi'nden, Konur Sokak'tan adımını atan kişi kendini başka bir yerde hissedebiliyordu.

Mülkiyeliler Birliği ve Mimarlar Odası o sokağın demirbaşları ve güven duymanı sağlıyor. Tabii bakış açına bağlı. Bazıları için de tamamen farklı. Bakış açın odaların politikaları ve yapmak istediklerine yakınsa, o zaman o sokağa girdiğin zaman o iki binayı hissedebiliyorsun. Herhangi biriyle çok rahat bir şekilde konuşabilirim, tartışabilirim veya şunu beraber yapalım dediğimde, hiç tanımasam bile, o

sokaktaki insanla yapabilirim. Bence bu mekanlarla, orada oluşan biten işler, mekanda yapılan aktiviteler ve yapan insanlar, o mekanın fiziksel dili hepsi yakından ilişkili. Orada o ortam oluştu bence. Böyle işlevleri oldu bence.

Orada bir direniş var ve saldırılar çok fazlaydı. Ben oradayken neler neler oldu. Şimdi odanın sorumluluğu da bana aitti, bir de genel sekreterken, ben profesyonel sekreter üye olarak sürekli kaldığım için her şey daha çok birebir yansıyor. Yönetim olarak hepimiz sorumluyduk. Bütün bunlara maruz kalmak bir direnişin, her şeye rağmen orada var olmanın, oraya gelip gitmenin, burada burası var demenin başka bir getirisi de oldu. Orası terk edilip gidilseydi böyle olmazdı belki de, özelliğini yitirecekti belki. Fiziksel şartları da öyleydi. Odanın gelirleri yok, çok sınırlıydı, yakıt yoktu. Kışın donuyorduk. Ama orası öyle bir yer, orası hayatımızın, inancımızın, hedeflerimizin bir parçası olan bir yer. Öyle olunca bunların zaten önemi yoktu. Bunlar yansır, o sokağa giren bunu anlar, o aura onları da etkiler. Giderek Yüksel-Konur başka bir şey olmaya başlar. Gün gelir İnsan Hakları Heykeli o köşeye dikilir, gün gelir insanlar seslerini orada yüksek sesle ifade etmeye başlar. Onu yapan insanlar, hepimiziz, yani o süreçteki herkes hepimizin katkısı var tüm bu değerlerin oluşmasında.

Oradaki hayatın tümü toplumsal gelişmeler, oda ve Mülkiyelilerin aktiviteleri, onların insanları, gelip gidenler, ve onların oluşturduğu topyekun her şey ve orada binalarının bizatihi varlığının oluşturduğu güvence, liman belki de, insanların gelip gittiğinde rahat ettiği, tartışırken rahat ettiği, kendine uygun bulduğu mekanlar olması sebebiyle, orası başkalaşım süreci geçirdi.

APPENDIX D – TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

MİMARLAR ODASI VE MÜLKİYELİLER BİRLİĞİ'NİN KAMUSAL MEKANIN OLUŞUMUNDAKİ ROLÜ: YÜKSEL-KONUR KESİŞİMİ, 1960'LAR-1980'LER

Bu çalışmanın amacı, başkent Ankara'da bir kamusal mekanın nasıl oluştuğunu, kamusal mekanın karakterinin ve anlamının nasıl ortaya çıktığını anlamaktır. Bu doğrultuda, çalışma bugün Ankara merkez alanının parçası haline gelmiş iki önemli sokağa, Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak, ve daha özel olarak bu iki sokağın kesişim alanına odaklanır. Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında konut bölgesi olarak planlanan bu alan, zaman içinde bu amaçtan uzaklaşarak çok sayıda insan tarafından kullanılan, ticari, rekreasyonel ve kültürel işlevleri barındıran bir bölge haline gelmiştir. Buna ek olarak, bu kentsel bölge 1990larla birlikte artan bir şekilde politik eylemler, basın açıklamaları ve gösteriler için de kullanılmış ve Ankara'daki muhalif gruplar için sembolik bir anlam kazanmıştır. İşte bu nedenle, bu çalışma Konur Sokak, Yüksel Caddesi ve kesişim alanlarının 1960lar ve 1990lar arasındaki mekânsal ve sosyal dönüşümünü, bu bölgede bulunan iki önemli kurumun tarihi ve buraya etkilerini de inceleyerek anlamaya çalışır. Böylelikle 1990'lar sonrası toplumsal ve politik olarak yüklendiği kamusal anlamın oluşmasını sağlayan süreçleri, bu bölgeye 1960lardan itibaren yerleşen Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği üzerinden okumayı amaçlar.

Yüksel Caddesi, Konur Sokak ve ikisinin kesişiminde bulunan kentsel alan, Ankara'da önemli bir konuma sahiptir. Şehir merkezi, Kızılay Meydanı ve Atatürk Bulvarı'nın hemen yanında, Bakanlıklar ve Güvenpark'ın karşı tarafında konumlanır. Yüksel Caddesi, İncesu Vadisi ve Atatürk Bulvarı arasında doğu-batı yönlü bağlantıyı sağlarken, Konur Sokak, Esat ile Yüksel Caddesi arasında uzanır.

Ancak, Yüksel Caddesi'nin Karanfil ve Selanik Sokak arasındaki kısmıyla, Konur Sokak'ın Yüksel Caddesi ve Meşrutiyet Caddesi arasında kalan kısmı hem farklı işlevlere ev sahipliği yaptığından hem de yaya bölgesi içerisinde olması sebebiyle daha farklı bir kamusal karaktere sahiptir. Bu bölge, sahip olduğu önemi sadece barındırdığı ticari faaliyetlerle kazanmamıştır. Aynı zamanda, Ankara'nın ihtiyacı olan kültürel ve entelektüel faaliyetleri de zaman içinde barındırmaya başlamış ve yayalaştırıldığı 1990 senesinde Ankara'nın kültür-sanat sokağı olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma bu bölgenin nasıl böyle bir öneme sahip olmaya başladığını ve sosyal olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini anlamayı hedefler.

Çalışmanın odaklandığı tarihsel dönem 1960larla başlayıp 1980ler sonunda biter. 1960lar iki açıdan önemlidir. İlki, bu tarihin ülke gündeminde radikal politik, ekonomik ve sosyal dönüşümlerin yaşandığı, daha özgürlükçü ve demokratik bir atmosferin oluştuğu, politik ve sivil hayatın canlandığı bir döneme denk düşmesidir. İkincisi ise, bu bölgenin neredeyse tamamen konuttan oluşan yapısının yeni işlevlerle kırılması ve Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği gibi iki önemli kurumun buraya yerleşmesidir. 1980ler sonu ise bölgenin yayalaştırılmasıyla sonlanan fiziksel değişimine ek olarak, kazandığı simgesel anlamın ve kamusal karakterinin oluştuğu zamana referans verir. Bu süreç içerisinde, çalışma alanındaki neredeyse tüm yapılar yıkılıp yeniden inşa edilerek, önceki haliyle olan tarihsel sürekliliği kesintiye uğratılmıştır. Bununla beraber, ticari işlevlerin yanında bölgede yerleşmeye başlayan sosyal ve kültürel işlevler, bu kamusal mekanın bugünkü anlamının inşa edilmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu nedenle, çalışma 1960lar ve 1980ler arasındaki mekânsal ve sosyal değişimleri, ülkenin geçirdiği sosyal, ekonomik ve politik değişimleri göz önüne alarak incelemeyi hedeflemektedir.

Çalışma alanını oluşturan Yüksel ve Konur Sokak kesişim alanının tarihsel olarak şekillenmesinin incelenmesi, sokakların kamusal mekanlar olarak nasıl şekillendiğini ve kent yaşamına gerek mekânsal özellikleriyle, gerek de toplumsal olarak barındırdığı anlamlarla nasıl katkı sunduğunu anlamayı sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma kamusal mekan olarak sokakların sadece fiziksel ve mimari ürünler değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal dönüşümlerle değişen ve yeni ihtiyaçlara adapte olup, cevap veren toplumsal ürünler de olduğunu göz önünde bulundurur.

Bu doğrultuda Birinci Bölüm’de, konunun genel hatları ve çalışma alanının nasıl ele alınacağı literatür ile birlikte sunulurken, çalışmanın amacı, kapsamı ve metnin yapısı açıklanır. Bu doğrultuda belirtilen zaman aralığında incelenen çalışma alanı, statik ve değişmeyen, belirli bir zamanda dondurulmuş bir mekan olarak değil, içinde bulunduğu toplumsal, politik ve ekonomik süreçler ve barındırdığı sosyal ilişkiler ağıyla, fiziksel ve anlamsal olarak sürekli değişen ve yeniden üretilen bir mekan olarak ele alınır.

“İkinci Bölüm: Sokakların Kamusallığı”, kamusal mekanın ne olduğunu ve kamusal mekanları üreten dinamikleri ortaya koyup, sokağın bir kamusal mekan olarak sahip olduğu özelliklerine eğilir. Bu doğrultuda kamusal alan ve kamusal mekan tartışmasını açıp, sosyal ilişkiler ağıyla üretilen ve aynı zamanda bu ağı üreten kamusal mekanların kent hayatını ve kamusal alanı örgütleyen önemli elemanlar olduğu vurgular. Her ne kadar fiziksel kent mekanlarının, basılı ve görsel medya gibi kullanımların artmasıyla, kamusal alanla olan ilişkisinin zayıfladığı ya da yok olduğu tartışılan bir konu olsa da, kentsel mekanlar hala toplumsal hayatı örgütleyen, bunlara yer sunan oluşumlardır. Dolayısıyla kamusal mekanlar, barındırdığı toplumsal ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilerin oluşturduğu günlük pratikler doğrultusunda hem fiziksel olarak hem de sosyal olarak şekillenir. Kullanıcılarına farklı insanlarla karşılaşma ve iletişime geçme olanağı sunar. İnsanların ve/veya

toplumsal grupların görünür, duyulur olmasını ve temsil edilmesini sağlar. Diğer taraftan, kullanıcılar ve onların günlük pratikleriyle dönüştürülür ve yeniden anlamlandırılır. Sokaklar, bu bağlamda, kontrol edilmesi daha güç yapıları ve kullanıcılarına farklı kentsel pratikleri özgürce gerçekleştirebilme imkanı vermesi düşünüldüğünde, daha kamusal alanlar olarak karşımıza çıkar. İşlevler, kullanım ve kullanıcıların değişimiyle, sokakların toplumsal anlam ve karakterleri de dönüşür.

İkinci Bölümdeki tartışmaların ışığında, Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Bölüm çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak kesişiminin oluşturduğu kamusal mekana eğilir. Bölgenin çalışmanın odaklandığı dönemdeki değişimlerini anlamak için, önceki dönemdeki oluşumunu değerlendirmek önemlidir. Bu nedenle, “Üçüncü Bölüm: Yüksel Caddesi-Konur Sokak Kesişimi” Yenişehir ve çalışma alanının planlanmasıyla başlar. Ankara’nın modern bir başkent olarak planlanması ve inşa edilmesine özel çaba harcanır. Lörcher planıyla, Yenişehir, Cumhuriyet’in ilk yıllarından itibaren Ankara’nın güney kesiminde, yeni rejimin vizyonu ve idealleri doğrultusunda modern bir yönetim merkezi ve konut bölgesi olarak tasarlanır. Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak da bu konut bölgesi içindedir. Lörcher planında Yüksel Caddesi, Tuna, Sakarya ve Akay Caddeleri’yle beraber İncesu Vadisi’ne bağlanan yeşil akslardandır.²⁵⁹ 1932’de uygulamaya konan Jansen planında da bu durum devam ettirilir. Çalışma alanındaki ilk yapılaşma, 1930ların başlarında görülür ve bu dönemdeki yapılar bahçeli, ayırık nizamda, iki veya üç kat olarak inşa edilen villalardır. Jansen planından sonra, bölgedeki yeni yapılar üç katlı ve bitişik nizamda inşa edilir ve böylece yapılan yeni binalarda ortak bir dil oluşturulmaya çalışılır. 1930larda çalışma alanındaki yapılar konut olarak kullanılır, ticari kullanım yoktur çünkü binalarının hemen karşı tarafında

²⁵⁹ Cengizkan, *Ankara’nın İlk Planı*, 84.

ticari faaliyetin olmasının devlet prestijine zarar verdiği görüşü hakimdir.²⁶⁰ Ancak, konut bölgesinin artan ihtiyaç ve baskısından dolayı 1936'da, çalışma alanının kuzey ve güney tarafında bulunan Ziya Gökalp ve Meşrutiyet Caddesi'nde ticarete izin verilir. 1939'da da, Yüksel ve Konur Sokak'ın çalışma alanının kapsadığı kısımlarında az sayıda ticari kullanım vardır.²⁶¹ Ancak bu alan çoğunlukla, Cumhuriyet'in yüksek gelir grubuna dahil olan kesimleri için konut bölgesi olarak kullanılır.

Üçüncü bölümün ikinci kısmı ise, Yüksel, Konur Sokak kesişiminin sahip olduğu homojen kullanım ve sosyal yapısının, fiziksel ve işlevsel değişimine odaklanır. Çalışma alanının 1960 sonrası değişen ekonomik, politik ve sosyal değişimlere ve Ankara'nın da payını aldığı hızlı kentleşmeye paralel olarak nasıl şekillendiğini inceler. Çalışma alanının bu dönemde geçirdiği fiziksel dönüşüm, apartmanlaşma ve bunu takiben 1960lardan itibaren gerçekleşen işlevsel değişim incelenir. Bu bölge, Kızılay çevresindeki diğer alt-merkezlerde olduğu gibi perakende ticaretin yoğunluklu olduğu bir merkez olarak gelişmez. Bunun aksine, daha çok resmi ve özel ofislerin, sosyal ve kültürel birimlerin yerleştiği bir bölge halini alır. Üçüncü Bölüm, 1960lar, 1970ler ve 1980lerde bölgede yer alan sosyal ve kültürel kullanımları ve buna bağlı olarak değişen kullanıcı profili ve günlük hayatı inceler.

Ankara, diğer büyük iller gibi 1950ler sonrasının liberal siyaseti, batıyla entegrasyon ve tarımda makineleşmenin getirdiği hızlı kentleşmeye bağlı olarak kırsal göçün yöneldiği illerden biri olur. 1956'da Ankara'nın nüfusu 455.000'e

²⁶⁰ Göksu, "Yenişehir," 262.

²⁶¹ Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 39.

ulaşır. Daha öncesinde mevcut olan konut sıkıntısı ve gecekondulaşma, bu tarihten itibaren şehrin ayrılmaz parçası haline gelir ve şehir gecekondularıyla çevrilir. Bu durum da kent merkezlerinde artan ranta bağlı olarak yapılaşmanın yoğunlaşmasını beraberinde getirir. 1955'te yeni bir nazım planı için uluslararası bir yarışma açılır ve bu yarışmada Yücel-Uybadin planı seçilir. Ancak bu plan kentteki yapı yoğunluğuna çözüm getiremez. Mevcut belediye sınırları içinde yoğunlaşmayı ve kat yüksekliklerinin artmasını meşrulaştırır. Bununla beraber, Kızılay'ın iş merkezi olmasının önünü açar.²⁶² Çalışma alanındaki yapılar kademeli olarak kat artışlarıyla yükselir. 1956'da daha önce 2-3 kat ve çatı katı olan binalar dört kata yükseltilir. 1960'ta beş kata izin verilir. 1968'de de çatı katlarının yasaklanmasıyla bölgedeki kat izni altı kata çıkar. Yıkılıp yeniden yapılaşma süreçlerinin hızlandığı alanda, bina inşa alanları da genişler. Böylelikle, iki-üç katlı, bahçeli evler düşünülerek planlanan bölge, bahçe alanlarının yok edildiği yüksek apartman yapılarıyla çevrelenir.

Fiziksel değişime ek olarak, Kızılay'ın merkezi iş alanı olması dolayısıyla, Bulvar etrafındaki sokaklarda da merkezle benzer işlevler gözlenmeye başlar. Çalışma alanına 1960'lardan itibaren gelen yeni işlevlerle, konuttan oluşan yapılaşma değişmeye başlar. Evyapan'ın çalışması 1977 yılında bölgede konut oranının yüzde yirmiyi düştüğünü, atölye, dernek, dersane, ticari ve resmi ofislerin oranının ise yüzde altmışın üzerine çıktığını gösterir. Perakende satış yapan birimlerin oranı ise yüzde onun altındadır.²⁶³ Bu da alanın bu dönemde, perakende satış yapan dükkan vb. kullanımlardan daha çok ofis, dernek, eğitim birimleri gibi işlevlerle şekillendiğini

²⁶² Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme"; Cengizkan, "1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi."

²⁶³ Evyapan, *Kentleşme Olgusunun Hızlanması Nedeniyle Yapılar Yakın Çevresi Düzeyinde Açık Alan ve Mekânların Değişimi*, 39.

gösterir. Bu yeni işlevlere dahil olan Mimarlar Odası Genel Merkez, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi ve Mimarlar Derneği 1959'da Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak'ın kesiştiği noktaya çok yakın olan Konur Sokak no:4'te satın alınan binaya 1960 senesinde taşınır. 1964'te Mülkiyeliler Birliği Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak'ın kesişimindeki ilk binalarını alır. 1967'de Selanik Sokak'a cephesi olan ikinci bina ve 1974'te de ilk binaya bitişik olan Konur Sokak'taki üçüncü bina alınır. 1970lerde bölgede yayınevi ve dağıtım ofisleri, sosyal bilimler ve politik dergi, gazete büroları açılır. 1980lerde de İnsan hakları Derneği, kitapçılar ve farklı yayınevleri ofisleri için bu bölgeyi seçerler. Tüm bu yeni işlevler, çalışmanın odaklandığı zaman aralığında bölgenin kullanıcı sayısının, profilinin ve günlük hayatının yeni pratikler etrafında değişmesinin önünü açar. Yüksel, Karanfil ve Konur Sokağı kapsayan alan yayalaştırılıp, 1990 senesinin ilk günü açıldığında Yüksel Caddesi Ankara'nın yeni 'kültür-sanat sokağı' olarak lanse edilir.²⁶⁴ 1991'de Yüksel Caddesi ile Konur Sokak'ın kesiştiği noktaya Metin Yurdanur'un tasarladığı İnsan Hakları Anıtı yerleştirilir. Bu anıt, hem bu kentsel noktayı bir toplanma alanı olarak tanımlarken, hem de içeriğiyle bölgenin demokratik yapısına referans verir.

"Dördüncü Bölüm: Yüksel Caddesi-Konur Sokak Kesişimindeki Sivil Toplum Kurumları", çalışma alanına etkilerini analiz etmek için, bölgeye 1960larda gelen iki sivil toplum kurumu olan Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği'ne odaklanır. Her iki kurum da, çalışmanın kapsadığı dönem içerisinde, Türkiye'de meydana gelen politik, ekonomik ve sosyal değişimler içinde dönüşüme uğrar ve sadece kendi üyelerine veya meslek alanlarına hizmet eden kurumlar olmaktan çıkıp, toplumsal meselelerde aktif rol oynayan sivil toplum kurumları haline gelir. Bu

²⁶⁴ Çankaya, 54.

sayede, toplum nezdinde görünür olup, kamusallaşırlar. Esasen her iki kurumda da kuruluş itibariyle daha devletçi bir tutum hakimdir. Hem mimarlar ve Mimarlar Odası, hem de devletin önemli kademelerindeki kadrolara aday Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (Mülkiye) mezunları ve Mülkiyeliler Birliği devlet yöneticileriyle yakın ilişkiler içindedir. Fakat bu durum, 1960 sonrası liberal ortamı, sivil toplumun gelişmesi ve toplumun geniş bir kesiminin politize olmasına paralel olarak değişmeye başlar. Mimarlar Odası, 1960ların ikinci yarısından itibaren daha politik bir eğilim geliştirir ve özel okullardan Boğaz Köprüsü'ne, kıyı sorunlarından kentsel ranta uzanan geniş bir alanda söylem üretir. 1970'lerde geniş bir örgütlenme çalışması gerçekleştirir. TMMOB'nin canlandırılması, diğer odalarla ilişkilerin güçlendirilmesi, teknik elemanların örgütlenmesi önemli amaçlardır. Bu dönemde Konur Sokak no:4'teki bina sadece Mimarlar Odası ve Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi tarafından değil, TMMOB, TMMOB'ye bağlı on iki meslek odası ve TEKSEN (Teknik Elemanlar Sendikası), ve sonrasında TÜTED (Tüm Teknik Elemanlar Derneği) tarafından da kullanılır.²⁶⁵

Mülkiyeliler Birliği de benzer şekilde çalışmanın incelediği dönemde değişir. Her ne kadar, 1980'lere kadar siyasi alandan uzak durmaya çalışan, kendi üyelerine hizmet eden bir kurum gibi hareket etmeye çalışsa da, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nin bu politik süreçlerin merkezinde olması ve yeni nesillerin eğilimiyle birliğin kimliği de dönüşüme uğrar. Özellikle 1980 rejimin pasifize ettiği sivil hayat, bu dönemde Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nde organize edilen ve birçok aydınının, gazetecinin, akademisyenin katıldığı etkinliklerle yeniden canlandırılmaya çalışılır.

²⁶⁵ Ünalın, *Konur 4 Seyir Defteri*, 5.

Mülkiyeliler Birliđi'nin bahçesi ve binaları da pek çok kiřiye ve olaya ev sahipliđi ederek, Ankara'nın kent hayatında önemli bir yer edinir.

Bu dönemde her iki kurum da kendi üyelerinin dışında, daha geniş bir kitleye hitap eder, daha geniş bir kitlenin destek ve güvenini kazanır. Toplum ve muhalif kesimler nezdinde görünür ve kamusal kurumlar haline gelirler. Yaptıkları etkinlikler ve diđer dernek, sendika ve meslek odaları gibi yapılarla kurdukları bağlantılarla, sadece kendi üyelerini deđil, toplumun işçiler, öğrenciler, entelektüeller, sosyal bilimciler, teknik elemanlar ve mühendisler gibi çok geniş bir kesimini de çalışma bölgesine çekerler. Bu da hem bölgenin kullanıcı profilini deđiştirir, hem de bu profili hedef alan kitapevi, yayınevi ve dergiler gibi yeni kullanımların bu alana yerleşmesinin önünü açar. Bu bölümün son kısmında deđişen bu sosyal yapının alana kazandırdıkları vurgulanır.

“Beşinci Bölüm: Sonuç”, çalışma alanının sosyo-mekansal dönüşümü ışığında ortaya çıkan bulgularla, alanın bugünkü hali ve önemiyle sonlanır. Bu bölümde, Cumhuriyet sonrası bir konut bölgesi olarak planlanan bölgenin, planlandığının aksine nasıl mevcut haline dönüştüğü açıklanır. Sonuç olarak, Yüksel Caddesi ve Konur Sokak kesişiminde oluşan alan, 1960lardan sonra her iki sokağın fiziksel ve işlevsel deđişimiyle dönüşür. Çalışmanın incelediđi zaman aralığında, önceki dönemlerinde konut bölgesi olan ve daha kısıtlı ve homojen bir kullanıcı kitlesi olan alan, Ankara'nın geçirdiđi dönüşümlere paralel olarak dönüşür. Bir taraftan kat yüksekliklerinin artmasıyla yoğunlaşan bölge, 1960'lardan itibaren Kızılay'ın merkezi iş bölgesi olmasının da getirisiyle işlevsel olarak da deđişmeye başlar. Buraya 1960'lardan itibaren yerleşen Mimarlar Odası ve Mülkiyeliler Birliđi gibi sosyal işlevler ve onların oluşturduđu ilişkiler de bu dönüşümün belirleyicileri arasındadır ve bölgenin kullanıcı kitlesini deđiştirirler. 1970ler ve 1980lerde, deđişen kullanıcı kitlesinin sonucu olarak buraya yerleşen kitapçılar, dergi ve

yayınevleri gibi kullanımlarla, daha fazla ve farklı bir kesim tarafından kullanılır hale gelir. 1990 yılında yayalaştırılır ve Ankara'nın kültür-sanat sokağı olarak ilan edilir. Ticari, rekreasyonel ve kültürel işlevlerin dışında, muhalif kesimler için 1990lar sonrasında güçlenen bir sembolik anlam yüklenir ve eylem, basın açıklaması ve yürüyüş gibi toplumsal olaylarda akla ilk gelen, başlıca mekanlarından biri haline dönüşür.

APPENDIX E – THESIS PERMISSION FORM/TEZ İZİN FORMU

TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

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Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : The Role of *Mimarlar Odası* and *Mülkiyeliler Birliği* in the Formation of a Public Place: Yüksel- Konur Intersection 1960s - 1980s

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