



The Impact of Social Movements on The Spatial Configuration of City Squares: Kızılay Square from 1950s to Today¹

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Abstract

City squares have been the scene of various political, social events and have assumed political functions. The political ideology forms the basis of spatial formation and the social opposition to it has necessitated the transformation of urban spaces. The dialectical relationship between space-social movements has been decisive in transforming squares into spaces of representation. In Ankara, Kızılay Square is the place where social movements are most intensely realized. This study aims to analyze the spatial transformation of Kızılay Square from 1950 to the present on the basis of social movements. In this study, the Republican Period is divided into three sub-sections: 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and after 2000. Breakpoints in political economy decisions and urban policies were taken into consideration in the subdivisions. For each period, the spatial formation of Kızılay Square and the social movements in Kızılay Square were presented, then the data obtained for each of the three periods were compared. Spatial analysis of Kızılay Square, planning and construction data, visuals, and digital aerial photographs of Kızılay and its surroundings obtained by the General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defense the Republic of Turkey were used. From the 1950s to the present day, Kızılay Square has increasingly lost its cultural, bureaucratic, political and social functions and the space has been fragmented and detached from its gathering function. As a result of this transformation, Kızılay Square has been reproduced with changing ideologies, eroding its place in the social memory as well as its position in the urban memory.

1. INTRODUCTION

City squares, which are among the most important public urban spaces, are constantly changing and transforming due to factors such as social and economic structures, ideologies, and cultural values. As Lefebvre argued, space is a social product, simultaneously shaped by and reflective of social and political ideologies [1]. In addition to their established basic functions, city squares have historically acquired political roles by serving as venues for social movements. The formal characteristics of city squares, having undergone various changes and transformations across different historical periods, have been determined by political ideologies throughout a process of reproduction.

Ankara, as the capital designated immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, embarked on a rapid development process. The Lörcher Plan, designed by the German architect Carl Christoph Lörcher between 1924 and 1925, was the city's first zoning plan and designated 'Yenişehir' as the new development area [2]. Within the scope of the plan, Atatürk Boulevard was designated as the urban axis connecting the old city center of Ulus with the new settlement of Yenişehir and city squares were designed as public connectors between the residential areas along the boulevard [2]. Kızılay Square, which has the feature of being the site of the first modern public urban practices, holds strategic value due to its location and function [2]. Kızılay Square, which functioned as a gathering, meeting, and socializing space until the 1950s, underwent significant spatial changes from the 1950's onwards and emerged as a focal point for mass social movements from the 1960's onward. Throughout its extensive history from the 1950s to the present, Kızılay

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Square has acquired various meanings and functions through the process of spatial reproduction shaped by the ideologies of each period, while simultaneously becoming the center of political struggle and mass social movements in response to social issues.

This study examines the changes and transformations in Kızılay Square, which has undergone a long historical process from the Early Republican Period to the present. The square, having been shaped by dominant political powers and having served as a focal point for social movements, has experienced significant shifts in its functional status and spatial identity. In this context, the aim of the study is to question the relationship between space and society by determining the role of social movements in the spatial formation of Kızılay Square. Additionally, it aims to examine the impact of social practices on the formal transformation of urban spaces. Kızılay Square, which witnessed the most significant social movements during the Republican Era, acquired different representations in each period. It was reproduced in alignment with political ideologies and remains the most important symbolic public space in the capital. As such, it serves as the center of political struggle in Republican Ankara. Kızılay Square has been the site of student and labor movements that emerged in response to social problems and economic conditions that have risen since the 1960s. Alongside these ongoing protests, changes have been observed in the spatial context of the square. Originally conceived as a place of socialization and a symbol of the nation-state, the square has evolved into the epicenter of rent-based urban development over time. The transformation described in the square has also altered the course and frequency of social movements. The extent to which the protests in the Square from the 1950s to the present have affected spatial change characterizes the scope of the research. This research seeks to answer the following questions: What practices of social movements, recognized as historical breaking points, take place in city squares? How are these practices organized, and what effects do they have on the transformation of the spatial identity of these squares? This study was presented at the Mimar Kemaleddin Symposium held at Gazi University on December 28, 2023. This study is based on a master's thesis written in the architecture master's program of the architecture department of Atılım University.

2.METHOD

The academic literature review indicates that theses, articles, papers, and book publications examining the relationship between space-ideology and urban space-social movements encompass a broad range of topics. This study utilized book publications that address urban planning, urban spaces, and social relations in Ankara. This study incorporated data on the historical stages of the city and urban spaces to gain a deeper understanding of the processes of development and transformation in Kızılay Square.

Various articles on urban space, urban squares, Ankara, and Kızılay Square were referenced in this study. The sources focus on the spatial and functional changes of city squares and urban spaces, the role of social movements in these squares, and their associated representational values. Additionally, the sources analyze urban areas from a macro to micro scale, focusing on the symbolic value and identity of spaces within a single study area based on urban planning, architectural design, and the relationship between space and society.

A thorough literature review indicates that while numerous academic studies have explored the relationship between space and ideology, there is a notable scarcity of research focusing specifically on this relationship in the contexts of social movements and the spatial formation of city squares. While a significant body of literature exists on Kızılay Square, there is a notable lack of studies that separately examine social movements and spatial formation within the Square across distinct historical periods and conduct comparative analyses. This study is anticipated to make a significant contribution to the literature by conducting a historical analysis of the data and implementing the historical comparison method.

The date range of the study is divided into three sub-periods: 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and 2000 and beyond. In establishing the date ranges, significant turning points in political economy, as well as political and social changes were taken into account. The study examines the spatial configuration of Kızılay Square in relation to the social movements that have occurred in the area during three distinct periods and it incorporates a

comparative analysis of the data collected from each of these periods. For the spatial analysis, planning and construction data, visuals, and digital aerial photographs of Kızılay and its surroundings-sourced from the General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Turkey were utilized. The research presents the spatial design and development process of Kızılay Square from the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 to the 1950s. Notably, as no significant mass movements or activities were observed during this period, it was excluded from the study's data and analyses. For the sub-periods of 1950-1980, 1980-2000, and after 2000, the spatial transformation of Kızılay Square was analyzed initially at the urban scale and subsequently at the scale of the built environment. This approach detailed the spatial changes in the Square and its immediate surroundings while documenting the social movements that occurred during these periods using newspaper archives. In the research, the spatial configurations of each period and the transformations resulting from social movements are systematically summarized in tabular format. The spatial boundaries of social movements, along with the delineations of the square and the structural changes in its immediate surroundings, were mapped utilizing aerial photographs acquired for each period. The social movements that emerged in relation to social problems and were seen as masses are included in the study. The methodology and scope of the study were delineated with careful consideration of potential limitations related to temporal and contextual factors.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITY SQUARES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

To establish the theoretical framework and background of the study, the relationship between urban spaces and social movements is briefly explored. Additionally, the historical evolution of social movements in theory and their connections to spatial contexts are examined.

3.1. Theoretical Development of Social Movements and Their Relationship with City Space

The issue of social movements has been discussed in the world since the second half of the 18th century, but by the 19th century, it had entered the written literature and started to be included in the literature of social sciences [3]. Tilly stated that an important change in the 19th century was the transformation of the actions carried out by various groups in the traditional context into organized, collective and continuous actions demanding new rights and opportunities [4].

Giddens stated that the organization of different social groups for a common interest and the struggles to achieve a common goal have been defined as social movements since the 19th century [5]. According to Tarrow, a prominent scholar in social history and sociology, social movements are areas of collective resistance that arise against the bourgeoisie, capitalist class, and political authorities, characterized by shared values and situated within the relationship between the ruling power, which controls the means of production, and the subjugated. [6]. Proponents of the view that collective solidarity is essential for mass organization assert that the cohesive existence of communities with a shared identity, such as workers and students, is necessary for social movements to expand to larger populations and facilitate participation. [7].

Urban social movements, as a form of societal organization, transform urban space into a socio-political arena for interaction. At this point, questions arise regarding the extent to which social movements can transform urban spaces that have become commodified, along with the mechanisms through which this transformation occurs. [8]. The organizational space for social movements within the city is comprised of urban public spaces. Throughout history, political power has reconfigured urban space to sustain its dominance. The reproduced urban space becomes a political arena in which power is expressed and exerted on society through both physical and political demonstrations. [9]. As a result of interventions by power centers in urban space, social movements can be organized, or urban space can be strategically modified to influence the direction of these movements. Social movements have played a decisive role in shaping the political function of urban squares by selecting locations that are most conducive to gathering, organizing, and executing actions.

4. FINDINGS: SPATIAL CONFIGURATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN KIZILAY SQUARE FROM 1950 TO THE PRESENT

The research first presents the design and development process of Kızılay Square from the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 until the 1950s. This period is addressed solely in terms of spatial development and is excluded from the discussion data, as the square had not yet begun to witness mass protests. The periods 1950-1980, 1980-2000, and after 2000 are analyzed with respect to spatial changes at both the urban and structural scales, while the social movements that emerged concurrently are discussed within a historical framework. The findings from the final data are summarized as tabular data in the sub-sections. Finally, all historical data are compared in the conclusion section.

4.1. Spatial Formation Process of Kızılay Square Between 1923-1950

Kızılay Square is an urban public space that has developed and symbolized over time within the newly established nation state's ideal of creating a modern capital city. Havuzbaşı, formerly the city's most prominent public space until 1930, significantly contributed to the development of what eventually emerged as Kızılay Square. Kızılay Headquarters, which served as a symbol of national solidarity during this period, played a crucial role in designating the area known as Havuzbaşı as Kızılay Park, the region referred to as Yenişehir as Kızılay, and the square as Kızılay Square [10]. Kızılay Headquarters, designed by Austrian architect Robert Örlly, was constructed on the site of the water-haunted pool known as Havuzbaşı, with its garden subsequently designated as Kızılay Park [10]. Kızılay Park was one of the few public urban spaces of the period, playing an important role in terms of urban culture.

Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard, serving as the spine of the city, are spatially interconnected. In the Lörcher Plan, Atatürk Boulevard along the north-south axis and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard along the east-west axis were established as the two primary urban axes of Ankara, with Kızılay Square designed at their intersection [11]. During this period, the boulevard emerged prominently alongside public parks. Within the scope of the Jansen Plan, which traced the urban areas defined in the Lörcher Plan, a public space known as 'Güvenpark' was constructed between 1932 and 1936 by Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister, one of the most significant architects of the period directly opposite Kızılay Park [12]. Güvenpark created both a spatial and social transition between residential buildings and public buildings in this area. Within the framework of the Jansen Plan, an urban triangle comprising ministry buildings, referred to as 'Vekaletler District' (Triangle of Ministries), was designed in this area, and in this context, the development of Atatürk Boulevard gained momentum (Figure 1,2).

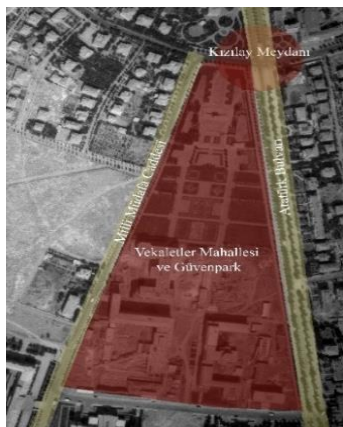


Figure 1. 1939 Aerial Photograph of Kızılay Square and Surroundings (T.C. General Directorate of Mapping, C5-562 Digital Aerial Photograph, edited by the author).

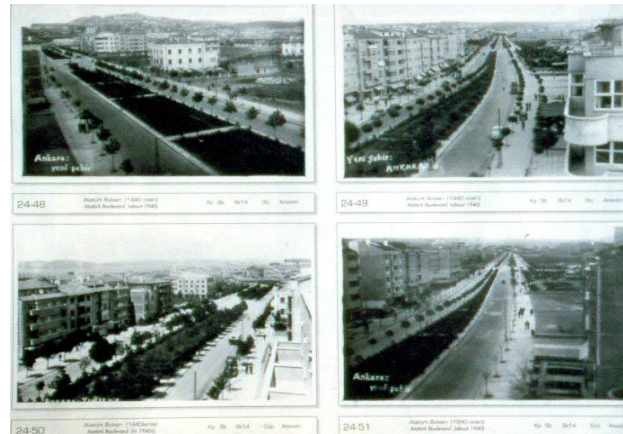


Figure 2. Atatürk Boulevard Yenişehir, 1930-1940 [12].

Between 1923 and 1950, it is possible to say that there was no social movement regarding Kızılay Square. In this period, the initiatives of political ideology regarding the formation and development of the square

came to the forefront. The social mobility of the square consisted of practices such as gatherings and meetings. From the 1960s onwards, there will be changes in how the square is used, its function and its place in the urban memory.

4.2.Spatial Formation and Social Movements in Kızılay Square Between 1950-1980

4.2.1. Spatial Formation of Kızılay Square in the 1950-1980 Period

From the early 1950s onwards, Kızılay began to be constructed as a commercial center in line with changing ideologies and economic policies. After the 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, it is possible to say that the city grew even faster than envisioned. Kızılay Park, which was one of the most important public spaces of the city in the past, became smaller and turned into an institutional garden with the widening of Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Street [12]. During this period, Kızılay Square became more clearly defined in relation to Güvenpark, Atatürk Boulevard, and Vekâletler District. Güvenpark and Kızılay Square both developed in close physical and functional proximity to one another. The widening of the boulevard significantly affected both Güvenpark and Kızılay Square; nonetheless, these spaces continued to function as the public core of the city until the 1980's. The increasing density of buildings surrounding the square and the concurrent population growth in the area progressed in parallel. In this context, Kızılay Square operated as a public connector between residential districts, administrative facilities, and commercial establishments (Figure 3).



Figure 3. *Kızılay Square and Surroundings, Aerial Photograph dated 1952 (Republic of Turkey General Directorate of Mapping, 384_118 Digital Aerial Photograph, edited by the author)*

One of the most significant structures that altered the spatial character of Kızılay and Kızılay Square in accordance with the decisions of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan is the Emek Business Building, which was constructed between 1959 and 1965. Following the construction of the building, the density of commercial structures within the square began to rise, resulting in a transformation of the square's functional character.

As a result of the liberal urbanization policies initiated by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, which exerted a long-term influence, regulations such as road widening, sidewalk narrowing, lowering of road levels, and tree removal contributed to the gradual alteration and transformation of Atatürk Boulevard.[13]. The widening of the boulevard, Kızılay Park, which was deprived of its public character and transformed into an institutional garden, completely lost its significance. Kızılay Square and Güvenpark, whose physical conditions were altered due to the expansion of the boulevard in the 1970's, gradually diminished and became spatially weakened with the establishment of bus stops. The 1970s marked a period during which Atatürk Boulevard and the urban fabric experienced significant changes that impacted the spatial condition and function of the square. In this period, pedestrianization applications for the Kızılay direction of Atatürk Boulevard were brought to the agenda but few of them were realized and the front facades of the buildings were added to the boulevard [14].

The transformation of the Boulevard and Güvenpark with a focus on vehicular traffic was also reflected in the public character of the square. The transformation of Kızılay Park from a public space into a private institutional garden led to its gradual disappearance within the city. Additionally, the Kızılay Headquarters building, which had lent its name to the square, was demolished in 1979. Following this, the area was converted into a parking lot. The construction of a new structure in the area previously used as a parking lot has been proposed for consideration. An architectural project competition for the planned Kızılay Social and Rant Facilities Building (Kızılay Shopping Center) was held in 1980, and architects Affan Yatman and Nesrin Yatman won the competition. [15]. For the selected project, concerns were raised regarding its negative impact on the square's appearance, exacerbation of the existing chaos in the area, destruction of green space, and increased burden on vehicle traffic, which resulted in delays in the project (Figure 4).



Figure 4a. Emek Business Center and Kızılay Square [16] **Figure 4b.** Atatürk Boulevard, Kızılay 1970s [17] **Figure 4c.** Location of the demolished Kızılay Headquarters Building early 1980s [18] (from left to right)

4.2.2. Social Movements in Kızılay Square between 1950-1980

Between 1950 and 1980, hundreds of rallies, protests, demonstrations, marches, commemorations, strikes, etc. were organized in Kızılay Square under the leadership of worker and student groups. Due to the limited scope of the study, the most massive and loudest protests were included. Between 1960 and 1964, anti-government protests by student groups gained momentum. On the way to the May 27 coup d'état, the most prominent mass action was the student movement known as the 'April 28-29 Events'. On April 27 1960, students first rioted in Istanbul and then the events continued in Ankara [19]. One of the most prominent protests of the period was the '555K' Events that took place in Kızılay Square on May 5, 1960. It was the first social movement among the Kızılay-based student protests against the DP administration [20]. One of the mass protests that took place in the square was the one organized by the students of the Military Academy on May 21, 1960. The group gathered in front of the Sıhhiye Orduevi and marched as a large crowd from the Kolej to the Victory Monument in Zafer Square, and then proceeded to Kızılay Square. The largest mass action after the coup was the workers demonstration of June 15-16, 1970. The rising unemployment rate resulting from the economic crisis caused by inflation led to an uprising against the government, with workers, alongside students, beginning to emerge as political actors in public spaces. On June 16th in Ankara, a group of protesters, including students, marched from Ulus to Kızılay; however, they were frequently obstructed by the police. [21]. The aforementioned protests represented the largest opposition to critical events such as coups and political economic decisions during the period from 1950 to 1980. The protests played a role in the formation of the political identity of the square and its transformation into a political arena. Newspaper archives were used to provide data on the protests. Figure 5 and Figure 6 presents examples of the most widespread protests of the period.



Figure 5. 555K Movement 1961(Cumhuriyet Newspaper E-Archive)
Figure 6. June 15-16, 1970 Action (Cumhuriyet Newspaper E-Archive)

4.2.3. Evaluation: The Effect of Social Movements on Spatial Formation in the 1950-1980 Period

Between 1950 and 1980, many spatial applications were carried out in Kızılay Square at both macro and micro scales. The main approach to transportation, infrastructure, and superstructure decisions made in the square and its surroundings may not directly alter the trajectory of social movements; however, the frequency and forms of actions have played a role among the factors influencing spatial interventions. Analyses regarding the role of social movements of the time in the spatial transformation of the square are provided in Table 1. The data in the table summarizes the spatial formation of the period from 1950 to 1980, the spatial configuration of the square and its surroundings at urban and structural scales, the historical and event-based social movements, and the effects of these actions on the spatial character of Kızılay Square.

Table 1. Analysis of the Effects of Social Movements on the Spatial Formation of Kızılay Square between 1950-1980

Spatial Formation in the 1950-1980 Period		Social Movements in the 1950-1980 Period		The Effect of Actions on Spatial Formation
		Date	Events	
Macro Scale Urban Change around the Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1957- Yücel Uybadin Plan- Development of Kızılay as a center, commercial and transportation based projects, high-rise blocks • 1960s- Widening of Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Street • 1970s- Removal of Kızılay Park, widening of the boulevard, Kızılay Square and Güvenpark public transportation stops 	• April 20 1960	• Anti-government student protest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restricted pedestrian interruptions on Milli Müdafaa Street: shrinking circulation space for social movements • 1960-1970 social movements: compression of the square and the pedestrian zones around it • June 15-16 Events: Between 1970 and 1980, a decrease in the frequency of protests as the square was destroyed by interventions. • The actions and the formal and functional change/transformation of the square took place simultaneously.
		• April 28-29 1960	• Mass students actions	
		• May 5 1960	• 555K Student Action	
		• May 21 1960	• Military School student protest	
		• May 27 1960	• Mass protests after the coup	
		• January 6 1961	• Procession to parliament	
		• September 21 1962	• Womens Right Actions	
		Changing the Square's Perimeter on a Structural Scale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1965- Emek Business Center, 1967- Gima Store • 1979- Demolition of Kızılay Headquarters Building, 1980- Kızılay Shopping Center Project • Conversion of 3-4 storey houses into 7-8 storey blocks 	
• March 24 1963	• University students protest			
• December 27 1963	• Student protest			
• 1963	• Kavel Action			
• June 15-16 1970	• Labor protest			

4.3. Spatial Formation and Social Movements in Kızılay Square in the 1980-2000 Period

4.3.1. Spatial Formation of Kızılay Square in the 1980-2000 Period

When the urban development model focused on trade and transportation was adopted during this period, Kızılay emerged as a commercial center favored by middle-income users. Road expansion works on the city's main routes, including Atatürk Boulevard, came to the forefront during this period, making it inevitable for the Square to evolve into a transit space. In this context, the urban interventions in the redeveloped Kızılay Square clearly highlight its prominence as a transfer and transit center within its multiplicity. Kızılay Square, located at the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard, has evolved into the central hub and transfer point for the city's main arteries. After 1980, the square evolved into a transfer center for public transportation vehicles such as minibuses and buses, leading to restrictions in areas designated for pedestrians.

A major functional change in the square occurred with the replacement of the Kızılay Headquarters, originally designed in 1929, by the Kızılay Shopping Center, which was designed by Nesrin Affan Yatman and completed in 1979. The launch of the project selected as the winner in the competition introduced a new topic to the discussions surrounding the square in 1998. [13]. The correlation between the building's architecture and the square has initiated debates among both residents and civil society organizations. The building was opened after 2000, following a period of construction and objections that persisted from 1980 to 2000.

Güvenpark, which had a significant impact on the square's physical structure and public character, was reintroduced to the agenda through a renovation project in 1985. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality initiated the project, and among the proposals, the design by architect Sezar Aygen was considered worthy of implementation. The project planned for underground construction also included changes to be made to Güvenpark's current state. Sezar Aygen proposed relocating the Güven Monument from its original position in Güvenpark to a perpendicular alignment at the intersection encompassed by the square, with the aim of enhancing the overall experience of the square. [21]. A 'Spread Environmental Sensitivity Group' started a signature campaign with the slogan 'Not a Parking Lot, Güvenpark', collecting 60,000 signatures to cancel the project, leading to the decision to stop the project [21].

The metro line projects planned to be the transfer center for Söğütözü-Cebeci and Kızılay-Batıkent have proposed Kızılay Square as a transfer center. After the cancellation of the Güvenpark Renovation Project, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality suggested that commercial facilities should also be included in the architectural program of the metro station project, planning for the square to be a transfer and shopping point. With the start of the project, Güvenpark has taken on the appearance of a construction site, trees have been cut down and disruptions have been seen in the current texture of the area.

In this period, in addition to large-scale projects that have been or are planned to be carried out, changes at the building scale around the square have also come to the forefront. Between 1987 and 1989, with the construction of the Gama Business Center, a concentration of commercial buildings around the square can be observed [22]. In 1990, the facade renovation of the Yapı Kredi Building by Tekeli & Sisa Architecture serves as an example of rethinking. Visuals related to the urban and structural spatial decisions regarding the square are provided in Figure 7.



Figure 7.a. 1980s, the area where Kızılay Shopping Center is located is closed with barriers [23],

Figure 7.b. Kızılay Square 1980s [24], **Figure 7.c.** Güvenpark Renewal Project Site Plan [25] (from left to right)



Figure 7.d. Kızılay Square 1990s [26], **Figure 7.e.** Kızılay Square Metro Construction [27], **Figure 7.f.** Gama Business Center [28] (from left to right)

4.3.2. Social Movements in Kızılay Square between 1950-1980

1950-1980 period, in addition to the events in the 1990s, social movements emerged in alternative urban spaces such as Sakarya Street, Yüksel Street, and Konur Street. Over time, these areas were transformed to be more pedestrian-friendly. After the ban on demonstrations until the early 1990s, permission was granted for May Day demonstrations in 1993. Apart from the celebrations, the demonstrations turned into clashes with the police and became one of the most massive protests after 13 years. The actions primarily shifted to Sakarya Street, Yüksel Street, and Konur Street, which were all pedestrianized during this period. These mentioned events are some of the most massive protests seen in Kızılay Square during this period. Between 1980-2000, numerous trade union movements took place but very few occurred in Kızılay Square. When compared to the movements between 1950 and 1980, the relatively low intensity of mass demonstrations in the square becomes particularly noteworthy (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Mass Actions in Kızılay Square (from left to right; 1989-1990 Spring Action, May 1, 1993 labor action, October 29, 1997 Republic Day celebrations, Trade union labor action in the late 1990s) [29]

4.3.3. Evaluation: The Impact of Social Movements on Spatial Formation in the 1980-2000 Period

Between 1980 and 2000, three major projects emerged as focal points in Kızılay Square: Güvenpark Renewal Project, Söğütözü-Cebesi metro construction and Kızılay Shopping Center. These projects led to the unusable state of Güvenpark and Kızılay Square for a long time, resulting in a decrease in the frequency of social movements. Compared to the previous period, these urbanization projects significantly reduced pedestrian and protest movements in the square. Analysis of the role of social movements during that period in the spatial changes of the square is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Analysis of the Effects of Social Movements on the Spatial Formation of Kızılay Square between 1980-2000

Spatial Formation in the 1980-2000 Period		Social Movements in the 1980-2000 Period		The Effect of Actions on Spatial Formation
Macro Scale	• Neoliberal Urbanization Trends - Commercial and transportation-focused urban development - expanding	Date	Event	• In the 1985 Güvenpark Renovation Project, restricting the pedestrian
		• 1989-1990	• Spring Actions	

Urban Change around the Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> highways • Pedestrianization of Sakarya Street, Yüksel Street, and Konur Street axes. • The square being a hub for vehicle traffic • 1985-Güvenpark Renovation Project • 1990s - Metro Station Project 	• 1990-1993	• The square being closed off for protests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> flow to the lower level of the square led to limitations during mass demonstrations. • There have been spatial shifts in mass actions. • The square has turned into a construction site, becoming a passive recreational area • In parallel with the rising trade union movement in the 1990s, barriers were placed around the square.
		• 1990-2000	• Yüksel Street, Sakarya Street, Konur Street are small-scale events	
Changing the Square's Perimeter on a Structural Scale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1987-1989-Gama Business Center • 1990- Yapı Kredi Building Facade Renewal • 1998- The construction of Kızılay Shopping Mall has begun • Barriers set up around the square 	• May 1, 1993	Workers' memorial action	
		• October 19, 1998	• Protest following conflict among municipal employees	
		• 1990'lar	• Trade Union Worker Protests	

4.4. Spatial Formation and Social Movements in Kızılay Square After 2000

4.4.1. Spatial formation of Kızılay Square After 2000

Beginning with the 1990 Nazım Urban Plan and becoming increasingly evident in the 2000s, new urbanization trends have resulted in significant changes to the city's morphology. The new urbanization practices have necessitated a shift from comprehensive planning to action planning, as urban lands have transformed into profit-focused areas due to market demands [22]. The trio of Kızılay Square, Atatürk Boulevard and Güvenpark, where social interaction is most intense, has become less preferred after 2000 as socialization practices shift from urban open spaces to enclosed shopping malls. Güvenpark's metro entrance and exit masses being occupied by public transport stops and the density of vehicle traffic make it a difficult area to reach for pedestrians, directly affecting the interaction between Güvenpark and Kızılay Square. In the process leading up to the 1990s, when evaluating the square in terms of pedestrian density, Güvenpark, Kızılay Square, Atatürk Boulevard and the area where the main axes intersect serve as key nodes of activity. As an alternative to the square, Sakarya Street, Yüksel Street, and Konur Sokak have gradually become areas with increasing pedestrian flow after 2000 (Figure 9).

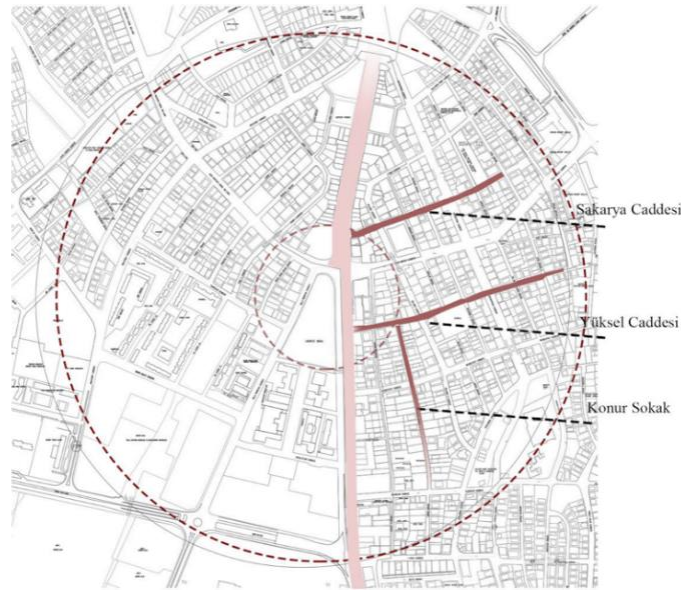


Figure 9. Pedestrian Flow around the Square after 2000 (Çankaya Municipality 2014 Subdivision Plan, edited by the author) [30].

One of the notable applications in Kızılay Square was the closure of the square's perimeter with barriers in 2003. The barriers were placed to halt pedestrian flow and direct people to use the underpasses, a recent implementation [19]. In addition to this redirection, traffic regulations were enforced on the vehicle roads. According to the decision made by the Ankara Governorship City Traffic Commission, the intersection in the square was closed to traffic, the parallel roads on Mustafa Paşa Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard were rendered unusable and pedestrians used the metro underpasses located in the square. It was planned to demolish the SSK Business Center in Kızılay and build a smaller-scale municipal building in its place, turning the remaining area into a square [31]. The project details proposed by the Çankaya Municipality included demolishing the structure and building a new one with a smaller footprint but higher in height, and organizing the area in front of the structure as 'Emek Square' [31]. Disputes between local governments also occurred over this particular project and as a result of the objection from the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, the project could not be realized [31].

In 2005, Emek İşhanı, a building located in the square and significant in terms of architectural history, was privatized by the state. It was purchased by Talip Kahraman Construction Company in 2006 and renamed Kahramanlar Business Center in 2015 [22]. One of the most significant developments of the period was the opening of the Kızılay Shopping Center, designed in 1979 and whose construction took many years, in 2011. The building, designed by Affan Yatman in 1980, was at the center of discussions for many years due to its scale, location, and the spatial transformation it would create. The construction began 13 years after it was designed, in 1993. The visuals of the mentioned spatial implementations related to the square are provided in Figure 10.



Figure 10.a. Public Transport Stop in Güvenpark [32], **Figure 10.b.** barriers in the square [32], **Figure 10.c.** Kahramanlar Business Center (Emek İşhanı) (from the author's archive)



Figure 10.d. Kızılay Shopping Center Figure (from the author's archive) **10.e.** Metro masses in Güvenpark (from the author's archive) (from left to right)

4.4.2. Social Movements in Kızılay Square After 2000

When examining the demonstrations held in the square during this period, the strike on December 1, 2000, stands out prominently. Following this strike, various mass demonstrations were organized under the leadership of KESK in May and June 2001. These protests were fundamentally driven by the legislation concerning unions that unite public employees which restricted the rights to collective bargaining and striking, thereby hindering unionization efforts [34]. The protests led by KESK continued throughout 2001, and according to the Emek Platform Documents, a sit-in was held in Güvenpark on November 9-10, 2001, followed by a rally in Kızılay Square on November 11, 2001 [35]. The largest and longest-lasting mass demonstration in Kızılay Square after 2000 was the Tekel worker protests, which aimed to prevent the privatization of the Tekel Tobacco Factory. These protests, which lasted for 78 days, were among the largest mass protests that spread across the entire country [34]. The Gezi Park Protests of 2013 began in Istanbul, spread to Ankara and Izmir and then reverberated throughout the entire country. The demonstrations held after 2013 have been smaller in scale, focusing on issues such as women's rights, environmental activism and the rights of social groups. Since 2000, dozens of worker actions including strikes, walkouts, sit-ins, and marches have taken place in Kızılay Square (Figure 11).



Figure 11. 2010 Tekel Workers' Resistance [36]

4.4.3. Evaluation: The Impact of Social Movements on Spatial Formation Aafter 2000

Since 2000, Kızılay Square, in its transformed state, has shifted from being a political public space to a chaotic area entangled in large-scale urban development and serving as a major traffic node. The majority of social movements in Kızılay Square occurred predominantly between 2000 and 2010. Spatial interventions such as barriers and metro masses in the square have influenced the scale and frequency of these social movements. Analyses of the role of the social movements of the period in the spatial transformation of the square are provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Analysis of the Effects of Social Movements on the Spatial Formation of Kızılay Square after 2000

Spatial Formation After 2000		Social Movements After 2000		The Effect of Actions on Spatial Formation
		Date	Event	
Macro Scale Urban Change around the Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2003-traffic arrangement: pedestrian flow to the lower level of the square • The disintegration of Güvenpark by subway masses 	• December 1, 2000	• Work Stoppage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In response to the increasing labour protests between 2000-2004, the square was enclosed from 2003 onwards and police checkpoints were increased. • In parallel with the actions between 2000-2004, pedestrian circulation was directed to the lower level of the square. • The square became a transit route and a traffic node, which led to a decrease in protests.
		• May 21-26, 2001	• KESK Action	
		• August 23, 2003	• KESK Action	
		• 2000-2004	• KESK and DİSK trade union actions	
		• 2010	• Tekel workers resistance	
the Square's Perimeter on a Structural Scale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2003- Barriers around the square • Closure of cultural venues (cinema, theatre, etc.) • 2009-Kızılay Square and Surroundings Idea Project Competition • 2010- 'Emek Square' idea project with the demolition of SSK Workhouse 	• 2013	• Gezi Park Protests	
		• July 15, 2016	• Protests after the coup attempt	
		• 2010 to the present	• Women's rights, environmental groups, LGBTI+ protests	

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

From 1923 to the present day, the square has gained significance since the 1950s within the context of social movements and has evolved into a political symbol. Social movements that developed as an opposition to the prevailing ideology of the political power and organized as a counter-hegemony were experienced most intensely in Kızılay Square in Ankara. The social movements in Kızılay Square from the 1950s to the present day have been effective in shaping the intervention of political ideology in the space. The mass scale and intensity of social movements have brought about spatial compression, fragmentation and shifts.

Map data were used to compare the square across different periods. From the 1950s to the present, it has been observed that green spaces have decreased, construction has intensified, vehicle traffic has increased, and the square has gradually diminished in size. As a result of this spatial change, a narrowing is observed in the spatial scope of the actions. In addition to the spatial contraction of social movements throughout the process, the change in the physical condition of the built environment in which they occurred has been analyzed. While Atatürk Boulevard was within the impact zone of social movements between 1950 and 1980, spatial shifts were observed between 1980 and 2000. The spatial domain of social movements' impact, which shifted to sub-regions between 1980 and 2000, gradually narrowed after 2000. There was also an increase in the density of buildings in the surrounding context of the square. In Figure 12, Kızılay Square and its surroundings were created using the digital aerial photographs of the General Directorate of Mapping of the Republic of Turkey. The photograph from 1939 for the 1923-1950 period, the photograph from 1976 for the 1950-1980 period, the photograph from 1991 for the 1980-2000 period, and Google Earth data for the post-2000 period were used as the basis. In the 1939 data, the area of impact of social movements was not included due to the unavailability of data. A spatial analysis was conducted for this period, and the information obtained from the findings was processed on the map to analyze the periods from 1950 onward. In the process of mapping, Kızılay Square was designated as the central area due to its

significance as a hub for social movements and urban formations, serving as a focal point for spatial analysis.

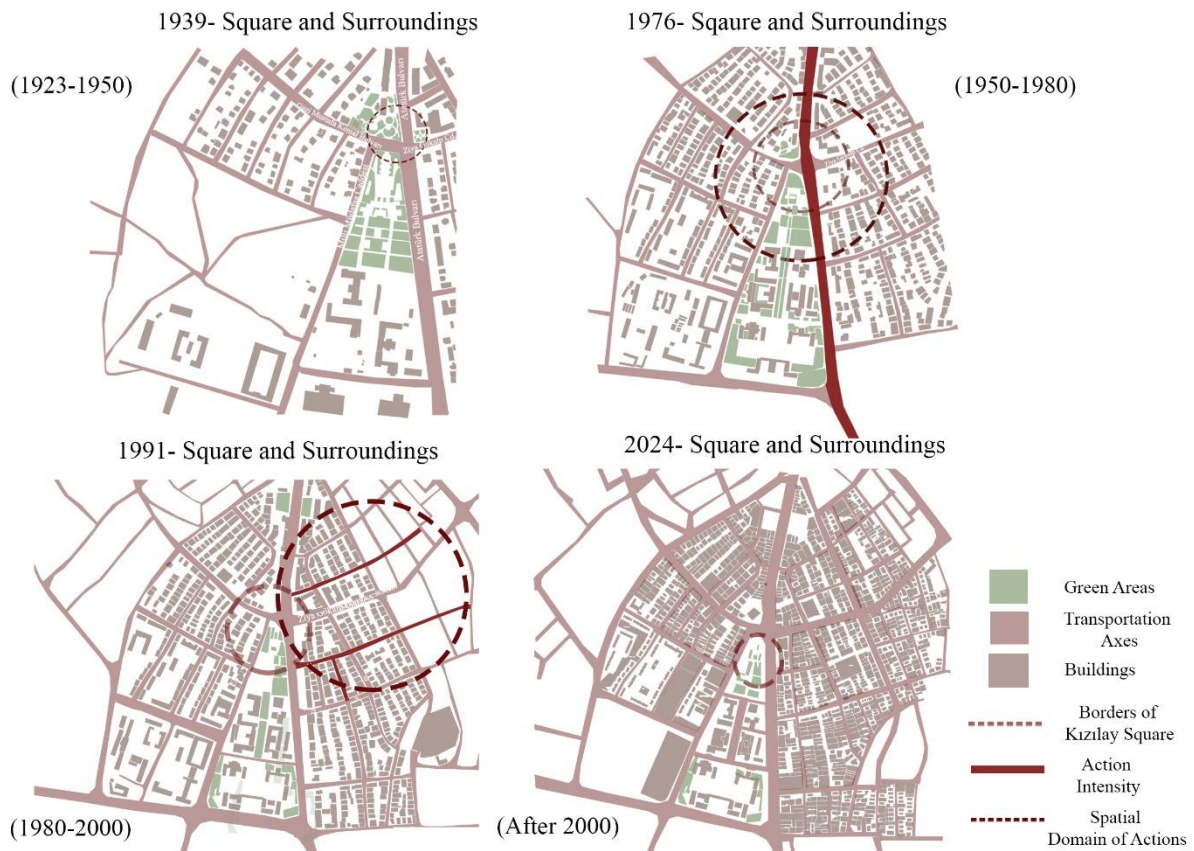


Figure 12. Analysis of the Spatial Change of Kızılay Square and Social Movements through Mapping Method (Republic of Turkey General Directorate of Mapping Digital Aerial Photographs, edited by the author)

The social movements in the square did not have a direct impact on the spatial shaping but played a triggering role as a sub-factor. When evaluated in this context, and in parallel with the intensive social movements between 1950 and 1980, an iron line was drawn to the middle refuge of Atatürk Boulevard from 1980 to 2000. During this period, barriers were placed, and the square remained closed to public use for many years due to the metro station project. In parallel to the mass demonstrations that continued between 1960-1964 despite the 27 May coup d'état, spatial restrictions and a ban on demonstrations were imposed after the 1980 coup d'état. Compared to the 1950-1980 period, both the frequency and scale of protests decreased during the 1980-2000 period. While there were over a hundred protests between 1950 and 1980, the number decreased to less than half during the period from 1980 to 2000. Following the intensive protests between 1960 and 1980, efforts to facilitate pedestrian flow through the metro underpass emerged as one of the significant impacts of the protests on the spatial environment. Subsequent to the intensive protests, a portion of Güvenpark was completely closed with barriers between 2000 and 2010. The positive and negative effects of the social movements in Kızılay Square are summarised in Table 4. In the table, social movements are delineated as mass actions, and their positive and negative effects on spatial identity are discussed.

Table 4. *The Positive and Negative Effects of The Social Movements Carried Out In Kızılay Square Related To The Periods*

Kızılay Square	Period of 1950-1980	Period of 1980-2000	After 2000
Mass Actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1960-1964- Anti-government protests • 1960-1970- Protests on student, labour, women's rights and social problems • 1970-1980- Trade union workers' actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1980-1990- Labour Actions • 1990-1993- Prohibition of action • 1993-2000- Spatial shifts in actions • 1993-2000- Trade union demonstrations, commemorations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2000-2010- Trade Union Workers Actions • 2010-present- Protests in Gezi Park and after the coup attempt, small-scale actions of social groups
Positive Impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active use of the square as a mass gathering space • Gaining political symbolic value of the square 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining the political symbolism of the square • Continued existence as a place of representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining its political symbolism • Continuity of the status of being the traditional centre of the city
Negative Impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Closing the square to mass gatherings and meetings after the protests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Becoming a control area as a result of the prohibition of action • Weakening of social and individual practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The square ceases to be a safe area • Increased barriers and police control • Weakening of social practices

Beyond the existing studies in the literature, this research is differentiated by encompassing a wide range of dates and employing a two-stage data analysis that addresses both spatial and social practices. Additionally, it is aimed at elucidating the relationship between actions and spatial form as a result of these investigations. The study is intended to contribute to the studies to be carried out on the basis of the relationship between urban space-social practices, space-action.

In conclusion, since the establishment of the Republic, Kızılay Square has consistently served as the most significant public space and site of representation within the city. Social movements have established Kızılay Square as a political arena, and in parallel, political power has intervened to assert its influence and ideology within this space since the 1950s. In all three periods, the square was reproduced with contemporary ideologies by both social power and political power. In this context, in the 1950-1980 period, Kızılay Square became a political symbol with the frequency and quality of labour and student protests. During the 1980-2000 period, Kızılay Square fell under the hegemony of power due to the intensification of spatial practices and interventions, while the spatial effects of the protests from the previous period were also observed. From 2000 onwards, the mobility of protests decreased dramatically. Due to the changing social and political structure, Kızılay Square transformed into a commodity and a means of surplus value, losing its function as a gathering and organizing space for protests. The Square experienced the most intense period of social movements between 1960-1990. Although it cannot be claimed that the protests had the power to directly transform the space, the political function that Kızılay Square acquired enabled political power to alter the space in various models to render its ideology and dominance visible. Ultimately, this process clarified that the square has become the passive recreation area it is today. Today, despite having suffered physical damage, Kızılay Square remains socially significant as a communal space and a site of representation for Republican Ankara.

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