

CAMPUS DESIGN, WALKING PRACTICE AND SPATIAL APPROPRIATION: A PSYCHOGEOGRAPHIC COMPARISON OF THE ALLE AT VAN YÜZÜNCÜ YIL UNIVERSITY AND ANKARA MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY IN TURKEY (1133)

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Abstract. This paper focuses on the forms of spatial appropriation at two university campuses in Turkey via a psychogeographic lens. Middle East Technical University in Ankara (the capital city) was designed in 1960s with reference to a well-defined *alle*; Van Yüzüncü Yıl University is in the eastern part of Turkey and constructed in 1980s, the *alle* is attached after several decades. *Alle*, as an extension of ‘street’ in university campuses, is the constructive spatial structure in campus design and as a result it should be (both physical and mental) spine of design policy. The main question of the paper is: how the spatial appropriation differentiates via walking practice at *alle* in selected two cases with reference to differentiated design policies of spatial hierarchy at campuses.

Keywords: Alle, campus design, psychogeography, spatial appropriation, Turkey.

1. Introduction

‘Street’ constitutes both an essential dimension of urban design and the context of walking practice in urban space; it is not only the constructive spatial unit of public space pattern but also the main artery of urban everyday life. *Psychogeography* concentrates on ‘walking’ and therefore the differentiated forms of (urban) streets, and as a discipline it examines *the influence of the built environment on feelings and attitudes of human beings*. This paper focuses on ‘walking practice’ at two university campuses in Turkey and examines the differentiated forms of spatial appropriation at the *alle* via a psychogeographic lens in relation with campus design. Middle East Technical University in Ankara (the capital city) was designed in 1960s via a well-defined *alle* and has a long history with a deep socio-spatial tradition; whereas Van Yüzüncü Yıl University is located in the eastern part of the country and constructed in 1980s, however the *alle* is attached after several decades of the first construction. This study assumes that the phenomenon of *alle*, as an extension of ‘street’ in university campuses, is the constructive spatial structure in campus design and as a result it should be (both physical and mental) spine of the design policy. The main question of this paper is: How the spatial hierarchy

penetrates the spatial appropriation at *alle*; and how it differentiates in two different cases of campus design and walking practice. This interaction indicates the conflict between spatial practice and *representations of space* in between representational spaces as Lefebvre (1991) mentions in his spatial triads. A gap is assumed among the conceived, perceived and lived spaces which is critical in urban design, although it is generally underestimated. This paper is located in a research field to grasp the meaning of such a gap. Knowledge on the interrelation between spatial appropriation and design policy would provide a relatively democrat vein of planning which considers the users' needs, differences, and demands.

The human *body* contacts *with* and *at* urban space (with other objects and subjects) via its movements and stops; this interaction occurs through the spatial pattern of *occupancy* and *vacancy* which indicates *the spatial hierarchy* of the selected urban space. Walking practice leads to a set of cognitive mental representations in relation with the repertoire of place attachment and spatial appropriation parallel to this spatial hierarchy. Urban space contains differentiated walking sub-regions with varied spatial compositions and therefore leading to differentiated spatial practices with several perceptions, actions and attachments (İlkay, 2020). As an example, university campuses are autonomous and fruitful urban spaces to investigate the mental representations of the interaction among, walking, spatial hierarchy and appropriation. There are both *physical/real* and *psychogeographic representations* on the same urban spaces and urban spatial practices (İlkay, 2022). This separation would indicate the invisible dimensions of the difference between 'what is conceived' and 'what is perceived' as Lefebvre (1991) argues in his classical study on spatial triads. This paper aims to compare the role of *alle* in both campus design and spatial appropriation via walking at two differentiated university campuses through collecting the mental representations, doing in-depth interviews and *attentive walks* with the interviewees by psychogeographic techniques. Campus design and spatial appropriation will be compared [with reference to the conception and perception of *alle*] in three scales:

1. the historical spatial development stories and design approaches of university campuses,
2. the spatial pattern of campuses on the basis of *alle*, and
3. sub-behavioural regions of the *alle* in campuses in relation with mental representations and psychogeographic attentive walks.

This paper questions how the spatial appropriation differentiates via walking practice at *alle* in selected two cases with reference to differentiated design policies of spatial hierarchy at campuses. The sub-questions of this main research question are:

- How and why the design approaches differentiate in two university campuses in Turkey,

- How the interrelation among *alle* design and spatial appropriation differs in these two cases, and
- What does the differentiated gaps among real and psychographic maps indicate about the interrelation between design and spatial appropriation.

METU (Middle East technical University), as a well-designed, readable campus with its *alle*, promise a rich walking practice with fruitful spatial appropriation regions; however, Van YYÜ (Yüzüncü Yıl University) limits both the practice and place attachment with its partial design with an *alle* which is later added to the campus. This research both displays the role of *alle* in the campus design, walking practice and spatial appropriation and furthermore opens a new methodological path to discover hidden knowledge within urban spaces.

2. Conceptual Framework: The *Alle* in Campus Design

University campuses are autonomous urban spaces where both career training and academic-scientific activities are conducted, and scientific and technical knowledge is produced. This urban region contains basically *university students* (who are young adults taking their education and shaping their professional future life), and *lecturers* (who are relatively elder adults both doing their research and giving lectures to students shaping the quality of their profession such as medicine, architecture, social sciences). Moreover, there is a large group of *administrative staff* and *other staff for services* such as dormitory, food and beverage, landscape management, cleaning, transportation, etc. Therefore, the population within the university is so dense and divergent. Some of this population permanently live in the campus, some are only visitors.

The character of the population in a university campus can differ with respect to the character of the university. Some universities may concentrate on education or some others on research, and some may aim at practical results and may focus on occupational training skills and some others would intend more theoretical and scientific echo. Furthermore, universities have several outputs for the cities they are located in, a university can upgrade the local economic conditions, the social atmosphere and so change the local culture of the city. As a result, a university campus or generally a university space is a very autonomous urban area which has a distinctive spatial-social character and leading to different spatial, social and economic effects on the city. The selection of the city where the university would be located is therefore a policy issue, in addition to the choice on the character of the university. To locate our cases within Turkish case, in the next sub-heading, firstly we will roughly cover the history of the development of higher education in Turkey with respect to some critical turning points focusing on the period after the establishment of Turkish Republic.

2.1. History of Campus Design in Turkey

In Turkey (literally *Turkish Republic* since 1923), the first university is established in 1933, in İstanbul, called as *İstanbul University*. Some of the other primary pioneer universities of Turkey are as follows chronologically with their locations (Kömürlü, 2019):

- ⇒ İstanbul Technical University [ITU] – 1944 [İstanbul] (Marmara Region-North West Anatolia),
- ⇒ Ankara University – 1946 [Ankara] (Central Anatolia),
- ⇒ Karadeniz (Black Sea) Technical University [KTU] – 1955 [Trabzon] (North East Anatolia),
- ⇒ Ege (Aegean) University – 1955 [İzmir] (West Anatolia),
- ⇒ Atatürk University – 1957 [Erzurum] (East Anatolia), and
- ⇒ *Middle East Technical University* [METU] – [1956–1959] [Ankara] (Central Anatolia).



Figure 1. The regional distribution of universities in Turkey in 1950

Source: Sargın, 2007: 137 and four more universities added after 1950s (marked by the author of the paper with orange spots).

Such a scene indicates that the first motive to establish universities were *site selection* especially with reference to the region of the country with respect to a hidden regional planning policy and the state seems to execute a planned attempt to balance the scales of development regionally through constructing universities. *The quality* with specific

aims was prioritized after this site selection issue. The young republic needed its own professionals to be raised and its own knowledge and technique to be produced. Middle East Technical University was also established with a similar impetus to raise own professionals of city planning, since 1950s is the period of rapid urbanization in Turkey and resulted in so many social and spatial problems in cities.

The number of universities exceeded 200 recently, however until 1960s Turkey had only seven universities (Kömürlü, 2019), which indicates a turning point. Another turning point may be 2000's since the AKP (*Justice and Development Party*) came to power and aimed to establish universities in each and every city of the country.

The history of higher education is generally examined under three main periods with respect to the structural shifts and characterization by the researchers (Sargın, 2007):

- 1) The early period between 1923 and 1946 (or in other words till 1950);
- 2) The development period between 1950-1980 since a policy appeared to distribute the universities apart from Ankara and İstanbul; and
- 3) After 1981 the period with a higher education reform in Turkey, which shaped generally by an Institution of Higher Education (YÖK) – an institution beyond all the universities of Turkey.

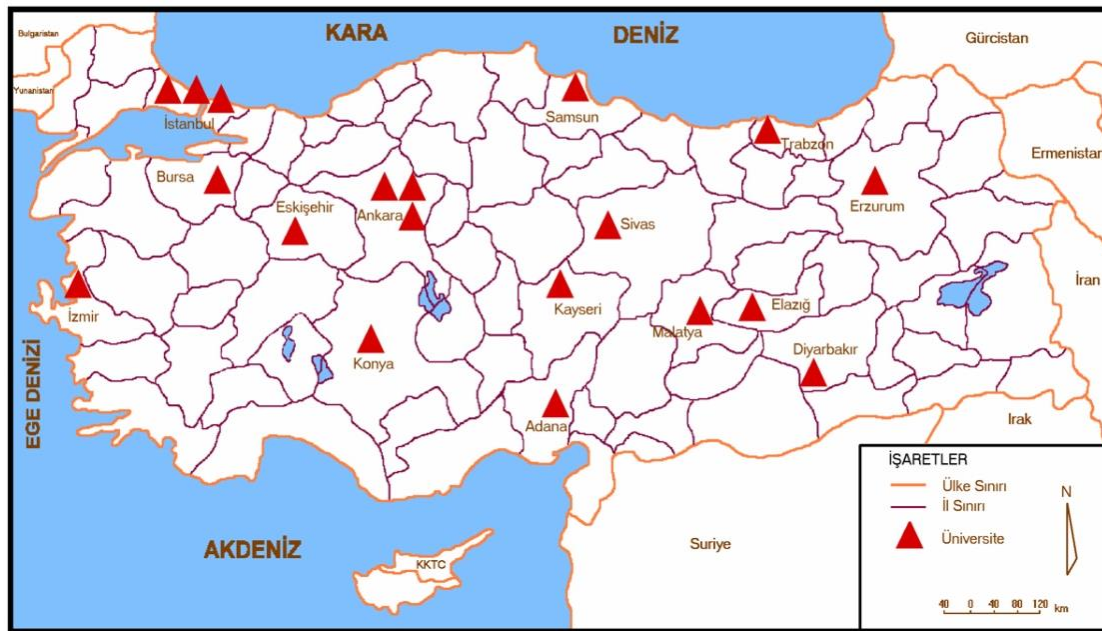


Figure 2. The regional distribution of universities in Turkey in 1980

Source: Sargın, 2007.

Table 1 demonstrates the periods of higher education in Turkish Republic with respect to the number of universities, locations (cities and regions), and basic impetus to construct university. We should add another era after 2000s to the general frame.

Table 1. The periods of higher education in Turkey (prepared by the writer of the paper via adopting the data in Ümran (2007) and Kömürlü (2019))

	Number of Universities	Locations	Basic Impetus of the Higher Education Policy
1923 – 1950 Early Period	2	İstanbul and Ankara	Constructing own higher education institutions
1951 – 1980 Planned developing period	19	İstanbul (3), Ankara (3), Bursa, Konya, Eskişehir, İzmir, Adana, Samsun, Kayseri, Sivas, Malatya, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Trabzon	Preventing regional disparities
1981 – 1990 Period of YÖK (The Institution of Higher Education)	29 (at the beginning of 1990)	Added universities in Edirne, Antalya and Van at the beginning of 1990 and some private universities in İstanbul	Standardization of the higher education after military intervention
2000 onwards Period of extensification	More than 200	All over the country in each and every city	Locating a university in each and every city

Recently, there are 208 universities in Turkey, 129 of which are state universities, and 75 of these 208 universities are private (or foundation) universities; almost each and every city has a university as a result of the higher education policy of the present government; Kömürlü (2019) mentions that “by 2008, there were no cities without a university” parallel to the government’s proposal. Figure 3 shows the map of distribution of recent universities in Turkey –the reddest one is İstanbul, and second comes Ankara, İzmir and Konya, and the scale is getting lighter as the number of students decrease in the cities (<https://www.yok.gov.tr/universiteler/universitelerimiz>). Ankara and Van are marked with the orange boundaries by the writer of the paper.

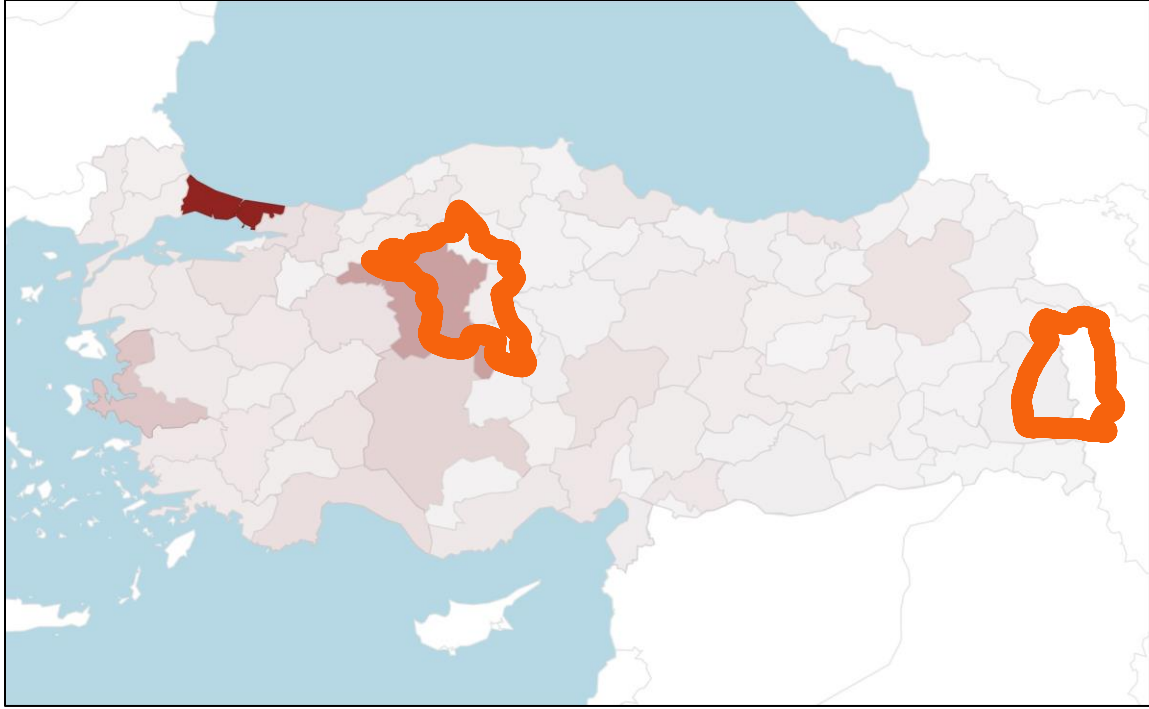


Figure 3. Universities in Turkey with respect to number of students

Source: <https://www.yok.gov.tr/universiteler/universitelerimiz>

Van Yüzüncü Yıl University was established on 20 July, 1982 in Van, in the relatively south-eastern region of the country as a trace of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's (founder of the Turkish Republic) one of the major spatial and social policies [to construct a university in this region in addition to other universities in Ankara and İstanbul to enhance the socio-cultural habitat of the whole eastern region]. The university was planned to be activated in 1981, for the 100th anniversary of Atatürk's birthday; therefore, the name of the university was labelled as '100th Year-Centennial'. However, the university in Van could be activated in 1982, with one year delay (Özyıldırım, 2022). In other words, a university in Van was one of the major spatial projects of the Early Republic of Turkey, which was realized yet in 1980s – so the spatial policy of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University is based on an earlier period (early republican area, the period of *Urbanization of the State* as Şengül (2003 labels) however the realization of the project is located on a quiet different period – *Urbanization of Capital* (labelled by Şengül, 2003). Middle East Technical University on the other hand is designed and realized in late 1950s and its influence manifested itself in 1960s and later 1970s within the rising societal movements especially student protests (İlkay, 2007) in the urbanization of working class as Şengül (2003) names the decades between 1950 and 1980.

2.2. University Campus as a Walking District in the City

In the previous section, we followed the development of higher education and the history of city selections for universities in Turkey. Then, the spatial features of a university constitute the second issue we have to examine. University campuses are autonomous and fruitful urban spaces especially with respect to 'walking' phenomenon. Yıldız et.al. (2015) investigate the morphology of the university campus; with reference to Larkham (2000: 75-76), they argue the four essential points as: universities both create economic resources with new employment areas and cover large slots of urban area which can be located at the centre, periphery or out of the cities; they are long-term institutions so they are relatively persistent but dynamic spaces; since they usually grow and develop; moreover the new spaces of universities either sprawl or disperse the other parts of the city with having different typologies (Larkham, 2000, cited in Yıldız, et. al., 2015).

The *location* of the university, the *morphology* of the campus and the *spatial hierarchy* constitute three spatial dimensions of universities. Larkham (2000) argues that the preference for location of the university has symbolic, economic and practical dimensions with reference to spatial organization. Discussing the location of universities, three basic typologies are proposed by Yıldız, et.al. (2015). First, *urban universities* located partially in the city and therefore they exist with the urban daily life and spatial pattern, such as the first universities, Bologna (Italy), Cambridge and Oxford (England). Secondly, *American campus type*, which became widespread in 19th century, exist near to but apart from the city, usually surrounded by large green areas. This campus design was first seen in Virginia University, which is designed by Jefferson in 1819; and the designer here aimed at a kind of '*academic village*' with an isolation from the daily rush of the city and so enable the researcher and students to concentrate on their studies in silence. And thirdly, *megastructures* occurred after IInd World War, as the wholistic composition of the structures dispersed within a large area, which can be articulated within time (Turner, 1984, cited in Yıldız, et. al., 2015).

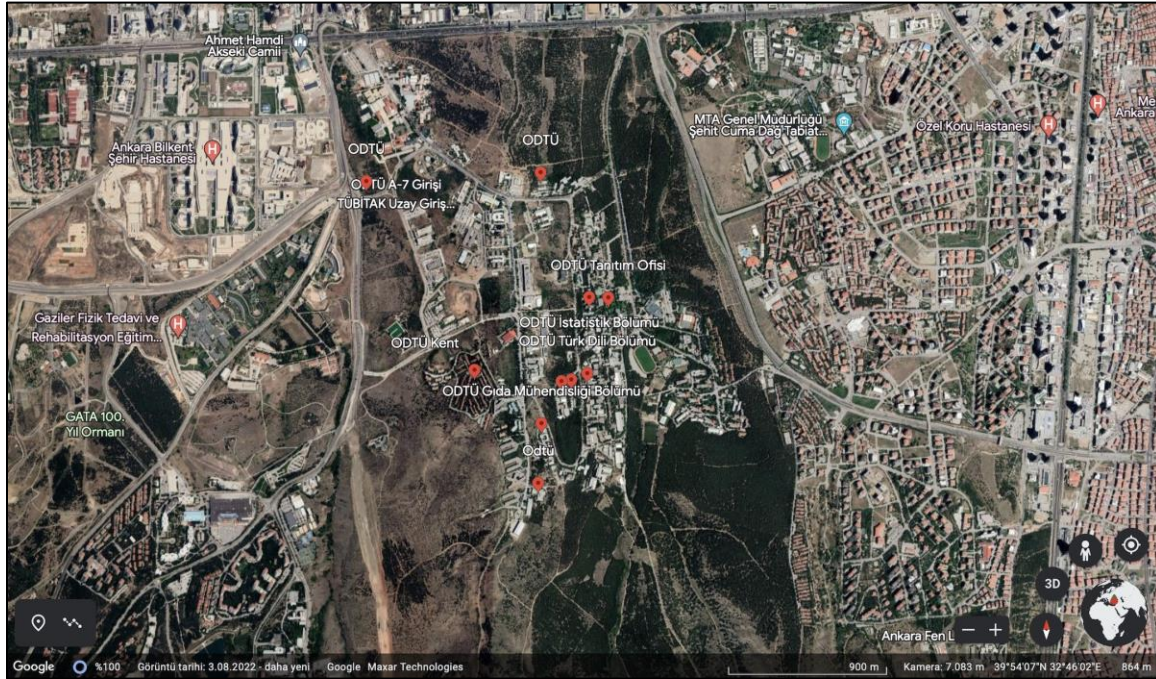


Figure 4. Map of METU, in Ankara, Google Earth, 2023, indicating the degree of urban texture combability, the forestry serves as a buffer zone but still the spatial interrelation can be observed

In Turkey, usually American campus type universities and a combination of campus and megastructures can be seen. Moreover, almost all the universities are located at the periphery or outside of urban spaces within a campus. This spatial preference is critical not only because of economic-social effect of the university on the city and region but also with respect to spatial design of the campus in itself and within its relation to the city (Yıldız, et.al., 2015). Looking at our cases in this paper, Middle East Technical University (METU) and Van Yüzüncü Yıl University (Van YYÜ) are both *campus type universities*; however, the interaction of the campuses with urban city and city centre differentiates. METU is located in the south-west of the city on Eskişehir Road; Van YYÜ is located on south-east of the city, on Van-Ağrı Road. METU is now adjacent to the sub-centre of the city, Söğütözü, and the metro line and main public transportation arteries are adjacent to the campus (see Figure 4.). Whereas, Van YYÜ is located at the periphery, apart from the city centre (approximately 30 minutes ride) therefore transportation is a big issue and the campus is perceived and experienced as a disconnected urban area (see Figure 5.).



Figure 5. Map of Van YYÜ, Google Earth, 2023, indicating the degree of urban texture combability and the degree of the isolation of campus can be seen

In addition to the interaction of the campus with the adjacent urban areas, the inner morphological patterning of the campus is also critical in walking practice and spatial appropriation. Yaylalı and Çil (2021: 101) introduce four basic spatial parameters in campus design as: “(1) the spatial compositions of built and un-built environments, (2) the functional zones, (3) the formal character of the gathering spaces and their locations; (4) the circulation networks”. First Turkish Republican universities (Istanbul University [1933], İstanbul Technical University [1944] and Ankara University [1946]), which were established before 1950, had no campuses; rather they provided education in the old buildings at city centres at the beginning, similar to many other universities in Europe. After World War II, in 1950s, the design paradigm for universities shifted in Turkey as well as the world. Therefore, the later universities such as METU, Ege and KTU were designed and constructed in large urban areas within campuses with respect to campus master plans (Yaylalı & Çil, 2021).

In their study, Birol et.al. (2020: 233) investigate a recent campus design in İzmir with respect to the problematic of open campus spaces as public contact areas, and propose some further parameters on this interaction evaluating İzmir Demokrasi University. Some of the meaningful items are, (1) taking care of the relationship between inside-outside spaces to create a rich spatial hierarchy; (2) bonding academic, institutional and social units via central space or squares to provide efficient activity areas, (3) with

respect to a wholistic approach, creating a well-designed pattern of open and indoor spaces to separate the functions into meaningful zones and to support this pattern with streets, yards, courtyards, and sub-squares to create a lively campus; and lastly (4) pursuing a pedestrian oriented design policy, creating the spatial organization with respect to a main pedestrian axis –such as an *alle*– with both well-defined/read spaces and surprising spaces. In other words, when a campus is shaped with respect to a main pedestrian artery, the pedestrian oriented use would be supported, and moreover the spatial units and functions would be associated meaningfully to produce a wholistic urban spatial neighbourhood (Birol, et.al., 2020), which has so many advantages on walking practice and spatial appropriation.

2.3. Alle in the Design of University Campus: Cases of METU and Van YYÜ

‘Street’ constitutes pattern of public spaces and implies the spatial hierarchy in urban areas, and therefore acts as the main artery of urban everyday life where different activities and people flow through. Furthermore street, as a critical item of urban design, constitutes the context of *walking* in the cities. *Alle* is a type of ‘street’ which shapes the spatial organization and social patterning of the campuses. The walking practice is deeply influenced by the role of *alle* in the campus design. *Alle* provides the spatial and functional unity of the campus, implies the trace of interaction between open and indoor spaces so that the pedestrian can grasp and follow the continuity of the campus, and lastly assure the users of various and related spatial practices with pleasure and safety.

Middle East Technical University, located in Ankara, central Anatolia, was designed in 1960s with reference to a well-defined *alle* and has a long history with deep socio-spatial tradition; whereas Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, located in the eastern part of the country, is constructed in 1980s, however the *alle* is attached after several decades of the first construction. As discussed above, *alle*, as an extension of ‘street’ in university campuses, is (and should be) the constructive spatial structure in campus design and as a result it should be both physical and mental spine of the campus.

Middle East Technical University (METU) is founded as an institute [*Middle East High Technology Institute*] in 1956, then later in 1959, the institute is transformed to a university. But, the first location of the university was a small building on Müdaafa Street at Kızılay (<https://www.metu.edu.tr/history>); another building in the garden of Türkiye's National Grand Assembly (TBMM) was assigned to METU when the number of students increased. However, this was also not sufficient, then in addition to these buildings, barracks were opened for the education of METU in the same garden. These barracks resulted in an imputation of ‘slum university’ and ‘barrack university’ for METU; later in 1963 the university moved to its current campus (Kömürlü, 2019). The early campuses

between 1950 and 1970s, were usually produced through architectural design competitions. METU campus was designed by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici who won the competition in 1959 (Yaylalı & Çil, 2021).

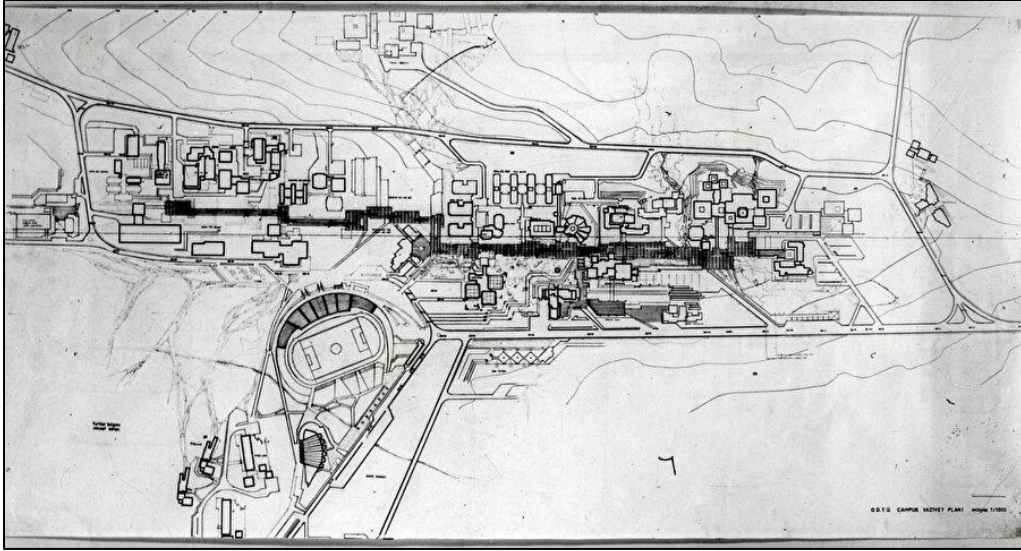


Figure 6. The layout plan of METU, by Altuğ and Behruz Çinici; the alle can be seen clearly and was designed as the main axis of pedestrian circulation

Source: <https://www.gzt.com/arkitekt/bozkiri-yeserten-beton-yerleske-odtu-3592966>.

Altuğ and Behruz Çinici designed the campus on the basis of a main pedestrian axis which connects academic units with the library and this circulation was isolated from the vehicle traffic (Yıldız, et.al., 2015). Figure 6 illustrates the role of alle in their design and Figure 7 is the current situation of the campus. New buildings are located apart from the main pedestrian axis, they seem to be attached in a set of megastructures.

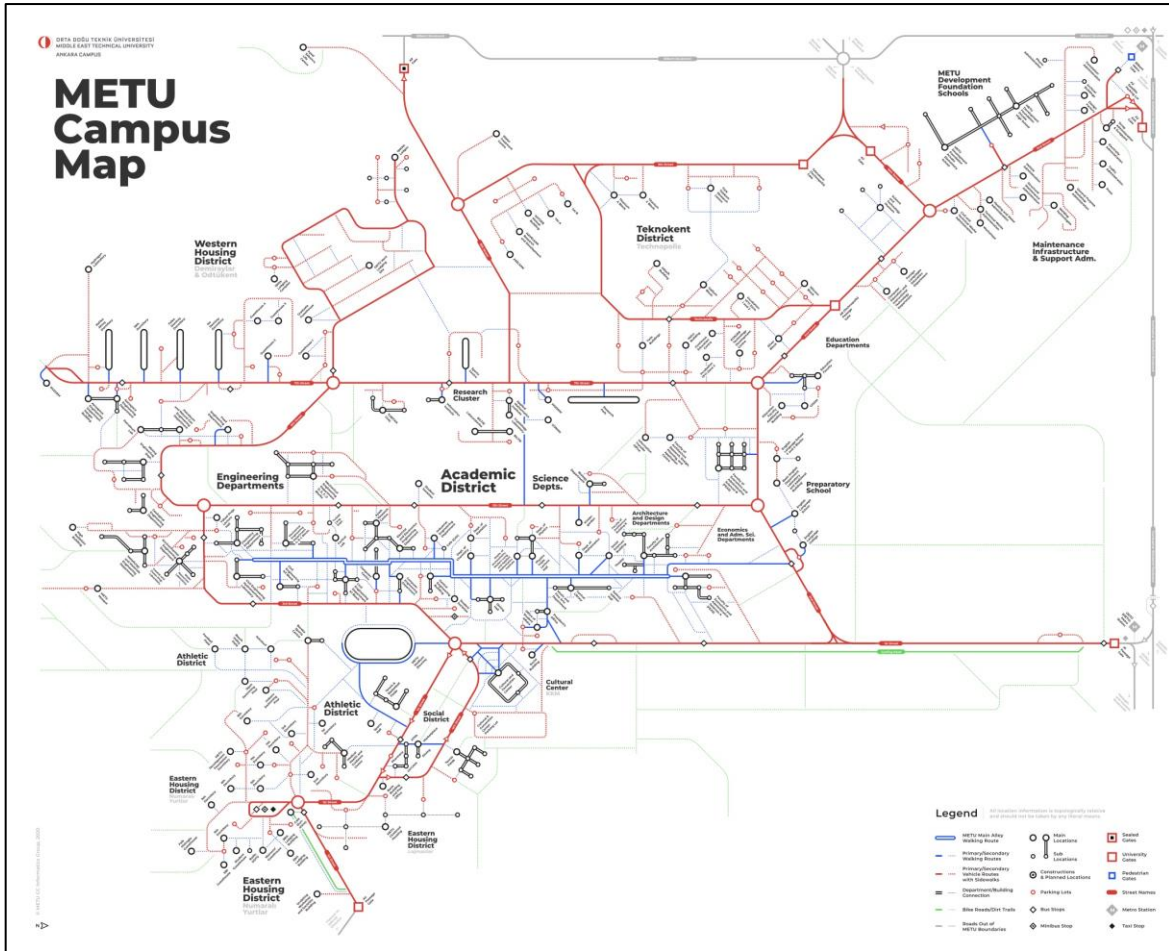


Figure 7. Map of METU Campus

Source: <https://www.metu.edu.tr/system/files/odtu-kampus-haritasi.pdf>.



Figure 8. Alle at METU

Source: <https://haber.sol.org.tr/bilim-teknoloji/odtu-nun-mimari-behruz-cinici-nin-ardindan-haberi-47597>.

Çinici's design, the alle in METU (fig 6. And 8) can be compared with the recently realized alle case in Van YIU (Yüzüncü Yıl University) (fig 9.). The lectures at Van YIU started in the first specific buildings for education at the centre of Van and Edremit. The main building was located at Kazım Karabekir Street and was consisting the Rectorate, institutes, library and dormitories. Two years after the establishment of the university, in 1984, the campus construction started at the periphery –12 km far away from the city centre– on a 700 hectare of vacant land. However, though a spatial policy reaching out 55 years ago (, Van YIU campus was not a planned campus Özyıldırım, 2022) different from METU Campus, which is attained through a public competition.

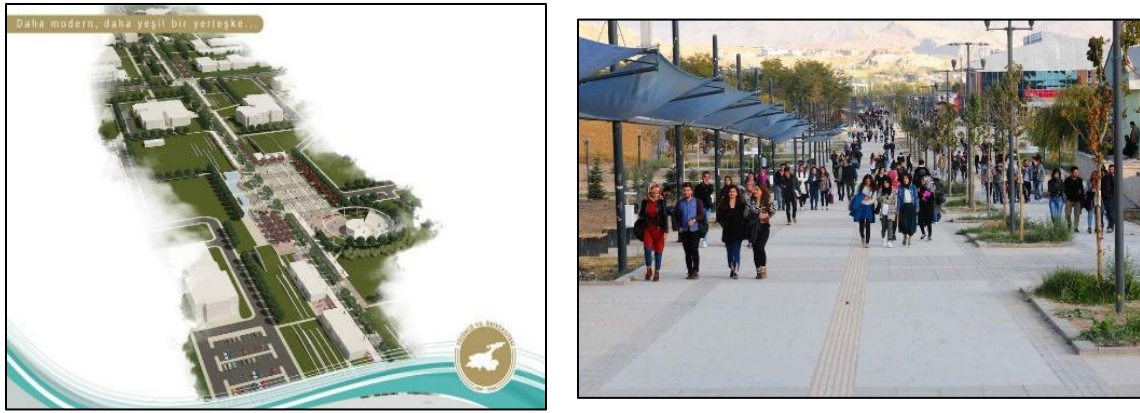


Figure 9. The alle in Van YIU

Source: Left: The design: <https://wikimapia.org/37522194/tr/YY%C3%9C-Alley#/photo/7417760>;
Right: The street view in everyday life, <https://www.yyu.edu.tr/foto-galeri>.

METU Campus is a well-designed and wholistically planned university campus having a historical spatial tradition shaped within differentiated layers of spatial and political practices. On the other hand, Van YIU alle has a relatively short-term history and placed in a partially designed university campus. But as Özyıldırım (2022) examines in-depth, master plan studies are going on for the campus of Van YIU. Especially, the alle (which was added to the campus later almost 40 years after the first construction of the campus) is under conversion, especially it is discussed to be attached to the coastal area at the edge of Van Lake [the greatest lake of Turkey], which presents a fertile potential as a walking district in the campus. The difference between the role of alle in the campus design in these universities can be analysed psychogeographically via the problematic of spatial appropriation. The phenomenon of alle influences the texture, the spine and the soul of university campuses, which may shape the place attachment and spatial appropriation of both lecturers and students, and other groups living in or experiencing campuses. Therefore, owner-visitor dichotomy points a fruitful research focus based on the university campuses and especially

the alle, which has psychogeographic elements.



Figure 10. Van Yüzyil University Google Earth Map, the main arteries of the campus can be seen as traces and the highlighted pedestrian path can be seen as parallel to the lake shore and a direct path to the coast is lacking

3. Walking at the Campus via Psychogeography

Psychogeography investigates how natural or built environment impact on the feelings and attitudes of individuals; and especially focuses on 'walking'; as a result, differentiated forms of (urban) streets are one of the research themes of this field. Our paper examines the differentiated forms of walking practice at two university campuses in Turkey in relation with the spatial appropriation at the *alle* via a psychogeographic lens. *Psychogeography* developed at the intersection of geography and psychology; Covery (2011) describes the development of psychogeography especially in the field of literature. Guy Debord (1955) led posed the concept 'psychogeography' within *Situationist International Movement* in 1950s; the term flourished from their artistic motives, however the concept of *Dérive* (implying 'deviation' and 'resistance') shifted this motive to a political content and soon this term evolved to 'a political tool to transform the urban everyday life' (Covey, 2011). In her thesis, *Psychogeography as a Tool of Urban Spatial Experience*, Jale Sarı (2013: xv) defines the term 'derive' as: "saunters of individuals throwing everything in the wind within their everyday life," which implies the main technique of psychogeography while experiencing the urban

space.

3.1. Methodological Framework: Psychogeography of University Campus

University campuses are fruitful urban spaces to examine within a psychogeographic methodology; since they have various walking districts and differentiated forms of spatial appropriation. However, urban space transforms so rapidly that a psychogeographic methodology within spatial analysis is difficult to formulate. Psychogeography has an elastic and ambiguous nature which results in the epistemological difficulties. This difficulty is rooted from the problem that to what extent can we use psychological projections –the knowledge and maps of individuals – as a ground of objective and general source of knowledge (İlkay, 2022). This difficulty can be exceeded through a combination of subjective and objective methods through a dialectical examination between individual and contextual scales of research.

A mixed methodology [composed of three scales] is defined through the analysis of differentiation on spatial appropriation at two university campuses. At the first scale, through systematic observations and evaluating the writer's own narrative the sub-behavioural walking districts are determined. This scale results in a *zoning* attempt. Within the second scale of research, the mental maps of the interviewees are collected with respect to *in-depth interviews* and *attentive walks*. The third scale aimed at a synthesis of (subjective) mental maps and (objective) spatial hierarchy; the observations, narratives and maps are overlapped to construct a cumulative experiential map via spatial topology technique. *Dérive* occurs at the focus of this enquiry, both as a concept and a technique; this very basic and simple psychogeographic method, enables such a construction: *walking and documenting what you perceive within your deviations*.

It was aimed to interview with approximately 30-32 people – a group composed of both students and lecturers – 10 of these people were planned to be the ones who experienced both campuses, however as a result of the earthquake in Kahramanmaraş, in February, this was not possible. Attentive walks also could not be conducted. For the first step of the research, we could interview with 1 academician (who drew mental maps of both of the universities) and 4-5 students of YYU. In addition to these maps and interviews, there are also previous studies on mental maps of students on Van YYU. Some more interviews will be held after the submission of this full paper to present in the congress in July.

The interview questions are composed of four sections. First, the demographic information, second, the relation with the city is questioned such as where the interviewee inhabits in the city, where he/she works or has education, how he/she

moves through the city within an ordinary day, etc. Especially the perception of the campuses within this frame and the city space is also questioned in this part. Third, sub-behavioural districts are achieved in relation with the image of the city. The five elements of the image are asked in relation with the relevant campus. The first map of the campus wholistically is collected at this point. Then, fourth and last the relationship between walking practice and spatial appropriation is asked to the interviewees ending with an attentive walk [as Kelly, (2020) proposes in her article] and another map was drawn by the interviewees after attentive walks conducted together with the researcher.

3.2. Sub-behavioural Districts and Spatial Hierarchy of the Campuses

In fact, the problem of this paper appeared as a result of the researcher's own experience and question that "experiencing both of the campuses, why I cannot feel attached to my new campus in Van, however I have a detailed mental map of my previous campus, METU, although the latter one is located near the largest lake of Turkey". While pursuing this question, the differentiation of the sub-behavioural districts and differentiated forms of walking practice appeared in relation with the concept of *alle*.

The body contacts with other subjects and objects through spatial pattern, *with* and *at* urban space. Spatial hierarchy penetrates on this contact as a physical input; moreover, sociological and psychological factors (mental and social inputs) shape the contact as well. The spatial pattern with nodes and routes and the mental representations with spatial repertoires result in a two-folded map; one is a physical map, which is relatively more concrete and objective; and the other is a psychogeographic map which is more personal and abstract (İlkay, 2022). We can see this differentiation through the sub-behavioural districts of two campuses. Yıldız, et.al. (2015) proposes the results of their spatial analysis with respect to the conception of the designer of METU; Behruz Çinici, the architect of METU designed METU in three differentiated zones as, *accommodation, social and sports areas, and academic units*. Especially the structures of the faculties were designed within fragmental structure having inside courtyards give opportunity to produce small open spaces, squares within the buildings' indoor spaces (Fig. 11).

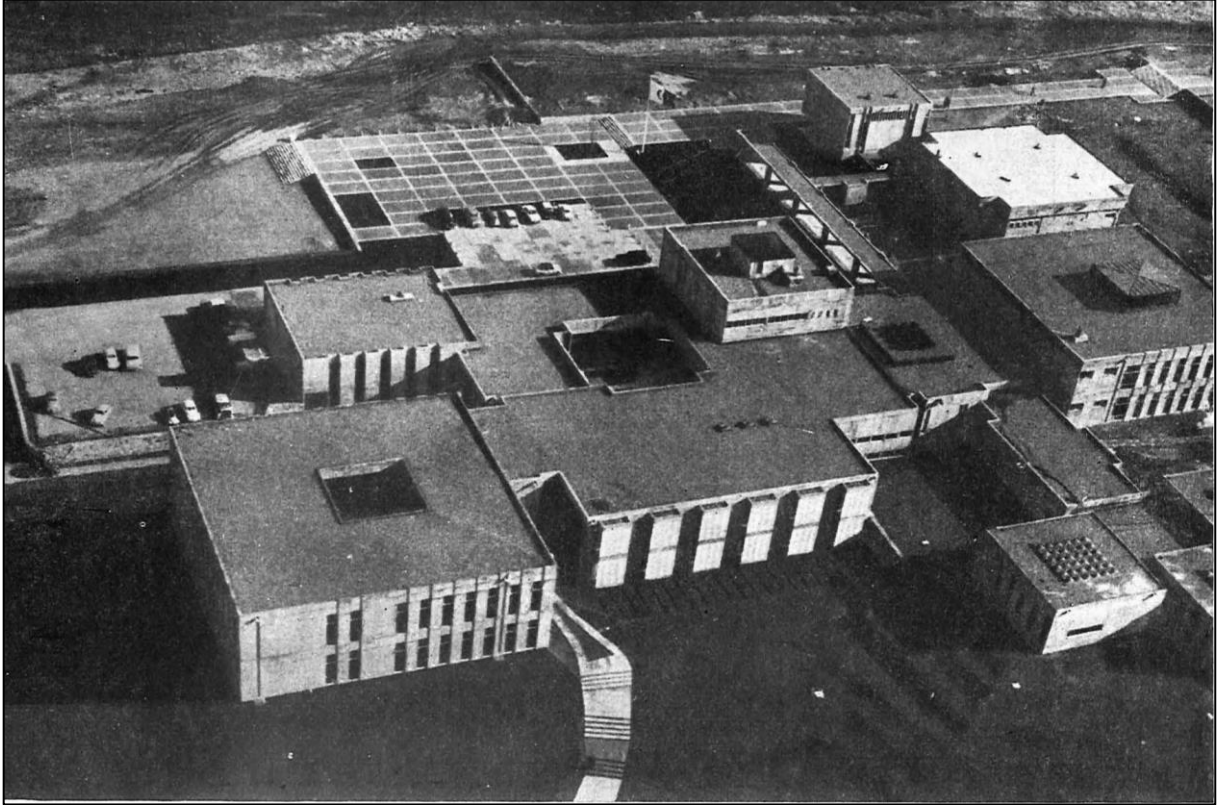


Figure 11. The structure of the department of Architecture, the first building of the campus, METU

Source: *Arkitekt*, 1965, p.108.

Secondary pedestrian paths were attached to the alle in addition to the buildings, which altogether formed a spine for the pedestrian circulation (Yıldız, et.al., 2015). This pattern supported also the mental representations in addition to spatial practice, which indicates the degree of spatial appropriation. During the interview with the lecturer who experienced both campuses, her perceived sub-behavioural districts corresponded to the zones designed by the architect, she mentioned the academic areas between library and MM building in METU, which is the central building of engineering and orients the mental patterning of alle as a landmark and node. She highlighted the difference between METU's green areas and Van YYU's lack of greenery. This colour distinction in relation with the spatial appropriation issue can be observed in her mental map [Fig. 12]. METU has basically three sub-districts, which are spatially separated from each other, one is the faculties and academic-research cluster, the accommodation clusters are located at the two peripheries of the campus and these two regions are connected with the social-cultural and sports cluster having a large slot of green area with a small brook.



Figure 12. One of the mental maps of the interviewees who experienced both campuses [May, 2023]. *Left* is the representation of Van YÜ, and *right* is the representation of METU

However, Van YYU has so many different parts which cannot generate a wholistic or relational spatial pattern. The interviewees also indicated the coastal zone as a specific, critical walking district but apart from the academic units. The faculties are not connected with a spatial conception, the *alle* combines some of the units horizontally (fig. 10) but the spatial structure of the campus is far beyond that axis, moreover this horizontal spine cannot reach or direct to the lake shore, which is highlighted by the students. The empty spaces turn out to be dead and lost spaces in Van YYU. In his research Gülen (2021) investigates the impact of the urban equipment elements in the case of Van YYU, and categorizes the spatial districts of the campus as, firstly, the region of public transport station at the northwest of the campus –which is also at the end of the *alle* and in relation with the dormitories – secondly, the coastline of the campus at the south, thirdly, the main cafeteria and its surroundings, fourthly, the region of the KYK dormitories, fifthly, the surrounding of the faculty of Architecture and Design (also the Faculty of Pharmacy) – the first building of the campus – and also consisting the central building of Rectorship; and lastly, the *alle*. However, these regions seem to be randomly spread through the campus since a wholistic and comprehensive plan of the campus was lacking since the very beginning of the campus. This can be traced in the mental maps and interpretations/narratives of the interviewees of Van YYU. The students had difficulty to define the spatial hierarchy of the campus and determine the specific spaces where are attached to and appropriated within their daily walking practice. This is a parallel data to the previous studies and maps conducted with the architecture and planning students of YYU since 2016 within courses the writer has given. The *alle* is usually not appropriated or even recognized by most of the students and the situation is worse with the lecturers and institutional staff who usually relatively less interact with the campus spatial pattern and practices. However, METU interacts with the minds and bodies of both the students and the lecturers or other staff which results in rich and deep spatial appropriation. We argue that the *alle* has a critical role in this spatial experience and appropriation.

4. Conclusion: Role of Alle at Campus Design and Spatial Appropriation

This paper questioned how the spatial appropriation differentiates via walking practice at *alle* in selected two cases with reference to differentiated design policies of spatial hierarchy at campuses.

The sub-questions of this main research question were:

- How and why the design approaches differentiate in two university campuses in Turkey,
- How the interrelation among *alle* design and spatial appropriation differs in these

- two cases, and
- What does the differentiated gaps among real and psychographic maps indicate about the interrelation between design and spatial appropriation.

The comparison was made through three scales, firstly the historical developments of the campuses are located within the history of higher education of Turkish Republic. Secondly, the spatial pattern and sub-behavioural districts were observed and compared with reference to the inner cohesion of the campus spatial pattern. And thirdly, the spatial appropriation was analysed with respect to the narratives and mental maps of the interviewees. This research will be expanded with more interviewees and attentive walks to gather more mental representations, so that these representations will be overlapped to acquire a synthesis of the gap between the physical reality and collective psychological reality.

Comparing the establishment processes of the universities, although two cases are both constructed as campus universities isolated from the city, the design of the campuses corresponds to different urbanization and higher education processes. Van Yüzüncü Yıl University as an idea goes back to the first period, the urbanization of state (1923-50), however it is realized after 1980s, the urbanization of capital era, and the corruption of higher education has started so far. METU, was designed and realized in the same period, 1960s, the urbanization of working-class era and the development period of higher education. So, the policy behind the design were so differentiated. Metu is a planned-designed campus whereas YYU is an unplanned campus, and the place of the alle in their design stories indicate this situation. The morphology of the campuses also supports the same argument. METU is a more holistic, however YYU is more fragmented, which can be followed via mental maps and narratives, and *dérives* as well. The forest is the main unit for the image of the METU, and the lake is the main unit for the image of YYU. METU uses the symbol of *tree* both symbolically in the emblem of the university [also with a statue at the entrance of the university] and physically as a spatial tool within the spatial hierarchy of the campus; however, Van YYU can neither abstract nor instrumentalise the *lake* as a spatial tool and target.

As a result, the quality of campus design seems to retreat with reference to the shift in campus design policy and higher education policy (prioritising quantity rather than quality). This shift results in the decline of the place attachment and fertility of walking as an urban spatial practice, which may lead to spatial appropriation and development of more democrat canals of spatial transformation. This research indicates that the degree of spatial appropriation and quality of walking practice in Van YYU is lower than the case in METU. This is partly resulted from the campus design which shapes both the spatial hierarchy within walking districts and the perceptions of the users which can be followed in the mental representations and narratives indicating the

spatial experience. We need to hear and touch more the soul of the city space, especially in university campuses which are so fruitful and autonomous walking districts of the city. And should be models for more democratic planning practices.

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