

march The PhD Seminar on

19-20

2009

PUBLIC SPACE

Delft, The Netherlands



Workshop 3 – Politics of Public Space

The Political Struggle on and at
Kizilay Square with Respect to
Perceived, Conceived and Lived
Public Space before and after
1980

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**THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE *ON* AND *AT* KIZILAY SQUARE WITH RESPECT TO
PERCEIVED, CONCEIVED AND *LIVED* PUBLIC SPACE BEFORE AND AFTER 1980**



Kızılai Square, Güvenpark, 1942



Demonstrations at Zafer Monument, Kızılai District, 1963



Barriers located at Kızılai Square to close the pedestrian passways, 2003

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FEBRUARY 2009

Ankara, TURKEY

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Abstract:

Since the time it was conceived as a socio-spatial project of new established Republic of Turkey, Kızılay Square in Ankara has been reproduced within its (historical) meaning, (urban) function and (spatial) form, through changing contradictions and actors within political, social and economic context. In the first half of 1960s the square turned to be both the *scene* and *subject* of political struggle as a *symbolic public space* within the oppositional movement to party in power. After the military coup d'état in 1960, demonstrations were expelled out of the square by legal regulations. By 1980s spatial implementations occurred as attempts to change the square from a pedestrian zone to a junction. Within this article, under the assumption of political character of the square, the perception of actors reproducing and experiencing the square will be questioned through five criteria determining public space: *access, freedom of action, claims to space, change and ownership and disposition*.

Key Words:

(historical) meaning, (urban) function, (spatial) form, (symbolic/political) public space, access, freedom of action, claims to space, change and ownership and disposition, perceived space / conceived space / lived space, spatial practices / representations of space / representational space, Ankara, Kızılay Square

1. Introduction: Aim and Content of the Study

Since squares are the urban public spaces where daily routines and activities of urban life are experienced by the citizens they have been places where *the public is visible*, in both transferring and gathering the knowledge. They have become subjected to political conflict and power struggles with respect to the aim of transferring political knowledge and capturing the space not only politically but also symbolically. Therefore squares have been both the subject and stages of power struggles.

Kızılay Square, in Ankara, has been a critical public space since the establishment of Turkish Republic. Thought to be on the one hand the catalyst and on the other hand the stage of social movements of a period, Kızılay Square has turned to a junction where the pedestrians are intended to be got out and vehicles are motivated to pass faster by the spatial implementations, new traffic orders and legal prohibitions. In 1963, Kızılay Square was closed legally to the protests in great size for the sake of providing safety and regulating circulation of pedestrians; however public meetings and protests have been observed at the square. In this article, it is aimed to analyze and formulate the perception of the citizens experiencing Kızılay Square with reference to the transformation of the (spatial) form, the (urban) function and the (historical) meaning of the square. The main question is how is the square perceived recently, how the political character of the place has transformed after 1980s with respect to the perception of citizens?

2. The Role of Perception of Actors Through Reproducing the Historical/Symbolic/Political Meaning of the Public Space

2.1. Spatial Practices (Perceived Space) & Representations of Space (Conceived Space) & Representational Space (Lived Space)

Each mode of production and its material practices (producing societal life) influence the redefinition of the meanings attributed to space through reproducing both the spatial practice and the perception of space (Harvey, 1999: 229-30). Space is on the one hand an abstract on the other hand a concrete phenomenon, which enables the redefinition of the meaning of a place. Moreover, power relations, contradictions and struggles are observed as a result of the relationship between actual and imagined possibilities of space (Wright, 2000). Lefebvre conceptualizes a triad of space perceived space (spatial practices), conceived space (representations of space) and lived space (representational space) (Lefebvre, 1991).

Spatial practices indicate the daily life in relation with *perceived space* within urban pattern (Lefebvre, 1991:38), daily routines, a rhythm of everyday life such as walking, creating festivals, working, sleeping, etc. (Wright, 2000: 47). The concept of '*representations of space*' refers to both 'abstract expert discourses' (Wright, 2000: 49) and spatial representations *conceived* by professions of urban space such as city planners, architects and engineers in a relation with policy makers (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Representations of space provide understanding and talking on the material practices at

space through the codes and indicators which they are composed of (Harvey, 1999: 246-7). On the other hand, *representational space* implies the space *lived* through symbols and images (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

Through repetition and ‘routinization’ in daily life, a spatial practice can be attributed to a specific place (Giddens, 1984: xxiv; cited in Wright, 2000: 48). However, dominant and counter-dominant imaginaries struggle upon spatial practices, representations of space and representational space and result in hierarchies of actors with respect to their differentiated positions. The essence of these hierarchies is their influence on the actors’ being integrated in or excluded from the everyday routines, meanings, practices and rhythm of urban life (Wright, 2000).

2.2. Conflict over Historical Meaning, Urban Function and Spatial Form

Through re-organization of cognitive constructions, within changing spatial – historical representations of space, daily life would also be de-regulated and re-organized also within a set of material components. Space and spatial practices seem to be determined through daily routines naturally, in fact there are hidden mechanism and pattern of struggles under the conceptualization of space (Harvey, 1999); hence with respect to dilemmas and conflict over and at space, urban space is assumed to be a social product (Castells, 1983). Hegemony constructed over the (reproduction of) space would lead to hegemony over the daily life, which would de-regulate the ‘material practices, forms and meanings’ on time, space and money and would determine the references and rules of societal organization (Harvey, 1999: 255).

Three dimensions of the space are subjected to struggles through transformation: historical meaning, urban function and spatial form (Castells, 1983). According to Castells, urban space is shaped through three different processes which have a conflict at its core; these are (Castells, 1983: 303-304):

- ❖ “Conflicts over the definition of urban meaning”
- ❖ “Conflicts over the adequate performance of urban functions”
 - may arise from ‘different interests and values’
 - may arise from ‘different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function’
- ❖ “Conflicts over the adequate symbolic expression of urban meaning and (or) urban functions”

Historical meaning of a place can be argued to be developed through interrelations between the actors and the space. Using the space on the one hand, actors also contribute to the reproduction process of the space with their histories and experiences. The connections which form the base of the historical meaning are shaped and settled through repeated action and experiences (Carr, et. al., 1992: 133). Not only repetition but also the ‘raptures’ and ‘breaks’ constitute the coincidental conditions to create historical meaning (Wright, 2000: 48). Meanings may transform within history through the changes of urban function and spatial form of the place (Carr, et. al., 1992: 234).

Urban function, in relation with Lefebvre's concepts of spatial practice and perceived space, refers to the characteristics of space which activities and daily routines the space enables the citizens to accomplish or experience (Castells, 1983: 303). *Spatial form* indicates the boundaries of a space, especially the boundaries of public and private characteristics (Zucker, 1966).

2.3. The Rights to Public Space

Rights at a public space can organize the daily activities within a determined spatial form with respect to both freedom and control of the space (Carr & Lynch, 1981; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 137). The five dimensions of spatial rights which Kevin Lynch (1981) put forward are: 'presence', 'use and action', 'appropriation', 'modification' and 'disposition'; the dimensions are reframed as: access, freedom of action, claim, change; and ownership and disposition in the book of Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone (Carr et al., 1992: 138). Harvey also mentions similar notions as the dimensions of spatial practices: 'accessibility and determination of the distance'; 'appropriation of space as an estate'; 'hegemony over space'; and 'production of space' (Harvey, 1999: 250). These dimensions constitute the essential components of control over use (Carr et al., 1992: 138).

The notion of *accessibility* indicates 'the ability (of the citizens) to enter the space' (Carr et al., 1992: 138). Lefebvre mentioned the public accessibility as the concept of 'the right to the city' in 1968, which is the main criterion of being public (Dijkstra, 2000). *Accessibility* has three sub-components which are physical, visual and symbolic accessibility. Public space is regarded to be physically accessible, which means it is not closed by barriers, gates, and fences (Carr et al., 1992). Visual access, in relation with physical accessibility, implies the visibility of space to make the users easily recognize the space as a public space where they feel safe and free to enter (Carr et al., 1992). Symbolic access gives the space a kind of identity feature that will frame the boundaries of the definition of the citizens who will enter the space. Added to that, symbolic accessibility also implies who can control the space (Carr et al., 1992: 149).

Moreover, money and time costs are also the factors influencing the accessibility of the citizens. Mode of transportation and the distance affects the money cost, which refers to the money spent to reach the space. On the other hand, time cost, spent through the travel, differs with respect to both the mode of transportation and the time of day/week (Dijkstra, 2000; Carr, et. al., 1992).

The second dimension of the rights at public space, the notion of *freedom of action* refers to 'the right of use and action' as defined in Lynch's categories; it means the right to act and use the spatial facilities freely (Lynch, 1981: 205; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 151.152). Achieving the balance between the public and private boundaries of actions at public space is difficult and definitely has a political character. Directly or indirectly political activities such as demonstrations, distributing leaflets and making speech can be the subject of political struggle whether to be performed or restricted at squares and streets. The spatial patterning (form) would constitute the opportunities, boundaries and choices

of the space, which would determine the freedom of action. Therefore the design of a space inevitably would support some kinds of activities however would disturb some others (Carr et al., 1992), which is usually shaped and reproduced on the base of a political struggle.

The third dimension is *claim* over space in relation with the previous dimension; which refers to the demand of a group or individual to control the space for the sake of attaining an objective. Beyond ‘accessibility’ and ‘freedom of action’, claim to a space necessitates first an interest on space and second aims on space, which is usually conflictual. Claim over a space to realize one’s goals with reference to their specific interests would mean to restrict the freedom of action or claim of other groups; therefore claim over a public space implies control over a space (Carr et al., 1992: 158).

As the fourth dimension, change refers to the potential of the space to be transformed, to be evolved in case the groups or individuals do or can not achieve their goals and desires on a space (Lynch, 1972b; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 169). On the one hand this indicates the transformation of the historical and symbolic meaning within changing function of the place; on the other hand this dimension implies the possibility of the enhancement of the physical and social qualities of the place (Carr et al., 1992).

The last dimension, *ownership and disposition*, is composed of all the other dimensions, which represents the exercise of the rights over the place. A public space can be kept under surveillance by either police force or social control for the sake of ownership and disposition (Carr et al., 1992). The formulation through these concepts of rights over a public space will be used to examine the historical transformation of political contradiction and struggle over Kızılay Square in the next part of the article.

3. The Reproduction of the Symbolic/Political Meaning of Kızılay Square before 1980

The construction of Kızılay Square and the development of Yenışehir District between the years 1923 and 1960 were examined briefly with respect to the studies and reports on the issue. A newspaper analysis was used to clarify Kızılay Square being a political space during the societal opposition of the years between 1960 and 1980. What are the spatial, political and social elements which created and have reproduced the symbolic/political meaning of Kızılay Square? Three sets of factors are critical with respect to the chronological order: first one is the specific location of the square; second one is the historical meaning of the space and third one is on the base of these two factors the struggle over and at the space shaped within the economic, political, ideological and social context of the country at different eras. The historical meaning of the space is reproduced on the base of its location which had a potential to create a symbolic axis or node with respect to the organization of political struggle. Kızılay Square, being located at the conjunction of the two main streets, had a potential to turn to be a node of political spaces such as parliament, universities (FLHG and Faculty of Political Sciences and School of Medicine of Ankara University, Military School), Zafer Monument



and Anıtkabir. On the base of this location which can not be solely the factor of symbolic meaning, the historical meaning attributed to the space through a set of particular historical events or situations and thirdly the struggle over the space created and reproduced the symbolic meaning of the square.

Fig. 1. Kızılay Square is seen at the intersection of two main streets, satellite picture, recently, 2005

Source: <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=14967>

Constructed to be a housing site for high income group, Yenişehir (Kızılay Square) turned to be on the one hand an alternative urban commercial centre and on the other hand a space demanded by the demonstrators. At this point the historical meaning of the space has been reproduced within a new symbolic meaning by reproducing built environment, function, spatial form of the square through a hidden class struggle. Within this class struggle particular classes have been excluded from the space by legal (legal regulations, plans), spatial (projects, barriers), ideological (symbols), or political (police, power struggles) tools.

3.1. 1923 – 1950: A Spatial Project of Turkish Republic

The main societal contradictions of the society change from one historical era to the other one. Being added over and over the contradictions constitute different layers, which shapes and transforms the political and historical character of a public space. The historical meaning of a public space is (re)defined through these differentiated social layers. After the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, three major periods (within a main societal contradiction) can be distinguished. Firstly, during the period between the years 1923 and 1950, named as ‘*urbanisation of state*’, by Şengül (2003), the main contradiction was observed between the values/projects of new established nation state and the socio-spatial inheritance of Ottoman Empire (Şengül, 2003; Tekeli, 1998). Kızılay Square occurred as a spatial project of this period; implies both the imposition of values and power by nation state and the construction of a new life style for the arising bourgeoisie of new established state (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002).

Kızılay Square was designed as a socio-spatial project of the new established Turkish Republic. It was an essential node of the pattern of public spaces created within, the Lörcher Plan prepared and approved in the years 1924-25. (Cengizkan, 2002). Kızılay Square was planned to be both *the symbol of the new republic* and *the public space of the bourgeoisie*. Designed at the intersection of two main streets, Kızılay Square would present a new kind of public life and experience with spatial elements such as Havuzbaşı (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002).

Liberation Square (the first name of Kızılay Square) was designed and constructed as a conceived space to symbolize the values and public sphere of (bourgeoisie of the new republic of) the

nation state. Jansen Plan had to propose a spatial strategy for the policy to produce a public sphere at which both the social and political coincides. *Kızılay Square*, was designed with respect to this strategy in the shape of a scene defined by *Güvenpark* (the end point of the neighbourhood of *Vekaletler*) and on its opposite *Building of Kızılay with its parking lot*. Yenişehir was not the only key component of the socio-spatial pattern, designed to make Ankara the capital city of the Republic. Being the backbone, Atatürk Boulevard constituted the north – south axis of the spatial dimension of the pattern. *This backbone would connect the new city centre with the old one, also would join the nodes* such as *Orduevi, Halkevi, Sergievi*. Ulus, the elder city centre, was another node of the pattern,



Fig. 2 Zafer Square, 1936
Source: Çankaya, 1991: 94

which was in a tension with Yenişehir. With the Monument of Victory, *Zafer Anıtı* and the square defined around it, located between Ankara Palas and the Building of Parliament, Boulevard of Republic, *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı*, would become a space where new public sphere and ideology of new republic could be viewed (Batuman, 2002).

The name of Kızılay Square was Republic Square (*Cumhuriyet Meydanı*) in Lörcher's plan. Construction of Kızılay, *Hilal-i Ahmer Binası*, was finished in 1930 and in front of it a garden was constructed. As a result at this district, the name of the square (Republic Square) turned be Kızılay Square (Cengizkan, 2002: 230.231).



Fig. 3. Kızılay Square, Güvenpark, in 1942, postcard
Source: http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/ANKARA-KARTPOSTAL-KIZILAY-MEYDANI_W0QQidZZ5248552



Fig. 4. Kızılay Square, Kızılay Building with its garden, 1938
Source: Çankaya, 1991: 97

3.2. 1950 – 1980: A Political Arena¹

As a result of migration in masses from rural to urban, by 1950s a new layer of actors, was added to the urban societal structure, which led to a contradiction among working class and hegemonic actors of the bourgeoisie and the state. The socio-spatial dimension of the contradiction, between the years of 1960 and 1980, is called as ‘*urbanization of labour power*’ (Şengül, 2003). This is a period of consisting one memorandum on 12th of March, 1970 and is located between two military coup d’états (27th of May, 1960; 12th of September, 1980). Kızılay Square was one of the main political scenes of this period especially in the first half of the 1960s. During the examination of the changing actors, contradictions and the symbolic meaning of the square, three sub-periods were determined with respect to the changing density and form of societal movements on the base of newspaper analysis and other sources. During the period between 1960 and 1964, the main character was an opposition of Democrat Party; the period between 1968 and 1971 was characterized with the arising an organized student movement with respect to the movement in Europe and especially in Paris. And the period between 1977 and 1980 was characterized with chaos and anarchy observed both at the streets, squares, semi-public places and also at the private places such as houses (İlkey, 2007).

Kızılay Square turned to be a symbolic/political space against the Democrat Party (DP) in the very beginning of 1960s with reference to four main events: firstly the demonstration in favour of İsmet İnönü at Kızılay Square on the 19th of April, 1960; secondly, events of 28-29th April, 1960; thirdly 555K (meaning on the 5th day of the 5th month at 5 o’clock at Kızılay Square) on 5th of May, 1960 and lastly the march of the Military College on the 21st of May, 1960. These events were all indicating both the opposition and repression on them by the party in power, DP (Democrat Party). On 27th of May, 1960, the army captured the power of government. The role of the meetings and events at or over Kızılay Square seemed to be critical during this capturing process (İlkey, 2008). This led to the square to be perceived as an essential political scene of oppositional social movements after the coup d’état. On the one hand masses – especially students –demanded to be seen at Kızılay Square, to achieve both political and personal rights. On the other hand, the government attempted to provide control over the space through the law sanction. Kızılay Square was forbidden to demonstrations. One dimension of the meaning of the Square was constructed on the basis of the symbols of new established nation state (republic) – Zafer Monument, Güvenpark – and the other dimension was related with its adjacency and connection with the Parliament which was considered as the focus of democracy (İlkey, 2007).

¹ This part is mainly based on the master thesis (İlkey, 2007) and newspaper analysis held during March – August 2007. totally about 4380 daily newspapers between 1960 and 1980 were examined. Between the March of 1960 and December of 1964, nearly 1740 newspapers of *Ulus* in microfilms; between January of 1968 and July of 1971 about 1290 newspapers of *Ulus* in microfilms; and between January of 1977 and September of 1980 about 1350 newspapers of *Cumhuriyet* in hardcopies were scanned.



Students were organized under the roof of National Federation of Turkish Students (TMTF) and demonstrated on both the national and student issues such as protesting Cyprus issue and demanding to enter universities (İlkay, 2007).

Fig. 5. The demonstration of the Organization of Cypriot students protesting Dr. Fazıl Küçük at Kızılay Square

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

After the coup d'état, for a while, the demonstrations were allowed by the administrators of army. Nonetheless, when the demonstrators were thought to create a political threat; demonstrating in masses at Kızılay square was prohibited by a legal regulation in 1964. Some very special demonstrations or marches (i.e. the march held after the death of İmren Ökten) would be allowed after that time (İlkay, 2007).



Fig.6. The Meeting of Respect to the Constitution and University, 1970

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

Nonetheless the political demand to be seen at the square continued. AP (Justice Party) (the rightist party in power) had chosen the square to locate their central building, which resulted demonstrations and struggles at the centre of the square, in front of the building (İlkay, 2007).

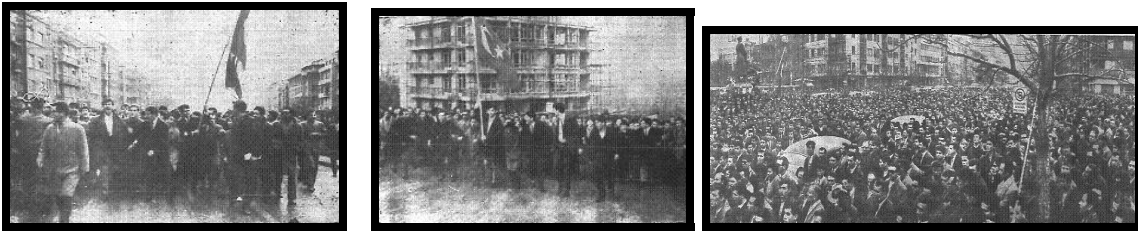


Fig. 7. Demonstrations against Celal Bayar

Source: *27 Mayıs korunacaktır*, Ulus, 25.03.1963, pp. 1 & 7

In the period between 1968 and 1971, students in either revolutionary associations, associations in leftist ideology such as SDDF, or rightist ideology such as commanders would use the space as a shop window of their political struggle which had been concentrated at universities, squatter settlements or factories. Students demanded to demonstrate and to distribute notifications at the Square and to hang the posters on the walls of the square. After 1977, in chaos, even taking a walk through Kızılay Square became dangerous; the square had turned to be a battleground, similar to the other streets and squares. Anarchy and policemen were dominating the space. The

leftist students would want to be seen, to distribute their political material at the square; and on the other hand, rightist commanders would demand to beat the revolutionary students *at the square*.

3.3. Spatial and Political Reproduction of Kızılay Square after 1980

By the year 1980, both the economic-political context and the socio-spatial organization have been transformed, which has an effect on the central business districts, open public spaces of the metropolitan cities in Turkey. With reference to both the decentralization of economic, administrative, financial functions and the development of shopping centres, an economic fall and a destruction of the city centres have been witnessed to be deserted and fell. Şengül (2003) named this period as '*urbanization of capital*' since the money occurring as the arising value by 1980s. Kızılay Square on the one hand developed as a alternative business district to Ulus since 1950s and a political arena since 1960s, has also observed to experience a similar transformation. Although it was not the scene of the opposition anymore the contradiction over Kızılay Square has lasted. On one hand, of the concept 'laicism' appeared at the core of a contradiction between the mayor of Metropolitan Municipality and the mayor of the district municipality over Kızılay Square and on the other hand a contradiction between vehicles and pedestrians occurred on the base of the spatial regulations and projects. Güvenpark and trial of Zafer Park Project were essential examples (İlkay, 2007).

Examining the changing political character of the square after the coup d'état in 1980, the demonstrations and the chaos ended suddenly. This silence continued till the mids of 1990s. Kızılay Square has transformed to be a place vehicles and political rant is dominant. The spatial transformation leads to visual and symbolic access of the space to diminish; subways have oriented pedestrians to pass underground and have encouraged vehicles to pass faster through the square, which resulted in the space to be perceived as if it had been a junction.

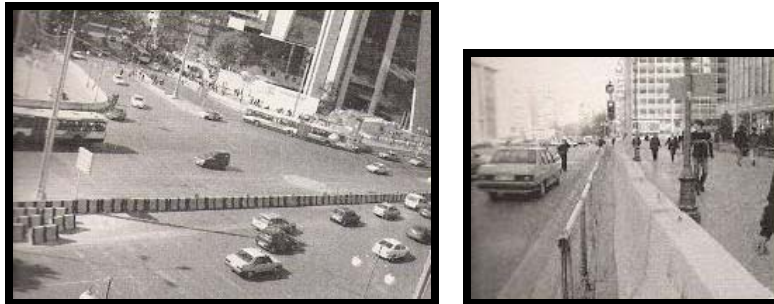


Fig. 8. Barriers located at Kızılay Square to close the pedestrian passways

Source: *Kızılay'da Yayalar ve Yaya Ulaşımı: Sorunlar, Sebepler ve Süreçler*, TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi & Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2004: 31

4. Analysis of the Reproduction of the Historical Meaning of Kızılay Square since 1980 through the Perception and Experiences of the Citizens

On the main question how Kızılay Square is perceived and used recently, a questionnaire was carried out with 92 citizens from different regions of the city, from different features of age, gender, education and from different classes. First of the hypothesis of the study is that the perception of citizens would differ according to their location where they are living and working in the city. Therefore the physical accessibility would affect the

perception of the public space. Secondly, the relationship between the (symbolic & visual) accessibility and the demographic features of the group is examined through especially the perception of the square's form. For understanding the perception over the freedom of action, the economic, physical and social influence of the square on the citizens is examined in relation with the features of age, gender, education, and class within the questions on the functions it enables citizens to achieve. The fourth hypothesis is that citizens and students especially related with social and political issues would be more conscious about the public spaces; they would be more concerned on the question what is happening at and over the square. These questions are also essential to analyze the possible connection between the perception on claims of the space and the citizens' age, gender, education and class. Moreover, in relation with the perception of the claims over space, the potential of the change for the square can be examined. As a last question, it is critical to find out how the people perceive the ownership of the square. These all would figure partly the perceived meaning of the square which was a critical political space during 1960s with respect to the form and function of the place.

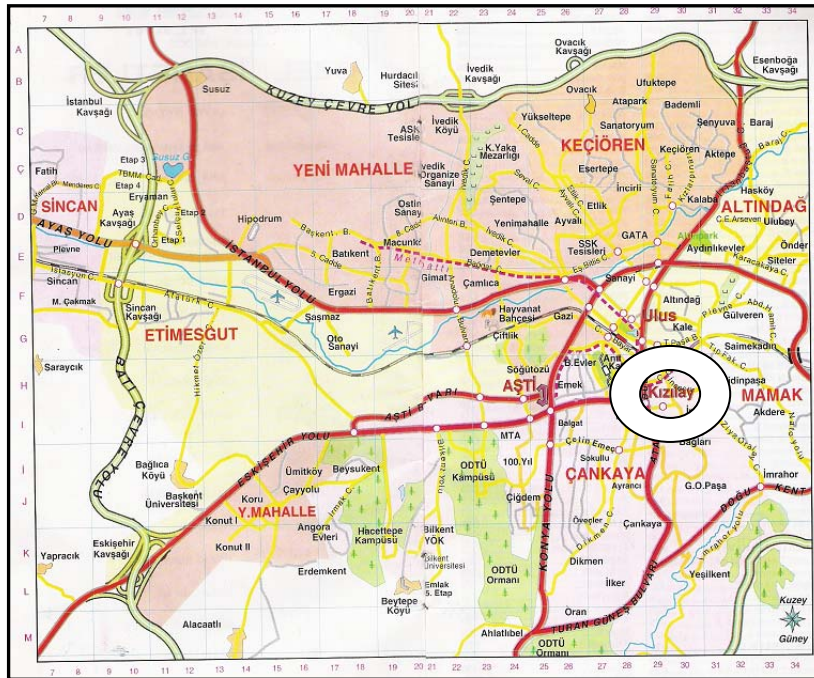


Fig. 9. The districts of Ankara

4.1. The Perception of the rights over Kızılay Square

At the beginning of the study, approximately the half of the questionnaires was decided to be carried out in the peripheries of the city, so that both the education and class features would be balanced throughout the whole city. However, the first trials of the interviews indicated that it would be difficult to analyze the perception of these people, since they have limited possibilities to access Kızılay Square so have a limited perception, which implies critical issues on the other dimensions of the political character of the square. The interviewees were selected

with respect to their different locations of the city where they are living and working or studying. Second criterion was the occupation of the interviewees; thirdly the age and fourthly gender were factors of composing the sample. With respect to these criteria of sampling, totally 92 questionnaires were conducted with people having different occupations, within different ages who probably have different class properties and living in differentiated parts of the city. Out of 92 participants, 43 persons (46,7 %) were women and 49 persons (53,3) were men. The mean of the ages of the participants is 36 years old; ages differ from 16 to 61 (table 1).

Table 1. The age groups of the interviewees

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Under the age 18	11	12,0
	19-25	11	12,0
	26-35	21	22,8
	36-45	25	27,2
	46-55	19	20,7
	Beyon the age of 56	5	5,4
	Total	92	100,0

4.1.1. The Accessibility to Kızılay Square

Through investigating the frequency of the interviewees going to Kızılay Square, 1,1 % either has never seen the square even once or passed through. 14,1 % rarely (once or twice in a year) goes to Kızılay Square; most of which are either in lower income groups or higher (especially more than 5000 TL income a month) and most of which live in the north eastern (Keçiören) or west southern peripheries of the city (Çayyolu, Konutkent).

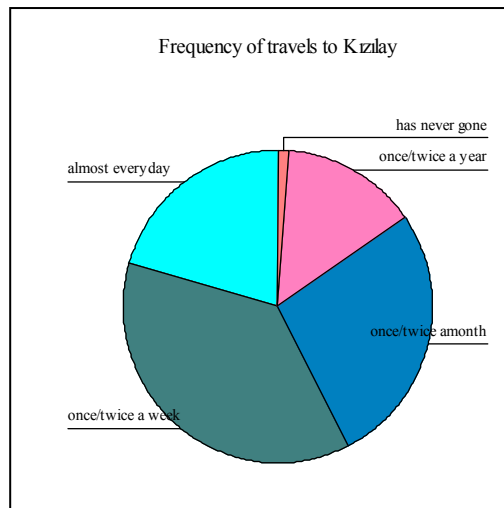


Fig. 10. Frequency of the travels to Kızılay Square

27,2 % travels once or twice a month; 37 % travels once or twice a week; and 20,7 % either goes to or passes through Kızılay Square almost everyday. To examine the physical boundaries with respect to the perception of

the citizens, the participants were asked to choose only one of the three images of junction, square/poll/grass and glass or steel barriers. Except from the 21,1 % who replied the question as none, only 12 % perceived the physical boundaries of Kızılay as a square, made of grass in a park, with a poll. 38 % answered the question as a junction and 28,3 % as barriers. It was observed that these two images (barriers and junction) were perceived as interrelated by some of the interviewees, since some of them wanted to sign both of the images together.

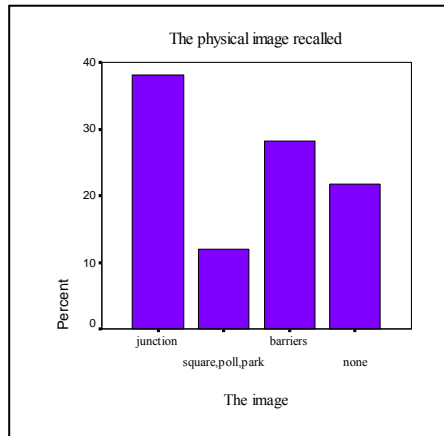


Fig. 11. The Physical Image Recalled (Kızılay Square)

For examining the visual accessibility of the square, the specific places where they meet with their friends were asked. The front sides of huge buildings such as YKM, GİMA are relatively more popular to the front sides of huge monuments such as Güvenlik Anıtı and Zafer Anıtı, which have been the political symbols of some specific eras in Ankara's political atmosphere.

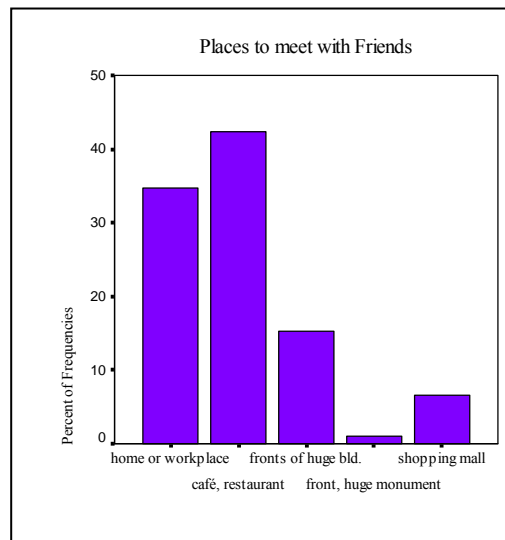


Fig. 12. Places to meet with friends

As another component of visual accessibility of the square, the participants were asked to select one of the three images of The Monument of Güvenlik (Security), the exits of Ankaray, Metro or huge buildings such as GİMA, GAMA, YKM, located at Kızılay Square. 15,2 % preferred none of the images, 43,5 % perceived the visual

boundaries of Kızılay as the exits of Ankaray and Metro. 31,5 % chose the huge buildings and only 9,8 % selected the monument which had been a critical visual boundary of the space.

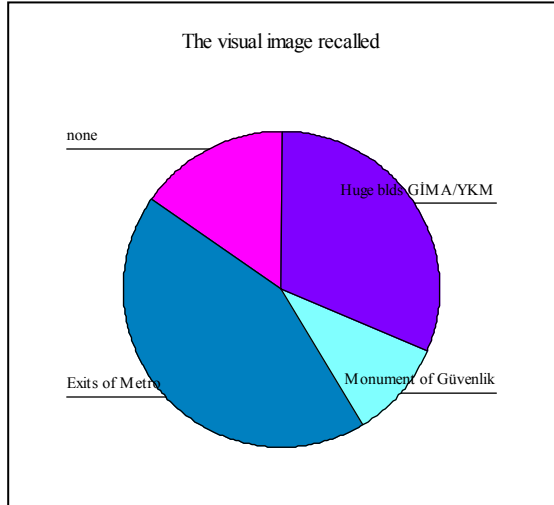


Fig. 13. The visual image recalled by Kızılay Square

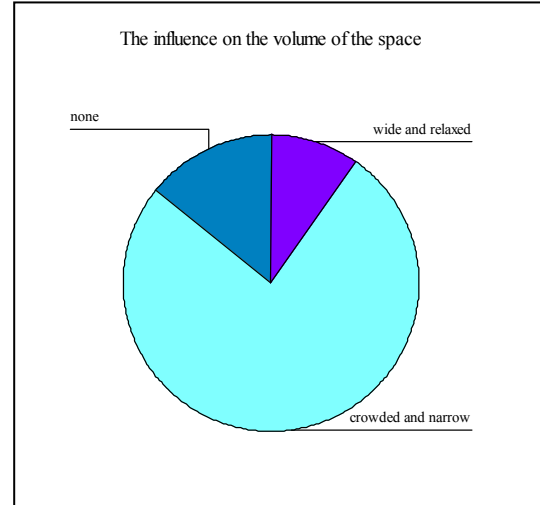


Fig. 14. The Visual Influence of the Volume Feature of Kızılay Square

The interviewees were asked what the square reminds them as functional buildings; 51,1 % recalled the stores; 19,6 % thought of the cultural buildings of cinema, theatre, exhibition centres and bookstores; 17,4 % talked about the cafés, restaurants and bars. Since the symbolic access of the place is related with the perceived functional character of the place; **Kızılay Square seems to be perceived as the place of firstly the ones who are coming to shopping; secondly the ones who participate in cultural activities and thirdly the ones coming or passing through the space for their feeding needs and pleasures.**

4.1.2. The Freedom of Action at Kızılay Square

One of the main components of freedom of action is based on the economic accessibility, functionality and the perception whether Kızılay is free to arrive and save time and money for all the social classes; in other words whether economically accessible (and free) or not. 47,8 % argued that they find the square 'cheap' and 14,4 % finds the place 'expensive'. Secondly, thinking about the freedom of the citizens as pedestrians, the perception of the interviewees indicated that 45,7 % perceives Kızılay as junction rather than a pedestrian zone; however 25 % argued that they see the place as a pedestrian pass way. This implies transformation of the place to a vehicle oriented place rather than a pedestrian zone.

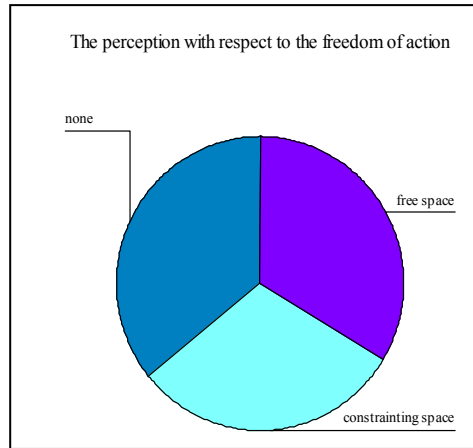


Fig. 15. The Perception of the Freedom of Action at Kızılay Square

The perception of the interviewees about the freedom of action and the free character of the place, apart from the 35,9 % who did not give any idea, 33,7 % thinks that Kızılay Square is a free place, and 30,4 % sees the place as a constraining place. Although the place seems to be perceived as free or constraining place by the interviewees when directly asked, it seems to be limited with either physical or mental boundaries on the one hand; and on the other hand there are legal / formal prohibitions such as not demonstrating at the square and informal limitations constrained by the inhabitants, shopkeepers and the policemen placed at the square almost every time (especially at the weekends) recently.

4.1.3. The Claims to Kızılay Square

What are the claims of the citizens and what are the perception on their rights and claims over the space is another question. On the base of this, the interviewees were asked to give themselves score points on how they evaluate themselves being active and powerful through both the public and political issues from 1 point at least to maximum 10 points.

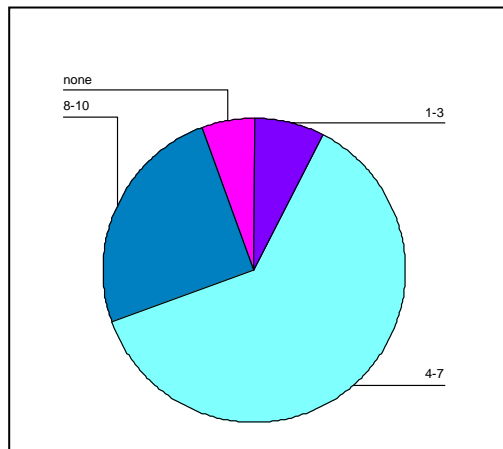


Fig. 16. The Distribution of Scores with respect to the perception of oneself being public

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Only 25 % of the interviewees see oneself as a political citizen, who examines the issues, follow the implementations and act politically, which is the group having the points between 8-10. Most of the interviewees see onself as being semi-political, 62 % gave the score 4-7; and thirdly 7,6 % thought that they have points from 1 to 3. Moreover, the other critical issue with respect to the claims over the space is the question whether they follow the implementations on Kızılay Square, and the direction and the actors of the changes of the place. 81,5 % answered the question as 'yes' and 18,5 % honestly said 'no'. Claims over the space should be investigated with reference to the perception of the possibility of the place to change and the ownership of the place, which is held in the next parts.

4.1.4. The Change of Kızılay Square

Perception of the citizens on the main problematic of Kızılay Square can imply both the issues citizens are irritated and so that the features they want to be changed. The problems are shown in the following figure. The two most critical issues perceived as the problematic of Kızılay Square are the traffic jam and the crowded pedestrian zones. Some of the other issues can be listed as the regularity of the garbage collection; the barriers located at the centre of the place which leads to the citizens to perceive as a junction; the events of robbery which was regarded to be increasing recently; as a result of short time periods of green light for walkers, traffic lights' disabling pedestrians to pass the street comfortably; the problems on the both the frequency and the comfort of the public transportation; the chaos and accidents created as a result of confrontation of the pedestrians and vehicles; the beggars especially children beggars occurring at especially at the late hours and lastly the unplanned and illegal spatial implementations over the space.

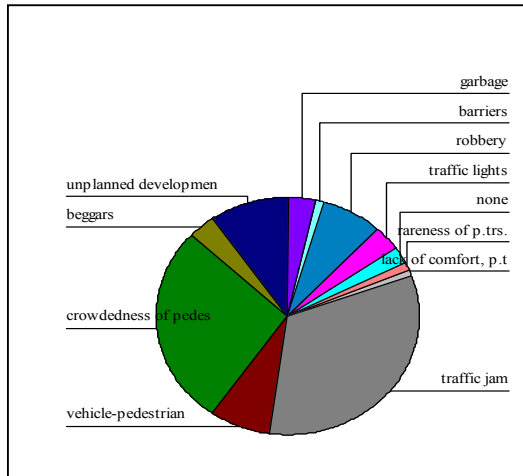


Fig. 17. The Problems of Kızılay Square

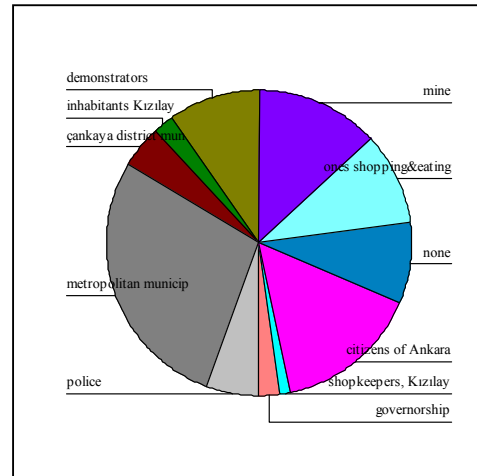


Fig. 18. The Perception of whose Kızılay Square is

4.1.5. The Ownership and Disposition of Kızılay Square

The critical question in this part is who the owner of Kızılay Square is. Metropolitan Municipality seems to be perceived as the main actor shaping and dominating the space since 28,3 % thinks that Kızılay Square is owned by the Metropolitan Municipality. Although Kızılay Square is in the boundaries of Çankaya District and a symbolic struggle has occurred between Çankaya District Municipality and the Metropolitan Municipality, only 4,3 % sees Çankaya District Municipality as the owner of the space. 15,2 % thinks that the whole citizens of Ankara is the owner; 13 % responded the question as Kızılay Square is mine. The percentage of the participants evaluating the owner of Kızılay as the people coming to feeding and shopping is 9,8 % and is the same percentage as the interviewees regarding the space belonging to the demonstrators. 5,4 % declared that the place is belonging to

policemen. Although the demonstration decisions are given by the Governorship, only 2,2 % evaluates the Governorship as the owner. 2,2 % thinks that the space belongs to the inhabitants of Kızılay Region, and only 1,1 % thinks that the shopkeepers are the owner of the space (Fig. 21).

5. Conclusion :

Examining the accessibility of Kızılay Square through the case study, the first critical point is that the citizens especially women in low income groups can not reach to the square as a result of lack of money. The class features constitutes a critical boundary to access the place, which is located at the centre of the city. On the other hand, the citizens in higher income groups (especially the ones with an income more than 5000 TL) living in the southern west of Ankara, do not prefer to go Kızılay Square; they may go once, twice or three times in a year.

The physical boundaries of the place come into prominence as the junction and barriers, rather than the images of square, poll in Güvenpark and the Monument of Security. It is easily seen that the interviewees perceive the junction and the barriers together. Examining the visual accessibility of the place, the huge buildings such as YKM and GİMA have been observed to be the perceived symbols in front of where the people meet and remember while talking about Kızılay. Added to the huge buildings, the exits of Metro and Ankaray occurred to be notable visual symbols of the square. Looking at the symbolic access to the space, most of the citizens stated that they do not feel they belong to the square, which is a critical issue on the symbolic access of a space. They seem to prefer the pedestrianized streets, especially Yüksel Street where the cultural activities are concentrated. Added to that Sakarya Street and İzmir Street seem to be both functional and symbolic places for feeding, entertaining and shopping.

With respect to freedom of action, the place seems to be perceived as not a pedestrian region therefore within a pedestrian perspective the interviewees explained that the place is not free for pedestrians since it is so crowded with the cars, pedestrians and there is a chaos in the streets, the duration of traffic lambs are so short for the pedestrians to pass. These are all the factors limiting the freedom of action.

Although most of the interviewees explained that they are following the implementations over Kızılay Square, almost all of them thought that they have no power to change the space. They think that implementations are carried out without creating possibilities for them to express their ideas. However, surprisingly some of them stated that they are not interested in the transformation of the square and do not want to gather more power or right of audience over the reproduction processes of the square; which are either stuck in their own problems within low income groups or the ones – especially from high income group – who do not need to experience open public spaces since they have several options in their own sites.

At last the owner of the square is perceived as mostly the Metropolitan Municipality although the legal regulations to enter the space and freedom of action are determined by the Governorship of Ankara since 1963. It is interesting that the police and the demonstrators seem to be the critical actors still in the perception of the citizens, since a critical number of interviewees think that the space belongs to them. This may be either a reaction to the demonstrations or a sign to indicate being the side of the demonstrators. Surprisingly, some 12-13 % of them see the square as themselves; and some 16 % of them state that the square is the citizens' of Ankara.

These judgements all indicate the spatial and political deformation of the space to some extent; and on the other hand the square seems to have a political symbolic meaning within the perception of the citizens. However, Kızılay Square can be said to turn to a junction and the citizens seem not to claim in an organized and powerful manner towards the transformation and deformation of the square. But, the citizens seem to demand for a lively and pedestrianized city centre, on and at where they have more rights and freedom of expression and action. The square should be revitalized through a spatial patterning, if possible to make the place pedestrianized so that to accomplish the improvement of physical, visual and symbolic access and to provide more freedom of action which would in return revitalize both the public character of Kızılay as both a perceived and lived space. Policies, strategies and projects should be developed to provide the economic and symbolic accessibility of the lower income groups living in the peripheries of the city, especially for the citizens living in the northern and south eastern Ankara.

The historical and symbolic meaning of the space is based on the political character of the square, coming from struggles against DP in the very beginning of 1960s (İlkay, 2007). Within contradictions the historical meaning, spatial form and urban function of Kızılay Square have been defined several times, which implies the changing political struggle over and at the place and the socio-spatial transformation of the square (in Table 3). The transformation of these two issues is examined with the rights over the square, which is indicated in Table 1 as 'accessibility', 'freedom of action', 'claims to space', 'change' and 'disposition'.

Table 2 indicates these dimensions relation with the rights over the space. Table 3 indicates the symbolic meaning transformation through the three dimensions of space which are exposed to contradiction and struggles; historical meaning, urban function and spatial form with respect to differentiated historical eras of Turkish social-economic and political context.

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Table 2. The transformation of the rights over Kızılay Square (Adopted from: İlkay, 2007: 214)

		ACCESS			FREEDOM OF ACTION	CLAIMS TO THE SPACE	CHANGE	OWNERSHIP & DISPOSITION
		Physical	Visual	Symbolic				
1929 – 50 URBANIZATION OF STATE		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Being on the intersection of two boulevards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Havuzbaşı Güvenpark Kızılay Building and its garden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A part of the sequences of squares on the radical axis from the castle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experiencing public sphere (Bourgeoisie) Experiencing public space (Bourgeoisie) Recreation and entertainment Cultural & Public facilities 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public space of the capital city and Turkish bourgeoisie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The state Bourgeoisie
1950 – 80 URBANIZATION OF LABOUR	1950 - 1960		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Havuzbaşı Güvenpark 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experiencing public sphere (Bourgeoisie) Experiencing public space (Bourgeoisie) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desire of the working class living in the peripheries of the city (squatters) to experience Yenişehir (New City-Kızılay) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public space of the capital city and Turkish bourgeoisie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The state Bourgeoisie
	1960 - 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spatial proximity to the Parliament 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Atatürk Boulevard The headquarter – Kızılay (Emek) Office Building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zafer Monument – the symbolic meaning of nation state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrations and public meetings in masses, students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Being visible for demanding political and personal rights Opposition to AP building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The political scene against DP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The students (demonstrators) Student associations (TMTF)
	1968 - 1971			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Güvenpark 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Special demonstrations Distribution of notifications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demand to demonstrate (working class, students, etc.) Reaction to US buildings Prohibition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The shop window of societal opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrators Workers Rightist Commanders Policemen
	1977 - 1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses – <i>tahsisli yol</i> 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As a result of anarchy even walking was not safe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distributing notifications Beating the opposite group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The battleground 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anarchy Policemen (<i>Toplum polisi</i>)
1980 – ONWARDS URBANIZATION OF CAPITAL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barriers of glass and iron Subways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The headquarter Bus stops The entrances of Ankaray, Metro Under & Upper Passways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A junction owned by the vehicles Citizens coming for shopping, feeding, cultural activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural facilities Feeding Educational facilities Commercial facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Walking safely (pedestrians) Passing faster (vehicles) Being visible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A junction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vehicles Capital Metropolitan municipality

Table 3. Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Kızılay Square (İlkey, 2007: 207)

	HISTORICAL MEANING	URBAN FUNCTION	SPATIAL FORM
1923 – 1950 Urbanization of State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A spatial project as a public space of new established republic indicating both the power of the government and the declaration of Ankara as the capital city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing the creation of new public sphere and Turkish bourgeoisie • Urban open public space providing a recreational space for the inhabitants of Yenışehir after a work day • Providing cultural and entertaining activities such as concerts, cafés, cinema and theatre facilities • Implying the power of new established nation state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • designed at the intersection of two boulevards • conceived to be a part of the sequence of squares on the base of a radial axis from the Castle towards the district of Administrative Units in Yenışehir • determined by the building of Hilal-i Ahmer with its building, Güvenpark and the villa type buildings of one storey
1950 – 1980 Urbanization of Labour Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political arena of the societal opposition which led the space to occur as an issue of political struggle as well • A symbol of the political struggle against DP and later against security forces especially <i>Toplum Polisi</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scene for political opposition • An alternative central business district to Ulus • With the construction of the office building Emek, providing working places, and offices • Within passages under the working places, commercial facilities • The location of the central building of Justice party (AP) • Through the struggle experienced in universities, factories, and squatters in 1970s, Kızılay Square had been used to create a public sphere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The increase in spatial density • The spatial reduction of the garden of Kızılay Building • Transformation of the villa type houses to the office buildings • The construction of Kızılay Office Building, which was the highest building both in Ankara and in Turkey in 1950s • The passages formed in the ground floors of office buildings • The lanes of roads reserved for the use of buses – <i>tahsisli yol</i> • Sakarya Pedestrian Zone • Project of Metro
1980 – onwards Urbanization of Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A junction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stage to be seen for political rant and an informal scene for political struggle • Central location for bus stops, and Metro, Ankaray • One of the central districts providing cultural, educational, feeding, commercial facilities • A junction which is subject of discussion between pedestrians and vehicles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The demolition of Kızılay Building and construction of a headquarter which has still not opened to use • The Güvenpark Rehabilitation Project • The construction of Metro – Ankaray station • Barriers located along the Atatürk Boulevard • Under passages for vehicles

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