APPROPRIATION AND ALLOCATION
IN THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACES:
A SURVEY ON THREE CASES FROM ANKARA

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A SURVEY ON THREE CASES FROM ANKARA

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Public space is one of the most essential components of urban spaces, as the notion refers to the society and its values. Besides, public spaces provide the society with an opportunity of expression and identification; they have the potential of signification and of orientation of citizens’ daily life. Public spaces are the urban places which are subject to either spontaneous or intentional transformations. In the present thesis, two developments which can be observed in these processes are examined: ‘appropriation’ as an instinctive behavior of human beings and ‘allocation’ as a deliberate tool of intervening on urban public spaces.

The research emphasizes ‘the temporality’ in the usage of public spaces which become permanent in some cases. In the present study,
the transformation process of three public spaces in Ankara, namely Olgunlar Bouquiniste Street, Opera Bazaar and Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar are analyzed from this perspective. In the three cases of urban development in Ankara, the (re)production process of urban public spaces, their evolution and their socio-spatial effects upon the city and also the society are examined and also the attitude of the authorities, such as Municipalities towards the studied public spaces is scrutinized.

Depending on the findings, after the evaluations and interpretations made through the comparison of the case studies, the answer of whether ‘the notion of temporality in public spaces can be converted into an alternative design tool in urban scope’ is sought concerning the changing uses of public spaces, daily trajectories and life values of the society and also its interaction with space.

Keywords: social and spatial (re)production of space, public space and society, appropriation and allocation, temporality.
ÖZ

KAMUSAL MEKANLARIN (YENİDEN) ÜRETİLMESİ İNDE
SAHİPLENME VE TAHSİS ETME:
ANKARA’DAN ÜÇ ÖRNEK ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

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Araştırma, kamusal mekân kullanımındaki bazı durumlarda kalıcı olan ‘geçiciliğe’ vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Ankara’daki Olgunlar
ikinci el kitapçılars sokağı, Opera Çarşısı ve Sihhiye Fuar Çarşısı olarak adlandırılan üç kamusal mekânın değişim süreci bu açıdan analiz edilmektedir. Ankara’daki bu üç kentsel gelişim örneğinde, kamusal kent mekânlarının; (yeniden)üretim süreçleri, gelişimi, kent ve toplum üzerindeki sosyal ve mekânsal etkisi incelenmekte ve ayrıca belediyeler gibi yetkili mercilerin çalışılan kamusal mekânlara karşı tutumu irdelenmektedir.

Bulgulara bağlı olarak örnek çalışmaların karşılaştırılması yoluyla yapılan değerlendirme ardından, kamusal mekânların değişen kullanımları, toplumun günlük pratikleri, yaşam değerleri ve ayrıca mekânla etkileşimleri göz önünde bulundurularak, kamusal mekânlarda geçici kavramının kent kapsamında alternatif bir tasarım aracına dönüştürülebilir dönüştürülemeceğini sorusuna cevap aranmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mekânın sosyal ve mekânsal (yeniden)üretimi, kamusal alan ve toplum, sahiplenme ve tahsis etme, geçicilik.
To Özkan and Arısan Families
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

Rethinking the public sphere as a course of action rather than an over-arching grid is closely bound up with re-examining what might be claimed about the particular form of sociability upon which it allegedly depended.¹

Public places are the places where public communication and social interaction among large numbers of people occur. Their main role is being loci of socialization in the city and also they are the stages where alternative public cultures perform in the public realm of the city. They are dynamic urban spaces which are always subjected to transformations of the city and its inhabitants.

With the changing dynamics of the city and society, public spaces are transformed. That is, they are regenerated, revitalized or they may lose their values and identities with the degradation of their special qualities. In this sense, public spaces can be defined as dynamic urban spaces and they reflect temporal qualities according to the dynamics of the city and practices of the society.

Therefore, the formation and transformation of a public space should be examined according to the dynamics effecting this situation and its potentials and contributions to the city and society.

The study has proceeded in this respect: Public spaces are analyzed considering their spatial and socio-cultural, politic and economic dimensions by focusing on the roles of the society and authorities in their transformation processes in the present study in which Ankara is taken as the case study area.

The thesis is based on a survey of public spaces in Ankara and three specific places have been selected for this research. The main determining factor in the selection of the cases is their opportunity of comparability according to the similar and distinct physical and social features that they display.

They are public spaces, which have been reproduced by the conscious interventions of the local governments in Ankara and they are all spaces which have been subjected to transformation in the recent past, approximately in the same period. All of the three examples are near the Ataturk Boulevard and close to the urban centers. Yet, their spatial definition differs from each other. Besides Olgunlar Street, which is a designed urban space, the areas underneath the bridges are defined as undesigned, leftover spaces. All the three spaces are fully accessible, open to public view and so they have always been subjected to appropriation by the users instinctively. Therefore, the formation and transformation of these spaces have occurred by both the cooperation and/or tension between ‘the users’ participating in the production of space and ‘authorities’, who have acted as ‘the regulators’ of this participation. As a result of this, the reproduced
public spaces have not only become spaces of desires but also they could turn into leftover spaces due to the tension between actors.

In relation to this, the selected examples will enable to explore the relation between place and its users and also the multi-dimensional relationship of different actors in cities.

1.2. The Aim of the Study

The research aims to identify the relation between the society and the public spaces which play an active role in society’s daily trajectories. The human being is located at the very center of this approach. People’s needs, desires and their everyday practices have to be understood first in order to grasp the interaction between the society and the physical environments.

Henri Lefebvre defines man as a ‘being of need’. Need entails want and desire. They are the constituents of creativity and freedom. As he mentions, “need is nature; it becomes a creative activity and comes to an end in the works creativity produces”. These wants and desires permeate everyday and give it life and vitality. “There is a transfer from need to desire which crosses the social and society in its entirety” and “there can be no knowledge of the everyday without knowledge of society in its entirety.”

3 Ibid, p.8
4 Ibid, p.10
5 Ibid, p.11
According to Tonguç Akış, urban life is a by-product of everyday practice. Economical, social, cultural, and symbolic relations are the requirements of spatial existence of everyday life. Thus, for understanding the transformation of urban spaces, the role of the society in this transformation and the effects of this latter on the society are studied while the multi-dimensional relations between public urban life and everyday practices are exposed.

In this respect, considering the formation process of public spaces, the study refers to the (re)production of public spaces shaped by “urban planning as urban recycling“ and aims to examine the multi-dimensional relation behind the ‘temporality’ of public spaces.

In this study, it is aimed to provide a guide for the future projects on public spaces, based on the findings of the case studies. One of the principle questions of the research is whether temporality can be converted into an alternative design tool in urban planning and design.

1.3. Methodology

The relationships between human beings and their environment contain the uses of spaces. Such uses can be studied in two aspects:


• **Instinctive usages:** They occur as a spontaneous result of appropriation of spaces by the users according to their everyday practices and trajectories.

• **Conscious usages:** They are functions which are allocated to the space intentionally by authorities.

These are determinants effective in the formation and transformation of a space. In this context, the thesis examines the formation and transformation processes of three specific public spaces in Ankara under the two main notions: *appropriation and allocation*.

They will be examined with respect to the aim and the content of the (re)design processes that they have been subjected to, and to their contributions to the city and the society. In this context, first of all the idea behind the social and spatial (re)production of public spaces is researched in this study in order to understand the origin of the spatial construction process and to evaluate the potentials of these spaces as public places.

According to Rossi, no transformation of public space occurs by itself. On the contrary, the structural change of the city with its spatial and social aspects should be explained through the tendencies of different groups in the city.8 The study will define these different groups in two groups; citizens as the main actors participating in the production and use of space and the authorities regulating their participation.

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For this, the interaction between the society and the public spaces and also the role of the authorities in this process will be analyzed from the perspective of social and spatial structuring in the city which will form the theoretical framework of the thesis.

The information gathered is mainly based on the official documents and the interviews made with a number of actors who have been active in the reproduction of spaces. The findings on the social and spatial analyzes of the three selected public spaces will be used for the comparative analysis of the cases studies. For this, approach-effect and temporality-permanency analyses will be made.

**1.4. Structure of the Thesis**

The present thesis is composed of four chapters. In the first chapter, the relationship between the everyday practices and public spaces will be analyzed with literature review since as Michel de Certeau mentions, spatial practices structure the determining conditions of social life. This leads us to the reproduction of public spaces in the case of appropriation. After the literature review, the allocation of public spaces as a means of appropriation will be examined in the third chapter based on a survey of reproduced public spaces in Ankara in order to determine the role of the authorities in the reproduction process. These bring two notions to the fore, temporality and permanency in reproduced public spaces. As a consequence, the analyses made reveal the effects of these spaces over the daily trajectories of the society and the spatial quality of the city considering temporality and permanency. In relation to this, the

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chapter is concluded by the evaluations and interpretations of the case studies made through comparison.

Consequently, according to these findings on the reproduced public spaces in Ankara, temporality will be discussed as having the potential to be the focus of an alternative to urban design method in the fourth and conclusion chapter of the thesis.
CHAPTER 2

EVERDAY PRACTICES AND PUBLIC SPACES OF A CITY

2.1. Everyday Life as a Tool for Understanding Space

Would everyday life be merely the humble and sordid side of life in general, and of social practice? ... yes and no. Yes it is the humble and sordid side, but not only that. Simultaneously it is also the time and the place where the human either fulfills itself or fails, since it is a place and a time which fragmented, specialized and divided activity can not completely grasp, no matter how great and worthy that activity may be[...]

According to Sheringham, nothing is entirely separate from everyday, and also nothing uniquely belongs to it. Human reality and appropriation is the ground of it and its ‘sol nourricier’. Everyday life is the product of the individual and social human being in the society. Spontaneous and natural forms of necessities and so desires magnify and flourish it. Lefebvre states that “it encompasses the region where objects and goods are continually appropriated, where desires are elaborated from needs, and where ‘goods’ and desires correspond. This is a zone of confrontation between the necessary and the random, the possible and the impossible, what has been appropriated


and what has not, and empirical good luck and bad luck.”¹² These are experimental practices. According to Sheringham, quotidian can be identified with many things, such as; eating, phoning, shopping, objects, and gadgets but everydayness is not a feature of these, it is a part and aggregate of various lived experiences.

Considering that, how can we define everyday life? According to Lefebvre:

It surrounds us; it besieges us, on all sides and from all directions. We are inside it and outside it. No so-called ‘elevated’ activity can be reduced to it, nor can it be separated from it. Its activities are born, they grow and emerge; once they have left the nourishing earth of their native land, not one of them can be formed and fulfilled on its own account. In this earth they are born. If they emerge, it is because they have grown and prospered. It is at the heart of the everyday that projects become works of creativity.¹³

The activities in everyday life are reflections of the creativity of human beings; they are emerged from their necessities and desires. Everyday life is a human experience. This is also an expression of itself in this daily state. That is, the works of creations which is a part of human and a part of the process of becoming human and so individuality are represented.

He states that the human world is created by active men and, it produces itself through the act of production. Not only things, implementations or goods but also history and situations are


¹³ Ibid, p.41
produced. In fact, the ‘human nature’, in itself and for itself, is created. 14

The human being starts to perceive and analyze its environment according to its necessities and desires then, the appropriation is inevitable while these necessities and desires come across goods around human being. Appropriation is the product of everyday practices and this shapes the social life in space.

Miles asserts with reference to Lefebvre that there are two dimensions in perceptions of space. One is “conceived space” the space of plans and elevations, geometries and quantitative ordering. The other consists in “representational spaces”, or “lived spaces” which are the realm of occupation in which people produce meanings and desires, call on memories and associations and re-order spaces. 15

De Certeau states that by reintroducing the plural mobility of goals and desires into the daily life, individuals make it possible to live in the daily life; the author defines this as “an art of manipulating and enjoying”. 16 The daily experience and practice is also shared with others in lived space and something replacing each other with this sharing then, the place starts to gain meaning by the practices lived there. According to de Certeau, space is the practice of a place 17. “While understanding space is essential in understanding people who make it and use it, it is by no means a substitute for understanding

14 Ibid, p.95
17 Ibid, p.117
people’s patterns of thought and behavior, which has a casual impact on the study of place-making.”\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{2.2. Appropriation}

If he is to work and to create, man must experience want. Without the experience of need and want, without actual and potential privation and destitution, there can be no being-consciousness, and freedom will never spring forth.\textsuperscript{19}

Lefebvre defines need as want which is the starting point of men’s exploration of a world of possibilities, creating them, choosing between them and making them real.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, he states dreams as “sum up the transition from need to desire”\textsuperscript{.21}

Desires and needs bring spontaneity and vitality. When people’s dreams come across goods in city, they start to be shaped in spaces. It is a spontaneous and instinctive activity emerging from needs and desires. It is also a fact of the self expression of human being as an individual in city. “In the everyday, when the ‘human being’ confronts within itself the social and the individual through the test of problems and contradictions which have been more or less resolved, it becomes


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p.6

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., p.9
a ‘person’. [...] The drama of personalization in society, the drama of individualization.”

Ela Alanyalı Aral introduces appropriation as the type of behavior supporting the identification of the individual with space and by this way she suggests that appropriation makes possible the expression of the individual in the city. It is a typical human action when people exert their right to the city.

That is, appropriation provides relatedness between urbanites and spaces. By this way, it contributes to the public realm. Thus, appropriation establishes not only “the self identity of the appropriator, but also the values of the society” as Alanyalı Aral points out. Because, as Marx defined “an animal can be developed into an individual only in society, the real subject of appropriation is not the individual, but the society.”

As Lefebvre points out, the appropriation of palpable reality is always a social fact, but it should not be confused with the forms, functions and structures of the society. It is an aspect of social practice. The modes of appropriation, their relationship with the whole society and

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22 Ibid., p.66


26 Ibid.
the social groups that make it up are highly dialectical, that is, conflictual, complex, changing.²⁷

According to him, the concept of appropriation is one of the most important handed down to us by centuries of philosophical discussion. It is one of the actions of human groups on the physical and natural environment. Appropriation transforms nature of the body and biological life provided, and the time and space-into human property. It is the goal, the direction, the purpose of social life.²⁸ It is a necessity for social development. Appropriation is a ‘social fact’ and ‘an aspect of social practice’. As Franck and Stevens states, “appropriation is communication and social relatedness in urban space; it is urban culture and living memory”.²⁹

It involves a whole series of psychological processes of creating, relaxing, acting, dreaming and learning according to one’s desires and projects. Therefore, as Lefebvre states, “the city is a place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints, the moment of play and of the unpredictable”.³⁰

The city is like a living organism that the participant actors shape all together. Namely, the urban realm and also the city are subjected to transformation and development inevitably. Therefore, it is not an unexpected situation that the city and the city spaces are always

²⁷ Stuart Elden, Elizabeth Lebas, Eleonore Kofman (eds.) (2003) Henri Lefebvre: Key Writings, New York: Continuum, p.131

²⁸ Ibid., p.130.


exposed to reproduction because it is the natural consequence of the continuous process of association between men and their environment.

City is a social phenomenon; it is constituted of various cultures and different socio-economic communities intermingled. Not only people’s desires but also the conditions that cities provide differ from periodically. These differentiations result in the creation of different spaces for different communities and also in a structural transformation of spaces of the city and also of the society, which occurs as a result of shifting layers and changing conditions of the city and societies.

Thus, for understanding a space and its transformation process, participants activate it through their everyday practices and experiences, which should be considered because there is a relation between participants and places. They affect and re-shape each other interactively. Relph argues that there are psychological links between people and the places which they live in and experience. Therefore, the relation of public spaces and society should be emphasized to understand their interaction in a city.

2.3. The Relation of Urban Spaces and Society

The city is a huge monastery," said Erasmus. Perspective vision and prospective vision constitute the twofold projection of an opaque past and an uncertain future onto a surface that can be dealt with. They inaugurate the transformation of the urban fact into the concept of a city. Long before the concept itself gives rise to a particular

31 Edward C. Relph (1976) Place and placelessness, London : Pion
figure of history, it assumes that this fact can be dealt with as a unity determined by an urbanistic ratio. Linking the city to the concept never makes them identical, but it plays on their progressive symbiosis: to plan a city is both to think the very plurality of the real and to make that way of thinking the plural effective; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it.\(^{32}\)

Cities are complex environments which are produced by social formations occurred in the city. Thus, it can not be said that cities are the products of simply design. As stated by Malcolm Miles, “traces of an invisible architecture of socialization overlie the visible environment”\(^{33}\)

Madanipour sees cities as “bubbling over with human creativity”.\(^{34}\) Space becomes a multilayered place while different groups give different meanings to it and this reflects the way places are socially constructed.\(^{35}\) Thus, the role of place in the construction of social identity can not be denied.

Also, Zukin states,

The place has been used as a signifier to establish new identities, in a culture which strives towards appreciating the multiplicity of identities and of tolerably accommodating difference[...]

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particular, are places where an amazing variety of ethnic and cultural groups as well a range of social and economic groups live[...] One of vehicles of constructing, or coming to terms with, a diversified society has been the qualities of places, where different groups have colonized different parts of the city. To these groups, the qualities of these places are closely related to their sense of group and individual identity.  

Urban areas are nodes of human societies due to their characteristic of gathering human beings. “It is the availability of multiple dimensions of experience-the city as event, or cosmopolitan street life-that draws people to live in a city”. Not only a human population, but also human activities and events are concentrated in cities.

The city spaces are the representation of society, individuals and groups. For understanding the human being, the region he/she lives and the physical environment it is in relation with should be interpreted and similarly, for understanding the environment, we should examine the period and the culture it was formed in.

The environment he/she lives embodies a life and reflects a life style for the human being. Thus, the living environment always construes the city. It is not only the source directing a life style of the human being but it is the result of it. In other words, besides being formed and transformed by the culture, identity, history and memory of the society, the environment also shape and organize the values of the society so, there is always an interaction between man and his


environment. Therefore, the society and the urban spaces play respective roles in the city; they are both the source and the product at the same time.

Public realm is the most effective feature of the city and the society where this interaction between the society and its environment takes shape effectively. According to Mills, in the public, virtually as many people express opinions as receive them, that is, there is a chance immediately and effectively to answer back any opinion expressed in public, so as Palmer states that if there is no public opinion, there is also no activity reflecting or representing the activity of a group or set of groups.

Many functions are performed in the city as result of this interaction between the society and its environment takes shape. Besides being the product of the living environment, these functions define the built environment in the city. Therefore, providing this relation is to be a key development principle in city making in both social and spatial aspects. In this respect, for understanding this relationship between public spaces of the city and the society, human beings as individuals, their perception of space and their behavior in spaces is to be examined under the context of appropriation.


2.4. Appropriation as a Tool for Reproduction of Public Spaces

To study the relationship of urban space with human activities is one of the ways for understanding the transformation of city. According to Habermas, adapting spaces in personal and shared ways according to personal and shared values raises a possibility to imagine or inflect urban futures.\(^{40}\) Therefore, space can be classified in accordance with the way it is being used. This is a spatial classification, which aims at understanding the land use patterns, analyzing it in terms of its particular mix of use and density.\(^{41}\)

Habermas defined the public sphere in two dimensions: empirical and normative.

On the one hand, the public sphere was a distinct, institutionalized form of verbal and written interaction, distinct by virtue of its taking place in public for a print and in print. On the other hand as a lengthy excursus of the meaning of ‘public’ in the volume made clear, the public sphere was defined as a forum in which people without official power ‘readied themselves to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion’-a public opinion whose authority depended on its mode of open argument.\(^{42}\)


Public realm can be defined as a domain where togetherness and expression and communication among individuals take place. According to Alanyalı Aral, these are behavioral and psychological system reactions of individuals, as a reaction to physical settings.\(^{43}\) This individual expression that is appropriation within urban space is a step in the process of enhancing the public realm. Thus, appropriation may be considered as a tool in making urban spaces with contributing to (re)enhancing\(^{44}\) and reconstructing the public realm.

2.4.1. Appropriation of Public Spaces

2.4.1.1. As a Term of Environmental Psychology

Many of public spaces embody particular physical features and they invite people to appropriate them for their own uses\(^{45}\), culture and identity. They have a relative plasticity.

These kinds of spaces are fully accessible, open to public view and generally perceived as safe. They are appropriated, and thus socialized spaces, within the setting of a city, for the benefit of multiple, open groups without exclusivity or the need for membership.\(^{46}\)

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44 Ibid., p.13

45 Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens (eds.) (2006), Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life, New York: Routledge, p.4

People make use of the city spaces by appropriating them with their own activities and usages. “This is only possible in public settings where there are not tight regulations on use.” Sidewalks, streets, steps, underneath bridges, building entryways etc. give opportunity to appropriation since these kinds of spaces are fully accessible, open to public. (Figures 2.1 & 2.2)

FIGURE 2.1 Resting people on steps in Sakarya Street, Kızılay & meeting youth on Memorial of Security in Güven Park. Source: Photograph retrieved July, 12, 2009 from http://wowturkey.com/

They are loose spaces and have a relative plasticity. According to Franck and Stevens, loose space is most likely to emerge in cities due to social and physical conditions that encourage looseness. “Free access to a variety of public open spaces, anonymity among strangers, a diversity of persons and a fluidity of meanings are all urban conditions that support looseness”. Loose space is, by

47 Ibid., p.4

48 Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens (eds.) (2006), Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life, New York: Routledge, p.4

49 Ibid.
definition, space that has been appropriated by citizens to pursue activities not set by a predetermined program. Appropriation is therefore a defining feature of all loose spaces which are available for (re)development.

**FIGURE 2.2** Young men taking refuge underneath a bridge in Yenimahalle. Source: Photograph taken by the author, 17 May, 2008

Appropriation occurs within everyday practices and as Alanyalı Aral mentions, although, people do not have the potential to participate in the formal process of the production of space, they reproduce the space by appropriating it in their everyday practices.50 (Figure 2.3)

50 Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.25
In the (re)production of social and physical environments, the inhabitants of these environments are the main actors of public spaces in a city. Public communication is well organized so that there is a chance to answer back any opinion expressed in public. Being and acting in public is the state of self expression of individuals. According to Tonguç, each social actor employs different apparatuses for establishing his/her own desired social order but also, as Alanyalı Aral emphasized, they are public if they do not blockade the ways to communicate to ‘others’. This is because the public realm is not only where there is expression of individuality, but also the perception and

experience of this by others⁵² in a social (con) text. Appropriations take place among such social actors and also, as Akış asserts with reference to Lefebvre, appropriation of space according to the social life and practices of people construct emancipatory socio-spatial framework for alternative readings the space.⁵³

These spaces are familiar to their users of the space establishing their own ways of living via appropriating these spaces within everyday life. Besides, this offers an alternative living style with overlapping establishments and appropriations. In this manner, these spaces through which we pass and where we meet become more important and more interesting than private places; such as our houses. Lefebvre states, “it is a living paradox but if every-day familiarity makes us admit it, it does not allow us to see how absurd it is.”⁵⁴ This is the basic determinant of the transformation of space into a place.

2.4.1.2. In Terms of Participation

People need the places where they can perform their activities. Especially public spaces respond to this necessity because they enable social and cultural practices to take place. As a result, they reflect the life style of their users performing spatial and social practices. Thus, such spaces are lived places. They are places of participation and appropriation. Moreover, public spaces are the objects of various interventions but also are enriched by new attributes.


People participate in the production and use of the space. They give a meaning and identity to space via appropriating it according to their daily practices and desires. This is the right to participation of the inhabitants, as Purcell defines.\textsuperscript{55}

Public space is the most flexible place for participation. They are places where various actors come together and interact with each other. This results in the participation of people by appropriating the public space. According to Madanipour, they are the places for participating in social and public life.\textsuperscript{56} This is the requirement of sociability and publicity in urban space because participation is a means for people to use their rights to the city and identify their individuality in it. Thus participation is the defining feature of a public space as a well designed place. This is a necessity to produce a successful publicness and sociability.

Participators are the social actors and public space is a stage for participation of such actors with respect to their daily activities and trajectories. Although they have no opportunity of participation in the formal production process, the participators have the capacity to participate in the (re)production process of the space. According to Jacobs, "formal public organizations in cities require an informal public life underlying them."\textsuperscript{57} This is spontaneously performed via

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appropriation through everyday and spatial practices and experiments of the actors. By this way, the social actors play a central role unconsciously in the reproduction process of the public space with their appropriations and participations.

2.4.1.3. In Terms of Vitalization

Human beings have the capacity to convert a space into a living, vital place. People using a place organize the social and daily life going on there by means of its appropriation. This defines a multi dimensional domain because every mode of appropriation can be considered within everyday life and this will transform the physical and social features of the space intentionally or unintentionally. According to Hershberger; what the space is emerged from is the use of the space\textsuperscript{58} and appropriation is one of the determinants of such an emergence.

“Vitality is a conservative, supportive feature. It emphasizes continuity, yet provides the opportunity for individual development,” as Lynch mentions.\textsuperscript{59} It is a public good. It is the main condition for the maintenance of a space. Vitality relates with the mixture of uses, diversity of activities and also human density using and participating in the space. According to Jacobs, a mixture of uses needs enough diversity of ingredients\textsuperscript{60} and as the author states,

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the diversity, of whatever kind, that is generated by cities rests on the fact that in cities so many people are close together, and among them contain so many different tastes, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets.\textsuperscript{61}

This diversity produces different uses of people with different purposes. As a result of this, a concentration of people using the space is achieved. According to Montgomery, combination of various activities and complex diversity of land uses; such as economic, social and cultural uses and activities, is the key of a successful urban space.\textsuperscript{62} Otherwise, lack of density and diversity cause deadness in the space. A space not possessed by people may be defined as ‘leftover space’\textsuperscript{63} and these spaces can not be adopted by people due to their poor physical and social qualities although they may be well defined, with measurable boundaries and in a systematic relationship with surrounding spaces. Such spaces are not inviting and attractive places for users and participators. They are not vital anymore and they have no positive contributions to the city unless they are appropriated by citizens.

\textbf{2.4.1.4. Appropriation and Temporality}

“A place can have multiple representations, each constructed by a person or a group, each with a different meaning, each with a

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p.147
\item \textsuperscript{63} Ela Alanyali Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.16
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
different claim or direction”. That is a flexible relationship between place and its users within which people can make various uses of the same place by their everyday practices. They can relate to it in different ways and thus pursue different interests. Considering the whole spectrum of urban uses, there are numerous activities. This results in temporal uses and experiences in public spaces as a result of appropriation.

According to Haydn and Temel, in terms of space and programme, pioneers are temporary users and they develop new, experimental programmes for spaces. The authors also mention that they bring new life to urban regions by this way. This new life can be achieved spontaneously by appropriation of people to the space or intentionally by authorities via allocation of public spaces as a means of appropriation.

This functional and experimental overlapping of new lives produces social and physical strata in the city over time. It is essential for understanding the transformation of a city and society in socio-cultural and physical aspects. They are the source representing the conditions of the period in which they emerged, because they are the products of the behaviors, needs and desires of the society but also those of the authorities of the period. This shows that the reproduction process of the spaces which will be examined in the selected cases from Ankara is important for understanding the city


and the society with their socio-cultural aspects. Thus, it is an important fact for individuals and for communities, not only in daily life of the society, but also in bureaucratic and legal field, in understanding the role of appropriation in the reproduction of public spaces.

Over the use of public space in cities in the current debate, temporary uses are essential for the appropriation and thus the participation to space. Therefore, they are not only the effect of appropriation and also the cause of it so; temporary uses are tools for the empowerment and revitalization of the public space via revealing the possibilities of space contributing to the daily public life. Also, they provide the participants of temporary projects the opportunity to have an active role in the project with their participation and daily practices and so they become a part of the production. That is vital for a space to be adopted as an urban place.

Dangschat defines the reasons of necessity for temporality as culture (nomads, constraints such as squatting, homelessness), fluctuation (age-related mobility, social climbing, growing households, displacement), lifestyle (career changers, climbers, dropouts) or in the context of desires for security (temporary use of public space with protection from certain uses, privatization of public space).  

The principle of property in the city produces an interesting paradox: the dynamic of urban development and the needs of the city’s residents are opposed to static property ownership, which represents an indolent aspect within the

rapid city. Temporary users can thus make productive use of the gaps that result.\textsuperscript{67}

As Mellauner defined; “temporary spaces are models for a form of appropriation based on civic initiative”\textsuperscript{68} and they are occurring anyway as part of deregulation and increasing flexibility of the use of space.

\textbf{2.4.2. Allocation of Public Spaces as a Means of Appropriation}

“Urban design is essentially about place-making, where places are not just a specific space, but all the activities and events which made it possible.”\textsuperscript{69} Thus, cities and city spaces should always be considered within the appropriate context. That is, they are to be seen as the product of cultural, economic and environmental formations.

“The public sphere is made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulates the needs of society with the state.”\textsuperscript{70} Thus, the human being is the main actor determining a public space as a place. People adapt and accommodate the articulated uses of a space or appropriate it according to their needs. Or, according to Korosec

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{67}Ibid., p 14
\item \textsuperscript{68}Michael Mellauner cited from Florian Haydn and Robert Temel (eds.) (2006), Temporary urban spaces: concepts for the use of city spaces, translated by David Skog ley and Steven Lindberg, Basel: Birkhäuser, p 15
\end{itemize}
and Serfaty, [...] “they may not modify it; and their acceptance without any intervention means their appropriating a cultural code that is produced by the designer”. 71 According to Alanyali Aral, appropriation of urban space can be achieved both through (spontaneous) use and transformation processes by user, and also through decision, design and implementation processes made by professionals. 72

Frank and Stevens state that an urban space is appropriated, but the city also appropriates us in a process that always operates in both directions. 73 This interaction should be the aim of making a space because “appropriation has an effective dimension which turns this relation into identification.” 74

However, as authors mention, developments in technology, morality and policing open up new times and spaces for new identified activities, after which these activities themselves have become subject to control and instrumentalization. 75 Otherwise, chaos is inevitable. This is also a necessity for the security and serenity of the city. Thus, the intervention of authorities in public spaces is inevitable.


74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., p.30
Moreover, as Franck and Stevens points out, through a variety of mechanisms, behaviors and meanings in these social public spaces are either locked down or supported. Municipal authorities are often the agents of this fixing, often in concert with also wider economic, social and political forces. Spaces are rebuilt or demolished as a means of regulating use by the authorities. Public spaces are generated for new meaning and identity and also, municipalities can allocate directly certain existed public spaces a new character to certain uses or people for private uses in local aspect.

That is, the simultaneous appropriation by people sometimes can be induced and their daily practices can be directed by administrative contributions, interventions, directions and necessities. At this time, the spontaneous and unexpected appropriation starts to occur on a regular schedule. It is replaced by an allocation of public spaces by the municipality to individuals for private uses to a group and in time, they become a part of the planned city if adopted by the society. As a result, by the interference of the authorities, the definition and the usage of public space start to gain a new dimension.

### 2.4.2.1. What Kind of Spaces are Subjected to Reproduction by Allocation?

As Alanyalı Aral states users take an action by accepting or refusing the setting designed and implemented by professionals. They can refuse it completely. In results, there can be emerged refused and unused spaces in the city. Besides designed unused public areas, with

76 ibid.

the transformation of the city there emerges also undesired spaces emerge. This is related with the understanding of the professionals producing and introducing spaces to the users.

Either designed or un-designed spaces, public spaces are publicly accessible and also valuable spaces and also, all these unused or underused spaces are always subjected to appropriation if they meet the needs and desires of the citizens.

According to Alanyalı Aral who defines unused or underused spaces as ‘left over’:

[...] leftover spaces; spaces often disregarded as unkept and insignificant pieces of land. Some of these spaces are actually ‘left over’ spatially beside or among building blocks and other elements like highways and railway trails, some of them are somehow unbuildable areas, and some are waiting for a new project in a transitory situation as vacant lots, underused and derelict areas.78

They are spaces currently without assigned functions and they accommodate unintended and unexpected activities. They are unidentified spaces many of which possess particular physical features that are more suitable for restructuring and ascribing an ‘identity’ for new uses. These un-organized social spaces have no intended use and often lack appealing features. As Franck and Stevens say, “such spaces may be oddly shaped or difficult to get to, they may lack a

78 Ibid., p.7
name or be secret; yet they become places of expression and occupation—often because of these very characteristics.”

According to Alanyalı Aral they are not possessed by people. These spaces are unused or underused which have a disorderly, dirty and ruined look for not being cared for. According to Alanyalı Aral they are not possessed by people. These spaces are unused or underused which have a disorderly, dirty and ruined look for not being cared for.80

The relation of architecture and urban public space is not defined and not determined clearly in these leftover public spaces. As Alanyalı Aral pointed out, leftover space “though often disregarded, appears as an opportunity and sometimes a virtue for experience, encounter and appropriation taking place without any limitations, regulations and rules.”81 Those which are temporarily free of official planning and modification are appropriated82 and allocated for other uses.


80 Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.73

81 Ibid.

82 Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens (eds.) (2006), Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life, New York: Routledge, p.8
CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF
THE REPRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACES IN ANKARA

3.1. Introduction

The city is a living entity which transforms constantly according to the changing conditions in time. Thus, the spaces that constitute the city also regenerate.

The city and its components are reshaped and reimagined to address the needs of the people in line with the changing economy, new policies and so new daily lives. The urban spaces, especially public ones are loose spaces and as Frank and Stevens state,

many of the activities that generate looseness are neither productive (like travelling to work) nor reproductive (like buying necessities), being instead a matter of leisure, entertainment, self-expression or political expression, reflection and social interaction—all outside the daily routine and the world of fixed functions and fixed schedules. As importantly, loose space is a space apart from the aesthetically and behaviorally controlled and homogeneous “themed” environments of leisure and consumption where noting unpredictable must occur. The retail activities of buying and selling food-drink and consumer items in urban public space often lie outside the formal economy.83

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83 Ibid., p.3
They are shaped and regenerated by people participating in the life of the space with their daily practices. On the other hand, spaces are also reproduced by the intervention of the local governments, via their allocation to new uses, or simply their physical rearrangement. As Madanipour, Hull and Healey states, it is a part of the efforts of ordering cities.\textsuperscript{84}

The study focuses on specific public spaces, also especially, pedestrian streets and particular spaces like those underneath the overpasses in Ankara to observe the ongoing processes of appropriation and allocation. For understanding these processes and the actors involved, three specific points which are located in the nodal points of Ankara will be examined. The cases are the pedestrianized part of Olgunlar Street and the areas underneath Sıhhiye and Opera Traffic Bridges. (Figure 3.1)

FIGURE 3.1 The location of the case-study areas with respect to Atatürk Boulevard and to the nodes of Ankara. Source: Google Earth Image retrieved and modified by the author, 25 August, 2010
3.2. (Re) Defining an Old Place; Olgunlar Street

A place may lose its attraction due to the changing economic, politic and cultural conditions over time. Sometimes inappropriate management by authorities expedites this process. Many “undefined/under-defined open spaces”\(^{85}\) occur as a result of management problems such as problems of security. In this case, reactivating and redefining the public space by allocating new uses and a new meaning becomes a major issue.

The story of Olgunlar Street in Kızılay offers us an example of redefinition of an existing public space. The street extends parallel to Meşrutiyet Street at the Bakanlıklar District in Kızılay. Olgunlar starting from Atatürk Boulevard ends up with Ballı Baba Street. Yet, the part between the Boulevard and Karanfil Street will be one of the case study areas. (Figures 3.2 & 3.3)

According to Gökçe’s statements, the previous chairman of the association of book sellers in Olgunlar Street, Olgunlar Street had been used for vehicular traffic until 1980s. After 1980, the part of the street connecting Atatürk Boulevard and Karanfil Street was decided to be pedestrianized. The area was redefined as a recreation and commercial pedestrian area with an ornamental pool with the financial support of Hisarbank in the period of Mehmet Altınsoy the mayor of the Greater Municipality of Ankara and Erdoğan Yavuz the mayor of the Municipality of Çankaya in 1987.\(^{86}\)

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\(^{86}\) Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
FIGURE 3.2 The location of Olgunlar Street in the urban scale. Source: Google Earth Image retrieved and modified by the author, 25 August, 2010

Hereby, it was redefined as a recreational street for pedestrians with its potential for multifaceted activities; it offered the actors of the city an opportunity for appropriating practices. However, appropriation is an act that can attribute a meaning to a space more than a function, so as Alanyali Aral mentions, there are unintended consequences of it other than the intended action. ⁸⁷

Consequently, the new public space was could not be adopted by citizens in the expected way. The main determinants of appropriation are the needs and desires of people. Thus, it is important to (re)produce a space by considering the necessities and behavioral features of actors taking role there. The Olgunlar Recreation Project was unproductive considering its physical and social features. The activities defined for the Street such as the commercial kiosks and the sitting areas did not fulfill the necessities and desires of citizens for
the reason that they were unnecessary and uncreative activities in the scope of Kızılay. In other words, it did not become an exciting place for the citizens to participate in any activities there.

Each appropriation dialectically implies self-realization and development, so having space available without utilizing it (in the broader sense of theoretical, aesthetic, practical activities) is not appropriating it.\(^{88}\)

In line with what Alanyalı Aral points out in the quotation above, taking into consideration the physical and social conditions of the period and the necessities of people expected to use the space are essential for the process of (re)defining a space.

According to Gökçe, inevitably, becoming an underused space in time, designed uses in the street started to disappear in late 80s. The space lost its defined function as a pedestrian area and it started to transform into an abandoned space. As a result of this, a new unexpected appropriation emerged in the area compatible with the new characteristics of the space. It turned into a desolate area and lost its safety due to its new appropriators, vagrants and homeless. The citizens could not use the street anymore because of the security problem. Despite being an intended recreation space for citizens, unfortunately it became a convenient area for the marginals. Thus, it became an obligation for the municipality to revive and redefine the identity of the street as a part of the city and social realm. For this, it

\(^{88}\) Ibid., p.24
was obvious that a new appropriation was necessary for people to embrace the street again as a public and secure place.\(^{89}\)

Olgunlar had been reproduced as a pedestrian street. This had to be maintained for achieving the appropriation of citizens. Besides this, a new meaning had to be redefined for the street while protecting its useful features. Therefore, temporary usages were considered as a significant solution by the municipal authorities in that period for revitalizing this under-defined area and constructing a sub-culture in the street: book vendors would be the solution.

The reproduction process of the street via redefining a new social meaning for it which will be analyzed in the next part of the chapter was started again.

### 3.2.1. Transformation of Olgunlar Street

The question emerged regarding how we can realize the practical ideas of design as a process of self-development, change, and discovery. This last implementation in Olgunlar Street has been successful as it made use of appropriation as a positive aspect. Therefore, this street is important for Ankara and the public realm of the city because it is one of the unique examples of pedestrian areas improved itself in time and maintained its presence till today.

As mentioned before, the street which had been defined as a pedestrian area lost its vitality in time and had become an underused

\(^{89}\) Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
space; it was a dangerous area for citizens and so for the city. Therefore, it had to be vitalized by redefining its social context.

There were other cases of appropriation in the city at that period. According to Gökçe, book vendors had appropriated irregularly some of the areas in the city. In 1950s, they had been regulated provisionally through gathering near the Bazaar of Stove (Sobacılar Carşısı) in Anafartalar by the authorities provided some amount of rent called ‘ecrimisil’ in return for their occupancy in the site. The adventure of the sellers which had started in Anafartalar continued in Kızılay, ‘Zafer Çarşısı’ between 1980-89. With the mayorship of Altinsoy in 1987, they also emerged in Yüksel Street in Kızılay. (Figure 3.4) In 1989, book sellers were decided to be removed as part of the regulation project of Yüksel Pedestrian District by the Municipality of Çankaya in the period of the mayor Doğan Taşdelen.91

Marginals in Olgunlar Street and the book vendors as an appropriator of city spaces were examples of the contrary formations of appropriation considering their contributions to the city spaces and the society at that period. Olgunlar Street was a vacant space which had lost its vitality and posing danger to the city because of the former appropriators. The intended adoption of the space by the society could not be achieved and unfortunately the space had been appropriated undesirably. On the contrary, transformation of the street by the latter ones was utile for the society and public realm; it

90 “Kamu mallarını herhangi bir izin alımsızın veya arada sözleşmesel bir ilişki olmaksızın kullanan kişilere Türk İdare Hukukunda fuzuli şagil (haksız kullanıcı); bu kullanıcılandırdan alınan ücrette de “ecrimisil” denilmektedir.” Retrieved from http://www.danistay.gov.tr/2%20-kamu_mallarinda_ecrimisil.htm, August, 25, 2010 for detailed information see State Procurement Law with the number 2886.

91 Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
provided vitality of the space and so it constituted a potential of healing it via providing opportunity for re-appropriation.


These are unexpected and random activities. They are not situated, predefined and pre-organized; they are performed by various social actors. Book hawkers are street sellers, which is an illegal shopping type with cheaper prices especially on sidewalks and some of other suitable spaces of the city. As Tonguç states, this results in people’s consuming and participating “the invented space by hourly, daily, or sometimes seasonal cycles, with or without very well defined programs and construct socially recognizable matrixes that are to appropriate space”92.

This is a construction process of a sub-culture. It is a particular group of people desiring to establish their own ways of living and

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appropriate the space within everyday life. Street vendors are actors of a sub-culture constructed from temporary commercial activities but they are one of the primary producers of the alternative methods in making public realm in the urban spaces of a city.

“Public spheres are viewed as possible originating sources of discursive action that spring forth spontaneously from people’s needs as they address unjust life conditions that confront them” as Huspek points out, and sub-cultures construct their multi-layered social spaces as an alternative living style against the dominant social code and also according to Doğan’s studies; it is an undesired cultural upheaval to be a member of sub-culture.

According to these characteristics, it can not be denied that the book vendors were the actors demanded by the municipality for redefining Olgunlar Street, and yet the sub-culture that they define had positive effects in the appropriation of the space and it attracted new participators and various usages. Moreover, by this implementation the book vendors could be gathered and so their control could be achieved.

The decision to gather book vendors from ‘Zafer Çarşı’ and Yüksel Street and relocate them in Olgunlar Street was taken by Mayor Doğan Taşdelen in 1990; this decision gave way to the formation of a

93 Ibid., p.60


sub-culture in Olgunlar. Hereby, this process was implemented by authorities intentionally rather than spontaneously by the allocation of a temporary usage. So, the re-appropriation process of the street having been maintained until today was started. How a space is occupied and utilized by a social group? The following is a significant example of that.

3.2.2. Turning Point: Book Vendors

Book hawkers located on Olgunlar Street by the Cankaya Municipality in return for the tax of ‘ecrimisil’ made them book sellers (and not book hawkers anymore). By this way a new activity found its place in Olgunlar Street. With the relocation of book sellers in the street, a new life started there. It was not an unused pedestrian area any longer.

As a course of its nature, random activities have no fixed boundaries and territorial divisions and they create a form of special appropriation. They produce their own conditions and define their text in public realm as can be seen in the Street after the sellers.

Book sellers started to appropriate the street and brought a new identity there. This was not an easy process yet, with the cooperation between the Municipality and the sellers, new appropriators of the street, Olgunlar started to reshape and so redefine as a vital pedestrian area with its new features and new social value. According to the municipal authorities the figures of this new culture were the sellers and they were the responsible actors of this, not only physical but also social transformation. They settled one by one on the street with their new orange monotype counters spontaneously. (Figure 3.5)
Gökçe emphasizes that the counters, the prototype of which belongs to him, were designed and produced by sellers under the supervision of the Municipality of Çankaya.  

FIGURE 3.5 Book counter the prototype being designed by Gökçe. 
Source: Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.

96 Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
FIGURE 3.6 Book counters in Olgunlar Street during 90s. Source: Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.

FIGURE 3.7 Olgunlar Street during 90s. Source: Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.
With the increasing number of counters, density of the visiting people was escalating from day to day; with the rising visitor density, new counters emerged in the street. (Figures 3.6 & 3.7) This was not a sudden but a gradual transformation. Gökçe claims that the “purification” of the area from vagrants utterly established a new social identity and a new culture to the street by providing the appropriation and adaptation of the society was approximately a two-year process.  

In the mid 90s the street founded its place in the public realm with its new sub-cultures. It became a vital and attracting place with its green and resting areas and its diversified commercial activities. It was a meeting place of the society especially the young as another sub-culture emerged in the street beside the book sellers. (Figures 3.8-3.10) Gökçe illustrates the entertaining evenings they held in the street with Yenişehir Sorority students, accompanied with guitar and songs on the green areas and also in company with the other visitors of the Olgunlar.

It was a vital and secure place due to this symbiotic mixture of uses and users. It became a street which was being used directly for the appropriated activities formed there in time, so it was not only a physical transition area between Atatürk Boulevard and Kocatepe Mosque anymore.

There were different social groups and various activities inviting for interaction and expression as a meeting point.

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97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
FIGURE 3.8 A book seller and a student near the green street area in Olgunlar during 1995. Source: Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.

FIGURE 3.9 A book seller with his family in the evening near his counter during the mid 90s. Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.
FIGURE 3.10 Gökçe and his dog on the green area in Olgunlar Street during 90s. Photograph retrieved June, 13, 2009 from Metin Gökçe’s personal archive.
It is the public realm and associated semi-public spaces which provide the terrain for social interaction and a significant part of a city’s transaction base (the market square, the street vendor, the shop frontage, the sidewalk cafe). They are activities such as these and the all important activities of promenading and people watching, which provide the dynamic quality of successful urban places.\(^99\)

Montgomery emphasizes that “successful urban places tend to have a more active (and certainly recognizable) public realm: a space system for the city in which meeting, movement and exchange are possible.”\(^100\) By this way people can use the street for a variety of different reasons and also many facilities can be used in common. Montgomery also stresses:

> Whilst the public realm is a pre-condition for public social life, it also provides the opportunity for people to perform private as well as public roles. This certainly means that public space is multifunctional, and also, by implication, that there are many different types of space and purposes to which it can be put. This includes, of course, meeting places and spaces which symbolize shared memories, customs and traditions, which leads us to consider the role of meaning or image in place making.\(^101\)

By this mixture, in these spaces, “tightness of programming”\(^102\) can suddenly dissociate. Its clearly defined function overlaps with the appropriated usage of it. Then, by the mixture of primary and

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100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

secondary purposes, the space allows the insertion of activities. This blurs the boundary of spaces and the functions overlap. Such spaces where the ‘intended’ and ‘unintended’ uses overlap simultaneously have no clear physical and temporal boundaries.

These spaces constantly change. Depending on changing uses, the form, the character of a public space and also the life style going on there can change as Olgunlar Pedestrian Street itself. Consequently, people appropriated this life style produced by the new sub-culture gradually in the Street creating a new identity adopted by the society. This determines the temporality or permanency of the place usages. Although, some acts of appropriation are fleeting, others are long-lasting as in the case of Olgunlar Street. That is, appropriation is usually performed spontaneously by people and such spaces can be gradually accepted with their new identities and this process may become legal in time. This is sometimes oriented by authorities by allocation as defined in the history of Olgunlar.

3.2.3. Re-appropriation; A Public Utopia: Olgunlar as an Art Street

There exist social time scales which are distinct from biological, physiological and physical time scales. There is a social space which is distinct from geometric, biological, geographic and economic space. Everyday space differs from geometric space in that it has four dimensions, which are in two-by-two oppositions: ‘right/left-high-low’. Similarly, everyday time has four dimensions which differ from dimensions as mathematicians and physicists would define them, namely the accomplished, the foreseen, the
uncertain and the unforeseeable (or again: the past, the present, the sort-term future and the long-term future).  

The main factor which determines these dimensions is the human factor as a social being. A space is a social text only if there is the existence of human being. The human being remakes his environment in his own image. He creates and idealizes it according to his culture and values. The boundaries of space existing there disappear in his dreams of life. Appropriation is an important vehicle for articulating values of human being in the space.

According to Cronon, dialogue between cultural and natural processes results in changing people’s perceptions and priorities. The environmental image is reshaped in the human mind by assumptions, beliefs and ideologies. The reflection of these on the desires of the human being, affects the way he/she shapes his/her surrounding in accordance with his daily life use.

Lefebvre explains this idea with the following words:

Desire is profoundly different from need. It can go so far as to struggle against it, until it frees itself[...]Sooner or later desire turns back towards need in order to regain it and to regain itself. By reinvesting itself within it, it rediscovers spontaneity and vitality. It is a return journey which crosses through the objectivity, impersonality and


indifference of social need, as it is conventionally understood.\textsuperscript{105}

As a result, the human being shapes and experiences the space he/she inhabits. He/she appropriates and re-appropriates it in different sense according to his/her changing identity. This space becomes a territory for inhabitant, a physical entity the meaning and value are constructed by the inhabitant. According to Sitte, as Alanyalı Aral suggests, what makes the inhabitants feel belonging to the space is their intellectual investments themselves.\textsuperscript{106} The sense of territoriality is derived at appropriated space because the space allows people to experience and participate in the social realm there. It is the people who give a meaning and identity to spaces so, they may claim the right to the space they (re)appropriated and (re)participated in. Because, the public sphere which is the freedom to express and publish their opinions depends both upon the quality of discourse and the quantity of participation.\textsuperscript{107}

Purcell defines bases of the right to the city or the right to urban life as inhabittance entails with two main rights: ‘the right to appropriate’ urban space in the sense of ‘the right to use’ and ‘the right to participate’ in the production of urban space to ‘full and complete use’ of it in their everyday lives.\textsuperscript{108}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[106] Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.50
\item[107] MARIJANA GRBESA, Why if at all is the Public Sphere a Useful Concept?, Why if at all is the Public Sphere ..., Politička misao, Vol. XL, (2003), No. 5, pp. 110–121, Retrieved July 26, 2010 from http://web.ebscohost.com, p.112
\end{footnotes}
The people inhabit a city have the right to that city. It is earned by living in the city and it is shared between the inhabitants. According to Fenster, it is the right to live in, play in, work in, represent, characterize and occupy urban space in a particular city/the right to be an author of urban space. This is first component and it is a creative product of the everyday life of its inhabitants. The second component is the right to participation of the inhabitants to take a central role in the decision-making concerning the production of urban space\textsuperscript{109}. As Tonguç mentions, the social actors all come together to occupy and then to transform their very open space to discipline, control and survey the cartography of their own space belonging to them for social cohesion, manipulation and identity.\textsuperscript{110} Cruikshank illustrates that this is the potential to offer simultaneous self-government which is the other form of governmental power.\textsuperscript{111}

Temporary uses are essential tools for revealing this potential since they are the result of the inherent dimension of self-organization. If they are used more frequently, as observed in the reproduction of Olgunlar Street and developed in following study, it will become possible to redefine participation and thus re-appropriation in the city.

\textsuperscript{1} pp. 21\_/36, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, Retrieved July 26, 2010 from http://web.ebscohost.com, p.29


As studied, the street was gained and incorporated within the public realm with a successful experiment of allocation, which resulted in the appropriation of this particular space by the society in 90s. The base of a successful appropriation was achieved according to environmental, functional and socio-spatial character of the space. With contributions of the sellers which are the main actors of the reproduction process of the street, there was produced a new sub-culture rather than its previous users, vagrants and the street merged to the public realm. The Street was used especially by youth due to its new identity and culture and so it became a territorial place for the new inhabitants of it anymore. In addition, the miner statue sculptured by Metin Yurdanur in 1992 during the mayoralty of Taşdelen, which symbolizes the labour, has become the symbol of the street and the sub-culture it represented. (Figure 3.11)

However, appropriation is an endless process and it may not always emerge intended results. The authorities may be unable to cope with these results and also they may sometimes be the actor of new implementations resulting from some governmental mistakes. Nevertheless, the social actors as mentioned before transform their space to discipline with their self governmental power. Situation of Olgunlar during the late 90s is an illustration of this power.

Degeneration in Olgunlar Street started during the last years of 90s as a result of not only unintended appropriation of users but also the interruptions in the governance. There can be sometimes dramatic results that emerge due to the impediment of the governance system. Tragicomic disappearance of the green area in the middle of Olgunlar Street is a proof of such impediments.
FIGURE 3.11 Sculpture of Miner in Olgunlar Street. Source: Photograph taken by the author, September, 25, 2010
Gökçe states that although the area was under the care of Cankaya Municipality, the management of the infrastructure services, such as; watering of the area belonged to the Greater Municipality of Ankara. He claims that since the Çankaya Municipality did not pay the bill of the used water, the Greater Municipality cut the water of the green area. After that, the area started to dry because no measure was taken and the area was subjected to new unintended appropriations. According to the statements of Ergün Kılıç who is a municipality policeman in Çankaya Municipality and also the president of Municipal Police Foundation of Anatolian Municipalities, the green area and the pool started to be converted as an equipment store of the book sellers, located in the middle of the Street. With this new appropriation the unintended transformation process of the street started. Hawkers and building illegal annexes to the commercial kiosks with the purpose of enlarging the usage area followed this conversion. This was an uncontrolled appropriation. The street started to lose its security especially at night, its pattern and so its order after a while and has been subjected to the re-appropriation of vagrants and homeless, inevitably.

This results in revealing the potential of spontaneous self governance of the main actors of the Street. The book sellers –main actors of it- desired to develop and maintain the intended appropriation of the area. They aspired to re-appropriate the street where the attendance of the youth was increasing from day to day as a culture and an emerging art street.

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112 Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street

113 Notes of interview (2010) with Ergun Kılıç, one of the polices of Cankaya Municipality and also the president of Municipal Police Foundation of Anatolian Municipalities
As Proshansky states “conceptualization of environmental phenomena necessarily includes dimension of time. Accordingly, appropriation emerges as a process based on time duration and continuity.”

However, according to Alanyalı Aral appropriation does not necessitate stability in the type of use, user, the way space is appropriated, etc. “So, in any case, appropriation of space becomes a process in which appropriators require continuing re-appropriations for the efficacy and value of the appropriation or its designed consequences to be maintained.”

The actors were the main observers of daily life in the Street. They were observing, examining and producing instinctively. They perceive the new necessities and desires of the society, so there should be an intervention in order to maintain this new cultural formation as Gökçe points out.

According to Gökçe, the users of the street where books are sold have been mostly the young and thus, it should be an area where concerts and exhibitions would be prepared and the Street should be converted into a place for reading books and conversing. There should be more sculptures and also other activities belonging to various arts. Briefly,


117 Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
the Street should be converted into an “Olgunlar Art Street”. It would be also the “Art Street” of the City and the Capital.\textsuperscript{118}

The new functions improving the area were designated by the users of the Street. Then, a project was prepared by the actors during the late 90s. The project group did not include an architect, an urban planner or a professional in other related disciplines. Zeynel Abidin Yıldırım and Mehmet Ali Ayyıldız who are book sellers in the Street, Yıldırıay Yılmaz one of the kiosk keeper in the Street and Ergun Kılıç, a policemen of Cankaya Municipality were the main actors who made the project prepared and presented it to the Cankaya Municipality.\textsuperscript{119}

It was an idea project.

According to Gökçe, there an amphitheatre was suggested for various activities; such as concerts, conversations, and exhibitions in the project. Moreover, several recreation and meeting areas were designed. In addition to the initial, spatial project, a management project called ‘street office project’ was prepared by the same actors. Pedestrianized part of Olgunlar Street was selected as a plot area for the street office project. The project offered an office in the street including an agent of each use for providing the control of the activities and practices emerged there. ‘Street office’ project was a good illustration of participation, (re)appropriation and it was a project revealing the potential of self governmental system of the

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{119} “Cadde Ofisi Projesi; Gerçek Bir Demokrasi Denemesi”, retrieved from Ergun Kılıç’ personal archive, 20 August, 2010, p.1, see Appendix A
actors of a public space. With Gökçe’s expression, it was a public utopia.\textsuperscript{120}

It was an incentive project in order to provide participation and self governance of the citizens in the daily life of the Street\textsuperscript{121}, so it was an exiting project for not only actors but also citizens, as Kılıç one of the architects of the projects mentions.\textsuperscript{122}

In conclusion, after the project was prepared, it was presented to the Cankaya Municipality and the Municipal Council during the late 90s. Unfortunately, the project offered by the actors of the street was not accepted by the authorities since there was another solution of the Municipality for the Street! According to the suggestions which had been presented, there was another commercial kiosk located on the intersection point of Olgunlar Street and Karanfil Street instead of the suggested amphitheatre. In addition, according to Gökçe, in the period of Mayor Haydar Yılmaz in 18 April 1999, the green area and the pool was decided to be removed in spite of the fact that the controversies between the Municipalities were solved. New sitting benches were placed there; besides these, new arrangements were made for the sellers also. There was a shelter constructed over the counters by Çankaya Municipality for coping with the climatic conditions and also for defining legality against illegal street vendors.

\textsuperscript{120} Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street

\textsuperscript{121} “Artik insanlar yasadiklari sokaklara ‘benim sokagim’ demeye baslayacaklar ve kendi sorunlara cozum arama gayreti icine gireceklerdir.” “Cadde Ofisi Projesi; Gercek Bir Demokrasi Denemesi”, retrieved from Ergun Kılıç’s personal archive, 20 August, 2010, p.1, see Appendix A

\textsuperscript{122} Notes of interview (2010) with Ergun Kılıç, one of the polices of Cankaya Municipality and also the president of Municipal Police Foundation of Anatolian Municipalities
The orange counters initially designed had been replaced with a variety of irregular counters. As a result of these unconscious additions to the street in time, a chaotic area emerged. The Street was abandoned to fate after such local measures taken by the municipality ignoring the users’ suggestions, their participations and experiences. (Figure 3.12)

**FIGURE 3.12** Olgunlar Street, after the regulation, early 2000s.  
Source: Photograph retrieved February, 9, 2010 from http://wowturkey.com/  

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123 Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street
These arrangements show the lack of communication and coordination between authorities but this is not limited with Municipalities. There is also an undeterred offhandedness against the main actors and participants of the spaces and also their daily experiences and life. The attitude of the Municipality against the project ‘public utopia’ is the reflection of this.

3.2.4. Olgunlar Now

Although the Municipality made some improvements in the street in late 90s occasionally, they are not sufficient because they are temporary measures for temporary spaces! Temporary and inattentive solutions affect not only the social and also special quality of the spaces but also the city.

With the expansion of the selling area of the book sellers via spreading their counters around the Street, with kiosks occupying the sidewalks and also with, the coming of hawkers, the identity and the ordered pattern of the street started to disappear. As a result of this, the space appeared disordered, dirty and so unattractive.

Hence, it started to lose its social and cultural identity with its recreation and meeting areas and it became an exclusively commercial street instead of being a culture and art place. Moreover, instead of contributing to its environment and public realm, the street has begun to be discussed, and complaints are raised due to its physical environment getting worst as a result of the negligence of the authorities. (Figure 3.13 & 3.14)

Therefore, in 2006 the Greater Municipality of Ankara decided to remove the kiosks belonging to the Greater Municipality due to the complaint of Mr. Rysselberghe the Ambassador of Belgium about the garbage of the sellers and kiosks in the street. And also the Municipality desired to open the street to vehicular traffic again with this justification. However, any way the solution should not to be demolishing any space adopted and appropriated by the society.

This decision was faced with the resistance of the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects and also the participators of the street, the book sellers and the citizens. In conclusion, this project was refused by the 10th Court of Administrative Affairs. After that the messy and disordered situation of the Street tried to be healed, today the street is a squalid space and left to fate. (Figures 3.15-3.18)

The spaces becoming unused urban areas which are in need of redesign as in the case Olgunlar Street in 80s is an inevitable result of the lack of maintenance and control of the authorities. However, it is important to design or redesign the space considering the daily practices of the society. Otherwise, undesirable results may emerge. One can comprehend these processes by examining such cases of reproduction of public spaces in the city.


**FIGURE 3.16** Book sellers and spreading counters in Olgunlar Street, 2008. Source: Photograph taken by the author, June, 12, 2008
FIGURE 3.17 Olgunlar Street today, 2010. Source: Photograph taken by the author, August, 31, 2010

FIGURE 3.18 Olgunlar Street today, 2010. Source: Photograph taken by the author, August, 31, 2010
3.3. The Idea of Inventing a New Place; Areas Underneath Opera and Sıhhiye Traffic Bridges

There are various undesigned spaces according to the definition of Alanyalı Aral architecturally leftover spaces emerging because of planning decisions in cities. They are spaces currently without assigned functions that accommodate unintended and unexpected activities. They are unidentified spaces many of which possess particular physical features that are more suitable for restructuring, ascribing an ‘identity’ and for people to appropriate them for their own uses. These spaces are usually publicly owned. These unorganized social spaces have no intended use and often lack appealing features.

The relation of architecture and urban public space is not defined and not determined clearly in these spaces. Those which are temporarily free of official planning and they can be appropriated according to the necessities of people. This can be defined as an invention since as Franck and Stevens say, “such spaces may be oddly shaped or difficult to get to, they may lack a name or be secret; yet they become places of expression and occupation-often because of these very characteristics.”

In Ankara, the areas underneath Sıhhiye and Opera Bridges are elucidatory examples when the reproduction of spaces is concerned, with the way of investigation and evolution of the inherent properties of these left over spaces by municipal authorities.


3.3.1. Opera as a Temporary Commercial Bazaar

The creation of Opera Bazaar underneath the Opera Traffic Bridge dates back to 80s when the Municipality of Ankara became the main institution that “determined the fate of the city in this period” as Albayrak claims.129

With the objective to cope with the ongoing regression of Ulus in those years, the Greater Municipality prepared a project for the historic city center, with a competition in 1986. This project, called as UTKM Project (Conservation and Development Project of Ulus Historical Center) was elaborated by a group of scholars from the Faculty of Architecture of METU.130 According to Fevzi Çetinkaya one of the oldest tenants of Opera Bazaar some commercial areas were expropriated in this context including the shops in the İtfaiye Square, expropriated by İllerbank in 1986.131

The Municipality, which had to indicate a new place for the shop owners, took the decision of building a new commercial area for them. But in the first place, a temporary area for them to continue their lives by performing their business was needed, till the construction of the new area. Certain left over spaces were found as the most suitable places for this temporary uses at that period. It was a difficult process to define a functional space in an undesigned area. Yet, this was a necessity for dispelling the grievance of the shop owners. This


130 Ibid., p.122

131 Notes of interview (2008) with Fevzi Çetinkaya, one of the oldest tenants of Opera Bazaar
was a duty and responsibility of the Municipality to provide them with a temporary area in the designed city. Hence, an empty left-over space had to be determined so that there was a minimum intervention on the designed urban spaces.

The area underneath Opera Traffic Bridge, which had been designed by the engineering firm of Pier Luigi Nervi in 1971, was found as a suitable space considering its potential for supplying this necessity as a left over space. Thereby, the left over space existing in the intersection point of Atatürk and Talatpaşa Boulevards (figures 3.19), which had been used as a car parking lot for longtime until 1989, it was decided to build a temporary bazaar on this area for shopping use in 1986. The construction of the Bazaar called ‘Opera Bazaar’ started in this scope.

The bazaar emerged as an indirect result of the Transformation Project of Historical City Center-Ulus. When analyzing the reproduction and transformation process of the bazaar area, one can observe the inconvenience of the UTKM project’s being limited exclusively to the Historical City Center in spite of the proximity of the two nodal points of Ankara, Opera and Ulus.

Opera Bazaar presents explicitly the attitude of the municipalities towards inventing a new place on left over spaces via allocation. It was a decision of the Greater Municipality of Ankara to convert the area into a temporary bazaar, as mentioned, with the necessity of a new commercial area. This was a temporary situation until the construction of a new permanent one. As Çetinkaya witnesses, the

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132 Decision of the council about booth sales, dated 4 April 1986, document number 145, Greater Municipality of Ankara Archive, Ankara
owners of the shops collapsed after the expropriation thus, they had to be immediately relocated in a new commercial area.\textsuperscript{133}

\textbf{FIGURE 3.19} The location of Opera Junction in the urban scale. Source: Google Earth Image retrieved and modified by the author, 26 August, 2010

There were two alternative areas for the site selection. One of them was the underneath area on the side of the Opera Building and the other is opposite of this, besides the Turkish Aeronautical Association building. The first one was initially decided to be built for this commercial purpose and the architectural project of the bazaar units was prepared by the head of Technical Services Department (Fen

\textsuperscript{133} Notes of interview (2008) with Fevzi Çetinkaya, one of the oldest tenants of Opera Bazaar
Isleri Daire Baskanligi) of the Greater Municipality. (Figures 3.20-3.24)

**FIGURE 3.20** The heading of the Architectural Project of Opera Bazaar. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008
FIGURE 3.21 The First Project of Opera Bazaar, site plan. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008
FIGURE 3.22 The First Project of Opera Bazaar, shop plans. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008

FIGURE 3.23 The First Project of Opera Bazaar, shop sections. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008
FIGURE 3.24 The First Project of Opera Bazaar, shop elevations. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008

However, after the preparation of the project, it was realized that the area was part of the Atatürk Cultural Center Area, which was under the authority of the National Committee.\(^{134}\) Therefore a new 1/500 scaled plan was prepared with the recorded number 06004 and was approved according to the decision of the council.\(^{135}\) Then, the commercial units which had been projected for the first area were redesigned for the opposite side of Atatürk Boulevard, i.e. on the side of Turkish Aeronautical Association building, but again underneath the bridge.\(^{136}\) (Figure 3.25)

Although the bazaar was decided to be built temporarily, the shops were designed as reinforced concrete structures. The construction of the bazaar including 55 commercial kiosks and 1 toilet was completed in 1989.\(^{137}\) Despite the physical characteristics of the area, the bazaar was designed disregarding the architectural features of the bridge,

\(^{134}\) Greater Municipality of Ankara (1986) commission report with the date of 1 April 1986, the number 2, Ankara

\(^{135}\) Greater Municipality of Ankara (1986) decision of the council approved with the date of 4 April 1986, the number 145, Ankara

\(^{136}\) Greater Municipality of Ankara (1987) official archive document with the date of 25 May 1987, the number 87, Ankara

\(^{137}\) Greater Municipality of Ankara (1989) official archive document with the date of 7 September 1989, the number 2453, Ankara
which should be considered as an “artwork”, and its surrounding. The commercial units were projected as hexagonal selling huts according to the number of shop owners. The kiosks were rented with annual contracts to the aggrieved shop owners for commercial usages.\textsuperscript{138}

\textbf{FIGURE 3.25} The Second Project of Opera Bazaar, site plan and the division scheme of the shops. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008

In the first impression, everything was usual at the Opera Bazaar. However, if it was considered in urban scale, there was a traffic bridge

\textsuperscript{138} Greater Municipality of Ankara (1989) decision of the council approved with the date of 24 August 1989, the number 1504, Ankara
of interchange and some planned buildings surrounding it which had been designed according to the municipal regulations at that period. Besides these usual features surrounding the bridge, the shops were constructed as hexagonal objects that had no reference to any of these surrounding structures, including the bridge itself. They were expelled from the city and standing alone. When one entered underneath the bridge, there was a bazaar the peculiarity of which could be perceived more clearly, from inside. (Figure 3.26)

**FIGURE 3.26** Location of Opera Bazaar in urban scale. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved 2008, January, modified by the author, 27 August, 2010

Initially, one experienced the area as a commercial bazaar near the Atatürk Boulevard since it had a new allocated identity. That place
was a “Bazaar”. (Figure 3.27) The temporary bazaar was adopted by
the users and ensured a new identity to that underused area. This
area was called now “Opera Bazaar” and it gained a newly
appropriated identity and meaning. Indeed, it became a part of living
city.

However, when you turned your head, there was a bridge above the
huts. After this recognition, you distinguished the location of the
bazaar and the bridge so that there was not a bridge above the
Bazaar. On the contrary, the Bazaar was underneath it.

Initially, the Bazaar had been accepted by the shop owners and also
by the society. It started to be appropriated according to the
necessities of the owners and consumers and it had sustained its
existence for 20 years. However, considering the spatial quality of the
Bazaar, the effects of the appropriation attempts of the tenants in
order to enlarge their selling area was seen over the space.

As it can be seen in the ‘figure 3.28’, an undefined selling area without
boundaries started to emerge spontaneously underneath the bridge
with the spread of cloth benches toward the vehicular road. This did
not only affect the spatial quality of the space but also it resulted in
the destruction of the functionality of the space.
FIGURE 3.27 Opera Bazaar during 2008. Source: Photograph taken by the author, 21 October, 2008

FIGURE 3.28 Cloth benches in Opera Bazaar during 2008. Source: Photograph taken by the author, October, 27, 2008
It was not a preferred commercial space meeting the expectations of the consumers and also the municipality any more. Furthermore, the changing economic and social conditions of the period played a considerable role on the shifting practices of the society. As a result of this, the Bazaar started to lose its attraction and thus its vitality. At this time, healing the place was necessary to keep up with the changing conditions of the period. That could be achieved either by improving the vitality of the place via maintaining and improving the existed activities or by demolishing and reshaping it for new uses.

Attitude of The Greater Municipality of Ankara for Opera Bazaar was the latter option, i.e. healing the place by demolishing it and redefining the meaning and the usage of the area, which lost its vitality and significance. In 2007, the Greater Municipality of Ankara took a new decision concerning the area which had been allocated by the Municipality and appropriated by the users. As Baykan Gunay states, the development plan prepared as part of the UTKM Project was cancelled by the Greater Municipality in 2005 and then a new historical and cultural urban transformation and development project area was defined by the Municipality. According to Çetinkaya, the area underneath Opera Bridge and so ‘Opera Bazaar’ was included in this new project area by the Greater Municipality of Ankara. So, the Opera Bazaar having 20 years history was decided to be demolished according to this project. By this way, tenants were evacuated and


140 Notes of interview (2008) with Fevzi Çetinkaya, one of the oldest tenants of Opera Bazaar
the huts of Bazaar started to collapse in December 2007\textsuperscript{141} (figures 3.29 & 3.30) and then the area underneath the bridge was converted into a park area for citizens (figure 3.31).


\textbf{FIGURE 3.30} The destroyed huts in Opera Bazaar during 2008. Source: Photograph taken by the author, March, 12, 2008


3.3.2. From Fair of Sıhhiye to Fair Bazaar

In that period, there was an alternative of the Opera Bazaar, Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar was constituted in the same way as another example of allocation. Although they were produced in the same years approximately, the Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar differed from Opera with its production aim of rental concerns.

It was an architecturally left over area underneath the Sıhhiye Traffic Interchange Bridge at the junction of Atatürk and Celal Bayar Boulevards and it was providing opportunity of a protected space, a shelter for a temporary usage. Before, the area had been allocated as a temporary open food fair. It was being set up monthly and served low income groups in Sıhhiye, which is another nodal point of the City. (Figure 3.32)
FIGURE 3.32 The location of Sihhiye Junction in the urban scale. Source: Google Earth Image retrieved and modified by the author, 27 August, 2010

At the same period with the Opera Bazaar, the idea of using the area underneath the Sihhiye Bridge occurred with the aim of the control of this temporary activity in economic and physical aspects. Thus, the monthly market activity in Sihhiye was decided to be converted into a closed bazaar. Firstly being used as a cheap food fair, the left over space underneath the Bridge was reallocated by the Greater Municipality and a project was prepared by the head of Technical Services Department (Fen Isleri Daire Baskanligi).

Unlike the previous shopping area underneath the Opera Bridge, the project of Sihhiye Bazaar was prepared considering the physical
features of the Bridge. The opportunity of using the bridge as a shelter was evaluated and the bazaar units were designed via departmentalization of the area underneath along with the physical line of the bridge. (Figure 3.33 & 3.34)

The project which was approved with the decision of the Reconstruction and Administration Board (İmar İdare Heyeti) with the number 597 in 23.10.1984 included 61 shops, a place for the municipal police and service places such as tea room, and the shops were rented with annual contracts.

Unlike the Opera Bazaar, the preferred construction method by panels and the physical features of the Sıhhiye Bridge which had been evaluated as a construction guideline enabled the expansion and transformation of the bazaar area according to this guide. In the beginning, one part of the bridge which is on the side of Abdi İpekci Park had been projected as a bazaar¹⁴² (figures 3.33-3.36) but, according to the statements of the shopkeepers of the Bazaar at that time, with the acceptance of the society the bazaar area started to become a vital commercial space. Thus, the project area was expanded and the underneath area on the other side of the bridge was also projected as a part of the bazaar. (Figure 3.37)

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¹⁴² 1/1000 scaled Architectural Project Drawings of Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar through decision approved with the date of 23 October 1984 and the number of 597, Greater Ankara Municipality Archive, Ankara
FIGURE 3.33 Site plan of Sihhiye Fair Bazaar. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008

FIGURE 3.34 Sihhiye Fair Bazaar Project, plan. Source: Greater Ankara Municipality archive, retrieved June, 24, 2008
Firstly decided as a temporary fair, it has continued its existence till today as being Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar. However its transformation did not end. Its development and transformation continued because according to changing conditions and necessities, people always appropriate their environments according to their practices. This is a natural process.

By time, considering the requirements of some of the tenants in the Bazaar various arrangements were made. According to changed conditions the tenants started to shape the environment for their necessities. For example, for the reason of security the shutter
system of shops was arranged according to the requests of Unsal and some other tenants by the Department of Business and Investments (Isletme ve istirakler Daire Baskanligi).\textsuperscript{143} The request of Mesut Filik, the tenant of the first shop of the second platform was another example of this situation. According to his demand, a wall that existed in front of his shop was demolished in 1996 with the reason of functionality.\textsuperscript{144}

\textbf{FIGURE 3.37} Two sides of Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar in 2008. Source: Photograph taken by the author, October, 27, 2008

To sum up, with these interventions of users and the authorities the area underneath the bridge was converted into a designed place for its shops, street cafes, service units and its streets allocated and formed by the Municipality and appropriated and shaped by the users in the course of time. (Figure 3.38)

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{143} Official documents about Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar, document numbers 2592, 2451, 4501, 4262, 5033, 2238, 2500 Greater Ankara Municipality Archive, Ankara. See Appendix E
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{144} Official documents about Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar, document numbers 5782 and 2417 Greater Ankara Municipality Archive, Ankara.
\end{flushleft}
FIGURE 3.38 Streets of Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar. Source: Photograph taken by the author, March, 12, 2009

3.3.3. Contemporary Situations of the Bazaar Projects

3.3.3.1. From Opera Bazaar to Opera Park

Today, there is a public park underneath the Opera Bridge, known as ‘Opera Park’ with some green and sitting areas and a relief on a retaining wall near the Park, which was created by Metin Yurdanur who is the sculptor of Miner Statue at Olgunlar. (Figures 3.39 & 3.40)

FIGURE 3.39 Two sides of Opera Park according to the piers of the Opera Bridge, 2010. Source: Photograph taken by the author, August, 31, 2010
**FIGURE 3.40** The relief on a retaining wall, near the Opera Park, 2010. Source: Photograph taken by the author, August, 31, 2010

**FIGURE 3.41** Garbage under the staircase & a homeless at the foot of the retaining wall in Opera Park, 2010. Source: Photograph taken by the author, August, 31, 2010
Comparing the visual qualities of the shopping area with that of the park, the creation of the park can be thought as a gratifying decision but considering the approach of the authorities to such spaces it cannot be denied that the park will be subjected more likely to the same fate. It is obvious that the homeless and garbage appeared there in recent times can be considered as symptoms of this provision. (Figure 3.41) This is an inevitable result of the lack of maintenance and control of the authorities that the ordered pattern of the park is subjected to disappear.

3.3.3.2. Sihhiye Fair Bazaar

The contemporary situation shows that the appropriation of the Sihhiye Bazaar by the users still continues. However, due to lack of control this planned implementation gained a look of a shanty as a result of the appropriations of the tenants. The Municipality’s interventions on the boundaries of space for rental purposes resulted in the spread of commercial areas irregularly. (Figures 3.42 & 3.43)

Moreover, these kinds of appropriations of the tenants not only affect the physical and spatial quality of the space but also they influence their behavior. When the official correspondence is examined, it is obvious that the approach of the tenants towards the environment offered to them was shaped according to rental concerns. Some official documents obtained from the Greater Municipality of Ankara illustrate ironic examples of this situation.
FIGURE 3.42 People eating at the foot of the retaining wall in Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar. Source: Photograph retrieved July, 12, 2009 from http://wowturkey.com/

FIGURE 3.43 Appropriation of sidewalks around Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar. Source: Photograph taken by the author, March, 12, 2009
Some shanties constructed ‘illegally’ besides ‘legal ones’ were reported by the users of the Bazaar. According to petition of Kızılkaya some illegal booths had emerged on the Toros Street and they should have been removed because they were qualified as slums. According to this complaint, the illegal but appropriated pattern of the street was removed although the legal shanties were maintained.  

This behavior is a reflection of the imposed codes of a new social environment. There were commercial shanties underneath the Bridge but they were legally approved units and the renters of these have been giving tax to the Municipality. Thus, according to the renters the street vendors selling there without of tax and rent are unjust. Today, there is a legal commercial area in the control of the Greater Municipality of Ankara although it looks like a heap of shanties and the main reason for this is rental. (Figures 3.44 & 3.45)

![Image of Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar during 2009](image)

**FIGURE 3.44** Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar during 2009. Source: Photograph taken by the author, October, 12, 2009

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145 Official documents about Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar, document numbers 1648/98, 3302, Greater Ankara Municipality Archive, Ankara. See Appendix F

146 Notes of interview (2008) with some of the tenants in Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar
3.4. Comparative analysis of the cases

There are various kinds of public spaces in cities, but what is common to all of these is their being open to public use. They are urban places for spontaneous actions and self-expression of individuals. Thus, people participating in the life of the city with their daily practices shape and regenerate public spaces. The regeneration of these spaces can happen through spontaneous actions as well as via deliberate interventions of public authorities on urban spaces.

Each of these spaces is attributed a new identity. This is either an appropriated or allocated identity. Previously indeterminate and underused spaces may become places of the city having gained a meaning. In fact, they become a successful urban places and so a part of the living city.
According to Montgomery, three essential elements must be combined in a successful urban place. These are qualified physical space, the sensory experience and activity. The quality of these elements plays an important role in the vitality of the space and participation of people to the space. Vitality and participation are determinants of a public and social space. In addition, as the author mentions, in long term, urban vitality can only be achieved by complex diversity and mixture of uses and activities. As a result of vitality, such spaces become inviting places for participants, the users and appropriators of the spaces according to their everyday trajectories which are nourished from their need and desires.

Otherwise, without vitality and participation, it is inevitable for such spaces becoming lifeless and dull. As examined in the cases, public spaces are also faced with the risk of becoming leftover spaces but even in this case, they are always valuable and have potential for the society and the city if they are evaluated in a convenient way. As Alanyali Aral states, “it may not be possible to claim that leftover spaces have no positive contributions to the city and inhabitants, for they are sometimes used and appropriated; but probably they contribute less than what their potential values offer”.

In this context, the study dealt with three different public spaces in Ankara considering their formation and transformation processes. They are the public spaces, in Ankara, reproduced by authorities via


148 Ibid.

149 Ela Alanyali Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.18
allocation of public spaces. This research exposes the different approaches of the municipalities and society on these spaces. Moreover, their different effects on the city and society is explored as a result of such approaches. These are important for the city and its public realm, because they are determinants in producing publicness and sociability. This leads us to two notions: temporality and permanency in reproduced public spaces.

In relation to this, the findings on these public spaces in Ankara are evaluated, in this part of the study, by the comparison of the cases according to the approaches of the actors in the formation and transformation processes of the spaces and also according to their effects on the daily trajectories of the society and the spatial quality of the city. In addition, the relation between temporality and permanency in reproduced public spaces is discussed.

The cases offer the opportunity to compare them according to the similar and distinct physical and social features that they display. Besides the evaluation and interpretation of the findings, these features are illustrated in the table 3.1 briefly.
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**Table 3.1 Comparative analysis of the cases**

**SINHİYE**  | **OPERA**  | **OLGUNLAR**

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3.4.1. Approaches of the Municipalities

3.4.1.1. Site Selection: physical and social aspects

According to the examinations done on the samples, it is seen that the site selection criteria of the spaces subject to regeneration are not coincidental. All of the three examples include commercial activities. Thus, the main potential of these spaces is accessibility in terms of being near the Atatürk Boulevard and close to the urban centers that offer the potential of being used intensely and being open and accessible to the public. However, the physical characteristics of the three public spaces differ with respect to the definitions of the spaces in urban scope. Two of them have similar characteristics as being architecturally leftover spaces. They are the areas underneath Sihhiye and Opera traffic interchange bridges. They are undefined spaces. These kinds of spaces are open to various kinds of activities due to their physical characteristics. On the contrary, the other sample, Olgunlar Street is a defined space of a street. It is a designed urban area with its identified spatial and social features.

However, they are all loose spaces enabling various patterns of appropriation within them. In certain cases official permission is required and license is given but some require no official sanction. These produce overlapping activities and sub-cultures in the space. The main reason of this is the appropriation of these spaces by individuals and social groups according to their daily practices and necessities.

The appropriated space “may sometimes appear as urban space that is being extensively used and appropriated by people; and thus
already contributing to the public realm” as expressed by Alanyalı Aral. Appropriation sometimes contributes to the public realm via activities of urbanites in illegal terms but, these appropriated ones are sparkling spaces as the author mentions inspiring and guiding the designers in order to understand human behaviors and preferences in public spaces which are necessary for creating the fit environment for the expected use. Thus, they should be preserved and improved through decisions and implementations in the way they exist and appropriation patterns within them since as Kleine mentions it is important to establish links with the past of the sign and the new uses of the space.

Distinctively from the areas underneath the bridges, the redefinition of Olgunlar Street is a clear example of this. Book vendors and the Olgunlar Street was a successful match. The success of this selection lies behind the consistency between the appropriators and the space they may appropriate. Although the site selection process of Sihhiye Fair Bazaar also included these considerations, contrary to Olgunlar, it was not a project where the spontaneous action of the appropriators overlapped with that of the public authority. It is a project that improved the existing temporally allocated usage that received the acceptance and appropriation of the society. As it was presented in the case-study, the Opera Bazaar is a product of transposition of the functions of a defined space on an undefined area, which is different from the two other cases.

150 Ibid., p.14
151 Ibid., p.120
However, determining their contributions in the public realm, all of these spaces, which present either an appropriation pattern produced by spontaneous activities or a use pattern produced deliberately via allocation, are owned publicly in different periods.

### 3.4.1.2. The Formation Process: the objectives and tools in the reproduction of space via allocation

Well designed public spaces can be defined as being successful in fostering participation. A good public space is a complex of functions where there is surprise in the design of the space, and also it is a space for people finding ways to use it not necessarily as foreseen by the designer. It should be incentive to experience people, so everyone can be able to participate. These spaces, rich in terms of newness and possibilities they offer to individuals, are open spaces making various experiments possible. This is the measurement tool for the richness of a public space. It can continue to be developed after it is produced. That is to say, according to Haydn, “the constructed space reacts to needs and ideas for use that were not known during the planning phase.”\(^{153}\) A public space should inspire the users to find new ways to use it thanks to “synergetic inspiration”\(^ {154}\). This inspiration provides people opportunity for alternative usages in public spaces via participation and appropriation. Considering the ‘Art Street Project’ of Olgunlar Street it can be said that this synergy is between not only space and its users but also between the designer-book vendors- and the users of the space. In order to produce this synergy and so to

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\(^{154}\) Ibid.
achieve successful spaces, analyzing the behavior of people in their field is essential. There is a very simple balance in human beings’ interaction with their environment. They construct meaningful experiences in their environment for the purposes of both utility and enjoyment. Human beings appropriate the spaces surrounding them and so, a space achieves significance and meaning by this way.

Alanyalı Aral defines appropriation as an assertion of stable and changing elements in the life of individuals. On the other hand, as she continues with reference to Petit, appropriation is a factor leading to changes on the appropriator; so space is both appropriated and appropriating.\(^\text{155}\) That is, “in appropriation of space, the individual not only projects, but also introjects.”\(^\text{156}\) This is the reflection of the interactive relations between human beings and their environments.

Therefore, examining the use patterns of the space or the potential ways it is used is important for determining the objectives during the formation process of a space. Thus, “an insightful investigation is necessary, including contact with users, besides observing them.”\(^\text{157}\) Otherwise, there may be designed urban spaces which are not used in proposed ways and they may be appropriated in unforeseen ways. In this content, the designers’ approach to the space is an important issue.


\(^{156}\) Proshansky cited from Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.23

\(^{157}\) Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.77
If the examples are examined again, it is clear that people are already transducers in the conversion of the features of space to their benefits. And also, the society defines success of a space. People accommodate this fact instinctively. For example, vendors choose the most suitable spaces in the city according to density and security considering rental concerns. Squatters are other examples of appropriators and they transduce the environmental and physical conditions of a space properly to their benefits. (Figures 3.46 & 3.47) That is, investigation is very important for projecting and improving a public space.

**FIGURE 3.46** Street vendors near the garden wall of Kayseri High School, 2008. Source: Photograph retrieved August, 28, 2010 from http://wowturkey.com/

Shortly, the criteria and priorities of objectives and tools in the (re)production of a space should be well defined considering the characteristics, necessities and so experiences of the society. The physical and social issues can be considered at the same time as the land use consideration in plan-making process. As Madanipour states in this process the heart is public activities and so the key player within the planning process is local authorities.158

These three public spaces are also the products of allocation by municipalities but they differ from each other considering the objectives and tools in their reproduction process. The formation of

Olgunlar bouquiniste street is an example of self-defined spaces. Producing these kinds of spaces may be an objective but the municipality used self-definition as a tool in the regeneration of the street with the aim of appropriation, participation of the users and so the aim of publicity. The local authority transferred this objective to the book vendors as being the main actor of the sociability in the street.

The success of the street as a public space bases on this strategy. As Strasssoldo emphasizes, the unplanned spatial order which is a result of spontaneous activity reflects the correspondence between social and spatial relations clearly. The bazaar projects are examples contrary to the self-defined spaces of Olgunlar Street. The objectives in their reproduction processes are generally based on commercial concerns and so appropriation, participation and publicity are not the aim of the projects. They were produced with offered boundaries according to the objectives of the projects. Therefore they were not self-defined projects like the bouquiniste street. Thus, they were localized spaces where the boundaries did not allow people to play a significant role in the identification of the space.

This results in the loss of conscious control of the society in the formation processes of the spaces. As Montgomery comments for such situations:

[…] unless we understand space we can not design good places. This is not a case of equating public space with public social life and/or democracy, but simply of allowing

space for people to perform both public and private roles in city life.\textsuperscript{160}

The space should allow flexibility for the users and provide them the opportunity to develop a spontaneous life there because as Mudan states, “social significance of the public space is a result of a dialogic and a dialectic process in which the sociopolitical forces which create and modify them conflict with the various forms of social appropriation”.\textsuperscript{161}

\textbf{3.4.1.3. Towards Transformation of the Reproduced Spaces}

As analyzed before, place making is a process that requires coordination in between different actors playing role during the (re)production process of a space. These actors are municipal authorities and users of the space. Although the place-making process is a professional issue, providing the participation of the individuals and also social groups in this process is a necessity in order to produce a successful publicness.

The importance and necessity of this coordination is seen obviously in the re-appropriation process of the Olgunlar Street considering the potential of the ‘Art Street Project’ in this respect. Unfortunately, as mentioned before, this participation initiative of the book vendors was


rejected by the Municipality and authorities were satisfied with simple arrangements. Similar interventions of the municipalities were inspected during the transformation processes of the Bazaars. However, it was seen that these simple arrangements were insufficient to improve these spaces in spatial, functional and also social aspects conversely they resulted in disorder and chaos in the spaces eventually.

This is not a sudden result. It is a process of incorrect implementations to date with lack of co-ordination, control and concern. In this respect, to control and maintain these spaces in co-ordination with the users of the space considering their contributions and experiences there, is important, because according to Sitte as Alanyalı Aral suggests, what makes the inhabitants feel belonging to the space is their intellectual investments themselves.¹⁶² This is a sense of territoriality that, as Madanipour defines:

has been derived from emotional attachment and familiarity, as well as from the more abstract forms of control through monetary, legal and institutional power over space. Territory is considered to be used as an ‘organizer’ of activities, by allowing us to anticipate the types of people and forms of behavior in different places, and so plan accordingly for our daily lives. Furthermore, territory provides feelings of distinctiveness, privacy and a sense of personal identity. [...] The continuous exertion of control over a particular part of physical space by an individual or a group results in the establishment of a territory. Territoriality, as closely associated with this process, has been defined by environmental psychologists as ‘a set of behaviors and cognitions a person or group

exhibits, based on perceived ownership of physical space.\textsuperscript{163}

The sense of territoriality reflects in the appropriated space because the space allows people to experience and participate in the social realm with its identity and concerns there. They are the people who give meaning and identity to the space, therefore they may claim the right to the space that they appropriate. Hence, the transformation process is as important as the formation process for a space. It is not acceptable to (re)produce a public space temporarily and then to leave it to its fate in consideration of urban development. The duty is not only to produce a space; it should be producing a successful space in spatial and social aspects and trying to maintain it with the evaluation of the practices and experiments going on there.

As mentioned before, appropriation is both an indispensable goal and a tool in the (re)production of a vital and social space, but sometimes appropriation without control may bring about undesired results. These results are observed in the analysis of the samples such as, spreading of the commercial usages irregularly in the spaces and losing their security and vitality as a result of becoming convenient areas for the marginals.

As Alanyalı Aral states maintenance and control indicate that space is being cared by a person or a group by effecting on the physical properties of space.\textsuperscript{164} It also evokes thrust to the society. Otherwise, as can be seen in the case studies, over a certain period of time,

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\textsuperscript{164} Ela Alanyalı Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.17
\end{flushright}
besides existing leftover spaces, also the designed ones for certain assigned functions are subjected to be ‘leftover spaces’ due to the lack of maintenance and control. At that time, it is inevitable for these public spaces in highly accessible locations being converted into a ‘lost and anti-social space’ as observed in the samples studied in Ankara.

3.4.2. Effects

3.4.2.1. Over the Daily Trajectories of the Society

There are various factors and facts being effective in the occurrence of a city. It is formed by physical and sociologic facts. Daily life, both public and private is performed in this stage. As examined in the cases before, this is an interactive process between the city and the society.

There is a variety of spaces in cities. People in their ordinary everyday activities simply occupy and make use of spaces of the city that allow them to perform a variety of activities. They recognize different opportunities in spaces and use them differently. This allows them to express their differences and identities. The most important area where social interaction and the daily experience of urban life take place is public places of a city. They are “the breathing space of city life, offering opportunities for exploration and discovery, for the unexpected, the unregulated, the spontaneous and the risky.”165

Public spaces are the most flexible spaces for the participation and representation of individuals and groups in society. According to

Madanipour there are similarities between city and stage design. City’s public space is a place for participating in social life or is like a backdrop. In city design neutrality and flexibility of the stage and the possibility of participation of the audience in the performance are essential for direct communication. The author also states that public life is seen as a performance, where symbols are presented and exchanged. For this performance the public spaces become theatre stages where these settings and appearances are made.

Therefore, they are the places where the character of a society is released since, “the character of public space expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture, everyday discourse” as a public and a community. The spaces where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place are public spaces. Thus, they are the most important part of our cities meaning a society and a community.

Madanipour points out that public space have played a considerable role as meeting points and containers for social movements. They are where social interaction and the daily experience of urban life take place. They are spaces that are not controlled by private individuals or organizations, and thus are open to the general public. As Shirley

167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid., p.143.
Kressel points out, “in public spaces we are reminded of the most important civics lesson: We are all in this together.”

In this context, these containers of the city are the reflection of the society. They are arenas shaping the society and also shaped by it. Thus, they are integral parts of the city and society. They are the spaces where the everyday life of the community and its practices go on so they are public and loose spaces that play the role in vitality of the city and these spaces, as Frank and Stevens states, “allow for the chance encounter, the spontaneous event, the enjoyment of diversity and the discovery of the unexpected.”

According to the findings on the three reproduced public spaces in Ankara, the space may or may not be appropriated and adopted by the society. It is indispensably affected by the practices and activities that go on there; and (re)defining is an inevitable result for a public space subject to reproduction. For this, being accepted and adapted by the society is essential for a space in order to be public. A public space has to be able to contain the performances of public realm and affect it positively otherwise it may be abandoned by the society.

In successful public spaces, as seen in the Olgunlar Street, people are in the role of active creators and participants rather than passive consumers, because “there are goods and desires for everyone, democratically, even for children, even for people” with Lefebvre’s


171 Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens (eds.) (2006), Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life, New York: Routledge, p.4
words\textsuperscript{172}. Barnett states that these participants pursue necessary activities which take them through public spaces.\textsuperscript{173} Additionally, professionals’ perception of environment shapes the association of the public with the spaces. That is, sometimes there can be created passive consumer society enveloped by a coded culture and mentality in public spaces. For example, reporting some shanties, which had emerged ‘illegally’ on the Toros Street besides ‘legal ones’ in Sihhiye Bazaar, by the users of the Bazaar is a reflection of the imposed codes of a new social environment. According to renters they were qualified as slums and also the street vendors selling there free of tax and rent are unjust. The main reason for this is rental. So, the attitude of the tenants of the shops in Sihhiye Fair Bazaar towards the appropriation patterns around the Bazaar is a clear example of this coded culture. This is the illustration of a consumer society. That is, the tenants converted into the consumers of the coded social features offered them via their environments rather than being the producers of the public space. On the contrary, the approaches of the book sellers in Olgunlar Street to the patterns of appropriation which emerged after their location in the street show the difference between the effects of the social structure of the regenerated public space on the behaviors of its users. The book sellers are producers of their environments rather than being mere consumers of it. The examples illustrate that the human behavior and daily practices in urban public spaces can be shaped by the hand of authorities. This is related with their objectives in reproduction of a space via allocation of certain uses.


According to the case studies, it is obvious that the idea behind the (re)production of the spaces via allocation is based on economic or social objectives. According to this, the objects offered and refused define the quality and concern of space. For example, a street can become a stage of dreams and imaginations as the project of ‘public utopia’. As Whyte argues, design decisions can also make a big difference to behavior in public space and the author adds that people act out an image of themselves in public, and they interact with the image making of others.\textsuperscript{174} Thus, the stage offered to them to act is the base defining the behaviors. Whatever the idea behind a design, the critical issue is how is the idea produced. Because, “people don’t listen to \textit{what} you are saying they listen to \textit{how} it is being said”, as stated by Jane Took.\textsuperscript{175}

In this respect, if the analyzed samples are remembered, the behavioral difference can be seen obviously between the actors of Olgunlar Street and Sıhhiye Bazaar according to imposed or self determined spatial and social codes of the reproduced spaces.

Public spaces act as a school for new social relations and social experiences in society. In other words put by Howell, it is “something very like a public geography in which the fullest human action […] can survive and flourish”\textsuperscript{176} With changing social practices, social meaning

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changes and so necessities and desires are shaped. These social, cultural and also economic changes impact on the social and spatial environment and also, the behavior of the users. Thus, the codes of social environment and social behaviors are hidden in the social content of the design which is offered to or created by the main actors of the spaces.

As mentioned before, Henri Lefebvre states everyday space differs from geometric space and everyday life has dimensions. The main fact determining these dimensions is human beings as a social being. A space is a social text only in the existence of the individuals of society. They remake their environment in their own image. They create and idealize it according to their cultures and values. At this time, the boundary of spaces disappears in their dreams of life. Appropriation is an important tool for articulating the perceptions and priorities of human being in the space. In addition, the environmental image of human is reshaped by assumptions and beliefs and the reflection of these is seen on the needs and desires of human being who shapes his/her surrounding in accordance with his/her daily life practices. This is the physical existence of human being.

Purcell defines the bases of ‘the right to the city’ or the right to urban life as inhabitance which entails two main rights: ‘the right to appropriate’ urban space in the sense of ‘the right to use’ and ‘the right to participate’ in the production of urban space to ‘full and


complete use’ of it in their everyday lives.\textsuperscript{178} The initial one, as Purcell defines, is the right to live in, play in, work in, represent, characterize and occupy urban space. It is the right to be an author of urban space. It is a creative product of the everyday life of its inhabitants. The latter component is the right to participation of inhabitants to take a central role in the decision-making surrounding the production of public urban space\textsuperscript{179} as occurred in the ‘Utopia Project’ of Olgunlar Street prepared by the main participant actors of it. According to Tonguç Akış, these social actors all come together to transform their very open space to discipline, control and survey the cartography of this own space belonging them for social cohesion, manipulation and identity.\textsuperscript{180} Cruikshank illustrates that this is the potential to offer simultaneous self-government which is the other form of governmental power.\textsuperscript{181} It is obvious that certainly, organizing the everyday completely is not possible but, regulating and modifying it considering the self governmental power of the users and as Laurier and Philo emphasizes, creating a realm of public opinion with the needs of society and its components in space is essence\textsuperscript{182} for the professionals.


\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., p.23


3.4.2.2. Over the spatial quality of the city

It is a professional duty for an architect or an urban designer to produce a social, public place in a city. It requires a wide spectrum and vision considering all conditions of the period and all figures participating in the public stage. This is not only a rental formation; it is also a cultural and social creation. Therefore, taking into account the possible contributions of the space to both social values and the spatial quality of the city is a vital issue in the place-making process.

Opera Bazaar is an example of disregarding the possible spatial contributions of the reproduced space to the city. The bazaar was designed disregarding the architectural features of its surrounding and the construction of hexagon kiosks standing alone there was an improper intervention on the area underneath the Opera Bridge. Although the sellers there were not illegal vendors and also the hexagon constructions were legal structures, they looked like shanties, almost patches under the Opera Traffic Bridge which is an ‘art work’ designed by the engineering firm of Pier Luigi Nervi. On the contrary, Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar was designed considering the architectural features of the Sıhhiye Bridge and its surrounding. However, with rental concerns and lack of control the space was subjected to conversion into an undefined and chaotic area with irregular spread of commercial usages as can be examined in other two cases. Expectedly, Opera Bazaar was decided to be demolished in the end of 2007 on the grounds that it was disrupting the spatial quality of the Capital. Whereas its counterpart, Sıhhiye Bazaar is still standing yet with its legal shanties. (Figure 3.48)
As mentioned before, this is the result of inappropriate implementations and lack of control and concern over the (re)produced public spaces. As it can be seen in the transformation processes of the case studies, reproduced public spaces are faced with becoming leftover spaces due to problems ensuing from some managerial practices and regulations or ensuing from lack of them. This is the result in spaces losing their vitality in time and also converted into abandoned and so unsecure leftover spaces in the planned city. The main problem is the irresponsible attitude of the professionals to these spaces. The negative results such attitudes are seen in the examined cases, which turned them into legal shanties, chaotic and disordered spaces in the designed city.

3.4.3. Temporality and Permanency

Temporary refers to something that exists for a time, but there are different concepts of such temporariness: ‘ephemeral’ is a term from biology that refers to creatures that live for only a day. Ephemerality is thus an existential temporality; the ephemeral has a short life, its existence can not be extended. This contrasts with the provisional,
which begins as something with a short life but then, not infrequently, remains for very long periods.\textsuperscript{183}

Temporality in city spaces can be thought as provisional. Even after the temporary use has ended, its location remains in urban spaces. Temporary uses are product of appropriation in the urban space. Thus, whether they are produced by economic or aesthetic place-making, cultural reasons or by a desire to use something, temporary spaces are opened up by temporary projects. According to Temel, such spaces are the structures of action and interaction, of the production, use and appropriation of material spaces and are spatial representation.\textsuperscript{184} Therefore, what attracts temporary users is the identity of these urban spaces. They are not fully determined and they can still be shaped. There are also long-lasting examples of temporary usages and temporary projects.

\textbf{3.4.3.1. Vitality}

The cases analyzed in the study are the reproduction projects. Initially, their uses were temporary and variable according to the conditions of periods. These kinds of spaces do not lose their values and always have a potential of contribution to the public realm. They are loose spaces and open to public. Such spaces are also media for active participation and appropriation in cities.

Appropriation is a favorable tool for giving a meaning to these kinds of spaces. It was stated that appropriation results from desires of


\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., p.59
human beings and it is an endless process, but it is not denied that some conditions also affect this process. That is, appropriated or allocated activities and usages may lose their attraction in time related with the needs and desires of citizens according to economic and social changes and also physical changes in the urban spaces. In fact, as it can be understood from the case studies, these spaces are sometimes faced with becoming a leftover space due to lack of vitality. Although some of them are left, others can survive. Vitality is the main condition for the permanency of a space. Moreover, the physical characteristics of the space and its surrounding also contribute to its survival. The two samples, Opera and Sıhhiye Bazaar illustrate this distinction clearly.

Opera Bazaar had lost its vitality. On the other hand, Sıhhiye Bazaar has maintained its existence with the same identity so far. And also, it is still a vital space in Sıhhiye with its commercial activities. Why Opera Bazaar was exposed to demolition while the other one have maintained its existence and vitality till today?

It is clear that economic activities and consumption play an important role in the vitality of a place. As a natural process economic activities bring along others. These mixed uses and diversity of activities provide self-improvement. However, as Montgomery emphasizes, this is not sufficient. The key of successful urban spaces is the combination of economic activity as well as social and cultural transaction. A complex diversity of land uses sustaining large numbers of people with different tastes and proclivities is the key
word for urban spaces providing vitality. In addition, close proximity of the uses provides easy access. The location of place has an importance in this respect. According to the author this results in the attraction of the users of these activities to the others with the effect of this proximity to support diversity. Therefore, the other uses near an activity play an effective role to define usages of the space and the activities there. The space should serve different opportunities to different people. That may include commercial, social and recreational activities in common. By this way, the diversity and desired amount of usage in the space can be provided. This diversity results in the density of people using the space and according to Montgomery vitality is related with the number of people, pedestrian flows and movement determines it.

In that context, the advantage of the Fair Bazaar underneath Sihhiye Bridge is its environmental features against Opera Bazaar. Especially, bus stops present underneath the bridge near the bazaar area is an important factor for human density around the Bazaar related to variety. That is, there are a great number of people using the space in different times of the day and they may participate in the life of the Bazaar for a period of time. Moreover, the nearby Abdi İpekçi Park provides another opportunity to people to spend time for a different usage. The mixture of uses and activities all results in increasing the density of the participants in the life going on in the Bazaar and its surrounding. Montgomery points out that the presence of people on


186 Ibid., p. 6

187 Ibid.
the streets and in the spaces in different times of the day must be ensured and the space offer a variety of different reasons to people for using the space and give opportunities to them for using many facilities in common. This potential is the main factor that distinguishes these two Bazaars. Namely, the contributions of its surrounding led Sıhhiye Bazaar to be self-sustaining. However, this is not the success of the Bazaar Project, but resulted by its physical surroundings defined with its location in the city.

In addition to environmental factors, the physical features of the space are also important determinants for vitality. They exhibit the livability of a space. According to Barnett, the first principle of a livable community or workplace is walkability of a place. That is a design that encourages people to meet while they are walking through public places is a primary means of creating community. Streets as Olgunlar Street are good examples for this walkability places. They are one of the most important parts of the public environment where much of the life of the community took place there. Streets are places where people could meet unexpectedly walking from one destination to another. They foster interaction and communication, but they also create synergy among different individuals or groups. Therefore, for expression and for social engagement, physical features of streets as public urban spaces can frame opportunities.

The physical and also social quality of space affects the possible users’ behaviors. If the spaces are poor physical environments, they are


uninviting spaces and so everyone will get through them as quickly as possible. If the environment is attractive, people will engage in. This was supported by what Gehl calls *optional activities*, such as “sitting down for a few minutes in a cool place in summer, or a sheltered sunny spot in winter, or just slowing down and enjoying life, stopping for a cup of coffee or tea, looking at a statue or a fountain” 190. That is, the more optional activities there are in a public place, the more resultant activities as Gehl calls. These resultant activities are “sociability, people meeting accidentally, or striking up a conversation with strangers”.191

The contributions of the mixture of uses and diversity of activities to the space and its users were studied on the cases. However, it was also observed that the irregular and uncontrolled expansion of the activities and disordered appropriation patterns in the spaces results in the loss of these mentioned essential features of public spaces. Therefore, maintenance and control is necessary for these spaces in order to provide permanency of them and also to provide and maintain positive contributions to their surroundings and the users of the spaces. Maintenance is important for permanence of the space but control is also essential in order to supply this permanence in proper way.

**3.4.3.2. Participation**

The social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project


191 Ibid.
themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself.\textsuperscript{192}

Public spaces are places where various social actors perform on the same stage and reproduce their own environments there. Arendt provides the spatial interpretation of public sphere as the “space of appearance”, where social actors participate and interact democratically.\textsuperscript{193} They have also potentials to participate in the (re)production process of the space spontaneously via appropriation through their everyday and spatial practices and experiments in spite of not having the opportunity of participation in the formal production process.

There is an interactive relation between participants and participated space. Thus, spaces should be reproduced; invented or re-defined by local authorities as Madanipour states, through being encouraged to demonstrate their commitment to individuals via improved public accountability and openness and the involvement of user groups to advice and influence decision-making.\textsuperscript{194} This is meant with the statement of Madanipour “altering only what was necessary, not what should be altered.”\textsuperscript{195} Temporary use is an effective tool for executing this alteration of what should be. Over the use of public space in cities in the current debate, as can be seen in the studied cases temporality

\textsuperscript{192} Henri Lefebvre (1991) The production of space, Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, p.129


\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., p.219
enabling the participation of the society is essential for providing sociability and publicity in short duration.

Normally, specific measures have to be implemented at a certain location within set deadlines. However, many (but not all) interim users are not looking for a long-term or permanent solution, but want to carry out projects in full awareness that they will be of short duration.¹⁹⁶ They are also a good measure tool for social and behavioral formation in a restricted time. Temporary uses are essential for providing appropriation and participation to space. In Olgunlar Street, temporality and actors of it succeeded in taking a central role in the reproduction process of the public space with their participations and they became a part of this urban project. Moreover, the ‘Public Utopia Project’ illustrates re-participation and re-appropriation of the actors also in the transformation process of the space with the sense of territoriality and it is a project revealing the power of self government of the actors of a public space.

This results in territoriality since these spaces allow people to be a part and producer of the social realm via giving their right to the space. Because, according to Grbesa the public sphere which is the freedom to express and publish their opinions depends both upon the quality of discourse and the quantity of participation.¹⁹⁷ According to Sitte, as Alanyalı Aral suggests, what makes the inhabitants feel


¹⁹⁷ Marijana Grbesa, Why if at all is the Public Sphere a Useful Concept?, Why if at all is the Public Sphere ..., Politička misao, Vol. XL, (2003), No. 5, pp. 110–121, Retrieved July 26, 2010 from http://web.ebscohost.com, p.112
belonging to the space is their intellectual investments themselves. The sense of territoriality is derived at appropriated space because the space allows people to experience and participate in the social realm. They are the people who give a meaning and identity to the place so, they may claim the right to the space they (re)appropriated and (re)participated. Fenster affirms that participation is the right of inhabitants for taking a central role in the decision-making process of their surrounding urban spaces.

Whereas, the Bazaar projects were started as being temporary, the stated potential of the temporality could not be evaluated in terms of sociability there. They were not inviting places for citizens and also for tenants to participate there because the users were not producers there. On the contrary they were consumers of the coded spatial and cultural environments. Although Sıhhiye Bazaar has maintained its existence up to now, this is not an indicator of its being a successful public and social urban space. As mentioned before, its permanency depends on its location in the city.

Out of these, the contemporary situations of the cases show that municipalities have been taking local measures against the problems of these spaces, ignoring the users’ suggestions, their participations and experiences. This causes the space to lose its social and hence its spatial values. As a result, in Olgunlar Street, the self-reproduced

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publicity and sociability in the space started to disappear by the decreasing participation of the society.

To sum up, successful place-making needs support from individual citizens, common public support and it requires governmental regulations. There has to be participation by social investors who intend to create permanent values. As Haydn mentions, participatory decision-making processes create a sustainable community and the intensity of the visibility or perceptibility of these processes in public or even semi-public space is a measure of the degree of urbanity. 200

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CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1. Final Evaluation of the Study

Cities are produced by several layers of man-made physical elements and the landscapes which they shape. They are constructed one over the other. At the same time, each city is the arena of social changes and the urban spaces in cities display the stages of these changes. Although they are created, planned, designed and constructed by people, the city spaces affect social relations and the perceptions of people and they gain meanings. These social relations and perceptions may be foreseen but they can not be designed or planned. This produces an interactive relationship between cities and citizens which continuously shape one another. People are the key actors of this relation. They define the social dynamics and the meanings in the social and also physical life of the city. The products of this social relation are city spaces and they are “units of analysis in social theory”\(^\text{201}\) because as Lefebvre states “space is a social product”\(^\text{202}\). Therefore, socially produced space is an important and fundamental concept to comprehend and to analyze the human behavior and social life.


With the definition of space being a social product Lefebvre states that every mode of production produces its own spaces and new social relationships call for a new space.\textsuperscript{203} As de Certeau defines "space is existential" and "existence is spatial."\textsuperscript{204} Thus, the social analysis of space and its users activating its existence is necessary for illuminating this relationship. At this juncture, the thesis deals with the ‘reproduction of space’ to understand how the society produces its own spaces according to its daily social life by “reintroducing into them the plural mobility of goals and desires—an art of manipulating and enjoying!”\textsuperscript{205}

As also de Certeau states “space is a practiced place”\textsuperscript{206} since space is both a medium of social relations and also a product of them. Considering this, the question of how the relationship between space and society can be conceived in the case of public spaces which are the core of sociability, is studied. In addition, it was concluded after the analysis that it is necessary to all the actors taking role in the sociability and publicity of a space in order to apprehend this relation exactly. Although people using the space are the social actors in it, there are also planned actions of the power on urban space. In fact, planning is a professional duty offered to the usage of the citizens but it also represents the power of municipal authority in urban scale. That is, municipalities are the other actors playing a significant role in the (re)production of urban spaces including public spaces. The present thesis argues that urban public spaces are subjected to

\textsuperscript{203} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{204} Michel de Certeau, 1984: The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 118
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid., p.32
\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., p. 117
transformation as a result of a multidimensional relationship of instinctive and conscious actors in cities. According to this, there are two principal modalities that determine this transformation: The initial one is an intuitive process, i.e. appropriation of urban public spaces by people as social beings with their desires and needs. The other is a deliberate action of the authorities, i.e. allocation.

In this context, the study aims to understand this multidimensional relationship via analyzing and comparing the formation and transformation processes of three public spaces selected from the capital city, Ankara, with regard to the daily practices and trajectories of people, and also to the approaches of the municipality to these. The samples were selected considering their physical and social characteristics. Their common feature is being reproduced public spaces via allocation but also as a means of appropriation which means according to the modes of behavior of the society in order to serve the needs and desires of a group or an individual in the city. The formation and transformation processes of the samples were analyzed in social and spatial aspects considering the effects of/on society and public city spaces.

According to the survey, some public spaces are “forgotten pieces of land within the city”\textsuperscript{207}. They do not receive the attention of professionals. Yet, there are also some designed urban spaces which also lose their vitality periodically and are subjected to be a forgotten land. These spaces become objects for redesign because every public space whether designed or undesigned is considered for reproduction, if they are not contributing to the public realm. However, they never

\textsuperscript{207} Ela Alanyali Aral (2009) Redefining Leftover Spaces: Value and Potentiality for the City. Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG., p.83
lose their potential of contributing to the public realm because their potential is based on their social and spatial features and the experiences of their users. In that matter, the approaches of the professionals to these spaces during their formation and also transformation processes is a crucial issue in terms of the urban space and the society.

In this sense, unfortunately the findings of the case studies show that today we have lost due concern toward the actors of the spaces, who in fact play an active role simply by performing their daily activities there. This ignorance results in a loss of meaning in public spaces. “If we accept the human as a spatial creature, then loss of spatial meaning and function of the public spaces emphasizes the loss of the most important aspect of life” as Ebru Uguz forcefully expressed. Disregarding this contributes negatively not only to the social life and public realm but also to the spatial quality of the city.

The importance of the transformation of a public space on urban public and social sphere was observed through the case studies of reproduced public spaces in Ankara. Both from the literature survey and the case studies, it is understood that public spaces are places to which many people from different income, status, gender and age are attracted. This results in the participation of people in and their appropriation of the public space. This is the prerequisite of sociability and publicity in urban space because they are the tools for people to apply their rights to and identify their individuality in the city.

One of the results of this research is the significance of temporality in urban public spaces. It is observed that temporary uses contribute to the attraction and to people’s participation in the public realm through their heterogenic atmosphere and the comfort of bringing different activities in a single space. They are spaces where leisure time is spent and where social interaction takes place between those who are familiar to one another as well as between strangers. Concerning the easy physical accessibility of the public spaces and their openness to public, a variety of temporal activities contribute to their use by heterogeneous groups from different parts of the city. In short, public spaces with temporary uses emerge as powerful alternative spaces to the established ones in the city. The temporality reflecting on their atmosphere is the daily life going on within the city.

These spaces “include issues of informal, spontaneous, alternative self-organization, whose primary characteristics is the use of available urban, programmatic, economic open spaces” as Haydn and Temel indicate.209 As they are alternative spaces in the planning programme of a city, they also require an alternative approach from authorities and specialists. As a result of the appropriation of the city by the society, as the authors state, temporary uses are “symptoms of an alternative understanding to urban planning” 210 as being the opposite of the master plan. “It starts out from the context and the current condition, not from a distant goal and it seeks to use what already exists” as Haydn and Temel point out.211 In this respect, the study


210 Ibid., p. 9

211 Ibid., p.12
exposes the reproduction power of the temporality as a tool rather an objective because temporality is the product of appropriation and so it should be a tool for the people’s participation to public spaces.

4.2. Comments: can the notion of temporality in public spaces be converted into an alternative design tool in the urban scope?

As evident from our observations, altering spaces does not always improve their value as public spaces, even this might cause to a loss in their qualities. Thus, reproducing public spaces in order to enhance their publicity and sociability required a specific urban design approach considering the necessities of the actual everyday life. This approach should be a blend of architectural quality, participation of the society and the use of the city.

In some spaces which are more frequented by the citizens than others, it can be observed that they offer freedom to people to pursue their daily activities. This occurs against accepted norms or stated laws in the space and results in the production of appropriated patterns against the designed ones. These are flexible spaces and the appropriated activities also contribute to this flexibility and looseness of the space. These activities that make a space loose and flexible are different from the intended ones. Thus, there is often some uncertainty about what is legal or what is socially acceptable in the public space.
Such public spaces are the loci of everyday life and also symbols of freedom with their looseness and flexibility. According to Hood,

understanding everyday activities forces the designer to confront a neighborhood’s dynamic economic, physical and social structures. This comprehension creates a direct link between planning and true-to-life community issues, fully incorporating the human condition into the design process [...] improvisational design strategies make these indigenous patterns and issues visible to the neighborhood and to the outsiders, which allow the residents and their daily lives to shape their own communities.\(^{212}\)

Therefore, irregular and spontaneous developments offer a source of inspiration for professionals and a guide for/of space management for authorities. This indicates that there may be alternatives lying between comprehensive urban planning understanding and participatory planning that take account of the society’s appropriation patterns and practices of everyday life.

It is not denied that the spontaneous formations in the city spaces are a part of society because nothing is able to define human being and its needs without itself. As seen in the case studies, sometimes authorities intervene in this formation with the objective of “creating a new place, or defining an old one, has been among the tools of city management, as part of the efforts to give order to cities.”\(^ {213}\) Yet, this formation has a potential only if it is evaluated properly and public-private collaboration is essential for this evaluation.


Real living spaces are formed by individuals. They are self-determined and "heterogonous" spaces. Therefore, public spaces are not only an objective fact. The ongoing life of the society there is also subjective because public spaces are the stage of expression of individuality and also sociability via participation and appropriation of people. These expressions are established there spontaneously and temporarily. This results in gradual development of space.* (Related studies can be attained via the ‘related project links’ indicated in the bibliography)

Initiating and supporting temporary uses as a tool for alternative practices in public spaces that create potential spaces by means of experimental demand. The creation of such public spaces demands on experimenting to the space with causes and effects so that fundamental possibilities for social developments need to be explored. Moreover, this is an inspiring process in respect to the reproduction of a vital and emancipated public space by social actors.

According to Haydn and Temel, enthusiasm is the focus of temporality and the formal actors responsible for urban spaces should recognize this and use it tactically. Temporary uses also have the effect of mixed uses and activities, which are so difficult to implement in master planning but they encourage sociability, publicity and also vitality, livability of space though attracting people and stimulating appropriation and participation.

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215 Ibid., p. 45
Temporary use necessitates a change in the culture of planning. This is not a usual idea for the municipalities because planning is considered as a long term process and rapid changes in the uses is unusual for it. Yet, city is a living settlement so that changes in spatial and social aspects are inevitable in city spaces. Temporality is a multi objective tool for the observation of these changes and their effects on the city and society so as to producing long lasting and practical spaces in the city. It constitutes a “bottom-up planning instrument”\textsuperscript{216} which gives opportunity of flexibility in urban public spaces being as a sort of trial-and-error approach. This is a tool for analyzing the relation between human and its environment via supporting participation of people to the space.

In summary, as the case studies indicate, the temporary uses have the potential of being a tool for alternative of place making as means of reproduction of public spaces via allocation by authorities. These applications can be defined as alternative planning methods for investigation, redefinition and evaluation of the inherent properties of the urban public spaces, and also (re)building the publicity and sociability in these spaces can be achieved through the multidimensional relation between instinctive and conscious actors in cities with the help of temporality.

\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., p. 68


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1/200 scaled functional division schema of booth sales, Greater Ankara Municipality Archive, Ankara

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Notes of interview (2008) with some of the tenants in Sıhhiye Fair Bazaar

Notes of interview (2009) with Metin Gökçe, the previous association chairman of book sellers in Olgunlar Street.

Notes of interview (2010) with Ergun Kılıç, one of the polices of Cankaya Municipality and also the president of Municipal Police Foundation of Anatolian Municipalities

Web Sources


* Related Project Links

Brachenpioniere Wien;
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(accessed August, 28, 2010)

ErsatzStadt;
http://www.etuipop.de/ersatzstadt
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http://www.raumlabor.net/?p=574
(accessed August, 28, 2010)

Nevidljivi Zagreb;
http://www.platforma981.hr
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Stadtpark Dessau;
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(accessed August, 28, 2010)
APPENDIX A

“Street Office Project”

CADDE OFİSİ
PROJESİ

GERÇEK BİR DEMOKRASİ DENEMESİ

ÇANKAYA BELEDİYE BAŞKANI

Sayın Haydar YILMAZ’A

Çankaya Belediyesi Meclisi’ne
CHP Grup üyelerine
MHP Grup üyelerine
DSP Grup üyelerine
CADDE OFİSİ VE AMACI NEDİR?

Sokaklar ve caddeleri kullanan esnaf kişi ve kuruluşları uygulamaya katmak.
Kendi yaşadığı sokak ve caddelerde kişileri söz sahibi kılınmak.
Amacının sınırları ise Esnaf-yerel yönetim-halk dayanışmasını sağlamakla birlikte; sokağı kullanan tüketçilerin ekonomik çıkarlarını koruyucu, bilgi verici, uğranan zararların giderilmesi ve rehberlik edilmesi noktasındadır.
(Artık insanlar yaşadığı sokaklara “benim sokağım” demeye başlayacaklar
ve kendi sorunlarına çözüm arama gayreti içine gireceklerdir.)

Halkın “yaşamın küçük ve müdahale edilebilir parçacıklarına yönelik olarak” orayı daha da yaşanabilir bir hale getirebilmek için kendine ait kararlar aldığı, uyguladığı ve birlikte yaşamın temeline ait projeler üretten sivil bir inisiyatifdir.
Gerçek demokrasi sokaktadır.
Hayatın içerisinde.
Şu andaki yapısı ile yerel yönetimlerin çalışmaları aksamakta ve kendi sorunları ile uğraşımlar.
(büyük belediye ile olan sorunları ve borçları - devletten aldıkları ödenek yetersizlikleri – işçi ücretleri - gibi sorunlar)

KAPSAMI

Pilot bölge olarak şu an için seçilen yer Olgunlar sokakta bulunan 25 adet kitapçının ve 11 adet meşrubat-döner büfesi'nin bulunduğu
(yapılan projenin uygulanmasında yeterliliğin görülmesi halinde ve gereken katılmın sağladığı anlaşılrsa, duruma göre kentin diğer alanlarında da özellikle yaya bölgelerinde de uygulanabilir.)

HUKİKİ DAYANAK

1580-3030 yasalar çerçevesinde çevre kanunu ile ilgili mevzuatlar.
İl trafik komisyon kararı
(06.07.1979 tarih ve 1979/165 sayılı karar – 06.06.1999 tarih 1989/119 sayılı kararlar)
CADDE OFİSİ KİMLERDEN OLUŞUR?

Cadde Ofisi O bölgenin yerleşik esnafından, müşterilerinden, o bölgeyi kullanan insanlardan "gönüllülük temelinde çalışmak üzere" istekli kişilerden ve Yerel Yönetimin pratikte uygulayıcısı olan Zabıta görevlisinden oluşur.
Kendi aralarında görev ve işbölümü yaparlar. Bazı konulardan isteklilerin çok olması durumunda katılımcı çoğunluğun istemiyle kişiler görevlendirilebilirler.

CADDE OFİSİ NE İŞE YARAR?
GÖREVLERİ VE YETKİ ALANLARI

Cadde Ofisinin kendi kendine üstlendiği görev; Yaşanılan alanı güzelleştirme
Orayı daha iyi yaşanabilir bir alan haline getirmek ve Kentin gözde bir
alanı haline getirmeye çalışmaktır.

*Cadde Ofisi Pratiktir. Hantal değildir.
*Cadde Ofisi küçük ama önemli sorunların çözümü ile uğraşır.
* Yaşamanın küçük alanlarına müdahale eder.
(Bahçe tanzımı, bulunan yerin temizliği ve temiz kalması vb.
Hiçbir zaman kendisini aşan Altyapi vb. sorunlarla uğraşmaz ama
yeryer yönetimleri harekete geçirmeye çalışır)
*Cözüm için Projeler üretir.
*Cadde ofisi gelişmecidir ve korumacıdır.

*Cadde Ofisinin Bürokrasisi yoktur.
(Şu an için Dernek ya da Kooperatif değildir.)
*Cadde Ofisi Sivil İnisiyatiftir.

Cadde Ofisi üyeleri katılımcı bir demokrasi ile kentin kendisini yaşadığı
alanında yaşama ait olan ve acil olarak çözülmesi gereken basit ve
can alıcı sorunları anında belirler ve çözülmesi için gerekli müdahaleyi
yapar ve yerel yönetimle gerekli işbirliği içine gider ve onu harekete
geçirir
Cadde Ofisi pratiktir ama her zaman için yasalara ve yönetimle
uyar ve o bölgede yaşayan insanları –Esnaflı –Müşterileri yasalara ve
yönetmeliklere uyulması için yazılı ve sözlü olarak uyarır.
**CADDE OFİSİNİN KARARLAR ALMASI VE UYGULAMASI**

Cadde ofisi Bölgenin esnafları-yaşayanları ve kullananları ile birlikte ortak sorunlara ortak çözümler alır ve bu kararları Yerel Yönetimlerin onayına ve görüşüne sunarak uygulamaya çalışır. Tamamen "gönüllülük esası" ile hareket eder.

**UYGULAMA VE YETKİLERİN KULLANILMASI**


**CADDE OFİSİ KİMLERLE İŞBİRLİĞİ YAPAR**

Cadde Ofisi öncelikle yerel yönetimden kendi çalışmalarını sürdürebileceği uygun bir mekânın tahsisi için çalışır.

Cadde Ofisi işbirliği anlamında yerel yönetimlerin altında ve sivil olarak çalışır. Bu nedenle her zaman için yerel yönetimin sorduğu sorulara kesin yanıt vermekle ve istemlerini yerine getirmekle yükümlüdür. Bununla birlikte Cadde Ofisi tabandan gelen gücü ile yerel yönetimlere kendi sorununu bildirdiği andan itibaren sorununa kesin çözüm ve yanıt isteme hakkına sahiptir.

Cadde Ofisi kamuya yararına çalışan dernekler vb. diğer kuruluşlar ile ortak çalışmalar yapar. (örneğin Tüketici hakları derneği vb. kuruluşlar)

**CADDE OFİSİ UYGULAMASI SONUCUNDA**

**ELDE EDİLECEK KAZANIMLAR**

* Esnaf-halk-yerel yönetim bütünleşmesi daha da güçlenecektir.
* İnsanlar tabandan gelen demokrasi gücü ile kendi sorunlarını tespit ederek yerel yönetimlerden çözümü için taleplerde bulunabilecektir.
* İnsanların kendi sorunlarının çözümünü araştırmaya başladığı andan itibaren Yerel yönetimlerin yükü biraz olusun azalacaktır
* Yerel yönetimler bu tip sivil çalışmaları deştelemekle halk arasında kendini daha iyi ifade etmeye başlayacaktır.
* Kentlilik bilincinin ve kent demokrasisinin yerleşik hale gelmesi için cadde ofisleri bir ön-adımdır.
SONUÇ

Sonuç olarak; Olgunlar sokak kitapçı esnafı şimdiye kadar kendi arasında aldığı kararları kendi kendini idare etmekte ve yerel yönetimle arasında olan veya olabilecek sorunları çözmektedir. Burada ki amaç yaşanılan, iş yapılan bu bölgeyi daha da yaşanılır hale getirmektir. Bu Projenin uygulanması ve sonuçlarının alınması sonrasında yerel yönetimlerin de seçmenler karşısında olumlu puan alacağı dikkate alınırsa, projenin önemi daha da iyi kavranacaktır.

Projeyi hazırlayanlar

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CADDE OFİSİ GENEL UYGULAMALARı

- KİMLERDEN OLUŞUR (Yetki ve sorumluluk alanları - atama ile mi? seçimle mi ?)
- YÖNETİMİ NASIL OluŞuRULUR.
- NASIL TOPLANIRLAR (Gereksinim halinde belirli zamanlarda ...vb)
- NASIL KARARLAR ALIRLAR (oy çokluğu – oybirliği – tavsiye kararları vb.)
- HANGİ KARARLARI ALIRLAR?
- ALINAN KARARLARI NASIL UYGULARLAR (doğrudan – zabıta ile)
- ALINAN KARARLARIN UYGULANMASININ AYRINTILARI NELERDİR
- CADDE OFİSİNİN ÜYELERİ BELEDİYE İLE NE GİBİ İŞBİRLİĞİ YAPAR

OLGUNLAR SOKAK ÖZELİNDE DURUM NEDİR ?

*SOKAKTA NASIL BİR YÖNETİM ?
*SOKAKTA NASIL BİR UYGULAMA ?
*BELEDİYEDEN İSTEMLERİMİZ
*BELEDİYEYE KARŞI YÜKÜMLÜLKLERİMİZ
OLGUNLAR SOKAKDA GÖRÜLEN SORUNLAR

1- Özellikle okulların açıldığı dönemlerde organize bir şekilde guruplar halinde kitap satışları yapılarak hem kitapçı esnafına haksızlık yapılmaktadır. Ayrıca da tüketiciler aldatılmakta sayfasi eksik yirtık yazarı değişik kitaplar tüketicilere satılmakta ve tüketiciler bu durumun farkına vardığında değiştirmek istediğinde bu kişileri bulamamakta aldatılmaktadır.

2- Olgunlar sokak üzerinde bulunan 11 adet büfe Akşamları bu bölgede bulunan büfelerin arkaları wc olarak kullanılmaktadır ruhsatlı alanlarının dışında bağımsız bölümler inşa ederek kullanım alanlarını artırmakta.büfe etrafı saç ve benzeri malzeme ile kapatılmakta, ayrıca gıda maddesi satan büfeler pis su akıntısi, sıcak su

3- Büfelerin ön kısmında bulunan havuz yıllardır atıl durumda kalarak adeta çöplük olarak kullanılmaktadır.

4- Bölgede bulunan meşrubat büfeleri özellikle akşamları bira satışı yaparak büfelerin etrafı dengesiz sarhoşlara bırakılmaktadır. 100 m ilerisinde kız yurdu bulunan olgunlar sokak akşam saat 7 den sonra kullanılamaz durum düşmektedir. Lambaları yanmayan park içki içmek isteyenlerin ilgi merkezleri haline dönüştüklüalsa olağan park belediyemiz kötüler bir durumda atıl olarak kullanılmaktadır.

5- Olgunlar sokakta bulunan kitapçılardanın ön kısmında bulunan parkın suyunu kesik olması nedeni ile sulama işlemi yapılamamakta bu nedenle yaz boyu susuz bakımsız kalmaktadır bu alanlara kitap masa vb malzemeler konularak çırın bir görüntü oluşturmakta.

6- Yapılış amacının dışına çıkan park belediyemiz kötüler bir durumda atıl olarak kalmaktadır.
7- Atatürk Bulvarından olgunlar sokağa giriş kısmında bulunan Madenci Anıtı tahrip edilmiş anıtın yerleştirildiği kaidenin mermerleri kırılmış, anıtı bütünleyen camlar yok edilmiş, aşamları etrafı içki içenlerle dolu bir hal almış adeta anıt amacının dışına çıkarak belediyemizi kötüler bir hal almıştır.

8- Atatürk Bulvarında olgunlar sakağa giriş kısmında bulunan betondan yapılış oturma grupları adeta niteliğini kayıp ederek hiçbir estetiği olmayan beton yığını haline gelmiş ve tinercilerin yatağı haline dönüşmüştür.

9- Olgunlar sokakta bulunan sorunlardan biride bölgenin temizliği dir. Belediyece burada sürekli bir görevlinin bulunması mümkün olmamaktadır.

10- Belçika Büyük elcisinin konutunun Karanfil Sokağa bakan kısmının duvarları adeta seyyarlar tarafından kullanılarak işyerleri haline dönüşmüştür.

11- Sokakta bulunan EGO’ya ait bulunan nokta otobüs durakı olmaması nedeni ile kullanılmamakta boş durmakta bu nokta görsel çirkinlik yaratmakta

12- Sokakta bulunan simit çakmak ve Piyango Tezgahları da çağın gereklerine uyum sağlamamaktadır.
An Internet New
About The Pollution Problem
Caused by the Kiosk in Olgunlar Street

Dünya
Belçika’yla büfe krizi
Oğuz DİŞLİ/ANKARA
17.03.2006

Belçika’nın Ankara Büyükelçisi Rysselberghe, elçilik bitişüğindeki büfe ve kitapçılıarı Büyükşehir Belediyesi’ne şikayet etti, Dışişleri’ne de nota yazdı. 'Elçilik rezidansının bahçesine çöplerini attılar' suçlamasının ardından Çankaya Belediyesi büfeleri kaldırıyor.

BELÇİKA’nın Ankara Büyükelçisi Marc van Rysselberghe, elçilik bitişüğindeki Olgunlar Sokak esnafını elçilik rezidansının bahçesine çöp atmakla şikayet eden 17 yıllık 40 büfe ve kitapçığı, belediye tarafından kapatılıyor. Sabancı suikasti faillerinden Fehriye Erdal’ın gözaltındaki kaçması üzerine gerilen Brüksel-Ankara hattında, ‘büfe krizi’ şöyle gelişti:

Büyükçülük Rysselberghe, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek’i ziyaret ederek, bitişüğindeki büfeleri "elçilik rezidansının bahçesine çöp attıkları" iddiasıyla şikayet etti. Bununla da yetinmeyen Rysselberghe, Türkiye Dışişleri’ne bir nota yazarak,
"Brüksel’deki hiçbir büyükelçiliğin böyle bir durumda olmadığını" bidirdi. Şikayeti dinleyen ve Dışişleri Bakanlığı’ndan notayı alan Gökçek ise, sokağın bulunduğu Çankaya Belediyesi’ne yazı yazarak şöyle dedi:

GÖKÇEK: KALDIRIN

"Tarafıma bir ziyarette bulunan Belçika’nın Ankara Büyükelçisi, Büyükelçilik rezidansının etrafındaki duvarların hijyen ve güvenliğinin iç açıcı bir durumda olmadığını, eski ve son zamanlarda eklenen kitapçı ve büfelerin rezidansın duvarına yaslandığı ve bu kitapçı ve büfelerin çöplerini rezidansın bahçesine attıkları ve dolayısıyla rezidansın bahçesinin bir çöplüğe dönüştüğünü belirterek durumun düzeltilmesini istemiştir. Büyükelçilik etrafındaki büfe ve kitapçıların kaldırılarak sonucunun en kısa zamanda tarafımıza bildirilmesini rica ederim."

KARAR TEBLİĠ EDĠLDĠ

Çankaya Belediyesi ise 40 esnafa birer tebligat göndererek çıkarılacaklarını tebliğ etti. Tebligatta şöyle denildi:


Esnaf: Çıkmayalım ceza kessinler

Çankaya Belediyesi’nin tebligatını alan Olgunlar Sokak’ın 17 yıllık esnafi ise Belçika Büyükelçisi’nin isteği ile yerlerinden edileceklerine inanamadıklarını söyledi. "Böyle bir şikayet varsa gelsinler ceza kessinler, uyarsınlar. Çıkartmak nasıl oluyor?" diyen esnaf, Büyükelçilikle teması olmayıp en az 40 metre uzakta olan 5 büfeye de aynı tebligatın yapıldığını anlattılar.
Olgunlar Sokak Trafığe Açılmasın!
Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi tarafından, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin vermiş olduğu Olgunlar Sokağı’nın araç trafiğine açılması kararı, kent merkezi ile ilgili yaya ve araç trafiği düşünülmeden acele ve kent bütününden bağımsız parça bir yaklaşımla alınan bir karar olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu tür kararların yaya kullanımı yoğun alan sayılarının kent merkezlerinde artırması gerekip, elimizde olanların da kaybedilmesine neden olduğu, Kentliler ve mimarlar olarak kent merkezinin alınan parcacı yaklaşımların her geçen gün çözümsüzlüğü mahkum edilmesini onaylamadığını ifade etmiştir.

Belçika Büyükelçiliği’nin Olgunlar sokak’taki büfelerin çöpleri ile ilgili Dışişleri Bakanlığı’nı "nota" verdiği iddiası ile Belediye tarafından büfelerin kaldırılarak sokağı araç trafiğine açması, Kızılay’da yaşanan yaya bölgesi sıkıntılarında mevcut yaşam alanlarımıza zarar vermektedir.
Brüksel ve Gökçek’e mahkeme ‘dur’ dedi

Oğuz DİŞLİ
08.03.2007

Belçika Büyükelçisi Marc van Rysselberghenin ‘bahçeme çöp atıyorlar’ notası ile Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin kapatma kararı aldığı Olgunlar Sokak’taki büfe ve kitapçı esnafı kurtuldu.

ANKARA 10. İdare Mahkemesi, Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin, Belçika’nın Ankara Büyükelçisi Marc van Rysselberghenin şikayet üzerine Olgunlar Sokak’taki kitapçı ve büfeleri kaldırarak, sokağı trafiğe açma girişimine, ret kararı verdi.

Mahkeme, Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin büfelerine cezai ve idari yaptırımlar uygulamadan kapatma kararı aldığını ve bu kararda hukuka uygunluk bulunmadığını belirtti. Belçika Büyükelçiliği, Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve esnaf arasında süren tartışmalar mahkeme kararınde şöyle denilmesi ile son buldu:

"Olayda, Belçika Büyükelçiliği binasına verilen rahatsızlık nedeniyle adı geçen Büyükelçiliğin istemi üzerine dava konusu kararın bulunduğunu belirtilmekte ise de, Belçika Büyükelçiliği’nin Dışişleri Bakanlığı‘na..."
gönderdiği nota da, hijyen ve güvenlik talebi gibi asgari yasal işlemler istenmiştir.

CEZA KESMEDEN KAPATMIŞ

Davalı Belediye tarafından sözkonusu şikayetlerle ilgili her büfe ile ayrı ayrı yerinde denetim yapılarak tutanak tutulmadığı, hijyen ve güvenlik açısından tehlike oluşturan büfelerin tespit edilerek öncelikle cezai ve idari yaptırılara başvurularak gerekli tedbirlerin alınması yöntemine başvurulmadan, sözkonusu büfelerin tamamen kaldırılması yönünde işlem tesis edildiği görülmüştür.

HUKUKA UYGUNLUK YOK

Bu durumda, davalı idare tarafından hijyen ve güvenlik açısından adı geçen büyükelçilik binasına yönelik olarak tehdit oluşturan büfelerin öncelikle tespit edilerek, gerekli önlemleri almaları için cezai veya idare yaptırımlarının uygulanması gerekmektedir, Belçika Büyükelçiliği'nin notası gerekçe gösterilerek sözkonusu büfelerin kaldırılmasına yönelik olarak tesis edilen işlemde sebep yönünden hukuka bulunmamaktadır.

OLAY NASIL GELİŞTİ?

Rysselberghe, Büyükhâr Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek'i ziyaret ederek, bitişğiniindeki büfeleri şikayet etti. Bununla da yetinmeyen Rysselberghe, Türkiye Dışişleri’ne bir nota yazarak, "Brüksel’deki hiçbir büyükelçiliğin böyle bir durumda olmadığını" bidirdi. Şikayeti dinleyen ve Dışişleri Bakanı'ndan notayı alan Gökçek ise, sokağın Çankaya Belediyesi sorumluluğunda olmasından ötürü belediyeye bir yazılı yazarak büfelerin kaldırılmasını istemişti. Çankaya Belediyesi'nden istediği yanıtı alamayan Gökçek ise, konuyu Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi’ne getirmiştir.

APPENDIX E

An Example of the Documents About Arrangement of Sihhiye Fair Bazaar
AYAKKABI MAGASASI

3-4 Nolu dükkan

2 NOLU PERON

GIYİM MAGAZALARI 6 Nolu dükkan

GIYİM MAGAZASI 5 Nolu dükkan

kepenk yapacak yer