TRACING SPACE-TIMES OF POLITICAL ACTION: SPACES OF RESISTANCE IN ANKARA (1960-1971)

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ABSTRACT

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The period between 1960 and 1971 in Ankara was characterized by prominent spatial and political transformations that were interconnected: On the one hand, the production of urban space and the urban experience significantly transformed with dense migration, rapid urbanization, and the reconfiguration of the built environment in the city center. On the other hand, this period witnessed diverse forms of political actions unfolding in urban spaces, with mass politicization and the rise of the labor movement, student movement, and revolutionary struggle. In this context, this thesis examines urban spaces that transformed into spaces of resistance through political actions of these movements, in the frame of the concept of space-time. Adopting a multi-scale and multi-sited approach, it focuses on the reciprocal relationship between urban space and political action. It interrogates (1) the role of these spaces with physical forms, spatial practices, and social meanings in the organization, experience, and representation of the political actions, and (2) the impacts of political actions in social, representational, and symbolic reproduction of these spaces. In this sense, the prominent spaces of resistance in the city are identified: Kızılay Square, Sıhhiye Square, Tandoğan Square, Güvenpark, Kurtuluş Park, the Faculty of Political Science

(Mülkiye), the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF), and Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ). Yet, this identification does not offer fixed definitions; rather, the study comprehends the spaces of resistance in a processual and relational understanding according to space-times of actions, their different forms, and interrelations of the spaces of resistance. Considering both material and immaterial dimensions, the spatialities of resistance are traced and interpreted through movements, routes, nodes, borders, repetitions, continuities, and ruptures. In this way, the changes in the spaces of resistance and in the routes connecting them through political actions, which form what can be described as a web of resistance, are revealed and analyzed in the light of social and spatial dynamics. How these spatialities manifested in the city throughout the period, and how they expanded and spread especially between 1968 and 1971, is demonstrated. Thus, an architectural and urban historiographical practice is presented through which collective political actions are recognized as decisive forces in the social and representational reproduction of urban spaces, and aimed to contribute to the spatial-political history of Ankara.

Keywords: space-time, political action, spaces of resistance, urban space, Ankara.

ÖZ

POLİTİK EYLEMİN MEKAN-ZAMANLARININ İZİNİ SÜRMEK:
ANKARA'DA DİRENİŞ MEKANLARI (1960-1971)

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1960 ile 1971 yılları arasındaki dönem, Ankara'da birbiriyle ilişkili mekansal ve politik dönüşümlerle karakterize edilmiştir: Bir yandan yoğun göç, hızlı kentleşme ve kent merkezinde yapılı çevrenin yeniden şekillenmesiyle, kentsel mekanın üretimi ve kent deneyimi önemli ölçüde dönüşmüştür. Öte yandan, bu dönem kitlesel politizasyon, işçi hareketinin, öğrenci hareketinin ve devrimci mücadelenin yükselişiyle birlikte, kentsel mekanlarda gerçekleşen çeşitli politik eylem biçimlerine tanıklık etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, tez; söz konusu hareketlerin politik eylemleri aracılığıyla direniş mekanlarına dönüşen kentsel mekanları, mekan-zaman kavramsal çerçevesi içinde incelemektedir. Çok ölçekli ve çok mekanlı bir yaklaşım benimseyen çalışma, kentsel mekan ile politik eylem arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiye odaklanmakta; (1) bu mekanların fiziksel formları, mekansal pratikleri ve toplumsal anlamlarıyla birlikte, politik eylemlerin örgütlenmesinde, deneyimlenmesinde ve temsilinde oynadığı rolü, (2) politik eylemlerin bu mekanların toplumsal, temsili ve sembolik yeniden üretimindeki etkilerini sorgulamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, kentte öne çıkan direniş mekanları belirlenmiştir: Kızılay Meydanı, Sıhhiye Meydanı, Tandoğan Meydanı, Güvenpark, Kurtuluş Parkı, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (Mülkiye), Dil ve

Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi (DTCF) ve Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ). Ancak bu tespit, sabit tanımlar önermemekte; aksine, direniş mekanlarını eylemlerin mekan-zamanlarına, farklı eylem formlarına ve bu mekanların birbiriyle ilişkilerine göre süreçsel ve ilişkisel bir anlayışla ele almaktadır. Kentsel mekanın üretiminde maddi ve maddi olmayan boyutları beraber dikkate alan bu çalışma, direnişlerin mekansallıklarını hareketler, rotalar, düğüm noktaları, sınırlar, tekrarlar, süreklilikler ve kopuşlar üzerinden izlemekte ve yorumlamaktadır. Direniş mekanlarındaki ve bu mekanları politik eylemlerle birbirine bağlayan rotalardaki değişimler, direniş ağı olarak nitelenerek, toplumsal ve mekansal dinamikler ışığında incelenmektedir. Bu mekansallıkların dönem boyunca kentte nasıl tezahür ettiği ve özellikle 1968-1971 arasında kentte nasıl genişlediği ve yayıldığı ortaya konmaktadır. Böylece, kolektif politik eylemlerin kentsel mekanların toplumsal ve temsili yeniden üretiminde belirleyici güçler olarak kavrandığı bir mimarlık ve kent tarihi yazım pratiği ortaya konarak, Ankara'nın mekansal-politik tarihine ilişkin katkıda bulunulması amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekan-zaman, politik eylem, direniş mekanları, kentsel mekan, Ankara.

To those who have turned campuses, workplaces, squares, and streets into spaces of resistance and continuously pursue it with determination, persistence, and hope...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Motivation and Objective of the Study

The motivation for this study stems from a consistent engagement, both personally and academically, with the interconnections between spatial formations and political actions, focusing on how they reciprocally transform each other and what the potential of this interaction is to create emancipatory spatial and political possibilities. It ponders the complex dynamics of the production of urban spaces in relation to collective actions by tracing the space-times of these actions. As the political, the spatial, and the temporal are integral in the possibility of politics and in the production of history,[1] this study aims to understand how such reciprocal impacts inscribe the histories of these spaces both materially and symbolically. These considerations and curiosities are, without doubt, linked to the spatial and political context within which the ideas and objectives of this thesis have taken shape, as well as my own position and experiences both as an architectural researcher and a political subject.

Since 2011, we have witnessed the occupations of the urban spaces through numerous intense protest actions, the appropriation of the squares and the streets, and the decisive role of the city in shaping these actions. In opposition to the neoliberal destruction and exploitation of urban spaces and the dismantling, privatization, and sterilization of public spaces, the Gezi Resistance of 2013 created a source of hope and struggle with the persistent political resistance and diverse collective spatial practices throughout the events in several cities in Turkey. The dynamics of the movement and the modes of protests, the acts of appropriation and occupation, and the strategies of resisting

[1] Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992): 84.

police violence were spatial and manifested in and for urban space. All these experiences render significant to discuss the possibilities and constraints of the architectural and urban design of spaces in political actions and social practices, the integrated role of the political and the spatial in shaping collective struggles and memory, and the new trajectories opened up by the spatialities of the resistance. This requires rethinking the position and role of the architects and urban planners in the formation of the built environment, as well as acknowledging the influence of political subjects in the production of space and urban life. These considerations, certainly not confined to Gezi but in a broader sense, include the investigations on which public squares in a city provide ground for political expressions, which streets form the routes of marches and demonstrations, and more generally, how the urban built environment functions as a stage or a source in such actions; and dialectically, how these actions shape the physical, social, representational, and historical production of these spaces. Therefore, these inquiries, with respect to transmittence, disruptions, or changes of spatialities of resistance in the historical processes, have significance in the domain of architecture and architectural history, and such an approach enables architectural historiography practice that concentrates not merely on the interpretation of individual buildings but on a relationality of the distinct spaces within the urban and political context.

In light of this motivation, this research investigates the social, political, and historical production of urban spaces that have turned into spaces of resistance in Ankara between 1960 and 1971, in mass politicization and the rise of the labor movement, student movement, and revolutionary struggle. The time frame of the study signifies the prominent shifts in "the political" and "the spatial" on a global scale and in Turkey. The 1960s were globally marked by widespread protests, riots, occupations, and spatial appropriations in the cities, particularly culminating in 1968, and intensified capitalist urbanization and the formation of urban society throughout the decade. These struggles and the spatial and social effects of the urbanization processes developed as intertwined forces, which significantly impacted the urban experiences of the various social groups. In some respects, closely parallel, yet also formed by its distinct dynamics and context, Turkey witnessed profound economic, political, and

social changes with the mass politicization and rise of the political and revolutionary movements, alongside the repressive interventions against them. This politicization process, which especially between 1968 and 1971 evolved into a broad social movement, denotes an important period for the political history of Turkey. In urban and architectural scale, substantial transformations took place, which were the extensive migration flow to the cities, rapid urbanization, the spread of informal settlements, the emergence of new spatial functions and architectural typologies, the restructuring of the built environment in the city centers, and the changes in the experiences of modernity and publicness.

Ankara was at the core of these changes with its distinct characteristics. Firstly, together with Istanbul, it was the central locus where the political struggles were organized and continued most powerfully and visibly, in regard to witnessing a wide variety of political actions, protests, occupations, and demonstrations between 1960 and 1971. As a capital city and as a political and symbolic center of the state, it was targeted in certain demonstrations, as well as embodied the most contested spatialities, as the city where the state authority was most strongly asserted and spatially exercised. Secondly, Ankara underwent a period of prominent change with dense migration, the emergence of squatter areas, and urban intensification, which led to substantial transformations both in the urban center and peripheries. These transformations were particularly pronounced in Kızılay, during which the built environment was reconfigured, urban functions and experiences were altered, and the content of the publicness shifted with the changes in spatial usage, and with participation and representation of the subordinated groups in the city center. The participation in the city and altering urban experience are closely tied to the political subjectivization and motivations of the people. Therefore, the spaces of resistance in Ankara as the grounds of political expressions and conflicts are the main interest of this research, as they produce and are produced by these political and spatial shifts, and the inherent possibilities, encounters, and contradictions of urban public spaces. If we state through Massey's words: "Space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex

web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation."[2] As such, this research endeavours to comprehend these relations in this described context with noteworthy historical cases.

The conceptualization of spaces of resistance draws on the dialectical and relational understanding of space, which approaches the production and organization of space as not fixed, but as both a product and a process in transforming with the social practices.[3] Constraining these transforming social practices within the framework of political actions, the study attempts to understand the interrelations of the spaces of resistance in the city through movements, routes, rhythms, repetitions, nodes, borders, continuities, and ruptures. The definition of resistance, in this thesis, refers to collective political action with a specific aim and target. In a sense, it denotes an overarching concept that encompasses different forms of political actions such as protests, demonstrations, riots, revolts, uprisings, public rallies, strikes, boycotts, occupations, etc. It allows us to examine the diverse spatialities of this repertoire as well as thinking on intersections and divergencies of the planned or unplanned actions, or revolutionary or insurgent movements, and their spatial interventions in the city. By tracing the space-times of these movements, it scrutinizes how they challenge, interrupt, claim, or reconstruct the existing spaces and how the spaces enable or restrict the political actions. Here, the concept of temporality means different temporal layers, encompassing but beyond the moment of action. This includes the before and the after, which also operate the physical and social production of spaces and the strategic, political, and symbolic meanings of them.

In this framework, the study mainly concentrates on the spatial-temporal constructions of the student and labor movement[4] and revolutionary struggles through their political actions in the city. In doing so, the actions of the left-socialist movements that took

[2] Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992): 81.

[3] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 86-92.

[4] In here, labor movement refers to a broad definition including urban working class groups such as teachers, technical stuff, civil servants, public employess, etc.

prominence in the political conjuncture and growing social struggles between 1968 and 1971 are examined in this research. In this regard, certain spaces can be identified as spaces of resistance in their space-time and political specificity: Kızılay Square, Sıhhiye Square, Tandoğan Square, Güvenpark, Kurtuluş Park, the Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye), the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF), and Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ). Here, although these spaces are stated due to the repetition of protests and their prominence, the conceptualization of spaces of resistance does not aim to offer a fixed definition as such within a historical frame. Rather, the objective is to comprehend how these spaces transformed into spaces of resistance within different temporalities and the emergence of certain routes in relation to one another and to the movements and forms of political actions. For this, it asks two main research questions that are reciprocally interrelated:

1. How did the physical forms, spatial practices, and symbolic meanings of these spaces influence the organization, experience, and representation of political actions?

2. How did these political actions affect the social, representational and symbolic reproduction of these spaces?

Building on a multi-scale and multi-sited examination, these inquiries are treated in the general urban and political context; at the same time, the collective experiences of the political subjects are attempted to be grasped. According to Stavrides, "People experience space but also think through space and imagine through space. Space not only gives form to the existing social world (experienced and understood as a meaningful life condition), but also to possible social worlds that may inspire action and express collective dreams."[5] In line with these, the spatialities of resistance are traced to contemplate whether they created political and spatial inventions or traditions, and how the practices were transmitted or continued through the spaces. Approached at the different scales, the city scale, the urban space scale, and the

[5] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 124.

collective body scale, this perspective made possible a relational reading of the histories of these spaces.

1.2. Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

The conceptual framework of this thesis has been constructed by drawing on different literatures such as urban and architectural history and theory, critical urban studies, social movements, political theory and history, and public space, with an interdisciplinary dialogue. The second chapter elaborates on both the relevant theoretical discussions and certain prominent historical cases from the literature, and in light of the discussions, a conceptual map is created to connect prominent sets of notions in a comprehensive way to trace space-times of resistance. (Figure 13) In this regard, the theoretical scheme is grounded in two major lines of discussion, complemented by a third one that establishes its own definition and approach to the space of resistance.

In the first part of the discussion, it rethinks the spatial, the temporal, and the political and their relations in the production of space and historiographical practice. Space and time are treated as inseparable and mutually shaping dimensions. Space-time is defined as a constitutive element of history and political struggles in a contested and dynamic manner, which can only be comprehended with the political. In this sense, the approaches of Lefebvre[6], Harvey[7], and Massey[8] are especially decisive; meanwhile, Heynen's framing of these debates in relation to architecture[9] and

[6] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

[7] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution, (London: Verso Books, 2012), David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990).

[8] Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005), Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992): 65-84.

[9] Hilde Heynen, "Space as Receptor, Instrument or Stage: Notes on the Interaction Between Spatial and Social Constellations", *International Planning Studies* 18, no. 3-4 (2013): 342-357.

Stieber's readings on the spatial turn and architectural history[10] provide a crucial basis. Then, Merrifield's interpretation[11] of Lefebvre's arguments offers a significant perspective on the scale issue; hence, it informed the approach of the thesis that adopted the necessity of multi-scale examination for understanding the political actions and the production of space. These discussions connect with the political debates on the characteristics and temporalities of the political actions, referring to Gramsci's[12] and Rancière's[13] thoughts, about the long-term revolutionary struggles and insurgent movements.

In the second part of the discussion, the relationship between political struggles and urban space is addressed, formed in three main discussions. The first one examines the role of the urban space in political movements as a stage or a source, remarking the shifts in the 1960s regarding urbanization processes and the formation of urban society. Drawing on Lefebvre's and Harvey's approaches and also relevant debates in the urban theory and history literature on this issue, it also refers to distinct historical cases that concretize the inferences. Since this discussion incorporates the production relations, the structural conditions, the capitalist urbanization processes, and the transformations of social structure, and enables us to understand the interaction between the global and the local, it is defined as a macro scale of inquiry, which provides the contextualization of the study. The second one investigates how various forms of political actions and movements create manifold spatialities in the city, engaging the definitions, modes, contents, and physical movements of these actions and their relationship with the different urban forms. It references the social movement

[10] Nancy Stieber, "Space, Time and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), 171-183.

[11] Andrew Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no.4 (1993): 516-531.

[12] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), Bob Jessop, "Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8, no. 4 (2005): 421-437.

[13] Jacques Rancière, "Ten Theses on Politics," in *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, ed. and trans. Steven Corcoran (London: Continuum, 2010), 27-44. Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 285–299.

literature as well as Hatuka's analysis[14] on the design of protests, and Berger's[15] and Jesi's[16] contemplations on the political actions. This inquiry is described as a mobile scale owing to the inter-scale tracing and the focus on routes and movements. The third part reflects on the public space discussion, whether it forms a deliberative or conflictual ground in relation to the social practices and political struggles. The discussion covers Habermas's[17], Arendt's[18], and Fraser's[19] arguments on the public sphere and Butler's[20] and Deutsche's[21] critical interpretations, which relate to and highlight the spatial dimension and the contradictory aspects of public spaces. Building on these, the approach of this study comprehends the public space as a conflictual ground, rather than a deliberative one, and considers, especially for the case of Ankara in the 1960s, the contradictions in the frame of involvement and political actions of counterpublics. Because analyzing the political actions solely through the concept of public space remains limited, it is positioned as secondary and identified these inquiries as a micro scale. Nevertheless, it highlights the contributions of these debates on the relationship between public space and political actions, and also the significance of the notion, particularly in grasping the transformations of the public

[14] Tali Hatuka, The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).

[15] John Berger, "The Nature of Mass Demonstrations," *International Socialism*, no. 34 (Autumn 1968), accessed via Marxists.org.

[16] Furio Jesi, *Spartakus: The Symbology of Revolt*, edited by Andrea Cavaletti, translated by Alberto Toscano, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[17] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

[18] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

[19] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990), 56-80.

[20] Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), Judith Butler, "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance," in *Vulnerability in Resistance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 12-27.

[21] Rosalyn Deutsche, "Agoraphobia," in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 269-328.

characters of Kızılay Square and Tandoğan Square, which frequently transformed into spaces of resistance during the period. In consequence of these discussions, a comprehensive conceptual framework is constituted to define and examine the spaces of resistance based on a multi-sited and relational perspective, and mainly centered on the mobile scale to trace the space-times of political actions. Yet, the described macro, mobile, and micro scales are interrelated and mutually constitutive; thus, all these debates provided both contextualization of the cases and consideration of space-specific impacts and changes while investigating the relationality of spaces of resistance.

When examining the studies on the relationship between the production of urban space and political actions, it can be noticed that, particularly since 2011, the number of such studies has increased alongside the protest movements across several cities. Researchers from diverse disciplines, from architecture, urban design, sociology, and political science, have contributed to this growing body of academic works. While it is not possible and necessary to list these studies here, it is worth highlighting two particularly influential works that are frequently referenced in this thesis as well: *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, by David Harvey, in 2012, and *Towards the City of Thresholds*, by Stavros Stavrides, in 2019.[22] These two works, from different viewpoints, engage with the urban social movements, offering prominent political and spatial perspectives on the issue. Another recent work that can be notably mentioned is *The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space*, by Tali Hatuka, published in 2018, which examines the spatial design of the protests related to the physical urban forms.[23] Moreover, two thesis studies on directly focusing on protests and urban space in Istanbul are also noteworthy: *Civil Protest, Urban Design, and the Transformation of Public Spaces in*

[22] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, (London: Verso Books, 2012), Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019).

[23] Tali Hatuka, The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).

Istanbul, 1960-2013, by Ayça Köseoğlu, in 2021, and *History of Protest Spaces in Istanbul*, by Gizem Fidan, in 2019.[24]

In the Ankara context, several studies addressed to contextualize the urban and architectural built environment of the period in the frame of production of space, which are discussed in relation to the cases in the third and fourth chapters. Among these, *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, edited by Güven Arif Sargın in 2002, which includes prominent studies on the history and transformation of public spaces in Ankara, has been inspirational for this study.[25] In particular, Batuman's study in this book, *Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı,* has served as an important reference for this research, regarding its examination of the historical transformation of the square as well as his perspective on the contested ground of the public space through the case of Kızılay Square.[26] Likewise, Batuman's article, focusing on the student demonstrations of 1960, in which he discusses the social and representational production of Kızılay Square through the appropriation by the students, has been insightful and prominent on the relationship between public space and political action.[27] In addition, these two articles on TEKEL resistance in Ankara are also essential for the spatialities of resistance: While Batuman emphasizes the protest encampment as an architectural model of activism in Sakarya Street, Al and Karataş concentrate on the gaining political identity of the street after the resistance.[28]

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[24] Ayça Köseoğlu, *Civil Protest, Urban Design, and the Transformation of Public Spaces in Istanbul, 1960–2013* (PhD diss., McGill University, 2013). Gizem Fidan, *History of Protest Spaces in Istanbul* (Master's thesis, Kadir Has University, 2019).

[25] *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002).

[26] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002).

[27] Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re)Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 261-275.

[28] Bülent Batuman, "Political Encampment and the Architecture of Public Space: TEKEL Resistance in Ankara," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 2, no. 1 (2013): 77–100, Meltem Al and Sıla

Within this existing body of literature, this study aims to trace the space-times of resistance, focusing on the spatialities of political actions of labor and student movements in Ankara between 1960 and 1971. Building on the conceptual framework for spaces of resistance and resulting in three-scale inquiry, it mainly centers on and expands the mobile scale, which makes it possible to interpret the spaces of resistance in the city within their interrelations, connections, boundaries, and ruptures. It investigates the different forms of political actions within the framework of the city, the urban space, and the collective body, and seeks to grasp the transformation of these actions, experiences, and spaces during the period under study. In this sense, it intends to contribute to the literature with an original perspective adopting the multi-sited and multi-scale examination within the dynamics of space-times of resistance. It reveals how these mas politicization processes and their manifestations in the city have influenced the social and representational production of spaces, and in shaping spatial practices in their histories. Also, this provides for the examination of the shifts and changes in the political loci of Ankara.

1.3. Research Methodology and Historiographical Practice

Adopting a dialectical and relational mode of historical-spatial inquiry, this study proceeds in connection with the theoretical framework, empirical evidence, and archival materials in order to trace space-times of political actions. The challenges of framing the spatial-temporal repetitions, routes, and shifts of political actions within a period, as well as of grasping how these experiences manifested in urban space, necessitate the combination of multiple sources and methods throughout the research process. For conceptualizing spaces of resistance in their political relationality, academic sources on labor and student movements of the 1960s, and some written narratives of the actors, have been drawn upon in detail to understand the social dynamics of collective actions, political structures, and their spatial strategies in the city.[29] The archive of the Cumhuriyet Newspaper spanning from 1960 to 1971 was

Karataş, "Kentsel Mekan ve Direniş: Sakarya Bölgesi Üzerine Bir Okuma," in *Ankara Kent Atlası*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2012), 137–45.

[29] These have been frequently referred to in Chapter 4; however, the most prominent ones are as follows: *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), Emin Alper,

examined, providing crucial information regarding the dates and sites of the actions, the dimensions of their mass participation and impacts, the routes and gatherings followed in the city, and the confrontations with police interventions. While being aware of the limitations of relying on a single newspaper regarding political discourses and positioning, and the extent of the political actions, the information derived from it has always been confirmed and evaluated through the mentioned academic sources in relation to the broader social and political context of the period. The evidence obtained has been considered in conjunction with the experiences and transformations in the built environment; therefore, for the visual materials showing the spaces of resistance, several archives were surveyed, including SALT, VEKAM, The Archive of the Chamber of Architects, Turkish Historical Society, Atılım University Ankara Digital City Archive, TÜSTAV, and printed publications. In other words, the historiography of the social and representational production of urban spaces transformed into spaces of resistance has been constructed through a synthesized interpretation of these sources.

In this respect, Stieber points out two challenges of an approach that conceives space as reciprocally produced through social practices. According to her:

> The disadvantages of such formulations are twofold. First, their discussions remain at the level of theorizing, highly suggestive but empirically untested... Second, these accounts evince a consistent distrust of the visual. In the desire of demystifying or demythologizing the naturalization of space perceptions, the founding theories of space research have appropriately put into question the history of visuality, but with the unfortunate consequence that close visual analysis has itself become suspect.[30]

Accordingly, she asserts that architectural historians, in addition to learning from other disciplines, hold crucial roles in explicating built and lived experiences of space by

Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971) (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), Aydın Çubukçu, *Bizim '68* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2022), *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016).

[30] Nancy Stieber, "Space, Time and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), 176.

integrating theoretical inquiries and empirical analysis to reach concrete inferences.[31] Sharing this perspective, this study seeks to offer a reading on the built and lived experiences of spaces of resistance by recognizing the mentioned disadvantages, but aiming to overcome them via deploying different research methods. Along with the theoretical framework, literature review, and historical and archival investigations outlined above, interviews have been conducted with six actors who took part in demonstrations and revolutionary struggles during the period. Those are Akın Atauz (METU student between 1961-1970), Ali Artun (METU student between 1966-1971), Tuncay Çelen (METU student between 1966-1969), Tuğrul Paşaoğlu (student at the Faculty of Political Science between 1968-1976), Aydın Çubukçu (student at the Higher School of Press and Broadcasting at Ankara University between 1968-1972), and Yavuz Önen (an architect engaged in professional organization within the Chamber of Architects (TMMOB) since the mid-1960s).

The interview questions focused on the organizational structures of the movements, strategies, and experiences of political actions, in relation to their spatial and social dimensions in Ankara between 1960 and 1971. Key themes encompassed the political functions of campuses and urban spaces in resistance, the planned or spontaneous character of political actions, the identification of spatial decisions, routes, and nodal points in marches and demonstrations, the evolving interrelations between spaces of resistance, transformations in spatial functions and social practices, and changing movements between resistance and domination in the city. For investigating the spatial manifestations of collective actions, the questions were designed to grasp continuities and shifts of the space-times of resistance, such as the frequency, forms, demands, and movements of the political actions. While the interviews were confined to six participants, whose profiles in terms of gender, educational and social background, and the scope of the spaces of struggle in which they were actively involved signify a relatively limited extent, spatial-temporal experiences of these agents have provided prominent insights for the research. A more comprehensive interview study could further enrich the findings and allow for more representative inferences, but the

[31] Ibid., 178.

narratives and evidence gathered here offer important contributions to understanding the period. Consequently, combining these methods and findings enables tracing the space-times of resistance in Ankara between 1960 and 1971, and mapping the spatialities of political actions in the city through movements, routes, nodes, and borders, thereby allowing for broader reflection and the drawing of conclusions.

On the history of space, Lefebvre writes that it is a social reality composed of a set of relations and forms, rather than a subject or object.[32] According to him, "it (history of space) must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their relationships and their links with social practice."[33] In parallel to this, this research examines the history of spaces of resistance and the spatialities that disrupted and redefined existing spaces by political action through the transformations within these relationships. Historical cases, empirical documents, and lived experiences enable the materialization of this theoretical understanding; thus, it can be positioned in historiographical practice. Spatialities of resistance, associated with each other in the city, include material aspects such as urban and spatial form, spatial usage, and immaterial ones, symbolic and representational meanings. As Lefebvre states in this regard:

> We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships- with each other, with practice, and with ideology. History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration.[34]

As such, this research explores the interconnections of spaces and, along with the physical facets, it engages with the immaterial ones, in a way that inherited knowledges, transmitted experiences, and spatial practices that shaped them are traced within their histories.

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[32] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 116.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 42.

These spatialities unfold across multiple temporal layers, repeating or interrupting; inscribed in spaces, they are not fixed but in a process through reproduction, and thereby linked to the present. Benjamin argues that "History is the object of a construction whose place is formed not in homogenous and empty time, but in the fulfilled there-and-now."[35] Underlining the connections between the past and the present, he calls the historian to "brush history against the grain."[36] This can be interpreted as revealing the potentialities, crucial points, continuities, and ruptures in the past that can bridge with the present. Inspiring this approach on historiography, this study aims to uncover past struggles and spatialities in the city within their histories, and it can also open the ways to think about their impacts connected with the present. [37] This is not intended to glorify or present past struggles or practices as exemplary, but to understand the spatial history of these movements as they materialized in the city, because political struggles and spatialities of resistance continue to unfold and manifest themselves in urban spaces. Lefebvre expresses this as follows:

> Dominated space and appropriated space may in principle be combined - and, ideally at least, they ought to be combined. But history -which is to say the history of accumulation - is also the history of their separation and mutual antagonism… The dichotomy between dominated and appropriated is thus not limited to the level of discourse or signification, for it gives rise to a contradiction or conflictual tendency which holds sway until one of the terms in play (domination) wins a crushing victory and the other (appropriation) is utterly subjugated. Not that appropriation disappears, for it cannot: both practice and theory continue to proclaim its importance and demand its restitution.[38]

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[35] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. and intro. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), "Theses on the Philosophy of History." 261.

[36] Ibid., 256.

[37] While writing this thesis, with the processes of mass protests in the squares and campuses that began on March 19, 2025, the gallery space of METU Faculty of Architecture was transformed into a space of resistance, reminiscent of the 1968 to some extent, where collective political and spatial practices of the resistance were organized and continued. Kızılay Square, where demonstrations have been restricted for a long time, witnessed such large-scale protests for the first time since Gezi Resistance.

[38] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 166.

Therefore, the study explores the historical dimensions of the contradictions between the forces of domination and of resistance through spatialities. In doing so, the political subjects of these movements are recognized as historical agents who were decisive actors in the social reproduction of space, regarding collective lived experiences and spatial movements. Through a reciprocal investigation of the forms of collective political actions between 1960 and 1971 and the urban spaces in which these actions were manifested, this thesis seeks to map spaces of resistance in Ankara. This demonstrates the historical trajectories and transformations of particular campuses and urban public spaces, while at the same time advancing a broader interpretation of Ankara's spatial-political history in this period through the connections and shifts at the scale of the city.

1.4. Outline of the Study

The thesis is structured into five chapters, starting with the introduction part which presents the main motivations, questions, and aims of the research as well as elucidates the conceptual frame, relevant literature engaged, and research methodology and approach. Chapter 2 creates a comprehensive theoretical framework through a literature review, by pointing out main arguments and theories on space and political struggles that have inspired and informed this work. In this regard, it discusses the concept of space-time and also the relationships between urban space and political struggles. Drawing from these discussions, the conceptual map of the thesis is articulated by defining "space of resistance" through a relational and multi-scale approach. Emphasizing important set of notions and interrelations, this chapter constitutes the theoretical backbone of the thesis and constructs an approach to comprehend space-times of resistance.

Chapter 3 focuses on Ankara's urban development from the Early Republican period to the 1960s, examining key public squares, boulevards, streets, and university campuses that transformed into spaces of resistance in the political mobilization between 1960 and 1971. Social reproduction of these spaces disrupted, claimed, and reconfigured by political actions, can be understood through an analysis of both their conceived spatial logic and the everyday social rhythms. Rather than treating them as

isolated spaces, the narrative and way of looking are constructed according to their interrelations through routes and axes in the city, which laid the groundwork to interpret the spaces of resistance within their historical and political context.

Chapter 4 demonstrates how these spaces transformed into spaces of resistance by investigating how various forms of political actions materialized in and appropriated urban spaces, and how these spaces became interconnected through their relations with one another. Representative political actions are given particular attention considering the scope, repetition, and significance within the spatial and political context, with an aim to follow the spatial strategies of political movements, space-time configurations of resistance emerging in the city. The concepts and discussions elaborated in the theoretical chapter serve as a guiding framework, allowing for the comprehension and interpretation of the dynamic and evolving charachteristics of urban political actions. Spatial-temporal features, routes, borders, and nodes of political actions are identified, along with evaluating the repetitions and ruptures, taking into account many considerations such as whether the actions were planned or spontaneous, their political objectives and scales, specificities of certain spaces and routes, the proximity of the spaces, etc.

In Chapter 5, which is the conclusion of the thesis, the significant points of the study are synthesized, and the findings regarding the traced space-times of political actions are presented. Changing spatialities of resistance in the city are discussed, clarifying the concluding remarks. Also, the interferences regarding the three-scale inquiry of the research are underlined, while both the contributions of this study and the potential insights that further research could provide have been addressed.

CHAPTER 2

SPACE-TIMES AND (RE)PRODUCTION OF SPACES OF RESISTANCE

2.1. Rethinking 'the Temporal', 'the Spatial', and 'the Political'

In the article titled Space, Time and Architectural History, Nancy Stieber points out the significant shift in the discipline of architectural history. This shift is from an approach that analyzes essentially mental and aesthetic considerations of architectural space, perceiving it as analytical and autonomous, to a comprehensive understanding that reveals the social and cultural processes in the production and reception of the built environment.[39] Her emphasis is crucial in terms of how architectural history writing might learn reciprocally from other social sciences, mainly critical theory, and how these concepts, i.e., space, time, and history, could be reconsidered as distinct from entrenched comprehensions in the discipline. In this regard, she asks:

> What happens when the passivity of 'symbolize, represent, and reflect' is replaced with active verbs such as 'transform, perform, inform'? What happens when architectural history begins to look at those spaces that are indeterminate, rather than looking only at the places of order, or find the indeterminacy in places of order as they are used, distorted, reinvested with meaning? How can the often ambiguous but provocative theories be translated into case studies that allow the examination of how space is socially produced so that the dialectical relationship between the material and the social is the focus, not simply the relationship of the mental to the material?[40]

In light of these questions, how might we conceptualize the social space constituted by political acts or insurgent movements, reshaping the spatial practices and power relations? Could we approach the mentioned indeterminacies and reinvested meanings

[39] Nancy Stieber, "Space, Time and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), 171-182.

[40] Ibid., 178.

in terms of the processes of social production of space broadly, and the emergence of the spaces of resistance interlaced with 'the spatial' and 'the political' specifically? Considering the historical transformation of these spaces, how does 'the dialectical relationship between the material and the social' interplay, and how do different temporal layers interrelate in the historiography of these spaces?

As Lefebvre states, social relations are inherently spatial, and they materialize only through spatial manifestations; therefore, space is an active and contested locus of social relations and political struggles.[41] In other words, being both an agent and a product, space is informed and transformed associated with relations of production, social and political practices, power relations, and conflicts. To the extent that space enables political actions and also plays a fundamental role in historical processes, understanding the coexistence and interconnections of the temporal and the spatial is substantial.[42] Hence, to constitute both a theoretical ground and a historiographical approach for examining the spaces of resistance through space-times, reconsidering 'the temporal', 'the spatial', and 'the political' and their relations at multi-scales is necessary.

2.1.1. Space, Time, and Space-time

As scholars[43] have noted, until at least the nineties, social theories and histories have often treated space and time as separate things, privileging time over space. This tendency usually leads to such examinations in which time is conceived as the dynamic, active, and decisive dimension, while space is rendered as static, passive, and consequent. Massey indicates that space is regarded as the opposite of time, "as

[41] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 404-410.

[42] Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992): 84.

[43] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990); Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005); Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune,* (London: Verso Books, 2008).

an afterthought, as a residual of time,"[44], and she criticizes this tendency's incarceration of space into a closed and passive position within social and political debates. A similar observation is presented by Harvey:

> Social theories (and I here think of traditions emanating from Marx, Weber, Adam Smith, and Marshall) typically privilege time over space in their formulations. They broadly assume either the existence of some pre-existing spatial order within which temporal processes operate, or that spatial barriers have been so reduced as to render space a contingent rather than fundamental aspect to human action.[45]

Harvey discusses this prioritization of time over space in the context of modernity and capitalist urbanization, linking it to concepts such as progress, change, speed, and development. He shows how time has been perceived as fundamental while spatial aspects are attempted to be transcended in modernist paradigms.[46] With a critical view towards this subordination of space, he emphasizes the substantial position of the space as time is in all those modernization and urbanization processes. Harvey remarks that temporality and spatiality cannot be understood independently of each other, nor of capitalist production and circulation of commodities, in particular.[47] Similarly, Lefebvre explains that time has inscribed on space, but these traces are always included in the production process of present space, reciprocally time and space changing and affecting each other.[48] The conceptions of space and time are posited as discrete yet inextricable entities. Despite their differing emphases[49] regarding

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[44] Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005), 18.

[45] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990), 205.

[46] Ibid., 205. Harvey comprehensively discusses the modernization processes, capitalist production, and the experience of time, from the theoretical foundations to the concrete cases in this book. After examining the notion of "annihilation of space by time" by Marx, he proposes the concept of "time-space compression". See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 809-810; Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, (London: Verso Books, 2010); Fredric Jameson, "Modernity and the Concept of Time," in *Anytime*, ed. Cynthia Davidson (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1999).

[47] Ibid., 225.

[48] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 37.

[49] It can be stated that Lefebvre and Harvey share a common theoretical foundation in their approach to the production of space in capitalist society as it is conceptualized within the Marxist framework. In

conceptualizations and sources of spatial relations, Massey, Harvey, and Lefebvre converge on a key point: space and time as inseparable phenomena must be examined, thought, and imagined together. To summarize with Massey's words: "Space is not static, nor time spaceless. Of course, spatiality and temporality are different from each other, but neither can be conceptualized as the absence of the other."[50]

On the other hand, in architectural history and theory, the concept of space has taken a primary position in the twentieth century, shaped by diverse meanings and theoretical frameworks. One of the pivotal points in this shift is Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. In this work, he presents a linear and sequential architectural history focusing on continuous progress through the lens of "space-time."[51] His theorization of space reflects the modernist objectives, and he conceptualizes time in line with modernist teleology. His emphasis on social, cultural, economic, and technological aspects is notable; however, he defines these aspects as "external factors", while describing architecture as "an independent organism" whose development can be traced cumulatively.[52] Although he introduces the integration of space and time, Giedion's conception of "space-time" remains a one-dimensional contemplation because he overlooks ideological positions and political conflicts that shape both spatial and temporal constructs. This leads to a comprehension of space-time as an aesthetic or technological condition rather than a terrain of contestation. In the last instance, it amounts to a progressive modernist paradigm that lacks a critical engagement with the role of capitalism and power relations in the production of space.

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essence, Harvey embraces Lefebvre's frame, yet he further interprets and refines it through the lenses of political economy and critical geography across different spatial scales. See David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso Books, 2012). On the other hand, Massey's primary focus is the open and multiple relations between various factors in the production of space that is "always under construction". See Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005), 18.

[50] Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196, no. 1 (1992): 80.

[51] Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

[52] Ibid., 19-23.

The most significant figure, who has emphasized these political aspects, is undoubtedly Manfredo Tafuri, who has presented seminal blueprints in architectural historiography with his Marxist critiques on the perception of space, time, and history. In contrast to Giedion's progressive historiography and reconciliatory interpretation of space-time, Tafuri challenges modernist beliefs and contextualizes space and time in the socio-economic and political structure of capitalism.[53] According to him, space is not the backdrop of the developments of its era, and architecture is not an autonomous entity; rather, he examines it as an ideological apparatus of the capitalist system. Focusing on the architectural production, he condemns the "ineffectual myths" and "hopes in design" by showing the role of architecture in "the integration of modern capitalism in all the structures and superstructures of human existence."[54] Rather than being a linear or developmental process, time in Tafuri's framework has fragmentations and ruptures in relation to political and social contradictions of the capitalist society.[55] He describes historiographical practice as "the project of crisis" and emphasizes the task of the historian to explode the displayed integrity of the architectural space by revealing the discrepancies stemming from the relations of production and consumption.[56] Thus, he treats time and space as produced historically, economically, and politically, opening a crucial ground to reveal ideological motivations and power relations in the formation of architecture and the built environment. Although Tafuri does not explicitly deploy the term "space-time", his critique builds upon the inseparability of spatial and temporal dimensions. This integration encompasses conflicts and discrepancies, not coherences and

[53] See Manfredo Tafuri, Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1979); Manfredo Tafuri, The Sphere and The Labyrinth: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1987).

[54] Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development,* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1979),179-181.

[55] Manfredo Tafuri, The Sphere and The Labyrinth: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1987), 1-21.

[56] Ibid., 14.

consistencies, and works as a critical lens through which the production of space can be analyzed.

It appears that Gideon's account, i.e., time as a progressive modernist notion and space as a reflection of the age, is refuted by Tafuri's political and radical approach, which presents time as controlled by capitalism and space as the instrument of capitalist production. Hence, the notion of space-time depends upon the comprehension of how space is produced and how time is perceived, but more importantly, how the inevitable integration of them (space-time) relates to 'the political'. Then, it can be asked whether Tafuri's answer is the only one. Is the production of space restricted to capitalist relations of production and consumption, and the ideology of the ruling power? How about the formation of counter-spaces or spaces of resistance that challenge, create fractures, and reverse these existing relations? How can multifaceted aspects, namely material, social, representational, and historical dimensions in these processes, be positioned in the contexts of space-times? Lefebvre answers these questions with his well-known formulation of the spatial triad (spatial practice, representations of space, representational space) that expresses complex relationships in the production of space.[57] Or Harvey, more concretely, states that on the one hand, urban space is the site of capitalist circulation and accumulation, while, on the other, it is the terrain of social, political, and class struggles.[58]

As previously mentioned, Lefebvre's formulation points out the inseparability of space and time, thereby providing a significant framework to interpret the practices against the existing spatial and social order in the production of space. According to him, the production of space operates on three interlaced levels: The first one is spatial practice (perceived space), defined as the quotidian routines, patterns, and material arrangements through which a society reproduces itself and maintains coherence.[59]

[57] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).

[58] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution, (London: Verso Books, 2012).

[59] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 33.

Spatial practice is subject to a dynamic process of appropriation and use, which shapes and is shaped by the space it occupies.[60] The second concept, representations of space (conceived space), refers to the abstract understanding of space that is formed by dominant power structures, related to the systems of production and control.[61] Designed by planners, architects, and technocrats under the organization of capitalist production and control of authorities, dominant and disciplinary codes, symbols, and knowledge systems are imposed through these spaces.[62] This model evokes Tafuri's perspective on architectural space, as he underscores the power of dominant classes and authorities to shape spatial configurations and impose their ideologies. The third category is representational space (lived space), which is tied to lived experiences with produced symbolic meanings and imaginations.[63] It embraces the possibilities of changing and reversing prevailing patterns and of creating and defining new ones, embodying complex symbolisms.[64] These three categories must be considered, rather than fixed or separate things, as influencing, transforming, and reproducing each other[65], and must be employed within concrete temporal and political contexts. In the following parts, how these categories can be interpreted in the context of spaces of resistance will be discussed, but at this point, it is important to discern the significant shift in the understanding of space. This approach provides a ground to comprehend structural, material, social, empirical, and symbolic aspects of spaces interrelatedly, but more importantly, to grasp these in the production of space, which is both a process

[60] Ibid., 38.

[61] Ibid., 33-34.

[62] Ibid., 34-38.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] In this context, Soja's *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* is another prominent source to understand the relationships between the spatial concepts and spaces of resistance. It extends Lefebvre's framework to spatial trialectics through that representational space is conceptualized as thirdspace in which space of resistance formed. According to him, thirdspace is a hybrid of real and imagined, including alternative spatial performances and practices. Differing from Lefebvre, the main emphasis is mostly generative, experiential, discursive and symbolic aspects of space. See, Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

and a product. As such, space is situated as an active component at the center of multifaceted physical and social relations. For sure, this significantly influenced the treatment, research, and history writing of space as well as the conception, definition, and borders of architecture.

Stieber explains these alterations of viewpoints in architectural history, referring to the contributions of social theorists and geographers, such as Foucault, Lefebvre, de Certeau, Harvey, Soja, and Massey, to the spatial turn.[66] She specifically underlines the approach whereby space is treated as both product and agent:

> The meaning of space is not something that is read into it, as if space were some empty extension that receives value passively or an inactive text requiring interpretation. Rather, space itself becomes active as a conduit for living social relations, not manifesting them as representation, but constituted through them and in turn shaping them.[67]

Accordingly, Stieber points out the reciprocal relationship between the formation of space and social dynamics. She suggests that while these dynamics significantly changed the comprehension and history writing of space, the architectural history discipline also would contribute to the materialization of these theoretical frameworks on concrete grounds.

Hilde Heynen, who addresses the same discussion on a broader extent, examines how space is conceptualized in different disciplines, regarding social relations, focusing on their intersections and divergences.[68] In this context, she claims three categories: space as receptor, instrument, or stage. The first one implies comprehending space as a neutral backdrop that passively receives the impacts of social mechanisms.[69] Here,

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[66] Nancy Stieber, "Space, Time and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), 172-176. For critical inquiry on the impact of spatial turn to discipline of architecture, see Lukasz Stanek, "Architecture as Space, Again? Notes on the Spatial Turn," *Speciale'Z,* no. 4 (2012): 48-53.

[67] Ibid., 176.

[68] Hilde Heynen, "Space as Receptor, Instrument or Stage: Notes on the Interaction Between Spatial and Social Constellations", *International Planning Studies* 18, no. 3-4 (2013): 342-357.

[69] Ibid., 344.

space becomes an inert medium through which social and cultural processes can be deciphered, but in turn, spatial phenomena remain inactive. The second one, space as an instrument, indicates that space functions as a tool to effect social transformations and to enforce predetermined behavioral patterns.[70] Addressing certain examples, she shows how architectural space is used to control social relations and daily life. At the same time, Heynen correlates this to Lefebvre's "representations of space," which is the prevailing space with imposed orderings.[71]

The third one conceptualizes space as a stage, emphasizing the mutual entanglement between spatial configurations and social relations. This perspective aligns with Lefebvre's understanding of space as both an agent and a product, and Heynen associates this concept with his "representational space".[72] Although the metaphor of the stage mainly connotes the appearance or manifestation instead of the reciprocal production of relations, its conceptual framework encompasses changes, transformations, and reconstructions of spatial and social aspects. Rather than a deterministic or one-sided understanding, Heynen also underlines a relational approach to enhance needed interdisciplinary dialogues. More crucially, this framework offers a promising ground for addressing possible answers to questions above, as Heynen states, for "better understanding of the interplay between the forces of domination and forces of resistance."[73]

Therefore, it can be concluded that space is a contested and conflictual site of these forces of domination and resistance, and it is always produced, comprehended, and represented, integrated with temporal processes. Lefebvre elucidates this integration as follows: "The space engendered by time is always actual and synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its components are bound together by internal links

[70] Ibid., 346.

[71] Ibid., 346.

[72] Ibid., 350.

[73] Ibid., 348

and connections themselves produced by time."[74] Accordingly, how temporality and time are delineated in this thesis extends beyond the implications of the notion of ephemerality. It signifies complex processual production of space-times, with the mentioned internal links and connections, encompassing the historical, current, and future possibilities. In the context of dialectics between domination and resistance, between the spaces formed by capitalist forces and the power, and the spaces of resistance produced by collective action, the space-times of any social action can be understood through political thinking. In other words, the internal links and connections in the production of space in Lefebvre's words have materialized within 'the political'.

2.1.2. Space-time and The Political

The spatial and temporal are linked to each other and to the production of history, enabling the possibility of politics. These spatial and temporal practices are not neutral; they always both form and impact class and social struggles within a political context.[75] On the other hand, the manifestation and embodiment of socio-spatial contradictions are evident in specific space-times, where they become operative.[76] In the processual and dialectical phases of space-times of political, and of social movements and political struggles in particular, this reciprocal relation between the spatial and the political has significant potential to transform each other. Massey points this out by stating that thinking 'the spatial' can profoundly influence the formulation of political inquiries, contribute to continuing political debates, and serve as a significant element that provides "opening up to the very sphere of the political."[77] On the other hand, how the political is defined and contextualized, and on which social structures and relations it is discussed, are crucial. To put it in Lefebvre's terminology,

[74] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 110.

[75] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990), 239.

[76] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 365.

[77] Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005), 9.

how to challenge ‘representations of space’ (conceived space) of the capitalist class and the ruling power through political struggles, and how to contemplate the spaces of resistance produced by these struggles, is both a spatial and political debate. These debates are inevitably connected with the ‘scale issue’ and the discussions on the difference or intersection of the notions of ‘space’ and ‘place’ in the relevant literature.

The article titled “Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation” by Andrew Merrifield presents an influential perspective on spatial and political thinking together at different scales. He criticizes the prevailing understanding in which space is conceived merely as an abstract philosophical category while place is ‘objectified as specific inquiry’ in empirical research due to the impact of Cartesian interpretation.[78] Merrifield puts forward the pitfalls of reductionism and shortcomings of the attributed isolated ontology of place, which lead to disrupting the interaction between space and place.[79] In the frame of Lefebvre’s spatialized dialectic, he proposes the reconciliation of space and place, “in which experience is lived and acted out in place, and how this relates to, and is embedded in, political and economic practices that are operative over broader spatial scales.”[80] Therefore, it enables grasping the interplay between the global and the local as well as the general and the particular, connecting and relating the universal statements and particular instances and transformations in socio-spatial practices.[81]

Merrifield's perspective is grounded in Lefebvre's spatial dialectics, a theoretical framework that examines the intricate and dynamic processes involved in the production of space from a relational perspective. This relationality, rather than a fixed or static way of considering things, expands on an understanding of the production of space as simultaneously a process and a product, through ‘the interaction between the

[78] Andrew Merrifield, “Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no.4 (1993): 516-531.

[79] Ibid., 516.

[80] Ibid., 517.

[81] Ibid., 517.

whole and the parts.'[82] In this context, he discusses the organization of space under capitalist production through capital accumulation, property, and power pointing out the influence of the networks of global capitalism on space whereby space emerges as the 'thing' (the product) and its dominant spatio-temporal practices as 'flow' (the process).[83] This reading also demonstrates the "inextricable interconnections between time and space,"[84] as discussed before. From this point, he concludes that the designated concepts of space and place are not separated things, and they make sense in real temporal and spatial scales with concrete social and political contexts. As stated in his own words:

> The capitalist space-place relationship does not arise out of some kind of abstract concrete determination. Space is not a high level abstract theorization separated from the more concrete, tactile domain of place which is frequently taken as synonymous with an easily identifiable reality such a specific location or 'locality'. An attempt to overcome this absolute separation is made here by arguing that both space and place have a real ontological status since they are both embodied in material processes -namely, real human activities. Their distinction must, therefore, be conceived by capturing how they melt into each other rather than by reifying some spurious fissure.[85]

Accordingly, Merrifield theorizes the formation of spaces in relation to these embodied material practices based on the dialectics of two phenomenon: (1) how capitalism politically and spatially operates, and (2) how emancipatory politics and spatiality can be formed; at different scales through tracing interconnections of these manifestations, or in his words, how they 'melting into' each other. As follows, the struggle emerges between the conceived space that is implemented by the capital and hegemonic forces, and the living place of experiences and representational meaning.[86]

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[82] Ibid., 520-522.

[83] Ibid., 521. For detailed discussions on the capitalist organization of space and the emergence of 'urban society' through socio-spatial practices of capitalist urbanization, see Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003), For detailed examinations on how capitalist system operates at different scales and the dialectics of place and space, See David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 291-328.

[84] Ibid., 521.

[85] Ibid., 520.

[86] Ibid., 525.

Lefebvre's approach and Merrifield's account have a common thread: both authors seek the spatial and political possibilities of emancipation through the practices in 'lived space' and 'perceived space' to overcome 'conceived space' in capitalist society. Yet, it is critical to recognize that these concepts are in a relational dialectics and are perpetually reproduced through social practices.

In this context, Lefebvre describes the formation of "counter-space" through the transformation of everyday life and the collective use and appropriation of spaces.[87] He emphasizes the significance of these counter-spaces owing to their disruption of the homogeneity of existing spaces and structures imposed by the power and established order.[88] Lefebvre points out how continual antagonism and dichotomy between the dominated space and the appropriated space produce contradictions and conflicts.[89] At that point, he separates appropriation and 'diversion' (detournement). The detournement is defined as "a temporary halt to domination" which is not creation.[90] Accordingly, the temporality of the political and spatial intervention is a significant matter, related to long-standing, temporary, or transmitted facets, destructive or constitutive aspects of these practices. In other words, it is pertinent to how the political creates space-times and, on the other side, how space-times construct the political. In the last instance, Lefebvre asserts the necessity of the way of thinking and acting that aims while organizing the universal space, to transform everyday life with wide possibilities at the same time.[91] As Merrifield states, Lefebvre argues that "political practices must be organized around place in form yet extend in substance to

[87] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 383-385. For more detailed information on his theorization of everyday life on spatial and temporal constructions, see Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

[88] Ibid., 383.

[89] Ibid., 166.

[90] Ibid., 168.

[91] Ibid, 423.

embrace space" for tackling the disconnection between theorization and practical politics.[92]

This framework strongly interconnects the production of space and political praxis, which is pivotal for the theoretical and conceptual ground of this research in terms of three aspects:

1. To investigate the production of space and to write their history, it presents a crucial blueprint that propounds comprehensive contemplation on inevitable interconnections of the spatial, the temporal, and the political. In this respect, it provides a critical approach to examine the concrete cases in this thesis: that any insurgent or revolutionary act challenging the prevailing dominant spaces and order can necessarily be understood through specific space-times linked with the political. In this way, what is implicit in the history of the built environment can be revealed.

2. This frame points out an inter-scale perspective considering the effects of global organizations of space while analyzing site-specific, context-based considerations on physical, social, and representational formation of spaces. In this research, neither the conceptual nor the terminological distinction between space and place is made; rather, the attempt is to comprehend how protests and resistances create spatialities at the scale of the city, urban space, and the collective body. Namely, the term of space is used, not to refer to an abstract entity, but to encompass physical and political dimensions as well as social practices. Architectural and urban forms are traced through their interrelations in the city; hence, this way of looking connects different spaces and scales that link within political actions.

3. Similar to Lefebvre's and Merrifield's approaches, this research also pursues spatial formations and social practices that resist the dominant order. It mainly ponders the spatial possibilities of collective action that can challenge, disrupt, or reconstruct existing spaces. In this context, it specifically places the space-times of resistance, revolts, and protests, instead of everyday life experiences, in the dialectical relation

[92] Andrew Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no.4 (1993): 527.

against the dominant spaces and order. This does not falsify the approach that underlines the transformation of everyday life, but it frames this contradiction through the 'moments' of resistance in which the political and spatial possibilities are wide open and apparent. The study recognizes that these 'moments' include different temporalities, i.e., processual and historical aspects, within but also beyond the moment of the action.

Within the framework outlined, the space of resistance differs from the counter-spaces in the ways in which it is constituted through collective action, and/or with a specific political aim and target. These practices can manifest in various ways, creating different spatialities and temporalities. At first sight, it may seem that the space of resistance is directly associated with the third category of Lefebvre, that of representational space. However, beyond this, the moment of insurrection is mostly characterized by the convergence of these three distinct but interconnected concepts of Lefebvre's triad, because it is the moment at which spatial and temporal contradictions become most evident. While the dominant spatial order (representations of space) in the city is most visible and used by the authorities with all advantages to restrict the political action, uprisings and collective movements create their own interventions (representational space) on space and time by redefining social usage and meaning. Hence, tracing the space-times of resistance requires grasping the conflicts, power struggles, and political and spatial strategies within a multi-scale investigation. By this means, their formation can be contemplated relationally, regarding both structural aspects and experiences, both material and immaterial sides, both restrictions, and possibilities.

To further clarify the discussion, it can be asked: In the context of resistance, protest, or, more broadly, a process of mass politicization, how do spatial constructions operate across various temporal layers? Are these spatio-temporal practices established against the forces of domination merely reactive, or do they have the potential to be also politically and spatially constitutive? The comprehensive discussions on political programs, methods, and organization models of these struggles surely exceed the scope of this thesis. Yet, mentioning strategies of long-term organized struggles and

the potentials of protests, resistances, and public uprisings can be notable to understand the spatial organization of politicization. Because the period of 1960-1971, which is the subject of this thesis, includes important rising and breaking points in the political history of Turkey in terms of student and labor movements in the mass politicization process, examination of the spatialities of these movements necessitates pointing out certain political terms interrelated to strategies and prospects of their political routes.

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony suggests a powerful lens to analyze the power relations in capitalist society, explaining that the ruling class maintains its power not only through force (coercion) but also through consent.[93] According to this perspective, while coercion refers to institutionalized forms of force such as government, law, military, or police force (political society), consent operates with ideological impositions through education, media, or cultural practices (civil society), and the state is considered to be composed of these two components.[94] In this manner, hegemony can be seen as contested terrain where power struggles are maintained between dominant and resistant forces in an ongoing process. This theoretical framework, which links structure and superstructure, facilitates not only the comprehension of power relations and political struggles between hegemonic and subordinate groups but also the analysis of revolutionary conjunctures. As Bob Jessop asserts, Gramsci's philosophy of praxis integrates spatial and historical analyses of social relations linked to political dynamics.[95] It demonstrates the pivotal role of place, space, and scale in integrating theory and practice for examining political actions that are historically specific and context-dependent.[96]

In Gramsci's analysis of power, the notion of "historical bloc" is another crucial concept that refers to the alignment of material forces and ideological structures

[93] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 245.

[94] Ibid., 245-247.

[95] Bob Jessop, "Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8, no. 4 (2005): 421.

[96] Ibid., 424.

sustaining the dominant economic, political, and spatial order.[97] Historical bloc constructs its hegemony through force and consent, and within these two levels, space operates as a tool through which hegemonic power is organized and reproduced. It is what Lefebvre terms conceived space, that is, designed by the dominant power; it functions as a spatial articulation of hegemonic control as well. To undermine this hegemonic control, Gramsci asserts the "war of position" as a prolonged and strategic revolutionary struggle within civil society to contest hegemonic ideologies in power.[98] It implies the formation of counter-hegemonic practices by subaltern groups against the political order as well as the spatial order.[99] Thus, any dominant space can be disrupted from its existing spatial logic and can be turned into a site of counter-hegemonic practices in power struggles. Spaces of resistance within a struggle can open political possibilities, revealing the contradictions of existing hegemonic power and contesting its control over space and time. Revolutionary action that struggles against this domination must be spatially embedded and temporally organized with political strategies.[100] To express it in Gramsci's own words, "collective will must be formed with the degree necessary and sufficient to achieve an action which is coordinated and simultaneous in time and the geographical space in which the historical event takes place."[101] This approach can provide an understanding for this thesis of the hegemonic struggles of social groups and their operations on the urban

[97] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 366.

[98] Ibid., 238-239.

[99] It must be noted to avoid any reductionist approach or misreading of Gramsci that the comprehensive scope of the concept of "war of position" with its political program and strategies that exceeds the forms of collective action is noticed by the author. Yet, it is thought that the counter-hegemonic practices and its counter-spaces, that includes the forms of resistance against hegemonic order, can be comprehend as a part of or certain concrete manifestations of this process.

[100] Bob Jessop, "Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8, no. 4 (2005): 435.

[101] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 194.

spaces of Ankara between 1960-1971 for this thesis. It can refer to more lasting and organized aspects of political and spatial practices according to distinct contexts.

While Gramsci highlights the long-term, strategic, and hegemonic dimensions of political struggles, Rancière mainly focuses on temporal, disruptive, and conflictual aspects of political action that reconstruct both space and time. For him, in the frame of the concept of dissensus, politics is defined as "a specific mode of action" that "breaks the normal distributions of positions."[102] Conflict is asserted as the politics reconfigures its own space to manifest dissensus in specific political rationality.[103] This practice is evinced with the presence of the subject through visibility and actuality in this reconfigured space and time that disrupts the police order.[104] Rancière's claims and interpretations on breaks or continuities in political struggles are considerably engaged with the spatial and temporal dimensions and imaginations. His comprehension of space, though rarely remaining metaphorical, embraces the symbolic and imaginative dimensions that open both spatial and political cracks and possibilities. Rancière approaches politics as "distributions of spaces," as he highlights the questions regarding the roles and functions of spaces, as well as who organizes, uses, or occupies them, as determinants in politics.[105]

This philosophical perspective has inspiringly materialized in his article titled "Re-politicizing 68" in which he reinterprets the events of May '68 in Paris. Here, he focuses on the conflicts of narrations on events, but more importantly, the temporality and spatiality of politics.[106] Rancière points out how the sequences of revolt disrupted

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[102] Jacques Rancière, "Ten Theses on Politics," in *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, ed. and trans. Steven Corcoran (London: Continuum, 2010), 27-37. Rancière's definition of dissensus as follows: "The essential work of politics is the configuration of its own space. It is to make the world of its subjects and its operations seen. The essence of politics is the manifestaiton of dissensus as the presence of two worlds in one." For him, demonstration makes visible the dissensus by distributing of spaces.

[103] Ibid., 37.

[104] Ibid., 37-38.

[105] Jacques Rancière, "Politics and Aesthetics: An Interview," *Angelaki* 8, no. 2 (2003): 201.

[106] Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 285–299. He demonstrates how certain sociological narrations depoliticize the events by distorting their political claims against capitalist domination and restricting the events to generational or cultural debates. For

"the usual course of things" that are "normally thought of in the police order", and states that this created a new form of political rationality.[107] It signifies the displacement of the existing modes of articulation and distribution of space and functions, and of normal comprehension of time, for new possibilities and capacities.[108] It can enable active connection between different scales spatially and politically, that is, local or context-based problems are associated with the whole social and spatial system, maybe the most clearly in the moment of revolt. Furio Jesi, who analyses the temporality of political action in a similar vein to Rancière, defines the moment of revolt as the suspension of historical time, which signifies a different experience of time.[109] The center of his reading is based on the different definitions of revolt and revolution; as such, while revolution indicates the long-term, continuous, and coordinated struggle, revolt is described as "sudden insurrectional explosion."[110] Jesi points out one's political subjectivization through the collective action of revolt within this distinct experience of time.[111] In his approach, the political and the temporal are comprehended together to understand the relationships or distinctions between revolt and revolution, whereby the experience in the temporality of revolt is associated with the spatial, the city. According to him, during the moment of revolt, the city becomes truly appropriated through the collective action and shared struggle, wherein the urban space is refigured and experienced through political belonging.[112] This resonates with Rancière's thought that strictly relates the political action to the spatial and temporal constructions, defining it as "a moment of rediscovery of some

another prominent sources that criticizes the official and depoliticized "cultural" narratives of the events of '68 in France, See, Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[107] Ibid., 287.

[108] Ibid., 291.

[109] Furio Jesi, *Spartakus: The Symbology of Revolt*, edited by Andrea Cavaletti, translated by Alberto Toscano, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 46.

[110] Ibid. These definitions will be discussed more comprehensively in following sections.

[111] Ibid., 53.

[112] Ibid., 54-55.

fundamental characteristics of political conflict, of its words and acts, of its time and space -both material and symbolic."[113] Therefore, the suspension of space-time in Jesi and the rupture or break of space-time in Rancière are contextualized only through the social and collective experience of conflict within the realm of the political.

Rancière discusses in the same text the notion of spontaneity, which is mostly seen as the mere opposite of long-term revolutionary strategies, with an emphasis on the power of collective invention.[114] On the other hand, he clearly presents this collective invention as not fleeting; rather, it forms with inherited knowledge and transmitted experience, which are embodied in space.[115] To put it more clearly in his own words:

> Such interventions are usually thought of as the manifestations of spontaneous and ephemeral revolt. But it can easily be ascertained that it is those momentary disruptions of the normal state of things that bring into existence a specific temporality of politics. This does not mean that politics only exist in a few exceptional moments of insurrection. It means that it is as a result of those interruptions of normal police time that there is a history and a tradition of political invention distinct from the history of social forces and state institutions. The barricades erected in May 68 Paris are not merely nostalgic and anachronistic repetitions of those erected in 1848 Paris. They take place within a political tradition of invention of other ways of using spaces and times, words and gestures. The political movements don't dissolve like ephemeral bubbles that leave the state of things unchanged. The temporal accelerations, the reconfigurations of space, the unexpected sequences of actions, the forms of dis-identification produced by words create ways of perceiving, feeling, thinking, and acting that are active forces of struggle and transformation.[116]

As noted by Rancière, the temporality of political actions and interventions is not limited to the space-time of the disruption. Rather, it interrelates with the past by recalling and summoning the experiences and learnings from political struggles encompassing material and immaterial aspects. This could be a concrete spatial strategy or a symbolic and discursive political practice; either way, it features

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[113] Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 295.

[114] Ibid., 294.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., 294-295.

conveyed and embodied aspects and certainly has a historical dimension. Also, the moment of action is associated with the future, regarding how the struggle will evolve and how the spatial and political imagination will take shape. Through the experience of time and spatial reconstruction at that moment, it could be directive and transformative for subsequent political struggles. Also, Lefebvre emphasizes different temporalities, indicating that social and historical time do not progress uniformly and have contradictory dynamics.[117] They involve delays, shifts, ruptures, abrupt changes, and recurrences of the past, depending on the political decisions and representations.[118] Therefore, three interrelated temporal layers emerge: The first one concerns the time before the political action related to whether planned or spontaneous spatial configurations and choices, as well as political aims, etc. The second one is the moment of revolt, which could refer to the disruption and transformation of existing space-times and practices, reclaiming urban space, or enacting another spatial and social imagination. The third one implies the aftermath associated with the representations and meanings, remembering or forgetting processes, and the construction of a historical narrative.

To conclude, certain scholars have discussed long-term struggle and insurrection considering intersections and divergencies of these for the politics while underlining the transformative impact of the uprisings in a broader manner. Especially, Rancière calls for thinking about what emancipatory politics can be within these intersections and divergences in political struggles.[119] This curiosity and interrogation are valid sources for this thesis that, with the assertion that the spatial, the temporal, and the political are strictly connected to each other, aims to trace space-times of resistance in the given context. This is why the discussion trajectory follows from Gramsci, who propounds a historically situated and analytical framework, to Rancière, who reflects on the temporality, experiences, and possibilities. Their articulation of resistance

[117] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 24.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 299.

accords with Lefebvre's approach of space-time discussed in detail above and Merrifield's reflections on space and place as well. In this sense, a comprehensive focus on their spatial and temporal constructions allows us to see long-term revolutionary struggles and the potentialities of resistance and revolts as not opposing or inconsistent but rather as interrelated in complex and dynamic relationships. Indeed, the very process of mass politicization between 1960 and 1971 in Turkey included the collective practices of resistance and protests as well as revolutionary struggles. Tracing the space-times of them through the lens of the outlined conceptual framework here -one that is engaged with social processes in broader, as well as situated experiences and conditions generated by political action, and that operates across multiple spatial scales can provide insights on both theory and practice. Our position in space-time relies on scale, shaping what we perceive and how we act, and micro and macro scales could be grasped through linking the knowledge and the known.[120] In this manner, architectural history writing in this work concentrates on certain aspects that are evaluated as ephemeral or fleeting but actually are crucial and constitutive in terms of material, symbolic, and social dimensions for both spatial practices and for the history of spaces and the built environment. At this point, to further contextualize and materialize the discussion, the focus will be directed to the city and urban space, exploring the urban space and political struggles.

2.2. Political Struggles and Urban Space

The formation and organization of cities have historically been embedded in social and political processes. Shaped depending on production relations and social life, cities have functioned both as instruments through which power and control are exercised and as arenas in which the political struggles unfold. This reciprocal relation between political struggle and urban space is pointedly indicated by Harvey: "Any struggle to reconstitute power relations is a struggle to reorganize their spatial bases."[121] At the

[120] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 90.

[121] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990), 238.

same time, the transformation of the spatial, namely, the phenomenon of the urban, refigures the political and the temporal as well. In this respect, the formation of the modern city and urbanization processes signify a crucial shift in terms of the scale of thought and action.[122] It includes profound changes in the built environment, architectural and urban restructuring, practices of social life, the experience of time, and the political demands, actions, and forms of struggles. Within these phases, urban space emerges as an active site where destruction and reconstruction operate, social and spatial problems arise, and all these issues become most visible. It becomes politicized as a contested terrain of political actions.

Accordingly, it can be asked what the role of urban space is in revolutionary actions and insurgent movements; more specifically, whether it is a stage or a source in the formation of these political struggles. This question is certainly both a theoretical and historical inquiry[123] and necessitates extensive discussions. However, within the scope of this study, the reason for engaging this question that signifies a broader-scale investigation is the following: The 1960s, especially the culmination of the period in 1968, is crucial worldwide in terms of both global protest movements, riots, occupations, spatial appropriations as well as the distintively prominent enlargement of capitalist urbanization processes on urban space. These political struggles and apparent spatial impacts of urbanization took shape as interconnected forces. In other words, the significant shifts in "the spatial" and in "the political" were visibly intertwined. Considering both certain shared universal ideological concerns and political practices and differences depending on the sociopolitical context of each country, the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey were the years of considerable economic, political, and social transformations, mass mobilizations, powerful political and

[122] Ibid.

[123] For the prominent historical investigations on political demonstrations/protests/rebels and space, see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Cities and Insurrections," in *Revolutionaries*, (London: A Phoenix Paperback, 1994), 220-233. Katrina Navickas, *Protest and the politics of space and place, 1789–1848.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). Matthias Reiss, *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

revolutionary movements, as well as repressions against them. In other respects, this period concurrently includes major changes in urban and architectural scales, such as migration flow, rapid urbanization, proliferation of squatters, emergence of new spatial functions, practices, and architectural typologies, reconfiguration of the built environment in city centers, and the alterations of the experience of modernity and publicness. Hence, understanding these reciprocal impacts of shifts in "the political" and in "the spatial" in Turkey between 1960 and 1971 is substantial to contextualize space-times of political action at the city scale of Ankara. That is, keeping in mind the fundamental and changing role of the urban space in political struggles and whether it operates as a stage or a source is important throughout the study. Although it is not the central inquiry, this allows us to grasp the broader changes and constitutes a contextual frame; therefore, it can be the broadest scale question the thesis engages.

2.1.1. Stage or Source: Struggling in or for Urban Space?

In *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution*, Harvey points out the changing urban experience under capitalism and queries the position and potential of the struggles within and over urban space in anti-capitalist politics.[124] Likewise, Stavros Stavrides contemplates the relational dynamics between urban space and political struggles, questioning whether urban spatiality shapes the political and social contestations beyond being a container that includes these struggles.[125] While both are engaged with the contemporary urban social movements, Harvey seeks the historical references and articulates them in the discussion to answer the question. In this line, he mainly argues that the city is a primary site of production and accumulation under capitalist urbanization; thereby, it can be the main terrain for political organization and collective struggle.[126] He calls for a more expansive comprehension of the proletariat, one that includes dispersed laboring masses who produce and reproduce urban life in

[124] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012).

[125] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 124.

[126] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012), 128-130.

the capitalist system.[127] Situating the urban space as a constitutive source for the anti-capitalist struggles, he emphasizes that many of the episodes that Marxist history has described as proletarian struggle are, in fact, the moments in which "citizens and comrades marched together", with urban demands and claims forming the fundamental trajectory of the contestation.[128] This argument is striking in terms of not only conceptualizing the contemporary social movements, but also, and more importantly for this work, comprehending the history of political struggles in or for urban space.

Harvey's primary historical reference is, unsurprisingly, the Paris Commune, which is the most radical and unique city-wide proletarian uprising in urban history. In another prominent work, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, he examines the capitalist transformation and modernization of the city in relation to the changes in economic relations, social organization, and dynamics of political struggles, focusing on the representations of the city and the material construction of it between 1830 and 1870.[129] Tracing social, political, and spatial "raw materials" in Paris that processual constitutes the Commune, he refers to the June Days in 1848, which marked a significant insurrectional moment in which workers and artisans rioted against the political and economic impositions, living, and working conditions, hunger, unemployment, etc., and took control of the certain parts and streets of the city.[130] The photo of the street showing Rue Saint-Maur during the June Days, taken by Charles-François Thibault, may be the first photograph that captures a revolutionary moment, considering the history of photography. (Figure 1) It remarkably shows how the uprising was materially constructed with sequential barricades on a street scale. As Carl Douglas indicates, barricades are "ephemeral city-scale architecture" that

[127] Ibid., 130.

[128] Ibid., 115-154.

[129] David Harvey, *Paris, The Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003). There is an extensive body of literature on the Paris Commune and the historical processes that bring along to it, but in here, our focus is the spatial dimensions. For some of the main sources, see Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, in *Political Writings, Vol. 3: The First International and After*, ed. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2010), Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, (London: Abacus), 2006.

[130] Ibid, 83-87.

physically form materials, spaces, and performances of the uprising, but also, they have moral and symbolic impacts that signify the force of undermining the authority and pursuing the struggle.[131] In that manner, they both physically disrupt and appropriate space, define another zones and borders, and transmit their impact between different space-times with social practices and symbolic meanings.



Figure 1: Barricades in Rue Saint-Maur during the June Days, Paris, 1848. Daguerreotype by Charles-François Thibault. Musée d'Orsay.

After this uprising was violently repressed, Haussmann was appointed to redesign the city of Paris. These subsequent transformations operated as not only an extensive urban modernization project but also a political strategy to control economic, political, and social life through urban planning and spatial configurations. The grand scope of these planning and restructuring processes includes the reconstruction of the street system, planning grand boulevards, wide urban squares and parks, symbolic monuments and spaces, which resulted in the remarkable enlargement of the scales of

[131] Carl Douglas, "Barricades and Boulevards: Material Transformation of Paris, 1795-1871," *Interstices Journal of Architecture and Related Art*s 8, (2007): 31-42.

spatial forms.[132] Commercial expansion and redevelopment projects led to the displacement of the working class to the periphery, and the administrative system was reorganized to control the neighborhoods and streets.[133] These grand-scale structural transformations of the city, as "the decisive moments of creative destruction," and these administrative mechanisms functioned to both catalyze the circulation of capital and stabilize and reinforce the political power of the Second Empire.[134] Besides, the urban and architectural project of Haussmann, utilized to suppress the organization of the urban masses and revolutionary potential, was deployed across multiple scales. As such, major transformations and restructuring of spatial forms were put into action at the street scale to regulate everyday spatial practices and to prevent any insurgent movement and resistance.[135] In this way, the proximity of critical nodes, dimensions and forms of certain streets, and the accessibility of the insurgent neighborhood during the 1848 uprising were deliberately replanned against the possibility of erecting the barricades again, appropriating the spaces, and controlling the neighborhoods by revolutionary groups. In this regard, the 'conceived space' across the city of Paris, designed and planned by the authorities and Haussmann, had materialized in a way that spatial design was used as an instrument to restrain insurgent cracks in spatial practices and to undermine the political, social and symbolic power of 'representational space' (lived space) derived from the experience of uprising. Therefore, in the intersections of the class struggle, reshaping of urban space, and experience of modernity, the urban spaces of Paris have become the sites of both resistance and domination.

Despite all these restructuring phases, violence, and repression, in 1871, the barricades were constructed again, elected workers and artists seized power, and the Paris Commune was governed by the alliance of them for seventy-three days. (Figure 2)

[132] David Harvey, *Paris, The Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 102-113.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

According to Lefebvre, as "the only realization of revolutionary urbanism to date," the Commune was a significant return of the working class back into the center of the city by reclaiming the urban space that previously had been taken from them.[136] He celebrates it, pointing out that communards contested the bourgeois power and authority, occupied the streets, and constituted self-determination and self-governance by demanding freedom in commune days, in which urban demands and claims were the center of these struggles.[137] In a similar vein, Harvey interprets the commune as a radical reaction to brutal class oppression and dispossession of the urban masses, emphasizing the significance of its first two acts: prohibition of night-work in bakeries as a labor question and suspension of the rent payments as an urban question.[138] He emphasizes the concrete urban roots and demands asserting their collective right to have and control the city that they produced.[139] Thus, the Commune constituted a profound revolutionary intervention into the existing spatial, temporal, and political realms, where urban space figures as a constitutive source through which these intertwined dimensions were shaped reciprocally. In this line, Kristin Ross discusses how this revolutionary realization of the Commune correlates with the political conception of social space that is based on the break and disruption of the idea of "proper place."[140] She underlines that subverting the spatial order and hierarchy brought out the disruption of the temporal as well.[141] Thus, a new space-time was originated as a result of collective action, which redefined the political, social, and symbolic dimensions. This interpretation closely aligns with Rancière's emphasis on

[136] Henri Lefebvre, *La Proclamation de la Commune*, as cited in Andy Merrifield, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 126–127.

[137] Ibid.

[138] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012), 120.

[139] Ibid, 130.

[140] Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (London: Verso, 2008), 29. For another inspiring work that examines the political thought and imagination of the Commune, See, Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune*, (London: Verso, 2015).

[141] Ibid, 30.

the temporality of political action, which highlights the significance of the moment of political action as a reconstruction of space-time but also points out the political tradition of invention related to the past and political and spatial imagination for the future. The political conception of social space, articulated by Ross, is entangled with all these layers of time and is constituted by certain material and immaterial aspects.



Figure 2: Bruno Braquehais, Barricade in a Street, 1871. Photograph taken during the Paris Commune. Collection Jacques Chevallier. Public Domain.

In terms of material aspects, the urban and architectural reconfiguration of Haussmann, serving the aims of capital circulation and political domination, contrasts the physical articulation of space and the insurgent architecture of the barricades during the Commune. As noted by Carl Douglas, boulevards and barricades signify two conflicting modes of forming space, deploying materials, and enacting performances.[142] The photograph, showing the barricade in the street of Paris during the Commune, markedly demonstrates the architecture of the barricade at the street scale and its spatial relation to the existing built environment, which had a strategic and effective function for holding certain streets and parts of the city. (Figure 3) On the other hand, when observed from a larger-scale urban perspective, although

[142] Carl Douglas, "Barricades and Boulevards: Material Transformation of Paris, 1795-1871," *Interstices Journal of Architecture and Related Art*s 8, (2007): 33.

Haussmann's urban redesign could not eliminate the practice of constructing barricades entirely, it did make the urban forms considerably less conducive to such forms of resistance. (Figure 4, Figure 5) In the schematic plan of Paris in 1871, after Haussmann's work, wide boulevards and public squares were built in radial urban forms, in other words, creating urban voids, particularly in the northwestern part of Paris. When superimposed with the other map, the cumulative plan of barricades showing 1795-1860 and 1871, it appears that certain streets were demolished, on which the barricades were erected between 1795-1860. Besides, it is apparent that barricades in the Commune of 1871 still concentrated along certain axes in narrow streets in the center of the city, whereas in the refigured parts, including wide boulevards and extensive squares, the presence of barricades is notably sparse. This indicates how the physical forms of the cities impact the organization of spaces of domination or resistance in their own political and spatial contexts. In this line, it is worth noting that political and spatial practices and meanings generated by these architectural forms, such as square, boulevard, or street, can only be understood by an interlaced comprehension of the spatial, the temporal, and the political as discussed before. This allows us to grasp the intersections of the processual dynamics and experiential ones. For instance, examining these two maps together with Harvey's map indicating the location and frequency of public meetings in Paris between 1868-1870 explicitly shows the overlapping of these public assemblies and the streets in which barricades were constructed during the Commune. (Figure 6) This implies that, in the period preceding the moment of uprising, the emergence and continuation of certain organizational practices as well as political and spatial engagements, including the appropriation of and claim to specific spaces, play a constitutive role in generating the act of uprising both politically and spatially. In other words, minor ruptures within the prevailing political and spatial regime accumulate over time and culminate in the moment of resistance, effectuating a dialectical break that interrupts the dominant configuration and defines the space-time of resistance. In the aftermath, the imprints of these space-times, i.e., the political tradition, inherited knowledge, embodied experiences, and socio-spatial memory, may be transmitted to future struggles or partially lost in the process, through the material and immaterial dimensions.

In May 1871, the Commune was bloody suppressed, and tens of thousands of its members were killed. Three hundred of the last Communards were shot in Père Lachaise cemetery, and as Harvey narrates in detail, this space turned into the commemorative spot for the subsequent leftist movements.[143] Besides, Douglas indicates that although the barricades lost their strategic effectiveness after the commune, their symbolic and performative roles have continued in subsequent insurgent movements.[144] As stated, "the city is not merely a reflection of a political conflict that occurs at another level; and the ephemeral architecture of the barricades effected a redistribution of the sensible, of a material politics that was not merely the mirror of an abstract politics occurring elsewhere."[145] These imprints are conveyed and traced through urban spaces that have become spaces of resistance, in which political conflicts are embodied, while fostering relational links between different temporal layers.



Figure 3: Bruno Braquehais, Barricade in the Rue de la Paix (Place Vendôme), 1871. Daguerreotype. Source: World Digital Library Collection. https://www.wdl.org/en/item

[143] See, David Harvey, *Paris, The Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 303-333.

[144] Carl Douglas, "Barricades and Boulevards: Material Transformation of Paris, 1795-1871," *Interstices Journal of Architecture and Related Art*s 8, (2007): 41.

[145] Ibid., 42.

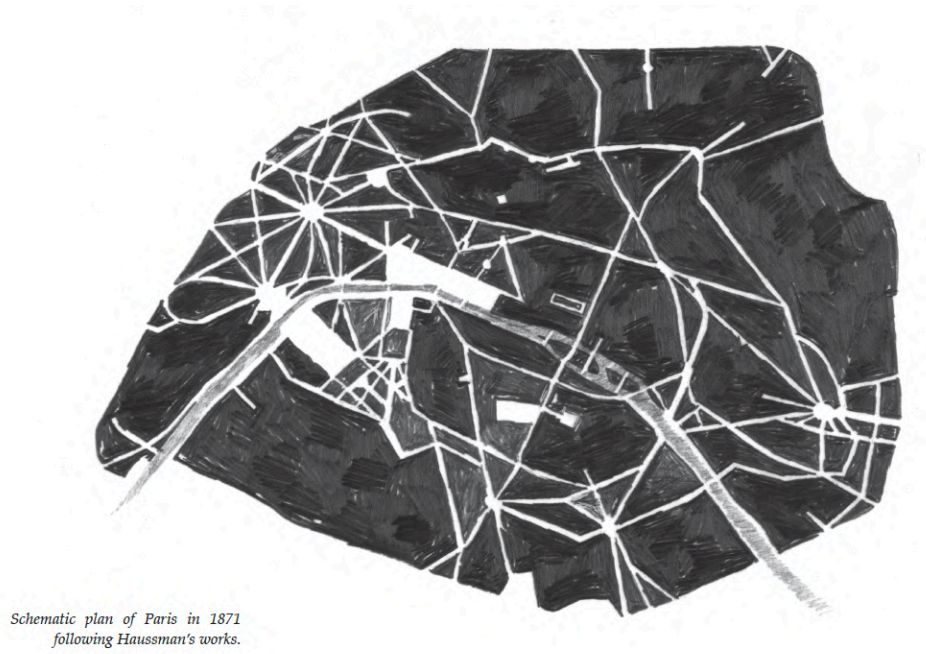


Figure 4: Schematic plan of Paris in 1871 following Haussmann's works

Source: Carl Douglas, "Barricades and Boulevards: Material Transformation of Paris, 1795-1871," Interstices Journal of Architecture and Related Arts 8, (2007): 32.

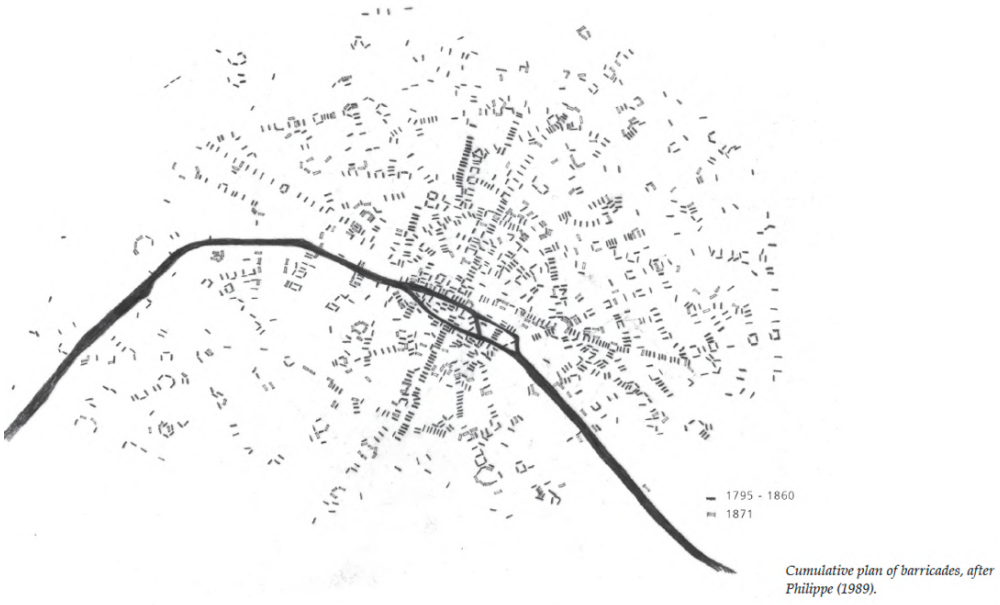


Figure 5: Cumulative plan of barricades

Source: Carl Douglas, "Barricades and Boulevards: Material Transformation of Paris, 1795-1871," Interstices Journal of Architecture and Related Arts 8, (2007): 33.

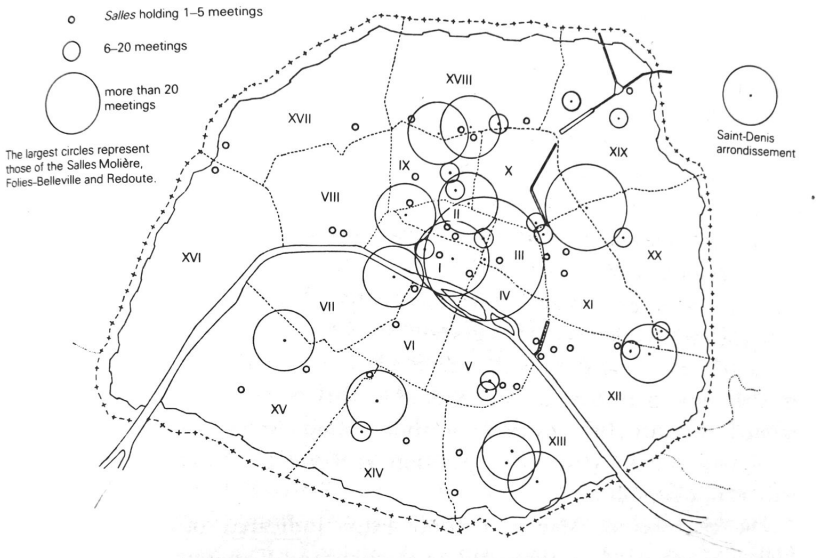


Fig. 16. The public meetings of Paris: Location and frequency, 1868–1870. (Reproduced, with permission, from A. Dalotel, A. Faure, and J-C. Freirmuth, Aux Origines de la Commune: Le Mouvement des Réunions Publiques à Paris, 1868–1870, Editions La Découverte, 1980.)

Figure 6: The public meetings of Paris: Location and frequency, 1868-1870.

Source: David Harvey, Paris, The Capital of Modernity, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 295.

Eric Hobsbawm notes that during the events of 1968 in Paris, the most intense clashes occurred at the barricades erected in the same locations where barricades had been constructed almost a century earlier during the Commune.[146] The map illustrates these locations and how certain parts of the neighborhood were strategically controlled through a sequence of barricades. (Figure 7) Also, the visuals from the streets show these spatial interventions of the uprising at the street scale. (Figure 8, Figure 9) As underlying factors of resemblance of spatial appropriations between the Commune and the ’68 events, parallel to Douglas’s statements, both the material aspects -namely, the urban form of these streets and transmitted spatial usage and appropriation of the insurgent movements- and the immaterial ones -such as symbolic and political

[146] Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Cities and Insurrections,” in *Revolutionaries*, (London: A Phoenix Paperback, 1994), 233.

functions of them- are emphasized.[147] In this regard, it can be stated that the spatial organization of the revolt in 1968 has certain overlapping and inherited characteristics with those in 1871, in a way that constitutes political tradition through reinventing temporal and spatial configurations and producing collective struggle. On the other hand, it is surely evident that the structural, political, economic, and urban conditions were fundamentally different between these contexts in which these revolts emerged. As a series of insurgent movements, the "long sixties" denoted the enlargement of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles in several countries from France to America, from Mexico to Turkey, and especially, 1968 was a decisive year that was a culmination of global revolts and protests.[148] As previously highlighted, contrary to specific narrations that deliberately depoliticize and isolate these events, it is important to contextualize these revolts within socio-economic and political facets in which they emerged, as well as their transnational entanglements. In this regard, it can be asserted that the radical political climate in the 1960s has manifested in empowering socialist struggles, the proliferation of workers' and students' riots, strikes, and occupy actions, and rising reactions against war, imperialism, and colonialism. And these took place, as Lefebvre argues, in the very formation of "urban society" within an ongoing social practice characterized by the urban problematic becoming prominent.[149]

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[147] Ibid.

[148] There is a vast literature and political discussions on the common and distinctive driving forces and consequences of the 1968 movements in different countries of the world. For some of them, See, Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), Alain Touraine, *The May Movement: Revolt and Reform: May 1968—the Student Rebellion and Workers' Strikes—The Birth of a Social Movement*, trans. Leonard F. X. Mayhew (New York: Random House, 1971), Daniel J. Sherman et al., eds., *The Long 1968: Revisions and New Perspectives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed*, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). These discussions encompass complex ones such as the forms, methods and subjects (socialist party or not) of social movements, the leadership of the class struggles or not, the emergence of the identity politics, etc. For certain works engages with these from different perspectives, see Colin Barker et al., eds., *Marxism and Social Movements* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Colin Barker, *Revolutionary Rehearsals*, ed. Colin Barker (London: Bookmarks, 1987), Immanuel Wallerstein and Sharon Zukin, "1968, Revolution in the World-System: Theses and Queries," *Theory and Society* 18, no. 4 (July 1989): 431–49, Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[149] Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 5.

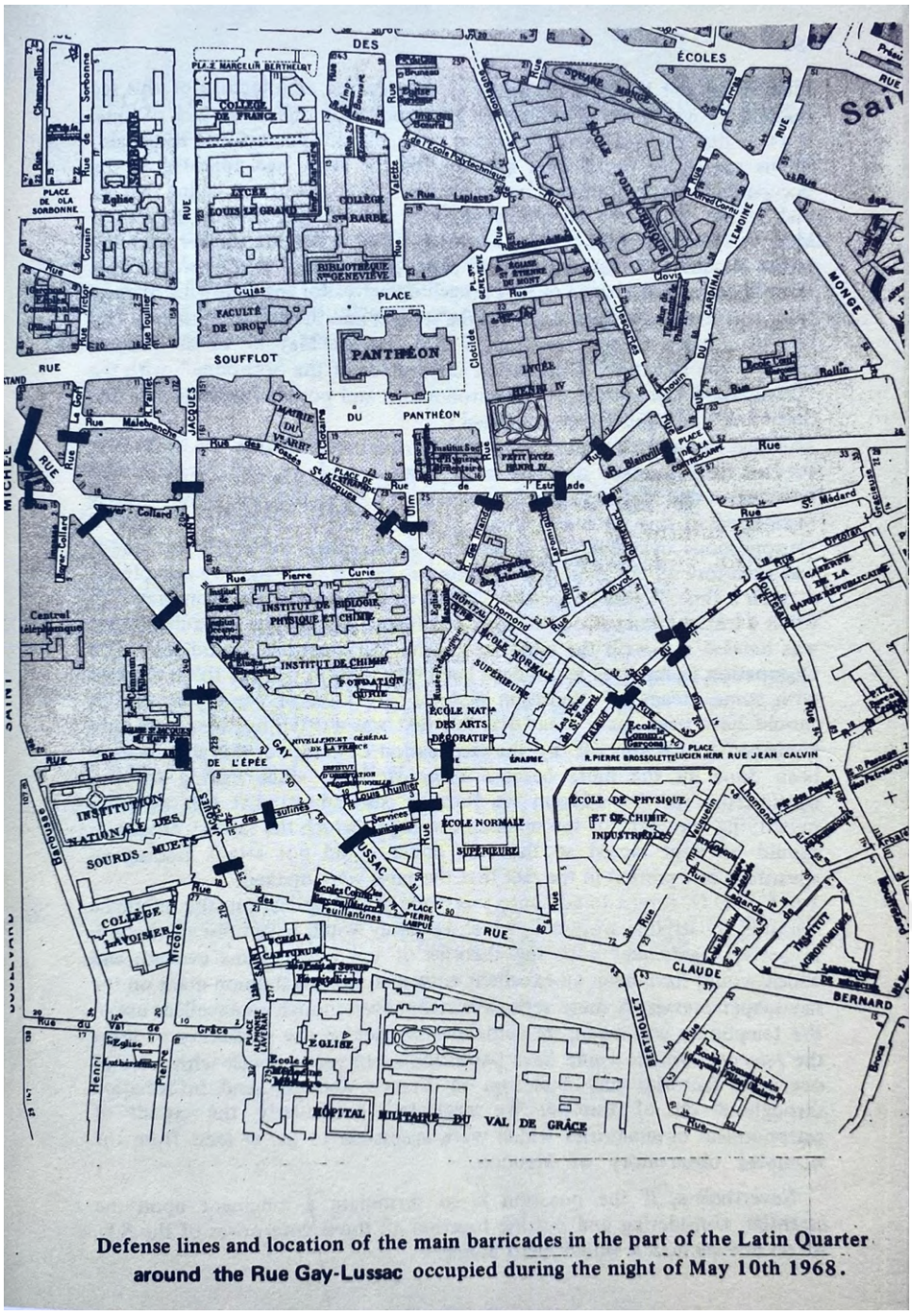


Figure 7: Defense lines and location of the main barricades in the part of the Latin Quarter around the Rue Gay-Lussac occupied during the night of May 10th, 1968.

Source: Johan Kugelberg and Philippe Vermès, eds., Beauty Is in the Street: A Visual Record of the May '68 Paris Uprising (London: Four Corners Books, 2011), 83.



Figure 8: Fifth arrondissement, Rue Gay-Lussac in the Latin Quarter, morning of May 11, 1968. Photograph by Bruno Barbey/Magnum Photos.



Figure 9: The barricades of Gay-Lussac Street, Latin Quarter, May 11, 1968. Photograph by Bruno Barbey/Magnum Photos.

In 1970, Lefebvre propounds that the notion of urban revolution marks a significant shift in production, social organization, and reproduction, denoting the evolving process of economic, political, and social contradictions that emerged not only in space but also for space.[150] It follows that the urban space has become centered on both the problems and solutions, in other words, positions a pivotal role in political and social struggles. In his own words: "Space is becoming the principal stake of goal-directed actions and struggles. It has of course always been the reservoir of resources, and the medium in which strategies are applied, but it has now become something more than the theater, the disinterested stage of setting, of action."[151] In this line, he advocates broadening the forms of class struggle and redefining these forms concerning the transforming dynamics of social life and urban space.[152] Following these arguments, Harvey also highlights the potential of urban-based political movements to engender radical and revolutionary transformations as well.[153] According to him, the wave of revolts in 1968 can be seen as a demand and claim for a different way of urban living, against the capitalist urbanization and domination, and control of the state.[154] In fact, this assertion implies that, whether or not they directly target and demand specific urban spaces or the right to the city, urban-based political struggles under the discussed production and social conditions are bound to broader labor struggles. In this context, where urbanization processes exert multifaceted impacts on social life, the issue of whether urban space functions as a source or a stage in political struggles has become a complex, often hybrid, and entangled circumstance, encompassing both functions, becoming constitutive.

In *The Explosion: Marxism and French Revolution*, Lefebvre discusses the events of 68 in France by identifying the possibilities and new horizons of this revolutionary

[150] Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 1-23.

[151] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 410.

[152] Ibid, 55.

[153] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012), 120.

[154] Ibid., 22.

rupture as well as by criticizing the missed opportunities and lack of long-term strategies that could create radical political change.[155] The importance of the organization of urban space is pointed out as a strong determinant in the emergence, experience, and appropriation of these revolts. Between the over-organization and spontaneity, "he sought to steer a dialectical path between the rationality of theory and irrationality of action."[156] Also, he mentions the strong alliance between the university students and workers in these rebellions in a way that the youth, as the main driving force of these events, is a new working-class generation under these conditions of capitalism and urbanization.[157] Indeed, the events of 1968 in France witnessed massive labor strikes in factories and widespread university occupations, disrupting the everyday functions of these spaces and appropriating them for the needs of resistance. The photographs of Bruno Barbey taken in those days show the workers who stopped the production in the factory for their demands, and the lecture hall of Sorbonne University that was used as shelter. (Figure 10, Figure 11) Moreover, as seen in the map illustrating occupied factories, bus stations, and train stations, the transportation network was also seized by demonstrators, which connected the occupied streets and universities in the center and occupied factories in the suburbs. (Figure 12) The inscription at the top of the map powerfully conveys the spatial organization of insurgency with these words: "The connection between the students' struggle and that of the workers is not an abstract thing... Go to demonstrate political and material solidarity, go to discuss..." This exactly manifests the interlaced material and immaterial aspects of the resistance by subverting the prevailing spatial and temporal order that was discussed before. Besides, it highlights how the relationality of these spaces as nodes forms a spatial web of resistance within the urban fabric.

[155] Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969). I find this approach valuable as it acknowledges not only the possibilities and trajectories that the movement generates in the course of revolutionary struggle but also points out the limits of it.

[156] Andy Merrifield, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 128.

[157] Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 99.

In this web of insurgent actions, the streets functioned as spatial connectors, enabling the interplay and movement in their spread of politicized impacts within the city. Lefebvre indicates this relation to the urban phenomena as follows:

> It was in the streets that the demonstrations took place. It was in the streets that spontaneity expressed itself -in an area of society not occupied by institutions. From there it spread to institutional areas. This characteristic of the movement indicates that partly new and original urban phenomena are already involved. The streets have become politicized -this fact points up the political void prevailing in the specialized areas. Social space has assumed new meaning. This entails new meaning.[158]

This new meaning of social space manifests itself through the fractured and redefined urban and architectural forms in terms of function and meaning, within a transformed sense of time. The space of resistance is not only constituted and shaped through political dynamics, but also, as Tonkiss indicates, transforms and extends the sphere of politics.[159] Power relations are contested across different spaces and agents, and the politics of resistance assert themselves in space.[160] At that point, specific features of certain urban spaces are more convenient to generate rebellious protests than others; that is, physical characteristics and spatial configuration of these sites are prominent for the organization of the political action and for the possible interventions and movements that take place in space.[161] It impacts the actual physical movement and strategy of the political action, which creates the space-time of resistance. When examined at the scale that is the intersection of urban space and collective body, how political action is defined may be designated depending upon not only the aim, content, or temporality of the struggle as discussed before, but also through these embodied movements and spatialities involved.

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[158] Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 72.

[159] Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 60.

[160] Ibid.

[161] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012), 118.



Figure 10: Striking Renault factory workers on May 27, 1968, Boulogne-Billancourt. Photo by Bruno Barbey / Magnum Photos.



Figure 11: A classroom used as a dormitory at the Sorbonne, May 28, 1968. Photo by Bruno Barbey / Magnum Photos.



Figure 12: Map of occupied factories, bus and train stations.

Source: Johan Kugelberg and Philippe Vermès, eds., *Beauty Is in the Street: A Visual Record of the May '68 Paris Uprising* (London: Four Corners Books, 2011), 82.

2.1.2. Movements and Spatiality: Defining Political Actions

For Colin Barker, ideologically or analytically defining a social movement or political action is a theoretical nightmare because of the immense variety of movement forms.[162] However, despite this difficulty and complexity, he emphasizes the prominence of these struggles that mobilize and foster collective organizations and

[162] Colin Barker, "Class Struggle and Social Movements," in *Marxism and Social Movements*, ed. Colin Barker et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 47.

actions rather than 'atomized ways of coping with problems engendered by capitalism's working.'[163] Collective organization inherently holds new and sometimes emancipatory potentials of structuring human cooperation.[164] In parallel with this approach, this study also highlights these potentials of collective action and organization, aiming to examine and grasp their relationships with space-times. More precisely, the political actions traced in this research are framed with collective organizational processes characterized by the distinct political aims and demands. Therefore, how these political actions will be defined, as pointed out before, is a multi-scale issue politically and spatially. It is contingent upon (1) the modes and content of the political movement, such as long-term organizations or/and insurgent strategies and moments at a broader scale, and (2) the form and actual movement of political actions, which refers to the spatial, physical, or bodily articulation of them at a more specific scale. In this line, it is important to always consider the scales of the city-urban space-body as well as divergencies and intersections between them when analyzing space-times of resistance.

As noted earlier, Furio Jesi offers a nuanced differentiation between the definitions of revolt and revolution, grounded in their distinct political, spatial, and temporal characteristics. According to him, revolution refers to an organized and long-term political struggle, in contrast to revolt, which is defined as a spontaneous and explosive moment of uprising.[165] Like Jesi, Lefebvre also contemplates the strengths and weaknesses of spontaneous or planned actions. He emphasizes the spontaneity as a vital force of political transformation and underscores the significance of the streets as a space of resistance which undermines institutional politics.[166] However, he also indicates the constraints of spontaneity due to the lack of strategic coherence to realize

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Furio Jesi, *Spartakus: The Symbology of Revolt*, edited by Andrea Cavaletti, translated by Alberto Toscano, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 46.

[166] Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 74.

the revolutionary potential.[167] Jesi seeks to comprehend spontaneous action and direct it to powerful practice, rather than ignoring it.[168] As addressed before, he aims to grasp the potential and transformative impacts of insurgent actions, as traced in this study. Similarly, Berger distinguishes riot, revolutionary uprising, and mass demonstration based on their targets and aims in his writing on the events of 1968. In his view, a riot is generated with immediate demands, a revolutionary uprising is a prolonged and comprehensive struggle, and a mass demonstration shows a symbolic political power.[169] Despite their irregular and spontaneous nature, mass demonstrations expand the field of politics and cultivate shared political awareness and collective belonging.[170] In a similar vein to Jesi's reflections on suspension of time and changed spatial experience during revolt, Berger points out that the collective creativity and awareness during the disruption of temporal and spatial aspects of everyday life create an altered perception of the city for demonstrators. "They become corporately aware that it is they or those whom they represent who have built the city and who maintain it. They see it through different eyes. They see it as their product, confirming their potential instead of reducing it."[171] This awareness and experience are closely tied to spatial and physical dimensions of the demonstrations, which aim to "take over the place" in terms of both strategic and symbolic action.[172] That is, mass demonstration has an explicit urban and spatial character regarding the actual movement of the collective body and intervention in the existing spaces that turn into spaces of resistance.

The scope of political actions is discussed through the concept of repertoire in the relevant literature. della Porta defines the notion of repertoire as specific modes of

[167] Ibid.

[168] Andy Merrifield, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 129.

[169] John Berger, "The Nature of Mass Demonstrations," *International Socialism*, no. 34 (Autumn 1968), accessed via Marxists.org.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

action that are spatially and temporally situated forms, and underlines that these are reproduced over time by learning the past experiences and transmitting emerging political traditions.[173] Each form creates distinct temporal intervals and different spatialities. As Stavrides notes:

> During the uprising, the city has temporarily become the place where new forms of spatiality have emerged. Spatiality, as a concept, is meant to describe conditions, qualities and, characteristics of space in general, not specific spaces. Even though we can locate specific forms of spatiality in concrete places, spatiality describes ways to perform space rather than spaces as concrete arrangements of physical elements. Therefore, to speak about the different spatialities of urban conflicts means to consider space as both the result and the precondition of social action. Space happens.[174]

These new forms of spatiality are often associated with the spontaneous actions that are the moments of collective invention. The definitions of riot, revolt, insurgency, and uprising can be comprehended as such. On the other hand, particular forms of dissent can embody planned or codified aspects that reflect the arranged articulation of protest. For instance, public rallies or public meetings can be defined as highly organized and ritualized events.[175] Also, a procession is a cyclical event that signifies a distinct movement along a route.[176] As a dynamic performance of political bonding, it may be planned depending on the aim of the protest in a way that creates collective visibility in a specific target or connecting prominent nodes in the city.[177] In that manner, while public rallies signify a gathering, procession denotes a sequential movement.

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[173] Donatella della Porta, "Protest in Social Movements," in *Protest Cultures: A Companion*, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke, Joachim Scharloth, and Laura Wong (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 16.

[174] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 124-125.

[175] Jana Günther, "Protest as Symbolic Politics," in *Protest Culture: A Companion*, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke, and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 58.

[176] Ibid, 58-59.

[177] Tali Hatuka, The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2018), 113-116.

As a more elusive notion, a demonstration can be interpreted as a form between procession and riot, which can include ritualistic elements and symbolic actions to publicly express demands.[178] Reconfiguring time and space to enhance its political impact, it aims to control specific spaces through collective presence. Being visible and conveying dissent and claims is essential. In a similar vein, a protest manifests broad meaning and connotation in terms of both political, spatial, and bodily expressions. Accordingly, "protests are sites of contestation in which bodies, symbols, identities and practices, and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalized power relations."[179] In this sense, while the term of protest implies a condition of conflict, it generally does not embody revolutionary or radical political intervention. Still, the nature of the action may always change regarding the temporal, spatial, and political aspects; thus, how it is defined may shift based on these multi-layered dynamics. According to Hatuka, for example, the praxis of protest is a planned and designed action, interrelated with the chosen space and the action's defined choreography.[180] The existing spatial distance that was distributed by architects or planners is dismantled in the protest, and "new processual space" is configured with new meanings and functions.[181] Although the description of processual space is inspiring and consistent with the theoretical understanding of this study, comprehending the protest action through pre-designed spatial choreographies may instrumentalize and constrain protest action, leaving no room for the dynamic and contingent aspects. Or, at the very least, it may confine the conceptual scope of the protest.

In other respects, some forms of political action in the repertoire contain more precise and spatially grounded connotations. For instance, a strike is a collective work

[178] Jana Günther, "Protest as Symbolic Politics," in *Protest Culture: A Companion*, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke, and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 58.

[179] Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 268, quoting Taylor and van Dyke 2004.

[180] Tali Hatuka, The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2018), 3-24.

[181] Ibid.

stoppage in which workers and laborers deliberately suspend their labor to disrupt production processes to generate political and economic pressures on employers. This form of action directly interrupts the established and ongoing work order in the workplace, and the prevailing patterns of spatial practices on an ordinary working day are dismantled through the control of this space by workers, such as through factory occupation. A boycott, again creating economic or political pressure and amplifying the collective demands, refers to an organized refusal of certain targeted entities or the continuing order in a specific institution, impeding their functioning. During the framed period between 1960 and 1971, university boycotts were widely practiced as a form of protest in the world as well as in Turkey. These boycotts were employed by university students not only to articulate demands concerning their conditions and the structure of the university, but also as a means of expressing protest and resistance against the existing political order and the system. In that manner, both a labor strike and a university boycott can be understood as an occupation of the spaces of a factory or a university to intervene in these spaces while simultaneously defining and generating other spatial practices.

Besides these definitions and forms, the notion of resistance conveys a more comprehensive meaning, not directly signifying specific spatial or formal movement or intervention. Including these, it denotes a more political, relational, and multi-faceted understanding. According to Routledge, the terrain of resistance is a site of conflict and complexity of relations between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic powers and discourses, between forces and relations of domination and of resistance.[182] It includes the material, practical, and symbolic dimensions of political praxis, reflecting both structural conditions and strategic processes.[183] That is, the terrains of resistance encompass both large-scale political and spatial structures and small-scale political and spatial movements, in the interwoven web of economic

[182] Paul Routledge, "Critical Geopolitics and Terrains of Resistance," *Political Geography* 15, no. 6/7 (1996): 516.

[183] Ibid., 517.

relations, political discourses, spatial settings, and symbolic meanings.[184] This approach and the way of definition allow us to grasp that spaces of resistance are produced through a dialectical interplay of physical, political, and symbolic aspects across three interrelated temporal layers (before, at the moment, and after the resistance), as stated previously, as well as that of the necessity of multi-scale examination. Also, it highlights the prominence of the interrelations of these spaces in the city. Particularly, in the context of Ankara between 1960-1980, in which "the streets of the city" became increasingly politicized.

At that point, from the broader political and urban context to the more specific scale of what and how things unfold in the streets, understanding the form and actual movement of the political actions becomes particularly crucial. Ross powerfully indicates this:

> May '68 posed the problem of theory's relation to the street with a new urgency. Streets were not merely the stuff of slogans during the events of May ("Under the paving stones, the beach!"), nor were they the mere context of or backdrop to those events. Streets quite literally formulated the political agenda of the events; at key moments in the insurrection, the old Leninist query, "What is to be done?" was asked in the form of "Where do we go next in the city?" The social or physical organization of the city became the terrain on which to decide a whole host of what we tend to think of as a much more recent set of political questions having to do with groupuscule tactics and larger strategies.[185]

Indeed, where a resistance has emerged in the city, or how it connects different spaces, signifies much more, both spatially and politically, than is often assumed. This spatial and political prominence of resistance can be concretely recognized considering the physical movement of the political action, in the intersections of the scales of the city, the urban space, and the body. In this sense, certain routes, gatherings, or dispersions, namely, the movement, connect the spaces and times as well as the collective body.[186] Harvey addresses these intersections, indicating that the body is a relational construct

[184] Ibid.

[185] Kristin Ross, "Streetwise: The French Invention of Everyday Life," *Parallax* 2, no. 1 (1996): 70.

[186] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 44.

shaped and reshaped by historical and spatial processes, rather than a fixed and self-contained thing.[187] This necessitates the relational-dialectical approach that demonstrates how it is formed through multiple and overlapping forces and how it becomes a dynamic site of interactions.[188] On the other hand, Butler's focus is on the interrelations of the bodies in public assemblies by examining the massive demonstrations and resistances.[189] She argues that the body is performative and relational, and political enactment emerges in "between" these bodies, that is, a relational space that connects them and constructs collective presence.[190] In this approach, it is possible to state that the very definition of resistance and the political nature of the body is built upon social processes and specifically collective action. Through the intervention and persistence in a particular space, "they (massive demonstrations and modes of resistance) seize upon an already established space permeated by existing power, seeking to sever the relations between the public space, the public square, and the existing regime."[191] This operates especially in the form of occupation or control over the space, which undermines and subverts ordinary and conventional functions and meanings to produce transformative and emancipatory practices and imaginations. Besides, as Butler notably emphasizes, these collective actions reveal various contradictions regarding the definition, character, and practices of the concept of public space. In their own words:

> So the limits of the political are exposed and the link between the theater of legitimacy and public space is severed; that theater is no longer unproblematically housed in public space, since the public space now occurs in the midst of another action, one that displaces the power that claims legitimacy precisely by taking over the field of its effects. Simply put, the bodies on the street redeploy the space of appearance in order to contest and negate the existing forms of political legitimacy -and just as the sometimes fill

[187] David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 98.

[188] Ibid., 236.

[189] Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 21.

[190] Ibid., 77.

[191] Ibid., 85.

> or take over public space, the material history of those structures also works on them, becoming part of their very action, remaking a history in the midst of its most concrete and sedimented artifices.[192]

Therefore, it can be asked what the emerging public space in the midst of political action signifies and what constitutes the distinction between "fill" or "take over" public space in the moment of resistance. More importantly, for this thesis, these can be interrogated as well: How does the material history of public spaces impact the political action that takes over there? How do these public spaces become a part of these actions, in what ways? How do these collective political actions that reciprocally shape and are shaped by these spaces remake history?

2.1.3. Public Space Discussion: Deliberation or Conflict?

Doreen Massey warns against the tendency to idealize public space as a neutral void that allows for free and equal expression, and underlines that it is produced through unequal and conflictual social relations.[193] This tendency leads to the understanding that urban public space is an inherently given or self-evident ground for political action. It is true that the public spaces function as main arenas where collective gatherings take place, political views are expressed, and political and social demands are articulated. Yet, as Harvey states, public space has historically been reshaped and reproduced through both revolutionary movements and violent repression.[194] There is a continuous struggle regarding the production, the control, or the accessibility of public spaces, as well as who decides, controls, and remakes these.[195] Thus, public space is constituted on these contradictions and conflicts, and this is connected to the

[192] Ibid.

[193] Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2005), 152.

[194] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012) 73.

[195] Ibid.

discussion of the public sphere on how it is defined, experienced, and contested, and also how it relates to the notion of public space.[196]

For Arendt, the public realm is constituted as a "space of appearance" where common activities, values are seen, heard, and shared, prior to any formal political structures.[197] The public realm is defined based on the prominence of speech and action, and the space of appearance is comprehended as open and common ground, including possibilities for public interaction and political action.[198] This entails the risk of understanding "the political" as an abstract notion, underestimating the material and social conditions. As pointed out before, the political, the spatial, and the temporal should be examined together, considering their interrelated material and immaterial dimensions. In a similar manner, Butler critically engages with the concept of "space of appearance," indicating that Arendt keeps apart the material and bodily conditions of the political action from the space of appearance.[199] Through the intersection of spatiality and performativity, Butler emphasizes "the questions of infrastructure and architecture" that cannot be separated from public assemblies.[200] The definitions, boundaries, and connotations of "the public" are scrutinized through the material impacts, interventions, and reconfigurations of political actions. In this respect, public gatherings and collective actions in public spaces challenge the distinctions between

[196] Undoubtedly, there is an extensive literature on this content, but in this work, the scope is particularly limited to the relationship between public space and political action. For other prominent sources that is not included in the text, see Seyla Benhabib, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition and Jürgen Habermas," in *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 89–120, Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel, and Assenka Oksiloff (London: Verso, 1993), ed. Meral Ozbek, Kamusal Alan, (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 2015), Ali Madanipour, *Rethinking Public Space*, Rethinking Urban and Regional Studies (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023, Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003.

[197] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 51.

[198] Ibid., 199.

[199] Judith Butler, "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance," in *Vulnerability in Resistance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 14.

[200] Ibid.

public and private through certain forms of political actions and spatial practices.[201] They "find and produce the public through seizing and reconfiguring the matter of material environments, at the same time, those material environments are part of the action, and they themselves act when the become the support for action."[202] In Butler's framework, spatial and material aspects are inherently significant concepts for understanding of public assemblies. But more importantly for this study, political action is comprehended as both the decisive and revealing constituent that unveils the societal and spatial contradictions of public space and that contests the very boundaries of thereof.

Habermas, another prominent figure in these debates, examines the historical transformation of the public sphere and articulates the genesis of the bourgeois public sphere in line with the domination of the capitalist mode of production and institutionalization of nation-states.[203] The bourgeois public sphere is positioned between the private realm (civil society) and public authority (the state), as a vehicle of public opinion and "the art of critical-rational public debate."[204] While the emergence and domination of public authority includes the state apparatuses such as administration organs, laws, legislations, military armies, etc., civil society comprises individuals and conjugal families within the social reproduction processes.[205] In this framework, the public sphere is formed between these two realms by gathering these private individuals as the public with common interests operating through rational-critical deliberation.[206] In other words, the public sphere is comprehended as a mediator between the state and the civil society. However, Habermas indicates that the

[201] Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 71.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 12.

[204] Ibid., 30.

[205] Ibid., 31-50.

[206] Ibid.

public sphere, which he highlights in its critical role and potential in democratic participation and political decision-making processes, underwent a significant transformation in the twentieth century.[207] For him, the driving forces of this transformation are mass media, consumer culture, and bureaucratic forces.[208] These lead to the degeneration of the essential characteristics of the public sphere, such as ideal engagement and participatory consensus, into forms of manipulation, consumption, and commercialization.[209] It is seen that the public sphere is approached not through political conflicts, ruptures, and contradictions embedded in the existing social order, but rather through a model grounded in consensus, deliberations, and rational agreement.

The model of the public sphere of Habermas is critically challenged by Nancy Fraser, who indicates that it is not sufficient for theorizing the limits of actually existing democracy. She explicitly argues that the bourgeois public sphere was never public, by exemplifying it by historical cases of multiple public arenas that always in conflictual with the bourgeois public sphere.[210] Habermas's assumption, which takes up the people as "interlocutors who participate as social and economic peers in the public sphere," is objected to because it overlooks social inequalities and oppression in the public sphere.[211] In this way, the inherent features of deliberation and consensus attributed to the public sphere by Habermas not only pose the risk of masking domination by authorities but also obscure the conflicts and dissensus in politics. Fraser advocates multiplicity of publics that are competing and defines "subaltern counter publics" that are generated by subordinated social groups with counter-discourses and counter-practices.[212] Identifying mechanisms and relations between

[207] Ibid., 181-222.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990), 61-62.

[211] Ibid., 64.

[212] Ibid., 67.

contested publics is substantial because, for her, the idea of "common good" that can be provided through discussion of private interests is problematic.[213] Also, she criticizes the distinction between civil society and the state proposed by Habermas due to its ignorance of the complex and intertwined relations between these two and the limits of the institutions of civil society.[214] In conclusion, she unveils how this framework, based on deliberation and public opinion, restricts "the political" to the passive reconciliatory area in which contradictions and conflicts are concealed, and she calls for a need to reconceptualize the public sphere.

If we consider where political action is situated within these models of the public sphere, it can be observed that while the theoretical lens of Habermas recognizes the transformative role of political action and collective movements in shaping the public discourse to some extent, these fall into the position of an indicator that destabilizes or undermines the deliberative and communicative public sphere. In terms of spatial aspects, this model of the public sphere remains symbolic and discursive in the end, rather than pointing out material, spatial, and urban dimensions.[215] On the other hand, since Fraser conceives the public sphere as shaped and transformed by conflict, inequality, and oppression, political action and the forms of resistance are positioned as a political intervention in competing public spheres. Although she does not directly point out the concept of public space, her narrative makes visible material and spatial aspects in the formation of counterpublics. Accordingly, these contested public spheres are sites of political struggles that manifest in multiple spaces.

In fact, while the concepts of public sphere and public space are inevitably interrelated and derive meaning from one another, the insufficient intersection of these discussions

[213] Ibid., 71.

[214] Ibid., 76.

[215] In his historical investigation, the narrative includes certain spaces, referring to material aspects and spatial and social practices. For instance, the origins of the public sphere are discussed pointing out the coffee houses, saloons, and table societies. However, in subsequent stages towards the industrialization and modernization processes, the spatial dimension and the ground for linking the public sphere to the public space disappear. See, Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

points out both a political and spatial problem. Low and Smith indicate that the theories of the public sphere often lack spatial contextualization, while public space discussions fail to grasp the multi-faceted contradictions in the public sphere stated above that operate materially and physically as well.[216] They argue that understanding public space is imperative for the repoliticization of the notion of the public, because "spontaneous and organized political response always carries within it the capability of remaking and retaking public space and public sphere."[217] This very capability, through political action, can undermine the normative definitions and practices of publicness and expose their inherent contradictions as well as conflicts of urban space. In this line, Deutsche clearly defines as follows: "Conflict is not something that befalls an originally, or potentially, harmonious urban space. Urban space is the product of conflict."[218] By referring to the debates on dissolution or degeneration of public space, she emphasizes that public space, precisely because it embodies elements of chaos and conflict, constitutes a vital and politically significant ground.[219] That is, how specific public spaces are involved and transformed with the political actions is a reciprocally constituted relation, which is a significant part of the conflictual ground of urban space. Stavrides expresses this as follows:

> When, during an urban conflict, people collectively seek to reappropriate public space, they are not simply using the city as it is; they are transforming it. Their actions do not only search for space, they invent space. These practiced spaces, as they happen in the process of conflict, acquire distinctive characteristics that tend to influence the outcome and the form of the conflict.[220]

In this regard, the aim of tracing spaces of resistance in this thesis engages with the production, experiences, and conflicts of the urban space, from a broader frame than

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[216] Setha Low and Neil Smith, "The Imperative of Public Space," in *The Politics of Public Space*, ed. Setha Low and Neil Smith (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5-6.

[217] Ibid., 16.

[218] Rosalyn Deutsche, "Agoraphobia," in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 278.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 128.

public space debates. Since the limited interrelation and ambiguity in current discussions arise largely from how the spatial, temporal, and political are treated when analyzing both the history of a particular space and the dynamics of social and political movements. That is why a political act -regardless of whether it takes place in a public space- must be approached through a broader lens and scale that considers how urban space is conceived and functions in the existing spatial and political order and how these orders are challenged. Especially when we consider that the moments of uprising and resistance break the conventional boundaries about what is public and what is private, analyzing these actions solely through the concept of public space leads to a limited perspective. Yet, despite these limitations, how these political actions, which often take place in public spaces in strategic, physical, and symbolic manners, are contemplated with these concepts of public space is crucial for both to situate acts of resistance and to reflect on how they might transform "the public." In conclusion, although the notion of public space is addressed as secondary in the conceptual framework, it remains important for tracing the historical and spatial dynamics of certain public spaces, which are frequently turned into spaces of resistance during this period, such as Kızılay Square, Tandoğan Square, and Atatürk Boulevard.

2.3. Manifold Interrelations: Spaces of Resistance

At this stage, firstly, it is possible to clarify the conceptual scheme we established so far, explicitly articulating certain definitions, views, and methodologies engaged in this research, by bridging the discussed multi-scale theoretical discussions and inquiries. Following this, it can be contextualized how this framework will operate for tracing the space-times of resistance within Ankara's political and spatial history between 1960 and 1971. It is particularly worth emphasizing that this conceptual framework is formed in continuous connection with the context-based research, historical documents, and empirical evidence of the period under study, in Lefebvre's terms, the strong consideration of "linking the knowledge and the known." In this regard, in order to understand the spatial and political transformation of the period in a broad sense, the study engages with the relevant discussions, while also focusing on specific cases and scales to grasp the actual movement of political actions and their

relations to space-times. Drawing from these investigations, what is distilled, learned, and synthesized, a comprehensive framework has been constructed through the various sets of concepts to examine the cases in this thesis. (Figure 13)

First of all, to understand how the spatial and temporal dimensions of the political actions will be approached, the notions of space and time are revisited, and it is put forward that space and time are interdependent and mutually constitutive. Thus, space-time refers to a contested and dynamic term, which only finds meaning in relation to the political. The relationship between space-time and the political is contemplated based on the scale issue due to the necessity of a multi-scale approach to understand the relations between the spaces of resistance in the city. Also, it is for both situating them in a broad context of the production of urban space, and examining the space-specific, symbolic, and representational formation of these spaces. As another prominent aspect of the relationship with the political, the temporality of political action is investigated, pointing out the long-term struggles and spontaneous uprisings. In that manner, how these are associated with the past, the moment, and the future is traced, considering the dialectical relationship between the space-times of resistance and dominant spaces and order. In the subsequent section that addresses the urban space and political struggles, the investigations are developed in three domains of inquiry at different scales in terms of the discussion. The first one, macro scale, creates a ground to provide a historical perspective on this relation, as well as the substantial transformation of the urban space and political context in the 1960s. This investigation will be maintained throughout the subsequent chapters to comprehend and contextualize the transformation of the political, temporal, and spatial for our cases. The second one, the mobile scale, explores how political actions can be defined in terms of political content and spatial dimensions, and how these movements create different spatialities in the city. In this way, while unveiling the repertoire of political actions and their inherent spatial and temporal dimensions, the web of spaces of resistance and the multi-faceted transformations of it can be understood. The third one, micro scale, scrutinizes the notion of public space interrelated with the political actions, which can reveal how certain public spaces are altered and reclaimed through the protests, uprisings, and resistances. This enables a critical questioning of the public

character of these spaces, how they are constructed, and how they are affected by the disruption of their usual functions.

Building on these, spaces of resistance are defined based on a relational and multi-scale approach to examine the history of the forms of resistance through the intertwined spatial, temporal, and political dimensions. For Lefebvre, "Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as result of inertia."[221] These social spaces, particularly those produced, practiced, and represented through specific political actions, embody both strategic and social interconnections. Since our position within space-time is defined by scale as well as determining spatial practices,[222] these interconnections can be understood through multi-scale examinations. To put it more concretely, where a protest takes place in the city, how that location is chosen or how it emerges spontaneously, is closely related to several dimensions, including the historical prominence of this space, other possible spaces in the city, political strategies, urban forms, forms of resistance, etc. These may require an analysis of spatialities at different scales and their interrelations. Steve Pile emphasizes the different spatialities of resistance, which continually remake interconnections, boundaries, or shifts, and these operate through the movement that links one site to another.[223] This movement can be considered the physical movement in the city, for example, a trajectory of a march with its nodes and axes, which reflect political and spatial strategies. Or, it can be interpreted in a broader sense, contested spatialities between resistance and dominance through the power struggles, and their transformation in the city. This may sometimes lead to the disconnection of links between certain spaces.

[221] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 86.

[222] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 90.

[223] Steve Pile, "Introduction: Opposition, Political Identities and Spaces of Resistance," in *Geographies of Resistance*, ed. Steve Pile and Michael Keith (London: Routledge, 1997), 29.

The necessity of comprehending political actions and their spatialities across a variety of scales entails their reciprocal relationship: (1) the role of spatial forms, practices, political and symbolic meanings in the emergence of specific forms of resistance, and (2) the changes in production and representation of these spaces associated with these political actions. As stated previously, these processes shape and are shaped through both material and immaterial aspects, namely, physical, social, and symbolic dimensions. As Stavrides indicates, the spatialities constituted by political movements are both symbolic and material; therefore, it is substantial to grasp how the representations and imaginaries impact the formations of these spaces, in addition to understanding material ones.[224] And these aspects correlate with the temporalities, that is why the approach of this thesis is defined as tracing "space-times of political actions." To illustrate these temporalities more clearly, it is possible to assert three interrelated temporalities. The first one is before the political action that encompasses whether it is planned or spontaneous, the spatial decisions about where and how the action will take place, as well as broader political motivations and strategies. The second one is the moment of resistance when temporal and spatial order are subverted and transformed, reclaiming urban space and creating spatial and social imagination. The third one is after the political action that refers to how it is remembered, interpreted, and represented, including the discursive and symbolic meanings, as well as the history writing of it. It is linked to the spatial memory, which is formed depending on both physical interventions after the political action, and symbolic meanings, discourses, and historiographical practices on it. In other words, what will be remembered and what will be forgotten, and how the historiography is framed and what it indicates, are also political battlefields. In line with all these, the thesis aims to trace the space-times of political actions in Ankara between 1960 and 1971 and to reflect on the transformations of those urban sites into spaces of resistance and to reveal the implicit political and social aspects of these spaces within their interrelations. Accordingly, the three previously outlined scales and scopes of inquiry will be followed within historical and spatial contexts.

[224] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 128.

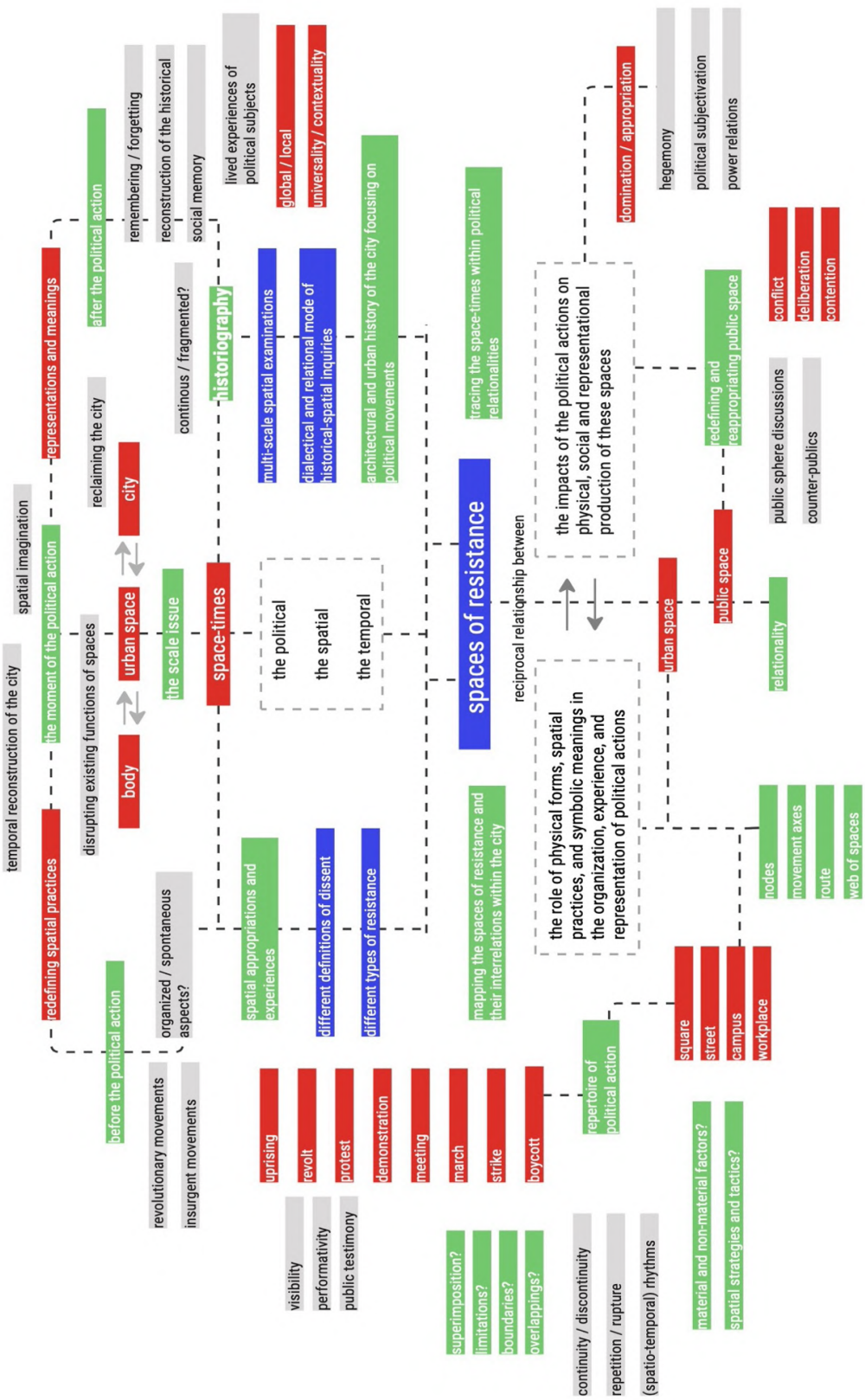


Figure 13: Conceptual map of the thesis. (by the author)

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL AND SPATIAL FORMATIONS IN ANKARA TOWARDS THE 1960S

Understanding spaces of resistance and their interrelations necessitates examining their architectural designs, the spatial practices they produce, and the representations and meanings they embody. The interconnected political and spatial shifts can only be meaningfully grasped through the changes in historical and spatial context. In other words, to comprehend how a space is disrupted through political action and reconfigured through other practices, it is imperative to investigate its conceived spatial logic, as well as the everyday patterns and social structures that shape its lived experience. Thus, a brief overview of Ankara's architectural and urban development from the early republican period to the 1960s may be useful. At this stage, the focus will be on certain urban public squares, boulevards, streets, and university campuses, which have been the site of both dominance and resistance in political conflicts of the period between 1960 and 1971. Rather than treating them as singular spaces, our approach and narrative will follow certain axes, routes, and parts in the city, scrutinizing their formations, interrelations, and alterations. This way of looking aims to explore and situate the political and spatial ruptures and continuities, and to reflect on how these impact and have been impacted by the formation of spaces of resistance at the intersection of the space-time and the political.

3.1. Political and Spatial Formations in the Early Republican Period in Ankara

The modernization project of the new Turkish Republic, with the aspiration of creating a modern nation, embodied major alterations and restructuring of political, social, and economic bases. This restructuring agenda, resonating with Heynen's notion of *space as an instrument*, was implemented and maintained through urban and architectural

design that would not only produce modern living practices but also represent the power of the nation-state. According to Bozdoğan, this restructuring can be described as "nationalization of the modern for a better ideological fit with Kemalism."[225] The new capital, Ankara, as the heart of the nation, became the most explicit manifestation of this synthesis of modernism and nation-building.[226] In other words, modern architectural and urban projections have been implemented to construct national unity, modern social life, and the public sphere shaped by foundational Republican ideology in Ankara. As Sargın argues, this envisaged and constructed public sphere oscillates between "official publicness" and "civil publicness," and it materializes through the design of public spaces within these contradictions and complexities of the bourgeois public sphere.[227] In this sense, Ankara spatially reproduces these conflictual discourses and practices that determined the formation of the public sphere.[228] That is to say, the public spaces of Ankara in the early Republican period have been the places in and through which the conflictual ground, as discussed in the previous chapter, has been embodied at the very center of political contradictions peculiar to Turkey in the formation of modern social life. They served to show the power of the state, and dissociate from "the old," to create a new, modern, civilized nation through spatial practices, that had multi-dimensional impacts on the urban development of Ankara and daily life practices.

3.1.1. Ulus Square, Kızılay Square, and Atatürk Boulevard

Ulus Square, Kızılay Square, and the Atatürk Boulevard axis connecting them stand out as constitutive and the most prominent and visible spaces where the modern construction of the new capital, which is shaped by the nation-state image and its spatial practices, took form. Ulus Square, known as Taşhan Square until the

[225] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Singapore: University of Washington Press, 2001), 7.

[226] Ibid., 5.

[227] Güven Arif Sargın, "Kamu, Kent ve Polytika," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 32.

[228] Ibid.

proclamation of the Republic, served as a center where the National Struggle was carried out, and hosted various national demonstrations and commemorative events.[229] Lörcher Plan (1924-1925), the first city plan of the new capital Ankara, connected Eski Şehir (Citadel and surroundings) with Yeni Şehir, which was defined on the south and opened it up for development; it provided the physical formation of prominent public spaces through this axis as Millet Caddesi (Atatürk Boulevard).[230] Based on the Lörcher Plan, Taşhan Square was reorganized and renamed as Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, and its identity as the modern square of the Republican regime was built and reinforced through surrounding significant institutional and administrative spaces and related recreational areas such as the Second Assembly building, Ankara Palas, National Garden (Millet Bahçesi), and its proximity to the Train Station via Station Street.[231] In this context, Yalım underlines that the square was conceived as a public space in which the newly invented traditions, discourses, images, and spatial practices of the nation-building process were concentrated through the aim of conflating collective memory with the identity of the nation-state.[232] In 1927, Victory Monument was placed in the square as both a reminder of the war and a concrete embodiment of these nation-state ideals that bridged the past and the future,[233] and in 1930, the square

[229] İnci Yalım, "Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 171-177. For examination on ceremonies and official parades took place in Ulus during the Early Republican Period, See Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, Elif Kaymaz, and Öykü Su Sezen, "Ankara'da Millî Bayram Kutlamaları: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Kamusallığın Performatif Biçimleri," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10, no. 2 (2022): 203–28.

[230] Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu: Tasarım, Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 220.

[231] Nuray Bayraktar, "Tarihe Eş Zamanlı Tanıklık: Ulus ve Kızılay Meydanlarının Değişim Süreci," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2013): 23.

[232] İnci Yalım, "Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 158.

[233] Ibid., 200.

was named as Ulus Square.[234] Therefore, along with these spatial formations, Ulus came to be the bureaucratic and political focal of Ankara in these early Republican years, constituted within an official public sphere. Encircled by these bureaucratic usages and institutional buildings, Ulus Square also functioned as the gathering space for the national celebrations, ceremonies, and official parades.[235] (Figure 14)

Lörcher Plan proposed a series of public spaces on Millet Caddesi (Atatürk Boulevard), as the main axis of Yenişehir, including Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Millet Square, and Cumhuriyet Square (Kızılay Square).[236] It reaches Cumhuriyet Square (Kızılay Square) where it also functions as the entrance of Yönetim Mahallesi, which consists of governmental buildings and the national assembly.[237] (Figure 15) Jansen's subsequent master plan (1928-1932), similarly, links Eski Şehir (Ulus) and Yeni Şehir (Kızılay); however, the boulevard was enlarged, the public spaces throughout it were redesigned, and a new road named Çankaya Street from Kurtuluş Square (Kızılay Square) to Çankaya Köşkü was defined along with Hükümet Mahallesi as the place of governmental offices.[238] (Figure 16, Figure 17) On the one hand, the squares became spatially undefined on this axis compared to Lörcher's proposal; on the other hand, Atatürk Boulevard gained prominence as a central urban axis, connecting the squares. As Batuman indicates, Yeni Şehir was conceived as a significant locus of the young nation with a new lifestyle and as a spatial manifestation

[234] Nuray Bayraktar, "Tarihe Eş Zamanlı Tanıklık: Ulus ve Kızılay Meydanlarının Değişim Süreci," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2013): 23.

[235] Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, Elif Kaymaz, and Öykü Su Sezen, "Ankara'da Millî Bayram Kutlamaları: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Kamusallığın Performatif Biçimleri," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10, no. 2 (2022): 203–28.

[236] Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu: Tasarım, Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002)., 229.

[237] Ibid., 227.

[238] Çiğdem Varol et al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 47.

of the ideals and envisioned social order of the new regime.[239] Its public spaces have been prominent sites where these ideals were articulated, performed, and challenged through everyday practices and oppositions.[240] Thus, public space not only serves as a ground for dominant power to generate its own hegemony, but also functions as a site that embeds the possibility for counter-hegemonic formations to emerge within this contradictory ground.[241]

When we look at the spatial development of Kızılay Square, after "Su Perileri" was positioned in 1925 at the center of the area, it began to be called Havuzbaşı.[242] This urban element not only marked the space as a crucial node but also helped transform it into a recreational area for Yenişehir's residents. Located at the end of the Atatürk Boulevard, Havuzbaşı functioned as a stage upon which modern citizen identity was both spatially constructed and publicly performed.[243] (Figure 18) In this way, Yenişehir's focal point was gradually constituted through spatial practices and the physical organization of its surroundings. This continued with the construction of the Kızılay General Directorate Building designed by Robert Oerley in 1929, through which the square came to be known as Kızılay Square.[244] Yet, the coexistence of this building and Su Perileri proved to be short-lived. In 1930, the statue was moved to Gençlik Parkı, and with the implementation of the Jansen Plan, the area underwent a series of transformations. (Figure 19)

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[239] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 43.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid., 43-46.

[242] Çiğdem Varol et al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 32.

[243] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 48-49.

[244] Çiğdem Varol et al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 38.



Figure 14: A national holiday celebration in front of Victory Monument in Ulus Square, 1936, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.

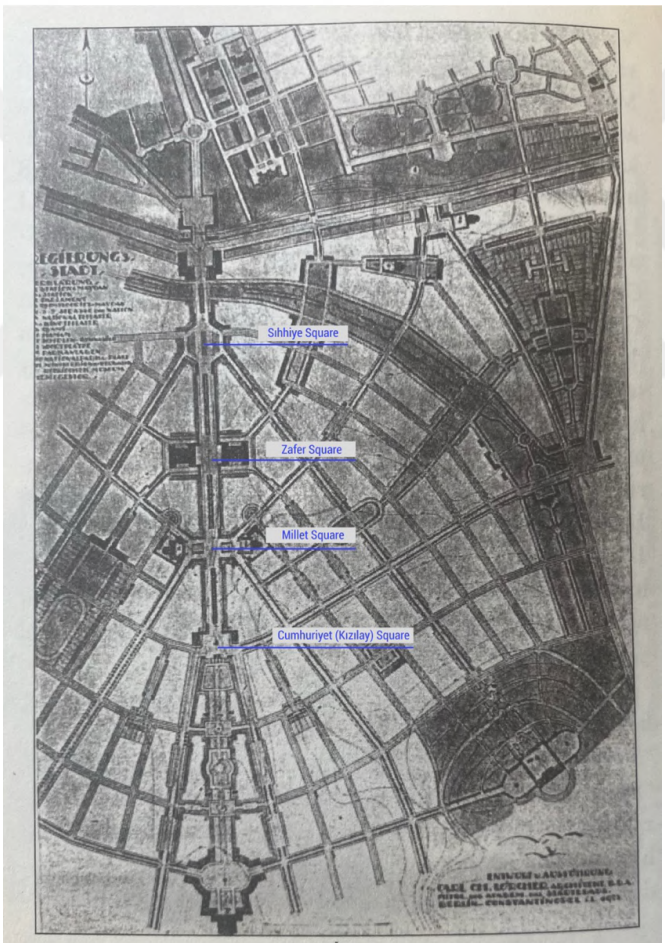


Figure 15: Lörcher Plan, 1925. (marked by the author)

Source: Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu, Tasarım, Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 224.

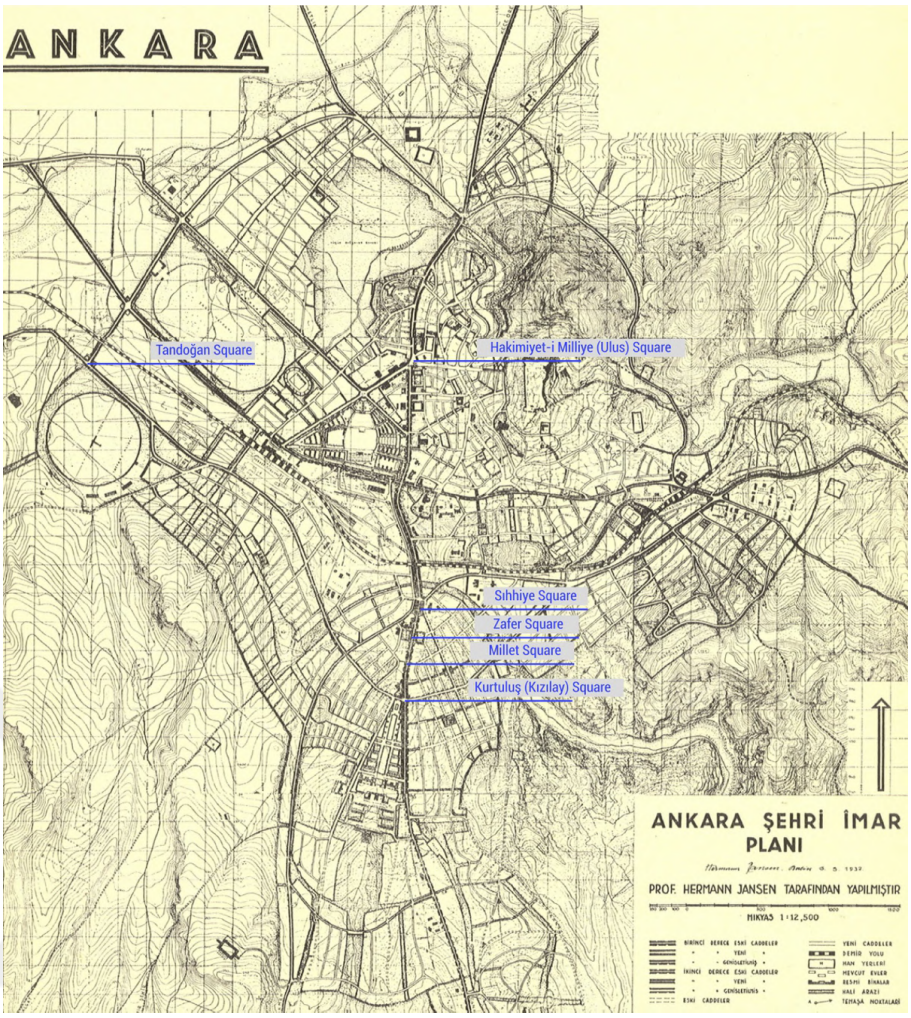


Figure 16: Ankara Master Plan by Jansen. (marked by the author)

Source: Mimarlık, no.77 (1970), 31.

Kızılay Square was called Kurtuluş Square in the Jansen Plan (1928-1932), and it is described as an intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard (Necati Bey Caddesi and Kazım Paşa Caddesi in the plan). In this sense, rather than a centralized and physically defined public square configuration, Kurtuluş Square connected the two major backbones of the master plan and thus redirected the spatial emphasis to the parcels created by their intersections. After the Kızılay Building and its park, Güvenpark was planned for the other intersection area, marking the transition from the boulevard to Hükümet Mahallesi (Government Quarter). In addition to providing a green, ordered, and modern urban space of recreation and encounter for

residents of Yenişehir, the park also reproduced and symbolized the power of the nation-state which has specifically materialized in the Güvenlik Anıtı (Security Monument). Representing the security forces protecting the citizens, the monument stands as a perpetual reminder of the force of the nation-state's organization of control through the power of coercion at the same time. As noted by Batuman, through the constant tension produced, the monument suspends the social despite the envisioned integration of the social and the political.[245] In other words, the content of the emerging public sphere is shaped through the spatial production in a way that foregrounds official publicness. (Figure 20) Holzmeister was commissioned for the design of Hükümet Mahallesi (Government Quarter) and Güvenpark to constitute the bureaucratic face of the state, and the modern architectural organization of these areas and of the initial section of the boulevard axis from Kızılay Square to the south of the city began to form in this way.[246]

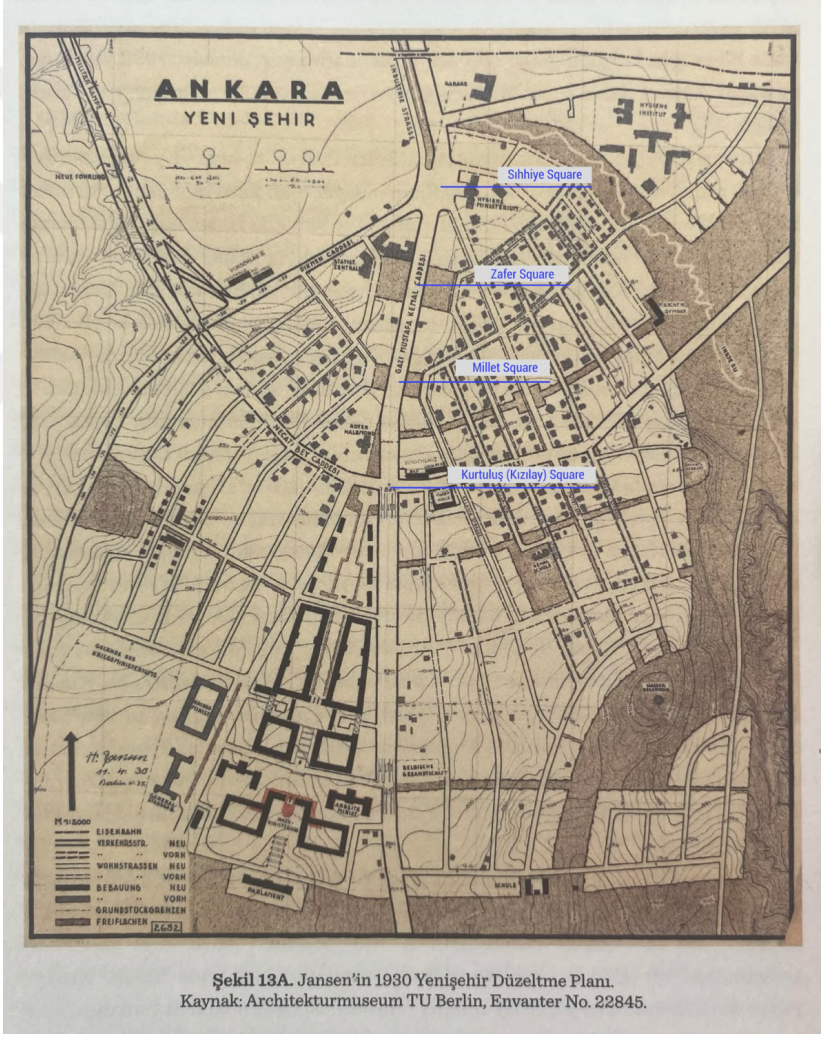
At the beginning of the 1940s, Kızılay Square was at the core of four significant corners: two residential blocks, Uybadin Köşkü and Soysal Apartment, and two public parks, the Kızılay Park and Güvenpark. Along the Atatürk Boulevard, urban development continued with the opening of cultural and social spaces for leisure, and apartment buildings with 3-4 stories were built in the places of certain villas.[247] Mobility and concentration of the people throughout the boulevard increased, and Kızılay Park became a meeting point for residents of Yenişehir. Therefore, it can be argued that the formation and perception of the area as Kızılay Square was shaped in connection with the physical and socio-political production of these two public parks, as well as the spatial practices throughout the Atatürk Boulevard. On the one hand, the

[245] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekan Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 53.

[246] See, 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.

[247] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekanı-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 53-54.

practiced public sphere was a ground under the influence of the official publicness of state institutions and their messages; on the other, the daily spatial practices, based on the engagement of the modern civil citizens of the Republic, called for the civil publicness -one that reflected the inherent contradiction of the bourgeois public sphere. In line with Fraser's terms, transcending and unveiling the conflictual public character of Kızılay Square beyond this binary would necessitate the participation and spatial claiming of counter-publics by challenging the dominant public order in the subsequent decades.



Şekil 13A. Jansen'in 1930 Yenişehir Düzeltme Planı.
Kaynak: Architekturmuseum TU Berlin, Envanter No. 22845.

Figure 17: Jansen's 1930 Yenişehir Revision Plan. (marked by the author)

Source: Çiğdem Varol et. al,, *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 48.

When examining the social and spatial development of Ulus Square and Kızılay Square relationally in the early Republican years, certain decisions and implementations of the Jansen Plan, such as the relocation of administrative and bureaucratic functions to Yenişehir, the formation of Hükümet Mahallesi, and the decision to locate the new Parliament building in Yenişehir,[248] became significant factors. Along with these spatial transformations and the mentioned socio-spatial practices, while Ulus maintained its character as a political center, Kızılay gradually began to gain significance as a new bureaucratic and political focal point.[249] This shift unfolded in a manner that accentuated the prominence of Kızılay Square and its environs, manifesting itself more tangibly by the end of the 1940s. Nevertheless, owing both to the role of the Second Assembly building in constituting social practices and to the political and symbolic meanings of the square through the national ceremonies and celebrations that had become ritualized since the war years, Ulus Square sustained its political and spatial prominence in the city until the 1950s.[250] In this regard, Tozoğlu similarly mentions the influence of the Jansen Plan with regard to ceremonies and celebrations. He points out that the squares and the monuments on Atatürk Boulevard facilitated moving them toward Yenişehir, yet states that until the mid-1940s, only a limited number of these events took place there. To summarize, it can be stated that the shifts in the political center of the city between Ulus Square and Kızılay Square took shape mostly in the 1950s, and it can be noted that what is referred to as the "political center" must be understood in the frame of the discussions above on official and civil publicness.

[248] The new Parliament building designed by Holzmeister in Kızılay was completed in 1960 and came into use in 1961.

[249] Nuray Bayraktar, "Tarihe Eş Zamanlı Tanıklık: Ulus ve Kızılay Meydanlarının Değişim Süreci," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2013).

[250] İnci Yalım, "Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 192-193.



Figure 18: Havuzbaşı, 1925-1929, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.



Figure 19: Kızılay Square and Kızılay General Directorate Building, 1940, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.



Figure 20: Güvenpark and Güvenlik Anıtı from the Kızılay General Directorate Building, 1937, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.

3.1.2. Kızılay-Sıhhiye Route and the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (DTCF)

Following the Jansen Plan along Atatürk Boulevard from Kızılay Square to Sıhhiye, it is seen that Zafer Square is the most explicitly defined and articulated square compared to the other ones in the series. (Figure 15, Figure 21) One of the urban components that characterizes and gives its name to the square is the Zafer Monument, which was positioned in 1927 in the identified space by interrupting the green belt extending throughout the boulevard.[251] The monument is framed by two symmetrically designed green parks on either side, reinforcing the square's symbolic centrality. In this sense, it can be stated that the square generates urban public voids through the social functions and circulation, whereas the monument, depicting Atatürk, stands as a distinctive urban landmark in the main axis of Yenişehir. Its ideological and symbolic influence projects into the boulevard, creating a focal point within this linearity. As a part of the holistic spatial and social projection, surely the

[251] Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu: Tasarım, Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 231.

earlier discussions on ideological formations through space, and the publicness and its contradictions, similarly informed the formation of Zafer Square. Yet, it is worth noting how compared to the monumental composition and grand scale of Güvenlik Anıtı, Zafer Monument is closer to human scale and has a spatial configuration that allows for perceptual engagement and proximity. (Figure 21) Therefore, the Zafer Square functions as the spatial mediator between Kızılay Square and Sıhhiye Square at the intersection of the circulation and ideological representation.

Atatürk Boulevard, after the Zafer Square, reaches Sıhhiye Square, which marks the transition between Eski Şehir and Yeni Şehir. Surrounded by the Sıhhiye Müdüriyeti (the Ministry of Health) and Orduevi (Military Officers' Club), the square operates as an urban hinge, converging and directing the roads.[252] Forming to the east side of the boulevard, Sıhhiye District, with its hospitals and institutional health-related buildings, can be read as an architectural manifestation of the Kemalist modernization project's ideal of creating a healthy nation and a hygienic city.[253] This project's other crucial objective is the central role of the Turkish youth and education for the Republic, which is spatialized with the educational buildings in this area. In this respect, the planning of Sıhhiye reflects the regime's endeavor to spatially construct and express its vision of modern society, intertwined between the physical and national vitality, institutional order, and modern education.

What is particularly substantial for our discussion is the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (DTCF), which became one of the major centers of youth political mobilization beginning in the 1960s. Designed by Bruno Taut in 1937, the building is a significant architectural work with its richly textured grand façade, mass composition, and its landscape in the front, transforming its surroundings in terms of both spatial and social practices. By emphasizing the traditional techniques, usage of local materials, and hand-crafted details of the building, Bozdoğan and Akcan indicate

[252] Ibid.

[253] See Kıvanç Kılınç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Sıhhiye," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 119-156.

that it distinguishes from the modern cubical forms of the period.[254] Arguing Taut's architectural practice as an integration of local traditions and global modernism, the Faculty of Language, History and Geography is regarded as a significant example of this architectural approach.[255] (Figure 22) Remarkably, this search for modern mediating between the local and the universal finds a distinct architectural expression in one of the Republic's most prominent educational institutions, located adjacent to the boulevard, and between the old and the new city. The building actively engages with the city, as seen in the photograph, establishing a permeable connection with the street. This accessibility and openness of the ground floor provide physical and visual connection between the campus and the street, which can be interpreted as an architectural intention to extend the influence of educational ideals into the everyday urban experience.

As Kılınç states, the building's massive modern façade cladding with Ankara stone and its inscribed phrase of Atatürk on it, that is "Hayatta En Hakiki Mürşit İlimdir" (The truest guide is science), conveys a powerful message of Republican ideology that prioritizes modern science and education.[256] This powerful discourse is symbolized and transmitted through the architectural elements of the university building, in a way that the faculty as a didactic space communicates via the Republican ideals to the public within its spatial functions embedded in its materiality and urban presence. Also, it reflects and reminds the Kemalist thought's aspirations and expectations for youth who are seen as the guardians of the regime. Besides, the proximity of the faculty to Kızılay, the new emerging city center, as well as the locus of the political actions in subsequent years, enables and fosters the close engagement of the socio-political dynamics in the city. Thus, the faculty's position in the vibrant urban and political web

[254] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Building for the Modern Nation State," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 64-65.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Kıvanç Kılınç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Sıhhiye," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 149-150.

and the social, political, and spatial practices generated through this reciprocal impact are crucial to consider in our following discussions on the relationship between the university campuses and the urban public spaces in the context of political actions and movements.



Figure 21: Zafer Square and Zafer Monument, 1940, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.



Figure 22: Faculty of Language, History and Geography, 1940, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.

3.1.3. Kızılay-Cebeci Route and the Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye)

Following the other important axis of Yenişehir that intersects with the Atatürk Boulevard in the Kızılay Square, while Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard connects the square to Maltepe and Tandoğan Square, today's Ziya Gökalp Street reaches Kurtuluş Park and Cebeci District. In the formation of the Cebeci District, the state's institutional buildings, such as faculties, hospitals, and military establishments, played a crucial role, which mainly concentrated along Cemal Gürsel Street. In Cantek's terms, the triad of Mülkiye (Ankara University Faculty of Political Science), Tıbbiye (Hacettepe University Faculty of Medicine), and Harbiye (The Military Academy) transformed a neighborhood inhabited by university students, civil servants, soldiers, doctors, and academics.[257]

Along with the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF), Ankara University Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye) is also essential for our discussion, which was one of the centers of students' political actions and assemblies during the 1960s. First founded with the name of Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane in İstanbul in 1859, this educational institution was relocated to Ankara with the order of Atatürk.[258] On the mentioned axis, the building is located in Cebeci together with the Ankara University Faculty of Law. It was constructed in 1936, designed by Ernst Egli, who is a famous modernist architect of many educational buildings in İstanbul and Ankara in the Republican period.[259] As noted by Yabacı and Dinler, the Mülkiye Building can be considered as an interpretation of the International Style in the scope of Republican modernism with its functionalist architectural form, symmetrical structural features, undecorated façades, and material choices.[260] The cubic and pure architectural masses,

[257] Funda Şenol Cantek and Besim Can Zırh, "Bir Semt Monografisine Doğru: Cebeci'ye Bakmak [Towards a Neighborhood Monograph: Looking to Cebeci]," İdealkent, no. 11 (2014): 154.

[258] Azize Elif Yabacı ve Mesut Dinler, "Egli's Mülkiye: Ankara's Modern Heritage and Its Transformation," *ICONARCH III International Congress of Architecture: Memory of Place in Architecture and Planning*, 2017, 425.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Ibid., 430.

elevated above street level and positioned in an orthogonal way to each other, define a front garden that is connected with Cemal Gürsel Street. In this sense, while the building's rational mass, façade, and spatial organization powerfully reflect the modernist educational vision, this front garden would be a gathering space and a stage for political engagement of the students over the ensuing years. (Figure 23) On the other hand, the faculty's proximity to Kızılay would be notable for the routes of the political marches in the 1960s, as routes often began or passed nearby, situating the faculty at the heart of student demonstrations.

As a prominent station throughout this axis, Kurtuluş Park is encircled by the Celal Bayar Street and Ziya Gökalp Street. Although there is limited information on the spatial history of the park, it appears that there was a defined and relatively small green area called "Fidanlık" in the urban settlement plan of Ankara dated 1944. The map of 1960 reveals that this green area has expanded into a larger urban park, known as Kurtuluş Park. The eastern edge of the park culminates at a junction where mentioned three roads converge, an area referred to as Cemal Gürsel Area (Cemal Gürsel Alanı) in newspaper reports and documents from the period. The park can be considered as a prominent site of social interaction and political assembly and as a nexus linking Cebeci and Kızılay.



Figure 23: Ankara University Faculty of Political Science, 1945, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.

3.1.4. Kızılay-Tandoğan Route

The western axis that intersects with Atatürk Boulevard at Kızılay Square, namely Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard, leads to Tandoğan Square. It is known that the square takes its name from Nevzat Tandoğan, who served as Ankara's first governor between 1929 and 1946. Cengizkan notes that this area was used as an airfield since the early years of the Republic, as designated in the Jansen Plan.[261] (Figure 15) Due to the airfield remaining inadequate over time, it was transferred to the Ministry of National Education to establish a university.[262] After this plan was unimplemented, the design of Tandoğan Square was introduced during the planning process of the İller Bankası Cooperative (Mebusevleri) in 1948.[263] (Figure 24)

As a rectangular area framed by two adjacent roads, the square was connected with a diagonal road to Anıtkabir, whose construction spanned from 1944 and 1953. (Figure 25) Beyond these conceived lines of the architectural plan, the photograph, probably from the late 1950s, shows how Tandoğan Square created a vast urban void, as well as how its surroundings had relatively low built-up compared to the north-south axis of the city. This surely pertains to the construction of Mebusevleri and the development of the area based mainly on housing projects, as well as to the aim of not dominating Anıtkabir's position in the city silhouette. Besides, the square's vicinity and vista towards the Anıtkabir attributed a symbolic meaning which is associated with the Republican values, ideological heritage, and national memory. Thereby, the square would act as a transitional node before arriving at Anıtkabir in certain marches in the early years of the 1960s. These marches were characterized by a nationalistic emphasis before the rupture from the foundational ideology had yet occurred. More importantly, Tandoğan Square would increasingly become a major site of powerful political rallies,

[261] Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu: Tasarım, Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 235.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Ibid.

marches, and protests from the second half of the 1960s onwards, which was notably influenced by the prohibition of public gatherings in Kızılay Square.

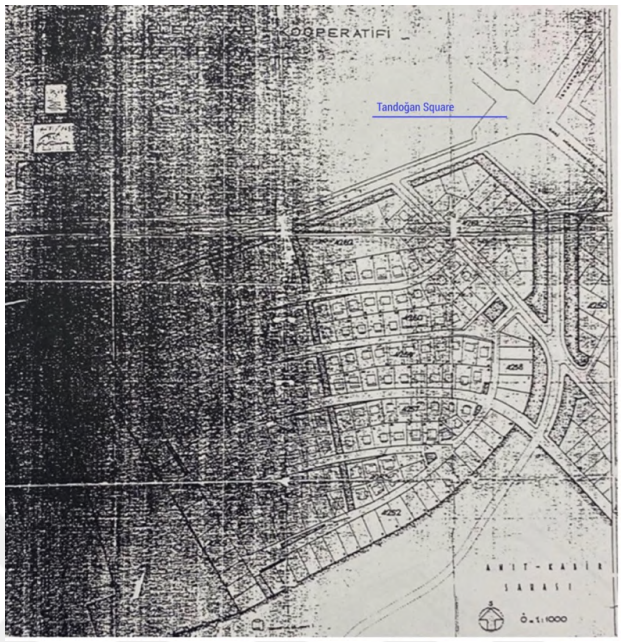


Figure 24: Site Plan of Mebusevleri, 1948. (marked by the author)

Source: Ali Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture in Ankara: 1948–1962* (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2004).



Figure 25: Tandoğan Square, 1950s, Ankara. Photograph, antolojiankara.

3.2. Political and Spatial Transformations in the 1950s

As we have traced and discussed two major determinant axes of Ankara aligned with north-south and east-west orientation, and the early formation of distinct spaces for our investigation along them, the focus can shift to the significant political, economic, social, and spatial transformations in the 1950s. The Democratic Party (DP) coming to power in 1950, which signified the end of the early Republican period, marked a substantial turning point for these transformations. The DP regime endorsed populist democracy, economic liberalization grounded in capitalist expansion, and the promotion of American-oriented policies, divesting from a state-controlled economy and secular social policies. Turkey's integration into the Marshall Plan of 1947 and its subsequent admission into NATO in 1952 ushered in American aid and technical support in the modernization of industrial production, agriculture, and transportation.[264] These prominent transformations operating with the capitalist developments, consumerism, and entrepreneurship led to profound social changes, rapid urbanization, and massive migration from villages to the cities.[265] The emergence of the urban working class marked a multidimensional driving force with consequences in production, social organization, and reproduction of urban space, in parallel with Lefebvre's concept of urban society.[266] This shift, which fundamentally influenced the basis of and problems in living conditions and social life, as well as the causes and motivations of the political movements, began to assert itself within the underlying specific political and economic changes in Turkey towards the 1960s, inscribing itself in the physical and social formation of urban space.

In this regard, Ankara was one of the major destinations of the massive migration flow and hence rapid urbanization, which resulted in the proliferation of squatter houses in the outskirts of the city. It continued in the subsequent decades, to such an extent that

[264] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Populist Democracy and Post-war Modernism," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 105.

[265] Ibid., 105-107.

[266] Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 1-23.

in the mid-1960s, the majority of the city population was living in the squatter areas.[267] Şengül defines this urbanization process of Ankara between 1950 and 1980 as the urbanization of labor power and the formation of the working class.[268] He points out the comprehensive transformation that includes workplaces, living places, and social spaces.[269] Thus, these spatial and social changes stemming from the rapid migration and urbanization played a crucial role not only in the urban formation of peripheries but also in the rise of new spatial and social needs, in the possibilities of encounters and contradictions, and alterations of urban practices. Bozdoğan and Akcan explicate the evolution of the experience of modernity as "the everyday experience of millions of people coming into contact with the simultaneously liberating and alienating effects of urban life."[270] In this context of the very formation of urban society, urban public spaces, but especially Kızılay, were subject to profound spatial, social, and political reconfigurations shaped by the mentioned dynamics.

3.2.1. Transformations on and around the Routes

These broader processes shaping urban modernity and public spaces manifested spatial and functional restructuring of Kızılay and the main urban axes. Following Kızılay's official recognition as Ankara's central business district in 1952, new regulations permitted the construction of attached buildings featuring passages in ground and basement floors, and commercial and service-related functions intensified especially along the Atatürk Boulevard.[271] To solve the traffic density, Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard were enlarged, and consequently, the area of the

[267] Tarık Şengül, *Hegemony and Urban Space: The Case of the Turkish Capital Ankara* (PhD diss., University of Kent, 1998), 255.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., 230.

[270] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Populist Democracy and Post-war Modernism," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 106.

[271] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 55-56.

Kızılay Park was reduced in 1957.[272] In response to this rapid growth and urban density, the Yücel-Uybadin Plan (1957) suggested a highly dense urban core with a centrist perspective.[273] Given this master plan's incapability of solving the urban problems and of developing a comprehensive vision regarding the accelerated development, Çalışkan interprets the plan and its following regulations in the scope of "the paradox of growth amidst under development which is experienced in many rapidly transforming countries."[274] Along with these regulations, the District High Regulation (Bölge Kat Nizamı) and Law of Property Ownership (Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu), Kızılay entered the process of restructuring that started in the 1950s and would be continued in subsequent decades. With an increase in building intensification and height, high-density apartment-type buildings formed that include small workplaces, commercial functions, and social and cultural facilities. (Figure 26) In light of these, Kızılay became a main urban center during the 1950s, while Ulus's functions in this regard steadily weakened.

Regarding the transformation of the built environment, and particularly the development of new high-rise architectural typologies, the construction of Emek İşhanı (1959-1965), known as Gökdelen, stands as an iconic example. As the first skyscraper of Turkey, the building was designed by Enver Tokay and İlhan Tayman and was constructed in the place of Uybadin Köşkü after its demolition.[275] It serves as a pioneer of this typology for successor skyscrapers and commercial complexes, with its open-plan office spaces and technologically advanced use of reinforced concrete and curtain walls.[276] As Tapan indicates, Gökdelen was a distinct instance of the

[272] Çiğdem Varol et al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 97.

[273] 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 (January 2009): 34-36.

[274] Ibid., 36.

[275] Mete Tapan, "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, and Suha Özkan (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 117.

[276] Ibid.

International Style in the architectural practice of the period, with its architectural formation and representative iconography.[277] In a similar vein, Bozdoğan and Akcan underline the realization of the building as a notable exception due to the limitations in the construction industry of the time, and point out its modern mass composition and functions with a vertical prismatic office structure and a horizontal base with shops.[278] Therefore, the economic shifts, such as the prioritization of the free market economy, capital accumulation, and consumerist spatial and social arrangements, were effectively embodied in the building itself in terms of both its material architectural form and symbolic meanings. While it generates new spatial practices and patterns in parallel with the shifting economic policies, labor relations, and the experience of modernity, it simultaneously expresses these transformations with its dominant presence in the square. (Figure 27) Considering that the building's construction spanned the first half of the 1960s, it is intriguing to ponder how the gradual change in urban scale and the emblematic role brought about by the Gökdelen on the Kızılay Square impacted both everyday practices and the experience of political demonstrations. Not surprisingly, this shift in urban scale within the square was followed by the demolition of Soysal Apartment and the subsequent construction of Soysal İşhanı ve Çarşısı, designed by Demirtaş Kamçıl and Rahmi Bediz, built between 1969 and 1972.[279]

Within these changes, Kızılay became an urban center that various social groups have accessed and encountered through everyday spatial practices within the transforming experience of urban life. Here, Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard have been central public grounds where social interactions, tensions, and claims were articulated and materialized. Addressing the accessibility of the urban center to the subordinate

[277] Ibid., 126.

[278] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Populist Democracy and Post-war Modernism," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 126-127.

[279] Selin Çavdar Sert, "Demirtaş Kamçıl–Rahmi Bediz: Çarşı, Pasaj ve İşhanı Yapıları," in Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar: *Demirtaş Kamçıl – Rahmi Bediz*, ed. T. Elvan Altan (Ankara: VEKAM Yayınları, 2019), 45.

groups and their political and social participation in the city, Batuman points out that the public character of Kızılay, especially the square as a locus, has shifted to a dynamic ground including the possibilities of the encounter and confrontation of different social groups.[280] In this line, towards the 1960s, the contradictions inherent in the production of urban space have become more determinant, materialized, and visible within all facets of social life, concurrently with the comprehensive economic, political, social, and spatial transformations described above. This has been both constituted and manifested in public spaces of Ankara, which are significant milieus for the broadest range of interactions and conflicts.

Although these explicit processes of construction and transformation were not as intense as around Kızılay Square, they progressively extended along Atatürk Boulevard to Sıhhiye. As the photograph from probably the early years of the 1960s illustrates, Sıhhiye Square appears to work primarily as a small-scale intersection and transition area of the roads. In the background, the Yüksek İhtisas Hospital appears in the final stages of construction, while the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography is discernible on the left. (Figure 28)



Figure 26: Atatürk Boulevard, Kızılay, 1963, Ankara. Photograph, Atılım University Ankara Digital City Archive.

[280] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı," in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 56.



Figure 27: Kızılay Square and Gökdelen, 1965, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.



Figure 28: Sıhhiye Square and the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (DTCF), the early years of the 1960s, Ankara. Photograph, SALT Archive.

When examining Tandoğan Square and its environs, it is seen that the increase in building height and the intensification of construction activity started to unfold in the late 1960s. Based on the 1967 regulated site plan for Mebusevleri and its surroundings, the cooperative houses were preserved, while the peripheral parcels bordering the boulevards were permitted to increase in height to additional floors.[281] Moreover, Su

[281] Ali Cengizkan, *Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture in Ankara: 1948–1962* (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2000), 120-122.

Perileri Sculpture, located in Kızılay Square until 1930, was relocated to Tandoğan Square in the 1960s.[282] As photographs show, this urban element impacted the spatial movement and activities in the square by slowing movement around the sculpture, fostering gathering, and designating a meeting place. (Figure 29) Another decisive point in the spatial organization of Tandoğan Square was the construction of the Ministry of National Defense Tandoğan Student Dormitory in 1967, designed by Şevki Vanlı and Ersen Gömleksizoğlu.[283] According to Tunçel, the main consideration of the design was to emphasize and contribute to the spatiality of the Tandoğan Square by setting the building back from the side facing the square.[284] The building's verticality is interpreted as a deliberate architectural decision to define and frame the square, and she notes that the adjacent Officers' Club (Astsubay Orduevi) and Machinery and Chemical Industry Institution (Makina Kimya Endüstrisi Kurumu) across the square were designed as high-rise structures for similar reasons.[285] (Figure 30) Despite the ambiguity of this claim regarding the verticality and the physical definition, it can be argued that the presence of these buildings rendered the square more articulated. However, beyond this, all three buildings are military institutions that produce and reflect the state ideology and its defense mechanisms. The Machinery and Chemical Industry Institution (MKE)[286] is an industrial production institution founded to manufacture defense systems and equipment for the Turkish Armed Forces, while the other two institutions provide residential and social facilities to the military personnel and students.

[282] Uğur Duyan, "Su Perileri: 'Başkent'in Kayıp Heykelleri,'" *İdealkent*, no. 4 (2011), 136.

[283] Öznur Pekeren Tunçel, "Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Tandoğan Öğrenci Yurdu," in Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar: *Şevki Vanlı*, ed. T. Elvan Altan (Ankara: VEKAM Yayınları, 2023), 98.

[284] Ibid.,99.

[285] Ibid.

[286] Although no sources or documentation regarding the building could be found, it is known that the Machinery and Chemical Industry was established in 1950 with the purpose of producing weapons for the Turkish Army and related factories and institutions were founded. According to the information and narrative on the Tandoğan Student Dormitory, it can be inferred that the MKE building was also located in Tandoğan Square at the same period.

It can be claimed that the symbolic and representational roles of these buildings remain secondary to spatial and institutional functions that are actualized, and their impacts on spatial patterns in the square. It may be related to whether Tandoğan Square can be defined as a public space in the 1950s, considering spatial usage, social composition, and the participation of the different classes and groups. Because material conditions and power relations determine the accessibility and usage of urban spaces, the publicness of Tandoğan Square may be open to critical investigation. Even more significant, however, is the transformation of the square into a central site of political demonstrations in the second half of the 1960s. This redefines the socio-spatial interactions on the square and reconfigures its public character on a conflictual ground.



Figure 29: Tandoğan Square and Su Perileri Sculpture, 1973, Ankara. Photograph, Atılım University Ankara Digital City Archive.



Figure 30: Tandoğan Square, 1980, Ankara. Photograph, VEKAM Archive.

3.2.2. Formation of METU Campus (ODTÜ)

At this stage, our focus directs along a new route, towards METU campus, which was located in an extensive barren land considerably distant from the city center at that time. (Figure 30) In subsequent years, METU would not only develop into a prominent intellectual and academic institution but also would become a pivotal locus for left-socialist student movements, particularly in the second half of the 1960s. During the 1960s, most of the spaces on campus transformed into spaces of resistance multiple times and through diverse forms and practices, and it has produced and transmitted the political practices and symbolic meanings perpetually tied to this definition. This cannot be thought apart from the critical and democratic environment in education, but more importantly, apart from the spatial organization of the campus and the reciprocal social practices produced therein. Thus, examining briefly the spatial and political formation of METU campus as a new modern university campus model can allow us to grasp constitutive and changing dynamics for our discussion.

Operating in the influences of the global conjuncture of the 1950s shaped by American-led international post-war policies, implementation of grand development programs with industrial and technical aids, and promotion of modernization projects in developing countries, the ruling party DP's prioritization of liberal developments and close affiliations with US institutions were the crucial determinants of the period in Turkey. In this very context, the METU Project, rooted in the mid-decade, has a distinct and intricate place within the modernization trajectory of the period, with its architectural, political, social, and pedagogical facets. The initial idea that led to the establishment of METU was proposed by Charles Abrams, a United Nations official who came to Ankara to provide financial recommendations on housing and planning, and after his trip, he suggested the foundation of the school of architecture and city planning in Ankara.[287] According to Erdim, this proposal was a shift in the technical assistance program of the UN from policy and finance to training and education;

[287] Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020): 1-2.

thereby, METU was the pioneering example of this new paradigm.[288] Following the involvement of academics from the University of Pennsylvania and of Turkish bureaucrats in the process, the school was opened under the name Middle East High Institute of Technology in 1956, as a UN-sponsored and counseled institution.[289] The architecture education began in the temporary barracks within the complex of the Grand National Assembly, with the term *baraka* becoming emblematic for METU's early identity.[290] Along with the workings of the educational program and institutional decisions, the search for a suitable site to construct the campus continued. Among the five options, the current location of the campus, which was the most distant one to the city center, was chosen owing to such reasons as projected growth, natural projection of the hill, scenic views of the city, and suitability of construction.[291] After the coup in 1960, UN officials and academics from Penn remained relatively in the background, while Turkish bureaucrats, experts, and academics increasingly took part in the process.[292] It was followed by the appointment of Kemal Kurdaş as rector, and the project by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici was selected as a result of the architectural competition.

In the article *"A University is a Society: An Environmental History of the METU Campus,"* Sargın and Savaş demonstrate how the METU project transformed the barren landscape (bozkır) into a controlled and modern environment in collaboration

[288] Ibid., 5-7.

[289] Ibid., 57. Erdim traces the various actors in the process, by examining their involvements, decisions, rivalries and positions in the project detailly. He uses the term TAM (technical assistance machinery) which defines the agents involving from the United States, United Nations and the agencies of client states.

[290] Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "'A University Is a Society': An Environmental History of the METU 'Campus'," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 1 (2013): 91.

[291] Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020): 126. Besides, the initial proposal for the campus was prepeared by the Penn team but it was not put into practice. After this, the first METU competition was organized and Turgut Cansever's proposal won, yet, no consensus was reached on the project between the agents and it was not implemented. For detailed information on the process, See Chapter 4 & 5.

[292] Ibid., 159.

with architecture, landscaping, and engineering.[293] (Figure 31) Emphasizing the pedagogical and societal influence of the new model of university, it is interpreted in line with the state's ideological motivation for modernization.[294] In this regard, Çinicis' design presents a comprehensive approach that regulates the site with a complex infrastructure system, architectural organization, and landscape decisions, which are prominent for "the creation of a community."[295] The pedestrian alley, as the main organizing tool of the project, enhances the social functions and communal life on the campus.[296] As seen in the site plan, the alley functions as a backbone that connects different faculty buildings and generates sequential spatialities on the route through architectural elements and decisions. Arcades, small amphitheaters, elevated or defined grounds, sculptures, and pools articulated in the alley produce various spatial practices articulating movements and interactions in the campus. It not only encourages diversification and interconnection of social practices but also enables both daily encounters and forms of collective action. (Figure 32, Figure 33)

While the forestation continued for modifying the land and preparing it to an ideal and defined environment for the university community, and installing the infrastructural system expanding the whole area, the first building of the campus, METU Faculty of Architecture began to be constructed following the contract signed with Çinicis in 1961.[297] Holding a prominent importance in terms of educational, social, and architectural missions of the METU Project, the faculty building stands as a symbol of

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[293] Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "'A University Is a Society': An Environmental History of the METU 'Campus'," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 1 (2013): 79-106.

[294] Ibid., 84. In this sense, there are certain divergencies between reading of Sargın and Savaş and the narrative of Erdim. While Sargın and Savaş point out the modernist ideology of the state interrelated with the desire of societal improvement as constitutive aspect in development of METU, Erdim features the networks of international and local actors that are defined as "mediators in the construction of nationhood and the world order." Still, considering the changing dynamics that define the modernization in that period, the reading together of these narratives can suggest that the ideological desire for the modernization maintained, albeit certain political and economic shifts as well as the actors involved in this projection.

[295] Ibid., 94-97.

[296] Ibid., 97.

[297] Ibid., 96-97.

Modernism in Turkey.[298] As the first exposed reinforced concrete building in Turkey,[299] it materializes and expresses the rational and innovative precepts of modernism with an engineering and construction system. Positioned on the ground as a series of fragmented masses, the building complex creates a wide variety of interior and exterior spatial relationships. In addition to its integration with the topography and porous connection with the environment, the circulation areas that are articulated across several levels in the building produce dynamic and flexible spatialities for movement and activity. Inner and outer courtyards, galleries, and common spaces facilitate communal engagement, sharing, and collective practices. (Figure 34, Figure 35)

Accordingly, it can be claimed that the conceived lines of the faculty project create a fertile ground in a way that reciprocally influences the lived one and the perceived one, namely transforming spatial practices as well as symbolic and representational meanings, in the formation of a sense of community, collective behaviour, and social responsibility. Yet, this ground would realize its significance in political actions, inventions, and spatial appropriations of the students in the 1960s. Indeed, Ali Artun, who was an architecture student and was actively involved in the student movements at the time, asserts the crucial role of the faculty space for raising the political consciousness of the students, pointing out their daily practices, spatial usages, and sharings.[300] He underlines how this creative and collective atmosphere, and the intellectual environment linked with the critical thinking and socially engaged production, importantly contributed to this process.[301] In a similar vein, Ertuğrul Kürkçü, who was one of the student leaders of the period, also indicates that critical

[298] Ibid., 97.

[299] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Architecture under Coups d'Etat," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2012), 180.

[300] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024. Also, See Ali Artun, "ODTÜ'de 68 ve Sanat Olarak Devrim", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 80-89.

[301] Ibid.

thinking, student autonomy, and self-organization, the decision-making mechanisms on their own, and collective creation processes in the faculty were significant factors in shaping students' political perspectives in 1968.[302] Considering all these, the leading role of the Faculty of Architecture in the 1968 movements at METU is still striking, but does not seem as surprising.



Figure 31: METU site under construction, 1960s, Ankara.

Source: Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "'A University Is a Society': An Environmental History of the METU 'Campus'," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 1 (2013): 87.

[302] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "1960'lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi ve ODTÜ", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 62-76.

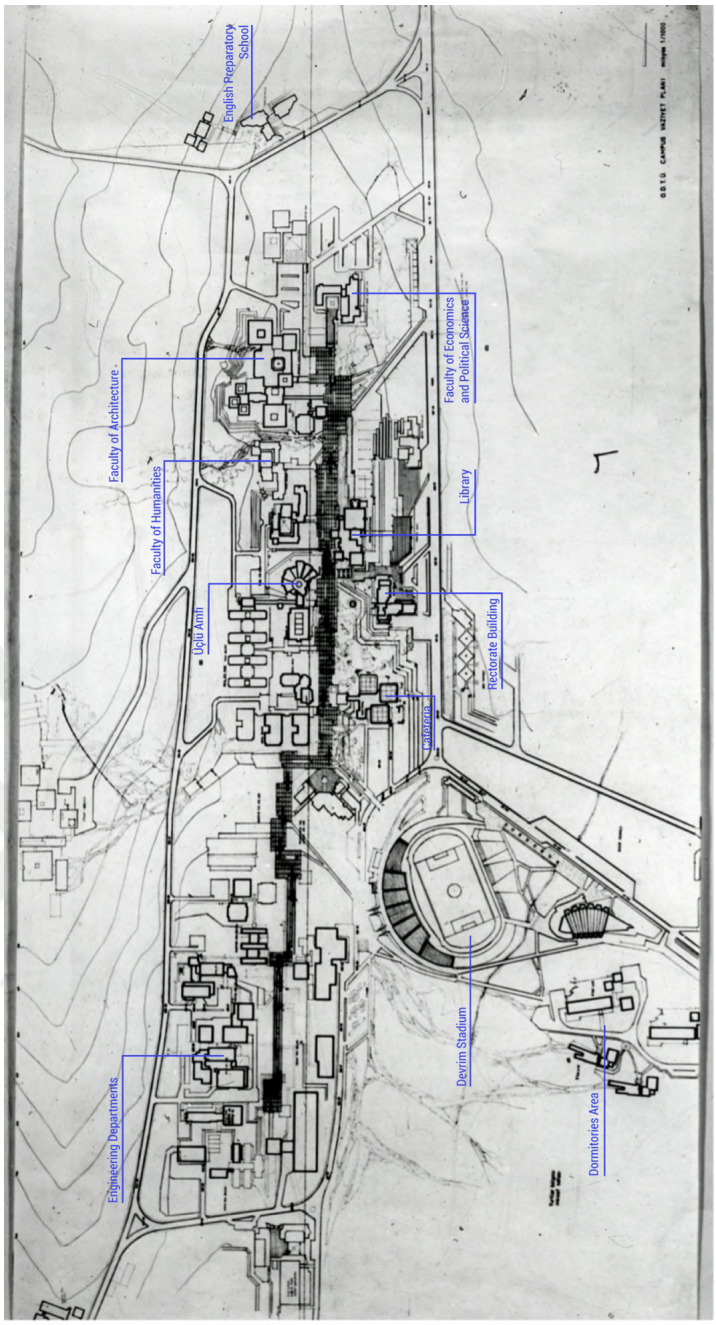


Figure 32: Site plan of METU Campus, 1961, SALT Archive. (marked by the author)

In subsequent years, the faculty buildings, library, cafeteria, rectorate building, and social buildings were completed, and the surroundings of the alley took shape, evolving into a vibrant environment. (Figure 32) Between the part including the faculties, and the dormitory area, the stadium is located to provide sports facilities to the students. Along with social complexes around it provides leisure activities to the

residents of the campus, which completes the formation of 'university city' in Sargın and Savaş's words.[303] As stated by Erdim, Çinici indicates that the stadium is a symbol of the Turkish youth and of secular, national, and modern ideology of the republic.[304] In his narrative, the rational and modern site decisions are emphasized in relation to the national and ideological concerns, and the stadium, as a central node, undertakes a symbolic position.[305] (Figure 36) It reinforces the argument that the METU project was the endeavor of an ideological modernization effort of the state through the university model. However, towards 1968, the stadium would become a main site of the large student forums. In the fall of 1968, the slogan "Devrim" (Revolution), written by socialist students on the stadium, would redefine its name and redesign the symbolic and political meaning of it.[306]



Figure 33: Alley of METU Campus, 1960s, Ankara, Photograph, SALT Archive.

[303] Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "'A University Is a Society': An Environmental History of the METU 'Campus'," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 1 (2013): 94.

[304] Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020): 177.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Mustafa Yalçıner, "DEVRİM Yazısı", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 131-132.



Figure 34: Common spaces of METU Faculty of Architecture.

Source: Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020): 180.



Figure 35: METU Faculty of Architecture, 1960s, Ankara, Photograph, SALT Archive.



Figure 36: Devrim Stadium, 1970s.

Source: Burak Erdim, *Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020): 161.

3.3. Counter-publics on the Route

We have traced certain routes, public spaces, and university campuses not by coincidence, but because of their significance in Ankara's urban social life, and more importantly, as they would turn into the spaces of resistance through various political actions in the 1960s. (Figure 37) In light of the mentioned spatial and political processes, the "long sixties" of Turkey witnessed powerful political mobilization and diverse forms of demonstrations, with the rise of mainly the student movement, labor movement, and revolutionary struggles.[307] Reactions against American hegemony and its efforts to promote capitalism and discourage statism were a unifying factor across global political movements of the 1960s. These reactions were also the main constituent of the 68 movement in Turkey, which found expression in the increasingly radicalized student mobilization towards 1968, particularly in its anti-imperialist struggles and demand for full national independence.

[307] See Aybars Yanık ve Tanıl Bora, "Altmışlı Yıllarda Türkiye'nin Siyasi Düşünce Hayatı," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 275-300. The authors underline that the 1960s witnessed not only the rise of the leftist movement but also the emergence of ultra-nationalist groups, Islamist ideologies, and the early formation of the Kurdish movement. This is undoubtedly true, yet, it would not be incorrect to state that the politicization and the forms of resistance are predominantly shaped by left-socialist movements.

Another important determinant conditioning left-wing political movements in Turkey was the 1961 Constitution, which came into force after the military coup in 1960; it removed the legal restrictions on the left politics, as since the Republic, socialist groups had been suppressed.[308] The foundation of the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) in 1961 contributed to the dissemination and growing visibility of the socialist thought and ideologically influenced the labor unions and student organizations in the universities.[309] Towards 1968, the workers' struggles rose with the demands of wages, collective bargaining rights, and unionization; in 1967, the Revolutionary Confederation of Labor Unions (DİSK) was established as a socialist trade union confederation.[310] Although the youth movement held a prominent place in Turkey's 1968, as in many other countries around the world, the political struggles and actions of the period encompass a broader resistances encompassing the workers, public employees, women, and peasants.[311] These were manifested through several forms of political actions in campuses, workplaces, squares, and streets, turning them into spaces of resistance.

Ankara, with Istanbul, was one of the major cities in which various political actions took place the most frequently and powerfully, having a crucial role in affecting the country's political conjuncture. Also, while the construction of Ankara as a modern and designed capital brings important debates in interpreting the socio-spatial transformation of the 1960s, its ongoing role as a capital and political center of the country rendered it a strategic target for some political demonstrations. In this context,

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[308] Çağlar Keyder, "Social Change and Political Mobilization in the 1960s," in *Turkey in Turmoil: Social Change and Political Radicalization during the 1960s*, ed. Berna Pekesen (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 17.

[309] See Anıl Varel, "Altmışlı Yıllar Türkiye'sinde Sınıf ve Siyaset: Meşruiyet Savaşımı, Siyasal Yükselişi ve İç Bölünmeleriyle TİP," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 397-434.

[310] See, Aziz Çelik, "Saraçhane'den 15-16 Haziran'a İşçi Sınıfının Müstesna Yılları: Altmışlı Yıllar," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 633-666.

[311] For a comprehensive volume that explores the 1968 movement in Turkey, see chapters in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019).

our focus will be on the collective political actions of the student movement and labor movement to trace the space-times of resistances in the city of Ankara.

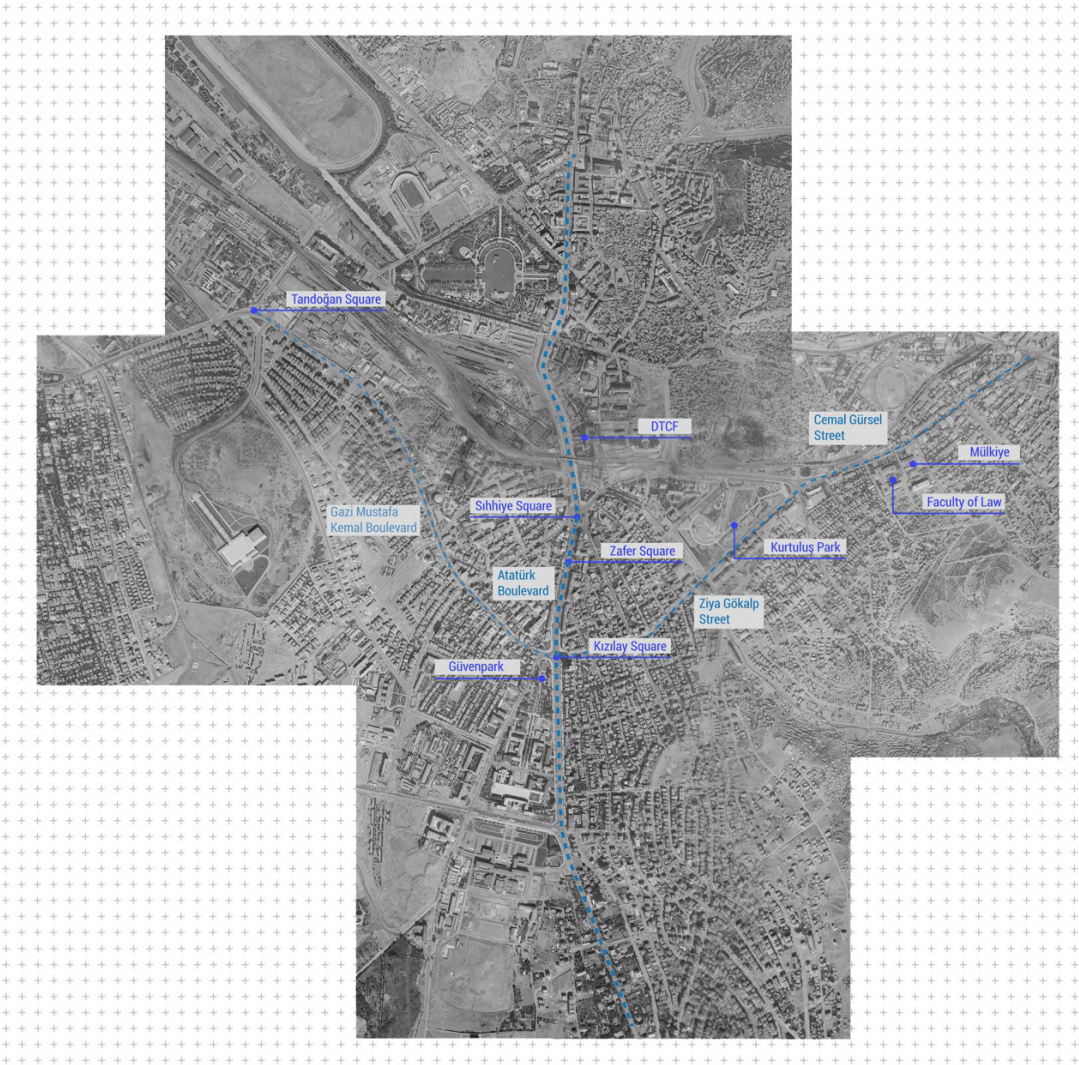


Figure 37: Prominent spaces and routes. (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

In conclusion, while the urban spaces of Ankara are in multifaceted transformation, especially certain public spaces, streets, and university campuses would become the sites of these intense political expressions and contestations. *Yürüyenler,* drawn by Tan Oral in 1965, strikingly depicts this dynamic, in parallel with our discussion on urban space as a stage or source in political struggles. (Figure 38) In the course of the distinct

reconfiguration of the built environment and under the influence of background dynamics that increasingly rendered urban space as a source for social changes, these spaces simultaneously have functioned as a stage for political struggles as well.

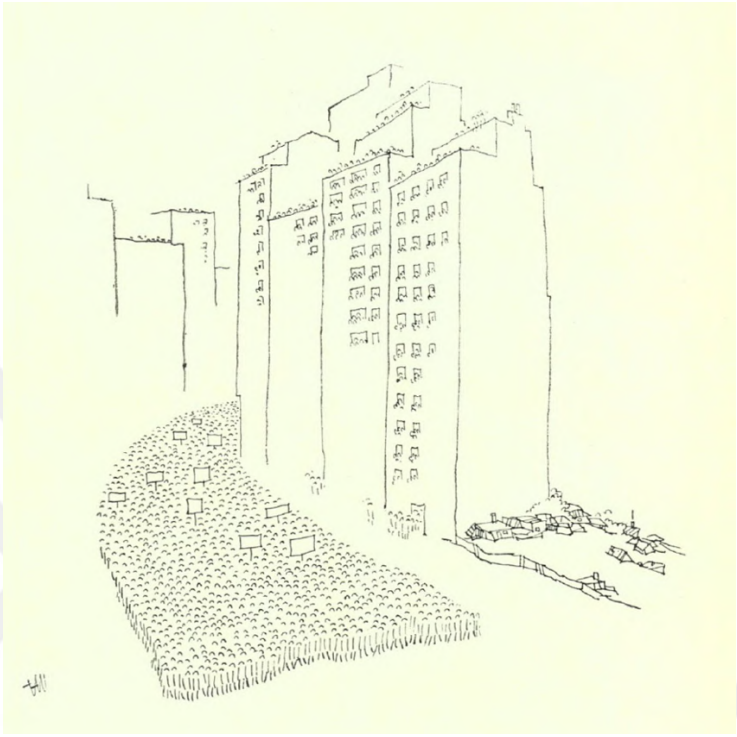


Figure 38: Yürüyenler, Tan Oral

Source: Tan Oral, "Yürüyenler," *Mimarlık*, no.25 (1965), 44.

CHAPTER 4

TRACING SPACE-TIMES OF POLITICAL ACTIONS (1960-1971)

4.1. Disrupting *the Boulevard* and Claiming *the Square*

The early months of 1960 marked a period of increasing political repression by the Democratic Party (DP) against public opposition, the press, and university students. Alongside the growing reactions to economic policies and conservative political discourses of the DP, the unchecked powers granted to the Investigation Committee, the restriction of political activities, and the restructuring of the judiciary in favor of the ruling party escalated the political dissent.[312] This intensifying pressure gave rise to protests of university students in Istanbul and Ankara at the end of April. On April 27, the police raided the Congress of the Faculty of Medicine in Istanbul and violently intervened against the participating students; as a response to this, university students organized a protest the following day and assembled in Beyazıt Square.[313] They faced heavy use of police violence, and among the wounded, Turan Emeksiz later died due to this police assault; in the protests that followed three days later, Nedim Özpolat lost his life.[314] To forestall demonstrations from spreading, the Democratic Party government declared martial law in Istanbul and Ankara, thereby prohibiting the media coverage of these events.[315]

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[312] Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 23-54.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Ibid.

In reaction to the violent police crackdown in Istanbul, students at Ankara University convened to protest on April 29 in front of the Faculty of Law adjacent to the Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye).[316] (Figure 39) As understood from the newspaper reports of the period, the demonstrations commonly included the singing of the national anthem of Turkey and slogans such as "Freedom!" (Hürriyet!) and "Menderes must resign!" (Menderes İstifa!).[317] The arrival of mounted police further escalated tensions, and students and security forces were confronted in the garden of the Faculty of Political Science. (Figure 40) In the aftermath of a robust police intervention, several students were injured, and those who could reach the Mülkiye building erected barricades at its entrance using desks, chairs, and bookshelves to defend themselves from police brutality.[318] This barricade is visible in the newspaper report that appeared after the military coup, under the section titled "Articles We Could Not Publish" in Cumhuriyet. (Figure 41) As Kristin Ross explains, the barricades can be seen as "line bricolage, antithesis of the monumental, recycling quotidian objects for startling new purposes."[319] In this line, barricades, which were globally emblematic in the 1960s street protests, were placed in this particular case as defensive structures, spontaneously assembled from daily objects by students to protect themselves and their faculty building.

As the clashes intensified, the martial law commander ordered warning shots into the air, and some bullets struck the faculty building, resulting in injuries to students.[320] As Ulus and Güngör recount, these incidents were referred to as Bloody Friday (Kanlı Cuma), and the day after, thousands of Ankara residents staged a silent march between

[316] Ibid., 61.

[317] "Yazamadığımız Yazılar: (Menderes istifa)," *Cumhuriyet*, June 3, 1960.

[318] Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 61.

[319] Kristin Ross, The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune, (London: Verso Books, 2008), 7.

[320] Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 65-68.

Kurtuluş and Dikimevi.[321] The police assault within the university campus and the resulting damage to the faculty building, marked, both materially and symbolically, a critical rupture in attitudes towards the university youth.



Figure 39: Ankara University, Faculty of Law, April 29, 1960.



Figure 40: Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, April 29, 1960.

Source: Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü, (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 64.

[321] Ibid., 72.



YAZAMADIĞIMIZ YAZILAR:

(Menderes istifa)

Ankara'da cereyan eden hâdiselerde polis elbiseleri giydirilmiş bazı kimseler talebeye tabanca ve copla insafsızca saldırıyordu

YAZAMADIĞIMIZ YAZILAR:

Tek düşünce: Hürriyet

Geceyi «Hürriyet, Hürriyet» diye sayıklıyan gençler sabah mukaddes vazifelerine dönüyordu

Figure 41: "Yazamadığımız Yazılar: (Menderes istifa)," *Cumhuriyet*, June 3, 1960.

In the aftermath, a nighttime curfew was declared in Ankara; all public meetings and demonstrations were prohibited, and universities and higher education institutions were closed for a month, with students forced to return to their hometowns.[322] It appears that, to describe the banned political actions, newspaper coverage often employed the phrase *"toplantı"* or *"nümayiş"* in Turkish, which refers to "assembly" and "demonstration." The word *nümayiş* is derived from the verb 'to show', and it is sometimes used to mean presenting or showing a play or a skill in a performative way; and more generally, it refers to becoming visible or making something seen. In this regard, student demonstrations were the expression of their opposition and demands, as well as their political visibility both to each other and to the public. Because of the brutal repression and violence, the university campus turned into the site of

[322] "Ankara'da Dünkü Hadiselerin Neşri Yasak Edildi ve Gece Sokağa Çıkma Yasağı Kondu," *Cumhuriyet*, April 30, 1960, "Toplantı Yapmak ve Bunlara İştirak Etmek Yasak," *Cumhuriyet*, April 30, 1960, "Ankara Üniversitesi de Kapatıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, April 30, 1960.

confrontation, increasingly politicized through rising student resistance, while being targeted and suppressed by the security forces. Yet, the efforts of the Democratic Party to stop the demonstrations through the restriction of everyday social practices were futile, as students were already preparing for the more publicly visible protests in Kızılay.

The demonstrations that began on the university campus had spread into the city center, particularly into Kızılay Square and the part of the Atatürk Boulevard between the square and the Zafer Monument. Despite the strong prohibitions on public assemblies and the heightened police surveillance and control over the square and on the boulevard, the people gathered almost every evening on Atatürk Boulevard and staged spontaneous political actions against the government whenever conditions allowed.[323] As seen in the photographs, in 1960, Kızılay was an urban center with 4 or 5-story apartment blocks, including residential, commercial, and social functions, formed in the context of rising building heights and the spatial transformation of the urban core. The boulevard, functioning both as a primary axis of circulation and the site of public encounter, was one of the most frequently used urban spaces in the daily life of the residents of Ankara. (Figure 42, Figure 43) Therefore, the demonstrations strategically took place after work hours, during the peak times of urban mobility in the square and along the boulevard. These were short-lived events, with slogans being shouted and the demonstrators dispersing quickly due to police intervention. Akın Atauz, who participated in these protests as a high school student at that time, recalls: "Almost every evening during the week, groups would gather on the boulevard after work. We would keep moving back and forth between Kızılay Square and Zafer Monument. Once we got large enough, we would chant slogans such as "Government

[323] Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 109. In here, "spontaneous political action" is used to denote "korsan eylem" in Turkish, yet the translation may not fully capture the meaning. *Korsan eylem* refers to unauthorized actions that may be initiated spontaneously in that moment or may be pre-planned by a small group without announcing to the public. Generally took place in visible and crowded public spaces, these actions aim to disrupt everyday flow and raise the voice of dissent into public visibility, and they are shaped by momentary conditions and contingent possibilities in terms of temporal and spatial character.

resign!" but the police immediately dispersed us. These demonstrations were not meant to last long; they were actions to express our reaction for a moment."[324]



Figure 42: Kızılay Building and Atatürk Boulevard, probably the end of the 1950s, Ankara. Photograph, Turkish Historical Society.



Figure 43: Zafer Monument and Atatürk Boulevard, 1960s, Ankara. Photograph, Founded at Gönülçelen Sahaf.

[324] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024.

Following these momentary actions, a group of students organized a larger, longer, and more powerful protest, using the password of "555K" which means "the fifth day of the fifth month at 5 o'clock in Kızılay," and this slogan, emphasizing both the time and the space of the action, was spread by word of mouth.[325] Not surprisingly, the selection of the time and space in this way would provide the most visible condition in the public space, through which the demonstrators would deliberately appropriate everyday urban patterns for their political purposes. It seems that they believed they could benefit from the urban crowd, such as initiating the protest by blending into the crowd or spreading into it against the police intervention, or in case of powerful mobilization, they would gain support and new participants for their political action. Yet, as noted by Ulus and Güngör, the demonstrators were initially uncertain about where and how exactly the protest would begin.[326] It may have stemmed from two reasons that were both spatial and political. As discussed before, Kızılay Square, rather than being formed as a defined centralized square conducive to mass gatherings, has been spatially produced and perceived, encompassing the four primary corners generated by the intersections of two main urban arteries. Accordingly, the protesters chose the corner in front of the Soysal Apartment as their meeting point.[327] The other reason may be the intensive police control in the square and the risk of immediate dispersion that may inform their plan. As a signal to initiate the political action, the modified version of the Gazi Osman Paşa March was chosen, which was symbolic in the simultaneous protests in Istanbul.[328]

The demonstration started as planned and moved along the boulevard toward Zafer Square, gradually gaining public support as the people joined the procession on the route.[329] Upon reaching the Zafer Monument, the demonstrators sang the national

[325]Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör, *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 110-112.

[326] Ibid., 113.

[327] Ibid.

[328] Ibid., 113-114.

[329] Ibid., 116-118.

anthem, and then their route turned back to Kızılay Square, where they encountered police forces.[330] During the police intervention and detentions, Prime Minister Menderes and President Bayar arrived at the square and were faced with the intense protest and slogans demanding their resignation. They left the area with difficulty, and the police forcefully dislodged the crowd.[331] This powerful political action, as a persistent spatial movement between the square and the monument, subverted the everyday routines for political demands and disrupted the ordinary spatial order of the boulevard, as depicted in a photograph from the moment of the protest. (Figure 44, Figure 46) Functioning as a critical node within the movement, Kızılay Square was claimed by the demonstrators, making it a contested public space. As another prominent node, the Zafer Monument, physically positioned at the core of the movement axis, became a gathering space within the rhythms of the protests. As Akın Atauz suggests, the monument's role as a spatial node in demonstrations may have been influenced by its concrete representation of Atatürk, and more importantly, by its human-scale proportions and its central location in the boulevard.[332] (Figure 45)



Figure 44: 555K demonstration on Atatürk Boulevard, May 5, 1960, Ankara. Photograph, Tarih Dergi.

[330] Ibid., 119-121.

[331] Ibid., 124-132.

[332] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024.



Figure 45: Zafer Monument on Atatürk Boulevard, 1960s, Ankara. Photograph, Founded at Gönülçelen Sahaf.

Recalling Berger's definition of the riot, the primary force of the riot as a spontaneous action is the immediate demands.[333] In relation to this, the cycle of political demonstrations, which began in late April and sustained for subsequent weeks, can be regarded as a riot against the authoritarian and repressive policies of the Democratic Party, in particular the elimination of opposite discourses, suppression of the press, and prohibition of the demonstrations. Framed through the immediate demands for the government's resignation and reassertion of democratic rights, the riot, initially sparked by university students, transcended the scope of youth and evolved into a broader mobilization with public support and participation. Moving the protests from campuses to the urban public squares, both in Istanbul and Ankara, indicates this and can also be seen as a formative and revealing case for the spatial organization of the political actions throughout the 1960s. In the narratives on the news following the coup, the faculty building and the square were notably portrayed as the main sites of confrontation. The attack in Mülkiye was represented through "the faculty walls riddled with police bullets in Ankara," while Kızılay Square was depicted as having "become no different than the arenas of ancient Rome."[334]

[333] John Berger, "The Nature of Mass Demonstrations," *International Socialism*, no. 34 (Autumn 1968), accessed via Marxists.org.

[334] "Polis kurşunu ile delik deşik olan fakülte duvarları," *Cumhuriyet*, June 4, 1960.

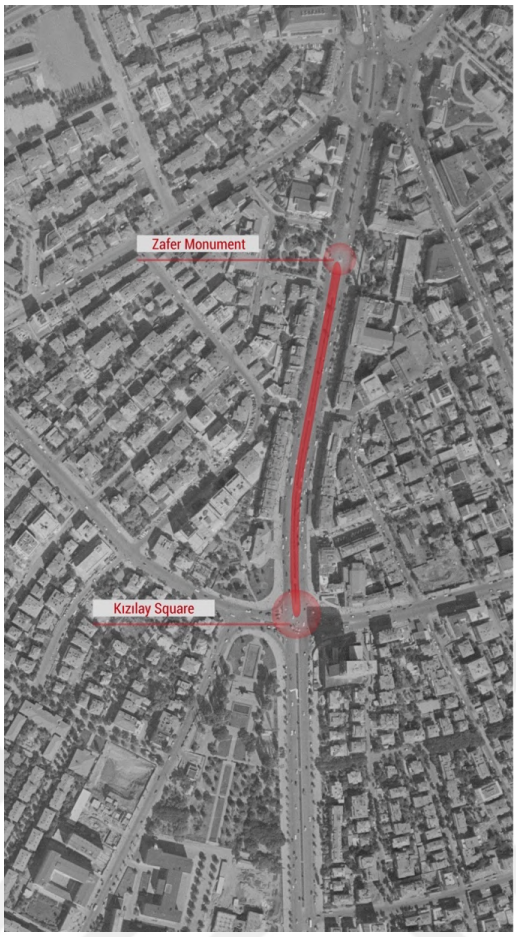


Figure 46: The route of the demonstrations and spaces of resistance (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

The confrontation and struggle between the government and the demonstrators had materialized through the urban space, an interplay between the space-times of riot and the dominant spatial orders. On the one side, the appropriation of the Kızılay Square signifies the construction of new, insurgent spatial and political practices through the social space, simultaneously enabling the rearticulation of "publicness" of the square in contested forms. Batuman points out that this political and social contestation operates through the spatial imaginations, whereby constructed images and political representations attributed new meanings and practices to the square.[335] This denotes a

[335] Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re)Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 274.

transformative experience of social space and redefines the square through emerging forms of action and representation.[336] In light of our earlier discussions on the formation of the boulevard, the square, and the Republican public sphere, the spatial and political appropriation through these demonstrations marked a significant shift in the historical transformation of the square, as Batuman underlines, through the participation, appropriation, and their spatial manifestations.[337]

Besides, the fact that the repetitive political actions and spatial appropriations from April onwards took place in and around Kızılay Square indicates critical ruptures, particularly when considering our previous discussion on Ulus and Kızılay Squares. Notably, the riots against the ruling power were not staged in Ulus, but rather in Kızılay Square, with the political demands and the aspiration of spatial manifestation and public visibility. In this regard, it can be argued that Kızılay's becoming as the primary urban center from the 1950s, which is tied to its role as the densest site of urban circulation, accessibility, encounters, and everyday practices, was a decisive factor. As examined above in the light of the spatial strategies of these political actions, it becomes evident that they unfolded to take place in the most crowded, central, and visible arena of the city, thereby increasing their potential to generate powerful social impacts. In other words, these political actions interrupted the existing spatial orders by claiming the Kızılay Square, as the main locus of Ankara, and by disrupting the Atatürk Boulevard, as the city's most significant axis. In relation to their predominantly spontaneous character and, more importantly, persistent police interventions and restrictions, the duration of these actions was short-lived. This temporality and spatial forms of the area actively structured the space-time and the form of political action: rather than enabling long-term gatherings or sustained occupation acts, it generated contingent movement between the Kızılay Square and the Zafer Monument through a form of march.

[336] Ibid.

[337] Ibid.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party sought to reestablish its hegemony over the contested urban spaces by using power apparatuses or regulations, specifically through spatial restrictions during this time period. This can be observed in the newspaper reports, for instance, a report dated May 5, 1960, announced that all screenings in Ulus, Ankara, and Büyük Sinema movie theaters were cancelled by the Martial Law.[338] The official statement below revealed an effort to prevent any potential demonstrations by banning gatherings and public encounters: "The demonstrators hide among crowds, making it more difficult to apprehend them."[339] (Figure 47) Similarly, another one, dated May 23, 1960, declared that even groups of five people were prohibited from gathering or walking together, and that universities would remain closed.[340] (Figure 48)

The military cadets staged a silent march, assembled in Kızılay Square, through the Atatürk Boulevard on May 21, 1960.[341] Following the military takeover on May 27, 1960, parades and celebrations took place on Atatürk Boulevard and in Kızılay Square, as documented in the news reports and photographs.[342] (Figure 49, Figure 50) On May 30, the medical students from Ankara University demanded the renaming of Kızılay Square as Hürriyet Square, by interpreting the coup as a shared achievement of the military and the people.[343] Considering all these, it can be argued that different imaginaries and political objectives intersected in the Kızılay Square within their respective forms and limits, and that this intersection has been shaped by the

[338] "Halkın nümayişçilerden uzak bulunması istendi," *Cumhuriyet*, May 5, 1960.

[339] Ibid.

[340] "Ankara'da mektup ve telgrafa sansür kondu," *Cumhuriyet*, May 23, 1960.

[341] Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re)Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 273.

[342] "Ankara'da dün halk ordu lehinde tezahürat yaptı," *Cumhuriyet*, May 29, 1960. In the aftermath of the coup, it is seen that celebrations and marches were staged along the route connecting Kızılay Square, Tandoğan Square and Anıtkabir. On June 20, a rally in support of the army was organized at Hipodrom which is the official site of the state celebrations and ceremonies, "Ankara'da bugün büyük bir miting yapılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, June 20, 1960.

[343] "Kızılay Meydanı'nın isminin değiştirilmesi istendi," *Cumhuriyet*, May 30, 1960.

processual dynamics in the social production of urban space. This is why defining a space of resistance depends on specific space-times within its political relationality.



Tahkikat Encümeni ile Ankara Örfi İdare Komutanlığı, bunların çoğaltılmasını ve gizlice dağıtılmasını yasak eden kararlar yayınladılar

Ankara örfi idare Kumandanlığının tebliği

Halkın nümayişçilerden uzak bulunması istendi

Örfi İdare Kumandanlığınca görülen lüzum üzerine bugün için Ankaranın Yenişehir semtinde bulunan Ankara, Ulus ve Büyük sinemaların bütün matineleri tatil edildi..

Yolların açık bulunması için örfi idarece tedbirler alındı

10 madde halinde toplanan tedbirlere riayet etmiyenlere Örfi İdare Kanunu hükümleri tatbik olunacak

Figure 47: "Halkın nümayişçilerden uzak bulunması istendi," *Cumhuriyet*, May 5, 1960.



Ankara Örfi İdare Kumandanlığının 25 numaralı tebliği

Ankara'da mektup ve telgrafa sansür kondu

Şehirde gezinti maksadıyla 5 kişinin dahi bir araya gelerek dolaşmaları yasak edildi

Sokağa çıkma yasağı 20 den 05 e kadar uzatıldı. Bütün toplantı lar kat'i şekilde yasak edildi. Her sahıs gece ve gündüz hüviyetini ibraza mecbur. Bütün gece sokağa çıkma kartları yenileniyor. Sivillerin askeri yerlere girme içri de menedildi

Figure 48: "Ankara'da mektup ve telgrafa sansür kondu," *Cumhuriyet*, May 23, 1960.

As elaborated previously, the social production of space is also intricately related to the aftermath of the political action, particularly in terms of representations and meanings, and how the historical narrative is constructed. In this sense, as indicated by Batuman, the riots in Kızılay were integrated into the official historical narrative that influenced political discourses.[344] Within this, students were positioned as

[344] Bülent Batuman, "Imagination as Appropriation: Student Riots and the (Re)Claiming of Public Space," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2003): 273.

progressive intellectuals, the military as heroic forces, while the police were depicted as repressive and cruel due to the violent interventions against the students.[345] This significance attributed to the university students had a multifaceted impact on the trajectory leading to 1968, in terms of the role of the youth movement in revolutionary struggles.[346] Aydın Çubukçu points out that some of those who had participated in the riots against DP before the coup later became organizers and supporters of the 1968 movement.[347] In that manner, the riots and the coup stood out as a frequently revisited juncture for subsequent political debates, especially related to attitudes toward foundational ideology, approaches to military power, forms of political organizations in the society, etc. The May 27 coup and the riots continued to manifest themselves in the urban space in subsequent years through the commemorations, political actions, and public inscriptions, reflecting certain transformations within the youth movement. In this regard, the example narrated by Gökhan Atılgan is striking. He notes that, on the night of May 27, 1965, the main streets of Istanbul were filled with slogans such as "Down with imperialism!" and "Down with Foreign Oil Companies!" by student demonstrators.[348] This signaled that exactly five years after the coup, the youth movement had shifted beyond opposing the repressive policies of the ruling party, and revolted against global capitalism and its operations in Turkey.[349] These transformations persisted in being inscribed and produced in and through urban space, both through both the forms of political actions and spatial interventions, as well as discourses and representations.

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[345] Ibid.

[346] Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'nin 68'i: Bir Kuşağın Sosyolojik Analizi* (İstanbul: Dipnot Yayınları, 2015), 42.

[347] Aydın Çubukçu, "Devrim Yapma Hakkı," in *Parola 555K: Bir Başkaldırının Sıradışı Öyküsü*, ed. Bülent Ulus and Hakan Güngör (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2019), 20.

[348] Gökhan Atılgan, "68'in Kapıları," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 324.

[349] Ibid.



Figure 49: Atatürk Boulevard after the coup, 1960, Ankara. Photograph, Founded at Gönülçelen Sahaf.



Figure 50: Atatürk Boulevard after the coup, 1960, Ankara. Photograph, Founded at Gönülçelen Sahaf.

4.2. Protesting in *Targeted Sites*

The 1960 military coup was largely seen as an intervention by statist forces seeking to reinstate the authority of the republican state after a decade of considerable social, political, and economic transformations under the Democratic Party (DP)

government.[350] According to Keyder, the populist agenda pursued by the Democratic Party provoked strong reactions from the military and bureaucracy, and the coup aimed to restrain what was perceived as an erosion of republican principles and to reestablish the institutional mechanisms that could contain future populist policies.[351] The National Unity Committee (Milli Birlik Komitesi), a temporary military government after the coup, set out to reorient the state in line with the foundational ideology and Kemalist doctrines. While it can be argued that the new constitutional and institutional arrangements introduced in the aftermath of the coup created a relatively conducive political ground for freedoms of organization and union rights, this alone does not explain the growth of the labor and student movements in the 1960s. [352] In the case of the labor movement, the social, economic, and urban conditions developed by the accumulation of the 1950s played a constitutive and modifying role; meanwhile, the student movement was conditioned by the increasingly unfolding process of political subjectivization and mobilization toward the 1960s.

In this sense, the 1960s was a pivotal decade in which the working class in Turkey emerged as a distinct and politically conscious force in the political scene of the country, marking the consolidation of class identity and the intensification of labor struggles. Saraçhane Rally on January 1, 1962, in which workers powerfully demanded the legalization of the right to strike and collective bargaining, was regarded as one of the most prominent turning points in working-class history in Turkey.[353] As emphasized before, the establishment of the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) in 1961 by workers engaged in union struggle and the foundation of the Revolutionary

[350] Çağlar Keyder, "Social Change and Political Mobilization in the 1960s," in *Turkey in Turmoil: Social Change and Political Radicalization during the 1960s*, ed. Berna Pekesen (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 13.

[351] Ibid.

[352] As conveyed by Aziz Çelik, the legal provision of the 1961 Constitution titled The Right to Collective Bargaining and Strike guaranteed the right to collective bargaining and to strike in order to protect or improve workers' economic and social conditions. Aziz Çelik, "Saraçhane'den 15-16 Haziran'a İşçi Sınıfının Müstesna Yılları: Altmışlı Yıllar," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 634.

[353] Ibid.

Confederation of Labor Unions (DİSK) in 1967 by splitting from Türk-İş were crucial milestones in terms of both strengthening the labor struggles and left-socialist movements.[354] In this context of expanding politicization of the working class throughout the decade, mass rallies and marches, collective work stoppages and strikes, and factory occupations were manifested politically and spatially as forms of political action.

When examining the news and the sources of the period, it is observed that the right to strike was a prominent and recurring topic on the public agenda from the second half of 1960.[355] On December 2, 1961, electricity, gas, and bus workers in Ankara organized a silent march from their workplaces in Ulus to Kızılay to demand their rights.[356] (Figure 51) On May 3, 1962, a worker march was carried out by unemployed construction workers under the Federation of Construction Workers.[357] Gathering in front of the union's building on Rüzgarlı Street in Ulus, the workers marched toward Kızılay via Sıhhiye, carrying placards protesting unemployment; despite several police barricades on the route, they overcame them and reached the Parliament Building.[358] (Figure 52, Figure 53, Figure 54) Although the workers sent a delegation of twenty workers to request a meeting in the Parliament, they were not allowed to wait for the delegation. Due to heavy police and military violence, they were dispersed and forced to return to the union building.[359] This demonstration, which involved nearly three thousand workers breaking the police barricades along the Sıhhiye-Kızılay axis, was

[354] Ibid., 649-657.

[355] "İşçiye grev hakkı verecek olan tasarı hazırlanıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, July 3, 1960, "Her türlü işçiyi içine alan bir İş Kanunu hazırlanıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, July 27, 1960, "İşçiler hiçbir şarta bağlı olmayan grev hakkı talep ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, August 12, 1960, "İşçiler kolektif iş akdi ve grev hakkı isteyecek," *Cumhuriyet*, December 30, 1961.

[356] "Ankara elektrik, gaz ve otobüs işçileri sessiz bir yürüyüş yaptılar," *Cumhuriyet*, December 3, 1961.

[357] "Yapı işçileri Ankara'da izinsiz yürüyüş yaptılar," *Cumhuriyet*, May 4, 1962.

[358] "İşsizlik,"*Yön,* no.21, May 9, 1962, 5-6.

[359] Ibid.

referred to in the news and political magazines as the "March of the Hungry" or the "March of the Unemployed."[360]

Although the workers gained public visibility and propagated their slogans through the route of the march connecting the union building to the parliament, their main aim seems to have been to arrive at the parliament, to voice their demands of work against unemployment and poverty. In this sense, it was a form of protest targeted at a specific space. The new parliament building in Kızılay, designed by Holzmeister and commissioned in 1961, became a prominent targeted site for particularly planned and demand-oriented protests. In the following years, large-scale labor protests and grand student marches would be organized from other cities to Ankara, especially to the parliament. Regarding the discussion on shifts of the political locus of Ankara from Ulus to Kızılay, it can be stated that the relocation of the Parliament building to Kızılay and its use starting in 1961 played a crucial role in reinforcing this shift.



EGO işçileri dün yaptıkları sessiz yürüyüş esnasında

Ankara elektrik, gaz ve otobüs işçileri sessiz bir yürüyüş yaptılar

E. G. O. İşletmesi işçileri Çalışma Bakanına bir de İş Kanunu bedeye ettiler



Ankarada yürüyüş yapan işçiler Meclis binasının önünde

Yapı işçileri Ankarada izinsiz yürüyüş yaptılar

3 bin işçiyi temsilen Meclis Başkanları ile konuşan işçilerden biri, «Aftan başka iş yok mu? Bizimle ilgilenen yok mu? Meseleleri-miz niçin görüşülmüyor?» dedi ve ağladı

4 saat süren ve Ankaralılara heyecanlı dakikalar yaşatan işsizliği protesto yürüyü-şünün, Demir Perde gerisi sefaret mensupları ve ajans muhabirleri tarafından takip edilmesi dikkati çekti

Figure 51: "Ankara elektrik, gaz ve otobüs işçileri sessiz bir yürüyüş yaptılar," *Cumhuriyet*, December 3, 1961.

Figure 52: "Yapı işçileri Ankara'da izinsiz yürüyüş yaptılar," *Cumhuriyet*, May 4, 1962.

[360] Ibid.



İŞSİZLİK

İftira kampanyası

Bundan sonra en çok işitecekiniz sözlerden biri, memleketimizde olacaktır. Sosyal ve iktisadî düveleriniz çözmekte acze düşecek ihtiyaçlar ve politikacılar ve bir kısım basın ekonomistlerin tahrikle cevabını yapıştıracaklardır. Grevler başlayacak, bu çevreler ekonomiyi zaafa düşecektir. Sosyal huzursuzluğu önleyemiyorlar, huzursuzluğu diğe getirecekleri enerjiyle ve sindiriyor çalışacaklardır. Nihayet açlığın mâsûm yürüyüşü, bu mekanizmayı harekete getirmiştir. D.P. devri milyonerlerinin elindeki basın ekonomistlerin kafasını eziliyor kampanyasına derhal başlamıştır. İşsizlik, ve durgunlukla mücadele yerine, yatırım yapmayarak işsizliği ve durgunluğu arttıran bir bilâkisinin bazı üyeleri etrafa saçılırken, kâh dışarıda faaliyetlerdeki komşularla tecrübâlı etmemişlerdir. Sosyal huzursuzluk artıkça, âciz politikalar ve bâsınlar dizenlerinin tehlikeye girdiğini görecekler, halkın huzursuzluğunu kamçılayacaklar, halkı uyutmaya ve sindirmeye çalışacaklardır.

Bu hep böyle olmuştur. Mazide ekonomistler azıntıya itiliyorlar, tedbirli bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Şimdi de aynî silâhlar piyasaya sürülmüştür ve çok daha geniş ölçüde silâhlenecektir. Fakat Türkiye artık eski Türkiye değildir. Türkiye, kazanılmış olan mânivia deyip, her halta işliyebileceğini sanan çıkarcıların salâ sallanmıyacağı, büyük bir sosyal uyanış içindedir. İşçi kitleleri, dostunu düşmanını çok iyi biliyor. Fakir çiftçiler, sâdalara esaslı Koymakam Mehmet Can'ı seçin komünistlikle suçlamaya kalkıştığını çok iyi anlıyor. Münafıkların sağlam kuvvetleri, tahrikçilerin oynamak istedikleri oyunun tamamen farkındadır. Gerçek vatanperverler ile milliyetçilik kahramanları artık kolayca ayırdedilmektedir. Bu sebeple, sosyal gâfiyl ve kötü hisleleri durdurmak için girişilen iftira Kampanyası hedefine ulaşamıyacaktır. Bununla beraber, tahrikata karşı dikkenlerin uyanık, dikkatli ve cesur olmasını gerektiren günler gelmiştir.

Açların protestosu

Sayıları 5 bine yaklaşan işsiz ve aç inşaat işçilerinin, bir türlü işitilmemeyenlikleri sebebiyle işitirebilmek için girişikleri efendice yürüyüş, efendilerinin korkutma ve sıkıştırılmasıdır.

Yürüyüş bahsi, ilk defa 26 Nisanda duyuldu. İşçiler o gün bir dilekçe ile vilâyete başvurdular.

Ankara Emniyet Müdürlü, o günün şartları içinde işsiz işçiler tarafından yapılacak bir yürüyüşün zaten sağlantıda olan kuvvetini daha da mükâfil duruma düşürmeyeceğini anlamış olacak ki, yürüyüş izni için müracaat eden Sendika Yöneticilerini bu işten vaz geçirmeye çalıştı. Vali de aynı şekilde araya girdi ve 26 Nisanda yapılmak istenen yürüyüş önlendi. Ne var ki, zaten

pek fakir olan Yapı-İş Federasyonu kasası, işsiz olan ve hergün sendikadan bir ekmek ile bir tas çorba için işçilerci doyurmak güçte değildi. Kısa kısa bir zamanda tamtakır kaldı. Bunun üzerine, Federasyon yöneticileri bir kere daha vilâyete baş vurup, otantiğe karşı koyamıyacaklarını, işsizliğin günden güne arttığını, derhâl inşaatlar için bir miting yapacaklarını Valiye bildirdiler. Vali, yapılacak mitingde ne bâsacağını sorunca, yöneticiler, çiçi cevabını verdiler. Vali, tepkibâsî bulunca, bâsılı Sendikacılar, belirli bazı şartları olduğunu bunlar yerine getirilir ise yürüyüşten de mitingden de vaz geçileceğini söylediler. Şartları şunlardı: En az bin kişiye iş bâşlanması, işyerlerinde sekiz yerine 12 saat çalıştırılan inşaat işçilerinin sekizer saat çalıştırılmasının temini ve böylece kazanılacak iş sayılarında da daha başka işçilerin çalıştırılmasının sağlanması.

Bu talepler üzerine, işçi liderlerine evle bitlenmesini vermemesi diye çıkışan Vali Tezcanın durumu, İçişleri Bakanlığı vasıtası ile Çalışma Bakanlığına duyuruyor. Ancak Çalışma Bakanı Bülent Ecevit'in verdiği cevap şudur: «Ankara'da söylendiği kadar kötü bir işsizlik yoktur. İşçi Bulma Kurumuna 366 kişi müracaat etmiş, bunların da 90'ı işe yerleştirilmiş, işsiz 290 kişi kalmış, rakamlar hayalîdir.

Aracılık yapan Vali ile daha sonra da Federasyon yöneticileri arasında tartışmalar oluyor. Valinin, köylüler köylerine dönsünler sözü sendikacıların, «onlar işçi değil mi?» sorusuyla kesiliyor. Vali, köylerine dönsünler, isterseniz vilâyet olarak köylerine ödeneklerinde yardımcı olalım diyor. Sendikacılar, «Nasıl gitsinler, hangi yüzle köye dönecekler?» cevabını veriyor. Vali susuyor. Sendikacılar, ekine başlın müracaat var, toplantıya da başka işçi gelecek, bir kanunî hakkımızı kullanarak mitingi yapacağız, mitinge bütçenin, ikna edemezsiniz diyorlar.

Federasyon bürosunda, sendikacılardan müteşekkil bir «Yapı-İş Federasyonu Merkez Sendika yürüyüş tertip komisyonu» kurulmuş ve o zamana kadar ki müzakerleri de bu komite tertip etmiştir. Sendikacılar, 3 Mayıs günü saat onda işsiz işçilerci mitinge davet ediyorlar.

Biri yer, biri bakar

Yapı — İş Federasyonunun işçileri, binanın önünde toplanan işçiler, mitinç kürsüsünde Çalışma Bakanını veya, o derecede yetkili bir başkanını göreceklerini umarlarken kaşalarında genç Ankara Valisini bulduları. Vali, kürsüye doğru gevşeniş, son derece acemice yarılmış ama yüzde yüz samimî dövüşler ortamına karşı, sözlerine, «inşaatlar açığa» diyerek başladı. Bu, bir idarecî olarak ortadığı yanıtmaya gelen bir ünün ilk çalışıdı. Daha sonra Nuri Yeşilmen yapığı konuşmada, «Bu memleketi idare edenler, memleketin derlerini iyi bilirler, yürüyüş de elinize ne geçecek? Vazgeçin yürümeyin. Önümüzdeki aylar içinde yirmi milyon liralık yatırım yapılacak, bu hedefiyle de temelcik işçisi olarak 150 işçi alınacak, bil üç aya kadar iş sahaları açılacaktır» demesi birdağı taşrası dumlular oldu.

İşçilerin kürsüden ilk da kendisini dinlemesi, hüsyeti Valiye cevapları mandaladı. «Üç aya kadar bir ağıttan çıkmaz ölmüş, ölürüz» diye bağırıyorlardı. Vali, daha da çok sinirlendiği olarak konuşmasını şöyle bitirdi: «Çok kimseler yürüdü, siz de yürüyünüz. Fakat sizin yürüyüşünüz kötüdür edenler çıkacaktır. Bunu unutmayın.»

Aşfandır iş bekleyen işçilerin bir bölüğü bu sözleri dinleyecek takat yoktu. İçlerinden biri, «Allahını seven yürüsün» dedi. Bu ses parola oldu. Dalgalanan bütçeye işçiden birkaçı, kitleyi sinlemek için kolunuş olan bayrakları yerlerinden çıkarıp elleriyle aldılar ve başa geçtiler. Birer, bir sel gibi, Rüzgârlı sokaktan caddi doğru akmaya başladı. Bu arada, Sendika yöneticileri boş yere işçi arkadaşlarını durdurmaya çalışıyor, ama beyhudeye çıkmaz sonlerî eğdiğinden kalabalığın arasında eriyip gidiyordu.

Başlarında bu işleri bilen yöneticiler olmadığı halde yola dökülen işsiz işçiler ilk durdurulma hareketi ile Rüzgârlı Sokağın alt başında, İstanbul Caddesinin ağzında karşılaşılar. Bir müfreze polis, coplarî ile yolu kesmişti. Ama, sel, işleyen coplara rağmen bu barikatı aştı. Bunu barikat, polislerin yönelttiği Yenişehir İstikametindeki Anadolu Ajansı önünde açıldı, bunu biraz ötede, Operanın önündeki, daha sonra, Sıhhiye Bakanlığı önündeki barikatlar takip etti. Ellerinde bayraklar, dövüzler olduğu halde o gün sayıları birkaç bini bulan işsiz, bütün bu barikatları koşar adım, polisin imalîsiz coplarına tahammülüne rağmen aştılar ve dertlerini anlatmaklarını sandıkları Meclis Bahçe kapısına kadar geldiler. Meclisin bahçe kapısı önünde kurulan barikat onlarca kuvvetliydi. Üstelik, burada işsiz işçiler ilk defa askerle de karşı karşıya kaldılar.

Birbir zannalı, bir kısmı yalın ayak inşaat işçileri bu kuvvetli barikat karşısında durdu. Ama ne bir adım geri, ne de bir adım ileri gittî. Ellerde taşınan dövizler Meclisin karşı çevrildi ve sabırla beklenmeye başlandı. Bu arada Barikatın gerisinde, eski MBK üyelerinden Sami Kilçiki ile Bişkil Karaman, Seçbil Gürmuştürk federil olanları seyrediyordu. Bori yanda ise, Ankara emniyetinin seferber edilmiş mülkîfler seviyesindeki erkânı, işçileri nasıl dağıtacaklarını düşünmekle meşguldü.

Kuru kuruya sor kullanmanın, bu gerçekten dertli, gerçekten işsiz ve aç insan-

İşsiz inşaat işçilerinin yürüyüşü böyle başladı, polis kordonları yarıldı ve kapı kapı Meclise varıldı

YÖN, 9 MAYIS 1962

5

Figure 53: "İşsizlik," *Yön Dergisi,* no.21, May 9, 1962, 5-6.

The proximity between the Parliament building and the Kızılay Square presents a compelling scene in terms of the social production of this area. (Figure 55) On the one side, the National Assembly stood as the official political decision-making body of the state; on the other, the Kızılay Square was there as the transforming public square with urban participation and political mobilization. In this regard, the demonstration of construction workers unveils the contradictions in the existing perception of "the political" and "the spatial." As previously discussed, Rancière's definition of politics underlines breaking the normal distributions of the political and spatial positions with a specific mode of action.[361] This action unfolds through the presence and visibility of the political subjects in redefined space and time by disrupting the police order.[362] Thus, through their collective actions, the construction workers subverted the "normal" definition of politics, and their action, grounded in their own demands and struggle, became politics itself. To some extent, this also questions the institutional

[361] Jacques Rancière, "Ten Theses on Politics," in *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, ed. and trans. Steven Corcoran (London: Continuum, 2010), 27-37.

[362] Ibid.

legitimacy of "doing politics" only attributed to the assembly. They turned the front of the Parliament into a space of protest by breaking through the spatial obstructions and reaching their target. According to Tonkis, "The architecture of authority offers a compelling but incomplete profile of power relations in urban space. The citadels of official power -the government building, the central bank, the presidential palace, the ministry of defense, the security or intelligence headquarters- also can become targets of protest and opposition."[363] Therefore, as in this case, "sites of power are at the same time constituted as points of resistance."[364]

Güvenpark and the Security Monument were also positioned at the core of these tensions and contradictions in the area. On December 4, 1961, students who were not able to gain admission to the university went on a hunger strike and organized a protest by gathering in front of the Security Monument.[365] (Figure 56) In the news report, it is visible that student banners were hung on the monument that glorifies the security forces. Lefebvre proposes to comprehend the monument in two ways based on changing social contexts: In the first place, the monument is oppressive and materializes the institutional authority and domination through the symbolic control over the space.[366] On the other hand, the monument operates as a unifying spatial form for people in social life and makes its space recognizable and common.[367] In this sense, the Security Monument that reproduces the power of the nation-state through the representation of its coercive forces became a contested site through which the intended narrative was interrupted. What constituted the monument as a unifying spatial form was collective political action, and undoubtedly, it was associated with

[363] Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 60.

[364] Ibid.

[365] "Ankara'da açlık grevi yapan öğrencilerin hepsinin sesleri kısıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, December 4, 1961. It is seen that the students demanding access to education had preivoulsy carried out several demonstrations in Istanbul and Ankara. "Üniversiteye giremeyenler yeni hadiseler çıkardılar," *Cumhuriyet*, November 3, 1961, "Üniversiteye giremeyenler işi dün meclise aksettirdi," *Cumhuriyet*, November 7, 1961.

[366] Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 21.

[367] Ibid., 22.

the proximity to the Parliament as well as adjacency to the Kızılay Square for political visibility and public support. However, it seems that this proximity was perceived as requiring control by the authorities, as the 1963 Law on Meetings and Demonstrations (Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanunu) prohibited public protests within a one-kilometer radius of the Parliament building. This meant the restriction of the Kızılay Square and its immediate surroundings for demonstrations.[368] (Figure 57) This constraint would be decisive in the spatialities of the demonstrations in the city, as well as the dynamics of the conflicts between the protestors and police forces.

Keyder states that the two main currents were constitutive in leftist politics during the 1960s: The initial ideological orientation was the left-Kemalist line centered around the Yön Dergisi, which advocated nationalism and developmentalism carried out under the aligned military and bureaucracy.[369] The second one was a socialist movement that emerged under the influence of the foundation of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) in 1961, and the party gained support among intellectuals, radical unions, and university students.[370] Alper's argument posits that, until 1964, the nationalist and bureaucratic attitude of the first line was more pervasive within the student movement, endorsing the general objectives of the May 27 coup and aligning with Kemalist ideology.[371] During this period, students organized protests against the amnesty of DP deputies, the pro-DP press, and the discourses of the Justice Party (AP) that was founded as the successor of DP.[372] Despite the occasional reactions by right-wing students to these demonstrations, they remained mostly passive both in the streets

[368] Law on the Freedom of Meetings and Demonstrations*, Official Gazette, February 18, 1963, No. 11337.* According to this law, demonstrations can take place in designated locations decided by the authorities.

[369] Çağlar Keyder, "Social Change and Political Mobilization in the 1960s," in *Turkey in Turmoil: Social Change and Political Radicalization during the 1960s*, ed. Berna Pekesen (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 17.

[370] Ibid., 18.

[371] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 181-185.

[372] Ibid.

and university campuses until 1965.[373] Circa 1965, the youth movement increasingly adopted an anti-imperialist position and engaged with the socialist ideas, with the impacts of global political conjuncture and political and cultural ground rising the socialist and labor-oriented debates in Turkey. This transformation was predominantly evident in two domains: reactions and protests against NATO dependence and the Cyprus issue, and university-based demands concerning educational reforms and involvement in university governance.

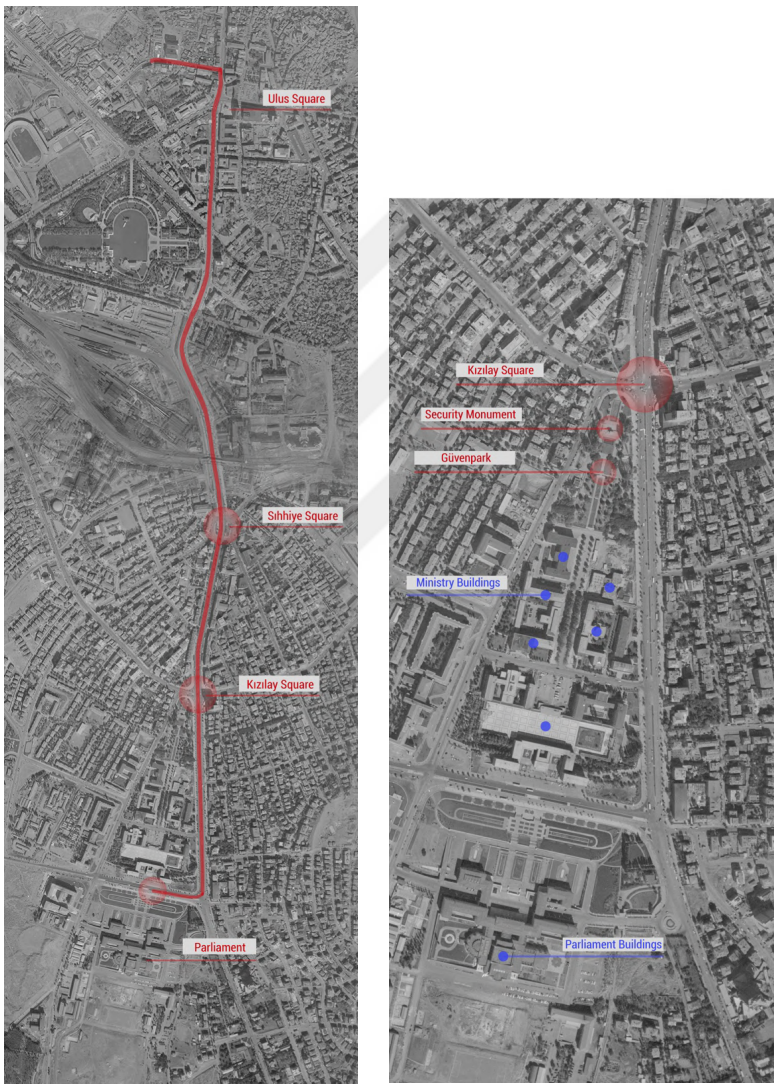


Figure 54: The route of the workers' march. (by the author)

Figure 55: Kızılay Square, Security Monument, and Parliament Building. (by the author)

[373] Ibid.

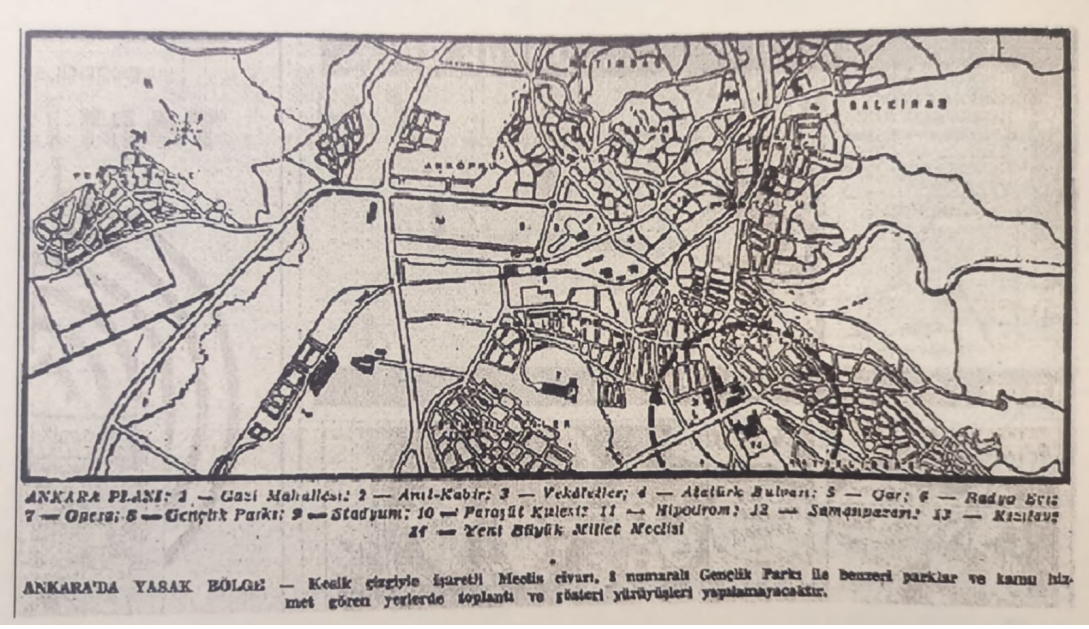


Ankaradaki öğrencilerden biri halka grev yapmalarının sebebini izah ederken

Ankarada açlık grevi yapan öğrencilerin hepsinin sesleri kısıldı

Açıkta yatan öğrenciler, dün İnönü'nün evine giderek bugün görüşmek üzere söz aldılar

Figure 56: "Ankara'da açlık grevi yapan öğrencilerin hepsinin sesleri kısıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, December 4, 1961



ANKARA PLANI: 1 — Gazi Mahallesi; 2 — Anıt-Kabir; 3 — Vekâletler; 4 — Atatürk Bulvarı; 5 — Gar; 6 — Radyo Evi; 7 — Opera; 8 — Gençlik Parkı; 9 — Stadyum; 10 — Paraşüt Kulesi; 11 — Hipodrom; 12 — Samanpazarı; 13 — Kızılay; 14 — Yeni Büyük Millet Meclisi

ANKARA'DA YASAK BÖLGE — Kesik çizgiyle işaretli Meclis civarı, 8 numaralı Gençlik Parkı ile benzeri parklar ve kamu hizmet gören yerlerde toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşleri yapılamayacaktır.

Figure 57: Map of Restricted Zones in Ankara, 1963.

Source: Çiğdem Varol et al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü* (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019).

According to Harun Karadeniz, a student leader during this period, the discourse of "Freedom" (Hürriyet) propagated around the 1960 coup gave way to a discourse centered on socialist and independent development, and by 1965, the socialist worldview had become influential and decisive for the student movement.[374] In this context, the year 1964 witnessed several anti-American protests in İstanbul and Ankara, particularly in response to the United States' intervention in the Cyprus issue. On August 27, 1964, more than a thousand students marched to the U.S. Embassy in Ankara to express their opposition to the U.S. policy on Cyprus.[375] The police prevented the students from attacking the embassy building, and after this confrontation, the students walked on Atatürk Boulevard and gathered in Zafer Square. In there, they staged a demonstration, raising their voices against U.S.'s imperialist and colonial policies worldwide.[376] (Figure 58) On the following day, twenty thousand students once again proceeded to the United States Embassy, and subsequent demonstrations also took place in front of the Greek Embassy.[377] (Figure 59) Alper notes that these protests were joined by some right-wing nationalist students who chanted nationalist slogans, while left-wing students articulated their political position centered on anti-imperialist struggle, thereby distancing themselves from ethnic nationalism.[378] These demonstrations were held in response to distinct political reactions against American hegemony, and thus, they were target-oriented protests that took place in the spaces that materialize and symbolize this hegemony. Anti-American student protests consistently continued in subsequent years according to the political circumstances.

[374] Harun Karadeniz, *Olaylı Yıllar ve Gençlik*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2020), 45.

[375] "Gençler Ankara'da Amerika aleyhinde nümayiş yaptı," *Cumhuriyet*, August 28, 1964.

[376] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 223.

[377] "Ankara'da 20 bin genç Amerikan Elçilik binasına yürüdü," *Cumhuriyet*, August 29, 1964.

[378] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 224-225.

Akın Atauz, who participated in these demonstrations, confirms that the spatial strategy of these political actions was targeting sites.[379] He indicates that, in addition to the American Embassy, other targets were Amerikan Neşriyat Bürosu and American Library in Milli Müdafaa Street.[380] As another student who was involved in these demonstrations, Ali Artun adds the American Information Center (Amerika Haber Alma Merkezi), located on the ground floor of Emek İşhanı, and the bowling saloon used by American soldiers in Turkey, as targeted spaces.[381] Both noted that these targets were central nodes for the protests, and also marches took place along Atatürk Boulevard, generally in the part from Zafer Square towards Bakanlıklar, in these demonstrations.[382] (Figure 60) This was associated with claiming Kızılay Square physically and symbolically, but also, strategically, because these targets were located in and around Kızılay. On the other hand, Akın Atauz points out an emerging shift in protest sites around 1965. While the main demonstration space was Kızılay Square and its continuing axis towards Zafer Square and Bakanlıklar, since 1965, Tandoğan Square increasingly became the focal point.[383] This shift was the consequence of the prohibition of political gatherings in Kızılay Square. Massive and organized demonstrations mostly took place in Tandoğan Square, whereas Kızılay Square became the space of more spontaneous and radical political actions.

When we return to the protests against America, these demonstrations became more massive and frequent with the visits of the Sixth Fleet to Turkey in 1967. The protests were far more intense in the cities directly visited by the fleet, such as Istanbul and Izmir. Yet, in Ankara, students also displayed their strong reaction by organizing marches and rallies. On 9 December 1967, a rally against America and NATO was organized in Ankara by the student associations of the universities and the Federation

[379] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024.

[380] Ibid.

[381] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[382] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024, Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[383] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024.

of Clubs of Thought (FKF).[384] (Figure 61) The demonstrators gathered in Tandoğan Square and marched past the train station, proceeding along Talatpaşa Boulevard, passing by Hacettepe University, and arriving at Cemal Gürsel Area.[385] (Figure 62) Along the route, students carried placards inscribed with slogans such as "Independent Turkey," "America Go Home," and "Turkey Out Of NATO," and declared that they "do not want the United States, which founded NATO to sustain the exploitative order and has exploited Turkey as well, to remain in Turkey."[386] This route exemplifies the spatial change discussed above, from Kızılay Square to Tandoğan Square, because of the restrictions. Besides, it can be stated that, although these roads were not the main axes of the city as mentioned in the previous chapter, they were frequently used boulevards and streets of Ankara. This route was the permitted march route, but there were certain strategic advantages for the demonstrators. It binds Tandoğan Square and Kurtuluş Park, forming a connective axis that enabled the students from proximate universities, including DTCF, Hacettepe, and Mülkiye, to attend the procession. This corresponds to Hatuka's emphasis on "distancing" as a strategy in the spatial organization of the protests.[387] For her, the movement of protest challenges the agreed-upon mental, spatial, and social distance and redefines them based on the strategies and political objectives of the collective mass.[388] In the form of a procession, this particularly operates through rearranging connectivity and proximity between different spaces, organizing around the powerful political statement.[389] As seen also in this case, the route creates new connectivity and proximity between nodes by pinning them as starting and ending in squares, Tandoğan Square and Cemal Gürsel Area, and linking the proximate universities on and around the route.

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[384] "Başkentte NATO ve Amerika aleyhtarı miting yapıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, December 10, 1967.

[385] Ibid.

[386] Ibid.

[387] Tali Hatuka, The Design of Protest: Choreographing Political Demonstrations in Public Space, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2018), 6.

[388] Ibid., 7.

[389] Ibid., 37.



Gençler, Ankarada Amerika aleyhinde nümayiş yaptı

Değiştirme birliğimiz Adaya çıkarsa rumlar ateş açacak

CENEVREDE TEREDDÜT

Doğan Nadi bildiriyor

ŞEYTANA TAPANLAR

Cenevrede sonuç alınamadığı takdirde dış politikamızın değişmesi muhtemel

Türkiye NATO içinde müstakil bir politika güdecek, bazı anlaşmalar ile Amerikalılara tanınan süresiz imtiyazlar tamamen kaldırılacak

Figure 58: "Gençler Ankara'da Amerika aleyhinde nümayiş yaptı," *Cumhuriyet*, August 28, 1964.



Amerikanın Kıbrıs tutumu protesto edildi

Ankarada 20 bin genç Amerikan Elçilik binasına yürüdü

Yunan Elçiliği de taşlandı

U.Thant Cenevreye geliyor

Doğan NADİ bildiriyor

Atina, Yunanistan aleyhindeki nümayişleri protesto etti

Rus ve Mısır gemileri Kıbrıs açıklarında tatbikat yapıyor

Vedat Etensel bildiriyor

Amerika tazyiklere dün de devam etti

Bu defa da Batı Almanya vasıtasıyla girişilen baskı teşebbüsüne hükümetimiz gereken cevabı verdi

Figure 59: "Ankara'da 20 bin genç Amerikan Elçilik binasına yürüdü," *Cumhuriyet*, August 29, 1964.

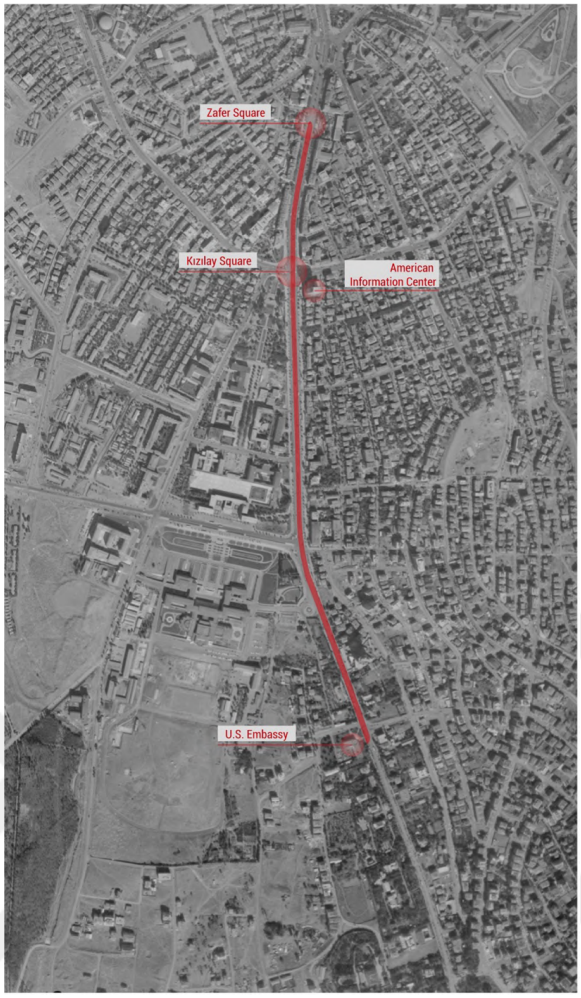


Figure 60: Targeted spaces and the march route of Anti-American protests. (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

Besides growing anti-imperialist struggles, the second domain of politicization of the student movement encompassed the demands of educational reform and changes in the university system. Three federations were effective in student organizing from the early to the mid-1960s: the Turkish National Youth Organization (Türkiye Milli Gençlik Teşkilâtı), the Turkish National Student Federation (Türkiye Milli Talebe Federasyonu), and the National Turkish Student Union (Milli Türk Talebe Birliği). These organizations, rather than revolutionary or anti-systemic positioning, functioned as a channel between the existing order and the student movement; while the first two

generally followed the Kemalist line and demanded national independence, the latter built its political stance on nationalist discourses and anti-communist propaganda.[390]

On the other hand, university students established self-organized structures through democratic processes within their own spaces, and raised their objections on the curricula, conduct of courses, regulations, and university governance, as such, the aims and functioning of the university education, thereby asserting their political presence and representation. These autonomous structures were student unions (Öğrenci Birliği) and student associations (Öğrenci Dernekleri) that were founded in each university, through which radical reform efforts were shaped within their own local contexts and organizations. Aydın Çubukçu, one of the revolutionaries of the period who was then a student at the School of Press and Broadcasting at Ankara University (Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu), notes that student associations in each faculty were elected by students and were considerably active.[391] He underlines that, especially after 1965, most of these were under the leadership of leftist students, through which mass demonstrations were organized in a short time on campuses.[392] For instance, the METU Student Union was constituted from elected student associations from each department. The students from the period highlight that these elections enhance democratic and participatory ground in the faculties. Playing a central role in determining the political agenda in METU, the Student Union served as a crucial platform for the politicization of the students and the organization of collective actions in the university.[393] In this context of rising student mobilization and organization, and intensifying struggle for anti-imperialism and educational reform, the Federation of Clubs of Thought (FKF), a socialist student organization, was established in 1965, at the cafeteria of the

[390] Emin Alper, *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 255-266, Aybars Yanık ve Tanıl Bora, "Altmışlı Yıllarda Türkiye'nin Siyasi Düşünce Hayatı," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 297.

[391] Aydın Çubukçu, interview by author, June 1, 2025.

[392] Ibid.

[393] See ed. Yalçın Bürkev, *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 55-96.

Mülkiye.[394] The foundation of FKF is seen as a departure from the political stance grounded in Kemalism and the defense of the May 27 coup, by forming a socialist ground in the student movement.[395] In this regard, FKF had a prominent significance in expanding the influence of the socialist worldview within the youth movement and connecting students across different universities on a common ideological platform. Relatedly, Kürkçü states that during the anti-American protests in Ankara, FKF was at the core of the mobilization of students from various universities who gathered in street actions.[396]



Başkentte NATO ve Amerika aleyhtarı miting yapıldı

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) — Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Derneği, Barış Derneği, Ankara Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi Öğrenci Derneği, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Öğrenci Derneği ve Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu tarafından dün Başkentte «NATO ve Amerika aleyhtarı bir miting düzenlenmiştir.

Saat 13 de Tandoğan meydanında toplanan öğrenciler, ellerinde NATO ve Amerikan aleyhtarı sloganlar bulunduğu halde İstasyon caddesi ve Sarıcaosman yokuşunu işliyerek Cemal Gürsel meydanına doğru yürüyüşe geçmişlerdir. «Türkiye NATO'dan ayrılacaktır», «Amerika evine dönsün» «Bağımsız Türkiye» diye bağırarak Cemal Gürsel meydanına gelen öğrenciler burada, Gecitkaya ve Boğaziçi olayları sırasında şehit olan Kıbrıslı mücahitler için saygı duruşunda bulunmuşlardır.

Polis fotoğrafçılarının filme aldıkları ve fotoğraflarla tesbit ettikleri mitingte daha sonra Öğrenci birliği başkanları konuşmuşlar ve «NATO'dan ayrılmamız gerektiğini» ileri sürmüşlerdir.

Barış Derneği Başkanı Erdal Yavuz yaptığı konuşmada, Amerikanın Türkiyede büyük çıkarları olduğunu ileri sürmüş, NATO'dan ayrılmamızın sorunlu olduğunu ifade ile «Biz gençlik olarak Amerikalılar Türkiyeden ayrılıncaya kadar tüm gücümüzle çalışacağız» demiştir.

Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Derneği yöneticilerinden Bekir Harputlu da yaptığı konuşmasında, Amerikalıların Türkiyede insanlık dışı davranışlarda bulunduklarını örnekler vererek öne sürmüş ve özetle sunları söylemiştir: «Sömürü düzenini sürdürmek için NATO'yu kuran ve Türkiye'yi de sömüren Amerika'nın, artık Türk topraklarında kalmasını istemiyoruz.»

Ankara'daki NATO ve Amerika aleyhtarı mitingden bir görünüş... (Fotoğraf: Mustafa İSTEMİ)

Figure 61: "Başkentte NATO ve Amerika aleyhtarı miting yapıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, December 10, 1967.

[394] *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, *Türkiye'de 1968*, 2069.

[395] Ibid.

[396] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "1960'lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi ve ODTÜ", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 69.

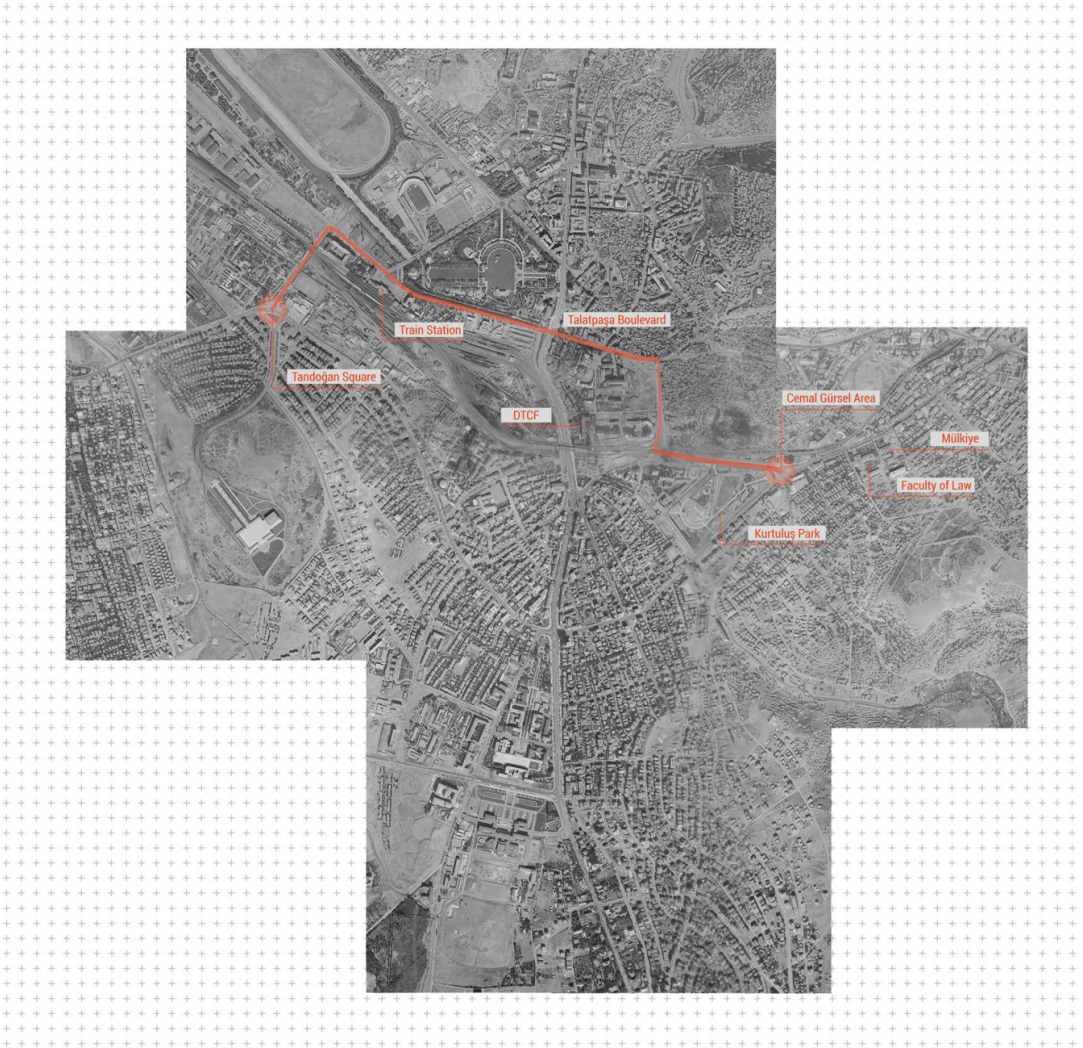


Figure 62: Route of the march (by the author)

These two domains that generated the student politicization, which are the local, including students' education-based objectives, and the broader, both nationwide and global, anti-imperialist socialist struggle, progressed intertwined and transformative for each other, finding political expression. The most distinct example of this was the march of "Private Schools Must be Nationalized" (Özel Okullar Devletleştirilmelidir), which started in Istanbul on November 7, 1967, and after thirteen days of walking, reached Ankara on November 20.[397] This demonstration drew its foundation from a

[397] Gökhan Atılgan, "68'in Kapıları," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 328.

socially equal and public-oriented vision of education by opposing special privileges, and it also took a political stance against the privatization of such a fundamental right. Organized by the student associations of the universities in Istanbul and FKF, the demonstration would include 150 students marching, while other students would coordinate simultaneous boycotts in these universities during the procession.[398] Along the route, public meetings were held in every province and village, where they disseminated their political demands. When the march reached Ankara, it ended with a public rally.[399] While the documents do not provide the exact location of this rally, Tandoğan Square may have been the site of the meeting, considering the photograph from the march on Talatpaşa Boulevard, and the fact that the square was the main space for this kind of organized political rally at that time. (Figure 63)



Figure 63: March on Talatpaşa Boulevard, 1967, Ankara. Photograph, Kadir Has University Archive of Cultural Documents.

[398] "Öğrencilerin protesto ve yürüyüşleri başlıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, November 7, 1967.

[399] Gökhan Atılgan, "68'in Kapıları," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 328.

This demonstration can be interpreted as a deliberatively planned procession by determining the distinct nodes between two cities, their connecting roads, and the actual physical movement between them. This sequential movement in procession reconfigures the space-time for the demonstrators; agreed-upon spatial distances are dismantled and reconstituted through collective physical bodily movement in its own temporal working. It shows how material and immaterial aspects interrelatedly shape and are shaped in the formation of political action, as discussed in the second chapter. The material aspects were determinants for the strategic spatial organization and the movement of the demonstration and were challenged through the action. Also, students' concurrent boycotts in the campuses interrupted the "normal" spatial and daily course and directed focus towards the march. The immaterial ones associated with the political presence and visibility of the students show the persistence in their struggles. Moreover, this march was a target-oriented political action, and, differing from previous cases, the target was not a specific space but Ankara as a city. This creates and conveys a symbolic meaning through the act of reaching Ankara and voicing political objections and claims there, as it is the official political center. While it positions Ankara as a representation of state power, the enactment of the march movement in the city reveals that this representation was not a singular one, and could be challenged by the movements of the students in the streets of Ankara.

In conclusion, since the beginning of the 1960s, protesting in certain targeted sites has been used as a spatial organization and strategy of political actions. Particularly prior to 1963, worker and student protests targeted the Parliament building, while mid-1960s anti-American demonstrations took place in specific sites that belonged to the United States or symbolized it. These included marches and gatherings, creating manifold spatialities contingent on the political action. The routes of the marches and gathering spaces appear to be a transition from the Kızılay Square and Atatüruk Boulevard route to the Tandoğan Square and the route connected to Kurtuluş. The last one we analyzed presents a distinct form that was a long march and targeted the city itself. This instance, marching from the cities to Ankara, was unsurprisingly not a prevalent or recurrent one compared to other forms of movement; yet, it was still employed in this period, especially for large, organized, and demand-oriented political demonstrations.

4.3. Boycotts and Occupying *the University Campuses*

The 1968 movement in Turkey shared common characteristics with revolutionary and insurgent movements at the global scale regarding dissents, demands, political positions, and forms of actions. Yet, as discussed above, it also diverged from these movements elsewhere in certain ways and was shaped according to its own social dynamics and agendas. Atılgan, about global influences and local determinants of '68 movements, emphasizes the necessity of a comprehensive perspective, rather than restraining the '68 movements to simplistic dichotomies.[400] According to him: "The political and the cultural, the revolutionary and the protesting, the local and the global were walking hand in hand. The uprisings were unfolding along lines of social fractures that varied from country to country."[401] The conditions underpinning these social fractures in Turkey were constituted by raising a student movement that was organized and powerful in the universities, expanding the social impacts of the left-socialist politics,[402] and escalating labor struggles. In this sense, the movement initially took root within the students' protests and expanded into a broader social movement that encompassed peasants and laborers. Çubukçu indicates that the student movement left a more prominent mark on the collective memory because the '68 movement concentrated on the urban spaces.[403] However, he adds that the movements of peasants and workers that grew with the widespread strikes and land occupations, and highlights that '68 was one of the most significant and revolutionary eras in the history of

[400] Gökhan Atılgan, "68'in Kapıları," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 316.

[401] Ibid.

[402] Besides the broader rise of the leftist and socialist ideas in the public sphere, the first half of 1968 witnessed the emergence of two distinct factions within TİP, namely the National Democratic Revolution (MDD) and Socialist Revolution (SD), which diverged on broad issues such as the methods and agents of the revolutionary struggle. Although this had not a direct impact on the organization of the political actions and its space-times and thus falls outside of this study. It can be useful to note that, referencing Alper, while the bureaucratic structure and legal political framework of TİP led the increasingly radicalized youth movement to distance itself from the party, the MDD's theses on revolution aligned more closely with the youth's dynamism and gained atraction within the movement. See Emin Alper, *Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 290-308.

[403] Aydın Çubukçu, *Bizim '68* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2022), 62.

Turkey.[404] Hence, all these political struggles brought along manifold forms of political actions and spatialities as well.

On the other hand, as a reaction to the rise of the left and socialist movements, reactionary and fascist movements gained momentum; the increasing attacks by the Islamist and ultranationalist groups on left-wing demonstrations and socialists fueled the street clashes between rightist and leftist organizations.[405] In the first months of 1968, the tension heightened as AP deputies assaulted TİP deputies in the parliament.[406] To protest both these attacks and the violation of the constitutional rights in the assembly, leading student organizations planned a Constitution Rally (Anayasa Mitingi) on February 24, 1968.[407] The demonstrators gathered in Tandoğan Square and marched passing the Train Station and Talatpaşa Boulevard, and arrived at the Cemal Gürsel Area.[408] Here, they were attacked by a right-wing group chanting Turkish nationalist slogans, resulting in several students being seriously injured.[409] In the following years, these assaults would escalate, and the urban space would be marked by political violence and street clashes, which we will discuss later.

The global wave of revolt that proliferated in May 1968 across the world mobilized accumulated grievances, rebellions, and political imaginations in Turkey, like many other countries. While these events were unfolding, university students in Istanbul were already conducting an anti-NATO campaign against imperialism; that is, the student movement was expanding and asserting its political power both in universities and the streets. The newspapers featured broad coverage and commentaries on

[404] Ibid.

[405] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 288-290.

[406] Ibid., 299-301.

[407] Ibid.

[408] "Gençler Ankara'da Amerika aleyhinde nümayiş yaptı," *Cumhuriyet*, February 25, 1968. This area connecting the eastern corner of Kurtuluş Park to Celal Bayar Street is referred to in some reports as Cemal Gürsel Square, while in others it is called Kurtuluş Square.

[409] Ibid.

university occupations and labor strikes in France, the street protests in Germany and Italy, anti-imperialist resistance in Vietnam, and the revolutionary struggles in Latin America. These insurgent movements were followed and discussed, especially among politicians, socialist students, and intellectuals.[410] In this context, interlaced with the global impacts and local conditions, several university campuses in Turkey witnessed a series of boycotts and occupations between 1968 and 1971. These universities in Ankara that hosted boycotts and demonstrations in this period, which will be discussed in detail in this and the following parts, are shown in the city scale map, which clarifies their locations in relation to the city center and to each other as well. (Figure 64)

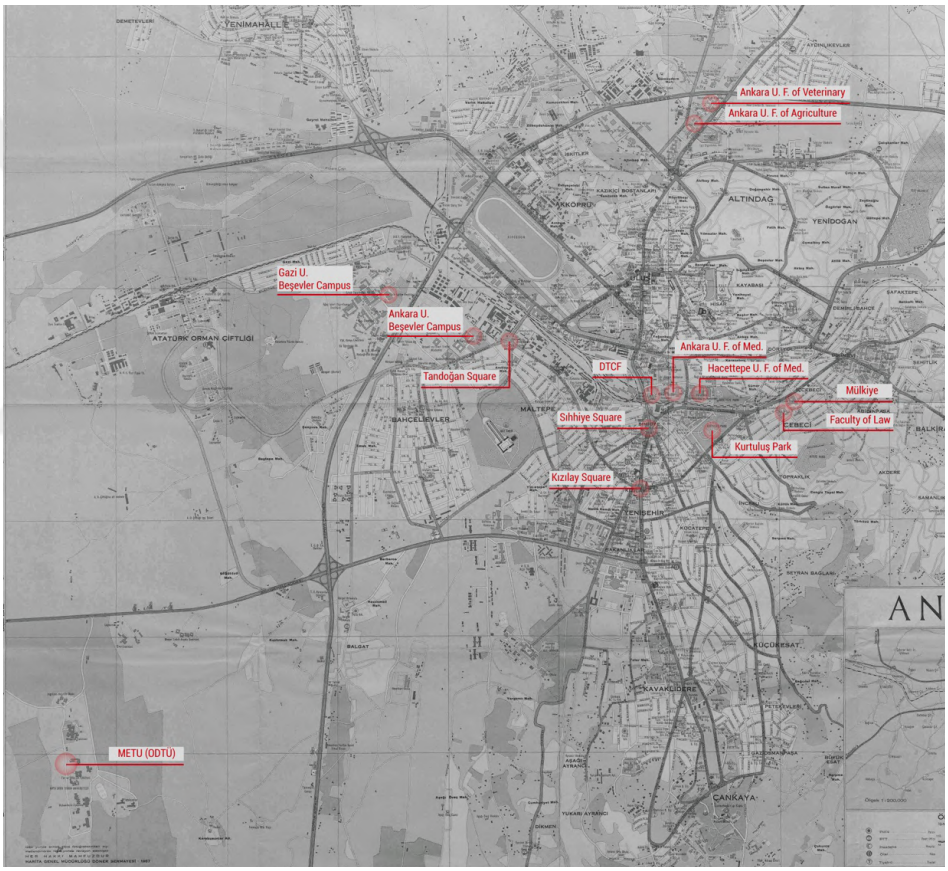


Figure 64: The locations of universities in which boycotts, occupations, and demonstrations took place between 1968 and 1971. (by the author)

Source of base map: Map of Ankara, 1967, SALT Archive.

[410] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 308-309.

The first university boycott and occupation took place in DTCF on June 10, 1968.[411] Students who reacted to the examination system occupied the faculty, prepared a list including their demands regarding the problems in education, and demanded an urgent educational reform.[412] The student union president expressed their decision to occupy as follows: "While the youth of the world are in far better conditions and struggle to obtain even better opportunities, the fact that we continue our education under rather primitive conditions and regulations is incompatible with the revolutionary position of Turkish youth. With this action, we have appropriated our Faculty's courtyard as a site of struggle for the revolutionary movements of all university youth in Turkey."[413] (Figure 65) This declaration is quite clarifying and striking in demonstrating how the occupation was organized as both a political and spatial act. Through their statements, students established connections between their actions and the struggles of the students in other countries, while also defining their political position as "revolutionary", embodying this stance with their educational demands. Designation of the faculty courtyard as a site of struggle, and their expression that indicates it is for all revolutionary student movements in Turkey, transformed this site into a space of resistance. This space is located behind the largest block of the faculty facing Atatürk Boulevard and is physically defined in a central position by the arrangement of its surrounding masses. As the physical production of space is inherently tied to the social production of it, these relations were inseparably connected to the realms of perception, symbolism, and imagination.[414] As such, through this concrete political action, students redefined the faculty space and its spatial practices by occupying it. Relatedly, they highlighted the faculty courtyard as a site of struggle that symbolizes the locus of their resistance and also a leading insurgent event for other universities. The emphasis that this space was appropriated for the revolutionary movements of all

[411] "Dil-Tarih öğrencileri Fakülteyi işgal etti," *Cumhuriyet*, June 11, 1968.

[412] Ibid.

[413] Ibid.

[414] Andrew Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no.4 (1993): 522.

university youth can be interpreted as a call to the student movement and a political aspiration to expand these actions. Thus, political imagination was there in anticipating the spread of these political actions with appropriated spaces and occupied universities in Turkey, and as expected, it unfolded in that way.

The DTCF occupation, which acted as a spark, spread to the Ankara Faculty of Law the next day, and was followed by demonstrations in Istanbul University, where an occupation began as well.[415] (Figure 66, Figure 67) Subsequently, Ankara Faculty of Medicine, Istanbul Technical University, and also many universities in other cities joined this wave of occupation; to the extent that within a few weeks, occupations took place in several universities, technical schools, private academies, and training institutes in Turkey.[416] Interestingly, neither Mülkiye nor METU participated in these university boycotts and occupations.[417] As conveyed by Alper, the decision to boycott in DTCF began as a spontaneous political action that was unplanned and unorganized in terms of division of labor.[418] Among the crowd gathered to protest against the exam system, a group of students proposed "adopting the models of European students" and occupying the university.[419] After the occupation started, an occupation committee was formed following a meeting among students, in which, as expected, socialist students played a dominant and active role.[420] At that point, if we remember our discussion about the long-term struggles and insurgent uprisings regarding the political action being spontaneous or planned, this first wave of boycott and occupation in

[415] "Hukuk Fakültesi de işgal edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, June 12, 1968, "Öğrenci olayları İstanbul'a sıçradı: Hukuk Fakültesi ve Rektörlük işgal edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, June 12, 1968.

[416] Aydın Çubukçu, *Bizim '68* (İstanbul: Kor Kitap, 2022), 83-87.

[417] Regarding this, Ertuğrul Kürkçü notes that the Student Union at METU was at the time under the leadership of social democrats, who did not engaged in any taking action. He adds that the Socialist Ideas Club (SFK) did not initiate a debate on the matter, and thus METU remained outside this initial wave of boycotts. Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "1960'lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi ve ODTÜ", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 71-72.

[418] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 313.

[419] Ibid.

[420] Ibid., 314.

Turkey presents a noteworthy case. The occupations indeed emerged spontaneously, and their speed of proliferation across the universities was remarkable; accordingly, these political actions can be understood as a revolt or uprising that was also articulated in the global conjuncture. As pointed out before, Rancière explains that the spontaneous revolt relies on the power of collective invention, and he stressed that this is not fleeting, but is conveyed through the "invention of other ways of using space and times."[421] Correspondingly, the occupation in DTCF created the space-time of collective invention, but it was not transmitted through the political tradition and existing forms of action in Turkey. Instead, it was conveyed through the universal influence and ideological exchanges from other insurgent movements, and the students truly invented it collectively within their specific context. In the suggestion of DTCF students, mentioned "models of European students" were directly the campus occupation and spatial appropriation as political acts, and the students shaped their own repertoire of collective action by learning and drawing inspiration from resistances in other countries. This shows how political actions activated through spatial appropriation could find concrete and powerful expressions and how this could expand the struggle across countries as well as within the particular context of a country. If we express it with Rancière's words, "the temporal accelerations, the reconfigurations of space and the unexpected sequence of actions," as seen in this first sequence of university boycotts in Turkey, were "active forces of struggle and transformation."[422] As parts of the repertoire of political action, boycott and occupation are inseparable. While a boycott means a collective stance in which agents express their objection to the ordinary functioning of a specific thing or space and declare their refusal to it, an occupation, for precisely these reasons, is a temporal and spatial act in which they collectively claim the space through interrupting its established order. Thus, they make campus space their own, a space of resistance, and new spatial practices are generated in accordance with the political content and demands of the action. As Pile explicitly indicates: "Resistance not only takes place in

[421] Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 294-295.

[422] Ibid.

place, but also seeks to appropriate space to make new spaces."[423] That is, "appropriated campus space for revolutionary youth movement" disseminated and created other spaces of resistance that increased the voice and dissent of students.



Dil - Tarih öğrencileri Fakülteyi işgal etti

Gençlerin reform istekleri 13 maddede toplanıyor

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

SINAVLAR ERTELENDİ, İSTEKLER İNCELENİYOR

Fakülte Yönetim Kurulu toplanıyor

Öğrenci Derneği Başkanının sözleri

Figure 65: "Dil-Tarih öğrencileri Fakülteyi işgal etti," *Cumhuriyet*, June 11, 1968.



ANKARA

Öğrenci hareketleri genişliyor

Hukuk Fakültesi de işgal edildi

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

Figure 66: "Hukuk fakültesi de işgal edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, June 12, 1968.

[423] Steve Pile, "Introduction: Opposition, Political Identities and Spaces of Resistance," in *Geographies of Resistance*, Steve Pile and Michael Keith (London: Routledge, 1997), 16.

In other respects, the boycotts, albeit spontaneous in their beginning, grew on the political ground of an already organized youth movement; the occupation committees and the processes of boycott were largely coordinated by socialist students. The demands of the boycotts mainly centered on the education system, such as the suspension of tuition fees, reforms in examination systems, participation in university governance, etc. Within the broader mobilization of 1968, these demands would be intersected with the socio-political issues of the country and formulated within ideological concerns. In this regard, students became increasingly politicized throughout the occupations, with many joining socialist organizations, and the Federation of Clubs of Thought (FKF) gained greater recognition and representation within the student movement.[424] In a sense, the collective invention and the experience of revolt did not diverge from the long-term struggles; rather, it was encompassed and strengthened together. Alongside the occupations and boycotts, two marches were organized in Ankara in this period: students from DTCF, on June 12, and students from the Faculty of Agriculture, on June 16, departed from their campuses and walked through Sıhhiye to reach Kızılay, where they protested in front of Bakanlıklar.[425] In the time of the insurgent movement, the march route proceeding along Atatürk Boulevard, and reaching Bakanlıklar from Kızılay Square, is considerable in terms of breaking the imposed restrictions and diverging from a predetermined path. Yet, the focus was mainly on holding the campuses, rather than street protests, during this first wave of occupations. As such, the news reports show that the students acted as lookouts and guarded the buildings with barricades. After the acceptance of the majority of their demands, the occupations at Ankara Faculty of Law and DTCF ended on June 22 and June 23.[426] By the end of June, boycotts in several universities also came to an end as their demands were generally accepted.

[424] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 289.

[425] "Dil-Tarih coğrafya öğrencileri Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı'na yürüdüler," *Cumhuriyet*, June 12, 1968.

[426] "Üniversitelerde işgal ve boykotlar sona eriyor," *Cumhuriyet*, June 23, 1968.


Tıp Fakültesi öğrencileri de dün gece
Boykot kararı aldılar
Dil - Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Öğrencileri
Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına yürüdüler
Bendit ilticayı düşünüyor
Öğrenci olayları İstanbul'a sıçradı
Hukuk Fakültesi ve Rektörlük işgal edildi
Paris, alevler içinde bir gece geçirdi
Gösterilerin merhametsizce bastırılacağı açıklandı
İstanbul Hukuk Fakültesi imtihanları ertelendi
Dil - Tarih'te, boykotçuların bazı istekleri kabul olundu
Fen Fakültesi de karıştı

Figure 67: "Öğrenci olayları İstanbul'a sıçradı: Hukuk Fakültesi ve Rektörlük işgal edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, June 12, 1968.

The visit of the Sixth Fleet to Istanbul in July 1968 led to intense student protests and street clashes between the students and the police. On July 15, large-scale demonstrations, including predominantly ITU students, targeted the arrival of the Sixth Fleet with occasional attacks on groups of American soldiers and clashes with the police.[427] Two days later, the police raided the ITU dormitory and violently assaulted students, leaving several students seriously injured.[428] That same day, the students revolted against both the fleet and the brutal police violence and marched to Dolmabahçe, where they attacked the American soldiers and threw them into the sea.[429] This became a symbolic action of the 1968 movement in Turkey that demonstrates the growing militancy and radicalization of it. Vedat Demircioğlu, who was exposed to police violence at ITU, died on 24 July.[430] The police's forceful

[427] "Gençler 6. Filo'yu protesto ettiler," *Cumhuriyet*, July 16, 1968.

[428] "Teknik Üniversite yurdunu polis bastı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 18, 1968.

[429] "Çatışmalarda 53 öğrenci 4 polis yaralandı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 18, 1968.

[430] "Komadaki genç öldü ve...," *Cumhuriyet*, July 25, 1968.

intervention at the university[431] and the cruel violence in the demonstrations were precursors of the forthcoming clashes between police and students. This brutality and the death of Vedat Demircioğlu led students to view the police as a repressive apparatus confronting them directly and to intensify their struggle against it. Uysal notes that these incidents during the Sixth Fleet protests transformed campuses into sites of conflict, and this both politicized the space of the campus and the student movement.[432] She emphasizes that state and police pressures on campuses played a significant role in propelling political actions from university campuses to the streets.[433]

Ankara, meanwhile, witnessed a new wave of university boycotts in early October, which started with the Ankara University Faculty of Medicine, Ankara School of Commerce and Tourism Teacher Education, and METU Faculty of Architecture.[434] (Figure 68) METU Faculty of Architecture students called for a forum to discuss issues such as the preparation of curriculum, the content of education, and the lack of student representation in university administration, etc.[435] Following this forum, the boycott decision was taken, and subsequently, other faculties in the university initiated the boycotts with similar demands.[436] (Figure 69) Forums were democratic meetings in which students convened to deliberate on the topics concerning the university and to make collective decisions. Kürkçü states that holding a forum was the first at METU, and was introduced in the Faculty of Architecture, and that these forums continued for years to function as self-governing bodies that were rooted in mass struggle.[437] He

[431] Since university campuses were autonomous, police intervention on campus was legally prohibited.

[432] Ayşen Uysal, "Mayıs 68 ve Toplumsal Hareketlerin Uluslararası Dolaşımı," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), 59.

[433] Ibid.

[434] "Ankara'da boykot olayları genişliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, October 4, 1968.

[435] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "1960'lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi ve ODTÜ", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 73-74.

[436] Ibid., "Ortadoğu'daki boykota bir fakülte daha katıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, October 4, 1968.

[437] Ibid.

emphasizes that this practice of the forum, in which all students participated in the decision-making processes, had not been organized in any university until that time, and notes that it was a new and creative experience for them as well.[438] These unique practices would be created and perpetuated in the METU student movement, which was increasingly radicalized and developing its own revolutionary practices and mechanisms within the course of struggle; we will return to this later.


Ankara'da boykot olayları genişliyor

İstanbul · İktisat ve Dişçilik Fakülteleri öğretim ve sınav yönetmelikleri kabul edildi

(CUMHURİYET BÜROSU)

ANKARA — Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi ve Ankara Ticaret ve Turizm Yüksek Öğretmen Okulunda devam etmekte olan boykot alıcılarında dün yeni gelişmeler olmuştur. Ticaret ve Turizm Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu Müdürü İrfan Tarı ayrak polis gücüyle okula girebilmiş, O.D.T.Ü'nde üç fakülte daha boykot için hazırlıklara başlamıştır. Tıp Fakültesi öğrencileri ise, Fakülte yönetimlerine haber göndererek, bugün akşama kadar istekleri kabul edilmediği takdirde, kesin işgale başlayacaklarını bildirmişlerdir.

Yüksek okuldaki olaylar

Ticaret ve Turizm Yüksek Öğretmen Okulunda, eyleri bütünleme sınavlarına girmeyen 197 öğrencinin yönetmeliğe uyularak sınıfta bırakılması, 36 öğrencinin kaydının silinmesi üzerine, 27 gündür süregelen boykotun havası dün birden değişmiş ve öğrenciler Okul Müdürünü işyerine sokmamak için kapıyı tutmuşlardır. Durum üzerine (Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 1 de)


Ortadoğu'daki boykota bir fakülte daha katıldı

ANKARA, (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesindeki boykota, Mimarlık Fakültesinden sonra dün, İdari İlimler Fakültesi de katılmış ve öğrenciler derslere girmemişlerdir.

Tıp Fakültesindeki boykotta yeni bir gelişme olmamış, ancak, Fakültenin Profesörler Kurulu toplanarak öğrenci isteklerini görüşmeye başlamıştır.

Buradaki boykotçu öğrenciler, en geç Pazartesi gününe kadar bekleyeceklerini, olumlu bir cevap alamazlarsa kesin işgale başlayacaklarını söylemişlerdir.

Turizm ve Ticaret Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu öğrencileri ise, dün yayınladıkları bildiri ile okul müdürünün makamına polis gücüyle gelmesini kınamışlardır.

Yüksek Okul kaynıyor

Ticaret ve Turizm Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu öğrencileri, önceki günkü olaydan sonra okulu terketmiş, dün de binaya girmemişlerdir.

Okul Müdürü İrfan Tarı'nın önceki günkü olaydan sonra evine ve görevine polis refakatinde gidip geldiği öğrenilmiştir.

Figure 68: "Ankara'da boykot olayları genişliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, October 4, 1968.

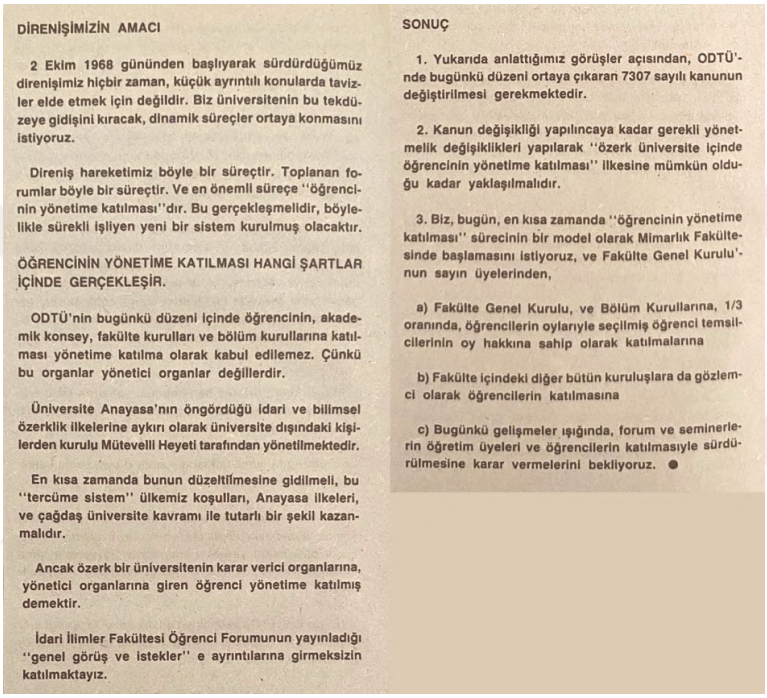
Figure 69: "Ortadoğu'daki boykota bir fakülte daha katıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, October 4, 1968.

When examining the students' forum decisions and boycott demands, there were mainly two interrelated aims of their resistance: The first one is a change in the law that allowed METU to be governed by a separate board of trustees, differing from the other universities in Turkey.[439] As mentioned in the part on the formation of METU, the university was administered by a board in which American officials were involved in decisions and provided funding. As such, the students opposed the American influence over their university and demanded that its own constituents govern it.

[438] Ibid.

[439] *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, *Türkiye'de 1968*, 500.

Secondly, they called for active participation and voting rights of students in the faculty and department boards, emphasizing their demand for an autonomous university.[440] (Figure 70) These statements were particularly important in shaping the students' political subjectivity as decision-making political actors, in parallel with the increasing power of the youth movement in this period. While the first one was not fulfilled, the second one was accepted, allowing student representatives to be included in academic boards, and the boycotts were ended.[441]



DİRENİŞİMİZİN AMACI

2 Ekim 1968 gününden başlıyarak sürdürdüğümüz direnişimiz hiçbir zaman, küçük ayrıntılı konularda taviz-ler elde etmek için değildir. Biz üniversitenin bu tekdü-zeye gidişini kıracak, dinamik süreçler ortaya konmasını istiyoruz.

Direniş hareketimiz böyle bir süreçtir. Toplanan fo-rumlar böyle bir süreçtir. Ve en önemli süreçe ''öğrenci-nin yönetime katılması''dır. Bu gerçekleşmelidir, böyle-likle sürekli işliyen yeni bir sistem kurulmuş olacaktır.

ÖĞRENCİNİN YÖNETİME KATILMASI HANGİ ŞARTLAR İÇİNDE GERÇEKLEŞİR.

ODTÜ'nin bugünkü düzeni içinde öğrencinin, akade-mik konsey, fakülte kurulları ve bölüm kurullarına katıl-ması yönetime katılma olarak kabul edilemez. Çünkü bu organlar yönetici organlar değillerdir.

Üniversite Anayasa'nın öngördüğü idari ve bilimsel özerklik ilkelerine aykırı olarak üniversite dışındaki kişi-lerden kurulu Mütevelli Heyeti tarafından yönetilmektedir.

En kısa zamanda bunun düzeltilmesine gidilmeli, bu ''tercüme sistem'' ülkemiz koşulları, Anayasa ilkeleri, ve çağdaş üniversite kavramı ile tutarlı bir şekil kazan-malıdır.

Ancak özerk bir üniversitenin karar verici organlarına, yönetici organlarına giren öğrenci yönetime katılmış demektir.

İdari İlimler Fakültesi Öğrenci Forumunun yayınladığı ''genel görüş ve istekler'' e ayrıntılarına girmeksizin katılmaktayız.

SONUÇ

1. Yukarıda anlattığımız görüşler açısından, ODTÜ'-nde bugünkü düzeni ortaya çıkaran 7307 sayılı kanunun değiştirilmesi gerekmektedir.

2. Kanun değişikliği yapılıncaya kadar gerekli yönet-melik değişiklikleri yapılarak ''özerk üniversite içinde öğrencinin yönetime katılması'' ilkesine mümkün oldu-ğu kadar yaklaşılmalıdır.

3. Biz, bugün, en kısa zamanda ''öğrencinin yönetime katılması'' sürecinin bir model olarak Mimarlık Fakülte-sinde başlamasını istiyoruz, ve Fakülte Genel Kurulu'-nun sayın üyelerinden,

a) Fakülte Genel Kurulu, ve Bölüm Kurullarına, 1/3 oranında, öğrencilerin oylarıyle seçilmiş öğrenci temsil-cilerinin oy hakkına sahip olarak katılmalarına

b) Fakülte içindeki diğer bütün kuruluşlara da gözlem-ci olarak öğrencilerin katılmasına

c) Bugünkü gelişmeler ışığında, forum ve seminerle-rin öğretim üyeleri ve öğrencilerin katılmasıyle sürdü-rülmesine karar vermelerini bekliyoruz. ●

Figure 70: "ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Öğrenci Forumu'na Karar Tasarısıdır," *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, *Türkiye'de 1968*, 500.

In November 1968, a boycott also began at the Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye).[442] The students' demands were as follows: university reform, no to the culture of imperialism, a democratic university, national and public-oriented

[440] Ibid.

[441] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "1960'lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi ve ODTÜ", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 74.

[442] "Siyasal Bilgiler'de boykot başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, November 4, 1968.

education, university education for children of workers and peasants, private schools ought to come under state administration, and students should participate in university governance.[443] (Figure 71, Figure 72) The objectives of the students have gained a broader social and political content, and they approached the issues of university education through this political and ideological framework. It seems that while the extensive scope of the demands made achieving concrete outcomes difficult, it served to mobilize and organize the students within the rising social movement. In this sense, the campus space was the main ground where these objectives were expressed, disseminated, and engaged among the students, especially during the boycott. However, as Alper states, this second wave of the boycotts was weaker than that of June and resulted in fewer substantive gains.[444]



Siyasal Bilgiler'de boykot başladı

Cumhuriyet Bürosu

ANKARA — Ankara Üniversitesinde 1968-1969 ders yılının ilk boykotu dün saboh saat 8.30'dan itibaren Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesinde başlamıştır. Geçtiğimiz Haziran ayındaki boykot ve işgal olaylarının dışında kalan Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, öğrencileri, önceki akşam boykot kararı almış ve uygulamaya geçmişlerdir. Bir grup öğrenci ise, boykota karşı çıkmış ve sınıflarda için sırası toplanmaya başlamışlardır.

Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesindeki boykot sebebiyle dün saat 11'de bir basın toplantısı yapan Öğrenci Derneği Başkanı Murat Koğacıoğlu, boykot nedenlerini ve isteklerini açıklamıştır. Koğacıoğlu bu sebeplerin iki ana bölümde toplanıldığı, bunlardan birisinin genel eğitim sorunları, diğerinin ise Fakültesiyle ilgili sorunlar olduğunu söylemiş ve konuşmasına şöyle devam etmiştir:

«Demokratik bir Üniversite istiyoruz, ulusal ve halka dönük eğitim istiyoruz, (Özel okullar derhâl devletleştirilmeli-

(Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 6 da)

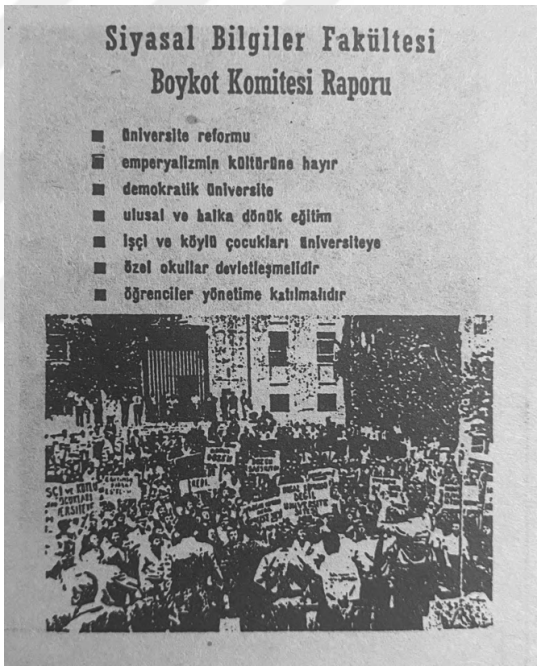


Figure 71: "Siyasal Bilgiler'de boykot başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, November 4, 1968.

Figure 72: "Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Boykot Komitesi Raporu," *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, *Türkiye'de 1968*, 489.

[443] *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, *Türkiye'de 1968*, 489.

[444] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 332-333.

When we return to METU, it can be stated that the process of boycott both expanded the existing socialist organization in the university and fostered the emergence of certain political and spatial practices that had crucial significance in mass politicization in campus. Çulhaoğlu indicates that the Socialist Thought Club (SFK) was an influential and decisive focal organization that could mobilize the vast majority of students in political actions and decisions.[445] Moreover, the Student Union, elected by the students, was also a prominent body concerning their representation and taking a common position. Yet, the forums that were experienced during the boycott broadened the decision-making processes, and at the same time facilitated the organization and conduct of the political actions. Occupation and boycott committees were founded in these forums, and the course of the political actions was determined in an open and accessible way to all students. Ali Artun claims that the '68 movement was a mass movement and spontaneous, which was not carried through parties or factions, but through democratic student associations.[446] Thus, he notes that they convened forums frequently, and these took place either in Üçlü Amfi or the stadium.[447] Tuncay Çelen, a member of the student movement in that period, further remarks that large-scale forums often took place in the stadium, emphasizing the forums' profoundly democratic character.[448] (Figure 73)

In this regard, the conceived and ordinary functions of the stadium were suspended, and new spatial and political practices were invented and constructed for the needs of resistance. As in its central and symbolic position in the architectural design of the campus, it was also central and symbolic throughout the boycott process; yet it constituted another way of using space and creating meaning this time, as a space of political deliberation and decision-making. These lived experiences, symbolic meanings, and political imaginations, in a sense, were inscribed in the stadium with

[445] Metin Çulhaoğlu, "SFK'nın Bir Ağırlığı Vardı, Çekim Merkeziydi", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 93.

[446] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[447] Ibid.

[448] Tuncay Çelen, interview by author, Ankara, November 10, 2024.

the slogan of "Devrim" (Revolution) in 1968. Mustafa Yalçıner, one of the students who painted the slogan, recounts that this action was not planned, but rather they decided spontaneously to write Devrim on the stadium's steps.[449] The physical presence of this inscription reciprocally formed the social, political, and symbolic production of space, associated with the transmission of revolutionary practices. Therefore, it simultaneously evokes the shared experiences and struggles of the past, and, as the slogan itself implies, persistently points out a political horizon and goal toward the revolution.

After this boycott process, the visit of Komer, the US ambassador to Turkey[450], to METU on January 6, 1969, marked a significant point both in the history of METU and for the socialist movement in Turkey. Students, who had learnt this visit incidentally, gathered in front of the rectorate building and protested against the ambassador; the crowd rapidly grew, and Komer's car was burned by the students.[451] (Figure 74) Thus, an explicit and decisive position was taken against the US ambassador through this political action, and it had a profound public impact.[452] The students identified as responsible were targeted for arrest, and the university was closed for a month.[453] (Figure 75) In response, the action was collectively embraced and claimed by METU students; they organized forums, collected signatures declaring that they themselves had set the car on fire, and coordinated a powerful political

[449] Mustafa Yalçıner, "Stadyuma Devrim Yazmayı Ayaküstü Kararlaştırdık", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 130-132.

[450] Komer, known as "the Butcher of Vietnam", was one of the officials who directed the United States' 'pacification' movement in Vietnam, thus he was one of the main figures responsible for imperialist repression, deaths and tortures in there. For this reason, his appointment as US Ambrassador to Ankara led to strong reactions within the student movement. In Istanbul, they collected signatures to oppose his appointment and numerous protests were organized, while in Ankara, students staged a demonstration at Esenboğa Airport on the day of his arrival to the city. See, Tuncay Çelen, "Komer Türkiye'ye Geliyor", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 94-95.

[451] Tuncay Çelen, "Komer'in Arabası Yakılıyor", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 98-99.

[452] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "Komer Olayı ve İşgaller", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 75-76.

[453] "Rektör Kurdaş Öğrencilerin Teslim Olmasını İstedi," *Cumhuriyet*, January 11, 1969.

campaign by publishing magazines that explained the political and social rationale behind this action.[454] In this political solidarity and counter-hegemonic legitimacy, the students who were being pursued by the police surrendered with the support of the crowd march[455] in METU, and were released two months later. Rearticulating the area in front of the rectorate building as a site of insurgency, the action transformed this space that conventionally embodied institutional authority into a locus of political contention. (Figure 76) This solidarity march started with a gathering in this contested space. With this political action, students set forth their defiance of American imperialism as well as asserted their political and spatial agency in the university as their own spaces.



Figure 73: A forum in Devrim stadium, 1968.

Source: *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 77.

[454] Tuncay Çelen, "Komer Davası", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 104-105.

[455] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.



Amerikan B. Elçisinin arabası yakıldı

● SAVCILIK, ORTADOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNDEKİ OLAYDA 9 ÖĞRENCİNİN TUTUKLANMASINI İSTEDİ

ANKARA, (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

Amerikan Büyükelçisi Robert Kommer'in 06 DC 001 plâkalı makam otomobili, dün sanı 13.30'da, Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesinde bir grup öğrenci tarafından yakılmış, geç saatlere kadar süren Savcılık soruşturması sonunda 9 öğrenci, suçlu görülmüştür. Polis, Savcılığın tevkiflerini istediği bu öğrencileri, Sorgu Yargıçlığına sevketmek üzere aramaktadır. Olay; Büyükelçinin, Rektör Kurdaş'ın yemeğine davetli olarak Üniversitede bulunduğu sırada meydana gelmiştir.

ORTADOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ÖĞRENCİLERİ TARAFINDAN TERS ÇEVRİLEREK YAKILAN AMERİKAN BÜYÜKELÇİSİ KOMMER'İN MAKAM OTOMOBİLİ Telefoto - Haber Ajansı - ANKARA

REKTÖR KEMAL KURDAŞ, ABD BÜYÜKELÇİSİ KOMMER'İN ORTADOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNİ ZİYARETİ SIRASINDA YAKILAN OTOMOBİLİ HAKKINDA GAZETECİLERE BİLGİ VERİYOR

Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Rektörü Kemal Kurdaş, «Olay, son derece üzücüdür. En şiddetli tepkileri gösteriyorum. Zarbuğa, tüm olayı kınıyorum, tepkiyorum» demiştir. Büyükelçi Kommer de, «Derin üzüntü duyuyorum, ancak bir olayın, bizim Amerika'nın geniş ölçüde desteğini sağladığı bir alanda gerçekleşmiş bulunmu şiddet unsuru olduğunu» belirtmiştir. Dışişleri Bakanı Çağlayangil ise, «Eğitim makamlarımızın ve, Hükümetimizin bu olay hakkında hassasiyetle davranışına şüphe yoktur. Bu türlü olay karşısında duyduğum derin üzüntüyü ifade etmek istiyorum» demiştir.

(Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 3 de)

Figure 74: "Amerikan B. Elçisinin arabası yakıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, January 7, 1969.



Rektör Kurdaş, öğrencilerin teslim olmasını istedi

■İKİ BİN ÖĞRENCİ, ORTADOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNİN KAPATILMASINI PROTESTO ETTİ

Ankara (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

Akademik Konsey'in Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesindeki derslere 1 ay ara verilmesi yolundaki kararı, öğrenciler tarafından tepkiyle karşılanmış ve dün sabah, Rektörlüğün önünde toplanan 2 bin kadar öğrenci, kararı protesto etmişlerdir.

Öte yandan, ODTÜ Rektörü Kemal Kurdaş, aranan 7 öğrencinin, adli makamlara kendilikklerinden teslimini isteyen bir bildiri yayımlamıştır.

Protesto

Üniversite Yurdunda kalan öğrenciler dün sabahtan itibaren memleketlerine dönmeye başlamış, derslik ve kafeteryalar Rektörlüğün emri ile kilitlenmiştir. Sadece idari bürolar çalışmaktadır.

Konsey'in kararından sonra jandarma, Üniversitede saklandıkları sanılan 7 öğrenciyi yakalamak için bir arama yapacaktır. Yetkililer, arama için uygun bir zamanı beklemektedirler.

«Sütünü içsin»

Akademik Konseyin derslere ara verme kararını, bir kısmı sabah okula gidildikten sonra öğrenen öğrencilerden 2 bin kadarı, Rektörlüğün önünde top-

(Arkası Sa. 7, Sü. 7 de)

Figure 75: "Rektör Kurdaş Öğrencilerin Teslim Olmasını İstedi," *Cumhuriyet*, January 11, 1969.



Figure 76: In front of the rectorate building, while Komer's car was burning, January 6, 1969.

Source: *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 99.

As recounted by Kürkçü and Çelen, in the aftermath of these events, METU students experienced a rapid politicization, during which the sphere of influence of the socialist movement broadened considerably.[456] In this context, along with the increasing reactions to the university administration, the architecture students occupied the Faculty of Architecture on April 7, 1969.[457] Subsequently, as a consequence of the forum that was held at Devrim, all faculties and the rectorate building were occupied by the students.[458] (Figure 77) During the occupation, despite the repression of the university administration, the spaces in campus, such as the faculties, cafeteria, and dormitories, were appropriated by the students and transformed into spaces of resistance where revolutionary and insurgent practices were produced for the needs and continuation of the occupation. The occupation of the rectorate building, in

[456] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "Komer Olayı ve İşgaller", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 75, Tuncay Çelen, "Komer Davası", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 105.

[457] "ODTÜ'de Bir Fakülte İşgal Edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, April 8, 1969.

[458] "ODTÜ'de Öğrenciler Rektörlüğü İşgal Etti," *Cumhuriyet*, April 9, 1969.

particular, constituted a physical as well as a symbolic spatial and political attitude, interrupting the "normal course of functioning" of the university.

From a broader perspective, the sequence of political actions at METU since 1968 was situated both within its distinctive conditions through its invented space-times that relate to different temporal layers of the actions, and within the political and social processes of the revolutionary movement in Turkey. Thus, these actions were both revolutionary and insurgent. On defining and contemplating the political events, Rancière claims that "identifying a sequence of facts as an event thus means identifying not simply a break insider a normal causal linkage but the emergence of another form of temporality that sets to work another form of rationality."[459] This another form of temporality working with another form of rationality is manifested, generated, and materialized through the production of space, as Lefebvre's emphasis, with "its components (...) bound toghether by internal links and connections themselves produced by time."[460] Therefore, the processual production of the space of resistance is connected to and shaped by these temporal layers and another form of political rationality, and hence, by revolutionary struggles and insurgent actions. In this sense, the sequence of political actions in METU presents notable cases regarding the processual production of resistance spaces and interrelations between the spatial, the temporal, and the political.

When examining the social life that laid the ground for these struggles and political actions, the narratives of revolutionary students underscore how spatial and social practices in both the faculties and the campus were constitutive. In this regard, Ali Artun states that the social life in both METU and the Faculty of Architecture was quite free, participatory, critical, and democratic, which was substantial in the formation of students' political consciousness.[461] Especially pointing out the creative and critical milieu in the faculty, he notes that students challenged the existing system

[459] Jacques Rancière, "Repoliticizing 68," *Crisis and Critique* 5, no. 2 (2018): 286.

[460] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 110.

[461] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

and demanded a radical transformation in education through certain distinct attitudes, such as determining their own project's content, producing collective works, participation, and equal representation in the faculty board.[462] Also, Akın Atauz recalls that the students followed revolutionary movements around the world through the journals in the library and extensively discussed how to continue their own struggle in the local context.[463] They distributed leaflets and printed posters about anti-imperialist independence movements, and created a large map at the entrance of the cafeteria, which depicts all these struggles across the globe and was regularly updated.[464] Thus, within this critical social environment, students constituted themselves as political subjects who articulated a revolutionary position toward their own concerns and problems in the university, but more importantly, toward the political trajectory of Turkey. Through these practices, which operated through the spatial and social engagements, students deployed their skills and knowledge for the articulation and continuation of the struggle.

One of the most creative and distinct examples of this was the Revolutionary Poster Atelier at METU between 1968 and 1971. Aysan defines the Revolutionary Poster Atelier at METU, which was organized in the Faculty of Architecture, as "a massive propaganda center that initially began in the university but rapidly expanded in the country in a way that designed and sent thousands of posters to every region."[465] Produced mostly by architecture students, these design-oriented posters were collective works created anonymously and spontaneously using serigraphy, photography, and various other techniques invented by the students.[466] This practice

[462] Ali Artun, "ODTÜ'de 68 ve Sanat Olarak Devrim", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 84-85.

[463] Akın Atauz, interview by author, Ankara, October 27, 2024.

[464] Ali Artun, "ODTÜ'de 68 ve Sanat Olarak Devrim", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 82.

[465] Yılmaz Aysan, *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 12.

[466] Yılmaz Aysan, "ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi'nin Öyküsü 1968-1971", in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 104.

was creative, participatory, and embraced the skills of everyone as they were. The posters were produced with an immediacy and sense of urgency to inform political expressions and actions; in Aysan's words, "revolution and communication were intertwined."[467] Kürkçü also mentions that the creation of posters involved a spontaneous division of labor and emphasizes that what characterized this practice was rapidness, simplicity, and the ability to convey its political message in a unique and revolutionary way.[468] Hence, it served to convey and disseminate the socialist ideas as well as to inform the political actions both in the university, but more significantly, in different parts of the country in a striking and powerful manner. As Artun indicates, the posters accompanied political actions and were produced collectively and simultaneously with them; this rapid and creative form of visual communication was an integrated element of most of the struggles in '68 across the world.[469] This reminds Ross's words on the revolutionary Atelier Populaire, practiced at the occupied Beaux-Arts by students during the '68 events in France. Emphasizing the distinctiveness of art production centering on presentation, rather than representation, she says that "Nothing, that is, in the message aspires to a level of 'representing' what was occurring; the goal, rather, is to be at one with -at the same time with, contemporary with- whatever was occurring."[470] Political art within the experience of the Revolutionary Poster Atelier at METU shares this specificity.

This practice was also a radical spatial act. These productions took place in the Faculty of Architecture, in which the wood and metal workshops and poster workbenches were used, along with the systems that students had constructed themselves.[471] Printing posters continued day and night, and the posters spread out the gallery space of the

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[467] Ibid.

[468] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, "ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi'nin Öyküsü 1968-1971"*,* in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 136.

[469] Ali Artun, "ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi'nin Öyküsü 1968-1971"*,* in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 127.

[470] Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 25.

[471] Ali Artun, "ODTÜ'de 68 ve Sanat Olarak Devrim"*,* in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 83.

faculty, where a perpetual process of collective creation was taking place.[472] (Figure 33) This demonstrates how the appropriation of existing spaces and their tools could generate an influential political impact through the invention of social and spatial practices and redefining functions and meanings. Moreover, it reveals the significance of a specific space, relatively distant from the city center and to some extent regarded as enclosed, in establishing connections, through these practices, both with the city and with the other spaces of resistance in the country. In this vein, along with sending posters to ongoing struggles in villages and cities, Barutçu remarks that they published the Screen-Printing Technique Handbook and distributed it to many parts of the country.[473] Besides, he notes that they undertook a tour throughout Turkey and visited several cities to teach revolutionaries the methods of poster printing.[474] In parallel, Tuğrul Paşaoğlu, who was a revolutionary student at Mülkiye, narrates that they wrote numerous leaflets by using the mimeograph machine and disseminated them throughout the country.[475]

These practices not only enabled the circulation of political discourses across spaces but also contributed to the spatial and organizational bridge between the youth movement and the broader network of resistance constituted by laborers and peasants, fostering interaction and strengthening collective struggle. This interaction was reciprocal: students also learned from workers' and peasants' struggles, strengthening their socialist engagement within this rising social mobilization. Over the course of 1969, the student movement increasingly moved beyond the campuses and inscribed itself more in the streets, becoming more visible and powerful. As Kozacıoğlu observes, this transition can also be traced in the posters: Whereas early posters emphasize boycotts and occupations in the universities, later ones increasingly

[472] Ali Artun, "ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi'nin Öyküsü 1968-1971", in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 129.

[473] Hasan Barutçu, "ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi'nin Öyküsü 1968-1971", in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 106.

[474] Ibid.

[475] Tuğrul Paşaoğlu, interview by author, Istanbul, December 7, 2024.

articulated general and ideological slogans, such as “Independent Turkey” and “Long Live the Revolution,”[476] signaling political as well as spatial broadening of the movement. (Figure 78, Figure 79)

These posters marked the streets of Ankara with political action and propaganda, thus constituting a prominent part of the production and experience of urban space. At the time, as Aysan states, only a few posters appeared on the street walls, so urban residents were not familiar with seeing such visual political materials in daily life.[477] Hence, the posters drew significant attention and provided an influential medium of political transmission; that is, the walls of urban spaces functioned as a communication tool for the socialist movement.[478] Artun mentions that they frequently went to Kızılay to hang posters; they started around Bakanlıklar, carried out intensively in and around Kızılay Square, and continued along the boulevard leading to Mülkiye.[479] Before organized rallies or marches, they put up posters along the routes of these political actions.[480] These posters were designed with different dimensions according to where they would be displayed.[481] (Figure 80)

These reciprocal physical and political relations between revolutionary struggle and urban space were embodied in the creative experiences of the students. In a sense, through posters, they punctuated specific routes and spaces, thereby inscribing their political presence and the power of the socialist movement in the city. The physical surfaces in the streets became instruments for political expressions, while the movement during political actions in these streets socially and representationally

[476] Sait Kozacıoğlu, “ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi’nin Öyküsü 1968-1971”, in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 140.

[477] Yılmaz Aysan, “ODTÜ Devrimci Afiş Atölyesi’nin Öyküsü 1968-1971”, in *Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 104.

[478] Ibid.

[479] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[480] Ibid.

[481] Ibid.

reproduced these spaces through the new rhythms, meanings, and experiences in urban space. Consequently, these visual productions interlaced with the political and spatial acts emerged as spontaneous and insurgent operations in their temporality but also continued as perpetual and revolutionary practices between 1968 and 1971.

The spaces in the university were appropriated and managed collectively by the students. Emphasizing the communal relations in the university, Ağırnaslı states that they occupied the cafeteria and canteens and prepared their own meals together.[482] Also, Artun mentions that during the boycotts, architecture students organized open classes in the faculty.[483] Stavrides mentions the different spatialities during the resistance, in regard to spatiality means comprehensive conditions and characteristics of the space, rather than the physical arrangement of it.[484] The spatialities formed through new practices can be conceived both as the product and the precondition of the political action.[485] Thus, these spaces were maintained through another way of practices and spatialities collectively and provided the continuation of the occupation. From a broader perspective, it can be argued that the space-times of boycotts and occupations as political action forms articulated long-term actions and spatial practices that reconfigure the functions and meanings of the spaces. This generates the grounds for repetition, transmission, and continuation of such insurgent and revolutionary acts. Therefore, they inscribe into social and spatial memory, thereby creating and reproducing a tradition of political and spatial inventions.

The occupation at METU came to an end on April 13, when the gendarmerie raided the rectorate building.[486] The students, as they planned, escaped through the underground tunnels with the help of the map, and the security forces found the

[482] Nuran Ağırnaslı, in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 78.

[483] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[484] Stavros Stavrides, *Towards the City of Thresholds* (New York: Common Notions, 2019), 124.

[485] Ibid.

[486] "Jandarma ODTÜ'yü baskınla geri aldı," *Cumhuriyet*, April 13, 1969.

building empty.[487] However, some students were arrested in the dormitory area while escaping; following these, the university administration closed the school for an extended period.[488] In a subsequent forum, students, especially the members of SFK, decided to disperse into various cities and villages across Anatolia, both as a protest against the government's repressive policies and as a means of conveying their struggle to the broader public.[489]



Kurdaş, makamından çıkarıldı

ODTÜ'de öğrenciler Rektörlüğü işgal etti

Fiilî duruma son verilmezse Üniversite, 1 Ekim 1969'a kadar kapatılacak

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu

Mimarlık Fakültesi binasının işgalinden sonra, dün de bir grup Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi öğrencisi, camları kırarak Rektörlüğü işgal etmiş bunun üzerine dışarda toplanan Akademik Konsey, fiilî durumu 4 güne kadar son verilmediği taktirde, Üniversitenin 1 Ekim 1969'a kadar tatilini, oybirliğiyle kararlaştırmıştır. Halen Üniversite, 12 Nisan'a kadar tatil edilmiş bulunmaktadır. Rektörlüğün işgali üzerine makamından ayrılmak zorunda kalan Rektör Kemal Kurdaş, «Bu zorbalığa karşı koyacağız» demiş ve öğrencileri akıl selime davet etmiştir.

Rektörlüğe gidiliyor

Figure 77: "ODTÜ'de Öğrenciler Rektörlüğü İşgal Etti," *Cumhuriyet*, April 9, 1969.

[487] Metin Çulhaoğlu, "Üniversite İşgali (Nisan 1969)", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 108-109.

[488] Ibid.

[489] Tayfur Cinemre, "Boykotlar Sürerken ODTÜ'lüler Anadolu'ya Dağılıyor", in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 106-107.





Figure 78, 79: Posters produced by the Revolutionary Poster Atelier at METU, 1968-1971.

Source: Yılmaz Aysan, Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 150-151.

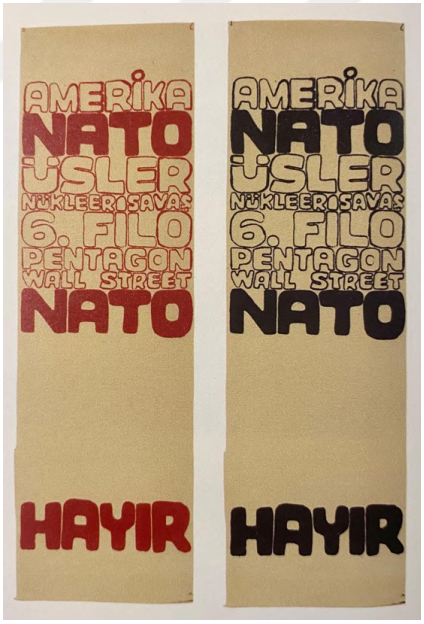


Figure 80: Posters designed for longitudinal surfaces, produced by the Revolutionary Poster Atelier at METU, 1968-1971.

Source: Yılmaz Aysan, Afişe Çıkmak: 1963-1980: Solun Görsel Serüveni, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 148.

While these events were unfolding at METU, student protests and demonstrations continued in Istanbul, with new boycotts and occupations taking place. On February 16, 1969, in response to the visit of the Sixth Fleet to Istanbul again, students and trade unions organized a large-scale anti-imperialist demonstration in Taksim.[490] The demonstration was violently attacked by Islamist groups that resulted in many serious injuries and the death of two workers.[491] In these incidents, which later came to be known as Kanlı Pazar (Bloody Sunday), the failure of the police to restrain right-wing groups and violent interventions towards leftists elicited strong public outrage and escalated tensions.[492] The first half of 1969 witnessed numerous boycotts in universities as well as increasing street demonstrations. Newspaper reports indicate that in April, a new wave of boycotts began across the universities in various cities and, with occasional interruptions, continued until the end of June. Different from the first boycotts in 1968, it appears that in some universities, right-wing and Islamist groups assaulted the boycotts and demonstrations, leading to clashes in campuses and rising political violence. Universities were frequently ordered to close, and as a significant shift, police and security forces were allowed to enter the universities and carried out raids and attacks, thereby breaking university autonomy. In this context, on April 10, 1969, Mülkiye was occupied, and DTCF and Hacettepe University were closed due to clashes on the campuses.[493]

In June, the police intervened to end the occupation of Istanbul University by placing the campus under siege, which led to intense clashes between the students and the police both on campus and in Beyazıt Square.[494] In response, the students of Ankara University decided to resist the police surveillance, and they occupied Mülkiye, Faculties of Education, Agriculture, and Veterinary Medicine, declaring that their

[490] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 350-354.

[491] Ibid.

[492] Ibid.

[493] "Polis işgaldeki fakülteleri arayabilecek," *Cumhuriyet*, April 11, 1969.

[494] "Polisle öğrenciler yine çatıştı," *Cumhuriyet*, June 10, 1969.

resistance would continue until the police retreated from Istanbul University.[495] (Figure 81) The following day, after the forum took place in DTCF, students staged a protest march through Atatürk Boulevard to Kızılay Square, then reached the U.S. TUSLOG building on Mithatpaşa Street, where they attacked it.[496] (Figure 82) This political action exemplifies a form of protest that, particularly between 1969 and 1971, connected radical politicization on campuses with certain spaces of resistance in the city.

Boycotts and occupations of the universities continued to be practiced until 1971, albeit with decreasing impacts. During this period, several student organizations in the universities were closed, and revolutionary students were expelled from the universities or sanctioned by disciplinary boards.[497] The increasing pressure from the government and the university administrations led to the criminalization of the student movement; at the same time, students gradually directed their focus, beyond the campuses, toward labor and peasant movements that were gaining power.[498] Due to increasing police violence and clashes, campuses were exposed to restrictions on students' control over and use of space, which undermines their role as central spaces of student organization and mass mobilization. In other words, for campuses, the interplay between the forces of domination and of resistance shifted toward a period in which coercion and domination asserted themselves decisively, and their effects were strongly felt. The intensifying clashes between right-wing and left-wing students transformed the campuses into sites of struggles over spatial hegemony, regarding who would assert political authority and spatial control. Kürkçü states that the increase in fascist assaults to seize control of campuses and eliminate the revolutionary students

[495] Ibid.

[496] "Ankara'ya da sıçradı," *Cumhuriyet*, June 11, 1969.

[497] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 361-365.

[498] Ibid.

marked a critical turning point.[499] He notes that, differing from the other universities in the city, METU functioned as a rear base in these struggles, because there was no strong fascist presence in the university.[500] The dormitories provided shelters for revolutionary students, while METU students also often went to other campuses to lend support to these struggles.[501] To conclude, all these simultaneously emerged with students becoming increasingly militant and playing a more prominent role in the rising social movements in Turkey, of which they were a pioneering and intrinsic part.



Üniversite'de sınavlar yapılamadı

Polisle öğrenciler yine çatıştı

Gençlerden başka, 17 Toplum Polisi ile 7 gazeteci yaralandı; 29 kişi nezaret altında..

İstanbul'daki Polis gözetimini protesto için Ankara'da işgaller başladı

Figure 81: "Polisle öğrenciler yine çatıştı," *Cumhuriyet*, June 10, 1969.

[499] Ertuğrul Kürkçü, in *ODTÜ Tarih Direniyor*, ed. Yalçın Bürkev (İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2016), 126.

[500] Ibid.

[501] Ibid.



5 Amerikalı dövüldü, Tuslog ve 2 araba tahrip edildi

Hacettepe Akademik Konseyi, Üniversiteye polisin girişini tenkid etti

Ankara'ya da sıçradı

İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi akşam üstü işgale uğradı

6 öğrenci tutuklandı

ANKARA, Cumhuriyet Bürosu

Figure 82: "Ankara'ya da sıçradı," *Cumhuriyet*, June 11, 1969.

4.4. Strikes and Marches in *the Streets*

The politicization of students that had taken root on campuses in 1968 began to manifest itself more powerfully in the streets and continued into the midst of year of 1970. The dynamics that shaped this shift were the student movement's growth into a mass force, increasing radicalization, and a strong connection and integrated struggle with the expanding social movements, which were concretized in the protests of workers, peasants, civil servants, teachers, etc., in the streets.[502] At the same time, as noted above, turning campuses into sites of violent confrontation and dense repressions on them fueled the reactions and paved the way for this shift. In terms of the trajectory of student movement, another critical point was the transformation of FKF into DEV-GENÇ (Federation of Revolutionary Youth of Turkey), which points

[502] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 365-367.

out the foundation of a distinct revolutionary political line. Ünüvar emphasizes that DEV-GENÇ positioned itself, beyond a student organization, towards the actuality of revolution and organized its political actions accordingly.[503] They consistently took part in the practices of struggle, ranging from factory occupations and workers' demonstrations to land occupations and protests of democratic organizations and trade unions.[504] In this sense, they were active political agents in street protests and mobilized the masses, in the very context of urban space as a locus of political visibility as well as a contested terrain of struggle.

The years 1969 and 1970 witnessed numerous student demonstrations that connected the campuses and Kızılay. Paşaoğlu, a student from Mülkiye who actively participated in these actions at that time, underlines the significance and recurrence of marching from campuses to Kızılay.[505] He states that the campuses experiencing student mobilization since 1968 were as follows: Ankara Faculty of Political Science and Law, DTCF, Beşevler Gazi Faculty of Education, Ankara Faculty of Medicine and Hacettepe University, Ankara University Aydınlıkevler Faculty of Agriculture, and METU.[506] (Figure 64) The routes of demonstrations are indicated as follows: those from the Beşevler campuses proceeded via Tandoğan, students from Hacettepe, Ankara Faculty of Medicine, and DTCF came through Sıhhiye, while those from Ankara Faculty of Political Science and Law approached Kızılay via Cebeci.[507] In certain demonstrations, he notes that the groups coming from Hacettepe, Ankara

[503] Kerem Ünüvar, "FKF'den Dev-Genç'e: Türkiye'de 1968 Öğrenci Hareketleri ve Sol," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), 428.

[504] Levent Odabaşı, "Fikir Kulüplerinden Devrimci Gençliğe," in *Türkiye'nin 60'lı Yılları*, ed. Mete Kaan Kaynar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 357.

[505] Tuğrul Paşaoğlu, interview by author, Istanbul, December 7, 2024.

[506] Ibid.

[507] Ibid.

University, and Mülkiye converged at Kurtuluş Parkı as a prominent gathering node and continued their marches toward Kızılay.[508] (Figure 83)

It is seen that Kızılay Square's positioning as the destination of protest routes was not only due to its proximity to the campuses, but more prominently it was the city's most central, crowded, and symbolically charged urban locus, a dense center of circulation, visibility, and everyday life, where political action could most effectively impact on the functioning of urban life. In parallel, Paşaoğlu expresses this: "Marches could take place only in living axes in the city, in the streets and urban spaces. The essential aim of these actions was to interrupt the ordinary flow of life and everyday practices; therefore, locations included dense of people were deliberately chosen in these demonstrations."[509] Also, these routes were the most direct and shortest axes from each campus to Kızılay Square, while at the same time, as the main axes of the city, they were the most publicly visible boulevards, which enabled showing the political power and the groups gathering in the square. Although mass demonstrations were nearly always exposed to police restrictions, it is seen that demonstrators attempted to reclaim the square. Also, these dynamics reveal why the authorities were determined to suppress the demonstrations in the square and how domination and resistance produced a conflictual and contested ground interrelatedly in such critical urban public spaces as Kızılay Square.

These demonstrations were not pre-planned actions; rather, they emerged as collective responses and dissent of the students, organized through instantaneous communication in reaction to unfolding events. In this way, starting from their campuses, they were following different routes, through which they were both politically and spatially expressing their stance and sought to reach the city center. This was articulating the spatial organization of protests not through one single space, but through movement, extending them into multiple spaces on the routes. These routes should not be conceived as static or fixed trajectories, but rather as contingent and shifting spatial

[508] Ibid.

[509] Ibid.

movements based on strategies, conditions, and forms and extent of the actions. Çubukçu, who was a student at the School of Press and Broadcasting at Ankara University, recalls that in some large-scale demonstrations, Mülkiye functioned as a gathering space where the students from surrounding campuses assembled before marching towards Kızılay.[510] In certain cases, the trajectories of demonstrations were subject to spatial strategic reconfigurations, such as directing the march toward the Parliament or, in the case of anti-American protests, toward the buildings symbolizing that ideology. In this sense, different spatialities of resistance redefine the connections, borders, and transformations through the movement of the collective body that connects one site to another.

As politicization and radicalization of student movement intensified since 1968, hence on campuses as well, the routes of the protests, compared to those in the early 1960s, diversified and expanded in the city. As seen in the map showing the routes of demonstrations, through the main urban axes, the connections were articulated between spaces of resistance, which enabled the political claims to resonate in the broader urban fabric. As Harvey puts it: "The spirit of protest and revolt has spread contagiously through urban networks in remarkable ways."[511] This expansion creates new connections and spaces of resistance, therefore, an urban web of resistance in the city. In this line, Çelen and Çubukçu note that the political actions, especially mobilized through the call of DEV-GENÇ, were highly massive; as such, ten thousand students were gathered very rapidly for these protests.[512] Çubukçu defines the impact of these events by stating that "We were paralyzing the entire city."[513] These actions visibly disrupted the normal functioning of the city and created powerful social and political impacts within urban space throughout these routes.

[510] Aydın Çubukçu, interview by author, June 1, 2025.

[511] David Harvey, Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London: Verso Books, 2012), 118.

[512] Tuncay Çelen, interview by author, Ankara, November 10, 2024, Aydın Çubukçu, interview by author, June 1, 2025.

[513] Aydın Çubukçu, interview by author, June 1, 2025.

Regarding the participation of METU students in these demonstrations in the city center, Artun indicates that they frequently went to the protests by taking the university's buses.[514] Çelen similarly recounts that METU students were always in connection with the students at other universities through the student unions and DEV-GENÇ; when they received information about a protest, they would move into Kızılay to join.[515] On the relationship between insurgent actions and the locations of the universities in the city, Hobsbawm remarks that, from the perspectives of governments, universities located in the city centers clearly pose a greater risk as potential sites of revolt compared to those on the urban periphery.[516] However, drawing on the example of the 1968 movement in the Nanterre campus, located at the outskirts of Paris, he states that as students are more mobile and their social universe is more metropolitan compared to other social groups in the peripheries, this enabled them to become active and impactful in city centers as well.[517] Thus, a similar situation can be stated for METU, as the students' political and spatial engagement of the city center was effective in that manner. In another respect, Çelen argues that the relative distance of METU from the city center, to some extent, turned into an advantage, enabling the revolutionary organization to be carried out in a more consolidated and resilient manner.[518] Considering the active campus life with distinct social characteristics described in the previous part, and the relative convenience with which political and social practices could be continued therein, this particular spatial location and functioning may have contributed to such an effect.

[514] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[515] Tuncay Çelen, interview by author, Ankara, November 10, 2024.

[516] Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Cities and Insurrections," in *Revolutionaries*, (London: A Phoenix Paperback, 1994), 221.

[517] Ibid.

[518] Tuncay Çelen, interview by author, Ankara, November 10, 2024.

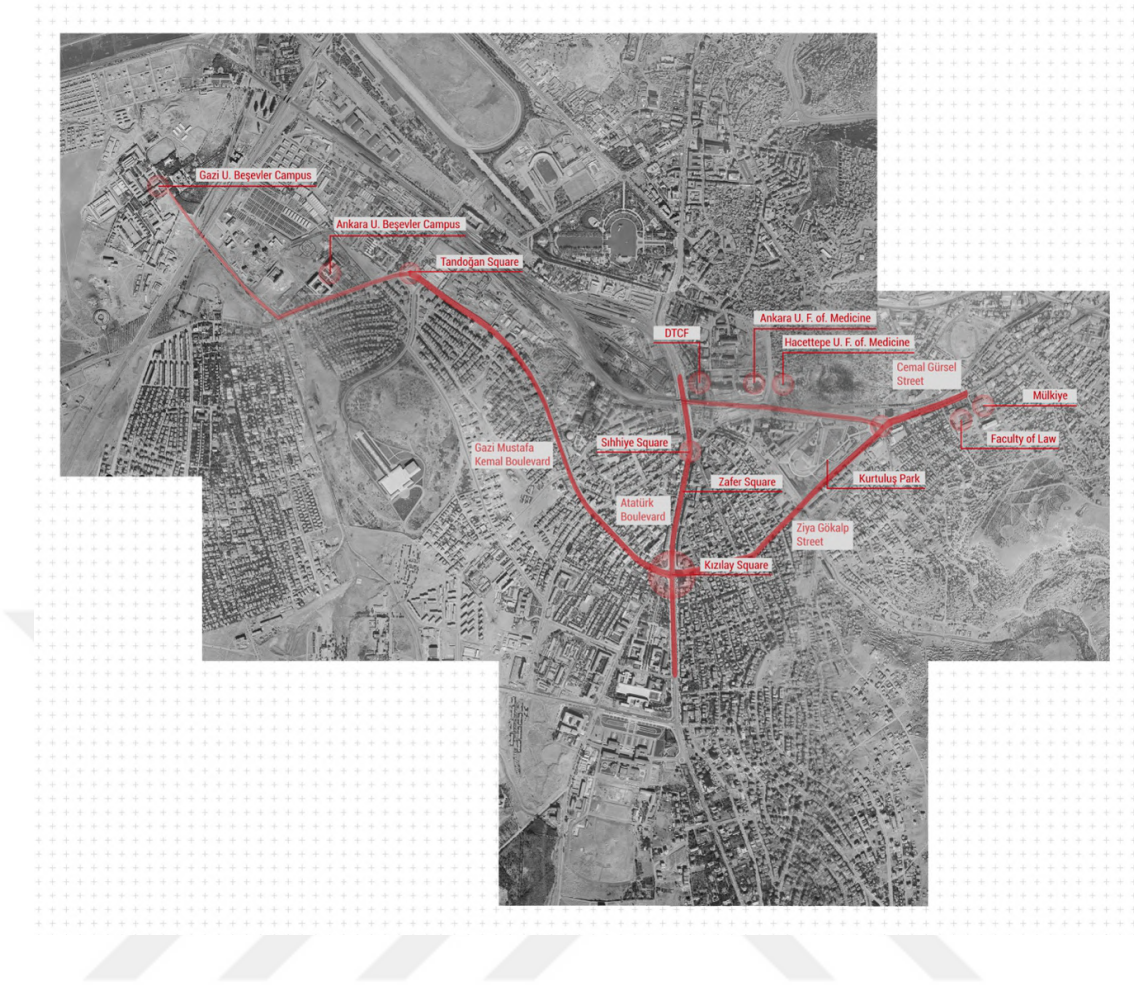


Figure 83: Routes of demonstrations from campuses to Kızılay Square (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

When we return to Kızılay, since protests in and around Kızılay Square were officially prohibited, along the routes, particularly in areas proximate to the square, demonstrators frequently encountered police interventions and blockades. (Figure 84) Beyond this area of prohibition, it can be observed that, with the intensification of police violence during the period, the physical and mental borders of police intervention were further extended. In this regard, Artun underlines that reaching the Kızılay Square was always the ultimate objective of these marches, but the police consistently prevented it.[519] In a similar vein, Çelen states that as the police violence

[519] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

intensified, convening mass political actions in Kızılay Square became increasingly challenging; therefore, over time, mostly spontaneous actions with fewer demonstrators took place in the square.[520] It shows that the spatialities of resistance were continuously reshaped regarding the physical, political, and strategic considerations. Pile refers to this as follows: "Boundaries are constantly being emplaced, repositioned, opened up and closed down... Resistance involves the spatialities of location and boundary formation, but it is also constituted through the idea of movement - a change from one place on the map to another, or possibly many others. More often than not, it is mobility that has been seen as radical and transformative."[521] These spatialities of location and boundary formation operate through the different scales, which are the city, urban space, and collective body, interrelated with each other.

How these routes were situated and what they signified at the city scale is important, for instance, in this case, they corresponded to the main arteries of the city, through which the demonstrations aimed to provide the most visible and effective conditions in urban life. This was also associated with the proximity of the campuses to Kızılay, as well as where or to whom demonstrators show their political presence and power. Certain destinations or nodes, at the urban space scale, were reciprocally formed on this route, regarding the strategic and symbolic functions of the urban spaces. As such, Kızılay Square was the main targeted space both physically and politically, while Kurtuluş Park functioned as a gathering node on the route. It can be stated that Kurtuluş Park operated as an edge, a threshold, owing to its urban position that connects the campuses in Cebeci and Sıhhiye, as well as its spatial characteristics as an open urban park suitable for public gatherings. At the scale of the collective body, several dynamics, such as the form of the action, the physical space where it took place, the contingent dynamics of the movement, etc., generate and influence the space-times of resistance. These, of course, are impacted by the obstacles and interventions of the

[520] Tuncay Çelen, interview by author, Ankara, November 10, 2024. The term of spontanous action is used corresponding to "korsan eylem."

[521] Steve Pile, "Introduction: Opposition, Political Identities and Spaces of Resistance," in *Geographies of Resistance*, ed. Steve Pile and Michael Keith (London: Routledge, 1997), 29.

security forces during the temporal interval of the political action. In its temporality, this alters the physical movement, the way of confrontation, or the boundaries of the movement. Yet, beyond its temporality, this conflictual formation affects the before and after the political actions, bringing certain strategic and symbolic information and meanings to these spaces, which we will be discuss in the cases of Kızılay Square and Tandoğan Square followingly.

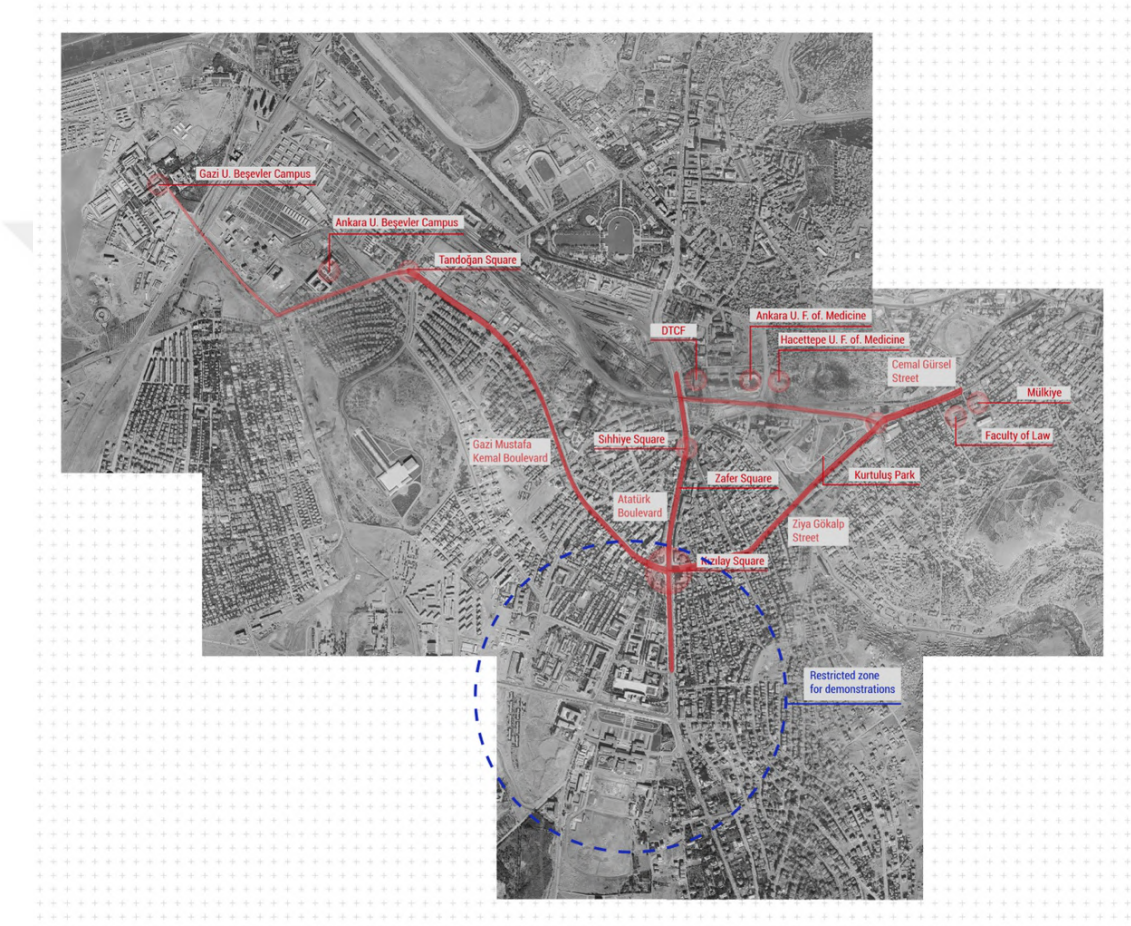


Figure 84: Routes of demonstrations and restricted zone. (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

As indicated before, the process between 1969 and 1971 encompassed political unionization of workers, civil servants, technical personnel, and teachers, etc., which manifested itself in strikes, boycotts, and factory occupations, and also mobilization

of the peasants against the state and landowners, which was embodied in the land occupations in the rural areas.[522] The wave of boycotts and occupations in the universities in 1968 also provided other social groups with new forms of political action and means of political expression.[523] Along with the role of the student movement as the initiator and carrier of the struggle, these movements grew together interrelatedly through support, solidarity, and shared struggles, and at the same time, transmitted the repertoire of political action to each other across the spaces of resistance. For example, Karadeniz recounts that before the Derby Factory occupation in 1968, the first factory occupation in Turkey, unionists wanted support and help from students to occupy the factory, and emphasizes that the university occupations provided a precedent for subsequent factory occupations.[524] Thus, spatial claiming and occupying as a form and way of political action was conveyed through the experiences between these movements. In this very context of raising political mobilization powerfully, mass demonstrations and rallies organized by workers, civil servants, and teachers took place in Ankara.

On 15 February 1969, the Turkish Teachers' Union (TÖS) organized the 'Grand Education March' in Ankara, with the demands of reorganization of the education system in the public interest, the elimination of social inequalities of opportunity in education, the removal of teachers' freedom to organize, and the improvement of their economic conditions.[525] (Figure 85) Teachers from all across the country, with the participation and solidarity of labor unions and students, gathered in Tandoğan Square and marched along the route Station, Talatpaşa Boulevard, Dikimevi, and Cebeci,

[522] See Hakan Koçak, "68'de Öğrenci İşçi Dayanışması: İşçi-Gençlik Elele," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), 333-356, Begüm Özden Fırat, "Köylüler, Devrimciler, Toprak, İşgal: Bitmeyen "68," in *1968: İsyan, Devrim, Özgürlük*, ed. Ömer Turan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), 499-522.

[523] Ragıp Zarkolu, "68'in Mirası," in *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988): 2098.

[524] Harun Karadeniz, *Olaylı Yıllar ve Gençlik*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2020), 87-88.

[525] "Öğretmenlerin Temel İstekleri," *Cumhuriyet*, February 15, 1969.

eventually reaching Kurtuluş Parkı.[526] (Figure 86) Manifesting the escalating occupational, social, and political claims of the teachers, this march drew a remarkably large participation. The spatial organization of the march was planned, and it took place on the permitted route. After the crowd reached Kurtuluş Park as the final destination of the event, students continued to march toward Kızılay; clashes occurred between the students and the police around Kolej, which resulted in injuries and arrests among students.[527] It is observed that the Kolej area between Kurtuluş Park and Kızılay implied a spatial border due to police barriers and interventions. It became a contested zone between the demonstrators and security forces, as the blockade prevented the protest from extending into Kızılay.

The subsequent major demonstration was the Great Workers' Rally, on August 23, 1969, which was organized to protest the non-enactment of the Pension Law and the non-implementation of minimum wages.[528] As seen in the news report, workers gathered in five different spaces in the city and marched through Tandoğan Square, where a mass rally took place.[529] (Figure 87) This rally, marked by various speeches, slogans, and displays of determination, was significant as it asserted workers' presence and political power in the urban space on a large scale. In this sense, as a form of political action, a rally means a mass gathering, a political assembly of the political subjects collectively. It denotes a political practice in which the trajectories of resistance and their persistence were reinforced by demonstrating them to each other, while also articulating and making visible their claims to the broader public and to the authorities.

Thus, the space-time of this form of political action, a rally, necessitates a large urban space, generally a public square, enabling the gathering of people, and a relatively long duration to declare the political demands and show their political power. In Ankara,

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[526] Mustafa Demir, "Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü'nün 51. Yılı," *BirGün*, February 15, 2020.

[527] Ali Artun, interview by author, Istanbul, December 6, 2024.

[528] "Asgari ücretler uygulanmazsa mücadele şiddetlenecek," *Cumhuriyet*, August 24, 1969.

[529] Ibid. No information took part regarding these five spaces.

Tandoğan Square was the primary site for such mass assemblies and demonstrations. As indicated before, the prohibitions of demonstrations in Kızılay Square and intense police interventions did not allow for large-scale political assemblies and organized actions with long durations to take place there. Almost always confrontations and clashes with the police forces, the political actions in Kızılay Square were limited to spontaneous protests, short-lived marches, and assemblies where slogans were chanted before dispersal. Therefore, spatial repetitions of these differentiated forms of political actions in these two public squares not only placed them in distinct positions in terms of spatio-temporal and political strategies in the movements, but also reshaped their social and representational reproduction, transforming their meanings and symbols within collective memory. Paşaoğlu expresses this as follows: "While Kızılay Square signified struggle and resistance, Tandoğan Square was more closely associated with solidarity." [530] In conclusion, in the second half of the 1960s, Kızılay Square and Tandoğan Square were the two main political centers of the city in terms of political actions. These two urban public spaces, characterized by different forms of actions and their repetitions as well as their social meanings, had significance within the web of resistance in Ankara.



Figure 85: Grand Education March, February 15, 1969. *BirGün*, February 15, 2020.

[530] Tuğrul Paşaoğlu, interview by author, Istanbul, December 7, 2024.

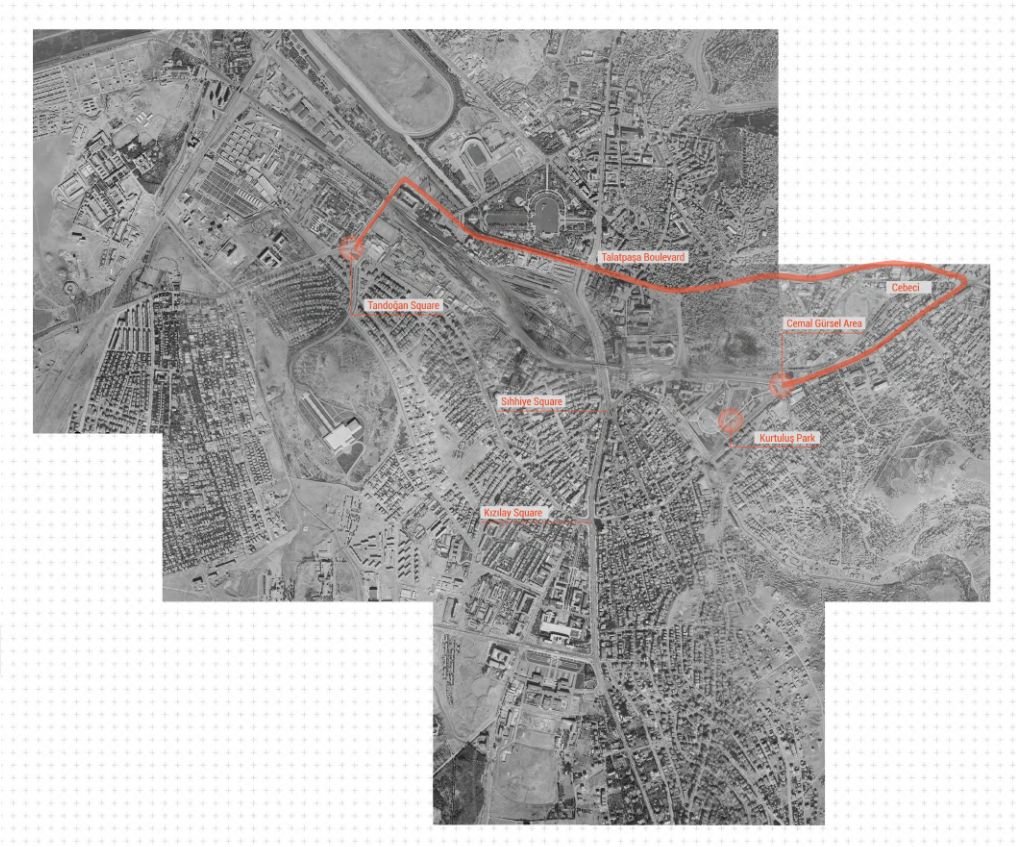


Figure 86: Permitted route of demonstrations. (by the author)



Büyük işçi mitingi Başkentte yapıldı

"Asgarî ücretler,, uygulanmazsa mücadele şiddetlenecek

ANKARA, (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)

Demirsoy'un konuşması

Figure 87: "Asgari ücretler uygulanmazsa mücadele şiddetlenecek," *Cumhuriyet*, August 24, 1969.

The wave of protest cycle, which has grown since 1969 with workers' strikes and factory occupations and peasants' land occupations, followed by teachers, as mentioned, and in 1970, civil servants, technical personnel, doctors, and health workers also joined in. The main reason for the reactions of these social groups was the Personnel Law introduced by the government. Facing a legitimacy crisis due to expanding social movements and protests, the government sought to gain the support of personnel with this proposed law that clarifies the status distinctions and rearranges the wages accordingly.[531] Contrary to this expectation, news reports and speeches of the participants in the printed media show that the laborers in trade unions and professional organizations articulated their demands in a broader political framework. From a class-based and society-oriented perspective, they called for a social order grounded in Turkey's full independence and in democratic professional conditions that would allow them to practice their occupations in the public interest. Yavuz Önen, who was engaged in the organization of architects within the Chamber of Architects of TMMOB at the time, notes that by 1970 the chambers had entered a process of political struggle and rights-claiming, expanding their organizational domains and strength through an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist approach.[532] He underlines that, grounded in a class-based labor struggle and framed within their professional practice in the service of society, the chambers progressively enhanced their political and social demands and influence.[533] In this political context, professional organizations, chambers, and unions organized boycotts, strikes, work stoppages in workplaces, and held mass rallies and demonstrations in the cities.

On April 19, 1970, technical personnel organized a rally and a march in Ankara to demonstrate their opposition to the Personnel Law and to make their professional and social claims visible.[534] (Figure 88) This political action, organized by TMMOB and

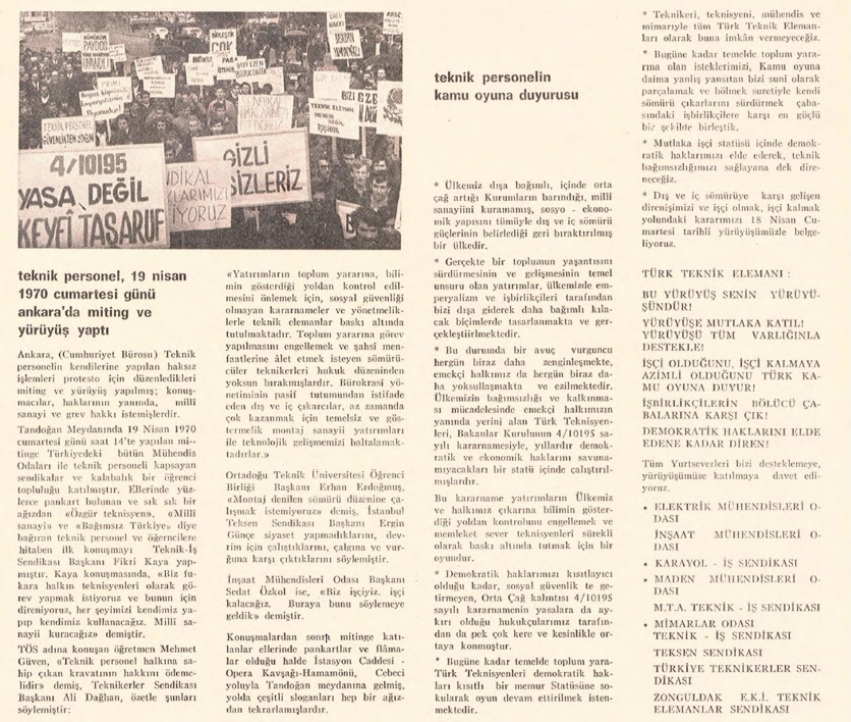
[531] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 389-391.

[532] Yavuz Önen, interview by author, Ankara, November 29, 2024.

[533] Ibid.

[534] "Rally of technical personnel in Ankara," Mimarlık, no. 78 (1970): 14.

technical personnel unions and attended by the student organizations and other unions as well, began in Tandoğan Square with a mass rally.[535] Following this assembly, which included speeches and the rising of demands with banners and slogans, the crowd proceeded along Talatpaşa Boulevard to Cebeci and followed Cemal Gürsel Street to reach Kurtuluş Park.[536] (Figure 86) As previously emphasized, this route of political action was the permitted route by the authorities. Önen states that the mass political actions of the period generally took the form of marches along this route and public rallies in Tandoğan Square.[537] The repetition of these actions transformed this route into an axis of resistance and demonstration, while simultaneously reinforcing Tandoğan Square's role as the main urban space for public assemblies in the city.



teknik personel, 19 nisan 1970 cumartesi günü ankara'da miting ve yürüyüş yaptı

Ankara, (Cumhuriyet Bürosu) Teknik personelin kendilerine yapılan haksız işlemleri protesto için düzenledikleri miting ve yürüyüş yapılmış; konuşmacılar, haklarının yanında, milli sanayi ve grev hakkı istemişlerdir.

Tandoğan Meydanında 19 Nisan 1970 cumartesi günü saat 14'te yapılan mitinge Türkiyedeki bütün Mühendis Odaları ile teknik personeli kapsayan sendikalar ve kalabalık bir öğrenci topluluğu katılmıştır. Ellerinde yüzlerce pankart bulunan ve sık sık bir ağızdan «Özgür teknisyen», «Milli sanayii» ve «Bağımsız Türkiye» diye bağıran teknik personel ve öğrencilere hitaben ilk konuşmayı Teknik-İş Sendikası Başkanı Fikri Kaya yapmıştır. Kaya konuşmasında, «Biz fukara halkın teknisyenleri olarak görev yapmak istiyoruz ve bunun için direniyoruz, her şeyimizi kendimiz yapıp kendimiz kullanacağız. Milli sanayii kuracağız» demiştir.

TÖS adına konuşan öğretmen Mehmet Güven, «Teknik personel halkına sahip çıkan kravatının hakkını ödemelidir» demiş, Teknikerler Sendikası Başkanı Ali Dağhan, özetle şunları söylemiştir:

«Yatırımların toplum yararına, bilimin gösterdiği yoldan kontrol edilmesini önlemek için, sosyal güvenliği olmayan kararnameler ve yönetmeliklerle teknik elemanlar baskı altında tutulmaktadır. Toplum yararına görev yapılmasını engellemek ve şahsi menfaatlerine alet etmek isteyen sömürücüler teknikerleri hukuk düzeninden yoksun bırakmışlardır. Bürokrasi yönetiminin pasif tutumundan istifade eden dış ve iç çıkarcılar, az zamanda çok kazanmak için temelsiz ve göstermelik montaj sanayii yatırımları ile teknolojik gelişmenizi baltalamaktadırlar.»

Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği Başkanı Erhan Erdoğmuş, «Montaj denilen sömürü düzenine çalışmak istemiyoruz» demiş, İstanbul Teksen Sendikası Başkanı Ergin Günçe siyaset yapmadıklarını, devrim için çalıştıklarını, çalgına ve vurğuna karşı çıktıklarını söylemiştir.

İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası Başkanı Sedat Özkol ise, «Biz işçiyiz. işçi kalacağız. Buraya bunu söylemeye geldik» demiştir.

Konuşmalardan sonrb mitinge katılanlar ellerinde pankartlar ve flâmalar olduğu halde İstasyon Caddesi - Opera Kavşağı-Hamamönü, Cebeci yoluyla Tandoğan meydanına gelmiş, yolda çeşitli sloganları hep bir ağızdan tekrarlamışlardır.

teknik personelin kamu oyuna duyurusu

* Ülkemiz dışa bağımlı, içinde orta çağ artığı Kurumların barındığı, milli sanayiini kuramamış, sosyo - ekonomik yapısını tümüyle dış ve iç sömürü güçlerinin belirlediği geri bıraktırılmış bir ülkedir.

* Gerçekte bir toplumun yaşantısını sürdürmesinin ve gelişmesinin temel unsuru olan yatırımlar, ülkemizde emperyalizm ve işbirlikçileri tarafından bizi dışa giderek daha bağımlı kılacak biçimlerde tasarlanmakta ve gerçekleştirilmektedir.

* Bu durumda bir avuç vurguncu hergün biraz daha zenginleşmekte, emekçi halkımız da hergün biraz daha yoksullaşmakta ve ezilmektedir. Ülkemizin bağımsızlığı ve kalkınması mücadelesinde emekçi halkımızın yanında yerini alan Türk Teknisyenleri, Bakanlar Kurulunun 4/10195 sayılı kararnamesiyle, yıllardır demokratik ve ekonomik haklarını savunamıyacakları bir statü içinde çalıştırılmışlardır.

Bu kararname yatırımların Ülkemiz ve halkımız çıkarına bilimin gösterdiği yoldan kontrolunu engellemek ve memleket sever teknisyenleri sürekli olarak baskı altında tutmak için bir oyundur.

* Demokratik haklarımızı kısıtlayıcı olduğu kadar, sosyal güvenlik te getirmeyen, Orta Çağ kalıntısı 4/10195 sayılı kararnamenin yanılara da ayrıcı olduğu hukukçularımız tarafından da pek çok kere ve kesinlikle ortaya konmuştur.

* Bugüne kadar temelde toplum yara- Türk Teknisyenleri demokratik hakları kısıtlı bir memur Statüsüne sokularak oyun devam ettirilmek istenmektedir.

* Teknikeri, teknisyeni, mühendis ve mimarıyle tüm Türk Teknik Elemanları olarak buna imkân vermeyeceğiz.

* Bugüne kadar temelde toplum yararına olan isteklerimizi, Kamu oyuna daima yanlış yansıtan bizi suni olarak parçalamak ve bölmek suretiyle kendi sömürü çıkarlarını sürdürmek çabasındaki işbirlikçilere karşı en güçlü biz şekilde birleştik.

* Mutlaka işçi statüsü içinde demokratik haklarımızı elde ederek, teknik bağımsızlığımızı sağlayana dek direneceğiz.

* Dış ve iç sömürüye karşı gelişen direnişimizi ve işçi olmak, işçi kalmak yolundaki kararımızı 18 Nisan Cumartesi tarihli yürüyüşümüzde belgeliyoruz.

TÜRK TEKNİK ELEMANI :

BU YÜRÜYÜŞ SENİN YÜRÜYÜŞÜNDÜR!

YÜRÜYÜŞE MUTLAKA KATIL! YÜRÜYÜŞÜ TÜM VARLIĞINLA DESTEKLE!

İŞÇİ OLDUĞUNU, İŞÇİ KALMAYA AZİMLİ OLDUĞUNU TÜRK KAMU OYUNA DUYUR!

İŞBİRLİKÇİLERİN BÖLÜCÜ ÇABALARINA KARŞI ÇIK!

DEMOKRATİK HAKLARINI ELDE EDENE KADAR DİREN!

Tüm Yurtseverleri bizi desteklemeye, yürüyüşümüze katılmaya davet ediyoruz.

- ELEKTRİK MÜHENDİSLERİ ODASI
- İNŞAAT MÜHENDİSLERİ ODASI
- KARAYOL - İŞ SENDİKASI
- MADEN MÜHENDİSLERİ ODASI
- M.T.A. TEKNİK - İŞ SENDİKASI
- MİMARLAR ODASI
- TEKNİK - İŞ SENDİKASI
- TEKSEN SENDİKASI
- TÜRKİYE TEKNİKERLER SENDİKASI
- ZONGULDAK E.K.İ. TEKNİK ELEMANLAR SENDİKASI

Figure 88: Rally of technical personnel in Ankara.

Source: Mimarlık, no.78 (1970), 14.

[535] Ibid.

[536] Ibid. In the journal, it is stated that the route ended at Tandoğan Square via Cebeci. However, since Tandoğan Square was a starting point and Cebeci road reaches Kurtuluş Park, this appears to be a mistake.

[537] Yavuz Önen, interview by author, Ankara, November 29, 2024.

This wave of political actions among the laborers continued with the repertoire of boycotts, strikes, work stoppages, and hunger strikes. On June 2, 1970, technical personnel enacted a boycott for two days by stopping work;[538] following the factories, other workplaces were also transformed into spaces of resistance in line with the political claims, by interrupting their prevailing functions. (Figure 89) On June 6, these actions were followed by hunger strikes by healthcare personnel and doctors.[539] In this context of growing social struggles, 15-16 June Workers' Resistance took place in which thousands of workers staged powerful and massive demonstrations against the proposed law intended to weaken DİSK. This resistance, which paralyzed the streets of Istanbul in two days, was highly significant and impactful with respect to social impacts and labor movement; in order to suppress the demonstrations, the government declared martial law that lasted for three months.[540]

In sum, when the discussed routes are superimposed for the period between 1968 and 1971, it becomes evident that the spaces of resistance and their web expanded and multiplied in the city in relation to the rising social movements and revolutionary struggles. Through the dynamics we have examined, these spatialities, marked by distinct spatial-temporal characteristics, shaped the social production and perceptions of those spaces and contributed to the formation of the memory of resistance in the city. (Figure 90)

On the other hand, towards 71, urban spaces increasingly became the subject of escalating street clashes and violent confrontations. Due to intensified police violence and the attacks of Islamist and fascist groups, university campuses frequently witnessed clashes.[541] The political groups armed, and violent street clashes, deaths,

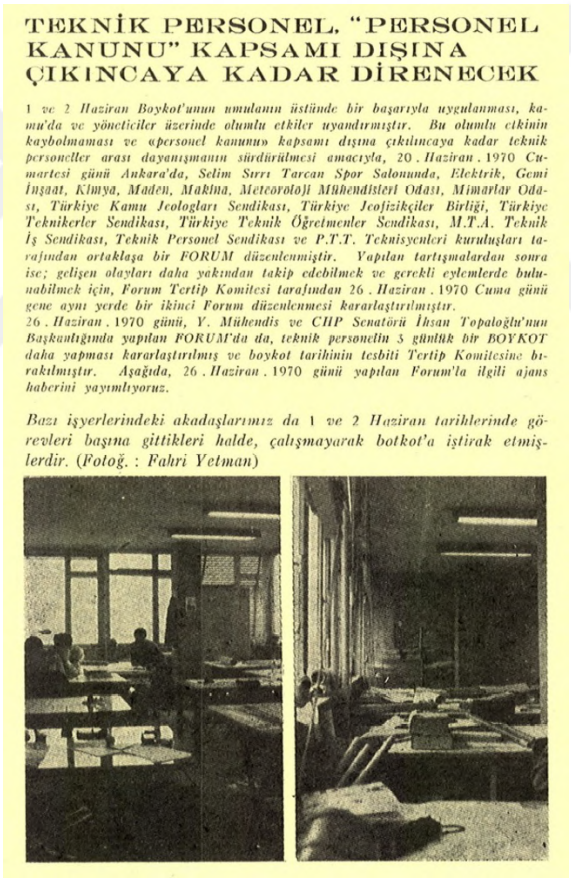
[538] "Teknik personel 2 günlük boykota başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, June 2, 1970.

[539] "Sağlık personeli açlık grevi yapacak," *Cumhuriyet*, June 2, 1970.

[540] Emin Alper, Jakobenlerden Devrimcilere: Türkiye'de Öğrenci Hareketlerinin Dinamikleri (1960-1971), (istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2018), 391-392.

[541] Ibid., 379-386.

and funerals took place in the city.[542] Besides, with the spread and initiation of armed struggle and guerrilla warfare among revolutionary groups, hostage-takings and bank robberies occurred.[543] These remain outside the scope of collective political action examined in this thesis, but they could be discussed in the framework of urban space and violence in order to address their spatial impacts. The examined period concluded in the 1971 military memorandum, which brutally suppressed the rising social movements and revolutionary struggles: a large number of people were detained, revolutionary leaders were executed, and unions and political organizations were outlawed. Consequently, political actions declined in this context of repression and violence.



TEKNİK PERSONEL "PERSONEL KANUNU" KAPSAMI DIŞINA ÇIKINCAYA KADAR DİRENECEK

1 ve 2 Haziran Boykot'unun umulanın üstünde bir başarıyla uygulanması, kamu'da ve yöneticiler üzerinde olumlu etkiler uyandırmıştır. Bu olumlu etkinin kaybolmaması ve «personel kanunu» kapsamı dışına çıkılıncaya kadar teknik personeller arası dayanışmanın sürdürülmesi amacıyla, 20. Haziran. 1970 Cumartesi günü Ankara'da, Selim Sırrı Tarcan Spor Salonunda, Elektrik, Gemi İnşaat, Kimya, Maden, Makina, Meteoroloji Mühendisleri Odası, Mimarlar Odası, Türkiye Kamu Jeologları Sendikası, Türkiye Jeofizikçiler Birliği, Türkiye Teknikerler Sendikası, Türkiye Teknik Öğretmenler Sendikası, M.T.A. Teknik İş Sendikası, Teknik Personel Sendikası ve P.T.T. Teknisyenleri kuruluşları tarafından ortaklaşa bir FORUM düzenlenmiştir. Yapılan tartışmalardan sonra ise; gelişen olayları daha yakından takip edebilmek ve gerekli eylemlerde bulunabilmek için, Forum Tertip Komitesi tarafından 26. Haziran. 1970 Cuma günü gene aynı yerde bir ikinci Forum düzenlenmesi kararlaştırılmıştır.

26. Haziran. 1970 günü, Y. Mühendis ve CHP Senatörü İhsan Topaloğlu'nun Başkanlığında yapılan FORUM'da da, teknik personelin 3 günlük bir BOYKOT daha yapması kararlaştırılmış ve boykot tarihinin tesbiti Tertip Komitesine bırakılmıştır. Aşağıda, 26. Haziran. 1970 günü yapılan Forum'la ilgili ajans haberini yayımlıyoruz.

Bazı işyerlerindeki akadaşlarımız da 1 ve 2 Haziran tarihlerinde görevleri başına gittikleri halde, çalışmayarak botkot'a iştirak etmişlerdir. (Fotoğ. : Fahri Yetman)

Figure 89: Boycott of technical personnel. **Source:** *Mimarlık*, no.80 (1970), 6.

[542] Ibid.

[543] Ibid.

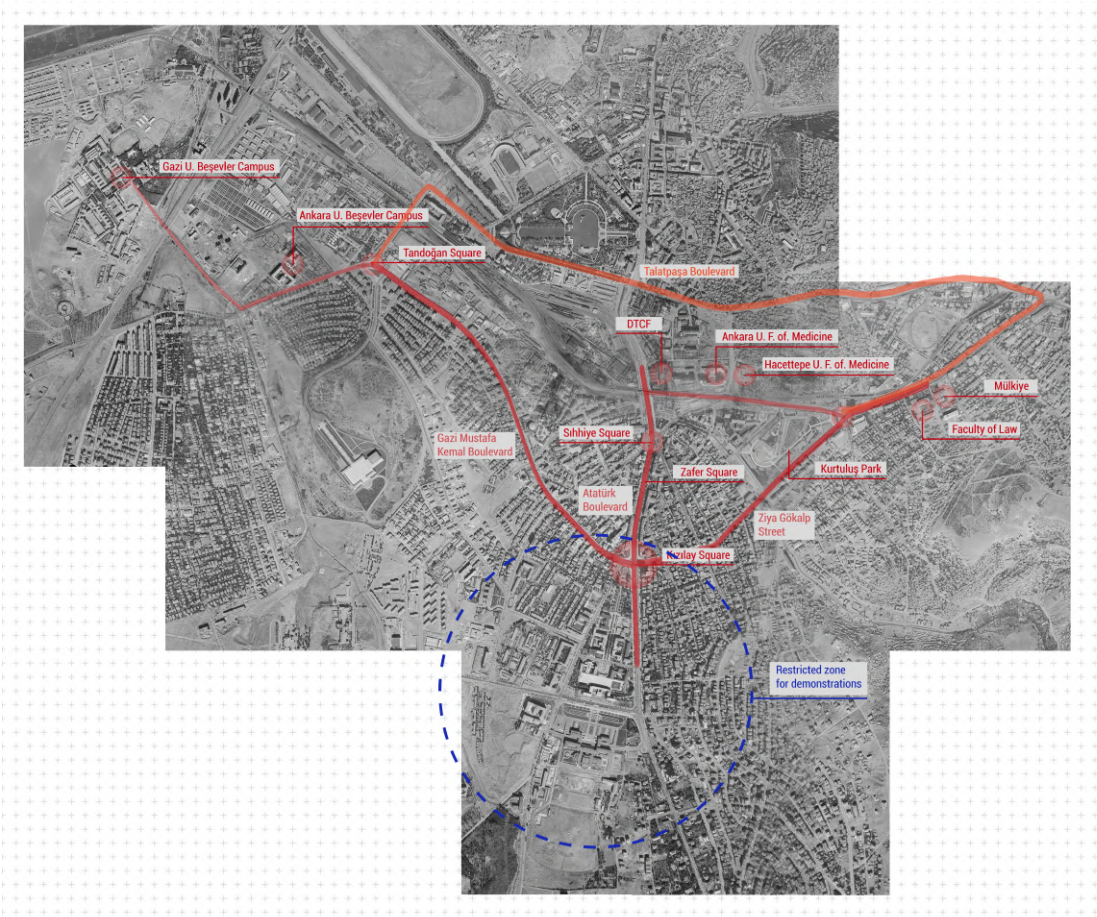


Figure 90: The web of resistance between 1968 and 1971. (by the author)

Aerial photographs: Directorate General for Mapping.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout the study, we examined the physical, social, and representational reproduction of urban spaces that turned into spaces of resistance and their interrelations in Ankara between 1960 and 1971 through political actions, in the very context of mass politicization of the era. Concentrating on the practices of political actions of student and labor movements in urban spaces, the historical transformation of these spaces was comprehended in relation to the dynamics and shifts in the political. Embracing relational, multi-scale, and multi-sited investigation, the reciprocal relationship between political action and urban space was explored, considering material and immaterial aspects. In this regard, the production of urban space was approached as processual, transformed through social and political practices, and the concept of space-time is proposed to grasp and interpret these relationships. This perspective enabled us to analyze at the scales of the city, the urban space, and the collective body; at the same time, it facilitated the comprehension and contextualization of repetitions, ruptures, continuities, and shifts of these actions manifested in those spaces.

By engaging with certain conceptual sets and drawing upon theoretical discussions, a conceptual framework of spaces of resistance was constructed, which is the main backbone of the thesis. While creating this framework, firstly, space-time was defined as a constitutive and decisive notion that can only be grasped in relation to the political when examining the histories of spaces of resistance. Also, distinct contents, aims, and trajectories of political struggles and actions that shaped these space-times were discussed by pointing out whether long-term or spontaneous, planned or unplanned, etc. After that, within the scope of political struggles and urban space, three phases of

inquiry at different scales were developed. The macro one, in the light of comprehensive social, political, and spatial transformations in the cities, scrutinizes whether urban space functions as a source or as a stage in political struggles. The second phase, defined as mobile scale, traced how a broad repertoire of political actions in the period, namely various forms and movements of them, generated spatialities in the city and how spaces of resistance (re)produced through these actions. The scope of this thesis mainly focused on this inquiry, and the discussions and findings regarding this investigation are aimed at contributing to the existing literature. The third one, micro scale, treated the concept of public space as a conflictual ground, suggesting that the publicness of certain spaces of resistance can be rethought in relation to the impacts of these political actions. In line with these considerations, we can discuss the findings that were reached by tracing the space-times of political actions in Ankara between 1960 and 1971.

At the broadest level, the question can be whether urban spaces in Ankara during this period were a source or a stage for the political struggles and actions. When we look at the political trajectories, demands, and discourses of the student and labor movement in this era, as narrated in Chapter 4 in detail, it is observed that urban demands and rights that are directed at the space itself, and a political struggle line that situates urban space at the center, have not come to the fore. In other words, these movements were not based on struggling for urban space, but their political organizations, public expressions, and impacts through political actions were concretized by claiming and appropriating urban spaces. However, it would be misleading to conclude from this fact that urban space functioned merely as a stage for these political actions. If we remember the global context of the 1960s and the intertwined distinct shifts in "the political" and "the spatial," the enlargement of capitalist urbanization processes and its prominent impacts on urban and social life in the cities took place simultaneously with the increasing protest movements and revolutionary struggles on the streets of the cities in various countries. In this very context of the formation of urban society and of the urban problematic becoming increasingly decisive and formative in social living and practices, we underlined

significant economic, political, and social transformations in Turkey, pointing out the parallels and particularities of these dynamics.

Within the scope of Ankara, as discussed in Chapter 3, these changes encompassed dense migration flow, rapid urbanization, emerging squatters, restructuring of the built environment especially in Kızılay, and alterations of experiences and practices of urban life. All these, on the one hand, led to urban problems, and transformations in working and living conditions, while on the other hand, brought accessibility and participation of the counterpublics in the city center within the complex relations and conflicts inherent to urban space. As such, the political movements and actions that we traced in the period unfolded in this context of distinct urban and spatial transformations in Ankara and (were) also shaped with and by these interrelated social dynamics. From this point, if we return to our question, it can be claimed that these changing dynamics of the production and experience of urban spaces in Ankara, albeit being implicit, played a crucial role in mass politicization and the rise of social and revolutionary movements. That is to say, beyond being merely a stage, urban spaces appropriated through resistance emerged as an active source towards the 1970s, the mentioned dynamics operating as hidden but effective forces in shaping political struggles. Yet, in here, we primarily highlighted the contextual and political significance of these spatial and urban transformations in the 1960s. More comprehensive research focusing on a broader scope and time period, examining the political actions and squatter resistances in the 1970s, could provide more precise and explicit answers to this question.

For the main focus of investigation in the thesis, through mobile scale, political actions and the spaces that they took place were examined in order to reveal the spaces of resistance in the city and to grasp their interrelations. It is observed that these actions created distinct spatialities in Ankara depending on their agents, political content, whether they were planned or spontaneous, their forms, and spatial strategies. In this regard, certain urban spaces are defined as spaces of resistance based on repetitions and scope of the political actions: Kızılay Square, Sıhhiye Square, Tandoğan Square, Güvenpark, Kurtuluş Park, the Faculty of Political Science (Mülkiye), the Faculty of

Language, History, and Geography (DTCF), and Middle East Technical University (ODTÜ). However, these definitions are not fixed, but are in a process depending on their production process in terms of social, political, and representational manner. They were connected with distinct routes during movement-based forms of action. These routes were unveiled and interpreted according to repetitions, continuities, ruptures, or shifts of these actions, which can be approached as changing aspects of the web of resistance in the city.

As we have discussed, the riots of the students against the Democratic Party government in April 1960 started at Mülkiye, and moved to the Atatürk Boulevard and Kızılay Square, which found their public expression, visibility, and impacts in those spaces. Through a cycle of actions, manifested as spontaneous marches and strategically timed crowded evening hours, the existing and ordinary flow of the boulevard was disrupted. Through this process, which also included the organized and larger-scale demonstration of 555K, Kızılay Square, and Zafer Monument functioned as gathering nodes, while the part of Atatürk Boulevard connecting these two spaces transformed into the route of the protests. It is seen that the essential determinant for these actions taking place in Kızılay Square was its position as the main center of the city, thereby the most crowded, visible, and dynamic locus of urban life, while Atatürk Boulevard was similarly the central axis of the city with high accessibility. As such, these spaces were the most effective spaces to create impacts in social and urban life in Ankara. On the other hand, claiming Kızılay Square through the demonstrations of the students signifies an important shift in the social reproduction of this public square. As we highlighted earlier, since the 1950s the processes of urbanization and the increasing accessibility and participation of diverse social groups had already rendered the square encountering and conflictual ground in social relations. Yet, with these actions, it became an explicitly contested space through political manifestations against the ruling power. At the scale of the city, another prominent shift with these demonstrations can be stated as the emergence of Kızılay Square and its surroundings as a political focal point of the city. Here, what is referred to as the political evidently differs from the official publicness and its political rituals, which were constituted and practiced in Ulus Square as a political center of the city since the early republican

years. Rather, it is precisely tied to these contested and conflictual dynamics and their concrete expressions through these political actions.

On the other hand, the completion and the start of use of the Parliament building in Kızılay in 1961 not only reinforced the bureaucratic identity of Kızılay, but also intensified the contested and confrontational terrain between the power and resistance. Examining the workers' and students' demonstrations from the aftermath of the 1960 coup to the mid-1960s, it appears that the demonstrations took place in specific targeted sites in terms of forms and strategies of political actions. In this sense, the Parliament building, as the official decision-making body, was one of the major targeted sites for the protests that expressed the political demands. In the triangle of Kızılay Square, Güvenpark, and the building, this was directly effective on the public character and the social production of this area. It is observed that, with the rising anti-American protests in the midst of the decade, the second category of targeted sites was specific sites that belonged to the United States or symbolized American hegemony, primarily the US Embassy. Because these spaces were mostly located around Kızılay and Bakanlıklar, Atatürk Boulevard frequently became the space of protest marches. As the third category, it is seen that the long demonstration marches from other cities to Ankara took place as a distinct form of action. Here, the city itself was targeted as the capital and the political center of the country, in a way that increasing political dissent through relatively long-lasting and organized demonstrations. In sum, these spaces, which produced and represented the ideological positions and social policies that were being opposed, were deliberately targeted and challenged in this manner. Another important point related to this period is that the restrictions introduced in 1963 on demonstrations around the Parliament building, and hence the prohibition of the protests in Kızılay Square and its vicinity. This intensified the police interventions and clashes in the protests in Kızılay; at the same time, it led to the emergence of another route of demonstration after 1965, connecting Tandoğan Square and Kurtuluş Park through Talatpaşa Boulevard.

In the context of rising insurgent movements and of empowering socialist struggle circa 1968, various university campuses turned into spaces of resistance in Ankara

with the boycotts and occupations. Beginning with the occupation at DTCF, this political mobilization spread over the following two years through subsequent waves of boycotts in many campuses of Ankara, where faculty spaces were appropriated and became the sites of new spatial practices and resistance forms. Compared to the movement-based marches and gatherings in the city center that we have examined until this period, boycotts and occupations meant longer forms of action by duration in terms of their space-time, as they intervened in the existing functioning of the spaces and reproduced them through political practices. As the most concrete examples observed and discussed in the case of METU, the political and spatial inventions during the actions had a prominent potential for transmitting and practicing them across different space-times, creating a kind of political tradition and repetitive spatial practices. This, surely, highlights the significant impacts of these political struggles and actions in shaping the social, representational, and symbolic redefinition and reproduction of those spaces. On the other side, this cycle of occupation and spatial appropriations shows how political riots and claims relationally resonated and spread through spatial forms and interventions across the countries at the global level, as well as at the city scale of Ankara.

From 1968 to 1971, with the expansion of a mass social movement that included politicization and struggles of workers, peasants, civil servants, etc., and with the student movement relationally positioned as a carrier and prominent part of these social struggles, the repertoire of political action expanded with the boycotts, strikes, work stoppages, and these disseminated spatially as well, while the streets of the city witnessed numerous large-scale demonstrations. Both the growth of the student movement and its increasingly significant position within the broader social struggles, as well as intensified repression and violence on the campuses, resulted in the movement's political actions extending from the campuses into the main streets. In this regard, it is seen that the axes connecting the university campuses with Kızılay Square transformed into routes of protests as follows: the campuses around Tandoğan Square through Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard, those in Sıhhiye through Atatürk Boulevard, and those in Cebeci through Ziya Gökalp Street. It is also observed that, in certain demonstrations, Kurtuluş Park functioned as a gathering space, as a threshold

for the crowds coming from Sıhhiye and Cebeci. These marches connecting campuses to Kızılay were generally unorganized and spontaneous forms of action that mostly unfolded as a powerful collective reaction to emerging events in the political context. These routes, which can be described as a web of resistance linking spaces, illustrate how the spatialities of resistance expanded in the city in relation to the growing social movements and revolutionary struggles of the era. On the other side, as we mentioned, because of the protests in Kızılay Square being strictly prevented, these actions were generally movement-based, confrontational, and had a short duration, and often exposed to police intervention, which made access to the square difficult.

Another prominent protest route of the period was Tandoğan Square, Talatpaşa Boulevard, Cebeci and Kurtuluş Park, which was frequently used in organized and mass demonstrations. As the social struggles gained strength towards the later stages of the period, this route became a recurrent site for demonstrations, which generally consisted of a mass rally in Tandoğan Square and a march along the route. Compared to the demonstrations in Kızılay, it is observed that this route was characterized by a relative absence of police interventions and clashes, which enabled demonstrations to last longer; in Tandoğan Square, in particular, gatherings with long duration took the form of public assemblies. This shows how the space-times of political actions and their repetitions differently characterized the spaces of resistance and the routes. As such, Kızılay Square became associated with spontaneous and insurgent actions, inscribed in social perception through its contested and conflictual conditions and meanings, whereas Tandoğan Square signified a site where large crowds articulated their demands within solidarity.

When we look at the third inquiry, public space discussion, we already emphasized that public spaces are produced by unequal social relations, hence inherently harboring the potential of political action. In this context, when we consider Kızılay Square, where we mentioned the transformation of publicness through the participation and accessibility of counterpublics, it can be stated that this tension became concretized through political actions in the period. In this way, political actions in the square unveiled social and spatial inequalities and contradictions as well as undermined the

normative comprehensions and practices of publicness based on common ground. Since it is politically significant who controls and is visible in the most central public space of the city, Kızılay Square became the locus of ongoing confrontation between the security forces and demonstrators. This discussion can be expanded by considering the impacts of political actions together with many other aspects on public spaces, or it may open further questions through comparative examples, such as Tandoğan Square. Within the scope of the thesis, our analysis is confined to emphasizing that political actions are comprehended as concrete forms that make visible existing social conflicts in those public spaces.

In conclusion, this study revealed the spatialities of resistance in the city through the examined time period with a detailed investigation of their political context. It aimed to present a noteworthy narrative of the period in which the diverse political repertoire of political action was interrelatedly shaped and transmitted through spatial constructions and practices. Tracing the political actions through the lens of space-time provided a grasp of their movements, repetitions, and transformations within the city, and drawing conclusions regarding the reproduction of the spaces of resistance. By defining the spaces of resistance and the routes connecting them as a web of resistance, the study demonstrated how this manifested itself in the city. In this sense, it showed how this spatiality, initially constituted by the extension of the political actions in the university campus to the Kızılay Square and a part of Atatürk Boulevard, expanded to other squares, streets, and campuses through diverse forms and modes of political actions throughout the period. In particular between 1968 and 1971, with the rise of the social movements and revolutionary struggles, it points out how the spaces of resistance multiplied and spread across the city and how they interrelated with each other. The political, social, and spatial dynamics that underpinned these changes were unveiled and discussed. Therefore, by underlining the reciprocal relationship between urban space and political action, the findings and insights presented regarding this relationship. The examination was concluded in 1971, as the military memorandum repressed political mobilizations, outlawed unions and political parties and organizations, and violently suppressed the revolutionary struggles, thereby leading to the decline of the political actions. However, further research may provide more

comprehensive insights by investigating mass political movements that regained strength in the second half of the 1970s and intensified until 1980. In conclusion, the collective political actions in the period are comprehended and recognized as decisive forces in the social and representational reproduction of urban spaces in the historiographical practice of this study. Grounded in a multi-sited, multi-scale, and relational reading, it aims to contribute to the literature on spatial-political history of Ankara.

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A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu araştırma, dönemin kitlesel politizasyonu, işçi hareketi, öğrenci hareketi ve devrimci mücadelenin yükselişi bağlamında, 1960 ile 1971 yılları arasında Ankara'da direniş mekanlarına dönüşen kentsel mekanların toplumsal, politik ve tarihsel üretimini, mekan-zaman kavramı üzerinden ele almaktadır. Çalışmanın bağlamı, hem küresel ölçekte hem de Türkiye'de "politik" ve "mekansal" olana dair önemli dönüşümlere işaret eden bir dönemdir. 1960'larda küresel ölçekte, özellikle 1968'de yükselen kitlesel protestolar, ayaklanmalar, isyanlar ve mekansal tahsisler gerçekleşirken, bu dönem aynı zamanda kapitalist kentleşmenin yoğunlaştığı ve kent toplumunun oluşumu sürecini içerir. Bu mücadeleler ile kentleşme süreçlerinin mekansal ve toplumsal etkileri, birbiriyle ilişkili biçimde gelişmiş ve kentsel deneyimi önemli ölçüde dönüştürmüştür. Kimi açılardan parallellikler ve benzerlikler göstererek, fakat kendi özgün ekonomik ve politik dinamikleri içinde şekillenen Türkiye'nin 60'lı yılları ise, önemli toplumsal dönüşümlere sahne olmuş, kitlesel mobilizasyonun, öğrenci hareketinin, emek hareketinin ve devrimci mücadelelerin yükselişine tanıklık etmiştir. Kentsel ve mimari açıdan ise, kırdan kente yoğun göç, hızlı kentleşme, gecekonduların yayılması, yeni mekansal işlevler ve mimari tipolojilerin ortaya çıkışı, kimi kent merkezlerinde yapılı çevrenin dönüşümü, ve modernlik ve kamusallık deneyimlerindeki önemli değişimler sayılabilir.

Ankara ise, kendine özgü özellikleriyle bu değişimlerin merkezinde yer almıştır. Öncelikle, İstanbul'la birlikte, 1960-1971 yılları arasında çok çeşitli eylemlere, protestolara, işgallere ve gösterilere tanıklık etmiş, politik mücadelenin en güçlü ve görünür biçimde örgütlendiği merkezlerden biri olmuştur. Başkent olarak devletin politik ve simgesel merkezi konumunda olması sebebiyle kimi eylemlerde doğrudan hedef alınmış, aynı zamanda devlet otoritesinin en güçlü şekilde tesis edildiği ve mekansal olarak uygulandığı çatışmalı mekansallıklara sahne olmuştur. İkinci olarak, bu dönemde, yoğun göç, gecekondu bölgelerinin yayılması gibi etkenlerle kentin hem

merkezinde hem de çeperlerinde önemli dönüşümler yaşanmıştır. Özellikle Kızılay'da süreç içinde mevcut yapıların fiziksel ve mekansal fonksiyonlarının değişmiş, dolayısıyla kullanım ve deneyimin farklılaşmış ve yeniden dizayn edilmiş, kent merkezine farklı toplumsal grupların katılımı ve temsiliyle kamusallığın içeriği farklı bir nitelik kazanmıştır. Bu dinamikler, politik ve toplumsal süreçlerle ilişkili olup, çalışma, bu bağlamda politik ifadelerin ve çatışmaların zemini olarak Ankara'daki direniş mekanlarını odağına almaktadır. Zira bu mekanlar bu dinamik ve dönüşümleri hem üretmiş hem de onlarla birlikte üretilmiştir ve kentsel kamusal mekanın üretimine içkin olasılıkların, karşılaşmaların ve çelişkilerin somut zemini olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, bu tez bu karşılıklı ilişkileri tarihsel olana bakarak anlamayı ve kavramayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu tezdeki direniş mekanı kavramsallaştırması, mekanın üretimini ve örgütlenmesini sabit değil, toplumsal pratiklerle dönüşen hem bir ürün hem de bir süreç olarak ele alan diyalektik ve ilişkisel bir mekan anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Bu dönüşen toplumsal dinamikleri politik eylemler çerçevesinden sınırlayan bu çalışma, kentteki direniş mekanlarını hareketler, rotalar, ritimler, tekrarlar, düğüm noktaları, sınırlar, süreklilikler ve kopuşlar aracılığıyla inceleyip birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Tezdeki direniş kavramı, belirli bir amaç ve hedef doğrultusunda kentsel mekanda gerçekleşen kolektif politik eylemlere karşılık gelmekte olup, protestolar, gösteriler, ayaklanmalar, isyanlar, mitingler, grevler, boykotlar, işgaller gibi farklı eylem biçimlerini içeren geniş bir kapsama işaret etmektedir. Bu kapsam, bu repertuarın yarattığı farklı mekansallıkları incelelemize, planlı ya da plansız eylemlerin, devrimci ya da isyancı (kendiliğinden) hareketlerin kesişim ve ayrışmalarını kavramamıza ve mekanda nasıl tezahür ettiklerini düşünmemize olanak tanır. Bu hareketlerin mekan-zamanları incelenerek, varolan mekansal işleyişi nasıl bozdukları, mekanları nasıl tahsis ettikleri ya da yeniden ürettikleriyle birlikte, bu mekanların özelliklerinin politik eylemleri nasıl mümkün kıldığı ya da kısıtladığı sorgulanmaktadır. Tezde tartışılan zamansallık (temporality) kavramı ise yalnızca eylem anını işaret etmenin ötesinde, öncesini ve sonrasını da kapsar, zira bu farklı fakat ilişkisel mekan-zaman katmanları, mekanların toplumsal ve temsili yeniden üretimini ve stratejik, politik ve simgesel anlamlarını belirler.

Bu çerçevede, çalışma dönemin öğrenci hareketi, emek hareketi[544] ve devrimci mücadelelerinin kentteki politik eylemlerinin mekan-zamanlarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, mekan-zaman ve politik özgüllükleri içerisinde kentte öne çıkan kimi direniş mekanları tanımlanmıştır: Kızılay Meydanı, Sıhhiye Meydanı, Tandoğan Meydanı, Güvenpark, Kurtuluş Parkı, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (Mülkiye), Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi (DTCF), and Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ). Bu mekanlar, eylemlerin tekrarı ve dolayısıyla toplumsal açıdan politik anlamlarıyla öne çıkmaları nedeniyle belirtilmekte olup, sabit tanımlar önermemektedir. Aksine, direniş mekanlarını eylemlerin mekan-zamanlarına, farklı eylem formlarına ve bu mekanların birbiriyle ilişkilerine göre süreçsel ve ilişkisel bir anlayışla ele almaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, birbiriyle karşılıklı ilişkili iki temel araştırma sorusu sorulmaktadır:

1. Bu mekanların fiziksel formları, mekansal pratikleri ve toplumsal anlamları, politik eylemlerin örgütlenmesinde, deneyimlenmesinde ve temsilinde nasıl bir rol oynamıştır?

2. Politik eylemler, söz konusu mekanların toplumsal, temsili ve sembolik yeniden üretimini nasıl etkilemiştir?

Çok ölçekli ve çok mekanlı bir yaklaşıma dayanan bu araştırma, bu soruları, politik öznelerin kolektif deneyimlerini kavramaya çalışarak, kentsel ve politik bağlamı içinde tartışmaya açmaktadır. Direnişin kentte değişen ve dönüşen mekansallıkları, bu doğrultuda ortaya çıkan yeni politik ve mekansal pratikler, bunların aktarımı, kesintisi ya da sürdürülmesine yönelik dinamikler sorgulanmaktadır. Kent ölçeği, kentsel mekan ölçeği ve kolektif beden ölçeğinde düşünülerek, bu mekanların tarihlerine dair ilişkisel bir okuma yapılması amaçlanmıştır.

Tezin kavramsal çerçevesi, kent ve mimarlık tarihi ve kuramı, eleştirel kentsel çalışmalar, toplumsal hareketler, siyaset kuramı ve tarihi, kamusal alan ve mekan üzerine farklı literatürlerden yararlanılarak, disiplinlerarası bir diyalog içinde inşa

[544] Burada emek hareketi tanımı, işçiler, öğretmenler, teknik personel, memurlar, kamu çalışanları gibi kentli emekçileri kapsayarak, özellikle 1968-1971 arası büyüyen toplumsal mücadeleleri içerecek şekilde kullanılmıştır.

edilmiştir. Tezin ikinci bölümünde hem ilgili kuramsal tartışmalar hem de literatürde öne çıkan bazı tarihsel örneklere değinilerek, bu tartışmalar ışığında, çeşitli kavram setlerini birbirine bağlayan bir kavramsal harita oluşturulmuştur. (Figure 13) Bu bağlamda, kuramsal şema iki temel tartışma eksenine dayanmakta ve bunlara, tezin direniş mekanları yaklaşımını geliştiren üçüncü bir eksen eşlik etmektedir.

Tartışmanın ilk bölümünde, "mekansal", "zamansal" ve "politik" olan ve bunların mekanın üretimi ve tarih yazımı pratiği içindeki ilişkileri yeniden düşünülmektedir. Mekan ve zaman, ayrılmaz ve karşılıklı olarak birbirini var eden ve şekillendiren kavramlar olarak vurgulanmakta, mekan-zaman ise, tarihin ve politik mücadelelerin kurucu bir bileşen olarak, ancak politik olanla kavranabilecek dinamik ve çatışmalı bir unsur olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu anlamda, özellikle Lefebvre, Harvey ve Massey'in yaklaşımları belirleyici olurken; Heynen'in bu tartışmaları mimarlıkla ilişkilendiren çerçevesi ve Stieber'in mekansal dönüş (spatial turn) ile mimarlık tarihi üzerine okumaları önemli bir temel sunmaktadır. Ardından, Merrifield'in Lefebvre'in argümanlarını ölçek meselesi üzerine yorumlaması, tezin mekan üretimi ve politik eylemleri kavrarken çok ölçekli bir incelemnin gerekliliğini benimsemesinde önemli bir perspektif sağlamaktadır. Bu tartışmalar, uzun erimli devrimci mücadeleler ve isyan hareketleri üzerine üzerine Gramsci ve Rancière'in fikirlerine gönderme yaparak, politik eylemlerin nitelikleri, stratejileri ve zamansallıkları üzerine yürütülen siyasal tartışmalarla bağlanmaktadır.

Tartışmanın ikinci bölümünde ise politik mücadeleler ile kentsel mekan arasındaki ilişki üç ana tartışma aksı üzerinden ilerlemektedir. İlki, kentsel mekanın politik hareketlerde bir sahne mi yoksa bir kaynak mı olduğu sorusunu, 1960'lardaki kentleşme süreçleri ve kentsel toplumun oluşumu sürecindeki değişimlere işaret ederek incelemektedir. Lefebvre ve Harvey'nin yaklaşımlarından ve ayrıca bu mesele ilişkin kentsel kuram ve tarih literatüründeki tartışmalardan faydalanılmıştır. Bu tartışma, üretim ilişkileribi, yapısal koşulları, kapitalist kentleşme süreçlerini, ve toplumsal dönüşümlere işaret ederek, küresel ile yerel arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya imkan tanıdığı için, çalışmanın bağlamsallaştırılmasını sağlayan makro ölçekli bir sorgulama olarak nitelenmiştir. İkincisi, çeşitli politik eylem ve hareket biçimlerinin

kentte nasıl çoklu mekansallıklar yarattığını incelemekte; bu eylemlerin tanımları, formları, içerikleri, fiziksel hareketleri, farklı kentsel formlarla ilişkilerini kavramayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu sorgulama, toplumsal hareketler literatüründeki pek çok tartışmaya, Hatuka'nın protestoların mekansal organizasyonuna dair çözümlemelerine, Berger ve Jesi'nin politik eylem biçimleri üzerine tanımlamalarına atıf yapar. Bu inceleme, çok ölçekli bir perspektifle, eylem rotaları ve hareketlerine odaklanması nedeniyle hareketli ölçek (mobile scale) olarak tanımlanmıştır. Üçüncü aks kamusal mekan tartışmalarını, toplumsal pratikler ve politik mücadelelerle ilişkili olarak müzakereci mi yoksa çatışmalı bir zemin mi oluşturduğu üzerinden ele almaktadır. Habermas, Arendt ve Fraser'ın kamusal alan üzerine argümanları ile Butler ve Deutsche'nin eleştirel okumalarına değinir. Bunlara dayanarak, bu çalışmanın yaklaşımı kamusal mekanı müzakereci değil, çatışmalı bir zemin olarak kavramakta ve özellike 1960'lar Ankara'sı bağlamında, karşı-kamuların kentsel mekana katılımı ve politik eylemleri çerçevesinde mekansal karşılaşmaları ve çelişkileri işaret etmektedir. Politik eylemleri yalnızca kamusal mekan kavramı üzerinden incelemenin sınırlı bir kapsamda kaldığı vurgulanarak, bu inceleme ikincil bir yerde konumlandırılmış ve mikro ölçek olarak tanımlanmıştır. Yine de bu tartışmalar, incelenen dönemde sıklıkla direniş mekanlarına dönüşen Kızılay Meydanı Tandoğan Meydanı gibi kentsel kamusal mekanların dönüşümünü kavramadaki önemi nedeniyle vurgulanmıştır.

Bu tartışmalar sonucunda, çok mekanlı (multi-sited) ve ilişkisel bir perspektife dayanarak, direniş mekanlarını tanımlamak ve incelemek için kapsamlı bir kavramsal çerçeve çizilmiştir. Eylemlerin mekan-zamanlarını incelemek üzerine esas olarak hareketli ölçek üzerine odaklanılarak araştırma bu doğrultuda genişletilmiştir. Ancak tanımlanan makro, hareketli ve mikro ölçekler birbirleriyle ilişkili ve birbirini dönüştürücü olup, vaka incelemelerinin bağlamsallaştırılmasını ve yorumlanmasını sağlamıştır.

Metodolojik olarak farklı kaynaklar ve yöntemler bir arada kullanılmıştır. Dönemin politik hareketleri üzerine olan akademik literatürden ve dönemin aktörlerinin yazılı anlatılarından, kolektif eylemlerin toplumsal dinamiklerini, politik yapıları ve

mekansal stratejileri anlamak için yararlanılmıştır. 1960 ve 1971 yılları arasındaki Cumhuriyet gazetesi arşivi incelenmiş, eylemlerin tarihleri, mekanları, katılım boyutları, kentteki rotaları ve polis müdahaleleri hakkında önemli veriler sağlanmıştır. Tek gazete taramış olmanın limitleri bu verilerin akademik kaynaklarla birlikte ele alınmasıyla aşılmaya çalışılmıştır. SALT, VEKAM, Mimarlar Odası, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Atılım Üniversitesi Ankara Dijital Kent Arşivi, TÜSTAV gibi kurumların arşivleri incelenerek görsel materyaller elde edilmiştir. Bunların yanısıra, dönemin politik eylem ve mücadelelerinde yer almış altı kişiyle görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir: Akın Atauz (ODTÜ öğrencisi, 1966-1970), Ali Artun (ODTÜ öğrencisi, 1966-1971), Tuncay Çelen (ODTÜ öğrencisi, 1966-1969), Tuğrul Paşaoğlu (Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi öğrencisi, 1968-1976), Aydın Çubukçu (Ankara Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu öğrencisi, 1968-1972), ve Yavuz Önen (1960'ların ortalarından itibaren TMMOB Mimarlar Odası'nda meslek örgütlenmesi yürüten mimar). Görüşme soruları hareketlerin örgütlenme biçimleri, mekansal stratejileri ve eylem deneyimlerini anlamaya yönelik olarak hazırlanmış, kampüslerin, meydanların, sokakların direnişlerdeki rolleri, dönüşümü, eylemlerin planlı ya da kendiliğinden oluşan yönleri, mekansal kararları, rotaları, toplanma yerlerini belirleyen faktörler sorularak direniş mekanlarının birbirleriyle ilişkileri ve değişimleri, süreklilikleri ve kırılmaları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Her ne kadar görüşmeler altı katılımcıyla sınırlı kalmış ve içinde bulundukları mücadele mekânlarının kapsamı görece sınırlı bir çeşitlilik göstermiş olsa da, mekânsal-zamansal deneyimleri araştırma için önemli içgörüler sağlamıştır. Sonuç olarak bu yöntem ve bulguların sentezi 1960–1971 arasında Ankara'daki direnişin mekân-zamanlarının izini sürmeyi ve politik eylemlerin mekânsallıklarını kentte hareketler, güzergâhlar, düğüm noktaları ve sınırlar üzerinden haritalandırmayı mümkün kılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, oluşturulan kavramsal çerçeve, tarihsel vaka incelemesi, ulaşılan belgeler ve kolektif deneyimlerle birlikte ilişkisel bir tarih yazımı pratiği ortaya konmuştur. Tahakküm ve direniş arasındaki çelişkilerin tarihsel boyutlarını mekanlar üzerinden inceleyerek, bu hareketlerin özneleri kolektif deneyimler bağlamında mekanın toplumsal yeniden üretiminde belirleyici rol oynayan tarihsel aktörler olarak ele alınmıştır.

Tezin 3. Bölümü, erken cumhuriyet döneminde 1960'lara uzanan süreçte Ankara'nın kentsel gelişimine odaklanarak, direniş mekanlarına dönüşen başlıca kamusal meydanlar, bulvarlar, caddeler ve kampüslerin mekansal kurgusunu, oluşumunu ve oluşan mekansal ve toplumsal pratikleri incelemektedir. Politik eylemlerle kesintiye uğratılan, tahsis edilen, sahiplenilen ya da yeniden kurulan bu mekanların toplumsal yeniden üretimi, bu mekanların nasıl tasarlandığını (conceived) ve nasıl pratiklerle üretttiğini ve onlarla üretildiğini (perceived) anlamayı gerektirmiştir ve bu da direniş mekanlarının tarihsel politik bağlamı içinde yorumlanmasının zeminini oluşturmuştur. Bu anlamda öncelikle erken cumhuriyette Ankara'nın modern bir başkent olarak nasıl kurgulandığı bunun mekanlar üzerinden ne şekilde tezahür etiğine değinilmiş, Ulus Meydanı, Kızılay Meydanı ve Atatürk Bulvarı'nın mekansal oluşum ve dönüşümü tartışılmıştır. Ardından Kızılay-Sıhhiye rotası ve DTCF, Kızılay-Cebeci rotası ve Mülkiye ve Kızılay-Tandoğan rotası ele alınarak incelenmiştir. 1950'lerdeki ekonomik, politik, toplumsal ve mekansal dönüşümlere değinilmiş, bunların bu rota mekanlardaki etkileri vurgulanmıştır. Sonrasında ODTÜ kampüsünün oluşumu ve gelişimi mekanların tasarımı ve pratikleri bağlamında tartışılmıştır. Son olarak da 60'lara giden süreçteki koşullar ve bağlam ortaya konularak tezin 4. Bölümü için gerekli bağlamsal zemin ortaya konmuştur.

Texin 4. Bölümünde ise söz konusu mekanların direniş mekanlarına dönüşümündeki dinamikler ve ilişkisellikler mekan-zamanlar üzerinden detaylı biçimde incelenmiş, rotalar, sınırlar, devalılıklar, düğüm noktaları tanımlanmış, eylemlerin planlı mı yoksa kendiliğinden mi olduğu, politik hedefleri ve ölçekleri, belirli mekan ve rotaların özgünlükleri, mekanların birbirine yakınlığı gibi pek çok etken dikkate alınarak tekrarlar ve kırılmalar değerlendirilmiştir. Bu açıdan tezin sonuç bölümünde yer alan toparlayıcı bir anlatı şu şekilde sunulabilir:

1960 Nisan'ında Demokrat Parti hükümetine karşı öğrencilerin başlattığı isyanlar Mülkiye'de başlamış, ardından Atatürk Bulvarı ve Kızılay Meydanı'na taşmış ve kamusal ifadesini, görünürlüğünü ve etkilerini bu mekanlarda bulmuştur. Spontane yürüyüşler ve kalabalık akşam saatlerine denk getirilen stratejik eylemlerle kendini gösteren bu eylem döngüsü, bulvarın mevcut ve sıradan akışını kesintiye uğratmıştır.

Sürece, organize ve daha büyük ölçekli 555K gibi eylemler de dahil olmuş; bu bağlamda Kızılay Meydanı ve Zafer Anıtı birer toplanma mekanı işlevi görürken, bu iki mekanı birbirine bağlayan Atatürk Bulvarı aksı protesto güzergahına dönüşmüştür. Bu eylemlerin Kızılay Meydanı'nda gerçekleşmesinin temel belirleyicisinin, kentin ana merkezi olması; yani en kalabalık, en görünür ve en dinamik kentsel odak konumunda bulunması olduğu görülmektedir. Atatürk Bulvarı ise benzer şekilde, yüksek erişilebilirliğiyle kentin ana ulaşım ve karşılaşma aksı işlevini göstermekteydi. Dolayısıyla bu mekanlar, Ankara'daki toplumsal ve kentsel yaşam üzerinde eylemlerin etki yaratabilmesi açısından en elverişli alanlar olmuştur. Öte yandan, öğrencilerin gösteriler yoluyla Kızılay Meydanı'nı sahiplenmesi (appropriation), bu kamusal alanın toplumsal yeniden üretiminde önemli bir kırılmayı ifade etmektedir. Daha önce de vurguladığımız gibi, 1950'lerden itibaren yaşanan kentleşme süreçleri ve farklı toplumsal grupların kent merkezine artan erişimi ve katılımı, meydanı toplumsal ilişkilerde karşılaşmaların ve çatışmaların zemini haline getirmişti. Ancak bu eylemlerle birlikte, meydan iktidara karşı politik eylemlerle açıkça çekişmeli (contested) bir mekâna dönüşmüştür. Kent ölçeğinde bakıldığında ise, bu gösterilerle birlikte ortaya çıkan bir diğer önemli değişim, Kızılay Meydanı ve çevresinin kentin politik odağı haline gelmesidir. Buradaki "politik" vurgusu, erken Cumhuriyet yıllarından itibaren kentin politik merkezi olarak şekillenen Ulus Meydanı'ndaki resmî kamusallık ve onun politik ritüellerinden belirgin biçimde ayrışmaktadır. Aksine, Kızılay'daki politik olan, doğrudan bu çatışmalı ve karşıt dinamiklere ve onların politik eylemler aracılığıyla somutlaşan ifadeleriyle ilişkilidir.

Öte yandan, 1961'de Kızılay'daki Meclis binasının tamamlanması ve kullanılmaya başlanması, Kızılay'ın bürokratik kimliğini pekiştirmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda iktidar ile direniş arasındaki tartışmalı ve çatışmalı zemini de yoğunlaştırmıştır. 1960 darbesi sonrasından 1960'ların ortalarına kadar işçi ve öğrenci eylemlerine bakıldığında, bu gösterilerin politik eylem biçimleri ve stratejileri açısından belirli hedef mekanlarda gerçekleştiği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, resmi karar alma organı olarak Meclis binası, politik taleplerin ifade edildiği protestoların başlıca hedeflerinden biri olmuştur. Kızılay Meydanı, Güvenpark ve Meclis binasının oluşturduğu üçgende bu durum, alanın kamusal karakteri ve toplumsal üretimi

üzerinde doğrudan etkili olmuştur. 60'ların ortalarında artan Amerika karşıtı protestolarla birlikte ikinci bir hedef mekan kategorisi olarak Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne ait ya da Amerikan hegemonyasını simgeleyen mekanlar, başta ABD Büyükelçiliği olmak üzere, sık sık eylemlerin gerçekleştiği yerler olmuştur. Bu mekanların çoğu Kızılay ve Bakanlıklar çevresinde yer aldığından, bu mekanlarda ve bağlayıcı bir aks olarak Atatürk Bulvarı'nda sıklıkla protesto yürüyüşleri yapılmıştır. Üçüncü bir kategori olarak ise, diğer şehirlerden Ankara'ya yapılan günlerce süren uzun yürüyüş gösterilerinin ayrı bir eylem biçimi olarak ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Burada başkent ve ülkenin politik merkezi olarak doğrudan toplumsal vemtemsili anlamıyla beraber kentin kendisi hedef alınmış, görece uzun süreli ve organize eylemler aracılığıyla artan politik muhalefet görünür kılınmıştır. Özetle, karşı çıkılan ideolojik konumları ve toplumsal politikaları üreten ve temsil eden bu mekanlar, bilinçli bir şekilde hedef alınmış ve politik taleplerin, tepkilerin ve mücadelenin yükseltildiği yerler olmuştur. Bu döneme ilişkin bir diğer önemli nokta ise, 1963'te Meclis binası çevresinde getirilen gösteri kısıtlamaları ve dolayısıyla Kızılay Meydanı ve çevresinde protestoların yasaklanmasıdır. Bu durum, Kızılay'daki eylemlerde polis müdahalelerini ve çatışmaları yoğunlaştırmış; aynı zamanda 1965 sonrasında Tandoğan Meydanı'nı Kurtuluş Parkı'na Talatpaşa Bulvarı üzerinden bağlayan başka bir eylem rotasının ortaya çıkmasında etkili olmuştur.

1968 dolaylarında yükselen protesto hareketleri, isyanlar ve güçlenen sosyalist mücadele bağlamında, Ankara'daki çeşitli üniversite kampüsleri boykotlar ve işgallerle birlikte direniş mekanlarına dönüşmüştür. DTCF'deki işgalle başlayan bu politik hareketlilik, sonraki iki yıl boyunca Ankara'daki birçok kampüste gerçekleşen boykot dalgalarıyla yayılmış; fakülte mekanları sahiplenilerek yeni mekansal pratiklerin ve direniş biçimlerinin mekanı haline gelmiştir. Bu döneme kadar ele alınan kent merkezindeki yürüyüş ve gösteriler gibi hareket temelli eylemlerle karşılaştırıldığında, boykotlar ve işgaller mekan-zaman açısından daha uzun eylem biçimlerini ve kolektif mekansal pratiklerinin oluşumunu içererek, mekanların mevcut işleyişine müdahale ederek bu mekanları yeniden üretmiştir. Özellikle ODTÜ örneğinde gözlemlenen ve tartışılan en somut örneklerde olduğu gibi, eylemler sırasında ortaya çıkan politik ve mekansal pratikler, buluşlar (invention), bu pratiklerin

farklı mekan-zamanlarda ne şekilde aktarıldığını ve sürdürüldüğünü ortaya koyarak, böylece bir tür politik gelenek ve tekrar eden mekansal pratikler yaratmıştır. Bu durum, kuşkusuz, söz konusu politik mücadelelerin ve eylemlerin, bu mekanların toplumsal, temsili ve simgesel olarak yeniden tanımlanmasında ve üretimindeki önemli etkilerini vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, bu dönemdeki işgal ve mekansal sahiplenme döngüsü, kolektif politik ifade, talep ve pozisyonların mekanlar aracılığıyla hem Ankara ölçeğinde hem de global açıdan nasıl yankı bulduğunu ve yayıldığını göstermesi açısından kaydadeğerdir.

1968'den 1971'e kadar işçileri, köylülerin, memurların, toplumun pek çok kesiminin dahil olduğu kitlesel bir toplumsal hareketin genişlemesiyle, ve öğrenci hareketinin bu toplumsal devrmci mücadelelerin taşıyıcısı ve önemli bir parçası olmasıyla beraber, politik eylem repertuarı boykotlar, grevler, iş bırakmalar, kitlesel mitinglerle genişlemiş ve mekansal olarak yayılmış, bu dönemde kentin sokakları pek çok eyleme tanıklık etmiştir. Öğrenci hareketinin güçlenmesi ve daha geniş toplumsal mücadeleler içindeki giderek artan belirleyici rolünün yanı sıra, kampüslerdeki baskının ve şiddetin yoğunlaşması, hareketin politik eylemlerinin giderek kampüslerden kentin merkezindeki sokaklara, caddelere taşmasını beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu bağlamda, üniversite kampüslerini Kızılay Meydanı'na bağlayan aksların protesto rotalarına dönüştüğü görülmektedir: Tandoğan Meydanı çevresindeki kampüslerden Gazi Mustafa Kemal Bulvarı üzerinden, Sıhhiye'deki kampüslerden Atatürk Bulvarı üzerinden, Cebeci'dekilerden ise Ziya Gökalp Caddesi üzerinden Kızılay'la bağlanan bu mekansallıklar, kentte giderek daha görünür ve etkili bir durum yaratmıştır. Ayrıca, bazı gösterilerde Kurtuluş Parkı'nın, Sıhhiye ve Cebeci'den gelen kalabalıklar için bir eşik ve toplanma mekanı işlevi gördüğü gözlenmektedir. Kampüsleri Kızılay'a bağlayan bu eylemler, çoğunlukla planlı olmayan ve kendiliğinden gelişen eylem biçimleriydi ve politik gelişmelere dair güçlü bir kolektif tepki olarak ortaya çıkmışlardı. Direniş mekanlarını birbirine bağlayan bir direniş ağı (web of resistance) olarak tanımlanabilecek bu rotalar, dönemin büyüyen toplumsal hareketleri ve devrimci mücadeleleriyle bağlantılı olarak direnişin mekansallıklarının kentte nasıl genişlediğini, yeni mekanlar ve rotalar yarattığını ortaya koymaktadır. Öte yandan, daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, Kızılay Meydanı'ndaki protestoların sert biçimde

engellenmesi nedeniyle bu eylemler genellikle hareket temelli, çatışmalı, kısa süreli, sıkça polis müdahalesine maruz kalınan ve meydana erişimin çok güç olduğu eylemler olmuştur.

Dönemin bir diğer önemli protesto rotası Tandoğan Meydanı, Talatpaşa Bulvarı, Cebeci ve Kurtuluş Parkı'nı bağlayan akstı ve bu rota sık sık örgütlü, planlı ve kitlesel gösteriler için kullanılıyordu. Toplumsal mücadelelerin dönemin sonlarına güçlenmesiyle birlikte, bu rota düzenli olarak eylemlere sahne olmuş; eylemler genellikle Tandoğan Meydanı'nda kitlesel bir miting ve rota boyunca yapılan yürüyüşler şeklinde gerçekleşmiştir. Kızılay'daki gösterilerle karşılaştırıldığında, bu rotanın izin verilen bir rota olması ve dolayısıyla polis müdahalelerinin ve çatışmaların görece azlığı dikkat çekmektedir; bu durum, gösterilerin daha uzun süreli olmasını beraberinde getirerek, özellikle Tandoğan Meydanı bu anlamda pek çok miting ve toplanmanın merkezi haline gelmiştir. Bu durum, politik eylemlerin mekan-zamanlarının ve tekrarlarının, direniş mekanlarını ve rotaları farklı biçimlerde nasıl karakterize ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Kızılay Meydanı, toplumsal algıda çatışmalı koşul ve anlamlarıyla yer etmiş, daha çok kendiliğinden (spontaneous) ya da korsan eylemlerle özdeşleşirken; Tandoğan Meydanı, geniş kitlelerin taleplerini mitinglerle dile getirdiği bir mekan olarak sembolleşmiştir.

Öte yandan, 1971'e doğru kentsel mekanlar giderek, politik grupların silahlanmasıyla ve tırmanan politik şiddetle artan sokak çatışmalarının konusu haline gelmiştir. Yoğunlaşan polis şiddeti ile İslamcı ve faşist grupların saldırıları nedeniyle üniversite kampüslerinde sık sık çatışmalar yaşanmıştır. Devrimci örgütler arasında silahlı mücadele ve gerilla savaşı fikrinin yaygınlaşması ve başlatılmasıyla rehin alma ve banka soygunları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunlar, bu tez kapsamında incelenen kolektif politik eylemliliğin dışında kalması sebebiyle ele alınmamıştır, kentsel mekan ve şiddet tartışmaları çerçevesinde ele alınarak etkileri tartışılabilir. İncelenen dönem, 1971 askeri müdahalesiyle, yükselen toplumsal hareketlerin ve devrimci mücadelelerin bastırıldığı, çok sayıda kişinin gözaltına alındığı, tutuklandığı, örgüt ve sendikaların kapatıldığı, devrimci hareketin ciddi darbe aldığı ve dolayısıyla politik eylemliliğin zayıfladığı 1971 yılıyla sonlandırılmıştır.

Hareketli ölçek diye tanımladığımız tartışma eksenindeki bu sonuçların ardından, diğer eksenlerde ulaştığımız genel sonuçlara bakarsak ise şunlar ifade edilebilir: İncelediğimiz bu eylem ve mücadelelerle kentsel mekanın bir sahne mi yoksa kaynak mı olduğu sorusuna ilişkin olarak, doğrudan mekanın kendisine yönelik kentsel taleplerin ya da kentsel mekanı merkeze alan bir politik mücadele hattının ön planda olmadığı görülmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, bu hareketler kentsel mekan için mücadeleye dayanmamakta, fakat politik örgütlenmeleri, kamusal ifadeleri ve eylemler yoluyla ortaya çıkan etkileri kentsel mekanların sahiplenilmesi ve dönüştürülmesi üzerinden somutlaşmaktadır. Ancak buradan hareketle, kentsel mekanın bu politik eylemler için yalnızca bir sahne işlevi gördüğü sonucunu çıkarmak yanıltıcı ve eksik olabilir. Detaylıca tartışığımız üzere, Ankara'nın 60'lı yıllarında, kentleşme süreçleri ve mekansal dönüşümlerin toplumsal ve politik dinamiklerle iç içe şekillendiği ve dönüştüğü düşünüldüğünde; Ankara'daki kentsel mekanların üretimi ve deneyimindeki değişimlerin, örtük de olsa, kitlesel politizasyon ve toplumsal-devrimci hareketlerin yükselişinde, bu süreci inşa eden koşullarda kritik bir rol oynadığı iddia edilebilir. Bunların daha somut biçimde görünür olduğu ve pratik edildiği 1970'lerin eylemlerine, toplumsal mücadelelerine ve gecekondu direnişlerine bakılarak ve daha geniş bir araştırma yürütülerek bu soruya çok daha kapsamlı ve açık cevaplar üretilebilir. Sorguladığımız kamusal mekan tartışmasına ilişkin ise, kamusal mekanların eşitsiz toplumsal ilişkilerle üretildiğini ve çatışmalı bir zemin olduğunu öncesinde vurgulamıştık. Bu bağlamda, karşı-kamuların katılımı ve erişimi yoluyla kamusallığın dönüşümünden söz ettiğimiz Kızılay Meydanı'nı ele aldığımızda, bu gerilim ve çatışmanın dönemdeki politik eylemler aracılığıyla somutlaştığı söylenebilir. Bu şekilde, meydandaki politik eylemler toplumsal ve mekansal eşitsizlikleri ve çelişkileri görünür kılarken, aynı zamanda ortak zemin üzerinden tanımlanan normatif kamusallık anlayışlarını da geçersiz bir noktaya koyar. Kentin en merkezi kamusal mekanında görünür, hakim ve etkin olmanın politik açıdan taşıdığı önem nedeniyle, Kızılay Meydanı güvenlik güçleri ile eylemciler arasındaki sürekli çatışmanın merkezi haline gelmiştir. Bu tartışma, politik eylemlerin kamusal mekanlar üzerindeki etkilerini diğer pek çok boyutla birlikte düşünerek genişletilebilir ya da Tandoğan Meydanı gibi karşılaştırmalı örnekler üzerinden yeni sorular açabilir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, incelenen dönem boyunca direnişin mekansallıklarını politik bağlamları içinde ayrıntılı bir biçimde inceleyerek ortaya koymuştur. Çalışmanın amacı, politik eylemlerin geniş repertuarının mekansal kurgular ve pratikler aracılığıyla nasıl birbirini etkileyerek şekillendiğini ve aktarıldığını gösteren bir anlatı sunmaktır. Politik eylemleri mekan-zaman kavramı üzerinden ele almak, eylemlerin kentteki hareketlerini, tekrarlarını ve dönüşümlerini kavramayı, buradan da direniş mekanlarının yeniden üretimine dair çıkarımlar yapmayı mümkün kılmıştır. Direniş mekanları ve bu mekanları birbirine bağlayan rotaları bir direniş ağı olarak tanımlayarak, bu ağın kentte nasıl tezahür ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bu anlamda, başlangıçta Mülkiye'den başlayarak Kızılay Meydanı'na ve Atatürk Bulvarı'nın bir bölümüne uzanan bu mekansallığın, dönem boyunca farklı eylem formlarıyla diğer meydanlara, sokaklara ve kampüslere nasıl yayıldığı gösterilmiştir. Özellikle 1968-1971 arasında yükselen toplumsal hareketler ve devrimci mücadelelerle, direniş mekanlarının kent içinde nasıl çoğaldığı, yayıldığı ve birbirleriyle ilişkilendiği vurgulanmış, bu değişimlerin ardındaki politik, toplumsal ve mekansal dinamikler tartışılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, kentsel mekan ile politik eylem arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkinin altı çizilerek, bu ilişkiye dair bulgular ve çıkarımlar sunulmuştur. Kolektif politik eylemleri, kentsel mekanların toplumsal ve temsili yeniden üretiminde belirleyici ve kritik güçler olarak ele alan bir mimarlık ve kent tarihi yazım pratiği önerilmiştir. Çok mekanlı, çok ölçekli ve ilişkisel bir okumaya dayanan bu pratiğin, Ankara'nın mekansal-politik tarihine ilişkin literatüre katkı sunması amaçlanmıştır.

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